

BIZANTINOLOGIE

Byzantine Chant Printings and their Musical Network in the Romanian Principalities, the Balkans and Constantinople during the First Half of the 19th Century

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The Romanian Principalities, the Balkans and Constantinople at the beginning of modernity

Introduction

At the beginning of the 19th century, the two Romanian Principalities, Wallachia - also known as Ungrovlachia - and Moldavia, stood between two worlds, between two cultural and civilization paradigms. First of all, they were canonically linked to the Patriarchate of Constantinople and, implicitly, to the Eastern Orthodox tradition, through their religious belonging to the Byzantine Church. Politically, however, the two principalities had been under the administration of the Ottoman Empire since the mid-15th century,¹ and from the 18th century onwards were ruled by Phanariot princes of the Orthodox confession

¹ Gilles VEINSTEIN, *Provinciile balcanice (1606-1774)* [The Balkan provinces (1606-1774)], in: Robert Mantran (ed.), *Istoria Imperiului Otoman [History of the Ottoman Empire]*, trans. by Cristina Bîrsan, Bucharest: Bic All Publishing House, 2001, 245; Bogdan MURGESCU, *Istorie românească – istorie universală (600-1800)* [Romanian history - universal history (600-1800)], Bucharest: Teora Publishing House, 1999, 146-186.

appointed by the Sultan himself and the Sublime Porte.¹ Secondly, during this period there was a desire on the part of local elites to abandon Oriental practices and customs, a phenomenon that was to occur gradually, irrevocably and at all levels (cultural, social, artistic, etc.), starting with the arrival of the Austrian army in the Romanian Principalities in 1787-89 and which was intensified after the Russian occupation of 1806-1812.²

At the same time, the establishment of Western embassies and consulates in Bucharest and Iași, starting in the last decades of the 18th century (in particular, the French ones), meant that, along with Greek and Turkish, French became the language of the elites, and the music and forms of European civilization spread and rapidly penetrated the upper strata of local society.³ This rapprochement with the values of

¹ Neagu DJUVARA, *Între Orient și Occident. Țările Române la începutul epocii moderne (1800-1848)* [*Between Orient and Occident. The Romanian Principalities in the early modern era (1800-1848)*], Bucharest: Humanitas Publishing House, 1995.

² Nicolae GHEORGHÎĂ, Salon Music in the First Decades of the 19th-Century Moldavia. Case Study: Musical MS No. 2663 (dated 1824) from the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest, *Musicology Today: Journal of the National University of Music Bucharest*, 41 (2020), 11/1, 53-66.

³ There is quite a rich literature on this subject. For recent research on the transition from predominantly Oriental to Western-influenced musical practices in the period, see Valentina Sandu-Dediu & Nicolae Gheorghîță (eds.), *Noi istorii ale muzicilor românești* [*New histories of Romanian musics*], volume I (*De la vechi manuscrise până la perioada modernă a muzicii românești* [*From ancient manuscripts to the modern period of Romanian music*], Bucharest: Music Publishing House, 2020. See also N. GHEORGHÎĂ, Salon Music; Haiganuș PREDA-SCHIMEK, The Changing Taste of the Romanian Elites as Mirrored in Handwritten Piano Cahiers from the First Half of the Nineteenth-Century, *Musicology Today: Journal of the National University of Music Bucharest*, 40 (2019), 10/4, 277-307; H. PREDA-SCHIMEK, Salon Music from Wallachia: A Short History in Six Tableaux, in: Nicolae Gheorghîță (ed.), *19th-Century Salon Music*

