
Required Dichotomies in the Romanian (Music) History – Regarding Antique and Medieval Eras

CARMEN CHELARU

“George Enescu” National University of Arts, Iași
ROMANIA*

Abstract: History recounts subjective facts and thoughts that nevertheless must be approached impartially. Two important historians, Neagu Djuvara and Lucian Boia discuss this topic in a new perspective, far from sympathies and antipathies, as well as manipulations of any kind. So, they provide a valuable example that may also be applied to the history of arts, including the Romanian musical art. The study provides a synthetic view on the history of music in the Carpatho-Danubian territory over three periods – pre-Roman, Daco-Roman, and Middle Ages. Although there is little material evidence about Thracians, Getae and Dacians, a lot has been said and written on this issue. As long as we lack sufficient internal and plausible evidence, we may just make suppositions concerning the music of these ancestors.

Folklore was the oldest musical branch that had preceded the formation of the Romanian language. It is difficult though to establish whether traditional artistic productions belonged to the Getae-Dacian layer or to the Latin one. Two branches may be identified in the early local medieval music: the traditional and the religious one. The first did not evolve differently compared to the previous period. The religious music developed according to the social organization and ethnic statements. The genuine Middle Ages brought with it the existence of three important musical branches: folklore, religious and court music.

This writing does not seek to be original but rather aims to provide an objective image referring at information and documents found by famous historians and historians of music.

Keywords: Dacians, Slavs, folklore, Byzantine, history

1. Introduction

I have often found high subjectivity expressed by an extremely positive attitude in the acknowledge of Romanian historical commentary. Lately, two personalities of Romanian historical research have kept my attention and motivated me to approach this subject: Professor Neagu Djuvara – one-hundred-years old but always young at heart – and the non-aligned highly argumentative historian, Lucian Boia. Thus, I discovered in a new light both general Romanian history in its diversity and complexity and by extrapolation and by means of specific notions and proper reasoning, the history of

* carmen.chelaru@gmail.com; <https://docs.com/carmen-chelaru>

Carpathian and Danubian musical art. Among the main features of the history, Professor Neagu Djuvara underlines its subjective nature.

“Yet historians primarily deal with *people* – individuals or groups, therefore subjects, not objects and in order to understand these subjects they too have to be subjective. They will be trying very hard to relate with various mentalities and opinions, one after the other, some of them contradictory (individual, national, religious, doctrinal etc.). Their impartiality can only stem from a succession of partialities, constructed as honestly as possible.” (Djuvara, 2015, p. 6)

Accordingly, Lucian Boia dismantles what he calls “the founding myths” of our history (2011, p. 143) from the armor of religiosity by conferring them their true image or describing an interpretable historic character and by eliminating as much as possible passionate excesses that so often produced deformed images and conclusions¹. He compared the subjectivity of the history to René Magritte’s painting *The Treachery of Images (Magritte Pipe)* – “Ceci n’est pas une pipe” (*This is not a pipe*). A history book is a *representation* of the history, not the history itself (Boia, 2016, p. 7). Following this idea, we should approach the facts more carefully, other than immutable, definitely, categorically. History has been and remains a useful tool of manipulation by adding subjective interpretations – whether too positive or negative – to the already existent and inevitable subjectivism of information transmission over time. History is always changing not only because new data appear but also due to their various interpretations.

N. Djuvara notices two weaknesses that affected over time the impartiality of Romanian commentators: the first refers to the view that “national interest asked us to *select data* related to the past of our people.” The second view states that our history is not correlated with the European history, especially with the one of Central and Eastern Europe. “We held stubbornly to build a history closed among ourselves, to imagine an autogenesis of the Romanian people, a kind of „spontaneous generation“ of the Romanian people, making nation’s slow formation virtually incomprehensible.” (Djuvara, 2011, *Thocomerius...*, pp. 7-8)

This study aims to summarize two important stages in the history of our culture (including references to significant musical aspects): the period preceding the building of medieval states Moldavia and Wallachia and late Middle Ages, 14th to 19th century. The writings describing the two periods contain, at least in terms of music, apparently definite conclusions, which (perhaps for this reason) are not so interesting for researchers or amateurs, such as writings belonging to Romanticism, Modernity and contemporary

¹ I would compare his view of Romanian history with that of the director and scriptwriter Milos Forman in the way he shaped Mozart in the famous movie *Amadeus*. Both dismantled the myths of excessively idealized and ideologized figures traditionally seen as untouchable.

times, as if the truth has been established once and forever and any doubt is excluded. But, a more shaded understanding of ancient history may help in comprehension of the modern period. Besides, as Lucian Boia noted, “until the 14th century [...], except an important but limited in time Roman Dobrogea and Dacia and later Transylvania included into the Kingdom of Hungary, this region did not produce *written information*” (2015, pp. 61-65). Information, continues L. Boia, are provided from abroad with inevitable deformations, on the one hand, caused by the subjectivity of the intermediary sources and, on the other hand, due to commentator’s subjectivity. Later, those who had taken over the information also acted based on their own subjectivity and even selected the *most convenient information!* We believe therefore that history has not said its last word on any of these periods and that any return to impartiality is useful.

Therefore, the dichotomies we have in view are: general–specific feature, national–regional/European, impartial–subjective.

2. Several considerations on the Thracian-Getae-Dacian period, also the Dacian-Roman Period

The earliest era in the history of this territory has produced an entire literature that has caused lately very unusual reviews (to remain within an academic utterance!). It is enough to search the web for the terms *the Dacian*, *the Dacians*, *Dacia* to be carried out into an insistent, categoric land challenging rush that leaves no doubt for arguments stating that “it was not the Dacians who ended up speaking Lation but the Latins spoke Dacian! All Latin languages originated in Dacia” (Boia, 2012, p. 39).

Further comments we grouped below in three main directions: first, the territory we are talking about and the periods sequence; secondly, roots, influences, ethnic and linguistic stratifications; finally, historical and musical considerations.

2.1. What territory are we talking about?

According to Strabo², the Dacians and the Getae lived on the territory from Easter Carpathians, Pannonia Land and Danube river (Fig. 1). From the historical perspective, we definitely consider this territory as a *border*: at the Roman empire, then the Byzantine, Slavic, Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, Soviet ones; and today it traces the South-Eastern border of the European Union (Boia, 2012, pp. 13-17).

We found several versions of the Romanian history timeline (www.didactic.ro, www.ebacalaureat.ro, Manea-Pascu-Teodorescu, 1996, pp. 7-10); since this is not our goal, we briefly mention as following: pre-history

² Strabo, 64BC?-24AD? Greek geographer, philosopher, and historian who lived in Asia Minor during the transitional period of the Roman Republic into the Roman Empire (www.wikipedia.org).

or pre-Roman era (till 1st century AD), Ancient period or *Dacia Romana* province (cent. 1-3 AD), Early Middle Ages or migrations era (cent. 3-13 AD), genuine Middle Ages or Romanian medieval states (cent. 14-18), transition to the Modern era or Phanariote times (1711³-1821⁴), Modern era (1821-1918), Contemporary era (after 1918).

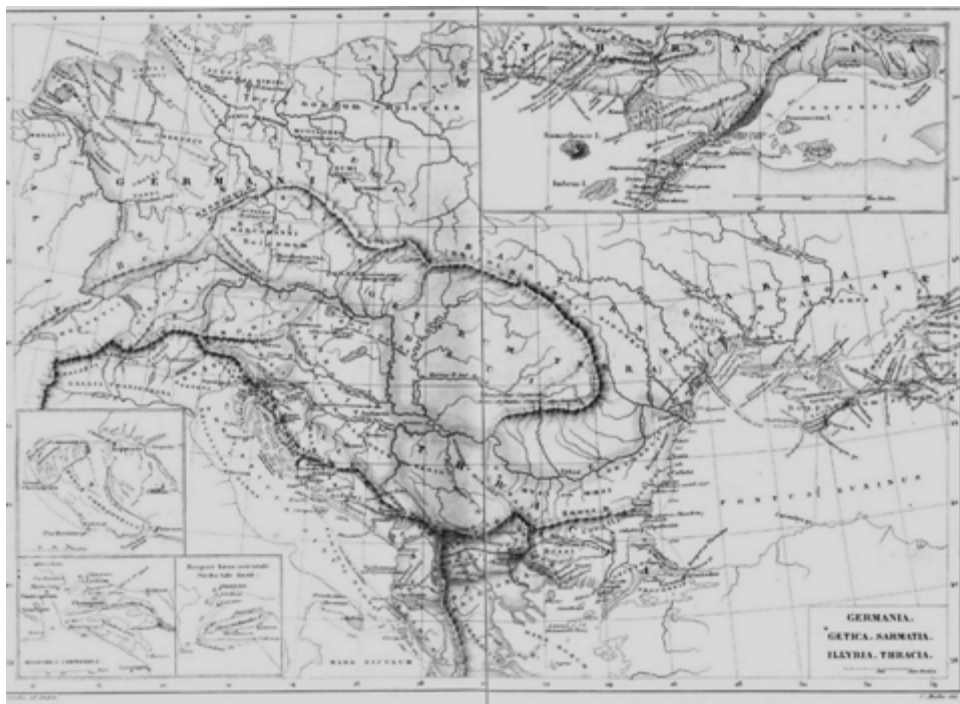


Fig. 1 South-Eastern Europe, before 218 BC, according to Strabo

2.2. Were the Dacians and the Getae a Homogeneous Population with The Same Language and Culture?

According to the definition provided by *Dex*, the term *nation* is defined as “a human community living on the same territory, having the historical identity conscience, also having the same language and religion” (*DEX*, 2009). Since this definition seemed not clear enough, we looked for the terms *Nation* and *nationality* in the prestigious *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*:

“*Nation* – *b*: a community of people composed of one or more nationalities and possessing a more or less defined territory and government; *c*: a territorial

³ In 1711, the first Greek prince of Phanar quarter of Constantinople began to rule in Moldavia; in 1715, another Greek Phanar prince ruled in Wallachia.

