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History – Culture – Music
in the Romanian Eighteenth Century

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Abstract: Recently, I made a few forays in the history of the society, culture and music of the people in the Carpathian-Danubian space, without the intention and claim of unlocking doors thrown widely open before me by established researchers such as Lucian Boia, Theodor T. Burada, Gheorghe Ciobanu, Octavian Lazăr Cosma, Neagu Djuvara, Costin Moisil and many others. I did it especially in order to try to tear myself away from the old spread-eagle patterns, from prejudice. Thus, I ascertained that, in the flow of time, of events, of facts, the European eighteenth century constitutes a page about which I do not know enough yet; I felt at the same time that it represents a stage that can bring (to me) additional understanding of the following two hundred years (the 19th and 20th centuries). Therefore, I let myself be overcome by curiosity, beginning by undertaking a reconnaissance survey "over" the 18th century of European history. I continued by approaching the European socio-political and cultural configuration and dynamics of the same period. Finally, I tried to understand – keeping, at the same time, a comprehensive perspective – the Romanian socio-cultural and musical phenomenon of the 18th century, with the intention of integrating it with the logic of historical progress and with that of territorial connections.

Keywords: the 18th century, Romanians, music, West, East.

1. Historical panorama of the eighteenth century in Europe

In recent years I made a few forays in the history of the society, culture and music of the people in the Carpathian-Danubian space, without the intention and pretence of unlocking doors thrown widely open before me by established researchers such as (in alphabetical order!) Lucian Boia, Theodor T. Burada, Gheorghe Ciobanu, Octavian Lazăr Cosma, Neagu Djuvara, Costin Moisil and many others (Chelaru, 2016; Chelaru, *Cui i-e frică*, 2020). I did it in order to understand our history differently, better, to try to tear myself away from the old spread-eagle patterns, from prejudice. I "visited" the old age, I ran through the first millennium, with its blank rather than known areas, then the first centuries of the principalities on both sides of the Carpathians, until the dawn the of the 18th century. Then I made a leap over a hundred years and re-discovered the 19th (Chelaru, 2017) and the 20th centuries (Chelaru, *Romania in The Last Hundred Years*, 2019). Thus, I ascertained that, in the flow of time, of

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events, of facts, the European eighteenth century constitutes a page about which I do not know enough yet; I felt at the same time that it represents a stage that can bring (surely to me) additional understanding of the following two hundred years (the 19th and 20th centuries). Therefore, I let myself be enthralled by curiosity, beginning by undertaking a reconnaissance flight "over" the 18th century of European history.

1.1. General framework

What is the background colouring of the European eighteenth century? Historians, especially the Western ones, called it the century of Enlightenment. The name is, of course, acceptable, but not sufficient. It is merely a cultural-philosophical side of that which meant an age ripe with contradictions, with fusing of tensions and conflicts, that would become acute and would explode in the following two hundred years. It is the century in which Europe, with its anxieties, cannot be detached from the other continents anymore, with which it is tied ever more tightly, through multiple and diverse crosspollinations. As I was saying, I started from *above*, from general trajectories, gradually descending ever closer to areas, regions and communities in order to understand phenomena, events, evolutions, fact…

1.2. Chronology

1669. The Treaty of Karlowitz (Vojvodina, Serbia) between the *Holy League* (the Habsburg Empire, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Venetian Republic, Russia) and the Ottomans (defeated); at the end of the Austrian-Ottoman war (1682-1699): Transylvania becomes an autonomous principality, vassal to the Habsburgs. The moment of the foundation of the Greek-Catholic Church in Transylvania.

1711-1715. The Phanariotes[1] begin to govern in the Romanian principalities Wallachia and Moldavia.

1718. The Treaty of Passarowitz (northern Serbia), as a consequence of the Austro-Venetian-Ottoman war (1714-1718): the Ottoman Empire lost the Banat of Temeswar, the north of Serbia (including Belgrade), the north of Bosnia and Oltenia in favour of the House of Habsburg.

1736-1739. The Russo-Austrian war against the Ottoman Empire, closed with the victory of the Turks and the treaties of Belgrade and Niš (1739).

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[1] Phanariots, Phanariotes, Fanariots (Greek: Φαναριώτες), were members of prominent Greek families in Phanar (Φανάρι, modern Fener), the chief Greek quarter of Constantinople where the Ecumenical Patriarchate is located, who traditionally occupied four important positions in the Ottoman Empire: Voivode of Moldavia, Voivode of Wallachia, Grand Dragoman, and Grand Dragoman of the Fleet. Despite their cosmopolitanism and often-Western education, the Phanariotes were aware of their Hellenism. (t.ly/6TC7, accessed on 29 December 2020)

1770. The revolt from Peloponnese: a fight of the Greeks from the Peloponnese peninsula against the Ottoman Empire. The rebellion was prepared and actively supported by the Russian Empire. The outbreak of the revolt was coordinated with the maritime expedition led by prince Alexei Grigoryevich Orlov, the commander of the Russian imperial fleet.

1774. The Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarji (a village in the Silistra region, southern Dobruja, north-eastern Bulgaria) after the defeat of the Ottomans by the Russian Empire (1768-1774): Russia interpreted the treaty as granting it the right to protect the Orthodox Christians in the Empire and especially used this prerogative in the Danube Principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia). Austria receives Bukovina.

1787-1982. The Austro-Russo-Ottoman war, ended with the victory of the Russians and the treaty of Iași.

1804, 1815. Revolts of the Serbs against Ottomans.

1821. The independence war of the Greeks starts. Tudor Vladimirescu's revolt in Wallachia (Mazower, 2019, pp. 9-10)

2. The European socio-political spectacle in the eighteenth century. Main roles in the unravelling historical events

Reviewing the events and distinctive characters who marked the history of the eighteenth century, a dynamic spectacle is gradually outlined, with tragic moments, with achievements, with winners and losers, with important characters and extras.

> "[…] Europe – and at the beginning some of its very small regions – was the one which differed fundamentally from the rest of the world. In other parts of the world there were no crises to trigger change; this was produced when the Europeans – *pushed by innovation, greed, religious zeal or the shortcomings from home* [our italics] – began conquering the world." (Roberts, 2018, p. 583)

This assertion by historian John Morris Roberts[2] compresses down to its essence and explains the progress of the West for over three hundred years, from the first forays looking for new territories and sea passages (the end of the 15th century) up to the beginning of the Romantic century (the 19th cent.).

Regarding it "from left to right" (from the West to the East), Europe of the 18th century is presented thus: the West, with consolidated royal states, great colonial powers; the centre – crumbled from north to south, but having economic centres of great influence on the continent and vast colonial territories (e.g. Holland, the Papal State) and the East – dominated by four powers: Austro-Hungary, the Polish-Lithuanian-Saxon coalition, Russia (of

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[2] John Morris Roberts, 1928-2003, was a leading British historian, professor at the Oxford and Southamption universities and Governor of the famous BBC company. (is.gd/WlU1Cn, accessed on 6 July 2020)

Peter I, later the Russian Empire) and the Ottoman Empire. This Central-Eastern configuration would suffer a change halfway through the 18th century by the elimination of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the ascent of Prussia.

Therefore, the European 18th century features, in essence, a few socio-political, economic and cultural phenomena which would define subsequent history: in the West consolidations, with the first steps towards what would become globalisation in the following two hundred years, through: England, France, Spain, Portugal – the owners of vast and rich colonies in the *New World* (the two Americas, Oceania, Australia, Africa) and in the already known continent, Asia. In the Centre, *the ascent* of states or coalitions of states, which would generate: the second Reich (the *Holy Roman Empire*)[3] and the Habsburg (Austro-Hungarian) Empire. In the East – *decay* (the Ottoman Empire) but also a spectacular *ascent* of the Russian Empire, beginning with Peter the Great and continuing with empress Catherine II.
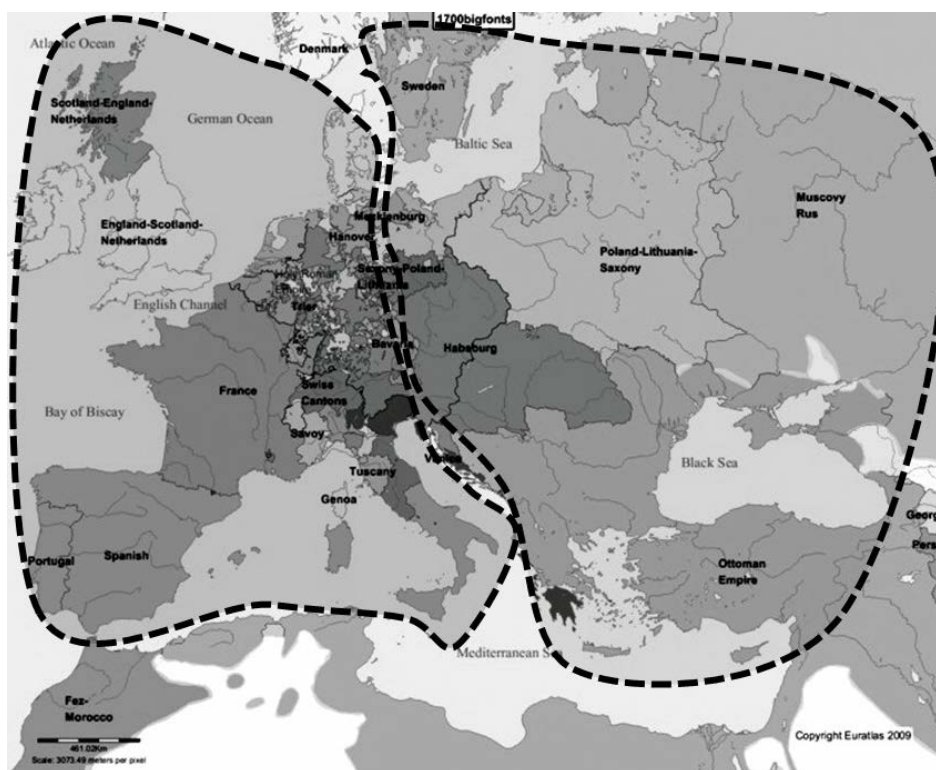

Fig. 1 Europe in 1700: the West vs. the Central-Eastern area

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[3] whose existence ends in the early 19th century, as it is defeated by Napoleon Bonaparte.

All of these converge towards the end of the century in what historian Brendan Simms[4] calls *the geopolitics of the three revolutions*:

"At the end of the 18th century, geopolitics was dominated by three revolutions. Both the American Revolution [the War of Independence of the thirteen North-American states from 1775 to 1883, o.ad.] and the French Revolution [1789-1799] began as revolts against the great strategy of the [feudal, o. ad.] ancient regime, whether it was about London's territorial restriction in the West [through the loss of the North-American colonies, o.ad.] or the diplomatic retreat of the Bourbon monarchy in Central Europe. The new states initiated new forms of internal organisation in order to maximise their advantage in the international system: the American Constitution and Revolutionary and Napoleonic France [o.b.]. […] This is how the third revolution was born, a geopolitical transformation in which the revolutionary regime and Napoleon destroyed the balance in the Holy Roman Empire and finally in the Empire itself, thus upsetting the balance of power." (Simms, 2015, p. 144)

Fig. 2 The territorial division of the North-American continent in 1775.
On the eastern coast, at the Atlantic Ocean, there are the thirteen British colonies
that won their independence in 1776, constituting the nucleus of the Unites States.[5]

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[4] Brendan Simms (b. 1967 in Dublin, Ireland) is a professor of *The History of International Relations* at the Department for Political and International Studies at Cambridge University. (t.ly/OZwp accessed on 30 December 2020)

For the West, the 18th century represented what was called *enlightened absolutism*: the state dominated by the monarch, feudal vassalage and the power of the church on the one hand (the *absolutism*) and the stage of coagulating ideas and reforming intentions on the other hand (*Enlightenment*). All through the 18th century, in the fertile "bed" of the Western *enlightened* culture and philosophy there germinates the *national spirit*, which, in the following century, would rise and produce on the entire European continent and farther away the fruits of conscience regarding ethnic belonging.

