

## **Music and Social Life in the Romanian Society of the Enlightenment**

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### **Abstract**

The majority of the Romanian intellectual society considered music a valuable and useful instrument for education and acknowledged it as favorable for the development and improvement of the individual. Music stopped being a mere auxiliary to religion, and musical education began to cut off from moral education, acquiring a strictly esthetic basis. The instruments (violas, violins, wire strings for these, fine bows, “claviers”, “fortepianos”, guitars) were acquired from abroad, brought by merchants from Vienna, Leipzig, Pest, Neukirchen. Though somewhat delayed in comparison with the West, the progressively “enlightening” Romanian society gradually integrated into the pace of the European development. Boyars and merchants were concerned with, and engaged in the new innovating flux, which gave rise not only to social homogenization in terms of wealth, but also a spiritual one of those who shared the same cultural aspirations and musical tastes.

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The 18<sup>th</sup> century was for Romanian culture an age of restructuring and individualization in all fields of creation, and also the time of the influence of the Enlightenment, which introduced, in the field of *music* as well, similar to other arts, a new concept. From then on Romanian society acknowledged as well that music had a direct effect on the formation of human character and that it could change it for the better, playing a part in its spiritual elevation. This belief was indeed important in an age which concerned itself with the renewal of morals, manners, and tastes, and the spreading of certain ethic and esthetic norms. The great majority of the illuminated minds of Romanian intellectual society considered music a valuable and useful instrument for education and recognized it as favorable for the development and improvement of

the individual. This conviction definitely explains the scope and dynamism of educational musical activities employed also in Romanian society from this point onward, as music was considered an essential and necessary requisite of a cultivated person.<sup>1</sup>

Naturally, the acceptance of this new approach to the function of music in society cannot be detached from more general social changes, revealed by the analysis of contemporary sources. Thus, the appearance and development of the new music, gradually freed from the traditional music of the Orthodox Church, can only be explained by the very close connection with other elements of social life. For the enlightened minds of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, music stopped being a mere auxiliary to religion, and musical education began to separate from moral education, acquiring a strictly esthetic basis.

Some of the factors which could explain the spreading of new music in Romanian society are the mobility of social structures, certain changes of the political regime, the secularization of thinking and culture, associated with the modernization of everyday life<sup>2</sup> and the strengthening relations with Europe.

First of all, economical development gave birth to a new social hierarchy in which the Transylvanian nobility and the boyars of Valachia and Moldavia only represented to a very small degree the old landowning aristocracy. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century the nobility of Transylvania and the Romanian principalities (the boyars) changed its character; the title of nobility stopped being exclusively a title of a landowner, becoming rather a public function which meant a possibility of acquiring wealth and influence. The new nobility of the Romanian Principalities (the boyars) and Transylvania, recruited from people close to the rulers, or among the devoted collaborators of the Vienna Court, and completed with rich merchants having close ties with several great European cities, gave birth to a new world, which thought and felt differently.

On a political level the peace treaty of Karlowitz (1699) consecrated the Habsburg dominance in Transylvania and strengthened the Turkish domination over Moldavia and Valachia. By its new international status, Transylvania was then integrated not only into the institutional structure of the Austrian state, but also in the Western

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<sup>1</sup> Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *Hronicul muzicii românești* (Chronicle of Romanian music), I., Bucharest, 1973, 349-438.

<sup>2</sup> Avram Andea, "Everyday Life in Romanian Society in the Century of the Enlightenment. Tendencies of Modernization", in *Enlightenment and Romanian Society*, Cluj-Napoca, 1980, 91-106.

rhythm of development. At the same time the Romanian Principalities had to face the installation of the Turkish–phanariote political regime and thus the increasing easternization of Romanian society. The regulations of the peace treaties of Passarowitz (1718) and Beograd (1739) put the Banat area definitively and the Oltenia region for a period under Habsburg Imperial domination, sharing the fate of the Transylvanian Principality. The same was to happen with the Bucovina region after 1775.

