

THE CONSTRUCTION OF NATIONAL MILITARY MUSIC: ROMANIAN MILITARY BANDS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

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Abstract

The proposed study investigates the activity of military fanfares in Romania and fanfare musical production along approximately half a century (approx. 1900-1945), aiming to identify the role of Army fanfare leaders (general inspectors of military music) in building musical repertoires aligned to the then general trend of finding a pronouncedly national compositional path. Since the "military music" "arm" or field of specialization depends, from a hierarchic and administrative point of view, exclusively on armed forces (in Romania, at least), an overview of the activity of fanfares and of fanfare musical creation is mapped, quite logically, on major political and military events. The study retraces the avatars of Romanian fanfares under the political transformations in the kingdom of Romania, from Romania's participation in WWI and the formation of the modern unitary Romanian state, to Carol II's dictatorship (instituted on February 10, 1938), to the establishment of the National Legionary State (1940) and the instauration of another unprecedentedly authoritarian regime that will change the fate of Romania and of army music for a few decades: the communist regime.

1. Introduction

The activity and artistic productions of military musicians in 20th-century Romania are fragmentarily investigated, for at least four reasons: a) the poor accessibility to the musical documents held in various archives and libraries (military as well, those from after the 1970s still not declassified), state-owned or private; b) the ban, by the Communist regime, on those musical works dedicated to the members of the Royal House of Romania, because of which a significant segment of the military band repertoire, produced over more than eight decades (1866-1947), was impounded until after 1990;¹ c) the researchers' modest interest in a field at the periphery of musicological attention² and, let's be honest, the lack of specialists in the Army, at least in the Romanian Army Bands;³ d) the

¹ Until 1990, at one of the largest collections of musical scores in Romania, namely at the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest, access to repertoire of this kind was restricted, being classified as "forbidden".

² Substantial research is scarce and falls within the broader context of Romanian music historiography: Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *Hronicul muzicii românești* [*The Romanian Music Chronicle*], vol. 3, *Preromantismul* [*Pre-Romanticism*] (1823-1859) (Bucharest: Music Publishing House, 1975); Viorel Cosma, *Marte și Euterpe. Muzică și Armată. Eseuri, studii, cronici muzicale* (1946-1996) [*Mars and Euterpe. Music and the Army. Essays, studies, musical chronicles* (1946-1996)] (Bucharest: Universal Publishing House, 1996).

³ Ion Badea (Colonel), *În pas de defilare* [*In parade step*], Bucharest: Military Publishing House, 1996; Ion Badea, „Repertoriul și creația românească pentru fanfară” [Romanian repertoire and composition for brass band], in Nicolae Gheorghită & Constantin Platon (eds.), *Contribuții la istoria muzicilor militare. Eseuri și analize* [*Contributions to the history of military music. Essays and*

loss or even alienation of the military bands' musical archives when the ensembles were disbanded, relocated to or merged with other military units in the same town or elsewhere. It also happened quite often that, with the retirement of bandmasters and deputy bandmasters, the scores kept in the archives disappeared too.

As the military bands depend, hierarchically and administratively, exclusively on the armed forces, my presentation of their work and the music written by their representatives was inevitably constructed based on the major political and military events that segmented the Romanian 20th century. A second criterion that shaped the chronology and contents of this essay was dictated by the bandmasters' professional competence and managerial involvement during this period of time (military bands inspectors general), on which the achievements of both ensembles and their members largely depended.

I therefore chose to radiograph and comment the changes that Romanian military bands went through in the first half of the 20th century in accordance with the division of this interval and the inspectors general leading them.

2. Military Bands up to the end of the Second World War (1900-1944)

In the history of the Romanian Army, the year 1900 is of no consequence, simply a point in the temporal axis which begins with the Romanian War of Independence (1877-1878), continues with the foundation of the Kingdom of Romania (1881) and the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and ends with the First World War (1914-1918) and the Union of Transylvania with Romania, the so-called "Marea Unire" [Great Union] (1918). For military bands however, the crossroads of the two centuries is marked by the activity of the Romanian Army's most celebrated Inspector General of Military Music: Iosif Ivanovici (1845-1902).⁴ It is to his famous waltz *Valurile Dunării* [*Waves of the Danube*]⁵ that he owes his international fame and prestige: Berlin newspaper *Die Musik* called him "the Romanian waltz King", as a counterpart to the "Viennese waltz King", Johann

analyses] (Bucharest: Military Music Department Publishing House, 2002), 55-62; Ion Pelearcă, „Considerații privind creația românească de marș pentru fanfară” [Considerations on the Romanian composition of marching band], in *Contribuții la istoria muzicilor militare*, 63-72; Nicolae Gheorghită, „Cursul de orchestrație al capelmaistrului Ioan Vlăduță” [The orchestration course of capellmeister Ioan Vlăduță], in *Contribuții la istoria muzicilor militare*, 73-79; Marian Sîlea, *Istoria muzicilor militare* [*The history of military music*] (Bucharest: Military Publishing House, 2006); Cornel Ignat, *Muzicile militare între tradiție și modernitate. Particularități ale artei dirijorale* [*Military music between tradition and modernity. Particularities of the art conducting*] (Bucharest: Publishing House of the National University of Defence "Carol I", 2013).

⁴ Iosif Ivanovici is appointed Inspector General of Military Music under the Royal High Decree no. 2691/26.05.1895. *Apud* M. Sîlea, *Istoria*, 208.

⁵ In the piano version, the waltz was printed in 1880 in Bucharest by Constantin Gebauer, "supplier of the Royal Court", and dedicated to the publisher's wife, Ema Gebauer. Ivanovici's autograph manuscript, kept at the Jewish Community of Lugoj, proves that the work was originally dedicated to the young Sara Fried: *Donauwellen Walzer. Ivanovics, gewimdet und geschrieben für Fraulein Sara Fried* (*The Waves of the Danube Waltz, Ivanovics, dedicated and written for Miss Sara Fried*). The version orchestrated in 1886 by the French composer Émile Waldteufel (1837-1915), author of the *Estudiantina* (or *Band of Students Waltz*) and *Les Patineurs* waltzes, among others, is selected from 116 other works by various composers and became the official hymn of the 1889 Paris World Exhibition, which also coincided with the inauguration of the Eiffel Tower.

