

## 2

# A History of the *Manea*

## The Nineteenth to the Mid-Twentieth Century

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The history of the *manea* (pl. *manele*) has not stirred a great deal of interest until recently. Romanian musicologists had confined themselves to mentioning the *manea* among the Turkish genres practiced in the Romanian principalities under Ottoman rule, while folklorists were content to point out that it had not completely disappeared in the mid-twentieth century. A few comments on the history of the *manea* were offered by Robert Garfias (1981:99; 1984:91), who was possibly indebted to the discussions that he had had with Romanian researchers.

It was as late as 2001—after the boom of *manea* singers like Adrian Copilul Minune, Costi Ioniță, or Vali Vijelie—that Andrei Oișteanu offered a few informative remarks on *manele* before 1900 in an article published in *Revista* 22.<sup>1</sup> In the heated public debates on contemporary *manele* and Romanian society in the years that followed, this information was utilized by the mass media and in discussions on blogs and forums. Thus, although rarely mentioned as a bibliographical source, Oișteanu's article became the mainstream history of *manele*, a history popular both with musicologists and a wide circle of nonexperts.<sup>2</sup>

Oișteanu's history affirms the presence of *manele* in the Romanian principalities from the Phanariot age—traditionally delineated by Romanian historians as between 1714 and 1821<sup>3</sup>—and suggests that they might have been performed even earlier.<sup>4</sup> The *manea* is associated with Turkish musics, even if Oișteanu avoids categorizing it directly as Turkish. Instead, he mentions writers who spoke of “Turkish *manele*,” philologists (e.g., Lazăr Șăineanu) who explained the etymology of the word from the Turkish *mani*, and Turkish orchestras (*mehterhane*) that had instrumental *manele* in their repertoire. Anton Pann, a musician active in Wallachia in the first half of the nineteenth century, is considered a composer and performer of *manele* and editor of a collection “full of *manele*.” In this collection one can find a Turkish vocal piece composed by Dimitrie Cantemir, the last ruler in Moldova before the Phanariot age

and an excellent theoretician and practitioner of Ottoman music, a fact that prompts Oişteanu to state that Cantemir apparently composed a "kind of cultured *manea*."<sup>5</sup>

In this chapter, I investigate the main sources that mention *manele* prior to 1960 and examine the mainstream history based on Oişteanu's article; I then attempt a classification of the pre-1960 *manele* and, finally, sketch out a version of the history of *manele* based on my own findings and interpretations.

## CONSIDERATIONS OF MANELE PRIOR TO 1960

In the pages that follow, I first present references to *manele* in a quasi-chronological order. I have grouped the information on *manele* from the nineteenth century (the period in which the early genre flourished) according to the type of source. I begin by discussing literary sources: fiction,<sup>6</sup> nonfiction, and musicology—both belated and philological. These findings are then followed by references to *manele* consisting of musical notations and audio recordings from the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The oldest mention of the term *manea* belongs to the boyar Alecu Russo. Under the pseudonym Terentie Hora, he would recall premodern Moldova nostalgically in the feuilleton *Studie moldovană* [Moldovan study] published in 1851–1852 in the periodical *Zimbrul* [The aurochs] from Iaşi. The writer described, in only a few lines, a rural boyar party in which the music—especially the *manele*—sung by the Romani *lăutari* (sg. *lăutar*, traditional professional musician) played a central part: "The Gypsies were dead keen on performing *manele* [as] the women in their maquillage sighed and the boyars, lying on the carpets, drank vodka from the shoes of their beloveds, throwing their fezzes up in the air and kissing the *lăutari*" (Russo 1908:19). In 1855, Russo developed the episode of the party in another feuilleton, *Amintiri* [Memories], which appeared in *România literară* [Literary Romania], a journal also published in Iaşi. This time the festivities took place on May Day and were attended not only by boyars but also by servants, peasants, and Romani slaves, who all lay in separate groups in the grass. Here, too, the *manele* sung to the boyars occupied a significant role: "There are sweet *manele*, there are soothing *manele*, there are painful *manele* that break the hearts; the old men make toasts, the youngsters drink from the madams' shoes and kiss the *lăutari*, and the madams, eyes drowning in love, sing beautiful verses; and so the woods resound, and the stalwart haiduks wake up" (Russo 1908:104).

In 1853, it was another Moldovan boyar, Costache Negruzzi, who mentioned the *manea* in the context of a meal with wine and music, namely, in the last stanza of his poem "*Eu sunt român . . .*" [I am Romanian . . .]. Here the Romanian wine was preferred to the foreign wine—just as in the previous stanzas the hospitable compatriots were preferred to the distant foreigners, the hot love of Romanian women to the glacial love of Englishwomen, and so on—and it was the only one associated, favorably, with the good humor and music (Negruzzi 1872:28–9):



*La masă beu adese vin străin,  
Tocai, Bordo, Şampanie iubesc.*

*Iar mai ales prefer vinul de Rin,  
dacă nu am Cotnar şi Odobesc;*

*când ânsă am, deşert pline pahare,  
apoi încep să cânt vre-o manea,  
şi sunt tot beat cât ţin ăilele-amare!*

*Eu sunt Român, mi-e dragă ţara mea!*

At the table I often drink foreign wine:  
I love Tokay, bordeaux, [and]  
champagne.

But I especially prefer the Rhenish  
when I don't have Cotnari and  
Odobeşti;<sup>7</sup>

but when I do, I empty whole glasses,  
then start singing a *manea*,  
carrying on drunk as long as the days  
are bitter!

I am Romanian, I love my country!

In 1861–1862, in the journal *Revista Română* [Romanian Review], Alexandru Ioan Odobescu published the study *Poezii văcăresci* [The Văcărescu Poets], in which he discussed, among other things, the article “*Despre metru*” [On meter] published in 1838 by Ion Heliade-Rădulescu. Odobescu esteemed Heliade-Rădulescu's style and praised him for his smooth irony in describing a boyar accustomed to the Greek decapentasyllabic meter who decried the disappearance from Wallachia of “the echo of *manele* and the Phanariot *verses*” (1887, 1:243–4, italics in the original). Odobescu's quote was inexact, as Heliade-Rădulescu had not actually used the term *manele*.<sup>8</sup> In a report prepared for the bestowal of an award to Vasile Alecsandri by the Romanian Academy in 1881, Odobescu praised the poet's muse for evoking “old and dire traditions from foreign places . . . intoning his voice to the sluggard sound of the Oriental *manele*” (1887, 2:520–1). Alecsandri had used the term *manele* in the poem “*Murad Gazi Sultanul şi Becri Mustafa*” [Murad Gazi the Sultan and Becri Mustafa], written in 1876 and published four years later. In order to put color to the background against which a nocturnal ride with the *caïque* on the Bosphorous would have happened in the seventeenth century, he wrote the following lines: “*Prin sunet de tambură şi glasuri de manele/cadinele frumoase le cheamă la zebrele*” [Midst the sound of the *tanbur* and the voices of *manele*, beautiful *odalisques* are beckoned to the lattice] (Alecsandri 1880:51). Around the same time, remembering the last part of a journey made in 1853 in the north of Maghreb, Alecsandri remarked how his guides—a Moroccan and a Turk from Algeria—“started to sing Algerian *manele sotto voce*” (1876:345).

