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Citation: Lingas, A. (2019). Canonising Byzantine Chant as Greek Art Music. In: Tambakaki, P., Vlagopoulos, P., Levidou, K. & Beaton, R. (Eds.), Music, Language and Identity in Greece: Defining a National Art Music in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. (pp. 31-53). Abingdon, UK: Routledge. ISBN 9781138280021

This is the accepted version of the paper.

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Canonising Byzantine chant as Greek art music

Alexander Lingas

It is only recently, as Katy Romanou has observed, that histories of modern Greek art music have integrated into their narratives the form of liturgical chant today practised and recognised as authoritative in Orthodox churches across a geographic arc from the Middle East to Moldavia.[1] Nevertheless, since the late nineteenth century there have been defenders of received traditions of Greek Orthodox chanting who have declared them to be an indigenous form of 'art' or 'classical' music comparable, if not superior, in musical stature to the European classical tradition of art music. Konstantinos Angelidis makes this notion of equivalence explicit in his introduction to a series of recordings entitled 'Classical ecclesiastical music' made under his direction by the Athens-based Byzantine choir Tropos:

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> All peoples teach their own culture. The Germans teach Bach and Beethoven. We do not have [those] others, we have Koukouzelis and Karykis […] We should learn about them. Yet in Greece, this awful thing happens: whatever is Western is thought to be more beautiful. These thoughts of our teacher Lykourgos Angelopoulos inspired us to create a new series of publications with the general title 'Classical ecclesiastical music'.[2]

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[1] Romanou 2006, 9-12, and this volume. Romanou notes that the issue of where to place 'Byzantine' and 'post-Byzantine' music in narratives of the musical history of 'Greece' has troubled both Greek and foreign scholarship, offering as an example of the latter the variety of strategies pursued in different editions of the *Grove dictionary of music and musicians.* A scholar who has recently integrated Byzantine chant into a history of music covering the European nation states that emerged from the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century is Samson 2013, esp. 142-50.

[2] Booklet entitled 'Classical ecclesiastical music is our classical music' in Angelidis 2016, 7. Unless otherwise indicated, translations are mine.

Now commonly called 'Byzantine', this ecclesiastical music is the product of generations of cantors, scribes, composers, and theorists who worked after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 to transmit and develop the oral and written traditions that were codified in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Byzantium and subsequently preserved in thousands of manuscripts with melodies recorded in the neumes of so-called 'Middle Byzantine Notation' (henceforth MBN).[3] Efforts began in the eighteenth century to employ the signs of MBN in ways that captured with greater precision their expression in sound. These culminated in 1814 with the adoption by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople of a reformed 'New Method' of chant notation and theory that had recently been invented by three of its officials: Chrysanthos of Madytos, Chourmouzios the Archivist, and Gregorios the Protopsaltis.[4]

Over the next half century, these 'Three Teachers' and their followers transcribed the core repertories of Greek ecclesiastical chant then employed in the patriarchal church of St George and such other major centres of Greek Orthodoxy as Mount Athos into their new 'Chrysanthine' notation. Since the 1840s the Ecumenical Patriarchate has in various ways reaffirmed the musical legacy of the Three Teachers as normative for Greek Orthodox worship, doing so most forcefully when attacking what it has perceived as threats to its musical integrity or authority.[5] This series of patriarchal condemnations is but one indicator of the degree to which the modern reception of Byzantine traditions of liturgical chanting has been not only complex, but often also highly contested as clerics, church musicians and interested members of the laity have taken up a range of positions regarding their historical authenticity, contemporary liturgical utility, and future development.[6] For nearly two

[3] The history of Greek ecclesiastical chant under Ottoman rule is surveyed in Chatzegiakoumes 1980, 17-105. An introduction to the notation employed for Greek liturgical chant from the late twelfth to the early nineteenth century is Troelsgård 2010.

[4] A brief account of the Chrysanthine reform is Romanou 1990, 89-100.

[5] The most recent of these interventions was a synodal announcement of 28 May 2012 condemning perceived deviations from 'the theory, practice and traditions' of the New Method contained in a two-volume theory of Greek sacred and secular music published three decades earlier by Simon Karas. See Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople 2012 and Karas 1982.

[6] General accounts of these controversies focussing primarily on developments in the Kingdom of Greece are Romanou 1996, i. 31-95; Filopoulos 1990, 26-151; and Vergotis 1987. On intersections between these

centuries strict defenders of the integrity and primacy of the New Method have been opposed by internal and external critics who have perceived its traditions as being somehow disfigured or, at the very least, incomplete. These ranged from radicals who judged contemporary Greek Orthodox chanting to be irredeemably decadent and thus ripe for replacement, either with 'purified' repertories of Greek chant or with modern Russian or European types of church music, to moderates who found much to appreciate in the musical status quo but still saw it as being in need of some kind of renewal.

In order to understand how these disagreements relate to the acceptance of Byzantine chant as a form of modern Greek art music, one must recall other, much older, tensions within Orthodox Christianity between two views of the nature and purpose of sacred song. Since late antiquity, Greek traditions of Christian chant had been understood as belonging to the category of '(ecclesiastical) psalmody' (ψαλμωδία), a spiritual practice serving both public liturgy and private devotion.[7] Since the late Middle Ages they have also been recognised as 'the Psaltic Art' (η ψαλτική τέχνη), an art tradition supported by a complex system of musical notation with a historical canon of composers and works reaching back to Saints Romanos the Melodist (sixth century) and John of Damascus (d. 749).[8] Despite the persistence in some circles of ascetic views seeking to minimise or reject altogether the musical aspects of *psalmodia,* within Orthodoxy the notions of chanting as spiritual practice and musical art have generally not been perceived as mutually exclusive.[9] We shall encounter both of these conceptions of liturgical singing below as we proceed to examine how internal views of historical continuity were reoriented during the nineteenth century to place Greek

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discourses and those of historical musicology as practised outside Greece, see Lingas 2003, 56-76; Lingas 2006, 133-39; and Vlagopoulos 2016, 49-77.

[7] On psalmody as private devotion example in late antiquity, see Dysinger 2005. A more general treatment of patristic views on the ethical effects of psalmody is Vourlis 1994.

[8] The term is well established in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuals of Byzantine chant notation and theory. See, for example, Marzi 1982, 11 and 21; and Conomos 1985, 36. A witness to its currency at the beginning of the nineteenth century is Vendotis and Vlandis 1816, 706.

