

THE BYZANTINE CHANT IN THE ROMANIAN PRINCIPALITIES DURING THE PHANARIOT PERIOD (1711 – 1821)¹

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SUMMARY. 1. Following the attempt of the Moldavian Prince, Dimitrie Cantemir to get rid of the Turkish reign through the alliance with Peter the Great and his defeat in 1711, the Turks decided not to grant the reign of Moldavia and Wallachia to a Romanian Prince, but to a Greek one who came from Phanar – the famous neighbourhood in Constantinople – whom they would permanently be able to supervise. The chosen one was Nicholas Mavrocordato, son of the Great Dragoman of the Sublime Porte³ Alexander Mavrocordato, and together with his election, the Phanariot reigns began in two of the three Romanian provinces: Moldavia and Wallachia or Ouggro – Wallachia as they used to call it. The third, Transylvania, was part of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire until 1918.

For more than a century, to be more precise, from 1711 in Moldavia and from 1714 in Wallachia until the year of the Balkan revolution, in 1821, the Princes of the two Romanian provinces were assigned directly by the Turks on Bosphorus shores.⁴ Thus, during 1711 – 1821, thirty-one Phanariot Princes, part of eleven families, were to be on the two countries thrones on seventy-five occasions.⁵

2. The present study aims at the analysis of the musical-ecclesiastical phenomenon in the two Romanian provinces, Wallachia and Moldavia, during 1711 – 1821, in order to emphasize the following elements:

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³ That is to say, interpreter-in-chief and acting permanent head of the Foreign Ministry.

⁴ Giurăscu, C. Constantin & Dinu C. Giurăscu, *Istoria românilor din cele mai vechi timpuri până astăzi. Caracterizarea epocii fanarioților (The History of Romanians from Ancient Times until Today. Characterization of the Phanariot Epoch)*, Albatros Publishing House, Bucharest, p. 448.

⁵ Djuvara, Neagu, *Între Orient și Occident. Țările Române la începutul epocii moderne (1800 – 1848) (Between Orient and Occident. Romanian Principalities at the beginning of the Modern Age [1800 – 1848])*, Humanitas Publishing House, Bucharest (1995), p. 32.

- I. The Cult Languages in Wallachia and Moldavia
- II. The Byzantine Musical Education in the Romanian Principalities
- III. The Idea of Canonicity in the Romanian Music of Byzantine Tradition.

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I. The Cult Languages in Wallachia and Moldavia

The Romanians' attachment to the Byzantine culture and ritual has become more intense at the same time with the foundation of the Ouggro – Wallachian Metropolitan seat in the year 1359 and the Moldo-Wallachian in 1393. Together with these two there is also born a special relationship with the Patriarchate, which leads to the arrival in the Romanian Principalities of not only bishops or metropolitans, as it is the case of the first metropolitan of Wallachia, Hyacynthus Critobulus (1359 – 1372) who came directly from Constantinople, but also a number of psaltēs, teachers and scholars.

The Romanian Church dependence on the Ecumenical Patriarchate and their mutual support will become stronger once the direct connections with the Orthodox Orient are established through dedicating the first Romanian monasteries to the church of Hagia Sofia in Constantinople to the end of the fourteenth century (1391), or to the Saint Mount of Athos.⁶ This would be intensified once the Turks conquered the Byzantium in 1453.⁷

Regarding the liturgical languages in the two Romanian Principalities it has to be mentioned that, until the middle of the seventeenth century, the Romanian Orthodox Church used the Slavonic language both as the cult language and as the state language.⁸

⁶ One of the most important papers on this subject is *Le Mont Athos et les Roumains. Recherches sur leurs relations du milieu du XIVe siècle à 1654* by Petre Ș. Năsturel, in: *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* no. 227, Roma (1986).

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Ciobanu, Gheorghe, *Raportul dintre muzica liturgică românească și muzica bizantină (The Relationship between the Romanian Liturgical Chant and Byzantine Music)*, in: *Studii de Etnomuzicologie și Bizantinologie (Studies in Byzantine Music and Ethnomusicology)*, vol. II (thereafter SEB II), Music Publishing House, Bucharest (1979), p. 263.

Ex. 1

Rom. MS 1790, dated 1661, Wallachia
Library of Romanian Academy, Bucharest



At the same time along with the Slavonic language, in the Church there also circulated the Greek language.⁹

Ex. 2

Slave MS 170, dated 1673, Moldavia
Library of Romanian Academy, Bucharest



⁹ Ibid., p. 264; Idem, *Limbile de cult la români în lumina manuscriselor muzicale (The Liturgical Languages in Romanian Principalities according to the Music Manuscripts)*, in: *Studies in Byzantine Music and Ethnomusicology*, vol. III (thereafter SEB III), Music Publishing House, Bucharest (1992), pp. 95-96.

Despite the powerful influence the Slavonic language had, and the existence of certain codices containing Slavonic liturgical texts, the manuscript music tradition in Romania keep no codices with Byzantine music notation written completely in Slavonic, but only several bilingual codices: Greek – Slavonic.¹⁰ Moreover between the fifteenth - seventeenth centuries, the number of the codices in Greek is much higher than the one in Slavonic. This is essential as it proves at least two things:

- ✓ Firstly, in the most important centres of the Romanian Orthodox Church they were singing more in Greek than in Slavonic¹¹ and, on the other hand,
- ✓ The Byzantine culture was present in the Romanian provinces in all its forms, music inclusively.

Beginning with the second half of the seventeenth century¹² or maybe earlier than this date,¹³ Greek replaces Slavonic in both in the Romanian Princes administration offices and also in the Church ceremonies.¹⁴ At the same time with the Greek ascension and the Slavonic gradual withdrawal, the Romanian language began to gain importance, both by increasing the number of printings¹⁵ and also by promoting the church chant in Romanian, beginning with the middle of the seventeenth century, and especially during the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Regarding the Byzantine Chanting in Romanian,¹⁶ one could assert that, despite some documents that signalled its existence ever since the middle

¹⁰ *Idem*, „Limbile de cult la români...”, p. 97.

¹¹ *Idem*, „Manuscrise muzicale în notație bizantină aflate în România” (“Music Manuscripts with Byzantine Musical Notation in Romania”), in: *SEB* II, p. 245.

¹² *Idem*, „Raportul dintre muzica liturgică românească...”, p. 263.

¹³ Regarding this problem there are three main opinions: **fifteenth century:** Russo, D., *Studii istorice greco – române. Opere postume (Greek-Romanian History Studies. Post-mortem Works)*, vol. II, Bucharest (1939), p. 471; **sixteenth century:** ***, *Viața feudală în Țara Românească și Moldova (sec. XIV – XVII) (Feudal Life in Wallachia and Moldavia in XIV-XVII centuries)*, Bucharest (1957) p. 349; **seventeenth century:** Turdeanu, Emil, *Legăturile românilor cu mănăstirile Hilandar și Sf. Pavel de la Muntele Athos (The Relationships between Romanians and the Monasteries of Hilandar and St. Paul in Mount Athos)*, in: „Cercetări literare” no. 4 (1941), p. 98.

¹⁴ Alexandrescu, Ozana, *Catalogul manuscriselor muzicale de tradiție bizantină din secolul al XVII-lea (Catalogue of Byzantine Tradition Music Manuscripts in the XVII century)*, Arvin Press Publishing House, Bucharest (2005), p. 13. See, also, Papacostea Danielopolu Cornelia & Lidia Demeny, *Carte și tipar în societatea românească și sud – est europeană (secolele XVII – XIX) (Books and Printing in Romanian and South-East European Society) (XVII-XIX centuries)*, Eminescu Publishing House, Bucharest (1985), pp. 148-151.

