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Musical Freedom and Ecclesiastical Rules at the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople during the 18th century*

The Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople during the 18th century

From the beginning of the 18th century in Constantinople there was a very interesting phenomenon: a reception of the traditional Byzantine Chant but with some new modernizing (partly rule-bound, partly rule-breaking) aspects; that time, the “fever” of interpretation (that was a new “*analytical way*” of writing down and composing music) was “burning” the world of ecclesiastical chant in Constantinople. One may reasonably assume that the backstage of the ecclesiastic musical scene of the Patriarchate was at that time the theater of important upheavals. A series of musicians worked then (as chanters, chant-makers and teachers) following a new direction, a direction which was actually the one already formed during the Middle Ages and transmitted in later years under the cloak of another more interpretative way of using (while writing down or composing) music; the course of this transition is vividly sketched by Chrysanthos of Madytos in his *Great Theory of Music*¹. So, we already know many people working there, among whom are the following:

❖ **Panagiotes Halatzoglus**, who decisively contributed to the elaboration of the famous “*style of the Great Church of Christ*”: relying on the very Athonite tradition of sacred chant, which had been taught to him, “*he abridged some melodies of musical formulas or, in other cases, he even altered them, aiming, it is said, at pleasure and embellishment*”².

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1. *Great Theory of Music* by Chrysanthos of Madytos, translated by Katy Romanou, New York 2010 [henceforth: *Chrysanthos*].

2. See Chrysanthos, p. 238, note 107: “*Panagiotes’ father was from Trapezus, his profession was halatzes [hallaç] and he was married in Constantinople. A monk, a relative of his and musician came to his house and taught his son Panagiotes few principles of music, he ad-*

vised him to go to the monastery of Vatopedion on Athos and study with Damianos, who was then chanting there, because well informed chanters were missing at the time in Constantinople. So Panagiotes, studying with Damianos, learned all the ecclesiastical mele preserved to their days and, returning to Constantinople, he was admitted as Protopsaltes of the Great Church. Mele by Panagiotes preserved are the Heirmos “Ἐφριξε γῆ, with its Kratema, another Kratema in echos barys and a few more”; see also, *ibid.*, p. 243, § 74: “*The Protopsaltes Panagiotes*

- ❖ **John the Protopsaltes**, who “transubstantiated” (with the encouragement of the Patriarch Cyrillos) the preceding “abridgements and modifications” of his teacher. John used “a way of writing, which is different from the old and akin to the analytical way”, publicly claiming that “the difficulty of teaching and transmitting psalmody, due to all the time it takes, ought to be removed from their creations” and that “a simpler, more methodical and elementary system of characters ought to be established, making it possible to write every kind of melody and to transmit it accurately”³.
- ❖ **Daniel the Protopsaltes**, who used naturally and effortlessly “that analytical way” in order to write down his new musical compositions. This new way was, of course, different from the traditional one, provoking at first serious reactions: “there exist in his compositions innovative musical formulas, such that they were never used by psalmodists before or after him. Because of them, certain persons dared to accuse him of ignorance”⁴. Also, the content of all these

brought ecclesiastical music from the music teachers of Athos, but it seems that when he delivered the mele to his students he abridged some melodies of theses or, in other cases, he even altered them, aiming, it is said, at pleasure and embellishment. It is possible, therefore, that this is the cause of the divergence in the recitation of certain theses of the ecclesiastical mele between the Constantinopolite music teachers and those of Athos”. Cfr. Eugenia Popescu-Judetz – Adriana Ababi-Sirli, *Sources of 18th century music. Panayiotos Chalatzoglou and Kyrillos Marmarinos’ comparative treatise on secular music*, (Istanbul) 2000, pp. 12-15, 25-48, 125-144; John Plemmenos, *The musical portrait of modern-Greek Enlightenment*, (Athens 2003), pp. 5-35.

3. See Chrysanthos, pp. 235-236, note 96: “Ioannes was from Trapezus; a goldsmith at first, he studied later with Panagiotes and was taught by him all the musical works preserved to their days. Becoming efficient in music, he was elected Lampadarios and chanted with his teacher, whom he succeeded after his death, becoming Protopsaltes. He wrote the music to the Pasapnoaria, prompted by the Patriarch Cyrillos the year 1756 A.D.”; see also, *ibid.*, pp. 243-244, § 75: Halatzoglous’ “successor Ioannes Protopsaltes was publicly saying that the difficulty of teaching and transmitting psalmody, due to all the time it takes, ought to be removed from their creations (he was maybe imitating his teacher, because usually the teacher’s manners are inherited to students). He thought that a simpler, more methodical and elementary system of characters ought to be established, making it possible to write every kind of melody and to transmit it accurately. So, in the year 1756, when the music lover Cyrillos, driving straight the rudder of the patriarchate, impelled Ioannes to compose Pasapnoaria, Polyeleoi, Doxologies, Koelonika, etc. he used a way of writing, which is different from the old and akin to the analytical

way, used by his student Petros”. Cfr. Α. ΧΑΛΔΕΑΚΙΣ, “ΙΟΥΑΝΝ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΥΝΔΣΚΙΥ”, *ΠΡΑΒΟΣΛΑΒΗΑ ΕΝ-ΚΥΚΛΟΠΕΔΙ* 24 (2010), pp. 620-623; *Idem*, “John the Protopsaltes”, *Great Orthodox Christian Encyclopedia* 9 (2013), pp. 246-248.

4. See Chrysanthos, p. 235, note 88: “Daniel Protopsaltes, the melodic trumpet of our century, was from Tyrnavon close to Larissa. He passed away in 1789, 23 December, Saturday at 12 o clock. Then, Iacobos was elected Protopsaltes and Petros Byzantios, Lampadarios”; see also, *ibid.*, p. 244, § 76: “Daniel Protopsaltes, Ioannes’ successor, drawing alike from the teacher Panagiotes, wished to imitate that analytical way, as is evident in his Polyeleos and his Doxology. For this reason, there exist in his mele innovative theses, such that were never used by psalmodists before or after him. Because of them, certain persons dared to accuse him of ignorance. He was to innovate because he attempted to introduce in ecclesiastical mele, exoteric mele also, that is mele played in his times by instrumentalists that it was not possible to write with the old ecclesiastical theses. Being indeed a friend of Zacharias Hanentes, he learned by him a lot on exoteric music; likewise, he taught Zacharias in return ecclesiastical mele. It is said that Zacharias invented the mele of some Heirmoi and Daniel wrote them down with musical neumes, but he did not give the manuscripts to his students, and they were lost. However, certain chanters know Zacharias’ mele and when asked, they say that Daniel did not give Zacharias’ Heirmoi simply because never wrote them down. Daniel’s qualities are the sobriety and richness of his creation, because when he comes to a phthora, he exceedingly insists on its melody and does not abandon it quickly; such a melopoeos is indeed to be praised”. Cfr. Α. ΧΑΛΔΕΑΚΙΣ, “ΔΑΝΙΥΛ ΠΡΟΤΟΠΣΑΛΙΤ” *ΠΡΑΒΟΣΛΑΒΗΑ ΕΝΚΥΚΛΟΠΕΔΙ* 14 (2006), pp. 83-84; *Idem*, “ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ ΧΑΝΕΝΔΕΣ”, *ΠΡΑΒΟΣΛΑΒΗΑ ΕΝ-*

new compositions (as it can be inferred from the quoted testimony of Chrysanthos) was different; in fact, they already constituted a new musical proposal, introduced hesitatingly by Halatzoglus and then supported wholeheartedly by John – the latter “was maybe imitating his teacher, because usually the teacher’s manners are inherited to students”⁵.

This was the “new style of the Great Church of Christ”, a style that would later be shaped more clearly (both in the writing method and in the content of musical compositions) in the works of the other members of the aforementioned “series”, such as **Peter the Peloponnesian**⁶, **Jacob the Protosaltes**⁷,

ЦИКЛОПЕДИЯ 19 (2008), pp. 703-704; Idem, “Zacharias Hanentes”, *Great Orthodox Christian Encyclopedia* 7 (2013), p. 456.

5. See above, note 3.

6. See Chrysanthos, p. 238, note 109: “He studied as a child in Smyrna with a monk musician, with whom he learned a good number of Mathemata. He then came to Constantinople and studied under Protosaltes Ioannes whom he imitated in his mele, expressing them the way he did. He began to write mele while he was still a left Domestikos. When Protosaltes Ioannes passed away and Daniel became Protosaltes, Iacobos should become Lampadarios, since he was right Domestikos. Petros, however transgressing the order, thanks to the mediation of powerful persons, became himself Lampadarios and took Petros Byzantios as his Domestikos. For this reason, it is said, he was despised by both Iacobos and his teacher Daniel, with a hidden hate that made its appearance at times. He wrote the music of two Anastasimataria, Cherubika and Koenonika for Sundays. Among the Koenonika of the year, some are double and many are triple. He wrote Pasapnoaria, Doxologies, the Doxastikarion entire, the Heirmologion entire. He explained the Anoixantaria, the great Kekragaria, some Pasapnoaria, the Ἄνωθεν οἱ προφῆται and some more. He also wrote music to secular verses on the makams and the rhythms of the Ottomans. Among his writings were also found fasli and pesrev, written down in musical neumes. For all this, he was called a great teacher. He did all that in short time because his life ended while still a Lampadarios, being extinguished by a plague”; see also, *ibid.*, pp. 244-245, § 77: “When Daniel was Protosaltes, Petros the Peloponnesian was Lampadarios. He was writing day and night analyzing the old musical Mathemata, and was carefully writing down every melody that reached his imagination from the outer or the inner world (because, they say, that he distinguished the melody created by the wind blowing on the glass of the windows), and writing the melodies on the makams and rhythms of the Ottomans on as many verses were given him (because a verse-mania prevailed at the time among the noblemen and the intellectuals of our genus) he nearly achieved to

transform musical characters from symbols to letters. And he is unique among our musicians to reach the summit in the training of practical music. Because what is narrated about Greek musicians, that when Constantinople fell to the Ottomans, they were able to write mele played by musical instruments the minute they were performed, and sing them accurately at first hearing, is questioned by some people, but in the case of Petros it is certain, because it is reported by eyewitnesses that are trustworthy being among the best of our genus. So, the Ottomans were playing new melodies invented by them never heard before, and he was writing them down and singing them and playing them on the tamburi. When this was known by the ruler of the time, he showed Petros’ his favor giving him a free pass in the palace”. Cfr. John Plemmenos, *ibid.*, pp. 37-68.

