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## The researcher, the informant and the contemporary folklore\*

The emergence of the new media has led to substantial modifications in the way of transmitting the folklore. Radio broadcasting, as well as presenting certain folk songs and dances (often chosen from only a few folk regions) in dedicated TV shows have made the spectators perceive the broadcasted songs or dances as the only variants worthy to be promoted. Moreover, there is a chance for these broadcasted artistic products to be "borrowed" by the local communities, if they fit the local folk taste; the consequence of this fact is the changing of the community's cultural values. This process is specific for the dynamics of folklore and of cultural facts.

This phenomenon had been discussed more than a century ago by professor Ovid Densuşianu during the opening lesson of Folklore he gave at the Faculty of Letters in the Bucharest University (Pop, 1967: 7). The Romanian scholar argued that we cannot talk about the total disappearance of folklore, but rather of its reduction or modification (*ibidem*). This explanation is very pertinent, if we take into consideration the permanent evolution of society and the new forms assumed by the material and immaterial creations in the course of social change.

It is possible to talk about certain cultural layers, organized by the "era" we want to study, as Mihai Pop put it: "Thus, every period of time has its folklore, made both of traditional goods, received and transformed to meet its level, and new creations. But in every era, the folklore is a creation of the laboring people, expressing their ideals, their wishes for a better life" (*ibidem*, 24-25). Hence, we cannot affirm that "there is no folklore anymore". Of course, the nowadays folklore is not identical with the folklore of our forefathers; one must take into consideration that every time lapse implies changes. So, as there is a "pure, authentic" folklore during a certain era we have in mind, there is also a "pure" (that is, specific) folklore in the contemporary world. Mihai Pop stressed this:

<sup>\*</sup> The translation of the text from page 111. Translation by Florența Popescu Simion (București).

"Next to the traditional authentic goods, also today we could have new and authentic traditional creations, and these creations are also using the means of expression of the high music or literature. Next to customs which are still bearing traces of magic, authentic folklore facts of the past, interesting for the historical study of folklore, we see today spectacular customs that have lost all the magic, characteristic for the contemporary folklore and therefore authentic for our times" (*ibidem*, 26).

Talking about the life of folklore and the folk music, Béla Bartók stated that the "people don't create brand new songs, but they have a big predisposal, a great capacity to transform the inherited ones" (apud Pop, 1967: 72). The old is not forgotten, but adapted to the contemporary life. We supplement these assertions with an example provided by professor Nicolae Constantinescu during a lesson of the course Introduction to Romanian folk culture. Professor N. Constantinescu has spoken about the means of laboring the land which are mentioned in the folk creations, especially in songs. He exemplified with two songs, representative for two different eras. The first song was Mână, bade, boii bine (Tend well the oxen, my dear, which is a doina), while the other was Neica-l meu de pe tractor (My sweetheart's driving the tractor), a song ranging in the "new songs" category (after N. Rădulescu, 1964). We can use the same examples in order to demonstrate the continuity of folklore, which is what we previously stressed in relation with adapting the folklore to the new social conditions. There is a basis on which people build and rebuild, but the essence doesn't change.

Those who claim "the folklore is dead" are putting a restraint on it, they fence it in an unscientific limit, because the folklore is not an unchanging phenomenon, it is not similar to a rock existing unchanged by the waves of time. In fact, the folk facts are changing shape with time, compelling to the mentality, to the ritual or ceremonial practices of the nowadays people. What is lost is only what is not used anymore; all that community doesn't need anymore. Actually, some of the cultural facts become latent and are "archived" in a corner of the collective memory which still remains available for a while. Everything that becomes latent represents the experiences, the practices of the past, all that is not fit for the contemporary world. Therefore, people need to be cautious when trying to bring back to "life" things which are no more representative for the group, because of the danger to turn the facts into something superficial and artificial. We don't deny the success of some revivals, due to some extraordinary people who worked in a systematic and applied way, but this process could bring in the contemporary world things which are no appropriate for the present time.