Western Europe would intensify, particularly after the Balkan Revolution of 1821, leading, among other things, to the end of the Phanariot reigns and, a few years later, in 1829, to the Principalities' independence from Ottoman administration. After this moment, the children of the local elite (called boyars) will have the opportunity to study in Western universities, which was not possible before; let's remember that before this period young people from Moldavia and Wallachia could study either at the Royal Academies in the Principalities,¹ or in the best case, in Constantinople, the case of prince and scholar Dimitrie Cantemir (1674-1723) is well known. As a result, the young people who had returned from their studies in Western Europe - obviously influenced by the Enlightenment movement and the ideas and ideals of the French Revolution - developed plans and agendas for "national progress", with objectives that included education and publications in Romanian, translations and printing of all kinds, etc. Everything – including music – would be "Romanian" and "national", according to the well-known ideology of the time.² It goes without saying that music - whether religious or Western-influenced – will also be the identity divider between the various communities of these Principalities (especially in Transylvania, which has a special history, precisely because of its constant and effective placement in the influence sphere of Central Europe), and, at the same time, an essential component of a possible strategy of national affirmation.³ Part of this music is also religious music.

from the Balkans, Bucharest: National University of Music Bucharest Publishing House, 2020, 75-138.

¹ Ariadna CAMARIANO-CIORAN, *Academiile Domnești din București și Iași [The Royal Academies of Bucharest and Iași]*, Bucharest: Publishing House of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, 1971.

² Alex DRACE-FRANCIS, *The Making of Modern Romanian Culture. Literacy and the Development of National Identity*, London-New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2006.

³ Vlad VĂIDEAN, *Între cosmopolitism și localism – etape premoderne ale culturii muzicale profesionale în Transilvania (secolele XVI-XVIII)*

In what follows, I will examine the mechanisms by which the first Byzantine monodic music collections are financed, printed and distributed, identifying individuals, groups of people or institutions that govern and manage these musical productions, as well as the target groups to which they are addressed. The case study focuses, in particular, on the Romanian Principalities Wallachia and Moldavia in relation to Constantinople, in the first half of the 19th century.

The reform of Byzantine musical notation in Constantinople and the emergence of psaltic music printing presses

In 1814, the Patriarchate of Constantinople accredited a reform in musical semiography, a reform known, among other things, as the "New Notation" or "Chrysantine notation", after the name of its theorist, Bishop Chrysanthos of Madytos.¹ The new system of musical notation will be taught initially in the Patriarchal School, and later in some Orthodox centres on the outskirts of Constantinople, in particular in Bucharest and Iași, the capitals of the two Romanian Principalities. For this purpose, the Ecumenical Patriarchate sent Petros Manouil the Ephesian or Ephesios († 1840), one of the graduates of this school, to Bucharest in 1816 to teach those interested the "New

[Between cosmopolitanism and localism - pre-modern stages of professional musical culture in Transylvania (16th-18th centuries)], in: V. Sandu-Dediu & N. Gheorghită (eds.), *Noi istorii*, vol. 1, 79-130.

¹ Maureen M. MORGAN, *The Three Teachers and their Place in the History of Greek Church Music*, *Studies in Eastern Chant*, 2 (1971), 86-99. See also the latest edition of Chrysanthos' treatise edited by Georgios KONSTANTINOU, *Θεωρητικόν μέγα της μουσικής, Χρύσανθου του εκ Μαδύτων. Το ανέκδοτο αυτόγραφο του 1816. Το έντυπο του 1832* [*The great music treatise by Chrysanthos of Madydos. The unpublished autograph of 1816. The 1832 print*], Mount Athos: Great Monastery of Vatopedi Publishing House, 2007.

Method" of writing Byzantine music,¹ the Ecumenical Patriarch Kyrillos promising that the music system could be learned in a year, and not in ten or twenty years, as was the case with the old music system.²

The success of Byzantine musical notation, both in Constantinople and in the Romanian Principalities, led the Ecumenical Patriarch Grigorios V (Greek: Γρηγόριος, 1771-1821) to request, in July 1819, financial support from Dionisie Lupu (1769-1831), Metropolitan of Ungrovlavia (May 1819-April/May 1821), for the printing of the transcriptions³ made by the so-called "Three Teachers" of Constantinople: the aforementioned Chrysantos of Madytos (Archimandrite but later Bishop of Brussa), Grigorios Protopsaltis (first cantor of St. George patriarchal cathedral) and Chourmouzios Chartophylax or the Archivist of the Great Church. Consequently, within a year of the patriarch's letter, the first two collections of Byzantine music in the world - *Neon Anastasimatarion* and *Syntomon Doxastarion* - were printed in Bucharest in 1820, under the editorship of the same Petros Ephesios⁴ and with the

¹ For the latest research on Petros' life and musical work see Emmanuil St. GIANNOPOULOS, *Πέτρου Μανούηλ Εφεσίου (†1840). Πολυέλεοι και εκλογές αναστάσιμα εωθινά δοξαστικά* [*Petros Manouil Ephesios (†1840). Polyeleoi and selections of anastasima eothina doxastika*], Thessaloniki, 2019.

