

**“All Master Composers of Greek Ecclesiastic Music”:  
An Initial Step on a New History of Greek Sacral Music**

In the present paper I describe a research project under development; for the time being, its work title is: “All master composers of Greek ecclesiastic music”: *An initial step on a new History of Greek sacral music*. This research project appears, at first sight, to be related exclusively to the history of Byzantine Music; however, my intention is to present, by means of this project, a first approach to the whole aesthetics of Psaltic Art throughout the ages. It is mainly this perspective of the research that I will attempt here to support, and then expose the specific aspects and the broader scope of the aforementioned program.

The “*alphabetic catalogue of those who flourished in this kind of music* [i.e. Greek sacral music] *at various times*”, the text that constitutes the basis of the present research, one of the oldest (and most accurate) collections of historical testimonies on all composers of Greek sacral music, i.e. those who have been the object of study by specialists on composition techniques of Byzantine Music, is known to us from a fivefold theoretical treatise by Kyrillos Marmarinos, bishop of Tenos (intitulated “*Introduction to Music in form of questions and answers, aiming at its better understanding by students*”), whose it constitutes the third part<sup>1</sup>. This theoretical treatise has been diffused mainly by means of the codex No. 305 of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Athens (written in 1749), presumably an autograph by Kyrillos himself. It is noteworthy that as early as 1926 a description of this codex has been published by Dyovouniotes in an edition including the catalogue studied here<sup>2</sup>, whereas more recently (in 2004) the catalogue has also been included in the edition of the entire Kyrillos’ theoretical treatise by Karakatsanes<sup>3</sup>. It was only in 70’s when observed, by Hadjigiakoumes<sup>4</sup>, that this specific part of Kyrillos’ treatise, i.e. the catalogue, constitutes the basis of another similar catalogue, included (with some additions and comments) in the very well known theoretical work by Chrysanthos from Madytos, intitulated *Great Theory of Music*, published in Trieste in 1832<sup>5</sup>; this fact is revealed by Chrysanthos himself, in a handwritten statement incorporated in a manuscript version of his *Great Theory of Music* (in the codex No. 18 of the Library of the School of Dimitsana, written in 1816), obviously at the same point where the catalogue in question is inserted (with remarkable variations compared to its printed version)<sup>6</sup>. More recently (in 2007) Konstantinou published

<sup>1</sup> The full title of Kyrillos’ treatise is as follows: “*Introduction to Music in form of questions and answers, aiming at its better understanding by students, dealing with ascending and descending voices, bodies and spirits, in their relations to themselves and to each other, both in conjunctions and in combinations, and with actions and patterns of the commonly called great signs, by past and present masters, on all modes and their phthorai and also with terminations and vocal expressions and with some other related matters, written by myself, Kyrillos Marmarinos, bishop of Tenos*”. Recently it has been integrally published by Karakatsanes 2004, where is edited for the first time (pp. 30–138) its second part (bearing the title: “*A more precise theory on musical modes and phthorai*”). Its aforementioned third part (the “*alphabetic catalogue of those who flourished in this kind of music at various times*»), which the present paper deals with, is exhaustively analyzed in what follows. On its remaining parts let me make the following remarks: The first part (which is mainly a typical preliminary theory on Psaltic Art) has been originally published by Psachos 1905, whereas a critical edition was published later by Gertsman 1994: 725–38 (*ibidem*, in pp. 739–48 and 760–69 the same text is reproduced in English and Russian translation respectively, whilst in pp. 697–724, 749–59 and 770–79 are contained, also in Russian and English, some introductory remarks about the author and the history of the treatise in general, as well as a more specific musicological commentary on said text). The fourth part (intitulated: “*A more elementary teaching on secular music in which are examined its various kinds such as the sobbet, the maqam, the nem and some others, similar to them, whose knowledge is of paramount importance to those who wish to dedicate themselves to it*”) and the fifth one (intitulated: “*Explanation about the number and the quality of the modes that constitute each one of the maqams from the beginning to the end*”) were published (with translation and commentary) by Popescu-Sirli 2000: 49–124 [cfr. also *ibidem*, pp. 16–20 (comments on Kyrillos) and 125–26 (comments on his treatise)]; these last two parts of Kyrillos’ treatise have also been studied by Alygizakes 1990: 9 (note 6), 14–7, 21 (where a reference is made to the verbatim reproduction of a part of the aforementioned work in the edition of Stefanos 1843), 33–4 καὶ 43–64 (where are reproduced 22 facsimiles of passages from these two parts of Kyrillos’ treatise from the codex No. 305 of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Athens).

<sup>2</sup> Dyovouniotes 1926: 276–81 (the catalogue in pp. 278–81).

<sup>3</sup> Karakatsanes 2004: 169–70.

<sup>4</sup> Hadjigiakoumes 1974: 321.

<sup>5</sup> Chrysanthos 1832: XXXIII–XLII (§§ 51–63). Romanou 2010: 233–39 (§§ 51–63).