2.1. The West
The British Empire

Was a parliamentary monarchy after the English had executed their king at the middle of the 17th century (Charles I Stuart, in 1649) and had "experimented" with the *republic*[6] for a short while. The external history of the British is no less agitated. At the beginning of the century, the kingdom adopts the official name of *Great Britain*, including England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland, the Electorate of Hanover[7] and important colonies on four continents. Among these, the thirteen colonies on the eastern coast of North America declared their independence in 1776 and constituted the nucleus of the American *United States*, see fig. 2 (t.ly/PrgO, accessed on 1 July 2020). The British colonies included in the 18th century territories from Canada, from India, the gradual colonisation of Australia, a part of the Caribbean Islands, the south of Africa.

Among the four monarchs of Great Britain who reigned in the 18th century, the first, Queen Anne (reign 1707-17014) belonged to the House of Stuart, while the following three – George I (1714-1727), George II (1727-1760) and George III (1760-1820) to the Hanover dynasty.

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[5] This map was obtained from an edition of the *National Atlas of the United States*. Like almost all works of the U.S. federal government, works from the *National Atlas* are in the public domain in the United States. (t.ly/7Ayl, accessed on 1 July 2020)

[6] Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658, originating in the middle class) defeated the royal army (in 1649), created the Commonwealth, leading England, Scotland and Ireland as *Lord Protector*. In 1660 royalty was reinstalled in England, sharing power with the Parliament. The execution of a crowned head in the public square was a premiere in European history, which would be repeated by the French 150 years later (in 1789); with the French, the *republic* lasted a while longer and returned, being definitely set up in 1870. Finally, the last bloody overthrow of a European monarchy through a civil war took place after a further 130 years in tsarist Russia through the Bolshevik revolution (1917), the execution of the tsar and of his family (this time under great secrecy!) with the known dramatic consequences and the setting-up of Communism.

[7] a province situated on the continent, in north-western Germany, which from 1707 until the beginning of the 19th century was part (with short interruptions) of the British Commonwealth.

The Spanish Empire and the Kingdom of Portugal

At the beginning of the century, the French kings from the Bourbon dynasty took over the leadership of the Spanish Empire, starting with Philippe d'Anjou, Louis XIV's nephew, who became king Felipe V. The European territories of Spain are gradually reduced compared to what they had been in previous centuries, but the colonial ones are still vast and constitute a source of considerable opulence: Central and South America, the Caribbean Islands. The Spanish Empire keeps within the sphere of absolutist monarchy and of the considerable influence of the Roman-Catholic Church. (t.ly/7w3u, accessed on 1 July 2020)

To these there must be added the colonial power of the small kingdom of Portugal. At the beginning of the 18th century there takes place on the territory of today's Brazil a veritable exodus of gold and diamond searchers, rapidly stimulating the mining industry and all adjacent economic branches. Researchers note that in this period approximatively 80% of European gold came from Brazil. In Portugal, the royal family received one fifth of the Brazilian gold. The rush after the precious South-American metal amplified the emigration to the new continent, the population of the Iberic kingdom registering thus a significant decrease. (t.ly/9yhm, accessed on 11 June 2020)

Italy and the Papal State

Until 1700, Italy had a population of approximatively 13 million inhabitants. (Black, 2001, p. 21) It had 45 larger cities, marking small quasi-autonomous regions, with own leaderships, administrations and even languages/dialects, Latin being spoken only by the rich and educated people. The 18th century registered new innovations as the country gradually began to pass from feudalism to *risorgimento* (it. *rebirth*). (Black, 2001, p. 13). Nevertheless, numerous travellers of the time related the degree of poverty and backwardness, especially in the towns south of Rome and Venice. Wars and epidemics profoundly marked especially the life of the urban population. Milan, Verona, Bologna, Livorno, Porto Ferraro were well-known as smallpox centres, with a high mortality rate, especially among children. The Italians from the 18th century also suffered from typhus, syphilis, tuberculosis, malaria, cholera and dysentery as a result of the general lack of hygiene. Drought and famine were also causes of high mortality, especially in the Kingdom of Naples, in Toscana and in Rome, from 1709 to 1710 and from 1764 to 1767. (Black, 2001, pp. 28-29)

In the 18th century the Papal State contained most of central Italy: Latium, Umbria, Marche, Ravenna, Ferrara and Bologna, stretching towards the north in Romagna; it also included the small enclaves of Benevento and Pontecorvo in the south and the Venaissin county around Avignon, in the south of France. Despite the limited administrative territory and the notable

consequences provoked by the "earthquake" of the Lutheranism (the 16th century), the power of the Roman-Catholic Church was still considerable, also extending its influence on the Hispano-Portuguese and French colonies in the New World.

France
       An absolutist monarchy like Spain, it was also led in the 18th century by the Bourbon dynasty – the kings Louis XIV (until 1715), Louis XV (until 1774) and the unhappy Louis XVI (until 1793, when he was beheaded); also a colonial power, especially rivalling England, with territories in North America, in the Caribbean, in the Asian Far East, in North Africa.
       France was at the same time a European cultural "arbitrator", even if throughout the 18th century the French language and culture competed with the German and English ones.

The Low Countries
       In the 18th century, the Dutch sea commerce and transportation managed to maintain the level reached at the end of the preceding century, but finally gave in in front of the French and English competition. Holland, however, retained its rich accumulated capital. The bankers in Amsterdam were among the most important in Europe, rivalling those in London and Geneva. In Holland, the quality of life was among the highest in Europe. (t.ly/5vv8, accessed on 15 June 2020)

The Holy Roman Empire
       Like Italy, Germany was represented in the 18th century by a multitude of small kingdoms and principalities, forming a union dominated by Prussia and Austria, with the dream of recreating the Roman-German empire. The rivalry between the two ascending states deepened halfway through the 18th century, ending 100 years later, in 1866, when Prussia forced Austria to leave the German confederation.
       At the beginning of the 18th century, king Frederick I extends the influence of Prussia over the other German states and his heir, Frederick II named "the Great" continues territorial enlargement and the establishment of economic and social reforms; among the latter, the creation of the so-called *enlightened absolutism* (Germ. *aufgeklärter Absolutismus*): the king represented "the first servant of the state"; economic reforms, the abolition of torture, the improvement of the situation of Jews, the peasants' emancipation, the encouragement of education were applied – all these contributing to an increase of the inhabitants' prosperity. (t.ly/hsMu, accessed on 10 June 2020)

2.2. Central and Eastern Europe

The Habsburg Empire

The Habsburg dynasty (with beginnings in the 11th century) led Central Europe in the 18th century.[8] In this period, the empire included: Austria, Slovenia, territories from Italy (Naples, Parma, Venice, Milan, Mantua) and Sicily + Sardinia, the south-west of Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Croatia, Belgium, Luxemburg, Galicia (a territory found today in Poland and the Ukraine), Serbia and Transylvania, the Banat of Temeswar, Oltenia, Bukovina.

Poland

A state with an interesting and important history in the 18th century was Poland, more precisely the *Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*, constituted in 1569. Although relatively powerful and unitary, with a democratic leadership for those times, in which the power was held by the *szlachta* of the nobles in the *Sejm* and not by the king, the Polish-Lithuanian kingdom did not resist the wishes of territorial expansion manifested by Russia, Sweden and the Ottoman Empire. During the 18th century it enters under the influence and guardianship of Russia and in 1772 there takes place the first partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Union between Austria, Russia and Prussia.

The Russian Empire

The most spectacular and complex ascent in the period that I am referring to here knew Russia, which had become, through the substantial contribution of tsar Peter I, the Russian Empire.[9] Peter's intelligence, energy and dynamism, visionary and reforming spirit would not, however, have been enough for Russia to change from a kingdom/tsardom into an Euro-Asian empire without one of the most imposing sovereign figures of the time, empress Catherine the Great, with a reign of 34 years (1762-1796).[10] She continued and deepened her predecessor, tsar Peter I's reforms, fighting the obscurantism, primitivism, ignorance which dominated the life of most of the inhabitants of the empire.

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[8] The Austrian line ended (on the male side) in 1740, once emperor Charles VI died (reign 1711-1740). He was succeeded by the descendants of his elder daughter, Maria Theresa (who reigned from 1745 to 1780), married to Francis III, Duke of Lorraine. As a consequence, the succeeding house was formally conceived as the dynasty of Habsburg-Lorraine (germ. Habsburg-Lothringen). (Roberts, 2018, pp. 503-507)

[9] Peter I from the Romanov dynasty reigned from 1682 to 1725.

[10] The empress came from a German family, bearing the name of Sophie Augusta Fredericka of Anhalt-Zerbst. With a view to marrying the heir to the Russian throne, Grand Duke Peter, Sophie dedicates herself to learning the Russian language and to adopt the Orthodox religion, to which she converts in 1744, receiving the name of Catherine.

The Ottoman Empire

The main rival of Europe in the 18th century remains, however, the Ottoman Empire. In the 16th century the empire had reached the apex of power and territorial stretch, during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566). It had become a multi-ethnic, multi-linguistic, multi-religious colossus, with territories in SE Europe, W Asia, the Caucasus, N Africa. At the beginning of the 17th century, the empire included 32 provinces and numerous vassal states. With the capital in Constantinople and controlling the entire Mediterranean basin, the Ottoman Empire was a political, economic and social force in the East-West relation for nearly six centuries (14th – 19th). The 18th century finds the Ottomans still powerful, with ambitions of territorial expansion into the European West. Only towards the end of the century and during the first decades of the following one (19th) do they begin to suffer defeats, to lose territories and influence, as the decadence, corruption and intrigues at the sultan's court overpass in scope the military capacities, the discipline and the cohesion of internal organisation. (t.ly/jh5g, accessed on 2 July 2020) The first half of the 18th century also registered the most thriving cultural era in the history of the Ottoman Empire, known as the *Tulip Era*, 1718-1730, especially during the time of sultan Ahmed III (reign 1703-1730)[11]. Constantinople was one of the most cosmopolitan and populated urban centres of Europe, where different religions, cultures and ethnicities met.

2.3. Addenda

Before lowering the historical gaze onto the Carpathian-Danubian principalities, I thought it necessary to make some observations regarding two ethnic groups, as present in history, as oppressed: the Jews and the Gypsies (or Roma[12]). Both of these ethnic groups marked without a doubt the history and culture of humanity – especially in Europe.