The new political framework with its tendencies towards absolutism allowed the achievement of certain structural reforms which were to place an elite strata of functionaries in the forefront of public life, devoted to the central power and often ennobled simply for personal skills and merits.<sup>1</sup>

These new people, all educated, were directly and firmly involved in the reformation of the society, including the remodeling of human personality on the basis of rational precepts. Believing in the power and virtues of education, and being convinced that success depended on man's preliminary formation, the representatives of the Enlightenment as agents of reformed absolutism raised the problem of education to the level of state policy. Many of them being receptive to music, considered it a part of general education, and included it as a subject of study in educational curricula, or enjoyed it in concerts for family or official events. Moreover, musical culture, as well as dancing, became a socially distinctive element, in front of all good manners to be learnt in order to be practiced in high society.

The taste for the new secular music and its transmission in society was part of a more general movement of re-founding the entire culture upon rational grounds in the spirit of the Enlightenment. The learned men of the time, encyclopedic minds *par excellence*, understood that music should be subjected to the same critical approach and the same general rules applied for any other field of creation, and this

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<sup>1</sup> Șerban Papacostea, "La grande charte de Constantin Mavrocordato (1741) et les réformes en Valachie et en Moldavie", in *L'Epoque phanariote*, Symposium 21-25 octobre 1970, Thessaloniki, 1974, 372-373; Avram Andea, "Raționalizarea și modernizarea administrației Țărilor Române în epoca Luminilor în context European" (The rationalization and modernization of administration in the Romanian Principalities during the Enlightenment in a European context), in *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie din Cluj* (Annual of the History and Archeology Institute, Cluj), XXXX (1989): 157-170.

understanding resulted in the appearance of a new secular art in the Romanian Principalities, namely *musical classicism*.<sup>1</sup>

This result, observed around 1800, truly responded to a profound transformation of cultural and spiritual conditions and also to the role played by the protectorate of the Prince and the boyars in the Principalities, or of the Governor, the nobles, and the cities in Transylvania. To this, one must add the personality of artists who were no longer men of the church, thus opening up the way for a new musical esthetics.<sup>2</sup>

The development of new social structures connected to public life, as it appears in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, especially at the princely court but also in greater cities and market towns, attracted the amplification of social life. The old strata of boyars and landowner nobility also settled down in towns, contributing to, and at the same time benefiting from, a developing urban culture which led to new spiritual needs as well as also musical ones.

After a while the traditional music of fiddlers and minstrels at noble courts and mansions was conceded, as the interest in a new, learned and European music was growing, which became a permanent accompaniment of the pleasures of spare time. The new receptivity was also followed by a new attitude toward musicians, who gradually became not be ignored, as the boyars and noblemen themselves began to be concerned about a proper musical education, including also musical performance, of their own offspring, mostly the girls.

Family visits, feasts on the occasion of family anniversaries, or the spending of spare time in general were more and more pervaded by musical pleasures. Dancing and instrumental music was associated with other social preoccupations, such as card games, balls, etc. Thus, foreign musical performers, masters of music and dance were brought from German and French cities, everything being dominated by a fashion which significantly influenced the formation of musical tastes.

This new musical development, embraced and promoted by nobles and boyars as well as by wealthy merchants and artisans, was also favored in the time by the increasing relations with the great centers of European trade, such as, among others, Venice, Trieste, Vienna, Leipzig,

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<sup>1</sup> Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *Hronicul muzicii românești*.

<sup>2</sup> R. Ghircoiașu, "Elemente luministe în cultura muzicală românească din epoca Școlii Ardelene" (Elements of the Enlightenment in Romanian musical culture in the time of the Transylvanian School), in *Lucrări de muzicologie*, VI (1970): 105-112.

Breslau, or Lemberg.<sup>1</sup> Although not having very strong trade relations with the Romanian Principalities, Paris, besides Vienna, had a decisive role in the transmission and development of the taste for music and dance in Romanian society.