<sup>6</sup> See codex No. 18 of the Library of the School of Dimitsana, p. XXIX, where Chrysanthos notes: “... here therefore is the *alphabetic catalogue of the names of all masters of sacral music who flourished from that time* [sc. of Ioannes Damaskenos] *up to the present day. This catalogue has been compiled by Kyrillos, bishop of Tenos, in the time of Ioannes the protopsalt*”. The catalogue is integrally reproduced in pp. XXX–XXXVII of the manuscript. For a first description of this codex, see Gritsopoulos 1952: 200–01 (where it is also mentioned that the catalogue in question had been compiled “*by Kyrillos, bishop of Tenos*”).

the latest version of the catalogue, along with the full text of Chrysanthos' *Great Theory of Music* in both its manuscript and its printed form<sup>7</sup>. Gertsman, however, as early as 1984, in his edition of a part of Kyrillos' treatise (based mainly on codex No. 63 of the Russian Archeological Institute of Constantinople), a part of Kyrillos' treatise including the said catalogue<sup>8</sup>, pointed towards a third catalogue, similar in content, previously attributed to Nikephoros Kantouniaries from Chios<sup>9</sup>; the last catalogue of Nikephoros was already known to us from two manuscript sources (both kept at Mount Athos); his autograph codex No. 1427 of Vatopediou monastery (from which it was published in 1924 by Eustratiades and Arkadios)<sup>10</sup> and the codex No. 318 of Xeropotamou monastery, presumably also an autograph by Nikephoros himself (from which codex the same catalogue was published in 1975 by Stathes)<sup>11</sup>; however, Gertsman, in his critical edition of both versions of the catalogue (Kyrillos' version and Nikephoros' one), pointed out the obvious, i.e. that the latter is essentially an updated form of the former, based on newer data<sup>12</sup>.

So what I'm dealing with here is a basic source, the aforementioned catalogue, transmitted to us in three different versions: the original version of Kyrillos Marmarinos has been reviewed by Nikephoros Kantouniaries and then updated by Chrysanthos from Madytos. As I have already mentioned, each one of these versions has already been published and partially studied, albeit separately (with the exception of the attempt of Gertsman towards a critical approach). Now the objective of research in this field is the critical evaluation of the data provided by this source and their use as an incentive towards further historical investigation. Moreover, the names of all these composers can provide an excellent basis for further artistic and aesthetic assessment of the phenomenon of musical creation itself. So, in the present paper I examine the relationship between the three versions of the specific source mentioned above, while discussing in detail their historical, artistic and aesthetic significance. At the same time, I point out the added educational value that this catalogue could acquire, especially as an initial step towards a new *History of Greek sacral music*. I believe that such a book (based on composers' names and thus on the general history of the Byzantine Melopoeia), could form a new *instrumentum studiorum* for contemporary musicologists, which will reveal the conception and value of Greek sacral music, as well as the more detailed composition techniques and features of the so-called Byzantine Music.

## A. Data of the research

### 1. The catalogue of Kyrillos Marmarinos<sup>13</sup>

Kyrillos was born (we don't exactly know when, probably in the beginning of 18<sup>th</sup> century) on the small island of Marmara in the sea of the same name, near Constantinople – hence the surname Marmarinos that always accompanies the mention of his name in the sources. He was apparently raised in the ecclesiastical milieu, where later he gained access to high offices; namely, he was appointed bishop of Ganos and Chora, and subsequently of Tenos, a small island in the Cyclades (in synodic and other patriarchal documents he is mentioned as bishop of Tenos during the period 1736–1740); in History he is known mainly as former bishop of Tenos (this is the title by which he refers to himself as early as February 1742). At the same time, he systematically and successfully dedicated himself to the Psaltic Art, which he studied in Constantinople with first chanter (protopsalt) Panagiotes Chalatzoglou. He was the composer of several sacral compositions (namely a Polyeleos, eleven Timioterai by mode, eleven Eothina, two series of Cherubika by mode, Communion Hymns [Koinonika] for Sundays, for the week and for the feasts of all the year, Kalophonic Heirmoi, chants related to the Liturgy of St. Basil) which were largely diffused, whereas he also distinguished himself in the field of interpretation of earlier chants. Equally remarkable is his theoretical treatise, partially examined here,

<sup>7</sup> Konstantinou 2007: 100–23.

<sup>8</sup> Gertsman 1994: 786–93 (with the same text translated into Russian and English in pp. 794–804 and 815–24 respectively, accompanied by introductory remarks and comments, also in Russian and English, in pp. 780–85 and 805–14, 825–34 respectively).

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.: 784–85.

<sup>10</sup> Eustratiades-Arkadios 1924: 226–27.

<sup>11</sup> Stathes 1975: 146–50 (the full description of the aforementioned codex in pp. 143–51).