Other writers also used *manele* to illustrate times long gone or outdated characters. Nicolae Gane chose a “long, drawling *manea* from the old Turkish ones” sung by a small vocal-instrumental ensemble “in which an ‘ah!’ alone would last for half an hour” to characterize an old country boyar nostalgic for the “good old days” before Europeanization (1879:49). In a short story by I. L. Caragiale in which the action unfolds in Wallachia around 1800, the singing of *manele* is one of several signs of gratitude that an Albanian military man displays to a Romanian for exorcising the devil from his daughter: “On the way, the captain looked after him day and night like a brother, singing Turkish *manele* for him while playing the *tanbur*, as well as *palikars*’ songs from his far-away mountains” (1910 [1907]:62–3).

Remarks about *manele* also appear in texts of nonfiction on music. In a publication from 1855 and a conference from 1862, George Barițiu mentioned *manele* in connection with the decay of music from the Greek and Romanian churches in the centuries before 1800: "The Greek cantors . . . have started to ape the Arabic songs from the Mohammedan mosques [and] have introduced *manele* and all the bellowing of the Turkish *imams*" (1855:42; emphasis in the original), and "the Moldovan . . . and Wallachian [chanters] . . . have received among the old tunes many so-called Arabic *manele* borrowed from the Muslims' imams, through which they excessively altered the church chants" (1863:14).<sup>9</sup> The opinion that *manele*—of Oriental descent—influenced the post-Byzantine church chant was shared by other authors of the time as well. The Constantinople cantors who came after Petros Lampadarios (d. 1778) were regarded by Ioanne Dem. Petrescu as "people who corrupted the sacred melodies and, by preferring profane features, complied with the style of the Persian *manele* and discarded the hymns' rhythm and accentuation"; moreover, he claimed, they "corrupted the Church melodies with the *manele* or the *te-re-re*" that the Turks liked so well" (1872:31, 41). Similarly, the bishop Melchisedek noted that in the eighteenth century "one might hear in church the same *manele* and *taksimler* of the Turkish music that resounded all over the Bosphorus such as when the Turks delighted themselves riding in *caïques*" (1882:25).

*Manele* were allegedly referred to in a conversation that took place in 1848 between Alexandru Flechtenmacher, one of the first composers of Western art music in Moldova, and the prince of Moldova, Mihai Sturdza. The dialogue touched upon composing national music, and Flechtenmacher apparently remarked that "it would certainly not be our Turkish *manele*, with no rhythm or beat, that could ever inspire me to create a national opera!" (Dan-Dry 1885:11).<sup>11</sup> The quote is unquestionably not exact, but rather largely imagined by the author of the column almost forty years after the discussion.

Teodor T. Burada, perhaps the most important Romanian music historian before 1900, remarked on the presence of *manele* in the repertoire of the *mehterhane*, the official brass band that had played until 1831 at the court of the ruler of Moldova, following the pattern of the *mehterhane* from the sultan's palace: "The princely *mehterhane*—made up of Turks, Greeks, and Bulgarians and with the Mehter Başa (Kapellmeister) as its leader—would play various Turkish *manele* on Sundays, holidays, and other days at the princely court" (1974a [1875]:31).<sup>12</sup> Also, *manele* were apparently part of the chamber repertoire for the Turkish *tanbur*, an instrument that had appeared in Moldova at the beginning of the nineteenth century but that had already disappeared by the time Burada wrote his article: "The boyar Grigore Avram, who had learned to play this instrument in Constantinople, . . . performed the most beautiful *manele*, *semailer*, *peşrevler* and *taksimler* with unprecedented skill" (1974b [1877]:114; italics in the original).<sup>13</sup> Finally, *manele* seem to have been performed at urban Turkish popular theater productions—probably a theater of Karagöz and Hacivat shadow puppets—at inns in Bucharest (and possibly Iași) at the beginning



of the nineteenth century: "Then they would dance and sing<sup>14</sup> Turkish songs, *manele*, and often Romanian songs as well" (Burada 1978 [1909]:224; italics in the original).<sup>15</sup>

George Sion mentions in a volume of memoirs that his uncle, a Greek originally from Constantinople who lived in Bucharest, sang *manele* at night at the summer parties he threw at the end of the 1830s: "My uncle would go out with the tanbur and start playing [and singing?]<sup>16</sup> Turkish *manele*, like those he had learned as a child in Constantinople." In a footnote, the author defines *manele* as "songs that express sadness, love, and melancholy." Sion states that only a single man from Bucharest at that time, Anton Pann, knew Oriental music as well as his uncle did, but he does not say explicitly that Pann actually sang *manele* (1888:414).

Another piece of information on Pann, this time indirect, is recorded by Gheorghe Ciobanu. He quotes his church music teacher, Ion Popescu-Pasărea, who had mentioned several times that Pann introduced in one of his church pieces, "*Ziua Învierii*" [The day of Resurrection], "melodic inflections of a Turkish '*manea*' that he had heard one day sung by a Turkish water peddler" (Ciobanu 1955:35, 86).<sup>17</sup>

Linguistic studies and dictionaries provide yet other sources that mention *manele*. According to Lazăr Șăineanu, the term derives from the Turkish *many*, which means "song" or "melody" (1885:64). Șăineanu defines the term in Romanian as a "Turkish song that expresses melancholy and love" or a "Turkish song with a tender melody,"<sup>18</sup> and states that its circulation in the language is limited: "A semi-literary word that remained unknown to folk speech" ([1896]:490; 1900, 2, 1:246). Șăineanu believes that Turkish *manele* influenced, in part, the Romanian epic songs: "The drawling and melancholic melody with which the *lăutari* recite some of our ballads, a melody characteristic to the entire popular poetry of the Balkan Peninsula, was directly influenced by the arias of the Turkish songs, the so-called '*manele*'" (1900, 1:cxvii).