² *Patriarchal Letter (Πατριαρχική Εγκύκλιος)*, Grigorios STATHIS, *Τα Χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινής Μουσικής, Α: Τα Πρωτόγραφα των Εξηγήσεων εις την Νέαν Μέθοδον Σημειογραφίας (The Manuscripts of Byzantine Music, vol. I. The Protographs of the Exegesis into the New Method of Notation)*, Athens: Byzantine Musicology Foundation, 2016, 237.

³ See the original letter transcribed in G. STATHIS, *Τα Πρωτόγραφα*, vol I, 260-262.

⁴ *Νέον Αναστασιματάριον /.../. Εν τω του Βουκουρεστίου νεοσυστάτω Τυπογραφείω* [*New Anastasimatarion/.../. In the newly established Bucharest Printing House*], 1820; *Σύντομον Δοξαστάριον /.../ εν τω του Βουκουρεστίου νεοσυστάτω Τυπογραφείω* [*Syntomon Doxastarion/.../. In the newly established Bucharest Printing House*], 1820.

financial support of the Metropolis of Wallachia and the local aristocracy.¹ Both anthologies were composed by the central figure of this music in 18th century Constantinople, Petros Peloponnesios (c1730–1778). The moment has a double significance: on the one hand, it concludes the long period of copying Byzantine musical manuscripts that began at the turn of the first two Christian millennia; on the other hand, the action constitutes the decisive step in the construction and development of a network for the widespread distribution and promotion of the monodic repertoire of the Orthodox Church of the Byzantine rite throughout the Orthodox world. In addition, according to musicologist John Plemmenos, the reform of Byzantine musical notation in connection with the printing of the first collections of psaltic music (1820) and the context of the Balkan Revolution (1821) "became almost identical with modernity".²

Published in Greek, the two ecclesiastical anthologies were quickly followed by the printing of a wide range of sonorous literature that the new Byzantine notation could record: grammars and musical treatises of the "New Notation";

¹ Titus MOISESCU, *Prolegomene bizantine. Muzică bizantină în manuscrise și carte veche românească* [Byzantine prolegomena. Byzantine music in manuscripts and ancient Romanian books], Bucharest: Musical Publishing House, 1985, 85.

² John PLEMMENOS, *The last 'scriptor cantilenae': Composing and anthologizing on the eve of music typography in the Balkans (1816-1820)*. The paper is unpublished and will be included in the volume provisionally entitled *Scriptor, Cantor & Notator: The Materiality of Sound in Chant Manuscripts*, to be published by Brepols in 2022 (eds. Elsa De Luca, Jean-François Goudesene and Ivan Moody). The study is consulted and cited by kind permission of the author (John Plemmenos), whom I thank once again on this occasion. See also on this topic, in the broader context of the post-Byzantine era with a focus on the Balkans, Ivan MOODY's excellent study, *The Idea of Byzantium in the Construction of the Musical Cultures of the Balkans*, ARTS, 9 (2020), 3, <https://doi.org/10.3390/arts9030083>, 2-8 (accessed: 15 August 2021).

collections of monodic religious chants (in Greek, Romanian and Slavonic) but also non-ecclesiastical (Phanariote, Ottoman, urban Romanian, sometimes even in Italian and French). The printing network will extend from Bucharest to Paris, Vienna and Constantinople, but also to other Italian Greek-speaking centres, especially Venice and Trieste.¹

Donors and sponsors, patrons, beneficiaries and distribution networks of Byzantine music books

