Romania in The Last Hundred Years Historical and Musical Considerations What was done? What are we doing? What to do?

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Abstract: In 2018, Romanians celebrate the Centenary – a hundred years since Romania had the largest territory ever inhabited primarily by Romanians, at the same time, a century since Romania as a modern country was born. What do we know about our history in the last one hundred years? What and why do we celebrate? We know too little; many of the Romanians participating in the celebration do not know what it is for. The torrent of pathetic and solemn words about the past is useless. I followed two paths side by side, which happen to be in a natural connection, but sometimes they also go through distinct stages: on one hand, the course of the main historical events from the beginning of World War I until now, and on the other hand, Romanian musical life during the same period. I will cover five historical stages (World War I, Interwar Period and World War II, Soviet Occupation, Ceauşescu's era and Post-Communist Period) pursuing four main aims: a) an explicit historical image (as a musician I had a relatively narrow perspective on general historical facts); b) completing superficial knowledge received in school (before 1989) with information to justify certain events; c) the relationship between history-culture-music, in support of the idea that art does not exclude knowledge and civic involvement, on the contrary; d) the Past justifies the Present and together they work upon the Future. In the epilogue I will reveal an example that I consider illustrative for this fourth aim: the project Saving Enescu's Cottage from Mihăileni. I have made this study mainly for my own benefit, in order to understand the historical facts, but especially to find an answer to the question: knowing history – what's the use?

Keywords: Centenary, Romania, history, music, communism.

1. Foreword

This text is not a report; therefore, it does not claim to reach, include, exhaust all the ideas related to Romanian history or to the Romanian musical

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phenomenon of the last hundred years. It is assumed that the examples to which I refer are not singular; however, I consider them to be relevant.

I made a minimum investigation among friends and acquaintances, people of different ages and professions (no professional historians but having systematic intellectual activities) regarding the information they have about Romanian history over the last hundred years. The answers were almost identical: basic historical knowledge comes from high school; whether they belong to the generations before 1989 or after, the data, the characters and the interpretations remain overwhelmingly the same, dominated by nationalist and Romanian-centrist comments, with missing issues, events and personalities, in short, a censored history. I asked the same question to several teenagers. The answer was essentially: "we do not really learn history; we concentrate on the fields of study we need for our final high school exams".

I therefore combined general historical information (I myself learned new facts by working on the present text), with my own observations. I did this because I realized that the rhythm of our life prevents many of us from accessing the updates and revisions that have taken place in the field of historiography of the last decades. I also decided to avoid, as much as I could, the dithyrambic and patriotic key, which, willingly or not, we all had to adopt in the past, and which, unfortunately, has not yet disappeared.

I feel (it's a weird feeling coming from the years of communist festivities we lived through in the Romania of the 1980's) that since the beginning of 2018, the attitude and discourses I wanted to forget are growing ever stronger again. That is why I express my views for those in my generation to remember (in case they have forgotten!), and for the youth to learn about the dithyrambs that fell in waves over our consciousness until thirty years ago. As for myself, I am trying to stay away from these great but empty words.

I began to re-discover and really learn about the modern and contemporary Romanian history merely five years ago.

I was born, and I spent my childhood in the 1960's, times when the "war generations" (my parents and my grandparents) carried the mark of the Soviet terror – the Red Army troops had already withdrawn from Romania, but people had not forgotten yet. At home people listened to prohibited radio broadcasts (*Europa Liberă*/ Free Europe and *Vocea Americii*/ Voice of America), whispering about news from abroad; when I found a photo of Queen Elisabeth (1843-1916, the wife of King Carol I of Romania) among the family photos with farmers, teachers, priests and doctors, my grand-grandmother answered with a mysterious smile: "she is a relative of mine!"¹. At school, the teachers accommodated themselves to the re-written history, some loathingly, others

¹ At that time, if the authorities would discover you keep such a photograph, you would risk the prison.

willingly, some even enthusiastically. This is how our minds and hearts were set up for forty years. It seemed nothing would change; our parents resigned themselves to the situation, we were living with the conviction of normality. The communist leaders decided for everyone else: to live, to work, to eat. The workers in factories produced things they knew nothing about and did not want to know what they were useful for. It was only in college that we began to hear some rumors from abroad. The wall that isolated us from the dissidents in our own country and from the diversity of other countries began to crack. The cracks became breaches until everything broke down. What happened thereafter? We don't really know, at least not yet. I will make in this respect an analogy with the biblical Exodus.

"When Pharaoh let the people go, God did not lead them on the road through the Philistine country, though that was shorter. For God said, 'If they face war, they might change their minds and return to Egypt.' So, God led the people around by the desert road toward the Red Sea." (Exodus 13:17-18) "The Israelites ate *manna*² forty years, until they came to a land that was settled; they ate manna until they reached the border of Canaan." (Exodus 16:35)

A wise Jewish friend said about this biblical episode that Moses deliberately delayed forty years in the desert, so that the generations of slaves would disappear, and their place would be taken by young people born free. Are we living a similar story? Our children and our grandchildren will surely find out!

I looked back at the last one hundred years, trying to get rid of prejudices and to integrate Romanian history into an international context. At the same time, I tried to keep in mind two main areas: the historical field and the history of Romanian musical life, even as I am aware I did not manage to achieve a satisfactory balance between these two spheres of interest³.

² It seems to me interesting to include here information about *manna*: "In 1927, [Shimon Fritz] Bodenheimer, zoologist at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, visiting the Sinai Peninsula, noticed a certain plant that in the spring, after being pricked by insects, produces a sweet liquid. This liquid is fast curing in the air, becoming white hobbies similar to hail. Local Bedouins are great amateurs of these delicacies, and on spring they go to the steppe to collect the white, sticky bobbles. [...] Even nowadays, merchants in Baghdad are selling the *tamarix* sweet resin which they call *man*." (Kosidowski, 1970, pp. 155-156)

³ I confess I was more often tempted by general histories, abandoning the musical sphere. I explain this by the troubled times we live nowadays. At the end of each chapter I included a short chronology of main historical and musical events of the period.

2. World War I and its Consequences, 1914-1920

2.1. Historical facts about which I did not know, or I knew less

I once learned about this period, but lately I have found out more. For instance, I learned that after the war of 1877-1878⁴ (when Romania lost southern Bessarabia to the Russians) King Carol I signed a secret alliance treaty with Austro-Hungary and Germany, which Italy later joined (acc. to Djuvara, 2015, pp. 297-298). From then on, after Romania gained the independence from the Ottoman Empire, our politicians and intellectuals "understood that countries like Romania, pursuing limited foreign policy objectives and developing a prosperous national economy, could not afford to ignore the interests of the great powers, or else it would only be to its detriment."⁵ (Bărbulescu & Deletant & Hitchins *et al.*, 2014, p. 316). Why was this treaty secret? Because King Carol, despite his pro-German beliefs, could not ignore the solidarity of the Romanians in the Kingdom⁶ with those of Transylvania (acc. to Djuvara, 2015, p. 298).

In the first two years of WW I (1914-1915), Romania maintained its neutrality. Soon, the governors wanted to join Transylvania and entered the war alongside the Anglo-French/*Entente* Powers. In December 1916, the Germans occupied Bucharest, after the Romanian authorities had fled to Iași.

With a poorly trained and equipped army, fighting on two fronts (the Carpathian Mountains and the Danube Line), without armed support, neither from the Russians nor from the Anglo-French, the Romanians were rejected and lost the entire territory of Wallachia.

The year 1917 was tragically marked by events in Russia (the Bolshevik Revolution). As a result, in Bessarabia the Country Council was convened. I did not know that in December 1917, Bessarabia proclaimed itself in the first instance as an *independent republic*. A few months later, however, on April 9th, 1918, Bessarabia voted for the union with Romania (acc. to Bărbulescu & Deletant & Hitchins *et al.*, 2014, p. 344). I prefer to attribute this gesture to the terror inspired by the Bolshevik rise in Russia than to a genuine desire to unite with Romania.

And then the year 1918 came! In my school time, no mention was made regarding *The Peace Treaty of Bucharest*. After the repeated defeats suffered by

⁴ The war of 1877-1878 was a conflict between the Ottoman Empire and the Eastern Orthodox coalition led by the Russian Empire and composed of Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia, and Montenegro. The war ended by the Russian coalition's victory.

⁵ "au înțeles că o țară ca România urmărea obiective de politică externă limitate și dezvoltarea unei economii naționale prospere, nu își putea permite să ignore interesele marilor puteri, iar dacă o făcea, acest lucru nu era decât în detrimentul său."

⁶ We use the term 'Kingdom' to designate the former Provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, united in 1859, *before* Transylvania and Bukovina joining in 1918.

the Entente armies and after the changes in Russia, on 7th May 1918, Romanian Prime Minister Alexandru Marghiloman⁷ signed in Bucharest the peace treaty with the Central Powers (Austro-Hungary and Germany). So, Romania left her initial allies with the hope of joining the winners, meantime fearing the Eastern threat – a behavior in the national interest, it is true, but disloyal to her first allies. The gesture was not forgotten by the Entente Powers and, regrettably, it will be repeated during World War II.

Since July 1918, the Entente Powers resumed the offensive, and the outcome of the war was permanently changed. In November, Austro-Hungary signed the armistice, then it was disintegrated. On November 28th, Bukovina joined Romania, and on December 1st Transylvania, Banat and Crişana did the same.

I also did not know that in Hungary, in March 1919, a Bolshevik government led by Béla Kun, who intended to resume control of Transylvania, was installed. In July, the Romanian army entered Budapest and overthrew the Bolshevik government. "[...] so, we prevented the emergence of communism in the center of Europe for the next twenty-some years. It is something to keep in mind, an achievement of Ionel Brătianu's government⁸."⁹ (Djuvara, 2015,p. 306)

At the end of the war, an empire, Austro-Hungary, was completely dismantled and the other one, Russia, was transformed and partially divided. Despite its oscillating position during the four years of war, Romania won important territories inhabited mostly by Romanians. The courage of the army at Mărăşeşti, Mărăşti and Oituz¹⁰, as well as the desire of the people in the Kingdom (see footnote 6) to join those of Transylvania would not matter much, if history (or fate) had not given substantial help. Romania received even more than demanded at the beginning of the alliance treaty: Bessarabia, sacrificed in favor of Transylvania, came as a 'bonus' following the radical changes in Russia.

"History decided entirely in favor of the Romanians after all, and this led Petre P. Carp, the conservative leader, to declare that Romania had so much

⁷ Alexandru Marghiloman (1854–1925) – Romanian conservative statesman who served in 1918 (March-October) as Prime Minister of Romania.

⁸ Ion I.C. Brătianu, 1864-1927, Romanian politician, leader of the National Liberal Party (PNL), Prime Minister of Romania for five terms, and Foreign Minister on several occasions. (*apud* www.firstworldwar.com)

⁹ "[...] împiedicăm în acest fel apariția comunismului în centrul Europei timp de douăzeci și ceva de ani. E un lucru pe care trebuie să îl ținem minte, o realizare a guvernului de atunci al lui Ionel Brătianu."

¹⁰ Mărăşeşti, Mărăşti and Oituz are locations in the middle East of Romania. In August- September 1917, here took place the last major battles between the German Empire and the Kingdom of Romania, during World War I. Romania was mostly occupied by the Central Powers, but the Battle of Mărăşeşti kept the northeastern region of the country free of occupation.

luck that it no longer needed competent politicians to handle the fate of the country."¹¹ (Boia, 2014, p. 67)

Following these crucial six years for Romania's territorial, ethnic, social and economic configuration (including the four years of war and the next two years of negotiations and peace treaties, until 1920), historians either emphasized facts, events, interpretations, or they deliberately ignored information considered inconsistent or politically incorrect; e.g. giving up Bessarabia during the first alliance negotiations is a piece of information the Romanian historians neglected to mention for years now.

"The Romanian reports on World War I are part of a mythology, which could be understandable, since they constitute the founding act of modern Romania. Today, Romania is in many respects the result of World War I (even if, nowadays, part of the inter-war territory was lost¹²)."¹³ (Boia, 2014, p. 66)

Among the myths created over the last hundred years, the historian Lucian Boia includes: a) the Romanians' 'dream of centuries'¹⁴ on *national unity* and b) the *majority position* regarding the alliance with the Entente Powers (acc. to Boia, 2014, pp. 66-85). It seems that none of these myths represent historical truth. Boia is right when he points out "the primary but generally neglected distinction between *the real* history and *the particular (hi)stories*; in other words, the difference between what really happened and what our reconstructions or representations reflect."¹⁵ (Boia, 2016, *Un joc...*, p. 5). This means that sometimes unintentionally, but in most cases willingly, history was *rebuilt* or at least *adapted*, depending on the information available, but most frequently on the purpose it was intended to serve – in short, the history and the historians could be manipulators.

¹¹ "Până la urmă, istoria a decis întru totul în favoarea românilor, ceea ce l-a făcut pe liderul conservator Petre P. Carp să afirme că România are atât de mult noroc, încât nici nu-i mai trebuie oameni politici competenți care să se ocupe de soarta țării."

¹² Comparing the interwar Romanian territory to nowadays one, several parts are missing: Bessarabia, North-Bukovina and South-Dobrogea.

¹³ "Interpretarea românească a Primului Război Mondial se înscrie într-o întreagă mitologie. Nimic mai firesc, de altfel, de vreme ce aici se află actul fondator al României moderne. România, în configurația ei actuală, este creația Primului Război Mondial (chiar dacă s-a mai pierdut o parte din teritoriul interbelic al României Mari)."