7. See Chrysanthos, p. 235, note 91: “Iacobos flourished around the year 1790 A.D. He wrote the music of an entire book, the Doxastikarion, eight Doxologies, and he abridged the great Kekragaria and the Polyeleos of Daniel. Prompted by the Patriarch Gregorios, he corrected the errors that existed in ecclesiastical books due to the negligence of the typographers. He was a good grammarian; he would also have been an excellent chanter, if he had a better rhythm. Because, ignoring the rules of rhythmic and poetics, he did not obey the rhythm of the Prosomoea, in order supposedly to express the meaning of the Troparia. He thus brought to exasperation Petros Byzantios, who was Lampadarios at that time”; see also, *ibid.*, pp. 245-246, § 78: “Daniel’s successor, Iacobos the Protosaltes, preserving faithfully what was handed over to him, advanced persistently on the footsteps of his teacher and did not enjoy innovations. When Agapios Paliermos from Chios came to Constantinople, well educated in European music, presenting himself to the Patriarch Kyrios Gregorios, he proposed his holiness and the entire Holy Synod, after showing many defects of the notation used then by ecclesiastical musicians, that it would be to their advantage if the chanters of the Great Church were taught a system contrived by him, endowed with the merits of European music, but free of its deficiencies. He proposed them to

Peter Byzantios⁸ and **Manuel Protopsaltes**⁹. All of them attempted to renew the existing repertoire, but their contemporaries considered it as an unprecedented innovation, attributing it to their “communication” with non ecclesiastic musical figures. This phenomenon cannot be easily assessed in a unilateral way; besides music itself, it also presents historical, socio-political and even anthropological dimensions that have to be taken into consideration. What must be underlined here (from a strictly musicological point of view) is the unparalleled ability of all of them to “cover” their innovations under an unmatched musical imagination: the intelligent bridging of such apparent contradictions or, in other words, the harmonious continuation of ecclesiastical chanting tradition by all licit (and even illicit) means, is a fundamental characteristic of chant-making production of that period and at the same time a musical quality of crucial importance.

*ensure that the ecclesiastical system is corrected giving it the proper analogies, or to create another, a new system, or to keep the one offered by Agapios himself and transcribe all the ecclesiastical mele known to them. With such words, he wholly convinced his holiness, but was not able to persuade Iacobos fully. It was ordered that Agapios would teach in the patriarchate, and that the Domestikoi, among others would be taught by him. However, Protopsaltes Iacobos remained unconvinced and because of his ironic remarks on the pronunciation and the manner of teaching Agapios introduced, this attempt did not bear fruit. So Iacobos, the zealot of the ancient tradition of ecclesiastical music, set to music a Doxastikarion, in which he tried to include all the old theses of the Sticherarion, not using even the most commonly used among the new theses. He wanted the old theses to be pronounced in the tradition of the old teachers, not altering them with abbreviations or adornments. And whenever he wished to use one of them in a new way, he was writing it analytically. In spite of that he himself abbreviated (with embellishments as is his inscription) the great Kekragaria, the Heothina and Daniel's Polyeleos”. Cfr. Α. ΧΑΛΔΕΑΚΙΣ, “ΙΑΚΩΒ ΠΡΟΤΟΨΑΛΤ”, ΠΡΑΒΟΣΛΑΒΝΑ ΤΝΚΙΛΟΠΕΔΙΑ 20 (2009), π. 504; Idem, “Agapios Paliermos from Chios”, *Great Orthodox Christian Encyclopedia* 1 (2010), pp. 87-88.*

8. See Chrysanthos, pp. 238-239, note 110: “He was a Constantinopolite and got his musical education by Petros the Lacedaemonian. He wrote the mele of eight Koenonika for Sundays and eight Cherubika, one Mathema, one Doxology and certain Katavasias, the mele of which were not written by his teacher, as well as the entire Syntomon Heirmologion. He also analyzed many old mele. During the first service of Callinikos from Nicaea as a Patriarch, because of some errors, Petros was expelled from the clergy and went to Cherson. Then he went to Jassy of Moldavia, and having suffered a lot

abroad, he passed away the year 1808 A.D.”; see also, *ibid.*, pp. 246-247, § 79: “The Protopsaltes Petros Byzantios, who succeeded Iacobos, aiming at orderly and good rhythm in psalmody, was frequently reproaching Iacobos that he was transgressing the rhythm of the Pro-somoea, supposedly, to interpret the meaning of the text. Petros learned the power of the cheironomia used by chanters in the church and he was saying: ‘If I only knew that there exists an expert of the cheironomia even in America, I would go, in spite of all my poverty, to study with him’. This Petros was the only one, after his teacher Petros the Lacedaemonian, who knew how to analyze and write as he did. Indeed, his explanations created doubts as to whether they were done by him or by his teacher. For this reason, all students were taught the old Mathemata by both Iacobos and Petros, but the new ones, by Petros only. He promised to analyze all the old Mathemata of ecclesiastical music, and to publish them, if he found persons to reward his efforts. Nevertheless, his analyses did not go in vain after his death; but the superintendents of our school were interested and bought all his books, his analyses and his notes, to be used in this school”. Cfr. John Plemmenos, *ibid.*, pp. 133-164.

9. See Chrysanthos, p. 247, § 80: “When he fled (or was maybe expelled), he was succeeded by Manuel the present Protopsaltes, in whose time is accomplished what was long missing in our ecclesiastical music, that is, the measurement of time spent in melody, the regulation of scales and neumes, and of all the rest, the application of which was not up to this day introduced in our ecclesiastical music, but is introduced now by the Three Teachers. If the old mele have an orderly rhythmic motion and bit better than the new mele in the meters, it is because of the cheironomia and the rhythm that were creators of those mele. Manuel wrote the mele of Μακάριος ἀνήρ, the Antiphona and one short Doxology in echos barys; he passed away on June 21 of the year 1819”.

Musical Freedom and Ecclesiastical Rules

The above described phenomenon, which is clearly identified in Constantinople during the 18th century, should essentially be seen as an “epiphenomenon” on the basis of which two fundamental concepts can appear intensely: one of *musical freedom* and the other of *ecclesiastical rules*. Speaking of **musical freedom**, we imply an unimpeded sense of freedom that generally characterizes musicians, whose rebellious artistic nature (despite the fact that it operates – voluntarily or involuntarily – within the ecclesiastical environment, a kind of environment obviously covered by strictly defined rules) prevents them from strictly adhering to any of those rules¹⁰. On the other hand, the identified **ecclesiastical rules** must be understood as laws with varied content and multi-dimensional force. They may relate to either a narrowly-defined Canon Law, the constitution of Church life, the criterion of the status of members of the Church or, in the broad sense, every necessary condition of proper religious behavior, every standard and acceptable custom of the general social life. Under the same ecclesiastical rules, the so-called musical laws should certainly be included (rules that have already been commented indirectly above), meaning a widespread system of “musical rules” which refer to innate and constituent components of the Psaltic Art (composition, notation, theory, interpretation, etc.), rules which are consolidated from earlier times on the basis of an irrefragible historical succession and continuity, complied strictly and rigorously by all the participants (professionally or amateurishly) of the relevant psaltic union.

Balancing on the highlighted dipole [: *musical freedom ~ ecclesiastical rules*] I will point out here, indicatively, two characteristic historical events, together with the relevant musical examples, letting the diverse and various reaction emerge as self-evident and obvious towards the formed ecclesiastical rules (therefore the *musical freedom* or – differently expressed – the ecclesiastical, legal and social, *delinquency*) of psaltic personalities who were active during the 18th century, particularly, in Constantinople:

1

Joakeim, who is born witnessed by the surname *Salabasis* (or also *Alabasis*) and came from Rhodes, arrived in Constantinople where – among other things – he studied music as a student

10. Cfr. Thomas K. Apostolopoulos, *Ecclesiastical Music at Ecclesiastical Law*, Thessaloniki 1999, p. 13: “This kind of Art, as a social or cultural conquest and as a spiritual language lacks every lawful prediction. It is likely to be told that there is no Law of Art or at least no Law with a positivistic shade as we know it”; see also, *ibid.*, p. 91: “Is it possible to demand a specific artistic creation or in other words is it possible that the indication and the realization of the command of laws can secure the Art? [...] Law exists as a concession through the Church, where the respect of freedom of the individual is absolute [...] The great achievements of Psaltic Art are not born by any regular curse, but by free intention,

yearning, or to be more specific, by love for the Church [...] The most important Laws for psalmody do not include the element of the sanction of violation. There is no Art either because of fear, or because of obligation, or even because of reward or expectation of glory. A sensitive receiver will criticize easily and prove its works to lack in substance, when they are not words of freedom”; see also, ibid., p. 92: “...their excess is obvious in Laws of ecclesiastical music through freedom, lovable and immediately regulated freedom via the quality of easily accessible products of Art, while their functional value as preachers and servants of the same orderly beauty is aroused by the ecclesiastical Art”.

of Balasis the priest¹¹. There he belonged to the circle of patriarchal ecclesiastical men and was very close to bishop Neophytos of Arta (who came from Paros), bishop Parthenios of Smyrna [Izmir] and bishop Athanasios of Andrianople [Edirne] with whom “*he passed his everyday life in Constantinople being witty, intelligent and an excellent musician*”¹². He gradually developed to bishop of Vyzie in Thrace, an event which became an unfavorable “transfer”. He writes characteristically in some of his surviving letters: “*I have very few friends, firstly because I do not wish to be fed up with them, secondly because I am afraid [...] I obtained and planted in my heart two friends, the one in Aitolia [i.e. bishop Neophytos of Arta] and the other in Izmir [i.e. bishop Parthenios of Smyrna] and I am located in Thrace [i.e. as bishop of Vyzie], a rough and unimportant land where everything is deserted and there is even lack of a mail service [...] I am extremely melancholic when I am thinking the bishop of Arta and the bishop of Izmir, my true friends, frequenting in Constantinople and Joakeim is absent...*”¹³ Finally he abandoned his province, an action which led to his deprivation from the ecclesiastical authorities and went to Andrianople [i.e. the place where Athanasios, his third friend, was the bishop]; he passed away there in 1720¹⁴. Joakeim composed several interesting compositions; one of them was a section of the so-called *Eulogitaria*, composed in the first plagal mode, which was not very widespread¹⁵. However, a quite identical composition would become very well-known later (it would spread widely and continue to be sung until today) under the signature of **Peter the Peloponnesian**¹⁶; thus, the so far ignored authorship of this popular composition of the latter composer is now becoming obvious and clear.

2

Impressive stories about the previously mentioned **Peter the Peloponnesian** have been preserved; one of them has to do with his attempt to ascend the minaret of Geni Mosque [*Yeni Cami*] and sing the standard “selak”, even in a different mode from the usual, which caused him to be

11. See A. ΧΑΛΔΕΑΚΙΣ, “ΙΟΑΚΪΜ ΣΑΛΑΒΆΣΙΣ [Алабасис, Родосский (Линдосский)], митр. Визийский”, *ПРАВОСЛАВНАЯ ЭНЦИКЛОПЕДИЯ* 23 (2010), pp. 188-189; Idem, “Joakeim of Vyzie”, *Great Orthodox Christian Encyclopedia* 9 (2013), pp. 142-145.

12. See Sofronios Efstratiadis, “Bishops of Thrace II. Joakeim of Vyzie”, *Thrakika* 8 (1937), p. 34.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 40, 42.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-36.

15. See codex No. 4 of Gregoriou monastery of Mount Athos (1744 A.D., written by priest Michael from Chios island), f. 116^r onwards (: *Ἰδοὺ καὶ ἕτερα εὐλογητάρια σύντομα, κυρίου Ἰωακείμ ἱερομονάχου καὶ ἡμετέρου διδασκάλου ἤχος πλ. α' Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε – Τῶν ἀγγέλων ὁ δῆμος*); codex No. 42 of RAIK collection (middle of 18th c.), ff. 105^r-106^v (: *Ἔτερα εὐλογητάρια σύντομα, ώραία σύνθεσις, κύρ Ἰωακείμ ἤχος πλ. α' Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε – Τῶν ἀγγέλων ὁ*

δῆμος); codex No. 348 of Docheiariou monastery of Mount Athos (2nd half of 18th c.), f. 97^v onwards; codex of Souroti monastery (2nd half of 18th c., written by priest-monk Cyrillos from Pelagonia), between ff. 274^v-277^v; codex No. 810 of the collection of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulcher, kept at the National Library of Greece (1789 A.D., written by the same priest-monk Cyrillos from Pelagonia), ff. 143^r-145^v (: *Εὐλογητάρια σύντομα, ώραία, κυρίου Ἰωακείμ Δινδίου ἤχος πλ. α' Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε – Τῶν ἀγγέλων ὁ δῆμος*).