¹⁵ See *The Romanian Evangelion* (printed by Coresi at Brașov in 1560) and *The Romanian Psalter* (printed by the same Coresi at Brașov in 1570).

¹⁶ For a picture in brief on the ecclesiastical chant in Romania, see Costin Moisil, *Romania*, entry in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology* (forthcoming [in English]).

of the seventeenth century,¹⁷ there had not been a discovery of any Romanian music manuscript pertaining to this century. Not until the end of century and the beginning of the following, one can speak about how art flourished, especially in Wallachia, during Constantin Brâncoveanu's reign (1688 – 1714) or as the Turks called him, Altân – bey – “The Golden Prince”.

Ex. 3

Constantin Brâncoveanu (1685 – 1814)



¹⁷ Paul De Alep, in: *Arhiva istorică a României, (Romania's Historical Archive)* B. P. Hasdeu, tom. I, part. II, pp. 71-72, 87, 98, 105. Ciobanu, Gheorghe, *Manuscrisele psaltice românești din secolul al XVIII-lea (Romanian Psaltic Manuscripts in XVIII Century)* in: *Studies in Byzantine Music and Ethnomusicology*, vol. I (thereafter SEB I), Music Publishing House, Bucharest (1974), p. 294, footnote 3.

In **WALLACHIA** as well, we can witness the appearance of the **first Romanian music manuscript** called “Psaltikia rumânească” [“The Romanian Chant Book”].¹⁸

Ex. 4

Rom. MS 61, dated 1713 (Psaltichia Românească) by Filotei son of Aga Jipa
Library of Romanian Academy, Bucharest



¹⁸ Rom. MS 61 (dated 1713), Bucharest, Library of Romanian Academy (thereafter BARB).

Written by the first chanter (protopsaltēs) of Metropolitan seat in Bucharest named Filotei the son of Aga Jipa (Filotei sin Agăi Jipei), the codex was dedicated to the same Prince Brâncoveanu and ended in December 1713, just a few months before the Wallachian Prince was dethroned and he was then killed in Constantinople on 15 August 1714, together with his four sons and his son-in-law Ianake Văcărescu. This manuscript and its five copies¹⁹ were used until the third decade of the nineteenth century.

Together with Filothei Jipei, among the most important Romanian names of ecclesiastical chanters and composers in Wallachia during the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth century, one could mention: Iovașcu Vlachos, Arsenios Hieromonk from Monastery of Cozia, Șărbăn the Protopsaltēs of Court of Wallachia, Constantin the apprentice of Șărbăn, Calist Protopsaltēs of Metropolitan Church in Bucharest, Ioan Duma Brașoveanu, Naum Râmnicăneanu, Mihalache Moldovlachos, Dimcea Protopsaltēs etc. The majority of them were psaltes and first-chanters in the Metropolitan Church of Wallachia and the Princely' Church in Bucharest thus practising the chant in Romanian as well as the bilingual one in Romanian and Greek.²⁰ The Wallachian Metropolitan choir constitutes an eloquent example, because there we can see the same protopsaltēs Filothei Jipei singing in the right choir in Romanian while in the left choir Stavrinou the Greek was singing in Greek.²¹ This kind of testimony was very prevalent during the XVIII century and the beginning of the following one. The bilingual manuscript written by Anton Pann's apprentice – Chesarie the Monk, at Cozia Monastery, can support this (Ex. 5).

MOLDAVIA as well developed and cultivated the Byzantine music as well as Wallachia. Together with the arrival of the first Phanariot Princes, there emerge "a number of ecclesiastical and harem singers".²² Great names of the Constantinople Patriarchate visited before the Romanian Principalities, for example Germanos Neon Patron,²³ but during the Phanariot reigns their

¹⁹ Rom. MS 4020 (dated 1717), Mount of Athos, Prodromu Skētē; Rom. MS 4305 (dated 1751), Barb; Rom. MS 4443 (end of eighteenth c. – begin. of nineteenth c.), Barb; Rom. MS 5970 (dated 1821), BARB; Rom. MS 1106, University Library "Lucian Blaga", Cluj Napoca.

²⁰ *Les chantres du prince chantaient toujours, dans son église ou chez lui, en grec au chœur de droite et en valaque au chœur du gauche*, in: Paul De Alep, *Voyage du Patriarche Macaire d'Antioche. Texte arabe et traduction française* par Basile Radu, in: R. Graffin, *Patrologia Orientalis*, Tome XXIV, Fasc. 4, Paris, Firmin – Didot (1933), p. 563 [323].

²¹ Ionescu Gion, Gh. I., *Istoria Bucureștilor (History of Bucharest)*, Bucharest (1899), p. 538; Poslušnicu, Mihail Gh., *Istoria Muziceii la Români. De la Renaștere până-n epoca de consolidare a culturii artistice (History of Music in Romania. From Renaissance till the Art Culture Consolidation Era)*, Cartea Românească Publishing House, Bucharest (1928), p. 18.

²² Filimon, Nicolae, *Lăutarii și compozițiunile lor (Fiddlers and their Songs)* in: *Buciumul*, Bucharest, 2, no. 311, 21 XI/3 XII (1864), no. 311.

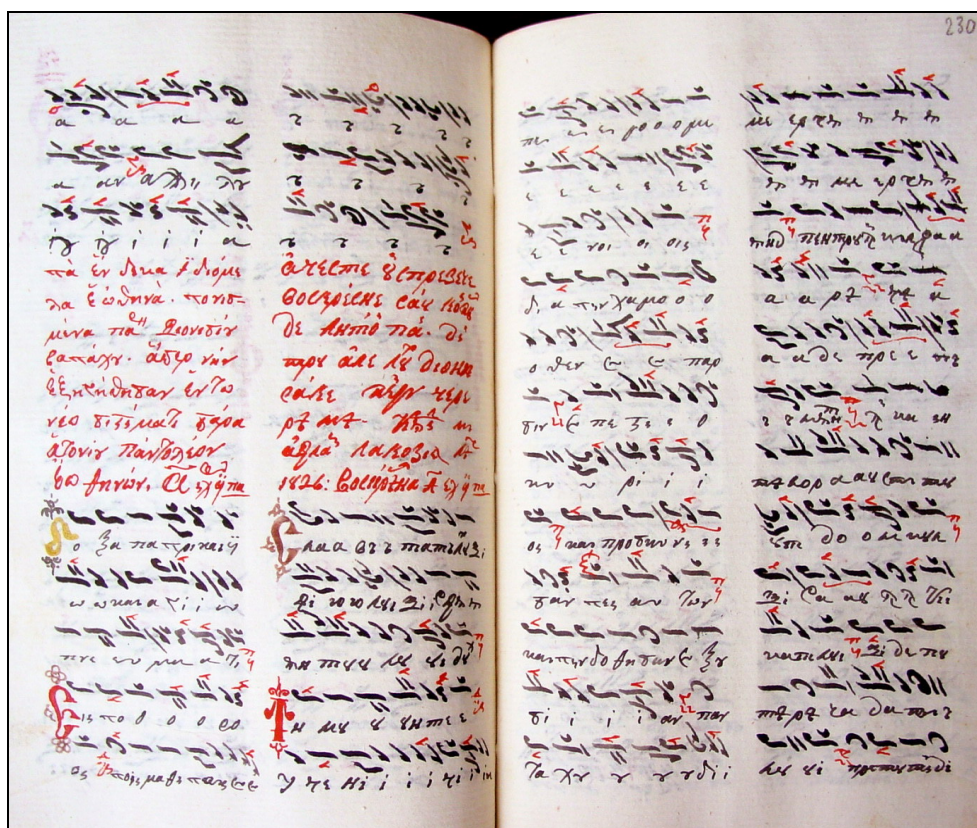
²³ ΣΑΘΑΣ, Κ., Ν., „Ανέκδοτος κώδηξ της Μητροπόλεως Νέων Πατρών”, in: *Απικόν Ημερολόγιον*, Athens (1868), pp. 197-209, 201-213; Barbu – Bucur, Sebastian, *Cultura muzicală de tradiție bizantină pe teritoriul României în secolul XVIII și începutul secolului XIX și aportul original al culturii autohtone (Byzantine Tradition Music Culture on the Territory of Romania during XVIII century – beginning of XIX century)*, Music Publishing House, Bucharest (1989), pp. 171-183; Gregorios Stathes, „Γερμανός Αρχιερεύς Νέων Πατρών (β' ήμισυ – ιζ' αιώνας). Η ζωή και το έργο του”, in: *Επίσημοι Λόγοι* (31.08.1988 – 31.08.1991), Athens (1998), pp. 391-418.

