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SECULAR MUSIC AT THE ROMANIAN PRINCELY COURTS DURING THE PHANARIOT EPOCH (1711 – 1821)

Introduction

Having commenced as early as the latter half of the fifteenth century, the process of “vassalisation”,¹ which was later to become one of Ottoman domination over Wallachia and Moldavia,² led to the princes of the two north-Danube provinces being appointed and deposed at short intervals, either according to the wishes of the Sultan,³ or at the “intervention” of high-ranking Ottoman dignitaries at the Sublime Porte.⁴ Gradually, the Principalities would become mere provinces or “*rāyās*” of the Ottoman Empire,⁵ and their rulers would enjoy the title of “Christian pasha”, sometimes with privileges greater than those of the high dignitaries of the imperial administration.⁶

However, the Turkish hegemony or Turcocracy (1453 – 1821) also contained a special chapter that was to have a separate history in the Romanian Principalities, from the early decades of the eighteenth century until the year of the Balkan revolution (1821): the Phanariot epoch. The failure of the military alliance between Moldavian Prince Dimitrie Cantemir (b. 1673 – d. 1723) and Peter the Great (b. 1672 – d. 1725), in their attempt to rid the land of Ottoman rule (at the Battle of Stănilești, 1711), caused the Sublime Porte’s trust in its Latin subjects of Orthodox religion to evaporate. From then onward, the princes of the two Romanian provinces would be appointed by the Sultan himself, and they would be chosen from among the foremost non-Muslim *millet* of Constantinople: the Greeks of the famous Phanar quarter.⁷ According to the statistics gathered by historian Neagu Djuvara, no less than thirty-one Phanariot princes, from eleven families, occupied, for a total of seventy-five reigns, the thrones of Wallachia (or Hungro-Wallachia) and Moldavia.⁸

1. Constantinople, the Phanariots, and the Danubian Principalities at the end of the Turcocracy: The Musical Background

But what were the motives of the administration of the Ottoman Empire in appointing princes of Greek origin to the thrones of the two Romanian provinces? The Sublime Porte's choice of political leaders from the aristocratic Levantine quarter was by no means arbitrary. The historical argument according to which the Greek community of Istanbul, or more correctly speaking Constantinople, preceded the Ottoman population and the fact that it represented, under the authority of the Ecumenical Patriarch (*Milet al-Rûm*), the most numerous non-Muslim community of the former capital, combined with the economic, intellectual and political-administrative status attained by Greeks. The name they bore entitled the Phanariots to regard themselves as the rightful descendents of the great families of the Byzantine *basileis*⁹ and "descendents of the Palaeologus and Cantacuzino families",¹⁰ while the education they had acquired in western universities (Vienna, Padua, Paris, etc.) would offer them the opportunity to occupy, from the middle of the seventeenth century onward, essential positions in the mechanism of the Ottoman administration. The positions of *Dragoman* (from the Turkish *terjûmen*), or official translator to the Sublime Porte¹¹ in relations with the other "pagan" nations, that of personal physician to the Sultan,¹² and that of *Kaptan pasha* or Admiral of the Imperial Fleet would be eclipsed by the much-coveted position of Prince of one of the two north-Danube provinces, Moldavia and Wallachia.¹³

It should also be mentioned that, in the Ottoman eighteenth century, Constantinopolitan society was composite, one in which a number of religions and ethnic groups, including Turks, Greeks, Jews, Armenians and even Christianised Arabs, lived together, even after Mehmet II (b. 1432 – d. 1481) conquered Constantinople (29 May 1453). It was natural that in this multi-ethnic atmosphere there should be mutual influences. At the musical level, this meant that Greek musicians were familiar with both Ottoman courtly music and Byzantine ecclesiastical music, especially from the mid-seventeenth century onwards.¹⁴ In this context, the adoption by Wallachia and Moldavia of the religious and secular ceremonies existing in the former Byzantine capital on the banks of the Bosphorus¹⁵ resulted in the orientalised of a major part of the musical repertoire of the princely and boyar courts of the two capitals. Thus, as Lazăr Şăineanu

would argue more than a century ago, the princely courts of Bucharest and Iași in the Phanariot period exuded

“an absolutely oriental atmosphere and not only with regard to administrative matters and official ceremony, but also in the day-to-day life, in the costumes and cuisine, in the boyar class’s way of living and feeling”.¹⁶

The present study sets out to analyse the phenomenon of urban secular music of Constantinopolitan influence at the princely and boyar courts of the Danube Principalities during the reign of the Phanariots (1711 – 1821).

2. Sources

α) The historical documents of the time are an extremely important source whereby the musical practices of the Principalities in the Phanariot epoch may be reconstructed, in particular the accounts and descriptions (in journals, memoirs, etc.) of foreign travellers who visited the Romanian Lands,¹⁷ to which might also be added princely (Wallachian and Moldavian) and Ottoman official records,¹⁸ as well as chronicles, countless letters, folkloric and pictorial sources. Although they do not have the persuasive power of a musical score, these accounts allow us to form quite a coherent image of the music and society of the time. The music of the princely courts, perhaps more than the other arts, was present in the field of vision of the contemporary chroniclers, be they simple travellers through the lands north of the Danube, be they ambassadors, consuls or special envoys from other European states. The political status of the latter allowed them to take part in and gain access to the rituals and pomp of princely coronations in the two Romanian capitals, to weddings and balls, and to receptions held in honour of these foreign guests, usually from Western Europe, but also from the Orient, as well as to meetings organised by the “first lady” in particular, but also by generous boyars.

β) The sources that supply the most persuasive evidence are, however, the manuscripts, treatises and printed works written in Byzantine and Ottoman musical notation.¹⁹ Written mainly in Greek, Turkish or Romanian, these documents in effect constitute the most authoritative sources, which speak directly about the musical life of the Romanian princely courts, at a time when the codex and the book, regardless of

content and means of distribution, were held in high esteem, both in the Orient²⁰ and in the Occident.²¹

3. The *Mehterhâne* and *Tabl-Khâne*, or on Ottoman Music at the Princely Courts

Operating by means of rigorous selection within a domain that is necessarily fluid, it must be said that as regards the musical milieu of the princely and boyar courts of the Danube Principalities, the above-mentioned documents reveal to us the fact that the spectrum of musical life was heterogeneous, in which the ritual of Byzantine ceremonial chant and the *taraf* (ensemble) of the prince's fiddlers successfully cohabited with orchestras in the Turkish or European ("German" – "*muzica nemțească*" or "European" – "*europeană*") style²² (**Illustration 1**).

In effect, this *mélange* of sound is merely a consequence of the fact that under the Phanariots Romanian society itself was composite and motley in its cultural expression, a society that brought together often very different peoples, languages, intellectual backgrounds, aspirations, and structures of thought.

In this jigsaw of vocal and instrumental ensembles, the most important influence "imported" from Istanbul to be active at the princely courts of Bucharest and Iași in the Phanariot period was the ceremonial band or the so-called "prince's Turkish music",²³ which was made up of two ensembles: the *mehterhâne* or courtly music (the princely orchestra) and *tabl-khâne* or the military band of the Janissaries²⁴ (**Illustrations 2a, b, c, d**). Received as a gift from the Sublime Porte²⁵ together with the familiar insignia of power²⁶ from the mid-seventeenth century onwards²⁷ or perhaps even earlier,²⁸ these musical groups were made up of singers and instrumentalists, mainly Ottomans, from all over the Orient,²⁹ and almost always under the musical authority of a Turkish *mehter-başı* (Kapellmeister),³⁰ and later that of a *tufecci-başa*.³¹ Sometimes, alongside the Ottoman musicians, contemporary documents also mention the existence of Wallachian³² and Moldavian³³ *mehters*, and Evliyâ Çelebi (b. 1611 – d. after 1682), the celebrated Ottoman traveller and former professional singer at the court of Sultan Murat IV Ghazi (d. 1640), also confirms the fact that at the princely courts of the Romanian Lands the Turkish *mehterhâne* played "behind the flag" while in front of it "played the trumpets and *tambûrs* of the *giaours*".³⁴ In the extra-Carpathian space

we are therefore dealing with two *mehterhânes*: one of the Ottomans and a “*mehterhâne* of the accursed (*afuriștilor*)”.³⁵

With regard to the musical performances of Romanians beyond the borders of the Principalities, towards the end of the eighteenth century there is mention of a Moldavian named Miron, who was one of the leading virtuosi of the *viola d’amore* (*sine kemanî*) at the Court of Sultan Selim III (b. 1761 – d. 1808), a celebrated composer of the time and a patron of the arts. According to Walter Feldman, Miron “probably did more than any other single individual to develop the *ala Turca* style of violin-playing”,³⁶ and was the highest paid musician at the Sultan’s court between 1795 and 1806.³⁷ In a poem that describes an imperial celebration in 1834, the Moldavian musician is characterised as “the venerable violinist Miron (*Koca kemâni Mîrum*)”.³⁸ It is important to note that, according to the Turkish musicologists, the *viola d’amore* arrived in Turkish musical circles from Western Europe via the Romanian Lands and Serbia in the late eighteenth century.³⁹

Regarding the history of the term *mehterhâne* (*house of mehter*) in the Ottoman Empire, it should be pointed out that this refers to ensembles of musicians formed for military and ceremonial purposes. In Ottoman Turkey and also the Romanian Principalities, the *mehterhâne* was sometimes called the *mehter* orchestra or *tabl-khâne* (*T’abîlhâne/Nevbet-hâne* or “house of drums”)⁴⁰ and included wind and percussion instruments.⁴¹ The Janissaries (*Yeniçeri* – *new troop*) were the élite troops of the Ottoman Empire (most of them were slaves of Christian origins), who appear to have first formed official *mehter* ensembles around the year 1330,⁴² and the *mehterhâne* was very closely associated with the Janissaries throughout the Ottoman period. It should be noted that this was definitely not the earliest use of music by the Turkish military. There are earlier records showing that military bands were a traditional gift from one Turkish ruler to another, and a Chinese chronicle of a general’s visit to a Turkish monarch in 200 BC includes a description of a *Tuğ* (drum) team – a mostly-percussion ensemble that also included a *zurna*-like instrument and a kind of trumpet – and the general’s subsequent formation of a similar ensemble for his own military.⁴³ So it can be assumed that even in 1329/30, the *mehter* inherited an already-established tradition of military music.⁴⁴

Unfortunately, in their journals and notes, the foreign travellers and officials that passed through the Romanian Lands frequently confuse the names of these ensembles, as it is not very clear to them when it is a matter of the *mehterhâne* or the *tabl-khâne*. The first to distinguish between the

prince's "chamber" ensemble (*mehterhâne*) and the princely orchestra or *tabl-khâne* was Franz-Joseph Sulzer (b. 1735 – d. 1797) a Swiss born in Laufenburg⁴⁵ and present around the autumn of 1774⁴⁶ at the Wallachian Court of Alexandros Hyspēlantēs (b. c. 1724 – d. 1807).

In the Romanian terminology we meet these ceremonial ensembles with the name *chindie* (Turkish *ikindi*),⁴⁷ hence the expression *de cântat pe la chindii* (to be sung at dusk), because one of the times of day when the band of Janissaries played was at sunset.⁴⁸ The two ensembles (*mehterhâne* and *tabl-khâne*) would be in the service of the imperial Ottoman court until the year 1826, when they were abolished by Sultan Mahmud II (b. 1785 – d. 1839) together with the Janissary corps,⁴⁹ while in the Romanian Lands the Turkish band would be replaced by a European-style brass band a few years later, in 1830, on the establishment of the modern land army (*Straja pământească*).⁵⁰

In conclusion, it can be stated that these ceremonial ensembles, which came to the Principalities, as I have said, from Istanbul, represented not only one of the most important privileges that the princes of these lands enjoyed⁵¹ but also, in a symbolic form, the sovereignty of the Crescent Moon over the Romanian space.⁵²

The Sultan's protocol⁵³ laid down that these ceremonial orchestras should attend in the first place the official ceremonies of the 'beys' of Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as at the coronation of a new prince,⁵⁴ in accordance with a ritual inherited from the pomp of the coronation of the Byzantine emperors,⁵⁵ the reconfirmation of the prince's reign,⁵⁶ the most important religious festivals (Easter, Christmas, the Feast of St Basil, and Epiphany),⁵⁷ the individual feast days of churches,⁵⁸ the reception of foreign ambassadors⁵⁹ and Ottoman dignitaries,⁶⁰ the funerals of princes,⁶¹ the private feasts and revels organised by princes⁶² and, sometimes, the appointment of dignitaries.⁶³

Apart from religious festivals and secular ceremonies such as those mentioned above, the *mehterhâne* and *tabl-khâne* had to perform daily, in the morning, after the Mohammedan call to prayer,⁶⁴ and in the afternoon, more often than not before the Prince⁶⁵ or beneath his windows.⁶⁶ We may, indeed, speak of orchestras with a set timetable, which gave veritable "concert tours" of the courts and palaces of the Principalities.