<sup>12</sup> A similar view (albeit in a more moderate manner) had been also voiced by Stathes 1977: 98, note 1; the aforementioned conclusion has also been supported, in a more unequivocal way, by Karangounes 2003: 568, 475.

<sup>13</sup> Information on the life and work of Kyrillos Marmarinos, as it is indicatively presented in the paragraph that follows, has been taken from the following relevant bibliography: Hadjigiakoumes 1975: 147–48, 338–39. Hadjigiakoumes 1980: 44, 94 (notes 215–20) [= Hadjigiakoumes 1999: 71–2, 148–49 (notes 215–20)]. Gertsman 1994: 697–709 (in Russian), 710–22 (in English). Popescu-Sirli 2000: 16–20. Chaldaeakes 2003: 246–47, 460–61. Karangounes 2003: 474–77. Karakatsanes 2004: 9–15.

one of the most important texts of this kind which remains worthy of study up to the present day, since it deals, among other things, with the character and the rhythms of Arabian-Persian music. For the time being, the last mention of Kyrillos' name is in 1757, whilst he appears to no longer be alive after the first decade of the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The catalogue compiled by Kyrillos (and examined in the present paper) is, as I have already noted, an interpolated and autonomous part of a broader theoretical treatise of his, which (according to the research data up to the present day) appears for the first time in codex No. 305 of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Athens, dated 1749 (the catalogue is written, precisely, at ff. 86<sup>r</sup>–87<sup>v</sup> [see facsimiles 1–4]); of course, the text of the whole theoretical treatise of Kyrillos and of the catalogue in particular have been also transmitted by other, later, musical codices which have been taken into account in the present research (such as – I note here only the sources where the said catalogue is included – the codex No. 923 of the Bucarest Academy [ca. 1780], ff. 21<sup>v</sup>–23<sup>r</sup> [from which the said catalogue was published in 1985 by T. Moisescu<sup>14</sup>], the codex No. 270 of the Psachos Library [end of 18<sup>th</sup> century], ff. 16<sup>r</sup>–18<sup>v</sup><sup>15</sup>, or the above mentioned codex No. 63 of the Russian Archeological Institute of Constantinople [end of 18<sup>th</sup>–beginning of 19<sup>th</sup> century], ff. 19<sup>r</sup>–20<sup>v</sup><sup>16</sup>); in these codices there are no important variations concerning the contents of the catalogue.

The catalogue of Kyrillos is a simple list of 119 names of master composers, in alphabetical order (albeit not scrupulously observed), who flourished between the late 13<sup>th</sup> and the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. As it has been observed long ago (by Chrysanthos from Madytos in the manuscript version of his *Great Theory of Music*<sup>17</sup>), the catalogue was compiled “in the time of John the protopsalt”. This is affirmed several times in the catalogue, where the said John is always referred to as “the actual protopsalt”<sup>18</sup> (whereas he is also described as the “teacher” of the catalogue’s author, i.e. Kyrillos<sup>19</sup>). Equally interesting, from an historical perspective, is the mention of Daniel as “the actual lampadarios” (second chanter)<sup>20</sup>. The oldest extant mention of John as a protopsalt, an extremely safe one, since it is self-referential, is dated 1743<sup>21</sup>; on the other hand, the oldest extant copy of the catalogue is dated 1749. So, the compilation of the catalogue by Kyrillos can be safely dated in the last decade of the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, namely between 1743 (*terminus post quem*) and 1749 (*terminus ante quem*)<sup>22</sup>.

Furthermore, some historical data that appear in the catalogue must be pointed out. I mention them here in brief: the affirmation of kinship relations between some of the persons in the catalogue<sup>23</sup>; some clear

<sup>14</sup> See the description of the manuscript in the catalogue of Gertsman 1999: 299–304; on the same codex is based, as I have already noted, the edition of the catalogue by the same Gertsman 1994 (furthermore, at the end of that edition, in pl. XCV–XCVIII, are reproduced facsimiles of the full catalogue).

<sup>15</sup> Psachos 1978: 113–14 (note 60). A description of the codex is also available in the following webpage: <http://pergamos.lib.uoa.gr/dl/read?pid=uoadl:126538>

<sup>16</sup> Moisescu 1985.

<sup>17</sup> Cfr. above, footnote 6.

<sup>18</sup> See for example the following entries (all transcribed here from codex No. 305 of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Athens, ff. 86<sup>r</sup>–87<sup>v</sup>): “Zacharias protopsalt of Kyzikos, nephew of Ananias bishop of Kyzikos and disciple of Ioannes the actual protopsalt / Ioannes protopsalt of Rhaedestos, nephew of Gerasimos bishop of Herakleia and disciple of the actual protopsalt [sc. Ioannes] / Nikolaos from Adrianople, disciple of actual protopsalt Ioannes / Chrysanthos priest-monk from Cyprus, disciple of the actual protopsalt [sc. Ioannes]”.