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[11] "The name of the period derives from the tulip craze among the Ottoman court society. Cultivating this culturally ambiguous emblem had become a celebrated practice." (Salzmann, 2000, p. 84)

[12] Until recently, the term *Gypsy* (without a pejorative sense) seemed to me the only representative one historically and linguistically. Recently, I had the occasion to know the opinion of a respected representative of this ethnicity, sociologist Gelu Duminică, an opinion which seemed convincing to me: "The truth is that we have been calling each other «Roma». For a long time, even for a very long time. We do it not because that is what Iliescu, Roman or Soros told us, and not because we did not know how to stir some linguistic confusion. We do it because that is what we have been calling ourselves since we have existed and because that is our name. We say that the term «Gypsy» has been a mocking nickname (etymologically the term named a group of heretics and, in the current Romanian space, it equalled the state of slavery) for nearly 100 years. In 1919, the leaders of the Transylvanian Roma sent a letter to the leaders of Greater Romania (the Meeting of Ibașfalău) through which they asked «[…] to have the mocking name of

The Jews

At the middle of the first millennium (4th – 7th centuries AD), the province Palestine in the Byzantine Empire (situated in the Middle East, on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean) dismembers, loses its autonomy, Jerusalem is conquered and destroyed, there take place revolts, slaughters, anarchy installs, the territory enters Arabic-Islamic control. The Mosaic-rite population, which had not fallen prey to massacres, begins its long wandering through history, through Europe, Asia and northern Africa, almost miraculously resisting persecution, through unsuspected regenerative energy, through cohesion, the keeping of traditions concomitantly with the power to adapt and the profound respect for education, until modern times, when they had the energy to set up their own state again (in 1948).

In the history of the Jews, the 18th century is named the *Enlightened Century* or *Haskalah.*

"At the beginning of the eighteenth century most European Jews lived in restricted settlements and urban ghettos, isolated from the surrounding dominant Christian cultures not only by law but also by language, custom and dress. By the end of the century urban, upwardly mobile Jews had shaved their beards and abandoned Yiddish in favour of the languages of the countries in which they lived. They began to participate in secular culture, and they embraced rationalism and non-Jewish education as supplements to traditional Talmudic studies. The full participation of Jews in modern Europe and America would be unthinkable without the intellectual and social revolution that was the Haskalah, or Jewish Enlightenment." (Feiner, 2004)

However much anti-Semites have tried across history (they have not given up nowadays, either!) to diminish the value of some emblematic Jewish representatives and of the entire ethnicity they came from – to suppress them or, worse, to demonise them -, history bears witness to their value and integration first in the edifice of European culture (until the 19th century), then in that of the whole humanity. An anecdote relates about an old Jew found on his death bed with all his relatives around him. Before giving his last breath, the old man drives everyone away from the room and remains only with his nephew, saying that he wants to share the secret of his fortune with him. Everyone conforms, the child approaches and the old man whispers in his ear: "my nephew, remember that the Jew's dearest fortune, that no one can take away from you, is *learning.*" – is, I consider, one of the explanations of the century-old vitality of this ethnicity.

Gypsy changed […]». Only 20 years later […] the dictionaries of the Romanian language would also feature the «correct» name, assumed by the members of the community." (Duminică, 2019)

In the 18th century, most of the Jews of European origin came from two cult rites:

- The *Sephardic Jews*, settled in the Iberian Peninsula during the Roman domination and influenced in the 700 years of Arabic rule by the Mauro-Spanish culture. As a consequence of the pressures of the Spanish Inquisition, founded in 1478 by the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella (abolished in 1834), the Jews' exile from Spain was decreed in 1492. They took refuge in Northern Africa, in the Ottoman Empire (including Greece, Bulgaria and Wallachia), Italy, Holland (from where they also passed to the British Islands) and in South and North America.

- The *Ashkenazi Jews*, speakers of the Yiddish language[13], emigrated from the Roman Empire, at the beginning of the first millennium, in central and Western Europe. Later, during the Middle Ages, because of persecution, the Ashkenazi also migrated towards Eastern Europe, settling on territories which would be part of the Polish-Lithuanian state Union (which included parts of the Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Belarus, Russia and Poland). (*Ashkenazi Jews*, 2013)

In the 18th century, in the principalities Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania there lived small Jewish communities (both Ashkenazi and Sephardic)[14], who, despite anti-Semite prejudice, had integrated with the local communities, with their own culture, religion, traditions and occupations, but also with relentless power of adaptation.

"On the plane of current life, the Jews were considered redoubtable competitors as merchants or usurers, bankers and were always perceived as agents of foreign powers (Ottoman, etc.). In the history of the Romanian principalities there were princes or regimes that granted them a privileged status in commercial or other types of activities (Alexander I of Moldavia, Ștefan Tomșa, Constantin Brâncoveanu a. o.) but there were also situations when they were persecuted or extorted (Peter the Lame, Eustratie Dabija, Petru Rareș, etc.). In Transylvania, the Jews are also present around the same period, proving their usefulness as merchants or creditors, but also as doctors at the court of princes such as Stefan Bocskay, Gabriel Bethlen or Gh. Rakoczi. In 1623, Gabriel Bethlen granted to them a privilege act through which a favourable status is regulated. They had freedom of settlement and movement in the principality, the unrestricted practice of

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[13] the *Yiddish* language = a dialect of the Ashkenazi Jews, with a German lexical fund and Hebrew-Aramaic, Romanic, Slav component. (Matras)

[14] "The first Jewish community formed out of emigrants from Turkey probably settled in Iași around the middle of the 17th century." (Hitchins, 2013, p. 93)

commerce, the free exercise of their cult, the absence of discrimination. Although amended by subsequent acts, these privileges consecrated a favourable status to the Jews in the principality of Transylvania." (Nicoară, 2005, p. 29)

Even though they were regarded as foreigners, the Jews were accepted in local communities *also* because of economic causes.

"The Romanians, most of them tied to the land – peasants or boyars – and to traditional activities, did not much excel in economic and commercial occupations. Numerous foreigners – not only Jews but also Germans, Greeks and Armenians – occupied these sectors, impressing the Romanians with an inferiority complex." (Boia, 2012, pp. 230-231)

The Roma or the Gypsies

Come, apparently, from northern India, and their exodus from the Middle East started around the 7th century (one does not know exactly the causes), then to Europe at the beginning of the second millennium, from 1000 to 1050 (Kenrick, 2007, p. XIX). Their presence on the Carpathian-Danubian territory is attested from the 14th century. Depending on the categories of masters, they were grouped in *prince, monastery* or *boyar* Gypsies. What state were the Roma in the 18th century in? Mostly (it seems) *slaves*. Only in the middle of the 19th century would they be freed through explicit laws in Wallachia and Moldavia[15].

"The Romanians' impression about Gypsies is that they do not work but live out of petty thefts and begging. Actually, some of them are able craftsmen; they have a tradition in processing iron, wood and gold. No one contests at least one of their qualities: they are born musicians. The *lăutari* are by definition Gypsies, and Gypsy music is an important component of the artistic sensibility in this part of Europe." (Boia, 2012, p. 239)

This contribution – of the *lăutari* – situates the Gypsies/Roma among the ethnic groups whose presence is taken into consideration not only in the Romanian space, but in Central and Eastern Europe. Impressive there remains the living picture of Romanian society in the early 19th century, of uncontestable harshness, realised by Radu Jude – director and script-writer – and Florin Lăzărescu – writer in the film *Aferim!*, launched in 2015 and awarded the *Silver Bear* prize at the International Film Festival in Berlin. The musical illustration of this film was made by the traditional music band *Trei Parale*, with their own remakes and pieces composed by Anton Pann, thus deepening the authenticity that the film impresses spectators with.

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[15] In Transylvania, the enslavement of the Gypsies had been abolished in 1786 by the Austrian emperor Joseph II.

The Age of Enlightenment in Western Europe (1715 – 1789)

1699-1710	1711-1720	1721-1730	1731-1740	1741-1750	1751-1760	1761-1770	1771-1780	1781-1790	1791-1800
Russo-Swedish war	Russo-Turkish war / The Great Northern War	Russo-Turkish war		Russo-Swedish war		Russo-Turkish war			Russo-Polish war
War of Spanish succession	War of the Quadruple Alliance	The House of Habsburg-Lorraine governs in Central Europe				The Revolution and the North-American Independence War			The French Revolution; Napoleon Bonaparte
				Frederick the Great of Prussia					
	Pre-classicism in music / Vivaldi, Bach, Händel / Pergolesi /		Voltaire	The Viennese classics — Haydn	Mozart		Beethoven		Schubert

The 18th Century in Eastern Europe / the Romanian Principalities (Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania)

The Phanariote reigns in Wallachia and Moldavia, 1711 → 1821

1699-1710	1711-1720	1721-1730	1731-1740	1741-1750	1751-1760	1761-1770	1771-1780	1781-1790	1791-1800
	Constantin Brâncoveanu 1654-1714; Johannes Sartorius-sr 1680-1756	Dimitrie Cantemir 1673-1723; Joh. Sartorius-jr 1712-1787			Ioan Radu Duma Brașoveanu c. 18/2			Naum Râmniceanu 1771-1839; Hieromonk Macarie 1770?-1836	Anton Pann 1790?-1854
		Tulip era in the Ottoman Empire							
Peter I in Russia						Catherine the Great in Russia			
	Musical *chapels* are founded in the Saxon villages of Transylvania				Opera preformances take place in the main cities in Moldavia and Wallachia				Symphonic concerts/ academies take place in the Saxon villages of Transylvania
	The bishop Inocentiu Micu-Klein (1692-1768) of the Greek-Catholic Church of Transylvania				The Transylvanian School 1790→				

Fig. 3 The Eighteenth Century in Western and Eastern Europe

3. European culture in the 18th century, with special references to music

In Table 1 and Fig. 3 there appear face to face the two parts of Europe, leaderships and conflicts, religious, cultural and musical events – all from the perspective of *space* (Western vs. Central-Eastern) and from that of *time* (the 18th century).

The West	The East/ The Romanian principalities	... and yet... the state of most of the population
The Church loses power	The Greek-Catholic church in Transylvania supports Romanians' access to education.	The European east = rural society ↔ The European west = urban society ***
	The *Romanianisation* of the Orthodox cult by the translation of liturgical texts	The western monasteries generated the first universities ↔
	Moldavian Prince Dimitrie Cantemir	The eastern monasteries conserved the Orthodox tradition ***
	Constantin Brâncoveanu ruler Prince in Wallachia	
Enlightenment Voltaire	The Latinist School in Transylvania[16]	Illiteracy – gradually becomes an offence in the West in the East – a normal state ***
In music: Pre-classicism and Viennese Classicism	Baroque-Classical musical influences in the Court music in Transylvania	
	Opera companies on tour in the Principalities	

Table 1 The cultural 18th century: events, trends, personalities

If the (cultural) history of Western Europe is more widely and minutely known, we cannot state the same about that from the (cultural) east of the same continent. Regarding the 17th and 18th centuries, for instance, many more of us have heard of the musical Baroque, with Bach, Händel and Vivaldi, of Louis XIV and the *rococo* style, of *Don Quixote*, Newton and Stradivarius. For Western music, the 18th century plays an essential role: it is the period of confluence of *tradition* with the *innovative spirit*. At the same time, too few of us know about Peter the Great, the *Tulip*

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[16] The Latinist School in Transylvania: "cultural movement founded at the end of 18th century, after part of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Habsburg-ruled Transylvania accepted the leadership of the pope and became the Greek-Catholic Church (c. 1700). The links with Rome brought to the Romanian Transylvanians the ideas of the Age of Enlightenment. […] Its members contemplated the origin of Romanians from a scientific point of view, bringing historical and philological arguments in favour of the thesis that the Transylvanian Romanians were the direct descendants of the Roman colonists brought in Dacia after its conquest in early 2nd century AD. The Transylvanian School had a notable impact in the Romanian culture of both Transylvania, but also of the Romanians living across the Carpathians, in Wallachia and Moldavia […]." (*Wikipedia* t.ly/5wMO accessed on 1 January 2021)

era, about the Moldavian chroniclers[17] or the architectural style of prince Constantin Brâncoveanu[18] time. From the mosaic of problems, contrasts, events which colours the European continent in the 18th century, a few defining aspects come off crosswise and along its territory from the perspective of the Romanian principalities.