What can be said of the instrumentation employed by the orchestras of the Ottoman Court and the Turkish musical ensembles? Contemporary musicology underlines the fact that this was highly complex and had over

the centuries undergone countless transformations, adjustments, and improvements, with some instruments disappearing and being replaced by others, and with new instruments being introduced.⁶⁷ According to musicological statistics, it seems that since the times of the Huns in the military band of the Ottoman Empire there were six basic instruments: four percussion and two wind instruments. The wind instruments were called *zurna*, *boru* (*nefir* or *şahnay*), and percussion instruments *çevgan*, *zil*, *davul* and *yurağ*, *boygur*, *çöken*, *çağ*, *tümrük* and *küvrük*, all of which were later collectively known as *kös*. But the number of instruments used in the Ottoman music increased over time, since numbers of individual instruments could be multiplied according to requirements. While the historian Şükrullah who lived in the time of Murad II listed only nine instruments, Lâdikli Mehmed counted eighteen, and Kâtip Çelebi (1609 – 1657) nineteen. Evliyâ Çelebi, who was at the same time a musician, mentions some seventy-six instruments.⁶⁸ However, it seems that the most extensive ensemble of military musicians at the Ottoman Court can be found at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the *mehterhâne* of the Grand Vizier was made up of sixty-two instrumentalists and that of the Sultan was twice as large.⁶⁹

Since the swarming oriental courts of the Principalities remind the western traveller of a smaller version of the Seraglio in Constantinople, it should come as no surprise that we also find here a significant number of musical instruments that are Ottoman in origin. The same Swiss, Fr. J. Sulzer, who, let it be said in passing, was also an instrumentalist in the chamber orchestra of A. Hypsēlantēs, gives us many essential details about the number and type of instruments that made up the *mehterhâne*:

“Turkish chamber music is wholly different in its make-up. A long, thick reed-flute with seven holes and a large orifice for the mouth, called a *ney*, a *tambura*, i.e. a kind of lute with a long neck; a *tzambal* (*Hackbrett*) which they strike with short wooden sticks and call it *santur*. Another instrument of the same kind, called the *müküm*, which they pluck with the fingers, like we pluck our zither (*Zimbel*) is similar to a harp; the *muskal* or *nai* (*Syringa Panos*); the *keman* is held on the thigh and played using a bow; then the common four-stringed violin, which is called the *sînekeman*, along with another wind instrument, which is similar in form and sound to a bassoon; all these are their chamber instruments”.⁷⁰

Prince Dimitrie Cantemir (in Turkish *Kantemiroğlu*), a well-known theoretician, who invented a system of notation and created the most influential theory of Ottoman music,⁷¹ an amazing virtuoso of the *tanbûr* (long-necked lute) which he says is “the most perfect instrument”, and at the same time who revolutionised the composition of the *peşrev* (prelude) (*Illustration 3*), tells us the following about the band of the Janissaries or *tabl-khâne*:

“The *Tabl* is a drum, whence the name *tabulkana*, the military insignia the Turkish emperors give to the higher generals in their service. The *tabulkana* of a vizier comprises nine drums; nine *zurnazeni* or those who play the *zurna*, i.e. the flute; seven *boruxeni* or trumpeters; four *zilldzani*, who clash the *zil*, a kind of brass disk, which when clashed make a clear and sharp sound.”⁷²

On the information presented by the Moldavian prince, Fr. J. Sulzer offers a number of details, in the same didactic tone:

“The main instruments of Turkish war music are from nine to ten large drums (in Turkish called the *da* and in Wallachian the *toba*), almost as many *zurnale* (*surñă*), a kind of reed flute, the “Schalmeyen” (on which the first player sometimes plays a solo or rather a recitative, while the others play a monotone accompaniment at an octave), from six to nine trumpets or the so-called *boruşi* (the name by which Prussian trumpets are known in Turkey n.n.), four *dairale* (*Dairée*) or tambourines (*Schellensiebe*) and *talgere* or brass cymbals (*Sill*). And if I have also mentioned an un-tuned tenor drum (*verstimmte Wirbeltrommel*), then it should be known that it is replaced by a number of small timpani, with a very muffled but penetrating sound, which they call *nagarale* (*Sadée Nakkara*), which does not play any tremolos, but rather is struck to the cadence of the beat”.⁷³

In conclusion, the chronicles and documents of the epoch record variations as regards the number of Ottoman musicians in the Principalities, which ranged between six at the court of Wallachia in the reigns of Gregory I Ghika (1660-1664 and 1672-1673) in the year 1660,⁷⁴ thirty at the court of Moldavia in 1776, and twenty in Wallachia in the year 1818.⁷⁵ Although these figures seem low, in reality the number of musicians at the princely and boyar courts was much greater. The same chroniclers reveal to us that besides the *mehterhâne* there were also other musical ensembles, under the command of the Grand Provost Marshal (*Armaş*).⁷⁶

Relying on the registers of ceremonials that lay down the order in which the princely military corps accompanied by their musical bands entered the Wallachian capital in the period 1775 – 1819 (i.e. from the coronation of A. Hypsēlantēs up until the investiture of Alexandros Nicholas Soutzou [b. 1758 – d. 1821] as prince),⁷⁷ it is possible to gain a coherent picture of all the orchestras active in Iași and Bucharest. Thus, at the ceremonial entry into the capital (3 February 1775) of the new prince of Wallachia, A. Hypsēlantēs, the procession was accompanied by ensembles of infantry soldiers (*dorobanți*), Cossacks (*cazaci*) and armed thief-catchers (*poterași*) of the Police station guild (*Agie*),⁷⁸ then by the ensemble of *seğmens* (*seimeni* or body of pedestrian mercenaries) and mercenaries (*lefegii*) of the *Spatharios* guild,⁷⁹ then the land army bandsmen (*lăutarii pământeni*), the “European music”, and the “princely trumpeters” (*trâmbițașii domnești*), with the *mehterhâne* bringing up the rear.⁸⁰ Dionysios Photenios (b. 1777 – d. 1821), a historian and musician of high standing (he played the *tambûr*, piano and *kemânçe*),⁸¹ mentions more or less the same musical scene at the ceremonials at the enthronement of princes, where the high dignitaries took part in solemn processions, accompanied by their musical ensembles: those who headed the procession were the infantry soldiers (*dorobanți*) with their band and standard, the Cossacks from the foot *Agia* with their band, then the mounted armed thief-catchers (*poterași*) with their band, the *seğmens* and mercenaries (*lefegii*) with their bands, all the land army bands, the European music, and finally the *mehterhâne*.⁸² Sometimes German trumpeters⁸³ also took part, as well as the Italian orchestra.⁸⁴ And the examples might continue.

In conclusion, the fact that they benefited from such bands was for the princes of the two north-Danube provinces and for the dignitaries and boyars a matter of honour and pride, and something not easily maintained from a financial point of view. And given that the number of these musicians, be they Ottoman, Greek, German, Polish, Italian, Romanian, or, above all, Gypsies, at any given time might number more than even five hundred, as happened in the reign of Gheorghe Caragea,⁸⁵ the financial effort the princes had to make in order to maintain such luxury, appreciated and beloved both in Istanbul and in the West, is self-evident.

What can be said of the musical repertoire promoted by the Ottoman ensembles at the courts of the Phanariot princes and of other local dignitaries?

Unfortunately, we do not possess musical scores or manuscripts to confirm with any certainty what music was played in the Romanian Lands, what level of professionalism the musicians attained, or what pieces were most liked by the native elites. We do, however, know with certainty that the most important centres for the promotion of Ottoman musical culture outside Istanbul were the two Romanian capitals, Bucharest and Iași, and that the music of the Seraglio was exported with great success to the Principalities. This claim is confirmed by the chronicles of the time, which point to the fact that the Ottoman orchestras adopted the vocal and instrumental genres and forms of the Imperial Court and sometimes even produced versions of Turkish music unique to the north-Danube space.⁸⁶

Thus, it might be said that in the first place what was promoted was a vocal and instrumental repertoire of strictly Ottoman provenance, very much appreciated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,⁸⁷ not only by Romanians but also at the Court of the Sultan:⁸⁸ marches (*nübet*),⁸⁹ preludes (*taksîms*), overtures/preludes (*peşrevs*),⁹⁰ slow vocal music (*manes*, *samaeles*) and lively tunes (*bestes*). When Michael Soutzou (b. c. 1730 – d. 1803) received the Russian Ambassador, Michael Kutuzov, in Iași on 24 June 1793, I. C. Struve said that it was “to the deafening sound of *mehterhâne*, whose chosen *mehters* made the hills resound to the tunes of the *nübet*s and *peşrevs*, which they played with pride”.⁹¹ Another interesting episode that describes the repertoire performed by the Ottoman musical ensembles and tells us of the appreciation enjoyed by this music is that which took place in July 1762, on the naming of the new Pasha of Hotin, in the person of Hamza Bey, the son-in-law of Sultan Mustafa III (b. 1717 – d. 1774), as follows:

“For as many days as the Pasha stayed here, the *mehterhâne* of the Prince, according to the custom to beat every day the *nübet*, which is called the *chindie*, did not drum, except only the *mehterhâne* of the Pasha drummed on one day. After the Pasha came out of his tent, in front of the Prince and all the boyars, as well as some *pehlivâns*, he demanded to hear the skill of the Prince’s *mehter-başı*, and told the Prince to order his *mehter-başı* to say a *peşrev*; and when the *mehter-başı* began and recited that song, his skill and singing pleased the Pasha very much. And after he finished singing, the Pasha ordered him to be garbed in a long boyar’s coat there before him.”⁹²

The princely and boyar courts also resounded by orientalisised and balkanised music and dances such as the *năframa*, *muşama*, *zoralia*, *arkan*, *ciauş*, *kindia*, *giambara*, *irmilik*, etc.⁹³ One of the most fashionable dances in Moldavian society in the late eighteenth century was the “Greek dance” imported from Constantinople. Around 1790, Count Alexandre de Langeron describes this dance, as follows:

“It starts off slowly and ends at such a fast rhythm that one would think that all the dancers were stampeding. One man leads the dance, and all the women, linked together in a chain, holding onto scarves, follow a dancer”.⁹⁴

Another dance of Greek origin fashionable in the Phanariot age and “performed by married women”⁹⁵ is the *romeika*, described by English physician James Dalaway in 1794:

“as being wholly performed by women, one of whom fluttered an embroidered kerchief, moving gracefully apart from the rest of the women whirling around her. The melodies, he says, were played on two lutes, as many *kobsas* with catgut strings and an uneven flute, like those he had seen in statues of Pan or the Satyrs, played with extraordinary dexterity and producing sweet and piercing sounds”.⁹⁶

Auguste de Lagarde, a French émigré in the service of Imperial Russia, also speaks of the same dance, in 1813:

“The women dance in a circle, without changing their facial expression or bodily movements, and then a single pair dance, raising their hands over the heads, somewhat in the manner of Russian dance steps, but without grace or variation”.⁹⁷

As for the aesthetic of this music, the chronicles almost in unison demonstrate that the reference points of the western travellers are radically different from those of the Orientals. One of the most plastic images provided by the documents of the time, with regard to the sound of the official Ottoman orchestra at the courts of the Danube princes, is supplied by Lady Elisabeth Craven, who was received with all pomp and ceremony

by Nicolas Mavrogenēs (b. 1735/1738 – d. 1790), the Prince of Wallachia. She is perplexed on hearing the unusual sounds of the ensemble: “My ears were assailed by the most diabolical noise I ever heard.” Made up of “trumpeters of all kinds, brass plates striking together, and drums of all sizes, some of which, not larger than breakfast cups”, the princely orchestra brought together instrumentalists who each endeavoured, according to Lady Craven, “to drown out the noise of his neighbour, by making a louder noise if possible”.⁹⁸ In spite of the secretary telling her “c’est pour vous Madam – c’est la musique du Prince”, the respectable lady could barely contain her laughter, thereby alarming her companion, who implored her to refrain, saying, “For God’s sake do not laugh.” Unfortunately, not even during the meal offered by the wife of the Phanariot prince in her honour was Lady Craven able to escape the Turkish music, which alternated with the more palatable music of gypsy minstrels:

“Detestable Turkish music was played during the whole supper, but relieved now and then by gipsies, whose tunes were quite delightful, and might have made the heaviest clod of earth desire to dance. The Prince saw the impression this music made upon me, and desired they might play oftener than the Turks”.⁹⁹

Nor is the account of Johann Wendel Bardili, an Italian chronicler who was in Iași in the year 1709, any more favourable. Describing the call to prayer of the Ottoman faithful at which the *mehterhâne* performed each morning, the traveller cannot refrain from commenting on the auditory discomfort created by the ensemble, characterising it as “a music indeed barbarous and dreadful”.¹⁰⁰ Struve, mentioned above, describes how the Turkish orchestra, when performing slower pieces, could produce in the audience not only reactions of disgust but also “a deep sleep, which overcame the entire escort of the Russian ambassador”.¹⁰¹

In conclusion, the Ottoman orchestras and their musical performances constituted in the Phanariot epoch one of the most “exotic” presences at the courts of the Danube Principalities, and, as we have seen above, fully took part in the orientalisation of Romanian musical culture. In parallel, however, we should not forget the other side of Romanian musical culture of Constantinopolitan influence: Phanariot literary and musical works, which enjoyed phenomenal success among the princes, nobility, boyars

and youth of Wallachia and Moldavia, and which we shall describe in the following.

