

THE INFLUENCE OF THE HRYSA NTIC REFORM ON THE RELIGIOUS CHURCH MUSIC IN TRANSYLVANIA

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SUMMARY. The melodic modal byzantine structures present in the manuscripts which circulated on our country's territory can be found in the contents of the autochthon musical variant pointed in linear notation by priest Dimitrie Cuțanu. In Transylvania, before the 1814 hrysantic reform, two styles of church chants were performed, founded on the Romanized paper of Filothei sin Agăi Jipei, and one autochthon, composed by blending the Byzantine melos with folk, cult and religious music. Post reform, the same stylistic duality was maintained, the Romanized chants by the new system were performed, only in some monastic centers, next to the Cuțanu variant. Even though the new type of Romanized music was not enforced, it became the basis of a local musical style in Byzantine melos. The presence of Byzantine music in Transylvania, by books and church singers, had a definitive role, influencing in a decisive manner the modal system, the melodic lines and the rhythmic formula in the Cuțanu collection.

Keywords: hrysantic reform, church/religious chants/music, the *cuțanu* variant, Byzantine music.

The religious music in Transylvania had, in time, an essential part in maintaining unity at a linguistic, cultural, traditional and spiritual level of the Romanians in the area. From the research made by the musicologists and the Byzantiologists² who studied the religious music in Transylvania, a fact

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² Ioan Popescu, „Elemente bisericești tradiționale in opera muzicală a lui Dimitrie Cuțanu/ Traditional church Elements in the Musical Work of Dimitrie Cuntanu”, in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română*, (1976), 9-12, p. 1053-1062; Vasile Stanciu, *Muzica bisericească ortodoxă din Transilvania/ Religious Orthodox Music in Transylvania*, Editura Presa Universitară, Cluj-Napoca, 1996; Elena Chircev, *Muzica româneasca de tradiție bizantină între neume și portativ (Romanian Music of Byzantine Tradition between Neune and the Stave)*, volumul al II-lea, Editura Risoprint, Cluj-Napoca, 2013; Gheorghe Ciobanu, „Muzica bisericească la români/ The Romanian Church Music”, in: *BOR*, București, (1972), 1-2, p. 162-195; Vasile Sorin Dobre,

comes through. The variant written and published by Dimitrie Cunțanu in 1890 is nothing else but a musical monument of local tradition which circulated for many centuries in an oral formula. This indigenous musical tradition grew along the introduction of psaltic music, after the 1814 hrysantic reform, in Moldova and Țara Românească, by blending the Byzantine modal basis with the Romanian psaltic and the oral indigenous variants. This is why, in its oral form, the Transylvanian variant was greatly influenced by psaltic music, folk music, cult music and the other cohabiting cults' music. Therefore, after many centuries, from this crossing of musical lines, the most familiar autochthonous variant ever written in linear note appeared, bearing the general name of the Cunțanu variant.

Starting from these factual statements, in the present paper, we shall be referring to the situation of the church/religious music in Transylvania, before and after the hrysantic reform. Moreover, we will follow, in Cunțanu paper's contents, whether we can identify similar melodic structures to the Romanized chants variants.

Church music centers that promoted Byzantine music before the hrysantic reform

Before the hrysantic reform, in Transylvania there were multiple monastic centers where Byzantine music was studied, music manuscripts were copied, and, in oral form, many musical variants were spread. Being so diverse and heterogeneous, the Transylvanian religious music became an indigenous variant, specific to central Transylvania. This occurred by diatonizing the Byzantine modes and by folk and cult music's influence. This is mentioned by Gheorghe Ciobanu when he states that:

"the pillars of the old postmedieval music, sometimes even medieval, remained firm, despite the diversity. The conclusion that can be drawn is that the religious music in Transylvania and Banat became one with psaltic music, until the first half of the 18th century. This union can be explained by the language and faith's unity, by direct communication in different provinces, and by the prints that, from the beginning of the 16th century, were circulating among Romanians alike".³

Muzica bisericească tradițională în zona Sibiului-studiu monografic (Traditional Religious Music in Sibiu Area- a Monographic Study), teză de doctorat susținută în cadrul Facultății de Teologie Ortodoxă din Cluj-Napoca, 2007.

³ Ciobanu, Gheorghe, „Muzica bisericească la români. I Origine. Vechime (Church/Religious Music in Romania. I. Origin. Antiquity)”, in: *Studii de etnomuzicologie și bizantinologie (Ethnomusicology and Byzantine Studies)*, vol. I, Editura Muzicală a Uniunii Compozitorilor, București, 1974, p. 329-402.

The cultural and religious connection, between Transylvania and the other Romanian provinces, was kept alive through the ongoing exchange of religious books, typed in Țara Românească and Moldova and distributed by monarchs, believers/faithful, merchants and men of letters to the locals.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, the monasteries in Transylvania were visited by monks from Țara Românească and Moldova. It is almost certain that, among these, there were some who knew the psaltic craft and in their pilgrimages they shared them with the people in Transylvania.⁴

From these particular monasteries, in the 17th to the 19th century, the Orthodox faith and the Byzantine musical tradition, started to spread. To be more thorough, in Transylvania, the religious chanting grew around monastic schools such as: Bălgrad, Prislop, Sâmbăta de Sus, Moisei, Peri, Vad, Hodoș-Bodrog, Șemlacul Mic, Srediștea Mică, Caransebeș, Scorei, Apșa, Budești, Giulești, dar și la bisericile din Streisângeorgiu, Feleac. It was here the first exercises of Byzantine notation paralaghia took place, accompanied by the cultural-spiritual activities.⁵

The religious Orthodox chant was a binding element of the spiritual life and church unity. Therefore, beginning with the abolition of monastic schools, the music started to fade away, multiple foreigner elements changing its Byzantine spirit.⁶

The religious music was, together with reading, writing and catechism, a constant concern of those who went to vocational and middle schools in Transylvania. But, the lack of proper teachers in Byzantine music, led in time

⁴ Petru Gherman, „Muzica bisericească din Ardeal (Church Music from Ardeal)”, in: *Omagiu I.P.S.S. Dr. Nicolae Bălan*, Sibiu, 1940, p. 426-437; Elena Maria Șorban, „L'édication musicale dans la Transylvanie Médiévale”, in: *Studia UBB Musica*, LXII, 2, 2016, p. 33-47.