number was continuously increasing. The two great liturgical centres of Moldavia, Iasi and Neamț Monastery, helped to cultivate and promote the bilingual Greek-Romanian monody chant. In his famous work *Descriptio Moldaviae*, the prince Dimitrie Cantemir mentions that during his reign (1710 – 1711) in the Princely Court Church in Iasi “in the right corner, next to the altar there is the Moldavian singers choir, and in the left corner the Greek chanters, who were singing in turns in both languages the church chants”.²⁴

Ex. 5

MS 64, Anthology, dated 1826

University of Thessaloniki, Library of Classics



²⁴ Cantemir, Dimitrie, *Descrierea Moldovei (Description of Moldavia)*, ESPLA, Bucharest (1956), *Despre literele moldovenilor*, p. 188.

Nevertheless in Moldavia, along with the two languages, Greek and Romanian, Slavonic was also promoted. The same Prince mentions that around the middle of the seventeenth century the Prince Vasile Lupu (1634 – 1653) decided that in the Metropolitan Church of Iasi “half of the liturgy should be done in Greek, and the other half in Slavonic, and these have remained valid until today”.²⁵

Another development in the religious music, which became more important during the Phanariot rule, was the choir music.²⁶ It appears to have been influenced by the Russian choir music and the European trend and found a fertile land in Neamț Monastery.²⁷ Here, together with the old school of Byzantine chant, the archimandrite and monastery abbot (*ēgoumenos* or *stareț*) Paisy Velichkovsky (Paisie Velicikovski) founded in 1782, within *The Slavonic School of Church Singers, The Russian Choir of Vocal Music*, using Slavonic texts, and the European notation system.²⁸ That is the first harmonic music church choir founded in Moldavia. In time it was followed by new harmonic choirs formed by Russian soldiers who came from Moldavia with the Russian army²⁹ and the German and Italian troops.

One could conclude that during the Phanariot epoch the chant in the Romanian Church was characterised by the existence of a mainly bilingual repertoire, Greek – Romanian in Wallachia - sometimes trilingual, especially in Moldavia. This practice would be solved in the year 1863 when, following a decree, the king Alexandru Ioan Cuza prohibited the chant in any language other than Romanian.³⁰

II. The Byzantine Musical Education in the Romanian Principalities

In the two Romanian provinces, the Byzantine music culture and, implicitly, the Byzantine music education, developed in church schools and in monasteries, as well as in town and private schools. No matter how the organization developed within the school programme, these schools promoted the bilingual chant Greek - Romanian, and sometimes, the trilingual one Greek – Romanian – Slavonic.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

²⁶ Regarding the practice of choral music in Moldavia Gavriil Galinescu mentions one MS (Holy Liturgy) written down in staff notation (probably Kievian notation) by the Hieromonk Gervasie from the Monastery of Putna in 1676. See Galinescu, Gavriil, *Muzica în Moldova (Music in Moldavia)*, in: *Muzica românească de azi (Romanian Music Today)*, Bucharest (1939), pp. 717-718.

²⁷ Burada, T. Theodor, *Corurile bisericesti de muzică vocală armonică în Moldova (Church Choirs of Harmonic Vocal Music in Moldavia)*, in: *Arhiva, Iași*, 25, no. 9-10, sept. – oct. 1914, pp. 303-332; republished in: *Idem, Opere*, vol. I, First part, Music Publishing House, Bucharest (1974), p. 273.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 273.

³⁰ Poslușnicu, Gr., *op. cit.*, p. 16. See, also, the paper of Grăjdian, Vasile, *Legislația lui Al. Ioan Cuza și evoluția cântării bisericesti (The Legislation of Al. Ioan Cuza and the Evolution of the Ecclesiastical Chant)*, in: *Studii și Cercetări de Istoria Artei, seria Teatru, Muzică, Cinematografie*, (*Studies and Research of Art History, series Theatre, Music, Cinema*), Tom 40, Bucharest (1993), pp. 13-17.

During the entire Phanariot reign one can notice the preoccupation of certain metropolitans and princes to establish schools of church music. Constantin Brâncoveanu, Șerban Cantacuzino, Antioh Cantemir, Alexander Hypsilantis, Gregory II Ghika, Nicholas Mavrocordato, Michael Soutzo etc. are just some of the individuals who had something important to say in introducing the church music as study subject.³¹ At the same time, their ecclesiastical and political positions that they held during the post-Byzantine era make that almost all major musicians of Constantinople have dedicated them *πολυχρονησμοί* or *εγγόμοια*.³²

Once the two Princely Academies were founded in Bucharest and Iasi following the pattern of great western universities, these institutions being of great importance for the Romanian superior education system,³³ the ecclesiastical chant gains an even more important position. These schools' prestige and the financial support they were enjoying, made important personalities of the former Imperial capital (metropolitans, bishops, former patriarchs) or of the important western university centres to teach and, sometimes to establish in Bucharest or Iasi. Let us mention a few names that activated in these Academies: Sevastus Kymenites, Markos Porphyropoulos, Nikēphoros Theotokis, Neophitos Doukas, Manase Eliade, Gregorios Kostandas, Stephanos Komitas, but especially Lambros Photiades, Constantinos Vardalachos, Veniamin of Lesvos, Neophytus Kafsokalivites etc.³⁴

In addition, almost all the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem visited these centres,³⁵ and some of them remained in Moldavia and Wallachia, being protected and financially supported during these two princes' reigns'. Some of them, such as the Jerusalem patriarch Chrysanthos Nottaras (1707 – 1732) even had their own residence in Iasi,³⁶

³¹ Cosma – Lazăr, Octavian, *Hronicul muzicii românești (1784–1823) (The Chronicles of Romanian Music [1784 – 1823])*, vol. II, Music Publishing House, Bucharest (1974), pp. 62-65.

³² See, for example: Xeropotamou 268 (dated 1746), f. 158v: *Εἰς αὐθέντην· ἦχος δ' Πολυχρόνιον ... πάσης Μολδοβλαχίας Ἰωάννην Βοεβόνδαν*, in: ΣΤΑΘΗ, Γρ., Θ., *Τα Χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς – Ἅγιον Ὄρος. Κατάλογος περιγραφικὸς τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τῶν ἱερῶν μονῶν καὶ σκητῶν τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους*, τόμος Α', IBM, Athens (1975), p. 21 (thereafter *STATHESES I*); Xenophonos 137 (XVIII c.), f. 372v: *Πολυχρονισμὸς τοῦ Βοεβόνδα Μολδοβίας, κυρ Αναστασίου Ραφανιότου· ἦχος λέγετο σερκιὰχ [...]. Κύριον Ἰωάννην Κωνσταντίνου Μιχαήλ Ρακοβίτζα Βοεβόνδα*, apud.: ΣΤΑΘΗ, Γρ. Θ., *Τα Χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς – Ἅγιον Ὄρος. Κατάλογος περιγραφικὸς τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τῶν ἱερῶν μονῶν καὶ σκητῶν τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους*, τόμος Β', Athens (1976), p. 82 (thereafter *STATHESES II*) etc..

