REVISTA DE ETNOGRAFIE ŞI FOLCLOR
JOURNAL OF ETHNOGRAPHY AND FOLKLORE

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CONTENTS

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1. Sound Archives in the Digital Era

PROBLEMS AND PROMISES OF THE DIGITAL AGE FOR ARCHIVES

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ABSTRACT

Archives, as a society's repositories of cultural history, have an obligation to open their holdings to the public, in particular to scholars who are devoted to study and promote their contents. Modern information technology provides excellent tools to make access easier. However, to transform the traditional archive into a digital one is a laborious, challenging and costly process. This is particularly true for ethnomusicological archives whose objects are old, fragile, and preserved in very diverse media formats, which makes digitizing, processing and presenting the data so challenging. The article describes in more detail how a collaborative multinational EU project (ethnoArc – Linked European Archives for Ethnomusicological Research) was developed that helped the Institute for Ethnography "Constantin Brailoiu" in Bucharest to implement a new internal database, to put in place a state-of-the-art production chain for the digitization, and to create a web-based interface for the four ethnomusicological archives participating in the project.

The article describes in more detail how a collaborative multinational EU project (ethnoArc – Linked European Archives for Ethnomusicological Research) was developed that helped the Institute for Ethnography "Constantin Brailoiu" in Bucharest to implement a new internal database, to put in place a state-of-the-art production chain for the digitization, and to create a web-based interface for the four ethnomusicological archives participating in the project

Archives are storehouses of history and culture. Europe, in particular, is incredibly rich in repositories of its cultural history. Archives contain and preserve the material and spiritual products of former ages. They grant a protected area to entities that are otherwise outpaced, marginalized, overwritten, or pushed into oblivion by the accelerated development of contemporary life. Archives provide a sense of stability, a point of comparison or reference, a feeling of belonging and

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continuity. Therefore societies, or states, found and keep archives, and many people value them.

Others may doubt the use and usefulness of archives – especially of cultural archives, supposing they transform living, breathing entities into mute, fixed objects. An archive, then, becomes a dusty accumulation of countless items out of context, a quantity of things that suffocate curiosity, paralyze innovation, calcify society – and devour resources that could be devoted to other ends.

It is a legitimate question whether a society should afford to create and maintain repositories for its past cultural production. The readers of this journal, I presume, belong to the first of the camps described above, being convinced that archives should be kept, and kept alive – as, for example, ethnomusicological archives, containing the musical expressions of a country's or region's population. There is an ever-growing interest in local and regional cultural expressions on the part of researchers, educational agencies, the media, and creative industries (see, for example, the overwhelming public interest at the launch of the European digital library online, *Europeana*). If nothing more, the music preserved in such an archive will be, at least, a source of pleasure to future generations. The collection of peasant music, initiated by Constantin Brăiloiu and kept by the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore in Bucharest, has a prominent place among Europe's ethnomusicological archives.

But just as we believe that it is worth the effort and the means to sustain such an archive, those who work there also have the obligation to keep it open to the public, in particular to those who are interested in studying and developing its contents: access must be made easy, and the collected objects must be given the possibility to "speak" to the contemporary world, to enter into communication with potential visitors.

THE PROMISE OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY

In response to all these exigencies, up-to-date information technology offers spectacular opportunities for archives – to provide information on the collection items, to make them accessible, and to copy and safeguard them. To exploit the potential of the electronic media, however, also poses an enormous challenge to the institutions' capacities and comes at the price of substantial investment: money is needed for the purchase of equipment, even more money is needed for the workforce to design and implement the software and eventually to digitize, catalogue, and process the materials. Thanks to the new technologies, if properly utilized, all the objects can be listed in a database, catalogued with the pertinent metadata, and cross-linked at will. The database can be made accessible on-line – at least partially, should there be reasons to protect some metadata categories from outside viewing. That the digital media are eminently suitable for the safeguarding and re-recording of musical information has been proved for many years now. In

the case of unique old registrations on variegated (often outdated, sometimes damaged) material carriers, precaution is mandatory and elaborate measures have to be observed that make it a true challenge to digitize this material. But once the procedure has been performed, it has the advantage that the content can be copied, transmitted, played back, and re-registered quickly, simply, and without great expense – and without further wear and tear to the irreplaceable originals. Technically, archives have no problem sharing their treasures with the public by also making the music itself accessible (to listen or download) over the Internet, with more or less protection, as may be required by copyright laws. An exemplary website is offered by the Hungarian folk music archive, *Zenétudomanyi Intézet* in Budapest[1].

State and private agents, national as well as international, have recognized the extraordinary potential of digital technology, as outlined above, for archives, libraries, and museums. Programs have been created with targeted funds and grants, for example from the European Union, to support institutions in "going digital". Unfortunately, such programs are mostly conceived as incentives to get the process started – the further course of action is on the shoulders of the archives and their staff, as part of their regular work. All too often, however, it does not prove sufficient to finance a short pilot phase only, because it exceeds the regular powers of an institution to implement the modern technology and translate the holdings completely into digital format. According to the prevalent funding ideology of private and public bodies alike, financial support is provided rarely for routine work but for things *new* – you have to prove that you will develop an innovative way of applying technology to the needs of archives and their users. The bulk of work to be carried out for digitizing the old audio materials is, however, for the large part exactly that: routine. Once equipment and procedures have been established you need thousands of hours of patient and careful replaying and recording: a process as slow as it is demanding – but because the original carriers are diverse (quality of original registration, technical adjustments, conservation status, etc.), each item has to be tested and treated separately and automated procedures are not feasible.

All in all, also compared with libraries, ethnomusicological archives are lagging behind in using up-to-date technology. The reason is the same as what accounts for their richness: they differ widely in history, geographical focus, collecting strategy, internal organization – and, importantly, there is no mutual agreement on a metadata standard. This all makes it difficult to develop programs for common usage. Each institution has to implement its own, tailor-made systems. So the challenge for traditional ethnomusicological archives is indeed huge, and any attempt to bring them one step forward *and* closer together must be very welcome.

[1] http://www.zti.hu/

THE ETHNOARC PROJECT

The Bucharest Institute for Ethnography and Folklore has of course been aware of the promises of digital technology. In recent decades, it has made several attempts to digitize, edit, and publish selected examples of its collection, chosen according to specific themes (e.g., heroic epic songs,[2] music of the Aromanians,[3] or particularly old recordings[4]). A database was developed that, however, was not able to represent the complexity and richness of the collected musical pieces and the accompanying materials (field notes, drawings, pictures, musical notation, studies, etc.). For the digitization proper, equipment was lacking, as were professional technical staff and money to conduct the process.

For a good start toward a more systematic and comprehensive application of digital technology, the ethnomusicological archive could profit from the support of several Western partners. When presented with a comprehensive and substantiated plan for the digitization of the unique historical collection in 2005, the Ernst von Siemens Musikstiftung (Munich/Zug) generously awarded a prize of 50,000 €; the Berlin FOKUS Fraunhofer Institute for Open Communication Systems, together with Vienna Phonogram Archive, provided the much-needed technological expertise; and administrative assistance was granted by the New Europe College (Bucharest) and the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin. These Siemens prize funds were used to purchase necessary hardware (old reel-to-reel tape recorders, a phonograph, servers, and other audio equipment) for playing back and digitizing the original recordings of peasant music. Not less instrumental: qualified staff was hired to install the components, to assess the material state of the holdings, and to carry out tests and first registrations.

In a next major step, the Institute for Ethnography and Folklore was invited to participate in a European Union research project, *ethnoArc*. The consortium aimed at creating an innovative solution for the benefit of (mainly) scholars, providing them access to the information (metadata) stored in ethnomusicological archives. It pursued this goal by creating one common interface for distributed field collections from different sources, enabling access to resources for various application and research purposes. The system was designed to conduct multi-archive searches and to analyze and compare retrieved data. The technical challenge was to define, devise, and implement a system that allows the digital representation of rich and complex information originating from heterogeneously structured archives.

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[2] *Cântece Epice Eroice/Heroic Epic Songs*. (CD with documentation) The Institute for Ethnography and Folklore "Constantin Brăiloiu", Bucharest: Digitronix 2001

[3] *Tumbe Tumbe. Cântece aromâneşti.* The Institute for Ethnography and Folklore "Constantin Brăiloiu". (CD and documentation) Bucharest: Electrecord 2002.

[4] *Document. Romanian Folk Archives – Roots.* The Institute for Ethnography and Folklore "Constantin Brăiloiu". (2 CDs with booklet) Bucharest: Electrecord 1999.

The ethnoArc consortium consisted of four archives, a software developer, and two institutions of advanced research, i.e., seven partners in all:

- Wissenschaftskolleg – Institute for Advanced Study – Berlin (coordinator)
- FOKUS Fraunhofer Institute for Open Communication Systems, Berlin
- "Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute for Ethnography and Folklore , Bucharest
- Archives Internationales de Musique Populaire, Genève
- Museum of Ethnology – Department of Ethnomusicology/Phonogram Archive, Berlin
- Institute for Musicology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest
- New Europe College – Fundația Noua Europă, Bucharest.

The grant proposal was accepted by the European Union in the 6th Framework Programme[5]; the project lasted two years, from September 2006 through August 2008. In preparatory steps, the Consortium members ascertained the state of the art in ethnomusicological archives, in particular with regard to the use of digital technology, and elaborated a metadata specification scheme that allows diverse scientific approaches and searches. They specified the essential characteristics of the "*ethnoArc* Factory", the set of software tools to be designed and implemented in the course of the project. Taking these requirements into account, the Berlin FOKUS institute (the IT contractor) designed the database structure, developed and implemented the distributed archive, and started building the query tool. Meanwhile, the archives prepared the conversion of their data into the new *ethnoArc* database (for those institutes that already had digitized content) or built up a proper digitization and metadata entry chain where this was necessary. About 15 months after the project start, the system was filled with a first set of data, and the ethnoMARS multi-archive search engine was running provisionally. This was the moment to test the ethnoArc system: Three independent scholars were asked to evaluate it, using it for their individual research projects. They were obliged to provide regular feedback about their working experience to the software developers and to draw up a technical report toward the end of their scholarship period. In addition, a musical journalist and a composer also tested the search engine and delivered their work reports. In the meantime, the archive partners worked on amended versions of the metadata mapping and the data migration, and the technicians corrected and adjusted the tools in accordance with the users' comments. The consortium also made various efforts to inform interested partners and potential users about the project, culminating in an international dissemination conference and presentation workshop in July 2008 in Bucharest.

The main gain of the *ethnoArc* project for researchers is the web-based interface that provides the general public with limited search and browse functionality on the metadata and exemplary content available in the databases. A

[5] Subprogram "Information Society Technology – Access to and Preservation of Cultural and Scientific Resources".

surprising and unique feature hereby is the opportunity to view each participating archive's metadata architecture: The software visualizes the cataloguing system of the contents, and it enables searches in more than one archive simultaneously. All the tools that were devised and implemented in the course of the project, notably the multi-archive search tool (ethnoMARS), were released as OpenSource software in June 2008[6], together with extensive written documentation, a tutorial, and sample queries.

OUTLOOK

The *ethnoArc* project thus helped the Bucharest Institute for Ethnography and Folklore to conceptualize and implement a comprehensive database for its archive holdings and to put a "production chain" in place, in accordance with professional standards, for the digitization of analogue content and associated metadata. Due to the fragility of the original carriers and to the less-than-optimal performance of some of the available equipment, the digitization process progressed slowly. But, at the end of the project, IEF now has the infrastructure to digitize the distinct original media types: reel-to-reel audiotapes, wax cylinders, and pertinent paper documents. Moreover, the ethnoArc project, in the course of the two years, also furthered international connections and established routines of project collaboration. So, ideally, it should have provided the means for the archive to continue "going digital". And let's hope that the "Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute for Ethnography and Folklore will also be successful in attracting additional funds to help in this long and demanding, but worthwhile endeavor!

[6] http://developer.berlios-de/projects/ethnoarc/

2. Technical Point of View

TECHNICAL CHALLENGES PROVIDING TOOLS FOR *THE ETHNOARC* PROJECT

CHRISTIAN FUHRHOP, RAJU VAIDYA

ABSTRACT

The authors of the paper implemented a set of tools to allow researchers to check out ethnomusicological databases and collate their search results. Providing these tools presented a number of technical challenges, some specific to the project, some being more generally applicable. The paper documents these challenges and the methods used to address them.

INTRODUCTION

During the course of the ethnoArc project (September 2006 – August 2008) we implemented a number of tools to allow researchers to query multiple ethnomusicological databases and collate their results, even though the underlying databases might be structured differently.

Information about the project can be found at www.ethnoArc.org and the software implemented is available at developer.berlios.de/projects/ethnoarc as OpenSource.

Fraunhofer FOKUS had been active in the area of content management systems (CMS) in the area of audio-visual content for a number of years before getting involved in the *ethnoArc* project. While this gave us the experience to deal with many of the technical aspects of the project, the audio and visual data we had previously encountered were all associated with commercial recordings (CD, MP3, DVD) and used a small number of standardised or common metadata formats. Compared to this, ethnomusicological content we had to deal in *ethnoArc* was much more complex. Moreover, *ethnoArc* should support multiple content providers with their own structure and language.

While developing the software, a couple of decisions had to be made that influenced technical aspects, based on the specific requirement of ethnomusicological archives.

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In the following sections, we will describe the various issues that were specific to the problem of providing access to multiple ethnomusicological archives in different countries, using different languages and structures. Following the description of the situation at the archives, we describe how these situations influenced the way the *ethnoArc* software was developed and implemented.

COMPLEXITY

While commercial recordings can be described with a limited set of fixed metadata, ethnomusicological content is generally rich in metadata. Recordings are not only accompanied by written annotations, but also by extensive field notes, photographs, other representations (MIDI or musical notations), their relation to travels and other recordings, and similar. For commercial recordings, metadata can usually be arranged in two "flat" sets of metadata, one for the recording itself and one for the data carrier (record or CD), while ethnomusicological data often consists of many small metadata groups with complex relations.

To be able to deal with this metadata, we decided to allow a rather freeform definition of the database structure to be used in *ethnoArc*. While most database structure builders are table oriented, since the resulting structures can easily be matched to SQL tables, this approach tends to encourage users to create a small number of hierarchical tables with a large number of metadata elements per table, regardless of their suitability for the archive and potentially losing metadata relation details.

Our approach was to use a simple element/relation model that could be used to model detailed structures within the metadata as closely as possible, without explicitly or implicitly prompting users to group metadata elements in "flat" table structures.

References with an archive are not always in a strict hierarchy, but may include of cross-references and circular references. Rather than implementing a tree structure and handling such references as special cases, we explicitly allowed our relations to be non-hierarchical and even circular, allowing archives to mirror their existing structures as close as possible.

ACCEPTANCE

An obstacle to acceptance of new database software and structures is the learning effort to get accustomed to a new metadata format and the effort to convert existing metadata into the new format. To reduce that effort, we avoided to force the archives to use a common metadata format, but provided them with the tools to build a metadata structure that mirrored their existing structure as closely a

possibly, thus allowing them to work with structures that they are already familiar with and keeping the conversion effort from existing data minimal.

DIVERSITY

The structures used in ethnological collections often still reflect the interests of the original collector or collectors. While for other types of audio collections, such as broadcasting archives, a common metadata standard can usually be defined (sometimes with a few private extensions to handle unusual metadata types), most ethnomusicological archives only share a few common metadata fields. While a large amount of the underlying information is similar between the archives, their specific representation and their relation to other metadata fields within the archive differs significantly between sites.

Encouraging different archives to a use a common metadata standard is a desirable goal, and recommended for newly acquired content and metadata, but is in many cases not practically attainable for legacy content and metadata. Information may not be available anymore, supplementary information is difficult to fit into pre-defined fields and other fields might require essentially trivial, but time consuming format changes. Additionally, if not used carefully, format changes can create data artefacts, which can be difficult to detect later.

Examples for this are date references. For some recordings only the year (or even an approximate year) is known, while other recordings have detailed information. Thus, many archives have a free-form date field, which is used to copy the handwritten comment on the original info sheet from a field trip. If forced to conform to a fixed date format, information might get lost or invalid information might be added. While not specifically archive related, the use of the MP3 ID3 tag provides a cautionary tale: In the first version of ID3, only recording years could be stored. In the second version, a recording day and month could be added as well. While these were not mandatory fields, a large number of MP3 tools added a day/month tag (TDAT) when creating a version 2 ID3 tag. Since no information about the day was available in the original ID3 tag, the majority of MP3 files now seem to have been recorded on the 1st of January.

While this is often quite irrelevant for commercial audio recordings, the specific date of a recording is important ethnomusicological research topics, especially if they are related to the study of festivals and seasons of the year. Knowing that information is incomplete or even faulty (such as having a comment “I can”t read whether this is a 2 or a 5.”) is more useful than information required to fit a specific format, which may be inappropriate in some cases to represent the original information.

To help archives to cope with such metadata, we avoided strong typing of the metadata fields and allowed text based metadata in all element fields. While this leads to slightly reduced search efficiency, the capability of entering data from paper sources "as is" instead of "as should be" helps preserving the original information and allows commenting.

Additionally, to allow the preservation of the diversity between archives, no fixed pre-defined common or standardized structures have been provided (although archives are encouraged to harmonize their metadata structures and exchange wordlists and thesauri where appropriate).

LANGUAGE

Almost all information is only available in the local language of the archive site. While it would certainly be desirable to have the information available either in either the native language of the researcher or some widely used language (which typically defaults to English for most European applications), this is in most cases impractical. Automatic translation of metadata, especially if they concern lyrics or descriptive texts) is not of sufficient quality to be useful for researchers, so an automatic cross-translation between the archive language and the researcher language is not feasible and while a professional (human) translation of all metadata to English would clearly be beneficial, the cost for this is high and, except for special cases, the effort is not made by archives. This is compounded by the fact that such translation effort provides little additional value for the archives itself. For local users at the archive, the original language is sufficient, so spending money on foreign translations provides no advantages at the archives themselves or for local users.

Approaches have been made, most recently in the MultiMatch project, to use automatic translation tools at least for search phrases. This allows researchers at least to determine whether archives have any metadata related to a specific search phrase, without the need to have a full text translation of either the query or the archive metadata.

In *ethnoArc*, we decided not to use automatic translation tools, partly because this would have used up a significant amount of resources in an area not central to the project and partly because of the work performed in MultiMatch.

To improve access and usability for researchers that are not fluent in the language used by the archive site we required archive to provide a description of the metadata fields in English (not the metadata itself, just the description of the field, such as "This field contains the birth date of the performer of a musical piece."). This helps the researcher in understanding the structure used in an archive and determining whether metadata fields, which relate to the research theme, exist

at the archive at all. Providing such information does not require a large amount of effort at the archive site, since the description only needs to be provided once on definition of the database structure and there is no need to provide translations for individual metadata items.

We also provided specific relations ("AlternativeLanguage") in our database to allow archives to specify metadata in other languages. While this is typically not used for metadata elements that allow free text entry, due to the cost and effort mentioned earlier, it allows archives to provide translations for elements that provide only a limited number of choices, such as type of data carrier, gender of persons or lists of instruments. Similar to the use of English descriptions, the effort of providing English (or other language) alternatives for such lists has to be made only once when setting up the database, so the accessibility for foreign researchers comes with comparatively little cost to the archives.

ACCESSIBILITY

Understanding the metadata structure of an archive can be a daunting task. This is especially true for researchers that are external to the archive. Metadata fields have often cryptic names, sometimes based on a language foreign to the researcher, relations between different tables are only implicit (for example, "PersID" in table "Objects" refers to "ID" in table "Persons") and written documentation of the structure is unavailable.

Since providing access to external researchers was a main goal in the *ethnoArc* project, we addressed this problem in a couple of ways.

The names of elements are not restricted in length or character set, so archives are encouraged to provide meaningful names ("Last name, first name") instead of formats determined by the restrictions on database fields names, which may make the meaning of the field harder to determine (such as naming the field "LaNaFiNa" instead).

Archives are required to provide descriptions of all metadata fields in English, so that researchers not only have the field name as an indication of the meaning of a field, but also a textual description, which, hopefully, includes information about the purpose of the field as well as annotations and remarks about its use.

Relations between elements are explicitly defined in the database description and not just implicitly given by similar names in SQL table elements. This not only allows a researcher to follow the relations between metadata elements, but also allows software tools to determine, use and display the relations. Based on that, the ethnoArc search engine can provide an interactive graphical representation of the metadata structure used by an archive, allowing the researcher to navigate the structure, zoom into areas of special interest, observe the relation between metadata fields and read the additional metadata description for additional help.

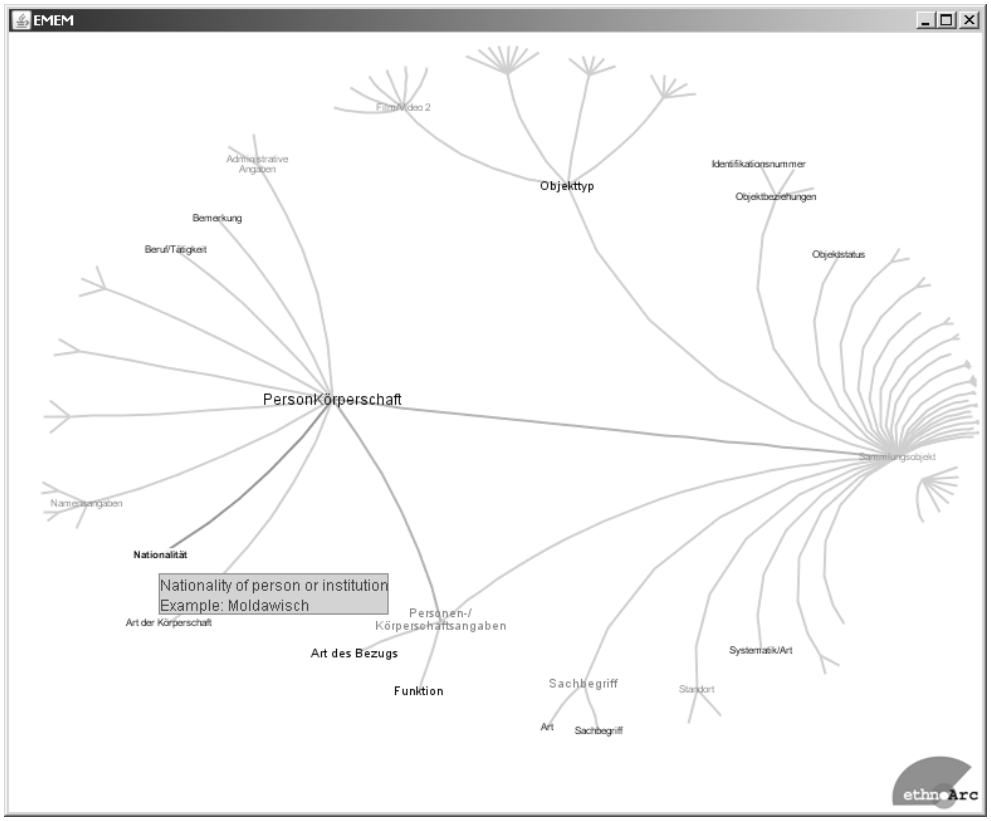

Fig. 1 – Example of metadata structure display.

In addition to displaying the description of a metadata element, an example value is taken from the actual database and presented to the researcher to provide additional information about the purpose of the database field.

IT KNOWLEDGE

Since smaller archives usually do not have a specialised IT department and the computers are often maintained by one of the archivists as a secondary task, we tried to keep the required IT knowledge at a minimum.

To achieve that, we provided as much information and documentation as possible, kept the number of components to be installed small, relied on few standard pre-requisites (mainly Java and mySQL) and designed the system architecture to encourage secure handling of the software.

As an example, for the last point we provided a query server that handles queries from outside the local network of the archive, thereby avoiding the need to

expose outside access to the SQL server. While technically the SQL server can be sufficiently secured to allow remote access directly to the server without compromising site security, this requires a fair amount of IT knowledge, which may not be available at an archive site. Just firewalling the SQL port and installing the ethnoArc query server is easier to achieve at such sites.

While basic IT knowledge for installing and starting software can be assumed for the archives, knowledge of structuring databases cannot be expected. Additionally, the archivists knowing most about the metadata elements and their relations are not necessarily the same people that maintain the computers, software and network.

As a result of this, care has been to keep the metadata structure description as flexible as possible, avoiding restrictions based on technical concerns (such as tree structures), and by having no elements solely needed due to the internal handling of the database (such as index elements or the specification of specific key or index elements) as part of the database specification, allowing the designer of the metadata structure to concentrate of mapping the existing structure as closely as possible, without having to pay attention to additional requirements.

COST

A common problem of all the archives involved was a lack of funding for installing and operating the ethnoArc tools, especially for software coming from a research project and not a commercial provider. While software installations, even test or trial installations, in industrial environments can cost tens of thousands of Euros without causing budgetary problems, to be considered in archives, software must be available at low acquirement and operation cost.

Providing the software resulting from the *ethnoArc* project as OpenSource (and thus free to use) was already part of the original *ethnoArc* project contract and thus given. Put costs are not only created by the software itself, but also from resulting software and hardware requirements.

To keep costs at a minimum, we used only freely available software as a base for our developments. This included mySQL as the database and free software libraries for graph display (hyperapplet), XML parsing (xerces) and the handling of Excel data (jxl). Since all our implementations were based on Java and the database engine is available for all important platforms (Unix, Mac, Windows), *ethnoArc* is essentially platform-agnostic, allowing archives to use their available IT environment. The database is also sufficiently lightweight and efficient, so it can run on any reasonably modern computer as a background process, without impacting resources on that computer significantly, thus allowing the use of any archive PC as the database server and not requiring the purchase of additional hardware.

Another result of keeping the cost low was the implementation of some database tools from scratch. This applies mainly to the data entry tool. While there are numerous libraries for creating entry forms and masks for databases on the market, no suitable tool was available as OpenSource or as a free library. Rather than requiring archives to purchase a runtime licence for such a library, the *ethnoArc* data entry was written without using such a library.

INITIAL SET-UP EFFORT

While operating costs were one of the concerns at the archive sites, set-up costs were another. Even with essentially free software, installing the software, filling the database and evaluating the usability of the software takes up resources and manpower.

While the installation effort can be kept low by using easily installed tools as well as tutorials and documentations and should not take more than a working day, archives need to specify their metadata structure, which can take a fair amount of effort. Evaluating the tools usually also required the conversion of existing data to the *ethnoArc* structure, which requires programming effort, which can often not be provided by the archive itself, usually requiring the hiring of a programmer for about a month.

There is little that can be done about this, since these tasks are archive specific and need to be solved individually for each archive. The only support that can be given is by example. Using the *ethnoArc* tools, a metadata structure description can be from any of the already available archives, which can serve as an example for other archives. Software for importing data from existing database into the *ethnoArc* database is available in source form for the archives involved in the project. While this software cannot be used directly by other new archives, it gives programmers an example on which software for the new archive can be based, avoiding the need to start from scratch and only with the API documentation.

CONTROL

A significant requirement of all archives was the need of keeping control over their own metadata. Any solution that required submitting metadata to a central server was likely to cause acceptance problems. By providing a concept that allowed archives to maintain their databases locally, without a central server, while still allowing researchers to perform queries on multiple archives, we attempted to reduce concerns at the archive sites, while improving researcher”s access to archive metadata.

LONGEVITY

A common problem in projects with a limited time frame (such as the two-year *ethnoArc* project) is the use of the project results after the end of the project. While effort can be spent during the course of the project to create interest in the tools and results, finding funding to promote and maintain the results after the end of the project can be difficult.

The main obstacles to continuous use of project results are running costs, maintenance and single points of failure. After the initial set-up, which is the largest cost for an archive, but occurs only once, the cost of running the server is quite low (see "Costs") above. By releasing the source code on an OpenSource platform that is not connected to the project (BerliOS), the code can be distributed and maintained, even if the original developers should not be available.

Since there is no central server required by the project, archives and researches can continue using the *ethnoArc* tools without concerns about funding a coordinating agency or service provider and without having to rely on specific set of other archives. If, for example, five new archives would adopt the *ethnoArc* tools and two of the original archives would stop using the tools, the usefulness of the tools would not be significantly diminished (except for the incapability to access those two archives). There is no dependency on the continued availability at the original archives (although, of course, the continued use there would be desirable).

It is also relevant that there is no critical mass of archives required to make the tools useful. If software only provides benefits if a large percentage of the targeted institutions make use of the software, that percentage needs to be reached during the course of the project, since the tools will otherwise fall into disuse if they are no longer actively promoted. The *ethnoArc* tools, however, already provide benefits if only one or two archives use them, with increasing benefits due to any additional archive, so the decision of an archive to adopt the software is not depending on the decision of other archives.

COMMUNITY

An issue that has been insufficiently handled in the *ethnoArc* project was the support of user and archive communities. While the issue was discussed early in the project, there was no significant effort spent to support communities of tools users. A related concern was that the support of a user community might introduce a single "contact point" and thus a special node in the distributed system architecture, which was conceptually problematic and might have lead to a "single point of failure" impacting longevity (see section above).

While none of these have been implemented, in hindsight the following should have been provided by the project: a server to store and exchange queries,

allowing researchers to make queries available to other researchers, to document, comment and rate such queries and improve upon existing queries (for example by extending an existing query to include an additional archive). Additionally, some method allowing researchers to annotate the metadata available at the archives would be a useful extension. While providing annotations to a single archive is a reasonably simple extension, a more useful tool would allow researchers to highlight relations between elements from multiple archives and comment on them. However, this function would take significant effort to implement and be difficult to achieve without some sort of central server.

SUMMARY

While the solutions chosen in the *ethnoArc* project are probably not applicable to other projects, the underlying problems that led to these specific approaches and solutions are likely to be similar for other software project in the area of ethnomusicological research and aimed at ethnomusicological archives and should be considered as such when developing solutions for that environment

3. Archives' Points of View

THE GENEVA LEGACY OF CONSTANTIN BRĂILOIU[1]

LAURENT AUBERT

"I do not struggle to perpetuate
this diversity, but to preserve its memory"
(Claude Lévi-Strauss[2])

ABSTRACT

In 1944, Constantin Brăiloiu was appointed by Eugène Pittard, Director of the Ethnographic Museum in Geneva, in order to establish the International Archives of Folk Music (AIMP – Archives internationales de musique populaire). The intention was to gather folk and traditional music from all over the world, including Brăiloiu's own recordings made in Romania. From 1951 until his death in 1958 Brăiloiu also published the *World Collection of Recorded Folk Music*, a series of forty 78 rpm records, which was the first folk music collection of this type ever published under the auspices of UNESCO. AIMP stopped all kinds of activities for about 25 years after Brailoiu's death. However, since 1983, a new team has been working on enlarging their archives and publications, including the contributions of many leading ethnomusicologists. Apart from this activity, a process of digitalization and electronic catalogue of all the archives was also set up in 2005. As the field of the discipline has changed under the influence of modernity and globalization, the question of what to include and what to leave aside is today crucial as far as the purpose of ethnomusicological research, archives and publications is concerned.

I never had the opportunity to meet Constantin Brăiloiu. Indeed, I was a mere child when he died in Geneva in 1958. Some twelve years later, as I was studying ethnomusicology, I heard for the first time about the great Romanian

[1] The French version of this article was published under the title *Brăiloiu revisité. L'héritage genevois de Constantin Brăiloiu* in Aubert, Laurent (ed.), *Mémoire Vive: Hommages à Constantin Brăiloiu*, Collection Tabou, Geneva: Musée d'ethnographie, 2009, p. 87-104. English translation by Catherine Dasen.

[2] Speech given in 1967 to mark the publication of the second volume of *Mythologiques*, quoted by Aude Lancelin, *Le centenaire de Lévi-Strauss. Un Indien dans le siècle*, în „Le Nouvel Observateur", no 2269, May 1st, 2008.

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ethnomusicologist, who, or so said the experts, was and is one of the undisputed masters of the field; even more, he was a classic!

In 1974, as I had recently graduated from the University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland, and was back from my first field work in Nepal, I was, for the first time, hired by the Museum of Ethnography in Geneva. I was asked to update the catalogue of its instrument collection, which included about 2000 objects. During the two years it took to carry out this inventory, I discovered the famous Brăiloiu archives: dozens of metal tins and old cardboard boxes filled with 78 rpm records and wax cylinders, accompanied with a vast number of dusty paper bundles, barely tied with string, so that they would not fall apart when we dared to open the cupboard in which they were stored. These archives were an absolute nightmare for the administrators of the Museum and, periodically, they were moved around the building to provide space for documents which were deemed more important.

When the catalogue update was finished, I suggested to the Museum that I could take a closer look at these archives; but I was told that this was not part of my job description and that in any case they were totally uninteresting. My work was finished and my time in the venerable institution was over; I was warmly thanked for my collaboration and I was again a free man.

Almost ten years later the Museum had changed hands: the new Director, Louis Necker, was a music enthusiast. He had heard about Brăiloiu and was curious about him. He had even read somewhere that Claude Lévi-Strauss judged him to be one of the most intelligent men that he had ever met. He suggested that I come back to the museum to check out all these papers and more officially, that I try to revive the International Archives of Folk Music (Archives internationales de musique populaire, AIMP) established by Brăiloiu, after their twenty-five year slumber.

At that time, we received a letter from Professor Jean-Jacques Nattiez, informing us that he wished to publish, in Montreal, a new edition of Brăiloiu's famous anthology, the *World Collection of Recorded Folk Music (Collection universelle de musique populaire enregistrée)*. Since we owned the rights, he was asking for formal permission, but, as he did not have the necessary funds, he suggested collaboration. The opportunity was too good to miss, so we decided to accept and finally, the first re-edition of the *Collection* was published in Geneva in 1984 as six 33 rpm records completed with many documents and illustrations from the period[3].

The *World Collection* deserves a few words of explanation, as it is, in more ways than one, a synthesis of Brăiloiu's work. In 1943, after 25 years of research in Romania, he was appointed cultural attaché at the Romanian legation in Bern. The

[3] *Collection universelle de musique populaire enregistrée / World Collection of Recorded Folk Music*, set of 6 records 33 rpm, 30 cm, AIMP I-VI / VDE 30/425-430, 1984. Re-edition. (2009) : *Collection universelle de musique populaire / World Collection of Folk Music. Archives Constantin Brăiloiu (1913-1953)*, set of 4 CDs AIMP LXXXV-LXXXVIII / VDE CD-1261-1264.

international situation being more than chaotic at the time, he decided to stay in Switzerland and to settle in Geneva. Having spent part of his youth in the French speaking part of the country, he had maintained strong friendships in the musical world, in particular with conductor Ernest Ansermet and with Samuel Baud-Bovy, then director of the Music Academy and distinguished specialist of Greek folk music. Through him, Brăiloiu met Eugène Pittard, founder and director of the Ethnographic Museum of Geneva. As he knew Romania well – he had published several anthropology books about that country (cf. Pittard 1917, 1920) – and rather liked the man, Pittard recruited Brăiloiu at the Museum and, in 1944, founded with him the AIMP as a non-profit-making organization, associated with the Museum under a special convention.

The AIMP intended to tackle a considerable task, that Brăiloiu defined in the following terms in an article in the shape of a manifesto, published in 1945 in the journal "Musées de Genève":

"The idea is to collect in Geneva, in a laboratory equipped for the purpose, materials that would be in sufficient numbers and quality to allow the study and confrontation of original melodies from all regions of the world.

"By materials, we mean first of all the melodies themselves, kept by the least fallible medium: mechanical recording on disk or film.

"To this 'audible' resource – that will need to be abundant – will be added dictated notations and printed booklets. A variety of documents and pictures (drawings and photos) will clarify and locate the acoustic phenomenon. The rich exotic library of the Ethnographic Museum will likely be extremely useful.

"Furthermore, the Archives will also contribute to the advancement of the discipline they serve, through public events such as meetings and congresses" (Brăiloiu 1945: 3).

Brăiloiu started by donating to the Museum a copy of some of his own Romanian recordings, that he had been wise enough to bring along, then did all he could to expand this collection. At the end of the war, he approached firstly the authorities of various countries with a representation in Switzerland, then the Swiss delegations abroad and international organizations that kept sound archives; the impressive amount of mail from that time shows how determined he was to pursue this project and how successful he was. As he explains himself, he had a triple objective:

"1. Save precious documents.

2. Place in the international scientific circles the materials required for a vast comparative study.

3. Facilitate contacts between countries through folk music[4]".

These three objectives of Brăiloiu are far from insignificant; in fact, as simple as they are, one can even consider them to be a synthesis of the main challenges of

[4] Letter from Brăiloiu to his colleagues, July 1949.

the discipline in our contemporary world: firstly, *emergency ethnomusicology*, which implies preserving the memory of musical expressions from the oral tradition, that are threatened with extinction or radical change in a more or less near future; secondly, *comparative studies* and scientific exchange, that would help bring together the specialists to discuss general themes, while helping them to better communicate the results of their work; and finally *applied ethnomusicology* and what we would today call communication, without which fundamental research and the establishment of archives have little *raison d'être*.

The initiative was successful and in 15 years, the AIMP collected about 250 wax cylinders and over 1300 78 rpm records of music from all over the world, and several hundred hours of recorded tapes, with an impressive written documentation.

But, as already mentioned, Brăiloiu's major contribution while in Geneva, remains the publication of his *World Collection*, the 40 volumes of which were issued between 1951 and 1958. It was the first set of records of this type ever published and it appeared under the auspices of the International Council of Music with the support of UNESCO. But the edition was limited to about one hundred copies, the commercial networks of the time being totally unable to distribute this type of product. It is only with the first re-run in 1984, as six LPs, that a wider distribution of these documents was possible, the oldest of which – the 'briolée aux bœufs', a ploughing song from the Berry region of France, collected by Ferdinand Brunot for the French Archives of the spoken word (Archives de la parole) – dates back to 1913. Thanks in part to the expert help of the ethnomusicologist Gilbert Rouget, who had been a close colleague of Brăiloiu[5], this new edition of his *World Collection* received the Heritage Award of the Académie Charles Cros in 1986, jointly with the edition of Brăiloiu's *Swiss Folk Music (Musique populaire Suisse)* collection, that we published at the same time[6].

A NEW MOMENTUM

This official recognition prompted a revival of the Archives. Therefore, it appeared necessary to resume our ties with Brăiloiu's roots; so my colleagues, Louis Necker, then Director of the Geneva Museum and Bernard Crettaz, curator of the Europe Department, and myself decided to travel to Romania. Despite the bureaucratic difficulties of the time – this was the era of Ceauşescu's rule – we managed to contact the directors of the old folklore institute of Bucharest, then

[5] In particular, Gilbert Rouget compiled and wrote a preface for Brăiloiu's posthumous work, *Problèmes d'ethnomusicologie* (1973; English translation: 1984).

[6] *Musique populaire suisse / Swiss Folk Music. Collection Constantin Brăiloiu*, set of 2 33 rpm records, 30 cm, AIMP VII-VIII / VDE 30/477-478, 1986. New edition. (2009) : *Suisse. Archives de musique populaire. Collection Constantin Brăiloiu (1927-1951)*, CD AIMP LXXXIX / VDE CD-1265, 2009.

renamed Institute for Ethnological and Dialectological research and now called the "Constantin Brăiloiu Institute for ethnography and folklore". There, we met for the first time the ethnomusicologist Speranța Rădulescu, then attached to the Institute. Through her, we discovered Brăiloiu's hidden treasure trove, namely his Romanian archives filed within the Institute, the scale of which was immeasurably greater than the selection that he had taken to Switzerland. With her help, we visited some of the villages where Brăiloiu had done research, in particular in Transylvania, although we could not visit Drăguş, subject of his famous monograph, *Vie musicale d'un village* [The musical life of a village] (Brăiloiu 1960).

Logically, the next step of the "Brăiloiu operation" was the publication of a choice of his field recordings in Romania. After two years of procedures, we were granted the necessary official permissions and had access to the Holy of Holies. Speranța had cleared the ground for us and upon our return to Bucharest, we could tape the recordings that she had picked out and that became the third panel of the triptych: the anthology called *Village Music from Romania* (*Roumanie: Musique de villages*)[7], published in 1989 as a set of three CDs accompanied by a richly documented presentation booklet. This edition presents a selection of recordings that are significant of Brăiloiu's research in three areas of Romania: the Gorj in Oltenia with the village of Runc, the Bucovina in Moldavia with Fundu Moldovei, and the Olt region in Transylvania with Drăguş.

So the resuscitation of the International Archives of Folk Music was done in the purest ethnographic tradition, starting with a tribute to the ancestors, namely the founding father. Then, we set about to carry on Brăiloiu's publishing work, based on criteria that he himself has set and defined as follows: "The Archives do not possess any «arrangements» or harmonization of tunes like the ones usually produced by broadcasters. The Archives only keep strictly scientific documents of folk music without any alteration[8]".

The outline was clear and this still makes sense today, in particular when one considers the changes that occurred in the whole of the world musical traditions these past decades. So I continued that work along the same lines and the 90 CDs published so far in our collection do, I believe, fall within the scope of the scientific framework drawn by Brăiloiu[9]. Moreover, the Archives were completed, after their founder's death, by a vast number of documents; today, there are about 5000 LPs and 45 rpm records, some 6500 CDs and over one thousand recorded cassettes and original tapes, analogical as well as digital, representing music the world over.

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[7] *Roumanie : Musique de villages / Village Music from Romania*, set of 3 CDs AIMP IX-XI / VDE CD-537-539, 1989.

[8] Letter to Giorgio Nataletti, 9 December 1948.

[9] The complete list of these publications can be accessed on the website <www.adem.ch> under the heading CD.

This sound archive appears today as one of the most important in Europe in the field of ethnomusicology, at least as far as the quality and diversity of its contents are concerned. In the 1990s, the issue became how to develop and improve it, considering the advances in technology and broadcasting methods. It became clear that a process of digitization and systematic classification was essential. So the first phase of cataloguing and digital copying on DAT of the 78 rpm records was started between 1997 and 2000, partly with the support of Memoriav, the organization devoted to the safeguard of the audio-visual memory of Switzerland. For lack of funds, the process was then interrupted but it was picked up again in 2005, thanks to a grant from the Suisse Romande Lottery, which supported the appointment of three new specialists, Ignacio Cardoso, Patrik Dasen and Najva Esfahani, whose task it is to complete the computer catalogue and the digitization of the whole audio archive; I take this opportunity to pay tribute to their rigour, patience and devotion: such a painstaking activity is the only way to give these treasures a chance to be known as they deserve.

QUESTIONS ABOUT ETHNOMUSICOLOGY AND ARCHIVING

At present, the work is ongoing, but one can ask what its final purpose is. Should the complete archives be put on-line so that they are accessible to all? While this is technically feasible – museums do this with their collections – the problem here is rather of a legal nature, or more widely it is a question of ethics. On this matter, let us recall Anthony Seeger: "issues of intellectual property […] are too important to be left in the hands of lawyers, indeed they do not come only under the law (what one is allowed to do) but they are also a question of ethics (what one ought to do)" (2007 : 70-71). The present legislation applied in many States allows public archives to be generally accessible, but it does not solve the issue of their potential abuse. Therefore, it appeared that the best solution would be a posting on-line within the scientific community, and the initiative taken by the ethnoArc network[10] emerges as a true pilot project, worthy of follow-up and development.

Another of the questions on the ethnomusicological archives agenda concerns their content. It is an issue we often have to face, on the one hand with field recordings – their technical value and documentary interest are of widely varying quality – and on the other with published materials (78 rpm records, LPs, cassettes, CDs, etc.). Indeed, if we compare them with other such archives, containing more

[10] The *ethnoArc* network, founded in 2005, include the following archives: EMEM (Ethnological Museum-Department for Ethnomusicology, Media Technology and Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv), Berlin; IEF (Institute for Ethnography and Folklore "Constantin Brăiloiu"), Bucarest; ZTI (Institute for Musicology, Hungarian Academy of Science), Budapest; AIMP (Archives internationales de musique populaire), Geneva. Its establishment was supported by the European Commission.

unpublished materials, one of the features of the AIMP is that they contain a majority of "commercial" documents. Apart from the few collections of a scientific nature, that are well documented, we are thus faced with innumerable publication packages, which pose problem because of their musical content, or their uncertain origin, or the paucity or doubtful reliability of the information they provide. The evaluation of the issues raised by these recordings is interesting *per se*, as it raises a fundamental discussion about the scope of ethnomusicology and the limits of this scope. Indeed, if we intend to respect Brăiloiu's criteria, how should we deal with publications such as the following:

– those from amateur sound enthusiasts, often unreliable, full of mistakes and generally insufficiently documented;

– those done in a studio, or generally speaking, out of context, which are anathema to the purists, but that Brăiloiu himself practiced;

– those from formatted folkloric groups which he had automatically rejected from his sphere of interest, but have now acquired an undeniable historical value;

– those issued from urban environments, which have emerged from a tradition but have modernized the form as well as the instruments used, in order to adapt them to the taste and expectations of the city audiences;

– those emanating from migrations, which combine traditional reminiscence and the requirements of a new market;

– those from the so-called fusion music, more or less experimental, more or less commercial, emerging from the gathering of musicians from diverse traditions seeking a new common language;

– and finally, those from the huge field of fusion music, by definition hybrid and multicultural, resorting to the most sophisticated studio technologies to produce a deliberately commercial product for a globalized market.

If we apply Brăiloiu's criteria, it is clear that, as he was saying in 1948, we need to exclude any form of "arrangements" or harmonization of folk music and that our archives should only keep, as he wrote himself "strictly scientific documents of folk music without any alteration[11]. But can anybody show me a single piece of music never altered in any way?" One would need to know how far to go back and what model to use. Indeed, all the recordings in our archives are historically dated and will always reflect only the state of a musical tradition at that particular point in time and the circumstances in which it was captured by the microphone of the sound technician.

The question here is definitely that of the limits we wish to impose to our archives and, as a result, to ethnomusicology itself as a scientific domain. Are we here to judge what is worthy of our consideration or to take note of what exists? As researchers, we can obviously choose our fields, to some extent at least; and the "emergency ethnomusicology" recommended by Rouget should definitely remain

[11] Letter to Giorgio Nataletti, 9 December 1948 (see note 8).

one of our priorities, if only because of the speed and irreversibility of changes affecting any musical tradition today, whatever its geographical origin.

But for an archivist, the issue is a little bit different, since the first requirement of our work is the duty to preserve memory, and that duty entails taking into account all aspects of a legacy, all the traces that were kept, with no consideration for genre or style.

Ghanaian *highlife* and Zairian *rumba* in the 1960s are therefore already an integral part of the history of African music, in the same way as the orchestrated songs of Um Kulthum for the Arabic world, the London *remixes of* Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan for Pakistan or the latest *manele* of Nicolae Guţa for Romania. These types of music may be outside of our priorities, we may not like them, but if we exclude them from our archives, we delete from these cultures the most recent part of their memory and we take what Anthony Seeger calls the risk of "reification of authenticity" (2007: 79), in other words the risk of freezing musical traditions at an artificially determined stage of their development. So, what to do? How can we integrate the evolution of the object of our field? How can we interpret its aspiration to modernity? This is a real dilemma…

The use that could be made of our archives is another question we have to review carefully. Indeed, it is likely that all the managers of musical collections have been approached at one time or another, by visitors wishing to discover a new aesthetic universe, an unknown repertoire – whether they be people with an inquisitive mind, "revivalist" musicians, students looking for references, ethnomusicologists seeking documentation before going into the field or migrants wishing to resume their acquaintance with the culture of their origin. These encounters are always interesting, and seem, in any case, to confirm the importance of our archiving work, by giving it a concrete perspective: what would be the use of archives to which nobody could have access? For example, it is essential that archives be accessible to the populations and communities the music of which they preserve, as Anthony Seeger noted it in an article published as far back as 1986.

But archive documents can also be the subject of illicit or improper use, as many cases have demonstrated. The sampling of bits of recorded music has become common practice in world music, and usually with an absolute disregard for international legislations; several trials have highlighted blatant examples of abuse in that field[12]. But in order for a judicial procedure to happen, one needs a thorough knowledge of the legal framework in which it can occur, as well as the necessary means to proceed, which is rarely the case when the persons who have been wronged do not belong to the society to which the jurisdiction belongs.

As highlighted by Seeger, the solutions of the problems arising from the use of sound archives are different depending on whether we deal with commercial or

[12] See Feld (1996), Zemp (1996) and Aubert (2001: 112-115 [2007: 60-63]).

published recordings, or with unpublished work. The former are in principle protected by laws of copyright that are "reasonably clear, albeit inadequate for the digital age" (Seeger 2007 : 71) and that vary from country to country – in particular as far as older publications are concerned. On the other hand, the problem is more complex when one deals with field recordings and in general, unpublished materials. It is then desirable to establish accurate protocols with the collectors and the performers or the representatives of the communities concerned, at the time these materials are entrusted to the archives. These protocols cover in particular interpretation rights (does the performer possess these rights?), usage rights (has the collector acquired them?), conservation rights (do the archives have them?) and finally broadcasting and publication rights (who do they belong to?). At present, we have to admit that a large part of the documents preserved in our archives find themselves in the vaguest of situations and that this problem is well nigh insoluble in the majority of cases, particularly for the older materials.

CONCLUSION

It appears obvious that the production and the preservation of archives meet a need in our society marked by the acceleration of change and the globalization of markets. Archive materials are valuable because they bear witness and each recording done in the field is, in this respect, unique and irreplaceable. It will not be enough to extend the life of an obsolete tradition, nor will it be able to revive it once it is gone, but it will keep a trace. Nevertheless, that trace is also that of a unique moment, it is the mark of a musical event that happened in a precise place and time, that was never – and never will be – reproduced in exactly the same way.

"We never collect «a song», but only one version of it", wrote Brăiloiu (1979: 84). One must therefore not consider an archive document as a sort of model, an unchanging archetype that can be reproduced as is, but rather as one interpretation of an original that will ever elude us, and the nature of which we will only understand through its variants. Furthermore, if archives do communicate a memory, it is a cold, a frozen memory, that will never replace the warmth of the events it relates and the conviviality it evokes...

So these are some of the questions I wanted to raise concerning archiving. As for what we choose to publish from them, I believe that our selection criteria should really be more selective. A record collection of an ethnomusicological nature should, I think, focus on rare materials, on unrecognized and often threatened music; and the reason for this is not only that they are fragile, but also and particularly because each of these melodies is the bearer of meaning, of emotion and beauty, and as such, it has something to teach us about humanity therefore about ourselves.

Brăiloiu and his contemporaries showed us the way and without them, our field would today be orphaned. But the world has changed and to meet the

challenges of globalization, this ultimate avatar of modernity, as well as the change in musical aesthetics and the cultural standardization it generates, we have few assets apart from the strength of our convictions. It is unlikely that the new tools of memory that are available to us now will save musical practices that fell into oblivion, but they will help us at least to keep a lasting trace of them.

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THE CHALLENGE OF TECHNOLOGY: ETHNOMUSICOLOGICAL ARCHIVES IN THE PAST AND PRESENT

MAURICE MENGEL

ABSTRACT

This article combines the history of ethnomusicological archives with a discussion of technological challenges, past and present. The article highlights the development of the Phonogramm-Archiv in Berlin (now part of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin) situating it in the general development of ethnomusicological archives. The article attempts to explain the importance archives had for the institutionalization of ethnomusicology and why their importance waned in the second half of the 20th century. It also suggests how archives could re-claim some of their importance by making use of the current technological developments related to the Internet. By employing these new possibilities, archives could attract a larger audience and convey ethnomusicological issues to a broader audience.

1. INTRODUCTION

In this article, I attempt to combine two related topics that are – maybe surprisingly – rarely blended in this way: the history of ethnomusicological archives, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, considerations about present challenges and the possibilities ethnomusicological archives face in the light of current technological innovation.[1] Recent writing, both inside and outside of ethnomusicology, has not only focused on technology but also discussed technological implications on an epistemological level with such vigor that it might seem like a completely new topic (e.g. Manuel 1993, Lee 1999, Taylor 2001, Taylor 2002, Lysloff/Gay 2003, Lundberg/Malm/Ronström 2003, Greene 2003, Greene/Porcello 2005). However, this impression is deceptive. Especially with regards to sound archives, discussions of technology and its implications have a

[1] This article is based on a talk given at the Ethnomusicology Archive of the University of California (UCLA) in October 2007. A shorter version of this article was published under the title *Des archives poussiéreuses à l'avenir numérique: Nouveaux défis pour l'ethnomusicologie*, in Aubert 2009.