*Manele* continued to be noticed, even if sporadically, in the late nineteenth century and even in the twentieth. In 1884, G. Dem. Teodorescu collected from two men from the Crucea de Piatră district in Bucharest the text of a *manea* sung by the puppet seller of millet beer in the puppet theater (1885:121):

Ah! aman, aman!  
De la Giurgiu viû,  
turcesce nu sciû;  
para'n pungă, iok,  
mâncare de locû . . .

Ah! Mercy, mercy!  
From Giurgiu I come,  
I speak no Turkish,  
[have] not a dime in my pocket  
[nor any] food at all . . .

We also have information from that time on a piece performed in concert at the Petit Champs Theatre in Istanbul in 1890 by *lăutar* Stănică Bârlează's band from Brăila entitled *Mané Taxim*. This fact was noted in a newspaper published in Oradea that quoted the periodical *La Turquie*: "The repertoire was as varied as can be: [composed by] Frenchmen, Turks, Spaniards, Romanians"; and the names of the other pieces mentioned were "*Tour Eiffel*," "*Doi ochi*" [Two eyes], "*Patinage valse*,"

*Sérénade Française*,” the gallop “*Chemin de fer en gare*,” “*Souvenir de Brăila*,” and “*Souvenir de Prahova*” (Vulcan 1890:530).<sup>19</sup>

A linguistic investigation from 1936 recorded the *manea* among the dances from Țăceșu de Jos, a village (in southern Oltenia, close to the Danube) almost exclusively populated by Romanians. On the other hand, the *manea* was not mentioned in any of the other villages in which the investigation took place.<sup>20</sup>

*Manele* survived after the Second World War, as well, as Tiberiu Alexandru has noted:<sup>21</sup>

An old *lăutar* here and there, from the provinces in the south of the Carpathians, could still play a *Turkish manea*. Late reminiscences of the Oriental music from days of old or personal creations in an Oriental vein, the *manele* are sometimes of a rare beauty and their performance requires of the instrumentalists exceptional skillfulness. Often the melody unfolds freely, apparently unbridled, supported by a giusto accompaniment made up of an ostinato rhythmical formula frequently met with in the music of the Near East: a rhythm composed of an amphibrach followed by a spondee, termed *düyek* by the Turkish musicians. This rhythmical formula is familiar to other categories of Romanian folklore. (1980b:273; italics in the original)

The first musical notations related to *manele* appeared toward the end of the nineteenth century. Two pieces from a manuscript in Byzantine notation—a heterogeneous collection of vocal pieces with Romanian texts that Gheorghe Ucenescu completed around 1880<sup>22</sup>—contain information regarding their origins. The first bears the inscription “in the style of Turkish *manele*” (see figure/example 2.1), while the second reads “Imitation of the Turkish *Manea*” and “A. Pann” (Breazul 1941:310–2; Ciobanu 1985:22n).<sup>23</sup> The scribe, Ucenescu, was a Transylvanian who had been a student of Anton Pann in Bucharest between 1850 and 1853 and from whom he had probably learned the two pieces.

Another inscription appears on a copy of the volume *Efterpi* (Ευτέρπη), the first printed Ottoman music (1830), also in Byzantine notation. The inscription is in the handwriting of cantor Pană Brăneanu (1839–1910): “This book called *Efterpi* contains songs called *Manele*: Turkish, Persian and Greek” (Breazul 1941:331–2).

Two pieces in Turkish, also in Byzantine notation, are included at the end of a small manuscript of church chants under the title “*Manele*.” Constantin Răileanu—who discovered the pieces in 2005 in the manuscript from the Căldărușani Monastery library—opines that the manuscript was written around 1900 (personal communication, 6 February 2014).<sup>24</sup>

*Inima-n mine de dor s'âncingie;  
arde, arde, nu să stingie.*

*Flacăra mare rău mă-npresoară;  
focul durerii rău mă doboară.*  
Refrain: *Ah, fie-ți milă, soro, de mine,  
Că mi-e nădejdea numai la tine!*

My heart burns with longing;  
it burns and burns; its fire is not  
quenched.

A huge flame besets me;  
the fire of pain brings me down.  
Refrain: Ah, sister, have mercy on me,  
For my hope lies only with you!



După Manelele turcești potrivit  
**Andante**

1 - ni - ma - n mi - ne de dor s - ă n - cin - gie  
5 a ar - de ar - de nu să stin - gie  
9 fla - că - ră ma - re rău mă - n - pre - soa - ră  
13 fo - cul du - re rii rău mă do - boa - ră  
17 ah fi - e ți mi - lă so - ro de mi - ne  
21 că mi - e nă - dej - dea nu - mai la ti - ne

**Figure 2.1. *Inima-n mine de dor s'ăncingie* [My heart burns with longing], “in the style of Turkish manele”**

Scribe: Gheorghe Ucenescu (Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest)

A few audio recordings bearing the title “The Turkish *Manea*” are also mentioned, some of them published on a phonograph record. The oldest is possibly the one recorded by the military brass band from Mihai Viteazu Regiment 6 (Bucharest), issued by the Gramophone Record Company around 1906–1910. The second oldest, thus, probably is the one performed on the panpipe by Păun Muscalagiu [Păun the Pan-piper], most likely accompanied by a traditional ensemble. This is the only such piece from among the almost six hundred recordings made by folk musicians and included in a Gramophone catalogue from 1900 to 1914 (V. Cosma 2009:118, 546–53). The third Turkish *manea*, *Aman doctor*, appears on an Odeon record (A 199197a) sometime around 1928 (see chapter 1 / figure 1.2). Its performers are clarinetist Vasile Constantin and accordionist Petrică Bugeanu.<sup>25</sup> Not least of all, a Turkish *manea* played by violinist Dumitru Tudor from Cartojani, aka Tramvai, accompanied by three other musicians from Wallachia (on the violin, cimbalom, and double bass), was published on a record by Constantin Brăiloiu in 1940 (Lupașcu 2006:65).