³³ Camariano – Cioran, Ariadna, *Academiile Domnești din București și Iași (The Princely Academies in Bucharest and Iasi)*, Romanian Academy Publishing House, Bucharest (1971).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

³⁵ Barbu – Bucur, Sebastian, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-162.

³⁶ In the monastery of St Sabba (Iasi), in: Bezviconi, Gh., G., *Călători ruși în Moldova și Muntenia (Russian travellers in Wallachia and Moldavia)*, Bucharest (1947), pp. 67, 77, 83.

and others, as Athanasios the patriarch of Antioch, was working as translator to the Royal court in Bucharest.³⁷

All the effervescence and cultural reforms made by the kings of the two principalities reactivated some centres of an old tradition in the Byzantine melos teaching. The Bucharest schools,³⁸ the monasteries in Neamț, Putna,³⁹ Golia, Iashi,⁴⁰ Brașov etc. would benefit not only from the local teachers contribution but also from the most important personalities of this art which arrived from either the Patriarchal School in Constantinople or from the Orient.

Before the Phanariot reigns were installed in the Romanian Countries, musicians such as Antonios Dirmitzoglou protopsaltēs in Wallachia in the seventeenth century,⁴¹ Dimitrios Ioannou,⁴² Germanos Neon Patron⁴³ arrives at Bucharest, accompanied by his apprentice Iovașcu Vlachos the protopsaltēs of the Wallachia Court (*πρωτοψάλτης της Ουγγροβλαχίας Κούρτης*),⁴⁴ where he would also die, Ioannēs Kampazourna⁴⁵ – pupil of Chrysaphes the Younger, would sing in the churches of the two principalities. These musicians would be followed shortly after by a multitude of ecclesiastical singers, as for example Damianos Hieromonk Vatopedinos who would occupy for a long time the position of first chanter at the Moldavian Metropolitan Church,⁴⁶ Athanasios

³⁷ Greceanu, Radu (Logofăt), *Istoria Domnului Constantin Brâncoveanu Voievod (1688 – 1714) (The History of His Majesty Constantin Brâncoveanu)*, in: *Cronicile Medievale ale României VIII (Romania's Mediaeval Chronicles VIII)*, Bucharest (1978), p. 162.

³⁸ See, for example, in Bucharest: school of Colțea Church erected by *spatharion* Michael Cantacuzenus, „The Princely School” from the St George Church, the ecclesiastical school from the Church of St Gheorghe Vechi, Monastery of Anthim etc..

³⁹ This school was refounded by Gregory Ghika in 1774.

⁴⁰ Schools of „Trei Ierarhi” Church, Cetățuia etc..

⁴¹ Xeropotamou 327 (dated 1674), f. 177v, in: *STATHES I*, p. 178; MS 7 (autograph of Dirmitzoglou), Institute of Patristic Studies, Thessaloniki, Greece, apud Emmanuel GIANNOPOULOS, „Η εὐξείνιος και εὐκαρπὸς διάδοσις και καλλιέργεια της ψαλτικής στις περί τον Εὐξείνιο Πόντο περιοχές”, in: *Η ψαλτική Τέχνη. Λόγος και μέλος στη λατρεία της Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας*, University Studio Press, Thessaloniki (2004), p. 127, footnote 24.

⁴² ΧΑΤΖΗΓΙΑΚΟΥΜΗ, Μανόλη, *Χειρόγραφα εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής (1453–1820). Συμβολή στην έρευνα του νέου ελληνισμού*, Athens (1980), p. 38.

⁴³ See footnote 21.

⁴⁴ *Εγγράπτω αυτή η δέλτος ο και τούνομα έχει Παπαδική παρ' εμού του ταπεινού και αμαθούς εν διδασκάλοις της μουσικής Ιωβάσκου και πρωτοψάλτου της Κούρτης όστις και καίκλημαι μαθητής του ποτέ μακαρίτου Νέον Πατρών έγραψεν δε αυτήν εν ταίς ημέραις της ηγεμονίας του εκλαμπρωτάτου αυθέντος Ιωάννου Δούκα Βοεβόντα και όστις ποτέ του μεταγενεστέρον τύχοι αν αυτήν δέομε διά των πολλών μου σφαλμάτων τυχείν συχορίσεος: 1687*, in: Iviron 1090, f. 307v, dated 1687, autograph Iovașcu Vlachos, apud Gregorios STATHES, „Γερμανός Αρχιερέυς Νέων Πατρών...”, pp. 398–399, footnote 26.

⁴⁵ GIANNOPOULOS, Emmanuel, *op. cit.*, p. 127, note 27.

⁴⁶ *Δαμιανού του διδασκάλου και πρωτοψάλτου της Μολδοβλαχίας*, Panteleimonos 967, f. 136v (beginning of XVIII c.), in: *STATHES II*, p. 305.

the Ecumenical Patriarch,⁴⁷ Nikēphoros Marthales,⁴⁸ Anastasios Rapsaniotēs,⁴⁹ Chourmouziος the Priest,⁵⁰ Evgenios Hieromonk Peloponnesios – psaltēs of the Metropolitan Church in Wallachia in 1787,⁵¹ Gerasimos Hieromonk – *didaskalos* at the Princely Academy of St Sabbas in Iashi (year 1813) during the reign of Prince George Karatza⁵² etc.

The chanters' more intense migration to the Romanian Countries occurred around the same time as the musical notation Reform in 1814 in Constantinople. Agapios Paliermos of Chios (†1815) – one of the first reformers of the church music⁵³ and Athanasios Photeinos together with his two sons Dionysios Photeinos and Antonios Photeinos arrived at Bucharest towards the end of the eighteenth century.⁵⁴ Athanasios was born in the town Nezera from Peloponnesus, and he took the position of *Domestikos* of the Great Church during 1784 – 1785, and then the role of personal physician of the sultan Abdul Hamit in Constantinople until the Sultan's death in 1789. A

⁴⁷ ΓΕΔΕΩΝ, Μ., Ι., „Ο πατριάρχης Αθανάσιος Ε΄”, *Επέτ. Εταιρ. Κρητ. Σπουδών* 3 (1940), p. 199. Athanasios the Ecumenical Patriarch lived in Iashi after 1778 *διαμένων εν τω μοναστηρίω Παγώνι, απέθανε δε εν ΚΠόλει*. Apud ΧΑΤΖΗΓΙΑΚΟΥΜΗ, Μ., *op. cit.*, p. 91, footnote 167.

⁴⁸ This musician was abbot of Monastery of Râmnic in Wallachia at the beginning of the XVIII century. See MS Sinai 1505, dated 1706: *Το παρόν ασματομελλήριτον σιχηράριον υπάρχει εμού Νικηφόρου Ιερομονάχου του Γλυκή· καθηγουμένου της αυθεντικής μονής Ριμνίκου της εν Ουγκροβλαχία και αφιερώνω το παρόν μετά μετά του θανάτον μου εις τον καθολικόν του αγίου και θεοβαδίστου όρους Σινά της μετανοίας μου εις το ασματομελιρίζειν, οι εκείσε αδελφοί, και δοξάζειν διά μέλους τον Κύριον, και εις μνημόσυνον εμού του αμαρτωλού· εύχεσαι μοι λοιπόν αδελφοί δια τον Κύριον, όστις δε βουληθή ξενώσαι αυτό εκ της ιεράς και θεοδοξάστου μονής του αγίου όρους Σινά ξένος έστω της μερίδος του δεσπότη Χριστού και υπόδικος της αιωνίου κολάσεως, αμήν. 1706 νοεμβρίου 16, Νικηφόρος Ιερομόναχος Σιναΐτης. Εγγραυθή και εφιερωθή όταν ήτον το μέγα θανατικόν εις Ρίμνικον*. Apud Gregorios Stathes, „Γερμανός Αρχιερεύς Νέων Πατρών (β' ήμισυ – ιζ' αιώνος)...”, p. 398, footnote 25; Emmanuel Giannopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 128, note 37; *Idem*, *Η άνθηση της Ψαλτικής Τέχνης στην Κρήτη (1566 – 1669)*, *Ίδρυμα Βυζαντινής Μουσικολογίας* 11, Athens (2004), p. 282, footnote 618.