¹⁴ The expression 'dream of centuries' (*vis de veacuri*) is part of the wooden language of the nationalist propaganda, in Romania before and after 1989. It means, in short, that the inhabitants of the present territory of Romania wanted *since millennia* to join in a single state – theory which is historically untrue.

¹⁵ "distincția cu totul elementară, dar în genere neglijată, dintre *Istorie* și *istorie*, altfel spus, dintre ceea ce s-a petrecut cu adevărat și reconstrucțiile sau reprezentările noastre."

2.2. War and Music

The relationship between true history and its multitude of representations, (hi)stories, begins in the very first moment when an event is happening. The (hi)stories arise, multiply and propagate almost simultaneously to the event itself. For example, in wartime, news on the front is 'processed' to keep public emotions calm and confident. So, despite the state of war, the longest front, which a badly equipped and trained army could hardly handle, on a reduced territory (Moldova only), in the city of Iasi overcrowded by authorities, embassies, refugees of all kinds, with Russia becoming more and more dangerous - despite of all these issues, young George Enescu (aged 36) obtained on-site mobilization of the members of the Bucharest Philharmonic Orchestra. He set up a 'refugee orchestra' completed by musicians of the Iași Conservatory and amateur players (acc. to Pascu, 1957, p. 30). So, during the winter 1917-1918, a memorable season of 22 concerts, conducted mostly by Enescu, with an attractive repertoire, took place at the National Theatre of Iasi. At the end of 1918, after the musicians of Bucharest went home, the people of Iasi intended to keep the benefits of a professional musical ensemble to perform weekly concerts; so, a local orchestra, 'George Enescu' Symphonic Society was founded. Unfortunately, after a few years, due to some local intrigues, the activity of the Society was interrupted.

In 1919, the Conservatory of Cluj was founded, as a result of a long musical tradition in Transylvania; the composer Gheorghe Dima was the first director between 1919-1925 (acc. to Cosma, V., 1999, p. 187). In the same year (1919) the National Theater and the Romanian Opera House were founded in Cluj.

A year later (1920) the Romanian Composers Society was inaugurated in Bucharest. "Having the approval of George Enescu, on November 2nd 1920, at 5 p.m., Ion Nonna Otescu and Constantin Brăiloiu invited to the director's office, the following composers¹⁶: Alfred Alessandrescu, Mihail Andricu, Constantin Brăiloiu, Nicolae Caravia, Alfonso Castaldi, Dimitrie Cuclin, George Enacovici, Victor Gheorghiu, Mihail Jora, Dumitru Georgescu-Kiriac, Filip Lazăr, Constantin Nottara, Ion Nonna Otescu, Ion Borgovan." (Cosma, O.L., 1995, p. 22) The Transylvanians Gheorghe Dima, Tiberiu Brediceanu and Ion Vidu joined the Bucharest musicians, and George Enescu agreed to become the first President of the Society.

In spite of the disastrous situation the country was going through during the war and immediately afterwards, until the signing of the peace treaty, the Romanian people found the power to continue their lives, to preserve their

¹⁶ "Având acordul lui George Enescu, Ion Nonna Otescu și Constantin Brăiloiu îi convoacă în biroul directorului Conservatorului, în ziua de 2 noiembrie 1920, ora 17, pe următorii compozitori..."

hopes. After the war, there were more and more initiatives to build a common sphere of life for Romanians from all over the new territory, at least in terms of spirituality, language, culture and artistic life.

2.3. Main historical events during World War I

- **1914**
- June The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria
- August Beginning of the war: *Central Powers* (Austro-Hungary, Germany, Ottoman Empire, Italy = C.P.) vs. *Entente Cordiale*/ (France, United Kingdom, Russia = Ent.)
- August The King proposed to the Council to join the Central Powers. Neutrality was decided.
- September Carol I died. Ferdinand became king of Romania. Ion I.C. Brătianu (liberal) was Prime-Minister.
 - **1916**
- August 28th Romania abandoned neutrality and joined the Entente, fighting on two fronts: the Carpathian Mountains and the Danube River.
- December 6th German troops occupied Bucharest.

- March 12th Tsar Nikolai II of Russia abdicated.
- April 6th USA declared war to Germany.
- June/August Battles of Mărăști-Mărășești-Oituz against the Germans
- November 7th In Russia the Bolshevik revolution began.
 1918
- April 9th In Bessarabia the Country Council voted for union with Romania.
- May 7th Prime Minister Alexandru Marghiloman signed in Bucharest the peace treaty with the Central Powers. The treaty was not ratified by the Parliament and not signed by the King.
- July 18th The offensive of the Entente Powers
- November The Central Powers were officially defeated. Romania re-joined the war.
- November 28th Bukovina joins Romania
- December 1st Transylvania, Banat and Crişana join Romania
 1919
- March Bolshevik government in Hungary
- June 28th¹⁷ Treaty of Versailles
- July The Romanian army entered in Budapest and overthrew the Bolshevik government.

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¹⁷ For simplifying, the dates mentioned in this chronology after 1919 are according to the Gregorian calendar, officially adopted in Romania, in March 1919.

- December Peace Treaties with Austria (for Bukovina), with Bulgaria (for Dobrogea)
- The composer George Enescu initiated the foundation of a musical institution in Kishinev, 'Unirea' (The Union) Conservatory; nowadays its name is Academy of Music, Theatre and Visual Arts/ Academia de Muzică, Teatru și Arte plastice
 - **1920**

August 10th – Treaty of Trianon with Hungary, for Transylvania
(Boia, 2012, pp. 92-97; Boia, 2014, pp. 7-10 (chronology), pp. 66-85; Djuvara, 2015, pp. 295-308; Bărbulescu *et al.*, 2014, pp. 341-346)

3. The Interwar Period and World War II, 1920-1945

3.1. Real History and many other (hi)stories

At the end of World War I, the territorial desires of the Romanians were *more than* fulfilled. I emphasized 'more than', because a territory annexed a year before the war (in 1913) sparked (and still produces) controversy among historians, ideologists and politicians – this is Southern Dobrogea¹⁸. Following the last Balkan war against the Bulgarians (1913), "the peace treaty was signed in Bucharest, by the Prime-Minister Titu Maiorescu. There was a time when Romanian leaders thought the country was an important power in the area, playing the role of referee in the Balkans. [...] I think it was bad in 1913, when we asked for a part of Bulgarian territory in Dobrogea, instead of just restraining them to obtain hegemony in the Balkans, especially since in Dobrogea neither Bulgarians nor Romanians were the majority, but the Turks and Tartars."¹⁹ (Djuvara, 2015, pp. 290-291) That is why this issue is bypassed or minimized in the Romanian historical exposures and comments.

Likewise, Romania received Bessarabia, without claiming it, sacrificing it in favor of Transylvania.

After the end of all peace negotiations (1918-1920), Romania was facing a big challenge: a territory more than double, a population two and a half times larger and, most difficult to manage: over a quarter of these inhabitants were different ethnic groups. The difficulty was not only in the *number* of minorities,

¹⁸ An area of 7,565 km² was part of Romania from 1913 until 1940. On September 7th, 1940 the treaty of Craiova was signed, between the Kingdom of Bulgaria and the Kingdom of Romania. Under the terms of this treaty, Romania returned the southern part of Dobrogea to Bulgaria and agreed to organize a population exchange.

¹⁹ "pacea se încheie la București, Titu Maiorescu fiind președintele Consiliului de Miniștri. E un moment când României i se pare că devenise o putere importantă care joacă rolul de arbitru în Balcani. [...] Eu cred că s-a făcut rău în 1913, când nu ne-am mulțumit numai să-i împiedicăm pe bulgari de a obține hegemonia în Balcani, dar le-am cerut și o porțiune de teritoriu în Dobrogea, unde de altfel nu erau majoritari nici bulgarii, nici românii, ci turcii și tătarii."

but especially in *the great differences* of civilization and integration among these groups, between them and the Romanians, and even among Romanians in the various provinces. It would be enough to mention here the Transylvanian Saxons and Székelys²⁰ in contrast to the Turks, Tatars, Russians, Ukrainians, Gypsies of the Kingdom (see footnote 6) and of Dobrogea.

"In Transylvania, the Hungarians obviously appeared as opponents. The Germans were much better perceived, being forgiven for their old arrogance [...], due to their civilizing role and their position as a balance between Romanians and Hungarians. Likewise, the Germans in Bukovina and Bessarabia had a better image than the Russians and Ruthenians. [...] Romanian intellectuals from Bessarabia were largely Russified; as for the Transylvanian people, even if they kept their Romanian identity unaltered, they felt closer to the spirit of Central Europe than to the 'Balkanism' on the other side of the Carpathians. Everybody desired the union, but they did not want *the same kind* of Romania. In 1923, the new Constitution was voted by a liberal Parliament, without the other parties (including the regional ones) having any influence or authority. Many people from the Kingdom, not always among the most competent and honest, were hired in various institutions of the state in the new provinces: a Romanian administration not quite appropriate and respectful!"²¹ (Boia, 2015, pp. 76-77, 79).

In 1930 a complex census took place, from which we could draw a picture of Great Romania as follows:

- 20% urban population, 80% rural population;
- 43% illiterates; of the remaining 57%, the majority (85.1%) had not exceeded primary school, meaning they hardly knew reading & writing;
- the highest birth rate in Europe, but also

- the highest mortality in Europe, and the highest child mortality in Europe! (Boia, 2012, pp. 97, 102-103)²²

²⁰ Székelys are a subgroup of the Hungarian people living mostly in the Székely Land (South-Eastern Transylvania) in Romania.

²¹ "În Transilvania, evident, ungurii apăreau ca adversari. Mult mai bine văzuți erau germanii, fiindu-le iertată vechea aroganță [...], în virtutea unui rol civilizator și a poziției lor ca element de echilibru între români și maghiari. Și germanii din Bucovina și Basarabia aveau o imagine mai bună decât rușii și rutenii. [...] intelectualii români din Basarabia erau în bună măsură rusificați; iar transilvănenii, în ceea ce-i privește, chiar dacă își păstraseră nealterată identitatea românească se simțeau mai aproape de spiritul Europei Centrale decât de «balcanismul» de pe celălalt versant al Carpaților. Unirea o doriseră cu toții, dar nu doriseră cu toții același fel de Românie. În 1923, noua Constituție a fost votată de un parlament liberal, fără să aibă vreun cuvânt de spus celelalte partide, inclusiv cele «regionale». Numeroși «regățeni», nu întotdeauna printre cei mai competenți și mai onești, au trecut în noile provincii, în diverse instituții ale statului: o administrație românească nu tocmai de natură să entuziasmeze!"

²² In the book *Cum s-a românizat România* (How did Romania become Romanian), L. Boia made an extensive synthesis of the results of the 1930 census (Boia, 2015, pp. 58-65).

Hence, the goal pursued by the governors in 'Great Romania' during the interwar period was the achievement of the *national*, *unitary* and *centralized* state. According to this, economic reforms and industrialization, Romanian administration, education and culture, discouraging regionalization and region autonomy initiatives were initiated. Romanian politics became an original mix of authoritarianism and democracy.

Soon, too soon if we are considering the fulfillment of the 'dream of centuries' (see footnote 14 and Boia, 2014, pp. 66-85), the first unfortunate consequences of the centralizing authoritarianism arose. I'll just enclose here two examples. The first one:

In 1924, a group of deputies and senators from Bessarabia signed a very tough memoir on "a government [decided by the politicians of the Kingdom] not very competent and quite abusive. Bessarabia was treated with an irritating disregard, for the province is actually on the lowest social and cultural level among all the provinces of Romania"²³ (Boia, 2015, p. 80).

The second example: The Memorandum of the Romanians in Transylvania presented to HM King Carol II, on December 15th, 1938. The second part of this document criticizes the way in which Transylvania was dealt with in an excessively centralized Romania: the methods of unscrupulous exploitation, the endless rush for enrichment of the central administration, together with immorality and defiant corruption – all these have hurt the province's public feelings, people who so far had a profound morality²⁴ (Boia 2015, pp. 81-82)²⁵.

Towards the end of the period, in Europe, extremism and fanatic trends were growing up; under these circumstances, the Romanian nationalism gradually turned into extremism.

3.2. Romanian Culture – Growth and Decline between 1920-1945

Information, statistics, and judgments are essential in the sphere of history, but they are not enough. All the details color and animate the history panel. The researchers agreed that the interwar period reached a peak in Romanian cultural and artistic life. A decadent and controversial political configuration contrasted with one of the most fruitful ages of Romanian culture;

²³ "… administrații [instaurate de guvernanții din Regat, n.n.] nu prea competente și destul de abuzive. Basarabia a fost tratată cu o supărătoare lipsă de considerație față de provincia aflată efectiv pe cea mai de jos treaptă socială și culturală dintre toate provinciile României."

²⁴ "într-o Românie excesiv de centralizată [...]. Metodele de exploatare fără scrupul, goana neastâmpărată după îmbogățire a sateliților, întovărășită de imoralitate și corupție sfidătoare au rănit sentimentul public al provinciei, odinioară sub raportul moral sănătoasă până la austeritate."

²⁵ The ambience described in the two interwar documents is nearly the same with the social and political atmosphere in Romania nowadays!

it's enough to mention the writers and philosophers Liviu Rebreanu and Lucian Blaga, Mircea Eliade and Emil Cioran, the sculptor Constantin Brâncuşi, and the musicians George Enescu, Mihail Jora and Dinu Lipatti. New institutions were founded; the activity of the existing ones opened more than ever to the Western European culture.