1. Petros Manouil Ephesios and the music printing in the Greek language in Bucharest

As mentioned above, only two years after the so-called "New Notation" became official, in 1816 Petros Ephesios was sent by the Ecumenical Patriarchate to Bucharest to teach Byzantine musical semiography, according to the new rules accredited by the Third Patriarchal School, an educational institution that functioned between 1815 and 1820 in the former capital of the Byzantine Empire.² According to the documents of the time, the clerical and lay elites in Bucharest encouraged Petros Ephesios and provided him with full financial support for the establishment of the school for teaching the "New Notation" in the capital of Wallachia, a school which many Romanian and Greek psaltes and probably many other Balkan church singers would graduate from.³ The entrepreneurial spirit is not lacking in the Constantinopolitan musician, so Ephesios intuitively sensed the market for the distribution of this type of ecclesiastical musical literature

¹ See Georgios I. CHATZITHEODOROS, *Βιβλιογραφία της βυζαντινής εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής, περίοδος Α' (1820-1899)* [*Bibliography of Byzantine church music, period A (1820-1899)*], Thessaloniki: Ίδρυμα Πατερικών Μελετών [Patristic Studies Foundation], 1998; Sebastian BARBU-BUCUR, *Bibliografia tipăriturilor muzicale românești* [*Bibliography of Romanian musical prints*], *Teologie și viață* [*Theology and life*] 8-10 (1994), 52-70.

² E. GIANNOPOULOS, *Πέτρου Μανούηλ Εφεσίου*, 14 (ιδ').

³ See T. MOISESCU, *Prolegomene bizantine*, 84-90.

and the potential buyers that could originate not only from the Romanian territories and Constantinople, but also from the Balkans, from the monasteries of Mount Athos, Moscow, the Oriental Orthodox centres such as Sinai, Damascus, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch etc, and even Greek communities in the cities of Central and Western Europe - Venice, Vienna, Paris, Padua etc.. Together with two other fellow compatriots of Greek origin,¹ Ephesios creates Byzantine letters and neumes (Byzantine musical characters) for church music printing and publishes the first two volumes of Byzantine music in Greek in 1820.² The project itself was a complex one, undertaken for the first time, and required substantial financial funds, and political and ecclesiastical support at the highest level, which can be clearly observed from the very beginning of the two musical anthologies. In accordance with the customs of the time and ancient Byzantine practice, patrons, benefactors and sponsors are given high honours on the first pages of the volumes, and the works are dedicated to them in long prefaces written in Greek. For example, in the first volume, *New Anastasimatarion*, the eulogies are addressed first to the prince of Wallachia, Alexandru Nicolae Suțu Voievod (1758-1821), the last Phanariot ruler of the Romanian Principalities, and, of course, to the Metropolitan of Ungrovlachia, Dionisie, who supported and approved the establishment of the school of psaltic music, and probably also the printing press. The *Anastasimatarion* also records the donor and financial supporter, with a dedication foreword: it is the "most noble and most loving of muses", the boyar/nobleman and vornic/governor Grigorie Băleanu.³

¹ Seraphim Chrystodoulos and Kostantie the Hieromonk, a graphic designer, probably. Kostantie is recorded in the *New Anastasimatarion* in Romanian (*Ieromonah Kostantie*), in a special vignette, at the beginning of modes III (p. 60), IV (p. 89), first plagal mode (p. 121), second plagal mode (p. 153), barys (p. 181) and fourth plagal mode (p. 208).

² See footnote 12.

³ *New Anastasimatarion*, 5.

It seems that the second volume, *Syntomon Doxastarion*, although published in the same year 1820, no longer benefits from the financial support of vornic Băleanu, nor from his patronage and that of The Metropolitan Church of Wallachia, since the boyar no longer features in the anthology; nor does Metropolitan Dionisie. Ephesios also changes the team of editors and printers: Stefan D. – chief goldsmith (*αρχιχρυσόχοος*) from Linotip and Hagi Teodosie Stergios from Naousa.¹ The dedication to the Phanariot Prince Suțu remains, and at the end of the anthology, for the first time in this category of sacred musical literature, the names of 96 people who bought 116 "bodies" of books are recorded (the Greek term *σώματα* is used here),² one "body" most probably representing the collection of the two volumes published in 1820, *Neon Anastasimatarion* and *Syntomon Doxastarion*. The 96 persons who paid for the purchases of the "bodies" were either members of Byzantine and Phanariot aristocratic families established in the Romanian Principalities at different historical moments, or local nobles, or clergymen, especially of high and middle rank, from different parts of the Oriental Orthodox centres and beyond.

