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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-Judetzu – Adriana Ababi-Sirli, *Sources of 18th century music. Panayiotis Chalatzoglou and Kyrillos Marmarinos’ comparative treatise on secular music*, (Istanbul) 2000, pp. 12-15, 25-48, 125-141; 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: Halatzoglou’s “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, Koenonika, 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. ΧΑΛΔΕΑΚΗΣ, “ΙΟΥΑΝΝΗ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΥΝΔΣΚΙΟΥ”, *ΠΡΑΒΟΣΛΑΒΗΑΝΑ ΕΝ-ΚΥΚΛΟΠΕΔΙΑ* 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. ΧΑΛΔΕΑΚΗΣ, “ΔΑΝΙΗΛ ΠΡΟΤΟΠΣΑΛΤΗ” *ΠΡΑΒΟΣΛΑΒΗΑΝΑ ΕΝΚΥΚΛΟΠΕΔΙΑ* 14 (2006), pp. 83-84; *Idem*, “ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑ ΧΑΝΕΝΔΕΣ”, *ΠΡΑΒΟΣΛΑΒΗΑΝΑ 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 Protopsaltes**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 Protopsaltes 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 Protopsaltes Ioannes passed away and Daniel became Protopsaltes, 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 Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφηταὶ 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 Protopsaltes, 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 Protopsaltes, 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 ecclesiastical 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 ΠΡΟΤΟΠΣΑΛΤ”, ΠΡΑΒΟΣΛΑΒΝΑЯ ЭНЦИКΛΟΠΕΔΙΑ 20 (2009), p. 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 Prosomoia, 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 ἀνὴρ, 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 Α. 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 ἡχος πλ. α' Εὐλογητὸς εἰ, Κύριε — Τῶν ἀγγέλων ὁ δῆμος*); codex No. 42 of RAIK collection (middle of 18th c.), ff. 105^r-106^v (: *Ἑτέρα εὐλογητάρια σύντομα, ὡραία σύνθεσις, κύρ Ἰωακείμ ἡχος πλ. α' Εὐλογητὸς εἰ, 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, ὡραία, κυρίου Ἰωακείμ Λινδίου ἡχος πλ. α' Εὐλογητὸς εἰ, 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-

tion 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.

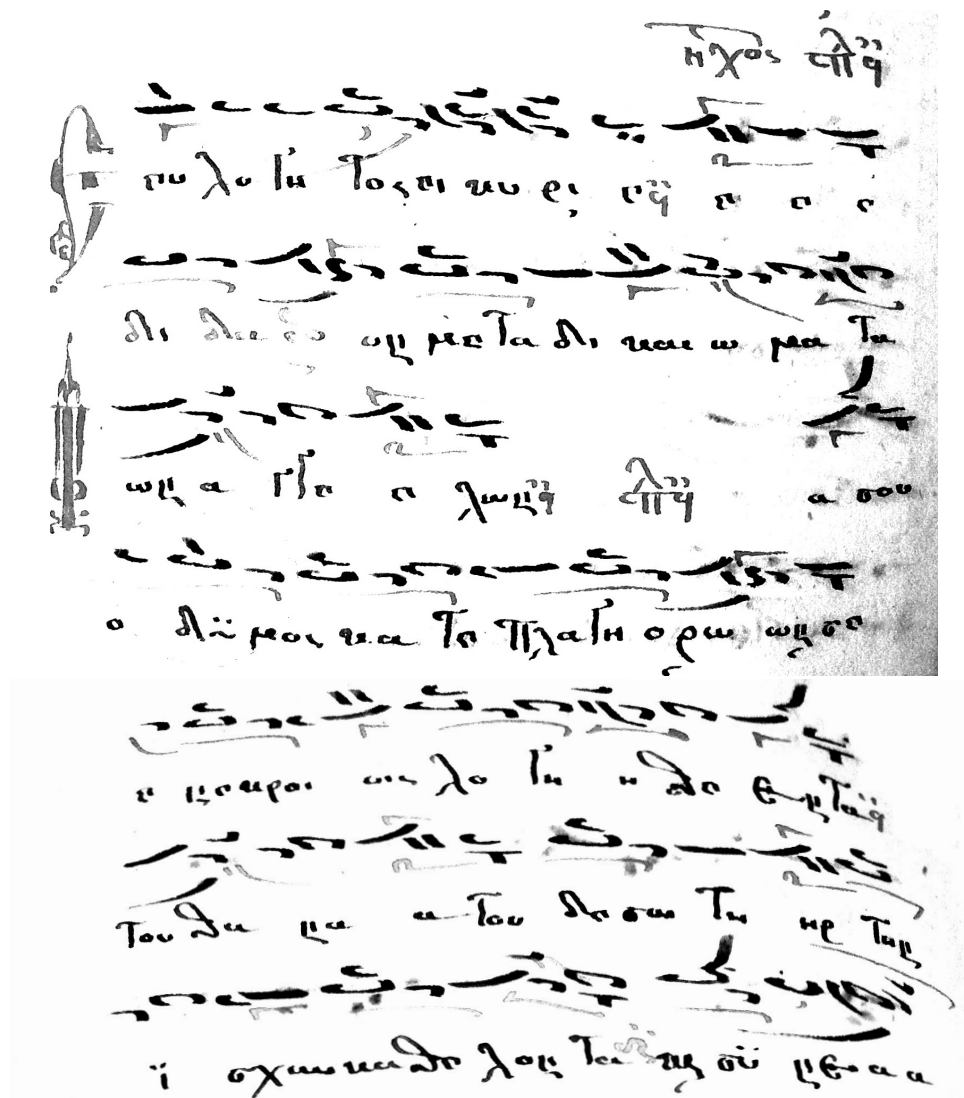
In the following part of my paper I will present such a comparison of all the above-mentioned compositions; I shall first compare the aforementioned *Eulogitaria* in their two composing versions, i.e. the one attributed to Joakeim as well as the very well-known one attributed to Peter the Peloponnesian²⁰; 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 Domestikos 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**].

