Musicology Today

Journal of the National University of Music Bucharest

Issue 4 (40) October-December 2019

Title: The Changing Taste of the Romanian Elites as Mirrored in Handwritten Piano Cahiers from the First Half of the Nineteenth-Century

Author: Haiganuș Preda-Schimek
E-mail: haigma.schimek@yahoo.com

Source: Musicology Today: Journal of the National University of Music Bucharest / Volume 10 / Issue 4 (40) / October-December 2019, 277-307

Link to this article:
musicologytoday.ro/40/MT40studiesPredaSchimek.pdf

How to cite this article: "The Changing Taste of the Romanian Elites as Mirrored in Handwritten Piano Cahiers from the First Half of the Nineteenth-Century", *Musicology Today: Journal of the National University of Music Bucharest*, 10/4 (40) (2019), 277-307.

Published by: Editura Universității Naționale de Muzică București

Musicology Today: Journal of the National University of Music Bucharest is indexed by EBSCO, RILM, and ERIH PLUS

Haiganuș Preda-Schimek
Freelancer

The Changing Taste of the Romanian Elites as Mirrored in Handwritten Piano Cahiers from the First Half of the Nineteenth Century

Keywords: salons, bourgeoisie, ethnic pluralism, musical taste, westernization

The private sphere and the analysis of "taste"

Before embarking on the main topic of this paper, it is necessary to specify a number of aspects of the methodology I have employed in laying down the framework and clarifying the object of the analysis I have undertaken.

For a number of reasons, I have deemed private musical practices more suited to research into "taste" than practices in the public sphere: they had a stronger and longer-lasting impact on the affective memory; thanks to personal, individual choices, private milieus reflected the trends of musical "fashions"; in Europe in the first part of the 19th century, the practice of music in the private sphere became a bourgeois habit; *via* the private socialisation of bourgeois and aristocratic families that led a cosmopolitan lifestyle, entertained foreign guests, and hosted performances by itinerant musicians, a repertoire typical of private milieus was disseminated. Therefore, what was considered to be "modern" was the result of an international "trend". The repertoire was disseminated *via* the middle class from the centres to the nearer and more distant regions, as far as the edges of Europe and beyond, and particularly by means of private gatherings of every kind: salons, soirées, domestic music (*Hausmusik*), balls, promenades, and open-air fêtes.

In the particular case of the Romanian towns, private milieus played an essential role in the propagation of western classical music; at the beginning

of the 19th century, this was cultivated almost exclusively in the houses of the Phanariot and Moldo-Wallachian boyars, and therefore research into these milieus is fundamental to a knowledge of the local musical life during the period.

Research in the fields of sociology and social history has shifted musicologists' perspective on the "minor" genres that arose in the private sphere. Sociological studies have shown that the private sphere is a domain not opposed but complementary to the public sphere and have emphasised the role played by the private sphere in bourgeois life. The bourgeois public replaces the aristocratic court (Habermas 1962), the nobility no longer acts as patrons of the arts and musicians, as they did in the age of Haydn and previously. The private house is viewed as a territory that shapes audiences and allows musicians and composers to make a name for themselves.

The path to better-informed research into music in relation to society was opened up by William Weber's revolutionary *The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna between 1830 and 1848* (first edition 1974, second edition 2004, Aldershot: Ashgate). Other studies have shown that in the first half of the 19th century, the musical press and critics ascribed "salon music" a place of no importance (Petrat 1986: 50), and after 1850, the genre acquired a pejorative connotation (Ballstaedt and Widmaier 1989: 21).

Judged by using the aesthetic measure and tools of "the high musical art", salon music was viewed with scorn and given deprecatory labels such as "commonplace commercial product", it was criticised for its "mechanical" and "stereotypical style", and its authors were called "speculators" and "manufacturers". Of course, such labels were natural if we view them through the eyes of a period in which they arose, at a time when the musical criticism of the likes of Schumann was formulating its aesthetic principles and placing "the musical art" high on a podium as it deserved, distancing it from the "triviality" of the "light" genres. But to view things from the same perspective today would mean ignoring the historical (and socio-historical) information that salon music preserves.

It has been shown that in the 19th century the salons were among the economic driving forces of musical activity, in circumstances in which the status of musicians had shifted from that of employee of the aristocratic court to that of enterprising freelancer in the musical free market. Consequently, the domestic or "drawing room" genres have been analysed not from the aesthetic standpoint, but as mirrors of their times, as artefacts shaped according to the demands of their "clientele". Tailored to the "tastes" of the musical amateur, they have been analysed as typological samples of the bourgeois under-

standing of music. It has thus been demonstrated that the salon music of the German cities reflected the traits of the middle-class musical amateur, his mentality, lifestyle, and the principles of his education, with all its rules and limitations (Ballstaedt and Widmaier 1989).

The relationship between salon music and the bourgeoisie has also provided the key to the subject of the present study, which analyses the music of the salons of Bucharest and Jassy as a space that conserved the characteristics of Moldo-Wallachian society in the first half of the 19th century.

This study develops ideas that arose from the project "Music in Urban Private Milieu from the Perspective of Intercultural Relations between Central Europe and the Balkans" (2007-2009, Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst, Vienna).[1] The music of the salons of the Romanian Principalities was analysed in comparison with the salons of Vienna, the salons of Serbia (academic partner: Dr. Marjana Kokanovic, Novi Sad), and the salons of Greece (academic partner: Dr. Avra Xepapadakou, Athens).

The intra- and inter-cultural perspective on salon music

At the time, the private practices of the bourgeoisie were little studied from the inter- or trans-cultural perspective proposed by the aforementioned project.[2] *Intra-* and *inter-cultural* investigation of domestic music in the first half of the 19th century entailed preparation of carefully thought-out objectives, preceded by analysis of a picture of the age in the cities of Jassy and Bucharest, the demographic situation, the civic context, and the way of life. As a result of these preliminaries, I concluded that in the first half of the 19th century and against the backdrop of cultural westernisation, heterogeneity was a striking feature of urban life in the Danube Principalities. Walachia and Moldavia underwent a period of renewal and reform, in which professional and institutional structures laid new foundations oriented toward "western" models. The multi-layered urban music mirrored the strong social and multi-ethnic dynamics of the capital cities of Bucharest and Jassy, where influences from abroad penetrated and coexisted with local music traditions, merging into inter-ethnic fusions and hybrid genres that were regional in character.

[1] Winning project in the Graduiertenförderung. Geistes-, Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaften Fellowships, Ministry of Science and Research, Austria, programme.

[2] For details of the conceptive phase, see: "Music in the Salons of Central and South-Eastern Europe: Preliminary Considerations for Cross-regional Research", http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/HPreda-Schimek1, accessed on March 14th, 2019.

The aim of the research

The guiding thread of the investigation thus took shape, formulated in objectives such as: observing the characteristics of society in the musical preferences of the elites; identifying aesthetic trends; demonstrating how and to what extent the ethnic diversity of urban society was reflected in the repertoire of musical amateurs.

Choice of primary sources

The second issue was to do with the choice of sources suitable to the research objective. Where were answers to the above questions to be found? What musical documents mirror the choices of the musical amateur and which of them might reflect ethnic diversity, as well as openness to the West on the part of the Bucharest and Jassy elites?

At the *Bibliotèque Nationale de France* in Paris and the *Biblioteca Academiei Române* in Bucharest (hereinafter B.A.R.), I came across the *topos* of diversity in two major blocks of sources: on the one hand in travel diaries, and on the other hand, in the handwritten piano albums or "cahiers" of young dilettante pianists.

The manuscript cahiers of professional musicians and piano pupils preserved in the B.A.R. proved to be particularly fertile sources.

The role of foreigners in music life of Bucharest and Jassy

In my two previous studies (Preda-Schimek 2009: 92-95 and 2017: 367-389) I examined the social factors that shaped the urban musical culture of the Romanian Principalities in the 19th century, to which I now return: ethnic pluralism, immigration, the fluid boundaries between the boyar class and the bourgeoisie, and the process of westernisation.

The ethnic pluralism of the cities

From the estimates accepted by Romanian historians, we discover that by the end of the 18th century, Moldavia had a million inhabitants and Wallachia a million and a half (Caproșu and Ungureanu 1997a: 12, note 14). In 1826, Moldavia is supposed to have had a population of 1,100,000, which by 1832 had increased by around one hundred thousand (Negruți 1981: 243-244, quoted in Caproșu and Ungureanu 1997a: 13, note 22).

According to the same sources (Caproșu and Ungureanu 1997a: 17), there are no "detailed and extensive historiographical studies" for Bucharest, but

"archival sampling" provides a host of data. From these data we have selected a number of items of information of interest to the study of musical practices:

A *catagrafie* (pre-statistical register of taxpayers) compiled by the Russian Army in 1831 gives 58,791 inhabitants as the permanent population and 1,795 foreign subjects (Majuru 1999: 3), and another dating from 1838 records the population of Bucharest as 63,644 (Olteanu 2002: 148).