⁵ Ioan G. Popescu, „Învățământul muzical in BOR, de la inceputuri până in secolul al XVIII-lea inclusiv” („Musical Education in BOR, from the beginning to the eighteenth century, including”), in: *BOR*, (1969), 9-10, p. 1027-1061. About religious musical education in Romanians, see also: Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria învățământului românesc (The History of Romanian Education)*, Ed. Casei Școlilor, București, 1928, p. 15; C. I. Andreescu, *Evoluția învățământului in Moldova (The Evolution Of Education in Moldova)*, Iași, 1935, p. 3; *Istoria învățământului din România (The History of Education in Romania)*, (coordonator Ștefan Popescu), Vol. I, EDP, București, 1983, p. 40; Nicu Moldoveanu, „Învățământul muzical bisericesc la români, până la organizarea Seminarilor Teologice (“Church Music Education in Romanians, up to the Organization of Theological Seminars”), in: *Anuarul Facultății de Teologie Ortodoxă București (The Faculty of Theological Orthodox Faculty in Bucharest Yearbook)*, 1936, Ed. Universitară, București, 2002, p. 325-359. About the musical component of Romanian church education in Transylvania, historical detailing see Vasile Stanciu, *Muzica bisericească ortodoxă din Transilvania (The Orthodox Church Music in Transylvania)*, pp. 16-19. Also father Vasile Stanciu remembers the music schools of the Transylvanian denominational, namely Calvinic (in Sighisoara, Caransebeș, Hațeg and Turda) and Catholic (in Oradea and Alba-Iulia), in prozelitist competition, p. 20-27.

⁶ Ioan G. Popescu, „Învățământul muzical...” (“Musical Education ...”), p. 1053.

to its alteration and its mixture with melodic structures from other musical styles. To preserve and reestablish the Byzantine music's ethos in the region, before the hrysantic reform, key personalities in Romanian musical culture, came to help. Educated in Țara Românească, in an authentic musical spirit, these great teachers contributed to the conservation of the Byzantine musical strata in Transylvania. Among these teachers, whom we received some short information from, some stood out: Bucur Grămăticul de la Sâmbăta de Sus, Ioan Duma din Brașov și Naum Râmnicianul.

These teachers' action can be summarized by their effort in returning and stabilizing the religious music in its Byzantine origin. By Constantin Brancoveanu's financial support, many Transylvanian young men would cross the mountains to enroll in the courses of the Byzantine Music School in Țara Românească, and after learning the trade, they would return to share with people the theoretical and practical knowledge acquired.

The first teacher, of whom we know very few information about, was Bucur Grămăticul. He was educated in Constantin Brancoveanu's psaltic school in Țara Românească and did his work at Sâmbăta de Sus Monastery. Starting from a few suppositions made by the Romanian musicologists⁷, at Sâmbăta de Sus Monastery, during his activity (1704), they sung Romanized Byzantine music of the Filothei sin Agăi Jipa's genius.

The Saint Nicolas Church in Brașov in the historic district of Șchei, can be considered a pillar of Byzantine music, in a Romanian space located at the crossing of many religious cultures, believes and politics. The propedeutical beginnings of the Byzantine music art can be traced back in the 15th century, in 1495, when the old Romanian school came into being.⁸

The first teachers in Byzantine music in this school were Radu and Gheorghe Grămăticul, 1480-1492.⁹ The series of teachers would continue, and in 1570, Oprea Diacul is mentioned. He can be found in an entry as "great teacher of apprentices who teach psalm reading and psalt".¹⁰

In Brașov, between 1759-1775, Ioan sin Radului Duma Brașoveanu (†10 decembrie 1776)¹¹ was a teacher and aisle singer and in 1751 he would write *The Romanian Psalmbook/ Psaltichia rumânească* (BAR, ms. rom.

⁷ Ioan G. Popescu, „Învățământul muzical...” (‘Musical Education...’), p. 1050; Ștefan Meteș, „Școlile de muzică și cântare bisericească din Iași (1558) și București (1711-1823) și Românii din Transilvania” (‘The Religious Music and Singing in Iași (1558) and Bucharest (1711-1823) and the Romanians from Transylvania’), in: *MA*, X (1965), 7-8, p. 514-515.

⁸ N. Albu, *Istoria învățământului românesc în Transilvania (The History of Romanian Education)*, Blaj, 1944, p. 7-8.

⁹ N. Albu, *Istoria învățământului (The History of Romanian Education ...)*, p. 23.

¹⁰ idem, p. 24.

¹¹ Sebastian Barbu-Bucur, „Ioan sin Radului Duma Brașoveanu”, in: *Studii de Muzicologie/ Studies of Musicology*, vol X, București, Editura Muzicală, 1974, p. 161-173.

4305), copying Filotheie sin Agăi Jipa's paper. This stands as proof that, in the Church in Braşov in the historic district of Şchei, the same Romanized Byzantine music was sung during the time of Ioan Grigore Ghica Voievod and Neofit Cretanul Metropolitan (1683-1754).¹²

Ioan sin Radului Duma Braşoveanu finished his musical education in Tara Romanesca, in Şărbăni's School, the Preceptor of the Royal Church in Bucharest, where he studied the Romanized Byzantine version of Filothei sin Aga Jipa.

Starting from *The Romanian Psalmbook's* manuscript contents, we can state that "the religious music in Constantin Brancoveanu's time was used and preserved by his followers, until the half of the 18th century. Ioan Duma, who returned in Braşov, as a music teacher, is believed to have promoted the same music in Constantin Brancoveanu's spirit, which was previously promoted by Bucur Grămăticul in Sâmbăta de Sus".¹³

Another leading figure, of Byzantine music life in Transylvania, was Naum Râmnicăeanul. He was preoccupied not only with the historical, theological and philosophical papers, but also with religious music. Therefore, he wrote an important paper called *The psalmbook, the art/craft of religious key singing* (Ms. rom. gr. 3210). Constantin Erbiceanu said about the paper that "it is of greatest value for the singers and contemporary literate people, who would apprehend the study of religious music in our country. It is a grammar or a theoretical book in Romanian, which preserved the value of the old psaltic notes."¹⁴

Naum's activity is very important for the Transylvanian space because, in 1788, he resides in Hodoş-Bodrog Monastery, then in Lipova (in 1789) and Căniţa, Căniţa village in Caraş-Severin (in 1794), where he would teach Greek and religious music. From Naum Râmnicăeanul's manuscript contents we can conclude that in the Banat area, in the second half of the 18th century, the chants of Filothei sin Agăi Jipa, were sang in Greek and Romanian.

Before the hrysantic reform's implementation in Transylvania, from our information, we can state that, in a few church centers, the religious music was of Byzantine origin, Romanized by Filothei sin Aga Jipa. By lack of documentation we cannot firmly say where exactly this Romanized Byzantine music was sung.

¹² Ioan G. Popescu, „Învăţământul muzical...”/”Musical Education...”, p. 1053.

¹³ Idem.

¹⁴ Constantin Erbiceanu, „Viaţa şi scrierile Protosinghelului Naum Râmnicăeanu (The Life and writings of Naum Râmnicăeanu Protosinghel)”, in: *BOR XIII* (1884), 10-12, p. 657-676; *BOR XIV* (1890), nr. 2, p. 121-146; nr. 3, p. 248-263.

We can just assume that the psalm singers taught by the above mentioned teachers activated in different parishes in the region, disseminating and teaching the others the Byzantine music. The musicologist Constantin Catrina stated, about the area the Byzantine music that:

“Braşov, as well as all the South of Transylvania, including the orthodox churches in the interior curvature of the Southern Carpathians (Covasna and Harghita) would always resonate with the psaltic music in Ţara Românească and Moldova, especially that practiced in Bucharest. The book and education, the people or men of God would, in their turn, build as many bridges with the unique vein of the Romanian Orthodox Church chants, and to be more specific with the Byzantine musical tradition”.¹⁵

This was the Byzantine music's situation in Transylvania before the hrysantic reform. After this historical moment, with various implications in the Byzantine music development, in the Transylvanian space we can enumerate a few attempts to relocate the religious music in its original matrix.