As for the distribution network of the anthologies, at first glance it seems to include exclusively people from the cities of Bucharest, Thessaloniki and Melenikos (this is the city of Melnik in present-day Bulgaria), but their names and origins make it clear that the network is much more extensive, linking the Romanian Principalities with the Mediterranean archipelagos (the islands of Andros, Lesvos, Hios, Ios), but also the continental area, the monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos and the Peloponnese peninsula, the towns of Zagori, Varna, Konitsa, Ohrid, Arta, etc. In fact, the direct beneficiaries will be not only those who will sell and distribute these volumes - Petros and his team, but also the psalter of the important churches in all the Greek-speaking world - including the

¹ *Syntomon Doxastarion*, 8.

² *Syntomon Doxastarion*, 459-462.

monastic centres of Sinai and Holy Mount Athos, each Orthodox church and psaltis/chanter wishing to have at their disposal the entire repertoire required for the daily services of the Orthodox Church, repertoire accredited by the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

2. Editors, Printing Houses and Publications of Psaltic Music in Romanian

Among the disciples of Petros Ephesios at the school of the Metropolis of Bucharest were Macarie the Hieromonk (ca. 1770-1836) and Anton Pann (ca. 1796-1854), two founding musicians of the psaltic music school in Romanian, one a monk and the other a layman. The former, Macarie, was a great expert in Byzantine musical notation systems and Greek language, a translator, music teacher, book printing expert, skilled orator and the one who delivered the above-mentioned Dionisie Lupu' inaugural speech when he was elected Metropolitan of Wallachia in 1819.¹ As everywhere else in the Balkans and Eastern Europe, the national spirit was extremely present in the religious area during this period.² Despite the fact that Metropolitan Dionisie - as we have seen - responds positively to the request of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to approve and support musical publications in the Greek language (at least the *New Anastasimatarion*), the native Orthodox Church wants sacred chants in Romanian - "in the language of the Motherland". This process of translating and adapting the Constantinopolitan repertoires into Romanian is

¹ T. MOISESCU, *Prolegomene bizantine*, 90-95.

² Jim SAMSON, *Music in the Balkans*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013. On nationalist ideology in 19th century Romanian religious music, see Costin MOISIL, *Construcția unei identități românești în muzica bisericească* [*The construction of a Romanian identity in church music*], Bucharest: National University of Music Bucharest Publishing House, 2018.

technically called "românire" (Romanianisation), a term proposed by Anton Pann.¹

Stimulated, probably, by Ephesios' musical printings in Greek and their success throughout the Greek-speaking world, Macarie the Hieromonk started a similar process for the printing of the Romanian-language repertoire, obviously with the involvement and support of Metropolitan Dionisie and under the patronage of the new Prince of Wallachia, Grigore Dimitrie Ghica (1755-1834).² Thus, in 1820, together with two Greek collaborators - Seraphim Chrystodoulos, the printer with whom Ephesios had collaborated, and Panagiot Engiurliu - Macarie signed a contract with terms, drawn up in Greek and supervised by the Metropolitan himself.³ For unknown reasons, Macarie cannot print the books in Bucharest, and has to go to Buda, the ancient capital of the Kingdom of Hungary, on the west bank of the Danube (Buda was part of present-day Budapest), to find a printing house that can produce Byzantine neumes and Romanian letters. He is accompanied by Stan Popovici, the representative of the Hagi Pop House of Trade from Sibiu in Transylvania,⁴ which will financially support the printing of the first three volumes of Byzantine music in Romanian: a musical

¹ Anton PANN, *Fabule și istorioare [Fables and stories]*, Bucharest, 1841. Foreword; A. PANN, *NOYI DOKCACTAP [New Doxastarion]*, Bucharest, 1841, III; A. PANN, *IPMOLOGIU car KATABACIEP [Heirmologion or Katabasies]*, Bucharest, 1846.