<sup>19</sup> The relevant entry is formulated as follows: “Our teacher Ioannes, protopsalt of the Great Church and disciple of Panagiotes Chalatzoglou”. The latter is also mentioned in the catalogue as the teacher of Kyrillos: “Panagiotes Chalatzoglou, our teacher and protopsalt of the Great Church”.

<sup>20</sup> The relevant entry is formulated as follows: “Daniel the actual lampadarios and disciple of Panagiotes Chalatzoglou”. On the duration of Daniel’s service as lampadarios (1740–1770) cfr. also Patrinelys 1969: 84–5 [= Patrinelys 1973: 161–62].

<sup>21</sup> See codex No. 52 of the monastery of St. Stephanos in Meteora, f. 486<sup>r</sup>: “The present book, full of voices and chants that flow like honey, which is called papadic by the ancients, has been brought to completion by the hand of mine, Ioannes protopsalt, in the month of March of the year 1743” (for a description of the codex see the catalogue of Sofianos 1986: 134–41). Cfr. Patrinelys 1969: 76–8 [= Patrinelys 1973: 153–54].

<sup>22</sup> On this matter there is also, of course, the plausible conjecture by Hadjigiakoumes 1980: 44, 94 (note 219) [= Hadjigiakoumes 1999: 71, 148–49 (note 219)], that the full composition of Kyrillos’ treatise “should rather be placed before 1740”, because in the text he is always mentioned as “bishop of Tenos”. However, the absence of the adjective “former”, that normally accompanies the name of a deposed bishop, is not unusual, especially for a bishop who is a musician too [there is, for instance, the case of Germanos of New Patras, who never referred to himself as “former” bishop, despite the fact that he was deposed; see on this subject Gones 1997: 386–87, notes 65–6]; furthermore, even if Ioannes might have commenced his service as a protopsalt earlier than 1743 (although for the time being there is no hard evidence about this), placing the composition of the treatise (and therefore the compilation of the catalogue) of Kyrillos before 1740 would be in overt contradiction with the mention, in the catalogue, of Daniel as “the actual lampadarios”.

<sup>23</sup> See for example the following entries: “Agathon, brother of Xenos Korones / Manuel, Korones’ son”.

indications on “educational relations” between specific teachers and their pupils mentioned here<sup>24</sup>; finally, the mention of various localities of the broader Hellenic world as places of birth or of residence and activity of some of the recorded musical figures<sup>25</sup>.

## 2. The catalogue of Nikephoros Kantouniaries from Chios<sup>26</sup>

Nikephoros Kantouniaries was born in Chios, probably ca. 1770. He apparently began there his studies, and then, certainly after 1790, went to Constantinople, where he dedicated himself to the study of Psaltic Art, with the famous master Jacob the protopsalt as his teacher. In Constantinople he was very close to the ecclesiastic milieu, his spiritual guide being (according to his own testimony) the Ecumenical Patriarch Gerasimos III the Cypriot (1794–1797). After 1800, when his master Jacob the protopsalt passed away, we find his traces in Damascus. There he was ordained a deacon and served as archdeacon in the Patriarchate of Antioch; it is noteworthy that there is a record of a chant in Arabic made by Nikephoros “on the occasion of his ordainment in Damascus”, according to his own testimony. In 1806 he appears again in Constantinople, where he wrote the first of a series of autograph codices (conserved in the Vatopediou monastery, in Mount Athos). This series includes his complete works, a rich variety of musical compositions based on ecclesiastical and secular chants. Established in the suburb of Mega Reuma, he teaches sacral music to a wide circle of student and creates relentlessly new musical compositions, whilst at the same time he forges close links and collaborates in many ways with several Phanariotes scholars. After 1814, when the teaching of the so-called new method of sacral music is imposed in Constantinople, Nikephoros rejects this new system and moves to Jassy, the capital of Moldavia. There he becomes right away closely linked to Benjamin, Metropolitan of Moldavia, who commands various sacral compositions to Nikephoros (in a letter of 1814 accompanying two of his compositions, Nikephoros addresses Benjamin revealing that he created these chants “by order of Your Grace”). In Jassy, Nikephoros resided in the Golia monastery (a metochion of the Vatopediou monastery in Mount Athos, which explains why all his autographs are conserved there), where, according to his own testimony, “served as a chanter, hired by His Holiness Gregory, bishop of Eirinoupoles”. At the same time, he was linked to several Phanariotes of Jassy, and later he founded his own school of Psaltic Art, since he introduces himself as a “teacher in the common musical school of Jassy”. After 1830 there is no testimony whatsoever about Nikephoros, who probably passed away that year in Jassy.