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long history (e.g. von Hornbostel/Abraham 1975, Brăiloiu 1981) and yet recent discussions have a new quality. They do not simply discuss practical instructions for how to handle recording equipment in the field (e.g. Hood 1971 or Chaudhuri 1992). They do not simply add a moral and ethical layer to the use of technology – something that has been common since at least the 1980s, and rightfully so (e.g. Seeger 1986). They analyze how our knowledge about music is shaped through – maybe even results from – the use of technology in the field and beyond it.

Although many of these new writings deal with technological aspects that clearly concern ethnomusicological archives, such as the phonograph (see Brady 1999), it seems that the archive as an ethnomusicological institution has not been fully re-evaluated in the new context. The present article seeks to remedy this situation.

I begin with a historical section, in which I attempt to describe a more general development of ethnomusicological archives with respect to technology. I focus on the history of the archive that I know best, the Phonogramm-Archiv in Berlin and its successors.[2] In the second half of the article, I turn my focus to the problems and opportunities associated with today's digital archives. By juxtaposing today's technical challenges with past ones, I hope to develop a fresh perspective on archives both in the past and in the present.

2. EARLY ARCHIVES: IN THE TIME OF THE PHONOGRAPH

Since the establishment of the first audio archive in 1899, ethnomusicological archives[3] have seen significant change: in the musics ethnomusicologists decide to study, in the way they conceptualize what they do, and also in the use of technology in recording, storage and delivering content to archive users. On April 27th, 1899, the Phonogram-Archive Commission at the Austrian Royal Academy of the Sciences in Vienna institutionalized a sound archive that aimed to serve the sciences in general – not only ethnomusicology – and that was supposed to collect all kinds of music, as well as languages and recordings of famous people. In Vienna the initiative was spearheaded by the physiologist Sigmund Exner (1846–1926, "Bericht über die Arbeiten der von der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften eingesetzen Commission zur Gründung eines Phonogramm-Archivs" 1900, comp. Graf 1974: 16). Only shortly afterwards, in September 1900, a similar institution was founded in Berlin. Here, the initiative came from Carl

[2] For nearly five years I have worked in the ethnomusicological department of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin, which houses the historic collections of the Phonogramm-Archiv (Ziegler 2006).

[3] Following the usual, yet often implicit, use of the term, I employ "ethnomusicology" in two ways: In a narrow sense it refers to a paradigm that begins around the 1950s as a successor of comparative musicology (see section 2 of this text); in a broader sense "ethnomusicology" refers to several related and similar traditions that include comparative musicology. In the latter sense, I refer to comparative musicology as an early ethnomusicology and the Phonogramm-Archiv in Berlin as an ethnomusicological archive.

Stumpf (1848–1936), then head of the psychological department at Berlin's Friedrich-Wilhelm University[4].

Today, it may seem puzzling that physiologists and psychologists, of all things, should have founded the first sound archives. This development becomes more understandable if one first examines the intellectual and technological situation in academia of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Many of the academic disciplines that today seem self-evident to us, including musicology, physiology and not least psychology, established themselves as autonomous disciplines in the universities only in the 19th century. The traditional discipline for thinking about the mind had long been philosophy, a field that in the 19th century was still largely ruled by idealistic traditions. With successful contributions from the also still-young field of physiology, however, a new approach or methodology for thinking about the mind had gained importance: the scientific experiment, a refreshing alternative to the more speculative idealistic approaches. The works of Ernst Heinrich Weber (1795–1878), Gustav Theodor Fechner (1801–1887) and Hermann von Helmholtz (1821–1894) are considered exemplary for this new direction. These researchers are united by a common interest in the physiology of human organs of perception. Their results were used not only to explain the functioning of the human body, a subject that falls within the classical field of physiology, but also to provide new insights into the functioning of the human mind, the central object of idealistic tradition.

In the field of musical hearing, for example, Helmholtz provided a new foundation with his groundbreaking work, published in 1863 (Helmholtz 1954). The work explores the aesthetics of hearing using experimental methods, although up to this point the topic had been almost exclusively the domain of the idealistic tradition. It is within the positivistic context that comparative musicology establishes itself in Austria and Germany, as well as musicology itself – with a strong emphasis on objectivism and a strong opposition towards methods and techniques that were considered not scientific enough, such as biography (Adler 1885: 5–7, Adler/Mugglestone 1981: 9–10, comp. Mengel 2002: 16–20).

Stumpf used both the results provided by physiologists, such as Helmholtz, and the experimental method to extend this work in his two-volume *Tonpsychologie*, often described as his major work (Stumpf 1965 [1883], Stumpf 1965 [1890]). Here, Stumpf utilizes the same notion of tone that was proposed by Helmholtz, but explicitly attempts to exclude physics and physiology and to extend the psychological research on tone perception:

> "The physicist seeks motives for false judgements only in order to eliminate them; the physiologist is driven by them to speculations about unknown

[4] Stumpf came to Berlin in 1894 to lead the department of psychology. Under his directorship, the department gained the status of a more independent institute in December 1900, shortly after Stumpf made the recordings of the Siamese orchestra (Sprung 2006: 132)

> processes in the brain; but for the psychologist they function essentially in discovering the creation and conditions of judgements" (Stumpf 1965 [1883]: VII)[5].

In this context, Stumpf was naturally interested in the works of Alexander Ellis (1814–1890), an English scholar who had worked on the translation of Helmholtz's *On the sensations of tone*. Ellis also analyzed extra-European tone systems, employing an experimental methodology. The most important result of this work was the conclusion that the diversity of the world's tone systems cannot be explained by a single physical law, a finding which highlighted the human mind's remarkable gift for invention and, by extension, the importance of psychological research (Myers 2001):

> „The final conclusion is that the Musical Scale is not one, not «natural", nor even founded necessarily on the laws of the constitution of musical sound so beautiful [sic] worked out by Helmholtz, but very diverse, very artificial, and very capricious" (Ellis quoted by Graf 1974: 14).

In this field of the natural sciences, the fact that questions concerning both the psychology of perception and the experimental use of the phonograph as a methodology were welcomed – sometimes even enthusiastically – is not surprising. The phonograph, the first device that allowed one to record and to play back sound, was invented by Thomas Alva Edison (1847–1931) in 1877. Using the new device to record American Indians in the Northeast of the United States, Jesse Walter Fewkes (1850–1930) was the first who employed the phonograph in ethnological research[6]. In Germany, Stumpf first employed the phonograph for academic purposes when he recorded an ensemble from Siam visiting Berlin in September 1900. In his corresponding article, Stumpf (1975) analyzes the tone system of this ensemble, a topic that is close both to his previous research on the psychology of the tone and to the work of Ellis.

With the recordings of the Siamese orchestra, the Phonogramm-Archiv was simultaneously founded as a part of the Psychological Institute of Kaiser Wilhelm University in Berlin. In the following years, this institution collected thousands of recordings made with the phonograph, mainly of traditional music from all over the world. The archive in Berlin became the center of the so-called Berlin School of comparative musicology (Simon 2000: 13).

When today one listens to early recordings made with the phonograph, it is sometimes difficult to comprehend the fascination some researchers felt for the phonograph and how they could describe the new device as objective when the

[5] Translation by Emily Schalk, comp. Koch/Mengel 2007: 116–117)

[6] Brady suggests that Frank Hamilton Cushing might have made phonograph recordings before Fewkes in the field, but acknowledges that evidence for this thesis is not compelling (Brady 1999: 2, 56-58).

recording quality is often catastrophic by today's standards. "To our ears, cylinder recordings sound tinny and flat, with a throbbing overlay of high frequency hiss that could never be mistaken for ambient noise", writes Erika Brady (1999: 37). Although the machine did not replace the essentially subjective tasks of transcription by ear and by hand, it facilitated those transcriptions and made them more easily verifiable. Overall, three of the phonograph's features seem most important in this context:

(1) As a machine, it eliminates the subjective element in recording and is in this sense objective. This feature is often mentioned in the contemporary discourse while the distorting features of the recording device, such as its limited capacity to record soft instruments, are usually not mentioned.

(2) To a certain degree, the phonograph possesses the ability to repeat the same performance. Of course, this ability is limited to the auditory part of the performance, yet before the invention of musical automata, works could only be repeated in multiple performances. In this sense, the phonograph and subsequent recording technologies popularized a completely new cultural technique. Therefore it seems not too far-fetched to maintain that the phonograph influenced even the development of the concept of performance in the 20th century.

(3) Through its ability to record a performance, the phonograph enables the conservation of ephemeral sound events which hitherto had been bound to specific times and places. It thereby allows one to study sound removed from the actual situation in which the recorded sound was produced. This third feature allows the separation of recording in the field from the analysis in a relatively controlled environment, that of the archive. In this sense, the archive can be said to resemble the laboratory situation in the natural sciences.

Removing the sound from its original place and time also enabled the division of labor which allowed the archive in Berlin to grow so quickly. Various travelers – researchers sent on field trips by the Ethnological Museum, but also missionaries and other persons usually having no special education in music – used the phonograph to record music in all regions of the world. They sent their recordings to Berlin where they were analyzed by researchers in the archive. From 1901 to 1933, these analyses were carried out mainly by Erich M. von Hornbostel (1877–1935, comp. Simon 2000: 26–31).

Another reason for the rapid growth of the Berlin archive was that Hornbostel had introduced a new way of copying the fragile cylinders by galvanization. Other collectors and archives often simply connected two phonograph machines to copy from one to another acoustically. The problem of making copies had also been discussed in Vienna as the main shortcoming of the phonographic technology since the foundation of the Viennese archive (see "Bericht über die Arbeiten der von der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften eingesetzen Commission zur Gründung eines Phonogramm-Archivs" 1900) and led to modifications of the phonograph machine used by the Viennese archive. Hornbostel's approach was successful in

the sense that the copies had a high quality and could be recorded and played back by normal (unmodified) machines. As a result, researchers from many parts of the world sent their collections to Hornbostel so that he might have them copied. Often the copies of the collections remained in Berlin.

In the framework of comparative musicology, the recorded material was mainly analyzed in a universalistic paradigm. Especially in Berlin, where research was strongly rooted in psychology, the aim was to gain knowledge on *the* music of mankind. The aim was not to learn as much as possible about a specific music culture. Instead, the examples served more as illustrations of the universal human ability to make and comprehend music. A case in point would be the already-mentioned ability to employ a diversity of tone systems. This universal approach finds its physical correspondence in the archive that strives to collect recordings from all over the world in one place. The comparative research of the time is also universal in its search for universal representations of music, a search that was carried out in at least two ways: by a standardized way of transcribing music (comp. von Hornbostel & Abraham, 1986), as well as by developing a set of analytical terms such as melody, tone system, scale, fundamental note, etc., that are derived from European music theory, but considerably generalized and tested on extra-European examples.

At the time, the users of early ethnomusicological archives were almost exclusively academics. This is demonstrated, to give only one example, by an article which calls for public support for the Berlin archive (Stumpf 1908). In this setting it should be Stumpf's interest to appeal to as many people as possible, yet he limits his long list of possible uses of the Phonogramm-Archiv to academic purposes. He enumerates a wide array of scientific questions that can be answered by the material in the archive and an impressive number of academic disciplines that can profit from the recordings in the archive. However, Stumpf does not mention non-scientific uses, such as the education of the public or the value of the recordings for those people who have been recorded, both important uses for archives in the present.

Stumpf's choice to limit the intended audience of the Phonogramm-Archiv to exclusively academic users might be explained by the fragility of the recordings. Due to the needle cutting into the wax, cylinders could not be reproduced without considerable deterioration. The copying of cylinders was always difficult, labor intensive and expensive. Therefore, the playing of the cylinders generally had to be limited to important occasions.

From the institutionalization of the first sound archive in 1899 through the phonographic age until shortly after the 1945, when tape machines quickly gained in importance, early ethnomusicological archives such as the Phonogramm-Archiv in Berlin were important factors in the institutionalization of a new kind of professional discourse on music, including those of comparative musicology in Berlin or *folclor muzical* in Bucharest (Mengel 2007: 147–149). As Sabina Ispas

points out, archives have not only been instrumental in the institutionalization of ethnomusicology, but also for other disciplines which are occupied with oral cultures (Ispas 1994: 88). It would be interesting to see how this interdisciplinary interest in archives manifests itself in the various discisplines that rely on archives. Here, I have outlined how technological developments and the history of ideas in the broader field of academic disciplines influenced the new discipline and, to some extent, determined the way the Phonogramm-Archiv in Berlin operated. It seems, indeed, that the idea of the archive and that of the phonograph as an objective recording machine are so closely connected to each other that ethnomusicological sound archives continued to be associated with this early phase, even when the discipline underwent considerable change after World War II. I will now go on to explain how the archive lost its central position in ethnomusicology and began instead to stand for an obsolete research paradigm in the decades after 1945.

3. DINOSAURS IN AGE OF ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

After the Second World War, a paradigm shift occurred: the universal and comparative paradigm was replaced by a particularistic one that essentially is still in place today. In the new paradigm, an intensive description of individual music cultures stands in the foreground. This development is indicated primarily by the introduction of a new term for the discipline: "ethnomusicology", which became widely used since Jaap Kunst employed it in his overview of the discipline (Kunst 1950). The concept of a universally-applicable grid of representations, such as transcription or a universal musical terminology, lost importance. In the 1960s, positivistic language and ideals were still in place, as can be seen by the interest in the melograph, a transcription machine, or by Alan Lomax's cantometrics project, but they are in decline.

In Germany after the Second World War, Kurt Reinhard (1914–1979) embodied the new direction of ethnomusicology. After the war, he became the head of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv and restructured it. Under his leadership, the archive was given a new name due to the demise of phonograph technology, and he initiated a collection of musical instruments[7]. Before the war, he had earned his doctorate with an analysis of a cylinder collection from Burma in the style of comparative musicology (Reinhard 1939), but his works after the war comply with the new paradigm which emphasized fieldwork, cultural relativism and the analysis of culture-specific concepts on music. Starting in the 1950s, Reinhard conducted several intensive field trips to Turkey and his writings on Turkish music express an esteem for this culture that would have been impossible in the framework

[7] In subsequent years the department was renamed several times. Today, it is officially called the "Department for Ethnomusicology, Media-Technology and Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv".

of the objectivist writings of earlier times (comp. Reinhard/Reinhard 1984a, Reinhard/Reinhard 1984b).

The implementation of the tape machine after the Second World War considerably improved more than just the recording quality. Perhaps a more decisive development for archives is that sound recording became considerably easier to handle. Field workers were less dependent on technical experts in archives to ensure the conservation of the material. Finally, copies could be made by laymen. With the implementation of the particularistic paradigm, it also became less important to collect and store as many recordings from as many cultures as possible in a single location.

Of all the changes that weaken the position of archives, however, the most momentous development is that fieldwork became ubiquitous and crucial in the new paradigm of ethnomusicology. The intensive knowledge of a single music culture aimed at in the particularistic paradigm requires a long and intensive stay in the field where, if possible, the local language is to be acquired. With this concept, ethnomusicology incorporates a methodology developed in cultural and social anthropology since the time of Franz Boas (1858–1942) and Bronislaw Malinowski (1884–1942). Fieldwork also implies that the stay in the field and the subsequent analysis and interpretation are no longer carried out by separate individuals, but by the fieldworker himself or herself. Correspondingly, the division of labor that was mainly responsible for the rapid growth of the archive in Berlin is abolished after 1945. From now on, recordings are mainly made by trained ethnomusicologists[8].

The data gained by fieldwork also differs significantly from that acquired through the older research methods. While in practice, cylinder recordings contain only what can be heard on them – sound – musical phenomena can be experienced and described in a more comprehensive way in the context of fieldwork. In particular, the behavior and interactions of the agents involved in musical praxis as well as their concepts concerning music and the sounding product can be described. A. P. Merriam (2000 [1964]) represents this approach, which shows a close affinity to cultural anthropology. It has been especially influential in North American ethnomusicology up to this day[9].

In the framework of the new emphasis on fieldwork, sound recordings are still important, but gain additional value in conjunction with information about the non-sounding features of a music culture. To a certain extent musical ethnography replaces archival collection as the principal medium of ethnomusicological

[8] Of course, researchers in the time of comparative musicology also occasionally conducted field trips and, less often, more intensive stays in the field. Whether these early researchers can or should be classified as armchair ethnomusicologists is not a question I am inclined to discuss here. Instead, I simply argue that fieldwork was not considered a necessity in the paradigm of comparative musicology.

[9] One could go so far as to see a parallel between the older psychological interests of comparative musicology and Merriam's interest in concepts (Koch/Mengel 2007: 121–122).

research. This may be a reason why archives generally welcomed the introduction of video technology when it became affordable in the 1980s. The archives seemed to hope that, in using video documents, they would no longer be limited to the audible part, but could finally also document more of the non-sounding dimensions of music.

Between 1945 and approximately the 1980s, many ethnomusicological archives indeed collected music principally through audio recordings. In the music archive of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin, for example, only so-called music pieces were archived when copying the original tapes of the collector. Other parts of the recording, such as speech, noise, or interviews, were mostly excluded.

During this time, the archives advised researchers again and again to prepare for their field trips with archival research and to compare their recordings in the field to those already archived (Nettl 1964: 17). If one reads this repeated advice today, it appears just as helpless as do the likewise often repeated requests for fieldworkers to deposit their material in archives. Evidently, it had become more difficult to convince fieldworkers to use archives. Before World War II, collectors were often not music specialists. Either they easily gave their recordings to the Phonogramm-Archiv in Berlin, or they were more or less forced to do so in order to preserve the fragile recordings. These reasons no longer applied automatically in the age of the tape machine, however.

Only in the 1980s can one observe a considerable change in this more peripheral position of the archive, in which it still draws on the glory of the phonographic era. The growing importance of archives was achieved not only through the aforementioned introduction of video technology, but also by the opening of the archives for new user groups and a new interest in ethics, sometimes summed up under the term post-colonialism. Anthony Seeger (1986), for example, explicitly demands opening the archives to those people whose music they hold. In this context, he also suggests that archives come to terms with the often colonial contexts in which many recordings were made and came into their collections. Recent discussions on repatriation and restitution in museums and other memory institutions show that this topic is still important today. In this view one sees a moral and ethical turn which characterizes ethnomusicology at large during this period.

In Germany, Artur Simon, then head of the music archive in the Ethnological Museum, likewise opened the archive for new users – not so much by inviting non-scientific users into the archive, but by publishing archive collections in books and well-documented LPs and CDs that were aimed not only at specialists, but also the interested layman. Concerts of traditional music in the museum, organized by Simon in the time before the world music boom of the 1980s, had a similar effect. In activities like these, one of the imperatives was to demonstrate the complexity and value of other musical traditions. In this sense, Simon's activities were a part

of the same moral and ethical trend that stood behind Seeger's appeal to open the archives to non-academic users.

4. CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE DIGITAL AGE

Presently, ethnomusicological archives stand before a new challenge: a digitization which encompasses all classical archive operations from collecting to storage, preservation and information retrieval. In many areas, but not all, this change has been brought about or stimulated by the Internet and its success in the last decade. What makes this technological change so influential is that it has not remained a matter of specialists, but has changed the lives and habits of a broad public nearly worldwide. It seems hardly exaggerated to speak of a media revolution in this context.

For ethnomusicological archives and other memory institutions, such as libraries, museums, and archives in general, digitization has resulted in manifold changes. Some of these changes are already quite old, such as the introduction of the CD as the first widely popular digital sound carrier in the year 1982; others might seem insignificant, such as the success of E-Mail in the 1990s which since then has transformed most professional communication. In the following section, I will concentrate on some of the consequences of digitization in this broad sense, consequences which often originate from outside the realm of ethnomusicological archives, but which potentially indicate what will yet occur within them.

For quite some time now, most important research libraries have employed digital online databases for their catalogues in the form of Online Public Access Catalogues (OPACs). Individual libraries formed networks to reduce costs by collaborate cataloguing and to offer their users more convenient means of accessibility. A successful example is the Online Computer Library Center (OCLC) that works since its foundation in 1967 in this area. Today, this trend towards creating networks has extended to include different kinds of memory institutions, also including museums and archives. Two such projects currently underway are Europeana, which aims to provide access to Europe's cultural heritage, and the World Digital Library (WDL) under the lead of the Library of Congress, which is a similar project with worldwide scope[10]. These initiatives are intended to provide a user-friendly gateway to cultural heritage – not only catalogue information, but also the content itself. Google, to name an example out of the commercial sector, invests intensively in the digitization of books and contributes to the World Digital Library as well.

In the domain of cataloguing, automatic indexing might gain in importance in the future. During the last decades, discussions around this keyword all too often

[10] Both, Europeana (http://www.europeana.eu) and the World Digital Library (http://www.worlddigitallibrary.org) hope to present a first prototype during 2008.

have stimulated hopes that were consequently disappointed. Meanwhile, however, the logarithms developed for music information retrieval are no longer limited to representations of audio, such as MIDI or musical notations, but are able to operate on digital audio information directly. Some applications, such as fingerprint mechanisms and melody recognition, are already in commercial use, if mostly outside of ethnomusicological archives. For instance, the open-content music project MusicBrainz[11] employs a fingerprint technology for the identification of commercially released tracks and albums. This acoustic fingerprint service was developed by the Predixis company (now MusicDNS) and is used to identify mp3 files in the context of MusicBrainz. The identification does not check if two files are simply identical. This could be done using standard non-audio-specific procedures involving checksums (such as MD5). Instead, the algorithm attempts to recognize different mp3 files of the same musical recording – e.g. those with different resolutions or created with different encoders. In these scenarios, the files are not identical although they practically contain the same content (are made from the same source). MusicBrainz currently works with satisfying results for commercial recordings. However, without alterations the procedure would not work well enough if applied to original recordings typically found in ethnomusicological archives. Automatic identity checks for ethnomusicological archives are currently under development, e.g. by the Witchcraft project[12]. Another area that could facilitate accessibility in ethnomusicological archives is based on automatic similarity checks. In the commercial sector they are currently used, for example, to suggest customers products similar to those they bought already. In an archive context, it could be an interesting feature to allow researchers to query for similar materials.

In the long run, ethnomusicological archives will be able to make use of automatic cataloguing, as suggested by Proutskova (2008) to improve cataloguing and reduce costs. It would be, however, exaggerated to expect too much of these processes, at least in the short run. The algorithms currently under development will not recognize higher-level features such as those categories used traditionally by musicologists (key, specific rhythmic patterns, or even music genres) any time soon, at least not for the diverse styles of music stored in ethnomusicological archives and not without a high investment in more research. Contextual information, such as the place of recording and the names of contributing persons, cannot be expected anyways from automatic indexing. In spite of these obvious shortcomings, it is encouraging that researchers in music information retrieval are showing a growing interest in ethnomusicological archives.

Another feature that has the potential to substantially enrich existing catalogue information in the future is user-generated content. In the context of

[11] http://musicbrainz.org/
[12] http://www.cs.uu.nl/research/projects/witchcraft/

discussions around the buzzword Web 2.0, many interactive approaches where Internet users often contribute voluntarily and generate or comment on existing content have proved successful in recent years. The best-known example of for user-generated content is probably Wikipedia. Equally interesting is a procedure sometimes referred to as social tagging, wherein Internet users provide labels called "tags" to describe resources on the Web. For social network sites, such as MySpace, social tagging has proved to be a successful method to index huge amounts of data. Attempts to transfer this paradigm to the cultural heritage domain look promising[13]. It is unlikely, however, that social tagging or other user-generated content will ever replace the traditionally maintained knowledge created by specialists in the archive, but the successful examples show that user-generated content can complement such traditional knowledge systems. For ethnomusicological archives, such a method may help to fill in gaps in the existing documentation and to strengthen the archive's contact with its users, who in many cases know more about the collections than do the people in the archive. User-generated content could also be a way to incorporate the voices of those communities whose recordings are stored in the archives, one of the central concerns of the 1980s.

Digitization also has the potential to change the ways in which archives make the documents in the archive – audiovisual or otherwise – accessible. The examples from adjacent fields, such as the music industry, illustrate that digitization can challenge traditional means of distribution. Digital technologies, such as mp3, Napster and the iPod have recently transformed established distribution strategies. For some years now, the sales of online music downloads have been increasing, while the sales of CDs decrease. On this basis, the end of the CD has already been announced, maybe a bit prematurely.

To conclude, digitization is no longer limited to simply collecting digitally-born documents or to transferring analogue holdings into a digital form. Digitization also includes the use of digital catalogues and the providing of access by digital means and, thus, relates to all of the traditional key domains of archives: collecting, preservation, research and accessibility. The fundamental discussions about whether digitization would come or not have long been concluded. Today, basic technologies for all essential tasks of the digitization process are available, although rarely are they in a state in which they can be applied easily and cost-effectively by medium-size and small archives, such as most ethnomusicological institutions. A new report on the costs of digital long-term storage, for example, concludes that it is possible to preserve digital data in the long-run, but that the costs will not allow the preservation of as much data as in the analogue age[14].

[13] Comp. Steve, the museum social tagging project (http://www.steve.museum).

[14] This calculation includes constantly falling prices for hard disks, see Richard Wright 02.03.2007: 22. See also Sound Directions project (http://www.dlib.indiana.edu/projects/sounddirections/) or Danielson/Gordon 2008.

Today, most ethnomusicological archives are still a good step away from having digitized either a majority of their collections or the whole work-flow from collecting to information retrieval. Digitization of the collections has been started almost everywhere, but not many archives have digitized more than half of their collections. Most archives today use electronic databases for cataloguing, but rarely do they make these available online. If they do, they often present only rudimentary information. Only a few archives take part in the few existing networks. Such networks, if expanded, could enable archives to operate more efficiently by sharing common tasks, for example by collaborative cataloging; they would also improve information retrieval for the user. For the archives, collaboration could also facilitate access to the much-needed specialized expertise in digital technologies, a prerequisite for successful digitization. Although currently a priority of funding agencies, online delivery of the actual documents stored in the archive – audiovisual documents, notations, texts or other materials – is currently rare (comp. *ethnoArc* 2007).

The reasons why ethnomusicological archives are relatively slow in adopting the new technologies are manifold. Many of these archives do not possess the necessary personnel or financial means to invest in new technologies. Another limiting factor is a lack of professional expertise in the still young and emerging field of digital technologies. Furthermore, it can hardly be overstated that up to now digitization usually means additional work. A noticeable improvement of efficiency will only be reached if a large proportion of the archive material is available digitally and the whole workflow, from collecting to information retrieval, is conducted digitally.

5. ONLINE RESOURCES FOR TOMORROW

The crucial question today seems to be how to employ the Internet to offer better access to the documents stored in the archives. Traditionally, delivery of content required a potential user to visit the archive physically. Archives have long offered to copy archive materials for archive users when allowed by copyright legislation and other constraints. Another traditional mode of making archive materials available has been the publishing of catalogues, CDs and other, usually well-documented books or audiovisual media. The Internet potentially provides a means to replace such publications. For instance, catalogues describing each item in a collection are relatively expensive to publish in paper form, particularly if one includes the costs for corrections and updates in subsequent editions. In contrast, online equivalents are easy to update. Therefore, they even encourage publication in parts, substantially reducing the time until first results can be made public – an interesting feature considering the increasing pace of our communication society.

At present, ethnomusicological archives rarely publish new products in a digital form for download only, instead preferring CDs. Apparently, online

distribution is still perceived as a new medium which does not yet reach the archives' target audiences, but online sales could already be attractive for some publications such as the back catalogue, both to keep older recordings available and to increase or facilitate worldwide distribution. In the future, exclusively online products might become more interesting to archives for the release of short-run editions, where the production costs for CDs are relatively high. Online products can be created faster and with lower costs, so they may eventually allow the archives to publish more content. This is, however, a new territory for many archives, not only for technological reasons, but also because archives then would act in an international terrain traditionally dominated by publishing houses, record companies, and broadcasting services.

Although it now seems only a matter of time until more such publications will be available via online platforms such as *iTunes*, the publishing of a few selected and annotated archive documents is something different from providing online access to large numbers of archive documents, or even the whole archive on web. This topic, in particular, is currently met with great concern on the part of the archives, and for comprehensible reasons.

Considering that the main tasks of an archive are to preserve the documents in the archive and to make them accessible, these new technologies, which promise to provide easier access, should generally be welcomed. Yet the situation is not so easy. Besides the technical or organizational challenges, another crucial obstacle lies in the complex legal situation. After a succession of changes in copyright legislation, even those archives which in the past obtained the necessary rights and contracts for the use of the archive materials might need to obtain new contracts if they want to make their materials available online in any form. For ethnomusicological archives this process can be especially time-consuming, if, for instance, the involved composers and performers live in the less developed parts of the world and are difficult to contact. Yet Smithsonian Folkways and the Smithsonian Global Sound initiative have shown that this is possible (Seeger, 1992). Recent copyright initiatives now also suggest that the situation of orphan works might improve (EU report).

Ethnomusicological archives also collect material that was never meant for a large audience. Typical examples include ceremonies which are secret within their own cultures. Such recordings should not be made freely accessible because, among other reasons, this would violate agreements between the performers, collectors and the archives. As a consequence of these considerations, archives need to consider the legal and moral situation of each collection, often even each individual document of the collection. They may need to contact the people on the recordings or their relatives before any decision can be made.

Next to these objective reasons which speak against making whole archives available online, there seem also to be less well-founded arguments – usually psychological ones – that hinder archives from actively pursuing better online

access for their users. Apparently, archives fear falling into oblivion once their collections are completely available online. Although this fear is not completely without basis, it seems unlikely that archives will substantially lose influence once they provide the service they are meant to provide to larger audiences than ever before. Also, experience shows that those who possess the original documents always possess extra knowledge that is not incorporated into any database, and they will therefore always be needed. But without doubt, providing many documents online would result in a profound change of day-to-day operations. Physical visits to the archive might decrease, but E-Mail inquiries could increase, for example.

It might be helpful to look briefly at two projects which already offer a large amount of content online. For one, the Cylinder Preservation and Digitization Project at the University of California in Santa Barbara[15] provides free online access to audio tracks in high quality. They mainly provide popular music where composer and performer rights have expired.

In contrast to this, Smithsonian Global Sound[16] preserves and disseminates traditional music and other world music on a commercial basis. Individual users can purchase single tracks or whole albums, and by subscribing, institutions such as universities, libraries or conservatories can provide their users with access to the material. Today, Global Sound is widely used for teaching in the US and other countries. It is exemplary in rights management, which results in the paying of part of the revenues to the artists involved (Seeger 1992).

It is likely that archives will provide more content online before long. One of the reasons will be that, in the still-increasing pace of communication, the danger exists that archives will only be visible if they represent themselves appropriately on the Internet. The questions of in which way exactly and under what conditions online content will be published in the future seem less easy to answer. Currently, there are at least three different models that all are likely to stay with us: (1) free online access for content where rights have expired and the ethical situation allows this, or for content that is produced directly with the aim of displaying it online and where necessary rights are available; (2) online downloads for individual tracks and albums; and (3) subscription services.

It is to be expected that the psychological barriers will start to fall as soon as high-quality services, such as Global Sound, become more widely used, but change will not happen overnight. The legal framework alone will prevent archives from making large quantities of audio and audiovisual content available in a short time, and archives need time to accumulate the new technological and legal skills required to face the new challenges. Digitizing the whole work-flow in a medium size archive usually requires several years.

[15] http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu
[16] http://www.smithsonianglobalsound.org/

In return, however, the technologies available today enable archives to complete the process begun in the 1980s: opening the archives for non-scientific users and uses. A special focus should be the communities whose music lies in the archives. Up to now, many of them did not have the financial means necessary to travel to the archives and use them. The Internet offers better accessibility for communities geographically remote from the archives.

If they follow this probably trajectory, ethnomusicological archives might experience a renaissance within the discipline. They will not acquire the central position they had in the early days of ethnomusicology as centers of research, but they still might engage in important research that archive related topics, such as copyright, technology or the decolonization of the archives. Additionally, they also might well serve as institutions which carry results of research outside of the ivory tower and reach a wider public. Such a change in focus would benefit not only the archives themselves, but also ethnomusicology as a whole. Instead of ivory towers, the archives could then serve as lighthouses, attracting the attention of non-specialists and guiding them through the complex waters of the world of music.

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FOLK MUSIC ARCHIVES ON THE WAY OF BECOMING PUBLIC

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ABSTRACT

The Folk Music Archives at the Institute for Musicology (ZTI) preserves circa 18,000 hours sound recordings of folk music and audiovisual recordings of folk dance, including the phonograph cylinders of the Museum of Ethnography, the majority – about 70% (12,000 hours) – digitized. One of the most important tasks – beside the proper storage and retrievability – is to enter the data about field collections and sound recordings into a computerized database. This work began in the early nineties with the data processing of the closed and the so-called historical systems separated from the rest of the material, then after the unification of the earlier data input methods, in 1999 we created an interactive and dynamic Internet website-system that provides a database in which the main types of old Hungarian folksongs are searchable by their musical attributes and acquisitional and geographical details. The database system developed especially for folklore archives (Folklore Archiving System) is integrated with a thesaurus, a hierarchical structure of keywords which is maintained by the cataloguists themselves. The metadata system uses innovative features to allow high level, realistic cataloguing. As a result of recent developments, there are several interfaces to provide access to different subcollections of the database through the Internet or provide access points to external systems such as ethnoArc. The uploading of different part-units and part-databases has started with the Bartók-system, and we aim at making the whole collection available to researchers and for the general public as well. ZTI's database system aims detailed, scientific level of metadata processing while providing convenient search tools for both scientific users and the greater public.

The Folk Music Archives at the Institute for Musicology (ZTI) was officially established on January 1, 1999. Naturally, however, the Folk Music Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences has had a technical department since the very beginnings (1951) and continued work under the auspices of the Institute for Musicology which was created through the merging of the Bartók Archives and the Folk Music Research Group. The archive housing sound recordings of folk music and audiovisual recordings of folk dance has been systematically set up and has won outstanding renown in Europe. The sound recordings of the Archive

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include 18,000 hours of music, 15,000 hours of which are the Archive's own recordings, that is, the source materials can also be found here, and the remaining 3,000 hours are made up of copies of recordings stored in other archives. The latter include the phonograph cylinders of the Museum of Ethnography, which are available both in analogue and digital form in our Archive. The majority of the sound recordings, about 70% (12,000 hours) have already been digitized.

Naturally, proper storage and retrievability of data are an integral part of archiving. Thus, another important task is to enter the data about field collections and sound recordings into a computerized database. Following the initiative of Ferenc Sebő the computerized registry of the folk music collection of ZTI began in the early nineties under the guidance of László Dobszay. The electronic data-processing of the closed and the so-called historical systems separated from the rest of the material took place within the frames of this work. From the mid-'90s István Pávai suggested the unification of the earlier data input methods and their conversion to an up-to-date database. These steps were taken soon. With the help of a competition in 1999 we created an interactive and dynamic Internet website-system that provides a database in which the main types of old Hungarian folksongs are searchable by their musical attributes and acquisition and geographical details. The capacity of data-processing systems and the possibilities of computerized immediate display of different media have grown remarkably in the last decade. This extensive technical development makes it possible that earlier independent databases of part-repertories be joined, and data be supplied with the playing of the media attached to them.

The software development that began in the first years of the new century on the basis of István Pávai's plans served this purpose. As a result we now have a database management system at our disposal. The system was developed especially for folklore archives (Folklore Archiving System), and the uploading of different part-units and part-databases has started. Since the Bartók-system's was the most detailed upload that was conducted in the '90s and we succeeded in digitizing the record cards, the Folk Music Archive had the chance to first publish the Bartók-system online from its collection (http://db.zti.hu/br). Similarly to the Bartók system we aim at making the whole collection available to researchers. The website will only differ from it in that the restricted parts of the collection will not be accessible from the web. We are able to provide filtered data from the subcollections and present the material in keeping with the different classification systems.

ANTECEDENTS AND ASPECTS OF THE FOLKLORE ARCHIVING SYSTEM

When István Pávai started to work for ZTI (1994) he continued work on the cataloguing of the Bartók System and the System of Folk Song Types with Ferenc

Sebő and Pál Richter. Both systems are so called logical (music) file systems. The computer database for the sound archives has been developed by a team led by István Németh. Realizing that the two tasks needed to be coordinated Pávai suggested that the work of the two teams be harmonized, however, this took several years of preparation due to the abundance of data, inaccurate data entry, the incompatibility of fonts from various periods and an incongruence among the fields of individual databases.

In the meantime, under the leadership of István Németh digitisation of the sound archives and saving the material onto CDs began. When deputy director of ZTI, Tibor Tallián made an invaluable contribution by applying and winning grants to fund the project, and later as director, he established the Folk Music Archives and asked Pávai to work for ZTI full-time and be the head of the archives.

In parallel, in the Hungarian Heritage House (HH) the László Lajtha Folklore Documentation Centre was established to make recordings of folk music and folk dance accessible to the public, a duty that had earlier been performed by the Resource Centre for Folk Dancers. The two institutions (ZTI and HH) were to have two distinct functions; the Folk Music Archives of ZTI, the central archives of Hungarian folk music, acquired all the existing records, whether original or digital copies, whereas the Folklore Documentation Centre of HH was to make a limited number of copies accessible to the general public for educational and cultural purposes. The legal predecessors of the two institutions had a long history of cooperation, thus, it is expected that collaboration between the legal successors will be equally fruitful.

Recordings were archived in a form that was durable and ensures data integrity granted by the technical and financial resources in a given period. At the same time, separate copies were made for researchers and for the general public, which may be used without corrupting the archive copy.

The earlier, off-line procedure of retrieving the material was to find the call number of the recording in the card catalogue, find it in the archives shelves and play the selection on a sound system. In contrast, users are rewarded by a video tape with a two-hour movie for the time spent on searching in the rental shop. Whether examining folk music from a scientific, educational or cultural aspect, users are dealing with a set of melodies scattered among several different types of media, therefore, the time spent on trying to find them greatly increases.

Computer databases, on the other hand, offer a time efficient alternative, however, they necessitate a digitalization of the entire collection, creating archive copies, good quality compressed copies, a thematic structuring of the database, a thematic segmentation of the media, and defining the algorithms for indexes and retrieval. Naturally, a central server is also required which can be accessed by client systems.

The development of information technology, especially the possibility of media processing on low cost hardware called for the creation of a multimedia

database system, which serves as a well organised and detailed database for the metadata and provides instant access to the multimedia content as well.

ZTI's database system aims detailed, scientific level of metadata processing while providing convenient search tools for both scientific users and the greater public.

The system is integrated with a thesaurus, a hierarchical structure of keywords which is maintained by the cataloguists themselves. The thesaurus also serves as a structured view of parts of the folklore science applicable for the media content. Each branch has at least one descriptor (the "official" keyword) and can have multilingual synonyms (alternative notations). In addition, horizontal relations can be set up between branches, allowing search results to be extended. Due to the multi-hierarchical features, the same term can appear at different branches, therefore cataloguing and search functions can be performed in different thematic ways.

The metadata system uses innovative features to allow high level, realistic cataloguing. Thesaurus fields hold references to terms in the thesaurus, thus providing additional search features such as search on synonyms or collective terms. The date format allows usage of intervals and incomplete dates (i.e. year only, month only, seasons, etc.). In many cases multiple keywords are appropriate for describing document properties. Thesaurus fields and wordlist fields allow multiple values. As the thesaurus, wordlists are also maintained in multiple languages that allows not only search for language alternatives but display of data in user defined language.

Audio and video material is processed at media-part (segment) level. Metadata sheets are attached to each segment defined. With the help of the segmenter module, parts of the material can be selected at frame (HH:MM:SS:FF) accuracy. Navigation within the media is helped by various tools including audio envelope (generated by background process).

Media (video, audio, image) processing exploits Microsoft Windows standard subsystems (DirectX, GDI) providing compatibility and easy handling. Export and import functions are based on the usual Office tools.

As a result of recent developments, there are several interfaces to provide access to different subcollections of the database through the Internet or provide access points to external systems such as ethnoArc. Interfaces ensure adequate security and regulation of access rights regarding the legal constraints of publishing the material.

INFORMATIZATION OF THE FUNDS OF THE FOLKLORE ARCHIVE IN BUCHAREST

NICOLAE TEODOREANU, COSMIN RENTEA

ABSTRACT

The paper describes the steps taken since 2000 by the Sound Archive of "C. Brăiloiu" Institute for Ethnography and Folklore in the process of *digitizing* its sonorous funds and of creating its correspondent electronic *database*. This process was included from the very beginning in the Institute's plan of academic fundamental research and, supplementary, was supported by different national and international collaboration projects, among which the European Project *ethnoArc* (2006-2008) was the most significant one. *ethnoArc* focused on creating one common, portable and flexible interface for distributed field collections from four different ethnomusicological archive sources, enabling the access of the international scientific community to their catalogues. For this purpose, *ethnoArc* provided some software and services like: *DB Manager,* a software for *data management* and *ethnoMARS,* a *search engine* over the interconnected archives, tools which have been available as open-source since the end of the project. For Bucharest Archive, the project yielded an electronic database with a complex, exhaustive structure, reflecting a multi-layered digital archive, as well as a set of procedures and workflows, which will regulate all future IT and digitization activities in the Institute's Archive.

1. THE DIGITIZING HISTORY IN THE SOUND ARCHIVE OF THE "CONSTANTIN BRĂILOIU" INSTITUTE FOR ETHNOGRAPHY AND FOLKLORE

In the late 20th century the staff of the Institute's Archive already agreed upon the fact that the new technologies, the *digital* ones, had become unavoidable for our funds. The beginning of this process meant improving our technical endowment according to our modest financial resources, acquiring the information needed (this meant mainly "to change the approach" of the technical department) and settling a general work strategy. As one of the authors of this article – belonging to the archive staff – had benefited from some scholarships abroad which allowed him to get accustomed with the computer assisted audio techniques, he had the task of organizing the informatization process within the technical department and the Archive.

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The preliminary phase (1998) aimed at elaborating the forms (sheets), which were to be filled in by the archivists, researchers and technicians, forms meant to contain generic information about the pieces to be digitized. The first form has detailed information about the campaign, i.e. the "extension" of a field research, namely the area, the period of time and the researchers involved in it. This meant complex archive research activities in order to gather all the audio, video or written documents elaborated during a field research campaign. Thus, we tried to group those documents which belong to the same field research, documents which had been archived only on a numerical criterion as inventory number (which represents the number of the carrier – wax cylinder, tape, information sheet, photo, film, etc.) regardless of any contextual correlations among the recordings. Another complex form was meant to gather all the information found about each item. There were two more forms, one dedicated to independent information, namely the information which has no connection with the audio recordings and another one about the informant. This way, the preliminary phase intended to design a strategy for organizing and checking the different information (*metadata* to be more precise) and the connections among them. This strategy managed to shape the starting point of a future database.

One year later, in 1999, the technical preparations started. This meant studying the specialized literature and doing some tests to get accustomed to digitizing procedures. Although the quality of our equipment was totally insufficient at that time, for both digital and analogue levels, and there was no hope of technical improvement in a short time, we decided to start the digitizing activity in these conditions. This phase was detailed in a 1998 article[1].

In 2000, after this preliminary phase, we started the concrete work at digitizing the archive funds. Between 2000 and 2006, our project was included in the Institute's plan of academic fundamental research, within a segment entitled *Programme II - Updating, Modernization, Preservation and Organization of the Cultural Immaterial Patrimony in the Folklore and Ethnography Archive.* The special project of this programme, namely *Informatics and Social Memory,* included both *Digitizing of the Sonorous Fund in the Institute's Archive* and *Organization of the Narrative Material in the Institute's Archive into a Database,* two projects which involved all the staff working in the Archive and most of the researchers from the rest of the Institute's department.

One should mention that although the work was focused on the digital system, it was considered important to copy also the sonorous original materials in analogue system, i.e. on ¼ inch-wide tape, an activity which had already started 3-4 decades ago but abandoned then.

[1] Teodoreanu, Nicolae, *Probleme ale conservării pe suporturi optice a înregistrărilor sonore din Arhiva Institutului de Etnografie şi Folclor "C. Brăiloiu"* [Issues of Sonorous Recordings' Preservation on Optic Carriers, in the Archive of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore], in „Anuarul Institutului de Etnografie şi Folclor «Constantin Brăiloiu»", tom 9-10, 1998-1999, p. 149-161.

Together with these institutional projects we started a series of other extra-budgetary projects, financed by the Romanian Ministry of Education and Research, with partners from other institutions, especially technical ones. These projects were meant to contribute directly to creating the technical infrastructure, namely the equipment, information and electronic *know-how*. The above mentioned projects, coordinated for our Institute by one of the authors of the present study, Dr Nicolae Teodoreanu, are: *Creating Sonorous Archives,* in collaboration with the National Institute for Research and Development in Informatics (2000-2001, collaboration agreement), *Advanced Studies on Protecting and Preserving the Materials Stored in Sonorous Archives,* together with the National Institute for Research and Development in Optoelectronics (INOE – 2000) and the Romanian Academy's Institute of Biology (2002-2004, CERES project), *The Network of Centers for Excellence in Restoration, Preservation and Conservation Techniques - «Pro Restauro»,* together with other 10 partners (2002-2005, CERES project), and also *Multimedia Technologies for Applications and Services used in Revaluating the Ethnographic Patrimony Stored in Sonorous Archives* (ARSONET), together with the National Institute for Research and Development in Informatics (2004-2006, CERES project).

Some of these projects aimed at the *physical* preservation of the carriers (by monitoring the storage conditions, the degree of decay) or at the preservation of the *information*, mainly audio, on the carriers, by copying it in the digital system – the case of the projects carried out in collaboration with the National Institute for Research and Development in Optoelectronics (INOE – 2000). Other projects were focused on organizing the information in a database – those in which our Institute collaborated with the National Institute for Research and Development in Informatics.

Digitizing and *creation of database* are complementary aspects, both belonging to the information technology and the activity of the research and archive staff combined was equally focused on each of them: any digitized audio document (any *data*) offered some information for the database (the *metadata*).

During this working phase it was decided to make copies only for prose recordings, as they are considered less vulnerable to low acoustic quality. This technologic "minus" proved to be an advantage because the criterion used led to a selection of all the prose materials in the archive and the database was to become a very effective tool for scientific classification of the content, meaning *a catalogue of all the prose items* in the Institute's Archive. In 2006, at the end of this stage, there were 136 CDs with copies after 585 original tapes.[2]

[2] A summary of the (partial) conclusions concerning our activity until that moment was published in Teodoreanu, Nicolae: *Fondul audio al Institutul de Etnografie şi Folclor „C. Brăiloiu" – Situaţia actuală şi de perspectivă* [The Audio Fund of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore – Present and Future Situation], in "Anuarul Institutului de Etnografie şi Folclor «Constantin Brăiloiu»", tom 14-15, 2003-2004, p. 373-389. A variant of the paper: *Le fonds audio de L'Institut Constantin Brăiloiu d'Ethnographie et de Folklore. L'impact des nouvelles technologies,* in Aubert, Laurent (Ed.), *Mémoire Vive: Hommages à Constantin Brăiloiu*, Collection Tabou, Geneva: Musée d'ethnographie, 2009, p. 241-256.

The second phase, starting at the end of the year 2004 and going on in parallel with the first one for almost one year, is represented by some foreign partnerships supported by the New Europe College where, as an alumnus, I, (N.T.), mentioned and discussed the problems of our Archives funds.

Thus, between 2004 and 2006, *Siemens Cultural Foundation,* in Germany, financed a project: *From Wax Cylinder to Digital Storage – Digitizing Recordings of Traditional Romanian Music*, which involved *New Europe College*, in Bucharest, *Scientific College* and *Fraunhofer Institute for Open Communication Systems* Fokus – Fraunhofer, in Berlin and *Phonographic Archive of the Austrian Academy*, in Vienna.

During this period, there were created the analogical and digital technological infrastructure, being purchased two professional reconditioned tape players (Studer A807 and B67) and a set of digital devices of new generation (pre-amplifier, analogue-digital converter, computer). With the help of our colleagues in Vienna, we also managed to calibrate and improve the equipment, and to realize the *know-how* transfer. Thus, at the beginning of 2006 the digitization workstation was configured, the workflow of the whole digitization and documentation process was established and the team was formed. We then started to copy the tapes with musical recordings on DVDs and soon on HDDs, in the best technical conditions. Until the end of the project (June 2006), we managed to copy about 30 tapes found in an extremely poor physical state. The next phase, represented by the European project *ethnoArc* and carried out between 2006 and 2008, will be detailed next.

1. *ETHNOARC* – A EUROPEAN PROJECT

European Archives Linked for Ethnomusicological Research (*ethnoArc* - http://www.ethnoarc.org) is a project type IST – call 5: STREP. It corresponds to the strategic objectives of European projects stressing on the access to and preservation of cultural and scientific resources. *ethnoArc* has linked our Institute to six partners in four countries: *Scientific College* – Berlin, *Fraunhofer Institute for Open Communication Systems* Fokus – Berlin, *Ethnological Museum, Department for Ethnomusicology* – Berlin, (Germany), *Archives Internationales de Musique Populaire* – Geneve (Switzerland), *Institute of Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences* – Budapest (Hungary), *New Europe College* – Bucharest (Romania). Three of these institutions (those in Berlin, Geneva and Budapest) are ethnomusicological archives. The *ethnoArc* funding during the two-years implementation period (September 2006 – August 2008) was about 700.000 €.

As a project in the IST category (Information Society Technologies), its purpose was both to enable archives to connect themselves to a linked archive network and to provide an exploratory search interface for researchers to perform detailed multi-archive searches[3].

EthnoArc focused on creating a distributed database which contains generic information (*metadata*) related to the musical recordings stored in the four

[3] Available now at: http://www.ethnoarc.org/ethnoMARS.php

archives. Furthermore, the main purpose from the researcher perspective was the creation of one common, portable and flexible interface for distributed field collections from different archive sources, enabling access to resources for various application and research purposes.

This project was organized on some work-packages.

Thus, Workpackage 1 (WP1) had to define the metadata specification scheme that addresses the needs of the archive based on typical research questions emerging from archives and archive's users.

WP2, a technical one, had to define a method for storing metadata information in a self-descriptive format, which allows the retrieval of the description of the metadata in a well-defined format. It described mapping mechanisms, which will allow meta-searches on data available on differently structured archives.

WP3 dealt with the adaptation of existing content into the archive developed by WP2. An important task of this workpackage was to define a production chain to provide actual content (data) related to the metadata. This included digitizing of existing analogue content as well as metadata mapping.

In WP4, external users tested the distributed archive in its functionality. During this phase, there were chosen three research topics proposed by Romanian scholars and two test topics proposed by German scholars. The researchers' tests were completed with a scientific article and a technical report.

WP5 carried out all dissemination activities. It consisted of more papers in scientific journals; also, an international Conference was organized in Bucharest, in July 2008, with about 40 participants from 9 countries.

Besides, there was also a WP0, which was responsible for the overall project management. According to the common procedure, the project included several Milestones and Deliveries, in our case: 8 Milestones and 14 Deliverables.

The software created within the project allows archives to keep their own historically grown metadata structures, while no common metadata structure is imposed on the archives. In the present stage, the distributed database is being enriched with new information (metadata) as new data are introduced by each of the four archives. At the same time, this interface common for all the archives can be extended to other audio-video archives which may decide to join this system.

All tools of the ethnoArc Factory are available as open-source since the end of the project (September 2008)[4]. They are also based in turn on technologies and tools which are free and open-source: the My SQL database server for storing metadata, and Java 1.5 for user interfaces (both metadata-editing and search).

Nowadays, the archives which choose to join the common network would have several advantages: the system is already created and tested, is flexible because it does not impose a certain fixed structure and is bilingual[5] (the specific language of the archive together with English). Yet, the modifications needed for a

[4] See: http://developer.berlios.de/projects/ethnoarc

[5] It is not multi – or bilingual at the level of metadata themselves because the standardization was almost impossible to reach in the case of idiomatic words.

local database to join the common database imply a certain technical effort from the candidate-archive.