⁴ In 1821, Tudor Vladimirescu (1780-1821), the Romanian revolutionary, led the Wallachian uprising against Ottomans. It is considered the ending of Phanariote period in the Romanian countries Moldova and Wallachia.

division containing a body of people of one or more nationalities and usually characterized by relatively large size and independent status.

Nationality – *a*: a people having a common origin, tradition, and language and capable of forming or actually constituting a nation-state; *b*: an ethnic group constituting one element of a larger unit (as a nation); *c*: a group of people who share the same history, traditions, and language, and who usually live together in a particular country.” (*Merriam-Webster Dictionary*)

... more haziness. We therefore begin by a preliminary handicap: the terms“ meaning far from clarity, explicitness. Professor Neagu Djuvara offers a simpler definition of the term *nation*, more comprehensive and convincing by historical arguments⁵:

“[...] large social human group. Who share a common past and a common future project.” (Djuvara, 2011, *Răspuns criticilor mei...* [Answer for my critics...], p. 57)

It has been generally accepted that the Thracian, the Getae or the Dacian languages left very few traces. The controversies linked to an eventual Dacian writing are also not enough so big that these cannot be now taken into consideration⁶. Customs, faith, cultural vestiges are also insufficiently convincing to support the idea of *cultural unity* on the territory between the rivers Prut (Dniester), Tisa and Danube in the Neolithic age. In Fig. 1 an ethnic diversity in the mentioned territory, before the Roman conquest is obvious; Boia is numbering, among Getae and Dacians, also Celts, Scythians, Bastarnae, Sarmatians (Boia, 2011, p. 33). The most plausible conclusion, considering the times and the vestiges, is concerning the existence of inhabitants organized in tribes and geographic regions among which appear common and different features. The first leader who tried to unite this population was Burebista (1st century BC), it was a success but it did not last long. More stable was the kingdom ruled by Decebal (87-106 AD), but finally it also became a Roman province.

2.3. What can we know about the music of the pre-Roman period?

Unfortunately, we do not know more about the music of the Dacians than what was known 300 years ago, on the times of Prince Dimitrie Cantemir (1673-1723). The changes appeared since then refer mostly to growth and improvement or research methods and tools. Among authors who researched the oldest layers of our music were such famous people as Theodor T. Burada, George Breazul, Béla Bartók, Constantin Brăiloiu, Octavian Lazăr Cosma and Gheorghe Ciobanu. We will underline a few summarized conclusions:

⁵ Arguments included in the section 8 of the mentioned book.

⁶ These controversies culminate in the discussion about the three tablets of Tărtăria (Alba County). The conditions where these were found and analyzed assessed raise big questions that motivate us to treat them with caution.

▪ Information about the pre-Roman music on this land may be found in folklore: children folklore, Winter and Spring traditions, agrarian and family life rites. The area does not include only the present-day territory of Romania but also the Balkans and the Central-European areas.

▪ The oldest music „vestiges“ of our folklore come from three main sources/layers: the pre-Roman source, the Latin and the Slavic ones. These sources are not separable mainly because of their oldness, of their rather complete merger and of further subsequent influences.

▪ The Ethnomusicologists (not only Romanian) established that a sign of early ages in music is indicated by modal systems with low number of sounds. However, these modes are not referring at the precise ethnic layer, but they generally reveal the oldness.

Making analogy with Noam Chomsky's *Theory of Universal Grammar* (see also Futrell-Mahowald-Gibson, 2015) and considering the conclusions reached by ethnomusicologists⁷, we may state that there are *generative elements* in the structure of music that are true for the entire humanity in the primordial stages of cultural and linguistic evolution. Among these generative elements maybe included, for example, the *oligo-modes*⁸.

In his lecture about *Musical Phonology*⁹, Leonard Bernstein emphasized a relationship between the acoustic resonance – the order of the overtones perceived by the human hearing – and the history of the sound systems (Bernstein, 1976, pp. 25-39). The same subject has been revealed by the musicologist George Breazul (in 1940s), in his researches about the Romanian folklore (Breazul, 1981, p. 73).

Therefore, the existence of the oligo- and pentatonic modes in the Romanian folklore does not necessarily indicate the Dacian, Getae or Thracian origin, but rather the generally pre-historic layer. The oligo-modes could be found in the folklore of almost the entire humanity, close or far from the territory we refer to, from Alaska to Land of Fire, from China to Hungary.

If the oligo-modes are the pre-historic evidence, the melodic and the rhythmic structure confer different features for different cultural and geographic areas. Therefore, what may be the proof of ethnic specificity are the methods of song organization and the rhythmic systems, the specific choice of one sort or another among these modal and rhythmic systems (Breazul, 1981,

⁷ “[...] the primary music and certain vocal technics are «universal acoustic patterns» [C-tin. Brăiloiu], therefore they belong to the most, if not to the entire humanity” (Ciobanu, 1974, p. 59).

⁸ *oligo-modes*: the modes of two, three or four sounds – *oligo* (gr. oligos) = little, few, insufficiency (*Merriam-Webster Dictionary*).

⁹ In 1973, Leonard Bernstein had a series of six lectures on the title *The Unanswered Question*. This series was a component of Bernstein's duties for the 1972-73 academic year at Harvard University.

pp. 110-113). These differences in structure, states Professor Ciobanu, “are due to *language* [...]. By means of its phonetic and grammatical possibilities, language [...] generates a system of versification that differs from one ethnic group to another” (Ciobanu, 1974, p. 11).

So, what music has been left to us from Thracian, Getae and Dacians? We don’t know for sure. Researching the primary layers of the Romanian traditional music, the ethnomusicologists mention, for instance, the dance of *the goat* (*Jocul Caprei*) as “the oldest and most spectacular in the Winter customs” (Vulcănescu, 1985, p. 433); also, *Caloianul* used in the rain ritual, could be “a sort of god in Dacia” (Burada, 1978, p. 155).



Fig. 2 (left) The Goat Dance; (right) *Caloian* Ritual

The musicologist Octavian Lazăr Cosma proves a cautious attitude:

“The answer seems to be impossible to find or at least the most difficult in the entire Romanian history of music, since we have no music or other relic proving a certain stylistic feature.” (Cosma, 1973, p. 19)

Unfortunately, the statement appears in the context of a large chapter, *The Art of Thraco-Dacians* (Cosma, 1973), where the author depicts a consistent image of the Ancient Greek culture (including lots of musical details), highlighting assumed Thracian ingredients. Or, on one hand, we do not have any proof towards an alleged similarity between the Dacians culture and the Thracians one; on the other hand, it’s hard to admit Greek influences coming from the Black Sea colonies upon the inhabitants around the Carpathian Mountains. The historian and musicologist Ioana Ștefănescu approaches this subject much more prudently, in her remarkable book *A History of the World Music* (Ștefănescu, 1995, p. 6). In the 1st volume, chapter 2, the author implies two conclusions: 1) the lack of the „internal” information (Thracian's, Dacian's, Getae's genuine documents) and 2) the Greek and Roman documentary sources, even numerous, supposed to have too much subjectivity of those who produced them, plus the subjective opinions of those who transmitted this information.

For instance, the Romanian historiography took from Herodotus' *Historia* the positive quotation *only*:

“Getae resisted stubbornly, and were enslaved at once, the bravest and most just Thracians of all.” (Herodotus, 1920, book 4, chapter 93)

The Greek author added:

“The Thracians are the biggest nation in the world, next to the Indians. If they were under one ruler, or united, they would, in my judgment, be invincible and the strongest nation on earth. Since, however, there is no way or means to bring this about, they are weak.” (Herodotus, 1920, book 5, chapter 3)

“Among the rest of the Thracians, it is the custom to sell their children for export and to take no care of their maidens, allowing them to have intercourse with any man they wish.” (Herodotus, 1920, book 5, chapter 6)

2.4. Where and under what conditions the Daco-Romans lived?

We are not attend into the polemics regarding the continuity of Daco-Roman population on the Carpathian-Danubian territory after the withdrawal of Roman administration (271-275 AD), since we consider that there is sufficient evidence to sustain it. Considering the consequences of Roman rule in Dacia, especially the linguistic ones, we will describe this stage, as follows:

There seems to have been two main reasons for the Roman domination in the Carpathian-Danubian and Pontic territories: 1) aggressive inroads of the Dacians and the Getae to the south of the Danube river – the border of the Roman Empire (provinces *Moesia Superior* and *Moesia Inferior* until the 1st century AD) and 2) alluring information about gold deposits in Dacia. Certainly, after the conquest, many inhabitants of the Empire came here being driven by the dream of gold (Djuvara, 2015, pp. 14-22), like the *Golden Rush* in Alaska at the end of the 19th century.

Once conquered, the province *Dacia Romana* got a great diversity of new comers: Roman legionaries and administration officials, veterans, traders, treasure hunters (especially gold seekers). Surely, all these did not belong to one ethnic group – may be just the officials and the members of the administration; others came from the great diversity of the Empire. Naturally, Latin was the official language. We will not discuss here the linguistic details regarding the method and specific features of Latin penetration into the structure of the future Romanian language (Djuvara, 2015, p. 21).

What seems to be important is the assimilation of several elements of the Roman culture by the local population. In this case, the proves are more numerous and convincing than those of the previous period. The Roman *Calendae*¹⁰ generated the Romanian carols („*colinde*” – Cosma, 1973, p. 39);

¹⁰ *calendae* / *kalendae* - the first day of every month in the Roman calendar (*Online Etymology Dictionary*).

colisalli dedicated to the Roman god of War, Mars, are the origin of the Romanian *Călușari* (Burada, 1974, pp. 58-59; Vulcănescu, 1985, p. 289; Kernbach, 1989, pp. 102-103)¹¹ and so on.

