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***MUSIC AND POLITICAL POWER
IN MOLDOVA AND WALLACHIA,
15th -18th CENTURIES***

- DOCTORAL THESIS ABSTRACT -

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INTRODUCTION

Music is one of the key elements in a person's life and a way of expressing emotions, regardless of their nature. However, music is an efficient way through which messages that cannot be communicated otherwise can be conveyed. Regardless of race, social status, culture, language, particularity, music is a cohesive element designed to erase the differences between people or groups, regardless of their nature and align more eclectic elements on the same level, creating a heterogeneous, syncretic corpus. At the same time, music can be used in the opposite way, for certain purposes and for the conveyance of certain messages, such as policy or propaganda. We will talk about this second dimension of music in the thesis, trying to capture as accurately as possible how music reaches such hypostases and especially the way in which this is achieved.

Throughout history and mainly during the epoch to which we refer here – the fifteenth century – the eighteenth century – the European music developed exponentially, from all points of view, reaching peaks and luring the entire world, especially the high society, which due to its characteristic position and privileges had access to a diverse “musical palette”, which it could be enjoyed or shared in different ways and forms. The high society and especially the imperial, noble and royal courts, in our case, through its leading exponents, i.e. the emperors, kings and others, due to their position gradually become patrons and then patrons of the arts in general, including music here as well, encouraging their development as varied as possible in order to create an enchanting environment and atmosphere, which will enrich the Court and individualize it.

Initially seen as a form of entertainment and disconnection from everyday life, the medieval music was associated with games or various acrobatic activities, creating that binomial common to the Romanian narrative sources, called “music and games”, which generally refers to the leisure atmosphere at the Court. From the very middle of the European Middle Ages, music was one of the most common artistic elements, leading to an effervescent development of secular, popular lyric poetry, which came as a counterweight to the early period of medievalism musically characterized by the exclusiveness of the religious music in its various forms and influences. Now there are famous traveling artists, jugglers, minstrels, troubadours and others, who contribute to the development of the secular musical art, which by its nature has a greater popularity and applicability to the Court, becoming quite quickly one of its defining elements. Hence, the music-power relationship later developed. This appears as a reaction of the crowned heads – the holders of power – to the popularity of this music that they begin to increasingly appreciate, to protect and finally to appropriate it by attracting its performers to the Court and by settling them, offering all the

conditions to continue and develop their art, providing them with all possible financial support, thus making them dependent on their senior/employer. More specifically, these itinerant artists are increasingly coagulating around the Courts, where they came from as a source of safety and relatively easy livelihood, but serving the interests and politics of the senior they depended on at the time. Ballads and epic songs are now beginning to take on a political outline, by glorifying and hyperbolizing the master and spreading this aura everywhere. Hence, the high interest towards this musical category.

Gradually, music also develops with the advancement of the society, offering multiple ways in which it can serve monarchs. In this sense, we must first mention the military music, which through its instruments – trumpet and drum – illustrates concretely and obviously the monarchical power, as they represent par excellence the sovereign, thus being accessible only to him. Then, the city music, the one that ensured the festive sound atmosphere of the Court, represents another characteristic in this respect, because it was the one that provided all the pomp necessary for the public sovereignty, thus distinguishing the sovereign from the others. This is followed by the unofficial music – as the others so far are classified as official – which was in most cases the “royal chapel”, generating the music of the elites which in some cases included the Western religious music.

Regarding Moldova and Wallachia, the ones we will refer to in this thesis, the situation is relatively similar. Musical development here happened according to the same European principles, even if this is not as noticeable as in Transylvania, one which is a special case. The first testimonies regarding the music here are in line with those specific to the West, of course with a certain touch dictated by the local specifics, but with the advancement in time and the Ottoman Empire proximity of the Danube and implicitly with its interference in internal affairs of the two extra-Carpathian Romanian countries, the musical environment begins to take shape, even considering that during the Phanariot epoch, the local music was almost exclusively orientalized, an idea that does not necessarily apply if we look more deeply at the coordinates followed by our music since then. As we will see, although the oriental musical influence was very strong and undeniable, from our point of view it did not manage to choke both the local and the western one, but they intertwined harmoniously, coexisting. First of all we refer to the mehterhane, the musical band with the most extended performance within the Romanian Principalities, which, together with the military and city music, represented the official music. Unlike the other already mentioned two categories, the mehterhane had a musically and especially symbolically “primacy”, because through it the