² Grigore IV Ghica or Grigore Dimitrie Ghica, prince of Wallachia between 1822 and 1828.

³ State Archives in Bucharest, Metropolitan of Bucharest (*Mitropolia Bucureștilor*) Fund, collection DXVI/7, in Moisescu, p. 117 - 119 (Letter 1).

⁴ Letter of Dionisie Popovici to Stephen Stratimirovich. In file A 160/182, f. 21-22, Archives of the Karlovits Metropolitanate. *Apud* T. MOISESCU, *Prolegomene bizantine*, 119-120 (Letter 2). Titus Moisescu wonders: "Could this Dionisie Popovici have been one and the same person as Stan Popovici /.../, the one who managed the business of Constantin Hagi Pop's trading house in Sibiu /.../?" T. MOISESCU, *Prolegomene bizantine*, 120, footnote 1.

treatise (ΘΕΟΡΗΤΙΚΟΝ) and two collections of monodic chants: АНАСТАСИМАТАРЮ БИСЕРИЧЕСКЪ and ИРМОЛОГІСЪНЬ цар КАТАВАСІЕРЮ МУСИЧЕСКЪ. The revolution of 1821 finds monk Macarie in the city of Buda, and Metropolitan Dionisie flees from Bucharest to Sibiu, to escape the Ottoman troops; the same Metropolitan orders Macarie to suspend printing until the end of the revolution.¹ With time at his disposal, Macarie offered his services and printing expertise to other religious communities, attempting to print monodic literature in Slavonic, naturally using psaltic neumes. To this end, he asks for the blessing and support of Stephen Stratimirovich of Kulpin, the Metropolitan of Karlowitz (1790-1837), today Sremski Karlovci/ Сремски Карловци, in Serbia. Moreover, Macarie offers to teach the clergymen and chanters of Karlowitz the notation and church songs "completely /.../ within four months".²

Unable to produce the Byzantine neumes in Buda, Macarie went to Vienna where, with the help of Armenian Mekhitarist Monastery of Vienna and their printers, he succeeded in publishing the three volumes in 1823, each title appearing in 3000 copies (a very large number for those times), the three titles forming a "body" (*trup* in Romanian),³ as in the Greek-language publications of Ephesios. The volumes also have high aesthetic qualities as well as valuable content, knowing that this will facilitate their commercialization. Thus, Macarie and the Hagi Pop House in Sibiu invested substantially in financial terms, the works being printed in colour (black and red), and dedicated to the Metropolitans of Wallachia and

¹ Letter of Dionisie Popovici to Stephen Stratimirovich. *Apud* T. MOISESCU, *Prolegomene bizantine*, 119.

² Letter of Dionisie Popovici to Stephen Stratimirovich. *Apud* T. MOISESCU, *Prolegomene bizantine*, 119.

³ Titus Moiesescu, introductory paper, in: Titus Moiesescu (ed.), *Macarie Ieromonahul, Opere (I), Theoreticon [Macarie Hieromonk, Works (I), Theoreticon]*, Bucharest: Publishing House of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, 1976, 12.

Moldavia and, it seems, also to the Metropolitan of Bessarabia.¹ During his lifetime, Macarie printed two more volumes, in 1827 and 1836, in the very year of his death, both in towns in Wallachia.²

Next to Macarie - "the father of psaltic singing in Romanian", as he is considered by his contemporaries, Anton Pann (ca. 1797–1854) is the second great personality of "Romanianization" of church singing in Wallachia and Moldavia.³ He does not have the authority of Macarie at the level of the Wallachian Metropolis, he is neither a clergyman nor a monk, but his high professional training, his expertise as director of the printing house of Ephesios, his teaching, composing and translating activities ensure him a central position in the history of Romanian music and even in the wider context of the native culture of the first half of the 19th century. Of the two Romanian musicians, and indeed of the entire 19th century, Pann is by far the most prolific and multifaceted musician. Pann was married three times, and in order to make a living, he expanded his range of interests, diversifying the subjects of his publications: he printed journals, magazines, flyers, catalogues of his own religious and non-religious works (see the famous collection *Spitalul amorului* with urban, Phanariot, Ottoman music, etc.),⁴ sometimes in small booklets, precisely so that potential buyers from the middle class could