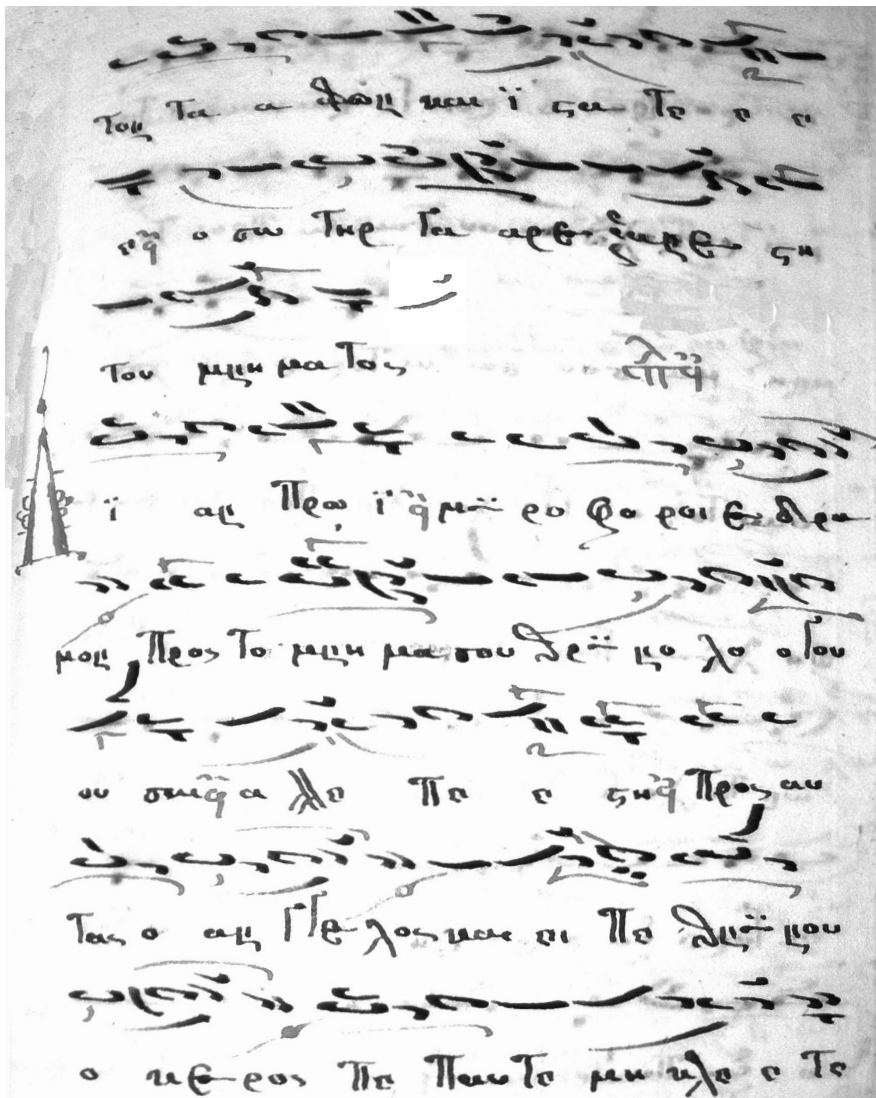
21. I am using here, both for handwritten and printed

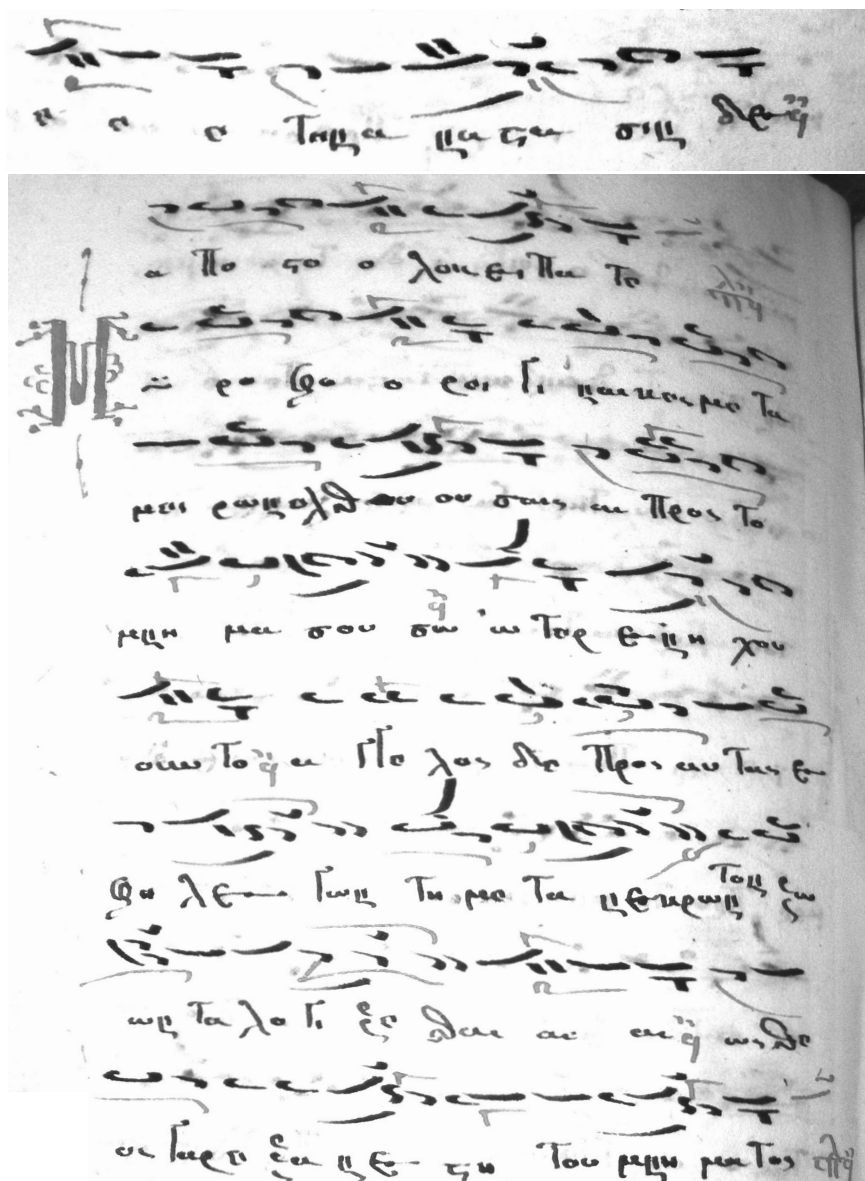
versions of the mentioned compositions, the codex No. 223 of K. Psachos' collection (1784 A.D., written by Peter Byzantios), f. 110^{r-v} (Daniel's [: **picture 3**]) and ff. 113^v-114^r (Peter's [: **picture 4**]) as well as the musical edition of John the Lampadarios and Stefanos the first Domestikos 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].

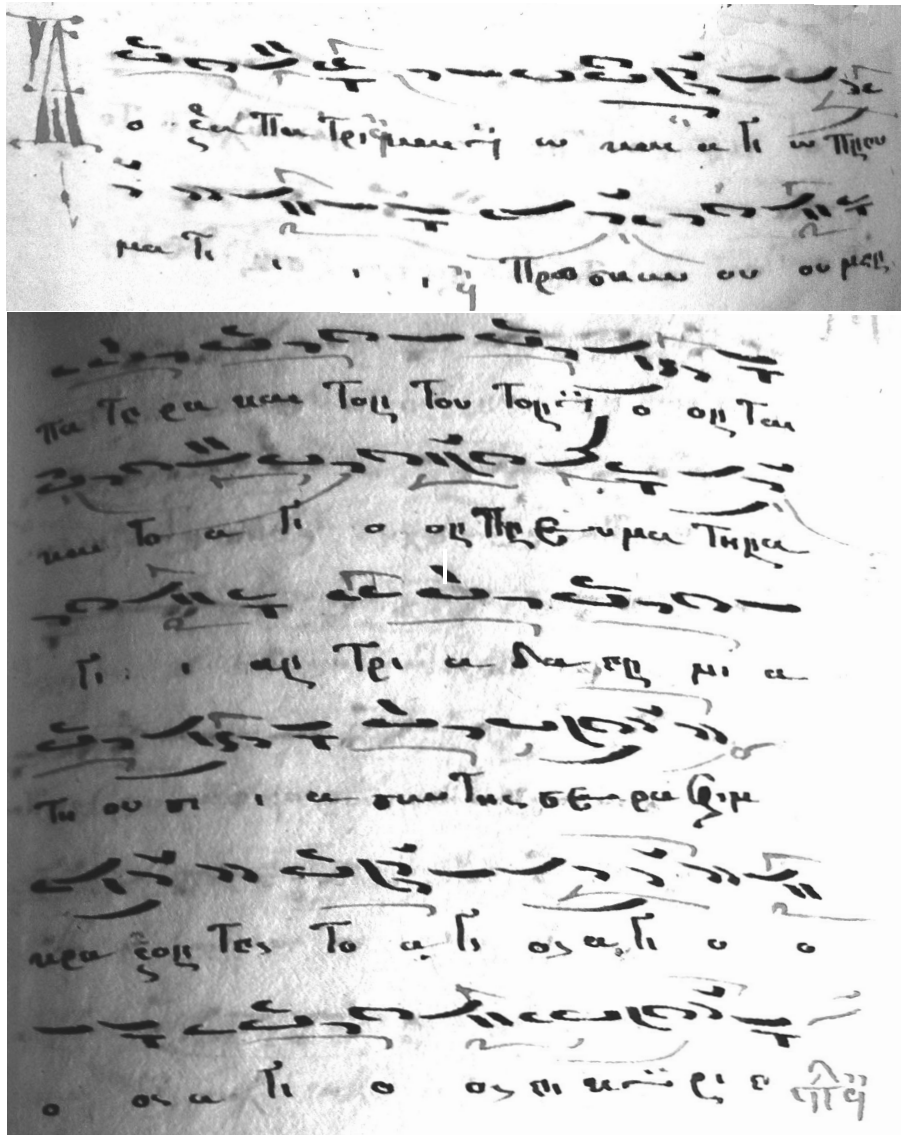
PICTURE 1: Joakeim's of Vyzie *Eulogitaria*, composed in the first plagal mode
Codex No. 810 of the collection of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulcher, ff. 143^r-145^v (Old Method)