After only a few years since the reform, the historian George Bariţiu, analyzing the religious music in Transylvania, stated that:

“[...] in Ardeal some sing in Moldavian spirit and some of Muntanian spirit, and the people in Ardeal do not know that for more than a 100 years or more, since they cannot hear someone from Moldova or Muntenia, both received among old chants a lot of so called archaic manele, borrowed from the Muslim imams, which they altered too much in their religious chants”¹⁶.

”Following the discussed influences, until only recently we had two types of chants: one Greek or educated, which could be called noble (in the boyars' style) and one Slavic or young or uneducated. The educated chant that had come from Constantinople would soon degenerate and mix with manele and Turkish taxămuri that could be

¹⁵ Constantin Catrina, „Şcoala de muzică bizantină din Şcheii Braşovului. Creaţie şi interpretare (Byzantine Music School in the Braşov district of Şchei. Creation and interpretation)”, in: *Lucrări de muzicologie*, AMGD, nr. XXVII, nr. 1, 2012, p. 15-46.

¹⁶ George Bariţiu, „Musica la noi/ Music in our country”, in: *Călimdarius pentru poporul român cu privire la mai multe cerinţe ale anului normal 1855 (Calendar for the Romanian People Regarding Several Requirements of the Normal Year 1855)*, întocmit de George Bariţiu, Braşov, anul XIV, în tipografia prevăzătura lui Römer şi Kammer, p. 38-43.

head during walks in the Bosphorus and Turkish delights. The Slavic song could be interpreted as youthful, as it has only to reach the lower classes and let the lords of Constantinople's psalmbook be... This music, of Slavic origin, is used by the Romanians in Banat and Transylvania who do not follow the psalmbook".¹⁷

Ignoring the differences that the historian George Barițiu does in the singing styles, it is certain that in Transylvania, there was not a cohesive singing style. The Byzantine music, strongly influenced by the other musical styles, adopted a unique structure.

These realities, noticed even by the historian Barițiu, would determine the development of a musical reform made by Andrei Șaguna Metropolitan, which would lead to a shaping of a local tradition, in parallel with a transition to a new system of neumatic notation.

Church Musical Centers Promoting the Hrysantic Reform

The religious music in Transylvania, which had developed in a multiethnic community environment, develops multiple local valences, adapted to the ethos and local features. The religious music situation changes drastically after the Union Act, in 1701, when the orthodox believers are forced to recognize the Roman-Catholic Church's authority.¹⁸ The broken connection to the Romanian Counties and the isolation from the rest of orthodox believers, the destruction of monasteries and religious chants schools had, as a consequence, in a musical sense, the emergence of some variants based on oral tradition¹⁹ and crystalized around the main cultural

¹⁷ George Barițiu, „Musica la noi (Music in our country)", in: *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, (1881), 8, p. 3.

¹⁸ Mircea Păcurariu, *Istoria Bisericii Ortodoxe Române (History of the Romanian Orthodox Church)*, vol III, EIBMBOR, București, 1981, p. 309.

¹⁹ For the influence of the orality on the church music in Transylvania, see the work signed by the: Vasile Grăjdian, Sorin Dobre, *Cântăreți bisericești din Ardeal (Chant singers from Transylvania)*, vol. I, Sibiu, 2003; Vasile Grăjdian, *Oralitatea cântării bisericești din Ardeal (The Orality of the Church Chant in Ardeal)*, Sibiu, 2004; Stelian Ionașcu, „Intersections of Arts. Structural and language analogies", in: *Studia UBB Musica*, LXIII, 2, 2018, p. 143-164.

centers of the provinces that were under Austro-Hungarian dominance: Banat²⁰, Arad²¹, Oradea²², Blaj²³, Sibiu²⁴.

Apart from emergence of these local musical variants, in Transylvania, there was a strong religious center, where they tried to reconnect the church music on its authentic modal structures. The religious music school, which ran along the Church in Braşov in the historic district of Şchei, was the one whom would bring the reform of psaltic music and would impose it locally and in Transylvania.

In the process of introducing the New Method measurement, in the development of the musical education in Braşov, a key part was played by Anton Pann. The relationships between him and Saint Nicolas Church in Braşov will be built in three parts, when the preceptor stayed in the citadel. In

²⁰ *Sentinelă Cântărilor Bisericeşti Române (The Sentinel of the Romanian Church Songs)*, pusă pe note de Terentius Bugariu, Temesvar, 1908; *Cele opt glasuri bisericeşti aranjate pe note liniare după vechile melodii utilizate în Banat și Crişana (The Eight Church Tones Arranged on Linear Notes after the Old Songs used in Banat and Crişana)*, de Atanasie Lipovan, Arad, 1926¹, 1936²; *Cântări bisericeşti. Răspunsurile la Sfânta Liturghie, Irmoase, Pricese și alte cântări de peste an, Cele opt glasuri (Church songs. The answers to the Holy Liturgy, Hirmos, Pricese and Other Songs of the Year, The eight Tones)*, scrise pe note de Nicolae Fîru, Timișoara, 1943; Prof. Dimitrie Cuşma, preot Ioan Teodorovici, prof. Gheorghe Dobreanu, *Cântări bisericeşti (Vecernia, Utrenia și Sfânta Liturghie) (Church Songs (Vesper, Matin and Holy Liturgy))*, Ed. Mitropoliei Banatului, Timișoara, 1980.

²¹ Strana. Colecție de cântări bisericeşti pentru strană pe cele opt glasuri (adică Anastasimatarul) (Collection of Church Songs for the Gathering on the Eight Tones) (i.e. Anastasimatarion), aranjate pe note de Trifon Lugojan, Arad, 1905¹, 1907², 1927³; *Cele Opt Glasuri după Episcopul Ioan Papp (The Eight Tones by Bishop Ioan Papp)* aranjate pe note de Trifon Lugojan, Arad, 1912¹, 1939²; *Cele opt glasuri la Utrenie/ The Eight Tones at Matin* aranjate pe note de Trifon Lugojan, Arad, 1927.

²² *Cântări bisericeşti pe cele opt versuri ale bisericii orientale, prescise pentru Dieceza română unită de Oradea (Church chants on the eight tones of the Oriental Church, prescribed for the diocese Romanian United by Oradea)*, Partea I. Vecernia, Partea a II-a. Utrenia, Oradea, 1928.

²³ *Cele opt versuri bisericeşti în felul cum se cântă la Blaj, (Vecernia vol. I și Mânecatul sau Utrenia vol. II)* scrise pe note liniare de Celestin Cherebețiu (The eight church tones in the way they play in Blaj), (Vesper vol. I and Matin vol II) written on linear notes by Celestin Cherebețiu, Cluj, 1930.