¹ Letter of Macarius Hieromonk to Zamfir Pop, dated July 2, 1823, Vienna. File DCCXLVII/165, Manuscripts section of the Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest. *Apud* T. MOISESCU, *Prolegomene bizantine*, 150-151 (Letter 16).

² See S. BARBU-BUCUR, *Bibliografia*, 54.

³ Among the latest substantial research on the life and musical work of A. Pann, see Zaharia MATEI, *Profesorul, protopsaltul și compozitorul Anton Pann (1797-1854) [Professor, protopsaltis and composer Anton Pann (1797-1854)]*, Bucharest: Basilica Publishing House, 2014.

⁴ On the last edition of Pann's secular musical work, see A. PANN, *Spitalul amorului sau Cîntătorul dorului [The Hospital of Love or the Singer of Longing]*, introductory paper by N. Gheorghiuță, Bucharest, Compania Publishing House, 2009.

buy them as cheaply as possible. Religious music literature in Romanian, such as that published by Macarie, was a low-selling instrument that was not a money-making tool, so Pann, like Ephesios, lists at the end of his volumes his sponsors and those who contributed to the printing of his works. It is important to mention in this context that Pann also extends the range of his publications in the Slavonic language. In collaboration with Nikola Triandafilov (Никола Триандафилов) from Sliven, Bulgaria, Pann published the first books of Slavonic psaltic music in Bucharest in the 1840s.¹

To sum up, between 1830 and 1854 (the year of his death), Anton Pann had published a total of 30 titles with

¹ Nikola Triandafilov has published four books in Bucharest during the 1840s: 1) ЦВѢТОСОБРАНИЕ ... Перво преведе са на Славенскій азыкъ, и издаде са въ свѣтъ отъ НИКОЛАА ТРИАНДАФИЛОВА СЛИВНЕНЦА ... ВЪ БУКУРЕЩЪ. Въ Книгопечатниата на Јосифа Копайнига, 1847; 2) ВОСКРЕСНИКЪ НОВЪ ... Перво преведе са на Славенскій азыкъ, и издаде са на свѣтъ отъ НИКОЛАА ТРИАНДАФИЛОВА СЛИВНЕНЦА ... ВЪ БУКУРЕЩЪ. Въ Книгопечатниата на Јосифа Копайнига, 1847; 3) ГЛЕДАЛО ради СЛАВАНО-БОЛГАРСКАТА НЫНѢ НОВОНАПЕЧАТАНА ПСАЛТИКА ... ВЪ БУКУРЕЩЪ. Въ Типографіята на Јосифа Копайнига, 1848; 4) КРАТКА ІРМОЛОГИА ... Нынѣ перво сочинена и издадена на печать отъ Николаа Триандафиловича Сливненца. ... ВЪ БУКУРЕЩЪ, 1849. Въ Книгопечатниата на Антона Панова. For details see Stefan HARKOV, Breitkopf's influence: a Balkan way of musical publishing. In: *Composing and Chanting in the Orthodox Church*. Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Orthodox Church Music, University of Joensuu, Finland, 4 – 10 June 2007. The International Society for Orthodox Church Music & University of Joensuu, Finland, 2009, 199-202; Stefan HARKOV, Reception of the New Method in Bulgaria. In: *Πρακτικά Μουσικολογικό και Ψαλτικό Συνέδριο « Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Μουσικὴ μέσα ἀπὸ τὴν Νέα Μέθοδο Γραφῆς (1814-2014). Καθιέρωση – Προβληματισμοί – Προοπτικὲς »*, Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης (Α.Π.Θ.), Θεσσαλονίκη, 30 Οκτωβρίου ἕως 1 Νοεμβρίου 2014. Ἱερά Μεγίστη Μονὴ Βατοπαιδίου, ἍΓΙΟΝ ὍΡΟΣ, 2021, Σ. 345-354.