"The Romanian Opera Company was known since 1885, but the Romanian Opera House of Bucharest as an institution financed by the state, was founded in 1921. The inauguration performance was conducted by Enescu, with Wagner's *Lohengrin*."²⁶ (Opera Națională București)

On 1st November 1928 the first broadcast of the Romanian radio broadcasting company was *on-air*. Then, the Romanians could hear for the first time the words 'Here Radio Bucharest!' According to his mission as a promoter of culture, the conductor and composer Mihail Jora set up the Romanian Radio Orchestra.

Radio *Moldova* from Iași, founded on 2nd November 1941 was the only territorial radio channel that functioned during the Antonescu regime, serving the anti-Soviet propaganda. It was dissolved on April 19th, 1945, according to the armistice agreement with the USSR (official website Radio Romania).

In March 1945, Professor Radu Constatinescu, the first director of Iași Philharmonic Orchestra (being at that time in Făget-Lugoj, Western Romania, because of the war), wrote in the Philharmonic Book of Honor²⁷: "In the autumn of 1942, we entered the first formal season of the State Philharmonic Orchestra; in the season 1942-1943, we organized 40 concerts, the first being conducted by *maestro* George Enescu; he stayed in Iași a whole week to prepare the official inauguration of the orchestra"²⁸ (Chelaru, 2009, p. 29).

²⁶ "Deși existența unei trupe artistice românești de teatru liric, sub numele de *Compania Opera Română* s-a făcut cunoscută încă din 1885, înființarea *Operei Române* din București ca instituție independentă și finanțată de la buget s-a realizat abia în 1921. Premiera absolută s-a făcut cu opera *Lohengrin*, sub bagheta lui George Enescu."

²⁷ The memories' title is 'Clarifications on how we founded the Iași Philharmonic Orchestra' (*Lămuriri asupra felului cum am înființat orchestra filarmonică "Moldova" din Iași*).

²⁸ "În toamna anului 1942 am intrat dară în prima stagiune oficială a filarmonicii *Moldova*, dând în total 40 de concerte în stagiunea 1942/1943, primul concert fiind dirijat de maestrul George Enescu, care în acest scop a venit și a stat la Iași o săptămână întreagă spre a pregăti bunele începuturi ale orchestrei."



Fig. 1 (left and middle) First two pages from the foundation Decree of Iași State Philharmonic; (right) First page of Professor Radu Constantinescu's Memories in the Book of Honor of Iași State Philharmonic

An elite institution with remarkable activity during this period is the Bucharest Philharmonic, founded in 1868²⁹ (official website *Bucureşti*. *Filarmonica George Enescu*). Between 1920-1944, the conductor George Georgescu was the director of the Philharmonic. In this period, an impressive number of great artists performed on the stage of Ateneul Român/ Romanian Athenaeum (home of the Bucharest Philharmonic, built in 1886-1888).

The conductors: Ernest Ansermet, Alfredo Casella, Franco Ferrara, Eugen Jochum, Clemens Krauss, Pietro Mascagni, Maurice Ravel, Richard Strauss, Igor Stravinsky, Bruno Walter, Felix Weingartner and so on; also, the Romanians George Enescu, Antonin Ciolan, Mihail Jora, Ionel Perlea, Constantin Silvestri, Theodor Rogalski etc.

The soloists: Béla Bartók, Alfred Cortot, Wilhelm Kempff, Arthur Rubinstein, Henryk Szeryng, Jacques Thibaud, Pablo Casals, Pierre Fournier and many others.

A repertoire both diverse and challenging for artists and auditors alike testifies to the rich and intense musical life of Bucharest. Music by Wagner, Richard Strauss, Stravinsky and Skriabin, D'Indy, Fauré and Chausson; Romanian music too, much more than nowadays: Enescu, Jora, Andricu, Mihalovici, Rogalski, Nonna-Otescu etc.; for instance, the concert of September 18th, 1929, conducted by George Georgescu (music by Alfred Alessandrescu, Mihail Andricu, Marcel Mihalovici, Mihail Jora, Stan Golestan, Ion Nonna-Otescu, George Enescu) or that of January 11th, 1931, with George Enescu as a

²⁹ The musical society of Bucharest was named *Romanian Philharmonic Society*, lead until 1907 by the conductor and composer Eduard Wachmann.

conductor (works by Enescu, C. Nottara, T. Brediceanu, A. Castaldi, Jora, Th. Rogalsky, S. Drăgoi, D. Cuclin and others).

On February 2nd, 1930, George Georgescu conducted a very difficult program: Mahler – Symphony No. 4, Schönberg – Verklärte Nacht, R. Strauss – Suite Le bourgeois gentilhomme and Ravel – La Valse. Such a program could only be performed by an experienced, European-level symphonic ensemble. The same as the concert on December 22nd, 1929, conducted by George Enescu, with La damnation de Faust, full version, by Berlioz. On November 22nd, 1941, Bucharest Symphonic Orchestra performed in Vienna Musikverein Goldensaal, music by R. Strauss, Mozart, Rogalsky, P. Constantinescu, Jora and Enescu, with the pianist Dinu Lipatti as a soloist. (Orchis, see Annex 2)

Some of the program booklets published by the Bucharest Philharmonic at the end of the period I am referring to, caught my attention. They contain not only information about the Philharmonic concerts, but also the performances of Bucharest Opera House (see Annex 1, p. 43).

A consequence of the exemplary generosity demonstrated by George Enescu throughout his entire life was the foundation in 1911 (by personal sponsorship) of the National Prize for Composition, which received his name in 1913 till 1946; among winners: Dimitrie Cuclin, Mihail Jora, Marcel Mihalovici, Theodor Rogalsky, Alexandru Zirra, Sabin Drăgoi, Marțian Negrea, Ionel Perlea, Paul Constantinescu, Dinu Lipatti, Emanuel Elenescu, Achim Stoia, Theodor Grigoriu, Anatol Vieru, Valentin Gheorghiu and others.

The events of the interwar period are the result of a society full of contrasts of all kinds. This period of construction and re-construction, of cultural and educational growth, was too short when compared to the many problems emerging as a result of the territorial enlargement. History has certainly proved that the Romanian state was not prepared to solve such a challenge in just fifteen years or so.



Fig. 2 Pages from the booklet published by Bucharest Philharmonic on December 8th, 1938 (find the whole document in Annex 1)

3.3. Interwar Period and World War II. Short Chronology

- Romanian territory: 295,000 km²; 18 million people, of which nearly 30% were ethnic minorities.
- Reforms, industrialization, culture, but also
- Unethical policy; mixture of authoritarianism and democracy
- Romania was a rural country
- 43% illiterates
- 8,6% high school graduates!
- First place in Europe in births, but also in mortality and especially in child mortality!
- Nationalism gradually transformed into extremism in a similar European context.

Short chronology of World War II

About the years of the Second World War, again, many words have been written, but not so many truths. The main events are as follows:

- 1927. King Ferdinand of Romania died. Regency of Mihai and his mother Elena
- 1930. King Carol II was crowned
- 1937. General elections Legionnaires³⁰ won 15%
- 1938. Royal dictatorship
- 1939, September 1st. Germany invaded Poland. Beginning of World War II
- 1940. The Second Vienna Award³¹; as a result, Romania lost a third of the territory (43,104 km²): Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina (ceded to USSR), North Transylvania (to Hungary), South Dobrogea (to Bulgaria). Romanians from the territories ceded to the USSR escaped to the Romanian Kingdom, were deported to Siberia, or accepted sovietisation. The ethnic cleansing began: the change of population in Southern Dobrogea (Romanians settled here between 1913–1920, came back to the Northern Danube); the Germans in Bessarabia and Bukovina were taken over by Germany; Jews and Gypsies were killed in pogroms or deported to Transnistria.
- 1940–1941. Leadership together with the Iron Guard. Political Alliance with Germany. On Oct. 10th, the first German troops arrived in Romania.

³⁰ Legionnaires: members of 'The Iorn Guard' or 'Legion of the Archangel Michael'. The Iron Guard was ultra-nationalist, anti-Semitic, Magyarophobic, antiziganist, anti-communist, anti-capitalist organization and promoted Eastern Orthodox Christianity. Its members were called 'Greenshirts' because of the predominantly green uniforms they wore. (Payne, p. 394)

³¹ The Second Vienna Award was the second of two territorial disputes arbitrated by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Rendered on 30 August 1940, it reassigned the territory of Northern Transylvania (including all of Maramureş and part of Crişana) from Romania to Hungary. (Árpád E. Varga, *Transylvania's History*, http://www.kia.hu/konyvtar/erdely/nepes.htm)

- 1940, Sept. 6th. Carol II abdicated in favor of Mihai I. Ion Antonescu became prime minister.
- 1941, Jan. 27th. The military dictatorship of Ion Antonescu was established. February: industry militarization. March: subordination of the rural population and agriculture to the military needs.
- 1941, June 22nd. Romania's entry into war against the USSR
- 1941, Dec. 7th. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor USA entered the war. UK declared war on Romania.
- 1942, June 5th. USA declared war on Romania.
- 1942, August (till February 1943). The disaster of Stalingrad/ Volgograd. Changing the ratio of forces on the Eastern front. German-Romanians were defeated by the Soviets.
- 1943, spring. Mihai Antonescu³² made unofficial diplomatic contacts with UK and USA.
- 1944, August 23rd. *Coup d'état* led by king Mihai I of Romania against Ion Antonescu's government. The Romanian Army declared a unilateral ceasefire with the Soviet Red Army on the Moldavian front and joined the Allies against the Axis powers.
- 1944, Aug. 31st. The Red Army occupied Bucharest.

(Bărbulescu & Deletant & Hitchins *et al.*, 2014, pp. 376-392; Boia, 2012, pp. 97-105, Boia, 2015, pp. 85-93)

4. The Soviets and the Romanians, 1946-1964

4.1. Was it or Was it not Occupation?

During the interwar period much has been done concerning the cultural and educational issues, but there was much more to be done. The bad habits in human relationships, the Orthodox tradition resistant to radical changes and more attached to the Orthodox East than to the Catholic-Protestant West, the changeable position (again!) of the Romanian political and military leaders in the alliances during the six years of the war (1939-1945) – all these marked Romania in late 1945. Compared to the other Central and Eastern European countries, Romanian communism acquired distinct features from the very beginning. Lucian Boia expresses them as follows³³:

- The country with the least communists (before 1945) became the country with the most numerous communist members.
- A society barely touched by communist ideology became so profoundly communist, that...

³² Mihai Antonescu, 1904–1946, attorney, Romanian politician who served as Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister during World War II.

³³ For better understanding, I re-arranged the author's arguments as a list.

- [after 1989] it was more difficult to break with communism than in any other country.
- At the beginning (1945–1965), Romanian communism was virulently antinational; then it ended by becoming ultranationalist.
- In Romania, 'dynastic' communism, nonexistent in Europe, was invented.
- The society that offered too little opposition to the communist regime (except for the USSR) stood up against Ceauşescu with a bloody revolution.
- The most violent anti-communist revolution was followed by the slowest and most incomplete disconnection from communism."

(acc. to Boia, 2016, Strania istorie..., pp. 7-8)

We learned quite vaguely at school (in the 1970s) about what Romania looked like during the period of Soviet occupation. It was not advisable to talk (especially to teenage students) about political arrests and the Pitești experiment³⁴, about deportations, forced collectivization³⁵, and even less about Russian soldiers, politicians and ideologues present for years on Romanian territory.³⁶ Nowadays, the curriculum of the last two years of high school includes references to these awkward issues (Fig. 3). It is a gain, if we consider the references added to the program. How much of this program is really studied, and especially how it is assimilated by the students and even by their teachers – that's another issue!

- **1. Towards the monolith regime (1944-1947)** Projects for the country: The return to the interwar democracy; Imposing the Soviet pattern; Internal ideology and policy; Signing the peace treaty and its consequences
- **2. Romania Popular Republic (1948-1965)** Stalin's political pattern; Changing the principle of ownership; Centralizing the economy; Proletariat dictatorship; Anti-communist resistance and repression; Romania in the communist bloc and openings to the free world

³⁴ Pitești experiment: the largest and most intensive brainwashing torture program in the Eastern Bloc. The experiment's goal was for prisoners to discard past political and religious convictions, and, eventually, to alter their personalities to the point of absolute obedience. Alexander Solzhenitsyn called it "the most terrible act of barbarism in the contemporary world." (Rusan, Ierunca)

³⁵ Collectivization: policy adopted by the Soviet government, pursued most intensively between 1929 and 1933, to transform traditional agriculture in the Soviet Union and to reduce the economic power of the *kulaks* (prosperous peasants). Under collectivization the peasantry were forced to give up their individual farms and join large collective farms (*kolkhozy*). (Encyclopaedia Britannica). That was the pattern followed by the Romanian communist leaders between 1949-1962, in reorganizing the agriculture of the country.

³⁶ The last 35,000 Soviet soldiers left Romania on 25 June 1958. (Bărbulescu & Deletant & Hitchins *et al.* 2014, p. 432). "The lack of Soviet military presence in Romania did not prevent Moscow from trying to impose its control over major decisions. The counsellors left for good in 1963, but an agency remained, formed in the 20 years of Communism, that had penetrated the high-level leadership, secret services and the Army. The efforts of the Romanian authorities to neutralize it were great, but they were not taken to the end." (Popescu G.)