[9] The spectrum of opinion in late antiquity regarding the significance of psalmody's musical components is surveyed in McKinnon 1994. For a more nuanced discussion of the range of approaches to liturgical singing within early monasticism and their relationship to contemporary urban practices, see Frøyshov 2007, 198–216; and Frøyshov 2000, 229-45.

ecclesiastical chant and its musical systems, which overlapped with those of Greek and Ottoman secular music, in opposition to the traditions of modern European art music.

#

Historical continuity in Greek ecclesiastical music according to Chrysanthos

The strong sense of historical continuity felt by Greek church musicians after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 with their late antique and medieval forbears is evident from the contents of manuscript anthologies of chant, whose scribes often freely mixed composers of different eras. Kyrillos Marmarinos, a cleric and theorist writing between 1743 and 1749, encapsulated this notion of kinship across the centuries in an alphabetically organised catalogue of 119 ecclesiastical composers ranging in date from the thirteenth century to his own time. This directory appears as Part Three of a five-part treatise on music in which Kyrillos describes and situates the traditions of Greek ecclesiastical chanting not only within the history of Byzantine worship, but also in relation to contemporary practice in Ottoman secular music. Beginning with sections on the notation and modes of Greek ecclesiastical chant, it concludes with two chapters relating its modal and rhythmic systems those of Ottoman 'External music' (τῆς ἔξω μουσικῆς).[10]

Chrysanthos of Madytos incorporated an annotated version of the list of Kyrillos into the 'Narration on the origin and progress of music' that forms the penultimate section of his *Great theory of music*.[11] Written in the second decade of the nineteenth century but not published until 1832, the *Great theory* represents his attempt to write a general theory of music from a contemporary Greek perspective by setting the repertories, notation, and modes of the New Method within a neo-Hellenic framework indebted to Enlightenment thought.[12] Although Chrysanthos hellenised both the pedigree of contemporary ecclesiastical chanting and his own systematisation of it through copious references to Greek antiquity and its

[10] Chaldaeakes 2010, 126-9. A critical edition of the list with commentary and translations in Russian and English is Gertsman 1994, 780-834. The comparative section of Kyrillos's treatise has been published and translated in Popescu-Judetz and Şirli 2000, 49-124.

[11] Chrysanthos of Madytos 1832, Section 2, I-LV; English translation in Romanou 2010, 213–47.

[12] On the relationship of Chrysanthos to the Enlightenment, see Romanou's 'Introduction' to her translation of the *Great Theory*, 12-25; as well as Plemmenos 1997, 51-63; Plemmenos 2003, 165-94; Xanthoudakis 2008.

traditions of music theory, this did not prevent him from following Kyrillos in recognising points of contact between Orthodox sacred chant and Ottoman secular music.[13]

Yet the *Great theory* is ultimately less concerned with Ottoman musical traditions than it is with those of Western European civilisation, which it approaches with a combination of reverence and ambivalence. Chrysanthos demonstrated his respect for Western theorists and philosophers of music by following his historical account of ancient Greek and Byzantine music theory with a list of 'Latin and other European' authorities from Augustine and Boethius to Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Alexandre Etienne Choron (1771–1834).[14] Composers and performers from the Latin West are otherwise absent from his 'Narration' as it follows the development of human music from the Hebrew scriptures through Greek antiquity and Byzantium to the composers of 'our ecclesiastical music'. Near its end, however, Chrysanthos relates briefly the failed attempts of Agapios Paliermos of Chios, a Greek musician with European training, to reform the teaching of chant at the Ecumenical Patriarchate along Western lines.[15] Beginning in 1797, Paliermos was given permission to teach using staff notation and then, when that approach met resistance from traditionalists led by the Protopsaltis (First Cantor) Iakovos the Peloponnesian, made two additional attempts at musical reform with other types of notation, one of which was an alphabetic system.

Fresh memories of the failures of Paliermos at the Ecumenical Patriarchate could have motivated the Three Teachers to disguise their replacement of Byzantine polysyllabic intonation formulas – *ananes, neanes, nana, hagia,* etc. – with Western European solmisation by recasting 'Ut-Re-Mi-Fa-Sol-La-Si' as 'Νη-Πα-Βου-Γα-Δι-Κε-Ζω'.[16] They also help to explain why comparative references to Western European music in the *Great theory*'s

[13] In biographical footnotes attached to his version of the alphabetical list of chant composers, Chrysanthos recorded accomplishments in the field of Ottoman music alongside contributions to ecclesiastical chant. Elsewhere he discusses Ottoman rhythmic modes (usuls) and correspondences between the modal 'shades' (chroai) of Greek chant and Ottoman makams (Chrysanthos of Madytos 1832, 79-80 and 119-22; Romanou 2010, 97-8 and 133–5).

[14] Chrysanthos of Madytos 1832, XXXI; Romanou 2010, 232.

[15] Chrysanthos of Madytos 1832, LI–LII; and Romanou 2010, 245-6. See also Plemmenos 2003, 69-101.

[16] Romanou 1990, 92-4; and Romanou 2010, 24-5.

technical discussions of music are either neutral or mildly negative in character.[17] In his brief chapter on tonal harmony, Chrysanthos describes music employing it as requiring 'habituated listeners' (ἀκροατὰς συνειθισμένους).[18] He then suggests that his listeners look elsewhere for extended discussions of harmonic accompaniment that are pointless for those 'of us who do not receive even the smallest pleasure' from it.[19]

The fact that his own evident lack of appreciation for contemporary Western European music did not prevent Chrysanthos from laying claim to its theoretical traditions is indicative of his ambition to synthesise the visions of historical continuity fostered by the Orthodox Church and contemporary neo-Hellenism. The idea that modern cantors stood in succession to a line of musicians reaching back to late antiquity complemented the historical self-image of Orthodox Christianity, which John Chryssavgis describes as maintaining a 'keen sense' that 'the East maintained the same doctrine, liturgy, spirituality and theology as developed by the early Christian community'.[20] Theologians in Byzantium perpetuated the notion of an Orthodox faith unchanged in its essentials, enshrining it in such conciliar pronouncements as the Synodikon of Orthodoxy, which today continues to be recited in churches of the Byzantine rite on the first Sunday of Lent. Celebrating the restoration of icons in 843, it emphatically declares 'This is the faith of the Apostles; this is the faith of the Fathers; this is the faith of the Orthodox; this faith makes fast the inhabited world'.[21] This continuity of faith, it insists, requires active resistance to extraneous beliefs and practices: 'On every innovation and action contrary to the tradition of the Church, and the teaching and

[17] Yet it is noteworthy, as Ordoulidis observes (2017, 93-4), that Chrysanthos refrains from the anti-Western polemics that became common among defenders of the New Method in Constantinople later in the nineteenth century.