So, how did Daco-Romans sing? It is as hard to establish as for the previous age. We may just suppose that the structure of Latin language could have had an influence on some part of our musical folklore. There could have existed: the music of locals and that of newcomers; religious chant and the music that accompanied every day existence of the inhabitants.

3. Centuries 3-14. A Millennium in the shadow?!

What were the main stages that marked the history of this territory for over a millennium, after the Roman retreat? How did Christianity penetrated our country? What do we know about the culture, the art, the music of this era? – these are the main topics we are going to refer in this chapter. But first of all we should remind here Lucian Boia's remark: "Almost everything concerning this millennium remains a hypothesis..." (Boia, 2012, p. 59).

Roman rule in Dacia lasted 165 years (between 106-271 AD). After this period, the administration and the legions withdrew, without taking with them the rest of the population undergoing the full process of interference. The period was followed by a long and mostly tumultuous age until the foundation of the medieval states Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania. There are few certain data about it, their main part come from abroad (see Annex). *The migratory waves* are the common denominator. Different questions arise from here that have been given contradictory and unconvincing answers. As Boia reveals, "after Romans abandoned Dacia, the territory remained open to the invasions and many rulers there have been, one by one, on a divided and politically confused land" (Boia, 2012, p. 59).

We suggest the following historical timeline of the period, between the *Aurelian* retreat¹² (end of 3rd century) till the foundation of the semi-independent principality Transylvania (middle of 16th century)¹³. We had in view two main events with consequences upon the ethnic dynamics on the Carpathian-Danubic territory: the Slavic migration and the Eastern Christianity penetration: 1. Post-Roman period (centuries 3-6), 2. Slavic migration and

¹¹ The generally accepted derivation of *Căluș* is from the old Latin double form *collusium*, *collusii*, meaning both a *dance group* and a *secret society*, however other derivations have been proposed (Eliade, 1973, pp. 115-122).

¹² Roman Emperor Lucius Domitius Aurelianus (270-275) evacuated his troops and civilian administration from Dacia (www.wikipedia.org).

¹³ L. Boia is mentioning: "Around 1100, Transylvania has been already organized as a principality, under Hungarian suzerainty" (Boia, 2012, p. 60). However, it was only in 1541, when Transylvania – ruled by prince Ioan Sigismund – gain its semi-independence, under Ottoman protection (*Larousse*, 1998, p. 216; Popa-Matei, 1983, p. 322).

settlement (centuries 69), 3. Christianity penetration through Byzantines and Slavs (centuries 9-14).

3.1. Social, historical and ethnical events

More than ten migratory populations came through this territory, between the centuries 3rd and 13th. Among them we mention below the main groups who marked important traces in their relationship with the locals (*apud* Djuvara, 2015, pp. 37-47).

The Slavs, disorganized at the beginning, came (in 6th cent.) from current Ukraine and Poland. Being numerous and having sedentary tendencies, they were settling along the rivers courses, while Daco-Romans were withdrawing to the mountains and forests. Subsequently led and military organized by the Pannonian Avars, the Slavs moved forward to the south of Balkans, populating the Roman provinces Macedonia, Moesia, Aurelian Dacia and Illyria. They had the most significant contribution to the early medieval ethnic stratification in the area.

Bulgarians, late 8th cent. till early 10th cent. They were Turkish tribes (same as the Avars); in the 7th century they were fighting against the Byzantines and penetrated Dobrogea (Scythia Minor) and Southern Danube. Here, they were Slavized and founded a strong state extending to the North. In 865, the tsar Boris adopted Christianity.

The Hungarians came at the end of 9th century, from the Ural Mountains and the Eurasian steppe and settled in Pannonia, being stopped from their advancement towards the West by the German King Otto I (10th cent.); they gradually penetrated to Transylvania during the same period. They adopted Western Christianity in the 11th century. They also colonize Transylvania with the Szeklers (Hungarianized people of unknown origin). Hungarians also colonize Transylvania with the Saxons at the middle of the 12th century.

The Cumans (Turkish tribe coming from Ukraine) were settled between the end of 11th century – middle of 13th century. They seemed to be more sedentary than many other migratory populations.

The Mongols ends, in the 13th century, the main medieval migrations.

Professor Gheorghe Ciobanu notes that Romanian musical folklore is closely linked to the Bulgarian and Serbian traditional music (Ciobanu, 1974, pp. 10-11). The remark regarding such resemblances is the more important as the folklorist himself proved it in his research. Yet, the deduction that these similarities would be the proof of the Thracian origin is doubtful. The researcher ignores in this case the contacts, the complex process of assimilation that had taken place for over a millennium after the Romans withdrawal until the foundation of the Romanian language and medieval states. We therefore consider the Professor's remark as the proof of Slavic

influence upon the culture of the local inhabitants, after the 6th century, rather than a Thracian root. We mention as an example the custom of *Paparuda* – old pagan ritual of rain certified at several Southeast European populations, having Slavic origins (Vulcănescu, 1985, pp. 418-419); also, *Dragobete*¹⁴ comes from the Serbian word *drugobrat* = brother-in-law; *Drăgaica*¹⁵ from the Bulgarian *dragai* (драгай) = to spread (*Dicționarul Etimologic Român* [Romanian Etymological Dictionary]).

Romanian historiography has paid (and is still paying) tribute to various ideologies by minimizing or even ignoring the issue of the migratory populations in South-Eastern European Middle Ages. On the one hand, little information, on the other hand, the exaggeration of Thracian-Getae-Dacian culture contribution could have been the main reasons (see also Boia, 2011, p. 33). That is why the *theory of Cuman forefathers* launched by Professor N. Djuvara and that of *founding myths* sustained by Lucian Boia have stirred indignation and virulent reactions among Romanian experts and history lovers. Whether we like it or not, impartiality needed in evaluating history forces us to confer to migrants, especially to the Slavs, an important role in the melting pot of Romanian language and culture foundation (Boia, 2012, pp. 42-45). As for the Romanian people setting up, we give credit to the historian Lucian Boia, when he states:

“Can we really set a date for the formation of a nation, an event that is even more complex and harder to define than the formation of a language (as it involves also a specific cultural community and self-consciousness)? When did the French, the Italians, the Germans, the English form? The special insistence of Romanian historiography on this issue that was called ethno-genesis is a specific national feature. Any chronology of the kind responds to ideological requirements and the requirement of communism included the Slavs firstly into the formation of the Romanian people; afterwards, the Slavic contribution has been ignored.” (Boia, 2011, pp. 185-186)

A second issue we must follow is the Christianity penetration and the liturgical languages.

3.2. Christianity. Influences, settlement, bedding, absorption

The historians state that the penetration of Christianity to the North of the Danube river occurred in two historic stages (Djuvara, 2015, pp. 46-49). It seems that the first stage was attested before the withdrawal of Romans from Dacia and it was manifested around the Greek colonies in Scythia Minor (Dobrogea, on the Black Sea border), also in Dacia and Moesia. The existence of this stage is proven by the Christian lexical fund of Latin origin

¹⁴ *Dragobete* – the guardian of love – is a traditional Romanian celebration on February 24th, with origins in the pagan myth related to spring arrival and the end of the harsh winter.

¹⁵ *Drăgaica* is an agrarian ritual taking place on the Summer solstice (www.wikipedia.org).

in the Romanian language. In this regard, Professor Gh. Ciobanu comes with two observations, adding some clarification, without substantially altering judgments already exposed:

1. "Till the end of the 6th century, the Byzantine and Latin liturgical rites did not show striking differences." (Ciobanu, 1992, p. 54)
2. "Till the end of the 4th century, when the Bible has been translated in Latin [...], Greek was the liturgical language for all the Christians." (Ciobanu 1992, p. 55) The fact is proving, among others, by the prayer *Kyrie eleison*, in Greek, from the Catholic mass.

Besides, ever since the 6th century, the same in Eastern and Western Europe, more and more monasteries are founded. Under these circumstances, observes Professor Ciobanu, it is naturally that such monastic settlements should exist on the territory between Carpathian Mountains and Danube river as well; therefore, a liturgical practice in Greek seems to be a fact (Ciobanu, 1992, p. 58).

We further are trying to find an answer for the following issue: *In what way, the liturgical rite has been performed by the local Christians till the 9th century?*

In the 6th century, the Christians from the former province Dacia Romana are affiliated to the Byzantine Archdiocese Justiniana Prima¹⁶. Despite the lack of information, the historians consider that the inhabitants of this territory spoke Latin as well as the pre-Roman languages the same in the daily life and liturgical office.

For the above reasons, they supposed to use the Greek too in the religious performance. Therefore, we can imagine for the monasteries the Byzantine rite in Greek mostly (maybe with Latin inserts). N. Djuvara exposes the hypothesis regarding a non-rigid religious practice adapted to the in the local community's life, using Latin, pre-Roman languages and Greek.

At the beginning the resemblance between the Western and the Eastern Christianity was real and it did not completely disappear afterwards. For instance, the musicologists George Breazul and Octavian Lazăr Cosma make an interesting demonstration regarding the movement of certain ritual chants, from the Hebrew psalmody, to the Gregorian chant, Byzantine and Romanian Orthodox melody, till the Romanian secular music (Breazul, 1977, pp. 344-345; Cosma, 1973, pp. 64-65).

¹⁶ Justiniana Prima = Byzantine city that existed from 535 to 615, and currently an archaeological site, near today's Lebane, Leskovac district in southern Serbia. It was founded by Emperor Justinian I and served as the seat of an Archbishopric that had jurisdiction of the Central Balkans (www.wikipedia.org).