²⁴ *Cântările bisericesti după melodiile celor opt glasuri ale Sfintei Biserici Ortodoxe (The Church Songs After the Melodies of the Eight Tones of the Holy Orthodox Church)*, culese, puse pe note și arangeate de Dimitrie Cunțanu, profesor la Seminarul „Andreian” Archidieceșan, Sibiu, Editura autorului, Viena, 1890. 1925², 1932³. Ediția a III-a din autorisația bisericii îngrijită de Timotei Popovici, preot, profesor de musică la Școala normală Andreiu Șaguna și dir[ijorul] Corului Mitropoliei, Institutul de Arte grafice Krafft & Drotleff S. A., Sibiu, 1932.

1821²⁵, during Tudor Vladimirescu's revolution, in 1828²⁶, when he was the lead singer of the great church in the Șchei and in 1850, when, in Iosif Barac' house, a merchant in Brașov, he would decide to care for the musical training of a few young locals.²⁷ As a trainer and a sustainer of the religious music in Brașov, in the district of Șchei, Anton Pann would recommend on multiple occasions, singers who would be present in the pew and at the psaltic music courses in gymnasium. Therefore, in 1851, he recommends his student Gheorghe Ionescu, who had a clear assignment from his teacher, "to sing the students small chants from the Holly Mass and to sing chants build by craft, and not by practice, but only Romanian, without any use of a Greek word".²⁸ Because the psalm singers who came from the Kingdom were not firm and the tradition of psaltic music had no continuity, at the request of the archpriest Ioan Popescu, in 1950, Pann would assume the part in solving the situation.

This is why, being directly interested in promoting and sustaining the psaltic music in Brașov, he would care for George Ucenescu²⁹, whom he would bring to Bucharest, and whom he sent back, after two years of apprenticeship, with a certificate.³⁰

Before the arrival of George Ucenescu, as a psaltic teacher, the craft of church singing was taught by Hieromonk Varlaam Barancesu, from the Sinai Monastery and rooted in Brașov. For ten years he would sing in the right pew of Saint Nicolas Church and would teach psaltic music classes in the parish.³¹

²⁵ Constantin Mateescu, *Drumurile lui Anton Pann (The Roads of Anton Pann)*, Editura Sport-Turism, București, 1981, p. 56.

²⁶ Anton Pann, *Cântece de lume/ Songs of the World*, transcrie din psaltică în notație modernă, cu un studiu introductiv de Gh. Ciobanu, Editura de Stat pentru Literatură și Artă, București, 1955, p. 14.

²⁷ Vasile Oltean, „Al treilea popas al lui Anton Pann la Brașov (The Third Stop of Anton Pann in Brașov)”, in: *Astra*, (1974), 2, p. 11.

²⁸ *Acte, documente și scrisori din Șcheii Brașovului (Papers, documents and letters from the district of Șchei in Brașov)*, text ales și stabilit, note de Vasile Oltean, prefață de Alexandru Duțu, Editura Minerva, București, 1980, p. 224.

²⁹ Maria Petruța Coroiu, „Gheorghe Ucenescu – The Great Religious Singer from Scheii Brașovului and his Cultural Legacy”, in: *Studia UBB Musica*, LXII, 2, 2016, p. 163-169.

³⁰ *Acte, documente... (Papers, documents...)*, p. 230.

³¹ Sebastian Barbu-Bucur, *Școala de psaltichie din Buzău (School of Psalms in Buzău)*, Teză de Licență, București, 1957; Gabriel Cocora, „Protosinghelul Varlaam. Contribuții la istoria muzicii bisericești (Protosinghelul Varlaam. Contributions to the History of Church Music)”, in: *Glasul Bisericii*, București, (1982), 11-12, p. 883-915; Vasile Stanciu, *Muzica bisericească/ Orthodox Church Music*, p. 66-68; George Ionescu C., *Muzica bizantină în România. Dicționar cronologic (Byzantine Music in Romania. Chronological Dictionary)*, București, Edit. Sagittarius, 2003, p. 130-131.

To continue the psaltic musical tradition in this part of the country, the parish committee of the Church in the Șchei, at Pann's suggestion, hired George Ucenescu. Accompanied by a certificate and a recommendation from Pann, Ucenescu would enterprise, for more than a decade (1854-1865), a large education campaign to promote and instruct in the art and craft of psaltic music. So, he would be an instructor of religious music at the Normal School and the new Romanian Gymnasium.³² The results of Ucenescu's work would not linger. Between 1862 and 1863 "the psalmbook was proposed by Gh. Ucenescu to 120 gymnasium and normal students, who had the voice to join. We take notice that 50 students in two years made such a progress that are capable of reading and sing alone by the notes and psaltic signs, all the songs".³³

Along with the contractual obligations that Ucenescu had and that regarded his position as religious music instructor, he had to also teach at the Private Psaltic School, functioning in the Saint Nicolas Church that had as an aim, the training of the youngsters in the art of religious music. Among the students coming to this school and who learned the principles of the New Method were young men from Brașov, Sibiu, Făgăraș, Săcele, Ghimbav, Stupini. Due to Ucenescu's efforts, his disciples would disseminate, in a few Transylvanian parishes, the psaltic music and its afferent musical repertoire. Ucenescu's manuscris, *Tractatu teretico-practicu de musica eclesiastica gr. orientală*³⁴ / *The Theoretical-Practical Treaty of Greek Oriental Ecclesiastical Music*, by which psaltic music was taught. This has two parts: one expositive, where we find the introductory notions, and a theoretical one, where the church modes are explained and the way to execute them, accompanied by a few practical exercises.

With Anton Pann's *Theoretical Basis*, Ucenescu's manuscript was used as a teaching textbook. Moreover, in the manuscript's content we can find some religious church chants from Hieromonk Macarie and Anton Pann and chants from the Holly Mass in tones I, IV, V, VIII. From these, a part of chants, especially the answers to tone V, by Anton Pann, would be taken over by Cuntanu's collection. This fact stands as a proof of the Holly Mass psaltic chants circulation, in the churches in Transylvania.³⁵

³² *A cincea programă pe anul școlastic 1864 (Fifth syllabus for the 1864 school year)*, Brașov, 1864, p. 51.

³³ *A patra programă pe anul școlastic 1862-1863 (Fourth syllabus for the school year 1862-1863)*, Brașov, 1863, p. 51.

³⁴ Gh. Alexe, „Un prețios manuscris psaltic: «Tractatu teoretico practic de musica eclesiastica gr. orientală» (A precious psaltic manuscript: «Practical theoretical treaty of ecclesiastical music gr. oriental » de George Ucenescu), in: *Mitropolia Olteniei*, VIII (1956), 10-12, p. 688-695.

³⁵ Ioan G. Popescu, „Învățământul muzical...” (“Musical Education...”), p. 1059.