3.1. The musical life in the Romanian Principalities in interaction with the regional and the European ones

Again, in knowing the Carpathian-Danubian musical life before the 19th century we are faced with too few or even with the lack of information sources.[19] At the same time, however much we would want – however much we would have been taught to want! – that our territory, people, language, culture be considered as an indivisible whole (from the Dacians to nowadays!), the present and the past tend to prove *diversity*. In the Transylvania of the 18th century, for instance, at the courts of the Hungarian counts, in the Saxon villages Renaissance and Baroque instrumental and vocal-instrumental music in Hungarian, Italian, French was being listened to; in the Catholic and Protestant churches missas, motets, chorals were being sung in the Latin, Hungarian and German languages. In the Romanian settlements there resounded traditional songs and dances, with local performers or nomadic Gypsy *lăutari*. The latter would sing, according to the audience's wish, in Romanian or Hungarian, often mixing or inverting either the languages or the songs. Folklore thus fulfilled its dynamic function. In the Orthodox churches there resounded the monodic and vocal psalmodies, the liturgies and sermons in Greek, Romanian and Slavonic.

> "In 1698, the patriarch Dositei of Jerusalem orders Atanasie of Transylvania that: «the service of the church, that is the Octoechos, the Menaion and other books which are sung on Sundays and on holidays and the everyday service you should try your utmost for all of them to be read in the Slavonic or Greek language, not Romanian or in any other way», the Gospel should be read in Slavonic or Romanian and the sermon should be Slavonic for Serbians and Russians, Romanian for Romanians. We mention that the Greek and Slavonic

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[17] Moldavian and Wallachian chroniclers were boyars of c. 16-18 who wrote the historical account of events arranged in chronological order in the Romanian principalities; among them: Grigore Ureche (1590-1647), Miron Costin (1633-1691), Constantin Cantacuzino (1639-1716), Ion Neculce (1672-1745). (t.ly/bzj4 accessed on 17th January 2021)

[18] Constantin Brâncoveanu was Prince-ruler in Wallachia between 1688-1714. He was a great patron of culture, his achievements being part of the Romanian and world cultural heritage. The so called "Brâncovenesc Style", also known as Wallachian Renaissance, is an art and architectural style that evolved during the administration of Prince Constantin Brâncoveanu in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. (t.ly/1lho accessed on 17th January 2021)

[19] An observation also underlined by Costin Moisil in the study *Construcția unei identități românești în muzica bisericească* (Moisil, 2018, pp. 55-56).

languages, apart from being considered sacred, were kept as a means of opposition to the Calvinist and Catholic propaganda, a reason why these languages persisted in Transylvania more than in Wallachia and Moldavia." (Barbu-Bucur, 1989, p. 53)

The same way, in Wallachia one could hear *lăutari* playing for Romanians, Serbs, Bulgarians, Turks; the Orthodox service in Greek, Romanian and Slavonic; the *meterchane* or Western music at the Princely Court a.s.o. In Moldavia things stood similarly, with the difference that instead of the Serbo-Bulgarian influences there appeared the Russian, Polish, Ukrainian ones.

3.2. Recent comments and interpretations regarding the Romanian psaltic music from the eighteenth century

Because of the lack of relevant information, some controverses were born regarding the music practiced in Romanian churches until the 19th century. Byzantinologists' research of recent years and especially the access to documents and external information sources, which were inaccessible until three decades ago, have led to reconsiderations or at least more nuanced outlooks on the history of psaltic music in the Romanian principalities.

Keeping the synthesis position adopted in this text, I shall only underline one aspect regarding the liturgic musical phenomenon from the Romanian 18th century: *Romanianisation*[20].

This initiative was attributed to psalm singers from the 18th cent., among whom Filothei sin Agăi Jipei and more to those from the early 19th century, among whom Macarie Ieromonahul (Hieromonk Makarije), Anton Pann and Dimitrie Suceveanu. In studies published in recent years, researcher Costin Moisil approaches courageously and with his characteristic minuteness this theme, which I confess I had considered until not long ago definitely and wholly clarified. His comments, supported by reasonable arguments, as well as Iași Byzantinologist Adrian

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[20] Of authentic use was the conversation on 2 January 2021 with the young Byzantinologist Adrian Sîrbu, from the "G. Enescu" National University of Arts in Iași, regarding new conclusions as a consequence of the complex research from his doctoral studies at the *Artistotelis* University in Thessaloniki, finalised in December 2019 with the thesis on *Ifos și țesătura muzicală în tradiția psaltică din Moldova, din secolul 18 până astăzi* [*Iphos and the musical discourse in the psaltic tradition of Moldavia, from the 18th century to the present day*]; supervisor was associate professor Maria Alexandru, Ph.D. and the members of the thesis assessment commission: professor Nicolae Gheorghiță, Ph.D. (National University of Music Bucharest), professor Dimitrios Giannelos, Ph.D. (University of Ioannina, Greece), professor Achilefs Chaldaiakes, Ph.D. (*Kapodistria* State University, Athens), professor Anasthasios Papathanasiou, Ph.D., Abbot professor Nektarios Paris, Ph.D., associate professor Em. Giannopoulos, Ph.D. (*Aristotelis* Univ.).

Sîrbu's research have convinced me that the interpretation of historical facts must undergo some renovation, which is why I continue by including succinct references. Both Costin Moisil and Adrian Sîrbu depart on the one hand from information offered by the Romanian Byzantinologic historiography of the last 150 years, from Mihail Grigore Posluşnicu and George Breazul, to Sebastian Barbu-Bucur and Vasile Vasile, and on the other hand from the research of manuscripts and bibliographic references from European libraries and book funds. The same way that it happened with the writings of Romanian general history from the interwar period and especially from the Communist one, in this case also the nationalist mark came to the fore and many researchers presented the process of *Romanianisation* of our church singing as one of translation of the liturgical text together with *adapting* the music to the *Romanian national specificity*.[21] However, here is what I have found out as a consequence of the research in recent years.

Out of reasons of accessibility in relation to those who attended religious services – mostly people who could not read or write – the penetration of the Romanian language in the church began much earlier than originally thought – as early as the 16th century (Moisil, 2012, p. 159, note 1; Mosil, 2016, pp. 10-12) –, through the sermon and through some words or even liturgic verses, in which the local language gradually replaced Greek or Slavonic. In time, the passages with Romanian text multiplied, so that Filothei's initiative from the beginning of the 18th century of creating *Psaltichia rumănească* (*Romanian Psaltic Music Handbook*, 1713), even if it was not spread through print, can be considered as a corollary of an already existing phenomenon at least in Wallachia and Moldavia. However, the linguistic problem is not entirely solved. On the one hand, the number of musical manuscripts with a text in the Romanian language is reduced compared to those in Greek or Slavonic (Moisil, 2012, p. 159, note 2), on the other hand, it is also C. Moisil who remarks that until the 19th century, in our church singing there coexisted the Greek, Romanian and Slavonic languages, with the mention that "the most honourable position was held by the Greek language, irrespective of the quantitative weight it would have had." (Moisil, 2018, p. 60)

At the same time, another existing situation in the liturgical practice from the principalities must be taken into account: orality, under the conditions that the written musical text (in Byzantine notation) circulated in

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[21] With greater or smaller insistence and good intentions, our inter- and post-war Byzantinology – argues C. Moisil – pleaded for a national church music, different from the Greek one, going all the way to imposing standardised singing in the second half of the 20th century (the Communist period) (Acc. to Moisil, 2012, pp. 24-26; Moisil, 2018, pp. 75-86)

restricted circles, in monasteries with a tradition of psaltic chant school and among erudite clergy; otherwise, much more frequently, the *ritual* of psaltic singing circulated *orally*, being thus subjected to inherent changes, from singer to singer. One still needs to mention that both researchers reminded here also signal the following fact: until the end of the third decade of the 19th century, when the Chrysantine reform was imposed in the musical organisation and especially in the organisation of the Byzantine notation, and the books of chants began to be printed, in the liturgic practice there functioned the Neo-Byzantine (Koukouzelis') style, in which the psalm singers would learn melodic patterns, tempo styles[22], the various types of chant, on which they would then apply small variations, embellishments, adapting at the same time Romanian or Greek text, according to the tradition. After the reform, *the new system*[23] imposed a strictness in the notation, diminishing or eliminating the possibility of ornamental variations.

As a last observation, it needs to be said that until the middle of the 19th century one cannot speak in Europe of *national* cultures, *home-land*, ethnic conscience, but rather of *religious difference* or *religious belonging*. In this regard, the metropolitan churches of Moldavia and Wallachia were subordinated to the Patriarchate of Constantinople and received influences of form and content in the organisation of the liturgical service from Constantinople and from Mount Athos. It follows that the *Romanianisation* did not have the nationalist-patriotic connotation attributed to it subsequently, beginning with the late 19th century, for more than 100 years, out of easily understandable reasons.

