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The Cultivation and Fruitful Spread of Psaltic Art in the Black Sea Areas*

Emmanouil Giannopoulos

Introduction

Psaltic Art is an ecclesiastical art that constitutes one of the greatest achievements of Hellenic and Orthodox culture. It evolved continuously from ancient Greek music and provided a means of musical expression for the poetic language of the Christian Orthodox church within the framework of the various services of both the secular and monastic Rites. Furthermore with its diversity and types of composition, its richness of intervals and its theoretical structure, but especially with the expressive force of its monophonic nature, it managed to become an inseparable part of Christian Orthodox spirituality. The formation of a complete system of notation and musical rendition of its melodies (arguably as a development of ancient prosody) but also the emergence of significant musicians from the last centuries of the Eastern Roman-Hellenic Empire (erroneously called Byzantine) led this art to high levels of expressiveness. It also served as a common language of religious instruction, even before the national languages of the Orthodox peoples were fully established in their written form. As an instrument of catechesis, psaltic art, based on hymnography, contributed to the transmission of the truths of the Christian faith and served as a universal help to all Christian Orthodox faithful in their prayers and devotion to God.

Constantinople had always been the centre for safeguarding, cultivating and systematically teaching this pan-Orthodox language, and this centre also benefited from the indispensable spiritual support and safeguard of authenticity and tradition provided by the monastic state of the Holy Mountain (Mount Athos). It comes as no surprise that many thousands of non-Greeks were drawn to these two orthodox centres over the centuries. They had the aim of being enlightened by the knowledge and piety that was cultivated there. Despite the fact that some of these people, mainly for political reasons, eventually became opponents of the Empire it is clear that the womb in which the civilisation of these people was conceived and nourished was the tireless and unselfish care of the Orthodox Church in the passing on of faith, science and art.

Given this, the spread of psaltic art was no exception to this general process. Constantinople was to be found on the strait between two seas and on the crossroad between east and west. It received and passed on influences in all directions. Foreigners, eastern and western, northern and southern, stood in wonder before its cultural level and its artistic achievements among which we have examples in regards to cultivation of psaltic. The Aegean with its multitude of island societies and its big ports absorbed musical influences in chanting thus creating local traditions.

But on the other side of the geographical scale, around the Black Sea (mainly in the Western shores, especially from the moment that the Slavic peoples were Christianised) the spread and cultivation of ecclesiastical chant was widespread too. This art played a very important ecclesiastical and cultural role in the history of these peoples and it created forms of expression based on Greek models which were fully adapted by them independently of their identity. It is a fact for which Greek culture and psaltic art may boast, together with its remarkable achievements in other forms of ecclesiastical arts: painting, church architecture, poetry, rhetoric and many others.

The Greek term for the Black Sea is 'Euxeinos Pontos' (literally 'the sea that is friendly to foreigners'). The lands around the Black Sea therefore were friendly to the reception of psaltic art among other things. But the cultivation of psaltic art in those areas, which also played an important catechetical role in their religious education, has as yet not been researched in depth by Greek musicologists. Various foreign researchers of Slav descent have dealt with the issue extensively, sometimes successfully, sometimes not. In

* This is an improved and expanded English-language version of the paper originally read in Greek in a shortened form at the conference: «Χριστιανική Μακεδονία: Θεσσαλονίκη, Άγιον Όρος, Παρευξείνιες χώρες» (Θεολογική Σχολή-Κέντρο Ιστορίας του Δήμου Θεσσαλονίκης, 7/8/9-12-2001). The original Greek-language paper, featuring a reduced number of footnotes, was published in honour of professor Konstantinos Frangos in the book *Κατηχητική Διακονία*, 2003, pp. 287-316 and also in my book *Εμμανουήλ Στ. Γιαννόπουλος, Η Ψαλτική Τέχνη. Λόγος και μέλος στη λατρεία της Ορθόδοξης εκκλησίας*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2004, pp. 115-140.

the context of this conference and based on my interest in the general historical progression of psaltic art in the imperial and post-imperial periods, I would like to refer to certain interesting facts which are no doubt most useful for the better understanding of the beneficial influence and immediate acceptance and cultivation of psaltic art in these areas. This information is also interesting in so far as one may study how Greek ecclesiastical chants have been adapted into the languages of the area.

Russia

The Slavs in general came into contact and adopted Christianity thanks to the efforts of the ninth century Byzantines, in particular of saints Cyril and Methodius. One century later the Russians were also baptised, while the Bulgarians had been Christianised a little earlier. The activities of Greek missionaries and the first Greek bishops sent to these people for their religious instruction were simultaneously accompanied by the transmission of basic liturgical practices as well as of the greater developments in liturgical art, of which music was the most basic. One must remember that the beauty of orthodox Christian worship played a decisive role in the acceptance of Gospel truths by the Russians. The Russian chronicle of Nestor describes how the envoys of Vladimir I, when observing the worship of the Greeks in the Great Church of Agia Sophia, were struck by the brilliance and magnificence of the service. Indeed the various, heavenly, as they said, sounds of the choirs of psaltai, blending with the imposing ritual, made them state: «we cannot describe with the words what we experienced ... we did not know if we were in heaven or on earth.»

For this reason, as the chronicle of Joachim tell us, when a Greek bishop was installed in Kiev, he immediately summoned Greek priests and psalts to fulfill the needs of the local church. This teaching of chanting to the locals began almost immediately. Historical sources inform us that in the mid-11th century, three Greek psalts arrived from Constantinople in order to teach melodies that were then in use in Constantinople. The acceptance of the Byzantine rite in worship constituted the main reason why the chanting of the Slavonic services would follow Byzantine chanting models. Indeed the Russian musical books which were then created, strictly followed the Byzantine originals and the same thing happened with the musical modes. However, the tumultuous history of the Russian people and the evolution of the Russian language had their influence on the music. Often revisions and drastic changes were imposed. Some of these were based on Russian innovations but many others were a forced imposition of western European elements and style.

The notorious activity of Arseni Suchanov as 'collector' of manuscripts from the East during the 17th century (after 1651), nevertheless included a special order from Patriarch Nikon to collect musical codices that would serve as the basis for a return of the Russian Orthodox to more traditional forms of chant. This was in agreement with the Russian staretsi who often expressed opposition to foreign polyphonic music which was being imposed in worship. They would describe it as counterproductive in the effort to live and experience worship in a more spiritual and humble manner¹. This movement of Patriarch Nikon which did not last long was also promoted by specialized musicians from southern Russia, particularly from the shores of the Black Sea, where due to more numerous contacts with Constantinople, psaltic art continued to be cultivated along traditional lines.

The old Constantinopolitan psaltic tradition ended up being chanted by a mere few, in particular at monasteries such as the lavras of Kiev. Gradually however, this tradition was also corrupted by the introduction of foreign elements. Remnants of the older melodies remained in use by the Russian schismatics, the Raskolniki. The other development was the categorisation of melodies depending on their origin: 'Greek melodies', 'Kievan', 'Bulgarian' etc².

In fact, the staff notation which was eventually developed in Kiev has provided modern scholars strong evidence and proof as to how the psaltic notation worked before its analytical reform of 1814. I am here referring to the case of Greek ecclesiastical melodies which were discovered in long-forgotten codices written in the Kievan notation according to the manner in which these melodies are chanted in Greek churches today. And this according to the 'great hypostaseis' and not according to the metrophony (ie.

¹ *Στάρετς Σαμψών, Βίος και διδασχές*, translated by the metropolitan of Nikopolis Meletios, Πρέβεζα 1988, p. 80.

² For further information on the details included in these four paragraphs see: Γ. Παπαδοπούλου, *Συμβολαί εις την ιστορίαν της παρ' ημίν εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής*, Αθήνα 1890, pp. 227-230· Σερβίων και Κοζάνης Διονυσίου (Ψαριανού), article «Βυζάντιον-μουσική», *Θρησκευτική και Ηθική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια* (henceforth abbr: *ΘΗΕ*), vol. 3, lines 1157-1158, and Γρ. Θ. Στάθης, «Ρωσική εκκλησιαστική μουσική. Συνοπτική θεώρηση», in honourable volume: ...τιμή προς τον διδάσκαλον... *Έκφραση αγάπης στο πρόσωπο του καθηγητού Γρηγορίου Θ. Στάθης*, Αθήνα 2001 (published by the Society «Ανατολής το Περιήχημα»), pp. 675-681. See also M. Velimirović, «Οι βυζαντινές μουσικές παραδόσεις στους Σλάβους», *Η Βυζαντινή παράδοση μετά την Άλωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης*, Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης, Αθήνα 1994, pp. 133-146 and the same volume in English: *The byzantine tradition after the Fall of Constantinople*, University Press of Virginia/Charlottesville and London, 1991.

'skeleton' of the melody based only on the phonetic signs) of the old method³. Of course, apart from the argument of the synoptic form of our old musical notation we must also take into account the existence of the knowledge and cultivation of this tradition in those areas, such as the monastic centres, where, as we have already stated, the traditional Constantinopolitan melodies were preserved.