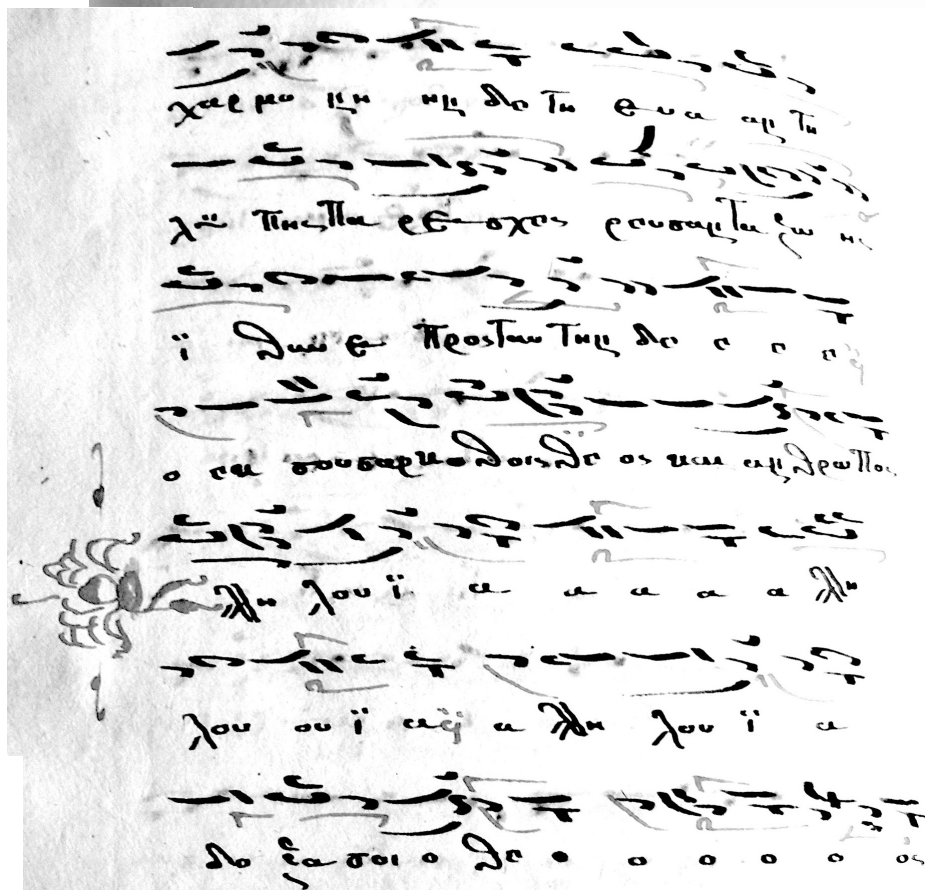
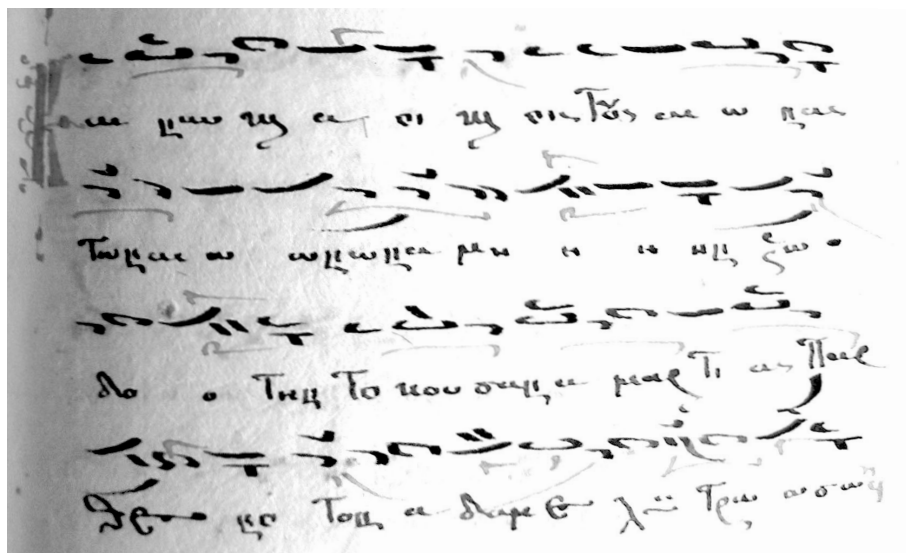


f. 143^{r-v}









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

Εὐλογητάρια σύντομα, ώραῖα, κυρίου Ἰωακεὶμ Λινδίου

Ἦχος ᾠ Πα ρ

Ευ 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
Τω ων αγ γε ε λων ο δη μοις κα τε πλα α γη
ο ο ρω ω ων σε εν νε κροι οις λο γι σθη ε εν
τα τς ς 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 ς
παν τας ε λε ευ θε ρω ω σαν τα
Ευ 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