The rise of choir organizations, in the orthodox churches in Transylvania, had, as a consequence, the development of a linear dominant musical culture, in the expense of the psaltic musical culture. Therefore, the choir reunions in Braşov in 1846, Oradea 1847, Sibiu 1850, comes as a prequel to the legislation given by A.I. Cuza in 1865, which would replace the psaltic music with the linear vocal music.³⁶

Delighted by the possibility to form choir unions, therefore aligning to the western current, the intellectuals in Braşov would pressure the management of the School Eforia, to introduce Vocal Music as a school subject in the curriculum. This request was supported by the parish's committee of Saint Nicolas Church, mentioning that the new subject "would assure vocal music in our gymnasium; there would always be a choir in church and we could help 15 students every year, to continue their gymnasium studies".³⁷

This state would result in 1865, in the replacement of psaltic music with vocal or linear music, and the psaltic music learning system supported by George Ucenescu would come to an end, resulting in his ability to only sporadically teach in primary school.³⁸

Contemporary to this transformation occurring in the religious music system in the citadel of Braşov, but also very aware of the situation in Transylvania, Ucenescu's notes can be interpreted as a radiography and prognosis for the psaltic music in the area,

"excluding Religious Music from school and starting a musical choir teacher, I was left outside the school, and remained only in my pew. And only to be known that, our ancient Church had its chants based on the psaltic art, as the Greeks; but after my death, I believe that no one will be singing in oriental notes , but will each sing randomly (without any rule), 22nd September 1889 Braşov, George Ucenescu, Psalm singer".³⁹

³⁶ Vasile Grăjdian, „Legislația lui A.I. Cuza și evoluția cântării bisericești (The legislation of A.I. Cuza and the church singing evolution)", in: *SCIA*, București, Tomul 40, 1993, p. 13-17; Gavriil Galinescu „Considerațiuni generale asupra muzicii bisericești orientale și muzicii corale (General considerations on Eastern church music and choral music)", in: *Cultura*, București, (1931), 1-2, p. 4-7.

³⁷ Constantin Catrina, „Despre vechimea corului Bisericii Sfântul Nicolae din Șcheii Braşovului (About the old age of the choir of St. Nicholas Church in Șcheii Braşovului)", in: *Telegraful român*, Sibiu, (1992), 27-30, p. 7.

³⁸ Constantin Catrina, „Despre câteva repere privind învățământul muzical de tradiție bizantină din Șcheii Braşovului (About some benchmarks regarding Byzantine tradition music education in Șcheii Braşovului)", in: *Ipostaze ale muzicii de tradiție bizantină din România/ Hypotheses of Byzantine Tradition Music in Romania*, Editura Muzicală, București, 2003, p. 12-19.

³⁹ *Acte, documente (Papers, documents...)*, p. 35.

The destinies of music in the schools of Braşov, after the first half of the 19th century, would be led by the teachers: Ciprian Porumbescu, Gheorghe Dima, Iacob Mureşianu, Timotei Popovici. The music teaching methods, especially the eastern music, hiring new teachers, led to the replacement of psaltic music with the linear music. Because of their academic training, the Romanian Gymnasium teachers would insist only on linear music, promoting in their religious creations autochthonous melodic church variants, partially consigned by Dimitrie Cuntanu.

Although there was a psaltic music centre, we still have to tackle the problem of psaltic notation books' distribution in the parish libraries. Why were these types of books missing from Transylvania? In spite of George Ucenescu's efforts in Braşov, the hrysantic reform of 1814 remained an unknown territory⁴⁰. Among the books present in the metropolitan library in Sibiu, and especially in religious music professor's Moise Fulea (1787-1863) library, who was the person in charge of disseminating Hieromonk Macarie's books, in Ardeal, we cannot find a psaltic music book title.⁴¹

Anyway, by researching the lists of subscribers of Anton Pann's typed books, we could notice a few priests' names, deacons, teachers and students in Braşov, who were the papers' beneficiaries.

Privighier care cuprinde în sine toată orînduiala Privegherii sau a Mînecării./ Wakebook, which Comprises the Entire Organization of a Wake and Rising? Translator, editor and typist: Anton Pann, Bucharest, 1848, we should count His Holiness Father Varlaam the church singer of the Great Church of Şchei, Braşov with two pieces.

Irmologhiu Catavasier în care se cuprind catavasiile sărbătorilor dumnezeieşti, asemănîndele glasurilor şi 21 Doxologii./ Chantsbook of Hirmos and Katavasias, which Comprises the Holly Feast Katavasias, Asemănîndele of the tones and the 21 Doxologies Translator, editor and typist: Anton Pann, Bucharest, 1854, For His Grace the Archpriest of Braşov, His Lor Lordship Ioann Papazul, the Honorific Deacon Iosif Barac and Gergie Ucenescu, first finger of the Great Romanin-Orthodox Church in Şchei.

Noul anastasimatar tradus şi compus după sistema cea veche a serdarului Dionisie Fotino/ The New Anastasimatarion Translated

⁴⁰ Gheorghe Ciobanu, „Muzica bisericească la români (Religious Music in Romania)”, in: *BOR*, Bucureşti, (1972), 1-2, p. 162-195.

⁴¹ Zoe Stoicescu-Apostolache, Ana Grama, „Consideraţii asupra bibliotecii lui Moise Fulea din prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea (Considerations on the Library of Moise Fulea from the first half of the 19th century)”, in: *Revista Muzeelor şi Monumentelor*, Bucureşti, (1989) 2, p. 88-90.

and Composed by the Old Method of Dionisie Fotino, Commander of Troops, Translator, editor and typist: Anton Pann, Bucharest, 1854, For His Grace the Archpriest of Braşov, D.D. Ioann Papazul, the Honorific Protodeacon of the Great Romanian-Orthodox Church in Şchei, D.D. Iosif Barac; D. Georgie Ucenescu Teacher and First Chant singer at the Great Romanian-Orthodox Church in Şchei; D. Dimitrie Lupan, the singer of the chapel in the Citadel of Braşov; the Student D. Nicolae Pop from Gimnav; the Student D. Ioan Negut.

Bazul teoretic/The Theoretical Basis. Translator, editor and typist: Anton Pann, in his own typography, Bucharest, 1845-1846, for His Holiness Father Varlaam, Hierodeacon Chantsinger in Braşov, Şchei District.

The rooting, in linear notation, of a local variant and its imposition in the Metropolitan Church of Transylvania

Once Andrei Şaguna was named bishop of the Greek-Orthodox Romanians in Transylvania and Banat, religious music situation in the region became a permanent concern in the metropolitan's activity. His pastoral, missionary and educational actions came to be through an entire series of reforms that led to the establishment of a unitary musical repertoire and an academic becoming of an autochthonous musical tradition. His pastoral, missionary and educational actions came forth by an entire series of reforms which brought about the establishment of a more unite repertoire and the academic contouring of an autochthonous musical tradition.

Among his reforms, which aimed at the religious music, we notice the introduction, in the 10th August 1854, of the need to study "church chants in all the six levels of primary school".⁴² For elementary schools, Şaguna establish "to study reading not only the Ceaslov/Book of Hours, Psalmbook and the Apostle but also church chant".⁴³ What is more, he introduced, in the Metropolitan Cathedral in Sibiu, "at first the choir singing by notes, and after the year 1854 he edited/typed the chants of *Saint John Chrysostom Holly Mass* for a mixed choir in four voices".⁴⁴

The importance he gave religious chants/ pious chanson, from his metropolitan pew, can be deduced from a few recounts by the witness priest Grigore Pletosu. He notes the fact that, in the 1872 Christmas Eve,

⁴² Mihail Gr. Posluşnicu, *Istoria muziceii la români (The History of Music in Romania, Bucureşti)*, Editura Cartea Românească, 1928, p. 13.