Fig. 3 Hebrew melody (Breazul)

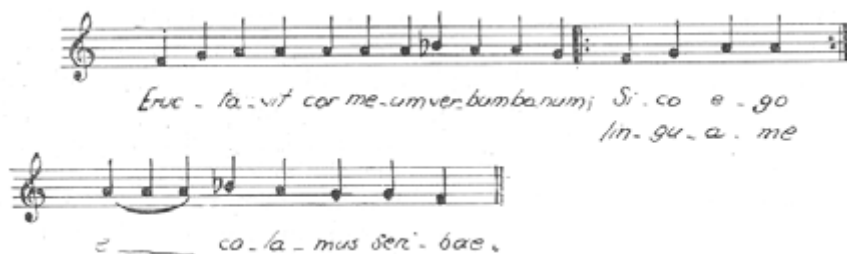


Fig. 4 Gregorian chant (Breazul)

Fig. 5 Byzantine *Kathisma*¹⁷ (Cosma)Fig. 6 Orthodox chant from Anton Pann's *New Anastasimatar*¹⁸ (Cosma)Fig. 7 Sabin Drăgoi, Carol (excerpt),
from *Musical collection of Belinț village* (Cosma)

¹⁷ *Kathisma* = seat (Gr.) – division of the Psalter, used by Eastern Orthodox Christians and Eastern Catholics who follow the Byzantine Rite. The word may also describe a hymn sung at Matins, a seat used in monastic churches, or a type of monastic establishment (www.wikipedia.org).

¹⁸ *Anastasimatar* = collection of Sunday Orthodox chants about Resurrection (*DEX online*).



Fig. 8 Anton Pann, *Cântec de stea / Star Song*¹⁹ (www.CrestinOrtodox.ro)

* * *

The second stage of the Christian penetration among the inhabitants between the Carpathian Mountains and the Danube river came through the Slavic missionary brothers Cyril and Methodius, in the 9th century (Djuvara 2015, p. 46); they created the Slavic alphabet and translated the Christian texts into the Slavonic language²⁰. In a time when the Slavs had already settled to the south and north of the Danube river and had dominated (providing the ruling class, the future *boyards*²¹), it is easy to understand why the Christian ritual was adopted in the Slavonic form.

From these historic characteristics, two main musical categories result: *traditional music* (musical folklore) – under continuous exchange of influences between the locals and newcomers – and the *religious music* also being under (slower) process of adaptation; that music still shared common features with entire Christianity, but mostly with the Eastern influence coming from the adoption of religious languages (Greek and Slavonic) and the influence of cultural exchange with local communities.

The inevitable conclusion is the existence, for more than a thousand years, of a continuous anxiety, insecurity, which forced the local population to find refuge in isolated regions (mountains, forests), having less contacts between them; among all these, the aliens were continuously moving. Therefore, it's difficult to imagine that the Daco-Roman inhabitants, in assimilation of the migratory population, had the time and the wish to build spectacular cathedrals or fortresses like they did in Western Europe.

¹⁹ *Star Song* or *Epiphany Song* – children and young people walk from house to house with a star on a rod and often wearing crowns and dressed in clothes to resemble the Three Magi (variously also known as Three Kings or Three Wise Man) (www.wikipedia.org).

²⁰ Beginning with 9th century, the territory between Danube and Carpathians became dependent by the first Bulgarian kingdom (*Larousse...*, 1998, p. 128).

²¹ *boyard* (from the Slavic *boljarinŭ*) = landowner, nobleman, landlord (*Webdex online*); from (Slav.) *boji* = *fight* or *bol* = *big* (*Online Etymology Dictionary*).

4. Centuries 14-18. History and musical directions in the Romanian Medieval States

Apart from the discussion on the ethnic features building, both historians N. Djuvara and L. Boia ask themselves the uncomfortable question that is usually avoided in this context: *why the foundation of the Romanian medieval states was delayed for such a long time?* (Djuvara, *Thocomerius...*, 2011, pp. 9-18; Boia, 2012, pp. 61-64). Professor Djuvara underlines the early foundation of neighbor medieval states around the Carpatho-Danubian territory: the Bulgarian state (7th century), the Russian state (9th century), the Croatian state (beginning of the 10th century), the Hungarian state (around year 1000), and the Serbian state (12th century). He does not hesitate to give an apparently shocking and ironic answer: „*as we were not lucky to have the good barbarian*“!!! (Djuvara, *Thocomerius...*, 2011, p. 12). Here appears not only the role of a co-participant in the ethnic coagulation, but also that of an alien organizer/leader who should unify and rule all the local communities. The intervention of new comers with enough organizing spirit and ruling tendency has been necessary to impose themselves for the foundation and ruling of a new medieval state. N. Djuvara believes that those who had these qualities were the Cumanians, the last migrants that appeared here at the end of the 11th century. Unfortunately, their intervention has been delayed for 100 years by the Mongol invasion, till the middle of the 13th century.

Among the historians there is an almost consensus concerning the Romanian power of assimilating the influences of all kinds. According to this, Djuvara declared in an interview:

“It is certain that our assimilating power is beyond doubt. It’s the *only* Romanian genuine power. The same as the famous American melting pot, Romanians put their national print upon all pagans who were passing by this territory. This is certain. And I am convinced that they did the same upon the Cumanians. Thoctomer and Basarab were Cumanians becoming Romanians. I didn’t say they were *purely* Cumanians – I said *by Cumanian origin*.” (Bolocan, 2007, p. 3)

Concerning the context of the Romanian medieval states foundation, Wallachia and Moldavia, we agree with the ideas and arguments stated by N. Djuvara that seem to be convincing, impartial and commonsensical. At the end of the 13th century, there existed *voivodates* and principalities vassal to the Hungarian kingdom. In the extra-Carpathian regions, on the left-side of the river Olt towards the center of Moldavia, appeared several settlements on the territory of the former Cumanian state²² (Fig. 9). At the middle of the 13th century, being afraid of Mongol invasions, the Cumans ask the protection of the Hungarian king who colonizes them on the valley of the river Tisa. It is

²² *Cumans* were *Polovets* for Russians, *kipchak* for Orientals, *falben* for Germans; they preceded the Selgiucid and Ottoman Turks, who arrived in the 14th century to the Balkans (www.wikipedia.org).

though difficult to imagine that, similar to the issue of continuity of Daco-Romans in the north of Danube river, the *entire* Cuman population left the Carpatho-Danubian territory (Djuvara, 2015, p. 69).



Fig. 9 Cumans State (first half of 13th cent.); its Western side included the territory between Carpathian Mountains and Danube river, also Moldavia.

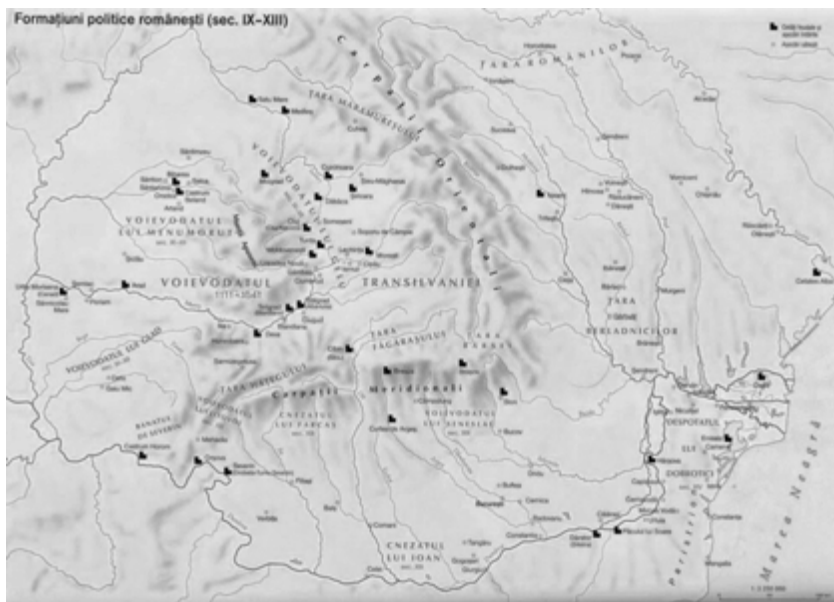


Fig. 10 Small medieval states on the Romanian territory, 9th -13th centuries

At the beginning of the 14th century there were few state structures led by knyazes (knezes), voievods and counts (Fig. 10).

We may observe ethnical diversity of this period, with some dominant features, though far from the much debated Daco-Geatae or Daco-Roman purity. “The fictitious unity of Dacia – underlines Lucian Boia – blurs in favor of effective diversity.” (Boia 2011, p. 33)

So, at the middle of the 14th century (1330), Basarab (of Cumanian origin) united the voivodates between the Carpathians and the Danube, defeated the king of Hungary, Carol Robert d’Anjou and founded a more spread out and stronger medieval state.

In Moldavia, the events that led to the foundation of the state did not differ much (Djuvara, 2015, pp. 84-86, 91).

4.1. Romanian folklore. Layers, influences

A difficult issue, more difficult than appears to be, is the time setting of musical layers in the Romanian folklore and the specific influences coming from the Balkan culture. The main reasons are, on one hand, the lack of information and on the other hand, the great power of assimilation we already mentioned above. Yet we shall offer some conclusions on the subject.

Among the criteria we could use to establish the origin (time and space) of a certain music there are: mode structure (number of sounds, sort of intervals), rhythmic types, versions of the same melody (*apud* Ciobanu, 1992, p. 162). According to this, Professor Ciobanu notices the following layers in the Romanian musical folklore:

1. *The ancient layer*, including artistic productions related to the cycle of nature and to the moments of human life, forms encountered in almost all Balkan peoples.

2. *Byzantine influences*, coming from the period between 10th –18th centuries. Different influences – like modes structures and melodic patterns – took place between the religious music all along the Orthodox area, also between the religious and the secular music of the same area.

3. *Ottoman influences* upon all the Balkan ethnic communities, dating from the period between 15th – 19th centuries. This layer includes common melodies in several versions, chromatic modes, similar melodic patterns and rhythmic types. The main performers of this specific repertoire are *lăutarii* – Gypsy fiddlers.