Strauss.⁶ The prolific composer's work⁷ is largely still in manuscript form, even though publishing houses, record labels and even the film industry disseminate it.⁸

Mainly destined for salon performance, the works of Ivanovici, like those of his military colleagues interested in composition, are national and historically themed, inspired by ideas imbued with patriotic significance, by the flavour and exoticism of their time, as their titles and contents clearly state. His piano miniatures —and this genre makes up the most extended and the relatively better-known part of his oeuvre— abounds in themes borrowed from local (sometimes gipsy) folklore, as well as from the sonic melange of Balkan and Oriental extraction, created over the years by the motley, cosmopolite people of the seaport towns on the lower course of the Danube on its way to flowing into the Black Sea (Cernavodă, Brăila, Galați, Tulcea).⁹

For this type of music, as for others, it is the public taste that dictates the market, as proves the reaction of one of the best-known Bucharest publishers (most likely Constantin Gebauer, the editor of the Royal House) to a certain composer's works: "But what you write is art music; I cannot undertake to print it, for nobody would buy it. I don't need such music; send me a *sârba* or a gavotte in national style (!?...) or a waltz in a minor key, very easy to play, and then I will publish them".¹⁰

As for Ivanovici's large works, while their existence is known,¹¹ they are either lost or not yet discovered, with a single collection into which the few surviving orchestral or military band pieces, such as funeral marches, fantasias, medleys, and arrangements of Italian opera excerpts, are grouped.¹² One of them, the *Alexandru* [*Alexander*] march, was awarded first prize at the Paris composition competition to write a piece to accompany marching in the honour of Tsar Alexander III of Russia (1845-1894) on the occasion of his visit to the Paris

⁶J. Schorr Zachary, author of the article "Muzica în România" ["Music in Romania"], wrote: "There is no Romanian school of music. However, there is a lot of composing, especially in the field of dance music based on oriental melodies. Of the Romanian dances, the waltz *Valurile Dunării* by I. Ivanovici, director (or inspector) general of military music, who can be called 'the king of the Romanian waltz', was the most widespread". J. Schorr Zachary, "Muzica în România". *Gazeta Artelor* [*Arts Gazette*], 30-31 (1903), 5.

⁷Viorel Cosma mentions more than 300 miniature works dedicated to the piano (marches, waltzes, polkas, gavottes, mazurkas, gallops, cadrilles, music for voice and piano, etc., folklore works [*hore*, *sârbe* etc.]), of which about 30% were printed. V. Cosma, *Maiorul I. Ivanovici* [*Major I. Ivanovici*] (Bucharest: Military Publishing House, 1958); V. Cosma, "Ivanovici, Iosif", in Cosma, *Muzicieni din România. Lexicon biobibliografic* [*Musicians in Romania: a bio-bibliographic dictionary*], vol. 4 (H-J) (Bucharest: Music Publishing House, 2001), 164-171.

⁸V. Cosma, *Lexicon biobibliografic*, vol. 4, 164-171. In response to the New Year's concerts organized in Vienna, the choirs and the Radio Symphony Orchestra of Bucharest gave a concert on New Year's Eve 1989, based exclusively on pieces by Ivanovici, conducted by Iosif Conta (1924-2006).

⁹Titles such as *Souvenir de Brăila-quadrille on Greek arias*, *Souvenire-quadrille composed of national songs*, *Song roumain*, *Gypsy Serenade*, *Fishermeiden*, *La fille de marin*, *Chi-chi-chi-polka on Chinese motifs*, *Razdeliti so mnoi* etc. are a constant.

¹⁰Mihail Mărgăritescu, *Viața muzicală. Cronici* [*Musical Life. Chronicles*], ed. by Simona Cornelia Petrescu (Bucharest: Music Publishing House, 1983), 136.

¹¹V. Cosma, *Lexicon biobibliografic*, vol. 4, 164-169.

¹²V. Cosma, *Lexicon biobibliografic*, vol. 4, 171.

Exposition universelle of 1889, held to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the French Revolution.¹³

Inspector general of military music for seven years (1895-1902), one of Ivanovici's institutional reforms was to train wind players after having selected, from that part of society in precarious working and living conditions, talented young people (the "copii de trupă" – literally "troop children", children raised and educated in the Army¹⁴) and make them military musicians. The law was passed in two stages (1898 and 1900)¹⁵ with far-reaching effects, as all military band petty officers and the larger segment of wind players in civilian orchestras in Bucharest and other Romanian cities would be recruited from the ranks of *copii de trupă*.¹⁶ Focusing on the practice of music, classes were taught by petty officers and instructors appointed by the bandmasters.¹⁷ Until the establishment of the *Școala Elevilor Muzicanți* [School of Musician Students] in 1936, the institution of *copii de trupă* was the earliest form of institutionalized music education organised within the Army.

Ivanovici was succeeded, starting with 1905, by Mihail Mărgăritescu (1861-1925).¹⁸ His thorough professional training in Romania and at the Geneva (1877-1879) and Vienna (1879-1881) Conservatoires¹⁹ doesn't explain his strange and surprising choice to become cavalry officer at the age of 20. His own parents' opinion (a "teenage error" and an "absurd passion")²⁰ didn't stop Mărgăritescu from participating, with exemplary foresight, in Romania's musical

¹³ 116 composers from different countries took part in the competition. After winning the competition, Ivanovici travelled to Russia and composed works inspired by the places he visited. It is in this context that the waltzes *Souvenir Moskau*, *Un rêve sur le Volga*, *Sur le bord de la Neva*, *Am hofe der Czarin* may have appeared. See Florian Gheorghe, Mihai Popescu, Ion Rotaru, *Prezențe militare în știința și cultura românească. Mic dicționar* [Military presence in Romanian science and culture. A small dictionary] (Bucharest: Military Publishing House, 1982), 179.