Although the *catagrafii* and the estimates of foreign travellers were deficient and approximative (Caproșu and Ungureanu 1997a: 12, note 14), they help us to outline the socio-historical background of the musical pluralism we shall discuss below.

Swiss François Recordon lists the ethnic groups that made up the population of Wallachia at the beginning of the century as follows:

> More than 80,000 individuals who are absolutely foreign to the nation, being for the most part Greeks, Armenians, Germans, Russians, Jews, Serbs, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Transylvanians and even Frenchmen and Italians, and finally the race of Gypsies. (Recordon 1821: 1)

In the 1830s, Russian prince Anatol Demidov estimated that there were 2,583 Jewish heads of family living in Bucharest, 1,795 *sudditi* (Italian *suddito*, "foreign subjects"), and between 10,000 and 20,000 persons in transit through Wallachia (Iorga 1981: 528).

Demidov's data are similar to those that result from the census of 1830: Bucharest had a population of 70,000, of which 1,795 were foreign subjects, including 1,226 Austrian, 236 Russian, 158 Prussian, 94 English, 80 French, and 2,301 Jewish (Majuru 2003: 152).

In regard to Moldavia, the historians point to a large influx of foreigners, who made up nineteen per cent of the principality's population by the mid-19th century (Colescu 1905, quoted in Caproșu and Ungureanu 1997a: 13, note 23).

A *condică a sudiților* ("register of foreign subjects", persons under the legal protection of a foreign power) dating from 1824, during the period of the first native princedom in Moldavia, under Ioan Sandu Sturdza (1822-28), recorded 2,282 heads of family who were citizens of other states, of whom only 510 were first-generation inhabitants of Moldavia. It should be noted that the figures are relative, however, inasmuch as "not all those whose documents should have been examined presented themselves for inspection" (Caproșu and Ungureanu 1997b: 2, 3).

We discover that 1,005 of families of *sudiți* lived in Jassy, a city in the midst of demographic expansion:

> From 1808 to 1859, the population of Jassy grew from 16,410 to 65,745 inhabitants. In the same period, the number of *sudiți* fluctuated from 516 heads of family (or 2,505 persons) in 1808 to 489 heads of family in 1820; . . . and 1092 in 1859. (Iordachi 2019: 116, quoted in Negruți 1997: Annex 25)

The *condică* of 1824 records the ethnic origins of foreigners as follows: 432 Jews, 115 Russians, 54 Germans (other than from Saxony or Prussia), 28 Serbs, 25 French, 21 Hungarians, 14 Brașov Romanians, 13 Lipovians, 10 Italians, 4 Bulgarians, 4 Saxons, 3 Swiss, 3 Transylvanians (Habsburg subjects), 2 Bukowinians; also mentioned are a "Germano-French" family (from Lorraine), a Brașov family, a Danish family, a "Polish-Armenian" family, and a "Greco-Moldavian" family (the ethnic terms are taken from the document).

Foreign musicians

I have reproduced excerpts from the *Condica Sudiților* in order to demonstrate that musical professionals could be found among the foreigners living in Moldavia before 1821. Furthermore, the register allows connections to be made with the contents of Ms. R. 2663, which I shall present below as a document illustrative of the musical repertoire in circulation in the boyar houses around the year 1820.

The *Condica Sudiților* contains the personal details of the heads of family and mentions their occupations. For example, among the Greeks there were merchants and a few tavernkeepers and grocers. We find *dascăli* (teachers of German or French) among the Poles, the French (the source informs us that a third of them were employed at boyar courts), Hungarians (who taught German), Italians, and Swiss (who taught French). There are also foreigners whose occupation is listed as "musician". The following are examples:

- Pavăl and Ioan Paleolog, Greek musicians, in Moldavia for twelve years, born in Bukowina, German garb (registered on January 1st, 1823, p. 48);
- Huna Simonovici, Jewish fiddler, born in Kishinev, settled in Moldavia for four years, Jewish garb (fiche no. 123, p. 324);
- musician Ioan Mașenec, born in Italy, came to Moldavia fourteen years previously (in 1810) and dresses in German garb (p. 81);

- Neculai and Ianoș Pal arrived from Brașov sixteen years previously (registered as Moldavians), of Orthodox faith, Austrian subjects, German garb (p. 109);
- Zamfir Mihail, born in Brașov, moved to Jassy eight years previously, Orthodox faith, German garb, aged thirty-seven, married to a Moldavian, living in lodgings;
- Itzik Abramovitch, musician by trade, Jewish, born in Kishinev, arrived in Jassy four years previously, living in lodgings, married to a Jewish woman (p. 323).

Inasmuch as we do not have any thoroughgoing study of foreign musicians active in Bucharest and Jassy in the 19th century, even though musical history texts abound with non-Romanian names, I shall here list a number of leading figures.

In Bucharest: Alexander Flechtenmacher (Jassy, 1823 – Bucharest, 1898); Johann Andreas Wachmann (1807, Böhmen? – Bucharest, 1863); his son, Eduard Wachmann (Bucharest, 1836 – 1908); Kapellmeister and violinist Ludwig Anton Wiest (Vienna, 1819 – Bucharest, 1889); music editor Alexius Gebauer (Cluj, 1815 – Bucharest, 1889); his son Constantin Gebauer (Bucharest, 1846 – 1920); Kapellmeister and military band conductor Eduard Hübsch (Bitse-Trenchin, Hungary 1833 – Sinaia, Romania 1894), et al.

In Jassy: composer and teacher Elena Teyber-Asachi (Vienna, 1789 – Jassy, 1877); Kapellmeister Franz Ruszitski (Vienna, 1785 – Jassy, 1860?); Kapellmeister Josef Herfner (Bratislava, 1795 – Jassy, 1865); composer Carol Mikuli (Tchernowitz, 1821 – Lvov, 1897), music teacher Franz Seraphim Caudella (Vienna, 1812 – Jassy, 1868) his son, composer Eduard Caudella (Jassy, 1841-1924), and others.

Likewise, there were many foreigners in the world of musical theatre. Besides Romanians Costache Caragiale, Costache Aristia, Costache Halepiu, Matei Millo and Mihail Pascaly, also notable were French directors Paul Hette, brothers Baptiste and Joseph Fourreaux, Italian impresarios Basilio Sansoni, Paolo Papanicola, German-speaking natives Johann Gerger, Eduard Kreibig, Theodor Müller, Josephine Uhlich, Maria Theresa and Ignaz Frisch, Henrietta Karl, et al.

When it comes to foreigners' contribution to the modernisation of musical culture in the 19th century, what Lucian Boia has to say about history in general is also valid for the musical sphere in particular:

> The place of "foreigners" in nineteenth-century Romanian society has often been evoked, albeit in a somewhat "diluted" way, given

> the absence of any balance sheet to express, without prejudices and complexes (it's hard to do "without complexes"!), their actual role in the period when westernisation was its height. But that role was crucial. (Boia 2013: 50-51)

Foreigners among the audiences of private gatherings with music

Foreigners could be found on both sides of the musical act: both among those who made music (musicians, teachers of music, conductors, composers) and among audiences.

Let us take a brief look at the social categories from which amateurs of "classical music" (in the sense of music of the European/Western type) and salon audiences were drawn, as representative spaces of the private houses; in this context, we shall discard the frivolous connotation of the word "salon", which is here understood as a representative space for receiving guests in a well-off town house.

Broadly speaking, the musical public was made up of the local nobility and haute bourgeoisie, who, on private social occasions, were joined by foreign guests, diplomats, officers, intellectuals, artists, and other travellers. Thus, the practice of music within the family or at private gatherings might, *although not always*, be an indicator of wealth; and families/persons of (more) modest wealth and rank might practice or listen to music as a form of entertainment or cultivation. The determining factor in this case was not wealth or the need for representation beyond the private sphere; interest in music and participation in musical events sprang from a certain type of education. And the social stratum that caused the number of "classical music" amateurs to increase was the higher-educated middle bourgeoisie, the intellectual class made up of urban graduates, who were interested in musical theatre and "classical music" concerts, a trend Irmgard Jungmann observes in the German cities (2008: 63), but which is also detectable in the Romanian cities, particularly in the second half of the 19th century. For this reason, in my analysis of the musical public, I have borne in mind not only wealthy city dwellers, but also the petty and the middle bourgeoisie. We will see that the multi-ethnic and foreign element can be found in Bucharest and Jassy in all these strata during the 19th century.

The great boyar families were related to the Greek and Serbian nobility. Some boyars were descended from foreign families assimilated into the local aristocracy; famous examples are the Albanian Ghika family, the Serbian Brancovici family, and the Greek Cantacuzino, Catargi, Palladi and Rossetti families (Djuvara 2006: 141); likewise, temporary Russian occupation (1806-

12, 1829-34, and 1853-54) brought about contacts and marriages with Russian boyars and officers.