In the Crimea and in the region around Odessa (in today's Ukraine), the lasting influence of the Constantinopolitan cultural centre led to the establishment of schools⁴ of traditional Greek chanting, especially after the introduction of the new Method of analytical notation of 1814. It was in this area that an important personality was born, Demetrios Kantemir⁵ (late 17th – early 18th century) who studied in Constantinople and later produced significant theoretical and compositional musical work. In the Romanian

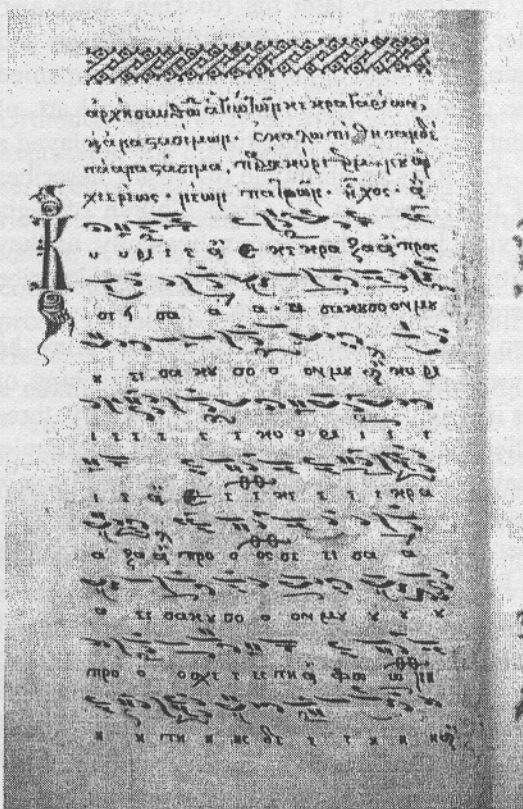


Plate I. MS EBE 3009, 6v (1761 AD). Written «...in Moschovia (i.e. Moscow) at the Romeïko (Greek) monastery» by Chrysanthos «the least of hieromonks»

lands Greek musical codices⁶ were copied and reproduced. These copied MSS survive to this day and include compositions of the most well known psalts of the Great Church of Christ, which were disseminated to the churches of the greater Orthodox regions.

At the monastery of St. Nicholas in Moscow, a metochion (i.e. monastery dependency) of Iveron monastery of Mount Athos, there is clear evidence that music codices were copied by known Athonite monks and other musicians who had studied under the famous Constantinopolitan masters of the 17th century. This activity was certainly not limited to fulfilling the needs of this metochion but served as tools in spreading the teaching of the art that those scribes served. Such figures include Akakios Galatzianos (abbot of the Iveron monastery and student in Constantinople of the protopsaltes Panagiotis Chrysaphes called «the new») and hieromonk Kyprianos. The codices that were copied in Moscow were the Athonite codices Βατοπαίδιου 1518 and Ιβήρων 1127, and the Φροντιστηρίου Τραπεζούντας (i.e. Tuition Centre of Trebizond)⁷. Some further research I have undertaken on a multitude of musical manuscripts shows that other MSS come from the same place, like the MS 3009 of the National Library of Greece (henceforth abbreviated EBE) which bears the inscription: «...in Moschovia (i.e. Moscow) at the Greek monastery» by Chrysanthos «the least of the hieromonks» in the year 1761 (see Plate I) or Μπενάκη TA 105 (i.e. Benaki Museum-Athens), which is written in Greek in the year 1677 by «Andrew of Russia»⁸. The Russian princes and tsars always

³ Γρ. Θ. Στάθη, «Βυζαντινή μουσική μεταγραφμένη στη πενταγραμμική σημειογραφία του Κιέβου περί το 1700», *Διεθνές Συνέδριο «Κρήτη, Ανατολική Μεσόγειος και Ρωσία κατά τον 17ο αιώνα»*, ...τιμή προς τον διδάσκαλον... (see footnote 2), pp. 688-695 (where one can find previous bibliography on the subject).

⁴ See Γ. Παπαδόπουλου, *Συμβολαί...*, p. 375, for evidence that deacon Anthimos from Constantinople taught there.

⁵ Γ. Παπαδόπουλου, *Συμβολαί...*, p. 308. See also Αθ. Καραθανάση, «Ο Δημήτριος Κάντεμιν, η Πατριαρχική Ακαδημία, το Φανάρι», *Δελτίο Εταιρείας Μελέτης της καθ' ημάς Ανατολής. Τόμος πρώτος*, Αθήνα 2004, p. 31.

⁶ See for example the MSS *Mount Athos-Batoπαίδιου 1346*, *Samos island-μητροπόλεως 79*. For the MSS of the Holy Mountain I am using the monumental catalogues of my teacher Prof. Gregorios Stathis (*Τα χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινής μουσικής. Άγιον Όρος. Τόμος Α' Αθήνα 1975, Τόμος Β' Αθήνα 1976, Τόμος Γ' Αθήνα 1993*), the old catalogues of Sp. Lambros and notes from my own research and observation of MSS.

⁷ The latter was later found at the Museum of Antiquities of Constantinople. For data on the monastery of St. Nicholas Moscow see Όλγας Αλεξανδροπούλου, «Η Ελληνική μονή Αγ. Νικολάου στη Μόσχα», *Μεσαιωνικά και Νέα Ελληνικά* 6 (2000) 111-154, where the names of the the above-mentioned musicians can be found in some chronicle references. See also Πηνελόπη Στάθη, *Χρύσανθος Νοταράς πατριάρχης Ιεροσολύμων*, (Σύνδεσμος των εν Αθήναις Μεγαλοσχολίων) Αθήνα 1999, p. 236, footnote 231). For Akakios see my book *Ταμείον χειρογράφων ψαλτικής τέχνης* (published by The Society for Macedonian Studies, Scientific Essays Series – Philological and Theological, No 20, Thessaloniki 2005, pp. 29-32), where one may find relevant bibliography and information on a newly found musical MS of his. The musical MS *Mount Athos-Διονυσίου 920* was also written in Moscow in 1901 by the hieromonk Meletios of Iveron (Γ. Παπάζογλου, «Συμπληρωματικός κατάλογος χειρογράφων μονής Διονυσίου Αγίου Όρους (Συνοπτική αναγραφή, χφφ. αρ. 805-1064)», *Θεολογία* 61 (1990), p. 466).

⁸ On this and generally in regard to the 74 MSS of psaltic art preserved in the Benaki Museum, see my paper «Χειρόγραφα Ψαλτικής Τέχνης αποκείμενα στο μουσείο Μπενάκη», in *Ε' συνάντηση Βυζαντινολόγων Ελλάδος και Κύπρου* (Κέρκυρα-Ιόνιο

took care to maintain cultural links and activities and invite specialist musicians from the former Byzantine Empire. For this reason, among others, many Post-Byzantine musical MSS include polychronismoi, compositions wishing a long life to the Tsars of Russia or to «Great Muscovy» and especially to Peter the Great.

During the 19th century, at the time when schools for learning the New Method were operating on the coasts of the Black Sea, certain Greek music teachers were active in the hinterland of Russia, bringing the locals into contact with the genuine age-long musical expression of Orthodox worship. One example is Antonios Sigalas, who was born on the island of Thera (Santorini) and studied in Constantinople, an established psalt and publisher of musical books. During his stay⁹ in Russia around 1826, he observed that the chanting of hymns by the Orthodox Russians was virtually identical with that of the Greek musical tradition, a fact which was due to the centuries-old survival of that art in Russia. Due to this influence, one can find musical compositions in the Russian-language in some Greek musical manuscripts such as Mount Athos-Παντελεήμονος 971, and even theoretical texts and diagrams like in Παντελεήμονος 1250.

Finally, regarding the presence of the Greek ecclesiastical music in Russia, we must mention the important collections of musical codices which are found in Moscow¹⁰, in St Petersburg¹¹, and in Kiev (today in Ukraine)¹² as a natural consequence of many centuries of cultural influence. Most of these come from Constantinople and the Russian Archaeological Institute¹³ which operated there, but also from the Holy Mountain (among these is the earliest dated musical, MS 1106 AD from Vatopaidi (Βατοπαιδίου) monastery. Some MSS once belonged to distinguished Greek musicians such as Panagioti Keltzanides while others came from the permanent Russian missions active in collecting artefacts and cultural treasures in the East. These codices are valuable cultural treasures not only because of their antiquity, they are precious sources of musicological study of our chant and Orthodox worship generally. Indeed, the contemporary efforts to present these MSS to the scientific community are most welcome.

Romania

Of all the countries bordering on the Black Sea Romania is the area which accepted and cultivated the psaltic art in a systematic manner. In fact psaltic art blossomed there in both Greek and Romanian, while efforts were made to protect it from outside influences. Indeed it is positive to see that the history of this blossoming has to some degree been researched recently by Romanian and other researchers¹⁴.

Πανεπιστήμιο, 3/5-10-2003) [5th Meeting of Byzantinologists from Greece and Cyprus, Corfou 3/5-10-2003] which will soon be published in English.