The catalogue of Nikephoros has been up to now found in two sources only, those previously mentioned, i.e. his autograph codex No. 1427 of Vatopediou monastery (dated 1810), pp. 659–664, and his presumably autograph codex No. 318 of Xeropotamou monastery (early 19<sup>th</sup> century), ff. 140<sup>r</sup>–143<sup>v</sup>. In its present version the catalogue includes (in alphabetical order, also not strictly observed) 133 names of master composers, i.e. the names known from the aforementioned catalogue of Kyrillos, plus 14 names of composers who flourished in late 18<sup>th</sup> and in early 19<sup>th</sup> century (i.e. after the original compilation of the catalogue by Kyrillos). Among these additions the names that stand out are not only those of Peter Peloponnesian, Peter Byzantios, George from Crete, Gregory the protopsalt, Chourmouzios Chartophylax and others, but also those of Jacob

<sup>24</sup> See also the following entries: “Athanasios Patriarch of Constantinople disciple of Balasios / Antonios priest and Great Oikonomos, disciple of Jeremias bishop of Chalcedon / Demetrios Dokeianos, disciple of Koukouzeles / Ioakeim bishop of Bizya, the so-called Alampases, disciple of Balasios the priest / Ioakeim priest-monk from Rhodes, disciple of the same protopsalt Ioannes / Nikolaos from Trebizond, disciple of the same protopsalt [sc. Ioannes]”.

<sup>25</sup> See also the following entries: Athanasios Patriarch of Constantinople, disciple of Balasios / Athanasios monk in Mount Athos / Argyros from Rhodes / Benedict, domestikos at the monastery of Karakallou in Mount Athos / Gabriel from the monastery of Xanthopouloi in Konstantinople / Gennadios from Anchialos / Gabriel from Anchialos / Georgios Protopsalt of Ganos / Georgios from Rhaidestos, protopsalt of the Great Church / Damianos, a monk at the monastery of Vatopediou in Mount Athos / Eunuch and protopsaltes at the monastery of Philanthropinon in Konstantinople / Zacharias protopsalt of Kyzikos, nephew of Ananias bishop of Kyzikos and disciple of Ioannes the actual protopsalt / Theodoros of Kallikrateia / Theophanes Karykes, Patriarch of Constantinople / Jeremias bishop of Chalcedon / Ioakeim bishop of Bizya, the so-called Alampases, disciple of Balasios the priest / Ioakeim priest-monk from Rhodes, disciple of the same protopsalt Ioannes / Ioannes protopsalt of Rhaidestos, nephew of Gerasimos bishop of Herakleia and disciple of the actual protopsalt [sc. Ioannes] / Kornelios monk in Mount Athos / Konstantinos from Anchialos / Klemes of Lesbos / Kallistos from Nicaea / Melchisedek bishop of Rhaidestos / Meletios from Mount Sinai / Nathanael of Nicaea / Nikolaos Tramountanas, protopsalt of Rhodes / Nikolaos Asan from Cyprus / Nikolaos from Adrianople, disciple of actual Protopsalt Ioannes / Nikolaos from Trebizond, disciple of said Protopsalt [sc. Ioannes] / Chrysanthos priest-monk from Cyprus, disciple of the actual Protopsalt [sc. Ioannes]”.

<sup>26</sup> Information on the life and work of Nikephoros Kantouniaries, as it is indicatively presented in the paragraph that follows, has been taken from the following relevant bibliography: Stathes 1983 [= Stathes 2001]. Plemmenos 2000. Plemmenos 2003: 195–234. Karangounes 2003: 567–71.









the protopsalt (mentioned as the “teacher” of the catalogue’s compiler, i.e. Nikephoros<sup>27</sup>) and of Nikephoros himself (a name added only in codex No. 318 of Xeropotamou monastery, f. 143<sup>r</sup>, accompanied by dithyrambic comments: “*Nikephoros from Chios, archdeacon of the patriarchal throne of Antioch, erudite disciple of Jacob the Protopsalt, flourished in popularity among the multitude of his students because of his conversable, gracious and industrious character*”). On the basis of this last remark, and also taking into account the notable differences between the two codices at several points of the catalogue, we should probably assume that codex No. 318 of Xeropotamou monastery is not an autograph by Nikephoros, as it was previously believed<sup>28</sup>. Its scribe (maybe one of Nikephoros’ students mentioned above) probably copied it from the original Nikephoros’ catalogue (codex No. 1427 of Vatopediou monastery), with some minor additions, mostly comments on the life and activities of some of the composers who were closer to his time or contemporaries of his.

The original catalogue of Nikephoros must have been compiled during his second residence in Constantinople, very probably when Manuel was protopsalt in the Ecumenical Patriarchate; Manuel’s name is one of the additions to the catalogue’s text: “*Manuel protopsalt of the Great Church, disciple of Nikolaos Tzirles from Chios and then of Jacob the protopsalt, Turkish-speaking Christian and admirer of George from Crete*”<sup>29</sup>. Given that the oldest extant record of the catalogue (and an autograph one too) is dated 1810, and taking into account the historical data (1805: Manuel becomes protopsalt<sup>30</sup>; 1806: Nikephoros’ presence is attested in Constantinople<sup>31</sup>), it is, in my opinion, obvious that the catalogue must have been compiled during the first decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, namely between 1805 (*terminus post quem*) and 1810 (*terminus ante quem*).