Romanian rulers legitimized and proved their political affiliation to the sultan, being considered dignitaries of the Ottoman Empire according to the Ottoman perspective. Excepting this band, the Ottoman classical music played a decisive role in the process of influencing and developing the Romanian music, which, although it “resided” here less than the mehterhane, it exerted a much greater influence. The fiddlers were the ones who highly contributed to the “adoption” of the Oriental musical perceptions, which they appropriated and combined with the local ones, resulting in that fiddle music, famous and appreciated worldwide not only within the Romanian Principalities. Starting with the second half of the eighteenth century, the situation seems to be balanced from a musical point of view, because now the European music becomes more prominent and it is increasingly gaining ground in terms of musical tastes. Without forgetting for a moment, the ruler is the one who mediates all these musical changes, since the early existence of Moldova and Wallachia until the end of the “Reign”, due to his pluripotent authority and attributes that granted him only rights which the others did not have access to.

Suggesting and highlighting the political power through music has been a constant at the European level and not only here, as the Eastern world also placed a great emphasis on the political representation through music, even before Europe, and the Romanian Countries, being at the confluence of these two worlds, they came into contact with both specificities that they managed and from which they were inspired. Therefore, we consider that the approach we propose on this occasion is vital; especially considering that in the Romanian historiography there is no similar attempt to include the study of power from a musical perspective and a large period of time as well as a wide musical spectrum.

Regarding the framing of research within the scientific paradigm, the study of power represents a new orientation of historiography, this interest beginning to manifest itself in France, at the end of the twentieth century. Jacques Le Goff is the one who initiated this new trend, by reconsidering the role of the monarch in the system of power, thus launching new clues in the direction of political history. The interdisciplinary perspective and the inclusion of some new types of sources represent a new trend in the study of history.

In Romania, these new trends in history research begin to take root, especially with the end of the last century, when there is a wider openness to this kind of research. Anthropological research begins to emerge, by studying aspects of social life (daily life, family, education, marriage, etc.). In the research of the power topics such as: genealogies, the coronation ceremony, heraldry, painting, signs and rituals, etc. occur, all these being approached according to the new historiographical trend.

Music and its connection with the political power are also part of this new “fashion” of history. This new topic can be added to the research done previously, in the fields we already mentioned, carried out in the same thematic area of studying the phenomenon of power and its values.

In Romania, similar approaches from a musical perspective do not exist, except for two studies belonging to Nicolae Gheorghiu¹, the one that has the merit of announcing a new research possibility, but also the one that offers a framework and an overall perspective on music, in its multiple forms, studied in relation to power. Regarding foreign historiography, the situation is different, because in the West especially there have been concrete approaches and achievements regarding the study of power from a musical perspective applied to certain periods of time or to certain people, who have been a model for us and also a source of information.

The motivation to set up this approach started mainly from a Master’s thesis in which we briefly analyzed the music-power relationship in the Byzantine Empire, as well as from the achievement of BAs or dissertations with a topic related to Romanian music history. At the same time, reaching the field of studies on power at the Faculty of History in Iași, through the internship conducted here and noticing a lack in terms of approaching the phenomenon from the perspective of music, we considered such an attempt appropriate, given that the music knowledge we achieved will also serve to us in doing so. At the same time, the opportunity offered to write a doctoral thesis on this topic was extremely relevant, without which this thesis would not have been possible.

Given the long period of time we set out to study – because if we limit ourselves to a shorter time, we risk losing some essential details – but especially the relatively large number of bands and significant situations in which they can be found, this thesis will be structured in twelve chapters, unequal in size, but where we will address, each time from the perspective of the title announced for each chapter, the music-power relationship, then reflecting on other key elements and information within the thesis context.