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[22] "Each of the eight modes can be subdivided into several categories based on the ratio of notes to syllables and on the tempo of a particular genre. Chrysanthos of Madytos, one of the three teachers, wrote that the 'forms of psalmody belong to four melodic genera: the old sticheraric, the new sticheraric, papadic, and heirmologic.' " (t.ly/e05Y accessed on 14th January 2021)

[23] "Eisagoge eis to theoretikon kai praktikon tes ekklesiastikes Musikes kata ten neoteran methodon, etis esynathreste para ton en Konstantinupole didaskalon tu geniku systematos kyrion, agiu Dyr(r)rahiu Hrysanthu kai Gregoriu protopsaltu kai Hurmuziu tu megalu hartofylakos kai dierethe eis ith kefalaia" = *Introduction to the theory and the practice of church music after the most recent method, which was gathered from that of the general system from among the honest teachers of Constantinople, Chrysantos Durahiul and Gregory Protopsaltes and Hurmuz, the great chartophylax and was divided in 19 chapters,* Constantinople, 27 April 1822. (t.ly/bOGS, accessed on 4 January 2021)
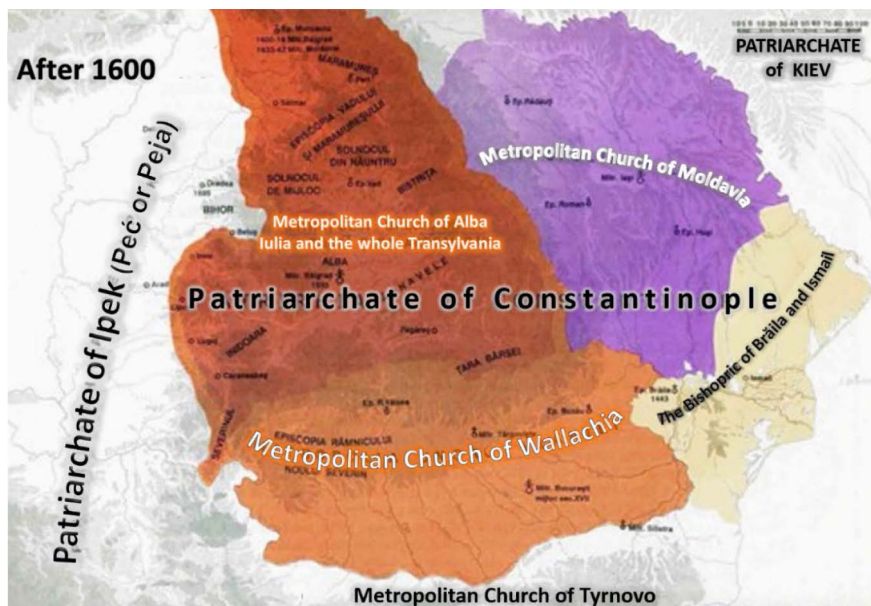
Fig. 4 The subordination of the orthodox church in the Romanian lands before the foundation
of the Romanian Orthodox Church (1872-1885), after N. Iorga, N.M. Popescu,
and N.M. Popp[24] (t.ly/P9Wm, accessed on 4 January 2021)

3.3. The diversity of urban and Court music

Of the three main spheres of Romanian music in the medieval era: the folkloric one, the religious one and court music, the most open to every kind of influences and novelties remains the third, Court music. Taking into account the historical conditions, we can speak, on current Romanian territory, about two distinct types of urban and court music: *a*) that of the extra-Carpathian historical provinces Moldavia and Wallachia and *b*) the music at the Prince's, nobles' Court and from the salons of the wealthy bourgeois in Transylvania. The difference comes from the national influences suffered by the local Romanian population along the centuries: in Transylvania, from the Saxons, Szeklers, Hungarians and from the Austro-Hungarian Empire; in Moldavia and Wallachia from the Turks, Russians, Poles, Phanariotes, and from the neighbouring ethnic groups. Much the same way, various cults and religions influenced the Romanians' language, culture, religion, way of life, psychology.

If traditional secular and religious music followed a slow evolution, with unspectacular changes, the one in the cities and towns of the principalities and the Court one had a heterogeneous character in time and

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[24] *Ipek* is the Turkish name of the city of Peć (Serbian) or Peja (Albanian) from the north of the Kosovo province. The city of Alba Iulia was called *Bălgrad* in Old Romanian language. *Proilavia* is the old name of Greek (*Proilaba*) or Slavic (*Proilava*) origin, of the city of Brăila.

space, depending on customs and fashions, on the protocol of princely and noble/boyar courts, varying from one era to the next, sometimes from one generation to the next, along states, provinces, even regions.

In the last years of the 17th century, Georg Franz Kreybich, a German master glassblower from Bohemia travelled several times to Transylvania and Wallachia, and decades later (1730s) he wrote his memories from these travels; the manuscript was published in 1870. In one of his travels to Wallachia (October 1697), Kreybich mentions short information regarding the atmosphere at prince Constantin Brâncoveanu's Court on the occasion of his daughter, Ilinca's marriage.

> "There was merriment and there was plenty to see, only things worth seeing, for after the banquet was over, in the same hall where lunch had been served a citadel was erected […] surrounded by Turks, and in the citadel there were Germans. […] And there were many other games and all sorts of dances, Turkish, Arabic, Chinese, Tatar, French, Spanish and Polish and they lasted the whole night through to dawn; […]" (Călători, 1983, pp. 127-128)

Whether those were authentic "Chinese" dances we do not know, but what appears clearly is the musical *diversity* at the ruler's Court.

The musicologist Octavian Lazăr Cosma mentions musicians and events of the musical life from the Romanian principalities from the 18th century (Acc. to Cosma, 1973, p. 263): In Transylvania, a great number of German precentors activated in the protestant churches of Sibiu and Brașov, occupying themselves at the same time with the musical education of the children in the church choir, with the musical component of the religious service, they were composers, organists and looked after the publishing and spreading of the liturgical musical repertoire in the community. Among them: Johannes Barth, Petrus Schimmert (a pupil of J. S. Bach in Leipzig), Johann Sartorius father and son a. o.

In Istanbul, Dimitrie Cantemir writes his works of the theory and notation of Turkish academic music (1703-1710). In *Descriptio Moldaviae*, D. Cantemir also presents Romanian customs and musical practices, thus marking the first research on our musical folklore.

In 1730, three Romanian dances are included in a Slovak collection – a testimony of the regional circulation of traditional music.

In the more important cities there take place public musical performances with foreign performers and bands or with local ensembles: a local vocal-instrumental ensemble is mentioned in Timișoara (1730);

Samuel Bruckental[25] founds in Sibiu, in 1753, the instrumental *chapel Collegium musicum*, with periodic concert activity; from 1757 to 1769, in Oradea there activates an instrumental *chapel*, and in 1780 another is mentioned at the court of ruling Prince Alexandru Ypsilantis[26]; in 1770-1772, in Bucharest, Sibiu and Timișoara the Italian company Livio Cinti holds opera performances a. s. o. (Acc. to Cosma, 1973, pp. 443-444)

> "It [fashion, o. ad.] had gradually driven the *hora*[27] away from the circles of high society […] introducing the *à l'anglaise* contra-dance, the waltzes and the Polish mazurka. […] At one of prince de Ligne's balls oragnised in Iași, one could see all the dances known then: «the Pyrrhichios and other Greek, Turkish, Wallachian, Moldavian and even… Egyptian dances»." (Lemny, 2017, p. 81)

And the American doctor James O. Noyes, after his passing through Wallachia, at the middle of the 19th century, concludes: "I have never before seen luxury and poverty, beauty and ugliness joined in such striking contrast." (Noyes, 2016, p. 115)

These are mentions which testify to the exchanges of influences existing between the different East-European regions and between these and the rest of the continent – still cautious, due to all manner of difficulties with which information circulated and the real or presupposed threats to travellers who dared step in this part of the world. To these there was added the almost continuous fighting which, in numerous periods, had as theatre of display the territory between the Carpathians and the Danube – it was the beginning of the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the ascent of the Russian and Habsburg empires. That is why the 18th and 19th centuries did not bring many occasions for happiness for the Romanians in the three principalities.

> "On the contrary – observes historian Stefan Lemny –, for the inhabitants of the Carpahian-Danubian space this era was one of the most oppressive in their existence. The foreign rule [Phanariot, Russian, Austrian, o. ad.], the wars, the plunder and territorial amputations, social oppression, internal political instability, economic and cultural precariousness made life seem almost a nightmare, in which historical traumas rarely left room for moments of quiet." (Lemny, 2017, p. 15)

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[25] Samuel von Brukenthal, 1721-1803, was the Habsburg governor of the Grand Principality of Transylvania between 6 July 1774 and 9 January 1787. He was a personal advisor of Empress Maria Theresa. (t.ly/g1RH accessed on 14th January 2021)

[26] Alexander Ypsilantis, 1726-1807, Greek Prince ruler of Wallachia (1774-1782), then of Moldavia (1786-1788).

[27] *hora*: a type of circle dance originating in the Balkans (*Wikipedia*).

3.4. Internal contrasts and their consequences on the Romanian social and cultural life (unity and diversity)

It has to be mentioned again that until the middle of the 19th century, the statistical data regarding the population in the Romanian principalities are wholly insufficient and imprecise. "Censuses were organised only occasionally, for taxing reasons, but these tended to register villages and families, rather than individuals." (Hitchins, 2013, p. 78) I mentioned above the slow evolution of the East-European society/societies compared to Western dynamism. This fact can be understood through the collaboration of several factors: the wars from the 18th century, especially the ones between Russians and Turks, took place on the Carpathian-Danubian territory, gravely affecting the population increase, agricultural activity and social life, through "civil disorder, the destruction of harvests, requisitioning, plunder and the spreading of diseases" (Hitchins, 2013, p. 79).

The rural–urban ratio appears (the same as now!) clearly in favour of the first; this could be an explanation for the slower rhythm of change. "In 1803, the rural population of Moldavia was 479,850 persons (representing 90,9 percent of the total), the urban one was of 48,050 persons (9,1 percent)." (Hitchins, 2013, p. 79) Moreover, the access to education and culture was (still is!) clearly in favour of city dwellers.

The three main social states, which had stood out in the past two centuries (17th-18th) were, at the beginning of the 19th century: *the first state* – the aristocracy, *the second state* – the clergy, *the third state* – the bourgeois, city folk, peasants (Djuvara, 2015, p. 81). Privileges of all kinds – among which the access to education – belonged to the boyars and the clergy. From here, the numerical and cultural fracture between a favoured minority and the majority, which had remained in the sphere of medial quasi-primitivism (at the end of the Phanariot era, "when the boyar class considerably increased numerically, in 1832 one registered less than five boyar families per every 1000 families in Wallachia.") (Djuvara, 2015, p. 81)

In the second half of the 18th century, in the extra-Carpathian principalities there takes place a very important phenomenon regarding the cultural-educational level of the privileged class: "The French influence – introduced by the Phanariot rulers – was increasingly strong and widespread. The moment marks the beginning of the Europeanisation of the Romanian upper classes, however superficial that process would have initially been." (Djuvara, 2015, p. 83) The contact with the French language and culture was made here also through the Russian officers who had come with the tsarist armies in various periods in the Romanian principalities. Only through the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century

(culminating with the annexation of Bessarabia in 1812), the Russians occupied Romanian territories five times, during and after carrying out wars especially against the Ottomans:

I. 1711, Stănileşti, the Ruler of Moldavia Dimitrie Cantemir vs. Turks. Peter I enters Moldavia with an army up to Vaslui.
II. 1739, war Austria & the Russian Empire vs. the Ottoman Empire. Russia occupies Moldavia.
III. 1769-1774, war the Russian Empire vs. the Ottoman Empire. Russia occupies Moldavia, Wallachia and Dobruja.
IV. 1788-1792, war Austria & the Russian Empire vs. the Ottoman Empire. Russia occupies Moldavia and the east of Wallachia.
V. 1806-1812, war the Russian Empire vs. the Ottoman Empire & France. Russia occupies Moldavia and Wallachia; in 1812, Russia annexes Bessarabia (until 1918).

(Acc. to the video *De câte ori au venit ruşii în România?*)

One must also remark the sensible differences that the social states registered from one area to the next, between the three principalities with a majority Romanian population. In Transylvania, the state of the peasantry was, it seems, better (less bad!) than of the Wallachian or Moldavian peasants. Even the educated minority from the three historical regions presented visible differences, through the Transylvanians' access to the Western culture and educational framework.

> "The Transylvanians and the Banatians [people of Banat, the Western region of present-day Romania, o. ad.] evolved, for centuries, alongside the Hungarians, and the Germans in the framework of Central Europe. Thus, they bear a cultural mark, which does not make them any less Romanian, but enriches them with a Central-European component." (Boia, 2018, p. 57)

If at the census from 1930, in Romania, those who could read and write represented 57%, we can easily imagine how things stood one and a half centuries or two centuries earlier (… and we definitely know how they stand nowadays!).