4. Phanariot Music at the Princely and Boyar Courts of the Romanian Principalities

It is a well-known fact that the Phanariot Princes were highly educated, often having studied in Western Europe. They spoke foreign languages and were concerned not only with political and administrative matters but also with supporting and promoting the arts and sciences, in which music occupied an important place. The existing cultural background in the Principalities,¹⁰² cultivated above all at the Wallachian court during the reign of Constantine Brâncoveanu (b. 1654 – d. 1714) or Altîn Bey (“Golden Prince”), as he was named by the Turks, provided fertile ground for the reforms initiated by the new princes from Phanar. And with the founding of the two Princely Academies in Bucharest and Iași, institutions with an important word to say in Romanian higher education,¹⁰³ musical culture in all its forms was to gain an increasingly important position in everyday life at the courts of the local elites.

But what is Phanariot music? It is a “worldly” musical repertoire, melancholy („*de inimă albastră*”) and non-religious (*εξωτερικά άσματα*), that originated in the cultural milieu of Constantinople, and was brought to the Principalities by the musicians who arrived together with the Phanariot princes. Familiar both with the ecclesiastical music promoted within the Patriarchate and with Ottoman music, some of these were famous composers,¹⁰⁴ and vocal and instrumental performers of the Seraglio. It was these remarkable musicians who inspired Romanian fiddlers and church singers to disseminate the so-called “worldly songs”, songs of love and revelry, at the courts of the princes and boyars, and in towns and cities. And just as ecclesiastical chant was adopted by the Romanian Lands in sign of unconditional respect toward the authority of Constantinople – the supreme liturgical centre of Eastern Christendom – so too Phanariot music was adopted by Romanian society beyond the Carpathian arc, in order to be like those in the *Polis*. For, as the saying of boyar lordache Golescu (1768-1848), goes, “Fashion rules, fashion dictates, fashion makes you her slave.”¹⁰⁵

Any attempt to evoke Phanariot secular songs and repertoire reminds us of life in the two capitals of Wallachia and Moldavia, with their artisans’

quarters, markets and bazaars redolent of oriental tastes and fashions brought from the periphery of the western world. If we speak of Bucharest as the most faithful imitator of Constantinople in music, most foreign travellers who passed through the city on the banks of the Dâmbovița define the capital as a city of contrasts – village and city, poverty and luxury, primitive architecture and buildings in the Constantinopolitan style – situated at the crossroads of civilisations and epochs. The interior of the houses was the first aspect that astonished. From the peasant chair and table to the oriental sofas, divans and mattresses, “on which the masters eat and sleep”, the boyar residences amazed foreigners with their atmosphere of perfumed idleness and “debauched revelry”.¹⁰⁶ Sometimes, upon this mixture were superimposed western elements, such as European-style ball attire for the ladies, and English gardens, such as those of the Dudescu palace.

It seems that the idea of good living and merriment was also shared by the Romanians. Nicolae Filimon, in his novel *Ciocoii vechi și noi* (*Boyers Old and New*), provides precious information about the musical atmosphere in the Bucharest of those times:

“Its middle-class inhabitants, long used to the oriental life, a life full of idleness and poetry, in the summer gathered in the gardens of Breslea, Barbălată, Cișmegiu and Giafer. There, each *isna* or paterfamilias laid out the meal, and together with wives and friends they would drink and eat. Then they would begin an ancestral ring dance (*hora strămoșească*) and other merry dances (...). When the fury of the dance had abated, the whole company would once again begin to drink beer and to eat (...). During all this time, the minstrels did not cease to play the fiddle or sing love songs full of sweetness, designed to create yearning and passion in the hearts of the listeners, or they would play dance tunes, gay and lively”.¹⁰⁷

From the children of the boyars to the poor, passing through the middle classes, Levantine habits would monopolise almost all of daily life in the epoch of the Phanariots:

“At a time when our boyars, garbed in Turkish large trousers (*ceacșiruri*) and surplices (*anterie*), sat in Turkish fashion, cross-legged on divans, sipping from *filcans* (*felegeane*) of coffee and puffing on the perfumed smoke of hookahs, when the conversation was mostly in Greek, sometimes in Turkish, when, along with so many oriental customs, the Turkish *mehterhâne*, which entertained the populace of the capitals, had reached

these parts, it should be no surprise that Greek and Turkish songs were fashionable not only in the boyar salons but also in other social strata of Bucharest".¹⁰⁸

As can be observed from this short preamble, the leitmotifs of this repertoire were generally the celebrated and mostly unrequited loves of high society, but not only. The poetry of Ienăchiță Văcărescu (b. 1740 – d. 1797), written, probably, for the Lady of Wallachia, Zoe Moruzi,¹⁰⁹ that of Costache Conachi (b. 1777 – d. 1849), dedicated to Zulnia Negri, and that of Anton Pann (b. 1796 – d. 1854), for the nun Anica, as well as that of other poets and people who were quite simply in love, are but a few examples expressive of the melancholy and intimate circumstances that their authors wished to reveal to the whole world. More than the Eros, they describe the sufferings and the flame of the love that consumed both the body and the soul of the sufferers:

*"Spune inimioară, spune / Ce durere te răpune / Arată ce te muncește /
Ce boală te chinuiește? / Fă-o cunoscută mie, / Ca să-ți caut dohtorie! /
Te rog, fă-mă a pricepe / Boala din ce ți se-ncepe."¹¹⁰
(Say, little heart, say / What pain afflicts thee / Reveal what torments thee, /
What sickness afflicts thee? / Make it known to me, / Let me seek thy cure!
/ Please, make me see / Whence the sickness springs from thee).*

In this atmosphere of consuming love, the minstrels and their music were often not only the sons of the boyar class but also the bourgeoisie. Let us examine the excellent description given by Vasile Alecsandri concerning the effect of the Levantine musical repertoire on the inhabitants of Bucharest in the early nineteenth century:

"The worldly songs were well received in particular, sometimes at meals, at weddings, at parties, in parks and in vineyards. Consequently, the *lăutar* (fiddler) class had gained great importance. The boyar fiddlers and *kobsa* players (*cobzarii*) competed with each other to compose the most various melodies and to emit the longest, most piercing sighs, in the service of their masters' love, for they served at the time as a kind of secret courier for the heart. Declarations of love were made via their mouths. A drawn-out 'ah!' or 'oh!' paid bags of money at the beginning of our century and enriched the lucky fiddler (*lăutar*) who had a stout chest and deep lungs. Although it seems to us rather queer, such was the old custom and we have

to respect it, especially given that it brought happiness to our parents and has preserved for us to this day the poems of the previous generation".¹¹¹

4.1. But who was it that composed and disseminated these lyrical-erotic creations of oriental flavour? In the first place the fiddlers (*lăutarii*) – or the *alăutari* as they are called in contemporary documents. The *lăutari* were either freemen or, above all, gypsy slaves from the princely, boyar and monastery estates. Some of them were even Turkish, and came from the Danube *răyās*. Among these, not all were *lăutari*, but only those who originated from among the “bear leaders” (*ursari*)¹¹² and “*vătrași*” (settled, rather than nomadic, gypsies),¹¹³ because they had an innate facility and remarkable rapidity in acquiring this craft and in improvisation.¹¹⁴ To these must be added a percentage of singers and instrumentalists from among the serving girls of Constantinople, who were in the personal service of the ladies,¹¹⁵ as well as the south-Danube Christian and Ottoman mercenaries employed in the retinues of the princes. In any case, it seems that the *lăutari* were much sought-after, not only at the courts of the princes and native boyars but also in the former capital of the Byzantine Empire, because around the year 1800 “the best *lăutari* in Istanbul were gypsies from Wallachia”.¹¹⁶

From the administrative point of view, the *lăutari* do not begin to organise themselves into a guild until the eighteenth century,¹¹⁷ as a reaction to the invasion of foreign musicians, in particular those from Western Europe. Until then, the local *lăutari* had been subordinate to the Grand Provost Marshal (*Armas*) in Wallachia.¹¹⁸ From the seventeenth century onwards, in Moldavia, the *lăutari* were subordinate to the Grand Hetman (*hatman*)¹¹⁹ or to an abbot appointed by a bishop or metropolitan.¹²⁰

As the princes and almost every boyar had at their court a *taraf* of *lăutari* (known as princely or boyar *lăutari*), the structure of the ensemble was flexible, and depended on the financial possibilities of their masters. The *taraf* was made up of at least three basic instruments: the violin, Pan pipes and *kobza*¹²¹ (**Illustration. 4**), and from the reign of Alexandros Hysēlantēs onward, the *tzambal* would be added to these.¹²² Sometimes the *taraf* might include instruments of both Ottoman (mainly the *tanbūr* and *kemân*)¹²³ and western origin,¹²⁴ and thus the *taraf* might number six,¹²⁵ eighteen¹²⁶ or even twenty instrumentalists, such as was the case of the orchestra of celebrated boyar Dinicu Golescu (b. 1777 – d. 1830) at the beginning of the nineteen century.¹²⁷

With regard to their names, contemporary documents are rather lacking in information, due to the shadow of quasi-anonymity under which these admirable musicians lived. It seems that the oldest *alăutar* attested in Wallachia was called Ruste, who lived during the reign of Mircea the Shepherd (died 1559).¹²⁸ In the Phanariot period there is mention of a “Dumitru *lăutar* gypsy, called Țăra” on 28 September 1797 in the Scaune quarter of the city,¹²⁹ “Gheorghe Țiganu *lăutar*” from the village of Țăța in Dîmbovița county,¹³⁰ “Ene *Lăutarul*” and “Niculai *Lăutarul*”, both slaves at Nucet Monastery in the same county,¹³¹ etc. Towards the end of the Phanariot epoch, among the most celebrated *lăutari* of Wallachia were Drăgan, Marinică, Dumitrache White-Eye (*Ochi Albî*) (**Illustration 5**), Andreiaș of Puiu and Radu Ciolac of Bucharest, Stănică from Craiova and Dobrică from Ploiești.¹³² Ion Ghika also mentions Petrache Nănescu, of whom he reports, “he composed the songs of the *lăutari* from Scaune” during the time of Anton Pann.¹³³

All these, whether gypsies or not, were never absent from the princely banquets and revels,¹³⁴ the boyar weddings and the important public ceremonies.¹³⁵ Sometimes, to earn a living or extra money, we find them performing in cafés, taverns and inns, at the crossroads of major commercial thoroughfares or in places where local markets were held. Their well-known musical mastery aroused the admiration of chroniclers and foreign travellers, and their “stagecraft” impressed not only the foreign but also the Romanian onlookers. An account to this effect is given by Constantin Obedianul, who tells us that during their performance, the *lăutari*

“inclined their body toward the part whence the sound of the instrument came, sometimes lifting their right or left leg depending on how they held the instrument, on the right or on the left, thereby simulating more feeling and expression and always bowing toward the master or the one to whom they were singing, or towards some guest”.¹³⁶

They were just as well appreciated at princely weddings. Vasile A. Urechia tells us that at the wedding of Ienăchiță Văcărescu to Ecaterina Caragea, the most celebrated *lăutari* in Bucharest performed,¹³⁷ and in 1816, in the salons of court treasurer (*vistiernic*) lordache Roset Roznovanu, “many rounds of musicians” played at the celebration of his saint’s day, the Feast of St George, including the celebrated “*taraf* of Angheluță”. We cannot close this chapter without mentioning the *taraf* conducted by the

famous Barbu Lăutarul, who performed with the same Angheluță Lăutarul on the evening of the feast of St Stephen (25 December) in 1816 at the residence of the Grand Hetman Costaki Ghika¹³⁸ and of whose musical skill the German writer Wilhelm de Kotzebue has left us the following poetic description:

“Strauss and Lanner live on in the memory of those who have listened to them, and German dance music did not fall silent on the death of these two virtuosi. But when the gypsy fiddlers Barbu and Angheluță played, then your feet moved to a different beat! Look at that wonderful band... Look at those swarthy, expressive faces! The jet black hair tossing wildly on every side, for the head assists in beating the rhythm; and not only the head, but also the eyes are always rolling, the corners of the mouth are moving and even the nostrils flare like a stallion’s on sighting a mare. Three or four play the violin, three or four draw a plectrum across the strings of the *kobza*, others blow furiously into Pan pipes, and another creates a harmony so unusual and so rousing that the young man must dance like it or not, the seated man lifts his legs to the rhythm and recalls his youth, when he held his darling in his arms, and the old man taps his toes a little and looks smilingly at the lively young folk.”

And the author concludes: “And what is more, these gypsies have no idea about musical notes: they play everything by ear!”¹³⁹

4.2. Another important class of musicians that originated from the Levantine quarter and that promoted secular music were church cantors (οι ψάλτες). Eminently Orthodox, from the Byzantine branch of Christianity, and for the most part laymen, these fulfilled a well defined function within the Church of the Patriarchate, and were responsible for the secular or non-ecclesiastical repertoire promoted more often than not even within the Seraglio.