4. *The newest layer* – music coming from direct contact between ethnic communities, between urban and rural cultures, between locals and aliens (refugees or migrants), between the academic classic repertoire and the musical folklore (*apud* Ciobanu, 1992, pp. 162-164).

4.2. Romanian Church and the Orthodox chant

In such a strong ethnic diversity, the Church played a unifying role despite the confessional oscillation of the ruler in the second half of 14th

century. Most population was linked for centuries to the Patriarchy of Constantinople. Soon after the foundation, the Patriarch named the Archbishops of Wallachia and Moldavia, so that the local ecclesiastical hierarchy has been submitted to the Constantinople Church. Monasteries became more numerous and wealthy.

Regarding the church music during the 14th – 18th centuries, it is not only that numerous and detailed information was preserved but this era may be viewed as the richest and the most valuable period in the history of Romanian religious music. The monasteries became educational centers of specific singing and musical writing; among them was Putna Monastery (founded in 1470)²³ being known in the entire Eastern Europe, especially during the 16th century. We will not discuss in detail this issue as famous international Byzantinologists have already done that²⁴. We will just summarize starting from the question: *how people of the Carpatho-Danubian territory sung in church during the 14th–18th centuries?* (Ciobanu, 1974, pp. 278-286).

- Dominant was the Byzantine vocal singing monody based on the system of eight modes (*echos*) formulated by John of Damascus in the 8th century.

- Clergy learned this style, including the neumes notation in the monastic schools.

- *Ison* (singing pedal) was the only form of polyphony and the singing performing ways were *responsorial* and *antiphonal*.

- Despite traditionalism specific to Orthodox Christianity, church singing enters into a natural exchange of influences with both local secular repertoire and the official music arrived through the Ottomans.

- Until the 17th century, the Slavonic and the Greek were the ecclesiastic languages (Ciobanu, 1974, p. 282).

- The process of *Romanization* started in the 18th century – liturgical texts were translated in Romanian and the religious melodies were adapted to the Romanian specific phonetics.

Additionally, the exchanges between Romanian musical folklore and liturgical music continued. We cannot say who and to whom borrowings were made, but it is certain that both musical branches gained in richness and originality.

4.3. Fiddlers

The diversity and dynamics of non-religious music in the Romanian cultural space in the age we refer to was to be influenced by professional

²³ Putna Monastery is situated in the North of Moldavia, nearby Suceava city.

²⁴ Among important authors are: Ioan D. Petrescu, Grigore Panțiru, Gheorghe Ciobanu, Sebastian Barbu-Bucur, Florin Bucescu and so on.

musicians – the fiddlers/*lăutarii*. Who were they, when did they appear and more importantly what was their social status in the medieval Romanian context?

It should be noted once again from the beginning that our gypsy fiddlers of the Middle Ages were compared with the French *jongleurs* or *ménéstrels*: wrong! Fundamental, also tragic difference lies in their status as *slaves*²⁵. In Romanian medieval states, gypsy slaves were mentioned (as „inventory items“!) starting with the 14th century or according to other authors, even earlier (Pons, p. 12)²⁶.

Fiddlers were mentioned for the first time in the 16th century (Ciobanu 1969, p. 153, note 3). From all the occupations of these unfortunate people, fiddling was at the same time very popular and despised among the masters.

“To play musical instruments was a degrading occupation, practiced by the lowest social classes, the gypsy slaves. Their selling price varied depending on their occupation, and fiddlers had no value. This conception about the musical talent lasted for a long time, even after the foundation of the Philharmonic Societies in Bucharest and Iași (in 19th cent.)” (Poslușnicu, 1928, pp. 317-318)

Therefore, references to secular music in the Romanian space after the foundation of the medieval Romanian states include this category of musicians and their role in the evolution of main secular branches: musical folklore and court music. As it results from the writings of the time, fiddlers attended all events in the village, fairs and towns, at Prince’s and boyard’s courts. In spite of their so unfortunate social status, they were organized into clans and guilds; they improved and adapted constantly their repertoire to the people’s preferences. Fiddlers represent the most dynamic channels for music circulation from one rural area to another, from the countryside to towns, from village to royal courts, from foreign to local songs and so on. Romanian fiddlers were the most efficient factors of change and diversity and the mutual influence of musical genres.

4.4. The Ottomans and their influence

Even though the first invasion of Turks to the north of the Danube river took place in 1369 (Alexandru, 1980, p. 254), the Ottoman advancement and their relations with the Romanian medieval states originated in the 15th

²⁵ Apparently, Gypsies come from Northern India from the *paria* cast and their exodus to the Middle East and then to Europe started at the beginning of the second millennium (between 1000-1050) (*apud* Kenrick, 2007).

²⁶ The slavery of gypsy people is a dark page in the Romanian history. The official abolition occurred in Transylvania, in 1786 (by the Decree of the Austro-Hungarian Emperor Joseph II), in Moldavia (1855) and Wallachia (1856).

https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robia_%C3%AEn_%C8%9B%C4%83rile_rom%C3%A2ne#cite_ref-1

century²⁷. A set of Wallachian and Moldavian princes opposed through diplomacy or battles against the transformation of their countries into a *pashalic*²⁸. We reject the commentaries about Romanians who became “shield of Christendom in the way of the pagans!”, which contain just victories and no defeats; in this respect, we agree once again with the view of Professor N. Djuvara:

“Why Wallachia and Moldavia, and later Transylvania, were left to local governing and were not transformed into a *pashalic* ruled directly by Turkish administrators? [...] – there is no single and satisfactory explanation. Some say that was due to resistance of Romanian *voivods* [...]. Others believe that the Turks wanted to have a „buffer zone“ [...] the third explanation: [...] Romanian countries left in semi-independence [...] became the granary for Constantinople. [...] All explanations probably have some truth [...]” (Djuvara, 2015, pp. 210-211)

Anyway, not all Turks were numerous and cowards, as not all the Romanians were just few and brave as the nationalist propaganda claimed for a long time! Meantime the influence of the Ottoman Empire grew in the two Romanian states. There was obvious an Oriental influence on religious and folklore music that appeared in towns and the musical band called *mehterhane*²⁹ was present quite often during the 17th-18th centuries in the official court protocol of the Romanian princes.

Several musical instruments of Turkish, Persian or Arab origin became familiar in the musical life of Wallachia and Moldavia, in this period, also specific modes, rhythms, musical genres, even melodies (*apud* Ciobanu, 1992, pp. 209-212).

At the beginning of the 18th century, a long line of Greek rulers settled in Wallachia and Moldavia. They came from Phanar – a district of Constantinople –, so they are known in the history as Phanariot princes, who ruled both Romanian states for about one hundred years – from 1711 till 1821. At that time, “numerous singers arrived at the Wallachian and Moldavian courts” (Ciobanu, 1974, p. 283). Liturgic chant in the *papadic* genre³⁰, specific chromatic modes and melodies are evidences of the penetration of oriental borrowings in the Romanian religious repertoire (Barbu-Bucur, 1989, pp. 166-170).

²⁷ Gh. Ciobanu and O.L. Cosma delay with another century the Romanian–Ottoman contacts – second half of the 16th century (Ciobanu, 1992, p. 209; Cosma, 1973, p. 140).

²⁸ *pashalic* = the jurisdiction of a pasha (Ottoman/Turkish administrator) or the territory governed by him (*Merriam-Webster*).

²⁹ *Mehterhane* = Ottoman military band.

³⁰ *Papadic Genre* = “long ornate melodies intended to accompany liturgical action. This genre includes the *Alleluia* sung before the *Gospel*, the *Cherubic Hymn* and the *Communion Hymn*, all chanted during the divine Liturgy, as well as the corresponding hymns in the *Presanctified Liturgy*.” (Psalom)

A

Οι ε-στω-τας εν ο-κω-κω

B

Cei ce stați în ca-sa

C

Cei ce stați în ca-sa

ου εν αυ-λαις οι-κου θε-

Dom-nu-lui, în cur-ți-le ca-sii Dum-ne-

Dom-nu-lui, în cur-ți-le ca-sii Dum-nē-ze

ου η-μων

ze-u-lui no-stru

ze-u-lui no-stru

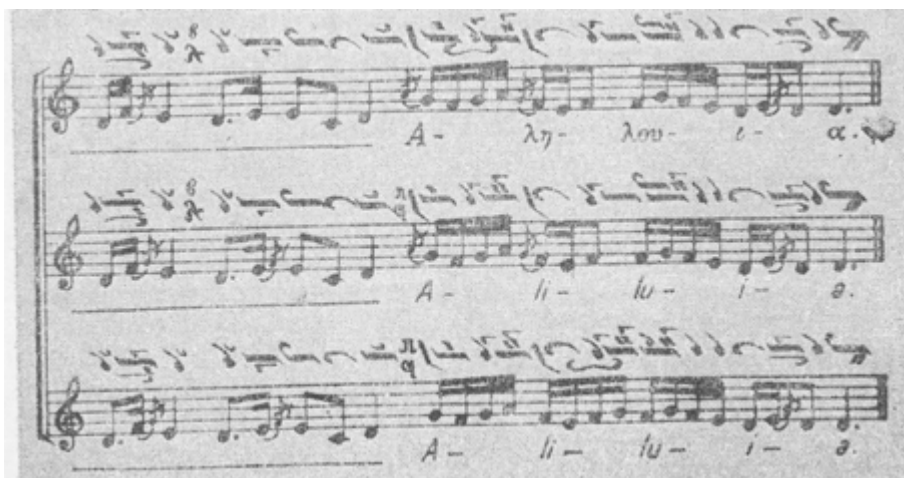


Fig. 11 Three psaltic melodies, in *papadic genre* (Western and Byzantine notation), by: Petru Lampadarie, Macarie and Anton Pann (Ciobanu, 1974, pp. 323-324)

The Byzantinologist Gh. Ciobanu (Ciobanu, 1974, pp. 319-328) compared three songs in the *papadic genre*, with the oriental influence: version A – Petru Lampadarie³¹, *Polieleu*³²; version B – Macarie Ieromonahul³³, *Antologhion*³⁴; version C – Anton Pann³⁵, *Privighier*³⁶ (Fig. 11).