¹⁴ The legislative act has existed since 1889, but it regulated the employment of children in the regiments, without including musicians. Ministerial Decree no. 54/19.05.1889, *Monitorul Oastei* [The Monitor of the Army] no. 26/19.05.1889.

¹⁵ Ministerial Decree no. 54/1898 in the *Monitorul Oastei* no. 3/1900 published *Regulamentul asupra instituției copiilor de trupă* [The Regulation on the Institution of Troop Children], which established the purpose, conditions of employment, organization of education, duties and rights of students.

¹⁶ Constantin Cordoneanu, *Musicile militare și organizarea lor (1893-1895)* [Military bands and their organization (1893-1895)] (Bucharest: Tipografia și Fonderia de Litere P. Cucu, 1895), 6-7.

¹⁷ In the years after 1900 there was a need for instrumentalists generated by the significant increase in the number of military bands since, in addition to the existing bands in the major centres of the country (Bucharest, Iași, Craiova), bands were also established in most of the towns that had military units: Bârlad, Buzău, Caracal, Caransebeș, Făgăraș, Fălțiceni, Focșani, Huși, Lugoj, Oravița, Pitești, Râmnicu-Sărat, Tulcea etc. Other units paid the musicians from the personal contributions of the officers, the remuneration being known in the mid-19th century as "paraua muzicii" (*Para*, divisional coin equal to one hundredth of an old leu; low denomination coin, *our note*). See the *Monitorul Oastei*, no. 53/01.12.1903, no. 49/3.11.1903, no. 16/31.03.1903.

¹⁸ In 1905 Mărgăritescu is officer class II, a rank assimilated to lieutenant-colonel and leaves the Army with the rank of colonel (officer class I). See Gheorghe, Popescu, Rotaru, *Prezențe militare*, 190.

¹⁹ Cosma, "Mărgăritescu, Mihail" in Cosma, *Muzicienii din România. Lexicon biobibliografic*, vol. 6 (Max-Mus) (Bucharest: Music Publishing House, 2003), 39.

²⁰ Eduard Caudella, untitled article published in *Arta română* [Romanian Art] 8 (1910), 126.

life. His contemporaries appreciate him,²¹ and his achievements as a publisher and music critic²² ensure him a durable reputation, Mărgăritescu being probably “one of the most prodigious critics at the beginning of the 20th century”.²³

Military bands found his professional horizon and managerial commitment at least just as valuable. One of Inspector Mărgăritescu’s most significant achievements was the ample project to reorganise and modernize them contents-wise,²⁴ something for which he fought for almost two decades, during his tenure as officer. As he saw it, wind ensembles should be modelled after those of the great “civilized” Western armed forces (Germany, Austria, France, Italy), and the solutions he proposed are practical, staying within the means of the Army while also taking into consideration the level of local musical art and Romanian psychology: “Let us reorganise bands keeping in mind our limited means, the Romanian temperament, and the state of our musical culture, which cannot be compared to that of the two mentioned empires [Germany and Austria-Hungary]”²⁵. The project detailed the number of military bands and bandmasters in Romania (34), the number of instruments by section and of instrumentalists (between 16 and 45 for each band, according to the type of military unit it belonged to), the individual monthly allowances. It also suggested repertoires and concert strategies, such as organising concerts during the “low season” (winter) “in order to augment our fund, concerts to be attended, of course, by the city elites”.²⁶ From the ranks of the future officers and of the brilliant graduates of the Conservatoire,²⁷ young people would be recruited for a two-year training course with one of Vienna’s important military bands.²⁸

²¹ “Distinguished personality both in heart and artistic value” says Enrico Mezzetti in „Scrisoare din Iași” [Letter from Iași], *Muzica* 6 (1909), 223.

²² Mărgăritescu is the author of more than 400 chronicles published in Romania (in the newspaper *L'Indépendance Roumaine* [1901-1905], in the magazines *Gazeta artelor* [1903], *Revista Idealistă* [1903-1907], *Revista muzicală și teatrală* [1904-1906], *Muzica* [1908-1910, 1916], *Flacăra* [1911-1916]) and abroad (*Courrier Musical* in Paris and *Guide Musical* in Brussels). He is founder, editor and director of the bi-monthly publication *Biblioteca Muzicală Română* (1898-1901), founder and director of the magazine *Muzica* (1908-1910), which he tries to reactivate in 1916, together with Ion Nonna Otescu (1888-1940) and Maximilian Costin. After publishing three issues, he retired not only from directing the magazine but also from criticism. Details in Simona Cornelia Petrescu, “Mihail Mărgăritescu, a brilliant representative of music criticism”, introductory study to Mărgăritescu, *Viața muzicală*, 8; V. Cosma, „Un înzestrat critic muzical: maiorul Mihail Mărgăritescu” [A gifted music critic: Major Mihail Mărgăritescu], *Viața militară* 1 (1987), 24, republished in Cosma, *Marte și Euterpe*, 194-196.

²³ Petrescu, 10.

²⁴ See „Studiu asupra reorganizării muzicilor militare. 1) Trecutul și menirea lor; 2) Starea actuală a muzicilor noastre; 3) Cum ar trebui să fie organizate muzicile noastre” [“Study on the Reorganization of Military Bands. 1) Their Past and Mission; 2) The Present State of our Bands; 3) How our Bands should be Organized”]. Mărgăritescu, 146-165.

²⁵ Mărgăritescu, 154.

²⁶ Mărgăritescu, 157.