Regarding the methodological approach we use mainly the analytical method, as we will have to deeply penetrate several terms and ideas which once clarified will be a safe launch platform to the future structures. Also we will also use the synthetic method, given that the thesis covers a long period of time and especially because the bibliography to be covered has a large extent, since

¹ Nicolae Gheorghiu, *Secular Music at the Romanian Princely Courts During the Phanariot Epoch (1711-1821)*, in Irina Vainovski-Mihai, ed., *New Europe College Yearbook 2008-2009*, pp. 121-170; Idem, *Muzicile Prințului: muzică, ceremonii și reprezentări ale puterii princiare la curțile Valahiei și Moldovei (secolul XVII-primele decenii ale secolului al XIX-lea), partea I*, in Nicolae Gheorghiu, Costin Moisil, Daniel Suceava, ed., *Simpozionul internațional de muzicologie bizantină 300 de ani de românire (1713-2013)*, ediția a II-a [2nd edition], 12 decembrie [December] 2013, Editura Universității Naționale de Muzică București [Publishing House of the National University of Music], București, 2013, pp. 183-205.

the (Romanian) historiography is poor in addressing this issue and the information will have to be gathered from different related works. The same thing happened with the sources, regardless of language, because references to music and especially those that capture or indicate to some extent the music-power relationship are also contrasting, and penetrating them requires a lot of extra reading to the one dedicated exclusively to the topic. The comparative method will also be very useful for us, because given the limited or even the lack of sources for certain sections, we will have to resort to comparisons with other spaces where similar information can be found. We will use this method for the correct identification and cataloging of musical instruments and bands, but also for the drawing of ceremonies or rituals, such as those of receiving the reign and anointing, welcoming messages or the like.

We will mostly approach the thesis from the general to the particular and from a small area to a wide one, in order to be able to scan the topic as well as possible and to enrich it later, to place it in a generous context, such as the European one, to which we refer not only from this point of view, but also to the Euro-Asian one, among which we were for a good period of time.

In order to carry out this thesis the researched bibliography is a very diverse one, belonging to several research fields, given the interdisciplinary perspective we propose. The nature and variety of sources was one of the main concerns that grounded our research, out of the desire not to skip any considerable aspect regarding the topic of the thesis. The available Romanian historiography is poor; all approaches related to secular and religious music from medievalism and the early Romanian modernity generally refer to certain musical bands or phenomena or only approach them briefly in a broader context, such as society or life at the Court. It should also be mentioned here that in the Romanian historiographical sources we researched there is also a large number of errors of interpretation or cataloging musical bands, instruments and even musical terms. All this can be explained by the adoption of a working method based only on a certain category of sources, on the lack of deepening the texts, on the research only at a local level, without an overall perspective or on the lack of a musical/musicological documentation referring here to the research done by the historians, an aspect which applies entirely and vice versa. From our point of view, an interdisciplinary perspective must be adopted in order to deal with the power-music relationship.

Regarding foreign historiography, the situation is somewhat opposite to the Romanian one, because the primary source of information in this case, consisted of numerous specialized works circulating in Europe and referring to both Western Europe and the Ottoman Empire. They were

also a model for our approach, the study of the connection between music and power being already advanced here.