16. See randomly Gr. Th. Stathis, “Peter Lampadaris the Peloponnesian from Lacedaemon; his life and work († 1778)”, *Lakonikae Spoudae* 7 (1983), p. 123.

17. See George I. Papadopoulos, *Contribution to the History of our Ecclesiastical Music [...]*, Athens 1890 [= Athens 1977²], pp. 321-323 [= Christos Tsiamoulis-Paul Ereunidis, *Grecian composers of Constantinople (17th-20th c.)*, (Athens) 1998, pp. 24-25]: “...the repu-

;brought before the court and to be committed to the mental hospital of *Eğri Kapi*¹⁷. When he was released, after forty days, because he had been allegedly cured, “*he continued to serve the Great Church*”, without being imposed to any sanctions by the Patriarch, even though his illegal actions – keeping in mind that he served as a *Lambadarios* of the Great Church of Christ and therefore as a member of the patriarchate court – should arouse the anticipated sanctions from the ecclesiastical rules¹⁸. The same person, Peter the Peloponessian, was also involved in a speculated story of “musical plagiarism” (similar to the above commented story) according to a testimonial by Chrysanthos of Madytos in his autographed *Great Theory of Music* (written in 1816 in the codex No. 18 of the Library of the School of Dimitsana)¹⁹; Chrysanthos retells the fol-

tation of Peter reached the ears of music-lover Sultan Hamid I, who demanded that the brilliant musician could enter the palace freely. However the following incident caused the wrath of the Sultan against Peter: Once that the Sultan departed from the Byzantine Palace, he directed to Balik Pazari Mosque (Yeni Cami), he dined there and he stayed the night at the pavilion of the Mosque. In the same evening, Peter coincidentally visited the great-voiced muezzin (chanter) at this Mosque and they dined together. During supper, they talked about the restricted mele ‘selak’ sung in two modes; Peter would chant it in a different mode at dawn, but he did not want to ascend the minaret; the muezzin, in order to take advantage of the talent of Peter, made the musical tutor chant the ‘selak’ at the minaret at once, put aside any religious causes. As soon as muezzin’s desire was fulfilled, Peter was warded to Fener. But the music-lover Sultan heard the chant and in the morning he asked who re-chanted the ‘selak’ in a different mode. When he was informed, he was outraged and ordered the prosecutors to enter the Patriarchates and announce the Patriarch the inexcusable audacity of the musical tutor, arrest and kidnap the daring man to the şeyhü’l islâm to interrogate him religiously. During the interrogation the Peloponnesian musician told nothing, but he pretended to be insane, looking upwards and downwards, left and right, staring at the floor of the Judge Hall. In addition he said: ‘Oh! What a loving place to play with one’s chestnuts!’ and he jumped in an uproar, went in the middle of the hall, took out chestnuts from his pocket and started playing, chattering and insulting the people who tried to obstruct his actions. Then everyone admitted: ‘vah, zavalli, yazik, tivane olmuş’ (oh, poor man, he became insane unfairly!) and he was interrogated to be prosecuted to Eğri Kapi the national lunatic asylum, where he would be offered everything, except for paper and ink, following the orders of the Sultan. And this specific lack was covered by intelligent Peter, because he received paper by his students who visited him at Eğri Kapi and he pro-

duced ink from sour cherries delivered to him and wrote one of his three Orthros Pasapnoaria composed in second plagal mode, using sour cherry stems; that is why it is called sour cherry-written. After forty days of remaining at the lunatic asylum, he was allowed to be released and continued to serve the Great Church and the Palace”. See also: George I. Papadopoulos, *Historical overview of Byzantine Ecclesiastical Music from apostolic era till now (1-1900 AD)*, Athens 1904 [= Katerini 1990²], pp. 186-188 [the same quotation republished identically (in additional pages without numbers) at the end of the re-edition (by the so-called “Culture” editions: Athens 1982) of the following musical book: *Heirmologion of Katavasiae by Peter the Peloponnesian with the short Heirmologion by Peter Protopsaltes the Byzantios [...]*, Constantinople 1825] and George I. Papadopoulos, *Dictionary of Byzantine music*, Athens 1995, p. 187; G. M. Politarchis, *Hymnographers and melodists [...]*, [Athens 1980], pp. 74-75. Cfr. John Plemmenos, “A Peloponnesian dervish”, newspaper *To Vima*, Sunday July 18th 1999, p. 63; Idem, *The musical portrait of modern-Greek Enlightenment, ibid.*, pp. 48-50; Gregory G. Anastasiou, “Orthros Pasapnoaria as kalophonic compositions: thoughts on the deliberateness of the kalophonic hymns in general”, *Proceedings of the First International Conference of the American Society of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, p. 126 [available in the following website: <http://www.asbmh.pitt.edu/page12/Anastasiou.pdf>].

18. See Emmanuel Sourgiadakis, *The psaltic tradition of Constantinople during 18th century*, Herakleion of Crete 2013 (unpublished Phd. dissertation; referred to by kind permission of the author), p. 299, note 1469.

19. See George N. Konstantinou (ed.), *Great Theory of Music by Chrysanthos of Madytos. The unpublished autograph of 1816–The edition of 1832*, (Athens) 2007, pp. 140-142. Cfr. Achilleus G. Chaldaeakes, “Daniel the Protopsaltes († 1789): his life and work. A preliminary paper”, *Revista Muzica* 3 (2010), p. 42.

lowing: “In those times Daniel composed eight Koenonika (Communion Chants) and included them in his chanting repertoire. The students who listened to them asked Daniel to publish them for their sake, but he did not consent to this. Peter, on the other hand, upon listening to them carefully, composed eight Koenonika imitating those of Daniel and subsequently published them; and they are first class. At that point Daniel, for a reason known to him alone, published his own eight Koenonika”. It is unnecessary to point out that, given the importance of this testimonial, the musical comparison between these two series of Sunday Koenonika gains a special psaltic interest, not only for the general relationships of the Protopsaltes of the Great Church with his Lampadarios but also for the more specific issues of “intellectual property” between their particular homogenous compositions.

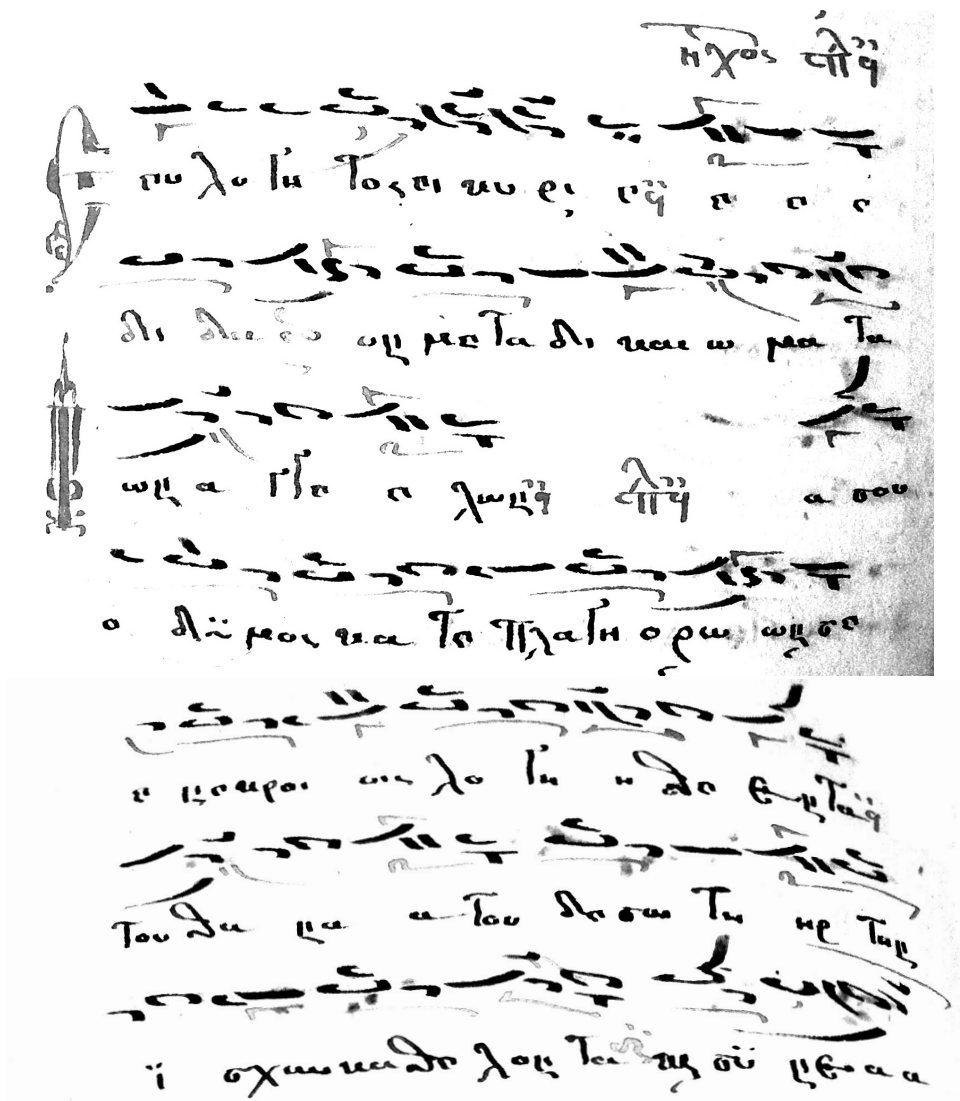
In the following part of my paper I will present such a comparison of all the above-mentioned compositions; I shall first compare the aforementioned *Eulogitaria* in their two composing versions, i.e. the one attributed to Joakeim as well as the very well-known one attributed to Peter the Peloponnesian²⁰; I shall then compare, indicatively, the second composition of the mentioned Communion Chants series, that is the Sunday Koenonikon composed in the second mode, in the two composing versions made by Daniel the Protopsaltes and by Peter the Peloponnesian, respectively²¹:

20. For Joakeim’s composition I am using here the aforementioned codex No. 810 of the collection of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulcher, kept at the National Library of Greece (1789 A.D., written by priest-monk Cyrillos from Pelagonia), ff. 143^r-145^v [: **picture 1** & **example 1**; the latter being a transcription of the same composition into the so-called New Method of Byzantine Notation newly made by me], while for the one of Peter the Peloponnesian I am also using the codex No. 162 from K. Psachos’ collection (1810 A.D., written by priest-monk Jonas Kanelopoulos from Chalki), ff. 170^r-172^r [: **picture 2**], as well as the printed musical edition of John the Lampadarios and Stefanos the first Domesitikos of the Great Church of Christ, *Pandekti of the holy ecclesiastical hymnodia of all the ecclesiastical year*; vol. 2nd; compositions of Matins service, Constantinople 1851, pp. 30-34 [: **example 2**].