²⁷ There is also an address of the Ministry of War in which the Inspectorate General of Military Music (abbreviated IGMM) proposed to designate a number of “troop children”, annually, to attend theory and wind instrument classes. In 1905-1906, for example, the Inspector appointed 18 students, see Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *Universitatea Națională de Muzică din București la 140 de ani* [National University of Music in Bucharest at 140 years anniversary], vol. 2 (1904-1945) (Bucharest: National University of Music Publishing House, 2008), 30.

²⁸ Mărgăritescu, 159. Study visits to Vienna seem to have been a common practice in the Army, since Ivanovici had also received such training in the capital of the Empire. *Familia* [Family] newspaper 8 (1897), p. 5, article without title and author.

Mărgăritescu's managerial initiatives go beyond the scope of the Army, wiring military bands up to the effervescence of the political and musical events of the time. Even at the beginning of his term (1905) the first gramophone recordings with national military music come out.²⁹ The celebrations marking forty years of King Carol I's reign intensified the visibility of military orchestras in the Romanian political and artistic life, with military bands as sonic interface in all activities initiated by the Army throughout the country and in Bucharest especially. Mărgăritescu's professional prestige, acknowledged and supported by the high circles of the Royal House, of the armed forces and of the civil society, allows the organisation, as part of the jubilee, of the first national military bands competition, doubled by a "great choral festival" run by composer Dimitrie Georgescu Kiriac (1868-1928).³⁰ The competition, not without rivalries and political agendas,³¹ is hosted by Arenele Romane [The Roman Arenas] in Bucharest, with George Enescu presiding alongside Mărgăritescu, George Stephănescu, and Eduard Wachmann.³² It was for this occasion that Enescu wrote his *Hymn jubilar* [*Jubilee Hymn*] for choir, military orchestra and harp, his only work for military band³³ and dedicated, of course, to the King. The first performance takes place on June 6, at the official opening of the Exposition, with the young musician conducting in a grandiose concert requiring seven military bands and other civilian orchestras as well as a 500-person choir.³⁴ Because of the

²⁹ *Retragerea cu torțe* [The torchlight retreat], recorded by the Music of the 1st "Genius" Regiment of Bucharest, conducted by Anton Kratochwil-junior (1854-1917?). At the time, other recordings were made by the 6th "Mihai Viteazul" Regiment, the Music of the 2nd Regiment of Hunters, etc. For the titles of the pieces recorded, see Badea, *În pas de defilare*, 40-41.

³⁰ The "Great Choral Festival" is initiated by the Carmen Society, through its conductor, D. G. Kiriac, and brings together 25 choirs from Romania, Ardeal, Banat and Bucovina, totalling over 1700 choristers. Dan Sever, "Scrisori din București" [Letters from Bucharest], *Tribuna* 10 (1906), 5. For details, see also *Festivalul coral din 1906 de la București* [The 1906 Choral Festival in Bucharest], in Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *Hronicul muzicii românești*, vol. 5, *Epoca enesciană. Viața muzicală (1898-1920)* [The Enescu period. Musical life (1898-1920)] (Bucharest: Music Publishing House, 1983), 281-285.

³¹ The competition required the performance of 3 works: a compulsory piece (the overture to Gioacchino Rossini's opera *Wilhelm Tell*), a march and a "national piece" of the candidate's choice. The first prize was awarded, *ex aequo*, to Colonel Greceanu and Royal Adjutant, to Ioan Vlăduță, respectively Kratochwil-junior, chief musician of the 1st "Geniu" Regiment in Bucharest and protégé of the Royal House. The other positions are awarded as follows: 2nd prize, Captain Ernesto Marini (Music of the 22 Dâmbovița-Târgoviște Regiment), 3rd prize, Captain George Fotino (Music of the 1 Dolj-Craiova Regiment), 4th prize, Lieutenant Gheorghe Reith (Music of the 10 „Obuziere” [Howitzer] Regiment), honorable mentions, Captain Lucio Vecchi (Music of the 10 Focșani Infantry Regiment) and Lieutenant Ioan Cutrupi (Music of the 4 „Roșiori” Regiment). Badea, *În pas de defilare*, 39-40. For details of the competition, see Ioan Vlăduță, *Memorii* [Memoirs], edited by Nicolae Gheorghită and Constantin Platon (Bucharest: Military Music Department Publishing House, 2005), 30-37; Cosma, „Din culisele concursului fanfarelor armatei (1906)” [From behind the scenes of the army band contest (1906), *Viața Armatei* 3 (1996), 18, 26, republished in Cosma, *Marte și Euterpe*, 111-113.

³² Badea, *În pas de defilare*, 63.

³³ The autograph manuscript (MsR 7380) is kept at the Music Room of the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest. The piece was published in 2009 under the title *Hymn Jubilar*, George Enescu, orch. Ionel Croitoru, editor Tierolff-Muziekcentrale, Roosendaal-Nederland. Introductory study by N. Gheorghită.

³⁴ The details of the performance of Enescu's piece were most likely discussed at the meeting Mărgăritescu had with Enescu in Paris on 22 March/4 April 1906. See letter to Maria Enescu no. 237 published in George Enescu, *Scrisori* [Letters], vol. 1, edited by V. Cosma (Bucharest: Music Publishing House, 1974), 153.

direct link with King Carol I's emblematic figure (the lyrics too were apparently composed by Enescu³⁵), the hymn was dismissed, between 1944 and 1990 (that is, during the Communist rule), from both concert hall and musicological research, for easily understandable reasons.³⁶

In retrospect, Mărgăritescu's works (as for that matter those of several of his bandmaster colleagues) are seen as "conventional, minor [artistic achievements]".³⁷ At that time they were nevertheless printed, awarded prizes³⁸ and performed both nationally and internationally.³⁹ His oeuvre, of limited size compared to Ivanovici's, generally stays in the colour and style of local small music forms, specific to salon and promenade music.⁴⁰

Up to the outbreak of World War 1, Mihail Mărgăritescu is the inspector that succeeds in substantially and profoundly changing the face and statute of military bands. Health issues, the death of King Carol I (1914) and of Queen Elisabeth (1916) —figures that had played a major role in his career— and, perhaps, the failure to resuscitate the *Muzica* journal, as he attempted to do, alongside Ion Nonna Otescu (1888-1940) and Maximilian Costin, are arguments that could have convinced him to abandon his position as a bandmaster (1916) and to leave the country with his daughter for Paris, where he died in 1924.