The situation was the same regarding the access to culture. Here, however, an observation is necessary: exactly because of the relative isolation towards radical changes, towards the hectic urban life and of a slow rhythm of social and civilisational evolution, the East-European rural universe – including the Romanian one – conserves folkloric values much better and for longer. Out of this reason, when the artists brought in front of a Western audience wanting novelty works with Central and East-European national specificity, considered exotic, the surprise was as great as it was pleasant. Under these conditions, culture, including the music of this

territory presents both features of continuity and multiple contrasts, influences and transformations. The principalities Moldavia and Wallachia follow a similar route in many regards. From the moment Transylvania entered the direct sphere of influence of the Hungarian kingdom (10th century), the principality was connected, with good and bad things, to the West. Musically, two main branches distinguish themselves, *musical folklore* (traditional music) and *psaltic music*, to which *Court music* would be added.

The church played a unifying role in the Romanian-populated territories. The church music from the period of the 14th–18th centuries can be considered the richest and most valuable period in the history of Romanian psaltic music. In 1713, Filothei sin Agăi Jipei (a psalm singer from the Bucharest School) publishes *Psaltichia rumănească* (*The Romanian Orthodox Music Textbook*); other representatives: Ioan sin Radului Duma Brașoveanu, Șărban Protopsaltul, Constantin vtori Psalt, Naum Râmniceanu *a. o.* After 1814, the *New Method* [28] is adopted in the Romanian Church, as a result of metropolitan Chrystantos of Madytos' Reform (Ciobanu, 1974, *Muzica bisericească*, pp. 338, 393).

Regarding the non-religious – traditional and court – music, the *lăutari* (Gypsy fiddlers) constitute one of the most dynamic ways of circulation of melodies from one rural area to another, from villages to towns, from the peasant *horas* to princely courts, from the Western music to the national one and the other way around.

In Transylvania more information has been kept regarding musical life, especially from the urban sphere, but in most cases this information refers to the musical life of the Hungarians, Szeklers and Saxons[29]. In the beginning, foreign singers who had come from the West were invited to the prince's or the Hungarian nobles' courts. Gradually, local performers appeared, who took over the foreigners' manner. This is how there

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[28] *the New Method* [*sistima nouă*] = "Chrysanthos of Madytos (ca. 1770–1846), Gregory the Protopsaltes (c. 1778 – c. 1821), and Chourmouzios the Archivist were responsible for a reform of the notation of Greek ecclesiastical music. Essentially, this work consisted of a simplification of the Byzantine Musical Symbols that, by the early 19th century, had become so complex and technical that only highly skilled chanters were able to interpret them correctly." (t.ly/siNy accessed on 5 January 2021)

[29] "In 1438 a pact of mutual aid was codified, Unio Trium Nationum (Latin for 'Union of the Three Nations'), by three social groups of Transylvania: the (largely Hungarian) nobility, the Saxon (German) patrician class, and the free military Székelys. The Union was directed against the whole of the peasantry, regardless of ethnicity, in response to the Transylvanian peasant revolt. In this typical feudal estate parliament, the peasants (whether Hungarians, Saxons, Széklers or Romanians) were not represented, and they did not benefit from its acts, as the commoners were not considered to be members of these three feudal 'nations'." (t.ly/mDfD accessed on 5 January 2021)

penetrated musical styles of the West, like the Baroque and the Classical one, which were sometimes interwoven with timid Romanian influences. Among the representatives of this period in music were Johann Sartorius-the father (1680-1756), precentor and organist in Sibiu, Johann Sartorius-the son (1712-1787), precentor, organist and music director (*kapellmeister*) in Sibiu/Hermannstadt and Sighișoara/Schässburg, Martin Fay (1725-1786) singer and preacher in Mediaș/Medwesch, Petrus Schimert (1710-1787, Sibiu), Johann Knall (d. 1794, Sibiu) a. s. o. (Văidean, 2020, pp. 117-120) Also as an influence of the German Baroque, there appear in the 18th century in some Saxon towns *chapels* (Baroque-type instrumental or vocal-instrumental ensembles constituted out of professional performers, led by a *music director*, with attributions of conductor, main performer and composer), that activated at noble courts, as well as *collegium musicum* – urban musical associations composed of professional and amateur musicians, which were subsidised by the municipal councils. Such *chapels* and *collegium musicum* associations functioned in Sibiu (in count Brukenthal's house), in Sighișoara, Brașov, Oradea *a. o.* The most well-known music directors mentioned by Transylvanian archives are Michael Haydn (1737-1806, Joseph's brother) and Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf (1739-1799). The repertoire included instrumental, vocal-instrumental religious genres (missas, motets, oratorios, cantatas, *etc.*) and lay genres of Western influence, in which *the classical tonal systen* gradually penetrates.

The entire musical life – religious (Catholic and Lutheran) and secular – of the Hungarian, Szekler, Saxon and Swabian masters from the 10th to 18th century coexisted with that of the majority Romanian population, of the folkloric and Christian-Orthodox type. Romanians with outstanding musical inclinations could gain access to the rows of professional musicians, enjoying the appreciation of the community only by leaving their religion, transforming their name and changing their language. Such cases were, however, very rare, and history only retained Ioan Căianu in the 17th century.

In Moldavia, a special "case" was **Dimitrie Cantemir** (1673-1723)[30] – prince Dumitrașcu, who had come to the Ottoman capital in 1688 (at the age of fifteen) firstly as a hostage, but was treated as princely offspring (Chelaru, 2012, pp. 223-240). His education was not, apparently, as strict, as dogmatic, as it would maybe have been had he stayed in Moldavia. In Istanbul, the young

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[30] Dimitrie/Demetrius Cantemir was prince ruler of Moldavia in 1693 and 1710-1711, writer, philosopher, musician; he "was a polyglot known as one of the greatest linguists of his time, speaking and writing eleven languages. Well versed in Oriental scholarship, his oeuvre is voluminous, diverse, and original, although some of his scientific writings contain unconfirmed theories or simple inaccuracies. Between 1711 and 1719 he wrote his most important works. In 1714, he became a member of the Royal Academy of Berlin." (t.ly/sg9j accessed on 17th January 2021)

man had a much vaster, more varied, more exciting cultural, religious, social, political extent of knowledge awaiting, that befitted his special spirit and intelligence. This is how we explain the liberal, lay tendency in his writings. That is why Cantemir's personality and work is the symbol of the European spirit in its essence, the West-East synthesis. It seems that Cantemir was not a comfortable figure – neither as ruler, nor as politician, philosopher or writer; maybe only as a musician! That is why we consider, on the one hand, that his figure has remained too little known in relation to the value it represented; with time, many of his initiatives, ideas, works were forgotten or ignored. On the other hand, Cantemir-oğlu (-*oğlu*, 1. Turk. = son of) represents a culture not at all familiar to the West; and it is known that the West has owned the initiatives in the social-culture dynamics of Europe. Both aspects explain therefore this amazing character's lack of posthumous European scope. Speaking of Cantemir-the musician, we cannot, of course, ignore the other gifts of his personality: writer, historian, folklorist, philosopher. Undoubtedly, these sides influenced each other, each constituting, at the same time, reflexions of a complex, unique and amazing temperament. From what is known about his ways, we deduce a non-conformism, a joy of life and its pleasures, will, vanity and other suspected human weaknesses, which made him be for a long time an irreconcilable adversary of his contemporary in Wallachia, prince Constantin Brâncoveanu.

Of his 50 years of life, prince Dumitrașcu spent 22 in Istanbul, from 1688 to 1710, from the age of fifteen to 37 – a period of concurrent education and self-assertion. This is how we can explain the wide, unrigid, non-dogmatic views, the liberal convictions, and regarding music, his almost exclusive orientation towards the oriental repertoire and technique, especially towards the so-called *Turkish classical music*, in fact the music of the intellectual and cultural elite from the Ottoman Imperial Court. In Istanbul he learned the music and instrumental performance from Kemadi Ahmed, who taught him to play the *kemânče* and from the Greek Angeli, who introduced him to the secrets of the *tanbur*.

"Since he was a smart man and knew well how to read and write in Turkish, his name had   become famous in the entire Istanbul, so that officers called him to their Turkish banquets for sayings." – chronicler Nicolae Costin was writing.

"That he knew so well how to play the *tanbur* that no person from Istanbul could play like him." – noted Ion Neculce, too (Popescu-Judetz, 1973, p. 14)

And prince Dumitrașcu himself mentioned about Turkish music:

"[…] it is learned particularly in families, in private; it is taught by musically educated people to almost all sons of dignitaries (many, though, among ordinary people, as well) and to *ulemas*, that is all the learned men of

which I have not found a single one who could not play or at least understand music naturally, again, as a pleasure." (Popescu-Judetz, 1973, p. 16)

At the same time, Cantemir activated intensely as a performer at the Ottoman Imperial Court and in the intellectual and cultural elite of Istanbul from the period of over two decades spent here. The young Romanian prince collected and noted over 350 melodies of the time. His virtuosity became famous, especially as a performer at the *tanbur*, and his repertoire was enriched with numerous own compositions, much appreciated by connoisseurs. Musical pieces signed by him remained for a long time in the repertoire of the artists in the Empire. Thus, Frenchman Charles Fonton's comments have reached us, who, in 1750, relates of the "great success" of Dimitrie Cantemir's music "still listened to with great pleasure". In 1781, Italian Giambattista Toderini heard in Istanbul "ample connoisseurs" talking about "Cantemir's Turksh airs", after more than seven decades since the prince had left the Ottoman capital. (Popescu-Judetz, 1973, p. 147)

4. Conclusions
4.1. East *versus* West

Numerous historians have remarked on, commented, and searched for explanations for the multiple and complex contrast between the east and the west of Europe (Chelaru, 2017, pp. 14-18).

	Western Europe		Eastern Europe	
Antiquity. the Greeks and the Romans	Relative unity in the Mediterranean basin			
The Middle Ages c. 4. The division of the Roman Empire	**West**		**East – Byzantium**	
	c. 4-8	Ethnic reconfiguration with Germanic nomad populations	c. 5-15	Ethnic reconfiguration with Turanian[31], Slavic, Arabic nomad populations
	relative predominantly Christian religious unity		Ethnic and religious mosaic: Jews, Christians, Muslims	
until c. 18	feudalism		medieval organisation	
	centralised monarchies, colonies		dependence on the Ottomans	
	urban populations		rural populations	
	economic power		cultural-economic backwardness	

Table 2 The gradual division of Europe between the West and the East
from the ancient times to the 18th century

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[31] *Turanians* = populations from Central Asia and Ural-Altaic region (t.ly/i5Sz accessed on 5 January 2021)

Starting with the middle of the first millennium, the civilisation of the European continent separated ever more, along an unseen, yet profoundly felt border until nowadays, which follows the Adriatic coast, the Austrian Alps, the German-Polish Sudetes, up to the Baltic Sea and a great part of Scandinavia (Fig. 5). The causes of this fracture have been long and profoundly debated. Some invoked the climatic conditions, the geographic placement, the less fertile lands; others, the nomads' invasions from central Asia; some blamed the Ottoman rule; others the preponderantly rural character, the predominance and the rigidity of serfdom in the European east (Roberts, 2018, pp. 476-478); or, with a greater degree of generalisation, the (plausible) theory about the historic patterns of civilisations, argued by historian Neagu Djuvara[32].