For the ethnomusicologists and not only for them, an advantage of this project is represented by the fact that the international scientific community can have online access to the catalogues of four ethnomusicological archives (with the information completed so far). A disadvantage can be considered the effort needed for learning and adjusting to the research interface.

2. SOFTWARE AND SERVICES PROVIDED BY ETHNOARC

Local Archive Specification Scheme

The aim of the database description scheme is to provide simple building blocks from which a database for a specific archive can be defined; it was not to provide a fixed scheme that is valid for all archives. To allow the creation of database specifications that are sufficiently flexible to accommodate all the archives involved, and to express currently existing structures in the resulting database, the "building blocks" need to be as simple as possible. Thus, the basic elements are just *Objects* and *Relationships*.

To allow human readers to understand the structure of the database and the meaning of the available fields, each field should have a descriptive entry in English and in the Archive Language.

Therefore, *Objects* have the following properties: *Name, Description, English Description, Value/NoValue.*

Even for legacy archives, which have a fixed, historically grown, structure, it is not sufficient to create a database that matches this structure and use this indefinitely. Additional content and metadata will turn up over time and the database should be extendable without the need of starting from scratch. Fortunately, information in archives rarely gets deleted or modified (a basic purpose is the preservation of information), so the main task was to provide the capability of extending the database structure without damaging the existing structure.

For this, the *Relations* between two *Objects* are defined according to the real connections among the data sources of the archive; relations have properties such as *Name, Description, English Description, Type* (one of *Contains, Must Contain, Alternative, Takes Value From, Takes Reference From*), *Order Number*, and *Multiplicity*. An *Object* (considered as source) contains multiple *Relations* to other *Objects*.

Values such as those found in thesauri and dictionaries can also be defined.

All the elements mentioned above are defined using the XML language (assuring mixture of structure and human-readability, to ease structure definition and transition to the *ethnoArc* tools).

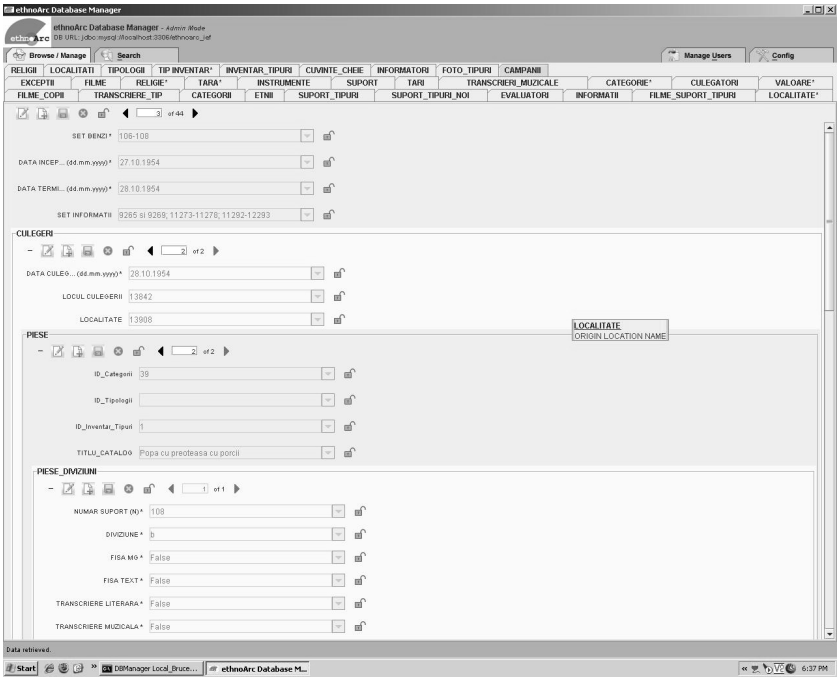
Database Creation is done only once for an archive that has not started yet the digitization process and has no legacy metadata. The implementation checks the validity of the XML files defined by the archive (conforming to XML Schema), can show warnings or errors (if any) and finally creates the database structure as a set of MySQL tables.

As a complementary solution, *Database Importers* can be developed separately for the archives that already have legacy metadata, stored in other database systems; this ensures the import of information from other databases into the *ethnoArc*-defined schemes. The development effort for a new archive is quite small, given that there are already examples for a wide range of technologies.

DB Manager is a software package used for introducing, editing, storing and checking data. It needs Java Runtime Environment to work. The interface used for introducing and checking data is an easy and flexible one, being totally adequate for its purpose, namely *data management.* The interface developed in Java Swing needs only Java Runtime Environment in order to work and accesses the concrete database (SQL compatible) by using JDBC. DB Manager can perform the following procedures, with the metadata database being installed either locally or remotely:

– Browse or view existing data. User can simply navigate to the next or previous data or directly view the N^{th} data of the total set of data;
– New/ Update data. Add a new data or update the existing data in the database;
– Edit existing data;
– Search for specific data. User can search for data with specified value of one or more fields;
– Manage application users. Add or remove users that can use the application;
– Manage database. Manage existing *ethnoArc* database schemas.

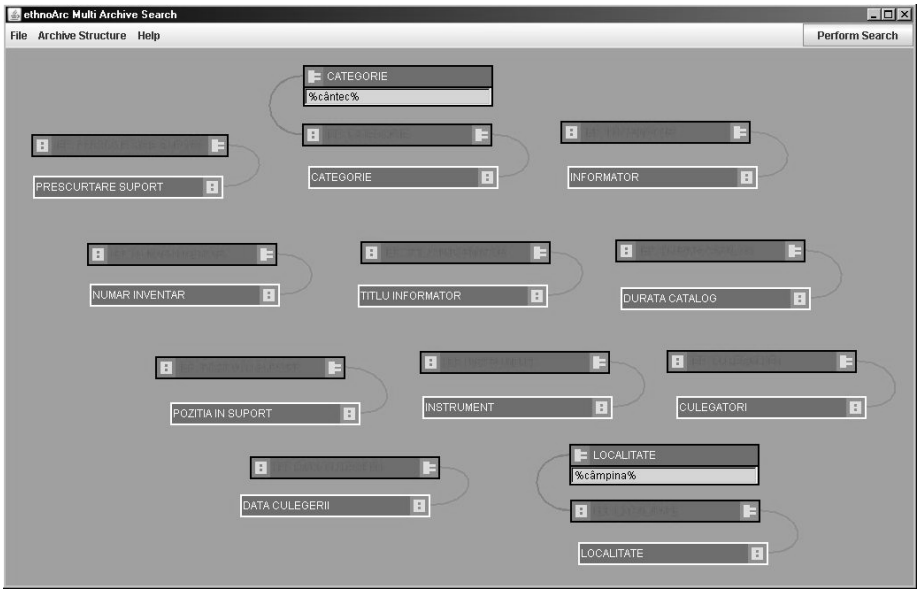
DB Manager is used mainly by archivists and technicians during the digitization process.



EthnoMARS is a distributed search engine over all the archives. When working with ethnoMARS, the researcher is able to define a query, based on the goals of the research topic, perform the query and use the result as the basis for further research (e.g. obtaining the actual audio material through direct contact to the source archive).

EthnoMARS does not allow access to digitized items but only to archive references; in theory, the system is able to offer such connections in the future, but there are some technical difficulties for such an application and some problematic issues related to intellectual property rights and copyright.

When using this search engine, the researcher starts from the database structure, designed as a graph/network of concepts which intuitively reflects the entire structure, with nodes corresponding to the archive fields and different types of paper-backed materials as a whole. The connecting lines between these objects represent their relations (as allowed by the archive specification schemas developed in Work Package 2). In this flexible diagram, the researchers can focus on any object and create those queries which fit their scientific interest, also having the possibility of searching the nodes, according their description. The nodes have Romanian (in the case of our archive) and English descriptions. One can search in real-time through all the structures of the linked archives (e.g. for a certain genre originating form a certain area in a specified period). Thus, a researcher can (re)shape his/her own query, starting from entry fields where the criterion used is typed, and receiving result elements according to the search performed. The results are supplied in a table which can be easily exported in Excel for further processing. This way, the researchers obtain coherent information about the archive material and the catalogue numbers of the items of interest.



Researchers can use this tool independently of DB Manager; ethnoMARS works within the Institute local network but also outside it, being provided as an online secure Internet service.

3. RESULTS OF ETHNOARC APPLIED TO IEF

For the Archive of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore in Bucharest, the European project meant primarily the creation of an *integrated IT approach to digitization*. This was done on a few levels:

(1) Structuring and integration of all types of data and metadata referring to our archive multimedia funds (audio, photo, video, and written documents), which resulted in a database with a complex, exhaustive structure, related as a multi-layered digital archive. Before the start of the *ethnoArc* project, a simple collection management system was developed in Microsoft Access, but in tests it proved as incomplete, inconsistent and rudimentary in comparison to the paper catalogue. Therefore, it was decided that for *ethnoArc* a new database structure should be developed that resembled more the original paper catalogue structures. In contrast to the other archives participating in *ethnoArc*, IEF therefore did not dispose of a functional digital collection database, but set up a whole new system. The advantages of starting almost from scratch were: (a) the mapping between digital legacy data and the *ethnoArc* structure was easier, (b) the Local Archive Specification (LAS) provided by IEF was not restricted and did not skip certain types of information or data types (while being also the biggest specification among the archives in terms of size, number of objects and relations) and (c) IEF is the only archive from the four in the project that uses the *ethnoArc* database and tools as its internal database. All the existing data – prior to the *ethnoArc* project – was successfully unified, adapted and imported into the *ethnoArc* schemas. From the point of view of the system architecture, all the archive funds have quasi-complete structures describing them but need to be filled in with more information, an effort which will take a few more years.

All the data is stored in a logical structure following all the possible connections among the elements in the archive funds. The original links and relations are kept as in the original IEF archive. Thus, all the folkloric items are related to the field campaign which produced them (the period of time, the geographical area of origin, post-campaign information processing). These collected items are categorized as individual audio recordings, transcriptions (musical, literary, choreological), photos (of places or persons), films or independent written documents (e.g. sociological texts). This information is complemented in separate Objects by date and place of recording, performers, researchers, technicians, other participants, instruments, remarks etc. Many other auxiliary information created at collection time, found on the field-sheets about each piece are also included in the electronic catalogue, under the number of the

carrier. The supporting documents – such as multiple transcriptions – created in the archive can be found under the same carrier number.

The audio recordings of the musical or narrative pieces, representing the main type of field documents and the other types of recordings are arranged in tables in the database, according to the archive standard, and organized on types of carriers. Separate tables, cross-linked to the main ones, contain information concerning both the people (who sang, played, told stories, offered data or participated in the field research, created the sheets, created the digitized material, etc.) and the archive internal activities such as creating copies, inventories, checking.

There is an implicit notion of Evaluation, as a general capability of creating new information in relation to the digitized information, but without altering it. Such evaluations can be either technical (done by a technician) or academic (done by a researcher). For instance, a technical evaluation can take into account the current multi-dimensional "state of the carriers" at a certain point in time, while the academic one can prove the integrity and correlation of the data, or can specify a classification for an archive item (e.g. according to typologies, themes, keywords, their functions, or various musical characteristics). Most such information is included in complete tables, such as dictionaries / thesauri, some of them being done a priori (e.g. those containing typologies, carrier types, localities, past and current employees of the Institute, etc.). These tables simplify the activity of introducing data and prevent their duplication and / or misclassification.

(2) A set of procedures and workflows was also designed, which will regulate all future informatic activities in the Institute's Archive. These workflow-based procedures are represented by:

- a series of users and roles (archivist, archivist-specialist, technician, researcher);
- access rights for data, access rights for metadata;
- rules, description and ordering of activities for all the roles;
- digitization criteria, prioritization and ordering for all the funds in the archive; effort estimations have also been conducted;
- a set of rules for filling in the electronic catalogues following the originals (e.g. answers about diacritical marks, the location names, translations, splits over multiple carriers, versions, when to enter remarks);
- formats and naming rules for the files resulting from digitization; for instance, they must have a globally unique name that incorporates sensitive information about the characteristics of the digitization process and result (e.g. audio-quality, image resolution);
- rules for a hierarchy of data files (grouped by funds) and back-up of actual data and metadata (from file system and database respectively);
- a guide for creating, maintaining and using the database.

The procedures include a production chain to digitize the content as envisioned and designed in Work Package 3. Apart from these, there are provided

two software services: *DBManager* for metadata management according to user rights and task ordering, and the query interface of *ethnoMARS* which can be used in situ or online by researchers.

(3) *The acquisition of high-quality equipment for audio digitization, for data storage and network connectivity was supported by the Institute.* Servers were bought to host the metadata database and its associated digital data (the order of terabytes). A local area network was set up between these servers and workstations used by archivists, technicians and researchers. Among the audio equipment, besides a full tape digitization studio, there is a very expensive professional player for Edison-type Cylinders (Phonograph), belonging to the specific replay equipment developed by the Phonogrammarchiv in Vienna.

The present efforts of the Institute, besides some details in the database to be completed, or some elements in the procedures to be respected, have to concentrate on the continuation of the work already started, after having achieved the infrastructure acquisitions, the necessary software tools, the detailed procedures, and more experienced working staff (except for the technical department which is still a bottleneck). And all these – in spite of the current financial problems, which makes things more complicated. In fact, the work started in the archive more than ten years ago still needs a constant struggle of some decades to be completed.[6].

[6] English translation by Anca Stere.

4. Test-Research Papers Based on *EthnoArc* Tools

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN TRADITIONAL EUROPEAN MUSIC AND ART MUSIC

LAURA LEONTIUC

"The possibilities that traditional music offers have not yet been all used (exhausted) by the cultured musical art."
(Ştefan Niculescu)

ABSTRACT

During time several classifications of the musical phenomenon were made. Less known are those made by Romanian musicologists and ethnomusicologists Liviu Dănceanu (*Introduction to the Epistemology of Music*, 2003), Speranța Rădulescu (*Musical Landscapes in Romania in the 20th Century*, 2002) and Valentin Timaru (*Dictionary of Musical Terms*, 2004). Considering the inspiration composers take from traditional music there are some questions that the study tries to answer. The first question is how many types of composers can be identified? The second is which are the methods used by composers and the third question is how do they use this methods. Concerning this third aspect the article contains examples of folkloric genres as seen by some composers. It also contains information about the genres, which was made available through the ethnoMars engine.

1. ABOUT TYPES OF MUSIC

Several classifications and delimitations of music have been made by professionals and amateurs until today. The one that I'll be using will be that which divides music in categories such as traditional and art music. Liviu Danceanu in his *Introduction the Epistemology of Music,* published in 2003, classifies the musical phenomenon according to the nature of its makers. Referring to this classification Liviu Danceanu writes:

"While analyzing the musical phenomenon from the perspective of the nature of the makers we can consider both folkloric (oral) music and art (or written) music. The first type is anonymous and has an eternal nature. The other type is

REF/JEF, *1–2*, p. 65–76, Bucureşti, 2009

under the paternity, and contains the signs of history. The one as well as the other benefit from typical, specific traditions"[1].

Another classification proposed by the same author in the same book relies on moral-aesthetic criteria and divides music in aesthetic music and moral music (art and entertainment music).

The dictionary of musical terms published in 2004 by the musicologist Valentin Timaru contains another reference to types of music. The dictionary divides music "after the source and the destination of communication in which we can find real categories of musical creation: popular music, religious music, soft music, jazz music, ambient music and entertainment music, art music"[2].

Contemporaneously, the ethnomusicologist Speranța Rădulescu refers to "academic music" in her book *Musical landscapes in Romania in the 20th century*. In Romania, this expresses the wish to create a music that is synchronized with European values. In the same source we find that in 1929, composers were encouraged to insert traditional material into their music for the purpose of communicating ideas with traditional ethos (feeling). At this point, one was concerned with the matter of harmonizing the inspiration from traditional sources with the genres of art music.

2. ABOUT SOME COMPOSERS THAT WERE INSPIRED BY ORAL TRADITION AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH TRADITIONAL MUSIC

The composers found in traditional music certain elements that gave them artistic personality. Regarding this aspect, Liviu Danceanu wrote:

„The artistic personality is the one that makes a creator different from any other and the value of an exception."[3]

Considering the inspiration the composers take from traditional music, one can remark immediately that there are several types of composers, depending on how they refer to traditional music.

A first category is that of the composer-researcher (a composer who writes art music and also collects traditional music). Two of the best examples in this case are Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály. In Romania, one thinks of composers such as Corneliu Dan Georgescu, Sabin Drăgoi (who was the director of *The Institute of Ethnography and Folklore* between 1950 and 1964), Nicolae Ursu (a composer

[1] Dănceanu, Liviu. *Introducere în epistemologia muzicii (organizările fenomenului muzical)* [Introduction to Musical Epistemology (Organizing the Musical Phenomenon)] Bucureşti. Editura muzicală, 2003, p. 215.

[2] Timaru, Valentin. *Dicționar noțional şi terminologic. Prolegomene ale unui curs de analiză muzicală* [Notions and Terminology Dictionary: Prolegomena to a Course of Musical Analysis], Editura Universității din Oradea, p. 34.

[3] Dănceanu, Liviu. *Introducere în epistemologia muzicii* ..., p. 221.

who wrote research works such as *Monografia muzicală a comunei Belinț. 90 melodii cu texte culese, notate şi explicate, 122 melodii populare din Valea Almăjului*), Tiberiu Brediceanu, Remus Georgescu, Gheorghe Dima.

Another category of composers includes those who did not research the traditional music directly but used it in different ways. Some of the composers in this category are: George Enescu, Igor Stravinsky, Claude Debussy and Olivier Messiaen.

In the work of the French composers Claude Debussy and Olivier Messiaen a deep interest for Oriental music can be found. Referring to this tendency in the context of rhythm in art music of the 20th century, the musicologist Olguța Lupu writes:

"The composer's research in the field of rhythm worked especially towards rediscovering, performing and recreating from another perspective some rhythmical systems on the basis of realities that always existed in the cultural life of different civilizations. The rhythmical "living" material that was offered to composers in the 20th century surpassed in intricacy and diversity what was imagined in tonal perimeter, with the ancient cultures but also the ones closer to our time showing rhythm in variants that were sometimes extremely subtle. These variants included the superposing of *accelerando-decelerando* (Bali), the superposing of different types of *ostinato* that appeared from a very fast beat (African music), the rhythms of India, Gregorian rhythms, the rhythms in *rubato* or *giusto* or dance systems (Eastern Europe), or different polyrhythmic patterns (Jawa)"[4].

Consider, for example, the case of Claude Debussy: in his works one can find both elements that are close to oriental music and elements that are close to traditional European music. Concerning the latter aspect, it must be said that there are some rhythms which resemble the parlando rubato system from the European traditional music. One such example was identified by Bela Bartok in the recitatives in his opera *Pelleas and Melisande.*

For Olivier Messiaen the contact with traditional Oriental music was made indirectly when he was a student of the Conservatory in Paris. During that period the composer took knowledge of Indian rhythms through a table published in *Encyclopedie de la Musique et Dictionnaire de la Conservatoire*, which was written by Albert Lavignac. In the case of Messiaen, Hindu rhythms represent an important part of his rhythmic vocabulary and a source from which the composer took principles of construction; after that, Messiaen applied them in his works. Some of these are the principles of recurrent rhythms, of chromatic durations, etc.[5]

The inspiration from traditional ancient music is, as Olguța Lupu considers, "the sap of rhythmic vocabulary of Igor Stravinsky", and one can add: an important source of inspiration for all the other parameters (such as melody or harmony). In

[4] Lupu, Olguța, *Ipostaze ritmico-temporale în muzica primei jumătăți a secolului XX* [Rhythmical-Temporal Hyposthases in the Music of the First Half of the 20th Century], Editura Universității Naționale de Muzică, p. 16.

[5] A detailed classification of those was made by the musicologist Olguța Lupu who wrote the books mentioned at third footnote.

this music Messiaen identifies the strenght of rhythmical motifs and calls them "rhythmic characters". One of the most eloquent examples is *The rite of spring* in which the traditional tendency is combined with original elements. Regarding this feature, again Olguța Lupu:

"The way that Stravinski works with material whose origin can be identified as traditional is very close, because of the freedom that he allows himself, to cubist technique"[6].

In the works of George Enescu, the link with traditional music is obvious; for example, in taking over of the parlando-rubato rhythm and its introduction into art music. The parlando-rubato rhythm was taken by the composer specifically from the *doina*, this being a type of rhythm found especially in slow movements. It is precisely the melodies in parlando rhythm taken by Enescu from traditional music that determine the fact that in his music the rhythm is often subordinate to the melody.

In the study of the relationship between traditional and cultured types of music, I identified some methods through which they are combined. The first method is **quoting** the traditional musical pieces or parts of them in art music.

Another method is *creating musical patterns observing the scheme of traditional music. The remembrance of some traditional melodies* is a third method through which the two types of music can be combined. The fourth method is *the use of traditional thematic in cultured creation*. Here we can report on:

1. Thematics taken from traditional literature
2. Genres that exist in tradition and are taken as a motto for cultured (author) musical works
3. Taking over the form or pattern that belongs to traditional creation and using it in cultured creation
4. Conversion of traditional melodies in the spirit of traditional creation. A well known example of this case is *The Third Sonata* "on Romanian folkloric pattern" (în caracter popular românesc), written by George Enescu.

The traditional thematic can be considered a source of inspiration for the composers. Concerning this, Stefan Niculescu, Romanian musicologist and composer writes:

"Usually it is obvious that musical sources act on the structure and the ones that are not musical act on the content. In reality any source – musical or non-musical – determines both content and structure"[7].

In George Enescu's work, all the above-mentioned four methods can be found. Quotations are used in the two Romanian Rhapsodies and in *Poema Română*. The use of fragments that remind one of some melodies in a stylish manner is an element that permeates almost all of Enescu's creations. Musicologist Olguța Lupu also notes that "one must not forget Enescu's well-known memory" –

[6] Lupu, Olguța, *Ipostaze ritmico-temporale ...,* p. 49.
[7] Niculescu, Ştefan, *Reflecții despre muzică* [Thoughts on Music], Editura Muzicală, p. 295.

Enescu acted in direct contact with genuine folklore just as the oral assimilation that can be found in traditional cultures did"[8].

Concerning the making of musical patterns that observe the scheme of traditional musical creation, Enescu says:

"The use of folklore does not realize the traditional features. The composer can simultaneously create with traditional music and with personal resources valuable works that have the same characteristics"[9] Enescu also uses the collocation „to play in traditional feature without the enslavement by the musical motif".

To illustrate the use of traditional thematic in cultured creation it suffices to mention the remembrance of some important moments taken from the life of the Romanian village such as dances like the *hora* in symphonic works, notably *The Romanian Rhapsodies*, or the suite for violin and piano, *Impressions de l'enfance (Impressions from childhood).*

3. EXAMPLES OF FOLKLORIC GENRES IN THE TRANSFIGURATION OF SOME AUTHORS

As I have shown by now there are several elements taken from traditional music that may be transformed by composers via their insertion into art music. Many pages can be written and many scores can be analyzed, on the theme of traditional genres and their transfiguration made by authors. For this research I have chosen only a few titles, concerning myself with the data obtained through the ethnoMars search engine. The works proposed for this exercise are from Béla Bartók's creation, *Romanian Folk songs* and *Three Hungarian Folk-Tunes.* Other pieces that I have chosen are Alexandru Paşcanu's *Chindia* for children's choir, and the piano piece *Joc dobrogean-toccata* written by the composer Paul Constantinescu, based on a dance called *geamparale,* originally from the south eastern side of Romania (Dobrogea).

Using the ethnoMars engine I identified some collectors who archived the genres used by the above-mentioned composers in their works.

As the first example I chose piece from Bela Bartok's cycle *Three Hungarian Folk-Tunes*. There is an arrangement of a melodic variant of the folk lyrics *Leszallott a pava* (*The peacock has alighted*). These lyrics held political significance in Hungary and are about the desire for freedom held by outlaws in captivity. In the ZTI archive I indeed found the song, *The peacock has alighted*, collected by Vikar Béla in 1898 and by Zoltán Kodály in 1928. In Bartók's song cycle there is another piece of particular interest, the third one. It is an arrangement of a village song in chorale rhythm. At the end of this song, there is a phenomenon quite rare in Bartok's arrangements of folk music: a coda that runs into hymnic closing chords.

[8] Lupu, Olguța. *Ipostaze ritmico-temporale ...*, p. 49.
[9] George Enescu, quoted by Niculescu Ştefan in *Reflecţii despre muzică*.

Another example of a folk tune arranged by an author is the Romanian dance *Chindia*, used under the same name by the composer Alexandru Paşcanu in a piece for children's choir. In the IEF archive I found six examples with this title. They were collected from the regions Blidari-Piteşti, Snagov-Bucharest, Brăneşti-Bucharest, Câmpulung Moldovenesc and Fântânele-Ploeşti. The last example is *Chindia ca la Cojasca* performed by an orchestra.

Another example of folkloric genre in the transfiguration of an author that I have found using ethnoMars engine was *geamparaua*, a Romanian folk dance that falls into the category of Danube dances. [10] The *aksak* rhythm is a crucial feature of this kind of dance. One of the composers who used this dance was, as mentioned above, Paul Constantinescu. His piece was published in 1966 by *Editura Muzicala* in a cycle entitled *Three piano pieces*. More examples of this genre can be found in the IEF archive: I localized here five dances with the title *Geampara*. The original version is from the south eastern part of Romania, but it can be found also – according to the results in the archive – in Vâlcea-Horezu-Vaideeni, Bătrâni-Ploeşti, Clejani-Videle – Bucureşti, Ploeşti-Cislău-Tega and Negrileşti-Vrancea. The collectors were: Dosios Victoria, Ciocos Paul, Chiriac M., Schull Fr., Emilia Comişel, Rodica Weiss, Prichici Gh. Constantin, Vancu Gheorghe, Nicolescu D. Vasile and Remus Georgescu. The names of the informants are: Enăchescu Gheorghe, Surupăceanu Nicolae and Stan Păun, Băsaru Florea, Culae Gică and Manole Petre. It must be said that among the names of the collectors is that of Remus Georgescu, a Romanian composer who worked at that time in the Romanian Institute or Ethnography and Folklore.

I have also found another kind of *geamparale*: *giamparale batrâneşti* collected by Ciocos Paul and Prichici Constantin from Ploeşti-Teleajen-Batrâni. There is also the title *Geamparale ca la Fântânele* collected by Ghizela Sulițeanu, Bîrlea Ovidiu and Gheorghe Abălaşei from Fântânele-Ploeşti. This time the dance was performed by an orchestra (folk music band). The informer was the conductor of the orchestra: Stoica Grigore Constantin.

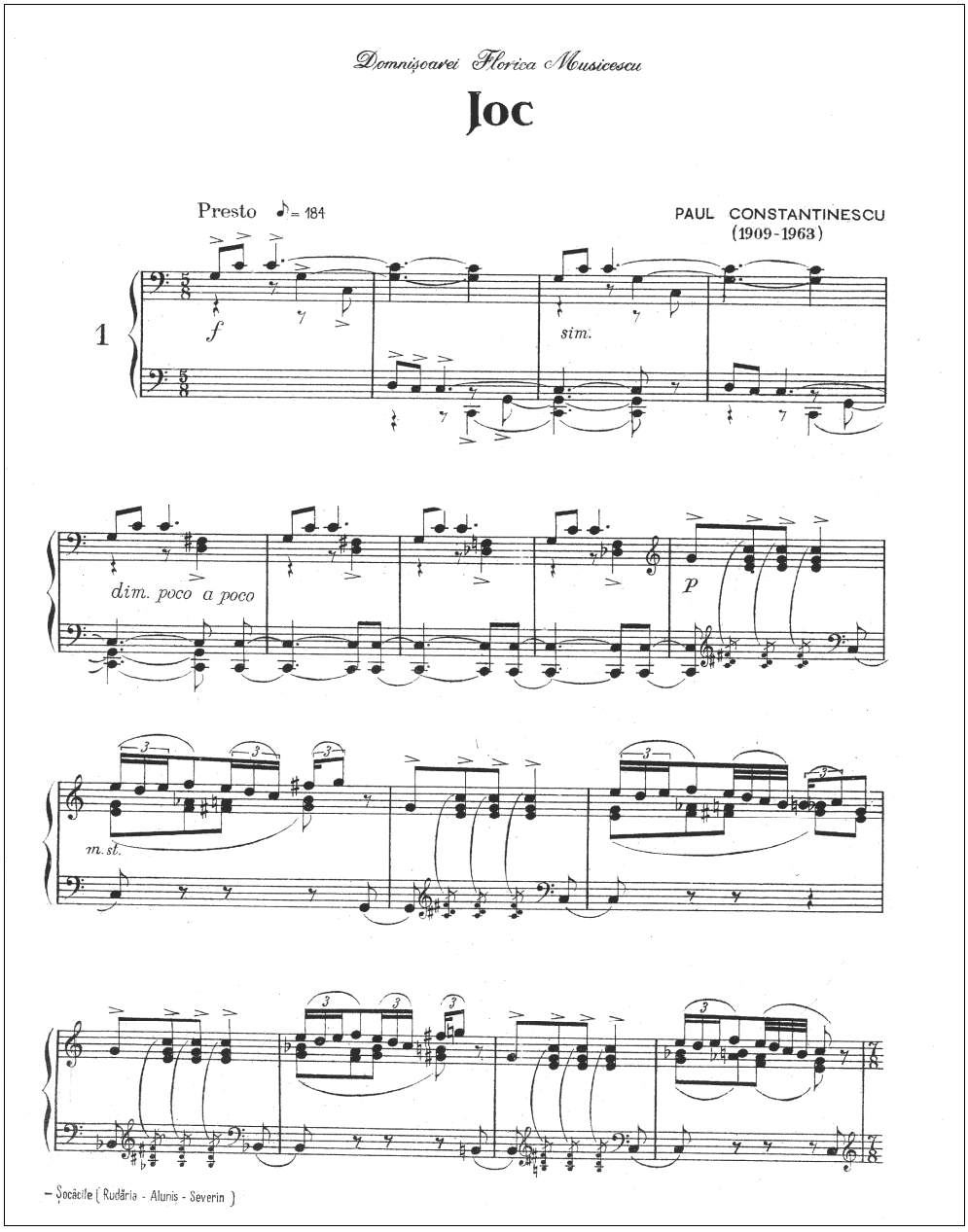
In conclusion, even though the genre is original from Dobrogea it can also be found in other regions in the southern part of Romania.

An example of the impact that a piece like *geamparaua* had in one composer's creation can be found in the piano piece *Joc Dobrogean* written by Romanian composer Paul Constantinescu. The other three piano pieces contained in the suite have obvious folkloric inspiration that can be observed even in their titles: *Joc* (Dance), dedicated to Miss Florica Musicescu, and *Cântec* (Song), dedicated to Ovidiu Drâmba. Both Florica Musicescu and Ovidiu Drâmba are famous Romanian musicians and, as the dedication shows, they were friends of Paul Constantinescu.[11]

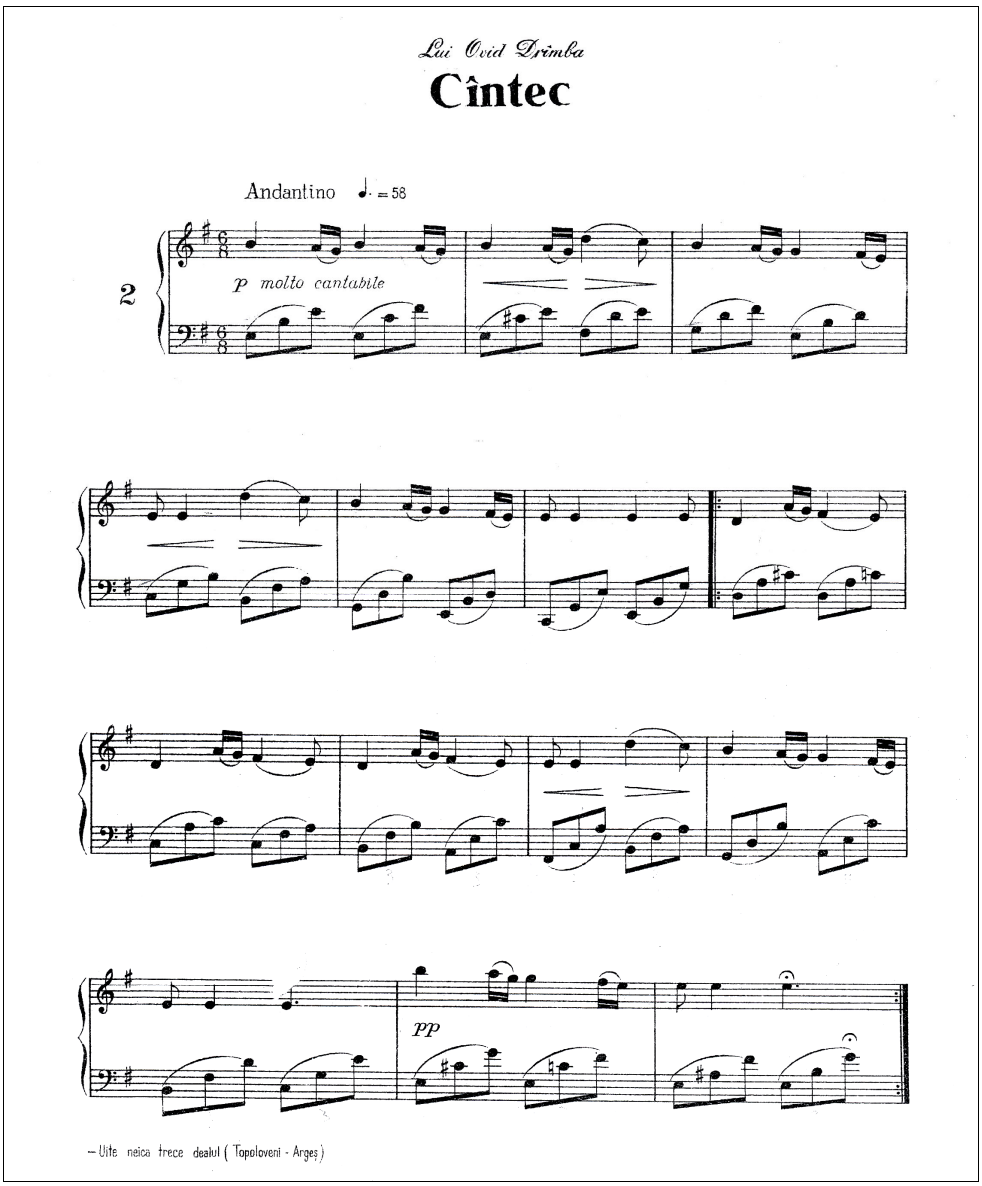
[10] Oprea Gheorghe. *Folclorul muzical românesc* [Romanian Musical Folklore], Bucureşti, Editura muzicală, 2002, p. 566.

[11] Florica Musicescu was a brilliant piano professor and her name is related to the name of the Romanian pianist Dinu Lipatti. He is one of the main representatives of the Romanian piano school.

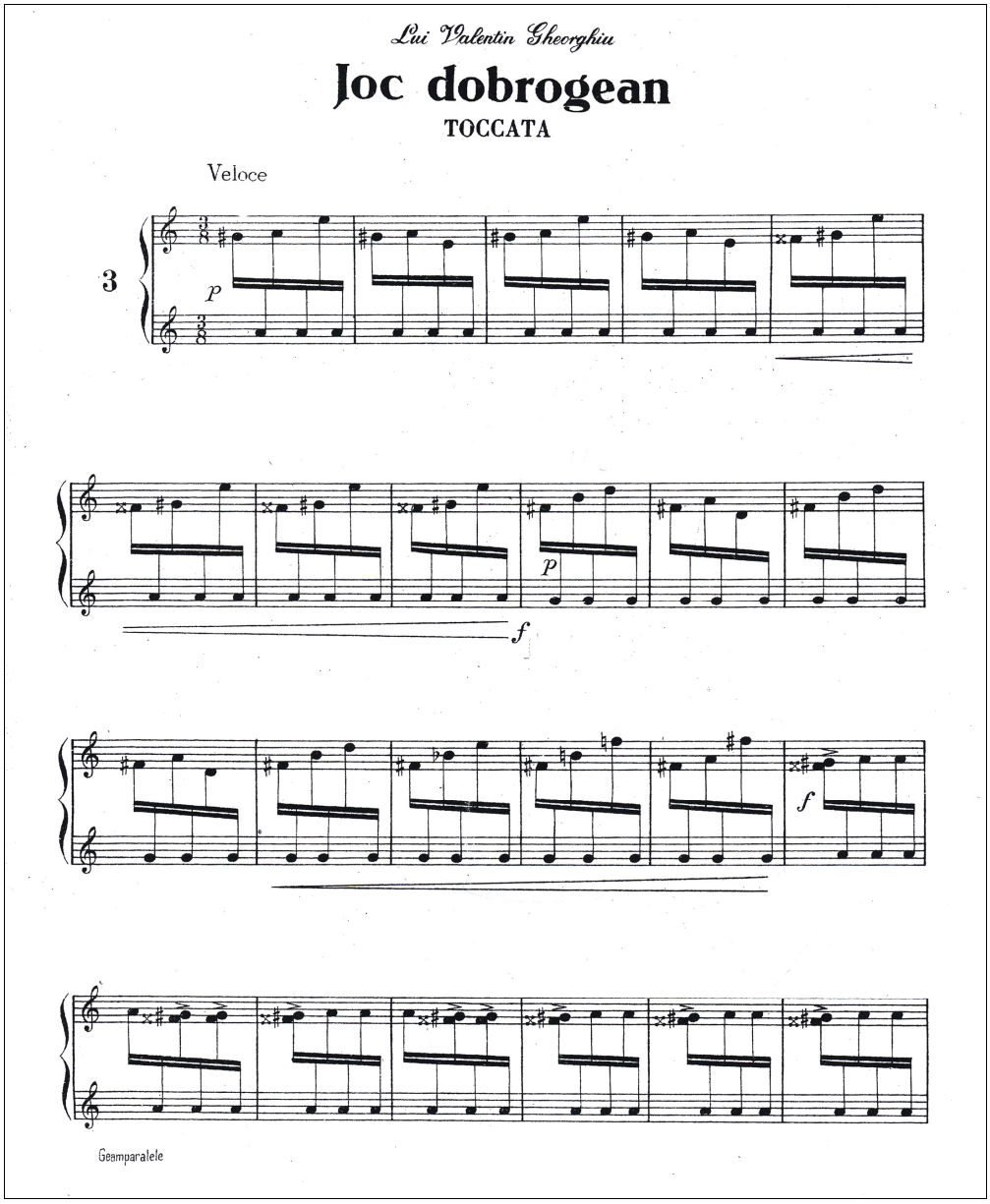
One obvious thing that demonstrates the folkloric inspiration in these three pieces are some some indications contained by the scores from the first pages of the pieces:



So, the first one is inspired by a dance from Severin district[12], the other one is from Argeş[13] and the final one is from Dobrogea:[14]



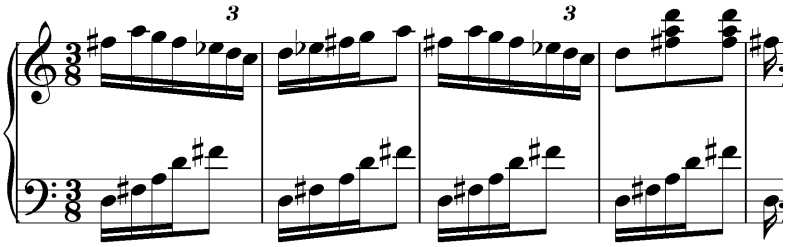
[12] The indication contained by the score is Şocăcile (Rudăria-Aluniş-Severin).
[13] *Uite, neica trece dealul* (Topoloveni-Argeş).
[14] It is known that *Geamparale* is a specific dance to the Dobrogea region.



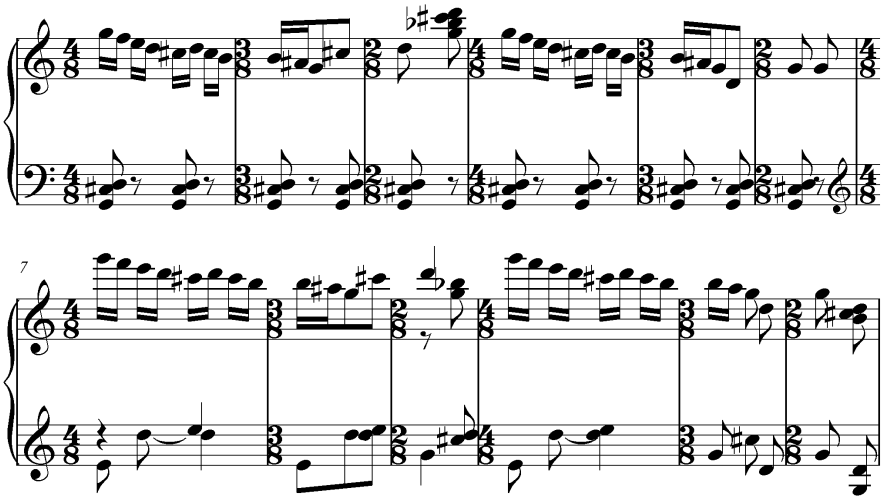
In the context of the three pieces *Joc dobrogean,* also called *Toccata,* is an example of folkloric inspiration not only in the character of the main themes but also in the technique of composition.

One of the main characteristics of a *Geampara* is repetition. The composer uses three musical themes:

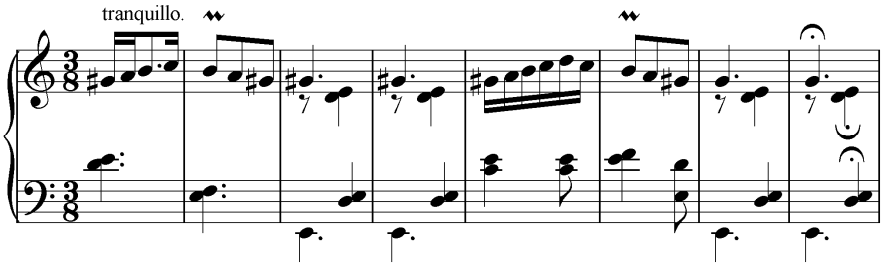
Theme 1:



Theme 2:



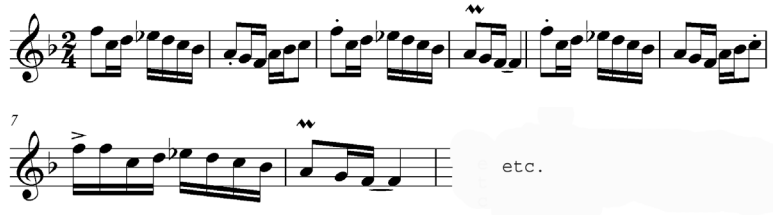
Theme 3:



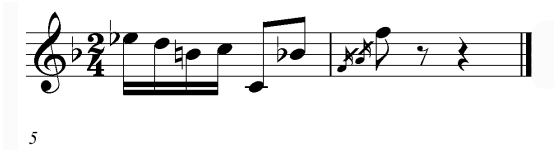
With some musical material offered by these themes he built a 13-page piano piece using the technique of repetition wich is common both to the cultivated genre called *toccata* and to the most Romanian genre called *geamparale*.

Another example of a folkloric genre in the transfiguration of a composer is a short piece written by the Romanian pianist and composer Dinu Lipatti. The piece was written for flute, without any other accompaniment, and it is entitled *Introduction et Allegro.* Like the previously analyzed piece, it was dedicated, as written in the score, to Cortet *(à Monsieur R. Cortet*

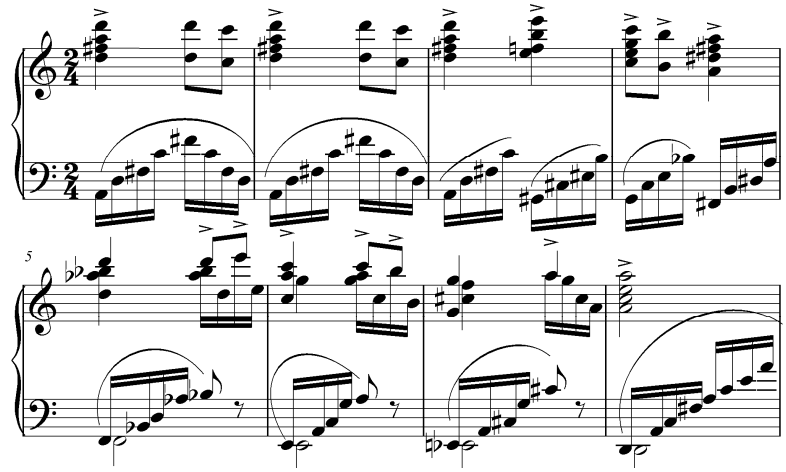
What makes the piece related to folkloric genres is the beginning of the second part (The *Allegro)* wich is an obvious folkloric dance theme:



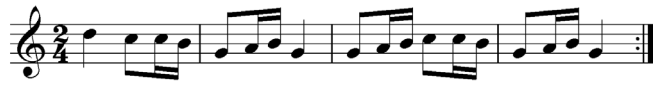
The argument for considering this entire piece as being tonal is given by the final *cadenza*, made through an ascendent fourth, as shown below:



Another example of folkloric inspiration is in the *toccata* written by the Bulgarian composer Pancho Vladigerov. In this piano piece the climax is made with an obvious folkloric theme:



The chosen example is a folkloric dance and the rhythmic pattern can be found in other dances from the same area. An example is a dance collected by Nicolae Ursu in 1950 from Caraş-Severin region. The dance has the rhythmic structure based on the same formula as the climax of the *toccata*: one long value followed by two short ones[15]:



Today traditional music remains a source of inspiration not only for cultured musical compositions but also for a large part of musicological and ethnomusicological research. As the Romanian musicologist and composer Ştefan Niculescu said: The possibilities that traditional culture offers are not exhausted.

[15] Oprea Gheorghe. *Folclorul muzical românesc*, p. 580.

FROM TRADITIONAL ROMANIAN MUSIC TO THE *NEW FOLKLORIC MUSIC* (1900–1960)

FLORINELA POPA

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper was to emphasize the possibilities (and limits) of documentation and research offered by ethnoMars. As documentation source on traditional Romanian music I consulted Bela Bartók and Constantin Brăiloiu collections in the ZTI, and also in the AIMP archives. Where *new folklore* is concerned, I used the documentation found in the IEF digital archive. I've tried to approach this topic by emphasizing the "novelty elements" which appear in the so called *new folkloric music* and which are considered different from the traditional music. Along with a comparative look over the two kinds of music, I considered necessary a correlation of the way the *new folklore* of the 1950s is reflected in collections and studies of that time with the existing data in the IEF digital archive (although this data could be incomplete). The main points which I refer to are: I. The concepts traditional music vs. *new folkloric music;* II. Methodological aspects of peasant/new folk music research; III. Typologies of performers; IV. A stylistic description of *new songs* (traditional genres vs. the genres of *new folklore*; the thematic or the Socialist realism content of the *new song;* rhythmical and melodic features of the *new song*).

Between February and June 2008 I used the ethnoMars search engine to access the four European traditional sound archives EMEM (Berlin), ZTI (Budapest), AIMP (Geneva), IEF (Bucharest). I will now outline the possibilities (and limits) of documentation and research offered to me by ethnoMars.

I've tried to approach this topic by emphasizing the "novelty elements" that appear in the so called *new folkloric music* and that are considered different from the traditional music. Along with a comparative look over the two kinds of music, I considered necessary to correlate the way the *new folklore* of the Fifties is reflected in collections and studies of that time – aspects that I covered in a previous study[1] –

[1] *Estetica realismului socialist: studiu de caz* [The Aesthetics of Socialist Realism: Case Study], in "Estetica muzicală. Un alt fel de manual", with a foreword by Antigona Rădulescu, Bucureşti, Editura Universităţii Naţionale de Muzică, 2007, p. 152–182.

REF/JEF, *1–2*, p. 77–83, Bucureşti, 2009

with the existing data in the IEF digital archive (although this data could be incomplete).

For my documentation source on traditional Romanian music I could consult two very important collections, Béla Bartók and Constantin Brăiloiu, which are present in the ZTI and in the AIMP archives. Where *new folklore* is concerned, I used the documentation found in the IEF digital archive. Besides the database accessible from ethnoMARS, I found very useful the Excel catalogues made by the ethnoArc team – an intermediate stage towards the final IEF database-structure. These catalogues contain supplementary information (on-paper metadata digitized during the project) in connection with the following items: support; genre; title; instrument; performers names; origin; collectors names; place; date of recording (between 1951–1958); comments, etc.

I. THE CONCEPTS: TRADITIONAL MUSIC VS. *NEW FOLKLORIC MUSIC*

In the first decades of the 20th century, the interest of ethnomusicologists turned almost exclusively towards old, peasant melodies; Bartók, for example, saw "town culture" as an imminent threat resulting in the misrepresentation or loss of folk/traditional music:

"With the spread of urban culture, traditional music is pushed back, transforms, and finally vanishes. Stopping this phenomenon is impossible, unless we are willing to dismantle all roads, schools, and factories. All that one is left with is to collect as many as them, as carefully as one can, and as fast as one can" [2].

The new perspective on the concept of *folklore/folk music* "imported" in the Fifties from the Soviet Union, changes, or at least expands, the area of investigation on folk creation in Romania, as in other countries that were under the same influence. Considering the definition given by Maxim Gorki, *folklore* means "the artistic creations of working people". Therefore, the artistic productions of towns, the big building sites, factories, etc.[3] are of interest to experts. Although "new songs" and "revolutionary songs" have distinctive stylistic patterns, both of them were considered at the time "new/ contemporary folk songs". Beginning with the Sixties, new ideological accents, openly nationalist, had as a consequence, among other things, a clear distinction between these types of songs.

[2] Bela Bartók, *Cercetările de folklore muzical în Ungaria* [Musical Folklore Research in Hungary], in *Scrieri mărunte despre muzica populară românească adunate şi traduse de Constantin Brăiloiu* [Short Writings on the Romanian Folk Music collected and translated by Constantin Brăiloiu], Bucureşti, 1937, p. 51.

[3] See Sabin Drăgoi, *Cinci ani de activitate a Institutului de Folclor* [Five Years of Activities in the Folklore Institute], "Muzica", nr. 6/1954, p. 6.

II. METHODOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF PEASANT/NEW FOLK MUSIC RESEARCH

The need for a unitary methodology in collecting, classifying, and printing peasant music was pointed out by Bartók as early as 1928[4]. Soon afterwards came Constantin Brailoiu's *Outline of a Method of Musical Folklore* (1931), followed by a bartókian rejoinder, *Why And How We Collect Folk Music?* (1936), which actually repeatedly quotes from Brailoiu's study mentioned above. It is of utmost importance to point out that the methodological principles formulated by the two ethnomusicologists remain valid in considerable measure nowadays. Moreover, these principles reflect themselves in the structures of the two archives, AIMP and ZTI respectively, respectively ZTI, which preserve a meaningful part of the fieldwork done by Brăiloiu and Bartók.

By accessing the Brăiloiu collection catalogue in AIMP through the ethnoMars search engine, I got 418 results (we are talking only about the Romanian music titles in the collection). The catalogue offers, among other things, the following types of information: "Statement of responsibility, place and date of the field recording"; "Country of origin of the carrier's content"; "Region of origin of the carriers content"; "Locality of origin of the carriers content"; "Performers, authors, composers, directors, arrangers of the carriers content"; "Instruments played on the carrier"; "Musical styles and genre and performance context"; "Title, statement of responsibility, genre, instruments, place and date of recording, ethnic origin of the described item"; "Any comment on the carrier or its content"; "Place of production"; "Production year".

I believe that to include in the database different types of cards elaborated by Constantin Brăiloiu would be very useful. (Here I mean the performer card, frequency card etc. which accompany and describe the content – but obviously, only if they exist in Geneva).

Unfortunately, access to the actual musical content using ethnoMars is not possible. (As audio material from this collection, I could consult the series of CDs *Village Music from Romania. Constantin Brăiloiu Collection*; Musical Selections: Laurent Aubert, Speranța Rădulescu; Accompanying notes: Speranța Rădulescu).