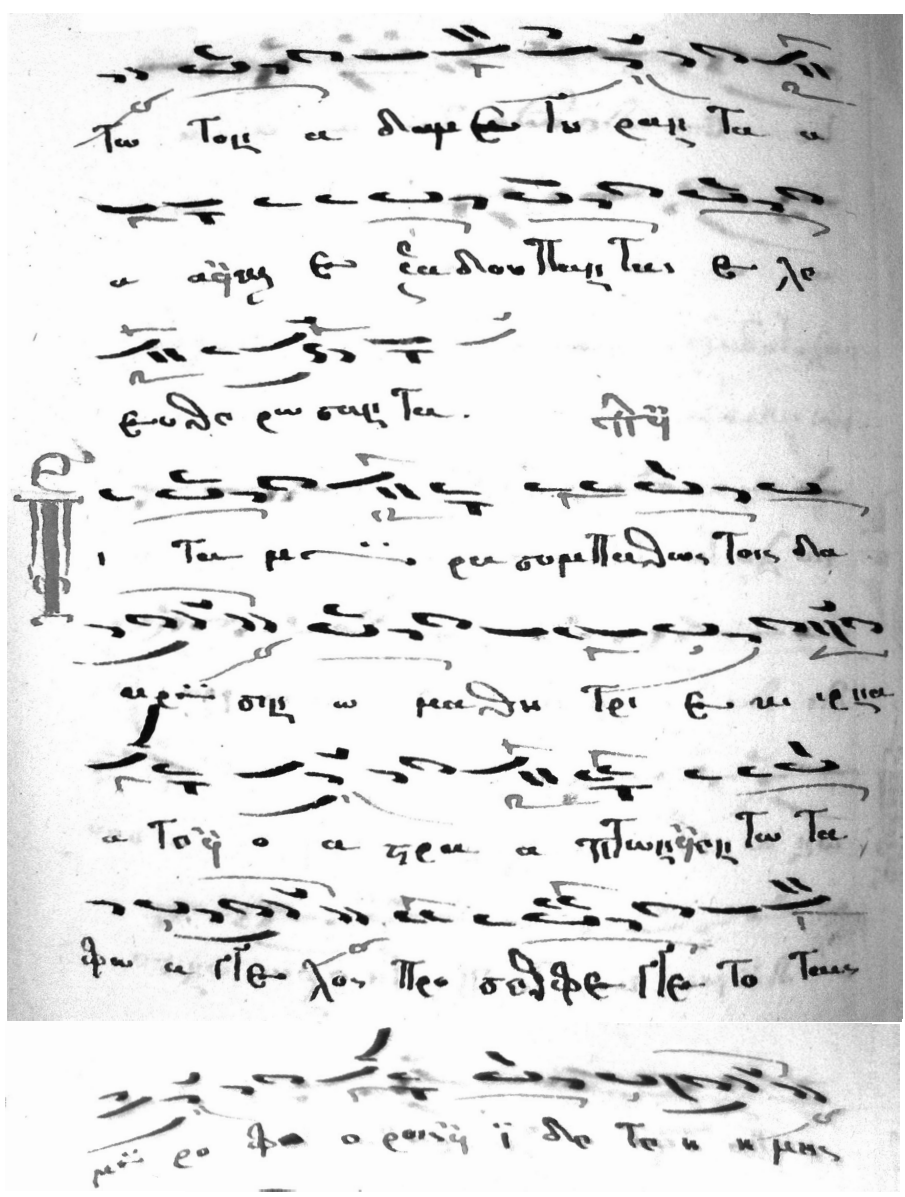
21. I am using here, both for handwritten and printed

versions of the mentioned compositions, the codex No. 223 of K. Psachos’ collection (1784 A.D., written by Peter Byzantios), f. 110^{r-v} (Daniel’s [: **picture 3**]) and ff. 113^v-114^r (Peter’s [: **picture 4**]) as well as the musical edition of John the Lampadarios and Stefanos the first Domesitikos of the Great Church of Christ, *Pandekti of the holy ecclesiastical hymnodia of all the ecclesiastical year*; vol. 4th; compositions of divine Liturgy, Constantinople 1851, pp. 458-461 (Daniel’s [: **example 3**]) and pp. 494-495 (Peter’s [: **example 4**]). In an additional index at the end of this paper [: **example 5**] I am also comparing both last examples; there one can easily observe (regarding especially the mentioned composition that I am studying here) that Peter’s imagination is definitely based on the relevant one of Daniel. [I would like to express my gratitude to Charalambos Papanikolaou for writing musical examples No. 1 & 5].

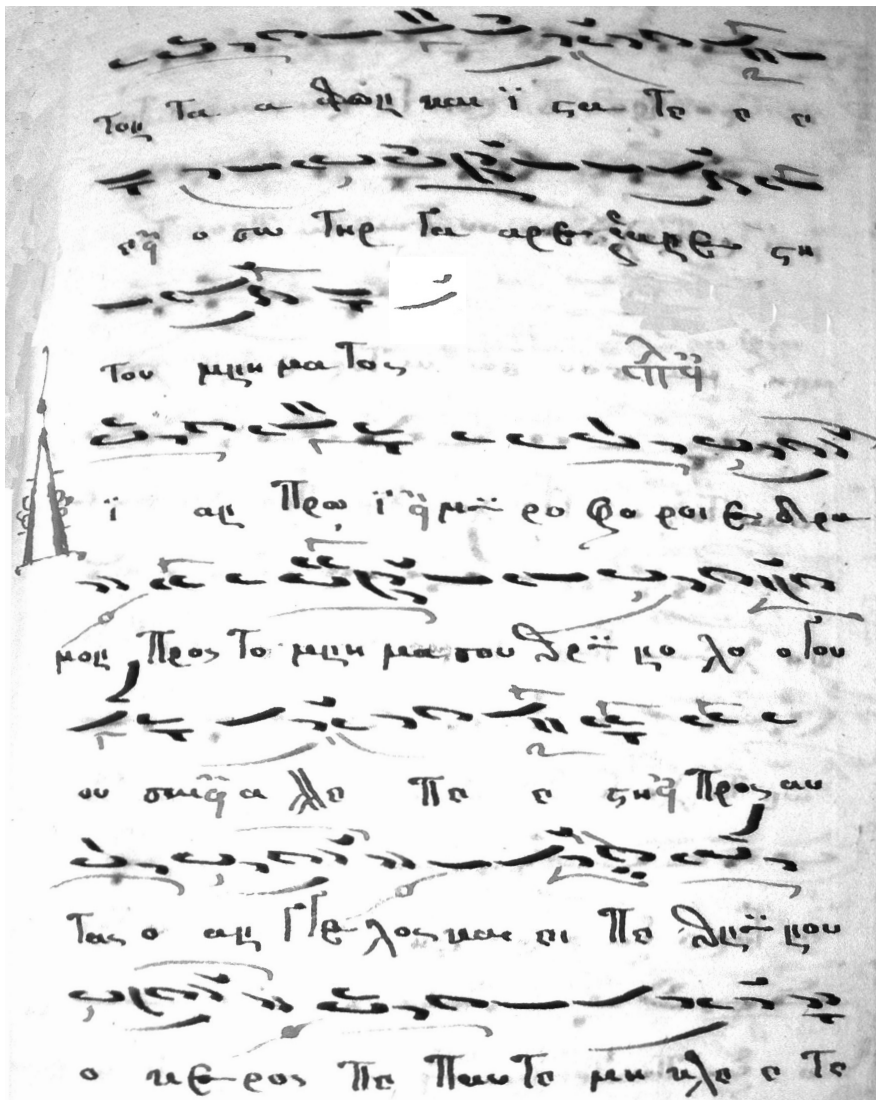
PICTURE 1: Joakeim's of Vyzie *Eulogitaria*, composed in the first plagal mode
Codex No. 810 of the collection of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulcher, ff. 143^r-145^v (Old Method)