The states created in the east, on the territory and in the sphere of influence of the former Byzantine Empire, know a double and contradictory state: on the one hand a prevalently rural, backward population, with reduced access to education. Significant in this regard are testimonies – some exaggerated, others full of bitter humour – of travellers, foreign or even local observers, referring to the downright primitive conditions, in which the locals of the territory north of the Danube led their lives.[33] In the writing entitled *Balta-Albă*, published in 1847, Vasile Alecsandri (1821-1890, Moldavian writer, politician and diplomat) imagines the travel notes of a young French painter, from Brăila to Balta-Albă[34] (not to be confused with the well-known Bucharest neighbourhood) – a settlement on the shore of the lake of the same name, close to the health resort of Amara, today in Buzău county.

> "Consequently, I kept my eyes on the left shore of the Danube, with the hope of seeing something that would multiply my knowledge of Wallachia; but it is clear that this province wanted to punish me, for it showed me nothing but barren plains, which united with the sky at the horizon.
> From time to time, however, I would see a being wandering through those limitless fields or some pile of huts covered with reed; but I could not understand from afar whether that being was human and whether those primitive dwellings formed a village.
> […] I asked Mr. consul to facilitate a way to carry me immediately to Balta-Albă and, half an hour later, a soldier entered the salon announcing me that the carriage was ready. I took a travel bag and descended quickly into the street. But lo and behold! In place of a coach, a little box full of hay on four wooden wheels with broken spokes." (Alecsandri, 1847, p. 2)

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[32] … in his book *Civilizaţii şi tipare istorice. Un studiu comparat al civilizaţiilor* [Civilizations and historical patterns. A comparative study of civilizations], published in Paris, in 1975, awarded a history prize by the French Academy in 1976 and published at the *Humanitas* Publishing House in 2012.

[33] The ascertainments do not regard, of course, only *this* territory, but the entire East-European area.

[34] Brăila→Balta-Albă (Amara) = 62 km

And the American doctor James O. Noyes, in his travel diary (1854), notes, not less humorously:

"After a six-week stay, I decided to leave Bucharest. I had stayed enough among its boyars and slaves, among palaces and huts, among gardens and swamps; […] The Daco-Romans […] have a terrible substitute for the fast American iron road. Nothing can be more primitive than their *waggons* or coaches, which must originate in the times that the Scythians roamed the Wallachian plains. Not even a particle of iron is used in the construction of the four little wooden wheels, that a knitted basket is tied to, like a little trunk for crockery, and just as large as to fit a single person with flexible extremities and moderate horizontal dimensions." (Noyes, 2016, p. 166)

On the other hand, the East-European territories totalise religious and lay cultures, in which the Byzantine tradition is present and stimulative of authentic values – e.g. in the Romanian-populated territories: the painted churches of Bukovina (15th–16th cent.), the *cule* (the defence towers) and the architecture style of prince Brâncoveanu time from Wallachia (the beginning of the 18th cent., e.g. the Văcărești Monastery near Bucharest, demolished in 1986, on Ceaușescu's order) etc.
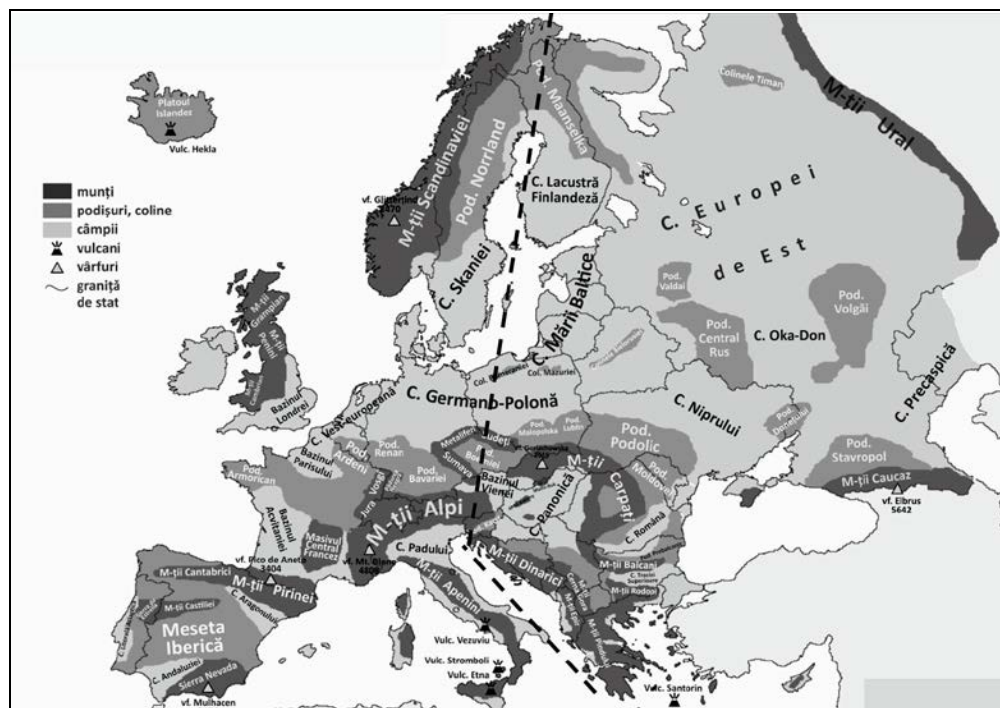

Fig. 5 The imaginary line dividing Western Europe from Eastern Europe

Without rejecting the already enunciated causes of this east-west out phasing[35], I shall add an observation, which has drawn my attention almost brutally. Running through the history of the 16th–17th–18th centuries, I have ascertained the scope and the multitude of all kinds of changes intervened in the European West as a consequence to discovering, conquering and assimilating the vast territories, with their riches (people and goods) from the so-called "New World" – the two Americas, Africa, Australia, the Asian Far East, etc. I could not stop myself from comparing, be it only territorially (even if in relatively imprecise terms), the dimensions of the main metropolitan state from the 18th century – great colonial powers –, with the vastness of the colonies owned by them on other continents (Table 3).

The colonial European state in the 18th cent.	The European (metropolitan) territory	Colonies owned	Colonial territory
England & Ireland	$\approx$ 314.000 km^2	Colonies in: the Americas, Asia, Africa, Australia	$\approx$ a quarter of the surface of the inhabited territories in the whole world!
France	$\approx$ 640.000 km^2	Colonies in: North and South America, the Caribbean, West Africa, Islands from the Indian Oc.	$\approx$ the second colonial territory in size, after the British one
Spain	$\approx$ 500.000 km^2	Colonies in Central and South America: Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Columbia, Cuba, Mexic, Peru, Venezuela	$\approx$ over 9.000.000 km^2
Portugal	$\approx$ 92.000 km^2	Colonies in: South America (Brazil), SE Africa, India	$\approx$ over 9.000.000 km^2
Holland	$\approx$ 40.000 km^2	Colonies in: Africa, Asia	$\approx$ over 1.000.000 km^2

Table 3 The main Western colonial powers in the 18th century.
The relation between the (European) own territory and the one of the owned colonies

Even though enough important information lacks in the table (the number of inhabitants and their density, the main occupation, the urban-rural ratio, the main riches extracted from the colonies, etc.), the comparison seemed to me revealing. For instance, the smallest colonial metropolis-state included in the table is Holland, which owned and controlled territories (with ground, underground and inhabitants, many of them in a state of slavery) of 1 million km^2! Let alone mentioning the British Empire, the *Commonwealth* – a genuine territorial colossus in the century that we are speaking about here, which owned and controlled ca. *a quarter of the inhabited territory of the whole world*! Here is an incontestable cause of the prosperity and civilisational (sic!)

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[35] There is a better-balanced out phasing between the European north and south, as well.

dynamism of the European West. However, it is no less true that it is not sufficient to own riches and power – you have to also know how to use them.

To these I would add British historian Mark Mazower's arguments from his book about the history of the Balkans. He claims, among other things, that the reticence, even the arrogant superiority manifested by westerners towards the European east, especially towards the Balkan area come from their century-old "dislike" of the Muslims, their religion and culture. The origins of this attitude, which had become a tradition, is found in the crusades of the 11th–15th centuries, as a consequence to which the knights of the west plundered Constantinople (1204), but finally lost territories and influences in eastern Europe. As the Ottomans' power grew, the intolerance of Catholic Europe towards the "heretics" was amplified, manifesting itself in the most varied forms, from the subtle ones to brutal repression and expulsion. "While the Muslim states accepted non-Muslims as citizens – who were in a majority in the Ottoman Balkans – the Christian countries [in the West, o. ad.] expelled the Muslims, whom they regarded as a theat." (Mazower, 2019, p. 27)

At the same time, the attitude towards the Ottoman Empire, in the period of maximum stretch and influence (until the 17th century) was of fear and respect neighbouring on admiration. Subsequently, however, when the corruption and the internal plots from the Ottoman Court began to be known, and the armed force of the empire reached its limits, respect was gradually replaced by references to "tyranny" and "despotism". (Mazower, 2019, p. 29)

Beside this intolerance of the heretics, taken all the way to fanaticism, the weak opposition of Byzantium to the ascending Ottoman power, closed in 1453 with the conquest of Constantinople – until then considered to be the symbol of Orthodox Christianity – also produced strong disapproval of eastern Christianity.

> "The [western, o. ad.] Christians interpreted the fall of Constantinople, in 1453, as proof of the decay of Orthodox Christianity, the last failure of Byzantium as an imperial system and a divine punishment of people's sins." (Mazower, 2019, p. 28)

Whichever the causes, the religious rivalry between East and West has existed for over a millennium.

Once these ascertainments made, one must underline the tone of (at least) superiority adopted by westerners in relation to the Balkan peoples, which they considered – from a distance – as Ottoman territory[36]. The influences of the west on the east begin to manifest themselves from the second half of the 18th cent., but rather superficially.

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[36] The maps of the time represented the Romanian principalities as part of the Ottoman Empire, although they were formally independent.

"About the Balkan cities, [the western travellers, o. ad.] note that they have a European façade, behind which there hides the oriental reality: picturesque images but also squalor, stink, backwardness and disorder. […] The oriental realities – the power of religion, the domination of poverty in villages – are regarded as phenomena which have not changed for centuries." – observes the same historian." (Mazower, 2019, pp. 31-32)

4.2. Final observations
Comments, additions, notes from a very recent historiographic publication

In December 2020, a book in two volumes was published at *Editura Muzicală* [Musical Publishing House], which had been signalled for quite a while and was anticipated with great interest: *Noi istorii ale muzicilor românești* [New Histories of the Romanian Music], containing studies signed by a group of reputed authors – musicologists and historians – under the coordination of Valentina Sandu-Dediu and Nicolae Gheorghiță from the National University of Music Bucharest. I took advantage of the coincidence of this publication and the finalisation of this piece of writing in order to confront information and interpretations; I therefore included among references those studies, which approach the historical period that is the object of this text. In the mentioned "fresh" bibliographic sources I have come across two types of qualities: of content – information, interpretations, syntheses, cross-references (generous bibliographic lists, with Romanian and foreign authors, old and recent publications close each study) – and of form – albeit different authors, a condensed, explicit, objectifying language, without useless mannerisms or hermetic modes of expression.