In the haute and middle bourgeoisie, made up of rich merchants, bankers, factory owners, and entrepreneurs, there could be found families of Greek, Aromanian, Armenian and Jewish origins, which often had extensive connections outside the country's borders.

Finally, the ethnic mix also characterised the middle and petty bourgeoisie, made up of Russian, Greek, Armenian, Jewish craftsmen and small traders. Besides these, a relatively large number of southern Slavs moved to Bucharest after 1821, where they founded Bulgarian, Albanian and Serbian communities and companies (Giurescu 1972: 93).

It was against this backdrop that professionals from Central and Western Europe immigrated in increasing numbers from the 1820s. Numerous foreigners were attracted by the new business opportunities or engaged in professions that demanded university qualifications. Colonies of German, Austrian, French, Italian, English and Swiss immigrants formed.

Many foreigners worked as private tutors and in public schools, lycées and pensions; as architects, physicians, pharmacists, engineers, musicians, and painters. They increased the number of citizens interested in Western music, as amateurs and listeners, opera and concertgoers, and members of Liedertafel- and Philharmonic Societies. Beside the members of the local nobility and the upper middle class, they formed a cosmopolitan layer with a *bourgeois* lifestyle that frequented theatres, concerts and the like, and which made music in their homes. For example, the German colony had a singers' association (*Gesangsverein*), which was in the habit of meeting in a number of favourite venues. The colony had its own newspaper, the *Bukarester Deutsche Zeitung*, first published in 1845, which printed announcements about concerts and musical events (Metz 1999: 54).

To all these may be added a fact of major important to the shaping of a Romanian public interested in European "classical music": after the end of Phanariot rule in 1821, Romanians were finally permitted to travel to Western countries, a freedom not previously granted (Ioncioaia 1997: 106-131), and many travelled to study in cities such as Paris, Vienna, Berlin, and Leipzig. On their return, the knowledge and impressions they brought back with them included musical experiences, which they desired to continue in their home country, and everything that signified a cultured way of life at the time; those with political influence supported the establishment and running of musical institutions modelled on those of the West. Lucian Boia confirms and expands on the above as follows:

> Naturally, it was not foreigners who decided to westernise Romania. It was an objective process, demanded after a given point by the course of history, and, insofar as it had to do with a choice, the choice was made by the Romanian élite. But the Romanian élite was not capable of very much. . . . Once engaged on a course of westernisation, the élite, or the young boyars to be more precise, had to set about studying in Western school in order to learn the new type of civilisation, with all its instruments. (Boia 2013: 50, 51)

The manuscript cahiers of favourite pieces

Two cahiers in manuscript, dating from about 1820-40, are made up of collections of short piano pieces written by professional musicians for amateurs. They are kept in the Music Cabinet of the B.A.R., shelf marks Ms. R. 2575 and Ms. R. 2663, and are known by the titles *Anonymus Valachus*, which George Breazul gave to the first (1977: 312), and *Codex Moldavus*, given to the second by Octavian Lazăr Cosma (1972: 12). In essence, the cahiers are a review of the popular repertoire of the period, and with their help it is possible to reconstruct from within the *en famille* and semi-private musical ambience of the period musical soirée and salon concert.

Inasmuch as the cahiers are unsigned and undated by the musicians who compiled them, it may be supposed that they were of relatively minor importance to them; the cahiers were not intended for publication in the obviously unfinished form in which they have come down to us; their purpose was soon pedagogical.

The pieces therein are arrangements of urban or semi-urban melodies of various provenances, all popular at the time, and all notated for piano. Two categories may be discerned: one category consists of arrangements of songs and dances of multi-ethnic provenance, both east-European (including "Wallachian" and "Moldavian") and "oriental" (Constantinopolitan in origin, encompassing a complex of Levantine cultures and influences passed down from the Phanariot period); the other category consists of reductions of pieces from the European repertoire to serve a pedagogical or entertainment purpose, particularly dances (ecossaises, waltzes, etc.), schematically notated by piano teachers for the use of their pupils.

Both categories encompass genres ranging from the sentimental and naïve to the ballad or "instrumental romance", simplified in their scoring in order to meet the (dilettante) level of piano pupils, but also to be in conso-

nance with the romantic, domestic horizon of expectations characteristic of the female private sphere in the 19th century.

We do not know who collected and then arranged the "ethnic" melodies or who made the reductions of the European pieces and dances (here and there, the names of the composers are given, but mostly no author is given). The pieces circulated and were passed on *via* cahiers written either by professors or pupils. Obviously, the copyist and the author might be one and the same person, but in the absence of any information to indicate their provenance, this remains uncertain.

The musical content itself presents a rudimentary level of complexity. The pieces notated are accessible in their technique and their meaning. The pianistic level of the pupils (it is well known that the piano was a feature of girls' education in particular) was not high.

Some of the "ethnic" melodies can also be found in other cahiers; with modifications, some of them appear in various collections and compositions (the circulation of the melodies in Ms. R. 2663 and other cahiers was analysed by Gheorghe Ciobanu 1978: 103-113). Regardless of their provenance and circulation, the albums include pieces that we are justified in regarding as fashionable during the period in which they were notated, i.e. between the 1810s and 1830s. From the sociological point of view, the fact that they were popular, having been written out in cahiers of favourite pieces, makes them samples of "taste" appropriate for analysis of musical preferences in the period and place under study.

The Moldavian cahier: Ms. R. 2663

Ms. R. 2663 has a dedication, dated 1824, on the inside cover: "Don d'amitié par Mademoiselle Euphrosine Ghyka à Me Elisabetta Franchini, donné à Odessa le 1-e août 1824". The outside cover is inscribed, perhaps by a librarian: "119 small manuscripts from 1824". It is not out of the question, however, that the album was compiled prior to the year in question, perhaps even a few years earlier, given the large number of the pieces, written in a number of different hands (perhaps by the owner of the cahier or by her friends). The album contains more than 160 pieces in the hands of a number of different people.

In order to provide an overview and to arrange the contents, I have classified the pieces in three categories, although more detailed analysis (which I have not attempted here) might provide further possibilities of classifying the material.

1. "European" pieces from the salon repertoire, respectively dances (more than sixty per cent of the cahier's contents = 107 pieces) and non-dance pieces

The most frequent dance is the ecossaise, in various spellings: *Ecoss*, *Ecosse*, *Ecossais*, *Eccossaisse*, *Eccoss*, *Eccossais*, totalling 34 pieces, or twenty per cent of the album's contents (the percentages are approximative).

The waltz (*Walz*, *Valz*, *Walse*) is the second most frequent dance (twenty pieces), in variations including the *trio waltz* (p. 15); the *quadrill-walz* (p. 40), and the *Walz-Augustin* (p. 43), to the melody of the popular Viennese waltz "O du lieber Augustin" (I have preserved the page numberings from the original manuscript).

Other European dances are less frequent: 16 marches, 12 mazurkas (7.6%), 9 quadrilles (5.2%), 4 ländlers, a minuet, and a *Danse anglaise appellé la Synagogue* (0.5%).

To these may also be added the seven *polonaises* (2.3%), two *Cossak* dances (*Kosak*), and a *krakoviac*, if we take into account dances drawn from the international salon repertoire. Since we cannot exclude, at least in theory, their possible provenance from or kinship with the ethnic dances in circulation in Moldavia at the time, given the Polish and Russian communities there, I shall return to these pieces under the Multi-Ethnic Pieces heading.

A number of *short non-dance pieces with lyrics* (10) and *without lyrics* (12) also fall within the "European", "international" or "Western" repertoire, despite the vagueness of such a category.

To these can be added twelve short pieces without titles (some with tempo markings such as "Andante") or titles in French or German. Broadly, these can be described as arrangements (reductions) of sonatina or opera aria parts. Some examples: *Marche trio[m]phale de l'Opera des Vestales* (p. 2-3), *La Chasse* (p. 99), *Schlitasch v. Mozart* (p. 104), *Marsche Allexandre* (with two trios and a "Posthorn solo", p. 107), *Abschiedslied* (p. 151).

The song *Mein lieber Augustin* occurs once more in the form of a theme with four variations.

Twelve *arias* and songs close to *French* or *Italian vocal romances* (strophic poems of love set to music) are marked (without titles): "Andante", with lyrics in French (p. 28); "Andantino", with lyrics in French (p. 62); "Andante", with lyrics in French (p. 73); "Arie Andante", with lyrics in German (cursive Gothic script) (p. 81); "Air Andante", with lyrics in French (p. 100-101); "Poco Allegretto", with lyrics in French (p. 125); "Andantino", with lyrics in Italian (p. 127); "Moderato", with lyrics in French (p. 128); *Le portrait*, "Andante sostenuto", with lyrics in French (p. 144-145).