The originality of this thesis lies primarily in an interdisciplinary, historical, musical and theological (where applicable) approach which aims to reveal the relationship between music and political power in its many forms. Then it aims to correctly identify all musical bands constantly present at the princely court, which through their music have left their mark on the daily life of contemporaries, but which have also contributed to the cultural development of the Romanian Countries. We also aim to identify the musical instruments of these bands, but also to catalog them, since we found that in the historiography so far there was some confusion regarding their accurate approach and especially their identification. Taking into account that some of them played a role in suggesting the rulers' supremacy in Moldova and Wallachia as the trumpet, as an attribute of sovereignty but whose existence is rarely mentioned in the sources because even during its use it was mistaken with the clarion terminology, we aim at explaining this context in detail. It should also be added that for each instrument and musical band we are going to talk about, we will bring some additional information given by images, some of them even from church painting, miniatures or vintage engravings, but also musical examples, accordingly, thus enabling us to fulfill what we will render in writing. All this has to be placed in a broader European context with a hint to all neighboring states that the Romanian countries have been in contact over time and were able to exercise some influence over them. From our point of view, we cannot reach a satisfactory result, limiting ourselves only to the Romanian space, as we would alter and limit the meaning as well as the possibility of as comprehensive as possible knowledge. Especially from a musical perspective, an accurate approach necessarily involves a much larger area than the one referred to, in order to reach satisfactory results.

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Each chapter is generally approached individually to the others, all with their own structure given by the nature of the topic. But we never stopped making connections between chapters or referring to information already exposed in other sections of the thesis. What we wanted to do, however, was to highlight and define the connection between music and power, but also the way in which it was applied in different contexts. All the chapters and implicitly all the topics were the

elements of a whole, which was superimposed over certain patterns in order to highlight the already mentioned relationship – music and power – which is basically the core of our thesis.

The first chapter entitled “Music and political power – an overview” introduces and deals with the applicability of music within the context of political representation through given patterns, such as the ceremonies and rituals, which provide a framework for the music-power relationship to germinate and grow. We had in mind a panoramic image, especially the European, but also the Oriental one on the way in which the king used music for his own purposes, making it a strong political element.

The second chapter “The early court music in the Romanian Principalities” addresses the preliminary existence of court music and how it becomes a secular, relatively trivial music, a music of sovereignty and one of the key court elements. We briefly followed the stages of court music development, by observing the specifics of each category, making parallels with the Romanian space and trying to observe the pattern that stood as the foundation of this genre of music in both Moldova and Wallachia. Although the information is scarce and relative, we could still see that we also followed a Western pattern of developing court music, in accordance with the political trend until the emergence of the Ottomans and their involvement within the politics of our countries. The bagpipers and the games – which we talked about in this chapter, are a proof of what has been said. Here, too, a significant contribution to the development of our music was made by the Serbian guslars, those who roamed Europe singing their ballads and glorifying their heroes, the real and contemporary ones, not the fantastic ones, as in the rest of Europe. The connections with the South-Slavic world are also reflected in our music – considering first of all the connections of some Romanian ruler with this area – which took over the pattern of the guslars that he appropriated and used, expressing his feelings through the song.

In the third chapter entitled “The military and city music”, we actually reached the substance of the topic as we talked about military music and that of the city. The military music has been an attribute of sovereignty even in modernity, this being the thread that guided us in structuring this chapter. Each monarch manifested his sovereignty on the battlefield through martial music, which was his exclusive attribute, regulated by treaties, the same thing happening to the Romanian rulers. The trumpet in particular, but also the drum were the instruments that composed the military music, and the silver trumpets could be held only by the kings, an attribute that was also used by Constantin Brâncoveanu. We also analyzed the key role of this music on the battlefield, in different situations, but also outside it, when it was part of the ceremonial events, the most suitable example

being the episode that took place at Colomeea in 1485. Regarding the city music – the one that together with the military music composes the official local music of Moldova and Wallachia – this had a vital role at the princely court, because it signaled and marked any event and daily stage or it was part of the procession, increasing splendor and focusing on the power and the ruler. In both cases we considered the exposure of each role separately, but also as a whole, as well as the way in which it contributes to the achievement of the music-power relationship. In order to add weight to this fact, we recall here Vasile Lozinschi and the ban Mareş who undermined the princely power by adopting music in their suite.