⁴³ Andrei Bărseanu, *Istoria şcoalelor centrale române gr. or. din Braşov (History of Romanian Central Schools gr. or. in Braşov)*, Braşov, 1902, p. 31.

⁴⁴ Dimitrie Cunţanu, *Cântările Bisericeşti (The Church Songs...)*, Ediţia a IV-a, îngrijită de Timotei Popovici (in prefaţă), Sibiu, 1943.

“in the citadel church [...] in Sibiu, Şaguna was sitting in his bishop’s chair and however we sang, one or another, was not in his linking. Then he descended from his chair, and came in the pew and started to sing the rows of the feast. He sang the first, and then the second [...] Şaguna gave us a living model/parable of how to perform the religious chants in the Orthodox Church spirit, a told chant and not merely hurried, an accurate pedant chant in regard to the song, prosody, accent and interpretation, in order for the meaning to be undisturbed”.⁴⁵

And, another time, Pletosu notes again:

“Şaguna entered the church while we were singing «One Born» and noticing that we were hurrying the song [...] he signed the deacon to be silence ...and he addressed the two pews: «And this is a way to sing, he says? This is the way you sing under my roof? And how will you conduct the masses and sing the songs when you will be alone in the parishes? »⁴⁶

All these accents are a proof of the Metropolitan Şaguna regarding the religious chants and its unstable situation.

By far the most important achievement of Metropolitan Şaguna, regarding religious music, was starting the great process of songs’ unification, which circulated at the time, in oral variants. Metropolitan Şaguna chose to impose from a central level a musical style specific to the area, detrimental to the psaltic Romanized music in Țara Românească and Moldova. We consider this musical stand of Şaguna to have been determined by various factors. Firstly, from a missionary-pastoral standpoint, it was easier to impose and uniform, in the Metropolitan, a previous existent musical style. Secondly, knowing the situation of the Transylvanian musical knowledge, they could not have imposed a neumatic noting system. And last, but not least, in Transylvania, there were no teacher to teach psaltic music nor specialized singers. From a pastoral viewpoint, it was easier to use a musical system adapted to the local ethos and mass feelings, instead of imposing a new musical system supposing a new sonority and notation and musical variants diversity.

⁴⁵ G. Pletosu, „Şaguna și cântarea bisericească (Şaguna and The Church Song)”, in: *Revista Teologică*, Sibiu, nr. 3, 1909, p. 409-414.

⁴⁶ Idem

The unified sonorous structures by Dimitrie Cuțanu were much more familiar to believers, and were the ones that they identified their faith and prayers with.

By Andrei Șaguna's orders, Dimitrie Cuțanu was appointed, in 1864, music teacher at the Theological Seminary in Sibiu, having as episcopal order⁴⁷ to have a steady dedication to studying music, as he, himself recounts:

"Acknowledging the necessity and utility that the church songs needed to be scripted in music notes, since 1868, Metropolitan Andreiu advised me that, for their certain conservation and practice, I should choose and write all the pew church songs in modern musical notes".⁴⁸

As a consequence, Cuțanu presents us the method to pick and systemize the musical material:

"following the bishop's advice, ever since then I started this collection, writing in turns our church chants, lesson by lesson, as I had to teach my students in the Seminary, and how – only by hearing – I had learned from my predecessors, teachers P.(priests) Ioan Bobeș⁴⁹ and Ioan Dragomir".⁵⁰

This endeavor to gather, edit and unify started by Cuțanu gave way to one of the most important orthodox church music collection in Transylvania, *Cântările bisericesti după melodiile celor „Opt Glasuri” ale Sfintei Biserici Ortodoxe/ The Church/Religios Songs of the Eight Tones of the Saint Orthodox Church*.

In this collection we can find clarifications regarding its coming into being (published, for the first time on the 28th June, 1890, and dedicated to the memory of the Great Andrei, the moral author of this paper), the songs composition manner ("arranged by the models with a text from the *Octoih*, written in modern musical signs") and the way to structure it in five sections.

⁴⁷ Vasile Stanciu, *Muzica bisericească (Orthodox Church Music...)*, p. 73; Mihai Brie, „Missionarische valenzen der Kirchenmusik von heute”, in: *Studia UBB Musica*, LXIV, 1, 2019, p. 315-324.

⁴⁸ Dimitrie Cuțanu, *Cântările bisericesti (The Church Songs ...)*, ediția a III-a, prefață.

⁴⁹ Ioan Bobeș, the teacher from whom Dimitrie Cuțanu learned church music in her oral version, studied between the years 1844-1848 psaltic music at the seminar in Bucharest, being the pupil of Anton Pann. Cf. Sorin Dobre, „Dimitrie Cuțan – repere biografice (Biographical Landmarks)”, in: *Simpozionul Național: Dimitrie Cuntan (1837-1910) și cântarea bisericească din Ardeal*, Editura Universității „Lucian Blaga”, Sibiu, 2010, p. 4-25.

⁵⁰ Dimitrie Cuțanu, *Cântările bisericesti (The Church Songs ...)*, ediția a III-a, prefață.

Describing this musical collection, professor Constantin Catrina left a theory regarding the way this linear variant came to be, which

“overlapped the old strata of Byzantine origin ecclesiastical chants, preserved in the manuscripts and printings, but mostly *by word of mouth*, a new music in the pew; a music close through other variants to our national background/heritage, but, as previously said, forced by the handle of measure, lacking the specific ornaments specific to the intonations *psifiston*, *antichenoma*, *omalon* and *varia*, more clearly being about some anterior and posterior appoggiaturas and embroideries, that we can see plenty in our traditional folk melos”.⁵¹

If we were to refer to the aim of this paper, we could bring forth that of “strengthen the religiosity and morality in the hearts of future priests and teachers, enchanting them with the church chants harmony and furthering their abilities in the deep dogmatic and etic understanding of the church chants text”.⁵²

Despite Cunțanu and his followers’ efforts, the Transylvanian variant, which the priests and chants singers in Ardeal identified with, did not have a positive reception from the ones who knew and promoted psaltic music.

In the Kingdom, where professor and composer Ion Popescu-Pasărea (1871-1943) worked the idea circulated that: “a transcription of the psaltic chants would surely be a regrettable alteration, and not a preservation of authenticity. Proof of the fact stands the attempt made by Cunțanu in Sibiu and in Bucovina by the Great Metropolitan Silvestru Morariu, attempt that resulted in the loss of the ancient psaltic chant”.⁵³

From a different standpoint, we have to consider a chantsinger’s opinion, who was a refugee in Ardeal:

“as many dioceses, as many ways of singing; none has the same singing system. The pew, in Ardeal, leaves much to be desired. There are a few chantsingers, to be familiar with the church’s liturgy rules and typicon and to make a difference between a saint with polieleos and a Sunday mass, in singing. Everyone sings by no rules and to please the bishop, who, at his turn, has a music composer, who is

⁵¹ Constantin Catrina, „Secvențe muzicologice/ Musicological Sequences...”, p.3

⁵² V. Stan, „La mormântul lui Dimitrie Cunțan. Cuvântare funeabră (At the tomb of Dimitrie Cunțan. Funeral Speech)”, in: *Revista Teologică*, IV (1919), 7-8, p. 261-268.