As for Bartók's collection from the ZTI archive, I found an important part of Béla Bartók's collection – but only the Hungarian songs collected by Bartók (5368 results). I searched the items: "Collector (person)"; "Presenters of the segment"; "Summary of presenters for the whole collection"; "More detailed info on the segment level"; "Date when the material was collected"; "Locality (Location), Location mentioned in the Performer-Sheet"; "Title of the segment"; "Text of the first row"; "Category of the tune according to tune systems (i.e. Bartók system)"; "Reference to the documentation made by the collector". I also found language versions (Romanian, Slovakian) for several locations.

[4] Béla Bartók, *Ibidem*.

Regrettably, following the chronology of the collecting activities done by Bartók in Transylvania (between October 1908 and July–August 1918), which were put together by the historiographer Francisc Laszlo down to details as year, month and even day[5], I could find in ZTI only music collected exclusively from ethnic Magyars.

It might be very interesting to input into the ZTI-database the *entire Bartók's collection*. As an archive of European interest, ZTI should also contain traditional music of different ethnic origin collected by Bartók (Romanian, Slovak, and so on). As a matter of fact, ZTI doesn't have any items about the ethnic origin of the material.

A discussion on the research methodology regarding *new folklore* may seem ridiculous in terms of the known manipulation of results. (What remains "safe" after 1950 are the principles of cataloguing, carding, as can also be seen in the structure of the digitized IEF archive). Instead, the purpose of collecting is completely distorted. The esthetic and scientific interest that gave meaning to Brăiloiu's and Bartók's steps in research (regarding the musical, stylistic and sociological aspects of the collected music) is blurred. The aim seems to be exclusively propagandistic, if we examine the new duties of the ethnomusicologist: to stimulate people's interest in folk music; to guide the choirs and amateur ensembles; scoring and arranging music for folk orchestras etc.

Moreover, the practice of censorship and of not having a neutral attitude, of not observing and describing phenomena objectively, raises questions regarding many of the results communicated by researchers.

"The role of folklore research is, following the guiding line of identifying the typology, to give value to progressive folkloric works, to identify the retrograde, *and to eliminate the inimical* (our emphasis)"[6].

For example, in the report of the Institute of Folklore after five years of activity, the tendency of certain genres to vanish is brought up regarding those that expressed unhappy life in the past (*doina*, ballad); another issue is the rise of the *new song,* with features that situates it ostentatiously on the esthetics line of realistic socialism:

"The new creations nowadays are growing in the rich soil of the traditional backgroud, bringing in on the poetic side images, ideas, and feelings related to building Socialism. On the melodic side it brings in a wide intake of energy and optimism, which leads to structural changes in the melody" [7] .

Actually, from a total number of 6.290 titles representing what was collected and cataloged from 1951 to 1958 in IEF, only about 40 titles represent *new*

[5] Francisc László, *Béla Bartók în România. Cronologie* [Béla Bartók in Romania: Chronology], in *Béla Bartók şi muzica românească* [Béla Bartók and the Romanian Music], with a foreword by Francisc László, Bucureşti, Editura Muzicală, 1976.

[6] S. Drăgoi, *Ibidem*.

[7] *Ibidem*.

folklore. Of course, there also are some paradoxical titles (or subtly subversive?) such as: *In the collective farm when I hear the doina ...*

III. TYPOLOGIES OF PERFORMERS

In *Outline of a Method of Musical Folklore* one can see the emphasis placed by Brăiloiu on the relation between the repertory and the biography of the subjects. The standard questions that are being addressed or formulated in the spirit of Gusti's sociological thinking, refer to their age, gender, education level, and mobility. Based on this data, Brăiloiu identifies a number of informers (from the "conservative elements" to the "dissolve elements" going through all the intermediary stages) also considered relevant in a collection.

In the catalogue, under the item "interpreters" one can find names of individuals who sing/play either solo or in small folk music bands. I was curious to check whether the "informers" Brăiloiu referred to in *Outline…* were also mentioned in AIMP. I found the name of Safta Dionisie Racu from Făgăraş (Drăguş), whose card is used by Brăiloiu to illustrate "the informer card"[8].

As regards the Fifties (1951–1958), the interpreter list changes its configuration a lot. In the IEF catalogues one finds informers such as: The Orchestra of the "Ciprian Porumbescu" Culture House from Suceava; The "Barbu Lăutaru" Orchestra; The Radio Folk Music Orchestra; The Chorus of Campina Factory (ACC Chorus); The Chorus of the Mining Union Aninoasa; The Artistic Brigade of the Mining Union Petrila etc.

What can be noticed here is the presence of new sounds in connection with the timbre parameter; these sounds, both choral and orchestral, have no relation to traditional Romanian music.

One telling example is that of the "Barbu Lăutaru" Traditional Orchestra, set up in 1949 by the Institute of Folklore and based on the model of the "wonderful Soviet ensembles"[9]. The nucleus was made up by talented traditional music artists, who were recruited by researchers from the Institute of Folklore (Fănică Luca – panpipe, Iliuță Rudăreanu – clarinet, Damian Luca – panpipe etc. Maria Lătărețu, the vocal soloist of the orchestra, was among the artists discovered by Brăiloiu; therefore, she appears in the AIMP database).

Gradually, various restrictions were imposed on the members of the orchestra, after the band came under the umbrella of the State Philharmonic in Bucharest (sic), in October 1953. "Raising the ideological and artistic level of its members"[10] meant, in the Socialist realism rhetoric of the time, raising the

[8] See Constantin Brăiloiu, *Schiță a unei metode de folklore muzical* [Draft on a Method for the Study of Musical Folklore], in "Boabe de grâu", II year, nr. 4, Bucureşti, Editura Societății Compozitorilor Români, 1931, p. 6.

[9] Constantin Gh. Prichici, *Despre activitatea orchestrei „Barbu Lăutaru*" [On the Activities of *Barbu Lăutaru* Orchestra], in "Muzica", nr. 7–8/ 1954, p. 29.

[10] *Ibidem*.

"musical literacy" of its instrumentalists, the diversification of their repertoire and of the instruments in the orchestra. The idea was for the "representative orchestra" to be able to handle repertoire from any part of the country. What was actually achieved, however, was standardization and loss of local identity in exchange for some mixed-up stylistic elements labeled as "national".

Nevertheless, in the IEF catalogues I could still find artists (individuals) who could be considered "specialized" in *new folklore*, such as Liberman Samuel or Ionescu Constantin (62 years old), or artists who only occasionally sang/played such songs. For exemple, Baciu Victoria (37 years old) from Poiana (Turda-Cluj) sang nine songs on November 1st, 1951, only one of which had a political theme: *All the Ploughs Are Ploughing* (collectors: Siminel Maria, Ciocos Paul).

IV. A STYLISTIC DESCRIPTION OF *NEW SONGS*

At the present stage of the IEF digitalized archive, a stylistic description of *new songs* (or of any other material) is limited to: a) Information on the musical genres and b) the themes (as long as they can be deduced from the titles); c) Since neither actual audio materials nor their transcription have been inserted in the IEF archive, the rhythmical – melodic aspects cannot be researched through ethnoMars.

Let's view them one at a time:

a) The traditional genres vs. the genres of *new folklore*

A glance at the collection of Romanian music by Brăiloiu in AIMP reveals the following genres: *doinas*; the funeral repertoire; songs proper; wedding repertoire; different types of dance; ballads.

In the case of *new folkloric music*, the genres catalogued as IEF are:

Song, new song, new song (creation), new song for Stalin, battle song, new song: vocal dance, dance (*The Collective Farmers' Sârba*), school song (*The Ballad of Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej*), worker's song, humor and satire show (*I saw you on the musical staff*; chorus, accordion and recitals; The artistic brigade of Poiana Câmpina Factory; Poiana Câmpina Ploieşti), sketch (*Aspects of a day of work in Petrila mine*; recital, chorus; The artistic brigade of the mining union of Petrila)

b) The thematic or the Socialist realism content of *the new song*:

Here are a few of the favorite themes of the new folklore, with examples taken exclusively from IEF:

Collectivization represents the main theme of the new folklore "collected" from rural areas: "On the collective farm when I hear the doina", "All the ploughs are ploughing" (2 titles).

A very well represented theme in IEF is the one of class struggle (around 20 titles): "Under the red flag"; "In the cruel, hard crush"; "Up, comrade, up you come"; "Forward, people, walk forward"; "In fatal battle, sacrificed you fell"; "When freedom is taken away from you".

The labor theme (around 5 titles): "Sing, miners!" (march), "Put your longing in the coal"; "The song of the five-year plan"; "I work on my machine".

The love for the Party and the beloved leader: "Fly, proud crane"; "I sing to Stalin the great"; "The ballad of Gh. Gh. Dej".

The celebration days of the working people: "For the 1st of May", "1st of May", "Long live the republic!"

Free elections: "On the constitutional project (The song of joy)".

The assumption that these topics represent the real interest of the creators, folk interpreters and, most of all, that the terms as "five-year plan" "fatal battle", "sacrifice", "constitution" etc. were part of their vocabulary takes a leap of imagination….

c) Rhythmical and melodic features of the *new song*

As the music itself cannot be accessed through ethnoMars, I will not insist now on these aspects. I will just enumerate some patterns that I identified by analyzing examples from collections and studies from the Fifties[11]:

– the quasi-mechanical overlap of some traditional melodies with texts in the spirit of the Socialist realism;

– an intermediate stage, in which the old melodies with new texts have small interval modifications: descending intervals become ascending intervals, in connection with naïve-rhetorical interpretations like "descending = pessimist; ascending = optimist";

– the creation of new melodies; what can be observed in the newly created melodies is "the tendency towards a certain tonality in opposition to the exclusively modal nature"[12]; the prevation of major keys over minor (keys); rhythmically, "a precise metric organization, as opposed to the *rubato* style" of the old songs[13].

From the information provided above it can be concluded that the stages of the new song represented many stages of regress, of perverted traditional music. At the same time, these stages (and especially the last one) also represented the first manifestations of a new, very powerful phenomenon, that of *folklorised music*.

It is interesting that this type of aesthetics did not fade away along with its ideological factors. It has survived to the present day, competing with other new genres (a new "new folk music"?) determined by present social, economic and political factors. But, at least for now, these do not comprise the subject of the four archives, or of this paper.

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[11] Ghizela Sulițeanu, *Viața cântecului popular în comuna Ieud* [The Life of the Folk Song in Ieud Commune], in "Muzica", nr. 1/1952, pp. 44–56; Valentin Damian, *Creația populară, oglindă vie a luptei poporului pentru o viață mai bună* [Folk Creation, Mirror of People's Living Battle for a Better Life], in "Muzica", nr. 10/1954; *Din folclorul nou* [Samples of the New Folklore], with a foreword by Mihai Beniuc, București, ESPLA, 1953, pp. 374–375.

[12] See M. Săndulescu, *Din folclorul nostru – Recenzie* [Samples of the New Folklore – a Review], in "Muzica", nr. 4/1953, p. 72.

[13] *Ibidem*.

DOCUMENTS ABOUT COLLECTIVIZATION STORED IN INTERNATIONAL FOLKLORIC ARCHIVES

ANCA STERE

ABSTRACT

The new folkloric songs represent an interesting and important phenomenon with deep social and cultural effects. Its importance in the Romanian area led my research supported by the *ethnoMars* search engine to approaching from this point of view – namely, the creation of the texts conveying ideological messages – the other regions which used to be under the political influence of or belonged to the Soviet Union, namely Bulgaria, Hungary, former Yugoslavian countries, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Russian Federation, Ukraine, Moldavia, Uzbekistan, etc. Therefore, I took the opportunity of using the above mentioned search engine to look for items reflecting the communist ideology within the four archives, *Archives Internationales de Musique Populaire* – Switzerland (AIMP), *Ethnological Museum Berlin – Department for Ethnomusicology* – Germany (EMEM), *Institute of Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences* – Hungary (ZTI), *"Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore* – Romania (IEF). First, the search engine was used to find names of all the countries in the area where collectivization was imposed (or even only attempted to be imposed), without considering the time criterion. Then, when receiving the results wanted from each archive, the search was refined, by introducing the second criterion – *time period* – thus reducing the number of results obtained so far. The third step was focused on finding out the names of the pieces in order to tell the pieces on communist ideology-related themes from those which were recorded in the same period but were conveying different messages. The results obtained using ethnomars show that the folkloric creations conveying ideological messages represented a method of spreading and imposing the communist ideas not only within the Romanian borders but also in other countries under the Soviet influence.

The folkloric creation is influenced by the context in which it is created, transmitted and performed. Each performing situation, its constitutive elements – the time and the place, the performers, the objects used, etc. – may be reflected by the text. Each performance of a folkloric item, in general and of a literary text, in particular, is related to the wide context of the popular culture, considered in a certain historical period with its social and economic aspects. In this respect

REF/JEF, *1–2*, p. 85–91, Bucureşti, 2009

I approach the folkloric text produced in the early years of the communist regime in Romania mainly considering the period (1949-1962) when the collective farms (*Gospodăriile Agricole de Producţie*) were imposed and organized. I should emphasize the fact that I am especially interested in those versified creations which carried and conveyed the ideological message of the communist regime. Thus, those creations built on a folkloric pattern and used as ideological tools in Romania represent the starting point of this research project, intending to find out if one can find this type of texts in the other regions under the influence or belonging to the former USSR.

Almost all phrases used for denominating these creations follow the same idea, namely the fact that they (allegedly) represent the new type of the Romanian folkloric texts. Thus, they are generally referred to as *popular lyrical poetry with contemporary themes*[1], *new popular songs*[2], *new creation of popular songs*[3]. The official definitions also include and enlarge upon this key idea:

"*The term new popular song* (author's underlining) meant, in fact, the popular creator's musical and literary product which directly or implicitly deals with the aspects of the working classes, approaching them in the spirit of the new mentality. But the term is conventional. We also adopted it because – being launched in our folkloristics, three decades ago – it has been rooted with the above-mentioned meaning. If it is understood ad literam the term is contradictory. The popular song, as a result of a collective creation process, which takes place in time and space, cannot represent, in any of its shapes, a totally new product. (…) A creation whose compounding elements would be totally new (i.e. they cannot be found in the traditional folklore) could not be considered a folkloric creation. Thus, a song cannot be popular and new in the same time.

The determinative *new* (…) refers to the themes inspired by the new of the Romanian socialist realities, this involving some partial renewals of the folkloric language, of its structure and the directions in its development. Thus, *saying new popular song we understand the song based on the folkloric tradition, at which the contemporary popular creator participates in order to express by the use of the lines and of the tune, his attachment to the socialist country* (the author's underlining)."[4]

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[1] Nicoleta Coatu, *Lirica populară cu tematică actuală* [The Popular Lyric with Contemporary Thematic], Bucureşti, Editura Minerva, 1984.

[2] Eugenia Cernea, Vasile D. Nicolescu, Monica Brătulescu, Nicolae Rădulescu, *Cântece şi strigături noi* [New Songs and Verses], Bucureşti, Editura Muzicală a Uniunii Compozitorilor din R.S.R., 1966 and Eugenia Cernea, Nicoleta Coatu, *Cântecul popular nou* [The New Popular Song], Bucureşti, Editura Muzicală, 1986. These are but two anthologies, which contain in their title the above-mentioned syntagm.

[3] C. Bărbulescu, *Creaţia nouă de cântece populare* [The New Creation of popular Songs], in "Studii şi cercetări de istorie literară şi folklor", Anul I, Nr. 1-4, 1952, pp. 193-220.

[4] Eugenia Cernea, Nicoleta Coatu, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

Apart from the fact that these texts represent the *real* contemporary folkloric creations, the above quoted definition also conveys the main feature of the *new popular lyrical poetry* – feature stated by most of the studies, which approached this subject in the communist period – i.e. the need of reflecting the socialist realities in the poetic text.

In one of the epoch's article, namely *The New Creation of the Folkloric Songs*, the artistic creation of the "working masses" was given the quality of being "a significant product of our epoch which vividly reflects the new socialist reality" and "an active agent which contributes to the development of our society"[5].

Thus, through these studies, an adjacent literature develops. It is a literature, which artificially promoted the new rules for creating the folkloric texts and established the researchers' tasks for enlarging the phenomenon of new folkloric lyrical poetry. More than this, the researches themselves were to follow certain rules: to deepen (to accelerate) the process of the popular creation, to establish the laws of its development and to provide new elements of "artistic craftsmanship", closer to the socialist realism for the writers and the composers; to guide the amateurs groups, the popular orchestras and the song and dance ensembles and to publish the popular creation[6].

The new popular creations are gathered in anthologies and categorized according to different criteria: the theme, the region or alphabetically (considering the first line). One may say that there are two levels of the new themes. It can be traced a surface level that of the themes suggested by the regulations of the creation and collection contests or of the themes which can be traced after considering the materials presented. The titles are general and interfere within the same piece: the (Communist) Party, the Republic, the antifascist struggle, the socialist transformations in agriculture (having sub themes which try to cover all the segments of a collectivized village – the collective farms, the mechanization in agriculture, the electrified village etc.), life in the new village, the satisfaction for abolishing the exploiting classes (the class struggle), working in factories and on the building sites etc.

The poetry on new themes induces the idea – through using these standardized topics – that all the folkloric creators think in the same manner and write according to a pattern.

Then, there can be traced a profound thematic level which intends, on the one hand, to shape the profile of the "new person", and, on the other hand, to settle the "fair" social structure – the class structure –, according to the criterion of the communist ideology. Within the former specification can be placed the image of the woman who acquires new attributes (the beautiful girl is singing *doinas* on the

[5] C. Bărbulescu, *art. cit.,* p. 193.
[6] Idem, p. 206.

tractor, she is elected among local authorities, she does not have time for being kissed because she has to harvest together with the brigade etc.) and new appellatives (she is the tractor driver, a brigade member etc.). It is modified the very criterion of selecting the partners. This aspect can be found in the following lines:

"Green leaf of a peony,/ My beauty on the tractor,/ Don't cause suffering!/ Stop the tractor for a while/ 'Cause my heart burns with desire./ Come down to hear my words/ For my heart to be relieved,/ I cannot even eat/ Because your love./ - Have no food until tomorrow,/ Doesn't bother me at all,/ I don't stop my tractor to hear your praises,/ All I have to do is crossing the road/ And another one like you is sure to find,/ Even nicer and a foremost one,/ Not like you a loiterer./ Forget about love/ And go to work,/ There's no time to sit and talk,/ The field has to be plough/ So let's start the tractors/ All over the fields".

The folkloric discourse was meant not only to "reflect the new social reality" but also to settle the social norms of conduct which regulated the relations the villagers had with "the socialist transformation of agriculture", namely the imposing of the collective farms (*Cooperativele Agricole de Producție*).

Thus, as one can see from this brief presentation, the creation of the so-called *the new songs* represented an interested and important phenomenon with deep social and cultural effects.

Its importance in the Romanian area led my research using ethnoMars search engine to approaching from this point of view the other regions which used to be under the political influence of or belonged to the Soviet Union, namely Bulgaria, Hungary, former Yugoslavian countries, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Russian Federation, Ukraine, Moldavia, Uzbekistan, etc. Therefore, I took the opportunity of using the above mentioned search engine to look for items reflecting the communist ideology within the four archives, *Archives Internationales de Musique Populaire* – Switzerland (AIMP), *Ethnological Museum Berlin – Department for Ethnomusicology* – Germany (EMEM), *Institute of Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences* – Hungary (ZTI), *"Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore* – Romania (IEF).

Thus, I first used the *geographical* criterion, searching in each archive separately. This first step meant using the names of all the countries in the area where collectivization was imposed (or even only attempted to be imposed), without considering the time criterion.

Here I encountered a problem, i.e. the spelling of each country name in the languages of each archive (French, German, and Hungarian). Yet, the option which allows the user to enter the symbol % for a group of unknown letters was perfect for this type of problem.

Then, when receiving the results wanted from each archive, I refined my search introducing the second criterion, namely *time period,* thus reducing the number of results obtained so far.

The third step was focused on finding out the names of the pieces so that I should tell the pieces on communist ideology-related themes from those which were recorded in the same period but were conveying different messages.

After that, my search was even more and more focused, trying to obtain as much information as I can about each piece. Thus, the results charts include the following searching nodes, according to the structure of the archive the results belong to:

- ethnic origin, collection, performance context, DAT no, country, responsibility for production, place of production, item no, support, responsibility for text, carrier place, other countries, locality of origin, production year, comment, campaign, region of origin, performers, translation, instruments, format, inventory no, booklet language, original title, responsibility for edition, place of edition, duration – for AIMP;
- short description of the object, images, long biography, text details, location, no of parts, instruments, institution administrating the object, title, technical description, genre, object status, performer, actual date, audio content, date of acquisition, long description of the object, acquisition person, digitized or not, person's function, nationality, short biography, additional sources of documentation, ownership rights – for EMEM;
- date of collection, title, collector, type name, first line of text, reference ID – for ZTI;
- title, the date when the campaign began, the date when the campaign ended, performer's name, date, origin, researcher's name, keywords, instrumental, vocal or vocal-instrumental, folkloric categories, folkloric genre – for IEF.

The searches using ethnoMars engine led to several results from two archives, namely EMEM (see Annex 1) and AIEF (see Annex 2).

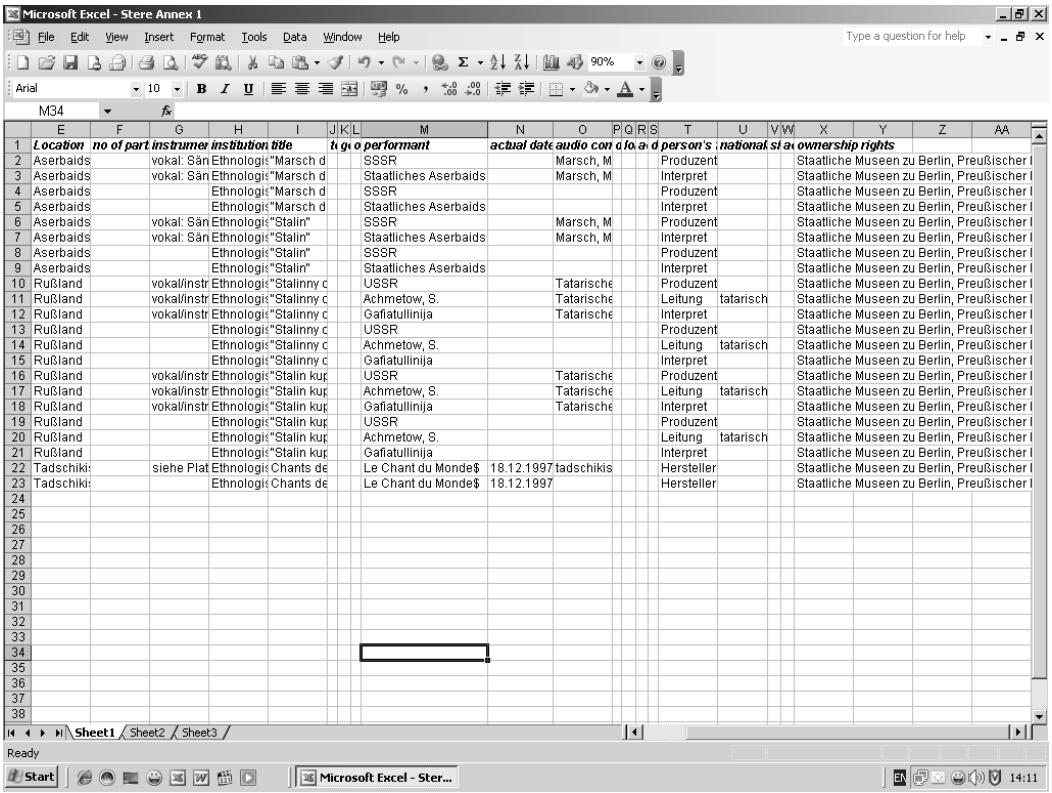
In EMEM the pieces come from Azerbaijan (8), Russia (12) and Tajikistan (2) and are *fighting songs* ("Marsch der Kämpfer") or songs dedicated to Stalin ("Stalin", "Stalinny olyglai", "Stalin kup jaschje") and to the Soviet people ("Chants des peuples sovietiques"). (see Annex 1)

The results obtained from AIEF can offer more detailed metadata if one perceives them from an ethnological point of view, thus considering the context of performance, i.e. the date of their recordings, the performers, the place of origin, the researcher who recorded them and also their first placement in the category of *the new folkloric songs*, placement done by the folklorists who recorded and archived them. They are labeled *new songs* (cântec nou), *songs for masses* (cântec de masă), *new songs for Stalin* (cântec nou pentru Stalin) or *fighting songs* (cântec de luptă). (see Annex 2)

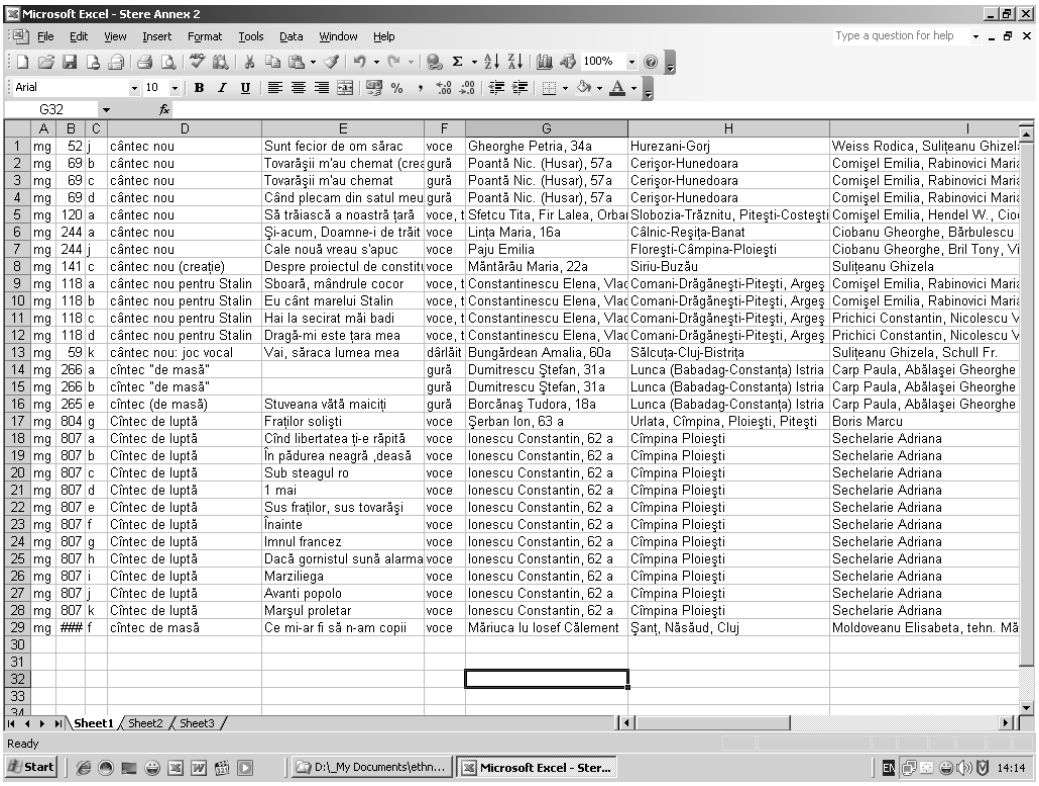
As this research shows folkloric creations conveying ideological messages represented a method of spreading and imposing the communist ideas not only

within the Romanian borders. As we know from the Romanian example that they did not spontaneously appeared as an answer to the esthetic or ritual needs of the village community and that they were mainly performed in contexts also ideologically fabricated especially for the purpose of generating, supporting and transmitting these artifacts, one can say that this type of creations represented a way of legitimizing the social structures of the communist regime, at least in the south-eastern Europe. Thus, it would be extremely interesting if this research could go even further, in the sense of searching the folkloric archives of the countries from the former Communist Bloc to find out similarities and differences at the discourse level. Starting from these very useful metadata it can be continued to the actual documents which should be analyzed from the point of view of the ideological message either hidden or openly stated in their versified lines thus being able to decipher some of the manipulator mechanisms used by the communist propaganda.

Annex 1



Annex 2



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	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
1	mg	52	j	cântec nou	Sunt fecior de om sărac	voce	Gheorghe Petria, 34a	Hurezani-Gorj	Weiss Rodica, Sulițeanu Ghizel
2	mg	69	b	cântec nou	Tovarășii m'au chemat (crea	gură	Poantă Nic. (Husar), 57a	Cerișor-Hunedoara	Comișel Emilia, Rabinovici Maria
3	mg	69	c	cântec nou	Tovarășii m'au chemat	gură	Poantă Nic. (Husar), 57a	Cerișor-Hunedoara	Comișel Emilia, Rabinovici Maria
4	mg	69	d	cântec nou	Când plecam din satul meu	gură	Poantă Nic. (Husar), 57a	Cerișor-Hunedoara	Comișel Emilia, Rabinovici Maria
5	mg	120	a	cântec nou	Să trăiască a noastră țară	voce, t	Sfetcu Tita, Fir Lalea, Orbai	Slobozia-Trăznitu, Piteşti-Costeşti	Comișel Emilia, Hendel W., Ciou
6	mg	244	a	cântec nou	Şi-acum, Doamne-i de trăit	voce	Linţa Maria, 16a	Câlnic-Reşiţa-Banat	Ciobanu Gheorghe, Bărbulescu
7	mg	244	j	cântec nou	Cale nouă vreau s'apuc	voce	Paju Emilia	Floreşti-Câmpina-Ploieşti	Ciobanu Gheorghe, Bril Tony, Vi
8	mg	141	c	cântec nou (creaţie)	Despre proiectul de constit	voce	Mântărău Maria, 22a	Siriu-Buzău	Sulițeanu Ghizela
9	mg	118	a	cântec nou pentru Stalin	Sboară, mândrule cocor	voce, t	Constantinescu Elena, Vlac	Comani-Drăgăneşti-Piteşti, Argeş	Comișel Emilia, Rabinovici Maria
10	mg	118	b	cântec nou pentru Stalin	Eu cânt marelui Stalin	voce, t	Constantinescu Elena, Vlac	Comani-Drăgăneşti-Piteşti, Argeş	Comișel Emilia, Rabinovici Maria
11	mg	118	c	cântec nou pentru Stalin	Hai la secirat măi badi	voce, t	Constantinescu Elena, Vlac	Comani-Drăgăneşti-Piteşti, Argeş	Prichici Constantin, Nicolescu V
12	mg	118	d	cântec nou pentru Stalin	Dragă-mi este ţara mea	voce, t	Constantinescu Elena, Vlac	Comani-Drăgăneşti-Piteşti, Argeş	Prichici Constantin, Nicolescu V
13	mg	59	k	cântec nou: joc vocal	Vai, săraca lumea mea	dârlăit	Bungărdean Amalia, 60a	Sălcuța-Cluj-Bistrița	Sulițeanu Ghizela, Schull Fr.
14	mg	266	a	cîntec "de masă"		gură	Dumitrescu Ştefan, 31a	Lunca (Babadag-Constanța) Istria	Carp Paula, Abălaşei Gheorghe
15	mg	266	b	cîntec "de masă"		gură	Dumitrescu Ştefan, 31a	Lunca (Babadag-Constanța) Istria	Carp Paula, Abălaşei Gheorghe
16	mg	265	e	cîntec (de masă)	Stuveana vătă maiciți	gură	Borcănaş Tudora, 18a	Lunca (Babadag-Constanța) Istria	Carp Paula, Abălaşei Gheorghe
17	mg	804	g	Cîntec de luptă	Fraților soliști	voce	Şerban Ion, 63 a	Urlata, Cîmpina, Ploieşti, Piteşti	Boris Marcu
18	mg	807	a	Cîntec de luptă	Cînd libertatea ți-e răpită	voce	Ionescu Constantin, 62 a	Cîmpina Ploieşti	Sechelarie Adriana
19	mg	807	b	Cîntec de luptă	În pădurea neagră ,deasă	voce	Ionescu Constantin, 62 a	Cîmpina Ploieşti	Sechelarie Adriana
20	mg	807	c	Cîntec de luptă	Sub steagul ro	voce	Ionescu Constantin, 62 a	Cîmpina Ploieşti	Sechelarie Adriana
21	mg	807	d	Cîntec de luptă	1 mai	voce	Ionescu Constantin, 62 a	Cîmpina Ploieşti	Sechelarie Adriana
22	mg	807	e	Cîntec de luptă	Sus fraților, sus tovarăşi	voce	Ionescu Constantin, 62 a	Cîmpina Ploieşti	Sechelarie Adriana
23	mg	807	f	Cîntec de luptă	Înainte	voce	Ionescu Constantin, 62 a	Cîmpina Ploieşti	Sechelarie Adriana
24	mg	807	g	Cîntec de luptă	Imnul francez	voce	Ionescu Constantin, 62 a	Cîmpina Ploieşti	Sechelarie Adriana
25	mg	807	h	Cîntec de luptă	Dacă gornistul sună alarma	voce	Ionescu Constantin, 62 a	Cîmpina Ploieşti	Sechelarie Adriana
26	mg	807	i	Cîntec de luptă	Marziliega	voce	Ionescu Constantin, 62 a	Cîmpina Ploieşti	Sechelarie Adriana
27	mg	807	j	Cîntec de luptă	Avanti popolo	voce	Ionescu Constantin, 62 a	Cîmpina Ploieşti	Sechelarie Adriana
28	mg	807	k	Cîntec de luptă	Marşul proletar	voce	Ionescu Constantin, 62 a	Cîmpina Ploieşti	Sechelarie Adriana
29	mg	###	f	cîntec de masă	Ce mi-ar fi să n-am copii	voce	Măriuca lu Iosef Călement	Şanț, Năsăud, Cluj	Moldoveanu Elisabeta, tehn. Mă
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A MODEL FOR A REINTEGRATED MUSICOLOGY

IZALY I. ZEMTSOVSKY

"You don't dissect a bird to find the origins
of its song: what should be dissected is your ear."

Joseph Brodsky[1]

ABSTRACT

Twentieth-century musicology is divided. Its reintegration is a mission for the twenty-first. The domains we need to integrate include musicology (with all its historical and theoretical branches), ethnomusicology, and anthropology (with all its approaches – historical, sociological, cultural, biological and psychological). The last is the key, because the most effective way to integrate all music-centered disciplines would be the "anthropologization" of musicology: in other words, its transformation from a text-oriented discipline to one oriented toward human culture. The prefix *ethno* ought eventually to be recognized not as a contentious term, but as a universal category for all fields in the humanities. To ensure equality in the process of reintegration, we must add it to the theoretical base of all music studies. This is the best way to achieve a synthesis of musicology and anthropology. The key concept for such a synthesis is *ethnohearing*. This term is introducing here to denote the way we inevitably perceive and make music according to our own auditory experience. Ethnohearing, which is a foundation of music-ethnic identity, belongs to all of us as *ethnophores* and therefore can be a unifying force in music studies rather than a badge of difference.

Keywords: Ethnohearing, Intonatsiya, Ethnomusicology, Musicology, Anthropology.

TOWARD A DEFINITION

Among a few books which I enjoy rereading as often as I can, there is "The Study of Ethnomusicology," a book of Bruno Nettl. One can find here numerous points to stimulate our creative thinking as we pursue the answers to the most vexing questions of the discipline. Thinking of the subject of this article, I also found something for my profit here – the aphorism essential for the very beginning of the following reasoning. Here it is: "... the definition of music also determines

[1] Brodsky, Joseph, *Less Than One: Selected Essays*, New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1986, p. 356.

the definition of ethnomusicology"[2]. Indeed, if we would like to say something about integration of disciplines dealing with music, we have first to define our object and, consequently, subject – the music. Certainly, I do not pretend to invent a new definition to the general or particular esthetics or to discuss the boundless sea of musicological literature on the matter. My only intent is to show that a slightly refreshed definition of music should help us not only to redefine our disciplines but also to have a deeper understanding of the way of its desirable reintegration. Simply, it should help us to understand each other better.

1. HOMO MUSICANS, INTONATSIYA AND HEARING

In brief, the workable definition of music which, I believe, might help us today, should take into account not only the world of musical sound as such but those who are able to make this world their own – *homo musicans* – because music practically exists within the grasp of its listeners. All participants of the process of music-making – be it composer or performer (i.e., music-makers proper), listener (I call the latter "music-taker"), be they known or unknown, – are listeners first and foremost. We have a very peculiar object which practically does not exist without its consumer and therefore we must include in the very definition both music and ear-minded human being alike, i.e., two basic and indissoluble components of the living phenomenon. *Homo musicans* is surely part and parcel of music itself.

This idea of the unbreakable unity of music and human being and specifically music and human ear as the basically essential unity has already been noticed and formulated more than a century and half ago by... Karl Marx (1818–1883). Yes, indeed, it was neither musicologist Adolph Bernard Marx nor musicologist and composer Joseph Marx, – it was the founder of Marxism himself – Karl Marx in his early writings. Allow me to remind you a curious fragment from his "Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844":

"To the *eye* an object comes to be other that it is to the *ear*, and the object of the *eye* is another object than the object of the *ear*. The peculiarity of each essential power is precisely its *peculiar essence*, and therefore also the peculiar mode of its objectification, of its *objectively actual living being*. Thus man is affirmed in the objective world not only in the act of thinking, but with *all* his senses. On the other hand, looking at this in its subjective aspect, [...] music alone awakens in man the sense of music, and [...] the most beautiful music has *no* sense for the unmusical ear – is no object for it, because my object can only be the confirmation of one of my essential powers and can therefore only be so for me as my essential power is present for itself as a subjective capacity, because the sense of an object for me goes only so far as *my* senses go (has only sense for a sense corresponding to that object)..."[3].

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[2] Nettl, Bruno, *The Study of Ethnomusicology*, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1983, p. 23.

[3] Quote after: Robert C. Tucker, ed. *The Marx-Engels Reader*, N.Y.: W.W. Norton & Co. Inc., 1972, p. 74.

A remarkable passage. It is well known that since about the end of the 19th century, first in Germany, within both philology and musicology, a serious methodological conflict took place between so-called *Augen* and *Ohren* approaches, in our case between music for the eyes and music for the ears. (Apropos, in terms of musical transcription, this kind of opposing had always and everywhere has a place). Meantime, the world of music is the world of the ear. Music is an art which is heard. As Boris V. Asaf'yev (1884-1949) pointed out, "Music lives for the ear, not for the eye, and is comprehended by the intellect through the hearing"[4]. "The ear becomes the measure of things in music"[5]; "many people listen to music, but a few hear it"[6]; "to hear is already to understand"[7], and so on, and so forth.

However, to say just like this would be too general. I think we must somehow narrow the meaning of "two sides of a coin" – music and *homo musicans* – in order to make them more specific and hereby more like "hard currency," being stylistically closer to the used expression.

To cut a long story short, I am offering to reduce or, better, to condense, first, music to intonation and, second, *homo musicans* to musical hearing.

As for intonation, I prefer to use this word with the Russian ending *intonatsiya* in order to stress the peculiarity of the chosen concept. As I have already explained it in another paper[8], *intonatsiya* means the source and the essence of music, a unique activity of human intellect, a musical thinking and, at the same time, a process of disclosure of the human consciousness in specific forms of musical art. If we understand music in its enduring unity with *homo musicans* and the entire music-culture as a discourse between peoples, then we obtain a certain basis for understanding of *intonatsiya*. It is impossible to dissect *intonatsiya* into its acoustical and human elements – they are one. *Intonatsiya* enters the public consciousness as part of an oral/aural vocabulary, as a complex of musical thoughts. Using a John Shepherd's formula, "music is inherently social"[8a]. In such a case *intonatsiya* turned out to be a model of music as art. In this rich in content sense music, indeed, is "the *intonational language* utterly and completely"[9]. By means of that notion we are

[4] Quote after: Tull, James Robert, *B.V.Asaf'yev's Musical Form as a Process: Translation and Comments*, in 3 volumes. Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1976, p. 926.

[5] *Ibidem*, p. 561.

[6] *Ibidem*, p. 609.

[7] *Ibidem*, p. 622.

[8] Zemtsovsky, Izaly, *An Attempt at a Synthetic Paradigm*, in „Ethnomusicology", 1997, 2, p. 189–192. See also a peculiar approach to *intonatsiya* delightfully described by John Bell Young in his paper *Intonatsia and the Politics of Expression: Towards Understanding of Russian Intonation in Theory and Practice* presented at the *World Piano Pedagogy Conference in Fort Worth*, Texas, October 22, 1998 (see the website http://www.towerofbabel.com/sections/music/baton/intonatsia/).

[8a] Shepherd, John, *Music as Social Text*. Cambridge: Polity Press [UK], 1991, p. 77.

[9] Asaf'yev, Boris [published under a pseudonym Igor Glebov], Introduction to the Russian translation of *Grundlagen des linearen Kontrapunkts* (Bern, 1917) by Ernst Kurth: *Osnovy linearnogo kontrapunkta*, Moskva: Gosmuzizdat, 1931, p. 28.

discovering the firm basis for comprehension not only history of music but also *music as history*, music as a historic document. *Intonatsiya* of a given people speaks of its people's culture and in a way of its particular outlook on the world which is expressed in this or that *intonatsiya*. The intonational approach to music as the activity of *homo musicans* unavoidably leads to a deeper understanding of music as a reliable source of human history.

Now it is time to explain the second notion, no less crucial for our concept, – the hearing.

Regrettably enough, musical hearing (and its theory) is the Cinderella discipline of musicology and ethnomusicology alike, whereas, I believe, the *faculty of hearing* should be even studied at the special *university faculty*, if it is appropriate to make a pun with respect to such a serious matter.

It is an interesting fact that in ancient Indo-European languages[10] there is a remarkable semantic correlation between "ear" and "intellect". For instance, the Iranian "hoosh" means "intellect, awareness, consciousness" and goes back to Avestan "ushi" which means again "intellect" and – "two ears" (exactly like in Russian, by the way). The same it is in Sumerian language where 'ear' and 'wisdom' had identical ideogram "ngeshtu". Thus, even in this ancient etymology the core idea of Asaf'yev might be seen, namely – musical hearing operated by intellect and at the same time it is an invisible operator of all musical activity. Human beings create the endless variety of tuneful ear, i.e., myriads of musical hearings, and all of them are working out for our artistic and identity profit.

"We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation"[11] – this classical statement of Edward Sapir (1884-1939) may be well addressed to musical hearing. Unhappily, the evidence for the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis has been equivocal. However, we do hear music as we do because musical hearings, both traditional for our community and our personal alike, in a way predispose certain choices of perception, selection, and interpretation. Indeed, the "real musical world" is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the musical hearing habits of the group and the person. As again Bruno Nettl rightly pointed out, "it almost seems that ethnomusicologists are the victims of an analogue of the Whorfian hypothesis, according to which thought is regulated by the structure of language; musical hearing on the part of Westerners may be profoundly affected by the characteristics of Western notation"[12], and, let me add, by all well-tempered music around.

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[10] According to an oral comment made to me by Prof. Martin Schwartz, UC-Berkeley.

[11] Quote after: Carroll, John. B., ed., *Language, Thought, and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*, New York and London: The Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1962, p. 134. See more in: Sapir, Edward, *Culture*, Hawthorne, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999.

[12] Nettl, Bruno. *The Study of Ethnomusicology*, p. 78.

Meantime, musicology – according to Asaf'yev, and I fully share this opinion, – has to study an ability not only to hear but "to act by inner hearing," *to think musically* by almost "tangible" hearing, to study the hearing as a builder of music, as something that is in a very structure of our musicality, as well as "the formation of the human ear" and "as the culture of human hearing"[13]. Asaf'yev wrote also on the "auditory memory" of mass perception[14], on the evolution of the human, "public" ear[15], and so on. John Blacking (1928–1990) almost echoes these Asaf'yev's appeals: "All to hear [music] but in reality they are not"[16]; "Music can express social attitudes and cognitive processes, but it is useful and effective only when it is heard by the prepared and receptive ears of people who have shared, or can share in some way, the cultural and individual experiences of its creators"[17].

Thus, music is the art of *intonatsiya*, and as such it does not exist without the musical ear. *Intonatsiya* and hearing (like, let us remember, music in general and *homo musicans*) are two sides of a coin, and exactly and only their living unity should be taken as a suitable definition of music. This is our first step – to accept these preliminary statements as the workable basis for discussion.

Once Asaf'yev made up an important *currency image*: "Music is natural wealth, but words are very often currency bills. Words may be spoken without intoning their quality, their true meaning; music is always intonational, or otherwise it is 'inaudible'"[18]. I see here the crucial for us link between *intonatsiya* and musical hearing. There is no "inaudible" substance in music, and even Ernst Kurth (1886–1946) who beautifully pointed out that "musical hearing is more and something else than bare hearing with the ear," had been mistakenly trying to search for that *more* in somewhat mysterious psychic "processes whose forces spin around in the inaudible"[19].

Yes, "the definition of music determines the definition of ethnomusicology" (Nettl) and, let me add, it determines the definition of all music studies (1) and, in its turn, our understanding of music depends on our musical hearing (2). Indeed,

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[13] Tull, James Robert, *B.V. Asaf'yev's Musical Form as a Process*, p. 931.

[14] Ibidem, p. 793.

[15] Ibidem, p. 929.

[16] Quote after: Byron, Reginald, ed. *Music, Culture, and Experience: Selected Papers of John Blacking*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1995, p. 229.

[17] Blacking, John, *How Musical Is Man?* Seattle: University of Washington, 1973, p. 54.

[18] Tull, James Robert, *B.V. Asaf'yev's Musical Form as a Process*, p. 631.

[19] Kurth, Ernst; quote after: Baumann, Max Peter, *The Ear as Organ of Cognition: Prolegomenon to the Anthropology of Listening*, in "European Studies in Ethnomusicology: Historical Developments and Recent Trends" (Intercultural Music Studies, 4), Wilhelmshaven: Florian Noetzel Verlag, 1992, p. 139, 123. Unfortunately, Asaf'yev's excellent introductory article to the Russian translation of Kurth's book, which came out in 1931, is still unknown to the West. There this outstanding Russian musicologist was able to formulate the most topical ideas about musical hearing – the ideas, which he addressed to music of the oral and written traditions alike. As he declared there, all his fundamentals have been discovered on the basis of two main types of music – Russian folk songs and J.-S. Bach, i.e., equally oral-folk and written-art music. I believe, this article will be eventually translated into English and then all specialists should be enriched for their benefit but ...for how long it will be late?!

general hearing takes just sounds on the whole, any sounds whatsoever, whereas musical hearing, a tuneful ear takes *intonatsiya* – this is precisely its real food. Musical hearing is working with *intonatsiya*, with these "ear"-marks which were developed in the oral tradition – the ear-marks by which music is recognized. As Abraham Zvi Idelsohn (1882–1938) deciphered it, "'ear'-marks, i.e., signs for musical patterns learned by ear"[20]. Besides, hearing is not only a tool of perception and comprehension in a music-making. This is the only inseparable basis, the only everyday musical experience of full value, and even deeper than that – the *psychological set* of all musical activity whatsoever. Indeed, our audible expectations correct our actual hearing. There is no comprehensible hearing without a psychological set or, as Boleslav Yavorsky (1877–1942) put it in the 1920s–30s, without *inner auditory tuning*[21] that is present in all human beings. This is a very deep phenomenon, and I see in it the essential analogue to a psychological *set theory* developed by Dmitri Uznadze (1886-1950, founder of the Georgian school of psychology). "Yavorsky makes us consider *how* and *what* we hear"[22].

2. INTRODUCING THE ETHNOHEARING

Having set forth this basic premise, we next move to the second step. Now we have – again, for the practical purpose –, to precise the phenomenon of musical ear. It sounds too broad for our discussion. It was enough for Karl Marx, but not enough for us. My suggestion is to prelimit it by a new working notion of *ethnohearing*. Let us understand *ethnohearing* as ethnically marked hearing (perception) of music; or, putting it another way, *cultural anthropology of musical hearing* or the innate instrument of both human perception and musical creativity.

I am aware how complicated that issue is in general and especially at the midst of today's *musical intersections* but it does might turn out for good – such limitation will actually broaden our horizon. The reason is simple – as *ethnophores*, we are all inevitably *ethno* – we are all ethnics and hereby we are all equal and no one group is superior to another. Ethnohearing in a way is almost similar to such domains as ethnic food and odor, as Anthony Seeger has once wittily described[23]. When you prefer, for instance, Indian-Mexican food and ignore a Japanese one, you demonstrate your *ethnic hearing* in dining. Cultures differ in odor, vision and audition but all of them have that cultural phenomenon as their cultural identifier.

[20] Idelsohn, Zvi A., *Jewish Music: Its Historical Development* [1929], N.Y: Dover Publications, 1992, p. 27.

[21] Yavorsky, Boleslav, *Izbrannye trudy* [Selected writings], vol. 2, part 1. Moskva: Sovetskii kompozitor, 1987, p. 41–47. (For the first time about this phenomenon see in his book *Struktura melodii* [The Structure of Melody], Moskva: Gosmuzidat, 1929, p. 7.)

[22] McQuere Gordon D., ed. *Russian Theoretical Thought in Music*. Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1983, p. 159.

[23] Seeger, Anthony, *Anthropology and Odor, Perfumer & Flavorist,* 1988, 13, p. 41–48.

Ethnohearing culturally divides us and at the same time conceptually unites us as something relevant that belongs to all of us as *ethnophores* without exception[24].

After all, I base myself on three ideas and, consequently, three notions of one of my previous theoretical article[25], namely (1) *intonatsiya* which implies the quality of the musical content, (2) *ethnophore* as an authentic bearer of a tradition, and (3) *melosphere* as the musical aura of the Earth, its "intonational field," a living musical treasury. Being musicians, we all have a deal with *intonatsiya*; being representatives of this or that ethnic tradition, we all are *ethnophores*; having this or that musical memory and this or that musical thesaurus, we all consciously or unconsciously know or feel the *melosphere*. Keeping these three essential concepts, I am moving further offering the working definition of ethnomusicology as *anthropology of hearing* and naming ethnomusicology by *musicology of ethnohearing*. I am doing this in search of a new and appropriate basis for a desirable reintegration of musicology.

It is not a secret that not everyone is thinking like this. It is not a secret that for many scholars ethno-prefix is an ambiguous one, if not a humiliating or embarrassing. I may recollect, for instance, a memorable motto of Claude Palisca who wrote in 1976: "Not all music has an ethnic orientation – certainly much contemporary music is in an international style that does not land itself to an ethnomusicological approach"[26]. Frankly, I do not think so – I do not believe in an abstract "international style" – it certainly does not feet so much the variety of musical trends outside Europe and Northern America and even within modern

[24] These ideas have been elaborated by the author in two special articles: 1/ Polyphony as "Ethnohearing" and Its "Musical Substance": *Homo Polyphonicus in Action*, In: Rusudan Thurtsumia and Joseph Jordania, eds. *The Proceedings of the Second International Symposium on Traditional Polyphony (Tbilisi, 2004),* Tbilisi State Conservatoire*,* 2005, p. 25–32; and 2/ Ethnic Hearing in the Socio-Cultural Margins: *Towards the Identity of Homo Musicans Polyethnoaudiens,* in: Eitan Avitsur, Marina Ritzarev, Edwin Seroussi, eds. *Jews and Their Musical Experiences.* Tel Aviv, Bar-Ilan University Press. Forthcoming, 2009. See also pages 183–185 in my article *Musicological Memoirs on Marxism*, in: Regula Burkhardt Qureshi (ed.), *Music and Marx: Ideas, Practice, Politics*, Routledge, 2002. Compare my recent triptych of articles in Russian: *Apologiia slukha* (The Apology of Hearing) in *Muzykal'naia akademiia* (*Musical Academy*, Moscow), 2002, 1, p. 1–12, *Apologiia teksta* (Apology of the Text), ibid., 2002, 4, p. 100–110, and *Apologiia muzykal'nogo veshchestva* (Apology of the 'Musical Substance'), ibid., 2005, 2, p. 181--192. See also Kamper, Dietmar. *Hearing versus Seeing and Speaking: For an Approaching Sociology of the Ear*, in *Ethnomusicology in the Context of other Sciences*, Eisenach: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung Karl Dieter Wagner, 1994, p. 7–13 (Beitrage zur Ethnomusikologie, Band 30, Herausgegeben von Josef Kuckertz).