For the period under study and even before then,¹⁴⁰ the musical manuscripts record a larger number of Greek composers and musicians than Romanians. One of the many leading figures in the Constantinopolitan musical world who came to the Romanian provinces with the Princes elected by the Sublime Porte was the sword bearer (*spatharios*) lancu Malaxa, former *kanonarchis* in Constantinople, who arrived together with Prince Michael Gregorios Soutzou II (b. 1784 – d. 1864) to Iași,¹⁴¹ taking over the position of First Chanter at the prince’s court in 1819,¹⁴² and becoming the best known singer of Iași. Besides the church chanting, he was famous as a *chanende* (singer) of secular music.¹⁴³ He was

accompanied on the *tanbûr* by the *kaminarios* Grigore Avram¹⁴⁴ and on the *ney* by the cupbearer (*paharnic*) Andreas (Andricu) Vizantios (Vizanti) Terzi-başa,¹⁴⁵ one of the virtuosi of this instrument, who would seem to have been the son of Gregorios Protosaltēs Byzantios.¹⁴⁶ Along with Grigore Avram, it is also mentioned “Toader the Cup Bearer, grammarian to Andronaki Donici”, who together performed “the most beautiful *manes*, *samaes*, *peşrevs* and *taxîms* with unprecedented skill”.¹⁴⁷

Regarding the musical mastery of the celebrated *chanende* Iancu Malaxa, Romanian musicologist Teodor T. Burada relates the following episode:

“The old folk tell us that one day, at St George’s, Iordaki Drăghici the *Vornic* (i.e. high official at the princely courts) invited to lunch all the courtiers of Prince Michael Soutzou and according to the custom of the time when the boyars had sat down to the meal Iancu Malaxa began to sing the song *Χορίς με πικρόν φαρμάκι* (*Without me bitter poison*), the most requested and beloved of the time... His voice had such an effect on the boyars and especially upon the wife of Dumitrake Plagino the Postelnik that she swooned, interrupting the meal.”

T. Burada also elucidates the reason for the incident: “The song sung by Malaxa had been composed by Dragoumanaki, a Greek boyar from Constantinople, on the occasion of the death of her daughter, the niece of the wife of Dumitraki Plagino the Postelnik, who died in Constantinople”.¹⁴⁸

Other accounts of the melange of Levantine music at the boyar houses of the late eighteenth century mention Michael the private singer of Charalambos the Lord Steward (*clucer*),¹⁴⁹ as well as an episode in which a monk had been invited to the home of Ienăchiță Văcărescu and on his arrival heard within an ensemble made up of “violins, *ney* and *tanbûrs*” and “sweet and piercing women’s voices”, upon which he decided to leave the place of temptation as quickly as possible.¹⁵⁰

Alongside the Greek singers who promoted the Phanariot musical repertoire in the Principalities there were also Romanian ecclesiastical singers, among whom the name of Anton Pann is pre-eminent. Ion Ghika, placing him at the head of the list, tells us that “Anton Pann, Nănescu and Chioseă – the son were the delight of the gardens of Deşliu, Pană Breslea and Giafer” and that “Iancu of Raliță Muruzoaie, Bărbucică of Țiță Văcăreski, the Bărcănești brothers, Costaki Faka and other young people of

good breeding always invited them without fail".¹⁵¹ It is known that for *the revelry of the inhabitants (petrecerea viețuitorilor)*, Anton Pann collected and published a series of *delightful songs (cântece desfătătoare)*, a type of music to which he felt attracted, and which would be published with the title *The Hospital of Love or the Singer of Yearning (Spitalul amorului sau Cîntătorul dorului)*.¹⁵² In the book there are four stylistic categories: folk music, songs influenced by Greco-Oriental music and the Byzantine *melos* style, songs influenced by European music, and Christmas carols and moral songs.¹⁵³ The selection constitutes a unique document, in which the musical atmosphere of the Bucharest of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century is reflected in the most authentic manner. The repertoire brings together a host of poetic and musical directions, songs old and new that circulated, in part, not only in Moldavia and Wallachia but also in Transylvania. In spite of the impression of great thematic variety, most of the songs are imbued with the oriental perfume of love poetry, with anacreontic allusions, echoes of Balkan folklore, Italian opera arias, urban ballads, and also native Romanian songs of peasant origin, including the so called "cântece de mahala" ("songs of the artisans' quarter"). The diversity demonstrates that Pann mastered all these registers in equal measure, and his biography, as much as it is known, confirms the astonishing facility with which the musician performed in the most surprising circumstances and contexts. Chanting or singing in bands of revellers, in the free and libertine ambience of the frequent wassails with *lăutari* that took place in the Bucharest of that time, or collecting all kinds of songs from the *lăutari* of the artisans' quarter, from the fairs and soirées, Pann sang a motley music in which can be found outlawry refrains, semi-religious compositions, motifs from western music, and famous amours.

George Sion, praising the innate musical talent and charismatic figure of his uncle in the Bucharest of the early nineteenth century, describes the best-known connoisseur of secular music of his day in *Contemporary Memoirs*:

"On summer evenings, my uncle would go outside with his *tanbûr* and play Turkish *manes* of the kind he had learnt in childhood in Constantinople. Not half an hour would pass before hundreds of people, passers-by or neighbours, would gather around the house to listen to that rapturous music, which only in the Orient can still be composed and heard with great pleasure, because my uncle possessed a wonderful baritone voice. One man alone there was in the Bucharest of that time who still knew oriental music, sacred and profane, as well as my uncle: that man was Anton Pann,

who distinguished himself in that he knew how to write music and knew how to compose worldly songs that became popular".¹⁵⁴

This memoir indirectly reveals one of the first-hand sources used by Pann in collecting his *Hospital of Love*: the profane music of the Constantinopolitan world. The Phanariot repertoire of lyrical songs from the *mahala* was known to him thanks to the manuscripts that circulated with great success in the Greek-speaking world and which disseminated this *melos* from as early as the latter half of the eighteenth century, but also due to the fact that he had been an apprentice alongside Dionysios Photeinos, who was schooled in the musical milieu of Constantinople. A more even dissemination of Phanariot music was achieved above all thanks to the three anthologies printed in Constantinople: *Euterpe* (1830), *Pandora* (1843) and *Harmonia* (1848). *Pandora*, for example, presents, alongside Greek and Turkish songs of a profane character, European songs from operas or popular compositions. As regards the literary content, such anthologies include cultured lyrics imbued with Modern Greek poetry.

In conclusion, we are justified in seeing in Anton Pann a Wallachian counterpart of the musicians of Constantinople who "collected" the works of many generations of eastern composers and whose work was inspired by the urban folklore of the former imperial capital, a folklore situated at the boundary between the spirit of the European world and Oriental sensibility. Even when he uses the texts of well-known poets, such as Iancu Văcărescu, Costache Conachi, or Grigore Alexandrescu,¹⁵⁵ Pann gives as an argument his intention to disseminate their verses and to make them immortal:

"Do not think that it was in order to take ownership of your poems that I have adjoined them to this book, but rather I do so only to make them immortal, composing melodies for them, for the time being to ecclesiastical notes, so that the modes shall remain unforgotten over the centuries, for which, in my opinion, I think you will not blame me. And if I do not signal the name of each under his poem, it is not my fault, but that of those who like to plagiarise and in place of the poet's name undersign their own to fool the credulous."

4.3. Who was it that wrote the texts of these lyric songs from the Phanariot manuscripts and musical collections? In the first place, Levantine intellectuals, be they poets, diplomats, physicians, officers, Phanariot

nobles of varying education, clerics, those close to the princely families, and even the princes themselves.

One of the most important names among the poets whose verses Phanariot composers set to melancholy music (*"inimă albastră"*) – and in effect the most important poet of the time – was Athanasios Christopoulos of Kastoria (b. 1772 – d. 1847).¹⁵⁶ Born in Greece, but educated in Bucharest, Budapest and finally at the celebrated University of Padua, Christopoulos was to settle at the courts of the Danubian princes, becoming a kind of adviser and publishing a significant number of books.¹⁵⁷ Nikephoros Kantouniarēs (b. c. 1770 – d. c. 1830), one of the most representative composers and collectors of Phanariot music in Iași, is the one who uses his poems in most of his pieces.

To these can also be added nobles, such as the *çelebi* (gentleman in Turkish) Theodoros Negris (b. 1790 – d. 1824), a Phanariot polyglot who lived in Bucharest and who for a time occupied the post of *chargé d'affaires* of the Sublime Porte at the Turkish Embassy in Paris¹⁵⁸ (MS 784, f. 146v, 147r), Alekos Balasidis (MS 1428, p. 346), as well as other minor poets, such as Iakovos Roizos Neroulos (b. 1778 – d. 1850), an officer at the courts of the Phanariot nobles. Sometimes, the musical manuscripts record poems by leading intellectuals from the Principalities, such as the case of poems by Alexander Sophianos (MS 1428, p. 250) and Demetrios Govdela the Philosopher (MS 1428, p. 349), both of them professors at the celebrated Princely Academies in Bucharest and Iași,¹⁵⁹ but also churchmen such as Manuel of Galipoli, "upon his kind request" (MS 1428, p. 269).

One of the most interesting figures among the Greek dignitaries preoccupied with the Phanariot musical repertoire was former *postelnik* (= boyar of the privy chamber)¹⁶⁰ Georgios Soutzou (b. 1745 – d. 1816), uncle of the Prince of Moldavia, Michael G. Soutzou II. His lyrics include numerous poems in Greek, as well as in Turkish (but written in the Greek alphabet, the so-called *karamanlidika*), for some of which he even composed music (see, for example, MS 784, f. 1r, 161v). Appreciated by literary critics as an amateur in music and literature,¹⁶¹ Georgios Soutzou provides a good example that throws into especial relief the relationship that existed between Greek musicians and nobles in the Phanariot period in the Danubian Principalities. Nikephoros Kantouniarēs, the celebrated arch-deacon of Antioch who taught at the school of Byzantine music at Golia Monastery in Iași recorded a part of his musical compositions, considering himself to be at the same time a "pupil of this poet" (MS 1428,

p. 339). One of the most representative compositions in the repertoire of this noble Phanariot, one deserving of mention here, is a *beste* (*Τι μεγάλη συμφορά* – *What a Great Misfortune*) written in the *makam nisaburek* mode, and composed at a tragic moment in his life, “at the event of the death of his much beloved daughter” Ralu, the youngest of his five children (MS 784, f. 168r and MS 1428, p. 16) (*Illustration 6*).

In parallel, we can also observe the preoccupation of **Romanian intellectuals** with writing lyrical texts of Phanariot inspiration. Nicolae Iliescu (MS 784, f. 69v, 81v, 91v; MS 1428, p. 34) is a good example, for, as a graduate of the Princely Academy in Bucharest, he had a good knowledge of Greek and, at the same time, was probably quite familiar with the Neogreek poetry that was widely spread in the Principalities.¹⁶²

The local boyars were another segment of society much preoccupied with the literature of love. As we have mentioned above, the boyars had their own singers, with whom they “spent the day in Cișmigiu Park ... on the green grass, and as the moon rose, they would go with guitars and with flutes to serenade under the windows of beautiful maids and wives”.¹⁶³ It is also Ion Ghika who tells us that Grigore Ghika, on hearing Nicolae Alexandrescu sing, “took him into his home, rode with him in his barouche in front, to sing him worldly songs”.¹⁶⁴ With the increasingly deeper penetration of oriental musical culture into urban folklore, Levantine collections of love songs (the so-called *mecmu’a*) were joined by the compositions (translations and imitations) of local poets, such as the Văcărescu dynasty of boyar scholars (Ienăchiță and Alecu), Constantin A. Rosetti, Costache Conachi the Chancellor, Ioan Cantacuzino, et al., as well as anonymous authors. The boyar Alecu Văcărescu (b. c. 1767 – d. 1799) confesses that he was among the first to compose worldly songs for the Bucharest *lăutari* around 1795, to be exact a little book with “a few Greek and Romanian verses, which I have composed myself”,¹⁶⁵ and Ovidiu Densușianu says that the boyar in question composed his poems “at parties full of passion and sweetness”.¹⁶⁶ Nicolae Iorga tells us that a poem by Ienăchiță Văcărescu, probably in Turkish, circulated to an Ottoman melody (“an aria of Hassan”).¹⁶⁷

In conclusion, the lyrical literature of love written by these Moldavian and Wallachian poets combines motifs from universal poetry, old and new. It is a literature situated at the intersection of worldly songs and urban literature.¹⁶⁸

4.4. Who are the authors that composed and notated the Phanariot musical repertoire from the Principalities and beyond? Apart from a few

noble names, the Greek or Romanian literati and dignitaries mentioned above, the musical manuscripts written and disseminated within the Principalities, Istanbul and Greece record eight Greek composers of Phanariot music, most active as chanters and composers of ecclesiastical music within the Patriarchate in Constantinople: Petros Lampadarios Peloponnesios (b. 1735 – d. 1778), the Patriarchal Precentor, but also the most prolific composer, who wrote around one third of the Phanariot musical repertoire (approx. 102 compositions); Iakovos Protopsaltēs (b. 1740 – d. 1800), with eleven compositions; Petros Byzantios (b. 1760 – d. 1808) (ten compositions), an apprentice in Ottoman music of Ismail Dede Efendi (b. 1778 – d. 1846), the most famous Turkish musician (royal *chanende*) of the early nineteenth century; Gregorios Protopsaltēs (b. 1778 – d. 1821), a great composer of Byzantine ecclesiastical music and lover of Armenian church music; Ioannes Trapezountios Protopsaltēs (b. c. 1736 – d. 1771); and Manuil Byzantios (b. mid-eighteenth century – d. 1819).¹⁶⁹

It is self-evident that these composers were financially dependent upon the goodwill of the Patriarch of Constantinople or other ecclesiastical authorities, a goodwill that could be “ecumenically” extended to princes, boyars, Phanariot nobles and high society from the two capitals. The proof is that many composers dedicated to them numerous pieces: Gregorios Protopsaltēs, the head singer of Constantinople, dedicates a prayer (*polychronion*), encomiastic verses and secular songs to Michael Soutzou, the Prince of Moldavia (Gr. MS 370, BARB, f. 147v; Rom. MS 2238, BARB, f. 13r, 17v, 21r), Ioannes Protopsaltēs Precentor of the Greek Patriarchate (1738-1769) dedicates this type of laudatory literature to Samuel Chantzeri, Patriarch of Constantinople (1763-1768 and 1773-1774; Gr. MS 784, f. 20r), Iakovos Protopsaltēs dedicates the same type of secular music to Prince Nicholas Mavrogenis (1738-1790; Gr. MS 784, f. 52r: *προς τον αυθέντη Μαυρογένη*; MS 1428, p. 257), but also Patriarch Gerasimos of Cyprus, calling him “my spiritual father” (MS 1428, p. 109) etc., Nikephoros Kantouniaries writes a song “in praise of the Right Reverend Lord Gregorios of Eirinoupolis, abbot of Golia monastery, Iasi” (MS 1428, p. 347), and the examples can go on. Sometimes, Constantinopolitan composers do not flinch from dedicating works of an encomiastic character, if need be, even to the Sultan.