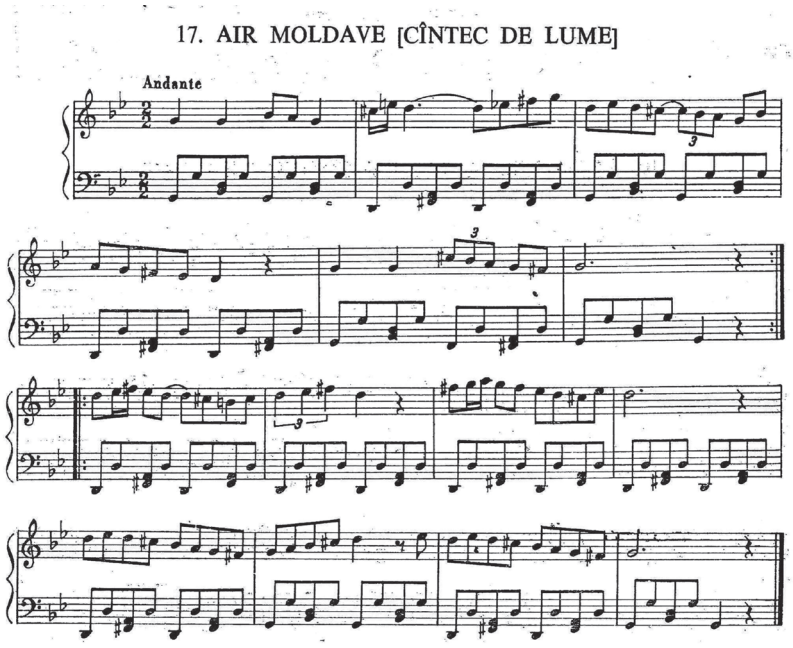
Due to the large number of pieces whose titles are only in French, German and Italian, the Euphrosina Ghyka cahier may be regarded as exceptional material evidence of the European repertoire's reach in Moldavia around the year 1820.

2. Native pieces

Let us now look at the frequency of the pieces entitled "Moldavian" or which reveal other specific local clues.

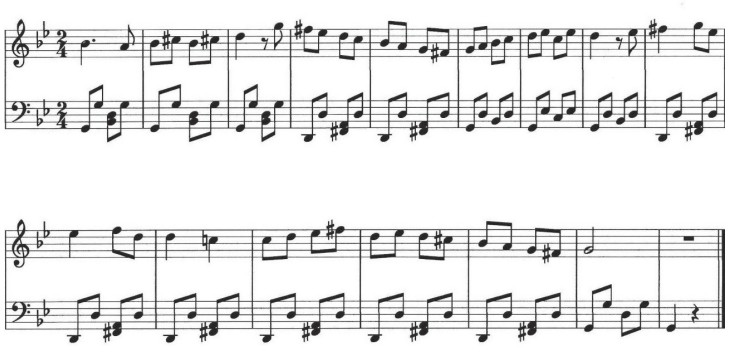
Twenty pieces containing the word "Moldave" (p. 120) or "Bogdanika" (p. 52, p. 56), from "Bogdania" or "Kara-Bogdan", the name given to Moldavian Turks (Ciobanu 1978: 45), are notated. The Moldavian pieces were published by Gheorghe Ciobanu (1978: 63-74); they can also be seen to have circulated in various folklore arrangements and collections (Ciobanu 1978: 110, 111).

The *Air Moldave* (Ex. 1) is illustrative of the mixture of "European-Moldavian-Oriental" stylistic features that characterise this segment of the repertoire. The rhythmic asymmetries, the triolets, the modal structure of the melody, and the ornaments are rudimentary attempts to transcribe the characteristics of "oriental" music passed down from the Constantinopolitan tradition to the Boyar courts via the *lăutari*.



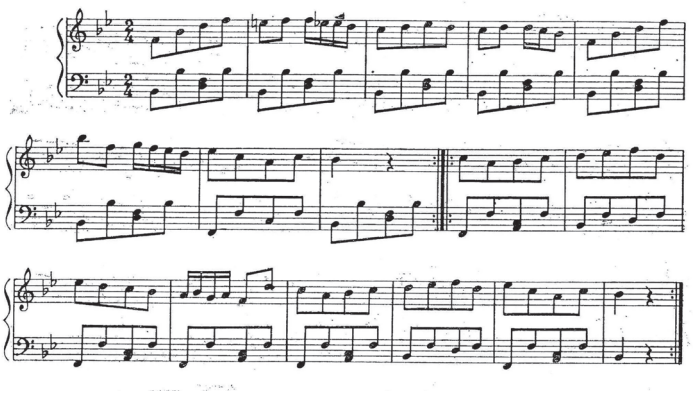
Ex. 1. Air Moldave, *Ms. R. 2663, p. 95, scanned from Ciobanu 1976: 71.*

Two pieces without titles show local characteristics but are distinct from each other. The first piece (Ex. 2) has a chromatically inflected melody, "oriental" augmented seconds, and phrases of irregular lengths, which the arranger has striven to adapt to the metre of the European system.



Ex. 2. *[no title], Ms. R. 2663, p. 70, mm. 1-16.*

The second piece (Ex. 3) is a Moldavian dance melody. The rhythmic quadrature of the dance is here well fitted to the two-fourth meter.



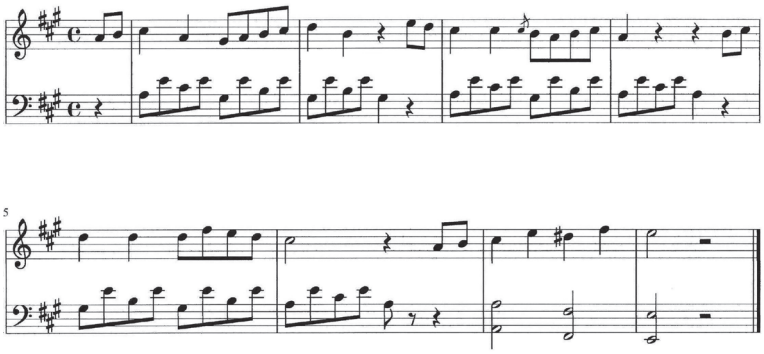
Ex. 3. *[no title], Ms. R. 2663, p. 71, scanned from Ciobanu 1976: 71.*

3. Multi-ethnic pieces

A number of "arias" or songs (without lyrics) in easy notation for piano contain elements that might fall within the ethnic heterogeneity specific to the city of Jassy, for example:

- *Danse anglaise appellé[e] la Synagogue* (p. 1);
- *Chanson Russe* (p. 80), *Arie Russe* (p. 80), *Kosaque* (p. 77), *Kosak*[3] (p. 39);
- *Air Grec* (p. 91);
- *Krakoviak* (p. 67), *Polloness* (p. 49), *Pollonesse* (p. 50), *Pollo* (p. 92), *Masurque* (p. 151), *Mazur* (p. 105, p. 55), *Quadrille Kracoviana* (p. 44).

This is how the space where the professional musicians we read about in the *Condica Sudiților* (1824) emigrated from fills in the context from which Ms. R. 2663 emerged. The *Condica* mentions musicians originally from Brașov, Transylvania, part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the time, a city which had a log western tradition of music. Also mentioned are Jewish musicians and two Greeks who had settled in Moldavia and wore European costume – yet another connection with Ms. R. 2663, where we find an *Air Grec* for piano (Ex. 4).

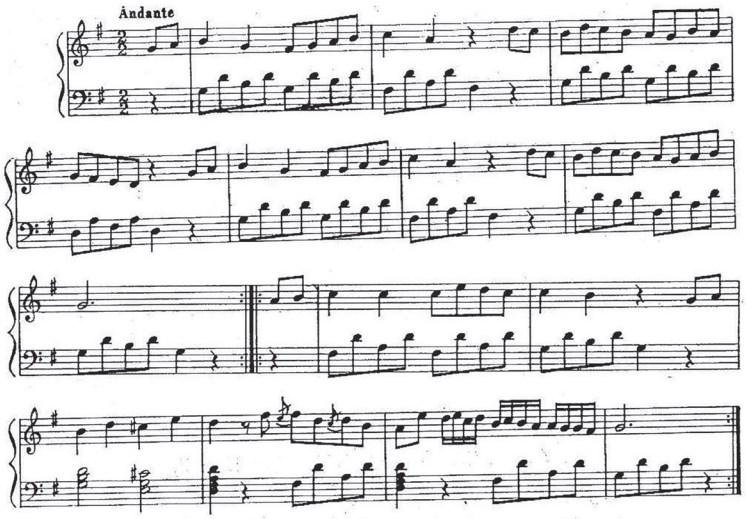


Ex. 4. Air Grec, *Ms. R. 2663, p. 91.*

The melodic line is very similar to that of the *Air Moldave* (Andante) (Ex. 5), which Gheorghe Ciobanu has identified as a version of a "worldly song" (from Ms. 629, f. 24r, *George Breazul* Collection, Library of the Union of Romanian Composers, Bucharest; see Ciobanu 1978: 111).