The Balkan wars and the First World War reroute military kapellmeisters' compositional interests. The priority is now the front, as military bands and their leaders are called up with the troops, to boost soldiers' morale. In full line-up, in mixed or, most of the times, uneven structures (winds and strings, in fact small *tarafs*), military bands and other teams of musicians and civilian actors tour military hospitals.

Conflagrations culminated in the unification of Transylvania with Romania (1918). The climate of those years is reflected in the work of both military and civilian composers; with no sophisticated musical language and no great artistic aspirations or expectations, the musical literature inspired by the historic event of the "Great Union" of Alba Iulia, poorly researched, includes occasional pieces

³⁵ Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *George Enescu-compozitor coral?* [George Enescu - Choral Composer?], in *Hronicul muzicii românești*, vol. 7, *Creația muzicală I. Corală, cântecul, vocal-simfonică (1898-1920)* [Musical Creation I. Choral, Singing, Vocal-Symphonic Creation (1898-1920)] (Bucharest: Music Publishing House, 1986), 162.

³⁶ The context of the work's creation can be traced in N. Gheorghită, "Enescu undiscovered. Jubilee Hymn for Choir, Military Orchestra and Harp", *Musica* 2(2008), Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai, 17-28.

³⁷ Petrescu, 6.

³⁸ Mărgăritescu also won a medal for composition at the Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1900. See Mihail G. Poslușnicu, *Istoria muziceii la români. De la Renaștere până-n epoca de consolidare a culturii artistice. Cu 193 chipuri în text. Cu o prefață de domnul Nicolae Iorga* [History of Romanian Music. From the Renaissance to the era of consolidation of artistic culture. With 193 figures in the text. With a preface by Mr. Nicolae Iorga] (Bucharest: Cartea Românească Publishing House, 1928), 574.

³⁹ Apart from the military bands in the country, some of his compositions were performed by the Republican Guard Band of Paris (conductor Gabriel Parès [1860-1934]), Labitski's orchestra in Karlsbad (Germany), the city orchestra of Brașov. The Romanian pianist and composer George Boscoff (a close friend of Enescu's who had been a piano teacher at the Bucharest Conservatory and the Academy of Music in Athens), included some of Mărgăritescu's piano pieces in his concerts. His vocal repertoire, especially romances, was promoted by Leonti ne Mëndès of the Paris Opera, Elena Teodorini, Hariclea Darclée, the tenor Alexandre Bonci. See Petrescu, 7.

⁴⁰ V. Cosma, *Lexicon*, vol. 6, 39-43.

meant to intensify and fortify the patriotic spirit of the emerging nation, in the good sense of the term.⁴¹

After World War 1, military bands, like the entire Army, are restructured, as they were again after 1944, but with a different purpose. Ioan Vlăduță, the young kapellmeister of Iași "Ștefan cel Mare" 13th Regiment military band, who had won the first prize at the 1906 Bucharest National Military Bands Competition, in the meantime also head of the Harmony Department at the Iași Conservatoire, would lead the Army's musicians for eleven years (1918-1929).

A genuine professional training in Bucharest and Leipzig (with Max Reger among others) and pursuing further studies in conducting in Vienna and Paris with Gabriel Parès (bandmaster of the French Republic Guard), Vlăduță makes substantial changes in the organisation and functioning of local military bands. These would, for the first time, have their own regulations and they would also be provided with a musical instruments repair shop at the Army's Arsenal, able to service all military bands. The project to assimilate kapellmeisters with officers in combat units, which Mărgăritescu had initiated, is officialised,⁴² and, with an increased weight, the Inspectorate General of Military Music (*Inspectoratul General al Muzicilor Militare*, IGMM), in its capacity as a supervisory body, becomes important at the level of all Army forces, so that Vlăduță can efficiently guide the work of military bands and of their leaders. Orchestras are supplied with instruments, accessories and repertoires, the latter designed and structured to serve various types of bands depending on the number of members. In a few years only, his administrative reforms coagulate approximately 50 fanfares throughout the country, of which 10 composed of 70-80 musicians.⁴³ He demonstrates excellent managing skills with regard to performance too, as shows for instance the concert held in Alba Iulia, the symbolic capital of Michael the Brave's Union, on the occasion of the coronation of King Ferdinand and Queen Marie of Romania in October 1922, when 1000 instrumentalists performed works

⁴¹ *Marșul vitejilor* [The March of the Brave], *Silistra-marș* [Silistra-March], *Cântecul biruinței* [The Song of Victory] by M. Mărgăritescu, *Cultul Patriei* [The Cult of the Fatherland] (choir for equal voices) by Major Petre Namian (1863-1930?), *Odată, odată* [Once, Once] by G. Fotino; the Marches *Mărășești* and *România Mare* [Great Romania] ("dedicated to Gen. Eremia Grigorescu, Iași, 11 November 1918") and *Imnul Eroului necunoscut* [Hymn of the Unknown Hero] by I. Vlăduță or the "songs" of the period: *La arme* [To the guns] (on the lyrics of Ștefan Octavian Iosif) and *Se-ntorc vitejii* [The braves return] by Alfonso Castaldi; *Viforul de la Mărășești* [The snowstorm of Mărășești] op. 72 for piano by Eduard Caudella; *Treceți, batalioane române, Carpații* [Pass, Romanian battalions, the Carpathians] (the people of Poland have a similar patriotic song, *Szara piechota* [Grey Infantry], and claim that it appeared around 1918, *our note*); *Pui de lei* [Lion cubs] by Ionel Brătianu, *Marșul libertății* [The March of Freedom] and *Marșul Bateriei a III-a* [March of the Third Battalion] by Ion Vidu; *Odă ostașilor români* [Tribute to the Romanian soldiers] by Iosif Paschill (lyrics by Vasile Alecsandri); *Marșul triumfal* [The triumphal march] by George Stephănescu; *Paysage* op. 9, paraphrase of a Romanian folk aria for piano by George Enacovici. There are also musical essays by officers of other armies: *Poporul lui Traian* [The people of Traian] by General Alexandru Alexiu; *România* by Captain Ioan Stătescu; collection of songs and marches by Captain Nicolae Cerbulescu.