[25] Zemtsovsky, Izaly, *An Attempt at a Synthetic Paradigm*, in "Ethnomusicology", 1997, 2, p. 185–205.

[26] See the response by Claude Palisca to the position paper of Fredric Lieberman, *Should Ethnomusicology Be Abolished*? [for the Ethnomusicology Interest Group at the 19th Annual Meeting of the College Music Society, Washington D.C., November 1976] in "Journal of the College Music Society" 17(2), 1977, p. 203. The text was republished in the *Garland Library of Readings in Ethnomusicology*, ed. by Kay Kaufman Shelemay, vol. 1 (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1990), p. 259.

Europe one can tell one music from another. Besides, as James Porter noted, ethnomusicology is a discipline defined "by its recognition that the conceptual basis of music making on the one hand, and the social value of music on the other, make its perspective suitable for analyzing any music whatsoever"[27]. As a result, I rather incline to an opinion of David McAllester (1916–2006) who claimed that "all music is ethnic music"[28].

Ethnicity is a universal category of humankind. All of us we have this or that ethnohearing because we all are *ethnophores*, i.e., bearers of some ethnic predilections, customs, habits, favorite tastes and smells, taken for granted common knowledge, community's memories, even sound ideals and, of course, music. Ethnohearing as much as articulation is always ethnically specific and in a way unique. It represents the difference between ethnic traditions and therefore belongs to all traditions without exception as their *water of life*. Ethnohearing is a key to the knowledge of all variety of human languages in music – music as a live activity. Ethnohearing, as a creative and syncretic phenomenon, is a tool of the very existence of music. It is an ethnic identifier, i.e., a kind of reliable machinery of ethnic identification. There is no musical faculty without *ethno*.

Living ethnohearing is in charge of the inter-ethnic dialogue in music – there is no such a phenomenon as "out-of-ethnicity hearing" if we are talking about real full-blooded life. In the presence of *ethno* all of us are equal – there is none without *ethno*. The *ethno*, this is exactly what connects us: you and I are different but *ethno*: we are united and at the same time differentiated by *ethno*.

My logic is simple: there is no music without *ethno*, there is no hearing without *ethno*, therefore should be no musicology without *ethno*.

We all remember reassuring words by John Blacking: "Ethnomusicology is not only an area study concerned with exotic music, nor a musicology of the ethnic – it is a discipline that holds out hope for a deeper understanding of all music"[29]. Before that, in 1969 Charles Seeger (1886–1979) pointed out something similar: "Ethnomusicology is an approach to the study of any music, not only in terms of itself but also in relation to its cultural context"[30]. Taking into account what had to be said here about *ethno*, we do not see any discrepancy between two notions given by Blacking – "ethic music" and "all music": for us they are simply equal because all musics are more or less ethnic, and all of us are more or less "exotic" in our own way and in the eyes of the others. If Clifford Geertz was right, and "art and the equipment to grasp it are made in the same shop"[31], this shop for all branches of musicology is nothing but musical ethnohearing.

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[27] Porter, James W., *Verdi's Attila, An Ethnomusicological Analysis*, in *Attila, The Man and His Time,* ed. by Franz H. Baüml and Marianna D. Birnbaum. Budapest, 1993, p. 53.

[28] McAllester, David P., *The Astonished Ethno-Muse*, in "Ethnomusicology", 1979, 2, p. 183.

[29] *How Musical Is Man?* p. 31.

[30] Seeger, Charles. *Studies in Musicology: 1935–1975*. University of California Press, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1977, p. 116.

[31] Geertz, Clifford, *Art as a Cultural System*, "Modern Language Notes", 91, 1976, p. 1497.

However, Blacking who had been so very much concern with our reintegration, believed that "we may be able to take the *ethno* out of ethnomusicology before long. Then we may once more have a unified musicology, a musicology truly fertilized and enriched by the contribution of ethnomusicology"[32]. His idea was clear – to take *ethno* out and then to unite. What I am going to propose here is quite opposite – to add *ethno* (to musicology) and then to unite. A scholarship of the future which must unite musicology and ethnomusicology, Blacking called "a human science of the tonal art." I prefer to call it, after all, "a science of musical hearing".

3. ETHNOHEARING IN THE PROCESS OF REINTEGRATION

The very idea of our reintegration is not so modern, after all. I would remind a credo of a Russian musical thinker Aleksandr Serov (1820–1871) who in 1869, a far cry ago, had such a conceptual dream: "We have to consider [...] as a field of one common enormous science of "humanology" (*"anthropology" in a general sense*) the science of folk music art, i.e., the folk song. This future "musical embryology" is closely related [...] with physiology [...], ethnography [...], history of people's culture [...], with the philology [...], chiefly, in the unwritten, traditional monuments, since the musical embryos in each nation precede its «written language»..."[33]. Now, at the beginning of the 21st century, this dream sounds much more realistic than back in the 1860s but still we have a good deal to consider and discuss in order to find a methodologically appropriate mutual language.

I am ready to consider my term *ethnohearing* as a temporary *building timber* for the concept under discussion. Time will come when this term will be naturally abandoned – its part will be done. However, I am totally certain that only through *ethnohearing* we would be able to come to general notion of musical hearing in full its meaning and capacity.

This article is not a right place to clarify and develop these arguable questions completely in the way that they need. I am not speaking, for instance, how exactly ethnohearing is coming into being in general and in each of us. I have another concern. I do not claim that each of us has just one and the only one ethnic/cultural hearing. That claim should be ridiculous in present time. This is similar to a linguistic situation – many of us speak not just one language and feel at home with two and sometimes more languages. The same, if not more, we have in music. For instance, I personally adore Beethoven and Schubert, Chopin and

[32] Blacking, John, *Towards a Reintegration of Musicology*, in: *Proceedings of Second British-Swedish Conference on Musicology: Ethnomusicology (Cambridge, 5-10 August 1989),* ed. by Ann Buckley, K.-O. Edstrom & Paul Nixon. Goeteborg, 1991, p. 66.

[33] Serov, Alexandr, *Russkaia narodnaia pesnia kak predmet nauki* [Russian Folk Song as a Scholarly Subject], Moscow: Gosmuzizdat, 1952, p. 17 (the first publication goes back to *Musykal'nyj sezon* [Musical Season], St.-Petersburg, 1870, p. 18).

Tchaikovsky, New Orleans jazz and Yiddish melody, Georgian polyphony and Kazakh dombra music, Russian and Gypsy romances and Azeri Mugham (to name a few) – I am a musical polyglot but my ethnohearing is not a boundless or, let me say, stretch. There is music that speaks me nothing and there is music that I do not want listen to at all – it makes me sleepy or irritable. And the same, I believe, more or less with all of us. Our ethnohearing selects, governs and creates.

We are hearing what we are – apparently who we are – what we potentially can articulate ourselves. If we have, for instance, a heavy Russian accent speaking English, it means we have a heavy Russian ethnohearing. In principle, hearing and articulation are closely connected. Musically we are what we are able to hear, what our hearing can digest with joy and bliss. Indeed, hearing is like DNA – *Tell me what you hear, and I will tell you who you are.*

I am quite aware of the regrettable fact that using the *ethno-hyphen* in modern terminology tends to be associated with values. Being far away from this belittling habit myself, I do hope that my notion of ethnohearing will be taken simply as related to ethnicity in a broad sense, to ethnic identity and to ethnic groups. As it should be clear, I proceed from the conviction that all of us, we are ethnic. However, I do not narrow that notion to a straightforward ethnicity – first of all, many of us are bi-musical and even more musical even if we are not bi-ethnic and more ethnical ourselves, and second, our ethnicity might be realized not just directly but very much indirectly as well. For instance, when Felix Mendelssohn (1809–1847) wrote in 1842 that "the thoughts which are expressed to me by music that I love are not too indefinite to be put into words, but on the contrary, too definite"[34], the crucial moment for me concentrates here not in the well-known esthetic statement of the composer but in his very personal reservation *that I love* – that love had, as its basis, if not ethno- but certainly culturally definite hearing; that love is a sign of his audible selectivity and preferability, i.e., a sure sign of truly deep perception and understanding. And when Bruno Nettl rightly wrote that "in order to learn a new mazurka by Chopin, one must read his notes with *an aural knowledge* of how Chopin is supposed to sound"[35], again I interpret it as a recognition of inner hearing stylistically and culturally determinate.

Ethnohearing and *inner auditory tuning*[35a] are interconnected (1), and they are in a constant process of transformation and developing (2). Both phenomena – as the ethnos itself – are an organic combination (the unity) of stable and mobile – historically and personally alike.

Ethnohearing, in a way like language, cut music up, organizes it into different domains which we are partly accepting, partly rejecting. Therefore I would add to the well-known triad of Alan Parkhurst Merriam (1923–1980) – concept, behavior,

[34] Mendelssohn, Felix, *Letters*, Edited by G. Selden-Goth. New York: Pantheon Books Inc., 1945, p. 314.

[35] Nettl, Bruno. *The Study of Ethnomusicology*, p. 69.

[35a] I insist to reintroduce this notion, created by Boleslav Yavorsky, to our scholarship but have no place here to reveal it properly.

and sound as three areas equally central to ethnomusicological work, the fourth one – musical (ethno/cultural) hearing, and this one, as I believe, should be seen as the central issue of music study in general.

If we dare to repeat that *in the beginning was the Word* – and consequently, *in the beginning was Sound*, it means that in the foundation of human's sensitivity should be Hearing. Exactly this phenomenon could help us to explain why researchers of world music cannot study all of the world's music "on its own terms" and why they cannot "avoid injecting certain of their own values"[36], and, as a result, as Bruno Nettl rightly pointed out, "ethnomusicologists sometimes appear to be hypocritical"[37].

This is a serious reason why John Blacking's legacy is so important today – it was him who studied the musicologist's perception of a musical structure as "only one of a number of perceptions that must be taken into account in arriving at an explanation of the musical product"[38].

4. MUSICAL CULTURE AS COEXISTENT STRATA

However, we are different not only personally. Even within one and the same ethnic culture there are several *subcultures* which are differentiated from auditory perspective and, consequently, by musical hearing.

According to Bruno Nettl, "each culture has its musical strata"[39], and "each culture has its own way of classifying music," "each culture tends to have some kind of hierarchy in its musical system"[40]. At the same time, he gives the most widely used grouping – 1/ primitive, 2/ popular, 3/ folk, and 4/ art or classical music. What I am trying to do, proceeds from a somewhat another criteria. This is what I put forward for a further consideration.

Musical culture of every nation consists (at least today) of several layers, several inalienable and coexistent strata: 1/ folklore (i.e., totally oral), 2/ religious as *first professional* (oral and sometimes written; church and shamans are alike included), 3/ the so-called oral professional (for example, classical *maqamat* in Central Asia, Gypsy wedding music in Eastern Europe, all kinds of minstrels up to the oral-written French chanson, epic singers, and so on, and so forth – a huge variety of historical forms), 4/ written professional (as a rule, it goes from the modern West-European musical tradition rooted primarily in Germany, France and Italy; all composers of modern European type of compositions are included; and the so-called "third trend" in Russian music of today as well – I mean compositions

[36] Nettl, Bruno. *The Study of Ethnomusicology*, p. 315.
[37] Ibidem.
[38] John Blacking, *The Problem of "Ethnic" Perceptions in the Semiotics of Music*, in: *The Sign in Music and Literature*, ed. by Wendy Steiner. Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1981, p. 184.
[39] Nettl, Bruno. *The Study of Ethnomusicology*, p. 310.
[40] Ibidem, p. 305; then I refer to p. 304.

which are stylistically between classic and light music), 5/ pop-, rock- etc. mass culture**,** which cannot exist without modern technology (radio, phonograph, tape recorder, turntable, record player, film-movie, TV, amplifier, CD, DVD, CD-ROM, iPod, and so on, and so forth) and mass media, which is completely a child of the 20th and 21st centuries.

What is essential, all five strata pretend to be *the only* stratum for those who cultivate this or that stratum, for those who chose this or that one, for those who select this or that stratum as their own and their only *window to the world* – at least, for the time being (for it might be a case of a generation only, not a whole class/stratum of a society). Besides, each type – for their consumers and "public" (be it a traditional milieu or modern "fans" – the ardent admires of a celebrity) – reflects the whole world. It means, all of them have a *particular type of musical hearing* of their own as well.

Each culture consists of several ethnohearings – typologically of these five huge groups. It is extremely important to understand – not in order to bridge these hearings for the sake of hasty and practically meaningless integration – but in order to take them in consideration all the time. It does not mean that each of us today may not have several different hearings which are depending on our ability to accommodate different styles of life and cultural environments. We do have several hearings and do select them accordingly to situation – being, for instance, in a restaurant, at the concert hall, or listening to an opera.

5. A CONCISE SUMMARY

Before I will turn to figures to illustrate the model I am going to propose, let me sum up the gist of my premises and reasoning.

Twentieth-century musicology is divided. Its reintegration is a mission for the twenty-first. The domains we need to integrate include musicology (with all its historical and theoretical branches), ethnomusicology, and anthropology (with all its approaches – historical, sociological, cultural, biological and psychological). The last is the key, because the most effective way to integrate all music-centered disciplines would be the "anthropologization" of musicology: in other words, its transformation from a text-oriented discipline to one oriented toward human culture.

The prefix *ethno* ought eventually to be recognized not as a contentious term, but as a universal category for all fields in the humanities. To ensure equality in the process of reintegration, we must not omit the *ethno* but, by contrast with John Blacking, add it to the theoretical base of all music studies. This is the best way to achieve a synthesis of musicology and anthropology.

The key concept for such a synthesis is *ethnohearing*. I am introducing this term to denote the way we inevitably perceive and make music according to our own auditory experience. Ethnohearing, which is a foundation of music-ethnic identity, belongs to all of us as ethnophores (bearers of ethnicity) and therefore can be a unifying force in music studies rather than a badge of difference.

And now let me bring in the tables themselves along with brief comments. In order to avoid the oversimplification that two-dimensional diagrams entail, I am below proposing a pyramidal or three-dimensional table to encompass the model of reintegration that my article serves to introduce.

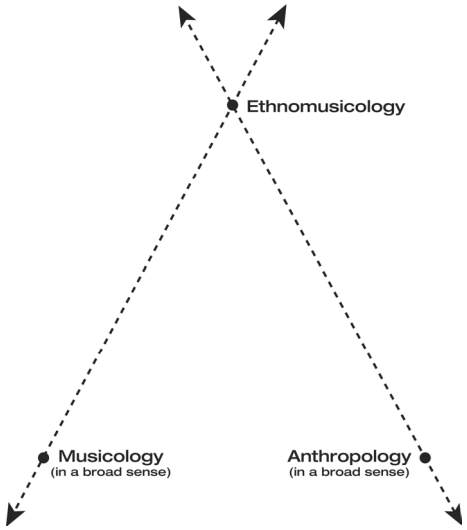
6. CREATING THE TABLES

In order to understand the correlation of all disciplines under consideration, I suggest grouping them first in three big "sections":

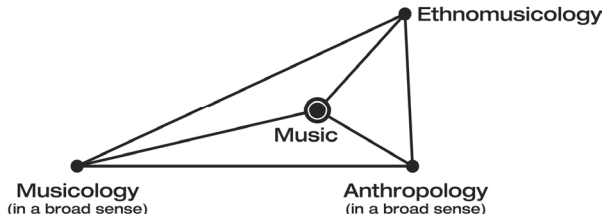
a/ musicology (in a broad sense including all branches of music theory, history, esthetics, acoustics etc.);

b/ ethnomusicology (including the European "musical folkloristics");

c/ anthropology (again in a broad sense including all human-being-centered disciplines and first of all folkloristics, history, sociology, psychology, linguistic anthropology etc.).

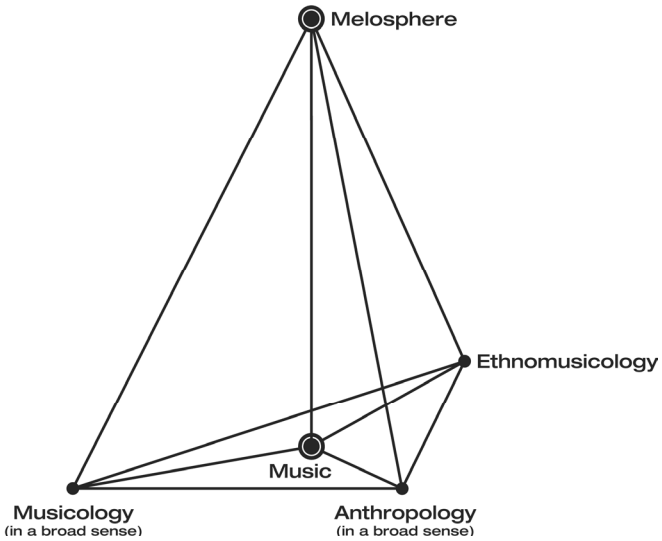


If we put them on the list *as is* (as the table 1 does) they will show a centrifugal tendency – in fact, they strive to infinity. We have to confine them somehow. Let us make a triangle with a centripetal tendency.



This is an important moment. At the center we would have the object of all disciplines under consideration, i.e., music in all its world-wide variety, or *music-culture*, if you wish. It reminds me Charles Seeger's lovely answer to the question: "What is the middle in musicology?" – "... *music*, in the middle of thing"[41]. Let music again be in the middle of all reintegrated disciplines, now and forever.

This is a right time to add a *melosphere* concept. Figuratively speaking, *music-cultures* on the earth and *melosphere* in the heavens are connected as well as all human-centered disciplines are deeply united between themselves, music and melosphere. Here is a three-dimensional figure which called upon the concept of the pyramidal building for music and musical disciplines alike, with a melosphere at the top of a picture.



One may ask why there is no ethnohearing in the final model. First, because it is ...everywhere: ethnohearing – mentally and operationally, it is *us*. Besides, and this is more important for the question, ethnohearing *is* in the model – enough to look at all these sides of the triangle and at all the sides of the pyramid: exactly these sides tend to show the ethnohearing which solely unites all of essential points in my scheme.

Charles Seeger, who in the end of the 1960s intensively worked on a unitary field theory for musicology, pointed out: "... two-dimensional drafting dangerously oversimplifies. Three dimensions would be better, but that is beyond my ability"[42].

To overcome this obstacle, one has to take into account all "hypostases" of music, music-cultures and thinking about music both – as I told, figuratively

[41] Seeger, Charles. *Studies in Musicology: 1935–1975*, (1977), p. 103.
[42] *Ibidem*,p. 125.

speaking, – *on the earth* and *in the heavens*. Indeed, what we are not able to accomplish as humble human beings, our musical hearing definitely can. Such is the *imaginative absolute*[43] of music-making in action. As Victor Zuckerkandl (1896–1965) beautifully phrased, "... as the tones become melody, in the midst of the audible world a door opens; we enter, as though in a dream or a fairy tale, not so much into another world as another mode of existence within our familiar world"[44].

INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION

After all, John Blacking was absolutely right: only anthropology "provides the best reasons for developing an essentially musical theory that is not ethnocentric"[45]. Fortunately, it is not ethnocentric, indeed, but happily it is still ethno-oriented. There is no discrepancy here, and our *inner auditory tuning* which is always with us – as terrestrial gravitation while we are on the earth – is the best token for that. If *to hear* means *to be*, then *to hear ethnically/culturally* means *to be – and to survive – ethnically/culturally*. After all, isn't this what we all so fervently desire?[46]

[43] The term belongs to Yakov E. Golosovker (1890–1967); see his book *Logika mifa* [The Logic of Myth, in Russian]. Moscow: Nauka, 1987, p. 134.

[44] Zuckerkandl, Victor, *Man the Musician*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973, p. 87.

[45] Blacking, John, *Towards a Reintegration of Musicology*, 1991, p. 62.

[46] This article is based on the paper delivered by the author at the International Conference *Toronto 2000: Musical Intersections* (joint meeting of the American Musicological Society, Society for Ethnomusicology, and thirteen other international musical societies).

A PLACE FOR SEEING: NOTES ON ETHNOGRAPHIC PHOTOGRAPHY*

RODICA RALIADE

Nowadays, as the printed culture gives up its place to the culture of image, the photography and the ethnologic film are brought again to the foreground of the scientific interdisciplinary interest. The images captured in the middle of some unique events represent a means for communicating, for expressing ideas or for social readings, a way of conveying culture.

I have recently browsed through some photographs taken under Professor Mihai Pop's guidance in Maramureş, during the researches conducted between 1971 and 1973. Most of them are dynamic images of the folkloric fact, taken outdoors. Yet, some are static family pictures which complete the ethnological socio-professional album and which are shot by the researchers in their relaxing moments. The photographer in charge during those field researches was Constantin Popescu, who was working at that time at the Institute of Ethnological and Dialectological Researches, in Bucharest.

Starting from these images I suggest we should go back in time, at the very start of Mihai Pop's ethnological research activity.

During the field campaigns conducted by Dimitrie Gusti's teams in Drăguş-Făgăraş (1929), the photographer Iosif Berman took a picture which in time became famous, as it shows Constantin Brăiloiu, Harry Brauner, Matei Socor next to Mihai Pop and their informants.

Iosif Berman's photographs are in fact the starting point of our article dealing with "the places for seeing". More precisely we intend to focus on the relationship between two elements: the person who looks at things as well as the manner, the place and time of looking, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the effect of using the photographic technique to "cut out" segments from the material and immaterial patrimony values. Time is compressed by freezing in photographs and, later on, in films those aspects from reality perceived by the eye.

* Paper read at the 4th edition of Mihai Pop National Conference (University of Bucharest, 17-18 November, 2006).

REF/JEF, *1–2*, p. 109–117, Bucureşti, 2009

PHOTO 1

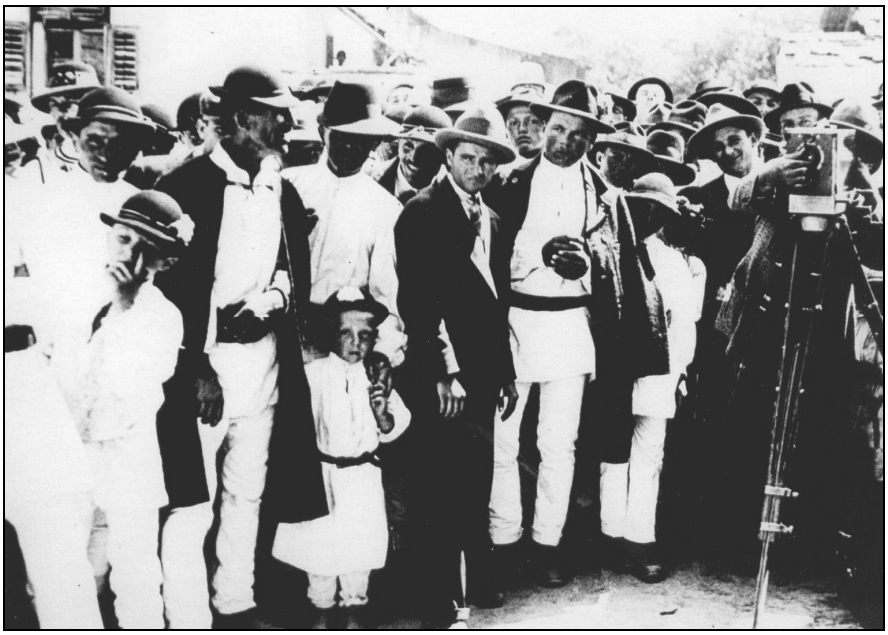


PHOTO 2 Iosif Berman in the campaign in Drăguş.

Who was Iosif Berman the person who left the posterity the images of those beginnings? Known as "the senior of the press photographers", Iosif Berman can be considered the first professional photographer of the Romanian ethnographic images.

The above mentioned photos and the documentary film *The Man with 1000 Eyes*, dedicated to Iosif Berman's memory and directed by Alecu Solomon, represente the starting point for this article about ethnological image.

The film, scientifically advised by Ioana Popescu and Emanuel Pârvu and sponsored by Fundația de Arte Vizuale (Visual Arts Foundation), received DAKINO award in 2001 thus proving the interest for and the impact of this movie.

It was released together with a documentary photo album, *Professor Dimitrie Gusti in the Memory of Drăguş Village* (2001)**,** jointly published by the Museum of Ethnography in Braşov and The Village Museum in Bucharest.

In 2001, 70 years since it was taken, the photograph entitled *The Monographers in Drăguş with the Photo Camera, 1929*, is enriched with interesting information provided by one of the peasants who remembers Dimitrie Gusti's field campaign: "When they were staying in the village, back then in '29 when they came here for the first time, and also in the following years when they came back, the monographers recorded many customs and songs, took many photos of the people in the village, people of all ages, working in the field or in their Sunday clothes. There was a professional photographer but Matei Socor also had devices, got on better than everyone else, he had money cause his father was a director at a newspaper. Mihai Pop also took photos. They also made a film about life in Drăguş then." (informant Solomon Jurcovan, age 84, 2001, Drăguş no.175).

Iosif Berman, being invited to participate in the 1926–1927 campaigns, received a letter from Professor Dimitrie Gusti, in which he was imperiously asked to join the researchers, as "without your presence, our work is endangered", thus the sociologist openly recognized the importance of an image professional. At that time, the Romanian ethnological photography had already had a history and a tradition: Ion Pop Reteganul's "Revista ilustrată" ["Illustrated Magazine", issued between 1898 and 1902] had published photos of traditional costumes. Then, after a few decades, Emanoil Bucuța's magazine "Boabe de grâu. Revistă lunară ilustrată, de cultură" ["Grains of Wheat. Cultural illustrated monthly magazine", issued between 1930 and 1935] offered its readers ethnological photographs with real sociological value. One can easily notice the encyclopedic features and high graphic conditions of this periodical issued by People's Education Direction and published under the aegis of Sociological School in Bucharest.

Why were Berman's photos so important for the Romanian social sciences? Because of the authentic context shaped by these images. Although he sometimes staged the scenes, this was done within the boundaries of the directly observed truth, in order to emphasize the significant details. The genuine image of the

peasant, the way it was captured by Iosif Berman's "photographic eye", was considered inappropriate for the nationalistic ideology and propaganda during Ion Antonescu's dictatorship. Consequently, the well-known reporter is forbidden even to practice his profession. This great injustice will destroy his both body and soul. The passionate "wizard of the eye" died only 50, in 1940. Some of his photographic films disappeared and those which had been saved were classified.

Since 1940, the specialists working at the Institute have continued his way of looking especially at the Romanian peasant. Thus, photographers such as Bob Eremia, Constantin Popescu, Marin Ivanciu and Emanuel Pârvu have showed their attachment to Berman's perception by perpetuating his vision. The results of their work are part of the National Folklore Archive, within the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore "Constantin Brăiloiu" in Bucharest which shelters an impressive patrimony of ethnological images: about 200 photo negatives and glass slides, taken before 1929, around 200,000 photographs on archive sheets, 5,000 photo films and 7,000 film negatives as well as 4,000 coloured slides separately preserved. This archive fund has been enriched with 16 mm films, audio and video analogue cassettes, digital videos, DVDs, VHS, SVHS, mini-DVDs, etc.

The photographic fund has also been enlarged with the films produced by the image specialists together with the researchers. The latter were especially interested in their study topic, thus remaining amateurs in the photographic domain.

All these photographs have been archived and become valuable objects in themselves, documents indispensable for research. Recently, 19 photos taken between 1929 and 1930 and belonging to the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore Archive funds have become the topic of a research regarding the authenticity of the folkloric fact observed and "frozen" for posterity by means of the audio-video recordings between the two World Wars [1].

Dr. Marin Marian Bălaşa, the author of the cited article, comment upon the "visual, ideological and political content of images".

We consider that Iosif Berman's photos analysed by Dr. Marin Marian Bălaşa promote a research domain, i.e. ethnology, the method of sociological survey and the portraits of "the main characters". They are not directed towards mass-media but are "created" in order to remain archive documents, being the result of the work done by the Romanian Sociological Institute. I am personally interested in and touched by them as they show the personalities of this domain and the equipment used then (the phonograph, the microphones, the camera with prolonged exposure, etc.) even though certain pictures were "arranged" by their author(s).

[1] Marin Marian Bălaşa, *Drama folclorului şi gloria folcloristicii (note de antropologie vizuală)* – [The Dramma of Folklore and the Glory of Folkloristics (notes on visual anthropology)], in "CERC. Revistă de etnologie", vol.I. no.1, 2005, p. 48–55.

PHOTO 3 – Mihai Pop (in the foreground); in the background, Constantin Brăiloiu, near the phonograph, looking at the performer Silea Lascului; Harry Brauner wearing traditional costume and the informant Rafira Jurcovan.

Regarding the way of looking at things, there are only two experiences, the one of the subject being looked at and the one of the subject looking at (Roland Barthes: 2005, 16). A photograph or a film can be the object of three practices (or three emotions or three intentions): the photographer's/cameraman's who acts, the one's being photographed/filmed who bears/allows to be act upon and the one's who looks at/analyses. These three positions bring different angles for one and the same event, object, phenomenon, etc. The place of seeing shapes the relationship with the image.

From the spectator's point of view, the pictures taken with a clear and declared scientific purpose and which are not used in the public space cannot be judged as manipulating factors, unless they are used for promoting some subjective and out of context interpretations.

The "eye" of the one who takes the image is influenced by the technical possibilities. At the beginning of the 20th century, the photographic technique was not advanced enough for the snapshots we know today. The long exposure time was required by an accurate image (which otherwise was superposed). Taking a moving scene was possible later when specific specialized technologies appeared, starting with the German cameras, *Laica*, invented in 1911 and which were much too expensive for the Romanian photographers [2] back in 1929-1930.

[2] In fact, *Laica* is still a professional camera, being advertised for 10,000 Euros in 2006.

Similarly, the glass slides needed special equipment. The long exposure cameras required a lot of patience from the subjects, as they were supposed to stay still in front of the lens for a few minutes. The only Berman's photo which can be considered a snapshot is the one of the round dance [*hora*] in Drăguş. The photographer climbed on the steeple of the church to find the perfect angle and managed to take an exceptionally technical image for that time. One must add that no moving image was realized then, not even one of Căluş dance.

The people being photographed – such as the subjects of the famous image of Constantin Brăiloiu, Harry Brauner, Mihai Pop, Matei Socor, and their informant Rafira – are leaning against the back of the chairs, the table or the walking stick, holding their heads in hands. This image is "arranged" as a snapshot for showing a real situation during the field campaign.

Solomon Jurcovan, 84, remembers in 2001:

"Constantin Brăiloiu was staying at Father Făgărăşan's; but here, at our place, we got a device with a wax cylinder and they used to attach a funnel and anything you were singing or saying could be heard back. It was a great thing at that time. Brăiloiu was not a tall man, he had a long head. He liked eating raw eggs, he cracked them and drank their content. This photo was taken in our house. You can see Brăiloiu recording Sile a Lascului who was singing *Dealu' Mohului,* in the funnel. Mihai Pop is wearing town clothes, Harry Brauner – peasants' clothes and this is my mother, Rafira Jurcovan". (Photo *Constantin Brăiloiu recording* Dealu' Mohului *with Vasile Sofonea / Sile a Lascului.* Drăguş 1929, the album *Professor Dimitrie Gusti in the Memory of Drăguş Village* – 2001).

The one who is photographed or filmed knows only approximately what the person behind the camera wants to capture. The photographer's "eye" is not similar to the "eye" of the former or with that of the onlooker. If we consider the subject(s) shot we could as well wonder what the women talked about after they performed, how they reacted towards the researcher who was asking them questions, some of which they considered amusing (how come these well-learned gentlemen do not know such a thing?). Their behaviour cannot be revealed by a single image. Only the continuity of the film could mirror the complex process of gathering and analyzing a folkloric fact in progress, enriched later on by the memories of the survivors.

When Mihai Pop, professor to be at that time, participated in Gusti's research campaigns, the impact with the modern technology raised some problems not only for the performers who could only watch and experience their immediate effect but also for the researchers themselves. The Romanian researchers had barely started to use the modern audio/video technology.

In France, when the Lumière brothers screened the short movie *L'arrivée d'un train en gare,* the engine appeared from the background and dashed towards the audience startling them or even making them run away. The impact with the new technology was surprising, even frightening. What did those peasants in

Drăguş think about the gramophone or the photographer handling that black box on a tripod? Even more, how did they look at their own photos? Their astonishment when they heard their voices. How many of them had seen such devices before? As artificial and awkward as these pictures may appear today they were indeed genuine and natural back then. The ethnological photo was a novelty not only for the villagers turned into artists and performers. The specialists themselves were practicing a scientific and systematic new research method for the purpose of fully respecting and preserving the authenticity of the fact.

The above mentioned article published in "CERC" journal, has the merit of starting from photos in order to syncretically analyze the documents created during the field research, the complementary relation among image – text – sonorous recording. As regarding the interpretation of the facial expression, of the inhibited posture, of the performer's nervousness sonorously detectable, we consider as being natural reactions explained by the fact that those were amateur singers and that the technical equipment was not of high performance (the phonograph itself causes a certain distortion of the sound).

Vasile Sofonea, 71, remembers the people in the analyzed photo (*Constantin Brăiloiu recording* Dealu' Mohului):

"This is my old man. He was called Sile a Lascului. He was blind and a student held him up in front of that funnel device while he was singing *Dealu' Mohului* and being recorded by Mr. Brăiloiu. Mr. Brăiloiu is the bold one with a cigarette in between his lips. At his left there is Mihai Pop, Harry Brauner is writing at the table, then comes Rafira Jurcovan at the back and an old student next to the device."

One must understand that the material recorded in these conditions "freezes" *a set of musical-literary folkloric variants*, cuts out ethnological facts. No matter the objections against them, the photos which capture the event are informational resources which can be later subject to any imagination game of the onlooker. We do not deny the fact that the interpretation of the images as well as their exhibition in a certain order, space or moment, could become a manipulative factor, hence the need to scientifically approach them.

This type of photograph was launched in newspapers and magazines as the promotion used by the Romanian Royal House for popularizing the traditional Romanian costume as often happened during that period. The stress falls on who, what and how looks at things (the photographer's or researcher's perspective). All these details recreate the working environment and the research methods: framing (among others, the close-ups of the technical equipment used are of utmost importance), the composition of the image, the light, black-and-white photos and, of course, the characters. The performers' curiosity and satisfaction are easily perceptible.

The photography is a witness to the interdisciplinary method and to the team spirit which characterized a field campaign. How much did the intrusion of technology influence the folkloric fact? In fact, not much, as the field trip was an event of relative length even when after a while they returned to the already researched places. The technical revolution which spread the use of radio and TV will really influence the evolution of the profound culture.

The presence of Gusti's teams used to facilitate the communication between the two cultures, the researchers' and the villagers' but the communication channel between these two ends was later created by mass-media.

PHOTO 4 – Researchers among peasants in Drăguş.

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF ARTISANSHIP AMONG ETHNIC MINORITIES IN THE 2000s ROMANIA*

MARIN CONSTANTIN

ABSTRACT

The article is concerned with the social and economic process of the folk artisanship among the ethnic minorities of Hungarians, Turks, and Croatians in contemporary Romania. Ethnographic information is provided on the peasant artisans' professional framework (private workshops), as well as on their crafts development under socialism and in times of market economy in Romania. Similarly considered are the relationships that the craftsmen engage with the ethnographic museums and the national centres for the conservation of folk culture. Analysis and interpretation in this text contribute to the understanding of craft specialization in relation to the economy and culture of minority ethnic groups in Romania.

Keywords: Artisanship, Handicraft, Ethnic Minorities, Rural Life.

My text examines the relationship between artisanship and ethnicity in contemporary Romania, based on a comparative ethnography of several craft centres in the areas of Banat, Dobrodja, and Transylvania. In this case (as well as in Constantin 2003, 2007), artisanship is defined in terms of production, representation, and distribution of folk artifacts. Ethnicity here includes social groups and networks, folk cultures, and patterns of behavior. Two main theoretical issues are accounted for, as follows:

(1) Within the socio-professional and economic process of artisanship, is ethnicity a kind of "trademark" (along with various traditional or artistic characteristics), or is it the one that enacts artisanship as an identity marker and strategy? One expects a given craft specialization to considerably vary in the framework of the economy, sociality, and culture of this or that ethnic group. (Crafts may be part of a dominant or, contrarily, secondary economy; they also

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depend on "social fields" of learning, practicing, and transmitting within one's family and community; last, but not least, one or another current craft sometimes belongs to the history and tradition of ethnic groups, while in other circumstances it appears as a recent phenomenon. As a result, properties like the "trademark" and the "identity-marker" may alternate accordingly.)

(2) Is the ethnic membership a framework of craft mono-specialization, or, vice versa, can the multi-specialization in crafts apply in cases of interethnic cohabitation? If ethnic sociality, value system, and collective behavior are processed through the productive, representational, and distributive mechanisms of artisanship, the forms of such usage may substantially differ in contexts of multiethnic cohabitation.

The ethnographic data of my research were collected in October-November 2007 and August 2008, in the localities of Korond (Hungarians, the Harghita County), Cisnădioara (Germans, the Sibiu County), Cobadin, Independența, and Başpunar-Fântâna Mare [Turks, Aromanians, Tatars, the Constanța County), and Caraşova (Croatians, the Caraş-Severin County). A further documentation was pursued among the Roma artisan groups of *Căldărari* (Brateiu, the Sibiu County), *Rudari* (Băbeni, the Vâlcea County), and *Țigani* (Fofeldea, the Sibiu County), during the Fair of Roma Craftsmen in Sibiu (September 20–21, 2008).

SOCIO-PROFESSIONAL FRAMEWORK OF ETHNIC MINORITY ARTISANS

In all the cases examined here, the artisans of ethnic-minority status work in private workshops set up within their own homesteads, both when a craft specialization is generalized in villages (such as the Korond pottery), and when an individual monopoly occurs (like in the blacksmith's trade at Başpunar [HR], carpentry [RI], leather processing [AD], and tinsmith's trade [GM] at Cobadin, carpentry at Independența, pottery at Cisnădioara, and hogsheads making at Caraşova). Almost always, such workshops include relatively modern tools and devices (electrical equipment for the potter's wheel, the clay mixer, and the oven – at Korond and Cisnădioara [AP, GT, TG, LT, MH…]; the lathe and machines for cutting and shaping the wood, and also for processing the tin materials – at Cobadin [RI] and Independența [VE]; machines for the carpentry processing of the wood – at Caraşova [MC], etc.) Along with the use of specialized machinery, the craftsmen often adjust their traditional devices to the modern technology (the washing-machine motor as adapted to TG's potters' wheel and a similar motor adapted to HR's tinsmith's bellows). The archaic devices become increasingly rare, practically restrained to the aged people's usage (for instance, KM's weaving loom, which is unique in the village of Caraşova, according to our field data) and to marginalized ethnic groups (like the calf skin used for the bellows in EC tinsmith's workshop).

In these workshops, the craftsmen work individually or based on a family labor organization. In Korond it is the potters themselves that obtain their needed clay; they also shape and burn it, before going to the markets or fairs where their artifacts will be sold; the potters' wives and children take part to the clay mixing and to the work of artistic ornamentation; sometimes, a potter's family will also accompany him to the fairs. LT shares his craft efforts with his wife (who accompanies him to the fairs), his sister (who makes the pottery decoration), and his father-in-law (in the carpentry work, i.e. another occupation of LT). GT's wife and daughter help him in the pottery ornamentation. Also in Korond, the traditional processing of tinder consists of the husband's fieldwork (EF) in collecting the tinder in the neighboring forests from the Harghita Mountains, as well as in the Maramureş County, then of the hand shaping of the tinder-made artifacts, in which EF and his wife, MF – do teamwork. MB chops her wooden plates and spoons in cooperation with her husband, son, and daughter-in-law; the same carver lives in the vicinity of her brother, who in his turn is specialized in this characteristic craft of the Roma subgroup of *Rudari* from Băbeni-Vâlcea. Another example is that of TF and his baskets made of wooden branches, within a domestic productive unit that includes (in the village of Fofeldea-Sibiu) the artisan's wife and daughter.

Apprenticeship contributes to the transmission of the Korond pottery from generation to generation (LT, MA), just like in Caraşova village the local weaving passes from someone's grand-mother to mother and daughter (CM), and the carpentry, from the grand-father to father and son (MC). The Roma tinkers learn (in the Bratei village) their craft beginning with early ages (EC describes the case of his four-year son who "would not need any toys" except for "the hammer, anvil, and a plate iron". The tinsmith's trade (in Başpunar, cf. HR) and the leather processing (in Cobadin, cf. AD) are crafts taught from one's uncle. Once grown up, the craftsmen's sons make their own village workshops (MA, Korond), or assist their parents with the car transportation of ceramic artifacts to fairs (GT), as well as by opening up a shop in the urban location of Poiana Braşov in order to sell ceramic items during the winter (TG)[1].

In Cobadin, RI's carpentry implies the joint work of the craftsman with his son, who takes part to the workshop daily activities while preparing himself to undertake his parent's craft administration, as he has graduated from a faculty of business management. A similar example of a parent-son partnership in carpentry

[1] Apprenticeship and the family division of labor are significant not only for the economy of artisanship, but also for the qualitative evolution of crafts through the generations. According to the ethnographic literature, Páll Antal (a Hungarian ceramist from Korond) has inherited the pottery from his grandfather and father, together with which he made for a while the ancient-type vases of Korond (a red un-enameled and utilitarian ceramics). After that, Antal created an ornamental pottery (plates, pots, pitchers, etc.), specifically decorated in his ethnic group's manner (with motifs like Bird, Tulip, Chrysanthemum, Peacock's Eye, Zigzag, Wave, etc.) While Páll Antal works by his potter's wheel, his wife decorates by hand the ceramic artifacts. On such individual and private bases, "this family of potters contributes to the enriching of the contemporary folk culture in Romania" (cf. Vlăduțiu 1981: 205-6).

is that of MC (Caraşova). In the copper metalwork, EC is associated with his son (NC), both in the making of cauldrons and kettles, and in the market distribution of such artifacts (EC & NC's wives help them too in craftwork and commerce).

Inside minority ethnic groups, crafts are first of all a family enterprise, which do not exclude the existence of some non-kin forms of association and cooperation. An Aromanian tinsmith from the Cobadin village, GM, is indebted for his craft knowledge to a Tatar craftsman; in his turn, he had in the past a Turkish apprentice. Neighbors helping in the pottery ornamentation can ordinarily be met in the workshops of Hungarian artisans from Korond (such as AP, GT, TG), among which MA makes use in his firm administration of the services of a so-called "finanț" (accountant). Apprenticeship is also pursued under assistance of village artisans from outside one's family, equally in the Korond pottery (GT, TG) and in the Caraşova sheepskin coat tailoring (NF, NC); in NC's case, the apprentice manages to rise himself – he assumes – above his craft master:

> "As a young apprentice, I went to a very skillful and reputed man in Caraşova and I asked him to tailor such [Croatian folk clothing] for me, which he did. I also asked him to show me how to make sheepskin coats. I only needed to look how he was working, and then I kept it all on my mind. At other time, I made some trousers with my own hands; that man only showed me how to make it, and eventually he said "you did your work better than I do!"

After 1989, RI's and MC's home carpentry workshops (in Cobadin and Caraşova, respectively) function within a "SRL" limited administrative regime, which allows them (as well as VE, a carpenter from Independența village) to employ auxiliary personnel. Another SRL is that of the tinsmith GM (Cobadin), while the potters GT and LT, as well as the Roma tinsmiths EC and NC, are licensed as "private entrepreneurs"; the Saxon ceramist MH manages his "family association".

Preponderance in the ceramic specialization within the village community of Korond is a ground for the local "guild"-type craft association of *Eletfa* [The Life Tree]. *Eletfa* comprises a number of 20 associated potters, with their president, secretary, membership fees, and periodical meetings. "*We are still in our beginnings!*", says MA, one of the founders of *Eletfa*, while comparing this association to "*a kid who's learning to walk…*" LT outlines the making of *Eletfa* due to the efforts and interests of the local potters, unlike the socialist Cooperative that functioned there before 1989. The same association (which is registered by the Romanian Ministry of Culture) has also edited its brochure (*Eletfa Korondi Fazekasok Szövetsége*, 2007), in which the members' personal data (with photographs and mail addresses, and also images of the artifacts) are published. Beginning with 2007, *Eletfa* sets up (in collaboration with the Corund municipality) a village annual fair, where the local Hungarian potters can expose their production for sale; the website of *Eletfa* is *www.korondifazekasoksovetsege.ro*

THE ARTISANSHIP OF ETHNIC MINORITIES IN SOCIALIST ROMANIA

In their narratives about the past, the craftsmen from Korond, Cobadin, or Caraşova recognize many times their career development within the institutional or ideological institutional frameworks of socialism. This has nothing to do with the simple retrospective antithesis between the values and tribulations of the political regimes since before and after 1989, but reflects a biographic importance of the cultural environment in which someone's craft initiation took place. In fact, the evocations of socialism reveal that psycho-social "sediment" of a history which is still recent and, as a result, referential for the current transformations of the ethnic groups' artisanship.

More than other common reminiscences about communism, the craft Cooperatives prove to have been a complex phase of instruction, social organization, and productivity. Before 1989, GT worked during a decade for the Korond ceramic Cooperative, which was a unit of 40 local craftsmen with a production individual rate of 30 pitchers a day. With a period of 11 years of continuity in the Cooperative work, recorded as such in her personal labor book, MA (another Hungarian potter) remembers the collaboration that the Korond Cooperative engaged with similar units from neighboring towns like Cristurul-Secuiesc and Sighişoara, as well as the contracts for producing ceramic items to be exported to countries like Austria and Germany. Demands from abroad were frequent at that time, by the agency of [state] sale representatives from Korond (TG). The production rate imposed to the Korond potters is also mentioned by LT with regard to his parents' work; he estimates at "50 to 60" the number of local artisan families as Cooperative employees. "Our salaries were paid month after month!", says JL (an ex-employee of a local county-level Cooperative, "The Art of Harghita"), in contrast to the incertitude that some ceramists feel today, when coping with the market economy. Alongside their salaries, the Korond craftsmen used to go to "three or four fairs", which is claimed to have supported "a good living standard", though the socialist production was at a "25%" level in comparison to the present day's one.[2]

MC, the Caraşova's carpenter, began his work in 1980 (after he had just graduated the high school) within a local "inter – Cooperative association"; also in this case it was the Cooperative that assured the supply with raw materials, which

[2] According to Olga Horşia and Paul Petrescu, the ethnic craft traditions were maintained in the framework of the socialist artisanship Cooperative system at the level of diverse specialization branches. Thus, "The tradition of rugs made in the Szekler area in Transylvania – the County of Harghita – is continued with the rugs production of the folk-art Cooperative from the town of Miercurea Ciuc. Of various sizes, mostly the small ones – the carpets –, they preserve specific geometrical elements – zigzags, broken lines – and also their chromatics of green, brown, red and black nuances"; at the same time, a ceramics department functioned in Miercurea Ciuc, with the preservation of the "Szekler black-pottery manner". Similarly, the "Arta Sibiului" Cooperative, which is specialized in a production of Romanian folk-weaving items (in villages like Cisnădioara, Răşinari, Jina, etc.) and leather items (in Sibiu), also produced folk artifacts characteristic for the local Saxon ethnic group (such as embroideries, sewing items, little wooden chests, caskets, hallstands, etc)(cf. Horşia & Petrescu 1972: 102, 239–41).

MC processed in order to make… wooden crates for fruit storing; with the 1989 revolution, the above-mentioned Cooperative collapsed. MB of Băbeni-Vâlcea worked (in his home workshop) in a socialist factory in wood processing, which similarly provided its employees with needed materials and whose products were exported. The knitter TF (Fofeldea-Sibiu) worked in his turn for a local craft Cooperative unit; in his case, the Cooperative was establishing the production plans and the distribution demands, while the employees sought on their behalf for the vegetal fibers they needed. Another example of Cooperative employment is that of the tinker GM of Cobadin; he held a workshop also before 1989, but under a complete subordination to the state Cooperative authorities.

> "On those [socialist] times, one could not undertake a lucrative [private] initiative. I needed two years of doing my craft before I afforded my own business. I made a small hutment – about two on three meters size –, then I brought it to our village centre. As I was a young man I wanted to work on my own. Two municipality officials came and closed my [tinker] workshop; they said I wasn't allowed to work alone and asked I should join the Cooperative. Thus I needed to leave for the town of Constanța. […] Later on, a directive came from Bucharest, and the authorities asked we should affiliate our workshops to the "Little Craftsmen" Cooperative unit; they claimed we would be given all the assistance we needed, except for the machines, however! Momentarily, we cannot provide you with machines, but with invoices only, which you will use to get the expenses for your needed materials reimbursed; you will make your products, and you will sell them, too!"

To a larger extent, the ethnic-minority craftsmen's activity under socialism depended on the institutional belonging to the farming state Cooperation, which, although being of a different profile in comparison to the folk artisanship, provided a certain social, economic and cultural context for the peasant crafts. In the period 1974-1989, the Turkish tinsmith HR shoed the horses of the Agricultural Production Cooperation (CAP, in Romanian abbreviation) from the villages of Başpunar and Independența; in doing so, HR was not allowed to practice his craft in a profit-making manner, however. The uncle of the Turkish leather-processing artisan AD also worked in a CAP framework (that of Cobadin); AD points it out that every farming-works in his village were done with the local CAP's horses. At the age of 18, RI engaged himself within the Cobadin CAP Carpentry, where he was to be promoted as a workshop head; given the state centralism in the raw-materials supply, it was only after 1989 that RI could only develop a private initiative in his craft.

Communism was obviously multifarious in taking part to the "ethnohistory" of artisanship among the ethnic groups, given its propagandistic aura, but also the restrictions and disservices it caused to the craftsmen and their work. GI (Korond) mentions his participation, based on invitations, to the Potters' Fair from within the nationalistic official festivals. Another Hungarian ceramist, LT, evokes his father's craft development as due to attending such festivals, following calls from county

governmental representatives of the Department of Culture. Raw materials that were used in the Korond ceramics (such as the enamel and the dyes) would have been easier to obtain before 1989 (MA). On the other hand, artisans like the tinder-processing craftsman EF (Korond) and the furrier NC (Caraşova) were able to work under communism only based on individual craft licenses. Another furrier of Caraşova, NF, was "audited" by inspectors of the state Financial Guard, curious to know what exactly he worked and how much money he also made. GM, tinker in Cobadin, denounces the lack of a state compensatory allowance for toxic working conditions, which should have been added to his pension rights. Although the Turkish tinsmith HR worked for a period of 15 years within the Independența village CAP, that productive state unit did not mark down that length in his labor official records.

THE ETHNIC MINORITIES' ARTISANSHIP DURING THE MARKET ECONOMY

The shift from the socialist centralized and planned economy to the post-1989 competitive economy generated a series of important changes in the life of the craftsmen from Korond, Cobadin, and Caraşova, especially at the level of the business orientation of their work. As will be seen, the today's artisanship gets involved into a trading-specialization process, which goes beyond the traditional ambiance of a creativity mainly destined to the village households' everyday necessities, to evolve (in the Korond case) through a seasonal trade towards a "trans-local", often urban, exploitation of the peasant artifacts. (As a matter of fact, this economic feature accounts for a "regenerative" market-potential among artisans, which is similar to pre-socialist developments in crafts, for instance during the interwar period in Romania; see Florescu 1937; Conea 1957.)

Indeed, such a specialization (albeit institutionally, terminologically, and strategically adapted to the current frameworks of the capitalistic economy) does not contravene to the rural productive environment of folk handicrafts. The artisans I interviewed in the field do in many instances agricultural works (GT, LT, Korond; NC, Caraşova) and animal breeding (EF, Korond; PG, CM, Caraşova). On such a basis, the craft working organization is set up in accordance with the seasons. GT does pottery in winter, and in summer and autumn he goes to the fairs with his artifacts. Also in Korond, EM goes gathering in summer the tinder of birch tree and beech in the Maramureş forests, and processes it in winter, at home. In MB's case, the wood chopping is practiced "mostly in winter", when the needed wood (of willow tree and poplar) dries, so as in spring, when fairs take place, she and the rest of her Rudar ethnic group have their objects ready to sell. "In winter, we do workshop work, and in summer, we sell!", explains EC, since his Căldărar family holds, along with their tinker workshop, also "farming fields, maize crops, and animals…" In summer, the tinker GM of Cobadin makes mill races, and in winter, drainpipes. As a result, a continuous flow of workshop activities, depending only on

supply and demand (such as in the situation of the carpenters RI of Cobadin and MC of Caraşova) is difficult to generalize as an economic feature of the folk artisanship.