Concerning the Romanian folklore, the ethnomusicologist Gh. Ciobanu mentions the Turkish-Persian-Arabic influence on what he calls *the fiddler ballad* characterized by: “the predominance of chromatic scales [including augmented seconds]; [...] melodic patterns that may be also found in oriental *maqamats* ...; instrumental introductions called [...] *taxims* etc.” The same author mentions within *dance genre* melodies composed mainly by fiddlers using oriental melodic patterns and chromatic modes bearing in Moldavia the name „boyard chora“ (*hore boierești*) or „ancient chora“ (*hore bătrânești*) (Ciobanu, 1979, pp. 22-24). In an extensive

³¹ Petru Lampadarie – Petros Lampadarios/Peloponnesios, 1735-1778, singer, composer and professor at the the School of New Music of the Patriarchy of Constantinople. *Lampadarios* = the leader of singers on the left side in the Cathedral of Constantinople.

(https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Petros_Peloponnesios, accessed on 24.08.2016)

³² *Polieleu* = (gr.) *merciful*; singing on psalm texts 134, 135 (*Dicționar de termeni muzicali* [Dictionary of music terms], 2010, p. 433b).

³³ Macarie, 1770-1836, Romanian chanter, professor, composer (Ionescu, 1994, p. 212).

³⁴ *Antologhion* = a book of chants for all religious services (*Dicționar de termeni muzicali* [Dictionary of music terms], 2010, p. 41a).

³⁵ Anton Pann, 1796-1854, chanter, professor, composer, poet, folklorist who lived in Wallachia.

³⁶ *Privighier* = chants of wakefulness (the service that unites the evening and morning service during big religious celebrations) (*Dicționar de termeni muzicali* [Dictionary of music terms], 2010, p. 448b).

monographic book dedicated to the *Fiddlers* of Clejani village (Giurgiu County), Gh. Ciobanu presents among numerous musical examples a wedding song (Fig. 12) – *the son-in-law's shaving (la bărbieritul ginereului)* – containing clear Oriental features: free rhythm, oscillating between binary and ternary, chromatic mode and specific oriental patterns. “[...] we believe that the song *the son-in-law's shaving* includes Oriental influence, borrowed directly from the military Turkish music or popular Turkish musicians and not from the Serbs” (Ciobanu, 1969, pp. 19-20).



Fig. 12 *The son-in-law's shaving (la bărbieritul ginereului)*
(Ciobanu, 1969, p. 169)

A special musical category that has not been studied a lot in our country is *the ceremony music*. It seems that the oldest manuscripts have been preserved from the 18th century and especially from the Phanariot Age, when princes were often replaced and every new coronation was accompanied by sumptuous ceremonies.

On such occasions, the *polychronion*³⁷, hymns, acclamations, *encomium*³⁸ were often performed to praise the ruler, the officials and the main guests. They were sung “by *psalts* and *protopsalts* at *Te Deum*, at different services, masses, official, civil and canonic visits and on different other occasions” (Barbu-Bucur, 1989, pp. 164-165). The text was secular and the performing style had obvious Oriental influences. We include below a *Polychronion* (Fig. 13) for the Wallachian Archbishop (the name is not mentioned), transcribed by Rev. Professor Sebastian Barbu-Bucur (1989, p. 163).

³⁷ *Polychronion* (Gr.) Πολυχρόνιον = acclamation, congratulation.

³⁸ *Encomium* (Gr.) = eulogy, praise (*Dex online*).

Pol 55 v

11)

Μυ - uți a

ani, fa - că mulți ani, fa -

2)

că Do mî nui Dum - ne

zeu - p rea - sfi in - ți

3)

tu p rea - sfin - ti tu - lui și

cu - vă - ân - tă - re țu - lui,

4)

de Du - um - ne - ze cu t ri -

mi - su lui, Mi - t ro -

5)

po lii a

6)

it a - al s fi in te - ei mi - t ro - po lii a Un - ț - ro V - la.

Fig. 13 Polychronion for the Hungaro-Wallachian Archbishop
(transcription by Rev. Professor Sebastian Barbu-Bucur)

In the 18th century, the age of the highest Ottoman influence on the Romanian culture, Wallachian and Moldavian rulers have at their court not only local musicians (most often fiddlers), but also a Turkish military band sent by the Sultan – *mehterhane*. Moldavian Prince Dimitrie Cantemir describes the *mehterhane* of his time: 9 drummers (with drums of different type), 9 players of *zurna* (double reed wind instruments), 7 trumpet players, 4 *zilzeni* (*zil*, a type

of cymbal). Various travelers to Romanian countries in the 17th-18th centuries mention also other types of Turkish military bands. The repertoire included marches, *peşrevs* (overtures, preludes) and *manele*³⁹ (melancholic love songs). (Alexandru, 1980, pp. 251-257)

In addition, at the Romanian princes' court could be heard the so-called „Turkish chamber music“ – classical music of the Ottoman Empire, written by famous composers of the time. Among the most appreciated personalities of this genre (18th century), we may find Cantemir Bey (Prince Dimitrie Cantemir), an extremely gifted composer and a virtuoso of a string instrument called *tambur*.

4.5. Transylvania, the link to the Western Europe

To get a complete view of the multicultural context of the Carpatho-Danubian music in the 14th-18th centuries, we cannot overlook the Transylvanian area. The history of this province, different from the two others (Wallachia and Moldavia), produced a different political, economic, social and cultural configuration. From the moment when Transylvania entered under the influence of Hungarian Kingdom (10th century AD), the province was connected to what was good and bad in the West! Therefore, we may observe here an extension of the West intertwined with the local specific. Lucian Boia, comparing the history of Transylvania with the one of Switzerland (both inhabited by distinct ethnic groups) observes the main differences:

“social conditions had not been similar. [in Transylvania] The aristocracy was Hungarian, the bourgeoisie was German and the peasants were Romanian. Switzerland was built with juxtaposed ethnic groups (resulting in a combination of solidarity and indifference), while the unequal mixture in Transylvania generated frustrations (in what regards Romanians) and tensions.” (Boia, 2012, p. 24)

We must add the turbulent history of the main Christian denominations adopted here over time. First, the Orthodox for Romanian population; the Hungarians were Roman Catholics, then the Reformation that attracted the Saxons and a part of Hungarians⁴⁰; last, the Romanian Church United with Rome or the Greek-Catholic Church whose story I want to recount here as its

³⁹ Not to be confused with today's *manele*. “In its current meaning, *manea* appeared in Romanian gypsy communities during 50s and 60s as a reaction to the sophisticated traditional music.” Speranța Rădulescu & Florin Jordan, *Conferences from Șosea*, https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manele#cite_note-sosea-6

⁴⁰ The Unitarian Church of Transylvania is a church of the Unitarian denomination, based in the city of Cluj, Transylvania. Founded in 1568, in the Principality of Transylvania, it has a majority-Hungarian following, and is one of the 18 religious confessions given official recognition by the Romanian state. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unitarian_Church_of_Transylvania)

foundation had consequences on the cultural history of Transylvania that are hard to ignore.

In 1683, Vienna was besieged by the Turks. The Austrian army together with the Polish and Venetian allies repelled gradually the enemy in battles that lasted almost seventeen years. In 1699, the Turks are defeated and peace was concluded at Karlowitz⁴¹, stipulating that Austria received more territories: Hungary, Slovenia, part of Croatia and Serbia and the whole Transylvania. The Emperor of Austria, Leopold I – a fervent Catholic – realized that the Protestants (Lutherans, Calvinists and Unitarians) were the main religion in the principality. To bring back Catholic dominance, he starts negotiations with the Orthodox Archbishop Atanasie, suggesting that Romanians went under the obedience of Pope. After almost three years, in 1701, the Romanian Church of Transylvania agreed upon the unification with Rome – as the Greek-Catholic denomination –, in exchange for equal privileges with the Catholics. At the beginning, most Orthodox followed the new confessional form, but after a decade, realizing that the promised rights had been ignored, a part of followers went back to the Orthodox Church. So, after the second decade of the 18th century until the communist persecution, two Romanian denominations had coexisted in Transylvania, being almost equal: The Orthodox and the Greek-Catholic (Djuvara, 2015, pp. 179-185).

This entire ethnic, social and religious twill generated relatively distinct cultural areas with natural exchanges of influence between them. I chose mentioning here just the elements that differentiated the Transylvanian music from the one of Moldavia and Wallachia: *The Western music* performed at the Prince court, as well as in the Hungarian or German communities. Even if they were the majority, Romanian people did not have access to decision-making, except the two situations: the use of force – yet the uprising was in most cases unsuccessful –, or the change of religion (even name); the foundation of the Greek-Catholic Church came as a help, at least in terms of access to education. That being the context, the Romanian folklore did not remain completely isolated from other branches of the Transylvanian music. Scholars and clergymen from the Saxons, Hungarians or even Romanians (the later with changed names) compiled collections of melodies, dances, songs for public or school events that included, among others, traditional Romanian songs adapted to Western style. The most eloquent case is that of the Romanian Ion Căianu, born in Leghea (according to some authors) or in Căianu Mic (according to other authors), a Catholic monk of the Franciscan order. He became famous as a constructor and repairman of organs, composer, collector of folklore, theologian. His name appeared frequently on the Hungarian and German versions of Kájoni János or Johannes Caioni. His most well-known musical

⁴¹ City at the Military Frontier of Habsburg Empire, now Sremski Karlovci, Serbia.

collection, *Codex Caioni* (1632-1671), includes more than three hundred melodies: choir transcriptions, instrumental dances from the Western repertoire (religious and secular), popular remaking and his own compositions. I include here one of the most well-known songs of the anthology of Căianu, *Princess Lupu Song*.