⁴⁹ Macarie Hieromonk, *Irmologhion sau Catavasier musicesc (Heirmologion or Doxastarion)*, Vienna (1823), pp. IX-X; Melchisedec (Bishop), *Memoriu pentru cântările bisericesti în România (Memorandum for the Ecclesiastical Chant in Romania)*, in: *Biserica Ortodoxă Română* no. 1, VI (1882), Bucharest, p. 3.

⁵⁰ Gerzmanus, Eugenius, *Manuscripta graeca musica petropolitana. Catalogus, tomus II*. Bibliotheca rossicae academiae scientiarum. Archivus academiae scientiarum. Bibliotheca universitatis. Hermitage, Petropolis (1999), p. 172.

⁵¹ *Ευγένιος Ιερομόναχος Πελοποννήσιος, ψάλτης της μητροπόλεως Βουκουρεστίου στη Βλαχία, έτος 1787*, in: Vatorpedi 1345, apud Emmanuel Giannopoulos, „Η εύξεινος και εύκαρπος διάδοση και καλλιέργεια της ψαλτικής...”, p. 126, footnote 21.

⁵² Giannopoulos, Emmanuel, *op. cit.*, p. 130. See, also Gr. MS 761 (dated 1820) [Library of Romanian Academy in Bucharest] written down in Iashi (1820 *Ιάσσιον*) by Gerasimos Theodoros, probable the same afore-mentioned person. The codex contains different settings and a musical grammar (f. 5r – 26v) which has the same title as the Chrysanthos' *Εισαγωγή...*

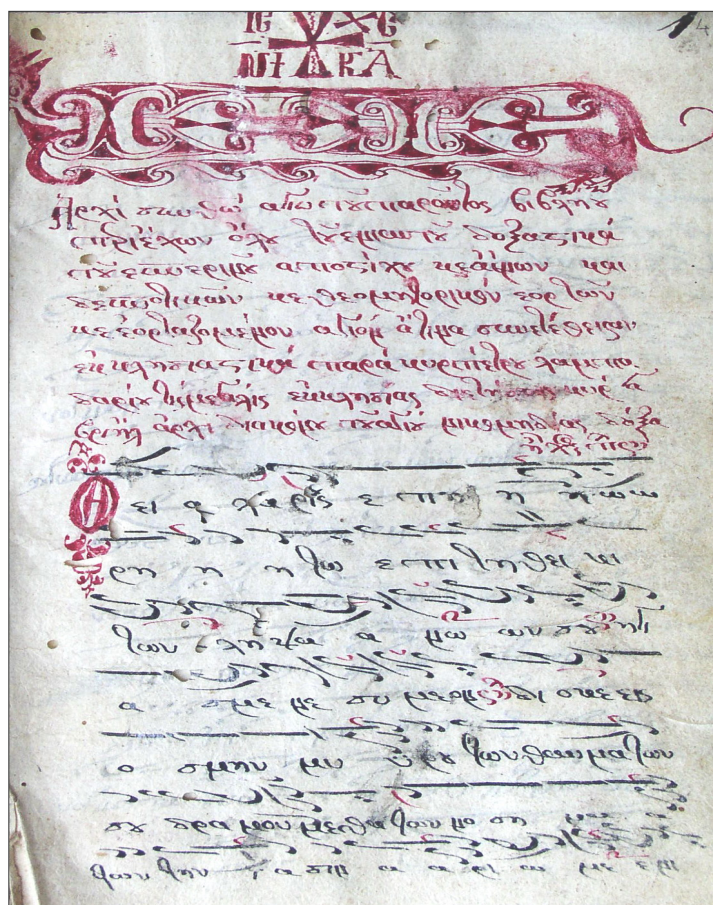
⁵³ Χρυσάνθου αρχιεπισκόπου του εκ Μαδύτων, *Θεωρητικόν Μέγα της Μουσικής*, εκδοθέν υπό Παναγιώτου Γ. Πελοπίδου Πελοποννησίου δια φιλοτίμου συνδρομής των ομογενών, εν Τεργέστη, εκ της τυπογραφίας Μιχαήλ Βάις [Michele Weis] (1832), pp. LI-LII and footnote α.

⁵⁴ See my Phd (in progress) titled *Ο Διονύσιος Φωτεινός (1777 – 1821) στην Ελληνική και Ρουμανική παράδοση της Βυζαντινής Μουσικής*, University of Makedonias, Thessaloniki, Greece.

fluent speaker of Turkish and an excellent psaltēs, Athanasios also proved to be an exceptional copyist. One of the seven manuscripts he copied⁵⁵ is in Bucharest and proves this to us (Ex. 6a,b).

Ex. 6a

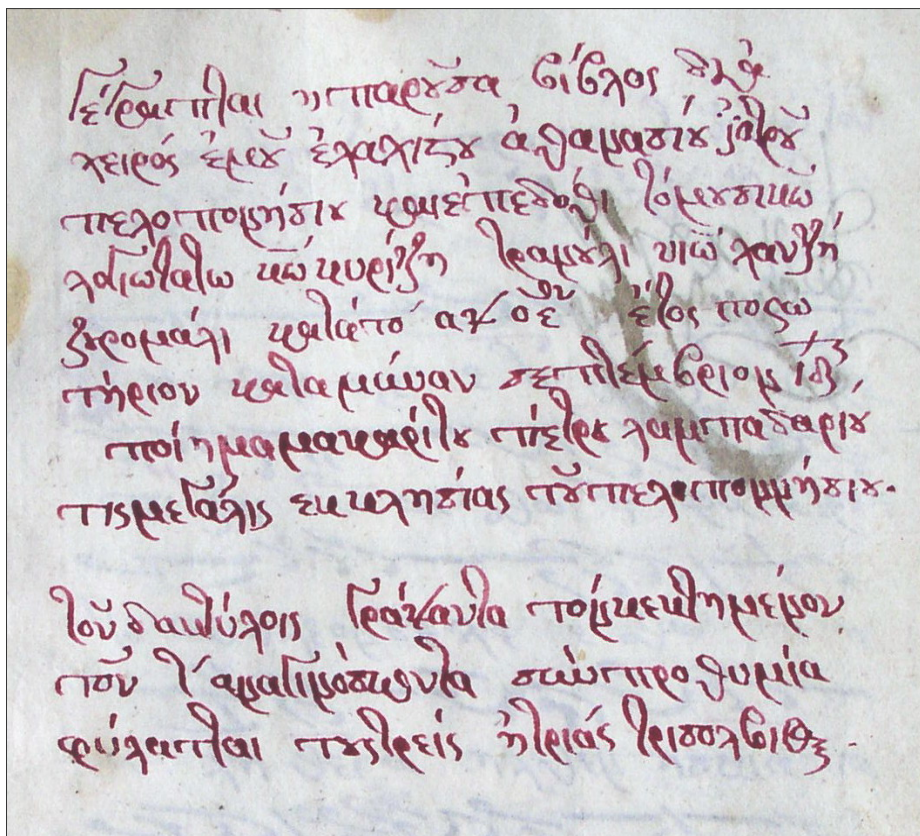
Gr. MS F 48m, dated 1775
Monastery of Stavropoleos, Bucharest