Let me return to the relatively large number of Polish dances (seven *polonaises*, twelve mazurkas, one *krakoviac*, and one *Quadrille Kracoviana*), which in the cahier are found in simplified versions with no indication of their composers.

[3] The name derives from *kazak*, Russian soldiers from outlying Polish and Lithuanian territories, and therefore points to a Russian origin.



Ex. 5. Air Moldave *(Andante), Ms. R. 2663, p. 98, scanned from Ciobanu 1976: 72.*

Might the presence of the *polonaises* be due to the more frequent contacts between Moldavian nobles and the Poles, who are listed, for example, among the *sudiți* in the *Condica* for 1824? The same question might be asked in the case of the Russian dances: are the Russian melodies and Polish dances arrangements of melodies notated by local musicians (*lăutari*) or were they borrowed from other cahiers or printed matter? A separate study would be required in order to answer this question. However, I shall here cite a number of data which lend nuance to the question, without solving it for the time being.

In 1876, among "the dances employed by the Romanian people" he collected from "old *lăutari*", Teodor T. Burada published a number of dance melodies titled *Ruseasca* (Russian), *Serbeasca* (Serbian), *Armeneasca* (Armenian), *Huțăneasca* (from *Huțuli*, a Slavic ethnic group that speaks a dialect of Ukrainian), and *Căzăceasca* (Cossack) (Burada 1876 [1974]: 97). Therefore, these dances were in circulation around the year 1870, and from another collection we learn that *Leșeasca* (Polish) and *Ruseasca* were still in circulation in the Neamț Mountains in the 1930s (Galinescu 1939: 687, 689). They were usually passed down via the *lăutari*, some of whom were called to the boyar courts, where professional musicians transcribed their melodies and arranged them (famous musicians on tour such as Bernard Romberg, Franz Liszt, Johann Strauss Jr. also composed music based on Romanian melodies).

It was also Burada who made the distinction between "folk" dances and those that could be heard "in the salons of our boyars", "those that [the

boyars] had in the olden days", and he provides us with the significant contextual information: "the oldest was the Polonaise, with which the balls began, and which remains even to this day at court balls". Further, Burada mentions "the Waltz, Quadrille, Polka, Polka-Mazurka, and Mazurka" as "boyar dances": "foreign dances introduced to the salons of our boyars . . . at the beginning of the century" (Burada 1876 [1974]: 97).

Given that the westernisation of music had occurred in the Polish and Russian courts earlier than in Moldavia, it is highly likely that the original melodies (if indeed they originated from folk dances) will have been notated elsewhere and arranged by a composer whose name is not made known in the cahier.

In any event, polonaises, the same as waltzes, ecossaises etc., had become part of the salon repertoire as society dances, some of which were far more elaborate than the manuscript reductions; but those for the "domestic" use of dilettantes were passed on in aristocratic circles *via* dance and piano teachers, and dance masters also sometimes made quite schematic arrangements for the piano (Litschauer and Deutsch 1995: columns 1638-1639). It is therefore possible that the mazurkas and polonaises of Ms. 2663 might have been among the "consecrated" pieces in international circulation, which gained popularity in the cosmopolitan milieu of the salons and conquered the ball rooms after the Vienna Congress (1814-15). In which case, they are not notations of local melodies, resulting from the ethnic diversity of Moldavia, but an effect of cultural transfer *via* private social occasions around the year 1820, a medium favourable to the transmission of fashionable products, including music.

On the other hand, their large number might also be explained by Moldavia's geographical proximity to the Russian and Polish spaces, as well as by contacts occasioned by the periods of Russian occupation of the Principalities (the most recent having been between 1806 and 1812). Two marches are named after Tsar Alexander I (*Marsche Allexandre*, p. 107) and the Prince of Ligne (*Marsche du Prinz Deligne*, p. 57), the latter of whom was in the Moldavian capital in 1788, during the Russo-Turkish War of 1787-92 (Djuvara 2006: 105).

The Wallachian cahier: Ms. R. 2575

The Wallachian cahier contains thirty-two pages, of which the first three quarters are written in the same hand, with the same ink and the same nib (pp. 1v-25r). This section contains Balkan, "oriental", Wallachian, and "European" melodies (dances) arranged for piano. We shall refer to it as *Section A*.

The final eight sheets (25v-32r) were written by Johann Andreas Wachmann, with the exception of the barred inscriptions on pages 25v (a song with a fragmentary text in French), 26r and 26v. It is clear that Wachmann used the remaining empty sheets for notes and musical inscriptions (sketches, transcriptions, drafts) in pencil and pen. We shall refer to this fascicle as *Section B*. The handwriting of the musician can be identified through comparison with others of his manuscripts kept in the *Music Cabinet* of the B.A.R. In the inventory catalogue of the B.A.R., the album is attributed (uncertainly) to Johann Andreas Wachmann, but his handwriting can be definitely identified only in *Section B*.

Section A therefore raises a number of questions, which we shall deal with below.

The question of authorship

If it was not Wachmann who wrote the pieces in the first part of the album, then he came into possession of the cahier later, using it when he sought melodies of a "Wallachian" character for his own compositions.

It is possible that *Section A* may have been compiled by a different musician originally from a German-speaking land, as can be deduced from the transcription of consonants such as *s* for *z*, *w* for *v* (in *Frunsa werde merisor = Frunză verde merișor* [Green Cranberry Leaf], p. 7v) and *sch* for *ș*, *tz* for *ț* (*Entre Olt schintrea Oltetz = Între Olt și-ntrea Olteț* [Between the Olt and Between the Olteț], p. 7v), etc.

In some titles, the orthography of the consonants is inspired by German and French: *ș = ch* or *sch*; *ț = tz*, final *c = qwe*, *v = w*, *c = k*, etc. For example: *Omoareme puikulitze, daka nuem dedesch gurize = Omoară-mă, puiculiță, dacă nu-mi dădești guriță* [Kill Me, Wee Chickee, If You Didn't Give Me Your Wee Mouth] (p. 9r).

The copyist has used the letter *w* instead of *u* for the French *que* [=qwe]; for example, he transcribes the Romanian *valah* as *walaqwe*, from the French *valaque*.

For the waltzes, a mixed German-French orthography is employed: *Valtz* or *Valtzer*, which is something between the French *valse* and the German *Waltzer*.

The question of the title

In a white box on the slightly worn grey-blue marbled cardboard cover we read: "Des Chansons Vallaques Sur le Piano-Forte", and on sheet 1r: "Chansons et Danses Grecques. Des Postreffes et Chanson Turqwe. Airs et

Danses Wallaqwes Composées [*pour*] le Piano-Forte".[4] The titles should be viewed in connection with *Section A*, the most calligraphic part of the cahier, but both ignore a part of the content; on the outside cover we are informed only of "Wallachian songs", and the statement on the first page, although it refers to "Balkan-Oriental" content, ignores the "European" (around a third of the total number of pieces).

In all likelihood, the title on p. 1r was written by the copyist/author of *Section A* (cf. the handwriting and transcription of final *c* as *qwe*).

The question of dating

Two questions arise: 1) When was *Section A* written, and 2) What interval of time separates *Section A* from *Section B*?

It may be hypothesised that *Section A* dates from the same period as Ms. R. 2663, i.e. the early 1820s, making the following observations:

- *Appearance*. The paper and careful calligraphy, the broad nib pen and black ink of *Section A* are similar to the paper and style of notation found in the majority of the pieces in cahier 2663, although it is clear that the two were written by different musicians, one active in Bucharest, the other in Jassy.
- *The style of the arrangements of the non-European melodies*. I refer to the stereotypical formulas of accompaniment and the modality of transcribing/adapting the unequally tempered tuning of the melodic line, the ornaments, the irregular rhythms etc. to the pianoforte.
- *The inclusion of "Balkan-Oriental" melodies*. Both cahiers contain transcriptions of multi-ethnic pieces, which illustrate the *flexible taste* of the élites and boyar acceptance of both "Balkan-Oriental" and European types of music, which are characteristic of the early 19th century in particular. Might this be an argument in favour of dating *Section A* to the same decade as Ms. R. 2663, i.e. the 1820s?

In the absence of any more convincing data, the question of the date of *Section A* remains open.

As for the final eight pages of the cahier, i.e. *Section B*, these were most likely written in the 1840s; the pages almost exclusively contain transcriptions

[4] In all the titles I have preserved the original spelling, which may be incorrect or different from the current orthography.

of "Wallachian" melodies, some of which can be found in the collections of Romanian melodies published by Wachmann in Vienna between 1846 and ca. 1858 and in his "national" stage music (details can be found under the subheading *Section B*).