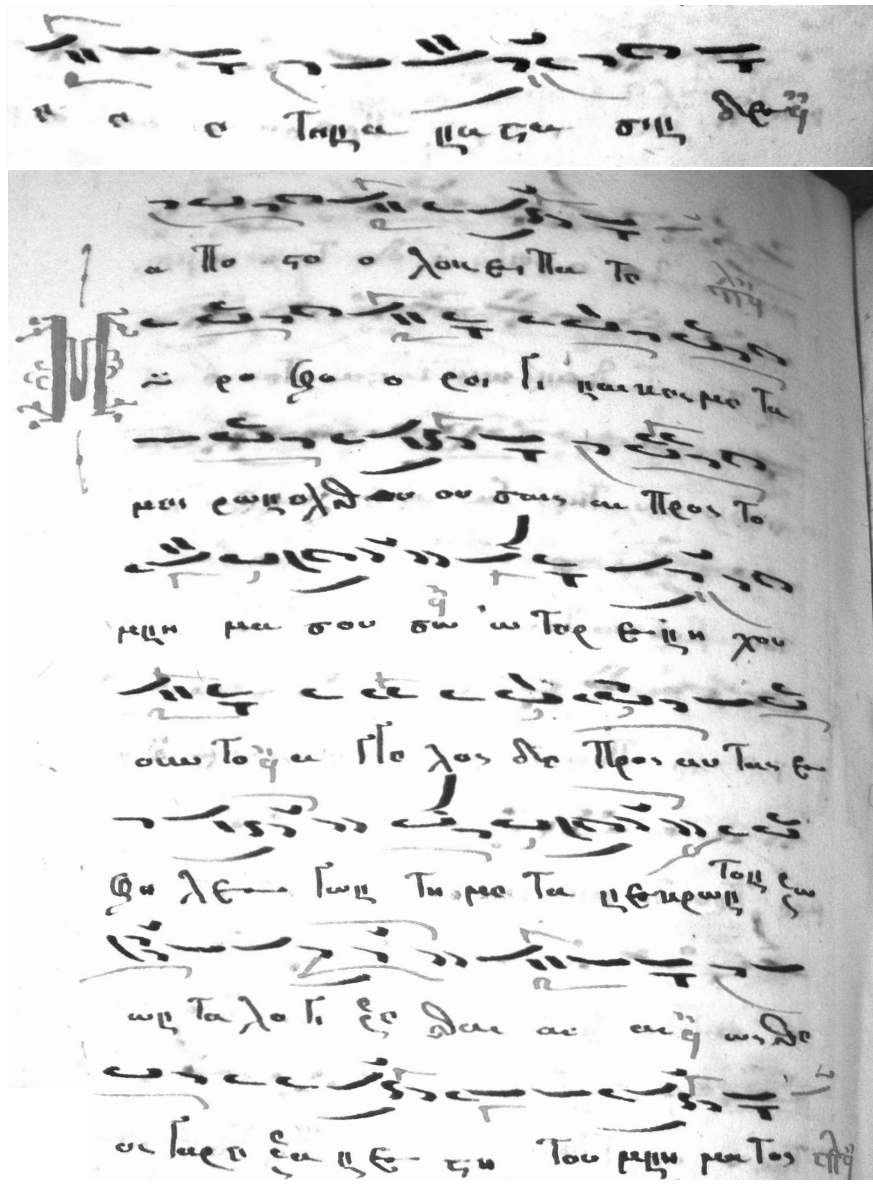
f. 143^{r-v}



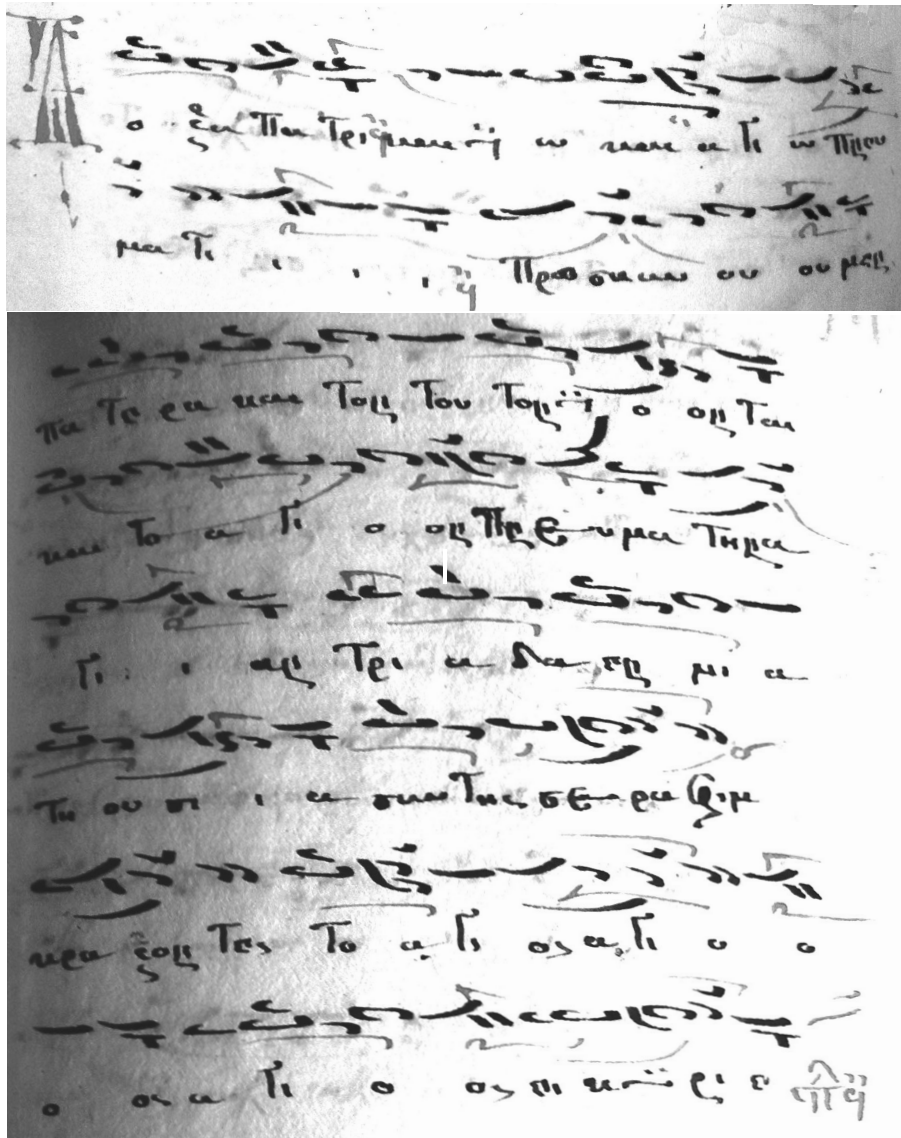
ff. 143^v-144^r



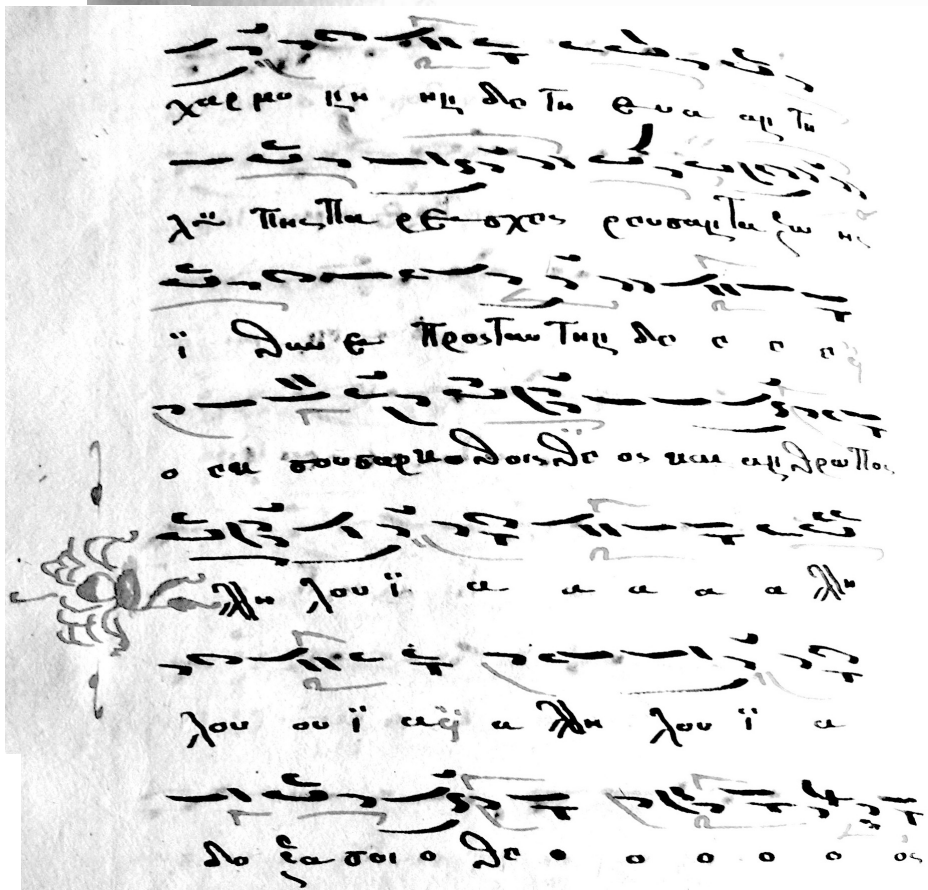
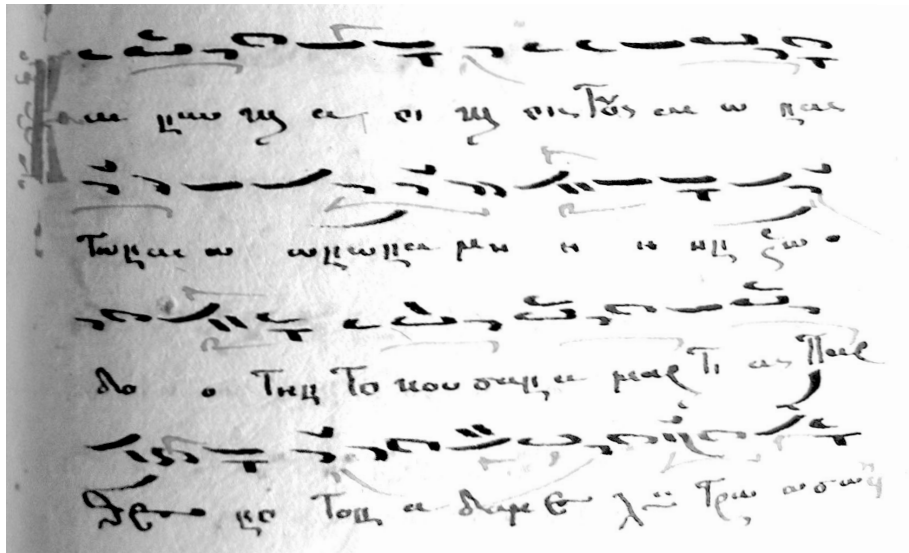
f. 144^r



f. 144^{r-v}



ff. 144^v-145^r



f. 145^v

EXAMPLE 1: Joakeim's of Vyzie *Eulogitaria*, composed in the first plagal mode, newly transcribed into the New Method by Achilleas Chaldaeakes

Εὐλογητάρια σύντομα, ὠραῖα, κυρίου Ἰωακεῖμ Λινδίου

Ἦχος Πάσα

Ευλογητος ει κυρι ι ι ε ε ε δι δα
 α ξο ο ον με τα δι και ω μα τα α α σσ
 Των αγ γε ε λων ο δη μοσ κα τε πλα α γη
 ο ο ρω ω ων σε εν νε κροι οισ λο γι σθε ε εν
 τα τσ ε θα να α τσ δε σω τη ηρ την ι
 σχυ υν κα θε λον τα και συ υν ε ε α αυ τω ω
 τον Α δαμ ε γει ραν τα α α και εξ α δσ ε
 παν τας ε λε ευ θε ρω ω σαν τα
 Ευλογητος ει κυρι ι ι ε ε ε δι δα α
 ξο ο ον με τα δι και ω μα τα α α σσ

Τι τα μυυρα συμπαθως τοις δαακρυυσι εν
 ωμαθητριαικιρνααατεοο
 αστρααπτωνεντωταφωωααγγεελοος
 προςεφθγγετοταιςμυροφοοοροιςι
 δεετεεηημειειςτοντααφονκαιησητε
 εεοσωτηηργαααρεξανεεεστητ8
 μνηηματος