Τι τα μυ υ ρα συμ πα θως τοις δα α κρυ υ σι εν


 ω μα θη τρι αι κις να α α τε ο ο

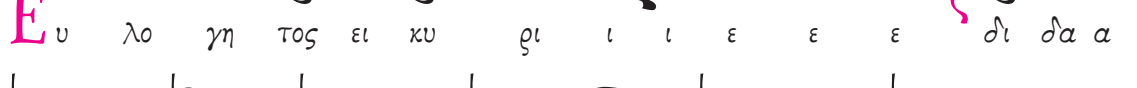

 α στρα α πτων εν τω τα φω ω α αγ γε ε λο ος

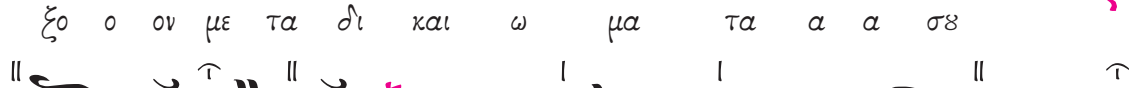

 προς ε φθελ γε το ταις μυ ρο φο ο ο ροις ι

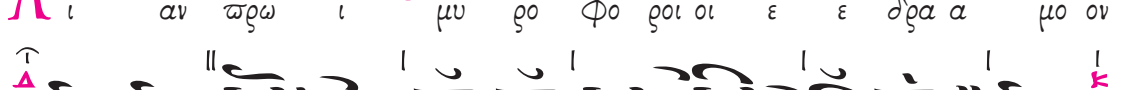

 δε ε τε ε η η μει εις τον τα α φον και η σθη τε

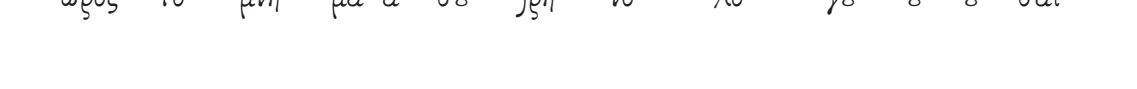

 ε ε ο σω τη ης γα α αρ ε ξα νε ε ε στη τς


 μνη η μα τος


Ευ 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


Λι αν πρω ι μυ ρο φο ροι οι ε ε δρα α μο ον


 προς το μνη μα α σς θη νο λο γς ς ς σαι

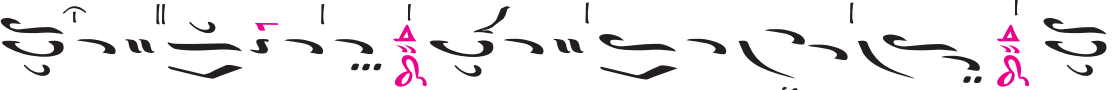
α αλλ ε πω ε στη πρως αυ τας ο ο α αγ γε ε
 λο ος και ει πω θρη ν8 8 ο ο και αι ρο ος πω
 παυ ται μη κλαι ε ε τε ε ε την α να στα σιν
 δε α πο στο ο λοις ει ει πα τε
Ευ λο γη τος ει κυ ρι ι ι ε ε ε δι δα α
 ξο ο ον με τα δι και ω μα τα α α σ8
Μυ ρο φο ο ροι γυ ναι κες με τα μυ υ ρων
 ε ελ θ8 8 8 σαι αι πρως το μνη η μα α σ8 8 σω ω
 ω τερ ε εν η χου ουν το αγ γε λος δε πρως
 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 ν8 ου μεν πα τε ρα και τον τ8 8 τ8
 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 8 8 σι ι ι α συν τοις σε ε ρα α φειειμ 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 σς ου σαρ κω