3. Socialist Romania (1965-1989)

Multilateral developed socialist society – organization of the state; Ideology and society (nationalism and communism, mythologizing history, worship personality, human rights abuses, minorities, women situation, dissidence, culture); Five-year plans; Forced industrialization; Socialist economy and failure of modernization; Foreign policy

4. Romania 1989-2007: new trends and perspectives

December 1989; Project for the country: democracy and integration (changing the economic pattern, rule of law, human rights, identity and globalization); NATO integration

Fig. 3 Excerpt from the school curriculum for the history optional field *Istoria Recentă a României* ['Recent History of Romania'], authorized by The Order of the Minister No. 3720/29.04.2016

4.2. Reformation and Uniformity in the Romanian culture under Soviet influence

We return now at Romanian musical life. After World War II, many artistic institutions with permanent activity were founded: Philharmonics in Braşov, Craiova, Arad, Oradea, Sibiu, Cluj, Bacău; Opera companies in Timişoara and Iaşi (among others); Radio Cluj, also the main schools of music. In September 1958, the first edition of the *George Enescu* International Festival of Bucharest took place. In Romania of the first two decades after the war, the Bucharest festival was the only opened door to the international musical scene; of course, propaganda was more present than ever, e.g. Agerpres news of September 1964:

"Guests at the Competition and Festival visited on Thursday and Friday afternoon, Mogoşoaia Museum. Part of the young competitors made the tour of Bucharest city and they visited the exhibition of the achievements of R.P.R. (Romanian Popular Republic) national economy." (Fig. 4)

cinvitați ai oconcursului și ofestivalului au vizitat în cursul după-amiezelor de joi și vineri omuzeul de artă brîncovenească omogoșoaia:. co parte din tinerii interpreți prezenți la concurs au făcut turul orașului obucurești și au vizitat poxpoziția realizărilor economiei naționale a prpr.

Fig. 4 Agerpres news of September 1964

At the same time, membership in the communist 'camp' had a few positive effects for Romanian musical life. How else would we have had the opportunity to listen in Romania, in the '1950s-'1965s, to such great artists as Sviatoslav Richter, Mstislav Rostropovich, David Oistrakh, Daniil Shafran, Dmitri Bashkirov, Irina Arkhipova, Václav Neumann, Li Ming-Qiang and many others?! (Fig. 5)

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Fig. 5 Iași Philharmonic (founded in 1942), pages of the Book of Honor: (on left) autograph of Mstislav Rostropovich, November 13th, 1950³⁷, (on right) Sviatoslav Richter's autograph, June 15th, 1963

Some sad events happened as well: George Enescu passed away in Paris on the night of 4th to 5th May 1955. His grave is now in the Père-Lachaise cemetery. In the spring of 1955, after the composer suffered his second stroke, his wife, Maria Cantacuzino-Enescu, moved him to the Atala Hotel, next to Champs-Elysée (10, rue Chateaubriand). Ilie Kogălniceanu (son of one of the composer's students and a very close friend) mentioned in his memories that the reason for moving the musician from Rue de Clichy during the last weeks of his life, was the better comfort and care with which the patient was surrounded by the Atala Hotel staff. The hotel belonged to a Romanian owner and Enescu was hosted free of charge. Immediately after the musician died, employees of the Romanian Embassy in Paris asked for the body to bring it to Romania, pretending to be 'national property'. Yet, French police got involved, and the funeral took place at the Romanian Orthodox Church in Paris, on 8th May 1955 (Kogălniceanu, 1996, pp. 90-91). The musician was buried to Père-Lachaise Cemetery in Paris. It seems that the composer's wife family showed indifference, even hostility, during his life as well as after his death. Constantin (Bâzu) Cantacuzino and Alice Cantacuzino (Maria Enescu's children from her first marriage) openly rejected the relationship with George Enescu; and irony of fate, "Oana Orlea [Maria Ioana Cantacuzino], a writer living in Paris, Maria Enescu's granddaughter (the daughter of Bâzu Cantacuzino) inherited the composer's copyrights!" (Chelaru, Aventura..., 2015)

³⁷ "With great pleasure I met the wonderful musicians of the orchestra. In this orchestra, every player is full of enthusiasm. This virtue gives to the ensemble freshness and youthfulness. I wish great success to the Iași Orchestra."

Another sad event was the closing, between 1950-1960, of the Iași Conservatory of Music. After the change of regime, many teachers were no longer politically acceptable, and they were abusively replaced by others, with a 'healthier biography'; the communist unions sent lists of workers in order to include them as students with minimal requirements (acc. to Pascu, 2015, p. 105). Thus, a large group of fake-intellectuals began to grow. In a radio broadcasting series about the musical history of Iași, Professor George Pascu³⁸ mentioned (in May 1986), regarding this painful event:

"The main reason of this closing was the Soviet pattern. They claimed that there were too many art institutions in the Romanian People's Republic [...] The Conservatory of Cluj was not closed because of the Hungarian minority."³⁹ (Pascu, 2015, p. 109)

1 Noembrie 1950 Desființarea Înstitutului de Arta din Iași Dupa o stralucita activitate timp de un secol, invatamantul artistic superior isi închide azi postile. Zi de dolie pentre Jasul cultural, pentru Moldova. Achin Sta Rectorel Institutului de arta die Jasi 1. XI. 950

Fig. 6 The Book of Honor of the Iaşi Conservatory. The Headmaster Achim Stoia, composer, conductor and Professor, wrote about the event:

"1st November 1950/ The closing of the Art Institute in Iaşi/ After a brilliant activity of a century⁴⁰, today the academic art education is closing its gates. / A mourning day for the culture of Iaşi, of Moldova./ Achim Stoia/ Rector of the Art Institute of Iaşi."

We can imagine the despair of the musicians of Iaşi after this event, which interrupted a centennial continuity. History proved that it is

much easier to destroy than to build! The Conservatory reopened ten years later (in 1960), but until the end of their lives, the teachers who had experienced the tragic event kept alive the memory of that moment: Achim Stoia, George Pascu, Alexandru Garabet, Lucia Burada, Constantin Constantinescu, Florica Niţulescu, Ella Urmă, Leonid Popovici and many others! (acc. to Chelaru, 2015, *Aventura...*, p. 37)

In 1954-1963, the composer and Professor Mihail Andricu, among other intellectuals and artists, was investigated and persecuted for his contacts with

³⁸ George Pascu, 1912-1996: Professor of the history of music at Iași Conservatory, musicologist, director and music secretary of Iași Philharmonic, performer of musical conferences. (Cozmei, 2010, pp. 327-332)

³⁹ "Argumentul principal al întreruperii a fost modelul sovietic. S-a argumentat că în Republica Populară Română sunt prea multe instituții de învățământ cu profil de artă [...]; Nu s-a putut desființa și cel de la Cluj pentru că exista o minoritate maghiară."

⁴⁰ The Conservatory of Iasi has been founded by Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza, in 1860.

Western Europe. The communist $Securitate^{41}$ kept detailed tracking files (Fig. 7). Just as in the Soviet Union of the time, in Romania, these intellectuals were framed in trials and meetings in which they were publicly accused, threatened, and humiliated.

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ARHIVELE STATULUI/ Fd. 96, vol. IV/ Filele 72, 73, 74, 75
CONSILIUL SECURITĂȚII STATULUI
SECRET/ Ex. nr. 1
NOTA Privind pe numitul Andricu Mihai
La data de 22 ianuarie 1954, organele fostei Direcții a II-a,
au deschis dosar de acțiune informativă împotriva
numitului:/.../
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State Archives/ State Security Council/ Secret/ Note concerning so called Andricu Mihai/ On January 22nd, 1954, the authorities of the former Directorate II opened the information action file against so-called: [...]

În urma faptului că a frecventat Institutul Francez de Înalte Studii din România, desființat în 1948 pe considerente de spionaj, și pentru că a fost semnalat ca frecvent vizitator al Legației Franței la București, a fost lucrat informativ, suspect de activitate de spionaj. Din materialele informative a rezultat că numitul ANDRICU MIHAIL a întreținut relații cu diplomații francezi TADDEI GABRIEL, FRANCFORT PIERRE, DU BOISBERRRANGER JEAN, DECIRY JEAN și alții, semnalați cu activitate de spionaj pe teritoriul REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMÂNIA, întâlnindu-se cu ei la sediul legației, la domiciliul său și în locuri publice.

Following the fact that he attended the French Institute of Higher Education in Romania disbanded in 1948 on espionage grounds, and because he was referred to as a frequent visitor of the French Legation in Bucharest, he was reported as suspect of spy activity.

From the informative materials, it was clear that ANDRICU MIHAIL made contacts with the French diplomats TADDEI GABRIEL, FRANCFORT PIERRE, DU BOISBERRRANGER JEAN, DECIRY JEAN and others, spying on the territory of the SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF ROMANIA, meeting with them at the headquarters of the Legation, at his home and in public places.

⁴¹ Securitate: the popular term for the *Departamentul Securității Statului* /Department of State Security, the secret police agency of the communist Romania. It was founded on 30 August 1948, with help from the Soviet NKVD.

Andricu Mihail a întreținut mai multe legături cu unii membri din corpul diplomatic al legațiilor: Angliei, Statelor Unite ale Americii, Elveției, Greciei și Turciei. Prin intermediul unor diplomați și în special cei francezi, Andricu Mihail a expediat din țară scrisori adresate unor cunoscuți din Franța și a primit înregistrări muzicale pe discuri precum și unele publicații nedestinate difuzării în țară.

Andricu Mihail has maintained relationships with some members of the diplomatic corps of the following Legations: England, USA, Switzerland, Greece and Turkey.

Through diplomats, especially the French, Andricu Mihail sent letters from the country to some acquaintances from France and received musical recordings on discs as well as some publications forbidden in Romania.

Fig. 7 Excerpts from the traching file made by *Securitate* to the musician Mihail Andricu (Tănase)

4.3. Events of Romanian musical life, 1946-1960

- 1946. Foundation of Braşov State Philharmonic
- 1946, March 30th. King Mihai I signed the foundation document of Timişoara Opera House
- 1947. Foundation of Craiova State Philharmonic
- 1948. Foundation of Arad State Philharmonic
- 1949. The conductor Antonin Ciolan⁴² left Iași for Cluj
- 1949. Foundation of Oradea State Philharmonic
- 1949. Foundation of Sibiu State Philharmonic
- 1949. Foundation of Iași and Cluj High Schools of Music
- 1950–1960. Iași Conservatory is closed.
- 1952. Foundation of Ploiești State Philharmonic
- 1953. Foundation of Botoşani State Philharmonic
- 1954, March 15th. Radio Cluj was settled
- 1955, May 5th. George Enescu died in Paris
- 1955, December 4th. Antonin Ciolan conducted the inauguration concert of Cluj State Philharmonic
- 1956, November 3rd. Inauguration of Iași Opera House, with *Tosca* by Puccini
- 1956. Foundation of Bacău State Philharmonic
- 1957. Foundation of George Enescu High School of Music in Bucharest
- 1958. Bucharest George Enescu International Festival, 1st Edition

⁴² Antonin Ciolan, 1883-1970: Romanian conductor, founder member of the Cluj Philharmonic. He studied in Germany (Berlin, Dresden and Leipzig) and as a young student, he conducted Mozartverein of Dresden. He became Professor and director at the Conservatory of Iași, and in 1949 moved out to Cluj. Sergiu Celibidache considered Antonin Ciolan one of his first mentors.

5. Ceaușescu and "The Golden Age" in Romania, 1964-1990

What happened next? We usually think we know what we are talking about. Everybody who lived in Romania during those times perceived them in his or her own way, better or worse. Besides, everyone considers his own vision as the genuine one for the entire Romanian society of the past 25 years. Do you know the story of *The Blind Men and the Elephant*?

A group of blind men heard that a strange animal, called an elephant, had been brought to the town, but none of them were aware of its shape and form. Out of curiosity, they said: 'We must inspect and know it by touch, of which we are capable'. So, they sought it out, and when they found it they groped about it. In the case of the first person, whose hand landed on the trunk, said 'This being is like a thick snake'. For another one whose hand reached its ear, it seemed like a kind of fan. As for another person, whose hand was upon its leg, said the elephant is a pillar like a tree-trunk. The blind man who placed his hand upon its side said 'elephant is a wall'. Another who felt its tail, described it as a rope. The last felt its tusk, stating the elephant is that which is hard, smooth and like a spear. (https://www.jainworld.com/literature/story25.htm)



Fig. 8 "The Blind Men and the Elephant"

Indeed, we were blind for over 25 years, all of us, or almost – unfortunately many of us have remained like this till today! So, good and evil coexisted for a while, in a bearable manner. After 1975, Ceauşescu came up with the idea of making 'the citizen of communist

pattern' at all costs: the borders were closed, any foreign channels of cultural communication were closed as well. Step by step, *evil* began to spread and to suffocate *goodwill*. When the effects of food rationing occurred in shops and kitchens, when basic food had to be bought with a ration card, when cold and darkness marked people daily existence – when all these became generalized (not upon the Romanian *nomenclature*⁴³, of course!), then the Discontent started to overcome the Fear of persecution. Speaking of *good* and *evil*...

Choral Repertoire – Glory and Decline

One of the most popular forms of musical art, the choral song, followed, as expected, the path of compromising, adapted to the communist ideology. The apparent ideological relaxation of the 1970s disappeared, and *mass culture* was

⁴³ *Nomenclature*: Social group with exceptional prerogatives in the soviet or totalitarian regimes. (*DEX*)

enforced more and more. Who could better support this stipulation than the choir, with hymns and odes first dedicated to the homeland and to the communist party, then to 'the most beloved son of the Romanian people'⁴⁴? The choir offered a type of artistic expression much more accessible to the ideologues – the choir had the Word! From now on, choirs and choral music formed a shield to protect genuine art and artists from censorship, changes or even brutal elimination. This situation raised many obstacles in the relationship between the choral art of value and its potential auditors (acc. to Chelaru, 2015, *Corul filarmonic ieşean...*, p. 36). It is perhaps one of the causes of the obvious regression of this musical genre during the last decades in Romania.