Fig. 14 *Codex Caioni* – *Princess Lupu Song* (Cosma, 1973, p. 299)



Fig. 15 *Codex Caioni* – *Princess Lupu Song*. The genuine manuscript for organ (Cosma, 1973, p. 298)

Musical events with Western repertoire from Renaissance and Baroque took place at the courts of Hungarians noble people, in the ballrooms of prosperous Saxon towns Kronstadt (Braşov), Hermannstadt (Sibiu), Schäßburg/Schäsbrich (Sighişoara) and so on. Also, there were organs and organists in the Lutheran and Catholic Churches, some of them famous in Western Europe. History recorded German and Hungarian musicians born in Transylvania and educated in important universities in Italy and Germany, who worked in the service of Prince of Transylvania and in different courts of European nobility. This was the case of Valentin Greff Bakfark (1527-1576, of Saxon origin), born in Braşov, virtuoso of lute and composer, musician at the court of Polish and German kings and of Transylvanian Prince Ioan Zapolya; in his last years, he lived in Padova (Italy).

Therefore, in Transylvania, several kinds of music could be heard: *traditional Romanian music (doina, ballad, carols, different dances etc.); Saxon, Hungarian, Szekler folklore; music of the main religious denominations; the Western classic repertoire.*

5. Final remarks

To make a final summary, we should note that the two periods primarily suggested have been in fact three:

1. The Pre-Roman period, from the Neolithic age to the 3rd century AD
2. Early Middle Ages, 3rd to 14th centuries
3. Genuine Middle Ages, 14th to 18th centuries

1. Regarding the Thracians, the Getae and the Dacians, as little certitude there is (direct material sources), the more discussion and papers we may find on this subject. “The non-critical interpretation of ancient sources has been here a real tradition” – sates Lucian Boia (2011, p. 32) and I believe he is right. As other historians, Boia found that the interpretation of history was often made in close connection and to justify *the present* (2011, pp. 142-144). Therefore, the impartiality should be reinstated regarding the existence and the culture of the Thracians, the Getae and the Dacians; many times, they were presented using concepts and arguments belonging to Greek and Roman musical art. If we want to have balance in historical judgment, we must recognize that we may just make *little suppositions about the Thracian-Getae-Dacian music.*

Regarding the 160 years of Roman authority upon Dacia, our historiography seems to depict a pathetic view of Romans and Dacians shaking hands friendly, aware of the important mission of founding the Romanian people! Seriously, beyond all exaggerations, we should observe the following:

- It was not the refined society, the Latin artists, writers and philosophers who came to Dacia Romana, but soldiers, administrators, merchants, fortune

seekers and probably Christian missionaries who came here, all speakers of vulgar Latin and probably other ancient languages. In such a short and tormented time, such as the Daco-Roman period, we cannot have cultural sedimentations.

- On the other hand, the contact with Latin language had existed before and after the *de facto* rule of Romans in Dacia. We must not forget that the Romans had conquered the Balkan Peninsula towards the south of the Danube in 2nd-1st centuries BC, and they had remained in the Southern-Danubian province Moesia until the 6th century, when the Slavs⁴² arrived. There were therefore almost eight centuries of neighborhood and direct interaction (peaceful or not) of the Carpatho-Danubian inhabitants with the speakers of Latin language.

- In what concerns the art (including music), layers, influences and changes occurred continuously over the entire period we refer to for over six centuries (from 5th cent. BC till 1st cent. AD).

- The first, the oldest and encompassing musical branch that had preceded the formation of the Romanian language was the *folklore*. We find here both diversity – contextual, related to place, stage, destination etc. – and a relative consistency towards the time passing.

- It is hard to establish the belonging of some artistic productions to the old Dacian or Latin roots.

- It seems that *octo* and *hexa*-syllabic versifications are of *Latin origin*. This evidence may be useful for establishing the age and origin of music, but applicable only to music with text and even in this case with much precaution.

2. Starting with the 19th century, Middle Ages in the Romanian historiography is rather less known and researched. After Roman withdrawal, out of numerous populations that had been crossing this Carpatho-Danubian-Balkan land for over a millennium, some left material traces, such as the famous Pietroasele Treasure (Buzău County) attributed to the Goths⁴². Other populations marked more deeply their presence by their peaceful or not cohabitation with the locals and contributed to the cultural, linguistic and anthropological mixture. For instance, what Gallo-Romans would have been without the Franks? And what Anglo-Saxons would have been without the Normans? Or the Iberians without the Visigoths, the Vandals and the Arabs? Even Romans without the Goths, Longobards, Franks and Normans...? Therefore, why have we tended to view as secondary or even ignore the contribution of the Slavs both in the Romanian language formation and the

⁴² The Pietroasele Treasure (or the Petrossa Treasure) found in Pietroasele, Buzău, Romania, in 1837, is a late fourth-century Gothic treasure that included some twenty-two objects of gold, among the most famous examples of the polychrome style of Migration Period art (www.wikipedia.org).

Christianity penetration in the Romanian early history? Certainly, the most convenient answer is considering Romanian people as a “Latin island in the Slavic ocean”. Being so nearby by the Russian Empire could provide other historical reasons. However, all these are just emotional judgments lacking clear historical evidence. Even if we view our language as being more Latin than Slavic, we should admit the Slavic infusion in the Romanian vocabulary.

In Early local Medieval art we can find two main musical branches – the traditional music (musical folklore) and the religious music. In case of traditional music, spectacular exchanges did not occur compared to the previous period; the religious one developed due to the state evolution and ethnic sedimentations. Even if here Christianity has been adopted very early, especially in the areas of contact with the Greeks and the Romans (Dobrogea and North Danube river), it was practiced in villages without unitary ecclesiastic structures. In the first millennium, Christianity was still a new religion that competed with older pagan rites. We may only suppose how Christian music of that time sounded like. Surely, massive Christianity of Byzantine type occurred through the Bulgarian Slavonic tradition, after the 9th century. The religious music was also under various influences and stratifications. To a certain degree of relativity, we may determine specific stages and contributions to Byzantine-type liturgical chants in the Romanian culture.

3. Genuine Middle Ages in the Romanian history brought three main musical branches: *folklore*, *religious* and *court* music. To better understand the musical evolution, we must agree upon some historical facts:

- Late foundation (compared to Western and Central European regions) of Carpatho-Danubian Medieval states due to the devastating raids of the Mongols in the 13th century.

- The traditional conflict between the *boyards* (seemingly of Slavic origin) and the rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia principalities.

- Soon after the foundation (second half of 14th cent.), the rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia oscillated between the Catholic and the Orthodox Christianity.

- The link with Byzantium mainly in the ecclesiastic organization; the Archbishops of Wallachia and Moldavia were subordinated to the Patriarch of Constantinople.

- Since 15th century, the Ottoman multiple influences (politically, socially, culturally) were growing up till 18th century.

- The gipsy fiddlers had their role in the dynamics of the three musical branches of the Romanian Medieval culture.

The traditional music developed slowly under multiple influences of different local folklore regions and multiple exchanges of influence with: local folklore and neighboring ethnic communities, with religious and court music.

The Orthodox chant had risen tremendously reaching its peak in the late 18th century when the process of Romanization began. The Romanian Orthodox church consolidated its autonomy from the medieval state, becoming also the main educational and cultural center. We may also note stylistic stratifications in the religious music and the penetration of Oriental and folklore influences.

Court music – the newest branch appeared together with foundation of the state and was mostly under the influence of Ottoman oriental music. We may include here the music of ceremonies and entertainment.

Western Classical music, Renaissance and Baroque repertoire, appeared in Transylvania under the influence of Hungarians, Szeklers and Saxons.

In the modern Romanian society, a huge gap occurred in the perception of the national history: on the one hand, those who admit only the Romanian genius, courage, diligence, spirit of sacrifice and so further; on the other hand those who exaggerate the national faults.

On this background, we approach national history – including musical connotations – following two main principles: *synthesis* and *impartiality*. We anticipate as consequences, at least two reproaches:

1. Is this a *historical* writing or a *musical* historical writing, since the musical references are considerably less than those concerning the general history?

As we show in the *Introduction*, during the last two hundred years or so, the history became an efficient instrument of education and manipulation. In any field, including the artistic one, knowledge of history starts from the general, from the context. We therefore consider interesting and useful thickening the outlines of general history, clarifying and even removing some traditional ideas, used as background for arguments in the Romanian musical history. The presentation (even in detail) of the music of Thracians, Dacians, Getae by describing the Greek and Roman musical culture is a revealing example in this regard. We consider there are not enough acceptable proves for this analogy, which has an undeniable manipulator effect. So, before knowledge the Romanian history of music, it is necessary to reconsider the Romanian general history in the regional and European context, with preoccupation for more real data and less emotional speculations.