### 3. The catalogue of Chrysanthos from Madytos<sup>32</sup>

Chrysanthos, whose last name was Karamalles, was born ca. 1780 in the city of Madytos, where he completed his elementary education. Later he established himself in Constantinople, where he studied at the Patriarchal Academy, whilst learning Psaltic Art with the famous master Peter Byzantios (+ 1808). He was a very learned man; the sources describe him as an “*erudite and apt scholar*” who also “*knew very well both the Greek and the French language and had profound knowledge of European music*”; moreover, he was able to “*play both the European flageolet and the Arab-Persian ney*”. It is certain that he studied in Europe (probably in France), since, according to the testimonies, “*he associated with European masters of music*”. After that, he returned to Constantinople, where he flourished in the field of the theory of music, whereas he also wrote some musical codices. Chrysanthos became a leading figure in the History of Music and still remains a legend in this area, since he was one of the three masters who imposed the new system of teaching ecclesiastical music in 1814. Chrysanthos was the one who composed the fundamental theoretical manuals of this new method: the minor one, edited by A. Thamyres (Paris 1821) and the major one, edited by P. Pelopides (Trieste 1832). He also taught the theory of Psaltic Art in special musical school that functioned between 1815 and 1821, the Third Patriarchal Musical School, where the other two masters, namely Gregory and Chourmouzios, taught the practical aspects of the Art. At the same time Chrysanthos gradually gained access to ecclesiastical ranks: in 1815 he is attested as a deacon, whilst in 1816 he refers to himself as an archimandrite; in May 1825 he is appointed Metropolitan of Dyrrachium, in July 1833 he is transferred to the Metropolis of Smyrna and in April 1837 he is appointed Metropolitan of Prusa, an office which he held until his death in Constantinople, in June 1846.

The catalogue of Chrysanthos was previously known only from the printed edition of his *Great Theory of Music* (Trieste 1832)<sup>33</sup>. Recently, however (as I have noted above), another version of the catalogue has been identified, preserved in his autograph codex No. 18 of the Library of the School of Dimitsana, written in 1816,

<sup>27</sup> The relevant entry, as it is found in codex No. 1427 of Vatopediou monastery, p. 661, is as follows: “*Jacob Byzantios, protopsalt of the Great Church and teacher of mine, who flourished as a scholar in the idiomela and heirmologic troparia*”.

<sup>28</sup> Stathes 1975: 150–51 (and henceforth in almost every mention and use of this manuscript by modern research).

<sup>29</sup> The entry is from codex No. 1427 of Vatopediou monastery, p. 662.

<sup>30</sup> Patrines 1969: 80–1 [= Patrines 1973: 157].

<sup>31</sup> Plemmenos 2003: 215–17.

<sup>32</sup> Information on the life and work of Chrysanthos, as it is indicatively presented in the paragraph that follows, has been taken from the following relevant bibliography: Papadopoulos 1890: 332–35. Papadopoulos 1904: 200–02. Morgan 1971: 86–99. Romanou 1985: 9–12, 16–20. Plemmenos 1997: 51–63. Plemmenos 2002: 20–42. Plemmenos 2003: 165–94. Konstantinou 2007: 23–34. Xanthoudakes 2007: 141–74. Hadjopoulos 2008: 131–38. Romanou 2010: 12–6.

<sup>33</sup> Cfr. above, footnote 5.



a codex which, for the time being, constitutes the one and only known manuscript source of the catalogue in question. There, beside the clear indication by Chrysanthos concerning the source of the catalogue (“... *this catalogue has been compiled by Kyrillos bishop of Tenos...*”<sup>34</sup>, a fact which, as I have mentioned above, had already been revealed by M. Hadjigiakoumes<sup>35</sup>), we find a rudimentary form of it, that includes (in alphabetical order, albeit here again not strictly observed) 135 names of master composers (16 more than in the original catalogue of Kyrillos), together with 15 footnote comments by Chrysanthos, where he presents some details on the life and work of 15 musical figures included in the catalogue. In its printed version, the same catalogue gets further expanded to finally include 155 names (36 more than in the original catalogue of Kyrillos), once more accompanied by 35 footnotes commenting upon 35 musical figures mentioned in the catalogue. The relation between the manuscript and the printed version of Chrysanthos’ catalogue is not as obvious as it might appear at first sight. A major proof for this is the fact that one of the additions of the printed version is the name of Chrysanthos himself, presented as “*Chrysanthos Archimandrites and teacher*” (and in a related footnote: “*He was from Madytos, a city situated by Hellespont. He is a member of the Three Teachers, the inventors of the New Method of Ecclesiastical music and was appointed to teach its theoretical part in general*”<sup>36</sup>). Since the relation of Chrysanthos as an author with the book edited by his student Panagiotis G. Pelopides has already raised serious doubt among researchers<sup>37</sup>, it would clearly be wiser to recognize here two different treatments of the present catalogue: a first one by Chrysanthos himself, based, according to his own testimony, on the Kyrillos’ original and included in his own manuscript, and a second one by Chrysanthos’ student and editor of his book, P. Pelopides, obviously based on the previous treatment by Chrysanthos and published as a part of the printed edition of the *Great Theory of Music* in 1832. The first of these two versions must be placed between 1811 (when Chrysanthos is plausibly assumed to have commenced the composition of his *Great Theory of Music*<sup>38</sup>) and 1816 (year of the older, as for now, manuscript record of that work), whereas the second one between 1820–1832, i.e. the period during which was being prepared, according to reliable testimonies<sup>39</sup>, the printed edition of the same work by Pelopides. Finally, a third treatment of the same catalogue has been attempted in the following decade by Theodoros Phocaeus and has been included in a theoretical treatise of his, published in 1842<sup>40</sup>; there the aforementioned editor, using again the method described above, adds to the catalogue 10 more names of master composers, recent or even coeval to him (including his own), which he also comments upon with corresponding footnotes.