From our point of view, the fourth chapter “The Mehterhane” introduces the most faithful music-power relationship, because both the political and the symbolic meaning outperform all the others. On this occasion, we analyzed the meaning of the military music according to the Islamic perspective and especially to the Ottoman one, how it developed and what values the mehterhane acquired within the Ottoman Empire as well as the way in which it represented the political power, in its multiple forms. The Ottoman Sultan legitimized himself through this military musical band, but also legitimized the great dignitaries of the Empire, including the Romanian rulers, offering them the mehterhane as a political value. Once in the possession of the rulers, it became the official music and it was a distinctive sign of the ruler’s political affiliation with the sultan’s power. Also, given the context of all the signs of political power received from the Gate, one can even reconsider the position of the Romanian rulers within the Ottoman politics, as they were only allowed to own and use martial music in the capital of the Empire, which was not allowed at least to the Grand Vizier or to the representatives of the great powers of Europe. Given this aspect, we tried to argue this idea as well.

Moving from the political dimension of the mehterhane, to the musical-artistic and terminological one, we consider that we brought a consistent contribution in building the major confusions that restricted the correct understanding of it and its key role. We have adopted a systematic approach to everything that encompasses composition, repertoire, terminology and other aspects, explaining and exemplifying each one. Given the multitude of meanings and the complexity of the elements that define the mehterhane, the analysis of this chapter is the most generous in the thesis.

In the fifth chapter “The Church Music” the paradigm changes radically, because here we approached the religious music and its role within the political representation. Although it may seem curious, the religious music played a substantial role in this equation, primarily due to the

relationship between the State and the Church, specific to the Romanian medievalism. Given this framework, we set out how this relationship was achieved. The princely churches gathered around them the best psalms, and apart from the public divine worship, they participated in various events at the Court with their music, the most auspicious setting being the princely feasts. Here they performed specific songs and polychronions, through which they praised and glorified the ruler, following the Byzantine model.

The polychronions were those church musical secular species, meaning they were not songs specific to various services, but hymns that wished the Ruler a long life, health and prosperity. These are essential during the anointing ritual, where they highlight the power and superiority of the Ruler in relation to others, in his capacity as God's anointed, but also in any other contexts in which the Ruler is connected with religion.

The sixth chapter dedicated to "The Fiddlers' Music" is a beautiful episode not only within the history of our music in general, but also within the aulic context. On this occasion, we presented the way in which the fiddlers followed the political representation through music. Their status as slaves practically linked them to the Court and to the ruler's will, but nevertheless they enjoyed a real artistic success, being highly appreciated and needed. Their music syncretically represents several musical influences, of which the most relevant is the Oriental one, recognizable to this day. The fiddlers were ubiquitous within the activities of the Court and not absent, especially from the princely feasts, where they often represented the delight of the moment, especially when the main guests were foreigners. They could also be met during processions, even that of the ruler's enthronement. As in the other cases, fiddlers' music was an attribute of the reign, even if the owners of gypsy fiddlers were also boyars or monasteries, but who did not benefit from their music as the ruler did, due to certain aspects that we hopefully managed to explain.

In the seventh chapter "The Ottoman Classical Music and the 'German' Music" we included two musical bands, representing two different and somewhat competing worlds – the Ottoman classical music and the European or German music, as imposed on us from the terminological point of view. The Ottoman classical music becomes an unquestionable presence starting with the Phanariot epoch and exerts a decisive influence in the development of Romanian music, precisely through fiddlers. Given the new lifestyle brought and implemented by the Phanariot rulers, the Oriental music could not be missing; it even contributed to the suggestion and rising of princely prerogatives. This is primarily due to the fact that it was an exotic music, and its possession presupposed a certain financial potency, but also a certain status, mentioning here the same example

from Constantin Brâncoveanu's court. Secondly, no one but the ruler had such music, for the same reason, which we kept exposing during the thesis.

As for the German music, the situation is exactly the same, only viewed from a Western perspective. This musical category makes its presence increasingly felt since the second half of the eighteenth century, amid the growing political orientation towards the West, but also due to the beginning of modernization and the European cultural flow allowed by the Russians. Owning such a musical band requires the same framework, as in the case of Oriental music, and its contribution to increasing the political power is similar, as pointed out by Sulzer himself, as we have seen.