[18] Chrysanthos of Madytos 1832, 222.

[19] Chrysanthos of Madytos 1832, 222.

[20] Chryssavgis 2004, 54.

[21] Andrew Louth, trans., 'The Synodikon of Orthodoxy', edited from MS British Library Additional 28816 by Archimandrite Ephrem Lash. http://www.anastasis.org.uk/synodikon.htm (accessed 30 August 2015). A critical edition of the Synodikon that, although not taking into account BL Add. 28816, does include many later additions to its text, is Gouillard 1967, 1-316.

pattern of the holy and celebrated Fathers, or anything that shall be done after this: Anathema!'.[22]

Viewed from the perspective of traditional Orthodoxy, the musical inheritance of pagan Greek antiquity could be accepted by virtue of its transmission through Christian Byzantium. Chrysanthos therefore placed ancient Greek musical traditions – including their continuation by medieval Latin and modern European theorists and philosophers – in his 'Narration' as a bridge between music in the Hebrew scriptures and Greek ecclesiastical singing. Yet while being content elsewhere in the *Great theory* to acknowledge overlaps between the musical systems of Greek Orthodox chant and 'external' Ottoman secular music, Chrysanthos clearly found the modern music of what Orthodox Christians had for centuries tended to view as the heretical Latin West to be deeply problematic. He ignores the musical canons of European art music even as he celebrates achievements in the field of Ottoman music by Greek cantors whose musical lineage he has traced through Byzantium to antiquity. #

Projecting historical depth in early Chrysanthine chantbooks

The historical vision embodied in the alphabetical composer lists of Kyrillos and Chrysanthos was realised only incompletely in the collections of Greek Orthodox chant transcribed into the New Method of notation that began to appear in print from 1820 onwards. Continuity in the hymnody of the Byzantine rite had, of course, been evident ever since mechanically printed service books without musical notation first appeared in Renaissance Venice.[23] Following their liturgical cycles requires a cantor to chant a steady diet of texts by the great melodists of the late antique and medieval periods: Romanos the Melodist, Sophronios of Jerusalem, Germanos of Constantinople, Andrew of Crete, John of Damascus, Theodore the Stoudite, Kasia, Theodore the Stoudite, and the Emperors Leo VI the Wise and Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, to mention only some of the most prominent among them. Although old manuscripts contained melodies in Middle Byzantine Notation (MBN) directly attributed to some of these figures, neither those chants nor the works of medieval composers like John Koukouzeles, Xenos Korones or Manuel Chrysaphes, constituted a major percentage of the ecclesiastical music published in the New Method during the nineteenth century. This

[22] Louth, 'Synodikon'.

[23] Tomadakis 1969–70, 3–33.

occurred in spite of the heroic efforts of Chourmouzios the Archivist to record vast quantities of this material in Chrysanthine notation, producing 32 volumes of handwritten transcriptions between 1817 and his death in 1840.[24]

Chantbooks published in the two decades immediately following the introduction of the New Method correspond closely in their contents to received liturgical practice, according to which it was (and today remains) unusual for one to hear anything earlier than music of the eighteenth century.[25] The core repertory transcribed from Middle Byzantine Notation (MBN) is that codified and composed by Petros Peloponnesios (d. 1778), a Lampadarios of the Ecumenical Patriarchate (1770–1778) who also achieved fame as 'Petraki' in the field of Ottoman court music, and his immediate successors Iakovos the Peloponnesian (Protopsaltes from 1789 until his death in 1800) and Petros Byzantios (d. 1808; Protopsaltes 1800–1805).[26] The music attributed to older composers that does appear in Chrysanthine collections intended for ordinary liturgical use is generally reserved for such special purposes as the vesting of a bishop, the execution of a monastic all-night vigil, or performance following the dismissal of a service.

Variations in the ways in which it had become customary to realise melodic formulas contained in chants of different eras, a process which when executed by scribes became known as 'exegesis', offer practical reasons for prioritising more recent layers of the tradition.[27] Chants from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards which appear in Middle Byzantine Notation (MBN) to possess melodies set in a syllabic or slightly florid manner were rendered into rhythmically more precise Chrysanthine neumes at a ratio of approximately 1:1 or, in some genres, with rhythmic values roughly doubled at 1:2, a process now often called 'short exegesis'.[28] The melodic formulas found in medieval chant and some later repertories, on the other hand, were evidently being interpreted by cantors of the later

[24] These volumes are listed and partly catalogued in Chatzegiakoumes 1975, 389–91; and Stathis and Terzopoulos 2014, 173–240.

[25] See Hadzitheodorou 1998, 57–81.

[26] Alexandru 2016, 92–3 and, regarding their secular works, 112–13.

[27] A general introduction to problems of 'exegesis' and transcription in Byzantine chant is Alexandru 2010.

[28] The process of transcription into Chrysanthine notation is addressed in Schartau and Troelsgård 1997, 134–42. Regarding the applicability of different levels of 'short exegesis' to chants of the medieval and Ottoman periods, see Arvanitis 2003, 14–29; and Arvanitis 2006, 233–53.

eighteenth and early nineteenth century as suitable for 'long exegesis' at ratios of 1:4 or more.[29]

Chrysanthos illustrated the melismatic realisation of apparently syllabic melodies in his 'Narration' by comparing different notations of the opening of the first sticheron for Saturday vespers in Mode 1 in the post-Byzantine setting of Panagiotes the New Chrysaphes (ca. 1620–ca. 1682), gathered here in Example 1. After providing the original version in Middle Byzantine Notation (MBN) (1a), he presented a 1:1 realisation of its time values in the New Method representing a literal rendering of its succession of musical intervals (1b, which he called the 'metrophonia'), and the way it was actually chanted as 'melos' (1c).[30] The transcriptions of Example 2 set the illustrations of Chrysanthos in a wider context, allowing them to be compared with the standard and short melodies by Petros Peloponnesios for the same passage of this hymn, as well as an extremely florid exegesis made by Chourmouzios from a fifteenth-century sources.[31]

While the long exegeseis of Chrysanthos and Chourmouzios undoubtedly reflect what was in their time a standard way of rendering certain musical formulas conveyed in Middle Byzantine Notation (MBN), chanting the Lamplighting Psalms of Vespers and all their attached hymns in such a florid manner would be impractical for an ordinary celebration of Saturday vespers. On the other hand, when the same early chants are sung according to what Chrysanthos calls their 'metrophonia', a form of realisation that closely resembles that employed for more recent repertories, the durations of their performance will approximate those of the new melodies by Petros Peloponnesios. Solving the temporal issue of liturgical utility by singing the old melodies unadorned raises another problem: shorn of their long exegeseis, which endow them with formulas frequently heard across the received tradition,

[29] A classic study of 'long exegesis' is Stathis 1989.