⁴² Romanian Military Archives (abbreviated AMR), *Memorii bătrâni* [Elder Memories] fond, file no. 74, f. 2, 41.

⁴³ V. Cosma, „Locotenent-colonelul Ion Vlăduță, un reformator modern al muzicilor militare” [“Lieutenant-Colonel Ion Vlăduță, a modern reformer of military music”], *Viața militară* 7 (1986), 20, republished in V. Cosma, *Marte și Euterpe*, 206.

by Wagner, Liszt, Beethoven, and Enescu (lieutenant-colonel Vlăduță himself would contribute with *Imnul Încoronării* [Coronation Hymn]).⁴⁴

The figure that truly endows military bands with visibility and presence, changing public attitude towards military kapellmeisters and their orchestras, is Egizio Massini (1894-1966).⁴⁵ The Italian-born conductor leads the Army's military bands twice: 1932-1940 (a somewhat turbulent period)⁴⁶ and 1944-1947.⁴⁷ The first chapter begins after the position had been successively and for short periods of time held by two other officers, Ioan Cutrupi (1877-1930) and Nicolae Stefanopol (1882-1932). Massini's fame as a conductor is a positive influence on the work of bandmasters and instrumentalists, and he succeeded in creating emulation, enthusiasm, and trust among the musicians of the Army. He runs full concert seasons in Bucharest, in Romania and abroad, with civilian and military orchestras. The "Tour of the 700" (723 instrumentalists), made in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia in 1934, much improves Romania's, the Army's and military bands' image; Massini stated that "in his more than 60 years as the conductor of the Romanian Opera he has never known such an artistic triumph abroad as with the... 1934 tour, of the huge military band".⁴⁸ The leap forward repertoire- and performance-wise is obvious, the orchestra mastering difficult scores,⁴⁹ especially orchestrated.⁵⁰

The 1934 tour proves decisive also as regards Massini's reforms. Only two years later, in 1936, he establishes the *Școala Elevilor Muzicanți Militari* (School for Military Musician Students), essential for the military music education and the future of military bands. The idea had been there since the end of the 19th century, with the demand that military schools in Iași and Bucharest include, in addition to other disciplines, music education departments to be called "conservatoires".⁵¹ The project wasn't completed, and musicians were still recruited from the ranks of civilians hired for the purpose (*gagiști*) and of *copii de trupă*. Inspired by the similar military-musical education systems that Czechoslovakia and Poland had in the first decades of the 20th century, Massini borrows the model and adapts it to the local reality.⁵² From that moment on, *Școala Elevilor Muzicanți Militari*, no

⁴⁴ After 1944, *Imnul Încoronării* [The Coronation Hymn] and *Marșul triumfal* [The Triumphal March] of Marshal Ion Antonescu (performed in the winter of 1941-1942) were removed from the repertoire of the bands. For details of Vlăduță's work, see Cosma, *Lexicon*, vol. 9, 256-258.

⁴⁵ Massini called it "a plan to raise military music to a level of dignity and appropriateness for its purpose". E. Massini, Introductory word to *Revista Muzicilor Armatei* [The Army Music Review] 1 (1939), 4.

⁴⁶ Șilea, 234-235.

⁴⁷ V. Cosma, „Figuri de muzicieni militari: locotenent-colonelul Egizio Massini” [Figures of military musicians: lieutenant-colonel Egizio Massini], *Viața armatei* 10 (1995), 18, republished in V. Cosma, *Marte și Euterpe*, 224, 228; V. Cosma, *Conductor Egizio Massini* (Bucharest: Geneze Publishing House, 1998).

⁴⁸ V. Cosma, *Marte și Euterpe*, 225-226.

⁴⁹ Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, Enescu's *Romanian Poem*, Wagner's *Tannhäuser* Overture, Tchaikovsky's *1812* Overture, Chopin's *Polonaise* (which one?), Romanian folk music (Iosef Paschill's *Romanian Flower* potpourri), protocol music, including international (*Marshal Pilsudsky's* March). V. Cosma, *Marte și Euterpe*, 226.

⁵⁰ V. Cosma, *Marte și Euterpe*, 226.

⁵¹ Cordoneanu, 6-7.

⁵² AMR, *Ministerul de Război* [War Ministry] fond, Undersecretariat General, file no. 1900, 1163.

matter the changes it underwent,⁵³ trained specialized military personnel (both petty officers and officers) as well as an important percentage of the wind players of several civilian orchestras up to 2001, when its 4-year high school and 2-year officer course were reduced to a 9-month cycle.

Professionally, the leap is augmented by Massini's new achievements, with 1939 a truly beneficial year for the institution he manages. It is now that the first issue of a monthly periodical is released, *Revista Muzicilor Armatei* [*Military Bands Magazine*], and it is now that the number of military bands in Romania increased to a figure they would never again reach: 110! The long-awaited Royal Guard Military Band (with over 100 members) is founded, consisting of both a wind band and a symphonic orchestra, as Massini argued that "many unemployed professional players would thus be able to earn a living".⁵⁴ With his energetic ways, the inspector intensifies and encourages kapellmeisters' high level of training, sending them to various conservatoires —the one in Bucharest (where Massini had intermittently taught from 1923)⁵⁵ boasted a "Military Orchestration" class as early as 1924.⁵⁶ Massini inaugurated the IGMM dedicated publishing house⁵⁷ and the "Publishing house and financial aid – music" fond,⁵⁸ increased the number of military bands and intensified both their concert schedule and the pedagogical activity of *Școala Elevilor Muzicanți Militari* and of orchestras across the country training *copii de trupă* and requiring scores, parts, specialized textbooks, manuals and music exercise books. Such material was distributed free of charge via the sub-inspectorates created within the various Army departments, a mechanism which also facilitated the rigorous control of the respective military bands.