 θεις θε ε ος και α αν θρω πος


 Αλ λη η λς ι ι α α α αλ λη λς ς ι α

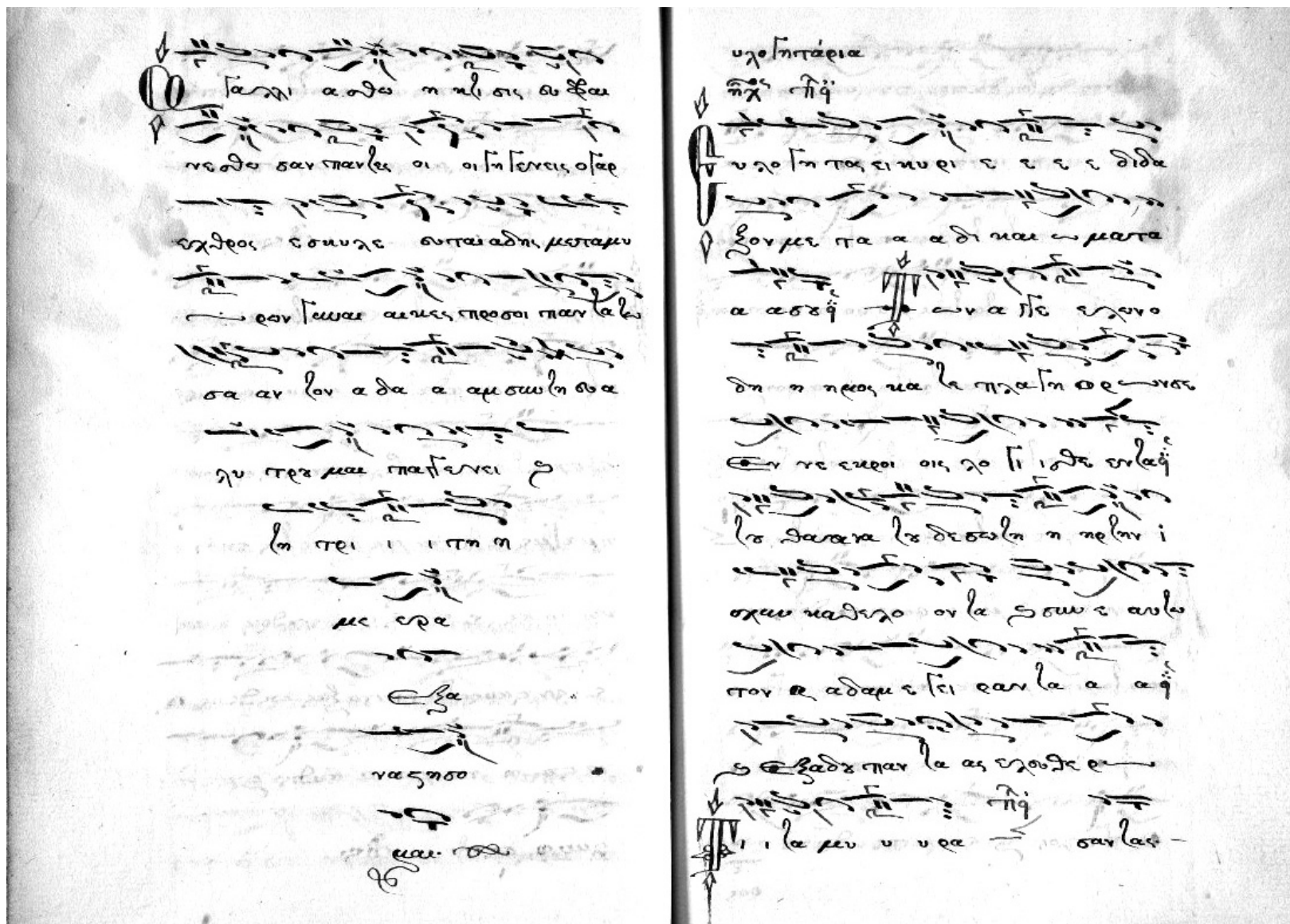

 αλ λη η λς ι ι α α δο ξα σοι ο ο θε ος

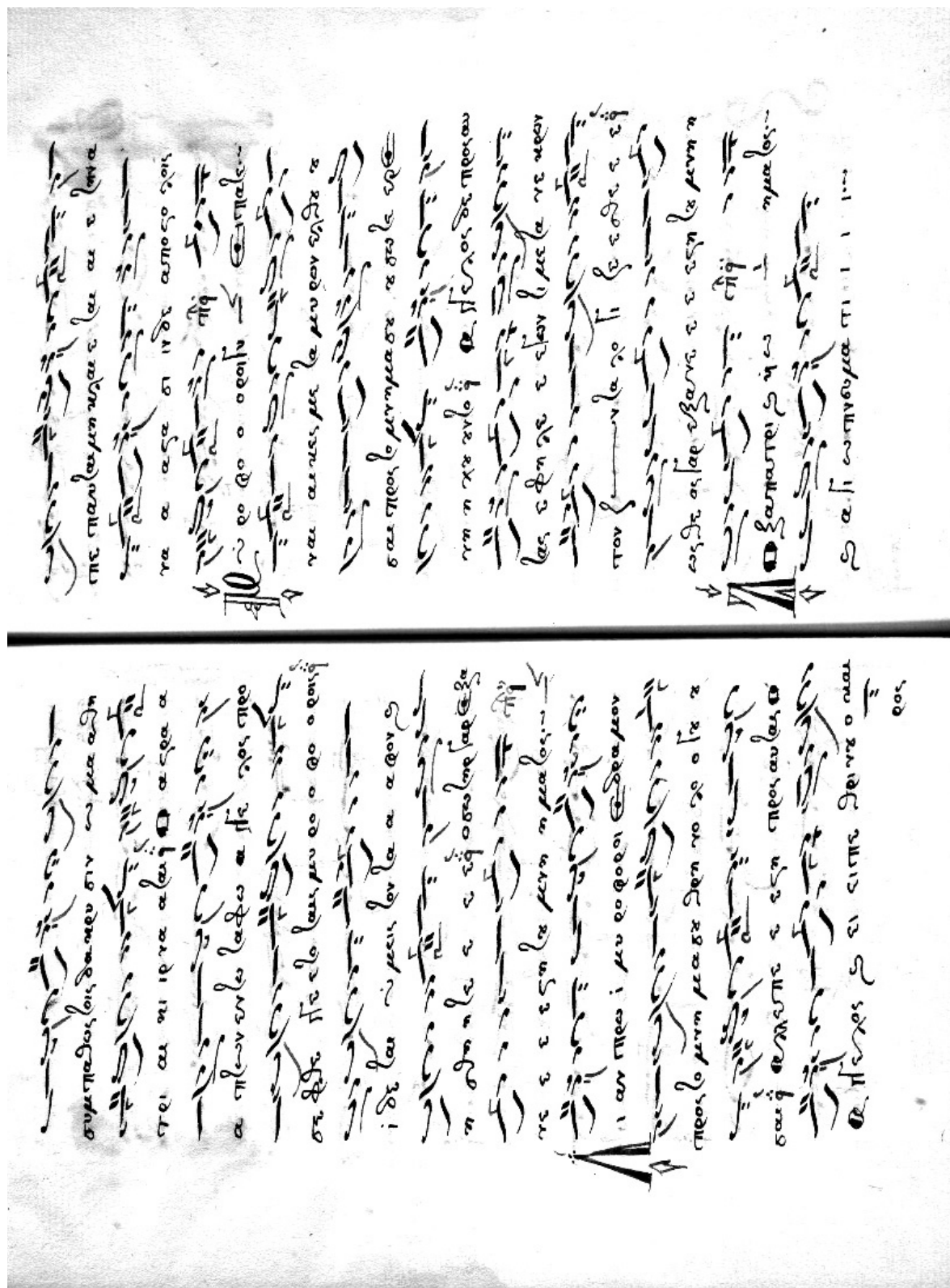

 Αλ λη η λς ι ι α α α αλ λη λς ς ι α


 αλ λη η λς ι ι α α δο ξα σοι ο ο θε ο ο ο ο


 ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ο ος

Codex No. 162 of K. Psachos' collection, ff. 170^r-172^r (Old Method)

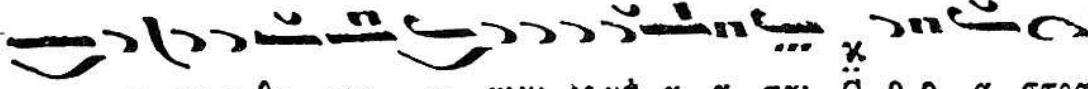


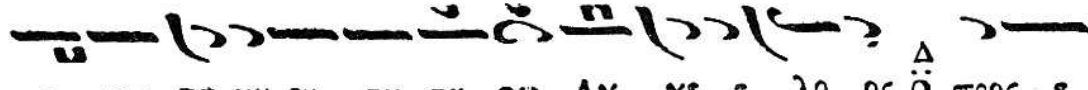


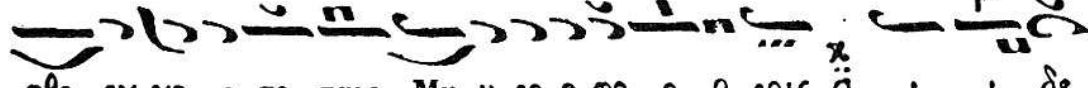
(The page contains two staves of handwritten musical notation in a cursive script, likely from a manuscript.)

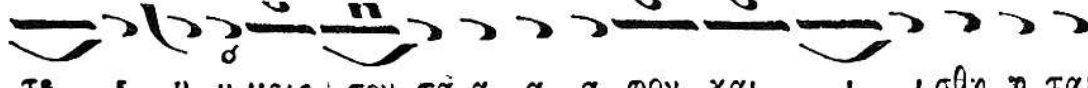
EXAMPLE 2: *Peter's the Peloponnesian Eulogitaria*, composed in the first plagal mode Pandekti of the holy ecclesiastical hymnodia [...], vol. 2nd, Constantinople 1851, pp. 30-34 (New Method)

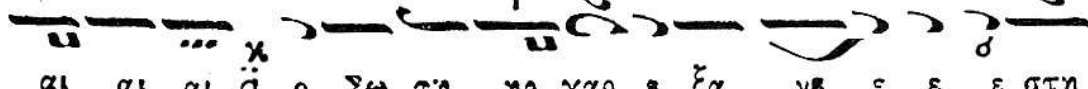
p. 30


 ω ω μα α θη τρι αι αι κι ιρ νά α α ται $\dot{\chi}$ $\dot{q}$ ο ο α στρα

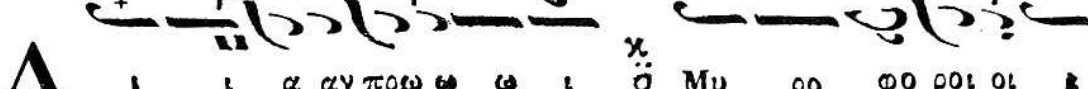

 α απ τω ων εν τω τα φω Α γ γε ε λο ος Δ $\dot{\chi}$ $\dot{q}$ προς ε


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


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


 αι αι αι $\dot{\chi}$ $\dot{q}$ ο Σω τη ηρ γαρ ε ξα νε ε ε ε στη


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


 ♀ Δ ι ι α αν πρω ω ω ι $\dot{\chi}$ $\dot{q}$ 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 $\dot{\chi}$ $\dot{q}$ α α λ λε πε ε ε στη η προς αυ τας


 ο Α γ γε ε λος και ει ει ει πε Δ $\dot{\chi}$ $\dot{q}$ θρη η νου ο ο

και αι ρος πα ε πα αυ ται μη κλε ε ε ται αι αι ^χτην Α

να α α στα α σι ιν δε ε ^χ Α α πο στο λους

ει ει ει πα τε

^χ
η

Μ υ υ ρο φο ο θ ροι οι Γυ ναι αι αι κα ις με τα

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

σω τε ερ ε ε νοι οι χου ου ουν το ^χ Α αγ γε ε

λο ο ος δε ^χ προς αυ τας ε φη λε ε ε γον ^Δ τι ι

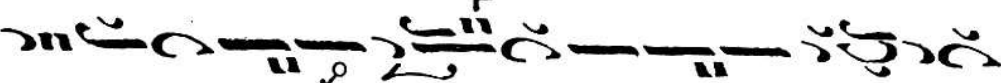
με τα α νε εκρων τον ζω ω ω ν τα λο γι ι ζε ε σθαι