⁵⁵ Δοξαστάριον of Petros Lampadarios Peloponnesios [Gr MS F 48m, (dated 1775), Monastery of Stavropoleos, Bucharest], *Ανθολογία* [MS 61 (dated 1784), Monastery of Chilandar – Athos], *Αναστασιματάριον* [Vatopedi 1256 (dated 1784)], *Δοξαστάριον* of Petros Lampadarios Peloponnesios [Skete of Holy Fathers in Chios], *Ειρμολόγιον* of Petros Lampadarios Peloponnesios [MS 979 (dated 1785), Panteleimonos], *Ανθολογία* [MS 756 (dated 1785), National Library of Greece (ΜΠΤ)], *Ειρμολόγιον* Petros Lampadarios Peloponnesios [MS 34 (dated 1786), Monastery of Saint Pavlos – Athos]. Details on Athanasios' life and activity see Nicolae Gheorghitǎ, *op. cit.* Regarding *Doxastarion* of Petros Lampadarios Peloponneios written down by Athanasios Photeinos, see ΣτρουμπΑκη, Μ., „Έκτο αυτόγραφο του Αθανασίου Δομεστικού”, in: ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ Β΄ Διευνούς Συνεδρίου Μουσικολογικού και Ψαλπκού, Athens (2006), pp. 503-511.

Ex. 6b

Gr. MS F 48m, dated 1775
Monastery of Stavropoleos, Bucharest



His son, Dionysios Photeinos (Ex. 7), has remained the dominant personality of the Byzantine music, the most related to the Romanian school of Byzantine music before the Reform.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Gheorghitã, Nicolae, *op. cit.*; *idem*, *The Anastasimatarion of Dionysios Photeinos*, in: *Acta Musicae Byzantinae IV* (thereafter *AMB*), *Centrul de Studii Bizantine Iași (CSBI)*, May 2002, pp. 99-109; *idem*, *Dionysios Photeinos*, entry in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology* (forthcoming).

Dionysios Photeinos (1777 –1821)
Library of Romanian Academy, Bucharest

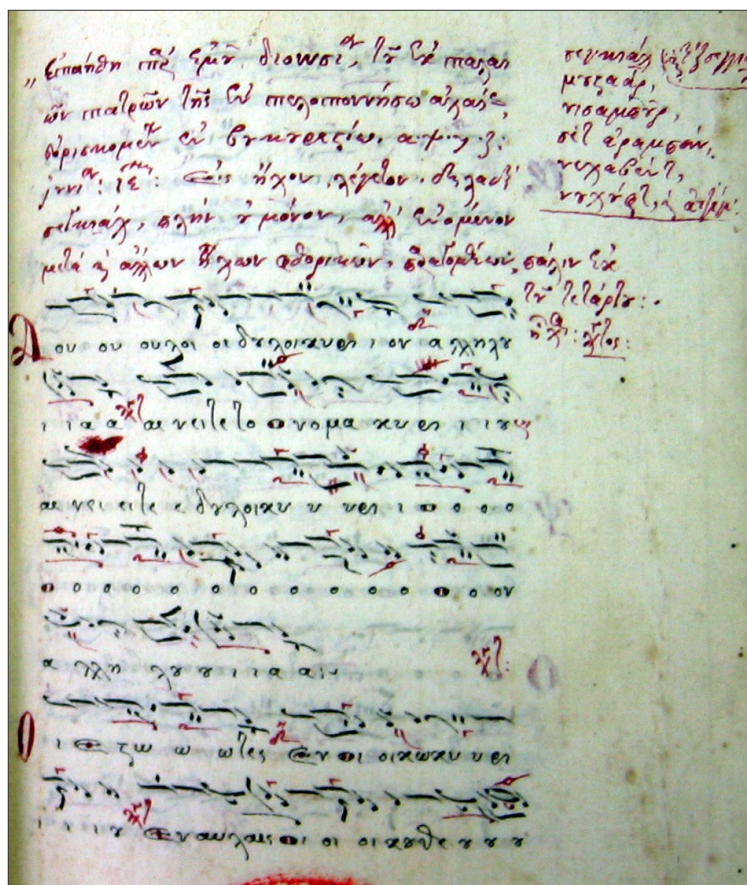


He studied Byzantine chant with his father Athanasios, and then at the Patriarchal School in Constantinople as an apprentice of Iakobos Protopsaltēs († 1800) and Petros Byzantios Fygas († 1808). As a historian, musician (Ex. 8), psaltēs, exegete, scribe, pedagogue, painter and poet, Photeinos was one of the representatives of the last generation of Byzantine learned scholars whom the Balkan emigration high tide had established in Wallachia in 1796 – 1797.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ *Εποηθεί παρ'εμού Διονυσίου του εκ Παλαιών Πατρών του Πελοποννησίου Αχαΐας ευρισκομένου εν Βουκουρεστίω 1797, Ιουνίου 15. Εις ήχον λέγετος δηλαδή σεγκιάχ..., Δούλοι Κύριον (Gr. MS 778, Barb).*

Ex. 8

Gr. MS 778, dated 1797
 (This MS is the first musical autograph of Photeinos known until now)
 Library of Romanian Academy, Bucharest



His valuable historical, literary and musical works, as well as the political – administrative positions he held (*βατάφος του Διβανίου, ισπράβνικος – νομάρχης, μεγάλος σερδάρης*) caused Photeinos to be considered as one of the most significant learned men and Greek authors who had ever lived in Wallachia.

Known mainly as a historian,⁵⁸ Photeinos left behind a musical work that covers the most important ceremonies of the Byzantine Offices. This consists of *The New Anastasimatarion* (Koinonika, Cherubic Hymns, Doxologies s.a.)

⁵⁸ *Ιστορία της πάλαι Δακίας τα νυν Τρανσυλαβανίας, Βλαχίας και Μολδαβίας*, vol. Α'-Γ', Vienna (1818–1819).

Gr. MS 185 – M. 198, dated 1809
 ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΜΑΡΙΟΝ ΝΕΟΝ
 Library of Romanian Patriarchate

ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΜΑΡΙΟΝ ΝΕΟΝ

Ἡμερον ἑρπυδιον ἀγία νύμφα (μαρτυρῶν πρὸς
 τὸν Διονυσίου Βαλαῖα. Ἦς Ἑσπαρμίων Καπρῶν Ἦς
 ἐν Πυλοπονησίω Ἐλάϊα. Προδότη Ἦς θένεζαία
 ἠδὲ Παῖα: ἀπὸ: εὐφάν Πύρα. Πρὸς γάρον ἰὼν ἐν δόξα:
 ρισίω φηγομέδων. ἐν μὲν ἴσχυ. Ἦς: α. ω. ἂν: ἴσας -
 ἢ τὴν ἡγῶν Κρῖλος ἄρχουα, ὡς Κρῖλος Κρῖλα φέρων,
 ἢ Ἦς μὲν νικολῆρια, μετ' ἄδονος Προφῆρων. ἠδὲ ἡ
 ρι ε. @ κεκλαζαππῖοςα εἰσα α. α. κεσονμα εἰ
 σα κεσονμα κυ ρι ι ε ἡ ε @ κεκλαζαππῖοςα
 εἰ σα κε σο σν με προσχερ ἰσφῶν η η ἰσθε η
 σε ι ω ω ω σμε ἡ εἰλωκε κλατε ννα μεπποςα εἰ
 σα κε σονμα κυ ρι ι ε ι
Κ εὐδωλῆτη ἡσ η ππο ο δ ο στυχημας ἠνυμι ι αμα
 νω ππ ι ο ο σν σε ε ππα αρεσι ι σ ἰω ων κη
 ρω ω ων με ἂν συ ι ι α ε ἠε ρι ν η εἰ σα κε