Thus, Costin Moisil (*În loc de istorie a muzicii vechi românești*) summarises a vast pre-1989 bibliography, signalling both the perennial attributes and the necessity of a revision economising in nationalist appreciations and conclusions. For instance,

"The histories also mention proudly Daniel Speer's sojourns in Moldavia and Michael Haydn and Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf's in Oradea, despite the fact that all of them were employed here at the beginning of their career and none of them stayed for longer than five years." (Moisil, 2020, pp. 20-21)

Costin Moisil also argues how equivocal the historical interpretation can become, which sits on sporadic information or on completing the void of information with subjective presuppositions. For instance, the publication of the first *Romanian Psaltic Music Handbook* – Filothei, 1713 – does not subsidiarily presuppose the wide, priority use of the local language in the Carpathian-Danubian churches from the 18th century but *induces* this idea. (Acc. to Moisil, 2020, pp. 23-25)

Nicolae Gheorghiță's study, referring to the *Practici musicale laice la curțile domnești și boierești din Valahia și Moldova în epoca fanariotă (1711-1821)* realises a lively-coloured picture of the musical life from the century when the novel *Ciocoii vechi și noi*[37] was set. Very welcome are the numerous, diverse and detailed bibliographic sources, displayed with the same logic and clarity as in the first case. There appear distinct categories of music and musicians at the Prince ruler Courts, that bring diversity and contrast, that delight, especially the "Turkish natives" or horrify, especially the guests coming from the West (Gheorghiță, 2020, pp. 49-52). There are evoked: the official Ottoman music with genres and performers; the music destined to princely and boyar parties; *the lyrical poems with an erotic character* (Gheorghiță, 2020, pp. 52-56), the dances of Phanariot and Levantine origin "and from what the Balkans had maintained, with sources difficult to identify, such as *the kerchief, the oilcloth*, *the* zoralia, *the* arcan, *the* ciauș, *the* giambara, *the irmilik*" (Gheorghiță, 2020, pp. 52-56); finally, portraits of performers and authors are outlined: the *lăutari*, psalm singers with a lay musical activity and educated musicians of Phanariot origin (Gheorghiță, 2020, pp. 56-70).

The section referring to old music (until the beginning of the 19th century) closes with Vlad Văidean's study, *Între cosmopolitism și localism – etape premoderne ale culturii muzicale profesioniste în Transilvania (secolele XVI – XVIII)*. The author underlines the state of the main ethnic groups in the Transylvanian principality, without, however, engaging in the traditional nationalist rhetoric. The study treats the musical performances mentioned in documents of the era, with rich and interesting information originating from numerous Hungarian sources and from the accounts of Western travellers at the noble courts of the principality and in the communities of Szeklers, Swabians and Saxons. "[…] the most notable Transylvanian composers in the premodern era – remarks Vlad Văidean – came from or became integrated with the Saxon community, […] [yet] their relevance remains at a strictly local level." (Văidean, 2020, p. 102) One of the traits of the study consists in expressing well-known comments, ideas, arguments, which are usually avoided out of the same partial reasons. For instance,

> "the regular practice and listening to music […] have always constituted for the Saxons a prominent activity both on an individual and community level. […] Here is why the Saxon contribution remains the most consistent and representative sector of the artistic-type musical culture in premodern Transylvania, definitely." (Văidean, 2020, p. 103)

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[37] *Ciocoii vechi și noi – The Old and the New Parvenus –* is a novel written by Nicolae Filimon (1819-1865), Wallachian novelist, folklorist and musical critic. (t.ly/LqQK accessed on 15th January 2021).

In the same tone, Vlad Văidean underlines the state of the Transylvanian "nations" in the second half of the 18th century on the background of the Habsburg reign and of the Austro-Hungarian rivalries. In this context, the Romanians gradually become aware of their own ethnic identity, even receiving some (promises of) favours from the Court in Vienna. (Acc. to Văidean, 2020, p. 122)

I close this survey in three of the studies included in the new historiographic publication mentioned above with two expectations: 1) the wide access both of specialists and non-specialists to the two volumes by an enough number of copies, and 2) their adequate translation in English!

End point

The eighteenth century means the gradual internal connection of Europe (especially the east to the west) and also the external one, with cultures from other continents, and in the spiritual sphere, the *Enlightenment* – dynamic in the West, confused in the East. Despite the apparently stimulative, creative atmosphere, the century was marked by numerous bloody conflicts and destructions, by politico-social and territorial changes – all these having dramatic consequences in people's lives.[38] Contrasts of all kinds deepen, among which slavery, still present in Eastern Europe and much more acute in the colonial territories. The European empires, the colonial ones and the Euro-Asian (Ottoman) one continue their dynamics in accelerated fashion – ascent and descent – most of the times under violent conditions.

Christianity suffers a dynamism with multiple contrasts, as well: in the West pronounced anti-religious manifestations (the Voltaire "case", for instance[39]), in the East traditionalism, conservation, protections and collaborations – see the role of the Greek-Catholic Church in Transylvania, in the state of living of the Romanian people, having as a result the appearance at the end of the century of the Latinist School; in Moldavia and Wallachia the *Romanianisation* of church singing.

In Europe the fracture West ↔ East deepens increasingly: in the West, the prevalently urban society is subjected to all sorts of ever more

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[38] From 1682 to 1821 (approx. 140 years) in Europe there took place fights with destructions for over 40 years, with short periods (between one and three decades) of relative peace. All conflicts were directed against the Ottoman Empire, consequently most of them had, in variable measure, the Carpatho-Balkan area as theatre of war!

[39] «Tant qu'il y aura des fripons et des imbéciles, il y aura des religions. La nôtre est sans contredit la plus ridicule, la plus absurd, et la plus sanguinaire qui ait jamais infecté le monde.» [As long as there are scoundrels and imbeciles, there will be religions. Ours is without a doubt the most ridiculous, the most absurd and the bloodiest that has ever poisoned the world.] (Voltaire, 1869, p. 184)

accelerated changes; in the East, the mostly rural population perceives changes sporadically, with delay and reticence having as a result the slow rate of cultural interactions, but at the same time the preservation of genuine traditions.

Among the inhabitants of the Carpathian-Danubian principalities there are both unifying features – the main fund of the language, old folkloric strata – and regional and community differences – linguistic elements, level of civilisation, culture and traditional art, influences and tendencies among the elites; consequently, one observes diversity and even contrasts in the content of the main branches of music: musical folklore, music for connoisseurs and court music in the three Romanian principalities. Towards the end of the 18th century, ever louder echoes of Western culture make themselves known in the Carpathian-Danubian principalities through direct relations with the West or through the elite of the Russian army, frequently (too frequently!) present in this space. Without a doubt, the Phanariot era has not remained as the "brightest" time in our history. It seemed like *happiness* cannot be accessible to the most inhabitants of these lands and that it must be searched and can be found *only* in the "salvation of the soul" (Lemny, 2017, pp. 231-233). Yet, new research has led to the conclusion that historical realities have not only had negative effects. Contemporary historians have reconsidered some aspects of the Romanian 18th century.

Especially in the second part of the 18th cent. frequent movements of communities of inhabitants are noted: towards the south of the Danube and the other way around, from the south towards the north of the river; from the plains to areas safer from wars; from Transylvania to Wallachia; at the beginning of the 19th century, migrations of Jews from Galicia and Bukovina especially towards the towns of Moldavia; among the causes: the wars carried out on Romanian territory, anarchy, requisitioning, plunder; all kinds of taxes; increased mortality from the lack of hygiene and of the network of medical care. With regard to the Jews, increasingly frequent and violent anti-Semite manifestations in the communities of the Russian empire, but also attractive conditions in the handicraft, commercial and financial sphere in the Romanian urban environment. (Hitchins, 2013, pp. 78-80; Lemny, 2017, pp. 136-144)

Under such conditions, it is understandable that civilisation, education, culture, the arts suffered in several regards: firstly, through the presence of the disproportionate social fracture between the favoured minority of the elites and the most of the population, lacking access to education. The Phanariot era had unfortunate consequences mainly due to the frequent changes of rulers – e.g.: "from 1791 to 1802 there were six ruling-princes in Wallachia and five in Moldavia" (Hitchins, 2013, p. 33) –, rather than as a consequence of the specific mode of governing.

"They [the Phanariot rulers, o. ad.] were not the cause of evil, but that tough and corrupt Turkish regime, characteristic of the decadence period of the Ottoman Empire. [...] In defence of the Phanariot rulers we must also signal a few positive aspects – it is Nicolae Iorga's merit to have been the first to underline the fact. Some of these Phanariot rulers were men of culture and willing to introduce some reforms in the administration of the country, for instance Grigore II Ghica and his cousin Constantin Mavrocordat." (Djuvara, 2015, pp. 214-215; Hitchins, 2013, pp. 32-35, 44-52)

Moreover, the multiple resemblances between the two Romanian principalities caused some rulers to be appointed consecutively in Moldavia and Wallachia – the record was reached by Constantin Mavrocordat, with six reigns in Wallachia and four in Moldavia! It seems insignificant, but this coming-and-going on the throne of the two countries increasingly emphasised the community of the local population, producing the inevitable in the following century: the union of 1859[40].

This grey and uniform, rather than lively coloured and dynamic landscape meant in our cultural-musical history: a continuous path, without deviations or breaks, of the most comprehensive branch of combined art – the **folklore**; the internal (between areas, rural-urban, secular-religious, between Romanians and minority ethnic groups, etc.) and external influences (the exchange of influences with neighbouring ethnicities, the Ottoman influences, western influences come directly or through the Russian army a. s. o.) continue to act. The predominantly orthodox **religious sphere** registers some changes and even some contrasts: the process of *Romanianisation* and the foundation of the Greek-Catholic Church in Transylvania with its consequences, among others. The **Court music**, the most "colourful" and diverse, is also the most dynamic in borrowings of all kinds. It would give birth to an ever more present urban musical life, receptive to western "absorptions". In this environment of urban art of the ruling elites there would take shape the signals, which would give birth, during the following century (the 19th), to the musical education and academic music of western influence.

Far from me the intention to establish a *hierarchy* of any kind between East and West – what needs to be observed are the *difference, the contrast*. As Lucian Boia stated several times, although we are incontestably European, history has approached Romanians to the neighbours in western Asia, rather than to those in Central and Western Europe. It is neither the rejection or the silencing of reprehensible facts and historical phenomena, nor the exaggeration of the praiseworthy ones which will help us to understand our traditions correctly and in balanced fashion. At the same time, let us not forget that the

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[40] On 5th (in Moldavia) and 24th (in Wallachia) January 1859, Alexandru Ioan Cuza was elected ruling-prince in both principalities, thus achieving the first union of the Romanian provinces.

last two hundred years of ties, connections, assimilations from the West can compensate with difficulty the almost ten centuries of Byzantine-oriental interactions and influences that preceded them; the placement of our history in a zonal, European and world context can lead to *ascertainments, understandings* and *tuning* (in the sense of *regulation*) of today's Romanian society in *consonance* with the *symphonic* diversity of the European Union.

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