Thus, it is important to write about all these revivals, in order to mark the evolution of folklore, as well as the new research themes. In order to know the folklore, we must research both the books and the actual aspects of the popular culture existing in the communities we want to study.

Together with my colleague Marius Gheorghe, a former student in the Cultural Studies Department of the Faculty of Letters from the Bucharest University, we presented the importance of the research and the researcher to the school children from Ghimpati, during a national school program called "Different Week". We explained to the children that every village has its own repertoire, which needs to be kept and promoted; also, we told them that there is no such competition as "our folklore is better, nicer, while yours is worse or less nice". In order for they to understand the part and the purpose of the researcher, and also why we need to research and to publish our results, we explained, in simple terms, the roles of every age group or profession, insisting on the connections between young and old people. We also tried to teach them what to do in order to be able to know the local patrimony (in case a break between generations occurred). And, since we are in the digital era, we used metaphors and nicknamed the old peoplethe central unit (because they detain information from the past), the researchers (us)-the data cable which, under certain circumstance (the scientific research) help the transfer of information between generations, and the young people-the external hard disk, that needs to stock as well as to be the instrument serving for transmitting the stocked and archived data to the generations to come. In a place where the break between generations has occurred, the researcher's work can be utterly important, because help from exterior could reanimate interest towards folklore goods.

During the academic studies, my colleagues and I used to be stressed about our lack of competence regarding the use of the research and collecting methods we read about in our textbooks. The fieldwork made us understand that acquiring these methods is crucial for the systematic and scientific collection of data, but in the same time that every researcher forges their own style, their own collection methods. I, for my part, followed the example of professor Ioana-Ruxandra Fruntelată, who repeats any unusual word she finds, weather it is a localism, an archaism, or an unusual toponym, in order for her voice to be recorded too and, consequently, to smoothly and correctly transcript that word later.

*Îndreptar pentru culegerea folclorului (Guide Book for collecting folklore*), written by professor Mihai Pop, one of the very first books read by all people that follow the beautiful paths of ethnology, is a useful work instrument. Professor Pop adviced his students to start their research with the contemporary stages (Pop, 1967: 47) and only after to study the past. Observing

what is happening in the present can help to obtain many informations about the previous stages of culture, because for the interviewee it is easier to start from customs still alive and then to go back to what he/she saw and lived in his/her childhood or to what his/her parents, grandparents or the elders of the village had told him/her. For instance, during our research in Starchiojd<sup>1</sup>, we had the opportunity to observe many aspects of the contemporary village (I'm talking only about the research campaign, with exclusion of my first role, that is insider) and this helped us to understand much easier the unwritten laws still guiding the inhabitants of this village. We often had interesting conversations due to the activities of our informants; for instance, we met a man who was putting shingles on the roof of a barn, another preparing the *tuica*, a woman cleaning the wool, an old woman who was going to the cemetery to take care of the graves. We also participated in memorial services and feasts, we went to sheepfolds, we saw many things in their context and all this helped us to understand the way of functioning of the community.

I will continue this paper by presenting the research and the campaigns in Starchiojd, Prahova county.

The wish to write a monograph of my home village first presented to me while I was in primary school. At that time, I read the old monographic sketch written by Stelian I. Florescu-Pântece, also born in Starchiojd. The ideas he presented in the foreword to his volume were very convincing; I still remember he quoted a part of the discourse held by Constantin C. Giurescu, member of Romanian Academy, on the occasion of commemorating 550 years from the first recording of the village: "A complete and veridical history of the Romanian people could only be written only when every village has its own written monograph" (apud Florescu-Pântece, 1992: 7).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In 2013 and 2014, a team of undergraduate students from the Faculty of Letters, Cultural Studies – Ethnology Department, together with M. D. students from the Ethnology, Cultural Anthropology and Folklore master programme of the Bucharest University, coordinated by prof. Ioana-Ruxandra Fruntelată from the chair of Ethnology, established a collaboration with the Prahova County Cutural Centre in order to do field research in the village of Starchiojd, Prahova county. The research they made resulted in two volumes: 1. *Starchiojd. Moștenirea culturală (partea întâi). Locuire, ocupații, meșteșuguri*, having for authors Cristina Bucătaru, Andrei Chivereanu, Elena Dudău, Ioana-Ruxandra Fruntelată, Cristina Gherghe, Cristian Mușa and Nicoleta Șerban, edited by the Prahova County Cultural Centre, Libertas Publishing House, Ploiești, 2014, 192 pages, 34 illustrations; 2. *Moștenirea culturală (partea a doua). Sărbători, obiceiuri, repertoriu folkloric, tradiții locale representative*, having for authors Cristina Bucătaru, Andrei Chivereanu, Elena Dudău, Ioana-Ruxandra Fruntelată, Cristina Gherghe, Cristian Mușa, Constantin Secară and Nicoleta Șerban, edited by the Prahova County Cultural Centre, Mythos Publishing House, Ploiești, 2015, 306 pages, 33 illustrations.