The political changes that Kingdom of Romania undergoes beginning with Carol II's dictatorship (February 10, 1948) impacts the Army and its structures.

⁵³ *Școala Elevilor Muzicanți Militari* (*Monitorul Oastei* no. 24 and 25/01.12.1936, 788-790); *Liceul Militar Muzical* (Ministerial Decision no. 3030/07.02.1941); *Gimnaziul Militar Muzical* (Ministerial Decision no. 1237/1941); *Institutul Militar Muzical* (Decree Law no. 617/17.09.1943); *Școala Militară de Muzică* (Decree No 225/1949); *Școala Militară de Muzică „Iacob Mureșianu”* (Government Decision No 906/01.08.1990); *Școala de Aplicație pentru Muzicile Militare* (MApN Order, M.12 of 21.02.1997); *Centrul de Pregătire pentru Muzici Militare* (MApN Order, M. 97 of 2005); *Centrul de Instruire pentru Muzici Militare* (since 2008). Historical register of the IGMM and the *Centrul de Instruire pentru Muzici Militare*.

⁵⁴ Massini, *Curierul național* [The National Courier] 2 (1932), 2.

⁵⁵ O. L. Cosma, *Universitatea Națională de Muzică*, 245.

⁵⁶ Led by former Inspector Ioan Cutrupi. O. L. Cosma, *Universitatea Națională de Muzică*, 267.

⁵⁷ There are two departments of the Inspectorate in charge of orchestrations and arrangements for brass band, copying, printing and multiplication of musical materials, called *Biroul Tehnic muzical și centralizare* [Music Technical and Centralization Office] (No. 3) and *Biroul Editură* [Publishing Office] (No. 4), staffed by 7 military personnel led by Horceag (with 2 NCOs) and Mendelsohn (with 3 NCOs). IMMRI/1939, 1.

⁵⁸ This is the income of the bands from the services they provide. These were used according to very clear rules: 40% went to the Inspectorate (20% to the *Școala Elevilor Muzicanți Militari* and 20% to help bands that did not produce income) and 60% remained with the military units on which they depended, distributed as follows: 40% for the purchase of instruments, musical accessories, repertoire, music desks, making civilian clothes for concerts that did not require military uniform (balls, weddings, baptisms, etc.); 10% for the maintenance of the brass band's hall and supplementary food for the *copii de trupă*; 10% was the fund for awards and encouragement of non-commissioned officers and *gagiști*. *Monitorul Oastei* no. 3, 21 March 1938, 163-164; AMR, *Ministerul de Război* fund, General Secretariat, file. 2163, f. 743 and fol. 1965, f. 873.

IGMM leaders were the first bandmaster officers to attend the *Comandant Străjer* classes (roughly, Commander Sentinel) at the Breaza training centre, together with officers of other army specializations.⁵⁹ A specially created bureau in the Inspectorate, Biroul Străjeresc [Sentinel Bureau]⁶⁰ has the mission to coordinate the work of an extended network of sentinel military bands formed throughout the country, in schools and factories, and trained by bandmaster officers and petty officers during 1939.

In the autumn of 1940, the decree establishing the National Legionary State has grave consequences on the Italian inspectorate and the fate of military bands. Because of the firm enforcement of the order, two weeks after its promulgation on September 14, 1940 Egizio Massini had to give up his military career; the main reason was his wife's Dora Jewish origin,⁶¹ but her morality was targeted too, as she was favoured by Carol II. Ethnic cleansing affects officers and petty officers in the whole Army as well as those involved in music making – students at *Școala Militară de Muzică* and other military high schools.⁶² One inspector general quickly follows another, as appointments are now made according to the country's ideological orientation. In only four years (1940-44), three lieutenant colonel officers successively hold the position of military bandmaster, for a shorter or longer period of time: Ioan Delu (1904-1982), eleven months (October 1940-August 1941), Constantin Diaconu (1896-1959), four months (August-November 1941), and Iosif Klein (1897-1980), almost three years (1941-1944).⁶³

Following the 1940 land cessions,⁶⁴ 11 military bands servicing 19 units are terminated and relocated to other structures of the Army.⁶⁵ Front is now a priority, so that a massive part of bandmaster officers and petty officers are called up with the troops, by which the number of instrumentalists and military bands is dramatically decreased. Artistic work constantly drops, consisting now only of fund-raising concerts and, especially, of concerts to boost soldiers' morale, as the bands of each military units are sent, by turns, on the front with the Soviet Union, for a 3-month service.⁶⁶

⁵⁹ It is about the paramilitary organization "Straja Tării" which was created on the basis of the decree-law of 15 December 1938, by which boys between 7 and 18 years and girls between 7 and 21 years were obliged to be part of the "Strajă". See Theofil Gh. Sidorovici, *Carol II. Din culmea unui deceniu de glorioasă domnie* [Carol II. From the culmination of a decade of glorious reign] (Bucharest: Atelierele Luceafărul Printing House, 1940).

⁶⁰ IMMRI/1939, 1.

⁶¹ The same racial reasons were behind his exclusion from the Romanian Opera. Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *Hronicul Operei Române din București*, vol. 2 (1921-1953) [The Chronicle of the Romanian Opera in Bucharest, vol. 2 (1921-1953)] (Bucharest: Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2017), 531.

⁶² Instructions for the execution of General Order no. 134/20.11.1942 of the MApN, Personnel Directorate. AMR Pitesti, address no. 38.138/20.05.1943.

⁶³ Șilea, 243, 245, 247.