The New Doxastarion:

Ex. 10

Gr. MS 185 – M. 198, dated 1809
ΔΟΞΑΣΤΙΚΑΡΙΟΝ ΝΕΟΝ
Library of Romanian Patriarchate



Tridion, Pentēkostarion, Anthology:

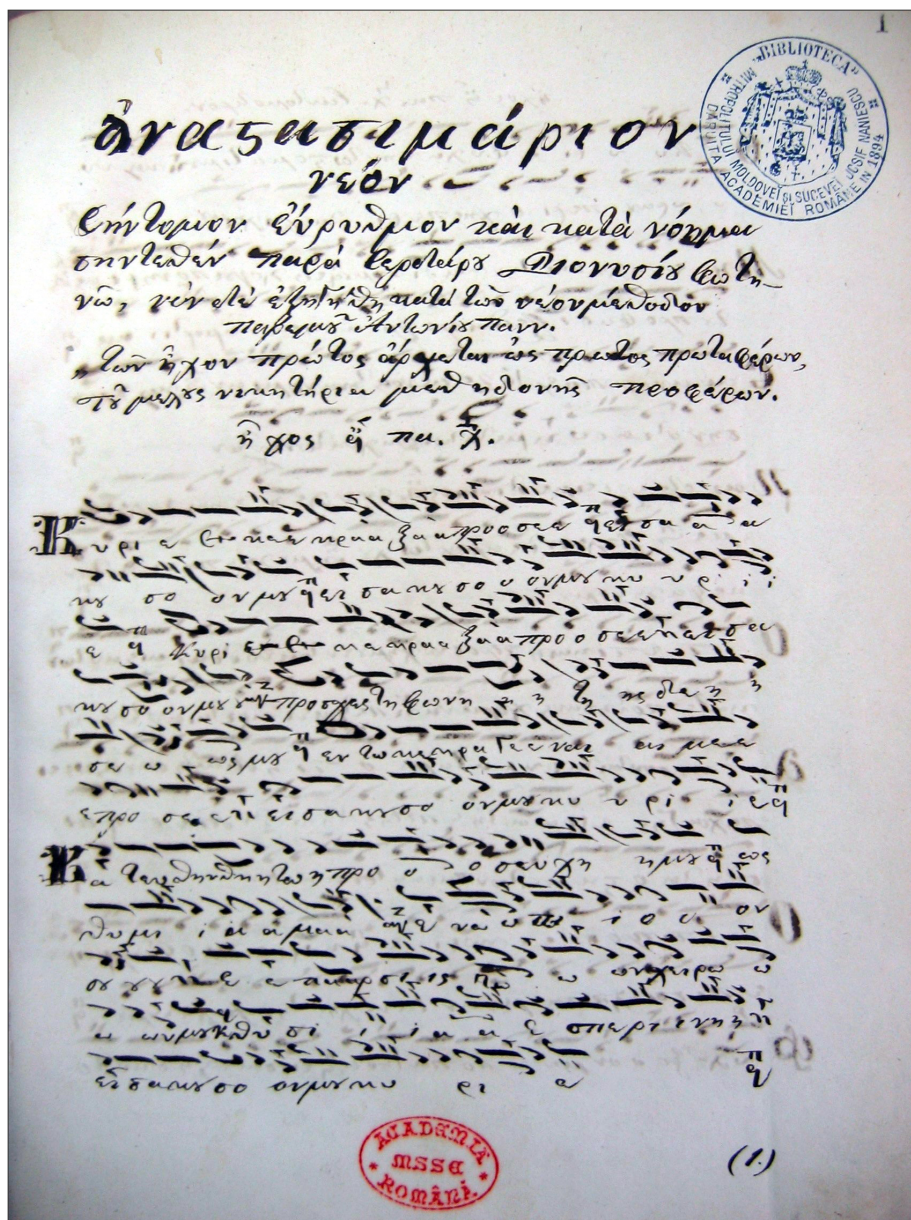
Ex. 11

Gr. MS 955, Anthology, beginning of the XIXth c.
Library of Romanian Academy, Bucharest



and a treatise *Theoretical and practical didaskalie on the written church music, especially composed for tambour and keman instruments* (lost today). The semiographic that was being used was a transition towards the Chrysantine notation and the style of his musical creations was close to the eighteenth century Constantinople composers' style (*To νέον ύφος της του Χριστού Μεγάλης Εκκλησίας, The New Style of the Great Church*). The majority of his works have been interpreted in the "New Method" of Byzantine notation by his apprentice Anton Pann (Ex. 12-13), but also by Gregorios Protopsaltēs,

Gr. MS 741, dated 1853-1854
ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΜΑΡΙΟΝ ΝΕΟΝ
Library of Romanian Academy, Bucharest



Rom. MS 14, Anthology, dated 1845
Episcopal Library, Galați



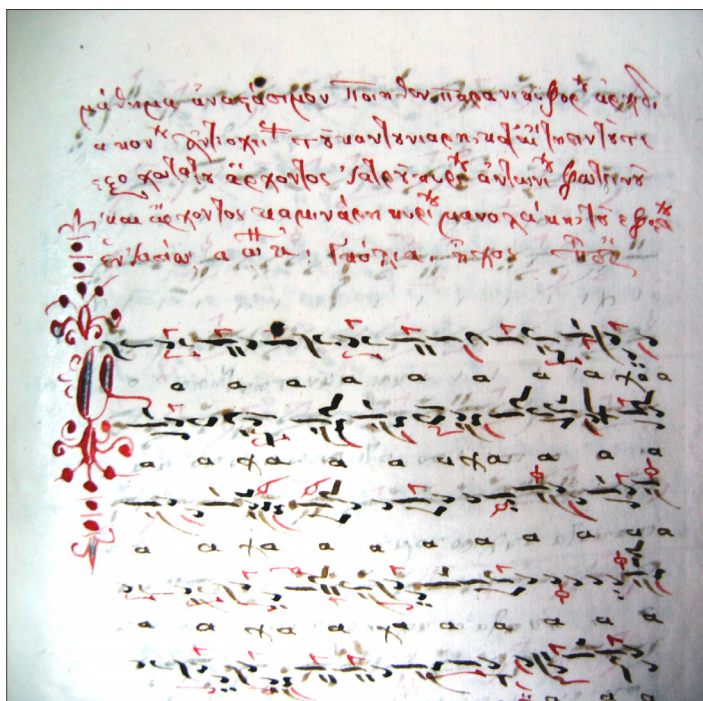
Iosif Naniescu, Macarie Hieromonk, Visarion Protopsaltēs, being published in Romanian and Greek⁵⁹ languages. His music circulated, with very few exceptions, only in the Romanian principalities, both in Romanian and in Greek languages, in the new and old „Method” of Byzantine notation.

⁵⁹ There are printed in Greek language only a few *Doxologies* and the first Greek printed edition of his *Anastasimatarion* will be edited soon by Nicolae Gheorghită (forthcoming).