⁹ Γ. Παπαδόπουλου, *Συμβολαί...*, p. 525. Αντωνίου Σιγάλα, *Συλλογή Εθνικών Ασμάτων*, Αθήνα 1880, p. 517 and Ε. Αίτσα, «Συνοπτικός κατάλογος χειρογράφων μονής Προφήτου Ηλίου Θήρας», *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Κυκλαδικών Μελετών* IB' (1995) 372-384. Similar views on psaltic art in Russian monasteries can be found in the prologue of *Μουσική Πανδέκτη. Τόμος Α'. Εσπερινός*, Εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει 1850 (photocopied reprint, ed. ΤΕΠΤΙΟΣ 1993). See also the articles of Κ. Παπαδημητρίου, «Η Βυζαντινή μουσική και οι Ρώσσοι», *Φόρμιγξ* περίοδος Β', έτος ε' (ζ'), αριθ. 7-8 (Athens 15-31 July 1909), p. 4.

¹⁰ Κ. Παπουλίδη, «Συνοπτική αναγραφή Ελληνικών χειρογράφων και εγγράφων της βιβλιοθήκης Lenin της Μόσχας», *Θεολογία* 52 (1981). The other important collection of the city, the Greek MSS of the old Synodal Library preserved today at the Historical Museum.

¹¹ E. Gertsman, *The Greek Musical manuscripts of St. Petersburg. Catalogue. Vol I: National Library of Russia*, St. Petersburg 1996 (in Russian: Gercman E.V., *Greheskie muzykal; nye rukopisi Peterburga. Ka*alog. Tom I, «Glagol;» Sankt-Peteréurg* 1996). See also by the same author, *The Greek Musical Manuscripts of St. Petersburg. Catalogue. Vol II: Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Hermitage University Library*, St. Petersburg 1999 (in Russian: Gercman E.V., *Greheskie muzykal; nye rukopisi Peterburga. Ka*alog. Tom II, Sankt-Peteréurg* 1999). The old collection of Saltykov-Scedrin was acquired by the National Library of Russia.

¹² Chernukhin Ievhenii, *Greek Manuscripts in the Collections of Kyiv. Catalogue*, Kyiv-Washington 2000. We also have musical manuscripts in other Libraries of Ukraine, too.

¹³ Κων. Παπουλίδη, «Το Ρωσικό Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (1894-1914)», *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς Θεολογικής Σχολής Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, appendix 50 of the volume 28, Θεσσαλονίκη 1984.

¹⁴ A good list of the relevant bibliography may be found in Titus Moisescu, *Prolegomene Bizantine*, București 1985, pp. 206-224. For broader study of the influence of Greek education and culture in this country one may look up *Δελτίον Ρουμανικής Βιβλιογραφίας έτος Δ'-τεύχος Γ'*. (ed.) Μαρίας Γ. Παπαγεωργίου. (Εταιρεία Μακεδονικών Σπουδών. Ίδρυμα Μελετών Χερσονήσου του Αίμου. Τμήμα Ρουμανικών). Θεσσαλονίκη, Μάιος 1972. In this book one can find many of the names that I will talk about further on. There are also various other informative articles on psaltic art in Romania (important musicians and their work, manuscripts in the country etc.) in the following journals: *Glasul Bisericii, Biserica Ortodoxă Română, Revue Roumaine d'histoire de l'art (serie Théâtre, Musique, Cinéma)*; in the minutes of the 14th International Conference on Byzantine Studies 1971, published in 1976 as: *Actes du XIV^e Congrès international des études byzantines*; and in more recent times the publications of the series of Byzantine musicological conferences under the title: *Acta Musicae Byzantinae*, vol. I (1999), vol. II (2000), vol. III (2001), vol. IV (2002), vol. V (2003), vol. VI (2004), vol. VII (2005). Of course, it is not possible to reference every detail of this article in regard to the above publications. Nevertheless, some fundamental articles of these publications will indeed be referred to.

Even though the presence of Christianity in the area dates back to the first centuries of the spread of the Gospel, historical evidence for the dissemination of Greek ecclesiastical chant exists for the years around the fall of Constantinople (mid 1400s), when a wave of intellectuals and musicians arrived in the hospitable lands of Wallachia and Moldavia, and got straight into teaching the psaltic art to the inhabitants of these areas. There were immediate results. Around 1500 AD and soon after, we find two important musicians in the monastery of Putna: Eustathios and Antonios. These two reproduce the Constantinopolitan melodic tradition and create their own compositions, both writing and chanting in Greek and in Old Church Slavonic. In fact, the melodies of Eustathios are mainly written in bilingual codices which survive to this day¹⁵. Their activity furthermore serves as the basis and foundation for research on the use and development of the Greek psaltic art in the area. In 1527 deacon Makarie wrote a bilingual manuscript at Dobrovăț Monastery which is to be found today at Leimonos Monastery (on the island of Lesbos in Greece) bearing number 258¹⁶. In the years that followed we know of a multitude of Greek and Romanian musicians in the area as protopsalts, teachers or scribes of musical codices and composers and of Athonite monks who introduced the Byzantine rite to local monasteries¹⁷.

Furthermore we know of the constant care and concern of local officials to occasionally invite Greek musicians to teach the local clergy from as early as the 16th century. An example of such a friend of music was the prince of Moldavia Dimitrie Kantemir (reigned 1710-11) who was particularly interested in Ottoman and secular music and wrote a valuable treatise on the subject (extant). Local bishops of the time describe the worship in the area saying that often there was greater splendour in Wallachia than in Constantinople and that the best Greek psalts travelled there and educated the Moldavians who in turn established musical choirs. The vigour of the tradition can also be explained by the fact that, unlike other churches, the Romanian church constantly reinforced its ties with the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

It is very important to stress that in the bilingual codices written in Greek and Romanian (Cyrillic alphabet), the melodies are adapted to the Romanian language, thus fulfilling the practical necessities of the local church. There are clear indications that the services in the churches of the area were chanted in both languages, something also done in the palaces of princes. Such an adaptation to the vernacular occurred with the Slavonic churches as well.

The vigour of the psaltic tradition of Constantinople and the Holy Mountain in these lands is also demonstrated by the codices which were copied there. In one such MS, an important Papadike of 1635, the scribe, hieromonk Meletios, cares to specifically label melodies with the phrase « καθὼς ψάλλονται ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει » («as chanted in Constantinople») while others were labelled as «Βατοπαιδινόν» or «Λαυρεώτικον». At the end of the codex, on fol. 319a it is clearly stated that «this was written in Wallachia»¹⁸.

In the second half of the 17th century, a famous Greek composer who had studied in Constantinople travelled to Wallachia and in fact ended his life there. This was Germanos, bishop of New Patras, who with the composition of his ornamental sticherarion made a mark on his era and set the tone for the next 158 years. Just as in the many cases of other intellectuals who found a refuge and propitious opportunities for teaching in those lands, so in the case of Germanos we can say that by his presence alone and the musical

¹⁵ For more information see the collective volume: Anne Pennington, *Music in Medieval Moldavia, 16th century*, Bucharest 1985, where one may find more bibliography as well as a relevant article by Dimitri Conomos.

¹⁶ The codex is examined in: Μ. Χατζηγιακουμή, *Μουσικά χειρόγραφα τουρκοκρατίας* Αθήνα 1975, pp. 31, 33-35. See also Titus Moisesescu, «Anciens codex musicaux roumains « Le manuscrit de Dobrovăț » (Ms. 258/Leimonos) », *Revue Roumaine d'histoire de l'art* 25 (1988) (série Théâtre, Musique, Cinéma), pp. 79-97 and D. Conomos, *The Monastery of Putna and the Musical Tradition of Moldavia in the Sixteenth Century*, *Dumbaron Oaks Papers* 36 (1982), p. 16. See also the above mentioned book of Anne Pennington. In the first part of the codex there is a polychronism dedicated to, as the manuscript states, the prince of Wallachia, written by Loukas «the Hagiorite» (i.e. from the Holy Mountain Athos) and addressed to John, the voivode of Oungrovlachia. See Εμμ. Στ. Γιαννόπουλος, «Ο Άνδριος μελοποιός Αρσένιος Βατοπαιδινός "ο μικρός",», *Άγκυρα* 2 (2004), pp. 7-37 (p. 20).

¹⁷ Δημ. Οικονομίδου, «Από τας Ελληνο-Ρουμανικάς εκκλησιαστικές σχέσεις», *Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* (henceforth abbr.: *ΕΕΒΣ*) 23 (1953), pp. 450-471, especially pp. 456-460. See also by the same author the article «Ρουμανική εκκλησία» in *ΘΗΕ* vol. 10, especially columns 843-4 and 851-2. Much of the information given below regarding Romania is based on the research mentioned above.