Regardless of the place and role that these factors had in strengthening the new musical fashion and sense of the time, it is important that each and every one of these contributed to the success of the new art. The degree of interest in music and musical education can be perceived from the evidence of narrative and documentary sources, which point to: increased concern with music in schools, and especially in private education; the frequent mentioning of instruments and musical scores in the account books and registers of merchants, or in wills and inventories of inheritance; increasing private correspondence on topics of music and dance; increasing number of printed and manuscript books on music, and also the first studies on musicology in the gazettes of that time; the demand for, and active presence of, performing musicians and musical consorts at the princely courts of Bucharest and Iași, or supported by the town magistrates of Transylvania; succession of public or private balls where the new music and the European dances mingled with local and traditional ones; the appearance of the first public concerts; and finally, the first musical reunions. Through this progress in strengthening and cultivating the art of sounds in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century music gained a new social function, disrupted from the church, dynamic and strongly connected to the secular strata of the society.<sup>2</sup>

In order to illustrate the interest of that time in musical education, I will present, among others, certain significant details from the correspondence of two merchants from the town of Sibiu: Hagi Constantin Pop, originally coming from the Oltenia region (in Valachia) and Nicolae Paciura, born in Castoria, Greece. These merchants, involved in Central and South-Eastern European trade, were at the same time

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<sup>1</sup> Andrei Oțetea, *Pătrunderea comerțului românesc în circuitul internațional (în perioada de trecere de la feudalism la capitalism)* (The penetration of Romanian trade into the international trade circuit (in the period of transition from feudalism to capitalism), Bucharest, 1977.

<sup>2</sup> Fernanda Foni, "Apariția formelor instrumentale și de cameră în arta muzicală românească" (The appearance of instrumental and chamber forms in the Romanian art of music), in *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei IX* (1962), no. 2, 361-378.

mediators of boyar and merchant families from Valachia who wanted to send their children to study in Sibiu or Vienna.

The correspondence of the court official Constantin Varlaam, a man who was familiar with Russia and conquered by the new spirit of the time, with the merchant Hagi Constantin Pop from the years 1803-1806, reveals that Varlaam had his daughter Marița or Mimi at the Monastery of Ursuline Nuns in Sibiu since 1802 in order to study German, French, “clavier and dances”. The same letters also reveal that the sons of the court official Petrache and of the boyar Roșca were also studying in Sibiu together with the young girl Mimi.

The letters written in February 1805 and March 1806 by the same boyar Constantin Varlaam are significant regarding his mentality and attitude toward music. In these, being dissatisfied with his daughter’s progress in learning, especially in the French language, wrote to the merchant from Sibiu: “it is known to you that all our care is about the fashionable things, that is, the French language, the clavier, and all the rest”, asking him to watch over his daughter that “all her diligence should be placed in the French language and the clavier”, in order that she would remain “as the praise of the school here in Valachia; seeing how well educated she is to urge other boyars to send their daughters there as well.”<sup>1</sup>

The boyar Constantin Otetelișanu also had his daughter at the cloister or monastery in Sibiu in 1807, together with his wife’s brother, one of the sons of the court official Argetoianu. In the same monastery in Sibiu the “mater” Anghelina taught in 1808 the two nieces of the court official Pană Costescu, Marghiolița and Elenco, who remained in Sibiu despite the high prices caused by the Napoleonic wars until 1813.<sup>2</sup>

Somewhat later, on December 31, 1809, Dimitrie Nicolau Mimi wrote from Oltenia to Hagi Constantin Pop in Sibiu the following: “Master Gheorghică Drugănescu, the administrator of this county, needs a teacher, or at least a governess, who has the knowledge and skills to play the clavier, wanting to keep him in his house to teach his Miss ... play the clavier ... You should also hire him by the year, giving him up to 500 tl. a year ... And, as for the accommodation, he would stay in the master’s house, with no expense.”<sup>3</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know the answer to

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<sup>1</sup> N. Iorga, “Contribuții la istoria învățământului în țară și în străinătate” (Contributions to the history of learning in the country and abroad), in *Analele Academiei Române*, Mem. Sect. lit., XXIX (1906): 35-37.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 40-41.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 34.

this letter, that is, if the merchant from Sibiu was able to find and hire the music teacher that the official from Oltenia needed for his daughter.