Two other *manele* were collected from Clejani, a village situated not far from Bucharest.<sup>26</sup> On one of the *manele* there is no information other than the archive number under which it is kept at the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore in Bucharest (Fig. 4032a, Ciobanu 1969:68).<sup>27</sup> The other *manea* was collected by Paula Carp and

Constantin Zamfir in 1949, archived in the same institution with number Fg. 4091, transcribed by Pascal Bentoiu (see chapter 1 figure/example 1.2) and published in Alexandru (1956:280–7). The first violinist, Pîrvan Răgălie, had learned it in 1943, during the war, from a soldier of Turkish origin in Dobruja who sang it. Alexandru writes that the *manea* is a “Turkish song of love and sorrow that the *lăutari* in Walachia play when they are asked to” (1956:327–8). The same melody of Răgălie’s *manea* was subsequently recorded by Gheorghe Ciobanu but turned into a brisk dance melody, “*Sârba din cîmpoi*” [*Sârba* on the bagpipe] (Fgr 4099b, Ciobanu 1992:211). The melody of the *sârba*, played on the violin, was transcribed and published as example 41 in Ciobanu (1969:192–3; unnumbered pages).

## THE MAINSTREAM HISTORY AND SOURCES ON *MANELE*

The above-mentioned sources seem not to support the commonly accepted history of the *manea*. Although Oișteanu considers *manele* a legacy of the Phanariot era, the documents from that period and from the decades immediately following it are silent regarding *manele*. This is even more surprising as indigenous writers such as Ion Ghica and Nicolae Filimon paid attention to the music from the end of the Phanariot era and left precious information on it.<sup>28</sup> The term *manea* is not met with in Anton Pann’s works either, neither in his musical writings—such as *Spitalul amorului* [Love asylum] (Pann 1852), the collection of lay songs considered by Oișteanu “full of *manele*”<sup>29</sup>—nor in his fiction (Pann 1991 [1847]).

In the particular case of the *mehtherhane*, the contemporary sources do not mention *manele* as part of its repertoire. Evliya Çelebi and Dimitrie Cantemir, mentioned by Andrei Oișteanu, do not record any of the genres or forms used by the *mehtherhane*. Those who do (Gheorgaki, I. Ch. Struve, Franz Joseph Sulzer, Thomas Thornton) talk about *nevbet*, *peşrev*, or *skopos*, but not about the *manea*.<sup>30</sup> Neither Father Constantin Bobulescu nor George Breazul, important historical musicologists of the first half of the twentieth century, considers *manele* among the musical categories sung by the *mehtherhane* in the Romanian principalities (Bobulescu 1922:43–4; Breazul 1941:72–7). Moreover, Walter Zev Feldman does not mention *manele* among the genres or forms practiced by the *mehtherhane* from either the Danubian principalities or the entire Ottoman Empire (1991:999–1000).

Dimitrie Cantemir’s association with *manele* is also problematic. Cantemir was a fine and seasoned connoisseur of Ottoman art music, on which he wrote a treatise.<sup>31</sup> In this treatise are mentioned several vocal and instrumental genres: *taksim* (pl. *taksimler*), *beste* (pl. *besteler*), *kar*, *nakş*, *semai* (pl. *semailer*), and *peşrev* (pl. *peşrevler*);<sup>32</sup> but the *manea* is not among them. None of his compositions, most of which are instrumental (*peşrevler* and *semailer*) and only a few *besteler*, bears the title *manea* (Popescu-Judet 1973:133–8). In particular, “*Ti megali symfora*”—translated in Romanian as *Vai, ce ceas, ce zi, ce jale* [Alas, what an hour, what a day, what sorrow] in *Spitalul amorului* by Pann—was, according to Oișteanu and Viorel Cosma,<sup>33</sup>



a composition by Cantemir characterized plainly as a *manea* by Cosma and allusively so by Oișteanu. It is, in actuality, however, a *beste* composed by Georgios Nikolaou Soutzos more than a century after Cantemir's death<sup>34</sup> (Erevnidis 1998:20–1).

Hence, the sources do not permit us to state that *manele* circulated in the Danubian principalities in the Phanariot era, were part of the *mehterhane's* repertoire, or were composed or performed by Dimitrie Cantemir or Anton Pann. Rather, *manea* seems to be a generic term that, in the second half of the nineteenth century, designated various Oriental musics from contemporary or earlier times. Furthermore, the statements according to which *manele* flourished in the Phanariot era and the *mehterhane* played *manele* come from a single source: Teodor T. Burada. As shown earlier, he was the first to state, in 1875, that the *mehterhane* played *manele*. A few years later, he also enumerated three musical categories played by the *mehterhane*: "For holidays and princely convoys they played the *chindie* [concert performed at sunset], various *manele*, *nevbetler* and *peşrevler*" (Burada 1974c [1888]:141; italics in the original). The information taken from this is found—sometimes almost identically formulated—in a series of reference works by Ollănescu, Posluşnicu, and Alexandru.<sup>35</sup> Similarly, Burada's remarks on the performance of *manele* by Grigore Avram (a master of Oriental music) and other boyars like Toader Grămăticul, Vasile Zugravu, and Vasile Ureche, were repeated in Ollănescu, Şăineanu, and Ciobanu.<sup>36</sup>

### MANI, AMANES, MANEA

The adjective "Turkish" often accompanies the noun *manea*, and philologists maintain that the term comes from the Turkish word *mani*. An examination of the Turkish *mani*, therefore, may shed light on the history of *manea* in the Romanian principalities.

*Mani* (pl. *maniler*; a word derived from the Arabic *ma'nā*) is a form of Turkish popular poetry. More often than not, the stanza of a *mani* is made up of four heptasyllabic lines, of which the first, second, and last have the same rhyme (*aaba*). Although occurring infrequently, this basic structure can be altered as far as the number of syllables in a verse is concerned (resulting in octosyllabic lines), the number of verses, or the rhyme schemes: *aabaca*, *baca*, *aba*, and so on. The performers and contexts in which *maniler* are performed—recited or sung—vary, giving rise to subcategories within the genre. *Maniler* can be sung by women at work, youngsters (boys and girls), alternately, guardsmen, peddlers, café singers, etc. (Boratav 1991).