¹⁸ It is MS *Oxford-Jesus College* 33. This data comes from my personal examination of the codex which I did when I was involved in broader research of mine on the MSS of psaltic art in Great Britain. Another fruit of this effort, which is now ready and will be published very soon, is the preparation of an analytical descriptive catalogue of all the musical mss preserved in the Libraries of Great Britain with the title *Τα χειρόγραφα Ψαλτικής Τέχνης των βιβλιοθηκών της Μεγάλης Βρετανίας. Αναλυτικός περιγραφικός κατάλογος*. See also my paper «Μεταβυζαντινά χειρόγραφα ψαλτικής τέχνης εκτός του Ελλαδικού χώρου. Βιβλιοθήκες Μεγάλης Βρετανίας» in *ΣΤ' Διεθνές Συνέδριο Ελληνικής Παλαιογραφίας* (Comité International de Paléographie Grecque, Δράμα 21/27 Σεπτεμβρίου 2003). The minute of the conference are expected to be published in the Spring of 2006. In my book Εμμανουήλ Στ. Γιαννόπουλος, *Η άνθηση της ψαλτικής τέχνης στην Κρήτη (1566-1669)*, *Τόρυμα Βυζαντινής Μουσικολογίας-Μελέται* 11, Αθήνα 2004 somebody can find the analytical description of two musical mss from Cambridge and Liverpool.

books with which he taught the psaltic art, he would have given new impetus to the music of worshi¹⁹. More development of arts and music occurred from the moment that the princes of the area employ Phanariots from 1711 onwards. There is much evidence in musical codices that attest to compositions of MSS that were written in Ungrovlachia, Moldovlachia²⁰, Bucharest²¹ and Iași²². It is interesting to note that some melodies are named *βλάχικα* (i.e. «from Wallachia»), some hymns are polychronisms dedicated to princes of the area and some MSS indicate the names of composers and chanters who served in the area and systematically taught music and transcribed musical MSS.

Other names that warrant a mention are hieromonk Iakovos (later bishop of Side, Ganos and Chora²³; Antonios Dirmitzoglou, protopsalt in Wallachia (17th century)²⁴; Demetrios Ioannou²⁵; Iovashko Vlachos, protopsalt of Curtea de Argeș and student of Germanos bishop of New Patra²⁶; Ioannis Kambazourna, student of Panayiotis Chrysaphes and of Iovashko Vlachos²⁷; the priest Chourmouzes²⁸; hieromonk Kallistos from the monastery of Mărgineni (see Plate II) in Wallachia²⁹; the hieromonk Klemes of the Houreziou monastery³⁰; Auxenti Roșculescu from Huși in Moldavia³¹; Demetrașco of Ungrovlachia³²; Ioanița the Vlach³³; Damianos, protopsalt of Moldovlachia³⁴; Agapios Paliermos³⁵; the former Patriarch of

¹⁹ Γρ. Θ. Στάθης, «Ζ' Μουσικολογική σπουδή με θέμα Γερμανός αρχιερεύς Νέων Πατρών (β' ήμισυ 17' αιώνας). Η ζωή και το έργο του», Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, τόμος «Επίσημοι Λόγοι» περιόδου από 31-8-1988 έως 31-8-1991 (πρυτανεία Μιχ. Π. Σταθοπούλου), Αθήνα 1998, pp. 396-398.

²⁰ Apart from the other collections, many MSS from Moldavia are also to be found at Mt Sinai. For more information on the famous school of Ungrovlachia which passed on exquisite MSS, some of which were musical. See the references and bibliography given by Μαρία Πολίτη, in «Τα χειρόγραφα της μονής Βρύσης Σίφνου», Πρακτικά Α' Διεθνούς Σιφναϊκού Συμποσίου. Σίφνος 25-28 Ιουνίου 1998. Τόμος Β' Βυζάντιο, Φραγκοκρατία-Τουρκοκρατία, Νεότεροι Χρόνοι, Αθήνα 2001, pp. 113, 123.

²¹ See for example the codices: Roumanian Acad. 422 (33) and 502 (502). For more information on these see Constantin Litzica, Biblioteca Academiei Române. Catalogul Manuscriselor Grecești, București 1909, and Camariano Nestor, Biblioteca Academiei Române. Catalogul Manuscriselor Grecești. Tomul II, București 1940. See also the MS Paros island-I.M. Ζωοδόχου Πηγής (Λογοβάρδας) I (written by Demetrios Konstantinou at Bucharest in 1837) and the MS Mount Athos-Βατοπαϊδίου 1345 (written by Eugenios hieromonk, the Peloponnesian, psalter of the metropolis of Bucharest, in 1787). For a more general assessment of MSS to be found in Romania today, see: Suceava Daniel, *Quelques copistes grecs de manuscrits de musique Byzantine des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles dans les collections de Roumanie* (abstract). XIXth International Congress of Byzantine Studies. University of Copenhagen, 18-24 August 1996 *Byzantium. Identity, Image, Influence*, 1996, Copenhagen 1996 (there are also other related articles in this volume).

²² See for example the MS Sofia, National Library Cyril & Methodius Gr. 90: «Γραμματική μουσικής θεωρητικής και πρακτικής. Έν' Ιασίω παρά Βασιλείου Νικολαΐδου τοῦ Βυζαντίου, ἔτος 1825», in Manjo Stojanov, *Codices Graeci Manuscripti Bibliothecae Cyrilli et Methodii serdicensis*, Nauka Iizcustvo, Sofija 1973, p. 89.

²³ Μ. Χατζηγιακουμή, *Χειρόγραφα εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής (1453-1820)*, Μορφωτικό Ίδρυμα Εθνικής Τραπέζης, Αθήνα 1980, pp. 32, 126-127, MS Sinai 480 (1625 AD). The MS Ρωσικής Ακαδημίας Επιστημών (*Russian Academy of Sciences*) 189, which was not related to music and written by the famous scribe Loukas the Cypriot, later bishop of Buzau and Oungro-walachia, was given as a gift by the scribe himself to his “most-holy and most-beloved teacher, the musical Iakovos” in 1623. Iakovos purportedly adds at a later stage (as bishop) his own text in the last folios of the manuscript. (I. I. Lebedeva, *Opisanie rukopisnogo Otdela Biblioteki Akademii Nauk Sssr. Tom. 5. Greheskie Rukopisi*, Leingrad 1973, p. 118). However, there seems to be a problem with the above information as the only Iakovos we know of, a bishop of Ganos and Chora, happened to be a student and not a teacher of Loukas. It may well be that we are dealing with two different people.

²⁴ MSS Mount Athos-Εηροποτάμου 327 and Thessaloniki-Πατριαρχικού Ιδρύματος 7. After studying the latter codex I would identify it as being undoubtedly by the hand of Dirmitzoglou.

²⁵ Μ. Χατζηγιακουμή, op. cit. p. 38.

²⁶ Γρ. Θ. Στάθης, «Ζ' Μουσικολογική...», p. 398-399.

²⁷ In MS Denmark, Royal Library NKS 4466, 4th, signed by «Ioannes Kambazourna, student of the current protopsalt Panagiotis Chrysaphes and of Iovashko protosalt of Curtea. In the same MS and in Mount Athos-Λαύρας I 189 which is also directly related to Walachia, there are compositions attributed to his father Konstantinos. Ioannes is referred to as composer in other MSS which are related to Romania eg. MS Mount Athos-Παντελεήμονος 967, f. 398r.

²⁸ He composed a melody “in Walachia, by the command of the vojvod” (GERCMAN E.V., *GREHESKIE MUZYKAL'NYE Tom II*, p. 172).

²⁹ Important work as a scribe, teacher and composer. See MSS Ιωάννινα-Ζωσιμαίας 3, Roumanian Acad. 1497, Craiova-Muzeul Istoriei Gr. 52, Greece-National Library (EBE) 2213 (see PLATE I), Mount Athos-Δοχειαρίου 407, Mount Athos-Λαύρας I 189, and Paris-Bibl. Nationale Suppl. Gr. 1135). For the monastery of Margineni see Πηνελόπη Στάθης, *Χρυσανθος...*, p. 236.

³⁰ MS Mount Athos-Ξενοφώντος 158 which has compositions of various composers of the area. Houreziou monastery is in Walachia.

³¹ MSS Πάτρας-Μονή Αγ. Πάντων 30 and 31, Roumanian Acad. 533 (765), Mount Athos-Σκήτης Τιμίου Προδρόμου 15/120 (see footnote 57 below), and perhaps Κοσινίτζας 265.

³² MS Mount Athos-Σταυρονικήτα 166, (1705 AD).

³³ Perhaps this is the composer Ioannes Logothetes Vlachos, the domestikos, who is mentioned in the MS Mount Athos-Ξενοφώντος 158 and in many other codices.

³⁴ This is Damianos of Vatopaidi (see for example MS Mount Athos-Παντελεήμονος 967, f. 136b) referred to as the teacher of the patriarchal protopsalt Panagiotis Chalatzoglou in the beginning of the 18th century.