However, beside the hymns dedicated to 'The Homeland, the [communist] Party and the beloved Son [Ceauşescu]', in the academic institutes of the country a discrete movement occurred, growing by launching genuine art, which soon reached beyond Romanian borders. One of the first initiatives was already taken in the mid-1950s, at Cluj Conservatory: the chamber choir *Cappella Transylvanica* founded by the composer and conductor Dorin Pop.

In 1963 the chamber choir *Madrigal* was settled at Bucharest Conservatory. Soon, this choir had a spectacular career, crossing over boundaries one way or another, and becoming in many respects better known abroad than inside the country. Marin Constantin and the *Madrigal* were not only a well-known conductor and a choir, they were initiators of a special type of musical performance. The effects soon emerged: in 1967, a former *Madrigal* singer, the composer Sabin Păutza, founded the chamber choir *Animosi* at the Iaşi Conservatory. This ensemble of students performed only for ten years, but the Madrigal-like artistic mark produced notable effects among the musicians and music lovers of Iaşi.

In 1972, the chamber choir *Prelude* (led by Voicu Enăchescu) began its artistic career in Bucharest. In 1976, Professor Nicolae Gâscă founded in Iași the choir *Cantores amicitiae*... and so on. An indisputable contribution to the disappearance of prejudice against the 'mass' choral genre between 1974-1993 was due to the Song Group founded by Ioan Luchian Mihalea. "At that time, they were a colored and animated 'island' in a gray reality. They did not play patriotic songs, did not wear black suits and long black dresses, did not stand stock-still on the stage – something that was never seen before; a group of joyful young people who sang and danced, dressed in modern vibrant colors, living music and singing with obvious pleasure." (Agerpres, November 28th, 2013, *Cultură*)

⁴⁴ ... as the communist propaganda called on Ceauşescu, after 1974.

Festivals and Festivities

✤ The oldest musical festival, after *George Enescu*, was *Toamna muzicală clujeană*/ Musical Autumn in Cluj, founded in 1965, which continues until nowadays (almost miraculously). The festival offers a comprehensive repertoire, from symphonic and chamber music, to opera, *musical* and jazz.

In the 1970's, important initiatives took place, which marked many generations of artists and music lovers, till today, such as:

✤ 1970, Braşov. Festivalul Internațional al Muzicii de Cameră/ The International Festival of Chamber Music, 1st edition, founded by the conductor Ilarion Ionescu-Galați. It was one of the oldest festivals of the kind in Europe.

✤ 1972, August 25th – September 10th, Piatra Neamţ. The 1st edition of Vacanţe muzicale/Piatra Neamţ Musical Vacations.

Following similar Western events, the musicologist Mihail Cozmei, together with the rector Achim Stoia and the composer Vasile Spătărelu initiated a series of concerts and recitals, masterclasses of composition and performing arts, symposiums and debates, all these representing the students' practical summer activities organized by Iași Conservatory. This festival was a result of a fruitful tradition made by the concerts organized in Piatra Neamț one year earlier (1971) by Iași Philharmonic orchestra and the conductor Ion Baciu. The Musical Vacations were enthusiastically received by the music lovers and surprisingly, systematically and substantially supported by the city of Piatra Neamț officials. "Initially limited to the participation of Iași Conservatory and Philharmonic, the summer festival of Piatra Neamț was soon expanded by the attendance of the students and the professors of Bucharest and Cluj Conservatories."⁴⁵ (Cozmei, 2010, p. 193)

It was the only initiative of the kind during the communist period in Romania, of high professional level, with brilliant professors, which lasted 30 editions. According to a relative relaxation of the propaganda and censorship of the time, the coordinators from Iasi and Neamț allowed enough deviations from the official cultural framework. Thus, concerts at the Putna Monastery (performed by *Animosi* Choir), Byzantine music masterclasses (lead by Professor Gheorghe Ciobanu), lectures on the style of the Western avant-garde music (with the composers Ștefan Niculescu, Anatol Vieru, Aurel Stroe) were able to take place.

1973, May 9-16, Iaşi. Romanian Music Festival, 1st edition.

"Beyond the policy-oriented framework – mandatory but only formally applied by the organizers – the Festival of Iasi achieved in its first ten editions (1973-1988) at least two remarkable goals: it was (still is) the only one entirely

⁴⁵ "Limitată inițial la participarea Conservatorului de Muzică *George Enescu* și a formațiilor Filarmonicii *Moldova*, activitatea muzicală estivală la Piatra Neamț s-a extins prin prezența studenților și cadrelor didactice de la Conservatoarele din București și Cluj-Napoca."

dedicated to Romanian music; it educated, for 15 years, the people of Iași about Romanian music – chamber and symphonic repertoire, opera, traditional and contemporary genres."⁴⁶ (Chelaru, 2009, p. 171)

*1974, Sibiu. National Jazz Festival, first edition.

"In the early 1970's, the first three editions of the National Jazz Festival took place in Ploiești. For reasons of 'ideological pollution'⁴⁷, in 1974, the Festival was forced to move to Sibiu. In Sibiu, the festival received respect and support, even from the communist officials. The organizers were Jazz Club Sibiu, the most powerful jazz club in Romania at the time." (sibiujazz.ro)

✤ 1976–1989, Festivalul Național Cîntarea României/ National Festival "Glorifying Romania"

"This festival meant an ensemble of cultural performances during the communist regime, which took place between 1976–1989. The festival gala took place every two years and all cultural, professional or amateur institutions in the country were forced to participate if they wanted to survive professionally. In music, the repertoire was exclusively Romanian." (Chelaru, 2013, p. 7)

Everyone performed everything, for everybody – that was a national duty! Several juries were appointed to nominate winners for each stage (by city, by county and as national winners), pursuing two main criteria: firstly *p.c.r.*⁴⁸ and secondly the artistic value. Depending on these two criteria (especially on the first one!) everyone who wanted to have a chance in the national cultural life had to get a title of laureate at the festival. After the adoption of the law concerning self-financing by artistic institutions (1984), being a winner at this festival meant receiving financial support. In this general cultural madness, those who proved self-respect as genuine artists found the way to circumvent the law or at least to minimize the compromises they had to make. For instance, Ion Baciu, the mentor of the modern symphonic orchestra of Iaşi between 1965–1980, chose for the third edition of the festival (1981, Enescu's birth centenary) to remake the *Oedipus* tragedy by G. Enescu, as an opera-concert

⁴⁶ "Dincolo de tentele politizante – obligatorii şi totodată ne-reprezentative pentru valoarea sa reală – festivalul de la Iaşi a reuşit în primele sale zece ediții (1973–1988) cel puțin două performanțe remarcabile: prima – a fost singurul festival de muzică românească de amploare din viața muzicală a țării; a doua – a creat la Iaşi, pe parcursul a 15 ani, gustul publicului pentru muzica autohtonă, de la genul cameral la cel vocal-simfonic şi de operă, de la muzica înaintaşilor la cea contemporană, de la muzicieni consacrați la debutanți."

⁴⁷ Jazz, rock and other musical genres of the kind were considered by the Communists to be decadent and dangerous especially for the young people.

 $^{^{48}}$ *p-c-r*: acronym well-known in Romania, intentionally having two meanings: PCR (Partidul Comunist Român/Romanian Communist Party) and *p-c-r* ('pile–cunoștințe–relații', meaning corrupted tips / illegal support / dishonest help given to someone by an influential person in order to gain an advantage).

version. The premiere took place in 1975, in Iasi, with Bucharest's leading cast, headed by the baritone David Ohanesian. The show was an unforgettable outstanding event.

For Better, For Worse

✤ 1968, Cluj-Napoca. The composer Cornel Țăranu founded Ars Nova, the oldest contemporary music ensemble in Romania. The musicians of this ensemble were either members of the Cluj Philharmonic, or professors at the Conservatory.

✤ 1970, January 30th, Iaşi. First performance of the *Musica Viva* ensemble of Iaşi Conservatory, founded and conducted by Vicente Țuşcă. The main repertoire was 20th century music as well.

✤ 1973, April 8th, Iaşi. The first concert of *Voces* String Quartet, the oldest Romanian ensemble of the kind. The founder members were: Bujor Prelipcean (1st violin), Adrian Anania (2nd violin), Gheorghe Haag (viola) and Dan Prelipcean (cello). In 1975, Anton Diaconu replaced A. Anania as the 2nd violinist. In 1980, *Voces* became part of the Iaşi Philharmonic, as the third official ensemble, among the symphonic orchestra and the academic choir. In 1982, during a concert tour abroad, the violist Gh. Haag chose to remain in Germany; he was replaced in the quartet by Constantin Stanciu. In 1991, *Voces* became one of the musical ensembles of the Romanian Radio Society in Bucharest. In 2009, Anton Diaconu was replaced by Vlad Hrubaru as the 2nd violinist.

In December 1975, Decree No. 151 was issued, regarding 'the self-financing of state institutions'. Eight years later (1983), the dispositions of the decree were implemented in the Romanian performing-arts institutions. It was the beginning of a period of humiliation, failures, and interdictions that those who lived at the time will never forget. Among the causes of this situation were the ignorance of the leaders, their reserve (fear, even hate) towards culture, intellectuals and genuine art. The portrait of 'the new Romanian citizen' imagined by Ceauşescu was: a steel worker in a factory who is at the same time a virtuoso performer of musical folklore and an absolute winner in the national sports competitions! The pattern was to become mandatory for all the inhabitants of the Communist state.

5.1. Main musical and cultural events between 1960–1990

- 1963. Pop Music Festival of Mamaia (Black Sea border/riviera)
- 1965. The festival Musical Autumn in Cluj, first edition

- 1968. Brașov, *Cerbul de Aur*/ The Golden Stag festival of pop music, the first edition. Târgoviște⁴⁹, the first edition of *Crizantema de Aur*/ The Golden Chrysanthemum festival (café-concert music)
- 1970. First edition of The International Chamber Music Festival, of Braşov.
- 1972. Musical Vacations in Piatra Neamţ, first edition
- 1973–1988. Iași, Romanian Music Festival, first 10 editions
- 1973, April 8th, Iași. First concert of Voces String Quartet
- 1974. Sibiu Jazz Festival
- 1976–1989. National Festival "Glorifying Romania"
- 1980–1990. The period of the self-financing of the state artistic institutions
- 1985. Closing of the Radio Studios in Cluj and Iași.

6. Romanian Post-Communism, since 1990

We now know, after almost 30 years, that things did not change in substance, but only formally. The historian Lucian Boia repeatedly made a suggestive radiography of the Romanian people and post-communist Romania⁵⁰. He pleads that we are descending from communism incomparably more than from the Dacians and the Romans. Even with the interwar period we do not have much in common nowadays, though we like to invoke it so much, as if the communist era had not existed in Romania! The truth is, remarks Boia, that communism destroyed a lot in this country, especially the people's conscience. After thirty years (since 1990) we are still obsessed by some monsters born or/and grown in the forty years of communism: the fear of hunger, the fear of the unknown, the pleasure of not working (sometimes gaining unfair benefits), the dramatization of the relationship with foreigners, 'from servility to arrogance' (acc. to Boia, 2016, Strania istorie..., pp. 201, 209). Worse is the fact that the generations of the 'Exodus' from Communism prove the tendency to transfer these moods and ideas to the new generations (born after the 1990s), and sometimes they even succeed.

First, we fed and satisfied our frustrations

Everything that before 1989 was not allowed to think, to talk, to do, after 1990 became obsessively public – especially vulgar language, gross jokes, nasty sketches and caricatures about the Ceauşescu couple. Popular energy aimed towards formal revenge, instead of substantially changing life and attitudes. We took revenge upon the alphabet (certain lawful changes were imposed on the Romanian orthography, e.g. replacing the character 'î' by 'â' and the wort *sînt* (I am, they are) by *sunt*!); we avenged ourselves on the irrigation pipes in the fields, on the collective farm buildings, on the communist

⁴⁹ Târgoviște: town situated on the right bank of the Ialomița River, North-West of Bucharest

⁵⁰ See all titles of the books by Lucian Boia in *References*

party card, on our former masters, and so on. *Quantity* and *change* at all costs became obsessions, ignoring *quality* and *efficiency*. Quality and efficiency? For the moment, it was no time for these; they were postponed so long that people almost forgot about them. All over the country, people were busy building churches, villas, establishing universities, philharmonics, pharmacies, festivals, television stations. Meantime, we did not get rid of the fear of hunger and of coldness, so we keep loading our storerooms with food and we also are protecting ourselves of 'curent' – the Romanian word for *cool draft*.⁵¹

Nobody had any idea of what marketing, management or medium and long-term strategies were, so, everything was done wrongheadedly, unprofessionally: residence-neighborhoods were built without sewerage and electricity grids, foreign companies without highway access etc. etc.

And speaking of music, how good would it be, for example, if, in musicological and Byzantinological researches institutes, unrestricted from now on by the communist propaganda, the early musical history on Romanian territory would be expanded and profoundly studied. This ancient music could be recovered after decades of prohibition, using the genuine researchers, very few of them still active, who in the meantime are dying one by one. Nowadays the patrimony of precious documents of the Romanian orthodox music is not entirely known yet and even less protected and studied.

Ourselves and the Others

Western Europe? It was and still is a desire for the Romanian people – actually, for most of them, to be precise. At the same time, for the generations educated in communism, nationalist beliefs are as strong as the European mirage. People are both frustrated and presumptuous – for instance, Simona Halep's victories⁵² are considered as everybody's achievements; the failures are only hers, and people show her this in the nastiest ways.