In the Romanian Lands, however, the most important chapter in Phanariot and Ottoman musical history will be written by Nikephoros Kantouniarēs, whom we have mentioned above. Born on the island of Chios and schooled in Constantinople under the patriarchal cantor (*psaltēs*)

Iakobos Protopsaltēs, Kantouniarēs was a Greek polyglot (he spoke Turkish, Arabic, and maybe Romanian, French and Italian), an important *psaltēs*, and a composer of both ecclesiastical and secular music, a pedagogue, scribe, and exegete. After first working in Damascus and Constantinople, he settled in Iași around 1814, where he was based at Golia Monastery, employed as a full-time *psaltēs*, and taught Byzantine music in the Holy Metropolitan Church. He was on friendly terms with the Metropolitan of Moldavia, Veniamin Costake (b. 1768 – d. 1846), to whom he dedicated a number of religious pieces, but his major contribution was a remarkable collection in the Arabic/Persian Ottoman tradition, which can be classified in three main categories: **a.**) settings composed at his initiative, using works of several Greek poets of his time; **b.**) settings produced at the request of Phanariot noblemen and high authorities; **c.**) settings in which both music and text are by Nikephoros. We can conclude that Kantouniarēs was the only Greek musician in Romania to compose collections of secular songs, using both the Greek alphabet (*karamanlidike*) and Byzantine musical notations.¹⁷⁰

4.5. As regards the languages in which the collections of secular music were written, including those of Kantouniarēs, it can be said that the repertoire is mixed, with Greek verses mixed with Turkish, Arabic and Romanian. Another phenomenon ascertained in the musical documents is the emergence of compositions of western influence, written either in Italian (*Ιταλικόν*, MS 784, f. 81v; **Illustration 7**) or French language (*Γαλικόν*, MS 784, f. 93r; **Illustration 8**), probably as a result of the greater openness toward Europe on the part of the nobles of the Principalities, especially after the French Revolution of 1789. Sometimes, the manuscripts also disseminate a repertoire with gypsy texts (MS 925, f. 27).¹⁷¹ Greek accounts for the greatest percentage, although sometimes certain poems are translated from the Ottoman repertoire, such as “the verses from a Turkish poem written by Sultan Selim (Selim III, b. 1761 – d. 1808) at his downfall, translated and set to music by someone unknown” (MS 1428, p. 348).

Another interesting element that the musical manuscripts reveal relates to the compositional technique of Phanariot lyrics. It is known that the acrostic was fashionable in this period, and so we find a host of songs composed using verses written using this technique. Acrostics of the *Panagiotaki*, *Eufrosini*, *Tarsitza*, *Sofița*, which were probably dedicated to Greek women, are accompanied by others, such as *Mărioara*, *Victorița* or *Alexandra*, dedicated to Romanian women. Who were the love-struck

poets that composed these verses? With certainty, they were both Greek and Romanian noblemen.

After A. Hysēlantēs launched a war against the Turks on 6 March 1821, the history of the Romanian provinces and of the Phanar Greeks was to change considerably. The reaction of the Turks from Istanbul would culminate in the ostracism of the Greeks and the murder of Patriarch Gregorios V on the Night of the Resurrection in 1821, and in Iași and Bucharest there was to be a gradual abandonment of all that signified oriental tradition, including music. The *mehterhâne* and Ottoman music would disappear, giving way to modern brass bands of the European type, and the Phanariot repertoire of love would battle for the supremacy it had held for more than a century with chansonettes, waltzes and mazurkas imported to the Principalities by Italian and German troops.

We may thus speak of the end of an era with its own special perfume and fascinating history, when the princely and boyar courts were the stage-set for the felicitous encounter of not only the most important musicians of the Orthodox and Muslim Orient, but also the most varied styles and genres of European and Oriental music.



Illustration 1: A banquet at the Princely Court of Nicolaos Magvrogenēs (Rom. MS no. 3514, f. 12, dated 1787; Library of Romanian Academy, Bucharest [BARB])

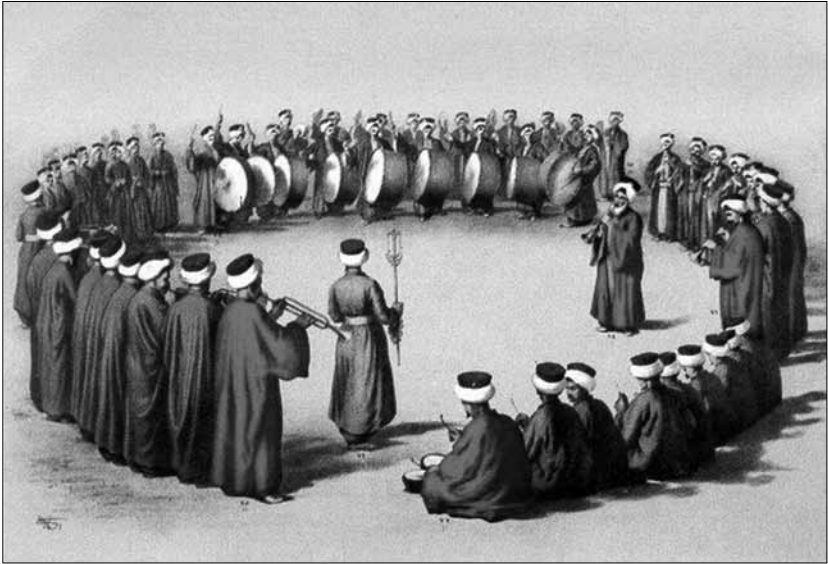


Illustration 2a: *Mehterhâne* (Ottoman Military Band), 1839.
Official Costumes of the Ottoman Empire (at the begin. of the 19th
Century). Ankara, National Library, Painted by Arif Pasha



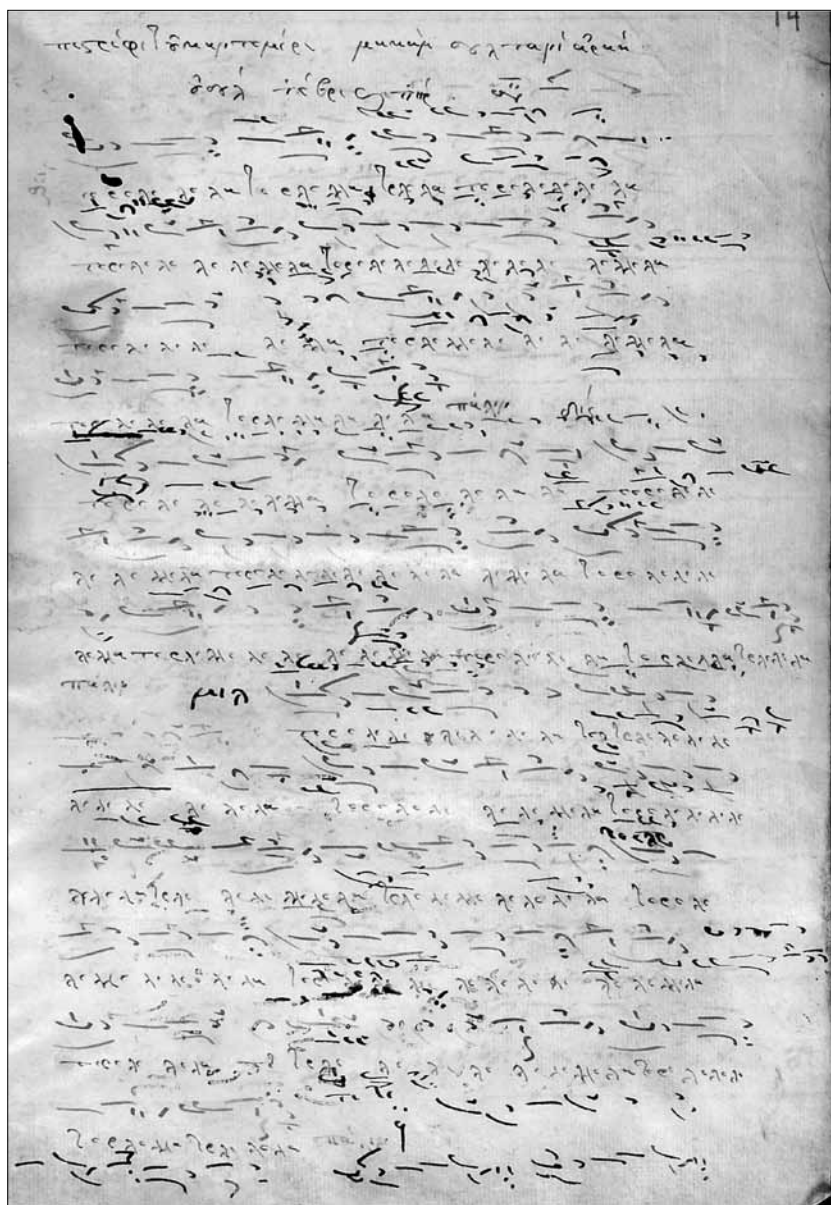
Illustration 2β: *Mehterhâne* (miniature), 1839.
Istanbul, Topkapı Museum



Illustration 2γ: Player of *kemânçe* (in Mihail Gh. Poslușnicu, *Istoria Muzicei la Români. De la Renaștere până-n epoca de consolidare a culturii artistice*, Bucharest, 1928, p. 521).



Illustration 28: Ottoman Musicians (in H. Dj. Siruni, *Domnii români la Poarta Otomană*, Bucharest, 1941, pl. XXI)



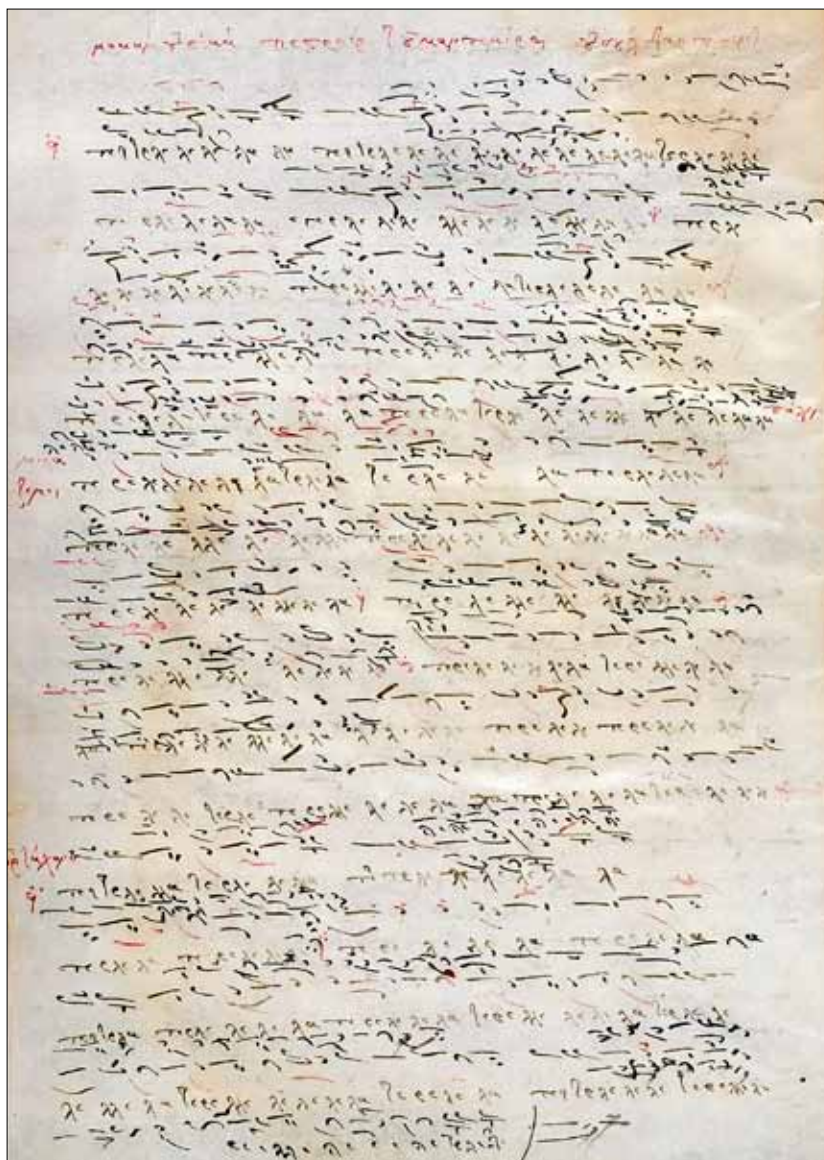


Illustration 3: *Peşrev* by Dimitrie Cantemir, MS no. 3, f. 14r, 43v, Fund Panagiotes Gritzanes, Metropolitan Church Library, Zakynthos Island, Greece, mid.-18th c. Autograph Petros Lampadarios Peloponnesios