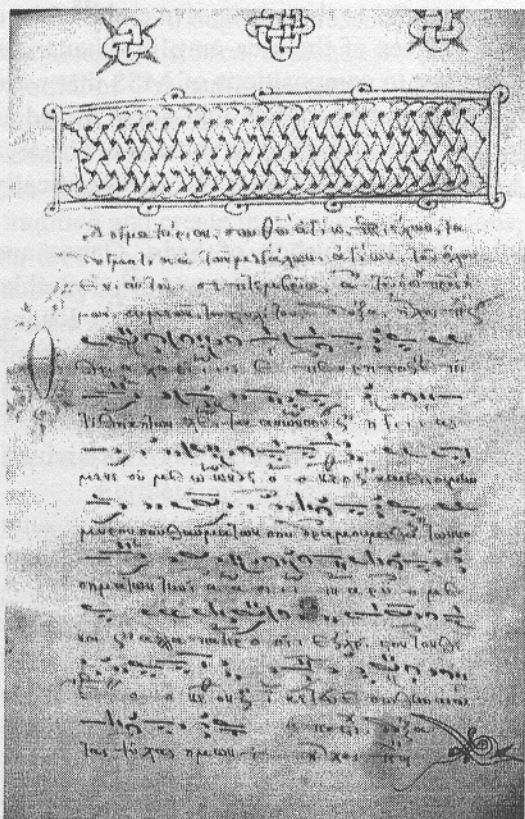


Plate II. MS EBE 2213, 60r (1694 AD)
Hieromonk Kallistos from the monastery of
Mărgineni in Wallachia

Constantinople Athanasios V³⁶ (more information below); the Cretan Nikephoros Marthales 'the new Glykys' as he would call himself³⁷; and Giannaki "son of Fr. David, student of Michalakakis the Iașiote of the bishopric of Buzău"³⁸. In a later period we know of Nektarios Vlachos, protopsalt at the Romanian Prodromu Skete of the Holy Mountain, who systematically adapted Greek ecclesiastical melodies into the Romanian language³⁹; Paisios of Xeropotamou⁴⁰ and Athanasios Chrestopoulos, once students of the three teachers in Constantinople (beginning in the 19th century); Gerontios the Romano-Moldavian; Georgios Paraskiades protopsalt of the Metropolitanate of Moldavia; protopsalt⁴¹ Michalaki the Romanian; Agathangelos Kyriazides, the well-known publisher, who served as protopsalt at Brăila⁴²; and Arsenios Moulinos⁴³. Well known bishops⁴⁴ are mentioned as 'philomousoi' (friends of music) who knew and cultivated psaltic art in the Romanian principalities.

At the monastery of Golia in Iași, which was a metochion of Vatopaidi monastery, monks from the latter brought with them musical codices⁴⁵. New codices were also written there, some with unique content, such as the codices of Nikephoros Kantouniaries in the first decades of the 19th century⁴⁶. He taught the psaltic art at Iași in a well-organised school, together with other musicians such as hierodeacon Gregorios from the island of Chios. Codices were also copied at an earlier time in Wallachia, some illustrated, such as the one with the figure of the old master Ioannes Koukouzeles

³⁵ Γρ. Θ. Στάθης, *Τα αλφαβητικά συστήματα μουσικής γραφής*, "...τιμή προς τον διδάσκαλον...", pp. 490-491; and the excerpt "Αγάπιος Πουλιέρμος (sic) Χίος", *Μεγάλη Σοβιετική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, vol. 1 (Αθήνα 1978), pp. 40-41.

³⁶ Regarding his time in Iași see M. Χατζηγιακουμή, *Χειρόγραφα...*, p. 91-footnote 167. He had also composed a polychronism to "the prince of Ungrovlachia Skarlatos". (Αθ. Παπαδόπουλου-Κεραμέως, *Μαυρογορδάτειος Βιβλιοθήκη* Journal of the Hellenic Philological Society of Constantinople, appendix of volumes IE' (1884), IET' (1885), IZ' (1886), IH' (1888), see in volume IZ', p. 118, MS. Leimonos 249).

³⁷ He was abbot of the Rimniki monastery in Ungrovlachia, then of the Sinai metochion of St. John the Forerunner in Constantinople and finally at Sinai where he was elected as archbishop (1729). He owned many important musical manuscripts and was the scribe of many others. For a complete list see my book *Η άνθιση της ψαλτικής τέχνης στην Κρήτη (1566-1669)*, Ίδρυμα Βυζαντινής Μουσικολογίας-Μελέται 11, pp. 282-283.

³⁸ MS Roumanian Acad. 442 (159) which is a sticherarion of Petros Peloponnesios, written in 1782.

³⁹ This work of his was continued by many of his students at the same skete. For more information on these students see Γρ. Θ. Στάθης, *Τα χειρόγραφα... Γ'*, pp. 971-972.

⁴⁰ For more information see Γρ. Θ. Στάθης, «Τα αλφαβητικά...», pp. 493-511, and Γ. Παπαδόπουλου, *Ιστορική επισκόπηση της βυζαντινής εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής*, Αθήνα 1904, p. 224.

⁴¹ See Γρ. Θ. Στάθης, *Τα χειρόγραφα... Γ'*, the Romanian MSS of Agiou Pavlou monastery and MS Mount Athos-Ιβήρων 981. For Georgios Paraskiades see and MS Mount Athos-Ξενοφώντος 193, where he is called *Βυζάντιος*. His name also appears as a subscriber in some of the first musical editions (eg. The collection of secular songs *Η Πανδώρα*. He is referred to in the table of subscribers as «Γεώργιος Παρασκευάδης Βυζάντιος ο μένων εις Ιάσιον»).

⁴² Γ. Παπαδόπουλου, *Συμβολαί...*, p. 494.

⁴³ Γ. Παπαδόπουλου, *Ιστορική επισκόπηση...*, p. 224.

⁴⁴ Note the role of bishop Dionysios of Ungrovlachia (whose name is frequently referred to in polychronisms in various MSS. See Γρ. Θ. Στάθης, «Τα πρωτόγραφα της εξηγήσεως στη Νέα Μέθοδος», "...τιμή προς τον διδάσκαλον..." (see footnote 2), pp. 698-699.

⁴⁵ MSS Mount Athos-Βατοπαιδίου 1444 and 1428.

⁴⁶ Grigorios Stathis, *Neumated Arabic, Gypsy and other songs by Nikephoros Kantouniaries*, paper at the conference *Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis*, Bydgoszcz 1982. This paper may be also be found as an independent leaflet or in Greek in the honorary volume: "...τιμή προς τον διδάσκαλον...", pp. 613-629. For more on these MSS see Σωφρονίου Ευστρατιάδου, *Κατάλογος των εν τη ιερά μονή Βατοπαιδίου αποκειμένων κωδίκων*, Paris 1921, and M. Χατζηγιακουμή, *Χειρόγραφα...*, pp. 100. Also, I. Πλεμμένου, «Το χειρόγραφο Ραιδεστηνού», *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Μελετών* 13 (1999-2000), pp. 97-110, where more references to similar codices may be found.

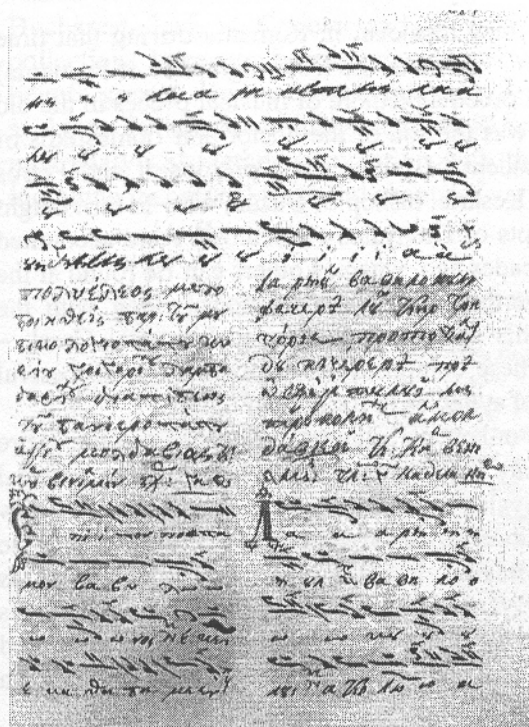


Plate III. Thessaloniki-Aριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου (ΑΠΘ) 64, 224r «Polyeleos composed by Gregorios lampadarios...on request of Veniamin, bishop of Moldavia»

Ephesios learned Romanian, taught music for many years in Bucharest and Iași, educated many musicians and later ended up in Transylvania. Students of his, such as the hieromonk Makarie and Panagiotes Engirliu, protopsalt of the Bucharest Metropolitanate, adapted many of his compositions into Romanian. In fact, Makarie⁵² is referred to as the 'creator of the hymns in Romanian ecclesiastical music' and he published his own Anastasimatarion in Romanian in Vienna 1823, based on the work of Petros Ephesios⁵³. He also translated theoretical works from Greek originals⁵⁴.

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Πτ. ΤΕΦΛΛ. ΘΕΟΛΟΓΟΣ
Δρ. ΕΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΗΣ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

⁴⁷ Γρ. Θ. Στάθης, *Ο μαΐτωρ Ιωάννης Παπαδόπουλος ο Κονκουζέλης, ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΟΣ ΑΔ'* (1986), issues 12-13. See also Γρ. Θ. Στάθης, *Το Σινά και τα Σιναιτικά μουσικά χειρόγραφα, Σιναιτικά Ανάλεκτα. Περιοδική έκδοση. Τόμος Α'*, Τδρυμα Όρους Σινά, Athens 2002, p. 160.