The monastery in Sibiu housed or at least instructed by its nuns other offspring of boyars and merchants from Valachia, such as the protégé of the boyaresse Marioara Roset, Frusinica in 1812, or the son of the baroness of Montesquieu, probably an immigrant of the French Revolution.<sup>1</sup>

At this time, as one can find in a letter of Nicolae Dimitrie Paciura dated October 8, 1812, Elenco, the sister of the merchant Constantin Ștefanopol from Bucharest, studied at the same monastery, having the nun Angela as a teacher.<sup>2</sup> The same merchant from Sibiu, who wrote Romanian in Greek letters, offered three weeks later to buy for Elenco the “fascicles”, that is, the musical scores of Grezen, required for the clavier, noting among others that she had already studied Schusterken.<sup>3</sup> In the fall of the same year 1812, Constantin Ștefanopol tried to persuade master Zither from Sibiu, with the mediation of Paciura, to accept a young man, probably also from Bucharest, initiating him in the secrets of music and teaching him the art of performance.<sup>4</sup>

The merchant from Râmnicu Vâlcea, Ioan Băluță, also had his daughter Smărăndița at the cloister in Sibiu in the year 1818, writing to Păuna, the wife of Hagi Constantin Pop about the payment of the “French and clavier teacher”, insisting and pointing out that “it would be a shame that Smărăndica should not learn to play the clavier ... that she might not lose her inclination ... Find her I pray a better teacher ... Pray, mistress Hagico, to be so kind to order that a teacher must be found and hired to teach the child dances as well, and to hire him for three months, but pray hire her a teacher at once who could teach her three or four dances ... I pray she started learning the clavier and dances”.<sup>5</sup>

From the correspondence of Hagi Constantin Pop we also find out that in 1822 the boyar from Oltenia, Nicolae Glogoveanu, had his son Costache studying at the school of masters Trautmann and Grezen in

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Dumitru Limona, *Catalogul documentelor referitoare la viața economică a Țărilor Române în sec. XVII-XIX. Documente din Arhivele Statului Sibiu*. (Catalogue of the documents referring to the economic life of the Romanian Principalities in the 17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Documents from the State Archives in Sibiu), I., Bucharest, 1966, 427.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 439.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 455.

<sup>5</sup> N. Iorga, “Contribuții...”, 42.

Sibiu.<sup>1</sup> Nicolae Brăiloiu from Craiova sent his two sons to the same masters in the fall of the same year.<sup>2</sup> The father wrote on January 13, 1823 to Hagi Constantin Pop “to give the money from the selling of the swine for the expenses of the children” and to buy them, among other things, “a good violin”.<sup>3</sup> The mother, Zoïța Brăiloiu, wrote about Costache, one of the two brothers on March 28, 1823, to Sibiu for a “clavier-meister teacher”. She also made dependent the further stay of her son at the school on finding a French teacher besides the Greek one. The boyar’s mother was extremely willing to see her offspring study French besides the clavier and Greek, confessing with a certain pose that lacking these skills “I am ashamed to say that I had my children study in a European school, and it is also a shame to spend so much!”.<sup>4</sup>

Similar, if not greater aspirations toward the Sibiu school existed also in the case of other boyars and merchants from Valachian towns and marketplaces. Thus, the official Polizache Dimitriu from Bucharest, a boyar who had commercial business with Vienna and who had his daughter Marghiolița at the Ursuline nunnery in Sibiu for schooling<sup>5</sup>, being unsatisfied with the teachers from Sibiu, asked Nicolae Dimitrie Paciura in a letter to send his son Dumitrache to study in Vienna. His request was accomplished, the merchant from Sibiu wrote in a letter dated September 22, 1813, sent to Bucharest, that Dimitriu’s son was sent to Vienna by a friend, Ștefan Chiriac Vardaca, while the daughter Marghiolița was moved from the monastery to Madam Rosenfeld for the same fee.<sup>6</sup>

The same interest and concern with musical education we find in Moldavia as well, where “the French language”, the “clavier”, and the “dances” also occupied a central place in the education of boyars’ daughters. Many “demoiselles” from Iași had their teachers brought from abroad, as is also proved by the contract signed in October 1810, in Paris, between the high official Gheorghe Catargi and Marie Lachapelle Labouloy. She agreed to teach the daughter of the boyar for six years “the French language and writing, music, drawing, and other skills which are part of a demoiselle’s education ... to form her heart and spirit, and finally, to inspire her all the moral principles and the taste of social

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 46-47.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 44-46.