Right after 1990s, Western Europe showed great curiosity towards Romanians, due to their suffering in the communist era. Concerts abroad were watched by a large audience, and, little by little, the curiosity turned into admiration. Successes were remarkable, the managers – satisfied, and the contracts came one after the other. No matter how idyllic we try to present the value of the Philharmonic musicians, the reality of the consumer society demonstrates that advertising sometimes means more than the artistic value

⁵¹ from draft = a current of air in a closed-in space (Merriam-Webster). In Romania, when usually people stay in a room, bus, tram, or other closed spaces of the kind, if somebody opens a window or a door to get fresh air, immediately somebody else says: 'close it, I feel the cool draft!'

⁵² Simona Halep, b. 1991, is a Romanian professional tennis player, on June 11th, 2018, current ranking No. 1

itself. (acc. to Chelaru, 2009, pp. 166-167). I remember that a young foreign conductor who came to Iasi for a concert just after 1990's, seeing our enthusiasm and confidence in the international career of the Iasi Philharmonic orchestra, replied: "Enjoy your tours abroad now; the time will come when Western audience will have had enough of communist Romania, the one impenetrable and oppressed by Ceauşescu the dictator. As a result, you will not be invited so often, maybe you will not be invited at all." That's how it was. After 2000, the concert tours diminished, and soon conditions tightened so much that the tours were no longer profitable either artistically and financially.

The post-December history of Romania includes, among others, two main events: the membership in NATO (April 2004)⁵³ and joining the EU (January 2007). The EU membership imposed specific legislative, economic, social and political terms. These two events initially met with the approval of most of the population; in 2005, for example, 64% of Romanians were pro-Europeans. However, little by little, their number began to decline – recent research shows 47% pro-Europeans in Romania (www.hotnews.ro, 19.12.2017)

Why this decrease? I would submit two explanations: a) a significant part of the Romanian political class dishes out actively Eurosceptic propaganda; b) a large part of the Romanian population has different expectations from the EU. I do not insist upon the first reason. Concerning the second one, I evoke here an interesting debate which took place in Paris, in November 2013, between Romanian and foreign journalists and diplomats: Emil Hurezeanu⁵⁴, Luca Niculescu⁵⁵, Cristian Tudor Popescu⁵⁶, Jean Quatremer (journalist at *Libération*) and Bogdan Mazuru, Romanian Ambassador in France at the time. (*Dezbatere la Paris...* 26.11.2013)

Emil Hurezeanu: "For us, for the Polish, for the Baltic countries, there are problems with Russia, which is a bit irritated because of the Eastern Partnership now, on the eve of the Vilnius Summit⁵⁷ – that compared to the French and Germans, who are much calmer about this threat."

Luca Niculescu: "The European Commission still provides assistance to Romania, by CVM (Cooperation and Verification Mechanism). Actually, it is

⁵³ Various comments were made on the circumstances and the reasons for this acceptance. Among them the war in the former Yugoslavia and the approval by the Romanian Parliament (in 1998-1999) of NATO's demand that Alliance aircraft could use the airspace of our country. Also, the threat of global terrorism, culminating with New York 9/11.

⁵⁴ Emil Hurezeanu, journalist. Since May 5, 2015 he serves as Romania's ambassador in Germany.

⁵⁵ Luca Niculescu, journalist. Since December 2015 he serves as Romania's ambassador in France.

⁵⁶ Cristian Tudor Popescu, one of the most important journalists in Romania, in the last 30 years.

⁵⁷ The Eastern Partnership (EaP) is an initiative of the European External Action Service of the European Union (EU) governing its relationship with some post-Soviet states. It was initiated by Poland and inaugurated in 2009. On 28–29 November 2013, the 3rd summit of this partnership took place in Vilnius. (www.consilium.europa.eu)

mostly verification. [...] But part of Romanian people is not at all content and is asking why Romania must be treated like this, and why Croatia, which has recently joined the EU, is not subject to the same monitoring process."

Cristian Tudor Popescu: "I do not know about how Europe is seen by the Europeans, but I can tell you something about the image of Europe among ordinary Romanian citizens, seven years after Romania's acceptance (not integration) in the EU: it's a cow, bigger than our national cow (which laughs all the time). The bigger European Cow is always austere and must always give milk. If she does not give milk, the Great European Cow is not good! [...] Although the European Union was providential, the Romanians remain provincial."

The Obsession of Festivity

The year 2018 brought in Romania a flood of festivals and festivities dedicated to the so called *Centenarul Marii Uniri*/ 'Centenary of the Great Union'. It is barely ending a festive action, and another one begins. At the end of 2017, the former Culture Minister announced over two thousand festive projects for this year. Meanwhile, the minister has been replaced, and the next one made a first decision to clarify the situation: he decided to continue the celebration of the centenary by 2023! I do not want to be sarcastic. There are festivals in Romania nowadays that confirm our European status: *George Enescu* International Festival (Bucharest), TIFF (*Transylvania International Film Festival*, Cluj), *Untold Festival* (Cluj); also, *Cluj Musical Autumn, Romanian Music Festival* (Iași), *New Music International Week* (Bucharest) and so on. All these keep an informed audience and create a good European cultural area.

Lucian Boia: "Romania succeeded in its national goal. Two hundred years ago, or even less, Romania did not truly exist, and nothing seemed to announce a change in this situation. What really did matter was the Romanian people's belief in the national ideal. Any favorable circumstances could be useless without the people's willingness for change.

The question is, what did we do with the projects aimed to the future? The successes are not so obvious. We are a country well settled from the national point of view, a country that represents in its dimensions something in the EU, but on other levels there are many failures, and Romania is at the bottom of the European rankings." (Cincea, 2018)

6.1. Historical Events

- 1990. The Radio Studios in Cluj and Iași are re-opened. Several mass-media private channels (Radio and TV) was founded.
- 1991. *George Enescu* International Festival began a new phase of international significance. After the 15th edition (2001), the festival became

biennial. The Contest is reopened (for violin and piano), and a section for composition is added. Between 2005–2015, Ioan Holender was the festival's artistic director. He was replaced in 2017 by the Russian conductor Vladimir Jukowski.

- 1994. The biennial festival Modern Cluj was founded, organized by Gheorghe Dima Music Academy, Transylvania Philharmonic and Sigismund Toduță Foundation. The artistic director is the composer Cornel Țăranu. (www.clujmodern.ro)
- 2004. Romania became a NATO member.
- 2007. EU membership of Romania
- 2007. After 20 years, the *Romanian Music Festival* was reopened in Iași. Organizers: *George Enescu* University of Arts and *Moldova* Philharmonic. The main goal: the largest diversity of the repertoire – traditional and new, religious and secular, symphonic, chamber, choral, opera, musical, and so on.
- Many jazz and rock festivals have sprouted up in Romania over the last twenty years or so. The two musical genres were considered dangerous by the communist ideology. Nowadays there is almost a burst of such events in Romania. Unfortunately, such shows are often improvised, with unpredictable consequences. The *Colectiv* nightclub tragedy⁵⁸ is an example of what can go wrong!
- In a cultural landscape dominated by doubtful taste, the genuine Romanian traditional music still exists due to Grigore Leşe, *Trei Parale* early music group (see *treiparale.ro*), *Icoane* ensemble (see *facebook.com/ansamblul.icoane*), and a few others.

7. Epilogue

We used to celebrate (and we still do) historical events with flowers, panels, speeches, statues, monuments and more like these. In most of the cases, people do not even know the significance of the celebrated event; if they know something about it, they are not excited; if they both know something about it *and* are excited, at the end the lights are turned off and people go home, forgetting or ignoring everything they participated in. Even worse is that these festivities involve considerable costs. In such cases as these, almost everybody – organizers and audience – are facing *the past* through *the present*, ignoring *the future*. And yet, there are some exceptions where the past is used for the benefit of the future. I include below a case illustrating this point.

⁵⁸ The *Colectiv* nightclub disaster was a deadly fire in Bucharest, on October 30th, 2015, which killed 64 people (26 on site, 38 in hospitals), and injured 147. The fire, the worst incident in Romania in the last 20 years, occurred during a free concert performed by the *metalcore* band *Goodbye to Gravity*.

In 2012, the pianist Raluca Știrbăț, born in Iași and settled in Vienna, launched a campaign for the inclusion of the Cosmovici-Enescu cottage of the Mihăileni village, Botoșani County (the house of the composer's grandparents) in the Romanian patrimony of historical and cultural monuments; since the condition of the building was desperate, she also revealed her intention to proceed with its renovation. In 2015, the violinist Alexandru Tomescu joined Raluca Stirbăt in this initiative. In the summer of 2016, the house was rebuilt. The Foundation Pro Patrimonio involved in the restauration project, published in 2016 the following news: "Throughout the winter, carpentry work has been done in a traditional workshop in a neighboring village. Beginning with April, the masonry builders restarted work on finalizing the exterior drain and they reconstructed the interior stoves. At the same time, the Luchian house, located on the left of the Enescu cottage, and owned by the Remember Enescu Foundation (whose founder is Mr. Alexandru Tomescu, virtuoso violinist and member in PP's board) began being restored under PP's coordination. Together with Enescu house, the building will function as The International George Enescu Music and Arts Academy headquarters. Luchian house was consolidated and hygienized. At present we are installing a kitchen and two toilets, so that in June the house will be able to host volunteers that will participate at the second 'claca'⁵⁹ for rebuilding Casa Enescu's walls, which will happen around the 10th of July." (www.propatrimonio.org)

Still, there is much more to be done, inside furniture, the yard and the garden around, etc. In the summer of 2016 the artistic-educational events of the Summer Academy of Music and Visual Arts started in Mihăileni.

At the beginning of this year (2018) I sent to Alexandru Tomescu a few questions regarding this project without the state involvement. He promptly replied as following:

Question: When and where did the master courses take place? How long? Where did the teachers and the students live?

Answer: The *Enescu Experience* master courses took place in July 2016 and 2017, for one week. Romanian and foreign children and teenagers did participate – about 50 active students, and 50 more assistant students. There were violin courses (performed by Alexandru Tomescu and Mihaela Tomescu), viola courses (Cristian Andris), cultural marketing (Anca Gheorghe), study of the musical score (Tiberiu Soare), architecture (Tudor Patapievici). The students were accommodated in a guest house of Mihăileni (the costs being supported by *Remember Enescu* Foundation) and the teachers in another guest house from Vârful Câmpului village (20 km from Mihăileni).

Q: Where did the final concert take place? What repertoire?

⁵⁹ *claca*: is a genuine Romanian word which means volunteer work done by the community members for the benefit of the community.

A: In 2016, the master courses final concert took place in the open air, in front of George Enescu's house; in 2017 it was organized in the Cultural House of Mihăileni. The repertoire included music by Enescu and other famous composers. Lia Rusu, one of the students, made a musical adaptation for strings ensemble at Enescu's *Balada for violin*, so everybody was able to perform at the end.

Q: What about the audience?

A: A lot of enthusiastic people were there – from Mihăileni and the neighboring villages, children and their parents, music lovers from Suceava, Botoșani, even from Iași and the local press.

Q: How the local/county/national authorities were involved?

A: We have a good partnership with the mayor of Mihăileni. The Architects Order – Department of Botoșani participated a great deal by the rebuilding plans of the house and they still help us much with the restauration of the furniture inside.



Fig. 9 In 2012, the pianist Raluca Știrbăț made a first photo of Cosmovici-Enescu Cottage, from Mihăileni village (Botoșani county).

Q: As I understand, a neighbor property was bought to create the necessary annexes for the academy...?

A: The *Remember Enescu* Foundation bought the neighbor house (Luchian house), which is larger than the cottage, thus making possible to create a small concert hall, a recordings studio etc. According to these projects, we are still looking to financial sources.

Q: What now, concerning the restoration?

A: The building is almost ready; this spring, it should be whitewashed, then the furniture will be brought from Botoşani. As I understand, Raluca Ştirbăţ already received a concert piano, donated in Vienna, which will be transported to Mihăileni.

Q: What's next about master-courses?

A: The courses will carry on – this year (2018) in the second half of July. In September 2017, we organized in Mihăileni the first painting camp for the children of the village. It was a huge success – about 20 children participated, finalizing over 50 works: watercolors and acrylics – under the guidance of the painter Marcel Lupse. The exhibition opening took place right there, on the walls of Enescu's house; the paintings will also be exhibited in Bucharest, within exquisite galleries. In 2018 we intend to organize in Mihăileni a theater workshop for young people, as well as an international lutherie camp.

I shall keep you informed with the news regarding this project. Thank you for your interest towards this!

Alexandru Tomescu March 13th, 2018

The architect Şerban Sturdza, President of the Romanian Architects Order, one of the main project coordinators, mentioned in October 2016: an amount of $\pounds 26,500$ was spent till now; about $\pounds 3,000-6,000$ for the floors and outside finishing are needed, and more for the yard, the garden and the fence. The genuine structure of the house was entirely preserved. The monument is at present saved – it's the house of the composer's mother, built by his grandparents (the Orthodox priest Ioan Cosmovici and his wife, Zenovia) between 1775-1830, as a result of the vernacular architecture at the beginning of 19th century. Here, the teenager George Enescu spent his vacations, then he regularly came to rest and to compose, till 1946, when he decided to settle down in Paris for good.



Fig. 10 The cottage Cosmovici-Enescu from Mihăileni looked like this in the Summer 2018.

8. Conclusions

In this study, I chose to conjugate the verb *to do* in the past (last one hundred years), in the present, and in the future tense. Therefore...