⁴⁸ MS Roumanian Acad. 766 is written by a student of Petros Byzantios in Moldavia in the year 1805, beginning with the phrase: "ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ τῆς ἐξηγήσεως τῶν μαθημάτων ὅπου θέλω νὰ μάθω ἀπὸ τὴν σήμερον ἀπὸ τὸν κύρ Πέτρο πρωτοψάλτῃ τῆς Μεγάλῃς Ἐκκλησίας" (Barbu-Bucur Sebastian, *Învățămîntul psaltic pînă la reforma lui Hrisant. Școli și propedii*, in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, XCIII 3-4 (martie-aprilie 1980), p. 500.

⁴⁹ This may be found in many manuscripts. See for example MSS Roumanian Acad. 505 (30) and 509 (89). Gregorios also composed verses in honour of prince Michael Gregorios Soutzos (Grigorios Stathis, *Neumated Arabic...*, MS Mount Athos-Batopaidiou 1428, in which there are also some songs by the above-mentioned musicians, who were serving in Wallachia, Ungrovlachia, Moldavia. Verses by Soutzos put to music by Gregorios may be found in relatively few MSS, such as Γεννάδειου Βιβλιοθήκης (i.e. Gennadeios Library-Athens) 231 (Εμμ. Στ. Γιαννόπουλου, *Χειρόγραφα Ψαλτικής Τέχνης ἀποκείμενα στὴν Γεννάδειο Βιβλιοθήκη*, paper presented at the workshop examining the MSS of the Gennadeios Library (Ελληνική Παλαιογραφική Εταιρεία-Γεννάδειος Βιβλιοθήκη, Monday 10 May 2004), currently under publication. However, the catalogue of the related exhibition has already been published as: *Ταξίδι στον κόσμο των ελληνικών χειρογράφων. Κατάλογος έκθεσης χειρογράφων Γεννάδειου Βιβλιοθήκης* (Ελληνική Παλαιογραφική Εταιρεία), Αθήνα 2004. In the codices Mount Athos-Ξηροποτάμου 299 and 318 there are compositions by Nikephoros Kantouniars commissioned by bishop Veniamin. Veniamin appears as subscriber to the first printed books of Byzantine Music.

⁵⁰ It is widely known that many general ecclesiastical books were printed in Romania from the end of the 17th century onwards.

⁵¹ See *Λόγιος Ερμής Θ'* (1819), pp. 610-613.

⁵² Compositions of his in MSS of Agios Pavlos and Stavroniketa monasteries in the Holy Mountain.

⁵³ The volumes produced by the Romanians (some of them in two colours) were quite numerous after the commencement of the Byzantine musical printing press. See Γρ. Θ. Στάθης, *Η μουσική τυπογραφία της ψαλτικής τέχνης*, "...τιμή προς τον διδάσκαλον...", pp. 213, 215

⁵⁴ MS Mount Athos-Σταυρονικήτα 2. It seems that Makarie was a very active person in general, as I believe he produced other translations into Romanian such as that of the works of Abba Isaac the Syrian, published by Neamt monastery (1819 AD).

The credit however for the most important work by a Greek musician in Romania during that time belongs to someone else. Around 1797, Dionysios Photeinos⁵⁵ (later known as the historiographer of Romania) travelled to Bucharest where he taught chanting, composed and recorded a plethora of musical pieces in the old notational system following the Constantinopolitan tradition. He was the son of the doctor and domestikos of the Patriarchate, the scribe Athanasios Photeinos and was a student of Iakovos the protopsalt and Petros Byzantios the protopsalt⁵⁶. His students included Anton Pann and Kesarie, bishop of Buzău, who in turn taught many others and published some books⁵⁷. Some of the manuscripts of Dionysios Photeinos⁵⁸ were accounted for in the hands of his descendants in Bucharest up until a few decades ago, whereas others can be found at the Academy of Sciences in the same city⁵⁹ and elsewhere⁶⁰. Nevertheless, his compositions, along with the compositions of other patriarchal musicians were recorded by his students who created bilingual Greek – Romanian manuscripts in (the latter in the Cyrillic alphabet). These compositions demonstrate a successful adaptation of the melodies to fit the different accents and number of syllables in Romanian⁶¹.

It is a privilege that here, in the city of Thessalonike, the only such bilingual manuscript in the entire Greek state survives⁶². This, along with his other manuscripts, are the source of knowledge of the musical work of Photeinos, who is named in this manuscript as Dionysios Vatachos⁶³. It is written in the new analytical method of notation, the old compositions are transcribed by his student Anton Pann (otherwise known as 'Pantoleon' and arguably of Greek descent – see Plates III, IV, V)⁶⁴. Pantoleon also served as student of Petros Ephesios around 1820 and director of the first Byzantine musical printing press⁶⁵. This was how he managed to learn the new method and to transcribe the compositions of Photeinos. He is considered as one of the musicians who most influenced ecclesiastical chant in Romania to this day. He also published a theoretical treatise (probably based on a similar work of Dionysios Photeinos) and other musical books.

For all these reasons the collections of Greek musical manuscripts in Romania today can be considered to be extensive and important⁶⁶. Such collections can be found in the Academy of Sciences at

⁵⁵ N. Σβορώνου, *Ο Διονύσιος Φωτεινός και το ιστορικό του έργον*, in *Ελληνικά* 10 (1937-38), pp. 133. According to the student rolls of the Romanian Academies in *Δελτίο Ρουμανικής...* (see footnote 14) pp. 117, 119 Dionysios, his father Athanasios before him and perhaps his brother Antonios, were all enrolled there. Dionysios Photeinos died in 1821 at 52 years of age.

⁵⁶ Perhaps it was for this reason that Petros Byzantios chose to go to Iași a few years later.

⁵⁷ See MS (actually a printed book) Mount Athos-Aγ. Παύλου 434, being an Heirmologion of Anton Pann of 1854. Compositions of Anton Pan may be found in many MSS of Agios Pavlos monastery (eg. *No 501*), and in others of the Roumanian Academy, such as No. 527 (741). A manuscript of his may also be found at the skete of St. John the Forerunner, on the Holy Mountain with the number 6/93 (see Sebastian Barbu-Bucur, *Manuscrisele muzicale românești de la Muntele Athos*, București 2000). Articles on Pann may be found in the volumes *Acta Musicae Byzantinae* (see footnote 14).

⁵⁸ The doctor Antonios Photeinos may have been his brother, in whose honour Gregorios Lambadarios wrote the codex Mount Athos-Βατοπαϊδίου 1298 in 1818 (see also M. Χατζηγιακουμή, *Χειρόγραφα...*, p. 102).

⁵⁹ See MSS 474 (721), 527 (741), 535 (767), 536 (768), of this library, but also no. 778 which has the following note: "εγράφη παρ' εμού Διονυσίου του Παλαιών Πατρών της εν Πελοποννήσω Αχαΐας, ευρισκομένου εν Βουκουρεστίω, . αφ' 47 [1797] Ιουνίου ιε'" (Nicu Moldoveanu, *Manuscrise muzicale bizantine cu notație antechrysantică din biblioteca Sf. Sinod și biblioteca Palatului Patriarhal din București*, *Glasul Bisericii XXXIV* Nr. 7-8, (iulie-august 1975), p. 807). On the Anastasimatarion of Dionysios Photeinos see Nicolae Gheorghijă, *The Anastasimatarion of Dionysios Photeinos*, in *Acta Musicae Byzantinae*, vol. IV (2002), pp. 99-109. In the same publication one may find more information on Photeinos, Anton Pann, related MSS, etc. A prosopography of Photeinos was recently published: Constantin Catrina, *Un manuscris de muzică bizantină semnat de Ilie Fotino*, in *Acta Musicae Byzantinae* III (2001), pp. 106-109.

⁶⁰ See MSS Jerusalem-Πατριαρχικής Βιβλιοθήκης 615, and Mount Athos-Ιβήρων 981 (which has the title *Διονύσιος Πελοποννήσιος εκ παλαιών Πατρών*, and includes a transcription of a theotokion by himself into the pre-1814 notation as well as some compositions of Michael the Moldavian (mentioned above). The MS Bucharest-Biblioteca Palatului Patriarhal 185 is by the hand of Photeinos himself (see Nicu Moldoveanu, *Manuscrise muzicale...*, p. 811).

⁶¹ Compositions in Romanian may also be found in manuscripts such as Mount Athos-Σίμωνος Πέτρας 12 και 13.

⁶² MS Thessaloniki-Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου (ΑΠΘ) 64 (Λ. Πολίτη, *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων του Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, Επιμέλεια-Συμπληρώσεις: Π. Σωτηροῦδη, Α. Σακελλαρίδου-Σωτηροῦδη, Θεσσαλονίκη 1991, p. 68). The data I give here is a result of my own examination of the codex.