αι αι αι ^χ ως Θε ο ος γαρ ε ξα νε ε ε ε στη του

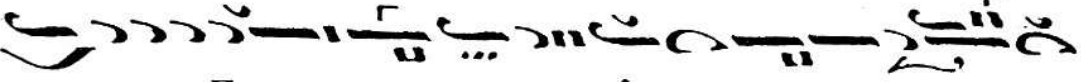
μνη η η μα τος

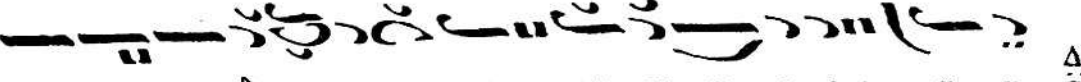
^Δ
η

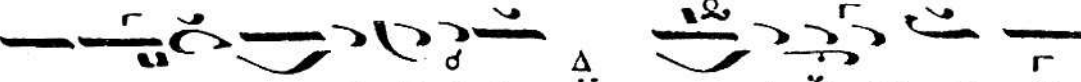

Δ ο ξα Πα τρι και Υι ω και Α γι ω Πνευμα α τι ι ι 


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 Ἁ γι ι ι α αν Τρι


 α α α δα εν μι α α τη ου σι ι ι ι α α 


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


 Α α α α γι ος Α α γι ι ο ο ος  Α α γι ος


 ει Κυ υ υ ρι ε 


Κ αι νυν και α ει και εις τους αι ω νας τω να ι ω ω ω


 νων α α μη η ην 

Z ω ο δο ο την τς ε χου ου ου ου ου σα τον Α

δαμ. αμαρτιαις ε ε λυ υ τρω ω ω σω ω Πα αρ θε ε

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

αν τυ λυ υ πης πα ρε ε ε ε σ χ ε ε ρ ε ευ σαν

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

ε ο εκ σου ου σαρ κω θει ει εις Θε ος και α ανθρω πους

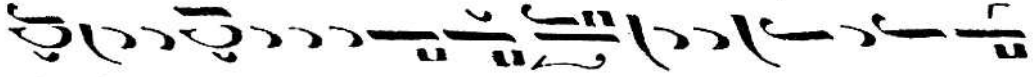
A λ λη η λου ι ι α α α α λ λη η λου ου ι

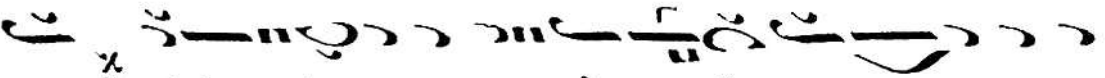
α Α λ λη η λου ι ι α α δο ο ξα σοι ο ο ο Θε ος