Illustration 4: The *taraf* (violin, Pan pipes and *kobza*)



Illustration 5: Ochi-Albi and his *taraf*,
Painting by Carol Popp de Szathmáry (1860)

ἢ ὁλόγυρα καθήξει,
 νὰ χαρῶμαι βίη καὶ.
 εἰς ῥοθῶμε ἔκαστος,
 ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἡδὲ γυναικί,
 ἢ κινῶντες βαδμηνδόν
 εἰς ὑψίστους ἔδδον,
 ὡς ἡ ἀνάχρη νὰ πορεύῃ,
 ἔλβ' ἀσέβου σχεδόν,
 κινῶντες ὁλοῦ βαρυσμένοι,
 μέσθαι ἐπὶ δὲ χόρε κινῶνται,
 ἢ καὶ ἔν' οὐρανῶν,
 εἰς ἀσέβους ἔδδον,
 ἢ ῥοθῶντας ἀσέβους,
 ὡς ἔν' οὐρανῶν νυκτὶ.
 ἢ ἡλικιὸν ἰόνισμα νικηθῶν
 μακάρι φρεσὶ ῥαῖς πᾶσι
 αὐτῶν ὅτι οὐ μετὶν νὰ ἴα
 εἰς ὁλοῦ δὲ μετὶν ἴα

Illustration 7: Gr. MS no. 784, f. 81v, BARB

NOTES

- ¹ VEINSTEIN, G., *Provinciile balcanice (1606-1774)*, in *Istoria Imperiului Otoman*, ed. R. Mantran, Bucharest, 2001, p. 245.
- ² MURGESCU, B., *Istorie românească – istorie universală (600-1800)*, Bucharest, 1999, pp. 146-186.
- ³ ANONYMOUS ENGLISH WRITER, *Descrierea Țării Românești (1664)*, in *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. VII, Bucharest, 1980, p. 511; PASTIS OF CANDIA, F., *Informațiuni despre Țara Românească și Moldova*, in *Călători străini...*, vol. III, Bucharest, 1971, pp. 638-639.
- ⁴ RUSSO, D., *Studii greco-române. Opere postume*, vol. I, Bucharest, 1939, p. 38; CANTACUZINO, I., M., *O mie de ani în Balcani. O cronică a Cantacuzinilor în vâltoarea secolelor*, trans. Maria Șerbănescu & Sabina Drăgoi, Bucharest, 1996, pp. 114-117.
- ⁵ PEYSSONNEL, Ch.-C. de, *Comerțul Mării Negre*, in: *Călători străini...*, vol. IX, Bucharest, 1997, pp. 394, 400.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 407.
- ⁷ The quarter is situated in the European part of the south shore of the Golden horn, and was inaugurated in 1303, during the reign of Byzantine Emperor Andronikos Paleologos II (b. 1282 – d. 1328).
- ⁸ DJUVARA, N., *Între Orient și Occident. Țările Române la începutul epocii moderne (1800 – 1848)*, Bucharest, 1995, p. 32.
- ⁹ PĂUN, R., “Încoronarea în Țara Românească și Moldova în secolul al XVIII-lea. Principii, atitudini, simboluri”, in *Revista Istorică*, s. n., t. 5, no. 7-8, 1994, p. 743.
- ¹⁰ GRENVILLE, H., *Observații asupra stării de față a Imperiului Otoman (1765-1766)*, in *Călători străini...*, vol. IX, p. 652.
- ¹¹ For a discussion of the derivation of the word *Dragoman* and the role of Dragomans over the long course of history, see B. LEWIS, “From Babel to Dragomans”, in *From Babel to Dragomans: Interpreting the Middle East*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004, pp. 18-32. For more on dragomans in the Ottoman Empire, see F. HITZEL (ed.), *Istanbul et les langues orientales: Actes du colloque organisé par l’IFEA et l’INALCO à l’occasion du bicentenaire de l’École des Langues Orientales*. Varia Turcica XXXI, L’Harmattan, Inc., Paris, 1997.
- ¹² See, for example, the case of Athanasios and Antonios Photeinos, father and son, the former being the physician of Sultan Abdul Hamit in Constantinople, the latter the physician to the Phanariot princes of Iași. For details, see my PhD thesis (in progress) titled *Ο Διονύσιος Φωτεινός (1777 – 1821) στην Ελληνική και Ρουμανική παράδοση της Βυζαντινής Μουσικής*, University of Makedonias, Thessaloniki, Greece; idem, “The Anastasimatarion of Dionysios Photeinos”, *Acta Musicae Byzantinae* (thereafter AMB) IV, *Centrul*

- de *Studii Bizantine Iași (CSBI)*, May 2002, pp. 99 – 109; *idem*, “Dionysios Protheinos”, entry in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology* (forthcoming).
- 13 DJUVARA, N., *op. cit.*, p. 80.
- 14 PLEMMENOS, G., J., *Voices of love. Phanariot music and musicians in the Greek “Eros Apotelesmata”*. St Edmund’s College, Cambridge, 1994, Master Thesis, p. 7.
- 15 For details, see GEORGESCU, M., “Influențe orientale în desfășurarea unor ceremonii de la Curtea domnească din Tîrgoviște”, in *Archiva Valachica*, VIII, 1978, pp. 249-252; GHEORGACHI, *Condica ce are în sine obiceiuri vechi și noă a prea înălțaților domni ai Moldovei, redactată la 5 noiembrie 1762, din porunca lui Grigore vodă Callimachi (1761-1764), de către logofătul Gheorgachi*, in KOGĂLNICEANU, M., *Cronicile României sau Letopiseștele Moldovei și Valahiei*, vol. III, Ed. Imprimeriei Naționale, Bucharest, 1874, pp. 301, 303, 305, 309-313, 322-323, 328, 332-333; PAPAZOGLU, D., *Istoria fondărei orașului București, capitala Regatului Român de la 1330 pînă la 1850*, Bucharest, 2005, pp. 74-75; ȘĂINEANU, L., *Influența orientală asupra limbei și culturai române*, vol. I (*Introducerea*) și II (*Vocabularul*), Bucharest, 1900, pp. CLXI-CLXIII.
- 16 ȘĂINEANU, L., *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. LXXVII.
- 17 See the 10 volumes: α. *Călători străini despre Țările Române*, vol. I-IV, Bucharest, 1968-1972; vol. VI-VIII, Bucharest, 1976-1983; vol. IX, Bucharest, 1997; vol. X (part I and part II), Bucharest, 2000-2001. β. *Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea*, new series, vol. I (1801-1821), Bucharest, 2004; vol. II (1822-1830), Bucharest, 2005; vol. III (1831-1840), Bucharest, 2006.
- 18 α. URECHIA, V. A., *Istoria românilor*, vol. I (1774-1786), Bucharest, 1891, pp. 283-284; vol. II (1774-1786), Bucharest, 1892, pp. 10-13; vol. III (1786-1800), Bucharest, 1892, pp. 19-22; vol. XII (1800-1830), Bucharest, 1898, pp. 461-463; *Idem*, *Din Domnia lui Ioan Caragea. Venirea la tron. Mișcări contra grecilor. Finanțe. 1812-1818*, in “*Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*”, s. II, t. XXII, 1897-1898 [1899], pp. 11-14; etc.. β. KOGĂLNICEANU, M., *op. cit.*
- 19 For Phanariot music, I have used the following collections of manuscripts and printed books: Monastery of Vatopedi – Mount of Athos: ms. no. 1426 (Anthology – *Hierographikē Harmonia* [*Hierographic Harmony*], dated 1806 – 1808); ms. no. 1427 (Anthology – *Hiera Apēchēmata* [*Sacred Intonations*], dated 1810); ms. no. 1428 (*Melpomenē*, dated 1818); ms. no. 1429 (Anthology – *Terpsichorēs paignion* [*Play of Terpsichore*], dated 1818); the National Library in Bucharest: ms. no. 17.476 (Anthology of ecclesiastical chants, dated 1820); The Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest: Gr. ms. no. 370 (begin. 19th c.); Gr. ms. no. 653 (begin. 19th c.); Gr. ms. no. 784 (Anthology of secular songs, begin. of the 19th century); Gr. ms. no. 925 (second half of 18th c.); Gr. ms. no. 927 (before 1778); Gr. ms. no. 1349

- (19th c.); Gr. ms. no. 1561 (first half of 19th c.); Rom. ms. no. 2238 (first half of 19th c.); the Metropolitan Church Library of Moldavia and Suceava, Iași: no. 129 (Anthology of secular songs, dated 1813); *Euterpe* (Constantinople, 1830), *Pandora* (Constantinople, 1843) and *Armonia* (Constantinople, 1848).
- 20 Speaking of the noble and profitable book trade in the Levant, in which were engaged ambassadors, consuls, churchmen, booksellers, merchants, etc., the attaché of the French Embassy to Constantinople and “antiquarian to the King” Antoine Galland mentions the following in the seventh decade of the seventeenth century: “In Constantinople and in the adjacent areas there are many Greek manuscripts, either in the hands of the Turks, who have taken them from the Christians, or the Greeks, in particular monks and priests and their heirs, and both the one and the other are desirous to sell”, in A. GALLAND, *Journal ... pendant son séjour à Constantinoples (1672 – 1673)*, publié et adnoté par Charles Schefer, t. I, Paris, 1881, p. 275.
- 21 See, in this respect, the chapter *Indicii intelectuali ai Turcocrăției: cartea*, in CÂNDEA, V., *Rățiunea dominantă. Contribuții la istoria umanismului românesc*, Ed. Dacia, Cluj – Napoca, 1979, pp. 244 – 248.
- 22 COSMA, - L., O., *Hronicul muzicii românești (1784-1823)*, vol. II, Ed. Muzicală a Uniunii Compozitorilor, Bucharest, 1974, p. 101.
- 23 THORTON, Th. calls this ensemble “the prince’s military music”, in Idem, *The Present State of Turkey; or a Description of the Political, Civil, and Religion Constitution, Government, and Laws, of the Ottoman Empire ... Together with Geographical, Political and Civil State of the Principalities of Moldavia and Walachia...*, London, Printed for J. Mawman, 1807, p. 410.
- 24 BEZVICONI, C., Gh., *Călători ruși în Moldova și Muntenia*, Bucharest, 1947, p. 131; SĂINEANU, L., *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. CLXII, n. 2.
- 25 “The Prince (Ioan Gheorghe Caragea – *author’s note*) has his own music which was presented to him by the Porte as a sign of honour...” in L. von STÜRMER, *Călătoria prin Transilvania și Țara Românească (1816)*, in *Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea*, vol. I (1801-1821), Bucharest, 2004, p. 715.
- 26 For details and bibliographic references, see C. NEAGOE, *Muzică și societate în Țara Românească și Moldova (1550-1830)*, Ed. Istros, Brăila, 2008, pp. 34-37 and in particular footnote 29.
- 27 Although Evliyâ ÇELEBI mentions the fact that the Prince of Wallachia, Gregorios I Ghica (1660-1664; 1672-1673), was the first prince appointed by the Sublime Porte to receive the gift of a *mehterhâne*, it seems that the same privilege had been granted to princes since the time of Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (1494-1566). Idem, *Cartea de călătorii (Seyahâtname)*, in *Călători străini...*, vol. VI, part II, Bucharest, 1976, pp. 630-632, 712. C. NEAGOE proposes a date prior even to this sultan: 1485, in idem, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