What was done? Much has been done, but not all, not enough. The closer we are to the present time, the more subjectiveness and passions are growing. Yet, we never can say we know enough about what we call 'real history', the same as about the (hi)stories of the last Romanian 100 years.

What are we doing? Unfortunately, especially in education much remains to be done; in the last thirty years there is not a clear, encouraging and constant trend of educational improvement.

Talking to Lucian Boia, the philosopher Gabriel Liiceanu remarked (in a TV show on February 9th, 2014) that historians are trying to get closer to the truth, no matter how inconvenient it sometimes may be. Thus, they demolish myths which generations are fond of, and through which concepts like *nation* or *homeland* make sense. According to this, what would be preferable: to keep alive the historical myths or to choose the awkward truths – thus generating doubts, anxieties and rejections? In his reply, Lucian Boia does not offer a unique solution, that is why I express my own opinion here. First, I think we must select and ameliorate the myths of history, using proven truths. That would not diminish the value of the myths but would keep the balance between fiction and reality. Certain nationalistic and xenophobic excesses could thus be prevented.

If, for instance, Prince Stefan the Great of Moldavia had not have been sanctified⁶⁰, would his importance in Romanian history and culture have lost anything? Certainly not! I could even say on the contrary, many people considered his sanctification as an inappropriate gesture, which darkens his human profile. Mainly the relationship between his remarkable cleverness on one hand and his human sins on the other hand shows the exceptional value of his personality. It is worthwhile to compare Prince Stefan of Moldavia (1438?-1504) with his younger contemporary, King Henry VIII of England (1491-1547), despite the geographic, religious, and cultural differences that separated them.

Historical information shows that their temperaments were comparable: both choleric-sanguine, known for their lustful habits: Stefan with his mistresses, Henry with his six wives. Both had (relatively) long ruling periods (considering the times) – Stefan 47 years and Henry 38 years – marked by violence, at the same time notable for an economic, religious, and especially cultural rise in their countries. The two of them had the courage to resist against the foreign powers deemed indestructible and indisputable: Stefan against Mehmed II The Conqueror, who was at that time at his power's zenith; in his turn, Henry disavowed the Pope's authority and founded the Church of

⁶⁰ Voievodul Ștefan cel Mare/Prince Stefan the Great was sanctified by The Romanian Orthodox Patriarchy on June 20th, 1992.

England. Henry Tudor was an educated king, arts' protector, an artist himself, a true Renaissance figure. Stefan built churches, founded monasteries which, beyond their religious reason for existence, marked a period of cultural flourishing in the history of the medieval Moldavia.

Well, English people did not think, not a bit, to sanctify King Henry – on the contrary, they did it to one of his most severe opponents, the Catholic theologian Thomas More, his former Lord Chancellor.

There are many other disputable myths in Romanian history like those of Mihai the Brave Prince of Wallachia, Dacian kings Burebista and Decebal, and so forth. The aura that historians built around some personalities made them intangible. These mythical figures became objects of worship, incapable of stirring curiosity, especially among the young people during their years of education. Godliness does not lead to scientific curiosity, to questions like *why? how? when?...*

And something else. At a time when information was considerably censored and manipulated (as it was during the communist era), it was easier to convince young people, by nationalist ideological manipulation, of the superiority of a nation, a language, a culture, certain heroes, etc. Nowadays, when the access to information is *relatively* unrestricted⁶¹, it is necessary more than ever to correlate ideas and facts, to provide demonstrations and arguments, to embed them down in the regional, continental, international context. Otherwise, credibility is deeply shaken or, worse, conspiracy or nationalist-extremist theories arise.

Speaking of manipulation, the writer Cristian Tudor Popescu mentions at the end of his PhD thesis that the Romanian propaganda film did not contribute to the fall of communism, but it made too many people know what hate is – the hate towards rich people, intellectuals, foreigners, the Romanians who left the country – this is still present in Romanian society⁶² (acc. to Popescu, 2011, pp. 286-287). This remark can be expanded to all the social, cultural and educational spheres where propaganda and manipulation are efficient.

What to do?

Culture is subject to the general incoherence and disorder of Romania nowadays, and, what is worse, education is the most damaged. From the beginning of the anniversary year 2018 a few questions can be heard from time to time: *how was it possible to become like this? what to do? what is to be done?* The first question is easier to answer, and most of the time it causes a

⁶¹ I underlined the word *relatively* since the free circulation of information also involves today manipulation, *fake news* etc.

⁶² "Ura față de bogați, de intelectuali, de străini, de românii care au plecat din țară se mai simte și astăzi în societatea românească."

chorus of lamentations. The next two questions are often followed by a moment of silence, then by the decision to leave the country. At this point, the only answer that could give a trace of hope would be, I think, the Oedipal answer: *the human being represents the genuine hope* – the human being needs to be changed, meaning *educated*! Like C.T. Popescu says, we must work upon the people, to produce a change especially upon the middle class rather than the elites. (*CTP spune că*..., 11.05.2018)

I do not believe that we, the Romanians, are permanently and entirely guilty for what is happening to us - I simply do not believe in black and white when it comes to people.

Jean Quatremer (journalist *Libération*): "It is hard to argue that Europe is an international organization in the classical sense of the term, that the states members are collaborating, and they function together as a democratic union. In fact, it is not, because democracy implies the involvement of the people, the public debate space, and this does not really exist in Europe." (*Dezbatere la Paris*, 26.11.2013)

Andrei Pleşu: "It takes more realism, pragmatism, it takes a cohesion that is based on something other than the letter of the treaties, the accounting administration, the polite chatter. I would even say that the European Union must come to mean *more* and *other* than Brussels – without Brussels' eviction!"⁶³ (Pleşu)

Finally, I think we should invest more in people's education; we should support mainly Romanian art of international reputation; and above all, we should concentrate on *building the Romanians' image as Europeans among Europeans*!

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⁶³ "E nevoie de mai mult realism, de pragmatism, de o coeziune care să se bizuie și pe altceva decât pe litera tratatelor, pe administrație contabilă, pe vorbărie cochetă. Aș spune chiar că Uniunea Europeană trebuie să ajungă să însemne *mai mult* și *altceva* decât Bruxelles. Fără evacuarea Bruxelles-ului!"

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Annex 1. Program-Booklet of Bucharest Philharmonic, Season 1938-1939





Claude Debussy

(näscut in 1860 la St. Germain en Lave, mort în 1917 la Paris)

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rile simfonice: După amiaza unui faun, Nocturnele, Marea, precum și un mare număr de bucăți pentru plan, printre care Preludii, Estampe, Imagini, etc.

"Nocturnele" au fost compuse în 1898 și editate în anul următor. Prima lor execuție a avut loc la 9 Decembrie 1990, în concertele "Lamoureuz", sub conducerea lui Camile Chevillard

Charles Koechlin, bjograful lui Debussy, scrie despre ele: "Debussy marquait une prédilection pour la première: Nuages. Lointans nuages, qu'un invisible berger semble

conduire... L'éciat des "Féres" contraste avec la lointain mystère des "Nunges". La joie rythmique du début, le somptieux cortége qui succéda en font une pièce unique. La troisième nocturne, intituiés "Sirènes" est preque toujours suppri-née, à cause du chevur (voix de fermens qu'elle exige. La mee, à cause du choaur (voix de femmes) qu'elle exige. La construction des "Sitoneu" parait d'ailleurs peu încertaine-surtout après les "Féless" si précises, — mais cette incerti-tude est surrement voulue. Maigré l'impresion de longueur quelque fois ressentie, la délicicase musique des "Sitènes" a un charme mubill et des vocalises se dégage l'irresistible et mortelle volupté...



Richard Strauss



Kick and the Market Astronomy of the Market Network (Network) (Net



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O, Freund, durch alle Räume möcht' ich fliegen, Wo eine Schönheit blüht, hinknien vor jede Und, wär's auch nur für Augenblicke, siegenI

Der Odem einer Frau, heut' Frühlingsduft Drückt morgen mich vieuleicht wie Kerkerluft...

(Născut în 1875 la Ciboure, din țara bască (Pirineii de jos), mort în 1937 la Paris

Maurice Ravel

Currently of the set o

a situi Isä sä descopere si sa rettnä intrimaul, cele mai savuroase neologiame armoniee, precum si cele mai ort-ginale inovatii formale. Bando en la savatta savatta savatta savatta savatta savatta sa hurara mai täräsi in celasesä din 1395 ej este pito-reusea "Hahanera", accisai pe care compositorui a tolo-sito- 12 ani mi färäsi in celasta savatta savatta savatta savatta savatta savatta savatta savatta a deviratta capodoperi a muziciamini de ahia 20 anii In 1899 apäru prima sa tucarà definitiva dellenta "Parvana" vana" upor influențată de Charliger, care a avut un succes nii ei.

risundaro și a atras atenția unașimă saupre compozitoru-lui ei. A pristenți Revel se prestat în 190 în com-lucu pentru premul fonnsi. Nu obtinu îms decăt un al doilea accesti. În acclaş an Îñveți dete la vendă selptica-rele sale "Jeux d'Eau" pline de efecte armonice îmedite și folosită de technică planătică cu fordi mună. Au fost prime lo plas fu revelat publicului paristan "quatorul în "Pa", capodopera de politorile mănătră, o încarre de desăvărăță maturitate muzicală, pe care Revel o dărulă numei la Succesal accestul, ca şă accesi al "Schelenzazde".

Succesul acestula, ca și acela al "Scheherazadei", (trei poeme, după Tristan Klingsor), avansară pe tânărul Ra-

2) Numele lui Ravil un se ppate despărți de acela al lui Debussy, cu care iși împarte de altef gloria impresionis-mului mui-cal. Debussy e maestrul, mai bătrăn ca el, si inițiatorul, Ravel, elevul îngenios cure aves să ducă arta socimă Samie, logată în devoruți și culuri, aves săi dea puternice sugestii pentru împresionimul său înclinat în decebi spe colorit și pitoreac. Ea cea dintă, î a îndrumat spre debussynul pe care Ravel şi la însușit apoi până la ultimele elemente.

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Rapsodia Spaniolă, care se prezintă ca un tot bine înche-gat în aparență, se compune de fapt din patru părți: Le "Prêlude à la nuit", d'une poise êtrangement fiévreu-se, ou s"obstine un dessin de quatre notes: fa mi, ré, do dizez, qui traverse toute la piece chantant la lassitute des

fins du jour, s'enchaîne avec une Malaguena d'une couleur tout andalouse ou s'insime le plus ensorceleur des chroma-times et ou viennent r'étointe les derniers éches du lan-gude fa, mi, ré, do dise.... La Habanera, qu'un orchestre de réve pare ici d'une sé-duction nouvelle, précéde la trépidante et tourbilonante Feria, toute de contrastés et de auguants, qui réaline. J'union tale, débordante de joie populaire, friendique, estte der-nière partie est violente sans emphase. Baute en couleur sans outrance et bouffonne sans vulgarité.

(lacques Rivière)

Un mare succes al maestrului George Georgescu la Budapesta

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reasă. Siarele conchid că maestrul Georgescu interpreteză ope-rile de ată cu o nohele largă și cu o măreție, pe care nr. le poste avec decist mună un dirijor cu educație muzicală curopeană de primul ranng. O sală plină până la refuz a făcut veditului dirijor ro-mân o primire călurosaă, ovaționându-l îndelung.

(Din "Universul")



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Opera Română

Petre Ilici Cenikowsky

Náscut la 1840 la Wotinsk, guvernämåntul Ural, mort la 1893 la Petersburg



The temperament, rus; prin educa-tion in the second secon

contopeaca influențieo diverse în liteara une personalități originale. De la început, muzica de teatre și muzica simfonică l'an atras despărită. Penire teatre a seris zece opere, dinte cal aligneră "Euspen Orașhili" (despă - între le "Dann de picili" --e mențin încă pe acconte vusuți, drah bi dramutică nufere influența -- interită faiă de evoluția muzicei ruse -- a opere întrein talăr pe acconte vusuți, drah bi dramutică sufere influența -- înterită faiă de evoluția muzicei ruse -- a opere întrein talăr pest la carotește a celor două demente, rus și trahin, în creația sa artituică. Totați, unceră, musețe volupențas, cu adevără mediteraneană. Intermătatea lui însă, și durabilitatea, stau în opera sim-fonică. A seris pase simfoniți, dinte care cee din urmă --pateice --a sajuns populară, atrășând după sine și pe a patra și pe a cincea.

și pe a cincea. Simfoniile îl arată ca pe un comp

Simfonile il arati ca pe un compozitor nu intotdeana original ia senul trict al cuviatului, dare co naturi tot-deauna deschiai, adinoiti, plină de ciăldură și de sinceritate. Ceice ce ste extroordinar în aceste simfonii e darul atiliati, îndemănarea neobișunită cu care Cesikowsky se mișcă pe te-resul formelor simfonice, unde șăsește cu uzurniși drummi neumblate. Cu arta acesata pe care o stăpăcește deplin, el și e să pună întro lunuiă noit chiar găndurile obișunite și locurile comune, împremutândur-le o aparență de originalitate și de îndrărueală. ritor nu intote

Concertul pentru piano

Cealkowsky a compus trei concerte pentru piano si orchestră." Primele două sunt astăzi definitiv îngropate. Nu se mai știe nici măcar că au existat.

Cel de față, scris în tonalitatea atât de rar întâlnită: Si emol minor, a fost compus in anul 1873. Ceaikowsky vois să-l dedice lui Nicolae Rubinstein, fratele celebrului pia nist și compozitor, căruia îi purta o mare și sinceră recunoștință.