[30] Chrysanthos of Madytos 1832, XLVII–XLVIII; Romanou 2010, 242–43.

[31] Example 2A conveys the succession of musical intervals conveyed in Middle Byzantine Notation (MBN) according to the rhythmically agnostic system of transcription in Troelsgård 2010. A staff-notation edition of Example 1A seeking, in accord with the findings of Arvanitis 2003 and 2006, to convey the rhythmic or melodic profile of how Example 1A was realised in sound would resemble Examples 1B and 2B. Guides to the transcription of the New Method of Byzantine neumatic notation into staff notation include Desby 1998 and Giannelos 1996.

these chants no longer conform to contemporary stylistic norms, raising the possibility of substantial musical change within a tradition that prides itself on continuity.[32]

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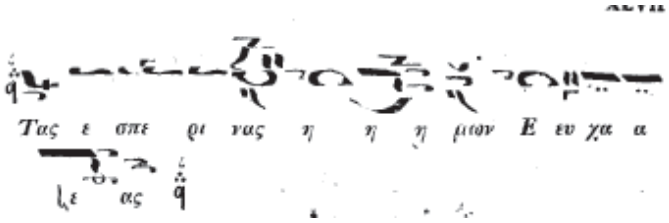
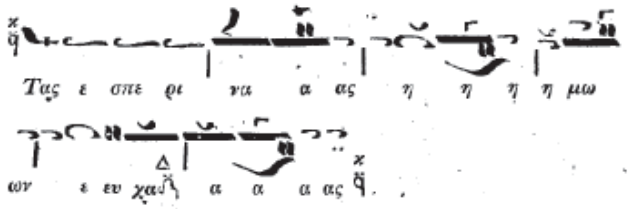
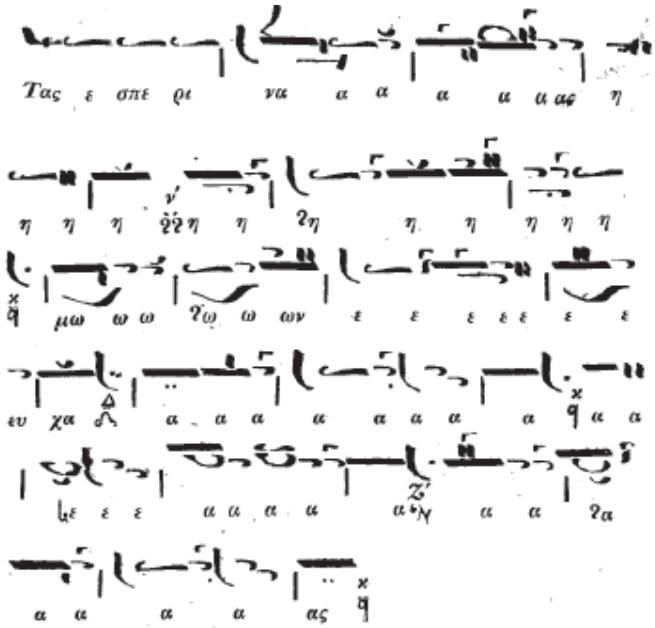
[32] The full implications of this gap between the notation of premodern melodies and the Chrysanthine understanding of their proper realisation became evident only at the dawn of the twentieth century, by which time they were merely the latest stage in long-running arguments over the provenance and future of Greek liturgical singing. See Dragoumis 1991 and Lingas 2003.



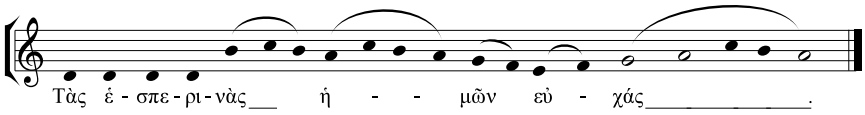
1A – Middle Byzantine notation (MBN)

1B – ‘Metrophonia’ in the ~~in Chrysanthine~~ notation of the New Method

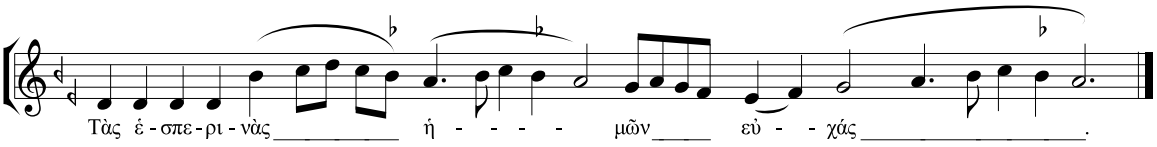
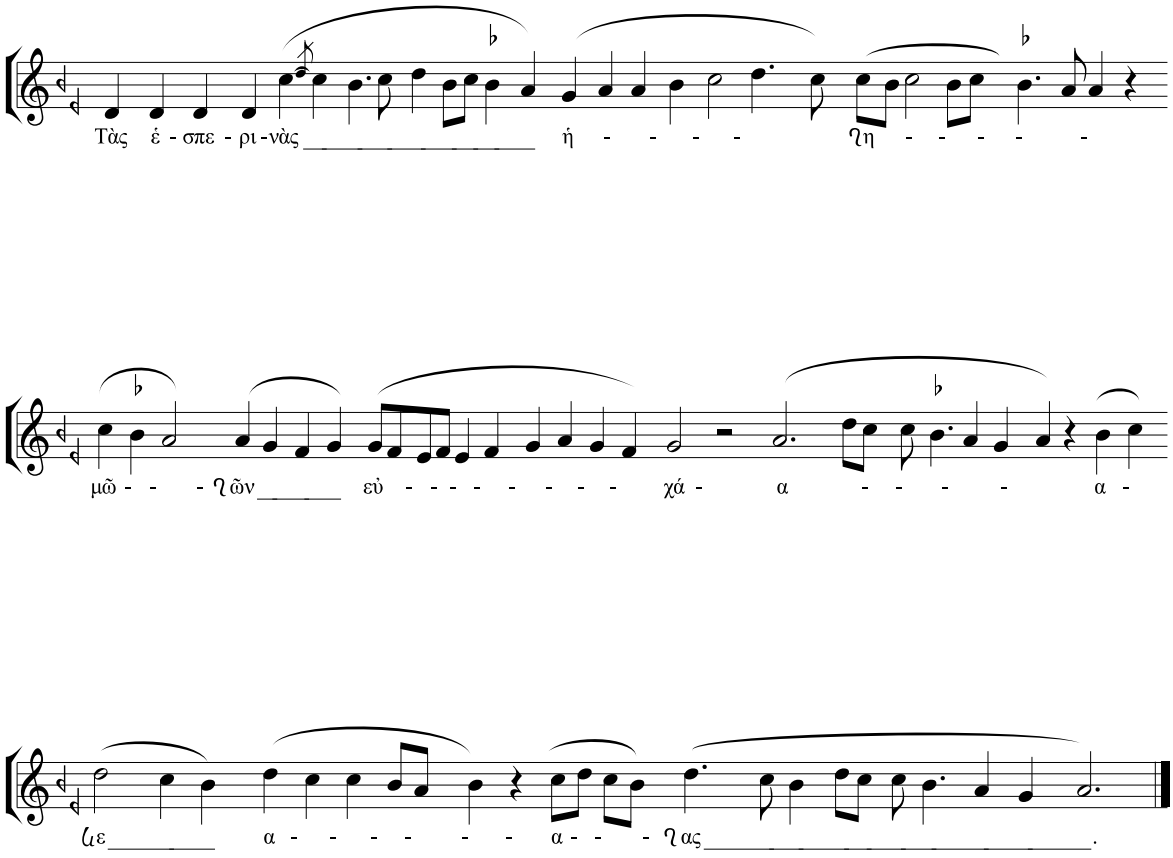