I started the research with the desire to complete the existent monographic sketch, because it lacked presenting detailed folklore. Although every year one or more books appear with the word "monograph" on their cover, I think in this moment it's possible only to make an inventory of the community's local patrimony, i.e. we can write books about villages, but no monographs respecting the methodological rules of the Sociological School.<sup>2</sup> In order to make a monograph, several issues need to be addressed, and a team of researchers specialized in only one field cannot possibly address these issues.

My proposal to do fieldwork in Starchiojd was backed up by professors of the Cultural Studies – Ethnology Department, especially by professor Ioana-Ruxandra Fruntelată, who also was the coordinator of our team. Mr. Dragoş Grigorescu, director of Prahova County Cultural Centre, also supported us, by accepting to collaborate between the Centre and the Bucharest University.

The team was composed of students and alumni of the Cultural Studies – Ethnology Department in the Faculty of Letters, such as: Cristina Bucătaru, Andrei Chivereanu, Elena Dudău, Ioana-Ruxandra Fruntelată, Cristina Gherghe, Cristian Muşa, Nicoleta Şerban. For the second volume of the Starchiojd presentation, we were joined by dr. Constantin Secară, an ethnomusicologist at the "Constantin Brăiloiu" Institute for Ethnography and Folklore of the Romanian Academy.

In my opinion, this kind of actions are crucial for the formation of a young ethnologist. Team work, especially when it is together with the specialists, serves for setting at rest the fear of not knowing "the secrets of knowledge" and, in the same time, is a very good occasion to observe and to appropriate the methods of doing fieldwork and, consequently, to better understand the theory.

In the last years, I noticed the growing interest of County Cultural Centres to show their patrimonial values. Teachers paired with students have organized "by request" research camps in counties such as Prahova, Buzău, Vrancea, Sălaj, Arad. Almost all of their research made up into books and, of course, every institution taking part to such projects has now a digital archive. Speaking of the Starchiojd research, it is based on a desire originating in the local community, as a way to affirm their identity, to acquiring self-knowledge, and also to write down and to transmit the information regarding the local patrimony. The researcher appreciate the support given by the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Members of the Bucharest School of Sociology, led by the great personality Dimitrie Gusti, who conducted field researches between 1920 – late 1940, their articles and books covering social, economic, artistic etc. aspects of the Romanian peasant culture.

County Cultural Centres and their help with collecting folklore, but in the same time, this could be a problem, because these institutions ask for a book after only one fieldwork campaign (which generally doesn't surpass a week spent in the community by the researchers). This often makes impossible for the researchers to really know the respective community and therefore, they have to leave aside many important aspects of the village life.

It is advisable for the young researchers to take into account several aspects of the research work. I talked about this to the students during the General Introduction to Ethnography course held by dr. Corina Mihăescu, where I talked about the textiles from my home village. First, it is important for the young researcher to tackle a subject he likes or is capable to manage; and secondly, he needs to have a motivation which could grant him the patience to invest time and hard study for the research of cultural deeds.