<sup>5</sup> Dumitru Limona, *Catalogul documentelor...*, I., 506-507; II., 29 and 147.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. II., 175-176.



conventions”.<sup>1</sup> A similar contract was signed between Scarlat Calimah, Prince of Moldavia, and Madame de Belleville, who was to deal, among others, with the education of the princesses.<sup>2</sup> Also in Iași, the financial registers of the house of the high official Mihalache Sturza from the years 1818-1819 contain the costs of the repair of the piano and the payment of Mistress Safta’s clavier teacher.<sup>3</sup>

At this time the taste for piano music in Moldavia was also noted in 1821 by the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* published in Leipzig that in Moldavian society “the piano was studied in almost every middle-class home”. The English traveler William Wilkinson had a similar observation in the same year in his travel diary *Tableau historique, géographique et politique de la Moldavie et de la Valachie*, where he wrote about the wives of Romanian boyars that “they love the German kind of music and many of them play the piano”.<sup>4</sup>

Undoubtedly, the judgments of strangers are not exaggerated and seem to match the reality, revealing the degree of interest in, and taste for, European instrumental music in Romanian society. This interest started from the Princely court; the concern of the Princes to secure a complex education of the young princes and princesses, in harmony with the European fashion of the time gradually spread to the great boyar families, and was finally imitated also by the middle-class, especially the wealthy merchant families. These wanted to compete with the boyars in the Principalities and the nobility in Transylvania in offering a selected education to their children, considering music one of the elements of social homogenization. Obviously, the merchants of the time considered musical education not as a privilege of an aristocratic elite but as a spiritual possession accessible to the wealthy and the educated, those only able to comprehend the secrets of the language of music.

Thus, musical education did not cease to be an element of social distinction, but it became – and this is important to note – a possession impinged by the great merchant and artisan families in their aspirations to equal, at least in this field, the possessors of the so much desired feudal

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<sup>1</sup> Hurmuzaki-Iorga, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor* (Documents on the history of the Romanians), X. (1763-1844), Bucharest, 1897, 554.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 555-556.

<sup>3</sup> Gh. Ungureanu, “Însemnări pe marginea unui manuscris cuprinzând cheltuielile unei case boierești din Iași în anii 1818-1819” (Marginal notes for a manuscript containing the expenses of a boyar’s house in Iași in the years 1818-1819), in *Studii și articole de istorie*, II(1957): 370.

<sup>4</sup> See Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *Hronicul muzicii românești*.

privileges. However, beyond these possible interpretations, the examples from the sources of the time seem to be conclusive enough to illustrate the circulation and evolution of musical tastes and options in a European and modernized direction at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The same tendencies and rhythms of the development of musical life in Romanian society can be observed also in the effort to acquire musical instruments, without which the new music could not have gained ground. In this field as well it was the merchants who mediated the way for the instruments to reach the musicians, those who gave life to the art of sounds, shaping the attitude and sensitivity of music lovers.

As the new music was closely linked to instruments, these were acquired in different ways, depending on their nature, either from abroad by merchants, or from domestic masters. Of these, the documents have preserved the name of Pambuc Armeanul, to whom the Moldavian Prince Grigore Ghica issued a charter for “his craftsmanship, knowing how to make strings”.<sup>1</sup>

The instruments which were not made in the country, such as different types of violas, violins, wire strings for these, fine bows, “claviers” and “fortepianos”, even certain types of guitars, were acquired from abroad, brought by merchants from the cities of Vienna, Leipzig, Pest, Neukirchen, etc. and sold as “Viennese or Lipsian merchandise”.