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, or perhaps even earlier, the Greeks from the Ottoman Empire, followed afterward by those in Greece, have taken the café *maniler* from the Turks. Greeks and Turks together have contributed to the development of the genre, which had a period of glory up until the Second World War. The text of a Greek *manes* (pl. *manedes*) is a distich with rhyme in the Constantinople meter (an iambic decapentasyllabic line), and the main theme most often concerns suffering, confessed or not. In the song, the text is interspersed with interjections

expressing pain, of which the most frequent is *Aman!* [approx. Mercy!]. Influenced by this interjection, *manedes* have become known also as *amanedes* (sg. *amanes*) (Babi-otis 2005:132). From a melodic point of view, *amanedes* had certain similarities with classical Ottoman music, especially the modal system of the Turkish *makamlar* (sg. *makam*), but the manner in which the text was intoned distinguished them from other genres of art or folk music. The performance could be strictly vocal or with accompaniment. In the latter case, the vocalist would sing in a free rhythm, while the instruments with plucked strings realized a continuous accompaniment in a giusto rhythm or a discontinuous one in a free rhythm. Not infrequently, the accompaniment was the so-called *tsiftetelli* (the Greek pronunciation of the Turkish *çiftetelli*), an amphibrach followed by a spondee. Most of the time the text was divided in three musical phrases: one for each line, between which the second hemistich from the first line was repeated. When the piece had instrumental accompaniment, between the vocal phrases and at the beginning and end of the piece, instrumental passages could be played.<sup>37</sup> Initially improvised, the *amanedes* have gradually become more or less melodically and structurally standardized (Pennanen 2004:10).<sup>38</sup>

In the twentieth century, if not even earlier, the term *(a)manes* was extended to other categories, as well. Risto Pennanen remarks that the pieces from the *gazel* genre, which were featured in the recordings from the 1930s under this name, have subsequently been edited especially with the name *mane* or *(a)manes*, both being free-rhythmic vocal forms of Ottoman origin (2004:10). Today, the term may refer to any song in a traditional Hellenic or Oriental style that uses *makamlar* and a nasal vocal timbre (Dragoumis 1987[1976]:365).

The *manele* from Romania catalogued above belong to various categories. *Aman doctor* is a song that was frequently interpreted in the inter-war period in Turkish and Greek.<sup>39</sup> The original text in Turkish follows the stanzaic pattern of the *mani*; the Greek adaptation, however, departs from this but without adopting the fifteen-syllable line of *amanes*.<sup>40</sup> The musical form does not correspond to that of the *amanes* either. It is probable that the *mani* was the origin of Răgălie's *manea*, as well, although the melodic version of the violinist does not suggest that it was accompanied by a heptasyllabic quatrain.<sup>41</sup> The supposition is made even stronger by the fact that the *mani* was a poetic-musical form at that time among Tatars in Dobruja with whom the Turks were in contact (Sulițeanu 1964). Also, it is not out of the question that the *mani* was the song mentioned by Popescu-Pasărea: we saw that *maniler* were, indeed, part of the practice of peddlers, and Popescu-Pasărea seems to have taken that information from a credible source.<sup>42</sup>

Available data are too scarce to determine whether any of the *manele* were *amanes*. The one with the highest chances is "*Mané Taxim*" of Bârlează, whose name indicates a piece with at least an improvisational character if not a *manes* per se. The piece seems to have been introduced in the concert repertoire in order to flatter the public in the late nineteenth century, when the genre was very popular in Istanbul.<sup>43</sup> Of course, we may wonder to what extent the version performed on the stage of the Petit Champs Theatre for a petit-bourgeois public was similar to an *amanes* from a



café and whether Bârlează was accustomed to the *amanes* type of improvisation or was just creating a pastiche. It is not unlikely that Bârlează performed or even learned the piece in Brăila—at that time a cosmopolitan town with an important Greek and Turkish population.

*Amanedes* could also be (some of) the *manele* mentioned by Tiberiu Alexandru. Their Oriental character and the free rhythm of the lead instrumentalist, which overlapped with a *düyek* (*çiftetelli*) rhythm of the instrumentalists playing the accompaniment, are reminiscent of *amanes*. There is not absolute certainty, however, that we are talking about other genres thus named by extension.

Another category consists of the chants in Byzantine notation. All of these appear to be classical or semi-classical Ottoman pieces: *şarkılar* (sg. *şarkı*), *besteler*, and *yürük semailer*—genres illustrated in the volume *Efterpi* (Fokaefs and Vyzantios 1830) that, according to Brăneanu, contained *manele*.<sup>44</sup> In what concerns the pieces from the manuscripts in Byzantine notation, the “Turkish *manea*” that served as a model for the “imitation” from Ucenescu’s manuscript is a *beste* in *makam suzinak* (a major mode with a chromatic upper tetrachord) and *usul muames* (Fokaefs and Vyzantios 1830:26–31; Breazul 1941:311–4); the piece “in the style of Turkish *manele*” in the same manuscript is a *şarkı hafızın* in *makam hüseyin* and *usul düyek* by Vasileios Vyzantios;<sup>45</sup> and the first piece from the Căldăruşani manuscript is a *şarkı* in *makam tahir* (a minor mode with a raised sixth degree) and *usul ağır semai* (Fokaefs and Vyzantios 1830:105–7).<sup>46</sup>

The *manele* mentioned in the discussions on church music are also classical Ottoman pieces, alongside other lay pieces—perhaps even *manes*. Barişiu, Petrescu, and Bishop Melchisedek rephrased the statements made decades earlier by Hieromonk Macarie:

and the Christians of our times, having gotten accustomed to hearing the Turkish *taksim*ler and *peşrevler*, . . . have started to sing worldly songs; and in the Holy Church one could often hear the very songs that the Turks sang in cafés and at their gatherings. . . . And if someone does not sing songs and medleys of *peşrevler* in the Holy Church, he is not welcome. (1823:10)

Macarie was well-known to Petrescu and Melchisedek; they probably took the information from Macarie and added the term *manea*, which had appeared in the meantime in Romanian. It is difficult to discern whether Barişiu, Petrescu, and Melchisedek made a distinction between *manes* and *taksim* or other higher or more popular categories of Turkish worldly music, just as it is difficult to know whether Macarie also included the *manes* among the songs “that the Turks sang in cafés” or whether the genre had not even appeared yet.

Among the Ottoman pieces, one must also consider the “*manele*” performed on the tanbur by the boyars mentioned by Burada and Sion. It is unlikely that during those times a representative of the nobility had sung music inappropriate to his high status.