The eighth chapter entitled "The Dance Music" was reserved for dance music and it comes as a sequel of the previous one. Dance is generally an element of cohesion between social strata, visible especially in the first centuries of state existence of the Romanian Countries, when folk dances were performed at the Court, where the social elite practiced them on certain occasions. Along the centuries the situation does not necessarily change from this point of view, but what is changing are just the foreign and exotic dances that are penetrating and appearing once with their synonymous musical bands that are specific to the reign and the princely court. Like the Western ones the Oriental dances are related to the music that accompanies them and implicitly to their owner. That is why, as far as dances are concerned, the situation does not change, and they are also a distinctive element of sovereignty.

Starting with the ninth chapter "The Music of the Enthronement" we went from identifying, analyzing and indicating the role of each musical band at the Court, especially from the perspective of the music-power relationship, to the basic situations in which they manifest, in line with the objectives stated in the introductory chapter placed on the "ceremony and ritual." We set out here to highlight how music is broadly introduced within the context of achieving the princely seat of one of the two Romanian countries and how it manages to be an instrument of political representation. Given the complexity of the subject, we had to divide the whole context into two parts, secular and religious, and analyze the music related to each. The secular section refers to the ceremony of the enthronement from Constantinople, with all its stages, to the ceremonial journey to the country, to the triumphal entrance, the one on which great emphasis was placed, but also to the stages following the religious ceremony.

The position in which the new ruler is now represents the most significant manifestation of power that a sovereign can exercise, that is why music, with its entire symbolic load exposed so far, has a crucial role. The music-coronation relationship is the most faithful and profound of all those

who consider music and power. The mehterhane is in this case the most significant musical element that suggests power, because now it is the time when it is handed to the ruler. Regarding the religious part of the ceremony, referring to the anointing ritual, the religious music is the one that holds the monopoly, as the Holy Liturgy, the framework of anointing, is composed of hymns and religious songs, in their festive version, giving the importance to the moment, but also from some special ones, found only here, which distinguish an ordinary Liturgy from a completely festive one.

This chapter is extremely relevant, as here we have dealt with special aspects, such as establishing the music that provides the sound atmosphere during his stay in the Ottoman capital, but also clarifying the problems of identifying and correctly placing religious songs during the anointing ritual or determining the number of anointing rituals the ruler was now receiving.

The tenth chapter entitled “The Music of the Processions” is dedicated exclusively to the princely processions and suites, as well as the place and significance of music in such a context. In the first stage we referred exclusively to the embassies, to the way they were approached, but also to the component music. We noticed that the whole ceremony took place along three stages. The first was to welcome and receive the embassy in the capital. Here the music is vital, as the two states representatives that meet in an official setting embody the very authority of the state, so the etiquette and protocol were strictly regulated. The music, both that of the host and that of the messenger had the “mission” to beautify and to induce a feeling of power as great as possible in the other’s subconscious. The second stage consists of the duration of the messenger’s stay in the capital of one of the Romanian Principalities, during which various feasts and festivities were organized, and where music was always present and had the same role. The third stage represents the embassy’s leaving moment and the drawing up the procession with which this is escorted from the city, with great pomp and festivity, the music being present again and manifesting itself similar to the moment of coming.

Moving on from this part, in the second section of the chapter we dealt with the more substantial princely procession and suite, held at the Court, and on the occasion of certain key moments. Given the relevance of religious holidays in the collective mind of the time, the ceremony and ritual help us to better observe and understand the contribution of music in such situations and its value in the public representation of the Ruler.

The eleventh chapter “The Music and Power in Various Contexts: The Wedding and The Funeral” is dedicated to two crucial moments in human life: the wedding and the funeral. On this occasion we exposed the fundamental role of music in both situations within the public

representation of the princely preeminence. Especially in the case of weddings spent at the Court that involves the ruling family, there is a great emphasis on pomp and performance, and the examples we presented clearly show that music was one of the elements that made the difference. Given that, in general, the matrimonial ties were established with famous people from outside the country, proving power and abundance were a priority for the Romanian rulers. That is why, within this context, we have the most testimonies of the musical bands and games (intrinsically linked to music) brought from outside the country, especially from Constantinople, which have the role of proving the power of their owner. In terms of burials, music also plays a role in the ruler's life – who is now deceased – as part of the procession with which he is led on the last road, during which it bears the sign of mourning and muffled songs, imitating a murmur, due to covering the instruments with a textile cloth.