Usefulness: pedagogy or transcription with a view to publication?

I have reasons to believe that Ms. R. 2663 and *Section A* were compiled by piano teachers for female pupils from the local nobility; the teachers copied pieces in circulation and perhaps also transcribed them by ear from locals. It is possible that the teachers may have performed pieces from the cahiers at musical gatherings, and that the public may have danced, as we discover from contemporary accounts.

> From 1780 to 1830, during the military occupation and in times of peace, balls became an effective means of socialisation for the Romanian aristocracy. Whether held by Russian or Austrian officers, by French or English consuls, by the prince or a high boyar, the entire élite of Bucharest gathered to dance and to listen to music. (Vintilă-Ghițulescu 2006: 175)

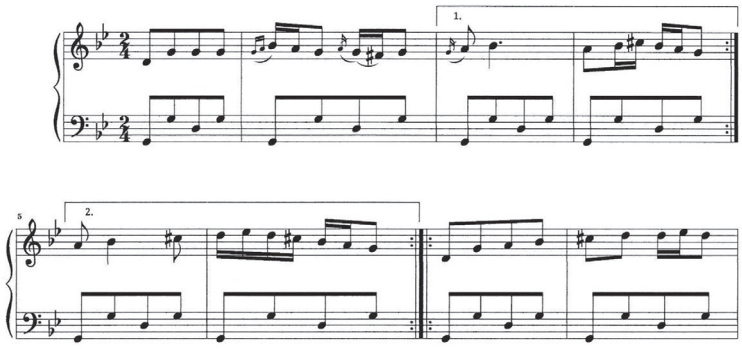
Fingerings appear in Ms. R. 2663, which confirms the cahier's use in teaching; in Ms. R. 2575 there are no fingerings. But does this mean that the author intended publication of the transcriptions? This was what Franz (François) Rouschitzky [Ruszitzki], the author of the piano collection *Musique orientale. 42 Chansons et Danses Moldaves, Valaques, Grecs et Turcs* (Jassy, Lithographie de l'Abeille, 1834), did, but it does not seem to have been the purpose of the cahier we are looking at.

Would a publication in this form have presented any interest? Whereas the transcriptions of the multi-ethnic urban piece might have held appeal as something exotic, rare, novel, the European dances, as they appear in the cahier, would probably not have found a publisher, although easy pieces for dilettantes were a successful product of musical booksellers around the year 1830 (Jungmann 2008: 24). Certain imperfections in the harmonisation, as well as errors in the transcription, argue against a compilation intended for publication, and the cahier was sooner used as a teaching material by its first owner. This does not preclude the fact that certain melodies from Ms. R. 2575 circulated in versions signed by a number of composers. For example, *Wallaqwe all Fillipesku* (Ex. 6) can be found in:

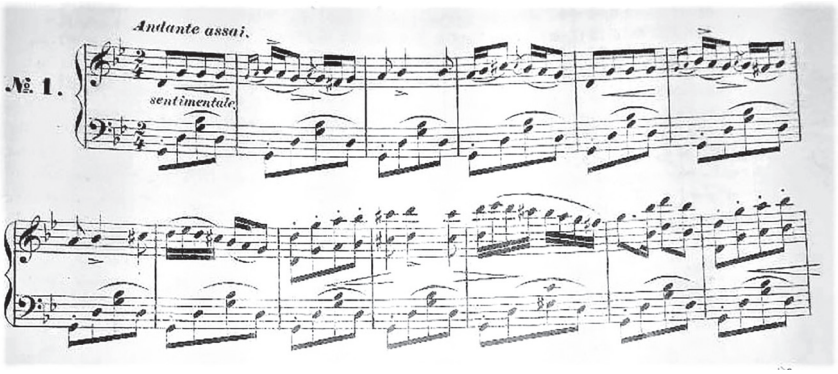
- a cahier of Romanian melodies for piano titled *L'Echo de la Valachie. Chansons populaires roumains* [etc.], H.F. Müller's Witwe, Wien (no year), published by Wachmann probably in 1849 (Aigner 2003: 33), with the mention: "Melodie nationale composé[e] par le feu Boyard Nicolas Filipesco" (Ex. 7);
- Guillaume Poor's album *Chants nationaux de tous les peuples étrangèrs pour le Piano* Op. 18, No. 1, p. 2 (Ciobanu 1976: 93);
- Ms. 492, 18v from the *George Breazul* Collection, Library of the Union of Composers, Bucharest (Ciobanu 1976: 93).

A *Horă* notated on page 16r with the dedication "Mademojselle Szafftichi de Bibesku" reveals to whom exactly the pieces were dedicated: primarily girls from aristocratic Bucharest families who were learning the piano and who would thereby be able to play their favourite repertoire at parties and soirées.

Wachmann had a number of pupils from the Bucharest élite, as shown by his accounting entries for the year 1848 (Ms. 5419, I, B.A.R.). He was piano tutor to the children of Prince Gheorghe Bibescu. To Eliza Bibescu he dedicated the piece *Les désires des belles* (Ms. R. 2233, B.A.R.), dated around 1844-48 (Constantinescu 1975: 90), and cahier IV *Les bords du Danube. Chansons et Danses Roumaines*, published in Vienna (Wessely and Büssing, c. 1858), after she got married (the dedication is to "Madame Elise de Philipesco née Princesse Bibesco"). Might the album have come into his possession *via* the Bibescu family? Might it have belonged to a relative of the musician's pupils, who gave it to their teacher as a gift?



Ex. 6. Wallaqwe all Fillipesku, *Ms. R. 2575, p. 10v, mm. 1-8.*



Ex. 7. *J. A. Wachmann,* L'Echo de la Valachie, *No. 1, mm. 1-13.*

The contents of Ms. R. 2575

Section A

1. The greater number of pieces are marked "walaqwe" (45 pieces, according to O. L. Cosma, 1972: 12). These are dance melodies ("hore") or transcriptions of songs. The melodies of the songs were notated without lyrics. Titles such as *Air walaqwe*, *Chanson Wallaqwe* point to the origin of the melodies. Also, we find references to Romanian boyars in the titles of pieces with an oriental-*lăutar* model colouring in the old style, such as the *Wallaqwe all Wledean* and *Wallaqwe all Fillipesku* (p. 10v). The authors of the songs were probably boyars.

2. Ecossaises are the second most frequent, followed by waltzes and other European society dances. European society dances make up approximately a third of the album's content. Besides the already mentioned ecossaises (*Ecossaise*, *Ecosse*) and waltzes (*Valtzer*, *Valtz ka Trumbitza de Poste*, p. 22v), we find an anglaise (*Anglousse*, p. 19r), a "kallamayka" (p. 20r), two marches (p. 23r and 23v, both accompanied by a "trio"), a "krakovianka", a polonaise (*Pollonaisse*, p.23v), and a quadrille (*Quadrille*, p. 22r).

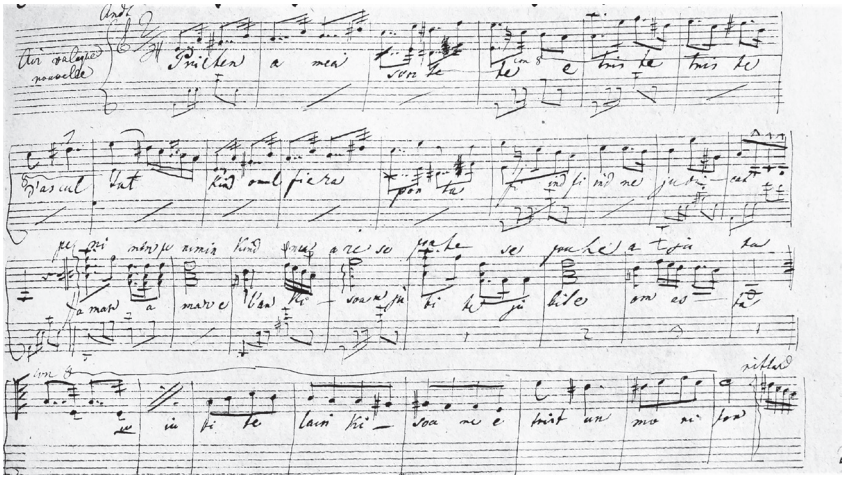
3. The third most frequent are pieces of Balkan-Oriental origin:

- five Greek pieces (*Air Andate Sanson Grece*, p.1v; *Otalepo ros neotis. Sanson Grece*, p. 2r, *Andante Chanson Grecque*, p. 2v; *Air qwe Greki*, p.2v and *Danse Grecqwe*, p. 3r);
- an Albanian song (*Kintika Arnautcek*, p. 3r);
- a dance titled *Szirbechte*, possibly of Serbian origin (p. 18v);
- a Turkish *pestref* (*Postreffe turqwe*, pp. 3v-6r).