In order for the students to learn the methods of the ethnographic research, it is helpful for them to first launch in small "researches" in a milieu they know, to talk to people they know, in order to eliminate the "fieldwork fear" that might appear later, during their real research. Another important path is to work for a while together with a specialist who could teach him some techniques for gathering information. I, for myself, got to learn (and I am still to learn) new techniques of ethnological and ethnographical investigations as an apprentice to my professors, Narcisa Știucă and Ioana-Ruxandra Fruntelată. This is why I think that, no matter how strong and mature might a young researcher thinks he would be, he still is like a child which learns to walk. Only after a while, when he gathers enough experience and information, he could be compared to a child who learned to run without any further support.

During the Starchiojd "fieldwork", my status was both of an insider and outsider. Each of these positions has its ups and downs. The insider, on one hand, is disadvantaged because sometimes it seems impossible to separate himself from the milieu in which he was born and where he grew up as a person, to put a distance between him and his own cultural identity. It is exactly because of this situation that a person who is doing research "at home" can be blind to the scientific part of some themes. The ethnologist can also be marked by his involuntary biases and at times he is forced to change the role of researcher with the role of the local. Therefore, during my inquiry, I struggled hard to maintain a vision on the village as objective as possible.

In all the places where researchers conduct a field research, there is somebody acting as a guide, whether he/she is a teacher or a clerk working for the local city/village hall or other public institutions. Sometimes, these guides could try to lead the researcher on a specific path, because they may want to present some processes in a good light, while avoiding others. But, even so, I

think it is crucial to have a guide who knows the people, the village, and who is also known and respected in the community. I need to stress this aspect because in many villages there still exists a certain reluctance towards The Other, the stranger, a reject of things coming from outside the community. In this case, an interceder could smooth considerably the research process. As we had only a short period of time for doing fieldwork, we really needed a local to help us. The insider (who was also the researcher in this specific situation), who knows what is to happen, can ease the fieldwork, by establishing contacts with the locals and conducting the team to the "heart" of the village. There is a fact that many people in Starchioid keep private and, therefore, it is hard to really start to talk with them. Maybe this reclusiveness is a consequence of the fact that Starchioid had once the status of ranger village (Fruntelată and Gherghe, 2014). On the other hand, rejecting strangers may also be a consequence of the alarming news (hold-ups, stealing) presented massively in mass-media. Locals also fear unknown people coming to the village in order to ask financial support or to selling different goods. I could offer, as an example, a personal field experience I had in 2011, when I went to talk to one of the last two weavers who still had a functioning loom. I interviewed her, I took pictures of her, and in the end I thanked for being so gentle with me. To which she answered: "My child, I received you because I know you. A stranger comes, see what you have in your house and then, in dead of the night, he comes back and blows you in the head."3 It was at that moment that I realized how crucial it is for the researcher to be at least superficially known by the researched community. The presence of an insider guide helps to coagulate the link between researchers and their subjects and, why not, even to integrate the researchers in the community. Such relations coagulate in almost all the communities during a fieldwork. And, since I knew the community and its material and immaterial values, I tried to follow at a deep level the interesting subjects, including by coming back to some of my informants after the research was over, in order to clarify or to complete information.

But I really understood how important is for the research team to have a local-specialist among its members only when we edited the first volume of our book. As the team spent just a short period of time in the village and, therefore, didn't got to know well the community, several problems occurred with understanding the local words, which, without the intervention of the local specialist, could have led to errors in the book. To give just an example, in the glossary appeared the word "laptareasa"; one of our colleagues explained it as "woman who sells milk",

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Interview with Tocuţa Marcu, born in 1942, Starchiojd, Prahova county.

which is, indeed, its literary meaning, but in the local speech the word serves to name a specific clay pot, in which the milk was left to turn sour.