The last chapter, the twelfth, called “The Music of the Princely Feasts”, aims to be an overview of everything that has been discussed so far, because here we talked about the princely feasts, the place where absolutely all music can be present, each contributing in its own way to highlighting the ruler and his image, the festive dinner being a sign of power. In this rigorously staged setting, the music was the one that announced the beginning of the banquet, not only through the sound signals of the military music, but also that of the city. Also, the multitude of dishes was also introduced through music. The most significant part of the dinner was the moment of the after-dinner speech when all the types of music gathered there were interpreted, even simultaneously. Then, until the end of the feast, all the music, as well as the dances beautified the atmosphere and introduced the frame of a special image, that of the power.

CONCLUSIONS

Music is an effective way of communication, but also an element of cohesion between people and communities. Its ability to synthesize emotions, intellectual and cultural background, various influences and other things, correlated with its highly spreading speed, makes music one of the most effective communication tools, especially when the audience is a crowd of people. This capacity has been speculated and developed by the “ideologies” of power and used for its own purposes to create an advantage and to communicate its prerogatives as efficiently and to as many people as possible. Therefore, the music-power relationship, which may seem bizarre to some, is a relevant one, as evidenced by the special interest shown over the centuries by various crowned heads from everywhere. Following what is stated in this thesis, we can consider without exaggeration that music is an instrument within the arsenal of political power.

Given the value of the monarch's public representation in general and of the ruler within this approach, the court music, which we refer to here, took many forms and resorted to various procedures to manifest and highlight the sovereign's figure. Therefore, we acknowledge several different musical bands, but also multiple methods of public display of music, which enclose as an invisible veil the entire horizon and influence it, often almost insensibly. Music has the ability to subliminally convey beautifully packaged messages, given the beauty of the sounds, but with a safely precise target.

From our point of view, regarding the relationship between the Romanian rulers and the music seen as a representation of power, the mehterhane was not only the most faithful, but also the most impressive way. This musical band had a very rich symbolic background even before the establishment of the Ottoman Empire, and with its adoption by the future great empire, the mehterhane progressively developed, increasing its symbolism and becoming an entity, which aroused their admiration and induced a sense of power. Given this framework and considered part of the Ottoman political apparatus, the rulers benefited from this musical band as a distinctive sign of their membership within the Ottoman politics, but also of obedience to the sultan, an aspect that gave them, at least from an Ottoman perspective, a privileged status. Referring only to this aspect, we can easily notice the obvious connection between music and power. Very suggestive in this respect is the term "badge" used in modern historiography to designate the total political insignia issued by the Gate of its political-administrative hierarchy and which also included the mehterhane, the badge being a distinctive element, like a uniform that serves as differentiation. In our case, the differentiation was also made through music, and those with whom the ruler came into contact (i.e. representatives of different states) acknowledged the source of his power. On the other hand, the ruler himself, in his capacity as sovereign, as regards the country's domestic policy, could also be distinguished by music, which consisted of all the musical forms existing at the Court and which were an attribute of his power. In the official framework that exceeded the level of the princely residence, the military music was the key argument from this point of view, to which the music of the city was added, when we approached the surroundings of the capital and its centre. Once here, all the public manifestations of the Ruler are embellished by other musical categories, less "official", such as: the Oriental, fiddlers, church, European and sometimes popular music, all in order to highlight the princely preeminence and the social distance between him and his subjects. Exactly the same situation can be encountered anywhere in Europe.