Section B

Whereas *Section A* illustrates to a certain extent the élites' interest in the multi-ethnic repertoire, *Section B*, i.e. Wachmann's notes and additions, shows a channelling of the attention toward pieces of a specifically "Wallachian" nature, a development synchronous with the boyars' engagement in the national cause.

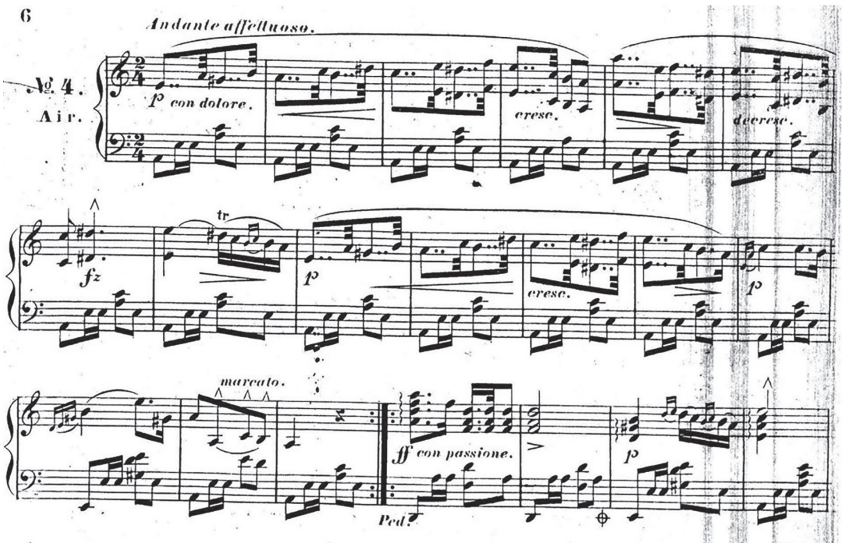
On page 25v, Johann Andreas Wachmann notates an *Air valaque nouvelle* (Ex. 8) with Romanian lyrics, an instrumental version of which he later published in *Bouquet de melodies valaques originales* (Vienna, H. F. Müller, no year), under the title *Air* (Ex. 9; Ciobanu 1978: 92).



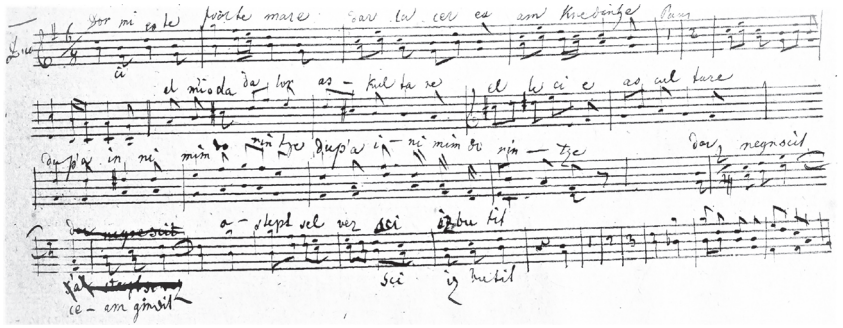
Ex. 8. Air valaque nouvelle, *Ms. R. 2575, p. 25v.*

The transcription *Gian* on p. 29v is a version of the *lăutari* ballad of Jian, a legendary haidouk or hero with supernatural powers, a melody Wachmann published in the aforementioned *Bouquet de mélodies valaques* as piece no. 12, with the subtitle *Chanson populaire du brigand Gian*. The melody reappears in *Annika Quadrille* Op. 53 by Johann Strauss Jr., which was performed by Strauss's orchestra in Bucharest on March 4th, 1848 (Aigner 2003: 35).

It is clear that after the cahier came into his possession, Wachmann used the blank pages for transcriptions, rough drafts and preparatory sketches of compositions he was working on. There are indications that some "Wallachian" melodies served the musician as outlines for stage compositions, namely for a "chorus" ("coro", p. 29r) and for "duets" ("duo", pp. 29r, 30r, 30v). Ex. 10 shows the sketch of the duet on p. 29r.



Ex. 9. *J. A. Wachmann, Air,* Bouquet de mélodies valaques originales, *No. 4.*



Ex. 10. *J. A. Wachmann, sketch of a stage duet, Ms. R. 2575, p. 29r.*

The corrector's interest in "national music"

In *Section A* there appear a number of pencil corrections to the older ink text. Who made them? Perhaps Wachmann. The corrections are to the "Wallachian" melodies. Here are a few examples: to the accompaniment to the song *Otchilor respunde[ți]* (p. 9v); to *Zaba ketzi tai mencat* (p. 8v), to the left of which appears the pencil note "gut" (German "good"); to the song *Bogati Drakulj* (p. 10r); to *Chanson Wallaqwe* (p. 11v); to *Hora* (p. 13r); to *Hora* at p. 18v the word "Moldave" is added in ink.

The fact that only the local melodies are corrected in pencil shows the direction of the corrector's interest. The attention to the Romanian pieces reveals a preoccupation in the "national music", which was taking shape ideologically in the 1840s, the period in which Wachmann prepared his aforementioned arrangements of Romanian folklore, published in Vienna. Also in the 1840s, Wachmann wrote "national music" for the theatre, for example *Michael the Brave at Călugăreni* to a libretto by Eliade Rădulescu, performed in 1848 (Constantinescu 1975: 91).

Conclusions

In terms of an analysis of musical "taste", the mixture of eastern and western in the cahiers demonstrates an openness to various types of music, thereby illustrating the *flexible taste* of the Phanariot and Moldo-Wallachian élites in the first decades of the 19th century. In the house music of the boyars can be discerned influences passed down from Constantinopolitan and Byzantine traditions, as well as a relative closeness to the music of the *lăutari*, who included Gypsies gifted at music, but which came from a lower social class. Inasmuch as the musicians and the public were ethnically diverse, the result somewhat resembles what Rudolf Brandl has called "supra-regional urban music" in the cities of the Ottoman Empire (Brandl 1997: 115). As a result of the structural particularities of society, as well as the perpetuation, to a certain extent, of the traditional way of life, there was a relationship of *inter-ethnicity* between musicians and listeners.

Multi-ethnic pieces can be found among favourites alongside ecossaises and waltzes, which shows the receptivity of the Moldo-Wallachian élites to both types of music. The cahiers thus illustrate preferences outside the "canon of taste" found among Western listeners (on the perception of the "Orient" in 18th-century opera as "Turkish style", and later as "style hongrois" and "gypsy style" in the work of Liszt, Brahms and others, see Scott 1998: 309-335).

Finally, the acceptance of ethnic musics alongside European musics shows that in the aesthetic code of the boyars there was room for both. "Musical taste" was not (yet) an indicator of social status, as it was to be for the European bourgeoisie, when the consumption of classical music became a marker of education and wealth (Preda-Schimek 2009: 100). An obvious openness to the music (and culture) of the West can be seen, however.

> At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the boyar class was, it is true, a new class that had altered its structure and mentality in accordance with the changes within Romanian society. . . . When the old regime collapsed [in 1821] and the question arose as to the organisation of the Romanian state on a new basis, the boyar class . . . was the new boyar class, having undergone the profound transformations of the Phanariot age, which had adapted to new demands, oriented toward modern life. Naturally, it revealed neither ethnic nor ideological purity. But as a whole, it gave expression to realities that characterised the Romanian society of the time. (Platon and Platon 1995: 89, 90)

In Bucharest and Jassy, the ethnic pluralism and intense immigration of the 19th century did not lead to segmentation of society into separate groups, each with its own music, but rather it shaped a composite musical culture, nourished by multiple sources. Diverse contributions accumulated over the course of time would later bear fruit in the Romanian classical composition, starting to develop from the last decades onwards. But let us see how this point was arrived at:

Not later than the 1830s, in search of a new identity, Romanians opted for the aesthetic norms and musical culture of the West. Analysis of other cahiers of dilettantes from the 1840s-50s (Ms. R. 6982, Mathilde Ignat; Ms. R. 2727, Paulina Orășanu/I; and Ms. R. 2578, Paulina Orășanu/II in Preda-Schimek, 2011: 443-5) shows that "Balkan-Oriental" pieces vanish from the albums of musical preferences. On the other hand, the cahiers show what had become "modern" by the middle of the century: European dances and "national" pieces with titles such as "Marsch National" (Ms. R. 2727, Paulina Orășanu/I, p. 1r) and "Quadrill-National" (Ms. R. 6982, Mathilde Ignat cahier, pp. 9r-12r).