- 28 COSMA V. gives even the fourteenth to fifteenth century, in Idem, *Două milenii de muzică pe pământul României. Introducere în istoria muzicii românești*, Bucharest, 1977, p. 28.
- 29 Certainly, most of the performers were of Ottoman origin, and some were even gypsies from the Danube *răyās*, such as the “three gypsy *surlari*” Ibrahim, Husul and Carali, mentioned in 1647 in *Documenta Romaniae Historica*, B. Țara Românească, vol. XXXII, Bucharest, 2001, p. 40. To these must be added a percentage that originated from the slave women brought from Istanbul and in the personal service of the princes’ wives (IFTIMI, S., *Roabele orientale de la curtea doamnei [sec. XVI-XVIII]*, in *Omagiul istoricului Dan BERINDEI*, ed. H. Dumitrescu, Focșani, 2001, pp. 20-35), as well as from the south-Danube Christian and Ottoman mercenaries employed in the princes’ retinues (RAZACHEVICI, C., “Mercenarii în oștile românești în evul mediu”, in *Revista de istorie*, t. 34, no. 1, 1981, pp. 37-73).
- 30 HURMUZAKI, E., *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor. Rapoarte consulare prusiene din Iași și București*, vol. X (1763-1844), N. IORGA ed., Bucharest, 1897, p. 537. See also footnote 29.
- 31 PAPAZOGLU, D., *op. cit.*, p. 74.
- 32 In KREUCHELEY L., *Explications des boyars Valaques. Muzica turcească a domnului*, in HURMUZAKI, E., *op. cit.*, vol. X, p. 537.
- 33 CANTEMIR, D., *Descrierea Moldovei*, Iași, 1858, pp. 184, 190. See also the comments of O. L. Cosma on this problem in *Hronicul muzicii românești*, vol. II, pp. 105-106.
- 34 ÇELEBI, E., *op. cit.*, p. 713.
- 35 *Ibid.*, p. 719.
- 36 FELDMAN, W., *Music of the Ottoman Court: Makam, Composition and the early Ottoman Instrumental Repertoire*, in the collection *Intercultural Music Studies* 10. Ed. by Max Peter Baumann. International Institute for Traditional Music, Berlin, Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, 1996, p. 49.
- 37 In this period, Miron was paid eighty *kuruş* per month. In FELDMAN, W., *op. cit.*, p. 131.
- 38 AND, M., *Osmanli Şenliklerde Türk Sanatlari (Turkish Arts in Ottoman Festivities)*. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Yayinlari, Ankara, 1982, p. 166.
- 39 YEKTA, R., “La Musique Turque”. In *Encyclopédie de la Musique et Dictionnaire de Conservatoire (Lavignac)*, vol. 5. Delgrave, Paris, 1921, p. 3014.
- 40 RICE, E., “Representations of Janissary Music (Mehter) as Musical Exoticism in Western Compositions (1670-1824)”, in *Journal of Musicological Research*, no. 19, 1999, p. 3. In the West, Mehter music and its imitations are also sometimes called Janissary music.
- 41 INALCIC, H. states that Ottoman ceremonial music was made up of two categories of instrumentalist “flag-bearers (*alem mehterleri*)” and “those

- that stretch out the tents (*çadır mehterleri*)" (Idem, *Imperiul Otoman. Epoca clasică, 1300-1600*, Bucharest, 1996, p. 117). See also VEINSTEIN G. who calls them "musicians of the standard (*mehterân-i alem*)" and "musicians of the tent (*mehterân-i khayme*)" (Idem, *Imperiul în secolul de aur: secolul al XVIII-lea*, in *Istoria Imperiului Otoman...*, p. 159).
- 42 WRIGHT, AL. G., and Stanley NEWCOMB, *Bands of the World*. The Instrumentalist Co. Evanston, IL 1970, p. 31.
- 43 *Mehterhâne: The Military Band of the Turkish Army*. Anonymous. (Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu. Istanbul, 1971), p. 30.
- 44 There are two possible derivations for the word *mehter* itself: some have it coming from the Persian word *mahi-ter*, which means new moon or crescent, while others trace the word from the Persian *mihter*, for footman (*Mehterhâne*, *op. cit.* p. 25). The word *mehter* is now used to refer both to the ensemble itself as well as to the genre of music it plays (RICE, E., *op. cit.* p. 46).
- 45 SULZER, F., J., *Geschichte des transalpinischen Daciens, das ist, der Walachey, Moldau und Bessarabiens im Zusammenhange mit der Geschichte des übrigen Daciens als ein Versuch einer allgemeinen Dacischen Geschichte, mit kritischer Frenheit entworfen, von F. I. Sulzer, ehemaligen K. K. Hauptmann und Auditor*. See the Romanian translation by Gemma Zinveliu, with the title *Fr. J. Sulzer în Dacia Cisalpină și Transalpină*, Ed. Uniunii Compozitorilor și Muzicologilor din România, Bucharest, 1995, p. 155.
- 46 METEȘ, Ș., *Emigrări românești în Transilvania din secolul XII până în secolul XX*, Bucharest, Ed. Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1973, p. 161.
- 47 SULZER, F., J., *op. cit.*, p. 155. See, also, BURADA, T., *op. cit.*, p. 238.
- 48 ALEXANDRU, T., *Instrumentele populare ale poporului român*, E.S.P.L.A., Bucharest, 1956, p. 256.
- 49 *Military Museum (Askeri Müze)*, Askeri Müze Ve Kültür Sitesi Komutanglığı, Istanbul, 1993, p. 142. See, also, *Encyclopédie de L' Islam*, n.e., vol. VI, établie avec le concours de principaux orientalistes par C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, B. Lewis et Ch. Pellat, Leiden – Paris, 1991, p. 999. For details regarding the history of this formation in the Ottoman Empire see *Encyclopédie de L' Islam*, p. 1000; C. NEAGOE, pp. 70-71.
- 50 BURADA, T., "Cercetări asupra muzicii ostășești la români", in Idem, *Opere*, vol. I, part I, Ed. Muzicală a Uniunii Compozitorilor și Muzicologilor, Bucharest, 1974, p. 243. In fact, the efforts to modify the structure of court music, to reorganise the *mehterhâne* and to introduce European-style brass bands within military garrisons began in 1823, when Pietro Ferlendis (1800-1848) received authorisation from the princely court of Wallachia (COSMA, O.-L., *Hronicul muzicii românești*, vol. III, *Preromantismul [1823-1859]*, Ed. Muzicală, Bucharest, 1975, pp. 154-155). The final decision was, however, taken by Prince Alexandru Ghika, who in 1838 issued an *oukase*

- to replace the *mehterhâne* with "music of the Stab and the palace orchestra" (G. BREAZUL, *Pagini din istoria muzicii românești*, vol. I, Ed. Muzicală, Bucharest, 1966, p. 100).
- 51 BREAZUL, G., *op. cit.*, p. 100.
- 52 COSMA, - L., O., *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 101.
- 53 MAXIM, M., "Cristalizarea instituției sultanele în Imperiul otoman (sec. XIV-XVI)", in *Studii și articole de istorie*, LVII-LVIII, 1988, p. 184.
- 54 SIMONESCU, D., *Literatura românească de ceremonial. Condica lui Gheorgachi (1762). Studiu și text*, Bucharest, 1939, p. 266. Likewise, see the appointment of Grigore Callimaki (1761-1764; 1767-1769) to the throne of Moldavia: "And as he sat upon the throne, they began to fire canons and the *mehterhâne* played", in PSEUDO-KOGĂLNICEANU, E., *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei de la domnia întâi și până la a patra domnie a lui Constantin Mavrocordat Voevod (1733-1774)*, in *Cronici moldovenesti* (Aurora Ilieș & Ioana Zmeu eds.), Bucharest, 1987, p. 1.
- 55 DJUVARA, N., *op. cit.*, p. 41.
- 56 SIMONESCU, D., *op. cit.*, pp. 270-271.
- 57 *Ibid.*, pp. 294; 278, 280-283; 270-271; 285-286. DE LA CROIX, *Relație despre provinciile Moldova și Valahia, 1676, mai 4, Constantinopol*, in *Călători străini...*, vol. VII, Bucharest, 1980, p. 265.
- 58 BURADA, T., *op. cit.*, pp. 238-239.
- 59 *Ibid.*, p. 306.
- 60 *Ibid.*, p. 308.
- 61 CANTEMIR, D., *Descrierea Moldovei*, Iași, 1858, p. 200.
- 62 RÂMNICEANU, N., *Correspondența moldoveanului cu munteanul (Scrisoarea moldoveanului, august 1818)*, in *Izvoare narative interne privind revoluția din 1821 condusă de Tudor Vladimirescu*, Craiova, 1987, p. 31.
- 63 CORFUS, I., *Cronica androneștilor*, Bucharest, 1947, p. 39.
- 64 BARDILI, J., W., *Călătorie prin Moldova (1709)*, în *Călători străini...*, vol. VIII, Bucharest, 1983, p. 270.
- 65 See, for example, the account of an anonymous Ottoman traveller to the Court of Wallachia during the second reign of Constantine Mavrocordat (1735-1741), in *Relație anonimă turcă despre Țara Românească, Moldova și Buceag, 1740*, în *Călători străini...*, vol. IX, p. 263.
- 66 NEAGOE, C., *op. cit.*, p. 70.
- 67 See, for example, REINHARD, K., "Turkish Miniatures as Sources of Music History". In *East and West. Essays in Honor of Walter Kaufman*. Festschrift Series 3, 1981, pp. 143-166; P. LAWRENCE, *Folk Musical Instruments of Turkey*. Oxford University Press, New York, 1975.
- 68 The old musical forms and instruments in the Ottoman music went out of fashion and new ones came into vogue. For instance, the lifetime of the *kopuz* which was the ancestor of all string instruments in classical and folk

music lasted only up until the eighteenth century. The *ud*, which was so popular between the tenth and the sixteenth centuries, was, by and large, replaced by *tanbur* at the end of the seventeenth century, only to re-emerge two centuries later. The historical Turkish harp, *çeng*, and the Turkish Pan pipes, the *miskal*, became obsolete in the nineteenth century, whereas the *santur* faced the same fate in the twentieth century. Among those instruments which entered the classical music in the twentieth century, we can see the *keman* as a *viola d' amore* which was imported from the West under the name of *sînekemani*, the viola, cello and bass, and the *kemençe* and *lavta* which were accompanying instruments for the palace dances, called *köçekçe* and *tavşanca*.

69 NEAGOE, C., *op. cit.*, p. 70.

70 SULZER, F., J., *op. cit.*, p. 158.

71 In Romanian, see POPESCU-JUDEȚ, E., *Dimitrie Cantemir. Cartea științei muzicii*, Ed. Muzicală, Bucharest, 1974.

72 CANTEMIR, D., *Istoria Imperiului Otomanu. Crescerea și scăderea lui, în Operele principelui Demetriu Cantemir*, vol. III, trans. I. Hodosiu, Bucharest, 1876, p. 13, footnote 8.

73 SULZER, F., J., *op. cit.*, pp. 156-157.

74 ÇELEBI, E., *op. cit.*, p. 475.

75 MARCO, I., *Raport despre ceremoniile obișnuite la sosirea și intrarea oficială a unui domn al Țării Românești, 1819, în Călători străini..., Sec. XIX*, vol. I, p. 798.

76 SIMONESCU, D., *op. cit.*, p. 282; MARCO, I., *op. cit.*, pp. 797-798.

77 NEAGOE, C., *op. cit.*, p. 81.

78 *Alaiul la intrarea lui Ipsilante, 3 februarie 1775*, in V. A. URECHIA, *Istoria românilor*, vol. II (1774-1786), Bucharest, 1892, p. 10.

79 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

80 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

81 See footnote 12 and the bibliography cited there.

82 FOTINO, D., *Istoria generală a Daciei sau a Transilvaniei, Țerei Munteneste și a Moldovei*. Trans. G. Sion, Bucharest, 1859, p. 98.

83 *Istoria Țării Românești*, Bucharest, 1859, pp. 254-259, 306 și 311.

84 BELDIMAN, A., "Eterie sau jalnicele scene prilejuite în Moldova din răsvrătirile Grecilor, prin șeful lor Alexandru Ipsilanti, venit din Rusia la anul 1821", in *Buciumul Român*, Iași, 1861, p. 16.

85 NEAGOE, C., *op. cit.*, p. 86.

86 GARFIAS, Robert, "Survivals of Turkish characteristics in Romanian *muzica lăutărească*", in *Yearbook for traditional music* (1981), pp. 97-107.

87 The vocal/instrumental compositions of the music of the Ottoman court come under the term *fasıl*, which in effect designates a suite of compositions whose structure fluctuated from one century to another. Thus, the *fasıl* of the later

- seventeenth century included: 1. a *taksîm instrumental* (an improvisatory form for both voice and instruments); 2. one or two *peşrevs* (a prelude); 3. A vocal *taksîm*; 4. A *beste* (vocal genre); 5. A *nakş* (vocal genre); 6. A *kâr* (vocal genre); 7. A *semâ'î* (vocal form); 8. An instrumental *semâ'î*; 9. A vocal *taksîm*. From the late eighteenth century, the order and structure of the *fasil* changed, and we find the following Ottoman musical terminology: 1. An instrumental *taksâm*; 2. a *peşrev*; 3. a vocal *taksâm* (optional); 4. a *birinci beste* or *kâr*; 5. a *ikinci beste*; 6. an *ağır semâ'î*; 7. a small suite (*taksîm*) of *şarkî*; 8. a *yürük semâ'î*; 9. an instrumental *semâ'î* (*saz semâ'î*); 10. a vocal *taksîm* (optional). W. FELDMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 180, 183.
- 88 FELDMAN, W., *op. cit.*, p. 10.
- 89 POSLUŞNICU, M., *op. cit.*, p. 548.
- 90 ŞĂINEANU, L., *op. cit.*, p. CLXIV
- 91 BEZVICONI, C., G., *op. cit.*, p. 131.
- 92 SIMONESCU, D., *op. cit.*, p. 311.
- 93 ŞĂINEANU, L., *op. cit.*, p. CXX.
- 94 LANGERON, A.-de, *Jurnalul campaniilor făcute în serviciul Rusiei în 1790, în Călători străini...*, vol. X, Part II, Bucharest, 2001, p. 939.
- 95 SIBTHORP, J., *Călătoria prin Banat, Transilvania şi Ţara Românească (1794), în Călători străini...*, vol. X, Part II, p. 1208.
- 96 DALAWAY, J., *Călătoria prin Banat, Transilvania şi Ţara Românească (1794), în Călători străini...*, vol. X, Part II, p. 1216.
- 97 LAGARDE, A.-de, *Scrisori către Jules Griffith (1813), în Călători străini... Sec. XIX*, vol. I, p. 570.
- 98 CRAVEN, E., *Trecerea prin Ţara Românească, în Călători străini...*, vol. X, Part I, Bucharest, 2000, p. 721.
- 99 *Ibid.*
- 100 BARDILI, J., W., *Călătorie prin Moldova (1709), în Călători străini...*, vol. VIII, p. 270.
- 101 BEZVICONI, C., G., *op. cit.*, p. 134.
- 102 See in this respect the excellent studies of A. DUȚU, *Coordonate ale culturii româneşti în secolul al XVIII-lea*, Bucharest, 1968, and Idem, *Sinteză şi originalitate în cultura română (1650-1848)*, Bucharest, 1972.
- 103 See the excellent book by CAMARIANO – CIORAN, A., *Academiile Domneşti din Bucureşti şi Iaşi*, Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, Bucharest, 1971.
- 104 The best-known Greek composers of Ottoman music are *hoça* Angeli [*professor* in Turkish] (1610 - 1690), who taught D. Cantemir for approximately fifteen years; Stravogeorgis, or Blind George (c. 1680 – d. 1760), and, above all, Zacharya Chanende [*singer* in Turkish] (c. 1680 – d. 1740).
- 105 GOLESCU, I., *Povăţuiri pentru buna-cuviinţă*, Bucharest, 1975, p. 128.