By this present thesis we do not claim that we have exhausted the subject, in any form, not only due to the time period it covers, but also due to the diversity of the relatively high applied musical in many contexts and situations in which the Ruler expressed his prerogatives through music over time, this is not even possible, primarily due to the fact that new or unknown sources may appear at any time comprising key information or we may have access to some that have not been accessible so far due to several limitations, one of which is linguistic. In fact, the same sources used by us here, but viewed from a different perspective, can lead to different opinions, as happened once, as we showed in the text of the thesis. Although there has sometimes been the possibility of deepening the various topics or points addressed here, we have considered it useful to maintain a unity in the depth of research for each chapter, even if we have not always succeeded. Another reason was to fall within the limits of a doctoral research in terms of the thesis length, but also to keep a balance in the field in which this thesis was developed, that of history. One of the obstacles to the development of certain aspects of the thesis was the period of three years, relatively short for research and writing the thesis, given that the volume of the resources was quite laborious.

Our contribution, which was intended to be as personal and concrete as possible consists in unraveling some meanings that have so far made it difficult to understand especially a global approach of the topic. Although sometimes it seems that we insisted too much on aspects that could be approached more succinctly, we consider that the creation of “tools” or clear, obvious and in line with reality parts of a whole leads to the correct construction of ideas and finally to a remarkable and relevant result. That is why certain aspects were deepened.

First of all, we created an image of the music-power relationship, which we clearly and repeatedly highlighted it. We managed to differentiate the military music from that of the city and to reproduce by examples the role of each in the leadership of the country and of the princely court. Regarding the mehterhane, we established the meanings, the terminology, as well as the technical aspects that refer to this musical band. I highlighted its size and political symbolism and the key role it plays within the Ottoman political viewpoint, while also showing how the Romanian rulers legitimized themselves through the mehterhane, which was a political symbol for them. Another significant contribution, we believe, was the reconstruction of the anointing ritual of the rulers and the specific songs, but also the identification of some essential aspects, such as establishing the number of anointing rituals for the same person, within the same ruler. All this stood out precisely because of the religious music within this context, trying to discern and clarify the information from the sources, often with multiple meanings. Last but not least, we noticed the wrong or inaccurate

translation of the musical instruments into sources of major importance, which led to many misinterpretations. Therefore to, we insisted on this, trying to change (based on arguments) the situation and facilitate an accurate perception. These are the main personal contributions along this thesis, but there are also several others of lesser importance at first glance we dealt with, but which engaged in the larger context are necessary because they can help a lot in understanding the content of the thesis, but also in future research on this thematic context.

Regarding the ideas we proposed, but which we failed to materialize, primarily due to the length of the thesis, but also the time, they considered the approach of the topic from the perspective of music education, especially the secular – since the religious one has dealt with several works and studies – and its connection with the reign, trying to see if and how it was involved in this process. Regarding this aspect, we have already outlined a sketch of the educational process. We also set out to draw up a table showing, on the basis of payment lists and amounts paid, a ranking of all musicians listed in such documents and the establishment of an order, so that we can observe, in terms of salaries, the importance of each at the Court, but also the ratio between musicians and other “employees” of the country. Given the many currencies in which they have been paid over time and the fluctuation of their value from one period to another, depending on many aspects, this process requires additional documentation and implicitly more time. However, we drew some considerations regarding this aspect and we ranked the musicians according to the amount they were paid, finding each time that the musicians were by far the best paid, along with the church singers, benefiting of most privileges.

To conclude, most of the objectives proposed at the beginning of this approach were achieved, and even new ones emerged, due to the deepening of the topic, which we also achieved, as they could not be avoided without vitiating the general meaning of the thesis.

The thesis makes a contribution mainly to the history of old Romanian music, by revealing or clarifying some information that has not been exploited so far. Also of great relevance in our opinion is approaching the political power from the music perspective, which has revealed a strong bond according to the Western and Oriental model, aspects that reveal the position of Moldova and Wallachia within the European policy context. The approach is also a pioneering work, as we dealt with previously less explored contexts and we proposed a new way of approaching and studying the Romanian music on this occasion.

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