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

ι ι ι α α α α λ λη η λου ου ι ι α

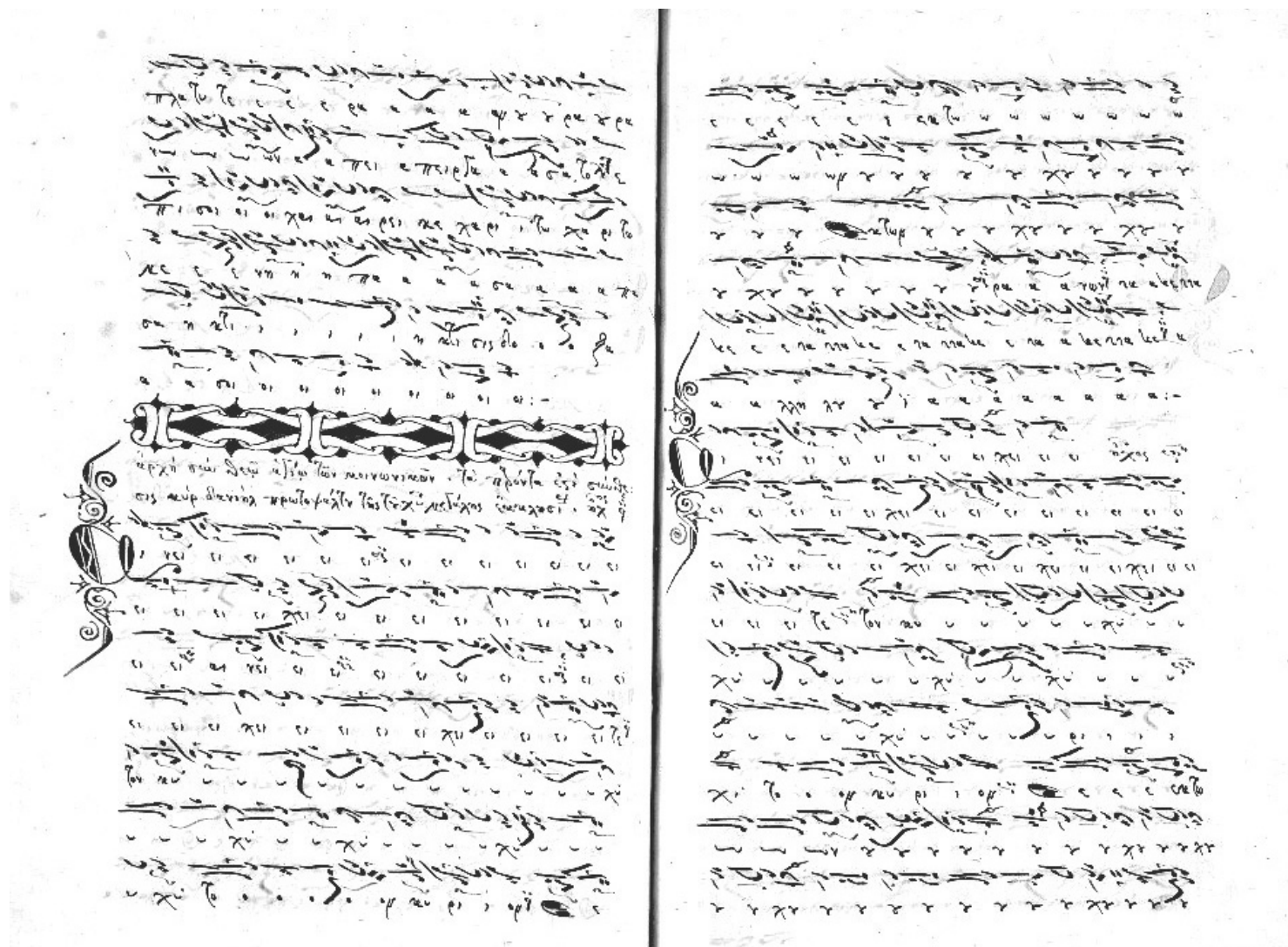

 δο ο ξα σοι οι ο Θε ο ο ο ο ο ο ος ἕτερον Δ


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

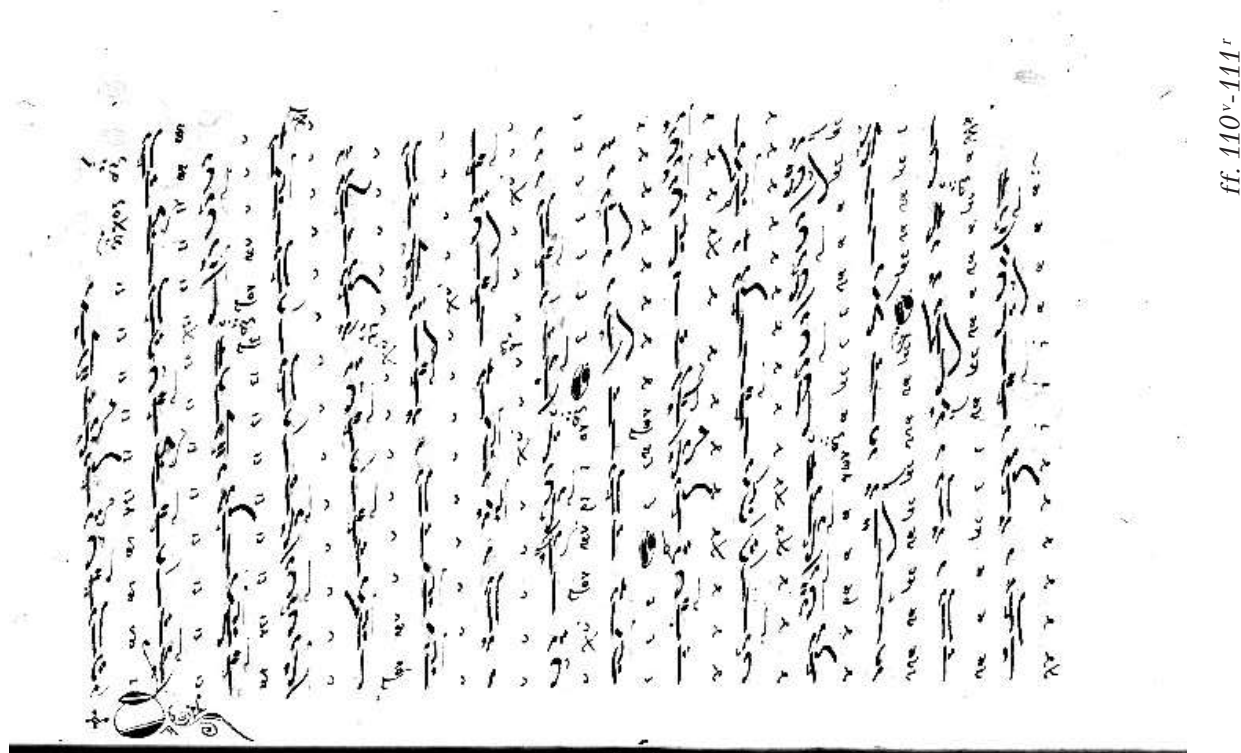

 α ḡ Αλ λη η λου ι ι α α δο ο ξα σοι ο ο ο Θε


 ο ο ο ο ο ο ος

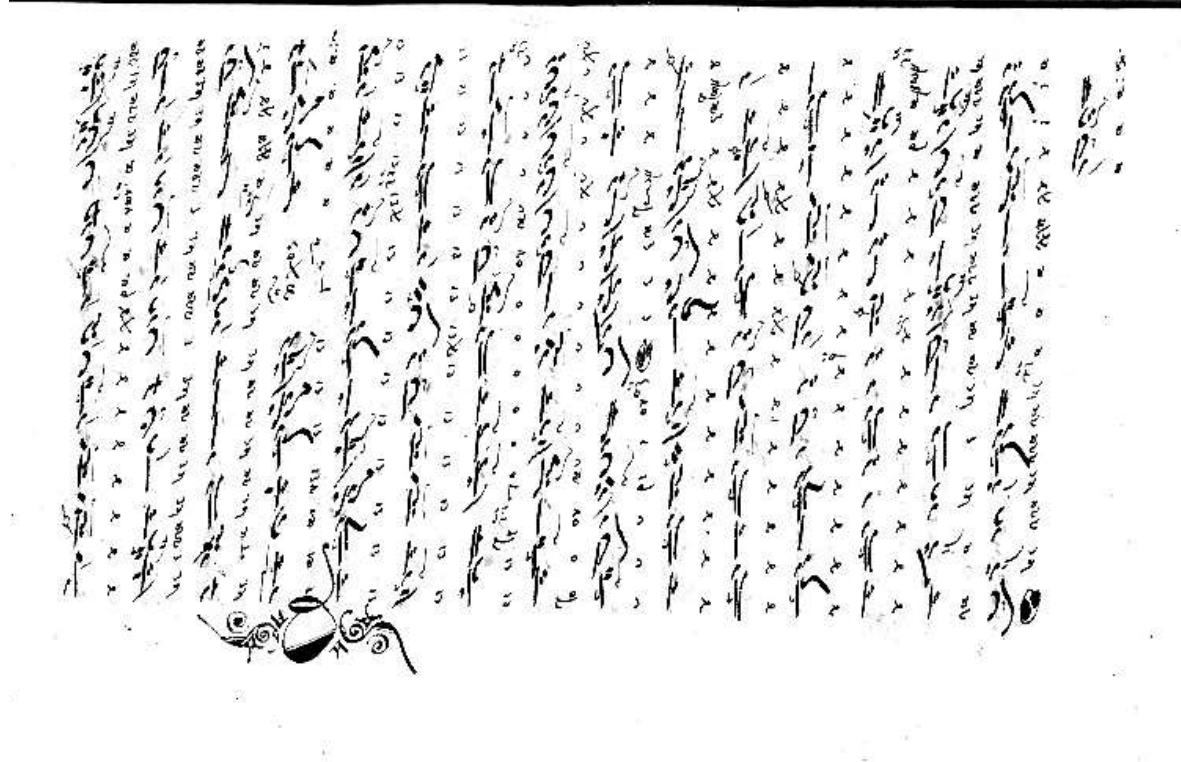
PICTURE 3: Daniel's the Protosaltēs **Sunday Koenonikon**, composed in the second mode
Codex No. 223 of K. Psachos' collection, f. 110^{r-v} (Old Method)



ff. 109^v-110^r



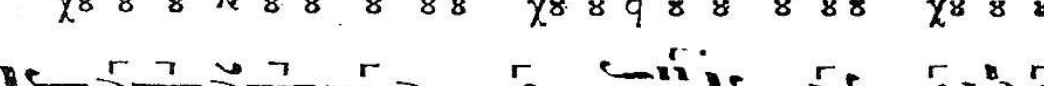
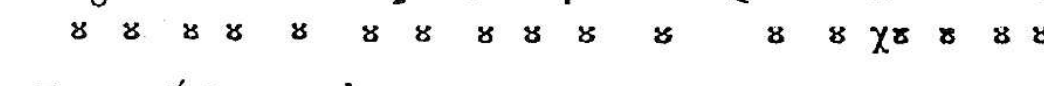
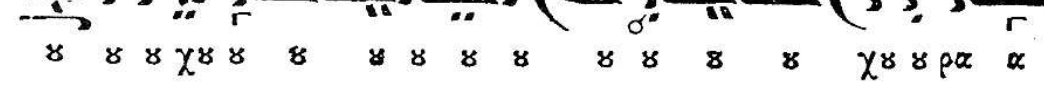
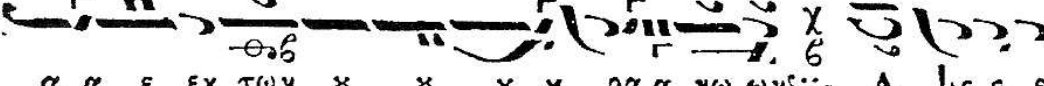
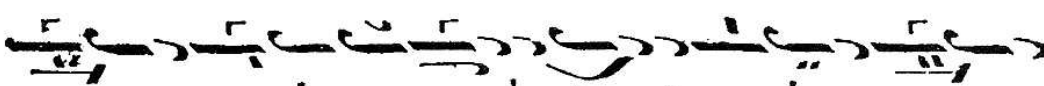
ff. 110v-111r