The raw-materials supply is a first phase in the economy of crafts, which presumes the artisans' direct involvement, mostly beyond one's native locality. While the potters of Korond find in the very environment of their village the clay they use, which (according to LT) would "suffice also for our grand-sons", they need at the same time to obtain their blue oxide in the Sălaj Mountains, and the green oxide in the Rodna Mountains (PA); sometimes (LT), the cobalt (the blue oxide) is acquired from Hungary. TF sill can find in "the village forest" the branches he needs in the making of his baskets. Instead, with the post-socialist forest restitution to private landowners in Băbeni-Vâlcea, MB's chopping wood is more and more difficult to procure. In Cobadin, RI brings his timber from Suceava, in Moldavia, by agency of a private company in the neighboring town of Constanța. The leather manufacturer AD usually buys the bull skins he needs from farmers living in the same village of Cobadin. However, another artisan – HR, of the village of Başpunar, who performs the comparably archaic craft of a tinsmith – has to go to Constanța in order to get the *potcoviță* – a copper belt he uses in the making of horseshoes. The Caraşova craftsmen depend on the neighboring town of Reşița, in the supplying with metallic belts that the copper PG uses for his wooden hogsheads (*burile*), and with the thick cloth necessary in the furrier NC's craftwork; also from Reşița, as well as from Croatia, is brought the weaver CM's colored thread.

Rather than making artifact stocks, the folk artisans work as they get their clients' orders. According to the furrier NC, sheepskin coats – the *laibăre* – will be asked and made in the enclave of seven Croatian villages centered on Caraşova, as long as "[the local] people would want to wear them". Beyond the traditional heritage of one or another craft, such demands sometimes imply that some client indications or "explanations" should be respected (such as JT's making of "whatever [kinds] of pottery, of whatever color", in Korond, and NC's sewing of his clients' names on the sheepskin coats, in Caraşova). LT's "innovations" (such as the amphorae) are made, in his very words, "as the market asks them". Apart from fair customers, there is a diversified clientele for the folk artifacts: a restaurant from the Moldavian town of Bacău (with as many as 150 plates asked to the potter MA of Korond), the municipality and the church (with tinker's items like placards, voting urns, and spires, as made by GM of Cobadin), members of the craftsmen's ethnic groups living in neighboring villages (when CM's demands are made for folk carpets, rugs, or clothes that make the unmarried girls' dowries), etc. Sometimes, the acceptance of an order depends on concluding a contract (RI, GM, Cobadin); before starting any work for his clients, GM asks for a 50% advance payment. The Roma artisans (EC & NC, MB, TF) generally ask prepayments from their clients, which they see as a mutual guarantee, although the Căldărari tinkers claim they would sell, one way or another, their products.

The manufacturing process is an investment of effort and quality work of a variable duration. While the tinsmith HR needs one hour for making a horseshoes set, and the leather manufacturer AD works during one week to make a yoke

harness, the weaver CM dedicates two months (at least) to the sewing of a flower-decorated blouse. The ceramist MH's work for a tile-made stove lasts two months. In the case of EC's handwork, two or three days are needed for the making of a copper kettle, and 21 days, for a still. The knitter TF can make one vegetal-fiber basket on a single day. As a consequence, the artifact cost reflects the craft process as a whole, not only the physical or artistic evaluation of an accomplished product, which the potter MA formulates as follows: "As I know what my work consists of, putting a price is my decision…" That is why HR accepts to shoe a horse for 20 Romanian lei, while AD asks 600 lei for a harness set, and CM sells a silk headdress in exchange of 500 Euros. Similarly, a tile made by MHen makes 15 lei, a copper kettle made by EC & NC has a "negotiable" price of 400 Euros, and a fiber-made basket made by TF is sold for 20 lei.

The artisanship's clientele is heterogeneous in the case of Hungarian potters and among the Dobrodjan craftsmen. Most of the Korond artisans (GT, EF, LT, JL...) mention Hungarian buyers of their products. At the same time, however, they meet Romanian tourists (GT, EF, JL), as well as Frenchmen (EF), Germans (EF, LT), Italians and Americans (MA) whom the artifact commerce is engaged with. The Căldărari tinkers EC and NC recruit their customers from among those "enriched Roma in the cities of Craiova and Bucharest"; they also made a baptism basin for a client (probably originated in Romania) that lives in the United States of America. TF once managed to sell "two carts [full] of knitted baskets" to customers coming from Denmark. In Cobadin, the tinker GM says he's in fact working "for every nation, including the Tatars, the Romanians, and the Aromanians…"; similarly, the tinsmith HR has Romanian, Turkish, and Aromanian clients, to the extent he would only "take the money, with no concern for the ethnicity [of buyers]"; the carpenters RI and VE, as well as the leather manufacturer AD meets buyers of ethnic identities as much diverse as their artifacts. In Caraşova a comparable situation only occurs in the case of the carpenter MC, who cannot discriminate between his Croatian, Serbian, or Romanian clients. Instead, the furriers NF and NC, as well as the weavers CM and KM, explicitly localize their clientele to seven Croatian villages. However, according to MH, the respect due to the requirements of a given demand is all the more expected among clients belonging to the craftsman's own ethnic group.

> "I once made a stove for someone from Germany, who had claimed he knew [in Germany] a stove maker able to set up his stove. I had lots of emotions – you know how the Germans are: everything has to be all right, each tile should be exactly sized, so that it can fit… which is not the case of the tiles I make. As I told you, every tile has its personality and differs from another one in size – such as five millimeters more or less… –, which is generally an admitted variance… However, I repeat that I had so many emotions, as my client was a very correct man. When the stove was definitely set up, that client was very satisfied with it, he sent some photos to me… Moreover, the

> German stove maker came later and took two of my terracotta stoves, which he shipped for him, in his country. So my emotions weren't justified!"

Commercializing the craft products is made at a local level in the above-mentioned Dobrodjan localities and in Caraşova. In Cobadin, GM usually goes to the fair of his village with small tinker's items including Turkish basins and Romanian troughs; he has to pay a fee to the municipality for the selling place he occupies. The tinsmith HR is in his turn present at the Independența fair. In Caraşova, the local artisans can sell their objects from home, such as PG with his hogsheads made of acacia wood (which, in the context of the village fruit-trees farming, makes the yellow color of the local prune brandy). According to the weaver KM, within the fairs of Caraşova it is the Romanian *kilime* (rugs), not the Croatian ones, which are ordinarily sold. An artisanship fair is organized (beginning with 2007) in Corund too. Besides, MA holds, alongside his workshop, a small shop of ceramic artifacts, opened by the village main road; another potter, TG, set up a "selling-exhibition" in his… private garage.

The artisanship is marked by the competition realities, to the extent to which the craft production is oriented towards a market of "traditional goods". Sometimes, competition is synthesized as "how good or how nice the handwork is made" (EF), and also as "it's like weeding, when someone does it this way, and someone else, otherwise…" (CM). EC even denies the competition effectiveness among those kindred families of craftsmen's ethnic group. MH knows that in the tiles making "everyone keeps his particularities", notwithstanding the similarities between his own artifacts and the tiles made by another ceramist from the neighboring town of Mediaş. In order to cope with craftsmen coming to the fairs with a similar "commodity" (baskets), TF lowers his price; instead, he gives up such strategy when his relatives, of the same craft, accompany him into the market. However, kindred artisans happen to compete with each other, as it is the case of MB's family in comparison with her brother's family, in the woodcarving among the Roma group of Rudari in Băbeni. The Hungarian potters from Korond fight the market competition of "Chinese porcelains" (cf. TG; LT).

The majority of Korond potters participate to folk fairs held in other regions or even abroad. GT brings his ceramics to the fairs of Zalău and Sibiu, but also in Hungary, in Pecs; his work profitability depends on identifying a clientele beyond his ethnographic area, as well as on diversifying his market supply.

> "We go to fairs, and if we can sell everything we make we get some benefits, which would not occur when selling from home. In our home wholesale shops, the price is lowered almost up to half… We pack each [pottery] item separately or put ten to twenty pieces in a larger box. We never know whether a glass or a pitcher could be sold at a given fair, so we must take with us copies of each [ceramic] model".

TG is present with his artifacts at the folk fair from the Iaşi city, which is organized on October 15 each year, on Saint Paraschiva Day. Likewise, LT takes

part to the fairs from towns like Bârlad (at the "Autumn Festival", on the local municipality's invitation), Cluj-Napoca, Craiova, and Oradea. IB has sculpted the wooden altar of a Bucharest church. The potters JL and MA travelled with their artifacts to Budapest fairs, where (according to MA) also Romanian craftsmen from Horezu, Baia Mare, and Bacău can be met[3].

THE ETHNIC CRAFTSMEN'S RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE NATIONAL ETHNOGRAPHIC MUSEUMS AND WITH THE COUNTY CENTRES FOR FOLK CULTURE

Especially in the case of the Hungarian ceramists of Korond, the craftsmen of minority ethnic groups regularly engage in collaboration with the ethnographic museums and the centres for folk art in Romania, participate to periodical artisanship fairs, and get involved into actions that are specific to the cultural politics that such national institutions promote.

A Korond potter, LT, has followed his father's career in ceramics and became substantially indebted to the folk fairs organized by museums in cities. Thus he appears to be a usual "client" of museums in Bucharest, Sibiu, and Suceava, contributing with artifacts to the museum collections. The museums of Oradea and Craiova support LT's transportation costs in attending the fairs. LT's pottery quality has been rewarded with distinctions by the museums from Iaşi and Rădăuți; he also obtained a "Prize II" at the Horezu Ceramics Fair.

Another Hungarian potter, JL, has been awarded a First Prize by the Astra Museum, in Sibiu; the same artisan prefers to display his large plates within the museum "exhibitions", not at the fairs set up by municipalities. Instead, the potter GT (holder of a similar prize in Sibiu) has a local orientation, with his donation of artifacts for the Korond village museum, and also with a partnership with the folk-culture centre of the Odorheiul-Secuiesc town, for the sale of his ceramics. According to MA, a Corund group of "about ten craftsmen" use to bring to the fairs of museums a potter's wheel, in order to demonstrate their creativity to the museum visitors.

Thanks to the tiles MH makes by inspiring himself from the pottery traditions of his Saxon ethnic group, he has already been registered in the catalogues of the German minority department within the Astra Museum in Sibiu; he intends to

[3] The interethnic cohabitation, with phenomena of autonomy or conversely cultural borrowings, takes place (for instance) among the Hungarian-speaking groups of Romania, in the case of egg-painting. While the so-called *ouă ferecate* (eggs with metallic ornamental applications) are common to the Hungarians from Transylvania and the Budapest area, a series of decorative motifs (including the The Shepherd's Hook, Rose, Snake, Little Beech Leaf, Cock Comb, etc.), as encountered among the Csango population of the Valea Ghimeşului-Bacău (Moldavia), seem "to be identical" with Romanian similar motifs; the technique of monochromatic red painting of eggs, as used in this case by Hungarian women, is the same as the Romanian method of decoration, while the *kesice* (the painting tool) is very resembling to the *chişiţa* of Romanian peasant women (cf. Zahacinschi & Zahacinschi 1992: 25–8, 46).

exhibit his ceramics at the folk fairs organized by the museum. (MH also administers two tourist guest-houses in his Cisnădioara village, which, with the summertime visitors flow, overlap with the time when most of the museum fairs are scheduled). He also reproduces a series of Saxon decorative designs that are preserved by the Sibiu Museum of Tiles.

The Roma artisans EC and NC take part to fairs set up within the ethnographic museums from the cities of Arad, Bucureşti, Cluj-Napoca, and Timişoara. EC has been awarded a "Prize III" at the Craftsmen's Fair in Craiova, from the Dolj County Centre for the Folk-Culture and the Museum of Craiova. He also entrusts his artifacts to the Bucharest Museum of Peasants in order to be sold there; in doing so, EC is aware that "they [the museum staff] will gain something of it, too!" MB claims he reaches with her wooden artifacts to the museums from Cluj-Napoca, Oradea, Sibiu, and Bucureşti, and the collaboration she engages in with such institutions leads to an important change in her production's profile, from the making of large wooden items (such as the troughs) to the carving of "small things" (including small chairs, vases, and home utensils), which are better adapted to the orders in the artisanship fairs.

In Dobrodja, as well as at Caraşova, the local craftsmen do not develop similar collaboration with the museums. Among the few relevant cases here is that of the Turkish carpenter of Cobadin, RI, who in the past was asked by the local cultural centres to recondition armchairs in the "Louis [XIV]'s style". Similarly, the Croatian weaver KM still keeps at her home a weaving loom, which her son intends to donate to a museum that is under construction at Caraşova, by the Union of Croatians in Romania (the furrier NF has just been interviewed by this NGO's representatives). There is in Cobadin a private museum of the Tatar minority, comprising among others the round tables that the carpenter VE describes to characterize his ethnic group.[4]

[4] The ethnographic aspects of crafts among the ethnic minorities in Dobrodja, and the perspectives of their museum conservation (in terms of documentary assessing of the traditional costumes and metalwork), were approached in 1978 through an "ethnographic experiment" conducted by the Bucharest Institute for Ethnological and Dialectological Research. Thus, the "goat- or sheep-made bellows", as used by the Roma tinkers only, have been identified in the following localities: C.A. Rosetti, Luncavița, Niculițel, Mahmudia, Sarichioi-Visterna, Peceneaga, Pantelimon, Valul lui Traian, Comana, and Ostrov; also mentioned are "the Roma groups that are specialized in the production of copper vases" (Aldea 1978: 98, 101). The copper tea-cups, which are "specific to the populations of Turkish and Tatar origin, and used in the cultic ceremonies and in the households as well", are reported in Niculițel, Izvoarele, Ciocârlia, şi Independența-Başpunar (Cajal 1978: 117). The Turkish woman blouse is encountered in Independența-Başpunar; among Tatars, the same clothing item appears in Ciocârlia and Albeşti, and among Lipovans in Chilia Veche, Sfântul Gheorghe, and Jurilovca (Meitert 1978: 122). Shalwars (as a "woman cloth from the waist down") are worn among the "Turks and Tatars" from Albeşti and Independența-Başpunar (Constantin 1978: 125). The men's traditional chemise, described as "not worn any more, but only preserved in the elders' suitcases, as well as in the museum collections", is present in Independența-Başpunar (a Turkish village), and in Chilia Veche, Mahmudia, Sfântul Gheorghe, Jurilovca, and Topalu (among Lipovans)(Constantin & Meitert 1978: 127).

On the basis of various service exchanges, even friendship relationships are at times developed between artisans and the museum staff, such as the potter JL of Korond evokes:

> "The director of the Galați Museum once visited my home workshop, which I enjoyed a lot. He filmed my plates, everything… He also invited me to open an exhibition at his Galați Museum, but, as it is quite far away, I could not do so… He told me he has [professional] relationships with colleagues from Dobrodja and the city of Constanța, but I was not able to go there…"

However, the artisans are not every time satisfied with the relationships they engage with the ethnographic museums of Romania. The potters GT and LT recognize that the museum specialists are sometimes critical with the artifacts they exhibit within fairs. LT leaves some of his pottery under the museum custody, to be sold to visitors; however, it happens that up to one year is needed (such as in the case of the Cluj-Napoca Museum) before such artifacts can eventually be commercialized. Although MA says the Sibiu Museum, which he usually attends, would not impose a participation fee from the artisans, LT encountered situations when such fees reached the amount of 50 lei.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In retrospect, let us remark first that thanks to their work and products the minority-group artisans account for their cultural provenance and belonging, expressing thus an ethos specific to the above-mentioned ethno-linguistic communities. It is such meaning that notions like the "Szekler ceramics", the "Turkish cuisine", and the "Croatian [folk] clothing" usually bear. In Korond, the pottery (and to a lesser extent, the tinder processing) confers to the local Hungarian community a distinct and perennial traditional profile. Likewise, the copper metalwork (in Brateiu), the basket knitting (in Fofeldea), and the woodcarving (in Băbeni) contribute to the perpetuation of the "Căldărari" and, respectively, "Țigani" and "Rudari" as Roma groups individualized not only through their dialects but also due to their artifacts. In contrast, in the Dobrodjan localities and in Caraşova there is not so much "craft culture", unless a minimal contribution, obviously regressing, from the artisanship of Turkish and, respectively, Croatian cultural identities. While in Korond, the pottery was mostly made based on a family organization of the production, and the commerce with ceramic artifacts, and not less than 20 local families join into a craft association, in Cobadin (plus Independența and Başpunar) and Caraşova only individual, isolate, instances of handicraft practices still can be found.

The craft specialization is another variable in assessing the artisanship relevance for a given ethnic identity. One could speak of a ceramic mono-specialization at Korond (in comparison with the local tinder processing, and with the agriculture), which echoes the Hungarian ethnic homogeneity of this locality.

In the Roma communities of Brateiu, Fofeldea, Băbeni the crafts I have approached are an economic alternative for the ethnic groups of Căldărari, Țigani, and Rudari, as the Romanians living together with them are farmers or forest owners. In Caraşova, the Croatian population's predominance (in comparison to a few families of Romanians and Germans, and in the context of local agriculture) is ethnographically reflected in the survival of some crafts – the sheepskin-coats making, and the weaving –, which are dedicated to the traditional clothing specific to this ethnic group; here the cooper's works and the carpentry are isolated cases, with no restrictions on ethnic criteria of the local Croatian villages. In Dobrodja, in a similar context of agricultural occupations, the multi-ethnicity of the local village communities is the cultural background of the craftsmen and their individual specializations. Thus, in Cobadin, the groups of Romanians, Turks, Aromanians, and Tatars live together and work in carpentry, leather processing, tinkering, while in the only case of ethnic homogeneity (the Turkish village of Başpunar), the tinsmith is practically the last local artisan. As a result, the artisanship diverges in accord with the ethnic plurality of a community, while the ethno-linguistic unity (or, among Roma, enclave structuring) tends to associate with the practice of a single or dominant craft. Nevertheless, the important differences between Korond and Caraşova (particularly in terms of productive organization and market orientation of crafts) suggest that the local ethnic majority does not always sustain the development or continuity of a folk artisanship.

LIST OF THE CRAFTSMEN INTERVIEWED IN THE FIELD

AD: ALI DINCER (leather-processing artisan, Turk, born 1973 [?], Cobadin-Constanța)
AP & VP: AGOSTON PALL şi VERONICA PALL (ceramist, Hungarians, born 1946, respectively 1950 [?], Korond-Harghita)
CM: CRSTA MARIA (weaver, Croatian, born 1950, Caraşova-Caraş Severin)
EC & NC: EMILIAN and NICOLAE CĂLDĂRARU (tinkers, Roma, born 1950, respectively 1974 [?], Brateiu-Sibiu)
EF & MF: EMERIC FÁBIAN and MAGDALENA FÁBIAN (tinder-processing artisans, Hungarians, born 1949, respectively 1959, Korond-Harghita)
GM: GHEORGHE MIHAI (tinker, Aromanian, born 1937, Cobadin-Constanța)
GT: GÁSPÁR TÓFÁLVI (potter, Hungarian, born 1957, Korond-Harghita)
HR: HASIM REGEP (tinsmith, Turk, born 1957, Başpunar-Constanța)
IB: IMRE BARNA (woodcarver, Hungarian, born 1973, Korond-Harghita)
JL: JÓSZA LÁSZLO (potter, Hungarian, born 1960, Korond-Harghita)
KM: KATA MUSELIN (weaver, Croatian, born 1931, Caraşova-Caraş Severin)
LT: LÁSZLÓ TÓFÁLVI (potter, Hungarians, born 1970, Korond-Harghita)
MA: MÁTHE ANDRÁS (potter, Hungarian, born 1948, Korond-Harghita)
MB: MARIA BĂDĂLAN (woodcarver, Roma, born 1945, Băbeni-Vâlcea)
MC: MIHAI CURIAC (carpenter, Croatian, born 1963 [?],Caraşova-Caraş-Severin)
MH: MICHAEL HENNING (ceramist, German, born 1966, Cisnădioara-Sibiu)
MR: MEHMET RIDVAN (municipality counselor, representative of the Turkish village community from Başpunar-Constanța, born 1950)
NC: NICOLAE CRSTA (furrier, Croatian, born 1928 [?], Caraşova-Caraş Severin)
NF: NICOLAE FILKA (furrier, Croatian, born 1928, Caraşova-Caraş Severin)

PG: PETRU GERA (cooper, Croatian, born 1923, Caraşova-Caraş Severin)
PI: PAULU IGNACZ (woodcarver, Hungarian, born 1963, Korond-Harghita)
RI: RAFET IUSUF (carpenter, Turk, born 1955, Cobadin-Constanța)
TG: TODOR GYORGY (potter, Hungarian, born 1952, Korond-Harghita)
TF: TOMA FIERARU (vegetal-fiber knitter, Roma, born 1945, Fofeldea-Sibiu)
VE: VUAP ERVIN (carpenter, Tatar, born 1968, Independența-Constanța)
VG: VÁIDA GÉZA (clay sculptor, Hungarian, born 1980, Korond-Harghita)

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CATHOLICS OF MOLDAVIA AND THE UNIVERSE OF THEIR TRADITIONAL CULTURE

ION H. CIUBOTARU

ABSTRACT

This paper is the sketch of an ample monographic study which surveys all the components of traditional civilization and spirituality in the Moldavian catholic villages and in connection with the folklore and peasant civilization in Romania. First, our attention concentrates on the rural settlements, architectural structures, foundation rituals, and ancient conceptions at the heart of the household microcosm. Then follows the presentation of the folk holiday outfits. All the genres and species of the folk literature and music follow, making these pages an almost complete surveys of the common heritage that prove the Romanian origin of all Catholics in Moldavia.

Keywords: Ethnicity, Identity, Catholics, Moldavia, Hungarians, Csángó, Folk Customs, Folklore.

1. FROM ARCHITECTURE TO COSTUMES

The present paper is the result of vast ethnologic investigations, done over a period of three and a half years, in almost all Moldavian settlements with a majority of Roman-Catholic inhabitants.[1] Over one hundred and fifty localities were investigated, thus the scientific approach having unprecedented amplitude. It was a carefully planned initiative, based on the interest shown by so many in the domain of folk culture, in the specific features of those villages, about which little has been written, in spite of the fact that many of them range among the outstanding points of reference within the sphere of Moldavian folklore.

As indicated by recent statistics, today Roman-Catholic communities are present in almost all parts of Moldavia, and they are significantly numerous in the Bacau, Neamț and Iaşi counties. At the end of 1997, documents of church

[1] For a complete documentation, see the vast trilogy – to which the present article represents just a summary: Ion H. Ciubotaru, *Catolicii din Moldova. Universul culturii populare* [Catholics in Moldavia: the Universe of Folk Culture], Iaşi: Editura Presa Bună; vol. 1: 1998, 279 p., ISBN 973-98231-7-3; vol. 2: 2002, 500 p., ISBN 973-8191-16-5; vol. 3: 2005, 655 p., ISBN 973-8191-69-6.

REF/JEF, *1–2*, p. 135–161, Bucureşti, 2009

administration attest to the existence of 261,500 Moldavian Roman-Catoholics, all belonging to the Diocese of Iaşi. They are organized in nine deaneries, one hundred and thirty-five parishes and two hundred and twelve subsidiaries, religious service being ensured by two hundred and sixty-five ministers.

The presence of Catholics in Moldavia was attested quite early. During the first decades of the 13th century, the Bishopric of Milcov (1227) had as its head Teodoric, bishop of the Cumans. He was urged by Pope Gregory IX to name a vicar-bishop of Wallachian nationality, which proves that within that bishopric (depending directly on Rome) the number of Wallachians of Roman faith was not at all negligible. Later, in 1371, under Voivode Lațcu of Moldavia, the Catholic Diocese of Siret was established, and active protection of the Catholics was continued, with even greater assiduity, by the voivode's sister, Margareta-Muşata, founder of the Muşatin dynasty of Moldavia.

Catholic interests still enjoyed protection under Alexandru the Good. The latter's wife, Ringala (a cousin of Wladislaw of Poland), was outstanding in her tireless efforts for Catholic flourishing. In 1418 a Catholic post was established at Baia, the town in which Margareta, Voivode Alexandra's first wife, had founded the church which was to house her tomb. Two centuries later (1607) the Diocese of Bacău came into being, where the Italian archbishop Marcus Bandinus was to write his celebrated Codex. At last, towards the end of last century (1884), the Diocese of Iaşi was founded, the one to which all Catholic communities of Moldavia belong today.

The number of settlements with Roman-Catholic inhabitants in this part of today's Romania significantly increased beginning with the second half of the 18th century, after the last great waves of emigration from Transylvania, which started in 1746 and culminated in 1763, when about 24,000 families crossed the mountains. Demographic motions of lower amplitude should not be neglected either; they began to occur as early as the 13th century and continued until the first decades of the 20th century. Nobody turned to emigration without very serious reasons. There were, on the one hand, socio-economic troubles, political oppression or religious persecution; on the other hand, there were the advantages promised by voivodes of Moldavia, who offered the newcomers appealing living conditions.

Over several centuries, the Catholics of this part of the Romanian territory have lived together (Romanians, Hungarians, Transylvanian Saxons, Poles), having the same rights and duties; and the host population – i.e. Romanians – has not tried to impose its own supremacy in any way. On the opposite, Moldavian Catholics generously received Szeckler colonists who came from the lands of Ciuc and Trei Scaune after the massacre of Madefalău (January 1764). It was a natural reaction, guided by the spirit of hospitality and fraternity specific to native Catholics, who have never thought that their Romanian ethnic identity could be contested by anyone.

Unfortunately, there are certain factors which, in the course of time, have tried to maintain a state of ambiguity with regard to the identity of the Catholics under discussion. In spite of the fact that the whole of their traditional culture is harmoniously integrated in the general context of Romanian traditions, there still are voices which strive to misinterpret the reality. Several Hungarian specialists, both from Romania and from abroad, assert that there are signs of Hungarian and Szeckler influence in the ethnographic and folklore creations of the Moldavian Catholics, but nobody has sustained that idea by concrete evidence.

By starting from the fact that, in a limited number of Moldavian villages, the Catholic population speaks, besides Romanian, a Csángó dialect which is close to the one of the Szecklers, some Hungarian specialists tried to demonstrate that all Moldavian Catholics stand for a distinct ethnic group. By extrapolation of isolated data, even the farfetched conclusion was reached that the Catholcs of this part of Romania represented "the extreme eastern Hungarian ethnic group"[2]. Such opinions overlook the fact that it was only at the end of the 18th century when some of those people were called Csángó, a name which specialists have not yet explained convincingly, and which the Moldavian Catholics have always regarded as pejorative.

With differences which, in fact, underline Romanian identity, ancestral customs and traditions preserved in Moldavian villages with Catholic inhabitants are the same as everywhere in Moldavia. Preservation and transmission from one generation to another were done with special care. Signs of remarkable old age can also be detected in the traditional architecture, indoor textiles, and festive costumes, as well as in other dimensions of the ethno-folklore world of the communities under discussion such as the rites of passage, calendric customs, folk literature, and music.

If one surveys the types of rural settlements, the farm-house, with its yard, annexes, fences, monumental gates, wells, roadside crucifixes and, finally, churches, a first conclusion is that the settlements of the Catholics in the Iaşi diocese show all the specific features of the rural culture in this part of Romania. The rural habitat is not confined to architectural constructions within the village; it is regarded as a succession of concentric circles which goes from its external limit, the hotar (village border) – often marked by crucifixes or by crosses, as substitutes of the former –, to the walls of the house, which shelter the epicenter of the cosmicized space, namely the vatra (hearth). Folk mentality regards the hearth as an axis of the dwelling place, in which the biologic and protective symbolism of the fire keeps its consistence unaltered.

For traditional rural man the casa (house) does not stand simply for an object meant to shelter from bad weather or other discomforts. In the house he sees a spiritual space, which is supposed not only to help daily life but also to promote cultural values. The house means family, identity, and at the same time it expresses

[2] Kós Károly, *Tájak, falvak, hagyományok*, Bukarest: Kriterion Könyvkiadó, 1976, p. 213.

a certain mentality. Foundation rites attend all important moments of house building. That clearly indicates that the two fundamental dimensions, the object-house and the concept-house, merge at the level of archaic thought, connections that were quite clear for village inhabitants.

Traditional architectonic constructions include, firstly, the monocellar house, to which a (entrance hall) was later added, the latter also acquiring pantry functions; then there is the house type with one room, an entrance hall and a chiler (larder) or a kitchen, and finally the house with two rooms and a cool tinda, this being the type most widely spread during the third and fourth decades of the 20th century, and the most frequent type nowadays. Sometimes the house, well and summer kitchen are fenced together, and thus separated from the rest of the farmyard, as well as from the fodder-storage plot. That is the so-called double-yard, which used to be widely spread all over Moldavia, and which is not specific to Csángó farmyards only, as some Hungarian specialists are inclined to think.

The *fences* which surround farmyards are presented not only typologically, but also according to origin and primeval significance. Fences and gates were meant to protect farm-houses and yards, or even the whole area including gardens and orchards, against possible intrusions. The *great gates* to be found in Moldavian Catholic villages, especially in the Trotuş Valley and in the Tazlău Depression, are surprisingly archaic in their shape and ornaments. In expert studies they are integrated in the general context of Romanian monumental gates, side by side with those of Maramureş or of Gorj. Relationships with the Szeckler area, as proposed by Hungarian ethnologists, are not scientifically tenable.

More widely spread than monumental gates are *posts* with anthropomorphic carvings. They seem to have been used by these communities, during a certain period, with a frequency that hardly occurs in any other region of the country. According to Paul Petrescu: "in past mentalities, the image of man embodied the *very ancestors of the yard and house,* who are gone from this world but continue to keep a vigilant eye – not only from distant skies, but from the very border represented by the fences of the farmyard – on the life and fortune of their descendants"[3].

Once, churches and graveyards were together, within a single space, which was regarded as *the* core *of the village. It* was in it where those gone to the realm of the ancestors found rest, thus forming the other half of their kin. Historical documents attest to the fact that the old Catholic churches – as with the Orthodox ones – were practically the same, in style and proportions, as modest country houses. Sacred buildings were built by local craftsmen who managed to harmonize churches or graveyard chapels with the architectonic assemblage of each settlement. Today's churches of Catholic villages have imposing outlines, which

[3] Paul Petrescu, *Imaginea omului în arta populară românească* [Man's Image in the Romanian Folk Art], Bucureşti: Editura Meridiane, 1969, p. 11.

preserve basic features of the specific Neogothic style, architectonic solutions *that* show both high inspiration and modern novelty.

Concerning the *indoor textiles* (i.e. weavings and needlework of indoor use, which adorn the rooms of the farmhouse, or serve in rites, customs and ceremonies), it is noticeable that villages with a Catholic population have always been remarkable in their preservation of true hoards of embroidered towels, wall carpets, and bedspreads. The arrangement of all these is yet another argument in favor of the Moldavian Catholics belonging to the world of the autochthonous *Romanians*.

Many of the embroidered towels found in those villages may be regarded as true works of art, fit to be placed in the most exacting museum collections. By the syntax of their ornamental fields, as well as by the vigor of their chromatic tonality they recall similar productions of Romanian regions like Bucovina, Năsăud or Bihor. Besides towels with woven ornaments there are also the ones ornamented by needlework. The latter show, side by side with patterns "in bands", free compositions by a "panel technique". Lateral bands, of border lace or beaded fringes, are made of registers with flowers, leaves and tendrils, with chains of geometric shapes, with complex wreathes made of phytomorphic, avimorphic, skeumorphic, or (more rarely) anthropomorphic patterns.

The embroideries on some handkerchiefs or on pillow cases show discontinuous central ornaments, "closed" and centering upon a basic star or rosette symmetrically framed by flowers, leaves and fruit. Almost all traditional needlework is done by simple crosses ("Romanian point"), or by double ones, one-threaded or "in logs". There occur no ornaments done by the so-called iras (written) point, specific to Hungarian needlework.

As regards wall and floor carpets, they belong to two main categories: one has as its major feature geometric patterns, while the other is characterized by plant ornaments. Proportions in the spreading of each group depend, to an important extent, on region and ethno-folklor*ic* area. In other words, this sector of traditional art also bears the stamp of regional or local peculiarities.

Continuity of artistic creation in the field of weaving and needlework is not due only to functional and aesthetic factors. A strong impulse towards preservation of ancient patterns was received from the ritual-ceremonial sphere. As they have numerous implications in the folklore of family and calendric customs, the towel, handkerchief and kerchief have played the role of substitutes, on a concrete plane, of the bridge symbol (*pod*, *punte*) with magic meanings, on a spiritual plane. Kerchiefs, towels, carpets and bedspreads – considered within home privacy, but also within the context of traditional customs – still recall touching episodes of the hard-working villager's biography.

In concern with the *festive costume* – this is a field which greatly contributes to our understanding of the origin and identity of the population under discussion. Catholic and Orthodox villagers dressed themselves the same way, both for work

and holidays. Structurally, the costume pieces show no differences. The difference between everyday clothes and festive ones consists in the quality of the materials used, in the richness and expressiveness of ornaments. The costumes of the Catholic population have drawn more attention not by their peculiarities, but by the fact that they have been better preserved than with Orthodox communities.

As it has already been said, Moldavian Catholics are keepers of the oldest traditions of Romanian folk costumes in this part of the country. The traditional clothes they still put on nowadays are matchless, with a personality based on the firm preservation of fundamental elements originating in the Thraco-Daco-lllyrian substratum. After many attempts at deriving Csángó traditional costumes from a supposed common South-East European source, Hungarian ethnographers had to admit: "The costume of Moldvian Csángós belongs to those specific to Romanians, among whom that population lives"[4].

Taking into account that, for an authentic villager, costume stands for an identity marker (which means that borrowings from elsewhere are hard to accept), we may understand to what extent Moldavian Catholics consider themselves to be directly involved in the legacy of the Romanian nation, to which they belong. As for their festive costume, this brings to perfection the basic lines of archaic clothing by refining its aesthetic appearance. The fundamental features of that costume are the same as those of peasant clothing of the whole Carpathian-Danubian area: a sculptural vision, which lightly amplifies the body line, rectangular cuts, without cutouts, and a chromatic arrangement in which the white color has a copious upper hand.

As everywhere in the country, the traditional women's garb in villages of Moldavian Catholics displays a rich typology, and it has been better preserved than that of men. Outstanding among the features of the women's costume are, first of all headgears, including a wide range if kerchiefs, of various types (*grimea, tulpan, casâncă*, *şal*, *buhoară*, etc.). Remarkable headgears are the *conci* and the *cârpă* (as special markers of married women), integrated in the ancestral "horned" type to be found in Romania, as well as in other parts of the world. That type of headgear is yet another argument in favor of the deep roots Romanian rural culture has in prehistoric and ancient mythology. Blouses with ornament-streams (straight and divided into registers, the sleeves being most richly adorned), then the more recent type, with inset, are main pieces of the festive costume worn by women in the communities discussed here. Other pieces include different types of girdles and skirts (*brâu, bârneţ, catrinţă, fotă*, to which the *androc* and the *peşteman* are added). Embroideries are of a refined geometrism. The black-and-red bichromaticism, with shades of mauve or orange, is sometimes enhanced by the iridescence of beads and, more rarely, of golden thread bordering ornamental registers.

[4] Kós Károly, Judit Szentimrei, Jenö Nagy, *Moldvai csángó népmüvészet*, Bukarest, Kriterion Könyvkiadó, p. 362.

In comparison with the women's costume, the festive one worn by men is simpler, and less frequent nowadays. The main pieces are: shirt, straight or with a hem (woven of cotton silk, or mastic thread), tight trousers (*iţari*), the girdle (*brâu, bârneţ* – which are different only in size from the corresponding pieces of the women's costume), broad leather belt (*chimir*) and the studded belt (*curea cu ţinte*). In cold weather the *iţari* used to be replaced by *cioareci* (trousers made of white thick woolen cloth).

Of special interest are some pieces of the festive costume worn by both women and men, namely the sleeveless fur waistcoat (*bundiţă*), the sheepskin coat (*cojoc*) and the felt coat (*suman*). Dear to all age groups, the *bundiţa* is a vigorous component of the traditional costume. It is of an elegant cut, and its archaic ornaments are well poised chromatically. The sheepskin coats, which gave a special air of dignity to women and men of Moldavian villages, are of three types: short (*trupar, speţăt, mintean*), knee-long (*genuncher*), and long (*cojoc mare*), ornamented on the breast piece, sleeves, pockets, and lap. The *suman* is of a respectable age, and it is to be found all over Romania, with regional differences in structure and name. It is made of felting-mill woolen cloth, and it is adorned with ornamental cord (*sarad*). Conceived in the autarchic rural household, the components of the traditional male and female costumes in these settlements are proof of the permanency of the Romanian attire in the archetypal matrix. The Dacian shirt, the headdress with horns, the hood or the homespun apron (*catrinţă*), as well as the refined compositions of the interior, or the instantly recognizable chromatic harmonies remain hallmarks of the Romanian identity.

2. THE UNIVERSE OF TRADITIONAL FOLK CUSTOMS

In this section we focus on traditional customs. Whether belonging to the calendar or familial cycle, they are all exceptionally unitary within the framework of the rites of passage. Familial ritual practices accompany the most important moments in human life whose evolution is pursued from the entrance in the "white world" to the inexorable exit into "the beyond" of the fathers and forefathers. In what the calendar is concerned, cultural repertoires contains the ritual-ceremonial acts meant to give impetus to fundamental occupations (agriculture and sheep-breeding), as well as some complementary trades. The traditional customs cannot be obtained within a process of acculturation, and if their repertoire in the catholic villages is entirely Romanian, then this means that the issue of the national identity of their population should be situated beyond reasonable doubt.

One of the most important sectors of the folk life, customs contain in their own structure archaic beliefs and practices, which the communities of Moldavian Catholics has preserved through time. Investigations done systematically, over the past five-six years, in all communities of the Iaşi Diocese, have revealed a rich stock of ethnological documents of quite high scientific importance. Like other

components of traditional culture, the folk customs show strong resemblance with corresponding traditions of all other parts of Romania, that fact sustaining, once more, the Romanian identity of Moldavian Catholics.

In order to valuate, as fairly as possible, the customs identified in the villages we talk about, those customs were permanently referred to an ample bibliography, which deals with similar practices recorded all over Romania. Also, we took into account works of Hungarian specialists, both the ones on Moldavian Catholics and some on distinctive features of Hungarian and Szekler traditional culture.

As in all traditional cultures, birth is regarded as a rite of beginning, and it implies numerous ceremonial gestures and acts. According to archaic mentality, during the first nights after the child's birth the house in which the child lies is visited by *Ursitoare* (Weird Sisters). In wait for them, a special table (*masa ursitoarelor*) is laid, with a rich dinner offered to the ones who "spin, measure, and cut the life thread". During the time between birth and christening, women who are relatives, neighbors and friends of the mother will come with special offerings, *rodini*. The main sense of the term rodini (sg. *rodină*) is that of "beginning, foundation, birthday", and, by extension, "creation, genesis, kin, sib, family". That custom implies an augural context with benefic effects on both mother and child.

Christening has a very special significance. It is a rite of initiation achieved through consecration by a priest. The mediators are the christening godparents (*naşi de botez*). By their ritual act, they become spiritual parents, and assume not only integration of the infant in the rural community, but also supervision and counseling of their godchild throughout the latter's life.

A peculiar custom, performed always after christening, was that of "selling the child through the window". That symbolic selling implied an idea of death followed by rebirth of the child under fortunate stars, or at least under less unlucky ones. The act of that symbolic selling also included a changing of the child's name, in order to deceive evil spirits and chase death away from that house, by all means.

As in most Romanian traditional communities, in Moldavian Catholic ones births were assisted by the village midwife, with a presence much more vigorous than that of the godmother, especially in areas in which the tradition of the kin midwife (*moaşa de neam*) was preserved. According to archaic thought the midwife was an embodiment of Crăciuneasa (Santa Claus' Wife), who stood for an archetypal midwife.

The integrative sense of the practices attending each sequence of the birth customs is clearly manifest in the *ritual bathing* of the infant, and especially in the *cumetrie*, the festive party which followed the former event.

Another category of passage rites is represented by *premarital* ones, which are either attached to calendar customs, or may be identified within folklore manifestations such as *şezătoare* (evening sitting, during which handicraft were produced), *hram* (parish fair, celebrating the patron saint of the local church), *hora satului* (village dance), etc. In the villages of the Iaşi Diocese, sittings were

organized in groups depending on age and on neighborhood (streets, hamlets, village parts), and they took place only during the first five days of the week, approximately between sunset and midnight. During such gatherings, young people could come to know one another better, and friendships could eventually lead to marriages.In its turn, *hora satului* exceeded by far, in amplitude and significance, all the other opportunities in which young people gathered in common celebrations. Whether the *hora* was organized on important days of the calendar (Christmas, Shrovetide, Easter), on parish fairs, on Sundays or other holidays, it always stood for a celebration for everybody. Village dances were organized by young people ready for marriage. It was from among them that young men with special responsibilities were elected. By tradition, the dance took place on a special public place in the village, the *medean*; it was an open, easily accessible spot, suitable for both dancers and onlookers (often quite numerous). The dancing parties were opened by a dance of the young men, usually a *hora de mână* (a hand-in-hand round dance). Girls would "come out" to the village dance around the age of 16, when they were allowed to wear two special pieces of the local folk costume, the *fota* and the *gâțar* (a wrap-skirt and a neckband, respectively). "Binding the *fota*" was the moment which ritually marked the access to that new piece in their festive attire. A young man who "took in" a young girl to her first village dance received from her *gherdan* (also called *zgărduță*, or *șuvuită*), i.e. a ribbon adorned with beads, which he then fixed to his hat. In certain places the young man also received an embroidered scarf, and the girl would also offer him a special ring- (or wreathe-)shaped cake, *colac*, on Christmas or on the New Year. The boys' "coming in" to the village dance was less ceremonially done. But they also had to observe a traditionally fixed age, which would not be lower than 17-18.

Divination practices are also quite interesting. Depending on the aim of each ritual act, those practices were performed in solitude, often in secret, or in the company of persons of the same age. Many of the objects used for premarital divination (such as the towel, the handkerchief, or the belt) symbolize the "bridges" which the girl in love tries to throw between herself and the beloved person. It is not by chance that several of the divination acts are performed on the eves of Christmas, the New Year, or Epiphany. The period of winter holidays, besides containing portentous days, foreshadows the oncoming *Câșlegi* (< lat. *caseum ligat*), the time preceding Lent, so important for "starting weddings". In comparison with the other customs of the family cycle, the traditional wedding is most remarkable, by the richness of its repertory, and by the archaic character of several of its ritual stages. The unitary, general Romanian features of the wedding folklore to be found in the villages under discussion do not blur local or regional peculiarities which have survived into our time. Such peculiarities are identical with those to be found in some Transylvanian areas, the ones supposed to be at the origins of some of the Moldavian Catholics. As in other Romanian areas, the Moldavian Catholics would organize, until not long ago, weddings in two places,

i.e. at the bridegroom's house, as well as at the bride's. Reuniting the participants belonging to the two families implied a whole range of strategies meant to appease spirits. For both the departure of the bride from her parents' household and her integration in the bridegroom's family ought to occur smoothly, without any unpleasant incidents. Taking the bride from her parents' house appears as a most obvious act of separation. The precincts within which the farewell ritual took place were marked by special borders and ornaments. The young men representing the bridegroom's party would have no access to the bride's courtyard unless they passed several initiatory tests and, especially, unless the "great oration of the wreathe-shaped cake" (*urătura cea mare a colacului*) was uttered. The benefic magic of ritual bread is reinforced by the unification of all wedding participants under the sacred circular space symbolized by the "bride's cake" (*colacul miresii*). The participants, including the bridegroom (*mire*) get together in a big round dance (*hora mare*), and the supervisor of the ceremony (*vornic* or *stolnic*) leads the dance to the farewell spot. The "forgiveness" act (*iertăciune*) which follows stands for both separation and integration. The oration uttered on that occasion combines cosmogony, anthropogony, and educational passages. On her departure from her parents' house, the bride (*mireasa*) takes away her dowry (*zestre*), which she has been preparing for years. That transfer of goods consolidates the marital alliance. Moving the dowry from one house to another marks the moment when the bride actually feels and accepts the irreversibility of the wedding act.

The passage of the newly-weds to another stage of their existence is symbolically pointed out during the wedding ceremony. The "wedding meal, without gifts" (*masa de cununie*, *fără dar*) is a common feast which marks the separation of the protagonists from the unmarried young people with whom they spent the years of their adolescence and early youth. Interesting is also the ritual-ceremonial sequence known as "the receiving meal" or "the offering meal" (*masa de primire*, *masa de închinat*). It represents an archaic practice, in which participants offer food and drinks to be consumed at the "great meal" (*masa cea mare*); part of those offerings is then returned to (and taken home by) each participating family, at the end of the wedding party. That ritual practice is widely spread and reflects the archaic magic implications of gift-exchange. The returning of certain goods from the "offering meal" has complex connotations.

Another important sequence of the wedding ceremony is that of the "great meal". Sharing a meal stands for the most efficient establishment of an alliance. Within that sequence, the moment of "untrimming the bride" (*deshobotat*) is central. The newly-weds' passage from ceremonial wedding attires to costumes specific to married people marks the moment which symbolically closes the liminary rites. According to their new garments and to the goods they have come to .possess, the newly-weds are not the same as they were at the beginning of the wedding ceremony. The new in-laws are to consolidate their relationships, and the young couple, in their new position, are on their way as kin-founders.

At certain moments of the wedding ceremony, such as "match-making" (*peţit*) "taking away the bride" (*luatui miresei*), and "untrimming" (*deshobotat*), there used to be a replacement of the actual bride by another person. Most often the substitute was a man or a woman playing a grotesque being, a hag dressed in tatters, with a fishing net (instead of a veil) over her head, and with a distaff under her belt. Sometimes, especially towards the end of the wedding party a mock bridegroom was also placed by the mock bride. Regarded as a household daemon (a mythical foremother, or a goddess of destiny), the "ugly bride" (*mireasa urâtă*) often bore in her arms a doll made of rugs, or she pretended to be pregnant, thus pointing out the main significance of marriage.

About the middle of the wedding ceremony, or at the end of that passage rite, a group of masked people (playing a mock wedding) appeared at the house of the bridegroom's parents. The group would always move then to the house of the bride's parents, where they turned into derision the family left behind by the bride. The behavior of the masked participants, their practical jokes and the noise they made were meant to attenuate the sorrow of the bride's parents. That masque at the end of the wedding party belongs to the series of "splittings" of the main actors, the aim being to confuse evil spirits.

As regards the two sibs involved in the marital ceremony, we must mention that the *cuscrie* or *cuscrenie* represents one of the most complex forms of in-law relationship. Some terms, such as socru "father-in-law" (< lat. *socer*), *soţ* "spouse" (< lat. *sodus*), *cumnat* "brother-in-law" (< lat. *cognatus*), or *cuscru* "father-in-law" (< lat. *consocer*) reflect ancient, not so well known aspects, which offer important clues to the origin and the ethnic belonging of the population under discussion. By a minute analysis we can demonstrate that practically all terms used by the Catholics of the Iaşi Diocese in designating in-laws is of Latin origin (as indicated above). Some of those terms are in use all over Romania: e.g. *socru* – fem. *soacră*, *cumnat* – fem. *cumnată*, *cuscru* – fem. *cuscră*, and others are of local or regional use: e.g. *om* (< lat. *homo*) and *român* (< lat. *Romanus*), both with the special meaning of "husband" (their common Romanian meanings being 'man, human being' and "Romanian", respectively). Some of the in-law terms used only by the Catholics of Moldavia are exceptional items of the Latin heritage perpetuated in Romanian: e.g. *ler* "brother-in-law" (< lat. *leuir* "husband's brother"), and the phonetically special forms *cruscu* – pl. *cruschi* (the forms in general use being *cuscru-cuscri*). All these elements sustain the idea of a Romanian identity of the Catholic population of Moldavia.

Although in most regions of Romanian, and in dictionaries, the two terms referring to nuptial godparents, *nuni* and *naşi*, are treated as synonyms, certain differentiations may be observed between the two categories. Unlike the *naşi*, who, as a rule, are persons unrelated to the weds, the *nuni* (cf. lat. *nonnus*, as respectful form of address) are a couple closely related to the bridegroom. That couple may be the bridegroom's elder brother and his wife, or the elder sister and her husband.

Paternal uncles and aunts, or, more rarely, paternal first cousins may also become *nuni*. In that position, they are the administrators of everything during the wedding ceremony, that is why they are also known as "managers of the wedding" (*gospodarii nunții*).

Assuming that there was a time when the nuptial prerogatives were a task of the newly-weds' parents, we may suppose that today's meaning of *nuni* reflects the very transition from related-godparents to unrelated-godparents. It is the original difference in prerogatives which accounts for the perpetuation of *nuni*, as different from *naşi*, to our days.

The nuptial ceremony is, however, sustained not only by magic acts (ritual or ludicrous) and actors with various functions (*chemători, druşte, vătăjei, stolnic, vornic,* etc.), but also by the usage of peculiar objects of ancient symbolism. The staff (*toiag*) carried by the bridegroom, or by each caller (*chemător*), the embroidered towels, napkins and scarves (*prosoape, şervete, năframe*), or the *entrusting handkerchief* (*batista de încredințare*) and the wedding carpet (*covorul de cununie*) are only some of those special objects. They have their intrinsic magic power, their own secret life, which serves each benefic gesture of the wedding. An important number of those items are directly connected to special ritual moments, while others belong to the ceremony as a whole, and some of them even to the whole subsequent life of the married couple.

The third section of the family cycle is represented by funeral rites. They include, in surprisingly coherent forms, archaic practices, ceremonial gestures and acts, beliefs, customs and ritual songs, still in use today in most of the villages investigated by us. Preliminary rites are the first to be analyzed. They include ritual practices performed between the moment when there occur the first signs of oncoming death and the moment when the funeral procession starts towards the graveyard. Many ill omens occur in everyday life, and they can be detected by everybody; some of them, however, are felt only by the suffering person, and still others occur only in dreams and make everybody begin to worry.

Mythological figures which appear by the death-bed often take forms of Christian divinities. The Mother of God (*Maica Domnului*) appears with the death cup (*paharul morții*) in her hand, thus perpetuating attributes of the archaic Earth-Goddess, of Demeter and Diana. The instants which precede death are paid special attention to, since it is believed that everything done during those instants may influence both the great voyage of the deceased person and the life of the ones left behind. There is persistent belief in the everlastingness of the soul, as materialized in a dove, butterfly, or bee. The living ones carefully provide food and drinks to the soul, they try to protect it, but, at the same time, they are especially interested in gaining its benevolence.

In parallel with the ritual acts meant to ensure the soul's peace there is special care shown to the dead body. The latter is washed, dressed well, and exposed in a place fixed by tradition. (There is special treatment in the case of the ones who died

unmarried, since they ought to pass through rites representing the unfulfilled wedding ceremony.) The water used for washing the corpse has its own symbolism, reflecting the ambivalence of ancient beliefs. On the one hand, it is regarded as "dead", therefore it must be buried in a secluded spot, to avoid contagion; on the other hand, it is well guarded, since it is believed to preserve something of the deceased person's soul. In the latter case it is used in watering a flower plot.

Preparations for the deceased person's "great voyage" included the making of a funeral staff (*toiag*). Its best known version is a candle as long as the dead person twisted into a spiral. It is called "the soul's candle" (*lumânarea sufletului*), or "the little flat-cake of wax" (*turtița de ceară*), as in the well-known dirge "The Song of Dawn-Fairies" (Cântecul Zorilor). In some villages the wax "staff appeared as a straight candle placed along the corpse. In comparison with the two above-mentioned variants of the so-called "height-light" (*lumina de stat*), a more directly expressed idea of a substitute for the dead person is represented by an actual wooden staff, which appears to be the earliest variant. That staff can be referred to the hazel twig which was once used in measuring the dead body in order to fix the size of the coffin.