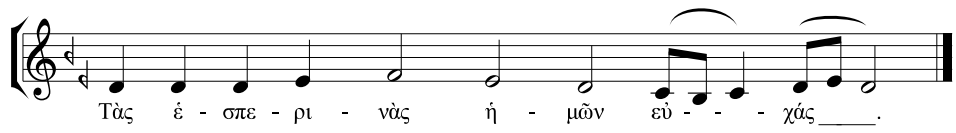
1C – ‘Melos’

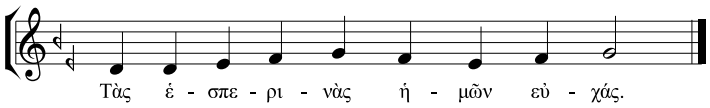
EXAMPLE 1

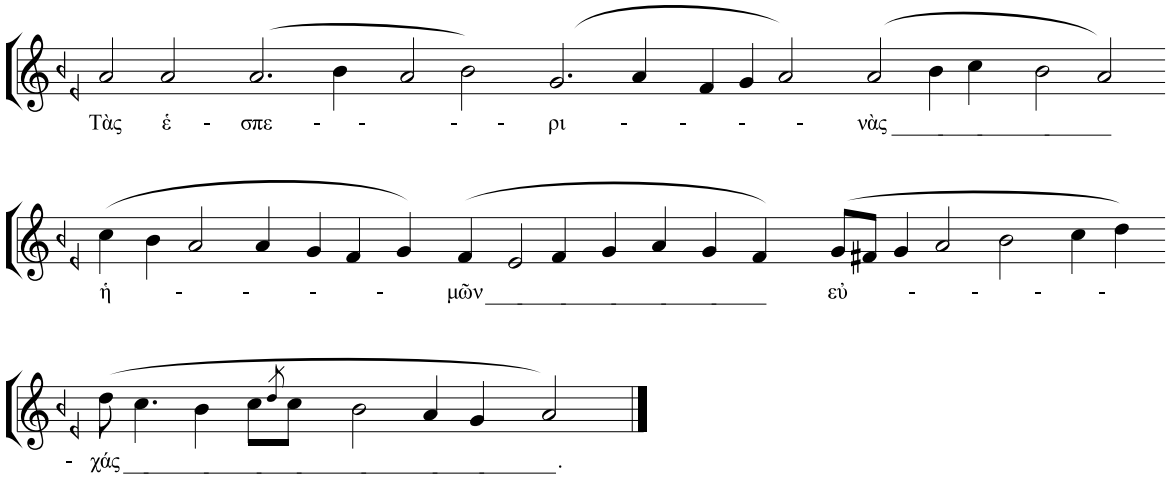
Example of exegesis from Chrysanthos, *Great theory*



2A Transcription of 1A (Chrysanthos, MBN)

2B Transcription of 2B (Chrysanthos, ‘Metrophonia’)

2C Transcription of 1C (Chrysanthos, ‘Melos’)



2D Standard Melody of Petros Peloponnesios (Grigoriadis et al.1868–69, II, 10)

2E Short (Syntomon) Melody of Petros Peloponnesios (Phokaeus 1839, 1)



2F Exegesis of the Fifteenth-Century Anastasimatarion (Grigoriadis et al. 1868–69, II, 6)

EXAMPLE 2

Incipit of the First Sticheron of the Lamplighting Psalms for Saturday vespers, Mode 1

Early traditionalist responses to the 'musical question'

Challenges from abroad to the hegemony of the Constantinopolitan New Method in the 1840s marked the beginning of debates that, due to their parallels with disagreements over the modern fate of the Greek language known collectively as 'The language question' ('Το γλωσσικόν ζήτημα'), came to be called 'The musical question'.[33] The first occurred in 1840 with the appearance in Athens of two publications promoting a more radical and self-consciously Hellenising reform of ecclesiastical chant theory and notation by George Lesbios.[34] A former pupil of the Three Teachers, Lesbios began teaching his chant system in 1826 on the island of Aegina, eventually attracting the support of Ioannis Kapodistrias to spread it throughout the newly independent state of Greece.[35] The second challenge came from the churches of St George and the Holy Trinity in Vienna, which in 1842 and 1844 respectively introduced the singing of harmonised arrangements of ecclesiastical chant for four-part choir. First published in 1844, this choral music soon circulated widely.[36]

In 1846 Ecumenical Patriarch Anthimos VI and his synod responded separately to these innovations with the first of many encyclicals condemning them in terms customarily reserved for heresy.[37] In turn, these condemnations provoked vigorous responses from their targets, who continued both their activities and these debates for decades to come.[38]

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[33] A comprehensive treatment of the 'language question' is Mackridge 2009. For an overview of the 'musical question' to 1912, see Romanou 1996, vol. I, 1–162 and 235–49.