- 106 CHRISTMAS, F., S., apud. O. PAPADIMA, "Viața socială a Bucureștilor în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea și folclorul bucureștean", in: *Studii și cercetări de istorie literară și folclor*, no. 3-4, year 7, Bucharest, 1959, p. 446.
- 107 FILIMON, N., *Ciocoii vechi și noi sau ce naște din pisică șoarici mănâncă*, Ed. ErcPress, Bucharest, 2009, pp. 112-113.
- 108 CARTOJAN, N., "Contribuțiuni privitoare la originile liricii românești în Principate", in: *Revista filologică*, year 1, Czernowitz, 1927, p. 195.
- 109 See PIRU, A., *Poezii Văcărești*, Bucharest, 1967, pp. 32-33.
- 110 PAPADIMA, O., *Ipostaze ale Iluminismului românesc*, Bucharest, 1975, p. 122.
- 111 ALECSANDRI, V., *Zimbrul*, I (1850 – 1851), Iași, p. 249.
- 112 CAMPENHAUSEN, L., P., B.-von, *Despre cele văzute, trăite sau auzite în Moldova (1790-1791)*, in: *Călători străini...*, vol. X, part II, p. 883.
- 113 KOGĂLNICEANU, M., *Schiță despre țigani*, trans. Gh. Ghibănescu, Iași, 1900, pp. 19-20.
- 114 SULZER, F., J., *op. cit.*, p. 92.
- 115 As a matter of information, it can be pointed out that the dancers, instrumentalists and singers of the Sultan's Palace and, in particular, the Seraglio, were slave girls of non-Muslim origin. Of the category of women who composed music, the sources record Dilhayât Hanim or Dilhayât Kalfa (b. 1710? – d. 1780) as the most important woman composer in the entire history of Ottoman music. FELDMAN, W., *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.
- 116 BĂNESCU, N., *Viața și opera lui Daniel (Dimitrie) Philippide. Cartea sa despre pământul românesc*, Cartea Românească, Bucharest, 1924, p. 164.
- 117 GIURĂSCU, C., G., *Istoria românilor*, vol. III, Bucharest, 2003, p. 405. See, also, the study by ȘERBAN, C., "Despre vătășia lăutarilor din Țara Românească în secolul al XVIII-lea", in *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei (SCIA)* VII, no. 2, 1960, pp. 226-228.
- 118 DIDOV, G., P., *Scurte însemnări despre Țara Românească. Cu privire la numărul populației, venituri, dări, fertilitatea și comerțul acestei țări (1808)*, in: *Călători străini.... Sec. XIX*, vol. I, p. 445.
- 119 ACHIM, V., *Țigani în istoria României*, Bucharest, 1998, p. 61.
- 120 SAVA, S., "Însemnări privitoare la condiția socială a lăutarilor la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea și începutul secolului al XIX-lea", in *SCIA*, I, nos. 1-2, 1954, p. 234.
- 121 WILKINSON, W., *Relațiile despre Principatele Țării Românești și Moldovei (1820)*, in: *Călători străini.... Sec. XIX*, vol. I, p. 640.
- 122 ALEXANDRU, T., *op. cit.*, p. 98.
- 123 SĂINEANU, L., *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. CLXIV.
- 124 From the eighteenth century onward, in particular. See, R. CHIRCOIAȘIU, *Contribuții la istoria muzicii românești*, vol. I, Bucharest, 1963, p. 203.

- 125 IORGA, N., "O gospodărie moldovenească la 1777, după socotelile cronicarului Ioniță Canta", in *Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice*, s. III, t. VIII, 1927-1928, p. 113.
- 126 The celebrated *taraf* of Niculescu at the court of Karatzea Vodă, made up, it seems, partly of Transylvanians. See A. ALEXIANU, *Mode și veșminte din trecut. Cinci secole de istorie costumară românească*, vol. II, Bucharest, 1971, p. 151.
- 127 RECORDON, F., *Scrisori despre Țara Românească (1815-1821)*, in *Călători străini.... Sec. XIX.*, vol. I, p. 673.
- 128 OBEDEANUL, C., V., *Grecii în Țara Românească, cu o privire generală asupra stărei cultural până la 1717*, Bucharest, 1900, p. 908.
- 129 POTRA, G., *Documente privitoare la istoria orașului București (1634-1800)*, Bucharest, 1982, p. 431, document no. 358.
- 130 Direcția Județeană a Arhivelor Naționale Dîmbovița, *Colecția de documente*, f. 1-2, doc. 189.
- 131 *Documente privind istoria României. Răscoala din 1821. Documente interne*, vol. III, Bucharest, 1960, p. 144.
- 132 OLĂNESCU, C., D., *Teatrul la români*, Bucharest, 1981, pp. 91-92.
- 133 GHICA, I., *Opere*, vol. I, *Clasicii români*, ESPLA, Bucharest, 1956, p. 145.
- 134 REIMERS, H.-von, *Scrisoarea a VII-a, Iași, 25 iunie, 1793*, in *Călători străini...*, vol. X, Part II, pp. 1153.
- 135 URECHIA, V. A., *Istoria românilor*, vol. II (1774-1786), pp. 11-12.
- 136 OBEDEANUL, C., V., *op. cit.*, p. 909.
- 137 *Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 460-461.
- 138 GANE, A., *Trecute vieți de doamne și domnițe*, vol. II, Kishinev, 1991, pp. 232-233.
- 139 KOTZBUE, W.-de, *Lascăr Viorescu, roman din viața Moldovei (1851)*, p. 212 ff.
- 140 I would like to mention here, for example, musicians such as Antonios Dirmitzoglou – a protopsaltēs in Wallachia in the seventeenth century, Dimitrios Ioannou, Bishop Germanos Neon Patron, who arrived in Bucharest, accompanied by his apprentice Iovașcu Vlachos, the protopsaltēs of the Wallachian Court (πρωτοψάλτης της Ουγγροβλαχίας Κούρτης) - he would also die there, Ioannēs Kampazourna – pupil of Chrysaphes the Younger, Damianos Hieromonk Vatopedinos who would occupy for a long time the position of First Chanter at the Moldavian Metropolitan Church, Athanasios the Ecumenical Patriarch, Nikēphoros Marthales, Anastasios Rapsaniotēs, Chourmouziōs the Priest, Evgenios Hieromonk Peloponnesios – psaltēs of the Metropolitan Church in Wallachia in 1787, Gerasimos Hieromonk – didaskalos at the Princely Academy of St Sabbas in Iași (year 1813) during the reign of Prince George Karatza, Agapios Paliermos of Chios (†1815) – one of the first reformers of the church music, Athanasios Photeinos that took the position of Domestikos of the Great Church during 1784 –

- 1785, and then the role of personal physician to the sultan Abdul Hamit in Constantinople until the Sultan's death in 1789, together with his two sons Dionysios Photeinos and Antonios Photeinos, Petros Byzantios Fygas and Nikēphoros Kantouniarēs in Iași, Petros Manuēl Ephesios, Theodorakis Kastrino, Panagiotis (Pangratie) Eggiurliu etc. For details, see my article "The Byzantine Chant in the Romanian Principalities during the Phanariot Period (1711-1821)", in *Composing and Chanting in Orthodox Church, Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Orthodox Church Music*, The International Society of Orthodox Church Music & University of Joensuu, Finland, 2009, pp. 65-97.
- 141 PĂLTINESCU, Ș., "Musichia", in: *Buciumul Romanu, anul I*, ed. Theodor Codrescu, Iași, 1875, p. 465.
- 142 BURADA T. T., "Cronica muzicală a orașului Iași (1780 – 1860)", in: *Convorbiri literare*, Iași, 21, no. 12, March, 1888, pp. 1061-1101; republished in *Idem, OPERE* vol. I, Part I, Ed. Muzicală a Uniunii Compozitorilor, Bucharest, 1974, p. 142.
- 143 *Ibid.*, p. 142.
- 144 This musician studied the tambura in Constantinople. Cf. T. T. BURADA, *op. cit.*, pp. 141 – 142; M. Gr. POSLUȘNICU, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
- 145 BURADA, T., *op. cit.*, p. 142.
- 146 VIZANTI, A., *Veniamin Costaki. Mitropolit Moldovei și Sucevei. Epoca, viața și operele sale (1768 – 1846)*. Iași, 1881, p. 110.
- 147 BURADA T. T., "Cercetări asupra danțurilor și instrumentelor de muzică ale românilor", in *Idem, Opere*, vol. I, Part I, p. 114.
- 148 *Ibid.*, p. 115.
- 149 CARTOJAN, N., *op. cit.*, p. 195.
- 150 ODOBESCU, AL. I., *Opere*, I, Ed. pentru Literatură și Artă, Bucharest, 1955, p. 247, note 2.
- 151 GHICA, I., "Școala acum 50 de ani", in *Convorbiri literare*, no. 6, 1st September, 1880, republished in *Anton Pann – între spiritul balcanic și mirajul Europei*, ed. C. Mohanu, Ed. Ager, Bucharest, 2005, p. 43.
- 152 The collection was published in two editions: the first contains eighty-eight pieces, divided into two brochures, of which only sixty have the melody notated (Bucharest, 1850), the second comprising six brochures containing one hundred and sixty-six melodies (Bucharest, 1852). See also the new edition of *Spitalului amorului sau cântătorul dorului* by A. Pann, Ed. Compania, Bucharest, 2009. Foreword by Nicolae Gheorghîță.
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- 154 SION, G., *Suvenire contimpurane*, Ed. Minerva, Bucharest, 1973, vol. II, pp. 214 – 215.

- 155 For more details, see O. PAPADIMA, *Anton Pann – “Cântece de lume” și folclorul Bucureștilor. Studiu istorico-critic*. Ed. Academiei Republicii Populare Române, Bucharest, 1963.
- 156 DEMARAS, C., *History of Modern Greek Literature*, London, 1974, p. 176.
- 157 ΤΣΑΝΤΣΑΝΟΓΛΟΥ, Ε., *Αθανάσιος Χρηστόπουλος: Λυρικά*, in *Νέα Ελληνική Βιβλιοθήκη* II, Athens, 1970, pp. 7-32.
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- 159 CAMARIANO, A., *Academiile domnești...*, pp. 82-85.
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- 162 CAMARIANO, A., *Influența poeziei lirice grecești asupra celei românești*, Bucharest, 1935.
- 163 GHICA, I., *Din vremea lui Caragea*, in *Scrisori către Vasile Alecsandri*, Bucharest, 1997, p. 56.
- 164 Idem, *Scrieri alese*, ESPLA, Bucharest, 1950, p. 75.
- 165 Rom. ms. no. 421 (mid. 19th c.), Library of Romanian Academy. In PAPADIMA, O., *Anton Pann...*, p. 42, footnote 27.
- 166 DENSUȘIANU, O., *Literatura română modernă*, Bucharest, 1943, p. 431.
- 167 IORGA, N., *Două poezii necunoscute ale lui Ienăchiță Văcărescu*, in vol. *Omagiu lui I. Bianu*, Bucharest, 1927, p. 228.
- 168 PAPADIMA, O., *Ipostaze...*, p. 119.
- 169 PLEMMENOS, G., J., “Micro-music of the Ottoman Empire...”.
- 170 For details, see N., GHEORGHIȚĂ, “Nikephoros Kantouniaries”, entry in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology* (forthcoming); Idem, “The Byzantine Chant in the Romanian Principalities ...”; G., J., PLEMMENOS, “The Greek Contribution to the Development of Romanian Music: the Case of Nikephoros Kantouniaries of Chios”, in *AMB IX, CSBI*, May 2006, pp. 135 – 154; Idem, “Micro-music” of the Ottoman Empire...
- 171 Among the non-Greek secular compositions that probably circulated at the Romanian courts, the collections assembled by N. Kantouniaries contain twenty-five such works, as follows: twelve Turkish, eight Arabic, four French, and one Italian.