The identification of the other pieces is still imprecise. The *manele* mentioned by Russo and Negruzzi are, in my opinion, impossible to classify. We do not have sufficient data on those from Hacivat either; as with the *mehterhane* or the Ottoman

chamber music, Burada used a generic term covering diverse musical categories. One must also place the *manele* mentioned by Alecsandri, Odobescu, and Caragiale in the same category that includes diverse Oriental musics. It is very unlikely that the piece whose text was noted by G. Dem. Teodorescu was *amanes*, even if the interjection “*aman*” suggests this labeling; its lines are catalectic hexasyllabic (that is, five syllables) with a trochaic rhythm and should not be considered as forming, by threes, an iambic line of fifteen syllables. Instead, the recordings of the brass band from the Mihai Viteazu Regiment, as well as those of Păun and Tramvai, could be *amanedes*, possibly played in a more rigid manner lacking in improvisation (at least in the case of the brass band), but they might also belong to another category of Turkish music designated by Romanians at the beginning of the twentieth century by the generic term *manea*. The slow—possibly rubato—melodies in the works by Șăineanu, Gane, and Dan-Dry suggest that these be labeled as *amanedes*, without this being, however, an irrefutable argument. Finally, there is no indication regarding the music to which one would dance the *manea* in the Măceșu village, and any supposition as to this—except for the fact that it had a regular rhythm, perhaps even *çiftetelli*?—would be risky.

## A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE MANEA IN THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES

We have seen, thus, that the designation *manea* served as an umbrella term for different—more or less related—musical genres and that it was in all probability not used by Romanians before the nineteenth century. But when did the Romanians listen to the first “real” *manele*, those from which the term extended to other genres as well? If we are to credit Alecu Russo, who used the word for the first time, *manele* were at their peak at the beginning of the 1830s. Russo used *manele* as an emblem of a golden age separated from contemporary times by the year 1835, a date that he mentioned several times throughout his text.<sup>47</sup> I tend to believe that the appearance of *manele* happened not long before that and that their falling out of fashion was relatively rapid. In 1851, Russo (born in 1819) saw *manele* as monuments of the past that he had enjoyed in his adolescence; ten years later, younger Odobescu (born in 1834) considered them foreign music from a Phanariot past that he had not witnessed. It would not be out of the question, however, for *manele* to have entered the Romanian principalities later, perhaps even close to 1850, and for Russo to have extended the name, just as Burada and the other writers would do later, to other musical genres from the past as well.

Even if the moment of the *manea*’s appearance in the Romanian principalities—both the genre and the designation—is not clearly indicated, it is more than likely that it came to us from the urban Turkish world, brought by Romanian *lăutari* or singers from Constantinople. There are records of the circulation of both categories of musicians between Istanbul and the Romanian principalities throughout the nineteenth century (Ghenea 1965:110; Filimon 2008:126; Ciobanu 1969:62).



The features of the *manea* from the mid-nineteenth century can be traced with a degree of confidence as the contemporary and later sources that mention it (both the “real” *manea* and the *manea* more broadly defined) do not contradict each other. The *manea* was a lyrical piece, vocal or vocal-instrumental, sung and played<sup>48</sup> by the Romani *lăutari* at manorial parties. The boyars and their wives could, themselves, sing (see Russo 1908; Negruzzi 1872). The tempo of the *manea* was slow (Gane 1879; Odobescu 1887; Șăineanu 1900), and the rhythm was free (Petrescu 1872; Dan-Dry 1885). The character was sentimental, melancholic (Gane 1879; Șăineanu 1896, 1900; Sion 1888; Russo 1908—“which breaks the hearts,” “the madams would sigh,” etc.), and the lyrics were often about love (Russo 1908; Șăineanu 1896; Sion 1888).<sup>49</sup> Here and there the text was interspersed with interjections such as “*ah!*” or “*aman!*” (Gane 1879; Ucenescu [in Nicolescu 1979]; G. Dem. Teodorescu 1885). The characteristics of this *manea*—let us continue to call it “classical Romanian”—overlap to a large extent with those of the (Greek) café *amanes*, but it would be unwise to state any more than the fact that the two genres have a common musical ancestor.<sup>50</sup>

The *manea* seems to have circulated initially in Moldova. Most of the writers who talked about it were Moldovan (primarily Russo, Negruzzi, and Gane, but also Alecsandri, Sion, Melchisedek, and Burada), while the Wallachian ones, as shown above, did not know the term (Pann, Ghica, Filimon) or used it only in connection with the exotic music of the Orient (Odobescu, Petrescu, Caragiale).<sup>51</sup> The first Moldovan writers—petty, conservative boyars living in a state in which the Phanariots’ pressure was not as strongly felt as in Wallachia—regarded the *manea* pleasantly, as a beautiful memory of times past and an element of Romanian identity.

The aversion to *manele*—or at least a slightly contemptuous attitude of superiority—could be met with among the progressive intellectuals, be they Transylvanian, Wallachian, or Moldovan. For Barițiu, Petrescu, Odobescu, or Bishop Melchisedek, the *manea* was the music of the “uncivilized, corrupt Muslim” Orient. The modernization of society and the construction of the Romanian nation were accompanied by a distancing from the Orient and the incrimination of the elements of its culture, including *manele* (cf. Dan-Dry). As European music took the place of the Oriental, *manele* were less and less frequently sung, and their earlier listeners—the boyars and the townsfolk—were no longer able to distinguish them from other similar genres of Oriental origin. As early as 1870, not even the church chanters, masters of classical Ottoman music in the past, could distinguish *besteler* and *şarkiler* from *manele*. Once the presence of *manele* subsided, the tone of the nationalists also abated: *manele* started to be seen as mere exotic elements, suitable for portraying the Ottoman world in literary works.

Concomitantly with this “classical” *manea*, performed especially for the boyars, other forms also circulated, such as the *manele* of the Turkish peddlers (the *manea* heard by Pann; cf. Garfias 1981:99), those from the itinerant puppet theaters (G. Dem. Teodorescu, Burada), and those of the Turkish and Tatar communities in Dobruja (which was annexed to Romania in 1878). Toward the end of the nineteenth century and in the first half of the twentieth, one can find other *manele* sporadically, most probably Balkan “hits” of the moment, brought to Romania by

musicians or the sellers of gramophone records. Although all of them had their roots in the Turkish poetic form *mani*, from a musical point of view they were quite different: some had a fixed form, while others had a free form in which improvisation played an important part; for some of them, the accompaniment was carried out in a *düyek/çiftetelli* rhythm, while for others (e.g., Răgălie's *manea*) it was not; some were sung, and some, more often than not, were only instrumental. It is plausible, but by no means certain, that some of these *manele*, up to the 1960s, were close to the "classical" *manele* heard by the boyars in the previous century. What is certain is simply the fact that since all of them had the same origin, and some of them common musical traits, and since the Romanians had lost their familiarity with the Turkish music, their listeners did not feel the need to distinguish them through different names. "*Manea*" thus became a term that covered all "Turkish"-sounding music and was to surface prominently much later in the twentieth century, assuming a major role in popular Romanian culture.