Mourning was indicated by the attire of the relatives, by disheveled hair and unshaved beards, as well as by certain signs meant to indicate the house where the death occurred. There is both white and black mourning. The former is kept during the interval between death and burial, and the latter until the funeral repast which takes place 40 days after the burial. That special meal has a double meaning: it marks the definitive departure of the soul from the world of the living and, at the same time, it mends the break produced between the mourning family and the rest of the village community.

A vigil takes place during the three nights which precede the burial. That gathering has a protective function, as it is meant to prevent visits of evil spirits. The games and ritual practices which are part of the vigil ensure conditions which favor the separation of the dead person's soul from the known world and its integration in the unknown one. Finally, by the benefic effects the vigil has on the dead person's family, it appears as an ingenious means of abating the mourning crisis.

Specific to archaic thought, all over the world, is the idea that the "other world" resembles the one left behind by the deceased, and that the latter will have the same worldly needs after death. Consequently, that idea underlies all forms of offering (*pomană*) during the funeral, as well as all subsequent memorial repasts. In some villages, the most important offering on the day of the funeral was known as "house of the dead one" (*casa mortului*). It was prepared outside, near the actual house, and it looked like a room open to the gate of the courtyard. In it there was the main offering (*comând*) which, to the benefit of the dead person, was to be given away together with the "walls" of the "house", made of various carpets.

Burials of unmarried young people are attended by ritual practices wich are both nuptial and funeral. In several villages of the Bacau county, the coffin of such a person is introduced in a tent (cort) or hut (colibă) placed above the bier or the vehicle meant to carry the coffin. Such roofing recalls the above-mentioned casa mortului, but it should also be referred to nuptial arches under which newly-weds are expected to pass.

After the sealing of the grave, the funeral repast "of dust" (*praznic de ţărână*), or the "great repast" (*praznicul cel mare*) took place at the house of the dead. At the same time, a ritual *colac*, a bowl of food, a glass of water and a candle for the soul were placed on the spot where the death had occurred. It was also for the soul that a rich meal was laid on the table over night, a practice recalling the Weird Sisters*'* meal (*masa ursitoarelor*) specific to birth rites. Worth mentioning is also the *water offering* (*pomana apei*), within the period between the burial and the 40-days funeral repast. Some old people are afraid that their heirs might ignore or minimize the importance of offerings, so they offer funeral repasts (sometimes called *grijă* – "care") while they are still alive.

Celebrations in memory of the dead continue over the whole year, under the form of "free" divine services, or that of the so-called "little fairs" (*bâlciuri mici*). On the day of the local patron saint (*hram*), a big parish fair (*bâlciul mare*) used to be organized, a more complex celebration closed by a procession to the graveyard. There were also offerings given on Ascension (*Înălţare*), on a special summer day dedicated to the ancestors (*Moşii de Vară*) and on Whitsunday (*Rusalii*); then, at the beginning of November, there was hallowing of graves and offerings were given in memory of all deceased true believers.

Surveying the *calendar-fixed customs*, the series begins with a presentation of *Saint Andrew's* celebration, which marks the opening of the cold season and shows traces of ancient New Year rites. Saint Andrew is regarded as "master of all beasts", especially of wolves, and he also appears as protector of sheep-herds and of cattle. Archaic thought also considered him as having power over evil spirits and vampires (*strigoi*).

The repertory of ritual-ceremonial practices which used to be performed during the night of Saint Andrew*'*s Eve include, first of all, divination acts by which girls tried to find out whom they were going to marry. Some customs, such as "guarding of garlic" (*păzitul usturoiului*), exceeded the limits of premarital divination, as they took over some of the functions of "the Rod" (*Vergelul*), whose implications were much more complex.

A special note deserves the magic twelve days of the interval between Christmas and Epiphany, days which actually symbolize the twelve months of the year. Solstice-bonfires, magic acts and divinations (especially agricultural ones), animal and human masks, carnival-like processions, all those occur within the period between the first day of Christmas and the New Year's Eve. Until not very long ago, divinations regarding household success were widely spread. The "onion

calendar" (calendarul de ceapă), the "calendar of embers" (calendarul cărbunilor aprinşi), and the "threatening of fruitless trees" (amenințarea pomilor neroditori) are only some of the practices through which villagers tried to influence the prosperity of the oncoming year.

The end of the former half of the 12-day interval is on December 31, a climax of merrymaking and culinary excess which recalls archaic feasts. The latter half, between the New Year and Epiphany stands for a purification of space, a fulfilment of positive practices and gestures of good omen. The birth of the Divine Child embodies that cosmogonic redemption and marks a new beginning.

On the day of Epiphany (*Boboteaza*), after the divine service, icons were taken out of the church in a procession up to a well, where the "Jordan" (*Iordanul*) was performed. The end cycle of hibernal holidays was concluded by the priest*'*s *blessing of houses.*

Carolling young men, who would go about the village on the eve of Christmas or of the New Year, had as their leader a *vătaf*, and were attended by musicians. As a rule, they would go only to houses of families with unmarried girls, and there, under the windows, they would sing a single carol, most often "This Well-Lighted House" (*Asta casă luminată*). Most carollers of Moldavian Catholic villages are children, and their repertory is mainly religious.

Villagers will look forward especially to carolling by children (mainly boys) under school age. The innocence of that age better guaranteed *fulfillment of well-wishing. On Christmas, besides caroling, children would also perform* "*The Lord's Birth*" (*Naşterea Domnului*) *and*, *especially*, "*The Wee Babe*" (Pruncuşorul).

In almost all Moldavian Catholic villages, an archaic form of carolling was practiced on the fourth day after Christmas Eve, sporadically also on the fifth or during the Christmas-Epiphany interval. The custom is entitled "Innocent Babes" (Prunci nevinovați, also called *Opru sentek* in the Hungarian-Csángó idiom, in keeping with the religious celebration of that day), or "Tiny Saints" (Sfinți mărunți). The ones who would perform it were first of all young boys, but also young men (caroling at houses with unmarried girls), newly married couples (who would visit their godparents and their parents), and, finally, old people, who would visit only those of their own age.

Ritual objects included: *twigs of sweet-apple tree* and *el quince tree* (adorned with threads of dyed wool); *hazel twigs* with their bark partially removed, as to form spiral ornaments, or adorned by girls in various ways; simple hazel of willow twigs, used only by married carolers. After they sang their carols, young men would be invited to table, the food offered to them compulsorily including *walnuts* and *hazel nuts*. Wherever girls*'* parents would not let them in, or would not treat them well, young men would return at night and perform a traditional type of "uncarolling" (*descolindat*), the reverse of well-wishing.

The *rods* and *wands* used by carolers were carefully preserved, as they were in much demand for the magic qualities they had gained. The magic-ritual

connotations of that ancient custom are numerous. It was a rite meant to chase away evil powers, to protect health, to attract luck and prosperity; it was also a rite of initiation, both purifying and fertilizing.

Almost identical variants are to be found in NE France, SE Belgium and Luxembourg, where it is known as *Le fouettage des filles.* The similarities between the practices performed by Moldavian Catholics on the day of the "Innocent Babies" and those presented by the ethnologist Roger Pinon are so pregnant that their common origin in Roman *strenae* is beyond doubt. Also, that custom cannot be separated from similar Romanian ones, such as *sorcovitul* (for which well-wishing children also use a magic rod, *sorcovă*, adorned with artificial flowers).

In the context of Christmas and New Year customs the "Little Plough" (*Pluguşorul*) has a distinct position. Well-wishers (*urători*) could use a real plough, to which they would attach a little fir-tree adorned with ribbons and artificial flowers. A miniature plough could also be used, carried by children and shown at the hosts' windows. The group of well-wishers, especially the ones going about with the "Big Plough" (*Plugul mare*), was expected by everybody in the village. A house that was avoided by that group was believed to remain without prosperity, health and joy in the oncoming year. Since there was a preoccupation with visiting each and every house of the village, and since a "last house" visited by the well-wishers would be considered unlucky, the group would utter their last oration outside the village, at a bridge, a willow tree, or a border post.

For a long time the custom of "Sowing" (*Semănatul*) functioned in association with the "Plough", but then it came to be practiced independently. As in the case of caroling, the children who went about "sowing" were regarded as dear guests, harbingers of novelty, joy and hope. The seeds "sowers" threw at people, houses, barns and animals were carefully guarded, as they also had special powers.

As regards the repertory of the *folk theatre,* one may say that it stands for one of the most vigorous sectors of Romanian traditional culture. In the villages of the Iaşi Diocese there are to be found all manifestations of that sector, from plays with animal or human masks and religious dramas to plays about famous outlaws (*haiduci*).

Among the manifestations of socio-folklore which occur at the beginning of spring, worth mentioning are the ones marking Shrovetide (*Lăsatul Secului*) and Lent (*Postul Mare*). Some time ago celebrations lasted three days. They would start on Sunday, after the "Great Service" (*Liturghia cea mare*) and ended during the night before Ash Wednesday (*Miercurea Cenuşii*). When rural feasts became more limited, all those were confined to Shrove Tuesday (*Marţea grasă* = Fr. *Mardi gras*), which thus became the only day dedicated to carnival-like revels and the last day during which eating and drinking excess was allowed.

In referring to the masques organized on Shrovetide in Moldavian Catholic villages Hungarian specialists always call them *Farsang*, or *Farsang plays*, though

the natives of those villages never use the term *Farsang,* by which Hungarians and Szeklers designate the *Carnival.* The Catholics of the Iaşi Diocese will not speak of a "time of *Farsang*" but use only the general Romanian formulae of *Câşlegile de Iarnă, Postul Mare* and *Lăsatui Secului.*

The carnival processions organized during the period under discussion are known under the names of *Comedie, Comedianți,* or *Matahale* (*"*Bogies*"*), the last one being used in other regions of Romania too, where it coexists with names like *Corni, Maimuşi, Burduhoase,* etc. The carnival revels of the Moldavian Catholic villages show features which may be referred to Roman *Saturnalia.*

Easter (*Paşti*) represents the beginning of the Christian ritual calendar. Like other calendar-fixed cycles of celebrations, the one attending Easter covers a period of twelve days, between Palm Sunday (*Florii*) and Saint Thomas' Sunday or "White Sunday" (*Duminica Albă*). That interval is the occasion for numerous ritual-ceremonial practices. After Palm Sunday and Passion Week (*Săptămâna patimilor*, also known as *Săptămâna neagră* – "Black Week"), there follows a purging of the environment, based on Christ's Resurrection (*Înălțare*), a fundamental moment when everything happens under the sign of a cosmic restructuring of primeval time.

In the morning of the first day of Easter, well-wishers (*colindători*) would move through the village. A special form of well-wishing was the one known as *Vălărit,* the participants, exclusively young men, being known as *vălari.* They also had the task of collecting money for the payment of musicians who played at village dances. The *Vălărit* is a custom also observed in Orthodox villages, both on Easter and on Christmas and New Year holidays.

Another custom specific to Easter is the one *of painted eggs,* ornamented with various signs and symbols. As in Orthodox villages, the formula used by Moldavian Catholics is that of *ouă roşii* (red eggs), although variously coloured dyes are used. For the adornment of eggs with archaic ornaments, they make use of bee-wax and of a traditional implement called *chişiță* or *tişiță.* The ornamented eggs are designated as *scrise, încondeiate, încrestate* or *chiclăzuite* ("written", "dyed", "etched" or "engraved"). The last term was used for eggs with ornaments *in relief.* Such eggs will be "written" only on Whitsunday. That custom has most interesting magic-ritual implications.

It is also on Whitsunday when the custom of concluding *ritual brotherhoods* and *sisterhoods* is observed, that custom being known under the name of *mătcuțare* or *mătcuțire,* obviously derived from rom. *matcă* ("*womb*; origin; source; bee-queen"). On the one hand, that custom may indicate archaic dendrolatry, since, conclusions of brotherhoods and sisterhoods are done under fruit-trees, and that may imply "adoption" (of the ritually united partners) by those trees. On the other hand, there may be a connection with the cult of ancestors: since the ritual of *mătcuțare* is practiced in connection with holidays dedicated to the dead, it appears to be under the protection of kin-ancestors (*moşi*). Consequently, there is possible

interference between dendrolatry and cult of the dead, the constant feature being celebration of the ancestors as archetypal models.

A custom still *practiced* nowadays on Easter days is ritual *sprinkling (udat)*. In the past they used mainly running water, called *apă vie* ("live water") in some places. In course of time *apă neîncepută* ("untouched water") came to be then used for its benefic powers, then also *holy water* from the church. During the same period as ritual sprinkling, spring swinging (*legănatul de primăvară* or *datul în scrânciob*) was also practised. The act of swinging has magic meanings, even if it looks like mere entertainment.

The folklore context of Saint George's Day, and especially of the night preceding the beginning of the pastoral year, should also be considered. It was during that night when *people* performed most magic gestures and acts under the sign of a mysterious archaic divinity known by villagers under the name of *Mânecatoarea* (cf. rom. *a mâneca* – "to wake or to set out very early in the morning", *from* < lat. *manicare*).

The *Arminden* (May Day) and the *Sânziene* (Saint John's Day, Midsummer Day) are also among the holidays still celebrated by Moldavian Catholics. The former implies survival of dendrolatric totemism, as it pays respect to fruit-yielding trees. The latter marks the summer solstice, a very important moment of the calendar cycle.

*A*griculture is a fundamental activity of the Catholic communities of Moldavia. The very fact that, through centuries, those communities have cultivated the land side by side with the local Orthodox population is proof of their very long presence in that historical province. Tilling customs imply magic of beginnings, as well as augural gestures. Sowing was done during full-moon periods, and seeds were mixed with crumbs from *Crăciunei* (ritual wreath-shaped cakes < rom. *Crăciun* "Christmas"), made of the "best wheat" (*fruntea grâului*), or of flour from the last ears of corn reaped in the previous summer. Thus the fertile powers of corn and of the tilled field were transferred to the harvest to-be.

During prolonged drought, villagers resorted to the custom of *Paparuda* (young girls dressed only in green weeds, dancing and singing a ritual song meant to bring rain), which once used to be performed on special days. But a more efficient rain-making custom was considered to be that of the Caloian, recorded in the Moldavian Catholic villages under names like *Ploiţa, Păpuşa, Mărioara, Mort de ploaie* etc. When drought would *persist, processions* to the fields were organized; villagers, with their priests in front, would walk around all the fields of their villages. Such processions were called "fairs for rain" (*bâlciuri pentru ploaie*), which were always concluded by "collection repasts" (*praznice de strânsură*), especially to the benefit of children. The food of such meals was placed on long pieces of linen placed in the fields, at wells, in graveyards, along roads, or in churchyards.

During the time *of weeding and hoeing severe* less important ritual acts were performed, such as *binding of maize leafs, beating of hoes, rest at field-ends.* There existed significant reaping rites, such as *ciuha* or *momâia* ("straw-guy"), *baba grâului* or *baba secerişului* (the "corn-hag" or "reaping-hag"), *iepurele grâului* (the "corn-hare") etc. At the end of reaping, special kinds of wreaths were braided, which were believed to conce*n*trate the quintessence of that year's corn. Such wreaths are known under the names of *coroan*ă ("crown"), *cununa secerişului* ("reaping-wreath"), *crucea de spice* ("cross of ears"), *barba grâului* ("corn-beard"), or *pieptenele* (*comb*). They would be brought home and preserved with great care until the next tilling cycle.

The survey close*s* with *Whitsuntide (Rusalii)* and the *cult of heights*. The starting point is represented by what was recorded by Marcus Bandinus in his *Codex* written at Bac*ă*u during the fifth decade of the 17th century. Three aspects are worthy of consideration: the Whitsuntide processions to a mountain top near Târgul Trotu*ş*, where there was a little church dedicated to the saints Cosma and Damian; miraculous healings, about which the Italian clergyman had heard from believers; finally, the mirage of the rotary motion of that holy edifice, which may be referred to a cult of heights.

3. FOLK CULTURE, LITERATURE, AND MUSIC

It is the time, now, to approach the poetry of calendar customs, the poetry of familial customs, the folk literature and music. The documents we rely on come from all the settlements of the Moldavian Catholics, no matter if they are inhabited by the bilingual minority or by a majority speaking exclusively Romanian. All the commentaries rely upon the support offered by a substantial corpus of texts collected over the last five decades from all the important areas of this community.

In regard with the musical folklore the contribution of Hungarian specialists is extremely productive. For more than three quarters of a century, the folk music in approximately 10–15 settlements, all with a bilingual population, have enjoyed dedicated attention from the Hungarian researchers. They discovered here the "fifth dialectal area of Hungarian folk music", talked a lot about "the singularity of the music and lyrics of these songs", but they have never declared clearly whether the Romanian folklore had influenced these phenomena in any way.

Not for one moment did we doubt the existence of some Csángó or Szekler peculiarities in the folklore of the bilingual communities. The large amount of collections, studies and monographs published until now by Hungarian researchers stand proof to this. It would be an abdication from the exigencies of the academic spirit to overlook them. Our intention was simply to make plain that in those settlements there is to be found a Romanian repertory coexisting with those creations. This is the focal point of the present study whose author hopes that in the future the Hungarian research works will no longer fail to notice this Romanian repertory.

The cooperation with Florin Bucescu, an ethnomusicologist at the "George Enescu" Arts University of Iaşi, provided us with important insights into the aspects revealed by folk music. His study has a monographic character given by the fact that he deals with all the aspects of musical folklore and is accompanied by an *anthology* containing one hundred pieces clarifying all the theoretical issues under discussion. *The poetry of calendar customs* does not rise to the height of the special richness and value of the respective rituals. However, it reveals an adequate amount of particularities proving beyond doubt their affiliation to the Romanian – and not the Hungarian – folklore. Moreover, we have to underline here that each and every poetic or musical creation we encountered has a correspondent in all the Romanian folkloric areas. The carol singers go from house to house both on Christmas and on New Year's Eve. In many of these villages the augural tradition preserves an archaic terminology, forms such as *corindă* – carol (from lat. calendae) and *a corinda* + to carol circulating together with the generally known *colindă* and *a colinda.* This is an indication of the Transylvanian origin of this community since in this region the variant *corindă* (also in the masculine form *corind*), as well as the verb *a corinda* or the noun *corindător* – caroler, wait, are as frequent as in the villages of the Moldavian Catholics. Like in many regions all over the country, the ancient motifs in the Christmas carols were preserved, grafted onto the patterns of Christian poetic structures, the transfer carrying out naturally in the ritual-ceremonial context.

The archaic tradition of the *Pluguşor* ("little plough") is remarkable for the amplitude of the agrarian oration, the unique beauty of the images it preserves and the unmistakable appeal showing throughout its constitutive sequences. A vigorous poetry bearing across centuries fragments of the unitary history of an occupation central to the Romanian land. A tradition which is part of the farmer's self and a poetry merged with his very existence. There is no settlement in the diocese of Iaşi, with either bilingual or exclusively Romanian-speaking inhabitants, where this ancient tradition is not manifest.

Hungarian researchers have been talking for a while about a Csángó or even Hungarian custom that was preserved in Săbăoani (County of Neamț) and Luizi-Călugăra (County of Bacău). That custom supposedly appears as a *colindă-pluguşor* that survived in the form of a poetic text so profoundly altered that almost nothing can be made out. Nonetheless, the Hungarian specialists do not waver about seeing in the above mentioned fragments "the most archaic linguistic proofs of the Hungarian folklore" (József Faragó) or an ancient Hungarian version of the *Pluguşor* (Ferenc Pozsony). In his turn, after having admitted that "the text in Săbăoani is so altered and fragmented that its significance cannot be deciphered", István Pál Demény concludes: "It is one of our extremely old magic-ritual songs!"

At a close analysis of the hypothesis proposed by the Hungarian researchers we first noticed that between the poetic fragments of Săbăoani and Luizi-Călugăra there is no connection. They are not variants of the same custom, as it was argued,

being in fact different practices with a single similarity: they are both performed during the holidays at the end of the year. The lines preserved in Săbăoani (Neamț) are remains of an old Transylvanian *mourning carol* – with references to autochthon practices such as the *Christmas log* – while those in Luizi-Călugara (Bacău) have their roots exclusively in the structure of the traditional Romanian *Pluguşor*.

The poetry *of folk masks* should close the section reserved to the calendric customs. Compared to the other Romanian provinces, Moldavia preserves the richest repertoire of animal and human masks. So far, researche demonstrate*s* the existence of more than forty types of performances – some of them independent, others cumulative – employing the above-mentioned travesties, as well as extremely interesting poetic texts. An important contribution in this respect is that of the Roman-Catholic communities in the diocese of Iaşi.

The repertory of the extempore "shoutings" *(strigături),* included in the framework of the *Capra* ("the She-Goat" or "the Doe") includes, at times, sequences from erotic, satirical or even meditative poetry. In the case of the *Cerb* ("the Stag"), the reanimation of the animal fallen to the ground – symbolizing the death of the newly passed year and the coming of the following – is made by means of the magic charm chanted by the shepherd or the bear-leader. It is the most accomplished part in the whole poetic repertoire employed during masked performances. Some of these *performance*s still preserve in their texts some formulas for *descolindare* ("de-caroling"). This is an ancient practice – found with many European peoples, but not with the Hungarians – by which offended carol-singers punish inhospitable hosts. In the case of *descolindare,* the usual closing augural formulas in Christmas carols and in *Pluguşor* texts, and in the ones that accompany the folk masks*,* are replaced with injurious ones*,* meant to break the beneficial positive spell and replace it with a negative one.

Regarded as an ensemble, the *poetry of the familial customs* proves richer and more interesting than that of the calend*ric* traditions, perhaps also because of its personalized character. *Lullabies,* together with the other categories of the birth poetry – *well-wishings* (*urări*), *dedications* (*închinăciuni*), *charms* (*descântece*) – are situated under the sign of the magic of words. Their functions, augural par excellence, reveal protective and integrating functions, no matter if they are performed in an intimate or a festive context.

The repertory of the *lullabies,* which has only incidentally retained the attention of Hungarian specialists, belongs in all its aspects to the Romanian folklore. It is not excessively rich, but the pieces it preserves, even the fragmentary ones, are significant for their great age and wide area on which this poetic-musical category can be found. The core of the song is preserved in all the versions collected in all these settlements. We obviously refer to the well-known refrain *nani-nani* and *liuliu-liuliu,* to which the Moldavian Catholics ad*d* the forms *naini-naini, aina-aina* and *haina-haina,* also present in the Transylvanian regions.

The *nuptial poetry* deserves attention especially because of its meditative implications and the emotional value of the parting songs. The *songs of the bride and groom,* and especially those of the bride*,* contribute to the transfiguration of the parting sufferings into the joy of familial fulfillment. The parting songs contain the archaic motif of *putting the hallmark* of the bride*'*s name on the eternal memory of things. Present in extremely conservative folkloric creations such as the funeral, estrangement and soldiers*'* songs, this theme marks, as the reverse of inescapable parting, the permanence of the bond between the bride and the family she leaves behind.

As a remedy against estrangement and the affective crisis threatening the bride's family, the songs containing the motif of *scrierea miresei* ("writing of the bride") make up the ancient stratum of the repertory of the Romanian nuptial poetry. The high frequency they have nowadays in the villages of the Moldavian Catholics proves the communion of these songs with the deepest and strongest roots of the archaic topos.

Also extremely old and interesting are the parting songs in which the refrains *Lado-Lado* and *Manu-Mano* appear, recalling some of the marriage divinities, as Dimitrie Cantemir remarked as early as the beginning of the 18th century. In comparison with *Mano* – attested, as far as we know, only in the Romanian territory – *Lado* appears to hold a privileged position. It is an invocation characteristic for the nuptial poetry widespread in a large north-European area stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Mediterranean, and from the Ural Mountains to the Carpathians.

Lado belongs to the family of the fate divinities, like the *Laima* of the Baltic mythology under whose patronage stands the girls*'* lucky marriage. In the 6th century (when the Slavs were first attested) this deity achieved new attributes related to marital ceremony owing to the specific syncretism of folkloric mentalities. Its roots are to be found in much older times. Incontestably, the repertory of the wedding songs in the above-mentioned villages holds a central place in our specialized literature. This is mainly due to the archaic pieces, among which the thirteen songs using the *Lado* and *Mano* refrains.

In the context of the wedding customs another remarkable component is the poetry of orations: the Invitation to the Feast (*Chemarea la ospăț*), the Exchanges (*Schimburile*), the Taking of Forgiveness (*Iertăciunea*), the Nuptial Speech (*Conăcăria*), the Offerings (*Închinarea darurilor*), the Dispensation of the Table (*Dezlegarea mesei*) etc. The nuptial orations are widespread in all the territories inhabited by the Romanians. However, the most ample and diverse, the richest in point of metaphors, comic sequences or ceremonial formulas are to be found with the Moldavians and then, naturally, the Catholics in this part of the country.

Of all the Romanian orations, the *Conăcăria* best suits the archaic principles of rhetoric, as they were established by Aristotle. All the virtues of language as action are present in that text. Still, the discourse aptitude to serve a particular

purpose is not the only thing intended by this popular rhetoric. The eloquence of the nuptial high steward (*stolnic*) does not exclude the aesthetic side, and hence the intrinsic quality of the discourse. Through the text he performs, the high steward or the best man (*vornicul eel mare*) orders and masters the entire development of the wedding.

The wedding poetry ends with the repertory of the extempore "shoutings" (*strigături* < Rom. *a striga* – to shout), which is really impressive in the villages we deal with. From among more than one thousand texts we selected 452 pieces, that come from sixty localities, that is, from all the regions of the diocese of Iaşi. The Hungarian researchers also collected wedding extempore verses from these localities. Many of them are simple transpositions in Csángó or Szekler dialects of the similar pieces in the Romanian repertory, yet there are some having individuality both in point of poetic structure and theme. These belong doubtlessly to the bilingual communities which perform them in alternation with the Romanian ones. Actually, the interpretative style is unique, belonging to the Romanian folkloric specificity.

The wedding extempore verses in Moldavia, including those in the localities with Catholic population, show a clear unity of the repertoire and interpretative peculiarities. They are also characteristic to the Transylvanian weddings, especially for those in the northern or northwestern parts of the regions across the mountains. One has to take into consideration a series of Transylvanian influences produced in well-known historical circumstances, as well as the permanent exchange of cultural values going on between the two Romanian provinces in spite of all the limitations.

We will refer now to *the funeral poetry*. The grief provoked by the tragic event and the feelings of regret have never been limited to the strict observance of the traditional practices. The rites have continuously been completed and augmented by the funeral songs, sung individually or in groups – in many of the moments of the days and nights between death and burial.

The dirge (*bocet*) is especially meant to undertake one of the highest moments in the psychological crisis. It is meant to reduce the tension built inside the persons struck by adversity and, at the same time, to protect the rural community marked by the disappearance of one of its members. The archaic dirge does not show concern for metrical or stylistic ordering. There are situations, less numerous, when in the same text the improvising sequences of the dirge coexist with the versified ones.

As everywhere else in Moldavia, a distinct place in the funeral ceremony in these villages is occupied by the *oral-journal dirge.* This establishes a passage from the improvising texts to the *versified* ones. They are sung especially at the burials of young single persons or other untimely deaths often caused by accidents. The atmosphere of the *oral-journal dirges* is recognizable in the texts performed at commemorations (*pomeniri*). They are mostly commemorations held after forty days from the moment of death, but also on other occasions – such as, in the case of Catholics, the Day of All Saints celebrated at the beginning of November.

Elements of oral-journal may occasionally appear in the structure of other dirges. The so-called Hungarian texts published by Ilona Szenik, collected over the last five decades from the Moldavian Csángó and Szekler population are very convincing in that respect.[5] The phenomenon is not natural, since those texts make no references to the special situations (deaths of unmarried young people, accidents etc.), but to regular burials. The explanation for this combination between the dirges sung at burials and those at commemorations is that those pieces were actually reconstructed,

The dirges collected by the Hungarian researchers and published by Ilona Szenik are not Hungarian. They preserve all the characters of the similar Romanian pieces, including the performing style. As in other cases, they are actually Moldavian folkloric creations interpreted in the Csángó or Szekler dialect.

The *parody-dirges* deserve a few words as well. There are few of them, and their origin is not unitary. Some of them derive from improvising dirges, whose compositional, stylistic or interpretative imperfections are ridiculed. Some others, on the contrary, are the result of clear parodic intentions, appeared in the familial milieus where the relations between spouses or between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, were seriously altered by inadequate behavior. The general tone of the parody-dirges is satirical, a satire vacillating between irony and sarcasm. The parody-dirges were never chanted in the context of the funeral ceremonies. They were only present during evening sittings and collective works (*şezători*, *clăci*), or in similar contexts.

Dirges are known to be different from *funeral ritual-ceremonial songs,* which are meant to guide the deceased on the long travel towards the beyond. Therefore, their function is an integrative one. Whereas dirges are chanted only by the close relatives of the deceased, ritual-ceremonial songs are sung by women who do not belong to the family. Those songs can be heard mostly during wake nights, when the dirges are prohibited. Of these, the *wake songs* are the only ones preserved by the Catholics. Ilona Szenik gives no variant in her collection.

The most complete wake song was recorded at Focuri (Iaşi). It is made up of four motifs: *the lost remedy, the deceiving death, the leaving of the earthly world* and *the cursing of death.* All these can be found in the wake songs of Transylvanian villages. Other motifs – such as *the messenger of death, the writing of souls,* and *the house in the realm beyond* – appear in the fragmentary wake songs collected in Rachiteni (Iaşi), Barticeşti (Neamţ), Cornu Luncii and Păltinoasa (Suceava).

The repertory of the burial songs is completed by the so-called *verşuri* (funeral verses). Originally they were composed and disseminated only by the representatives of the church and their character is profoundly moralizing. Over

[5] Ilona Szenik, *Erdély és Moldvai magyar siratok, seratóparódiak és halottas énekek* [Lamments, Parody Lamments and Hungarian Funeral Songs from Transylvania şi Moldavia], Koloszvár-Bukarest: Romániai magyar zenetársasag Kriterion Könyvkiadó, 1996.

time villagers started to create them as well, but the degree of their polarization remained insignificant. Consequently, they circulated in written form in notebooks transmitted from one generation to another. They are sung in group, more often than not during wake nights, and this is why they are sometimes confused with the real *wake songs.*

The fact that they were better preserved in the villages with a bilingual population made some researchers attribute them a Hungarian origin. This position is erroneous, first because their repertory in the Csángó and Szekler villages is frequent almost all over northern Transylvanian, as well as in many Moldavian regions. Secondly, because funeral *verşuri* should not be confused with *rugăciuni* (prayers recited on wakes), which indeed are Hungarian.

Last but not least, we have to survey the poetry of charms (*descântece*), the lyrics of songs proper, the rhymed epic pieces, and the folk epic prose. Used from time immemorial together with the curative and magical practices and acts, the charms can still be found nowadays in some of the Moldavian Catholic settlements. The people of rural localities have always believed in the healing and purifying power of charms. That was the only way in which they could be preserved and perfected from the artistic point of view. The polishing of texts was due to that functionality as well.

There is elevated literary value in charms. Primary poetic forms are combined with subtle metaphors and hyperboles*;* archaic local or regional terms*,* often cryptic*,* are placed near names*,* contemporary objects, and ancient symbols*, and* are mixed, in homogenous amalgams, with new *su*perstitions. The magic of the word is strengthened by the contribution of the purifying elements, especially of water, brought from the farthest well or from a spring somewhere in the field, places where the good spirits are believed to be living. The most effective is the *untouched water* (*apă neînceputǎ*), which recalls the primeval waters of creation.

The repertory of songs proper brings together all the folkloric categories incorporated into the genre: songs of love and longing, misfortune and grief, estrangement, meditative, soldier's (*de cătănie*) and war songs, outlawry (*de haiducie*) and satirical songs. Known all over the country, such pieces originate from representative settlements of the Moldavian Catholics and contain no indication of any possible foreign influence. The investigation of this compartment of folk creation in the localities under discussion has raised the deep interest of the Hungarian researchers as well. Beginning with the middle of the 19th century – when the first pieces belonging to the song proper where collected in the Csángó villages – and up until our times, the total of the texts gathered indicates an impressive figure. Domokos Pál Peter's theory regarding the dialectal individuality of Moldavian Csángó music was to be supported by some other Hungarian specialists.

In a monographic study on the village of Galbeni (Bacău), János Jagamas reaches the conclusion that, besides the numerous old Hungarian songs, there are to

be found foreign ones, especially Romanian. Yet he does not specify them, nor does he establish their age. Considering that he mixes them up with the Russian ones, it seems reasonable to believe he situates them in the very recent stratum, perhaps even in the category of those learnt in schools, or broadcast on the radio. The same line is manifest in Ferenc Pozsony's observations, for whom Romanian influences are limited to the presence of either some melodies which help to resurrect some archaic Hungarian texts, or some disparate lines: "At the end of the songs in Hungarian there appear lines in Romanian".

The fact that almost all the Hungarian specialists' collections are based on materials found in localities with a bilingual population could lead to the conclusion that in those settlements the archaic Romanian folkloric poetry is completely absent, or is present only in altered variants. But we can prove the contrary. The repertory of the Romanian folkloric poetry in the entire diocese of Iaşi is extraordinarily rich and unitary. As for the villages with a bilingual population, one can notice that some of the oldest and most interesting Romanian pieces were gathered there – with variants attested in most regions of the country.

A question still remains: How was it possible that, in folklore, consequences of the centuries-old cohabitation of Moldavian Romanians and the Csángó or Szekler communities should not indicate also the reverse direction, that is, from minority towards majority? How come that the peculiarities of the Romanian traditional music, dance, and poetry are so easily detectable in the customs of the above-mentioned communities, whereas their imprint is completely absent in the repertoire of the Romanians?

Similar problems appear in the other compartments of folk culture. The repertoire of old people's songs has attracted interest since as early as the first half of the 19th century. It is possible that even Vasile Alecsandri – the Romanian poet who was very familiar with the Catholic communities around the city of Roman – might have collected some ballads from the old people he entertained with quite often. What is known for sure is that in the period under discussion the folkloric productions in the Moldavian Catholics' villages had already started to attract the attention of scientific circles in Hungary. The first collections were done by Incze Petrás, a priest from Faraoani (Bacău), beginning in 1842. Prompted by Gábor Döbrentei, secretary of the Hungarian Academy, the young priest started to collect folk texts around his native village and he sent them to Budapest.

The Hungarian specialists have frequently maintained, over the years, that the ballads gathered by Incze Petrás are outstanding in point of considerable age. Many of them, such as *The Shepherd's Will* (*Mioriţa*), *The Evil Mother-in-Law*, *The Prisoner and His Lover*, *The Unfaithful' Woman*, *The Downcast Dove* and so on, are considered to be classical Hungarian texts, often by overlooking the fact that they reflect Romanian originals. The same thing was to happen later with other Romanian ballads: *Manole the Master Mason*, *Ilincuţa Şandrului*, *Milea* or *The Trial of Love*, *King Mizil*, *The Unhappy Betrothed*, *Voica* or *The Journey of the*

Dead Brother, which were also labeled as Hungarian folk creations. The origins of some of these were searched in Caucasian or in Mordvinian traditions, or elsewhere, but not in the Romanian folklore. Predecessors such as Petru Caraman, Adrian Fochi, Ion Taloş brought irrefutable arguments in favor of Romanian models at the basis of those so-called Hungarian pieces of folklore. By following the same line, we have raised for discussion the above-mentioned errors of interpretation, thus trying to reestablish the truth about each and every piece.

The folk epic prose is a generic name that includes all the categories of folk narratives, beginning with the fantastic fairy-tales, continuing with those about animals, and reaching legends, yarns, anecdotes, or tales, the latter having been included lately in the so-called category of "memorized" pieces (*memorate*). In comparison with Romanian researchers, more seldom preoccupied with the folk prose of the Moldavian Catholics, Hungarian specialists have proved once again to be more persevering. Their attention was focused, as usual, on Csángó and Szekler villages.

The choice of those Hungarian specialists is totally justified, and the objective analysis of the repertoire, as well as of the peculiar aspects of bilingual narratives could lead to important scientific conclusions. Worth mentioning, in that respect, are the investigations of Jószsef Faragó, an ethnologist from Cluj. At the beginning of the seventh decade of the previous century, he analyzed two Romanian fairy-tales – one by Ion Creangă, the other a creation by Mihai Eminescu – narrated in the Csángó dialect. Faragó comments emphasize the influence of the Romanian narrative style on the Hungarian one, a phenomenon that had been observed a few decades before by G. Bogdan-Duică too.

As time went by, the attitude of Hungarian researches has changed. The frequency of some Romanian folk motifs in the repertoire of Csángó or Szekler prose was no longer pointed out, not even when they talked about well-known Romanian fairy-tales (such as *Harap Alb, Capra cu trei iezi, Povestea porcului, Cenuşotcă, Ionică Făt-Frumos* etc.). That attitude is manifest with many authors, some of them very serious, because they just connected the texts with typologies of wide circulation. The point is that they forgot to indicate the Romanian origin of most of them.

In the folk archives in Bucharest and Iaşi there are approximately forty folk narratives collected in the villages in the diocese of Iaşi. If somebody placed them in a volume it would become clear they are representative for all the species of the genre. It would be obvious as well that between the fairy-tales in the bilingual villages and the others in the rest of the community there is no difference. For example, out of four fantastic fairy-tales – the most archaic narrative species – two are told by women and two by men; two come from the southern branch of the Moldavian (Csángó) Catholics and two from the Northern branch; two were collected half a century ago, and two very recently

ARCHAIC ELEMENTS WITH ROMANIANS IN THE SERBIAN BANAT: CEREMONIAL HEAD-DRESSING

MARIA BÂTCĂ, LIGIA FULGA

ABSTRACT

The target group of fieldwork done in Voivodina (Serbia) in 2004, 2007 and 2009 was the Romanian community in Toracu Mic, Iancaid, and Clec villages. These Romanians identify themselves as "Transylvanian Romanians" or "Crişan Romanians", in accordance with their provenance zone – Criş Valley, Transylvania. They were colonized here in the south by Empress Maria Tereza, in 1765–1767. In the Serbian Banat there also are other Romanian groups: Banatians and Oltenians, named like that after the places they originally came from. Each of these groups came with their specific, traditional costume, dressing codes and implements, hair-dressing included. For a long time, members of these various communities did not mingled, kept marriage links only among members of the same groups, a fact that was decisive in keeping over the time the authentic folk costume which they brought to Voivodina. The topic of this paper is the hair-styling and head-dressing, discussing the whole bunch of garments, of women belonging to Transylvanian Romanians in Serbian Banat. We also stress on elements of archaic mentality, as well as on the functions and meanings of these components of the peasant dressing codes. Together with the other dressing pieces, the hair-styling and head-dressing represent a mark of identity, a symbol of identification, an icon of recognizance, of belonging to their ethnicity.

Keywords: Ethnicity, Identity, Hair-Styling, Head-Dressing, Folk Costume, Romanians, Transylvania, Serbia, Voivodina, Banat.

The present paper deals with the ethnic Transylvanian group of Romanians living in the Serbian Banat region. This group was studied in 2007 during the first field research carried out in the communities of Toracu Mic, Iancaid and Clec. The second research phase extended the fieldwork to Iabuca, Ovcea and Glogoni villages.

Romanians living in these localities define themselves as Transylvanians or as dwellers from the Criş-River region (West-Central Transylvania). They settled in the Vojvodina area in the second half of the 18th century, during the reign of Empress Maria Theresa. This fact can be ascertained with reference to the Colonizing Patent issued by the Vienna Chancery in 1763, which stipulated that

one part of the Romanian population spread along the Criş River was to be displaced from their original settlements in the Central Banat region, to make room for German colonists in the area of the Criş River.[1]

The Romanian inhabitants moved out in stages. A first displacement of population occurred between 1765 and 1767, and a second one occurred around 1834, after the uprising of Horea, Cloşca and Crişan, according to the oral tradition. The inhabitants of Toracu Mic came from Sevdin, a settlement on the right bank of the Mureş river, nowadays named Frumuşeni and situated in the Romanian Arad county. There were twelve Romanian villages displaced then, from the area lying between Arad and Lipova. At the same time, the inhabitants of nowadays' Clec came from Satu Mic village, near Arad. The incoming Romanians built new settlements, which initially retained the names of the places of origin – as it can be seen on a Hungarian map of Banat region dated 1769[2]. Once the province was appropriated by Hungary, and Torontal County was set up in 1779, these localities received Hungarian names.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the majority of the Romanian population of Clec was moved over, to the area of military border, and to Ovcea, a locality situated 12 km away from Belgrade[3]. In 1813, Ovcea became a border village and it was recorded as having Romanian population in 1815.

Coming as they did, from various places of origin, each with their own distinctive features in regard with the traditional costume, the peasants who were members of the German-Banat Customs Officers' Regiment, stationed in their headquarters at Panciova, had a superior economic status, reflected by their dress code and living standard. They had schools, initially in German, then in Romanian – and the increase in their general cultural status determined them to seek a more developed kind of civilization.

Of all the villages, Toracu Mic was the cultural, spiritual centre of the Romanians from Transylvania, and around it various other settlements gravitated.

It is worth noticing that, for a long while, the Transylvanian Romanians displaced to Serbian Banat did not intermix with inhabitants from the Romanian Banat or with the Oltenians (Romanian living in the West-Central Wallachia). All these groups remained attached to their own origins, which also boosted their self-respect and pride. Transylvanian Romanians in Serbian Banat kept tight, marriage links with people from the villages of their origin.

On the other hand, one should not overlook the fact that the Romanians lived side by side with the major ethnic group of Serbs, as well as with other minority

[1] Annemarie Sorescu–Marincovici, *Introducere: de la teren la text* [Introduction: from Fieldwork to Text], in the volume *Torac: Metodologia cercetării de teren* [Torac: Fieldwork Methodology], Novi Sad, Panciova, Editura Fundației, Editura Libertatea, 2006, p. 28.

[2] *Ibidem*

[3] Bilijana Sikimic, *De la Torac la Clec: Informația minimală de teren* [From Torac to Clec: Minimal Fieldwork Information], in *Torac: Metodologia cercetării de teren* (see above), p. 173.

groups, of which the most important was the one of Swabians; the latter also left their linguistic and cultural imprint upon the Romanian ethnic group.

The Romanian community, however, continued to live, as expected, in close dependence with the culture that it belonged to and that enabled it to define itself, while also making it differ from "the others". It is precisely this co-existence and fusion of elements pertaining to several ethnic groups and several cultural matrices that gave birth to different dress-systems and dress-languages, as it were; and this was also responsible for the creation of more numerous systems of communication, of more diverse cultural behavior patterns and of various life styles. It goes without saying that aspects such as these could not disappear, and would not fail to show their influence upon a major cultural identity factor such as the folk costume. The absence of such traces would have bare important consequences upon a key cultural identity phenomenon such as traditional costume, and would have brought a series of problems connected to acculturation, and intercultural and interethnic relationships.

We therefore consider that given these complex ethnographic realities any aspect of the Romanian costume in the Serbian Banat should be analyzed in a wider – if not *the* widest – social and historical context, going beyond the limits of the Southern Banat province. It is necessary that more fieldwork research to be carried out in the specific places of origin: Crişana (West-Central Transylvania), the Romanian Banat (South-Western Transylvania), and Oltenia (West-Central Wallachia). The resulting information should then be corroborated with the information provided by maps and archives, as well as with iconographic materials – all of which have a bearing upon the cultural space under discussion (the Serbian Banat). A pertinent analysis of all categories of sources is needed, taking into consideration the fact that, generally speaking, cultural, linguistic and ethnographic zones only undergo slow changes, barely changing in effect, given the fact that they distinguish themselves by, and as, long lasting (*longue durée* phenomena, to recall Fernand Braudel's term).

We have considered necessary to make these succinct observations aiming to introduce the dressing phenomenon under study here, knowing that all the culture-specific elements defining an ethnic group are the result of an entire lifestyle. The material we have gathered in order to study the hair-dressing elements rests, in this initial research-stage, upon the fieldwork investigations as corroborated by the information gathered from older photographic material and commented upon by the subjects we have managed to interview.

In these photographs we have discovered a world of the past, the history of the families with their destinies, the life of the village in its totality; we have also discovered a way of life specific to those who wished to define themselves as "Romanians from the Criş Region" or as "Romanians from Transylvania". In these images – representing authentic documents or visual testimonies, of a world that is still alive in the memory and the spirit of the descendants – we have retraced four

generations of people dressed ceremonially. Their ceremonial dress exhibit signs of age groups, as well as of special occasion which made people feature the ceremonial dress (for example, of the wedding, christening or burial rites). The photograph often accompanied the name of the deceased inscribed on the tombstone in the village churchyard. For specialists researching the folk costume, the use of such images and the comments made by the interviewed subjects represent an inestimable support for scientific data analysis.

We know that, in traditional communities, ceremonial head-dress and its components: hairstyle, head-dress cover, and the jewelry destined for the decoration of the head – represented a visually expressive language. It corresponded to age metamorphosis and the mentalities associated with it. At the same time, it was a way of communication bearing signs and symbols. It was a social identification code easy to decipher by the members of the group, and it was a mark of space-inscription in a particular cultural zone. Through all its constitutive elements, the head-dressing also included several dimensions: ritual, ceremonial, and aesthetic; these latter factors first highlighted the local and specific norm, customs or tradition, and secondly, they signaled the fusions with or irradiation of certain elements coming from other cultural zones, taken over and adapted.

There was an entire symbolic paradigm in the hair-dressing, which was indicative of the age group and social status – offering safe orientation, in this respect. The maiden would show her hair openly in all possible circumstances, wearing nothing on her head, while the married woman was to wear her hair hidden under various textile head-pieces, as a token of the severe moral rules she was subjected to, according to the traditional norms.

For Transylvanian Romanians living in Serbian Banat, the hair dressing that corresponded to various occasions and the entire decoration of the head with a varied category of jewels had a specific significance: it indicated very clearly whether the girl was a maiden, already a participant in the communal dance, *căpărâtă* (engaged), about to be married, or already a young wife (in the latter case she would still be wearing certain attributes of the maiden hair-dressing elements, on holidays or when going dancing, and this for about six years after having got married); whether she was a mature woman, having renounced all the elements of coquetry and thus wearing her head covered, with discreetly ornamented head-pieces of dark colors.

The hair dressing, therefore, with all the attributes of ceremonial ornamentation of the head with further decorations, represented the various periods of life and the various functions: ritual, ceremonial or aesthetic ones. Joining in the public dance and feasting had a big significance in the life of the traditional community of the Romanians, as it was a token of the individual girl's integration within the age-group of the maidens, accompanied by specific insignia. This was a solemn moment, of initiation, or preparation for another existential phase, the joining in the public dance being a moment expected eagerly by both the girls and

their parents. It was accompanied by a lot of emotional investment and joy, and had a social significance since it empowered the girls, granting to them the status of marriageable maidens, capable to found a new family.

The oral information gathered indicates that girls came to join the dance at the age of 14 or 16, on the occasion of the great church feasts: Christmas, Easter, Midsummer or the feast celebrating the Patron Saint of the local church. Usually, it was one of the girl's closest relatives, a cousin, for example, who would take her on her first dancing round; he was presented with a length of textile finery to make a shirt from, on this occasion.[4] Youths would learn dancing by looking at their elders dancing every Sunday, in front of the church, where the ring-dance was usually organized. In the villages of Transylvanian Romanians, girls were actually made join the dance when the dance for two started, which was suggestively called "the dance in line". It was only after this moment that the dance for all the age categories began. After her engagement, the girl was supposed to dance only with the young man she was engaged to.

The most frequent manner in haircut, characteristic for girls and generalized in almost all the localities with Transylvanian Romanian in-dwellers was the one with the hair parted in the middle and plaited starting somewhere over the ear, to make two plates (*chici*), crossing at the nape and fastened with pins (*arnole*). In all the circumstances, the girl would go bare-headed, since the hair, considered to be a natural asset, had better be worn in its splendor.

One kind of decoration worn by girls on festive days, or when they went dancing, was the one going by the name *pene pe chici* (wings for the plaits), fastened over the plaits, on either side of the head. This decoration consisted of many-colored beads fixed on little red paper roses, later on being made of some plastic materials such as golden sequin (*islogi*), and waggling frills (*tremurici*), which were actually some artificial flowers tied to wiring, sent waggling at every head movement. The "wings for the plaits" were very well fixed in place on a roll (a *drot*), covered in velvet (*somot*). In the upper part of the "wings" were also applied some so-called "ears of corn" (*spice*), namely some very thin golden threads rising a hand'' length over the head. The "wings for the plaits" were usually purchased, but there were women in the village who could also make them at home. This decoration, which was extremely smart, gave a solemn air to the young woman, making her appear dignified, and giving her an aura of greatness and distinction; it was meant to make conspicuous her beauty, purity and delicacy at the adolescent age[5]. Judging by the information submitted during fieldwork interviews by our informants, it resulted that the "wings for the plaits" came out of fashion in the 1930s. However, they used to be worn in winter by bare-headed marriageable maidens.

[4] Informant Mioara (Ica) Gruescu, born at Iancaid, age 76, formal school attendance, 6 years.
[5] Informant Vioara Baloş, Toracu Mic, aged 79, formal school attendance, 5 years.

Another decorative item never to miss from the girls' outfit was a headpiece braid of threads called *cipca* or *sârma* which was the mark of the Romanian costume in the entire Serbian Banat region. It consisted of a gold-colored braided thread woven around a metal wire (a kind of tassle) and of further golden sequin which was fastened on a textile support (a fabrics) or on a velvet ribbon, in its turn ornamented with a golden thread, of which various patterns were made, or which was embroidered with monochrome silk. The richer the girl, the greater the number of the *cipca* or headpiece braids.

In the inter-war period, the girls in the community of Transylvanian Romanians were wont to style their hair with what was called "hooklets" (*cârligei*); these were a kind of angling curls made on the forehead, while the rest of the hair was braided in two plaits (*chici*), crossing the nape and fastened with pins (*arnole*). Later on, around the 1950s, the hair done in locks (*locne*) became fashionable. The hair was parted along the left side of the head, while on the right side the hair was styled up into a kind of locks or rolls called *locne*. The loose hair at the back of the head was caught in netting with very fine meshes, locally called a "net"[6]. Apart from the head-dressing, maidens would also wear a necklace of gold coins, meant to show off their economic status and to indicate the precise category on the social scale that they pertained to. The gold coins were of two kinds: big gold coins called *ghiordani* and smaller sized gold coins. The big gold coins had the head of the Emperor Franz Josef on one side and on the other side the imperial crown. Each of the big coins, which went by the name of "gold coin of the handle", was placed inside a metal fabric coating. The little gold coins, going by the name of *seferini*, were worn at the base of the neck, while the big gold coins rested on the breast, hanging from a metal chain or on a twisted wire[7]. The number of gold coins worn at the base of the neck was in direct proportion with the wealth of the family. A rich girl would wear from 20 to 60 big gold coins and from 8 to 20 small size gold coins. The gold decorations were part of a girl's dowry. When she became engaged (*se căpărea*, in Romanian), the girl would receive more gold coins from the family of the young man, and at the wedding the necklace would also increase by adding to it the gold coins offered by the close relatives, during the wedding feast.

Hair-styling received special attention in view of the wedding feast. The dressing of the bride's hair took place at the house of her parents. A feminine leader of the wedding procession (the *diverita*) was in charge of styling the bride's hair on Sunday morning. During the entire ceremony the young bride wore a number of marks related to the "rite of passage, specific insignia of the moment, with apotropaic functions, protecting her from the evil forces and helping her over this existential threshold. On Saturday evening, the bride, called *tinera*, received from the young man the two distinctive ceremonial insignia, bought and carried to

[6] Informant Chiţa Jebelean, Clec, aged 63, formal school attendance, 6 years.

[7] Informants George Tibi Petrovici, Toracu Mic, aged 63, formal school attendance, 6 years, and Ica Florica Petrovici, Toracu Mic, aged 62, formal school attendance, 6 years.

her house by a young man called *diver:* the veil and the wax wreath, which were meant to bedeck her and increase her beauty, while they also warded off evil forces at this new beginning. The veil, large in size, reaching 3 to 4 metre, was called *şlaier*, a term of German origin. In discussions with elderly people it also came to be called *borungioc*, evoking the material it had used to be made of, in the past. More recently, the veil or *şlaier* has been renamed *tul* (i.e. tiffany), to describe the material it was made of [8].