Nicolae Rubinstein gäsi insä cä concertul este ingrat" pentru un pianist și ceru compozitorului să-l modifice, după indicațiunile sale.

Ceaikowsky se supără, tipări concertul exact așa cum il scrise și-l dedică lui Hans von Buelow, celebrul dirijor, care — se stie — era și un eminent pianist

Acesta il inscrise in repertoriul său și-l execută cu succes triumfal in turneele sale artistice din Europa și America. In modul acesta, concertul în "Si bemol minor" a contri-

buit în măsura cea mai largă la răspândirea numelui și faimei lui Ceaikolsky, care acum 50 - 60 ani era com zitorul la modă

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VINERI 9 DECEMBRIE 1938 ORELE 8,30 SEARA EUGEN ONEGHIN Operă în 4 acte de PETRU CEAIKOWSKY			
		DISTRIBUȚIA:	
		Eugen Oneghin	– — — Şerban Tassian
Tatiana — — — — –	– — — Dora Massini		
Olga — — — — — —	– — Aura Davideanu – — — Virginia Miciora		
Larina — — — — –	– — — Virginia Miciora		
Filipievna — — — -	– — — Maria Moreanu		
Lensky	– — — Viorel Chicideanu		
Prințul Gremin	– – – N. Secăreanu		
Căpitanul	– – – N. Teofănescu		
Zaretzky	George Marinescu		
Friquet			
Conducerea muzi	cală: EGIZZIO MASSINI		

ODERA ROMANA

Exclusivitatea vânzării biletelor Operei Române, la librăria Fundațiilor Regale secția concerte și impresariat (Vis-a-vis de Palatul Regal), Telefon: 3.35.66



SÂMBĂTĂ 10 DECEMBRIE 1938, orele 8.30 seara F A U S T cu Dinu Bădescu, Niculescu Basu, G. Marinescu, Alexandra Elefterescu etc. Conducerea muzicală: ALFRED ALESSANDRESCU

DUMINICĂ 11 DECEMBRIE 1938, ora 3 d. a. (Matineu) BOHEMA

(PUCCINI) cu Viorel Chicideanu, N. Dumitrescu, N. Secăreanu, G. Oprișan, Lydia Babici, Nia Bădescu, etc.

Conducerea muzicală : UMBERTO PESSIONE

DUMINICĂ 11 DECEMBRIE 1938, orele 8,30 seara TRAVIATA (G. VERDI)

cu Margareta Metaxa, Mircea Lazăr și Al. Lupescu, în rolurile principale

Conducerea muzicală : I. BEIN LUNI 12 DECEMBRIE 1938, orele 8,30 seara

Nunta lui Figaro (MOZART)

cu G. Folescu, Şerban Tassian, Maria Cojocăreanu, Emilia Guțianu, Valentina Crețoiu, etc.

Conducerea muzicală: ION NONNA OTESCU Biletele se găsesc de vânzare la librăria Fundațiilor

Regale. Piața Palatului Regal * Telefon 3.35.66

Strawinsky - junior NOTE BIOGRAPHIQUE



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SPICUIRI DIN PRESA STRAINA

..Le grand artiste a su mettre en valeur son intelligen musicalité, sa fine et délicate virtuosité... (Petit Dauphinois)

...Légèreté du poignet de grande virtuosité, clarté et sobritété des traits....

(L'Eclair) (L'Eclair)pas l'ombre de prétention ni de cabotinage dans son jeu... une jolie sonorité naturelle qui, même dans la puis-sance n'atteint pas à la dureté de la presque totalité des pianistes... ...style parfait, octaves vraiment superbes... (Marseille-Matin)

...Pour lui n'existe aucun obstacle. Tout lui est na turel... Technique souple, sonorités de toute beauté, plei-nes, ensorceleuses, puissance formidalba... (Petit Marseillais)

....Sviatoslav Sulima Strawinsky possède une extraordi-naire force d'expression et donne aux oeuvres de son père, l'energie et le caractère si personnel de l'auteur... (Le Journal)



Oaspeții Filarmonicei

In decursul celor 16 stagiuni, pe cari le numără până în pr zent, orchestra "Filarmonica" a avut ca oaspeți pe următorii di-rijori celebri :

Hermann Abendroth — Alfredo Casella — Albert Coates — Carl Elmendorff - George Enescu - Gregor Fittelberg -Oskar Fried — Nils Grevilius — Vittorio Gui — Franz von Hoesslin — Vincent d'Indy — Karl Jirak — Oswald Kabasta — Erich Kleiber — Clemens Krauss — Ernst Kunwald — Pietro Mascagni — Emil Mlynarski — Bernardino Molinari — Pierre Monteux - Henri Morin - Oskar Nedbal - Paul Paray - Ga-Monteux — Henri Morin — Oskar Nedbal — Paul Paray — Ga-briel Pierné — Maurice Ravel — Rhené-Baton — Hermann Scherchen — Richard Strauss — Johann Strauss (nepotul) — Igor Strawinsky — Vaclay Talich — Bruno Walter — Felix Weingartner - Carmen (Studer) Weingartner - Albert Wolff

Următorii soliști celebri și-au dat concursul în concertele "Filarmonicei" din aceste 16 stagiuni :

prElarmonicei" din acete 16 stagioni : Esegon d'Albert — Clavido Arena — Wilhelm Backhaus — Nina yan Baceratzen — Hels Bartok — Alfred Blumen — Ar-ture Banuci — Alexandru Barcovaly — Gorayes Backoff — Alex-zandre Brailovaky — Adolf Burch — Guila Bataba — Fer-nande Capelle — Robert Canasideus — Pable Casalı — Gaugra Casado — Alfred Cortot — Gorege Enexcu — Emanuel Feuer-man — Emerich Fooldeusy — Pierre Fourier — Zino Fran-cescati — Colette Frantz — Jeans Gautig — Bronikay Hu-bernan — José Iturbi — Antonico Janizer — Wilchen Komeff cessati — Colette Frants — Jeans Gautier — Bronikaw Hu-berman — José Iturbi — Antonio Janigro — Wilhelm Kempff — Adele Kern — Lukka Kolessa — Georg Kulenkampff — Fre-deric Lamond — Ary xan Leuwen — Germaine Leroux — Ea-rice Mainardi — Juan Manen — Alma Moodie — Leopold Muenzer — Ginette Neveu — Richard Odnopsoff — Sabine Offermann — Nicolas Orloff — Ernat Riemann — Arnold Rasé — Arthur Rubinetian — Orealls Santolipaido — Emil Sauer — Rudolf Serkin — Las Sirota — Rohert Sortens — Adolf Stei, er — Igor Stravinsky — Henri Szeryag — Joseph Sirgeti — Karf Szymanowski — Magda Tagliaferro — Alexandre Toh-repnin — Jacques Thibuad — Imre Ugger — Alexandre Unin-sky — Paul Wittgestein — Pantcho Wladigueroff,



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Annex 2. Bucharest Symphonic Orchestra on Tour Abroad, 1934-1942

0

Concertele date de orchestra "Filarmonica" în străinătate

Toate aceste concerte au fost conduse de maestrul George Georgescu

Istanbul, 22 Mai 1934, Teatrul Cinema Saray : WAGNER : Uvertura la "Maeștrii cântăreți BEETHOVEN : Simfonia a cincea ENESCU : Rapsodia română No. 2 DUKAS : Ucenicul vrăijitor

Istanbul, 23 Mai 1934, Teatrul Cinema Saray : WEBER : Uvertura la "Oberon" RIMSKY KORSAKOW : Sheherazada

RAVEL : Boléro RICH. STRAUSS : Till Eulenspiegel JOH. STRAUSS : Dunărea albastră Sofia, 25 Mai 1934, Teatrul de Stat :

BEETHOVEN : Simfonia a cincea RICH. STRAUSS : Till Eulenspiegel ENESCU : Rapsodia română No. 2 RAVEL : Boléro

Sofia, 26 Mai 1894, Teatrui de ose. CEALKOVSKY: Simfonia pateiteă RICH: STRAUSS: Don Juan WLADIGHEROFF: Concert pentru piano și orchestră (Solist: Compozitorul) Sofia, 26 Mai 1934, Teatrul de Stat :

ENESCU : Rapsodia română No. 1

Beograd, 28 Mai 1934, Sala Koloratz : Boograd, 29 Mai 1909, Saia Aologata: RICH, STRAUSS: Don Juan CEAIKOWSKY: Simfonia patetica RAVEL: Boléro ENESCU: Repsodia română No. 2 BARANOVIC: Suita din "Licitarako Srce"

Beograd, 30 Mai 1934, Sala Koloratz : WAGNER : Uvertura la "Maeștrii cântăreți din Nürnberg" BEETHOVEN : Simfonia a cincea

RICH. STRAUSS : Till Eulenspiegel ANDRICU : Dans ROGALSKI : Paparude DUKAS : Ucenicul vrăjitor Beograd, 29 Mai 1934, Palatul Regal (Concert de gală) : WEDER: Uvertura "Oberon" RICH. STRAUSS: Don Juan HRISTIC: Suita de balet din "Ohridsica Legenda" ENESCU: Rapsodia română No. 1 Zagreb, 31 Mai 1934, Sala "Zbor": RICH. STRAUSS: Don Juan BEETHOVEN : Simoni a 4 cincea RAVEL : Boléro ENESCU : Rapsodia română No. 2 BARANOVIC : Suita din "Licitarsko Srce" Viena, 4 Ianuarie 1941, Grosser Musikvereinsal: RICH. STRAUSS: Don Juan DRAGOI: Trei piese din "Divertismentul rustic" (Colinda — Dans — Cantee de nuntà) LIPATTI: Concertino in stil clasic pentru piano și orchestră (Solit: Compositorul) (Solit: Compositorul) (Solist : Compositore) PAUL CONSTANTINESCU : Suită de dansuri românești, din baletul "Nunta în Carpați" ENESCU: Suită No. 2 pentru orcumata Praga, 5 Ioruarie 1941, Teatrul German: RICH. STRAUSS: Den Juan DRAGOI: Tres piese din "Divertismentul rustic" LIPATTI: Concertino în stil clasic, pentru piano și orchestră (Solia: Compositoruț) PAUL CONSTANTINESCU: Suită de danatir romănești, din baletul "Nunta în Carpați" ENESCU : Suită No. 2 pentru orchestră ENESCU : Suita No. 2 pentru orchestră WAGNER : Uvertura la "Maeștrii cântăreți din Nürnberg"

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Dresda, 6 Ianuarie 1941, Opera de Stat :

Drosda, 6 Ianuarie 1941, Opena a RICH, STRAUSS : Don Juan LIPATTI: Concertino in stil clasic, pentru piano și orchestră (Solist: Compozitorel) PAUL CONSTANTINESCU: Suită de daneuri românești, din Baletul .Nunta în Carpați" estului reatăți:

DRAGOI : Trei piese din "Divertismentul rustic" ENESCU : Suita No. 2, pentru orchestră

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Leipzig, 7 Ianuarie 1941, Gewandhaus: Leigzig, 7 Tanuarfe 1984, Usa RICH. STRAUSS: Don Juan BRANZEU: Două schije simfonice LIPATTI: Concertino în stil clasic, pentru piano și orchestră (Solist: Compozitorul) PAUL CONSTANTINESCU: Suită de dansuri românești, din baletal "Nunta în Carpați"

ENESCU : suita ive a press Borfin, 5 lanuarie 1941, Philharmonie : RICH. STRAUSS : Don Juan LIPATTI : Concertino in stil clasic, petru piano și orchestră (Solist: Compozitorul) PAUL CONSTANTINESCU : Suită de dansuri românești, din baletul "Nunta în Carpați"

ENESCU: Suita No. 2 pentru orchestră WAGNER: Uvertura la "Maestri cântăreți din Nürnberg"

WAGKER: UVEtuus an unter an unter a second s

ENESCU : Suita No 2, pentru orchesträ WAGNER : Uvertura la "Maeștrii cântăreți din Nürnberg"

Frankfurt a/M, 12 Ianuarie 1941, Muscumsaal : RICH. STRAUSS : Don Juan LIPATTI : Concertino în stil clasic, pentru piano și orchestră

(Solist : Compositorul) BRANZEU : Două schife infonice ENESCU : Suita No. 2, pentru orchestră

ENESCU : Suita roo, a pour Augsburg, 13 Ianuarie 1941 : RICH. STRAUSS: Don Juan CONST. C. NOTTARA: Suita In stil românesc LIPATTI : Concertino în stil clasic, p. piane și orchestră (Solit : Compositorul) PAUL CONSTANTINESCU : Suită de dansuri româneșt, din baletul "Nunta în Carpați"

MARTIAN NEGREA : Rapsodie română. ENESCU : Suita No. 2, pentru orchestră

München, 14 Ianuarie 1941, Deutsches Museum : RICH. STRAUSS : Don Juan

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(Solist : Compositorul)

ENESCU: Rapsodia română No. 2 RESPIGHI: Pinii din Roma Sofia, 23 Mai 1942, sala "Bulgaria":

RICH. STRAUSS : O viață de erou JORA: Grâu sub soare PAUL CONSTANTINESCU: Suită de dansuri, din baletul "Nunta în Carpați" WAGNER : Uvertura la "Maeștrii cântăreți din Nürnberg"

Pages from the Anniversary Booklet of Bucharest Philharmonic, published by Romulus Orchis (probably) in 1942. Among the concerts abroad, Bucharest Orchestra performed twice in the Grosser Musikvereinsaal of Vienna (see Jan. 4th and Nov. 22nd)