It is therefore possible to trace after 1840 a more categorical metamorphosis in preferences, which is to say, an unequivocal orientation toward the western model on the part of musical amateurs. At the institutional level, new structures appeared, causing interest in "classical music" to be disseminated from the upper echelons of the social hierarchy to the broader strata of the cities, systematically encompassing the whole of the middle class. In the second half of the century, listening and playing "classical music" became a habit of not only the élites, but also the middle bourgeoisie, as well as a marker of modernity.

It is an accepted fact that the dynamism of ethnic communities to a large extent contributed to the modernisation of Romanian society:

> The importing of modernity as an institutional, social, cultural model occurred not only *via* adoption and imitation on the part of the Moldo-Wallachia aristocracy, but also because multi-ethnic co-existence and multiculturalism in Bucharest became permanent. Without this co-existence, Bucharest would not have gained the features of a cosmopolitan, European city. (Majuru 1999: 10)

The triumph of the bourgeoisie meant the end of the old world, of the boyar class, which dissolved itself in the ad hoc assembly of 1857. In Bucharest and Jassy, cities that bore a Levantine imprint inherited from the past, but were firmly oriented toward the West, the aristocracy was to demonstrate its adaptability yet again and was to continue, with elegance and charm, to play host to musical social occasions. The "new taste" had become the "good taste" of high culture by the last quarter of the century.

References

Aigner, Thomas
2003 "Einige Bemerkungen zu den 'walachischen' Kompositionen von Johann Strauss (Sohn)", in *Die Fledermaus*, Wiener Instituts für Strauss-Forschung, Mitteilungen 18-19 (Tutzing: Hans Schneider), 33-41.

Ballstaedt, Andreas and Tobias Widmaier
1989 *Salonmusik. Zur Geschichte und Funktion einer bürgerlichen Musikpraxis* (Stuttgart, Wiesbaden: Steiner Verlag).

Boia, Lucian
2013 [2012] *De ce este România altfel?* [Why is Romania Different?], 2nd edition (Bucharest: Humanitas).

Brandl, Rudolf M.
1997 "Türkische, armenische, griechische und aromunische Hochzeiten in Reiseberichten des XVIII. und XIX. Jahrhunderts", in *Contexts of Musicology. Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Jan Steszewski*, vol. 1, ed. Maciej Jablonski et al. (Poznan: Ars Nova).

Breazul, George
1977 "Zu Mozarts Zweihundertjahrfeier", in *Pagini din istoria muzicii*

românești [Pages from Romanian Music History], vol. 4 (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală).

Burada, Teodor T.
1876 [1974] "Despre întrebuințarea musicei în unele obiceiuri vechi ale poporului român" [About the Use of Music in Some Old Customs of the Romanian People], *Almanah musical*, 2 (Jassy), 51-79, in Teodor T. Burada, *Opere*, ed. Viorel Cosma, vol. 1, part 1 (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală), 35-137.

Caproșu, Ioan and Ungureanu Mihai Răzvan (eds.)
1997 *Documente statistice privitoare la orașul Iași* [Statistical Documents on the City of Iași], vol. I, II (Jassy: Editura Universității Alexandru Ioan Cuza).

Ciobanu, Gheorghe
1976 *Culegeri de folclor și cîntece de lume* [Collections of Folk Tunes and Worldy Songs] (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală).
1978 *Muzică instrumentală, vocală și psaltică din secolele XVI-XIX* [Instrumental, Vocal and Psaltic Music from the 16th to the 19th Centuries] (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală).

Colescu, L.
1905 *Recensământul general al populației românești* [General Census of the Romanian Population] (Bucharest).

Constantinescu, Radu
1975 *Wachmann* (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală).

Cosma, Octavian Lazăr
1972 "Codex moldovenesc din 1824" [Moldavian Codex from 1924], *Muzica*, 22/5, 234 (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală), 12-15.

Demidov, Anatole de
1854 *Voyage dans la Russie méridionale et la Crimée par la Hongrie, la Valachie et la Moldavie* (Paris: Bourdin).

Djuvara, Neagu
2006 [1989] *Între Orient și Occident: Țările române la începutul epocii moderne* [Between East and West: Romanian Countries at the Beginning of the Modern Era] (Bucharest: Humanitas).

Galinescu, Gavriil
1941 "Muzica în Moldova" [Music in Moldavia], in *Muzica românească de azi* [Romanian Music Today] (Bucharest), 671-728.

Giurescu, Constantin C.
1972 *Contribuțiuni la studiul originilor și dezvoltării burgheziei române până la 1848* [Contributions to the Study of the Origins and Development of the Romanian Bourgeoisie until 1848] (Bucharest: Editura Științifică).

Habermas, Jürgen
1962 *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit. Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (*Neuwied*, Berlin: Luchterhand).

Ioncioaia, Florea
1997 "Das Bild Europas in den rumänischen Fürstentümern (1800-1830)", in *Die Rumänen und Europa vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Harald Heppner (Wien: Böhlau), 106-131.

Iordachi, Constantin
2019 "Liberalism, Constitutional Nationalism, and Minorities: The Making of Romanian Citizenship, c. 1750-1918", in *Balkan Studies Library*, vol. 25 (Leiden, Boston: Brill).

Iorga, Nicolae
1981 *Istoria românilor prin călători* [History of Romanians by Travellers] (Bucharest: Editura Eminescu).

Jungmann, Irmgard
2008 *Sozialgeschichte der klassischen Musik. Bildungsbürgerliche Musikanschauung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Metzler und Peschel).

Litschauer, Walburga and Helmut Deutsch
2003 [1995] "Ecossaise", in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Ludwig Finscher, vol. 2 (Kassel, Basel, etc.: Bärenreiter und Metzler).

Majuru, Adrian
1999 "Modernitate vs. multiculturalitate în București epocii moderne (1848-1940)" [Modernity vs. Multiculturalism in Bucharest of the Modern

Era (1848-1940)], *Altera*, 12/5, http://www.altera.adatbank.transindex.ro/?lid=12, accessed on February 10th, 2019.
2003 *Bucureștii mahalalelor sau periferia ca mod de existență* [Bucharest of the *Mahala* or the Periphery as a Way of Existance] (Bucharest: Compania).

Metz, Franz
1999 *Eine Reise in den Orient. Johann Strauß und seine Konzerte im Banat, in Siebenbürgen und der Walachei* (Bucharest: ADZ Verlag; Hechingen: Edition Musik Südost).

Negruți, Ecaterina
1981 "Situația demografică a Moldovei în secolul al XIX-lea" [Demographic Situation of Moldavia in the 19th Century], *Revista de istorie* [Magazine of History], 2, 243-244.
1997 *Structura demografică a orașelor și târgurilor din Moldova 1800-1859* [Demographic Structure of cities and markets in Moldavia] (Jassy: Fundația Academică A. D. Xenopol).

Olteanu, Radu
2002 *Bucureștii în date și întâmplări* [Bucharest in Dates and Happenings] (Bucharest: Paideia).

Petrat, Nicolai
1986 *Hausmusik des Biedermeier im Blickpunkt der zeitgenössischen Fachpresse (1815-1848)* (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung Hand Dieter Wagner).

Platon, Gheorghe and Alexandru-Florin Platon
1995 *Boierimea din Moldova în secolul al XIX-lea. Context European, evoluție socială și politică (Date statistice și observații istorice)* [Boyars from Moldova in the 19th Century. European Context, Social and Political Development (Statistical Data and Historical Observations)] (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române).

Preda-Schimek, Haiganuș
2009 "Zwischen Orient und Okzident: zur Heterogenitat der Musikpflege in moldowalachischen Salons um 1830", in *Musicologica Austriaca. Jahresschrift der Österreichischen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft*, 28, eds. Barbara Boisits and Cornelia Szabo-Knotik (Wien: Praesens), 89-101.
2011 "Kulturtransfer in moldo-walachischen Salons: eine Untersuchung

handschriftlicher Musikalben aus der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts", in *Musik-Stadt. Traditionen und Perspektiven urbaner Musikkulturen*, eds. Katrin Stöck and Stefan Keym (Leipzig: Gudrun Schroder), 443-456.
2017 "Modelling the Public's Taste: Local Habits, Ethnic Pluralism and European Music in Bucharest (1821-1862)", *Nineteenth Century Music Review*, 14, Special Issue 3, December (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 367-389.

Recordon, Francois
1821 *Lettres sur la Valachie ou Observations sur cette province et ses habitants, écrites de 1815 à 1821, avec la relation des derniers événemens* (sic) *qui y ont lieu* (Paris: Lecointe et Durey).

Scott, Derek B.
1998 "Orientalism and Musical Style", *The Musical Quarterly*, 2/82 (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 309-335.

Vintilă-Ghițulescu, Constanța
2006 *Focul amorului. Despre dragoste și sexualitate în societatea românească, 1750-1830* [The Fire of Love. About Love and Sexuality in Romanian Society, 1750-1830] (Bucharest: Humanitas).