Ευλογητοςεικυριιιεεεδιδαα
 ξοοονμεταδικαιωματααασ8

Λιανρωιμυροφοροιιεεδρααμοον
 προςτομνημαασθηνολογ888σαι



α αλλ ε ωε ε στη προς αυ τας ο ο α αγ γε ε



λο ος και ει ωε θρη νσ σ ο ο και αι ρο ος ωε



ωαυ ται μη κλαι ε ε τε ε ε την α να στα σιν



δε α ωο στο ο λους ει ει ωα τε



Eυ λο γη τος ει κυ ρι ι ι ε ε ε δι δα α



ξο ο ον με τα δι και ω μα τα α α σς



Mυ ρο φο ο ροι γυ ναι κες με τα μω υ ρων



ε ελ θσ σ σαι αι προς το μη η μα α σσ σω ω



ω τερ ε εν η χου ουν το αγ γε λος δε προς



αυ τα ας ε φη η λε ε ε γων τι με ε τα α νε ε κρω ων

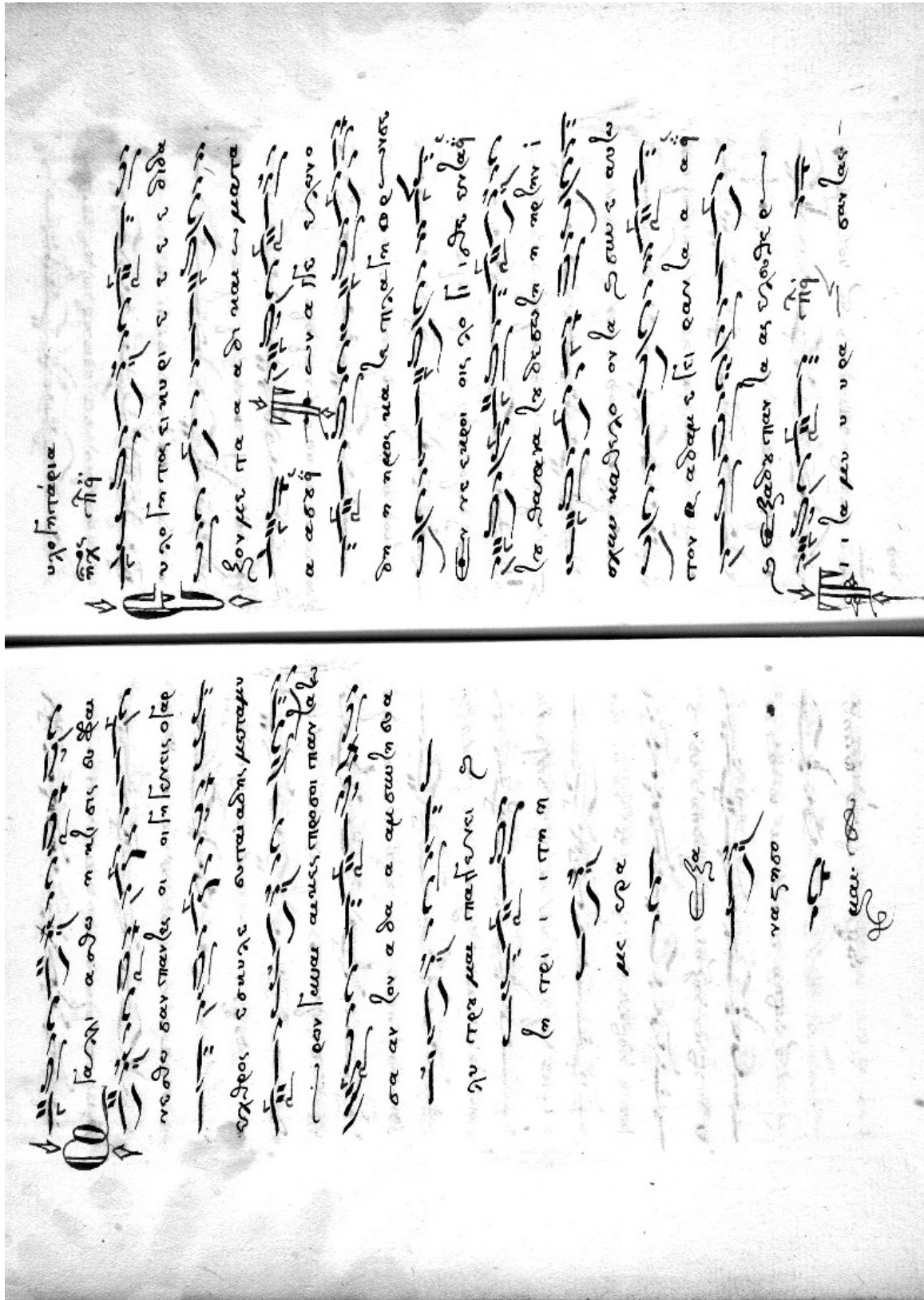


τον ζω ω ων τα λο γι ζε ε σθε ε ε ως θε

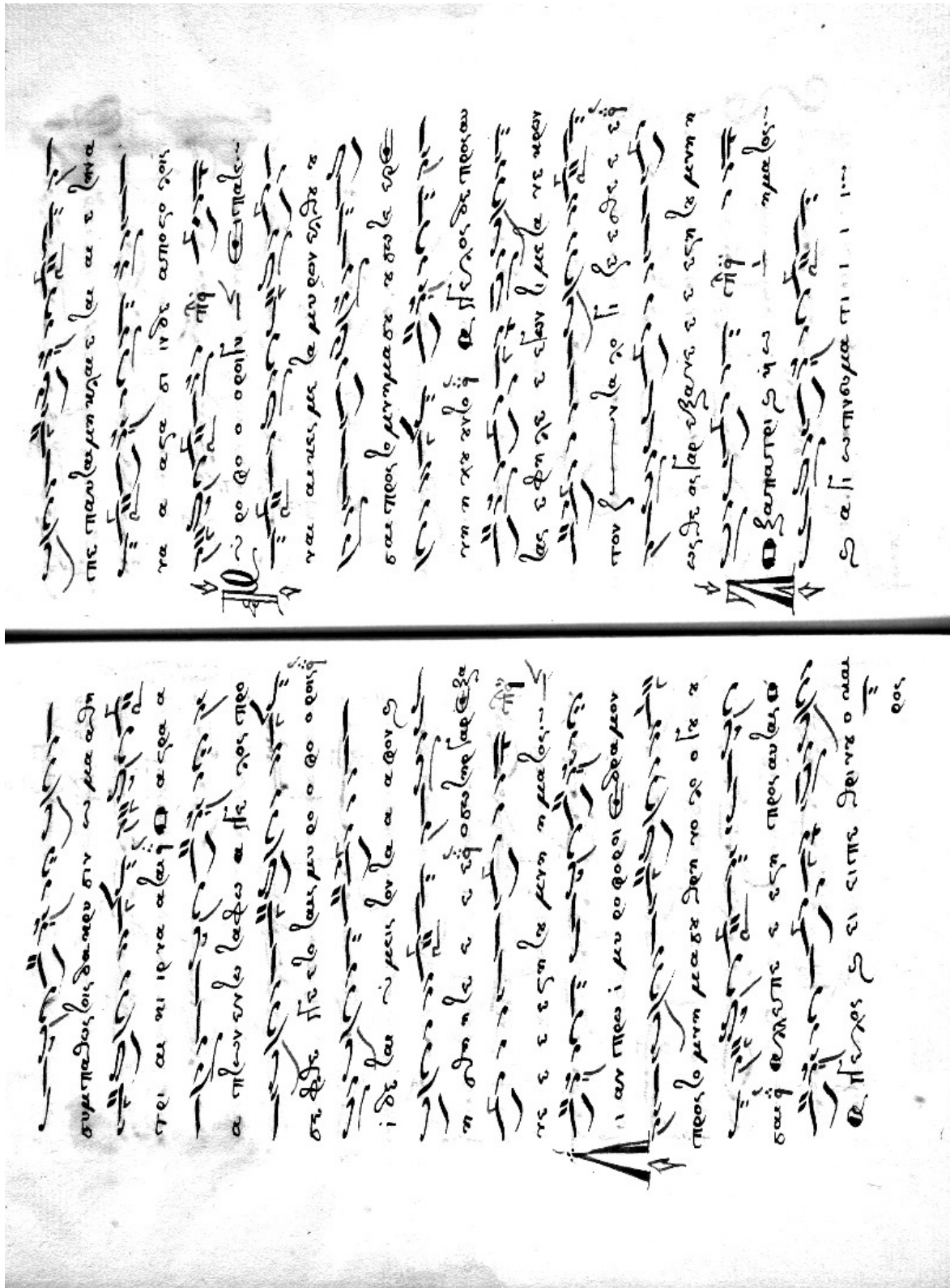
ος γαρ εξ α νε ε ε στη του μνη η μα τος
 Δο ξα πα τρι και υι ω ω και α α γι ω πνευ μα
 α τι ι ι
 Προ ο σκυ νσ ου μεν πα τε ρα και τον τσ σ τσ
 υι ι ο ο ον τε και το α α γι ον πνε ε ευ
 μα τη ην α γι ι αν τρι α δα εν μι α α
 τη σ σ σι ι ι α συν τοις σε ε ρα α φειεμ κρα
 α ζοντες το α α γι ος α γι ι ο ο ος α γι
 ο ος ει κυ υ υ ρι ε
 Και νυν και α ει και εις τους αι ω νας των αι
 ω ω νων α α μη η ην

Ζω ω ο δο ο την τε κσ σαν α μαρ τι ι ασ
Παρ θε ε ε νε τον α δα αμ ε λυ τρω ω
ω σω χα αρ μο νη ην δε τη Ευ α αν τι λυ υ
πης πα α ρε ε ε σxes ρευ σα αν τα α ζω ω η ης ι
θυ νε προς ταυ τη ην δε ε ε ο εκ σs ου σαρ κω
θεις θε ε ος και α αν θρω πος
Α λ η η λs ι ι α α α α λ η η λs s ι α
α λ η η λs ι ι α α δο ξα σοι ο ο θε ος
Α λ η η λs ι ι α α α α λ η η λs s ι α
α λ η η λs ι ι α α δο ξα σοι ο ο θε ο ο ο ο
ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ος

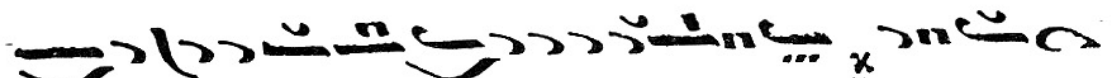
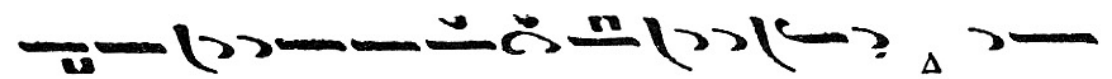
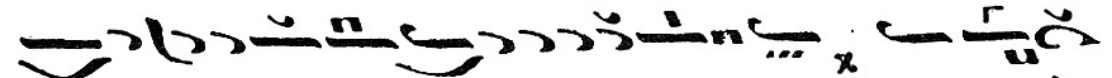
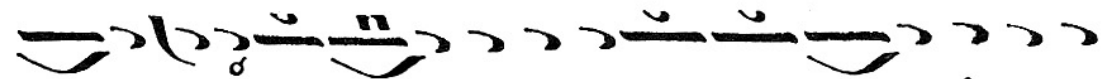
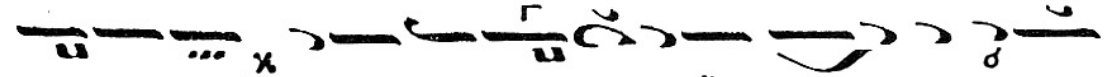

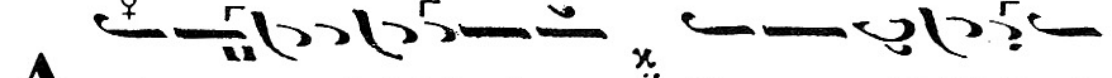
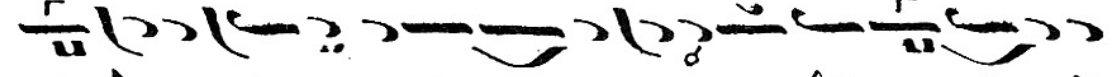

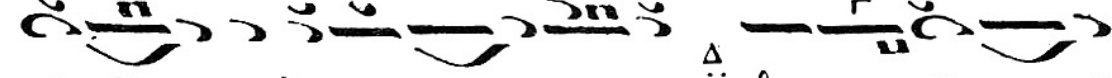
PICTURE 2: Peter's the Peloponnesian *Eulogitaria*, composed in the first plagal mode
Codex No. 162 of K. Psachos' collection, ff. 170^r-172^r (Old Method)





ff. 169^v-170^r



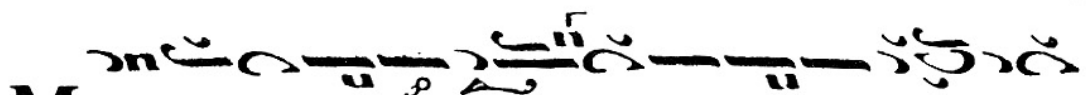
ff. 170v-171r


 ω ω μα α θη τρι αι αι κι ι ρ ν ά α α ται $\overset{\chi}{\underset{\cdot\cdot}{\underset{\cdot}{\dot{q}}}}$ ο ο α στρα

 α απ τω ω ν εν τω τα φω Α γ γε ε λο ος $\overset{\Delta}{\underset{\cdot}{\dot{q}}}$ προς ε

 φθε ε γ γε ε το ταις Μυ υ ρο ο φο ο ο ροις $\overset{\chi}{\underset{\cdot\cdot}{\underset{\cdot}{\dot{q}}}}$ ι ι δε

 τε ε υ υ μεις τον τ ά α α α φον και ι ι σθη η ται

 αι αι αι $\overset{\chi}{\underset{\cdot\cdot}{\underset{\cdot}{\dot{q}}}}$ ο Σω τη η ρ γαρ ε ξα νθ ε ε ε στη

 του μνη η η μα τος $\overset{\chi}{\underset{\cdot\cdot}{\underset{\cdot}{\dot{q}}}}$