What we would like to stress here is the fact that in the communities of the Transylvanian Romanians settled in the Serbian Banat it was the young, married woman and not the maiden who accumulated the maximum number of aesthetic dress elements, of jewelry, and of brilliance and pomp. It is well-known that in rural areas one could not conceive of a new family with no children (for a family – and a nation – could not endure if it had no offspring). In all the dialogues we had, the interlocutors would always refer back to their families. In fact, the family and the nation are fundamental concepts that appear frequently in the reports of all the Romanian inhabitants of the zone under consideration. This is also pointed out by Ernest Bernea: "From birth until death, man is inextricably connected to the family and the nation, both in material and in social terms. Man develops in these frames under the influence of inherited laws, being tied as in a magic web, to the family and the village community; this texture of kinship and communal relationships grants man a shelter and a living guide, placing him, as in a magnetic field, in the network of personal and collective customs and building forces"[9]. In the peasant mentality, the bringing of children into the world was the most important event, eagerly expected, with emotion and joy, since it ensured the perpetuity of that particular kin, and communal connection. In the rural universe there existed a pervasive trust in a "natural" order of things which ruled over an entire life's deeds, being an order that imposed a "pattern of customs", i.e., some precise living and behavior rules, according to which it was the woman's most important role to bring offspring into the world. It was she who – as the Bessarabian film director Ion Ungureanu put it – "was the bearer of customs, songs, crafts, of the enduring homestead and, in the end, of the nation". Within the traditional community, the barren woman did not enjoy attention and respect from the family, who were actually pressing her to go to the elderly women of the village and make her womb fruitful somehow. In fact, the whole significance of marriage, especially in the rural world, was related to the function of providing the continuity to the generations in the kinship community. The bodily maternity is, therefore, considered analogous with the spiritual maternity, and the woman is the guardian of sorts of the spiritual, moral and intimate soul's values. On the other hand, as Roxana Deca demonstrated in her PhD dissertation, "any family within the range

[8] Informant Viorica Jebelean, Clec, aged 66, formal school attendance, 3 years.

[9] Ernest Bernea, *Civilizația românească sătească. Ipoteze şi precizări* [Romanian Rural Civilization: Hypotheses and Specifications], Bucureşti, "Țară şi Neam" Collection, 1944, p. 111.

of the Romanian traditional village wished to have as many children as ordained for it also for pragmatic reasons: the availability of labor force had always been one asset and source of plenitude and worth in the Romanian village."[10]

The families with several children were powerful and economically prosperous. We have noticed elements of an archaic mentality among Transylvanian Romanians of the Serbian Banat: they attached great importance to maternity, for example. The young wife was protected by the entire family and exempted from the hard work in the fields so long as she was expected to give birth to children. She was not obliged to wake up too early, as early as the members of the family who went out to tile the field in the morning. At the same time, the harder chores were usually taken over by the mother in law.

We asked ourselves how this old mentality encountered with Romanians of the Serbian Banat was reflected in the head-dressing of the newly wedded wife. And here was the answer:

On Sunday eve, near the dawn of Monday morning, after calling out the inventory of "wedding presents", the feminine leader of the wedding procession, the *diverita*, "lifted the veil" (*şlaier*) off the bride's head, together with the waxen wreath, and she would shift the maiden hairstyle, fashioning up the bride's hair as that of a wife. She would comb her hair, part it in the middle, braid the hair into the two plaits, twisting and weaving the plaits around a support (which bears the name of bun or *conci* throughout the entire Romanian space). Usually fashioned as a tabiet (in Romanian, *plec*, from "Blech", tabiet), the *conci* was round in shape and rather thicker on the sides, plus thinner in the upper and lower parts. It was wrapped in a flaxen fabric. Each of the plaits (*chici*) was then twisted around the thicker part of the tabiet *conci* and was sewn in place with wool by means of the knitting needle (*andreaua*, actually a big size sewing needle). Then the ends of the plaits were tied to the lower part of the tablet *conci*, and the woolen thread was drawn in and around through the lateral holes. This support could also be made of various other materials: wattle, bronze thread, burnt wood, fashioned by specialized craftsmen in the village. But there were also pedlers, Armenians or Jewish, who would also bring into the village such merchandise as hairpins, tablets, *conci*, hairpins called *arnole* etc.

In the entire Romanian space, the bun (*conci*), this intermediate part put to use between the hair-dress and the fabrics employed as head-pieces, was a must in the costume of the young married woman, since she had to wear it all her life, from her wedding onwards, in every situation – as dictated by the tradition, which everyone observed as well. The *conci* had a functional role, as it kept the hair tight in place, while also giving shape to the whole hair-dressing ensemble and helping fix and support the head-piece which covered the hair. In time the *conci* size

[10] Roxana Deca, *Femeie, feminism, feminitate. Criterii pentru o etnologie a echilibrului în societatea tradiţională românească* [Woman, Feminism, Femininity: Criteria for an Ethnology of Equilibrium in the Romanian Traditional Society], Bucureşti 2007, p. 98 (Ph.D. manuscript).

dwindled. Once a week, the woman would undo the plaits (*chici*) from their fixtures with the *conci*, and would wash her hair. Over the *conci* came the *ceapța*, a kind of bonnet, made of a white cotton fabric of the thinnest fabric type, the *sada*. The *ceapța* could also have on it tapestry-woven ribs (*perți*), and it was always fastened with strings tied on the nape. On the segment adjoining the forehead, the *ceapța* was decorated with a sewn pattern or with a ribbon (*cordică*), which in its turn was decorated with sewn anglets (*colțunei*). We have come across the *ceapța* of precisely the same design and function in the costume of the women belonging to the German and Magyar ethnic groups in the whole of the Banat region.

In order to completely cover the natural hair, which must not be seen by absolutely nobody, but also in order to decorate the hair further, some decorated ribbons, called tatters (*petice*), were also placed over the *ceapța* bonnet, on the forehead, in a pre-determined sequence: there was a first one "tatter" consisting of artificial hair sewn on the margin of the ribbons, which was followed by a beaded "tatter", and then by a ribbon with sequin (*islogi*) and with anglets (*colțunei*). The last decoration was the headpiece braid of threads called the *cipca* or *sârma*, which she had also worn as a maiden.[11] Over the *ceapța* came the cloth (*cârpa*), made of silk, if it was summer, or made of velvet (*pliş*) during the cold season. This was decorated with *pliş* flowers against a colored background. The background would come in green (*zaicin* – a shade of very light green resembling the color of the sunflower oil) or it would be *blue jandari* (a kind of light-blue, like the shade of blue featured by policemen outfit), or it would come in brown (*cafa*), or, again, in deep purple. The cloth (*cârpa*) was decorated all around its contour with silk tassles (*tăiței*) on the margin, then with yet another row of thicker and twisted *tăiței*.

Rich wives wore a cloth decorated with several *cipca*, the golden headpiece braid of threads or tresses mentioned above. The bigger the number of tresses or *cipca* sewn to the *cârpa*, the richer a particular wife was deemed to be. The *cârpa* was never tied, but let hang in front with its ends loose, while the gold coins, the big ones, (*ghiordanii*) and the small ones (*seferinii*), overlaid the ends of the cloth, to keep it in place. Because of the *conci*, the cloth would come down puffed laterally.

The bun, the bonnet, the cloth and the tatters represented the marks distinguishing the married woman. The obligation to wear the bun and all the head-pieces was considered to go hand in hand with all the clear signs of morality, as tokens that the ethical, dressing and behavior laws were duly observed. It was therefore in token of this observance that the feminine leader of the wedding procession (the *diverita*), would fix the maiden decoration of the "wings for the plaits" on the nape of the newly-wed, then tying at the back the round wreath, which latter very complex decoration granted to the young bride a sumptuousness, an elegance and a distinction that singled her out. The wreath (*cununa*), round in shape and deep, resembling a crown or a diadem, was made up of many-colored

[11] Informant Luțiana Jebelean, Iancaid, aged 90, formal school attendance, 3 years.

beads, of golden sequin, mirror pieces, little red roses or rosaceous blooms and waggling frills (*tremurici*), to which were added, in the upper part and on the sides, long, golden threads resembling the solar beams. The *cununa* was made in the village by a local woman specialized in the making of such wreaths – and the bridegroom or the father in law were under the obligation to buy the wreath, which was an expensive item of decoration.

The entire ceremonial head-dressing unit, made of so many precious decorations and accessories, was then worn by the young bride on festive days and when she went dancing for the next six years after the wedding. The opulence of the gold thread on the head-pieces and the head-dressing items proper, as well as the gold coin necklaces worn around the neck, are a reference to the archaic solar symbol, with its radiance and luminosity. The red roses or rosaceous blooms, never missing from the make-up of the wreath, evoked the fertility symbolism. The predominant color in the wreath was red, since, according to the folk belief in the benefic power of the chromatic symbol, red was meant to grant vigor, health and maximum vitality to the young, married woman who was entering upon a new life stage.

The fact that, when going dancing and on feast days, the young wife appeared bedecked in all her fine ceremonial outfit, which included both the decorations she had worn as a maiden and the decorations characteristic for her new status, as a newly-married woman – corroborated first with what we have empirically observed, namely that the ceremonial head-dressing included the largest amount of aesthetic elements, and then corroborated secondly with the fact that such decorative outfit was kept up over a relatively long period of time, even if the young wife had meanwhile given birth to a child in this interval – all these have strengthened our conviction that our hypothesis, regarding the young wife's being considered the most precious member of the family, could also be considered absolutely true.

The wreath, this mark worn by the bride and the young married woman represented in reality the recognition given by the entire family and the whole community to the extremely important role played by the young wife in providing the continuity of the kin. The wreath had an integrative role, it was a marker of fertility and had a propitiatory function, alongside its strong social function, stressing the need for prestige and representativeness of the young wife, who was appearing in public, at ceremonial and festive moments, coming up in full splendor, radiant and resplendent – as she was invested with marks of this kind by her ornamental outfit, and, not least so, by the beauty and tenderness of her youthful age.[12]

[12] The research material synthetized in the present paper was communicated in 2007, in the "Constantin Brăiloiu" Colloquium of the Institute for Ethnography and Folklore (of the Romanian Academy).

1. Unmarried girl bedecked with *peană*
(Toracu Mic, beginning of the 20th C.)

2. Unmarried girl bedecked with *peană*, together with her little sister
(Toracu Mic, 1915)

3. Young bride bedecked with *cunună*, together with her husband
(Iancaid, beginning of the 20th C.)

4. Young bride bedecked with *cunună* (Toracu Mic, the beginning of the 20th C.)

5. Romanian wedding at Clec (mid 20th C.)

6. Married woman bedecked with velvet cloth (*cârpă de pliş*), together with her three children (beginning of the 20th C.)

7. Young wife bedecked with *cunună* – remake (Toracu Mic, 2007)

FF COMMUNICATION, vol. CXL, No. 292, *Research ethics in studies of culture and social life*, edited by Bente Gullveig Alver, Tove Ingeborg Fjell and Ørjar Øyen, Helsinki 2007, 232 pages

As scholars in the domains of social and humanistic sciences, we usually have to take into consideration issues regarding the ethical conduct of our work. Some times we are not aware about them; but some other times they urge us to face different kinds of dilemmas. During the times, the accumulation of ethic and deontological questions arised by practical researches in different scientific fields coagulated into a new domain represented by Ethic of Research itself. On the other side, in the moders (and post-modern) age, as one oriented both toward self reflection and "popularization", the scientific research descended from its ivory tower and entered the plaza. This means that the public eye has a special focus, an expectation (and control over) from the researches' results and from their consequences.

Due to these interelations, that got more and more importance in our contemporary times – even if it seems that they didn't catch a serious interest of the Romanian ethnographer and folklorists –, I decided to present a book which concerns with *Research Ethics in studies of culture and social life*, edited by Bente Gulliver Alver, Tove IngebjØrg Fjell and Ørjan Øyen, in famous Folklore Fellow Communication journal. The volume is dedicated to Lauri Honko. The content consists in 9 articles, whose large problematic and detailed analysis make them difficult to be resumed here.

As Bente Gulliver Alver and Ørjan Øyen point in the ample article that open the volume – *Challenges of research ethics: an introduction* –, ethics depends on the theoretical perspective, the type of research environment, the discipline or speciality in question, the category of sources, the methods of observation and analysis, the ustilisation and effects of findings and results. In the frame of principles of right and wrong, the authours analyse the teleological theories in concordance with the ethical and deontological ones, together with the possibilities of finding the equilibrium between our duty regarding the dinscipline we deserve and to the ones we study. "Research ethics concerns the assessement of how certain boundaries of research ought to be drawn. Researches face particular dilemmas when systems of norms and values concerning their obligations as researchers fail to agree with the more general system of norms and values relate to everyday life and the welfare and dignity in the broadesr sense" (p. 17). The ethic rules are seen as guidelines which "must be interpreted and evaluated in terms of the entire range of conditions and obligations incumbed on the researcher in the concrete situation" (p. 19). In this regard the article discusses questions concerning the respect of autnonomy and integrity of both the individuals and groups we study, on the one hand, and the researchers by themselves, on the other hand; complexities in the handing of anonimity; limits to researchability; new knowledge and the construction of reality; perspectives of nearness and distance; scope and penetration in the qualitative approach; methodology of creating, archiving and analysing empirical data in the cases of private oral and written texts.

Margaret A. Mills' article – *On the problem of truth in ethnographic texts and entextualisation processes* – meditates on the complicated question of truth, involved during our fieldwork – as a first inevitable denaturation of the natural process of creation and transmitting oral culture through performance – and also involved in our analizes on the recorded cultural items. "The social phenomenon of truth (or thruth claims) in and for texts […] provides a link between the concept of text in folklore and the matter of ethics as a core issue in social interaction and a basic concern in all socially based research, including the kinds of socially contexted textual research that many folklorists pursue" (p. 57). The authour debates then the cathegories of "fact/factual", "real/reality", "authentic/authenticity", and the contrast pair "belief/lnowledge". Speking about truth, we have to

take into consideration also an emic perspective, since the manner in which the society and the individuals we study culturaly organise *their* reality and the manner in which this reality is expressed in different foklore genres influence the relation between *our* and *their* truth. Truth and possessing the truth may be a question of power and of negociating the power, therefore, it represent by itself an ethical category.

Starting from the premise that research ethic is also a question of the image of human being, Sinikka Vakimo wrote the article *Sketching ethical problems of culture and ageing*, where it is bring into discussion the role of the *old people* in the history of folklor studies research, in concordance with the different meanings – and, sometimes, stereotypes – ascribed to elderly people. A question of gender it is also involved here.

When a researcher works very close with his/her informants, it become harder and harder – and more and more important – to define concepts as private space, integrity and aunotnomy of the individual, to define his/her position appropriate for that specific situation related to the informant, to him/herself, to the methods and results of the research. The article *Research in the minefield of privacy and intimacy*, by Tove Ingebjorg Fjell, describes some of such difficult dilemmas – loomed during the authour's fieldwork in a hospital- occured when our work „may bring out strong emotions in the people who are being studied. [...] In such research, which by some may be defined as somewhat controversial, how free is the informant's informed consent?" (p. 96).

Barbro Klein's article – *Folklore archives, heritage politics and ethical dilemmas: notes on writing and printing* - is related to folklore archives. Performing folklore and creating documents of oral culture, as well, may be a dangerous (and harming) action under specific political regime. How to protect the integrity of the informants, the integrity of the researcher, how to conduct fieldwork and how to archive the documents under such conditions? Barbro Klein starts to speak about different sort of data about the person of story tellers indirectly provided by their texts, about how the fieldworker and the archiver may destorte the original text in order to create a politically correct version. Actually, making up a document happened more often than it looks at a first glance. Even if an archive material „become normative and inscribed as authoritative ethnography", they may work as „political tools for political control and the coercise of power" (p. 117). In the mean time, the filter of the researcher decide, more or less conscious, what to archive and what not, in concordance with the personal axiological system. In these terms, what sort of heritage represents a folk archive?

Some specific ethic problems are related to immigrants – *others* which came to inhabit the same space with *us* – as objects of studies. Line Alice Ytrehus –*The generalised Other: cultural relativism and ethics in research on ethnic minorities* – intends to point out that „certain forms of generalisation and certain cultural theories embodied in our concepts of culture, tardition and modernity tend to consolidate and legitimate us-the dichotomies. In this respect generalisation and cultural theories tend to function as myths [...]. Myth here refers to a message presented as form, and which may as such be used to explain a phenomenon without any requirement for further explanations" (p. 138). The theories of cultural relativism may enter in conflict with the normative legislation specific to a state which has to be the same for all the inhabitants, even if they belong to different cultural systems. The basic yhesis of the authour is „that the problem is not cultural relativism as such, but rather *how* this ideal is connected to certain myths or forms of generalisation, and how these preclude other ways of relativising culture" (p. 143).

It is almost generally accepted that any interview is articulated on negociation. In the article – *persuasion or coercion? Striving for understanding in conducting open interviews* –, Armi Pekkala wrote: "To me, reciprocity means that the subjects can maintain self-control, autonomy and authority while interacting" (p. 177). But, in many concrete situations, the relation between fieldworker and the interviewed is not balanced in terms of power; Armi Pekkala discerns six dimmension of this porponent asytmetri.

Galit Hasan-Rokem's article – *Dialogue as ethical conduct: the folk festival that was not*- brings into discussions the dimmension of oral traditional culture as an emblem for the group's identity, on the one hand, and the performance of traditional expressions in induced contexts, as those

represented by folk festivals, on the other hand. There is presented the case when Jewish and Arabic living in Jerusalim couldn't find a common view upon the folk culture and folk life in the city, in order to represent Jerusalem at the American Folklife Festival organised by the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC, in 1993.

Comparing thirteen research-ethics guideline, Judy Rangnes's notable contribution – *Value considerations in folkloristic research ethics* – try to make more accesible the notion of *value* involved during the processes of folkloristic research. „All research-ethics are based on values. Which values, however, varies widely". As a conclusion of the entire volume, I quote Judy Rangnes' words: Research-ethics guidelines clearly do serve important functions. Furthemore, the fields of folkloristics, ethnology and cultural history have particularities which could benefit from research-ethics guidelines that address these realities specifically. Such guidelines shiuld, however, not be formulated such that they inhibit the moral intuition that is inherent to human nature, nor should they be used to allow and justify acts of questionable morality" (p. 228). In other words, the ethic guidelines must help us to enrich and to descover our own moral nature, as human beings, a nature which „ultimately must be the final judge in any new, unique and unpredictable research situation" (p. 228).

Laura Jiga ILIESCU

Gheorghiță Geană, *Antropologia culturală. Un profil epistemologic* [Cultural Anthropology: An Epistemological Profile], Bucureşti, Criterion Publishing, 2005, 246 p., ISBN 973-87174-9-3

From several reasons Romanian anthropology is still in a situation of emergence: although institutionalised in 1964 at "Francisc Rainer" Institute of the Romanian Academy and also included since 1972 in the syllabus of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Bucharest, this discipline does not yet benefit from a professional chair. It is true that more important reasons do raise the popularity of socio-cultural anthropology among students at a high level; what is essential in this respect is the professional devotion of a few Romanian scholars. Their generous activity in the framework of the Romanian university system makes possible the appropriation – either optional or auxiliary – of cultural anthropology (otherwise well established abroad), in fact a discipline much more complex than the statement "the science of human", usually associated to it.

Gheorghiță Geană (senior researcher at "Francisc Rainer" Institute of Anthropology and professor of anthropology at the University of Bucharest) is probably the most authorized cultural anthropologist in Romania. If such an assertion claims a "time's test", his forty years of activity in the domain may be taken for a relevant argument. Above all, however, it is the "practice test" that must be taken into account; it consists in his original contributions to anthropological knowledge, largely appreciated in Romania and abroad. Let us say that by his apprenticeship next to Vasile V. Caramelea and Traian Herseni (both of them being disciples of Dimitrie Gusti), professor Geană bears in his personality the inheritance of the prestigious Sociological School of Bucharest. Is it also necessary to mention the fieldwork campaigns in several Romanian cultural areas, his publications in volumes and journals printed by such prestigious publishers as Routledge, Cambridge University Press, Wiley etc., or his affiliation to the European Association of Social Anthropologists (EASA), Royal Anthropological Institute (RAI) of Great Britain and Ireland, and other professional associations. Until a synthetic approach of Geană's intellectual activity will be made, let us analyse the content of a book he has recently published.

Originally, the volume *Antropologia culturală. Un profil epistemologic* [Cultural Anthropology. An Epistemological Profile] was the first doctoral thesis in Romania on cultural

anthropology. After its delivering in 1977, the thesis has been for almost thirty years accessible in the typed form to anyone interested in the domain. If allowed, this reminds me of a similar case: Noam Chomsky's influential work *The Logical Structure of Linguistic Theory* – that included author's doctoral dissertation, *Syntactic Structure* – circulated as mimeographed text since 1955 until its publication in 1975. In the present case, the delay of publishing, as explained by the author himself, is due to the "desire to improve" or to "develop" his work. Although successively postponed, the "set of problems" approached in the book has been remaining the "tough and perennial core" of the discipline, so that the book continues to be of the same usefulness as an initiation guide into the discipline. Later on the author has (in his own terms) "grown as a scientist together with Romanian cultural anthropology" and many of the studies and articles he has written in the meantime come in continuity to the doctoral dissertation.

The present book was conceived – unusually – not as a "topical" but as an "epistemological introduction" to anthropology; "in other words, it does not consists in exhibiting the main aspects of human behaviour as they are investigated by specialists (economic life, political organization, language, religion, art, etc.), but in analysing the foundations of the discipline, in order to establish its architectonical lines and define its epistemological status" (pp. 195–196). Consequently, the author identifies three "constitutive conditions" of an ensemble of knowledge for being considered a science, namely: the *ontological condition* (referring to the object of study), *methodological condition* (referring to the specific methods), and *conceptual conditions* (proper concepts being necessary as taxonomic tools, as well as factors of coherence and completeness of the discipline).

The "ontological condition" is first of all approached with reference to the scientific beginnings of anthropology, in the second half of the XIX century. The echoes in time of the "great geographical discoveries" (here called "anthropo-geographical") allowed the discipline to go beyond the problems inspired by the ideas of "human nature" (Adolf Bastian) and "progress" (this latter being reflected in the three-stage evolutionary model elaborated by Lewis H. Morgan). While in U.S.A., under Franz Boas, anthropology was put on an inductive-empiricist way and oriented toward the cultural historicism, and then accepted also some psychological horizons of explanation, the British School (by Bronislaw Malinowski and A. R. Radcliffe-Brown) gave anthropology an equally important social dimension. The author pays a special attention to the "overestimated plots", namely to "primitive phenomenon" and "little community"; the first was assimilated to the world of illiterate societies and, even from the beginning, satisfied the anthropologists' interest in what the author calls the "genesic explanations" (i.e. the endeavour to understand a fact from its origins); as to the little community, it satisfied the scientific need of a "synoptic, or holistic perception" of the human behaviour. In this context, Geană speaks about "existential human units", these being really: the *individual*, *family*, *community*, *nation*, and *anthroposphere*. All these entities are hypostases of the concept of "man / human being", which make up, as a matter of fact, the concrete object of anthropology.

As to the "methodological condition", Geană displays from the outset a critique of philosophical anthropology, in which he sees rather an "anthropological philosophy". As against philosophical anthropology (accepted, nevertheless, as an intuitive-speculative discourse), cultural anthropology is an empirically grounded discourse about human being and culture. The main method of such empirical legitimacy is *participant observation*. By this method, anthropology – as a human "self-knowledge" – answers the requirement of "transcending the world of the «object» of knowing", this latter "sharing the same existential condition of the researcher as epistemic «subject»" (in other words, both the object and the subject of knowing being humans). After becoming (with Bronislaw Malinowski, 1922) a necessary ingredient of the ethnographical method of anthropology, participant observation involves the learning of the vernacular language and the insertion into the local way of life, completed with the use of unstructured questionnaires and key-informants; in Geană's view, to quote such a native informant is as natural as to quote a consecrated scholar. In its turn, the *comparative method* (or the method of *cross-cultural comparisons*) leads anthropologists to formulate general statements (as, for example, about the universality of family), and to define what means an "anthropological fact". In spite of some erroneous premises (mainly the equalisation of the present

archaic societies with the prehistoric ones, and the dogmatisation of the three-stage model of socio-cultural evolution), the comparative method will be rehabilitated by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown as essential "method of social anthropology" (1952), concomitantly the historical method being attributed to ethnology. Later on the comparative method benefited from the development of statistical techniques, especially related to the establishing of the universality of some cultural elements, or the co-variation of such phenomena. Some factors of "data quality control" (cf. Raoul Naroll, 1973) include ethnographic participation, learning of the vernacular language, and the description as precise as possible of the cultural traits (all these being, in fact, convergent to the method of participant observation).

Regarding the "conceptual condition", the author enlightens three major notions constitutive to the theoretical architectonics of anthropology: *culture*, *personality*, and *social structure*. According to Geană, anthropologists (with Edward B. Tylor as a starting point of a series) ascribed to the term *culture* a "generous and profound meaning", consisting in four essential characteristics; therefore, culture is normative, learned, progressive, and symbolic. As the author mentions, "no other discipline focused so much on its central concept as anthropology did for the concept of culture" (p. 133). A "synoptic concept of culture" (in accordance with the holistic orientation of the discipline) is relevant for the "universal categories (or pattern) of culture", as well as for the branching out of anthropology in such sub-disciplines or areas of specialisation as economic anthropology, political anthropology, linguistic anthropology, anthropology of religion, anthropology of art, etc. A special status is proper to the concept of *personality*. Although adopted in opposition to the "super-organic" interpretation of culture (having in Alfred L. Kroeber its chief promoter), the concept of personality (as derived mainly from the use of psychological terminology in ethnographical texts) proves to be "consubstantial" with the concept of culture (see, e.g., the formulation of personality by Anthony F. C. Wallace, in 1961, in terms of the definition of culture coined by Tylor in 1871). As a consequence, the concept of "personality" is approached in anthropology in an integrative manner (as "basic personality structure", cf. Abram Kardiner, 1939), statistically (as "modal personality", cf. Cora DuBois, 1945), but also in ethnical perspective (related to "national character"), and even in an oicumenical perspective (at the level of "human nature). Finally, the concept of *social structure* (as a "table of the positions occupied and roles played by an individual in society") reflects equally the "inner order" of a culture and the "cluster of roles" by which personality "clothes" individual. As a matter of fact, Geană says, there is a "semantic syncretism between «society» and «culture»", which is reflected also in the "dualism «socialization–enculturation»", as a relation of the general type between "form" and "content". If so, the concept of "role" points out the "psycho-socio-cultural continuum of the human universe" from the viewpoints of: individual identity (and therefore of its personality), behavioural norms (that make up the culture), and social relations (which are specific to society and social structure).

From the three-fold perspective of ontological, methodological, and conceptual conditions, Geană defines cultural anthropology as the "participant and comparative study of the interrelation social structure–culture–personality at the complex scale of the existential human units in which human being finds its concrete embodiment" (p. 171).

The author did not forget to evaluate in this writing the Romanian anthropological experience. He describes how the socio-cultural paradigm of the discipline (a paradigm of British-American origin) managed to get recognition within a bio-anthropological context that was prevailing in anthropology of continental Europe until the middle of the XX century. The emergence of cultural anthropology in Romania is presented in its historical relationship with the great tradition of indigenous ethno-folkloristic and sociological research. This process was linked to the name of the sociologist Vasile V. Caramelea, who obtained, in 1964, the first institutionalisation of cultural anthropology in Romania, in the form of a section of this kind in the framework of the Anthropological Research Centre of the Romanian Academy.

Gheorghiță Geană ends his book with a set of "synoptic reflections" referring to the need for adequate concepts for a really academic discourse (accomplished as a "well made language"). The "efficiency by progressive combination of the three conditions – ontological, methodological, and

conceptual" is underlined, the beneficent result being obvious as an adequate understanding and professional practice of cultural anthropology. On this ground, the discipline becomes able – in author's terms, but in Hegelian style – to attain its "self/consciousness" and to perpetuate its existence and searching as "anthropologia perennis".

More than a simple introduction in the semantic field and critical apparatus of an academic discipline, the present work is a profound approach of the disciplinary pattern proper to cultural anthropology. One may say that we have in this case a distinction similar to the one between the morphology and the syntax of a given theoretical approach, in the meaning that the epistemological profile of anthropology speaks first about the content of science and the organisation of this content and only then about the form and the thematic inventory of the discipline at stake. However, the *syntactic* manner of this book appears not as a strictly didactic and expositive transposition, but often as a narrative evocative style, proper to a humanistic undertaking. It is sufficient to mention the quotations from such classical authors of the Romanian intellectual history as Mihai Eminescu, Lucian Blaga, or Mihail Sadoveanu – references that confer an indigenous flavour and nuance to a discipline of global extent. This is a supplementary reason to reprint this book and include in the new edition those contributions of Geană to the nativistic practice in Romanian cultural anthropology.

A consistent abstract (23 p.) in English language makes the content of the book accessible to the foreign reader, who therefore may compare this Romanian view on anthropology with international standards of the discipline. Also the detailed "Index" (even for the English text, separately) proves the author's thoroughness in elaborating his work.

Marin CONSTANTIN

Ştefania Cristescu-Golopenția, *Sporul vieții. Jurnal, studii şi corespondență* [Life's Fortune: Journal, Essays, and Correspondence], edited text, introduction and notes by Sanda Golopenția, Bucureşti, Paideia, 2007, 629 p.

The success of the vast research program made by the Sociology School of Bucharest is explained, among other facts, by its modern methodology, by the wide array of researchers of different specialization, by the prestige of its leader Dimitrie Gusti, and by the high expertise of most of the school's membership. Suffice is to give some examples: Henri H. Stahl graduated from law, literature, and philosophy, and took a doctor degree in socioogy (members in his doctoral comission, at the Bucharest University, were D. Gusti, C. Rădulescu-Motru, P.P. Negulescu, D. Caracostea and Petre Cancel); Traian Herseni did postgraduate studies in Berlin with Alfred Vierkandt, R. Turnwald, E. Spranger, W. Sombart and H. Kunow; Ernest Bernea who, after studying philosophy and literature in Bucharest, with D. Gusti, C. Rădulescu-Motru, P.P. Negulescu, Ov. Densuşianu, Ch. Drouhet and Nae Ionescu, took postgraduate classes in Paris with Marcel Mauss and in Freiburg with Martin Heidegger; Mircea Vulcănescu, graduated from philosophy, literature and law, in Bucharest, took master classes in Paris, of sociology, law, and economics, with professors such as Jacques Maritaine and Nicolas Berdiaeff; Constantin Brăiloiu, who had musical studies in Bucharest, Vienne, Vevey and Laussane.

Of this experts' brilliant gallery was Ştefania Cristescu-Golopenția, too. She was born on February 12, 1908 in Craiova, where she followed the elementary school and the „Regina Elisabeta" Highschool, graduating as bachalorette in 1927. After that she was student at the Faculty for Literature and Philosophy in Bucharest, where she graduated with *magna cum laude* from Literature and with *laude* from Philology. Between 1930 and 1932 she took doctoral classes of Sociology and Philology with D. Gusti and Ov. Densuşianu, in the same time working with the Institute for Statistics. In 1932 she applies to the dean of the Faculty for Literature and Philosophy for a 1932-

1933 scholarship, that would allow her to complete her culture in linguistic sociology by taking, in Paris, the classes of Antoine Meillet, Jules Vendryès and H. Delacroix. As an argument she mentions that she worked, practically, in the field, within the research campaigns done by the sociology department of the Romanian Social Institute. She also adds that in her special research she was „conducted by the linguistic principles of prof. Ov. Densuşianu's school", that she „put together with much benefit in the sociological guidance of the monographic fieldworks". She receives the scholarship in Paris, thus at the École Pratique des Hautes Études she attends the classes of Célestin Bouglé and works with Joseph Vendriès, Marcel Mauss, Paul Rivet and others. She is surprised to see that at Vendriès' classes only seven male and a female, she, Ştefania Cristescu, come. She is not intimidated by the academic environment that she frequents there and is convinced that the sociological research in Romania was „far above the things" there in Paris. Mrs. Sanda Golopenția, in her introduction, synthetizes what Paris meant to Ştefania Cristescu: „Paris favours openings – towards the Celtic mythology and linguistics (one notices the convergence in between classes that Ştefania Cristescu took with Jean Marx, J. Vendriès and, especially, with young professor Marie-Louise Sjoestedt-Jonval, to whom she gets close and due to whom she gets to read Georges Dumézil). The study at the Institute of Ethnology, led by Marcel Mauss and Paul Rivet, and the laboratory works in the Ethnological Museum at Trocadéro (that will soon become, grace to Paul Rivet's efforts, the famous Musée de l'Homme), will led, as we learn from letters sent to A. Golopenția, not only to the acquiring of a diploma in ethnology from the Institute, but also to an invitation for her to do fieldwork in the New Caledony. Aware of her own way in research, Ştefania Cristescu has lucidly examined all those perspectives, without letting herself turned aside from a professional and personal trajectory, to which she longly pondered upon".

Her participation to the monographic campaigns in Romania (Drăguş 1929, Runcu 1930, Cornova 1931), her studies in France, at the École Pratique des Hautes Études of Sorbonne and at the Institute for Ethnology, contributed to the accomplishment of Ştefania Cristescu's academic training. She set up her research coordination, in a pragmatic way, in *Chestionarul pentru studiul credinţelor, practicelor şi agenţilor magici în satul românesc* [Questionnary for the Study of Magical Believes, Practices and Agents in the Romanian Village] (1936), and *La Méthode pour l'étude des croyances et pratiques magiques* [Method for the Study of Magic Believes and Practices] (1940), and applied them in the the research work *Gospodăria în credinţele şi riturile magice ale femeilor din Drăguş (Făgăraş)* [The Houshold in the Magical Beileves and Rites of Women in Draguş, Făgăraş] (1940). The volume reviewed now contains pages that are in direct connection with the mentioned book. In the *Studiul monografic al satului românesc* [The Monographic Research of the Romanian Village] (1934), together with presenting the methodology of the Sociological School in Bucharest, Ştefania Cristescu also dispays her findings and theory on practices and techniques of magical character, on peasant believes and representations, and on the mentality of magical agent. She discriminates between categories such as that of „diffuse practices" („that are spread over the entire social surface of the village and in connection to which any individual can become an agent"), and that of „specialized magical practices" (belonging to „magical agents proper"). It is also presented the practice of charm-making and its various applicability, some charms refering to body sicknesses, othgers to love or to different undoing the evil. To each practice, the author recomends both physical and oral rites to be studied. In what the magical formulae are concerned, i.e. the magical language, she opinionates that the study should not be done from the folklorist's perspective, but of the sociologist's one, because a furmula shuld be viewed from the angle of „its role in the social life of the village".

The volume under discussion is a miscellaneum. It comprises the author's *Pagini de jurnal* (Diary Pages) – November 1933–February 1936, August–October 1977 –, a series of essays, conference papers, research projects, unpublished lyrics (gathered under the title *Clasa mea de elevi e patria mea* [The Class of My Students is My Fatherland]), and some correspondence from between 1929–1977. The latter section comprises letters received from Mihai Pop, Ion Ionică, D.C. Georgescu, Y. Bonneval, D.C. Amzăr, Lena Constante, Jean Marx, Brutus Coste, C. Müller,

H.H. Stahl, Emanoi Bucuța, Traian Herseni, D. Gusti, G. Breazul and many others, as well as her letters to Anton Golopenția, Sanda Golopenția, Dan Golopenia, D. Gusti, C. Noica, Tr. Herseni, to politicians such as Miron Constantinescu and Corneliu Mănescu. All these shed lights on her life, on her family that paid a heavy toll (her husband, Anton Golopenția, died în the political prison of Jilava, in 1951), on the treatment that was imposed on her by the communist regime, which by forbidding the sociological research had broken her fate as an academic.

I wish to stress another dimension of Ștefania Cristescu-Golopenția. Commenting on her book on Drăguș, Petru Comarnescu also praised her style – „remarquably well articulated and clear, wich is a model for literary description and scientific findings". This style was natural to her, because she had an exceptional sensitivity, which is proved by her verses that are prefaced now by her former highschool student Cornelia Ștefănescu (who will later become a literary critic and historian). From the last poem of the published cycle I quote two catrens: *Ție ți le las în dar/ Fata mea cu ochi de stele/ Ție ți le las în dar/ Toate cântecele mele.// Şi fie ca visurile/ Să ți se împlinească toate/ Şi să mântui cântecele/ Ce le-am început, pe toate!"* [To you I leave as a gift/ My daughter of starry eyes/ To you I leave as a gift/ All my songs.// And may all your dreams/ Come true entirely/ And may you achieve all the songs/ That I have started]. These are a testament that her daughter, Sanda Golopenția, respected sacredly, taking care with exemplary erudition and devotion of the editing and repubishing of her mother's and father's works. The erudition displayed now is a model in all respects: visible in the sharp phylological editing of the texts, in the added commentaries, as well as in the accompanyment of those texts by a rich bunch of references and notes, which do not miss any comment or explanation. Own to this erudition the place occupied by Ştefania Cristescu-Golopenția in the Sociologicaly School of Bucharest is firmly set and represented, and her work and biography are better known.

Iordan DATCU

Viorel Cosma, in cooperation with Luminţa Vartolomei and Constantin Catrina, *Enciclopedia muzicii româneşti de la origini până în zilele noastre* [Encyclopedia of Romanian Music from the Origins until Nowadays], Bucureşti, Editura ARC I (A-B), 2005, 540 p., II, 2007, 423 p.

In Viorel Cosma's rich and diverse work, lexicography occupies an essential place. Elaborated over a half of century and built up by works such as *Compozitori şi muzicologi români. Mic lexicon* [Romanian Composers and Musicologists: Small Lexicon] (1965), *Muzicieni din România. Lexicon bibliografic. Compozitori, muzicologi, folclorişti, bizantinologi, critici muzicali, profesori, editori* [Musicians from Romania: Bibliographical Lexicon: Composers, Musicologists, Folklorists, Byzantinologists, Musical Critics, Professors, Editors] (I, 1989, II, 1999, III, 2000, IV, 2001, V, 2002, VI, 2003, VII, 2004, VIII, 2005, IX, 2006), *Interpreți din România* [Performers from Romania] (I, 1996), the lexicography of this encyclopedist of Romanian music reaches its apex by *Enciclopedia muzicii româneşti...* [Encyclopedia of Romanian Music...]. To this, Cosma has Luminița Vartolomei, musicologist and musical critic, and Constnatin Catrina, musicologist and folklorist, as collaborators. It is for me to mention that Viorel Cosma contributed as lexicographist in a series of international works: *Sohlman's Music Lexicon, The New Grove's Dictionary of Music, Dictionnaire de la musique, Das grosse Lexicon der Musik, Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Frank/Altman Tonkünstler Lexikon*.

Enciclopedia muzicii româneşti... is the first Romanian work of this type, in which the musical phenomenon is watched from the 5th century B.C. up to nowadays, on the entire Romanian territory and from the Romanian diasporas in the USA; Canada, Australia, and Greece (Mount Athos). The vaste work, that estimates a number of articles on 3000 composers, musicologists, musical critics, ethnomusicologists, folklorists, byzantinologists, editors and musical bookshop owners, musical

journals and almanachs, movies, operas, musicals, vodevils, ballets, musical museums and memorial houses, festivals and contests, chamber and orchestral ensambles, philharmonics, opera halls, musical, theater or musical revue halls, musical institutions and associations, musical schools, academies, conservatories and universities, folk and symphonic instruments, musical forms and genres, concepts in folklore and byzantinology, musical places, and others – is announced right from the beginning as a basic worktool.

In these two volumes the researcher finds well-documented entries on folklorists like Tiberiu Alexandru, Gheorghe Alexe, István Almási, Constantin Arvinte, Mihail Bârcă, Al. Berdescu, Ion Bârlea, Nicolae Boboc, C. Bobulescu, Gheorghe Bogdan, Gottlieb Samuel Brandsch, Harry Brauner, Constantin Brăiloiu, Pană Brănescu, George Breazul, Tiberiu Brediceanu, Marin Brânaru, Mihai Bruchental, Florin Bucescu, T.T. Burada, and Alexie Buzera. The articles are exhaustives and, depending on case, are systematyzed in order to cover the diversity of musical preocuppations of each musician or folklorist. The entry on Constantin Brăiloiu, one of the most extensive (p. 204–218), has after the biographical preambule the sections Ethnomusicology and Folklore – Volumes, Ethnomusicology and Folklore – Essays, Musicology – Essays, Folk Art, Folklore Collections, Critical Editions, Chamber Music, Choral Music, Pedagogical Works, Translations, Discography. Also the critical bibliography is systematyzed as Lexicographical Entries and Bibliographical Entries. Then it follows a comprehensive characterization of Brăiloiu's scientific approach, on whom it is written, among other things, that he possesed „an exceptional general and musical culture", that he left to posterity „an exemplary spiritual heritage through his method (...), simplicity and originality", that the musicologist, composer, musical critic, sociologist and pedagogist „opened sometimes surprising artistic and scholarly paths, fighting, asserting and imposing Romanian ideas and theses of universal value", and that through his studies on comparative folklore he had enlisted himself „among the scholars of international prestige", that he is the creator of the Romanian ethnomusicology that has achieved „models for monographic studies on genres (lament), customs (wedding), rhytmical and sonorous systems, collective creation", and that he became „a doctrine-maker who preceeded the sociology of the folk arts". Other special articles present musical categories (ballad, lamment, a.o), customs (Goat's procession), folk dances (*bătrâneasca* a.o.). Many articles are very well-documented presentations of institutions such as the Folklore Archive – which included The Phonogramic Archive of the Minister for Education, Religious Denominations, and Arts, and the Folklore Archive of the Romanian Composers' Society –, the Folklore Archive of the Romanian Academy, the Folklore Archive of the „Gh. Dima" Music Conservatory, the Folklore Archive of Moldavia and Bukovine. Worth mention are the articles on musical localities, from the most important, like Bucharest (p. 334–354), up to the smallest like Abrud, Alba Iulia, a.o.

The information amount on which the authors of entires are based is fabulous. They made use of not only books, journals, correspondence, but also of manuscripts and handwritten notes on book pages. From this last category I recommend the note of T.T. Burada on his book about the most famous violin maker, Grigore Balan, from Colacu, Vrancea County, who died in 1848 aged 39. Burada also wrote down, on one of his books, the information on a *cobza* maker, from Nadişa, Bacău County, where over one thousand cobzas were made annually and were brought to the Drăgaica Fair and from there throughout the country.

A special mention is worth made for the iconography in the volumes, of evoking photos – such as the one that shows the Ghika House, next to Cişmigiu Park, nowadays demolished, which was once called the Old Atheneum, the first concert hall in Bucharest (1868), as well as the picture showing the Old Atheneum and the Lyrical Theater from the 19th century, „where the symphonic concerts and opera performances took place until the construction of the Romanian Atheneum Palace and of the National Opera in Bucharest".

Iordan DATCU

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Laurent AUBERT – doctor of anthropology, curator at the Geneva Ethnographic Museum and director of the Atélier d'Éthnomusicologie, an institute he founded in 1983 to contribute the knowledge of musical traditions from the whole world. His field research is mainly in India, but he also works on musical practices associated with migration. He is Secretary-general of the International Archive of Folk Music (AIMP) and director of its DC collection, and a founder of the *Cahiers d'éthnomusicologie* (formerly know as the *Cahiers de musiques traditionnelles*, from 1988). He has written many articles and produced numerous CDs as well as several books, including *La musique de l'autre* (2001 [The Music of the Other, 2007]), *Les feux de la déesse* (2004) and *Musiques migrantes* (2005).

Maria BÂTCA – Ph.D. in history, senior researcher at the "C. Brăiloiu" Institute of Ethnography and Folklore, expert in folk art and particularly in the study of the folk costume. Prominent works of her were devoted to the ethnographical zones of Rădăuţi (1979), and Teleorman (in cooperation, 1987). Other books: *Însemn şi simbol în vestimentaţia ţărănească* [Sign and Symbol in the Peasant Dressing] (1997); *Dimensiunile spirituale ale Basarabiei* [Spiritual Dimensions of Bessarabia] (1998), *Costumul popular românesc* [Romanian Folk Costume] (2006, awarded withe the „George Oprescu" prize of the Romanian Academy). She is co-author of the five volumes *Sărbători şi obiceiuri* [Feasts and Customs] of the collection Romanian Ethnographic Documents, and authored 50 maps on costume and folk art in the Atlasul Etnografic Român [Romanian Ethnographic Atlas].

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Ion H. CIUBOTARU – head of the Folklore Archive of Moldavia and Bucovina (Iaşi, Romania), he authored a consistent number of small and large monographs, devoted to folk customs, musical-literary genres, and prominent folklorists.

Iordan DATCU – editor, senior researcher, excelling in lexicography. His ethnological contributions span from the editing of numberless folklore collections, books and essays belonging to various authors, to the writing and publishing of an immense number of monographic essays, articles, and book reviews. *Dicţionarul etnologilor români* [Dictionary of Romanian Ethnologists] is a recent publication (2006) that updates and completes other previous works of him, of similar character.

Christian FUHRHOP – received his diploma in computer science from the technical University Berlin in 1987. From 1988 to 1922 he worked as a scientist at Fraunhofer FOKUS, and activity to which he returned in 1996. At Fraunhofer FOKUS he has participated in several EU-funded projects, such as IMMP, NexTV, ICE-CREAM, mCDN, Content4All, ethnoArc, and SAMBA, as well as in industry founded projects. In recent projects the main focus was on content management systems and applications for metadata rich environments.

Laura LEONTIUC – teacher of music, BA in Arts with the National University of Music (Bucharest, Romania). At present she attends master studies with the same University. During the last years she published articles, reviews and interviews in the magazines *Muzica*, *Actualitatea muzicală*, and *Tibiscus*. She attended symposiums in Iaşi, Bucharest, Braşov, and won prizes in undergraduate musicology contests. She introduces concerts (*The Youth and Contemporary Music*, *From Menuet to Scherzo*, etc.). She worked as an accompanist (in the project *Music Camp* initiated by prof. Connie Fortunado), in the editorial staff of the Publishing House of the National University of Music, and was involved in organizing the *Enescu Festival and Contest* in 2005.

Ligia FULGA – ethnologist and muzeologist, director of the Ethnographic Museum in Braşov. Topics of interest: regional identities, Transylvanian and European influences in architecture, ceramics and glasswork, visual

anthropology. Among publications: *Contacte culturale în ceramica transilvăneană din sec. XVIII–XIX* [Cultural Contacts in Transylvanian Ceramics of the 18th–19th Centuries], Sibiu, Europaische Kulturlandschaft Siebenburgen, 1983 (collective vol.); *Wort und Welt*, Thaur bei Innsbruck, 1994; *Imagine, fotografie şi cercetarea tradiţiilor româneşti şi maghiare* [Image, Photo, and the Research of Romanian and Hungarian Traditions] (collective vol.), Kommern, 1997; *Centre de olari din sud-estul Transilvaniei* [Pottery Centers in South-Eastern Transylvania], Sf. Gheorghe, 1999 (coord.); *Topografia monumentelor istorice din Transilvania* [Topography of the Historical Monuments in Transylvania], IV, 2002 (co-author), *Saşii despre ei înşişi* [Saxons on Themselves], 2008 (coord.); *Sticla transilvăneană în sec XVII–XVIII. Soluţii tehnice, tendinţe artistice* [Transylvanian Glass in the 17th–18th Centuries: Technical Solutions, Artistic Tendencies], Ed. Economică, 2004, its German version: *Das siebengurgisches Glas im 17. und 18 Jahrhundert. Technische Losungen, kunstlerische Tendenzen*, Verlag Janos Stekovics, 2007. Among the founder members of the Association for Ethnological Sciences in Romania, she served as its president (2007–2008), and is member in numerous national and international commissions in the field of muzeology and ethnology.

Maurice MENGEL – studied ethnomusicology in Cologne. Since 2004 has worked in the music archive of the Ethnological Museum in Berlin, which today houses the holdings of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv. He participates in several digital archive projects (DISMARC, ethnoArc, ILKAR) and is currently preparing his dissertation on the history of ethnomusicological research at the Institutul de Etnografie şi Folclor „Constantin Brăiloiu".

István PÁVAI – born in Odorheiu Secuiesc, Romania (1951). He graduated from the Cluj Academy of Music as a musicologist, and obtained his PhD in 2005, at the Liszt Ferenc University of Music. He is senior researcher at the Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, head of the Folklore Documentation Centre at the Hungarian Heritage House (Budapest) and assistant professor at the Folk Music Department of the Liszt Ferenc University of Music. Author of a folk music monograph, and about 50 academic publications, mainly on instrumental folk music and dance music in the Carpathian basin. His fields of interest include folk dance music research, investigation of interethnic relationships, research of folk music dialects, computer-aided ethnomusicological research, digital archiving and cataloguing of folklore documents.

Florinela POPA – graduated from music pedagogy and musicology at the National Music University of Bucharest, where she teaches now as lecturer assistant, and also works as a scientific researcher with the „George Enescu" National Museum (Bucharest). She obtained the doctor degree in musicology with *summa cum laudae*. She participated to „Socrates-Erasmus" (University

of Leipzig) and CEEPUS (University of Novi Sad, Serbia) programs. She took part in international projects such as *Migration und Biographie deutschsprachiger Musiker im östlichen Europa* (Leipzig Universty, 2007–2008) and EthnoArc (grant from the New Europe College, 2008). She wrote essays and articles in magazines *Muzica*, *Actualitatea muzicală*, *Contemporary Music Romanian Newsletter*, *Secolul XXI*, *Acord*, and also in some collective volumes.

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Pál RICHTER – born in Budapest (1963), graduated from the Liszt Ferenc University of Music as a musicologist, and obtained a PhD in 2004. His special field of research is 17th century music of Hungary, and especially of the Franciscans. Other main fields of his interest are Hungarian folk music, classical and 19th century music theory, and multimedia in music education. Since 1990 has been involved in the computerized cataloguing of the folk music collection of the Institute for Musicology, of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and has participated in ethnographic field research, too. Recently he has become the head of the Folk Music Archives of the Institute for Musicology, and leads the new folk music training at the Liszt Ferenc University of Music.

Anca STERE – BA in philology from the Faculty of Letters, Bucharest University. She received an MA in ethnology and folklore and another MA in South/East European studies from Bucharest University. Between 2000 and 2007 she worked as a researcher with the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore, in Bucharest. She was granted Britannia Scholarship from the New Europe College (2005–2006).

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Izaly I. ZEMTSOVSKY – Russian folklorist and ethnomusicologist, born in St. Petersburg, a pupil of Vladimir Propp, since 1960 worked at the Russian Institute for the History of the Arts, since 1994 has taught various courses in the United States universities (Los Angeles, Berkeley, Madison-Wisconsin, and currently at Stanford), served as an Executive Board Member at the International Council for Traditional Music (UNESCO, 1989–1993). He is the author of a score of books and more than 550 articles published in different languages. His first publication abroad happened to be in Romania more than 50 years ago (*Probleme de muzică*, 1959, nos. 2 and 4). The list of his books includes, among others, *The Russian Drawn-Out Song: A Study* (Leningrad, 1967); *Songs of Toropets: Songs from the Homeland of Mussorgsky* (Leningrad, 1967); *The Poetry of Peasant Holidays* (Leningrad, 1970); *The Melodics of Calendar Songs* (Leningrad, 1975); *Folklore and the Composer* (Leningrad, 1978); *On the Trail of the "Vesnianka" Melody in Tschaikovsky's Piano Concerto: The Historical Morphology of the Folk Song* (Leningrad, 1987); *The Heroic Epos of the Life and Works of Boris N. Putilov* (St. Petersburg, 2005); *From the World of Oral Traditions: Collected Reflections* (St. Petersburg, 2006). Listed in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 2nd edition (vol. 27, 2001). The American Biographical Institute named his a Great Mind of the 21st Century (2006).