Thus, the account books of the Ioan Marcu commercial house in Sibiu noted that it handed over to the shop of Ianache Marcu on August 21, 1783 diverse “Viennese merchandise” for an amount of 583,42 Rhine florins, among which also a dozen of violas for an amount of 16 florins.<sup>2</sup> Eight years later, on August 18, 1791, the same commercial house continued to sell to the merchant Petre Pascali from Sibiu six small violas for a price of 2,06 Rhine florins.<sup>3</sup> A year later, on August 20, 1792, the account books of the same commercial house listed among the “Viennese” merchandise sent to Băluță Nica Teișanu in Râmnicu Vâlcea two dozen violas for 19 Rhine florins a dozen.<sup>4</sup> The same day the register lists several violas among the goods sent to Vlăduț Meitani from

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<sup>1</sup> N. Iorga, *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor. VI. Cărți domnești, zapise și răvașe* (Studies and documents on the history of the Romanians. VI. Princely registers, written evidence and notes), Bucharest, 1904, 448.

<sup>2</sup> Dumitru Limona, *Catalogul documentelor...*, I., 65.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 138.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 162.

Râmnic,<sup>1</sup> a sign that string instruments were popular in Oltenia, as boyar and merchant families were concerned to secure their offsprings' musical education.

Beside musical instruments, the accessories were also sought, such as wire strings and bows. Most often these were bought by merchants and sold under the same name of "Viennese merchandise", as the example of the merchant Gheorghe Mărgărit shows, who received several wire strings from the Ioan Marcu commercial house in Sibiu on August 20, 1793.<sup>2</sup> This type of merchandise was mainly required around certain special events of the year, like carnivals, where the street show was always accompanied by music.

We have most interesting information regarding such a request for violin strings for a carnival in the correspondence of the merchant from Sibiu, Manicati Safranu with Polizache Dimitriu from Vienna, who was asked on December 17, 1796 to send to Sibiu violin strings for a musician.<sup>3</sup> The request was repeated on December 24, the same year, when the Viennese merchant Panaiotache Constand Hatia was asked to urge the sending of the strings, about which we find out again in a letter from January 17, 1797 to have been sent from Vienna with a mail coach.<sup>4</sup>

The same kind of merchandise required by the lovers of instrumental music can be found in the commercial correspondence of Anastasie Persu, merchant from Braşov. He notes in his account book that he bought, on April 16, 1803, nothing less than a hundred dozen viola strings for 16 florins a hundred, and 116 bunches of wire strings for 15 silvers a bunch.<sup>5</sup> The notes of the same merchant also reveal that he bought several dozen violas, dozens of wire strings and fine bows from Friedrich Jeger from Neukirchen at the market in Leipzig.<sup>6</sup> A number of these bows was also sent by the merchant Anastase Persu from Braşov to Rusciuc, south of the Danube, on June 6, 1805. A part of these was placed on trust to Ahmet Aga in Anadol and to Dimitrie Constantin in Constantinople,<sup>7</sup> as evidence that the new musical preoccupations had

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 183.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 218.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 230.

<sup>5</sup> Elena Limona, Dumitru Limona, *Catalogul documentelor greceşti din Arhivele Statului Braşov* (The catalogue of Greek documents in the State Archives in Braşov), II., Bucharest, 1958, 280.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 282.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 302-304.

found their way to supporters in the Ottoman Empire as well, their needs being largely satisfied also by the merchants of Sibiu and Braşov.

The same kind of musical goods, that is, dozens of viola and wire strings were commercialized by the above mentioned merchant from Braşov in the years 1810-1811, invoiced as merchandise bought at the market in Pest for his associates, the merchants Luca Damu and Grecu Leca from Braşov, and Nicolae Ion Zapanioti from Bucharest.<sup>1</sup>

The fashionable instrument of the time, the *piano*, also played a special role in the preoccupations with musical education in the Romanian Principalities. This was usually also bought from Viennese craftsmen, the city well known in this region as well for its thriving musical life. The Sibirian merchant Nicolae Dimitrie Paciura wrote on October 9, 1812 to Nica Vasiliu in Vienna about certain items for shopping, among which a “fortepiano” was also mentioned.<sup>2</sup> Paciura asked the same Viennese merchant on November 9, 1812 to send, besides the furniture, the “notes for the fortepiano” (i.e. the scores).<sup>3</sup> The problem of the piano had already been solved by December 24, 1812, when Nicolae Dimitrie Paciura wrote to Nica Vasiliu, from Sibiu to Vienna, that he received the “fortepiano” for his daughters in a good condition, and thanked on their behalf, especially Sofia’s, who was to start learning to play the piano for the first time.<sup>4</sup> Thus, here we find ourselves in front of a merchant family’s concern – that of Nicolae Dimitrie Paciura from Sibiu – to secure its young daughters’ musical education similar to the requirements of the great families of the time. This was even despite the financial difficulties he had to face because of the Napoleonic wars.