 ♀ $\overset{\Delta}{\Lambda}$ ι ι α αν πρ ω ω ι $\overset{\chi}{\underset{\cdot\cdot}{\underset{\cdot}{\dot{q}}}}$ Μυ ρο φο ροι οι ε

 ε δρα α μο ον προς το μνη η μα α σου θρυ υ νο ο λο

 ο γου ου ου σαι $\overset{\chi}{\underset{\cdot\cdot}{\underset{\cdot}{\dot{q}}}}$ α α λ λε πε ε ε στη η προς αυ τας

 ο Α γ γε ε λος και ει ει ει πε $\overset{\Delta}{\underset{\cdot}{\dot{q}}}$ θρη η νου ο ο

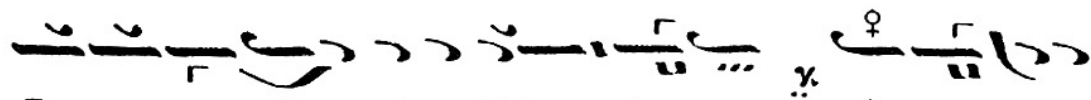

 και αι ρος τες ε πα αυ ται μη κλε ε ε ται αι αι \dot{q} την Α

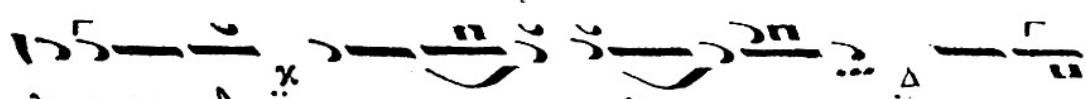

 να α α στα α σι ιν δε ε \dot{q} Α α πο στο λοις

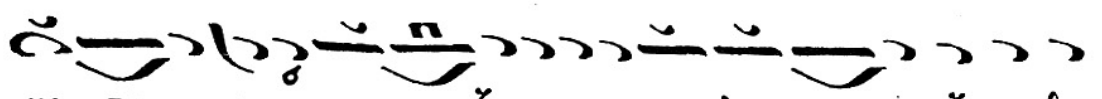

 ει ει ει πα τε \dot{q}

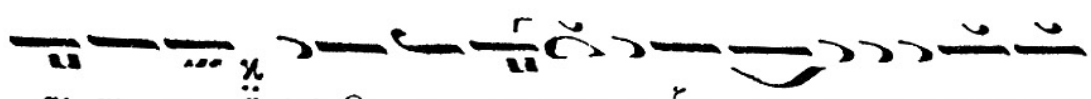

M υ υ ρο φο ο ε ροι οι Γυ ναι αι αι καις με τα


 μυ υ ρων ελ θου ου ου σαι αι προς το μνη η μχ σου ου ου




 Σω τε ερ ε ε νοι οι χου ου ουν το \dot{q} Α αγ γε ε


 λο ο ος δε \dot{q} προς αυ τας ε φη λε ε ε γον Δ τι ι

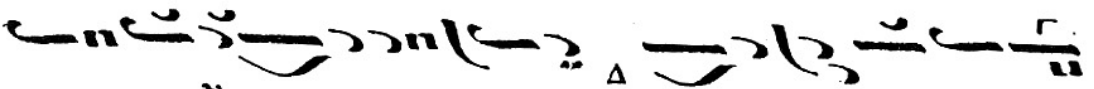


 με τα α νε εκρων τον ζω ω ω ν τα λο γι ι ζε ε σθαι

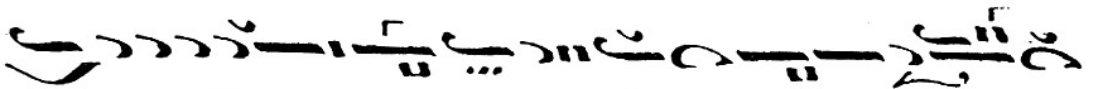

 αι αι αι \dot{q} ως Θε ο ος γαρ ε ξα νε ε ε ε στη του

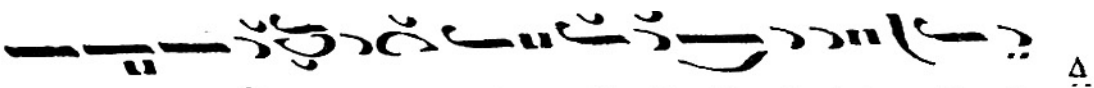


 μνη η η μα τος Δ

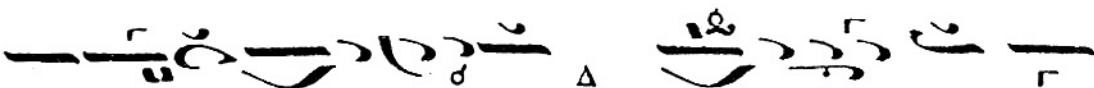


Δ ο ξα Πα τρι και Υι ω και Α γι ω Πνευμα α τι ι ι 


Π ρο ο σκυ νου ου ου με εν Πα τε ε ε ρα και τον


 του ου του Υι ο ο ο ον τε ε  και αι το ο Α α α

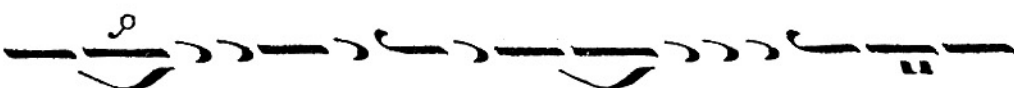

 γι ι ο ον Πνε ε ευ μα τη ην Ἄ γι ι ι α αν Τρι


 α α α δα εν μι α α τη ου σε ι ι ι α α 

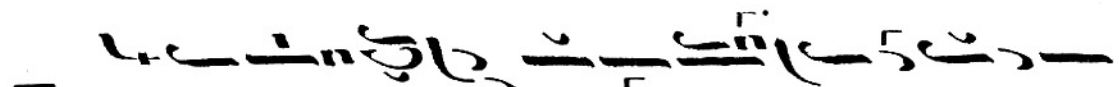

 συ υν τοις σε ε ρα α φιμ  κρα α ζο ον τε ς το

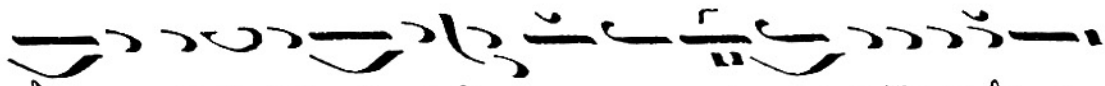

 Α α α α γι ο ς Α α γι ι ο ο ο ς  Α α γι ο ς



 ει Κυ υ υ ρι ε 


Κ αι νυν και α ει και εις τους αι ω νας τω ναι ω ω ω

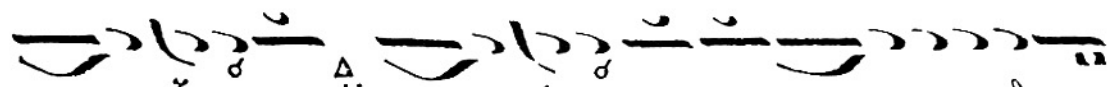

 νων α α μη η ην 



Z ω ο δο ο την τς εκου ου ου ου ου σα τον A


 δαμ. αμαρτι αις ε ελυ τρω ω ω σω ω Πα αρ θε ε

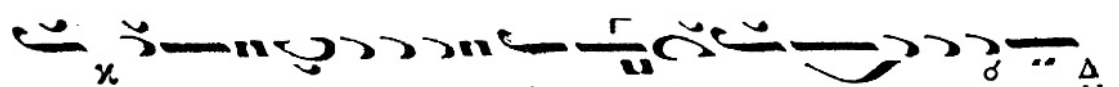

 ε νε q χαρ μο νη η η ην δε ε τη ε ε ευ α

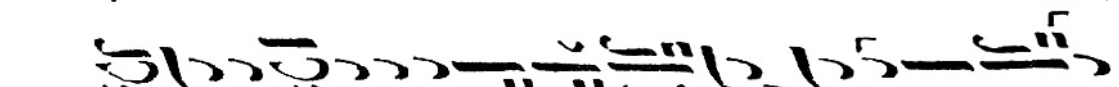

 αν τυ λυ υπης πα ρε ε ε ε σχε ες ρε ευ σαν

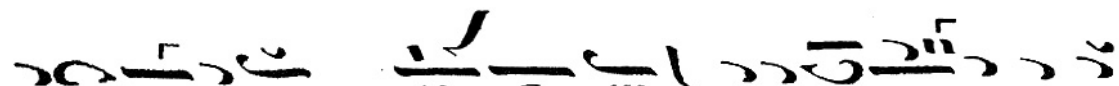

 τα α ζω ω ης ι ι υ υ νε προς τα αυ τη ην δε ε



 ε q ο εκ σου ου σαρ κω θει ει εις θε ος και α ανθρω πω πω

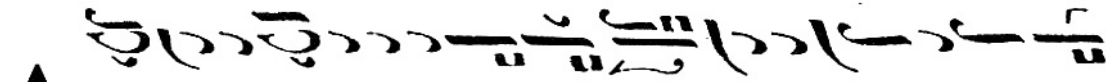

A λ λη η λου ι ι α α α α λ λη η λου ου ι

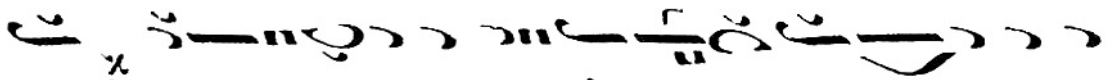

 α q Αλ λη η λου ι ι α α δο ο ξα σοι ο ο ο θε ος


A λ λη η λου ι ι α α α α λ λη η λου ου


 ι ι ι α q α α α λ λη η λου ου ι ι α


 δο ο ξα σοι οι ο Θε ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ος ἕτερον Δ