If we consult the old monographs and, generally, the books describing a community or another, we can easily see how diversified are the themes approached. Several factors determine a sort of a mobility regarding these themes. We could talk about a "tactic" of today's fieldworks, centered on the study of migration or of the influences exercised by the migration abroad on the life style etc. A researcher generally plans ahead his fieldwork, based on the local cultural patterns, but the field itself imposes research themes impossible to predict. Meeting people who detain certain information or who are specialized in a specific handicraft, atypical for the region, but crucial for understanding the contemporary reality, could modify the plans of the research. For instance, in a village called Valea Anei I met an old woman who was painting eggs. Nobody else in the region knew this handicraft, but in the same time, the woman represented the fourth generation of egg painters in her family (Chivereanu, 2015).

My colleague, Andrei Chivereanu, approached a new theme, newer and/or different from what we are accustomed to read in a general monograph. He entitled this theme "The land, a political subject". One could be tempted to believe that this subject bears no relation with the ethnology, with the Romanian villages, but as soon as we remember the allotment of the peasants, then the forcefully seizing of the land, and the final allotment that took place after 1989, we are able to observe certain modifications or simplifications of the ritual agricultural practices, as well as many other changes in the life of the rural communities.

During our team fieldwork, our methods were the interview, the direct and participant observation, the life story and the conversation. Visual witnesses have helped us: photographs, memoirs textbooks, front diaries, dowry documents, video recordings of funerals and weddings. To all this, I also added my own data, collected during several years.

The first field research, that took place in 2013, was followed by another in 2014 and their results were published in two books, published by the Prahova County Cultural Centre (see note 1).

In these books we wanted to separate a bit the material and immaterial culture, although they are, of course, linked to each other. The first volume covers the habitation, the occupations and the traditional handicrafts. We tried to picture the old and new activities, and their evolution along the 600 years of existence of the village, since its first mention in written documents. For this volume, the oral information received from the community was strongly supplemented with ethnographic information concerning the buildings, the organization of households, of the land

lots which we could observe. We analyzed the habitation type, imposed by a mixture of geographical, demographical, and historical conditions, both in the village and in the seasonal habitations ("odăi"), built on lands situated far from the village. The main occupations are the same with those mentioned in documents referring to entire region. Animal husbandry remains to this day the principal occupation of the Starchiojd community, despite the fact that a very significant number of locals are leaving the village in order to work in other parts of the country or even abroad. This occupation led to a culture of hay<sup>4</sup>, as well as to a specific calendar and feasts linked to the mowing and hay making. Subsistence agriculture practiced in this region is also in tight connection to the animal husbandry. The geographic position, the stable soil, relatively rich in nutrients, have encouraged the development of pomiculture and the region is renowned for the plum brandy (tuică) distilled from specific plum varieties.

We also analyzed the local tissues, diverse and bearing many different names, depending on the techniques used and the functions they have. We tried to obtain as many information as possible, regarding the craft, the time (good or bad) when the textile plants could be processed, the sanctions applied by certain mythological beings to those who work during the "forbidden days" etc. Also in the chapter dedicate to the handicrafts we tried to offer a large amount of information regarding the craft, the best time to buy the wood fit for buildings, the methods of crafting the "flowers" (*florărie*) – that is, the beautiful fretwork still to be seen in the old houses pillars and eaves, as well as in other wood constructions.

The volume also contains information about the sheepskin coat crafting and the blacksmithing; we talked about the fate of these crafts after the apparition of industrial made cloths and ironworks.

All in all, our purpose was to take a "picture" in which we could see the past, but mainly the present. Our interest was to show those characteristics which are representative, alive and respected in the community. In order to illustrate each theme, we reproduced pictures from personal archives of the interviewees or made by the members of our team. We deemed important to provide a glossary and the list of our informants. This was regarded as crucial by the community, who perceived the book as an "identity card" recording both the identities of its members and the cultural pattern which is still governing their lives.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ioana-Ruxandra Fruntelată, Elena Dudău and I (Cristian Mușa) published a paper on this topic, entitled "Haylife and Haylore in Starchiojd (Prahova county, Romania): from Present to Past", in the journal *Martor. The Museum of the Romanian Peasant Anthropology Journal (A Place for the Hay: Flexibility and Continuity in Hay Meadow Management*), no 21/2016, pp. 87-100.