[34] Lesbios 1840b and 1840a. While retaining the musical repertory of Petros Peloponnesios and his successors codified in the New Method, Lesbios changed its visual representation by repurposing neumes from Middle Byzantine Notation (MBN) to represent particular degrees of the scale (as opposed to intervals ascending or descending from the previously sung pitch according to the scale of the prevailing mode). He also enriched the written representation of ornaments and hellenised the portrayal of rhythm and the classification of the modes, replacing the *Octoechos* with a system of thirteen *tropoi*.

[35] Written in response to the 1846 encyclical of the Ecumenical Patriarchate condemning his work, Lesbios [1848] gives an account of the origins of his system. See also Papadopoulos 1890, 342–5.

[36] Pallatidis 1845, 49–57, and Formozis 1967. The publication history of the music created for the Viennese parishes, of which that by Chaviaras and Randhartinger enjoyed particularly wide dissemination, is outlined in Filopoulos 1996, 15–29.

[37] Romanou 1996, vol. I, 238–43. An English translation of a letter dated 5 November 1846 from Anthimos VI to the Greek Orthodox parishes of Vienna advising them of the contents of the first of the encyclicals decreeing 'the abolition of four-part music in the sacred services of Orthodox churches everywhere and the unthwarted use

Seeking to defend its received musical traditions and their transmission by means of the New Method, the Ecumenical Patriarchate produced not only encyclicals defending but also two publishing initiatives that aimed to substantiate its vision of historical continuity in ecclesiastical chant. The first to appear from the Patriarchal Press was the *Pandekte* of 1850–1851, a compendium of 'Sacred (*Hieras*) Ecclesiastical Hymnody for the Whole Year' edited by the patriarchal cantors John the Lampadarios and Stephanos the First Domestikos in four volumes:

1. 'Containing the *Mathemata* of Vespers' (1850)
2. 'Containing the *Mathemata* of Matins (*Orthros)*' (1851)
3. 'Containing the Greatest *Mathemata* of the *Papadike* and *Mathematarion*' (1851)
4. 'Containing all the *Mathemata* of the Sacred Liturgy'[39]

By employing the technical term *mathemata* – literally 'lessons', which might be translated in this context as 'instructional pieces' – in the subtitle for each volume, John and Stephanos were signalling their inclusion of old chants that were generally viewed as being of didactic rather than practical use.[40] Accordingly, Volumes One, Two and Four supplement the normal contents of previously published collections of music for the Byzantine Divine Office and eucharistic liturgies with additional chants by composers antedating Petros Peloponnesios that have been transcribed into the New Method according to the conventions of long exegesis. Volume Three, however, is truly exceptional in being the only musical collection published in the nineteenth century devoted exclusively to *Mathemata* by Byzantine and post-Byzantine composers that were of little or no practical use in modern worship. Liturgical

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of our ecclesiastical music', an excerpt of which is also translated as a footnote, is available online at http://www.stanthonysmonastery.org/music/encyclical.pdf (accessed 28 July 2017).

[38] Publications employing the musical system of Lesbios continued to be published in Athens until the early 1872 (Hadzitheodorou 1998, 231–33), by which the New Method had become fully established among cantors in Greece. Polyphony, as we noted above, had a much longer run of popularity in Greek Orthodoxy, surviving to the present day in some churches, about which see Filopoulos 1990.

[39] John the Lampadarios and Stephanos the First Domestikos 1850–1851. Hadzitheodorou (1998, 103) judged the *Pandekte* to be 'the most complete, to the present day, codified collection of classical (*klassikon*) *mathemata*'.

[40] A general introduction to the musically sophisticated kalophonic ('beautiful sounding') chants cultivated by late Byzantine composers and their later reception as *mathemata* is Stathis and Terzopoulos 2014, 3–133.

utility, however, seems to have been less important to the editors of the *Pandekte* than projecting what they understood to be the significance and authenticity of their received musical traditions, as they made clear in their preface to Volume One:

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> Our sacred Ecclesiastical music is more ancient and pure than those now possessed by contemporary heterodox Christian communions, being contemporaneous with primordial Christianity and indisputably handed down from the Apostles. […] Consequently, we, to whom it has fallen today to be ministers of this tradition, are obliged to hold on to this sacred deposit of our fathers as one of the most essential sacred traditions of the Church, unadulterated and free of innovation.[41]

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The oppositions between Orthodoxy and heterodoxy in this passage reflect not only current polemics against the use of polyphony in the churches of the European diaspora, but also anxiety over the authenticity and future of received traditions of ecclesiastical chanting. During the second half of the nineteenth century, as Merih Erol has shown, these anxieties profoundly shaped musical discourse among the Greek Orthodox of late Ottoman Constantinople as the musically conservative Ecumenical Patriarchate became increasingly willing to enlist musical scholarship to 'purify' and 'correct' ecclesiastical chant.[42]

In 1868, shortly before a new and more wide-ranging round of debates over the 'musical question' erupted, the staff of the Patriarchal School of Church Music initiated the publication of a *Musical library divided into volumes* that promised to contain 'All of the *mathemata* for the services the liturgical year by ancient musical teachers from the Byzantine era and after, with the addition of [chants] not previously transcribed'.[43] Only two volumes ever appeared, both of which were versions of the *Anastasimatarion*, a book containing mainly proper chants commemorating the Resurrection of Christ for Saturday Vespers and Sunday matins from the eight-week modal cycle of the *Great Octoechos* (a service book otherwise known as the *Parakletike*). The second and final instalment of 1869 was useful for

[41] John the Lampadarios and Stephanos the First Domestikos 1850–51, I, στ΄- ζ΄.

[42] Erol 2015, 39–127.

[43] Gregoriadis et al. 1868–69. The Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies in Thessaloniki reprinted the *Musical library* in 1999 as Volumes 2 and 3 of its series Psaltika Vlatadon.

ordinary worship, containing the standard settings of Petros Peloponnesios augmented with selected variants and supplements by Petros Byzantios. The contents of Volume 1, on the other hand, were entirely historical, consisting of a 64-page historical 'Prologue' (dated January 1869, rather than 1868 as on the title page) followed by the first (and still only) published edition of the ordinary psalms and stichera of the Resurrection transcribed in long exegesis from the medieval sources.