## NOTES

1. The purpose of Oișteanu's article was not so much to compile a history of *manele*, but to lament the "Turkification" of Romania and its "departure" from European culture.
2. See, for instance, V. Cosma (2009:108–18) and Manega (2006).
3. Recently, a different position was expounded by Bogdan Murgescu (1995), who has argued that the "Phanariot era" is nothing but a construct of the Romanian nationalist historiography of the nineteenth century.
4. Without being too precise, Oișteanu seems to connect the performance of *manele* by the *mehterhane* to a description made in 1652 by Evliya Çelebi.
5. If Oișteanu's presentation is nuanced and cautious regarding *manele* before 1900, other authors, including musicologists, make definitive statements. For example, for Viorel Cosma, Cantemir was "a great *manea* virtuoso"; the origins of the *manea* were, according to him, "Turkish-Persian-Indian"; the *manea* was "promoted in the Romanian Principalities by the Gypsy fiddlers and the Turkish seraglio fiddlers in the time of the Phanariot rule (eighteenth century), taken over, reworked, and adapted to the Romanian texts by the indigenous urban fiddlers at the beginning of the nineteenth century" (2009:108, 113).
6. Almost all of these literary sources are mentioned in the *manea* entry in *Dicționarul limbii române literare contemporane* (1957) [The dictionary of contemporary Romanian literary language], Lazăr Șăineanu's *Dicționar universal al limbii române* (1996) [General Romanian dictionary], and Șăineanu (1885; 1900), and are cited in Oișteanu's article. The texts by Russo (1908), Negruzzi (1872), Gane (1879), Caragiale (1910), and the travel diary of Alecsandri (1876) are available on Romanian Wikisource as well.
7. Romanian wines.
8. See Heliade-Rădulescu (1943:126–8).
9. Barițiu's quotes were published previously, with certain inaccuracies, in Catrina (1994:109).
10. *Kratimata* (sg. *kratima*), also called *terere* or *teretismata*, are, in Byzantine chant, either passages or entire compositions that use syllables without significance like *te-re-re*, *to-ro-ro*, *a-ne-na*, *e-ke-ta*, etc. See Touliatos (1989:239–41) and Anastasiou (2005).



one, whose initial phrase is identical with that of the *manea* under discussion, was performed in 1944 by the *lăutari* Cozma Curbet from Susleni and Vasile Stici from Furceni (Orhei County in the present Republic of Moldova, close to the right shore of the Dniester River). The piece was noted by Vladimir C. Curbet in 1949 and published in Stoianov (1972:120); Floria (1983:115); and Curbet (2003:395), and recorded as track number 2 on the Özgen 2004 CD. I am indebted to Mrs. Lilia Balan (National Library of the Republic of Moldova) and Dr. Vasile Chiseliță (Institute of Cultural Patrimony in Kishinev) for the help provided in identifying this piece.

42. Ion Popescu-Pasărea learned church music from Ștefanache Popescu, who was Anton Pann's student for eight months (Ionescu 1996:13–5).

43. It is estimated that there were thousands of *café manes* singers, the population of Istanbul being approximately one million inhabitants (Penannen 2004:10). I want to thank Pavlos Erevnidis for pointing out Penannen's article and for the useful information on classical Ottoman music, as well as on *amanes* and *gazel* in Greece and Turkey.

44. *Efterpi* contains sixty-six *şarkılar*, nine *besteler*, eleven *yürük semailer*, one *nakş*, along with a Greek song and a European one.

45. The piece can be found, with a few melodic differences and Turkish lyrics, in ms. Gr. 692 from the Romanian Academy Library (f. 184–185). It is written in Byzantine notation, and it opens the section of "Ottoman Verses."

46. The second piece from the Căldărușani manuscript was also identified by Constantin Răileanu in one of the three collections of Ottoman music in Byzantine notation printed in Constantinople before 1850: *Efterpi*, *Pandora*, and *Armonia* (Răileanu, personal communication, 6 February 2014).

47. Following the Treatise from Adrianople in 1829, the Danubian principalities entered the Russian protectorate, although they remained formally vassals to the Ottoman Empire. Many historians consider this date as the beginning of the modern period in Romanian history due to the significant social and economic changes that took place in the years immediately following.

48. Gane is the only one who, in his work of fiction, talks about the specific members of the ensemble of *lăutari* who performed *manele*: a violinist, one who played the *cobză* (instrument of the lute family), and a panpiper, that is, a typical lineup for the urban ensembles from the first half of the nineteenth century.

49. The information on the language in which the *manele* were sung is scarce, leaving room for suppositions. The only clearer information is the beginning of the *manea* from Gane's short story, "*Ah! suflete, ah!*" [Ah! My soul, ah!], suggesting a text in Romanian. These words, however, may have been mere exclamations distinct from the main text of the song, which may have been sung in Greek or Turkish, languages that some boyars—and probably some *lăutari*—still spoke in the mid-nineteenth century.

50. The presence of the decapentasyllabic meter both in the *amanedes* from the end of the nineteenth century and the so-called (by Odobescu) *manele* that Heliade had apparently mentioned is just a coincidence, the respective meter being frequently used in the Constantinople poetry.

51. This is correlated with a general remark, namely, that the terms taken from Turkish by official and literate means are more numerous in Moldova, while in Wallachia popular borrowings, through direct contact, are predominant (Suciu 2010:51). Hence, the *manea* from the mid-nineteenth century seems to have a stronger connection to Moldova and to the upper classes, in agreement with Șăineanu's statement that the term did not enter popular speech.