This threefold treatment (respectively by Chrysanthos, Panagiotis Pelopides and Theodoros Phocaeus) of the original Kyrillos’ catalogue clearly presents some interesting traits: on a first level, the intention of all compilers (and especially of Pelopides) is to add to the catalogue more names of Byzantine poets and hymnographers (for example, whilst the catalogues of Kyrillos and Nikephoros include 4 poets, the catalogue of Chrysanthos includes 6 of them and the one of Pelopides 14). On the contrary, the additions of more recent composers (or even contemporary to them) are very scarce, while some of the added master composers are mentioned twice, under different surnames. This “insufficiency” is, nevertheless, compensated by the addition of the aforementioned footnotes, where all compilers offer further details on the life and work of some of the composers and in some cases (mainly for the later or contemporary to them masters) transmit very interesting historical (or even anecdotal) details which remain up to the present day a fundamental source for the historiography of Psaltic Art.

There is, therefore, a sixfold (at least) process concerning this specific source, the alphabetic catalogue of master composers: its first conception and recording by Kyrillos, just before the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, is enriched (after more than half a century) by Nikephoros, following the same principles as the original compiler, whereas

<sup>34</sup> Cfr. above, footnote 6.

<sup>35</sup> Cfr. above, footnote 4.

<sup>36</sup> Chrysanthos 1832: XLII, note b. Romanou 2010: 239, note 113.

<sup>37</sup> See on this matter Hadjigiakoumes 1974: 314–15.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.: 320–21, note 13.

<sup>39</sup> Cfr. Chrysanthos 1832: ι; Romanou 2010: 29; where, in the editor’s preface (signed on April the 6<sup>th</sup>, 1832), are noted the following: “*I got this treatise twelve years ago, while studying in Constantinople, from its learned author and my respected teacher. Desiring since then its circulation to the public, by the author himself or by anyone else, and having failed with this greatest among my aims, I was able in the present year only to realize this work of public profit, with no little personal financial expenses and toil...*”

<sup>40</sup> Phocaeus 1842: 32–41 (pages of the second part of the book). Since then the same work has been reprinted many times [on the extant reprints see Hadjitheodorou 1998: 219–20 (No. 231), 227 (No. 243), 229 (No. 248), 233 (No. 254), 246–47 (No. 285)], and even recently (Athens 2005).



an unknown person (maybe a student of Nikephoros) provides some additional (historical, musicological and anecdotal) pieces of information. A few years later, however, Chrysanthos took up this idea and made it evolve, in his own inventive (and somewhat academic) way, into an extensive commentary; he is finally the one (while his student and editor Panagiotes Pelopides as well as Theodoros Phocaeus followed on his steps) who transformed the catalogue of names into a broader field for the research relative to the History of Byzantine Music, providing a canvass for composing a new History of Psaltic Art. This original idea and attempt of Chrysanthos is continued and updated by the present research.

## B. Steps of the project

The stages of the present research are four; I will mention them here in brief, in order to reveal (indirectly yet clearly) the broader scope of the whole endeavor:

- *The critical edition of the text of the catalogue in question.*

It is obvious that this critical edition is attempted (on the basis of both the manuscript tradition of the text and its extant printed editions) on four levels: separately at first, for each of the three versions of the catalogue (respectively by Kyrillos, Nikephoros and Chrysanthos) and then comprehensively, with a joint assessment of all three versions. Of course the aim is to establish a critically edited unified text for the catalogue of master composers, which will be the reference edition for the specific source.

- *A commentary (and a broader historico-philological and musicological annotation) concerning all the names of master composers included in the catalogue.*

This is, of course, a difficult and laborious endeavor, which requires a thorough research not only on bibliography, but also on primary musical sources, with a view to revealing the exact identity (along with the details on the life and work) of the musical personality hidden behind each and every name in the catalogue<sup>41</sup>.