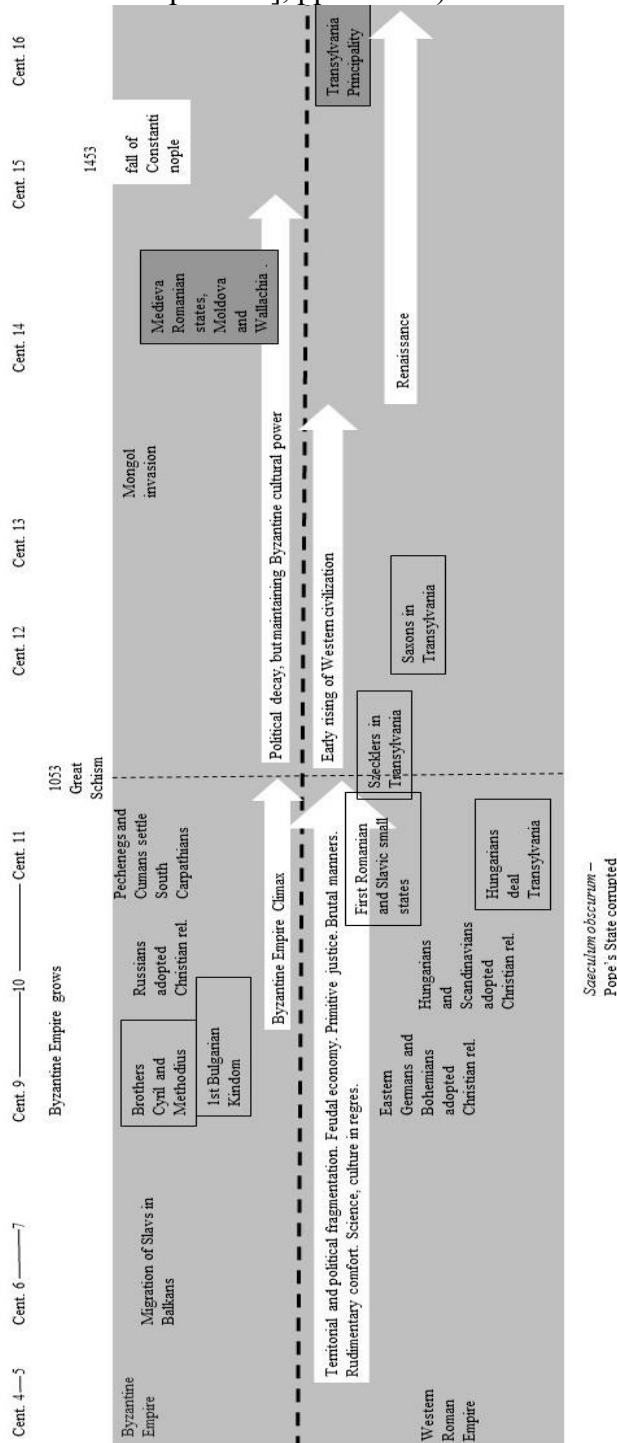
2. The second reproach: *since the author declares her preference especially for two historians, where is the claimed impartiality?*

This writing has no ambition to arbitrate older or newer historical controversy. Besides, both Lucian Boia and Neagu Djuvara base their

arguments on the broad knowledge of the various specialized sources. Their comments (usually, they are not quoting each other) are often complementary and lead to similar conclusions. In their researches we did not find annoying hues, each statement being sustained by logical arguments.

Therefore, this text does not aim to be original but to outline a logical and meaningful long-term trajectory in the history of this land and its inhabitants, using information and documents collected by famous historians. Above all, we have tried to change the lens through which we saw for decades the national culture, from thick and rigid contact lens into more flexible, progressive ones! Certainly, the complete objectivity is hard to achieve, inherently shades or personal preferences occur and new documents will always emerge. These are the reasons why we should leave open the dispute and keep just the principles: *common sense* and *lack of prejudice*!

Annex. Centuries 4-16. Periods, events from the Roman Empire division to the Romanian Medieval States foundation (*apud* Djuvara, 2012, *Civilizații...* [Civilizations and historical patterns], pp. 90-124)



References

- Alexandru, T. (1980). *Folcloristică, organologie, muzicologie* [Folklore, organologie, musicology], II. București: Editura Muzicală.
- Barbu-Bucur, S. (1989). *Cultura muzicală de tradiție bizantină pe teritoriul României, în secolul XVIII și începutul secolului XIX și aportul original al culturii autohtone* [The Music of Byzantine Tradition on the Romanian Territory, in 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century and the original contribution of the Romanian culture]. București: Editura Muzicală.
- Bernstein, L. (1976). *The Unanswered Question*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Boia, L. (2011). *Istorie și mit în conștiința românească* [History and Myth in the Romanian conscience]. București: Humanitas.
- Boia, L. (2015). *Jocul cu trecutul. Istoria între adevăr și ficțiune* [Playing with the Past. The History between Truth and Fiction]. București: Humanitas.
- Boia, L. (2012). *România, țară de frontieră a Europei* [Romania, a Border Country of Europe]. București: Humanitas.
- Boia, L. (2016). *Un joc fără reguli. Despre imprevizibilitatea istoriei* [A game without rules. About unpredictability of history]. București: Humanitas.
- Bolocan, V. (2007). *Cât de „cumani” sunt românii? – Interviu cu Profesorul Neagu Djuvara (în exclusivitate pentru revista Contrafort)* [How "Cumanians" are Romanian people? - Interview with Professor Neagu Djuvara (exclusively for Contrafort Magazine)]. *Contrafort*, 156, 10 octombrie. Chișinău. Preluat din <http://www.contrafort.md/old/2007/156/1323.html>
- Breazul, G. (1977). *Pagini din istoria muzicii românești* [Romanian History of Music], IV. București: Editura Muzicală.
- Breazul, G. (1981). *Pagini din istoria muzicii românești* [Romanian History of Music], V. București: Editura Muzicală.
- Burada, T.T. (1974). *Opere* [Works], I. București: Editura Muzicală.
- Burada, T.T. (1978). *Opere* [Works], III. București: Editura Muzicală.
- Ciobanu, Gh. (1969). *Lăutarii din Clejani* [Fiddlers of Clejani]. București: Editura Muzicală.
- Ciobanu, Gh. (1974). *Studii de etnomuzicologie și bizantinologie* [Studies of Ethnomusicology and Bizantinology], I. București: Editura Muzicală.
- Ciobanu, Gh. (1979). *Studii de etnomuzicologie și bizantinologie* [Studies of Ethnomusicology and Bizantinology], II. București: Editura Muzicală.
- Ciobanu, Gh. (1992). *Studii de etnomuzicologie și bizantinologie* [Studies of Ethnomusicology and Bizantinology], III. București: Editura Muzicală.

- Cosma, O.L. (1973). *Hronicul muzicii românești* [Romanian Music Chronicle], I. București: Editura Muzicală.
- Djuvara, N. (2012). *Civilizații și tipare istorice. Un studiu comparat al civilizațiilor* [Civilizations and historical patterns. A comparative study of civilizations]. București: Humanitas.
- Djuvara, N. (2011). *Există istorie adevărată?* [Is there a real History?]. București: Humanitas.
- Djuvara, N. (2015). *O scurtă istorie ilustrată a românilor* [A Brief Illustrated History of Romanians]. București: Humanitas.
- Djuvara, N. (2011). *Răspuns criticilor mei și neprietenilor lui Negru Vodă* [Answer for my critics and for Negru Voda's enemies]. București: Humanitas.
- Djuvara, N. (2011). *Thocomerius-Negru Vodă. Un voievod de origine cumană la începuturile Țării Românești* [Thocomerius-Negru Vodă. A Prince of Cuman origin at the beginnings of Wallachia]. București: Humanitas.
- Futrell, R. & Mahowald, K. & Gibson, Ed. (2015). *Large-scale evidence of dependency length minimization in 37 languages*. Edited by Barbara H. Partee, Amherst: University of Massachusetts Amherst, MA.
- Eliade, Mircea (1973). *Notes on the Călușari in the Gaster Festschrift*: The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University.
- Herodotus (1920). *Historia* with an English translation by A. D. Godley. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Ionescu, Gh. (1994). *Lexicon al celor care, de-a lungul veacurilor, s-au ocupat cu muzica de tradiție bizantină în România* [Lexicon of those who, over the centuries have dealt with Byzantine music in Romania]. București: Editura Diogene.
- Kenrick, D. (2007). *Chronology of Gypsy History. Historical Dictionary of the Gypsies (Romanies)*, second edition. Lanham Maryland – Toronto – Plymouth: Scarecrow Press Inc.
- Kernbach, V. (1989). *Dicționar de mitologie generală* [Dictionary of General Mythology]. București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică.
- Manea, M. & Pascu, A. & Teodorescu, B. (1996). *Istoria românilor din cele mai vechi timpuri până la revoluția din 1821. Manual pentru clasa a XI-a* [Romanian history from ancient times until the revolution of 1821. Handbook for Grade XI]. București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică.
- Meyendorff, J. (1989). *Imperial unity and Christian divisions: The Church 450-680 A.D. (The Church in history)*. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press.
- Panțiru, Gr. (1971). *Notația și echivalele muzicii bizantine* [Byzantine Music Notation and Modes]. București: Editura Muzicală.
- Pons, Em. *De la robie la asimilare* [From slavery to assimilation].
<http://adatbank.transindex.ro/html/cimpdf450.pdf>

Popa, M. D. & Matei, H. C. (1983). *Mică enciclopedie de istorie universală* [Small Encyclopedia of World History]. București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică.

Poslușnicu, M. Gr. (1928). *Istoria muzicii la români, de la Renaștere până'n epoca de consolidare a culturii artistice* [Romanian music history from Renaissance to the Age of strengthening of the artistic culture]. București: Cartea Românească.

Ștefănescu, I. (1995). *O istorie a muzicii universale* [A History of World Music], I. București: Editura Fundației Culturale Române.

Vulcănescu, R. (1985). *Mitologie română* [Romanian Mythology]. București: Editura Academiei.

*** *DEX* (2004-2017), www.dexonline.ro

*** *Dicționarul etimologic român* [Romanian Ethymological Dictionary]. www.webdex.ro/online

*** (2010). *Dicționar de termeni muzicali* [Dictionary of music terms]. București: Editura Enciclopedică.

*** *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, <https://www.merriam-webster.com>

*** *Online Etymology Dictionary*, www.etymonline.com

*** (1998). *Larousse. Cronologia universală. Cele mai importante evenimente politice, culturale, religioase și științifice din istoria omenirii* [Larousse. Universal Chronology. Cele mai importante evenimente politice, culturale, religioase și științifice din istoria omenirii]. Negrea, I. (trans.). București: Lider.

*** (2010). Maneaua: Istorie, alcătuire, rosturi, înțelesuri [Maneaua: History, Structure, Aims, Meanings]. *Conferințele de la Șosea*, blog. Preluat din www.muzeultaranuluiroman.ro

*** www.wikipedia.org