various contents and subjects, not only musical; of these, 20 are volumes of Orthodox music published between 1841-54, in “his own church music printing house”, as he calls it.¹

Conclusions

Petros Ephesios, Macarie the Hieromonk and Anton Pann were contemporaries, learned from each other and remain in the history of Romanian music of the first half of the 19th century as personalities of great prestige, founders of schools, teachers, chanters and publishers specializing in the publication of books of Byzantine music in Greek, Romanian and Slavonic. In this context, the appearance of the Byzantine music press in Bucharest in 1820 was a turning point in the promotion and uniform, compact and widespread dissemination throughout the Orthodox world of the monodic musical repertoire of the Byzantine Church. In the years and decades that followed, new printing houses with Byzantine neumes would appear in Paris, Vienna, Constantinople, Trieste, Smyrna, Thessaloniki, Venice, etc., their musical production (including a very significant *corpus* of non-religious albums) amounting in the period 1820-1899 to 319 different titles,² an important segment of these religious works also becoming didactic instruments. It should not be forgotten that there were initiatives to print Orthodox monodic religious music also with other musical semiographies (such as alphabetical one, Lesbios *systema* etc.),³ actions which, however, would not undermine the authority and the efficiency of the system of

¹ Z. MATEI, *Profesorul, protopsaltul si compozitorul Anton Pann*, chapters B (*Musical prints*) and C (*Carols songs and moral songs*), 197-249.

² G. I. CHATZITHEODOROS, *Βιβλιογραφία της βυζαντινής εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής*, 265.

³ Grigorios STATHIS, *I Sistemi alfabetici di scrittura musicale per scrivere la musica bizantina nel periodo 1790-1850*, *Klironomia*, 4 B' (1972), 367-376.

notation assumed and promoted by the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

At the same time, Romanian language print will diversify and expand. Printing would no longer take place in Vienna but exclusively in towns in Moldavia and Wallachia, which would drastically diminish the importance of Greek-language chanting in the Orthodox churches of Romanian Principalities and increase the ecclesiastical, cultural and educational authority of the capitals of the Principalities - Bucharest and Iași, to the detriment of Constantinople. At least until the second half of the 19th century, the patronage of religious music production and the educational system continued to belong to the Church, through its leading representatives (ecumenical patriarch, metropolitans, abbots, etc.), but also to the rulers who financed ecclesiastical and religious music schools.

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SUMMARY

Nicolae Gheorghită

Byzantine Chant Printings and their Musical Network in the Romanian Principalities, the Balkans and Constantinople during the First Half of the 19th Century

The printing in Bucharest, in 1820, of the first collections of Byzantine music in the world marks a major turning point in the spread and promotion of the monodic repertoire of the former Byzantine Church throughout the area of the Orthodox world from the Balkans. Published initially in Greek and later in Romanian and Slavonic, all these ecclesiastical, and even non-ecclesiastical repertoires will create a network that will extend to Constantinople and Vienna, as well as to other Hellenic centres in the Balkans, in Central and Eastern Europe, Orthodox Orient

and even in Italy (Venice, Trieste, etc.). The editors will be both Greeks and Romanians, with a good and solid expertise in teaching Byzantine chant, both in Constantinople and in Bucharest and Iași. All these musicians sensed the extraordinary potential that the new type of religious music book brought to the global market of ecclesiastical literature, which led to their printing and distribution activities receiving financial support from the ecclesiastical and political elites in the Danubian Principalities, and later from various parts of the Greek-speaking communities of the Orthodox world.

The present study examines the mechanisms by which these monodic music collections are financed, printed and distributed, identifying individuals, groups of people or the institutions that govern and manage these musical productions, as well as the target groups to which they are addressed. The case study focuses, in particular, on the Romanian Principalities in relation to Constantinople, in the first half of the nineteenth century.