The same concerns and efforts of being in fashion with the musical times, we find in Bucharest as well. Here, a letter of Nicolae Dimitrie Paciura addressed to Andrei Eliad and the company in Bucharest on March 1, 1813 reveals that the latter had not been satisfied with the “clavier” sent by the Manicati merchants in Sibiu. Paciura, in order to please Eliad, proposed him an exchange with another “clavier”, which he sent also to Bucharest.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, it is not known how the matter was solved, but it is significant nonetheless that pianos enjoyed a great

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 306-308 and 312-314.

<sup>2</sup> Dumitru Limona, *Catalogul documentelor...*, I., 429-430.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 444-445.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 472.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. II. 13.

value in Bucharest also, just as in the Transylvanian towns of Sibiu and Braşov, or in Iaşi.

The commercial correspondence on matters of musical instruments can be illustrated at this time by new examples of requests and orders of such instruments. Thus, a letter of the merchant Nicolae Dimitrie Paciura addressed to the officials Emanuil from Căineni and Nicolae Treznea from Bucharest on December 4, 1813 reveals that the merchant from Sibiu sent over the Carpathians, beside books, also medical instruments and various jewelry, and a pack of guitars.<sup>1</sup> The same merchant, a few years later, on April 10, 1822, noted in his account book that he had received a pack of violas from Gheorghe Furcă in Vienna, which he forwarded to Dimitrie Belu to Braşov.<sup>2</sup>

All these examples, which are far from exhausting the series of merchants involved in trade with musical instruments, reveal a significant interest for these articles sought just as much in Transylvanian towns, as in Valachian and Moldavian ones. It can be averred that merchants had a great role in supporting the new movement of musical education, often offering their own example of instructing their offsprings in the fashion of the time, and to promote the so-called “home music”. This was a secular, instrumental music, which had already been cultivated and tasted for some time in Western Europe, and which was also supported here by wealthy boyars and merchants, receptive to the new cultural trends.

The spreading of bow instruments, that is, of violas and violins, brought about the formation of the first *orchestral groups*, and the popularity of the *piano* meant first of all the abandonment of the *organ*, which remained therefore the primary instrument of the church. It was a sign that people here could also enjoy the pleasures and beauties of the new music not only on feasts or balls, but also as a spiritual delight in an intimate family circle. Gradually, more and more boyar and merchant families who thought highly of themselves understood that they had to cultivate European music, and thus the new instrumental music and polyphonic technique started to gain ground here as well.

The same kind of interest in the new music can be attested by documents from inventories written on the occasion of deaths. For example, the inventory taken after the death of Gheorghe Lazăr lists a violin<sup>3</sup>, with which the Romanian scholar presumably spent his spare time. The same instrument, a “venerated violin with a bow” (*skrzypce*

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid. II. 273-275.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. II. 411.

<sup>3</sup> Gh. Bogdan-Diucă, *Gheorghe Lazăr*, Bucharest, 1924, 162.

*fornirowane z smyczkiem*), is listed among clothing, books, and furniture in the inventory taken after the death of Ion Budai Deleanu in Lemberg<sup>1</sup>, as evidence that the Romanian scholar loved music.

The correspondence on topics of music also has its own importance in reconstructing and grasping the interest in, and practice of, learned music in Romanian society at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The letter of Moise Nicoară addressed on December 5-8, 1810 to Petru Maior recounts, beside the description of the journey from Baden to Bucharest, the sender's meeting with the scholar Radu Tempea from Braşov, characterized as "a nice man, a music lover like myself".<sup>2</sup> Thus both Moise Nicoară and Radu Tempea cared for music, being able to appreciate its beauties as supporters and promoters of the art of sounds.