In the first volume we published, among others, the foundation legend of the Ceauşi hamlet, as well as the legend of the cuckoo and the redbreast, as we collected them "straight from the people", still alive in the memory of people. In the same time, we considered it is important to mark some aspects regarding the traditional local food and this is the reason for which we published several recipes to prepare dairy products and to conserve fruits (mainly the plums).

The second volume of the book completes the first, being dedicated to feasts, to local customs and traditions, in order to offer a picture of the local poetic, music and dance repertoire. Our wish was to gather information on the passage rites (birth, wedding and funerals), comparing the past to the present through different time layers; sometimes, the interviewees proceeded alone to this comparison of different periods, somehow in the way a carpenter evaluates a tree, from the root to the canopy, before cutting it to be processed.

Black magic practices such as stealing the milk from cows ("luarea manei"), "breaking the cattle" and witchcraft are still alive in the community. As this domain is a sensitive one, it was harder to investigate it and it is absolutely mandatory to return in the community for further research. This is why our colleague who dealt with the magic practices opted for "masking" the names of his informants, especially since it was far from easy for him to convince them to talk about such things.

As for my part, I wrote the chapter named "Communitarian spirit in Starchiojd. Manifestations and folk expressions in the life of the village", in which I presented the local repertoire (I had started to collect it since the high school years). But my approach was to start with a spiritual image of the villagers, to present them as they are and as I have seen them, as an insider. This is another important aspect to take into consideration, because a researcher who is an outsider could not understand them so well, could not dive so deeply in the heart of the subject. As I mentioned in the respective chapter, I tried to sculpt their face as it appears in their manners, their reactions during hard times, their nicknames, and the relations with other members of the community. I started in my comparisons from an individual and gradually covered the whole community. As for the comparisons, they cover people, on one hand, and streets, hamlets, parishes, and cemeteries belonging to the same village, on the other hand, as they are perceived by the locals.

The intervention of a musicologist was also very important, especially because starting with the 1950's the region became of interest for the ethnomusicologists, due its repertoire, rich in epic ballads ("cântece bătrânești") and having for main theme the abuses on the peasants perpetrated by the local nobility ("boieri"). In 1957, researchers from the "Constantin Brăiloiu"

Institute of Ethnography and Folklore from Bucharest conducted a study on the music repertoire from the village Bătrâni, which, until 2000, belonged to the greater village Starchiojd (Carp, 1957). The music chapter from the second volume presents the nowadays situation of the music repertoire, related or not to specific occasions and ceremonies. It presents an inventory of what is left now, compared with the past. The study also contains literary and music transcriptions of several carols which are no longer to be found in the active repertoire; those transcriptions could help them to find their way back to the active repertoire.

The Starchiojd community recognizes two women as representative personalities who are deemed somehow "responsible" for keeping, conserving and developing the local folklore. The two are the folk poet Lica Diaconu ("Mother Lica") and the primary school teacher Elisabeta (Lucica) Gârbea. Based on the memories of the informants, of their families and on our personal acquaintance with them, we tried to write some biographic data about their life and activity.

The volume ends with a glossary and a collection of about 500 proverbs and sayings which were not collected during the two different periods of research, but they are still alive in the community (except for a number of 50 proverbs written by Mama Lica in her textbooks). We also added several ritual and ceremonial texts either collected by us, or taken from different notes of our informants, or even created by Mama Lica.

Our action represented an impulse for the communities from the neighbouring villages; they too felt the need to affirm their identity and to proceed to an inventory of their cultural values. Thus, we noticed an inner desire, going ever too stronger, to self-knowledge and cultural development.

The launching of the two volumes together with events organized in the very centre of the community was a sort of signing a local identity document, held in high respect by the people. By seeing their names printed in these volumes, they reached the conclusion they are an important stone at the base of their community and they are spiritually richer if they keep and transmit the things belonging to them.

In conclusion, we could confirm the actuality of the assertions made by Mihai Pop, concerning the modification of folklore. The folklore exists, it lives in the significant community events, it reflects the reality and it changes according to the needs and desires of its creators and transmitters.

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