In their Prologue the teachers of the Patriarchal Music School repeatedly link faith, language and music in ways that reflect conflicts over historical continuity in Hellenism that had arisen during the half century since Chrysanthos had completed the manuscript of his *Great theory.* In particular, their vision of ecclesiastical chant as an enduring repository of ancient Greek musical traditions recalls the efforts to equate Byzantium with 'medieval Hellenism' in writings from 1850s and 1860 by, respectively, Spyridon Zambelios and Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, the former in studies of folk song and the latter by undertaking a five-volume *History of the hellenic nation*.[44] Furthermore, the patriarchal teachers' emphasis on purity in the historical transmission of ancient Greek music through the chant under Byzantine and Ottoman rule echoes the priorities of contemporary authors who mined folk songs and other aspects of Greek rural life for survivals from antiquity, being likewise willing to excise elements of received traditions that they perceived to be of foreign origin.[45]

The teachers begin their Prologue to the *Musical library* with general remarks about the ancient origins of music followed by an assertion 'that in what follows it will be shown that our ecclesiastical music is itself the Music of the ancient Greeks', as well as 'that in the God-constructed Ark of the Orthodox Church of Christ is preserved not only the Greek Music of our glorious forbears, but also their language, the two being congenitally related and bound to one another'.[46] In the main body of their text they reverse the historical order of

[44] Beaton 2009, 2–11. Brief treatments of the rehabilitation of Byzantium by Zambelios and Paparrigopoulos are Huxley 1998, 17–9, and Kitromilides 1998, 25–33.

[45] The creation of the ethnographic discipline of *laographia* to support survivalist narratives of Greek history is the main focus of Herzfeld 1986. On the re-purposing of song texts to fill gaps in the history of Greek secular literature, see Beaton 1980.

[46] Gregoriadis et al. 1868–69, vol. I, ι΄. The indivisibility of faith and music from 'this gift, the national inheritance, the Greek language' is reasserted on page λγ΄.

the *Great theory*'s 'Narration', placing the music of pagan Greek antiquity before that of ancient Israel. Although they provide more details about the latter than Chrysanthos, they portray the Jews as having bequeathed little more than texts to Christian liturgy.

The Prologue's account of the development of Christian liturgical singing, while it says little about composers of Greek ecclesiastical chant from the late Byzantine and Ottoman periods, focusses instead on Patristics and hymnography. Contributions of Syriac and Latin Church Fathers to church music during of the first millennium CE are presented as offshoots of a musical tradition that is fundamentally Greek and was given definitive form by John of Damascus. Moreover, the teachers insist that, regardless of what 'some Europeans' might say, 'our ecclesiastical Music is that which was taught' by the Damascene, itself being wholly identical to both the original music of the Eastern Orthodox Church and that of Greek antiquity.[47] They recognise this tradition as having been held in common with the Latin Christendom until the fifteenth century, after which the Western Church introduced music performed by many voices and instruments. The Ecumenical Patriarchate, on the other hand, 'preserved and will preserve' monophonic hymnody that possesses spiritual qualities absent from later European music.[48]

In their concluding survey of Greek ecclesiastical music after 1453, the patriarchal teachers drastically moderate their triumphalism, admitting that music in Europe developed in a splendid and scientific manner to reach perfection in rhythm and harmony. They describe music in the Greek East during the same period as having entered into decline. Gradually 'denuded of its ancient beauty and grace, being mixed with foreign tunes and various innovations', it even picking up 'foreign words'.[49] Although primarily concerned with the stylistic convergence of Greek sacred and Ottoman secular music, the teachers also cite comments of St Nikodemos the Hagiorite on Canon 85 of the Council in Trullo implying that ecclesiastical chant was showing signs of decadence prior to the fall of Byzantium. The canon, which condemns unnatural and inappropriate singing, is linked by Nikodemos to chants containing non-semantic vocables. Maintaining that such *kratemata*, *teretismata* and *nenanismata* had been absent from the works of 'John Damascene and other old musicians',

[47] Gregoriadis et al. 1868–69, I, νγ΄.

[48] Gregoriadis et al. 1868–69, νστ΄-νζ΄.

[49] Gregoriadis et al. 1868–69, I, νζ΄.

Nikodemos concludes that they were innovations from the age of John Koukouzeles, believed by nineteenth-century authors to have lived in the twelfth century.[50]

According to the patriarchal teachers, the process of decline accelerated after the introduction of the New Method, which they see as having enabled self-indulgent cantors and publishers to disfigure the 'majestic ancient chant' with theatrical singing marked by the confusion of modes and the introduction of 'other foreign melismas'.[51] The editors of the *Musical library* had begun to combat this trend by assembling a collection of chant books suitable for use within the Patriarchal School of Music. Now they were setting out to publish purified editions that would demonstrate parallels between the solemn and modest melodies of ancient chant with those currently in use by Petros Peloponnesios, whose achievements in Ottoman secular music are mentioned only in a biographical note appended to Volume 2.[52]

Despite the efforts of the patriarchal teachers, the medieval *Anastasimatarion* and most other transcriptions of old chants in long exegesis remained peripheral to living practice.[53] Greek cantors continued to expand the repertories of ecclesiastical song with their variations on established chants and new compositions, some of them written in the modes of the Ottoman *makamlar*.[54] Such innovations produced within the framework ~~from~~ of the New Method were supplemented in churches located outside the Ottoman Empire by increasing quantities of polyphonic music, which became more common in the Kingdom of Greece after a choir singing Russian-style music was installed in the Royal Chapel of St George in 1870.[55] These developments, as Erol and Romanou have shown, made the task of somehow 'purifying' Greek ecclesiastical singing more urgent for musical radicals and conservatives.[56] During the last decades of the nineteenth century they all began turning for support to nascent

[50] Gregoriadis et al. 1868–69, I, νθ΄. For an English translation of the Hagiorite's full commentary on this canon, see Agapios Hieromonachos and Nikodemos Hagiorites 1983, 379–81. On the form and history of *kratemata* and related music forms, see Anastasiou 2005.

[51] Gregoriadis et al. 1868–69, I, νζ΄.

[52] Gregoriadis et al. 1868–69, I, ξγ΄-κδ΄.

[53] A rare example of a chant anthology that attempted to integrate a substantial number of medieval compositions in long exegesis is Kyriazidis 1896.

[54] A brief introduction to the use of makamlar in Byzantine chant is Smanis 2010, 567–72.

[55] Filopoulos 1990, 93–7.