⁶³ Based on this manuscript and bearing in mind what has been said above, we know of many compositions of Photeinos: anoixantaria, polyeleoi, eothina, doxologies, cheroubika, koinonika. Published doxologies of his may be found in *Φωτεινός Διονυσάκης εκ παλαιών Πατρών*, in the musical book of Χριστοδούλου Γεωργιάδου Κεσσανιέως, *Δοκίμιον εκκλησιαστικῶν μελῶν*, Αθήνα 1856, (see also the reprint in *Ὁρθρος Γ'*, εκδ. Ρηγόπουλος, Θεσσαλονίκη 1979). They are interpreted by Anton Pann and follow the Eastern 'ways' of the maqam. A couple of them are in MS ΑΠΘ 64.

⁶⁴ Σερβίων και Κοζάνης Διονυσίου (Ψαριανός), op. cit., lines 1157.

⁶⁵ He printed for the first time an *Axion Estin* of his in Bucharest in 1819.

⁶⁶ See my book Εμμανουήλ Στ. Γιαννόπουλος, *Η Φαλτική Τέχνη. Λόγος και μέλος στη λατρεία της Ορθόδοξης εκκλησίας*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2004, pp. 313-355 (where there is an effort to collect all the catalogues which contain musical MSS classified geographically) and especially pp. 351-353.

Bucharest, Iași, at Craiova and in a series of Romanian monasteries, especially in Moldavia. These collections have not been studied systematically and indeed, if this were to happen, musicology would benefit greatly. On the other hand many Romanian manuscripts survive today on the Holy Mountain mainly at Agios Pavlos, Stavroniketa and the Romanian skete of St John the Forerunner⁶⁷. Many are written in the new analytical method of notation with the adaptation of chants from the Greek into Romanian and also including theoretical texts and chants of various Romanian musicians.



Plate IV. MS Thessaloniki-Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου (ΑΠΘ) 64 (written after 1826), 155r «Polyeleos composed by Dionysios from old Patras, transcribed by Antonios Pantoleon»

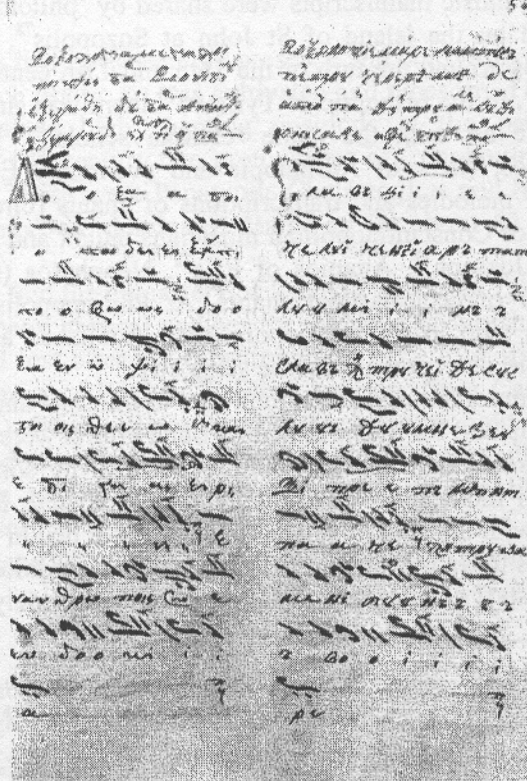


Plate V. Thessaloniki-Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου (ΑΠΘ) 64, 224r «Polyeleos composed by Gregorios lampadarios...on request of Veniamin, bishop of Moldavia»

The path that ecclesiastical music in Romania has taken over the last decades, with the abandonment of the traditional system of notation and the adoption of staff notation (with the exception of the monasteries) is referred to in many recent articles⁶⁸.

Bulgaria

Ecclesiastical music in Bulgaria has deep historical roots but has had less development than in Romania. Even though it was undoubtedly based on the Greek musical tradition and though the traditional Constantinopolitan style was chanted through the centuries⁶⁹, in modern times there has been an effort to sever the connection by publishing adapted Greek compositions into Bulgarian and publishing them without stating the composer and sometimes with the label 'Bulgarian music'⁷⁰. Furthermore there is a concerted

⁶⁷ Also in other monasteries (see eg. MS Mount Athos-Λαύρας Z 26). An analytical presentation of many of the Romanian musical manuscripts of the Holy Mountain was attempted recently: Sebastian Barbu-Bucur, *Manuscrisele...* (see footnote 57). On the other hand, the collection of catalogues of Greek MSS in the libraries of Romania along with other information has recently been made: Charitonas Karanasios, *Recherche über die griechischen Handschriften in Rumänien*, *Balkan Studies* 34 (1993), pp. 5-16. However, the study of a booklet which has since been published (J. M. Olivier, *Répertoire des Bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs de Marcel Richard*, Brepols-Turnhout 1995), further expands the field of research of this topic.

⁶⁸ Μ. Τρίτου, «Η σημερινή κατάσταση της ορθόδοξης εκκλησίας της Ρουμανίας», *Εισηγήσεις μαθημάτων Θεολογικού κύκλου ανοιχτού πανεπιστημίου 2002-2003 (Δήμος Θεσσαλονίκης-Διεύθυνση εκπαίδευσης)*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2003, pp. 183 and 198. See also the older article of the current Archbishop of Athens Christodoulos (Παρασκευαΐδη) «Ολίγα εκ πολλών (Εντυπώσεις από την εν χρήσει εις τας εκκλησίας Βουλγαρίας και Ρουμανίας μουσικήν)», *Ιεροψαλτικά Νέα έτος Η'*, issue 85 (June 1971), p. 1.

⁶⁹ Σερβίων και Κοζάνης Διονυσίου (Ψαριανού), *op. cit.*, line 1156.

⁷⁰ Σίμ. Καρά, *Ιωάννης μαΐστορ ο Κουκουζέλης και η εποχή του*, Αθήνα 1992, pp. 72-74, 81-81 and the tables which are referred to on those pages.

effort on an international level to portray Ioannes Papadopoulos Koukouzeles as 'Ivan Koukouzel' and as the most important medieval Bulgarian composer. And this when Koukouzeles never wrote or composed in Bulgarian and neither do any of these opinions have a serious basis of scientific research and evidence⁷¹.

Putting all this aside, historical retrospect shows that in the wider area of Bulgaria, especially on the coast of the Black Sea and in what is today European Turkey, there was significant chanting activity and great musicians who did important work and taught their art to others. At Varna, musical codices were written⁷², music manuscripts were shared by 'philomousoi' at Pyrgos and a multitude of manuscripts could be found on the island of St John at Sozopolis⁷³. Important musicians and scribes made their mark at Anchialos around the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries such as Constantine, Gennadios and a hieromonk Gabriel⁷⁴. In the bishopric of Tyrnovo⁷⁵ there was similar activity and we know of the existence of a school of psaltic art with the name 'elenska schola'⁷⁶. In this bishopric the musically-minded metropolitan Athanasios, (later of Adrianople and eventually Ecumenical Patriarch) composed significant and quite technical melodies and transcriptions of chants (circa 1700). In Bulgaria itself, at the monastery of Rila, students of Constantinopolitan musicians taught and copied manuscripts both before and after 1820. Names such as Joasaph⁷⁷, Agapios of Rila⁷⁸, Neophytos (teacher of the old Bulgarian language at Chalki and composer of ecclesiastical chants. At Philippopolis (Plovdiv)⁷⁹ we know of Greek protopsalts such as Georgios who in Constantinople 1846, published a musical anthology in black and red ink⁸⁰. A certain Agapios is also known from the same city.

Important musicians took care to translate and to adapt various melodies into Bulgarian for the needs of worship and for music teaching. Such efforts were undertaken not only by Bulgarians who were educated in the Greek language and culture but also by some Greeks, such as the scribe Matthaïos Ephesios of Vatopaidi monastery who took on that challenge in a manuscript that today is preserved in Bulgaria⁸¹, perhaps with the help of Bulgarian students of his. In more recent times there has been an effort by Bulgarian musicians to transcribe into Bulgarian certain traditional compositions of Byzantine ecclesiastical music into Western staff notation and to disseminate them widely⁸².

⁷¹ Σίμ. Καρά, *ibid.*, and at many other points in his book and also Γρ. Θ. Στάθης, *Ο μαϊστορ...* *op.cit.* (where one may find bibliographical references to opinions of Bulgarian researchers on 'Bulgarian' music and Ioannes Koukouzeles, along with a scientific rebuke of these opinions.

⁷² That is where Metropolitan Zacharias was active (Γ. Παπαδόπουλου, *Συμβολαί...*, p. 348 and his *Ιστορική...*, p. 212).

⁷³ One of these was the typikon of St. Savvas by the important Byzantine musician and scribe Gregorios Bounes the Alyate (Αθ. Παπαδόπουλου-Κεραμέως, «Η εν τω νησίω Σωζοπόλειως βασιλική μονή Ιωάννου του Προδρόμου και η τύχη της βιβλιοθήκης αυτής» *Βυζαντινά Χρονικά* 7 (1900), pp. 676, 680).