⁵³ Ion Popescu-Pasărea, „Muzica bisericească (Religious Music)”, in: *Muzica românească de azi*, ediție de P. Nițulescu, București, 1939, p. 597-602.

sung in church, according to our *doina* songs and the folk songs in Ardeal. It goes without saying that we cannot talk about religious musical intonation”.⁵⁴

Another chantsinger who was familiar with the psaltic tradition, stated that

“in Braşov and Fagaras, the religious chants still preserve the traces Pann left, and the chantsingers sing it not by music, but how it was inherited by their elderly teachers, practically, but similar to traditional songs. In Braşov, I had the honor to meet an old chantsinger Butnariu, who lived in the era when Anton Pann was a singer in the city and who preserves in his valuable treasure, different songs and even books of this famous men of letters. In Sibiu, his music vanished behind him. The religious chant was at utmost neglected and the singers sing it how they can and know”.⁵⁵

On the other hand, for the religious music teacher from Sibiu, Gheorghe Şoima the *Romanization* of the church chants in Transylvania was a lengthy process, by the unbiased contribution of the pew teachers, and of everyone who was closed to the Orthodox Church. Cunţanu’s variant is no stranger to the psaltic spring, consequently

“the Orthodox Transylvanian church music in the pew, is Romanized psaltic music. But it was not noted as such at the desk, but in church. And it was not by two or three musical specialists in psaltic and the European cult music theory, but by the multitude of pew chantsingers, barely able to read and write, totally unable to read a semiography. (Their lack of knowledge in semiography is of no worry, because neither the creators of *doine*, ballads or carols – as the writer/s of *Mioriţa*- were completely illiterate.) We could say that in Transylvania, the psaltic music was Romanized by the people itself and that it is a more authentic Romanization. *Doina*, the ballad and the carols were

⁵⁴ Constantin Clopotaru, „Slujba bisericească in Ardeal/ The Church Mass in Ardeal”, in: *Cultura. Revistă literară-muzicală*, organ de publicitate al Asociației Generale a Cântăreților Bisericești din România (Culture. Literary-musical magazine, advertising body of the General Association of Church Singers of Romania), XXXII (1944), 7-12, p. 3-4.

⁵⁵ G.D. Olaru, „Muzica bisericească în Ardeal/ Religious Music in Ardeal””, in: *Cultura. Revistă literară-muzicală*, organ de publicitate al Asociației Generale a Cântăreților Bisericești din România (Culture. Literary-musical magazine, advertising body of the General Association of Church Singers of Romania), XV (1926), 10-11, p. 9-11.

the cause of this. Moreover, this Romanian trait was printed in the religious music but not in a one or two years' time, but along centuries...".⁵⁶

When we refer to the possible similarities and differences between Cunțanu's variant and the Romanian variants following the principles of the hrysantic reform, which circulated in Transylvania, we underline the idea launched by the researcher Constantin Catrina, who states that: "the chrysanthemum monuments established by the psaltery teacher practiced at least in the monasteries' churches and other cultural-religious centers in Transylvania of the nineteenth century, both through printing and manuscripts, in theological schools, as well as by attending religious services, occasional courses, etc".⁵⁷

The influence of the cult music and the music of the other co-operative cults brought a whole series of "renewals" at the level of the melodic lines in the Cunțanu variant. Moreover, the psaltic music was not also foreign to such interference, because multiple passages taken from different opera areas, famous at that time or expression formulas are found, in the opinion of the specialists, and in some of the works of the Romanian preceptors.⁵⁸ Also, the influence of folk music on the Transylvanian church songs must be underlined, and this is noted by Professor Traian Mîrza, who confirms that

"careful observation of Romanian folk songs from Transylvania belonging to different genres (ritual songs of harvest, in the north - east, some ritual songs at funerals, sometimes even songs themselves) indicate some structural peculiarities that cannot be explained otherwise than as a result of a disturbance from the church music, as - in the same parts - the church song often attests the influence the folk one".⁵⁹

Researching the factors that determined the imposition in Transylvania of the Cunțanu variant, to the detriment of the Romanian psaltic variants, it

⁵⁶ Gheorghe Șoima, „Muzica bisericească și laică in Institutul Teologic din Sibiu (Church and Secular Music in the Theological Institute of Sibiu)” in: *Mitropolia Ardealului*, (1961), 11-12, p. 798-806.

⁵⁷ Constantin Catrina, „Secvențe muzicologice (Musicological sequences...)”, p. 4.

⁵⁸ Vasile D. Nicolescu, *Manuscrisul Ucenescu. Cânturi (The Ucenescu Manuscript. Songs)*, București, Editura Muzicală, 1979, p. 52; I.D. Petrescu, *Condacul Nașterii Domnului. Studiu de Muzicologie Comparată (The Kontakion of the Birth of the Lord. Study of Comparative Musicology)*, București, Tipografia Ziarului „Universul”, 1940, p. 48-49.

⁵⁹ Traian Mîrza, „Observații privind geneza cântecului propriu-zis in *Lucrări de Muzicologie (Comments on the Genesis of the Song itself in Musical Papers)*”, *Lucrările Simpozionului*, vol. 4, Cluj, Conservatorul de Muzică „Gh. Dima”, 1986, p. 87-106.

is appropriate to mention a possible explanation offered by the musicologist Titus Moisescu. He points out that in Transylvania, psaltic music was not the soul of the Romanian Orthodox. Performed in an ecclesial environment that has developed in full accordance with the zonal ethos

"the Christian music in its orientalized dimensions, cannot be accepted as traditional music, when it is completely alien to the ethnogenetic structures of our people? Could this music be placed alongside carols, the authentic and so diverse folk song, dominated by modal diatonism, that natural arrangement of sounds, which gives relief and force to popular melodies? Because of these modal and ornamental alterations, the psaltic music of the new Christian system did not arouse the interest of scientists, researchers, who bypassed this field of creation, considering it copied, devoid of originality. Of greater interest was the creation of old Byzantine music, preserved in the manuscripts of the 9th - 18th centuries, which have obvious characteristics of originality and originality, of creative evolution".⁶⁰

Indeed the music of the new hrysantic system was not present in the concerns of the Transylvanian composers and musicologists. In the musical creations of the Transylvanian teachers Gheorghe Dima, Iacob Mureșianu, Augustin Bena, Vasile Petrașcu, Celestin Cherebețiu, Sigismund Toduță, Tudor Jarda, Dan Voiculescu, Marțian Negrea, the elements of classical and contemporary music are combined with mastery of the classical and contemporary music elements, in Transylvanian tradition. The Transylvanian religious music creation, starting from the elements related to the local spirituality and the strange music ethos, gave birth to several unstinted chorales, which entered the use of the liturgical space. All these composers predictively harmonize several liturgical monodies existing in Cunțanu's collection.