⁶⁴ By the ultimatum and the dictates of the Hitler-Stalin pact, Romania is forced to give in 1940 the following territories: to the Soviet Union - Northern Bukovina, Herța/Hertsia region and Bessarabia; to Hungary - Northern Transylvania, and to Bulgaria - Southern Dobrogea (south of the Ostrov-Vama Veche line). Romania will regain Northern Transylvania by the Treaty of Paris in 1947.

⁶⁵ AMR, *Inspectoratul Muzicilor Militare* fond, file no. 117, f. 330, 346-347.

⁶⁶ Decision no. 92.502/09.08.1942. IMMRI/1942, p. 7. The same would happen two years later, but on the Western Front, when military bands would be present in Transylvania, Hungary and Czechoslovakia for three months in rotation. IMMRI/1944, p. 16.

The 1941 military alliance with Germany imposes on military orchestras not only such an inspector as I. Klein but a particular organisation as well. Two Reich officers are invited to train local conductors and petty officers after the German fashion; the results are presented during the May 10 countrywide parades celebrating Monarchy Day.⁶⁷ A process to translate the list of wind instruments into Romanian is initiated but remains unsuccessful.⁶⁸ The ideological changes are noticeable with regard to repertoire politics too, as German propaganda mandates that Romanian radio broadcast daily, in 1942, works performed by “two military bands, one Romanian, and one German”.⁶⁹ A military festival is organized at the Romanian Athenaeum, with “Romanian and German heroic music”,⁷⁰ and for the programmes *Ora ostaşului* [The Hour of the Soldier], *Ora româno-germană* [The Romanian-German Hour] and *Ora româno-italiană* [The Romanian-Italian Hour], the Army’s best bands (of the Royal Guard Battalion and of the 3rd Air Base) produces records featuring marches and choral pieces, at the request of the Romanian Broadcasting Corporation.⁷¹ The German dictatorship summons the Ministry of National Defence to issue the order stipulating that “military bands are forbidden to perform works by Russian, Jewish and Hungarian composers”.⁷² In less than a year, another (unprecedented) authoritarianism would alter the face of Romania and the fate of military bands for many a decade: Communism.

3. Conclusions

From August 23, 1944 onwards, under the continuous pressure of the Soviet Allied Control Commission, of the Romanian Communist Party, and of various opportunists, the subordination and direct control began, of state institutions that were paradoxically in charge with defending social independence, sovereignty, and order —among them, the Army.⁷³ The goal was to

⁶⁷ IMMRI/1942, 7.

⁶⁸ "With no. 2789/01.03.1943, the M.R. Office was asked to approve that the Head of the Military Music Service together with Prof. Breazul Gh., from the Royal Academy of Music, to Romanianize and unify the nomenclature of musical instruments in our military music". The reply of the Minister of Defence, Army General Constantin Pantazi, is in line with the request: "I do not approve the expense of 20,000 lei, honorary for Prof. Breazul G. I do not find this Romanianisation necessary. Musicians can play very well with the current nomenclature of musical instruments, just as it would be possible to play badly with Romanianized names". IMMRI/1943, 9.

⁶⁹ IMMRI/1942, p7.

⁷⁰ In fact, it is a concert organized on June 22, 1943 by the Ministry of National Propaganda and performed by two brass bands, one Romanian and one German, conducted by Inspector Klein and "Lieutenant Fritze". The repertoire included Romanian and German programmes: Wagner's overture *Rienzi*, the poem *Cântarea Basarabiei* [The Song of Bessarabia] by P. Constantinescu and dozens of "patriotic" marches. AMR Pitesti, addresses 384/17.05.1943 and 26.05.1946.

⁷¹ AMR Pitesti, address of 12.05.1943.

⁷² IMMRI/1943, 9.

⁷³ Constantin Hlihor, *Armata Roşie în România: adversar, aliat, ocupant: 1940-1948. Un destin în istorie* [The Red Army in Romania: adversary, ally, occupier: 1940-1948. A destiny in history] (Bucharest: Military Publishing House, 1995), 311. For details on the evolution of the Romanian army and its politicisation after 1944, see Florin Şperlea, *De la armata regală la armata populară. Sovietizarea armatei române (1948-1955)* [From the Royal Army to the People's Army. The Sovietization of the Romanian Army] (Bucharest: Ziua Publishing House, 2003); Christophe Midan, *Crearea unei armate populare. O perspectivă franceză asupra evoluţiei forţelor armate române de la 23 august 1944 până în 1975* [Creating a Popular Army. A French perspective on the

annihilate its elites and build a “new”, “revolutionary” Army, in fact an instrument of oppression to support the totalitarian regime which would all the while run no risk of being replaced by it.⁷⁴ It was an elaborate process to alter the structure of the armed force, which impacted military bands just as intensely. In only seven years (1939-46), their number shrinks from 110 to 47.⁷⁵ Hundreds of bandmaster officers and petty officers leave the system, either willingly (“on demand”), or being laid off following cleansing process, this time on political grounds, so that in 1946 there were only 470 bandmaster petty officers and 15 bandmaster officers in the entire newly-constituted Army of the Romanian People’s Republic.⁷⁶ Extremely turbulent times follow, for better or for worse, the Communist rule coming at an end with the Revolution of December 1989.

evolution of the Romanian armed forces from 23 August 1944 to 1975]. Translation from French by Mona Iosif (Bucharest: Military Publishing House, 2015).

⁷⁴ Constantin Lățea, „Epurarea armatei române. Mecanisme juridice: 1945-1947”, [The Purge of the Romanian Army. Juridical Mechanisms: 1945-1947], *Arhivele Totalitarismului* [Archives of Totalitarianism] 4 (1994), 191.

⁷⁵ IMMRI/1939, p. 3. *Serviciul Muzicilor Armatei* fond, Historical Register (abbreviated SMARI), January-December 1946, 35.

⁷⁶ SMARI/1946, 35.