⁷⁴ We may summarily refer to some of the codices which are related to these musicians or contain their compositions. For Konstantinos see MSS Patmos island-Mονή Αγ. Ιωάννου του Θεολόγου 499, Berlin-Königliche Bibliothek 386, Lesbos island-Mονής Υψηλού 48 for Gennadios MS Sinai 1295 and for Gabriel MSS Paris-Bibl. Nation. Ancien fonds Grec 405, and Vatican-Barb. gr. 283. The possibility that the last two are one and the same person, is something that needs research. For more information see the above mentioned works of Μ. Χατζηγιακουμή, the catalogues of Γρ. Στάθης, and the article of Σωφρ. Ευστρατιάδη, *Θράκες μουσικοί*, *ΕΕΒΣ* 12 (1936), pp. 46-75, etc.

⁷⁵ Many musical codices were written in the area of Great Tyrnovo or belonged to musicians of the area. See for example the MSS Mount Athos-Βατοπαιδίου 1421, monastery of Saint Νικάνορα (Zavorda) 181, Sofia-Library Cyrill and Methodios 65, 69, 83, and 84, Mount Athos-Ιβήρων 965, and perhaps some others.

⁷⁶ Perhaps in opposition to the Russian school of polyphonic ecclesiastical music which also had many supporters in Bulgaria. (see the journal *Μουσική* 25 (1914), p. 29).

⁷⁷ Γρ. Θ. Στάθης, «Ioasaf Rilites et ses "exégéseis" à certaines compositions byzantines», *Balkan Studies* 17, I (1976), pp. 131-142+ ill. I-IX (and in Greek the honorary volume ... *τιμή προς τον διδάσκαλον...*, pp. 512-533). Ioasaf stayed 10 years in Mount Athos as a music student (Κωνσταντίνος Νιχωρίτης, *Η επίδραση του Αγίου Όρους στον πνευματικό βίο των Σλάβων* [*The effect of Mount Athos on the spiritual life of the Slavs*], 2004, σ. 65. Here somebody can also find some other information about Bulgarians who studied ecclesiastical music in Mount Athos, derived from Sv. Kujumžieva, «Muzikalni vrāsiki na Zograf prez vāzrodenskoto vreme», *Svetogorska obitel Zograf*, 2 (Sofia 1996), pp. 269-280). Impressive also is the great number of subscribers from the monastery of Rila for the first musical publications.

⁷⁸ MS Sofia-Library Cyrill and Methodios Γρ. 66.

⁷⁹ In the vicinity of Philippopolis is the monastery of the Theotokos Petriconitissa (Bachkovo) which has a collection of musical codices. Its old typikon has references to the benefits of psalmody.

⁸⁰ Γ. Χατζηθεοδώρου, *Βιβλιογραφία της βυζαντινής εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής. περίοδος Α' (1820-1899)*, Θεσσαλονίκη, Πατριαρχικόν Τδρμα Πατερικών Μελετών 1998, pp. 90-91, and Γ. Παπαδοπούλου, *Συμβολαί...*, pp. 328, 349.

⁸¹ MS Sofia-Library Cyrill and Methodios Γρ. 85. See also the similar but more significant work of Nikolaos the Hagiorite in the MS Mount Athos-Χιλανδαρίου 54 of 1837, which includes the Sticheron of Germanos of New Patras and an Anthology of hymns translated «εκ της ελληνικής διαλέκτου εις των Βουλγάρων» (Α. Jakovljević, «Inventory of music manuscripts in the library of the monastery of Chilandar», *Chilandarski Zbornik* 4 (Belgrad 1978), p. 200).

⁸² *Παράρτημα Εκκλησιαστικής Αλήθειας, Εργασίας του εν τοις Πατριαρχείοις εδρεύοντος και δυνάμει υψηλής κυβερνητικής αδείας λειτουργούντος εκκλησιαστικού μουσικού συλλόγου*, τεύχος έκτον, Κωνσταντινούπολη 1907, p. 44.

Today there is a multitude of musical codices in Bulgarian libraries, the majority of which were taken from Greek monasteries of the province of Macedonia, namely Kosinitza/Eikosifoinissa, St John Forerunner Serres, Archangeliotissa, Panayia Kalamous, etc.⁸³. The most significant collections are at Rila⁸⁴ and Bachkovo, the Ecclesiastical Museum of Sofia, the Library of Cyril and Methodios at the Ivan Dujcev Centre and at Philippopolis (Library «Ivan Vazov»).

Pontos

The last stop in our tour of the Black Sea lands that have seen the presence and cultivation of Greek psaltic art is Pontos. Pontos was not only a land in which psaltic art was cultivated and blossomed but it also produced significant musicians who eventually attained high chanting positions at the patriarchate. Trapezounta (Trebizond) in particular produced in the 18th century two protopsaltes of Constantinople who were at the same time great teachers and composers. These were Panayiotis Chalatzoglou and his student Ioannes Trapezountios (i.e. from Trebizond), two figures who dominated psaltic art for about 60 years and indeed influenced its development, especially notation.

In this area once known as Chaldea, one could find the monastery of Panayia Soumela. Like in most parts of Pontos, there was an organised library with many musical codices for the need of worship and for the teaching of music. This collection was considered lost after the catastrophe of 1922. But some of the codices later appeared in Ankara and recently in libraries of England⁸⁵. Other codices from Caesarea are today in the Benaki museum in Athens (see footnote 8). Other codices from Pontos were brought with other treasures⁸⁶ by Pontian refugees to the area of Macedonia-Northern Greece. Naousa in particular houses manuscripts from Argyroupolis⁸⁷. These codices are identified as those belonging to the library and metropolitan church of Argyropolis. These manuscripts were written in the context of important developments in Constantinople by well-known musicians who toiled for decades for the art they loved.

Epilogue

Notwithstanding a great amount of supplementary data that we cannot analyze here, we have endeavoured in this brief introduction to shed more light on the fruitful cultivation of ecclesiastical music in the wider area of the Black Sea, as effected not only by the great masters of the Ecumenical Patriarchate but also by many humble chanters from the Holy Mountain who, on their frequent travels to their brethren abroad, based on their inter-monastery relations spread and taught the psaltic art in all the Orthodox lands⁸⁸. Let us not forget that psaltic music is the garment of the word. It was this word, bearing the message of the gospel, that was carried with the music along with the civilisation and culture that went with it, and this was a most significant factor in the spiritual and cultural development in the area.

⁸³ The issue is well known and important scientists have dealt with it for many years, particularly L. Polites and B. Atsalos who was the first to publish a catalogue of the MSS when our neighbours refused to acknowledge their existence in Sofia. See also Βασίλη Κατσαρού, *Τα χειρόγραφα των μονών Τιμίου Προδρόμου Σερρών και Παναγίας Αχειροποιήτων του Παγγαίου (Κοσινίτσας), Σέρρες* 1995, with a related bibliography. Also Α. Πολίτη, «Τα χειρόγραφα δύο μοναστηριών της Ξάνθης», *Θρακικά Χρονικά* 33 (1977) and Dorotei Getov, «A checklist of the Greek manuscript collection at the ecclesiastical historical and archival institute of the Patriarchate of Bulgaria», *"Ivan Dujcev" centre...-University of Sofia... (series Catalogorum, Vol. 5)*, Sofia 1977.

⁸⁴ Kujumdzieva Svetlana, «Die Notenmanuskripten in der Bibliothek des Rilaklosters», *Palaeobulgarica* 4 (1980).

⁸⁵ Λίνος και Μαρία Πολίτη, «Βιβλιογράφοι του 17ου-18ου αιώνα», *Δελτίο του Ιστορικού και Παλαιογραφικού Αρχείου* ΣΤ' 91988-1992), Αθήνα 1994, p. 349, the former MS Σουμελά 22 of the well known scribe Anastasios the Proikonnesean. The description of this MS and the others of the Mingana collection at the University of Birmingham are ready for publication as a result of my broader work on the musical manuscripts of the various libraries of Great Britain (see footnote 18). Indeed the MS no. 4 of the same collection is identified as the former no. 33 of the Library of St George Peristereota Monastery, again of Pontos

⁸⁶ At Naousa, the place where the greatest wave of Pontian refugees settled, one may now find among the books of the former Greek Phrontisterion (Greek Tuition Centre) of Trebizond, of the Argyroupolis diocese and of surrounding monasteries, and 5-6 musical manuscripts, remnants of a collection which once numbered many tens of manuscripts.

⁸⁷ Their analytical description included in my book *Ταμείον χειρογράφων ψαλτικής τέχνης* (see footnote 7). It would have been nice of course for this catalogue to contain the other codices of this area of Pontos which I am sure are in the hands of private individuals, as this important collection of manuscripts and books went through many adventures before it reached its place of safekeeping today.

⁸⁸ It would be very interesting for musicologists and historians to compile one day a database of all the subscribers of printed Byzantine music books from 1820 up to at least the beginning of the 20th century, according to residence and occupation, the office they held, etc. In this way, a 'map' of the spread of psaltic art may be made that covers the Orthodox Christian lands of that era. In the subscribers lists, there were many musicians and place names which are to be found around the Black Sea area, many are today lost to history, others were famous places of remarkable fruition of the Greek civilization.