- *The collection, classification, assessment and publication of all the works of the master composers mentioned in the catalogue.*

The catalogue refers, by definition, to musical composers; therefore, the knowledge of their names alone (or even of some details on their life and work) constitutes a purely superficial level of approach. The deeper scope of the catalogue is to contribute (through solid historical knowledge achieved by means of the names' record) to the comprehension of the essence of the art, i.e. of musical creation itself as it has been shaped by the composers included in the catalogue. Here lays, in my opinion, the most crucial stage of the present research, where the catalogue itself can transcend its exclusively historical dimension and acquire a musicological one. The collection and treatment of all this material (which, of course, requires hard and systematic work, and a collective one too) will not only facilitate the study of the evolution of musical creation through time on a historical, systematic, structural and comparative level, but also provide a clear mirror where the broader aesthetic of Byzantine Music will be immediately reflected<sup>42</sup>.

- *The updating of the catalogue with new names of master composers, resulting from the data of modern musicological research.*

The collection of names in the present catalogue (in all its three versions) is today purely indicative. Now the modern musicological research data have the power to expand the specific alphabetic catalogue by adding a sufficient amount of names of master composers who have flourished from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, when the first names were recorded, up to the present day. If we actually include our contemporary master composers, then the catalogue might expand exponentially. It is, of course, obvious that such a catalogue will not be limited to a simple mention of names; it will also incorporate broader historical and philological comments and musicological annotation, as well as a collection, classification, assessment and publication of the complete works of the master composers who will be added to the catalogue.

I am strongly convinced that the alphabetic catalogue of master composers, if treated in a way similar to the one described here, can be transformed from a simple historical source into an open to various research stages scientific field of knowledge of almost all extant data on Psaltic Art. Such a *corpus* of historical but also of purely musical material could certainly constitute a *thesaurus* of Byzantine Music with obvious usefulness.

<sup>41</sup> I have already commenced the endeavor of this commentary on the occasion of the composition of a series of prosopographic musicological entries for the Russian encyclopedia ПРАВОСЛАВНАЯ ЭНЦИКЛОПЕДИЯ and for the corresponding Greek *Great Christian Orthodox Encyclopedia*; up to the present day the following relevant entries have been published: Chaldaeakes 2006 a–d; Chaldaeakes 2007 a–e; Chaldaeakes 2008 a–f; Chaldaeakes 2009 a–b; Chaldaeakes 2010 b–i.

<sup>42</sup> I have already applied a similar musicological assessment, on sporadic occasions, in the following essays of mine: Chaldaeakes 2010a: 279–317, 533–587, 589–621, 677–718, 719–783. Chaldaeakes (-).

Furthermore, such an open database could undoubtedly lead to the writing of a different *History of Greek sacral music*, a History based not only on persons, dates, facts and other similar philological references, but also on the very musical compositions of the creators of Psaltic Art. Such an endeavor, that should naturally lead to the composing of a purely musical, living and evolving *History of Greek sacral music*, is, in my opinion, worthwhile to undertake.

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## Santrauka

### **„Visi žymūs Graikijos bažnytinės muzikos kompozitoriai“: pirmasis žingsnis į naują Graikijos sakralinės muzikos istoriją**

„Visi žymūs Graikijos bažnytinės muzikos kompozitoriai“ – tai plačiai žinomas katalogas, sudarytas Kyrilloso Marmarinoso, Tenos vyskupo, 1734/6–1770 m. Tai viena iš seniausių (ir tiksliausių) kolekcijų, istoriškai apimanti visus Graikijos sakralinės muzikos kompozitorius, t. y. tuos, kurie buvo nagrinėjami bizantinės muzikos kompozicijos technikos specialistų. Šis katalogas, vėliau įtrauktas į Chrysanthoso iš Madytos „Bizantinės muzikos teoriją“, 1832 m. buvo išleistas minėtoje knygoje. Galimas daiktas, kad šis katalogas yra tas pats, kaip ir „Visi kompozitoriai, kurie klestėjo įvairiu metu graikų ekleziastinėje muzikoje“, kuris yra įregistruotas (fol. 140 f.f.) Xeropotamou kodekse 318, parašytame arkidiakono Nikephoroso Kantouniariso iš Chios XIX a. pradžioje.

Pranešime nagrinėjamas santykis tarp trijų minėto šaltinio variantų ir aptariama jų istorinė, meninė ir estetinė reikšmė. Taip pat nusakoma papildoma mokslinė reikšmė, kurią gali sukurti šis katalogas, kaip pradinis žingsnis link naujos Graikijos sakralinės muzikos istorijos. Tokia knyga galėtų tapti nauja *instrumentum studiorum* šiuolaikiniams muzikologams ir atskleisti graikų sakralinės muzikos koncepciją ir vertę, taip pat detalizuotų ir bizantinės muzikos komponavimo technikas bei bruožus.