[56] Erol 2015, 48-127, and Romanou 2006, 127-30.

musicological research on the traditions of chant that were at that time becoming known internationally as 'Byzantine'.[57]

In 1890 Georgios Papadopoulos (1862–1938), a Constantinopolitan music educator with close ties to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, consolidated traditionalist views of continuity in Greek Orthodox chanting in a massive volume of *Contributions to the history of our ecclesiastical music and the most illustrious melodists, hymnographers, musicians and musicologists from the Apostolic age to our days*. Over the course of 538 pages he offers a narrative of historical development from antiquity to the modern era setting up a canon of musicians implicitly rivalling that of Western European art music, whose great composers are finally mentioned by name in the 'Conclusion', the subtitle of which is 'The substitution of our ecclesiastical music with European four-part [polyphony] is impossible'.[58] Papadopoulos supports this assertion with a series of arguments pursued from what he labels 'technical', 'national', 'religious' and 'economic perspectives'. His 'national' case may be reduced to a straightforward assertion of the duty of Greeks to cultivate a precious inheritance that, like their language, has developed organically from their glorious past, [59] while the 'economic' one consists of a somewhat disjointed series of complaints about the difficulty of keeping keyboard instruments in tune in Mediterranean climes and the relative poverty of modern Greek Orthodox cantors, who are nevertheless cheaper to employ than polyphonic choirs.

[57] Although the bibliographic study of Hadzitheodorou includes 'Byzantine ecclesiastical music' in its title and its author refers to 'Byzantine music' throughout, its first entry bearing a title mentioning 'Byzantine music' was published in 1899 (Hadzitheodorou 1998, 210–11). The English convert to Greek Orthodoxy and priest Stephen G. Hatherly produced publications on 'Byzantine music' during the 1890s, but scholars outside Greece began to use the term with some regularity during the first decade of the twentieth century, usually in the narrow chronological sense of referring to music prior to the fall of the Byzantine Empire in 1453. Having come into common use also in Greek, in that language 'Byzantine music' encompasses the entire history of Greek Orthodox liturgical chant but is usually understood as referring to its received forms. On this difference in usage, see Velimirović 1968, 341–2.

[58] 'ΤΟ ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑ – Ἀδύνατος ἡ Ἀντικατάστασις τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἡμῶν Μουσικῆς διὰ τῆς Εὐρωπαϊκῆς Τετραφωνίας' (Papadopoulos 1890, 496–538).

[59] Noteworthy is a citation of Adamantios Koraes, who asserts that contemporary church music exhibits the same relationship to its forbears as the modern Greek tongue does to the language of Plato and Demosthenes (Papadopoulos 1890, 514).

It is in the 'technical' section that Papadopoulos comes closest to arguing that Greek ecclesiastical music is an art tradition that is equal if not superior to modern European art music due to the comparative sophistication of its melodic idiom. After noting the multiplicity of modes, genera, and microtonal inflections found in the chant of the New Method, Papadopoulos concludes that 'just as newer European languages are inferior to Greek in richness and variety of syntax and grammatical types, so too is European music inferior to Greek [ecclesiastical music] in its richness and variety of melodies'.[60] Curiously, it is in the course of making his 'religious' arguments that Papadopoulos provides his largest list of composers from the canon of European art music, whose technical mastery he does not deny.[61] Instead, he invalidates their musical achievements, even in sacred works, by assigning them to the secular realm of the theatre and conservatoire in which the primary aim is delight of the senses. Recycling oppositions in patristic literature between pagan music and Christian psalmody, Papadopoulos contrasts Western Christendom with Orthodoxy, in which ecclesiastical singing, that he has already established as being identical in its essentials to that of the Church Fathers, engenders prayer and compunction.

Conclusion

We have seen how the process of canonising Byzantine chant as a modern form of art music with deep historical roots began with Chrysanthos of Madytos, who in his *Great theory of music* set inherited understandings of continuity in Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical chanting

[60] Papadopoulos 1890, 509. He devotes a significant part of his 'technical' section to responding to the writing on Greek ecclesiastical chant of Louis-Albert Bourgault-Ducoudray, a French composer and musicologist who had sampled living traditions of Greek secular and sacred music during visits to the eastern Mediterranean in 1874 and 1875. Bourgault-Ducoudray is perhaps best known to scholars of modern Greece for his landmark 1876 edition of Greek folk and popular songs set for solo voice and piano (*Trente melodies populaires de Grèce et d'Orient)*, which includes a lengthy prologue intended to demonstrate the survival of ancient scales in Greek secular song. His approach to Greek liturgical music was similar, but his belief that its systems contained more foreign elements than folk song, as well as his interest in arranging chants for mixed chorus, provoked a decidedly mixed reaction from Papadopoulos (1890, 505–6). See Baud-Bovy 1982, 153–63; and Vlagopoulos 2016, 54–9.

[61] This embraces Palestrina, Cimarosa, Haydn, Handel, J. S. Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Rameau, Méhul, Weber, Rossini, Verdi and Wagner, each of whom is provided with a brief biographical note (Papadopoulos 1890, 526–28).

within an intellectual framework indebted to Enlightenment Neo-Hellenism. Like Chrysanthos, the authors of the patriarchal encyclicals of 1846 and the prefatory essays to the *Pandekte* and *Musical library* believed strongly in the essential Greekness of the received traditions of ecclesiastical chanting transmitted with the aid of his New Method. They also perceived their core repertories to be artefacts of primordial Christianity, with melodies equal in venerability to the scriptural and patristic texts they set. Ottoman and European music were understood as parallel offshoots of ancient Greek traditions to be admired mainly for their technical or aesthetic achievements in the 'external' realm of secular music, to which Papadopoulos later assigned Western composers from Palestrina to Wagner.

It was the sacred duty of cantors, according to the editors of the *Pandekte*, to keep 'one of the most essential sacred traditions of the Church, unadulterated and free of innovation'. Attempting to do so, patriarchal cantors initiated publishing projects in 1850 and 1868 to delineate a canon of sacred music that they believed to be 'more ancient and pure' than those possessed by non-Orthodox Christians. Papadopoulos greatly elaborated this opposition between musical and spiritual Orthodoxy and heterodoxy in his 1890 history 'of our ecclesiastical music', arguing that what some of his contemporaries had begun to call 'Byzantine music' was of ancient Greek provenance and superior not only in religious terms, but in some respects also technically, to European art music. Strongly anti-Western versions of this argument may still be found today in Greek Orthodox confessional literature and the writings of some traditionalist cantors, while in recent years the cultural and academic mainstream in Greece has largely accepted the notion of Byzantine chant as an indigenous art tradition of music closely tied to Greek folk music and comparable in value to European classical music.

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