In Transylvania, the preparatory schools and seminaries were the institutions of musical learning for Romanian youngsters, as these served as centers for amateur theatrical and musical movements with students as performers. It was from these that a Gheorghe Lazăr, a Ion Budai Deleanu, a Moise Nicoară, a Radu Tempea and others rose who, beyond their skills in performing instrumental music, also contributed to the state of mind and attitude favorable for musical education. In this way the Romanian society was able to assimilate the new music of Western culture by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The first instrumental and chamber music performances are known to have been formed, here as elsewhere, in the small circles of noble and boyar families. Musical education gradually became a habit in the family, and music was regarded to be worthy of being practiced by the offspring of the ruling class.

As for the music in the parlors of boyars, the fashion of having a private performer, similar to the princely courts in Bucharest and Iaşi, started to spread especially in the form of direct profession, as the employment of foreign musicians was quite expensive. This *parlor music* was of course secular and European, sometimes also containing adaptations from folk music. The pieces were generally miniature and widely accessible, the repertoire was enriched only towards 1820 with more complex works, such as the *sonatas* of Viennese composers.

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<sup>1</sup> Teodor Bălan, "Data morţii lui Ion Budai-Deleanu" (The date of the death of Ion Budai-Deleanu), in *Făt-Frumos* IX (1934), no. 2-3., 42. and no. 4. 83.; and Mihai Mitu, "Ioan Budai-Deleanu. O licitație la Lvov" (Ioan Budai-Deleanu. An auction at Lvov), in *Manuscriptum* XII (1973), no. 3., 156-157.

<sup>2</sup> Cornelia Bodea, *Moise Nicoară*, Arad, 1940, 149.

The musical reunions in the parlors of the time were known as “serate”, from the French “soirée”, a term which meant in 18<sup>th</sup> century France the dance parties originating from the Italian Renaissance “camerata”. The first such soirées are known to have been organized by the family of Prince Dimitrie Cantemir during his stay in Russia, with the participation of the musicians of the Tzar’s court, where music was accompanied by various fashionable European dances.<sup>1</sup>

A boyar’s soirée from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was described by the English traveler Robert Ker Porter, who, taking part in a boyar’s *ball* in Bucharest, describes: “the concert was played by professional violinists, sometimes accompanied by amateur performers; but the guests in general paid little attention to this part of the ball, they were enjoying themselves in the neighboring rooms playing cards, smoking, and drinking, activities which they performed with quite a high spirit”.<sup>2</sup>

No doubt, these concerns are part of a more general process in the changing of taste and fashion, so that the French musicologist Marcel Montandon could rightfully judge the state of music and dance in the Romanian society of the Enlightenment as follows: “the Western influence appeared in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century as a result of the Russian army and the French and Italian preceptors who made their way into the great families. The costumes and dances of the country were gradually abandoned at the balls of the Russian generals and the boyars in the period 1769-1774, and were replaced by those fashionable in Paris or Vienna. In 1806-1812, the commander Miloradovici asked for dance masters from Petersburg. Pianos began to be introduced”.<sup>3</sup>

The tableau of Romanian society evidently offers a transitional image in which traditional elements mixed with new, Western ones. The changes occurred differently, in accordance also with the international political context. Certain elements, like the presence of foreign officers, envoys at the princely courts of Bucharest and Iași, contacts with foreign travelers or the travels of Romanians abroad for study or trade initiated several factors by which the new culture gained ground in the Romanian Principalities.

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<sup>1</sup> Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *Hronicul muzicii românești*, II., 111.

<sup>2</sup> *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia ... during the Years 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1820*, vol. II., London, 1822, 787.

<sup>3</sup> “La musique en Roumanie,” in *Encyclopédie de la musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire*, I., Paris, 1922, 2658.

The course of innovating changes was a sinuous one, and somewhat belated compared to the West, but constantly leaning towards modernization, Romanian society gradually integrated into the rhythm of European development. Boyars and merchants alike were concerned with and engaged in the new innovating flux, which gave rise not only to a social homogenization in terms of wealth, but also a spiritual one of those who shared the same cultural aspirations and musical tastes.