A λ λη η λου ι ι α α α αλ λη η λου ου ι ι


 α ^χ ḡ Αλ λη η λου ι ι α α δο ο ξα σοι ο ο ο Θε

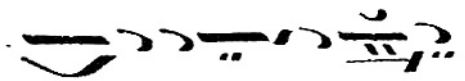
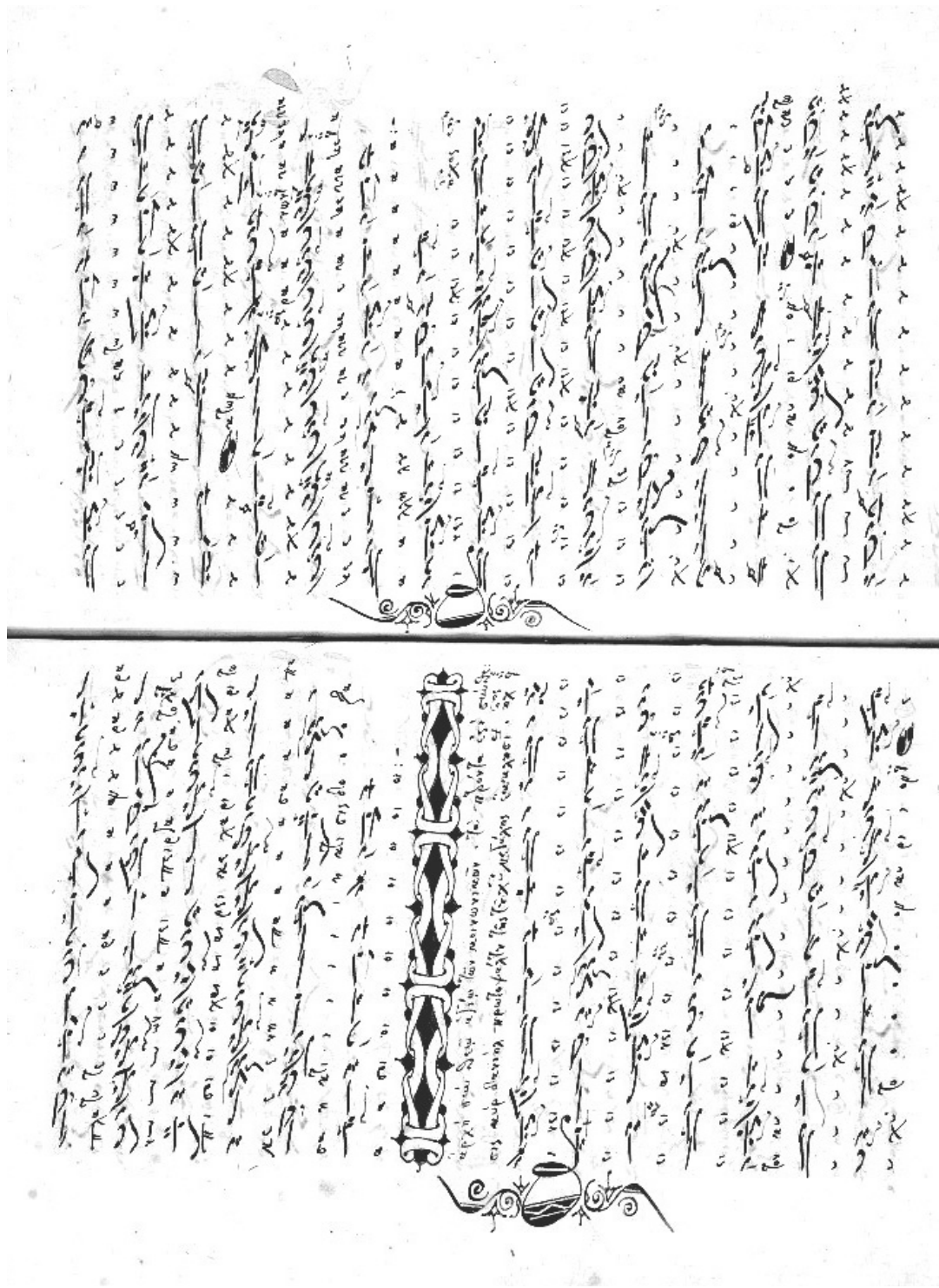

 ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ος

FIGURE 3: Daniel's the Protopsaltes **Sunday Koenonikon**, composed in the second mode
Codex No. 223 of K. Psachos' collection, f. 110^v-110^r (Old Method)



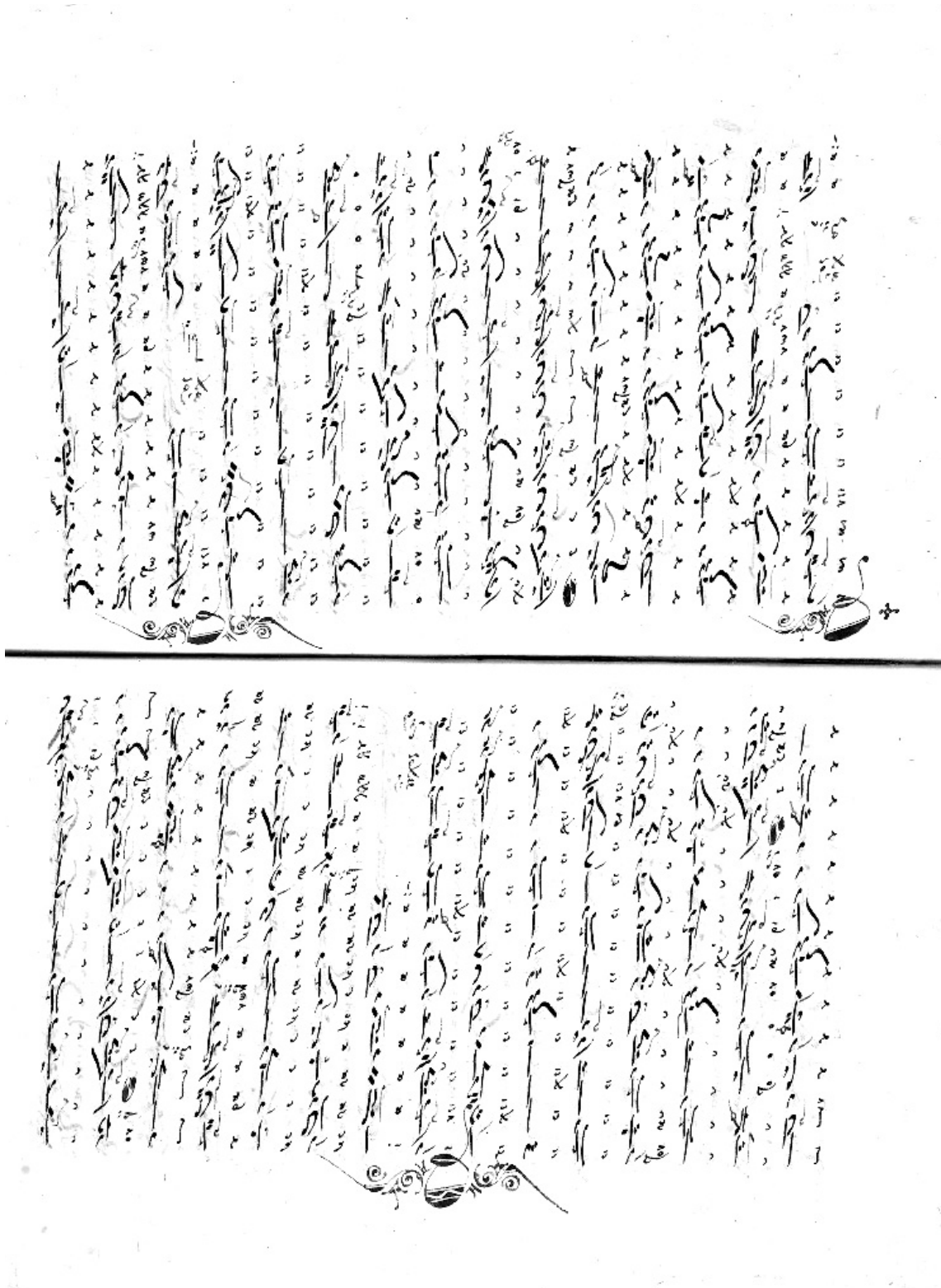
ff. 109^v-110^r

The image displays ten staves of musical notation in a neumes system. Each staff consists of a series of horizontal lines with various symbols (neumes) placed above or below them. Below the neumes are rhythmic values, which are small letters and numbers. The notation is organized into ten distinct systems, each with its own set of rhythmic values. The symbols used include letters like 'χ', 'σ', 'ρ', 'ε', 'ω', 'α', and numbers like '6', 'π', '6', '6', '6', '6', '6', '6', '6', '6'. Some symbols have additional markings, such as a circle around a '6' or a 'π'.

Musical notation with Greek text in Chaldaean style. The text is arranged in ten lines, each with a staff of notes above and a line of text below. The text includes various Greek letters and symbols, such as alpha (α), epsilon (ε), eta (η), theta (θ), iota (ι), kappa (κ), lambda (λ), mu (μ), nu (ν), xi (ξ), omicron (ο), pi (π), rho (ρ), sigma (σ), tau (τ), upsilon (υ), phi (φ), chi (χ), psi (ψ), omega (ω), and a cross symbol (✕). The text is written in a stylized, cursive script.

Musical notation with Greek text in Chaldaean style. The text is arranged in ten lines, each with a staff of notes above and a line of text below. The text includes various Greek letters and symbols, such as alpha (α), epsilon (ε), eta (η), theta (θ), iota (ι), kappa (κ), lambda (λ), mu (μ), nu (ν), xi (ξ), omicron (ο), pi (π), rho (ρ), sigma (σ), tau (τ), upsilon (υ), phi (φ), chi (χ), psi (ψ), omega (ω), and a cross symbol (✕). The text is written in a stylized, cursive script.

FIGURE 4: Peter's the Peloponnesian Sunday Koenonikon, composed in the second mode
Codex No. 223 of K. Psachos' collection, ff. 113^v-114^r (Old Method)



EXAMPLE 4: Peter's the Peloponnesian *Sunday Koenonikon*, composed in the second mode
Pandekti of the holy ecclesiastical hymnodia [...], vol. 4th, Constantinople 1851, pp. 494-495 (New Method)

ἤχος β'. Πα.

The musical score is presented in ten staves. Each staff begins with a large initial letter 'Α' (Alpha) on the left. The notation consists of neumes (musical notes) placed on a four-line staff. Below the neumes, the corresponding Greek text is written in a smaller font. The text includes the words 'ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΤΗΡ' and 'ΑΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΤΗΡ' repeated across the staves. The notation includes various neumes such as the 'alpha' neume (a horizontal line with a vertical stem) and the 'beta' neume (a horizontal line with a vertical stem and a hook). The text is written in a traditional Greek font. The score is a single melodic line.

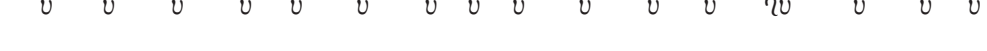
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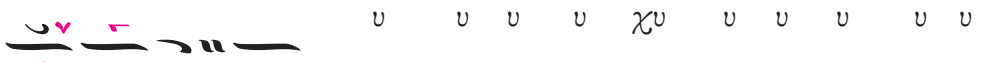
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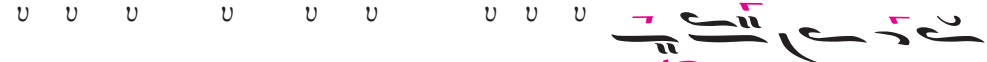
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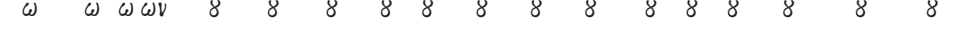
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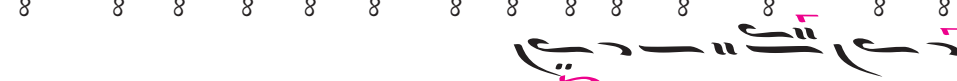
P 
u u u u u u u u u u u u u u u



D 
P 
ε ε ε ε ε εκ τω ω ω ω ω ω ω


D 
P 
ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω


D 
P 
ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω

D 
P 
ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω

D 
P 
τω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω

D 
P 
ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω ω

D 


P 


⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘

D

P 

⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ε εκ τω ων ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘


D 

P 


⊘ ρα α α α ε εκ τω ων ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ⊘ ρα α α νω ων

D 

P A λε ε ε ε ε ε λε ρα α α λε ρα α ρα

D 

P α λε ε ε ε ε ε λε ρα α α λε ρα α ρα α

D 

P λε ε ε ε ε ε λε ρα α α λε ρα α ρα α α

D 


P α λε λε γα γα α λε ε ε ε ε ε λε γα

D 


P γα α λε ε ε λε γα γα α λε λε γα α γα α α

D 

P λε ε τε λε γα λε λε γα γα λε ε ε λε γα α

D 

P α α γα λε

P 

Αλ λη λϝ ι α α α

D 

P α α α α α α α α α α α α