If we were to refer to the possible interferences and similarities that can be established between the songs in Dimitrie Cunțanu's collection and the collections of Macarie Ieromonahul and Anton Pann, we can list only a few liturgical hymns which partially reproduce, the melodic line of the psaltic variants.

At the level of the musical variants of the Holy Feasts of the Emperors, recorded in Dimitrie Cunțanu's collection, some subtle similarities can be noticed with those of Macarie Hieromonk collection. The similarities can be found at the level of the tones in which they were written, the phrasing, the

⁶⁰ Titus Moisescu, „Sisteme de notație în muzica de tradiție bizantină (Notation Systems in Byzantine Tradition Music)", in: *Acta Musicae Byzantinae*, Iași, vol. I, nr. 1, Centrul de Studii Bizantine Iași, 1999, p. 30.

inter-chain system and the passenger modulations. Also, it can be observed that during the incipient phase of the Sisters, they largely respect the structure of the psalms. However, in the performance of the song, Cuñțanu's song leaves the melodic path set by Macarie, simplifying the cadential formulas.

However, the Hirmos from Cuñțanu's collection are written in a different stylistic manner, with pale similarities with regard to the outline of the melodic line of Macarie's masterpieces. Comparing structurally the two variants of moorings, the researcher Elena Chircev stated that "the oral circulation led to interventions in the melodic line, these concretizing in particular in the sub-dimensioning of the melisms, which abound in the psaltic moorings. Some sounds from the original melisma are always present, so this is recognizable."⁶¹

The same can be said about the Tropares, Kontakion, Exapostilarion and Katavasion from the Cuñțanu collection. Compared to Anton Pann's collections, we observe that there is some similarity in terms of the melodic line, the cadential system and the tones in which they were written.

Regarding the Great Responses of the Holy Liturgy, Cuñțanu takes, with small changes in the level of the melodic line, the variant composed by Anton Pann, in the fifth tones: „And these together with the others composed by me A. Pann, 1828, in Brașov”.⁶² We consider this specification very valuable for our research, since the Great Answers in tones V, included in Cuñțanu's collection, are the only psaltic variants taken up precisely and also the most sung in the churches of Transylvania.

Next we give a synoptic table of the musical variants recorded by the priest Dimitrie Cuñțanu that have a correspondence at the level of the melodic lines and at the level of the cadential system with the Romanian psaltic variants.

Dimitrie Cuñțanu (1890)	Anton Pann ⁶³
Podobia Fecioara astăzi p. 26	<i>Irmologhion</i> , 1854, p. 17

⁶¹ Elena Chircev, „Irmoasele din colecția de cântări bisericești a lui Dimitrie Cuñțanu și relația lor cu muzica psaltică (The Hirmos from the Collection of Church Songs of Dimitrie Cuñțanu and their Relation with the Psaltic Music)”, in: *Arta*, (2012), 1-2, p. 16-29.

⁶² *Rinduiala Sfintei și Dumnezeieștii Liturghii (The Order of the Holy and Divine Liturgy)*. Autor, editor și tipograf: Anton Pann. București, 1847, p. 60.

⁶³ *Păresimier care cuprinde in sine cântările cele mai de trebuință ale Postului Mare (Păresimier that Includes in Itself the Most Demanding Songs of Lent)*, Traducător, editor și tipograf: Anton Pann, București, 1847; *Privighier care cuprinde in sine toată orinduiala Privegherii sau a Mîncării (Privighier, which Comprises the Entire Organization of a Wake and Rising)*, Traducător, editor și tipograf: Anton Pann, București, 1848; *Irmologhiu Catavasier in care se cuprind catavasiile sărbătorilor dumnezeiești, asemeneale glasurilor și 21 Doxologii (Chantsbook of Hirmos and Katavasias, which Comprises the Holly Feast Katavasias)*, Traducător, editor și tipograf: Anton Pann, București, 1854.

Arătat-te-ai astăzi p. 30	<i>Irmologhion</i> , 1854, p. 25
Cămara Ta p. 42	<i>Păresimier</i> , 1847, p. 73
Svetilna Paștilor p. 42	<i>Irmologhion</i> , 1854, p. 71
Troparul Schimbării la Față p. 47	<i>Priveghier</i> , 1848, p. 39
Troparul botezului p. 50	<i>Priveghier</i> , 1848, p. 41-42
Troparul Sfintei Cruci p. 50	<i>Priveghier</i> , 1848, p. 53-54.
Catavasii la Nașterea Domnului p. 53	<i>Irmologhion</i> , 1854, p. 3
Catavasii la Paști p. 53	<i>Irmologhion</i> , 1854, p. 55-56
Răspunsurile mari p. 63 fără <i>Pe Tine Te lăudăm</i>	<i>Rânduiala Sfintei Liturghii</i> , p. 60, 69

Conclusions:

In Transylvania, before the hrysantic reform, based on the documents available to us, we can say that, in the great places of the Orthodox monasteries and in their surroundings, a Byzantine church music was sung, Romanian by the genius of Filothie sin Agăi Jipa.

Due to the lack of information we cannot determine precisely which musical variant is being sung in the parish churches throughout the entire metropolis. Suppose that through contact with the Orthodox monasteries, church-style music was performed in which Byzantine music was interwoven with the local folklore.

Also, the cultural, spiritual and commercial isolation of the Romanian Country and Moldova, led to the development in Transylvania of some local musical variants, built around the big cities.

Of all the local variants, the most representative is the one recorded by the priest Dimitrie Cunțanu. This standardized version will be the one that will be imposed throughout the metropolis, through the metropolitan Andrei Șaguna.

The psaltic music will be present in Transylvania only in a few monastery centers and in the School in Șcheii Brașov.

The lack of a musical tradition maintained by music schools, teachers and specialized singers, the novelty of the scoring system, the lack of books, the precarious knowledge of church music of the church singers, the historical, cultural and political pressures are just a few realities that have forced the generalization of an autochthonous musical variant, in linear notation, to the detriment of the psaltic variant.

The missionary-pastoral considerations, the stylistic unity, the identification of the Orthodox faith with the cult and the church music are the aspects that mattered a lot in the choice made by the metropolitan Andrei Șaguna to implement, at a zonal level, a unitary, grafted musical style, on the Transylvanian Orthodox spirituality and on the local musical culture.

Nowadays, along with the promotion and enrichment of the musical repertoire after Dimitrie Cunțanu, there is also a process of recovery and dissemination of the uniformed psaltic music from the Holy Liturgy, the Vespers and Matins.

With all these historical, religious and cultural arguments, Dimitrie Cunțanu's version is not alien to the Byzantine melos and the Romanian psaltic variants. In the noted liturgical songs we can find more similarities in the melodic lines and the cadential system, which denotes an influence of the psaltic repertoire on the autochthon variant.

Translated from Romanian by Maria Stan

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