11. Quoted in O. L. Cosma (1975:301).
12. For the *mehterhane* in the Danubian principalities, see Gheorghiță (2010a:40–53).
13. The information on *manele* as part of the repertoire of the *mehterhane* and for the *tanbur* was also presented by Burada in another article published in 1888 (1974c:141–2).
14. The translation is somewhat ambiguous, because in Romanian “to sing” and “to play” (an instrument) are expressed by the same verb: *a cânta*. I tend to believe that we are talking now about the vocal performance of the *manea* by one of the actors, possibly accompanied by another on the Turkish *tanbur*.
15. See also Popescu-Judet (1967:345–6).
16. See note 14.
17. Ciobanu states that Popescu-Pasărea noted this in one of the printed editions of the *Pentecostarion*. I did not find this note in either of the editions of the *Pentecostarion*. In the first edition there is no version composed by Anton Pann of the particular song (Popescu-Pasărea 1924; 1936:19, 20). For the number of the *Pentecostarion*’s edition, see Frangulea (2004:399–402).
18. Șăineanu also mentions the definition of the term *manè* from an unspecified French source: “*melodie sans mesure composée de mots décousus; bulg. manè melodie*” (1900, 2, 1:246).
19. See also Alexandru (1980b:273).
20. Suciu (2010:477); Emil Suciu, personal communication, 3 April 2014; Doina Grecu, personal communication, 23 May 2014. Research on a linguistic atlas was undertaken between 1930 and 1938 by a team led by Emil Petrovici at The Linguistic Institute in Cluj. Part of the material gathered has remained unpublished, including a file on the *manea*. The research took place in eighty-five locations, among which nine were in Wallachia, six in each of the two districts Oltenia and Dobruja, seven in each of the two districts Moldova and Bessarabia—regions in which the Greek-Turkish influence was stronger than in the areas that formed part of the Habsburg Empire in the nineteenth century. Research in these latter thirty-five places targeted thirty Romanian communities and five communities of minorities (Roma, Bulgarians, Aromanians, Megleno-Romanians, and Ruthenians) (Petrovici 1940:iii–iv, 1). I would like to thank Dr. Doina Grecu (The Linguistic Institute in Cluj) and Dr. Emil Suciu warmly for the information related to this.
21. Alexandru presented a preliminary version of this article at a conference in 1969. It is arguable that he did not base his comment on sources from that time, but rather was referring to a *manea* performed by Pîrvan Răgălie (thirty-six years old) in 1949 (for more on Răgălie, see last paragraph of section “Considerations of *Manele* Prior to 1960,” below).
22. For the date of the manuscript (ms. Rom. 3497 from the Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest), see Nicolescu (1979:34–6). If Nicolescu’s reasoning on the inscriptions of the years is correct, the first piece to which I refer was noted not earlier than 1875, and the second after 1877.
23. The second piece was reproduced in facsimile (fragments) in Breazul (1941:311–2) and completely transcribed into Western notation in Nicolescu (1979:227–30). The first piece had been previously published in Byzantine notation in Pann (1852, 5:145). It was transcribed into Western notation in Ciobanu (1955:199). For the circulation of these two pieces, see Ciobanu (1985:261–2). My transcription in figure 2.1 also used the variant from the ms. 4701 in the Library of the Union of Composers and Musicologists, f. 98–99, in order to correct the mistakes from ms. 3497 and Pann (1852).
24. The first piece is featured on the concert album of the Anton Pann ensemble, led by Constantin Răileanu, *De la lume adunate și iarăși la lume date* [(Pieces) collected from the



people and given back to the people] (2012). Another live performance, together with Fikret Karakaya, Kyriakos Kalaitzidis, and other guests, can be found at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X9vJjyGOFDY> (accessed 7 February 2014). The orchestration belongs to the performers, and the manuscripts record only the melody performed vocally.

25. The information and the dating belong to John DeMetrick, to whom I extend my warm thanks here as well.

26. In 1949, there were seventy-eight *lăutari* in Clejani, and their superior competence was recognized beyond the neighboring counties (Ciobanu 1969:8, 14). After 1990, the *lăutari* from Clejani became famous in the West due to the band Taraf de Haïdouks.

27. This *manea* may have been collected after 1960.

28. Cf. Ghica (1976): *passim*; Filimon 1984: *passim*, 2008.

29. The 1852 edition of *Spitalul amorului* contains six brochures. The first two had been printed previously in 1850 and were slightly different from those in the 1852 edition (see also Băbuș 2002:47–9). The scores of the 174 pieces were re-edited in Pann (2009) in original Byzantine notation and transcribed into Western notation.

30. Cf. Neagoe (2008:70–86); Çelebi, in Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru et al. (1976:475, 487, 630–1, 712–3, 719, 786); Struve, quoted in Bezviconi (1947:134); Sulzer, in Zinveliu (1995:163); Thornton, quoted in Breazul (1941:75).

31. See Popescu-Judetz 1973.

32. Here and in the rest of the chapter I used the modern Turkish spelling.

33. The relationship between “*Ti megali symfora*” and “*Vai, ce ceas*” was first noticed by George Breazul (1941:315–6). The attribution of the piece “*Ti megali symfora*” to Cantemir was done by Gheorghe Ciobanu (1974a [1957]:167–9), using an article by Burada based on Turkish sources.

34. Nikiforos Kantouniaris, who noted it for the first time, heard it being sung by its very author, who composed it after the death of his young daughter. Taking into account the time in which Kantouniaris lived (Gheorghijă 2010b:87) and the genealogy of the Soutzos family ([http://ghika.org/Familles/Soutzo/Sutzu\\_01.pdf](http://ghika.org/Familles/Soutzo/Sutzu_01.pdf), accessed 7 February 2014), the piece was composed around 1800.

35. See Ollănescu (1981 [1897]:89–90); Poslușnicu (1928:548); Alexandru (1956:15); and (1980b:256). In all four of these, the three categories are explained, usually between brackets, this way: *nevbetler*—joyful songs, marches; *peşrevler*—preludes, overtures; *manele*—melancholy and love songs. See also Ciobanu (1974b [1959]:93); (1974d [1967]:108).

36. See Ollănescu (1981:92); Şăineanu (1900, 1:clxiv); and Ciobanu (1974c [1965]:224).

37. Dragoumis 1987:364–6; 2003:166–7; personal communication, December 2009.

38. The term *mane* also marked in other parts of the former Ottoman Empire an improvisation in a free rhythm. In recent times, the professional folk musicians in Macedonia call *mane* a “free rhythmic improvisation over the beat of the drum while the second player holds a drone” (Rice 1982:131), and in Bulgaria the improvisational solo characteristic of *kyuchek* is called *mane* or *taksim* (Silverman 2012:180).

39. Recordings starting in the 1920s can be found on YouTube: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AjepmHRjh74> (accessed 23 March 2014).

40. In Turkish, the piece is also known by the name “Mendilimin Yeşili.” The lyrics in both languages can be found at <http://analogion.com/forum/showthread.php?t=24440> (accessed 23 March 2014).

41. This piece may have, nevertheless, also been originally not a rural piece with restricted circulation but a hit with a wider spread. A dance melody (*sârba*) from Moldova similar to this