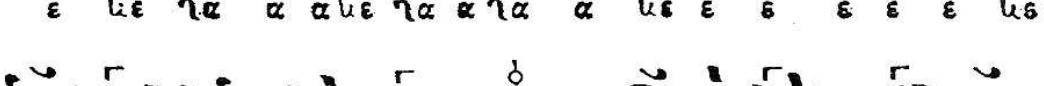
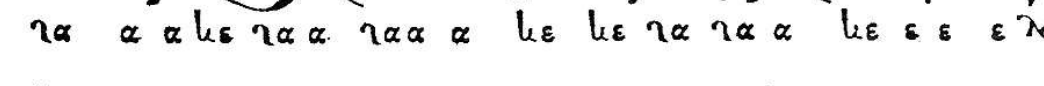
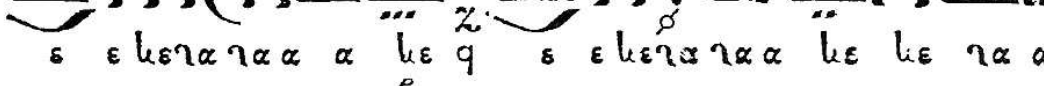
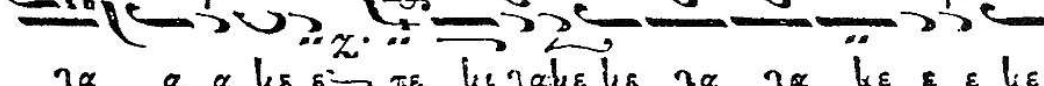


EXAMPLE 3: *Daniel's the Protopsaltes* **Sunday Koenonikon**, composed in the second mode Pandekti of the holy ecclesiastical hymnodia [...], vol. 4th, Constantinople 1851, pp. 458-461 (New Method)

ἡχος β'. Βου.
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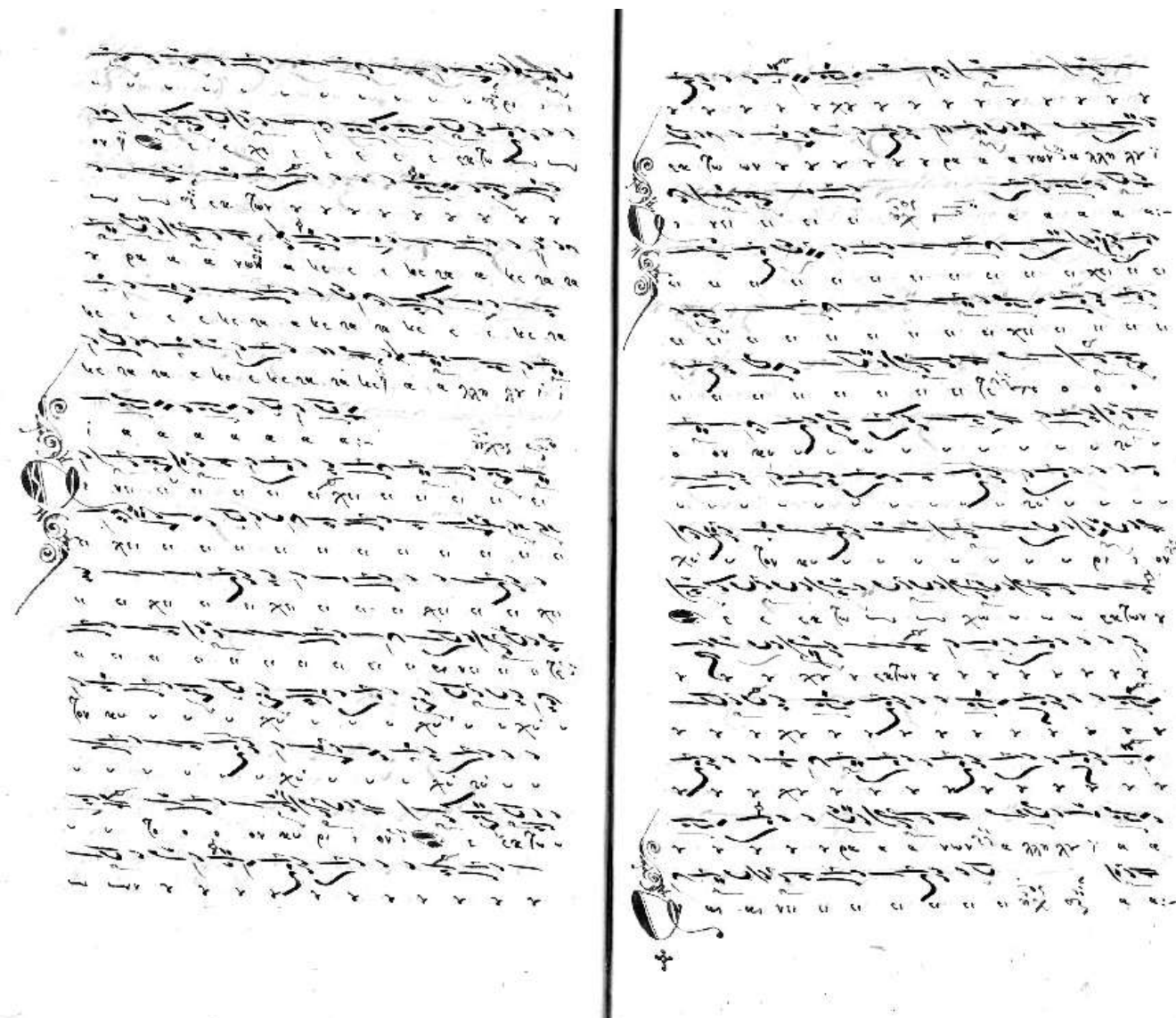

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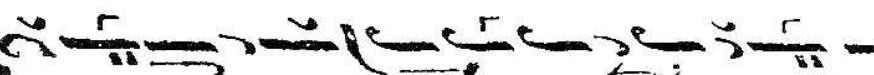
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PICTURE 4: *Peter's the Peloponnesian Sunday Koenonikon*, composed in the second mode

Codex No. 223 of K. Psachos' collection, ff. 113^v-114^r (Old Method)



Προς β'. Πα.


 A 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033

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EXAMPLE 5: A comparison between the *Sunday Koenonikon*, composed in the second mode by Daniel the Protosaltés and by Peter the Peloponnesian, respectively

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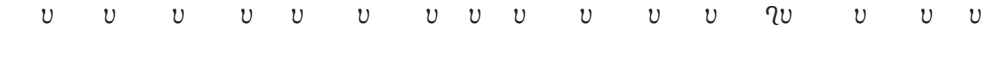
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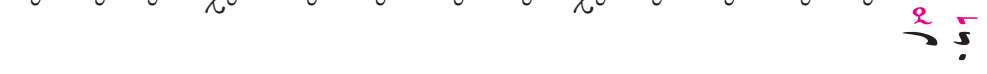
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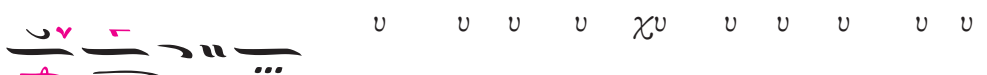
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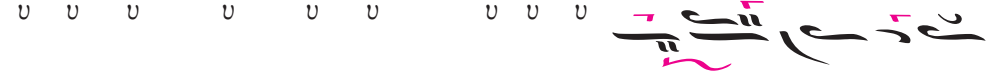
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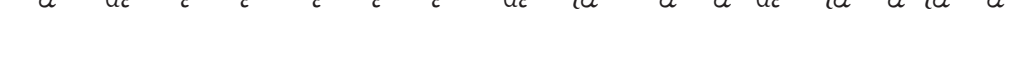
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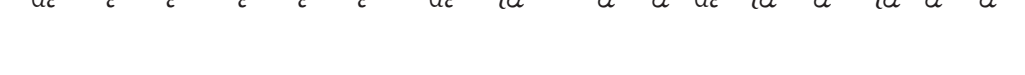
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