His brother Antonios Photeinos, despite becoming a physician of the Phanariot princes, had a close relationship with the musicians of the time. Gregorios Protopsaltēs in MS 1298 from Monastery of Vatopedi in 1818 dedicates to him the work *Αναπεσών εκοιμήθη* in the second plagal mode *nenano*⁶⁰ and Nikēphoros Kantouniarēs mentions him as his apprentice in The Chant School at the Golia Monastery and dedicates the work *Αναστάσεως Ημέρα* (Ex. 14) both to him⁶¹ and to Petros Manouēl Ephesios.⁶²

Ex. 14

**Gr. MS 17476, Anthology, dated 1820
National Library, Bucharest**



⁶⁰ Το ακολούτως εμελοποιηθή παρ'εμου Γρηγορίου λαμπαδαρίου της του Χριστού Μεγάλης Εκκλησίας, δι αιτήσεως του εν ιατροίς αρίστου και ημετέρου φίλου και αδελφού, κυρίου κυρίου Αντωνίου Φωτεινού, ψάλλεται δε κατά τον καιρόν του Όρθρου του αγίου και Μεγάλου Σαββάτου. *Αωιη^ω κη*, in: Vatopedi 1298, f. 1r, apud ΧατζηγιακουμΗ, Μ., *op. cit.*, p. 102.

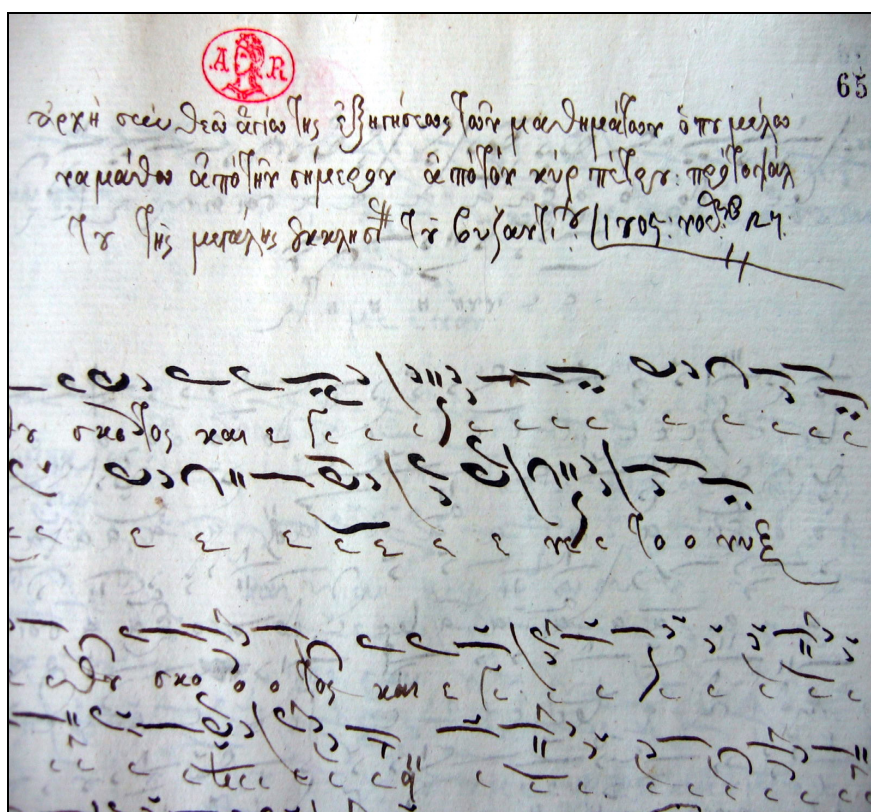
⁶¹ Antonios is also mentioned as the dedicatee of more others of Nikephoros' musical settings. Vatopedi 1429, p. 203, 367. See Plemmenos, G., John, *The Greek Contribution to the Development of Romanian Music: the Case of Nikēphoros Kantouniaries of Chios*, in: *AMB IX*, May 2006, CSBI, p. 140.

⁶² Μάθημα αναστάσεων ποιηθέν παρά Νικηφόρου Αρχιδιακόνου Αντιοχίας του Καντουιάρη κατ'αίτησιν του τα εξο[μολογι]ωτάτου άρχοντος κυρίου ιατρού Αντωνίου Φωτεινού και άρχοντος καμινάρη κυρίου Μανολάκη του Εφεσίου εν Ιασιώ 1820, Γκόλια, in: Gr. MS 17476 (Anthology, dated 1820), National Library, Bucharest.

Petros Byzantios Fygas is another Greek musician from Constantinople established in Iasi at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Following an *anafora* (letter) sent in the autumn of 1805 by the metropolitan bishop Veniamin Costache to the Prince Alexander Constantine Mouroussi, Petros takes over the new school of Byzantine music being paid with the salary of 300 lei a month.⁶³ Signs of his activity in Iasi can be found in Gr. MS 766 from Library of Romanian Academy in Bucharest where one of his apprentices writes down: *Αρχή συν Θεώ άγιω της εξηγήσεως των μαθημάτων όπου μέλω να μάθω από την σήμερον από τον Κυρ Πέτρου Πρωτοψάλτου της Μεγάλης Εκκλησίας του Βυζαντίου, 1805, 24 νοεμβρίου (f. 65r):*

Ex. 15

Gr. MS 766, dated 1805
Library of Romanian Academy, Bucharest

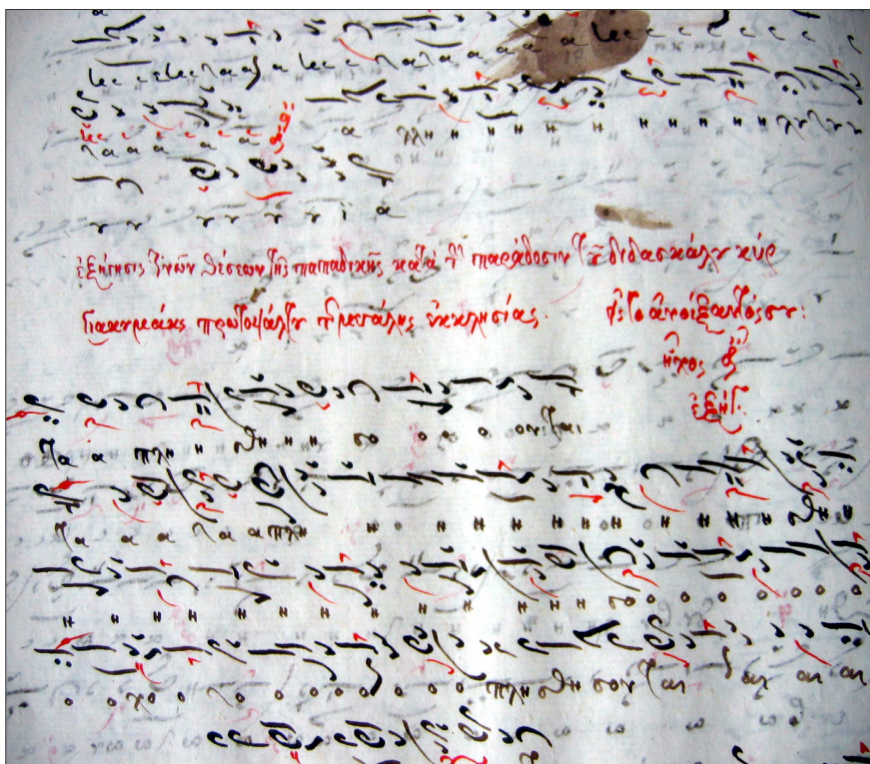


⁶³ Erbiceanu, C., *Istoria Moldovei și Sucevei și a Catedralei mitropolitane din Iași (The History of Moldavia, Suceava and Metropolitan Cathedral in Iasi)*, Bucharest (1888), pp. 345-346.

A few pages later the same apprenidice continues (f. 86v): *Εξήγησις δινών θέσεων της παπαδικής κατά την παράδοση του διδασκάλου Γιακουμάκη Πρωτοψάλτου της Μεγάλης Εκκλησίας:*

Ex. 16

Gr. MS 766, dated 1805
Library of Romanian Academy, Bucharest



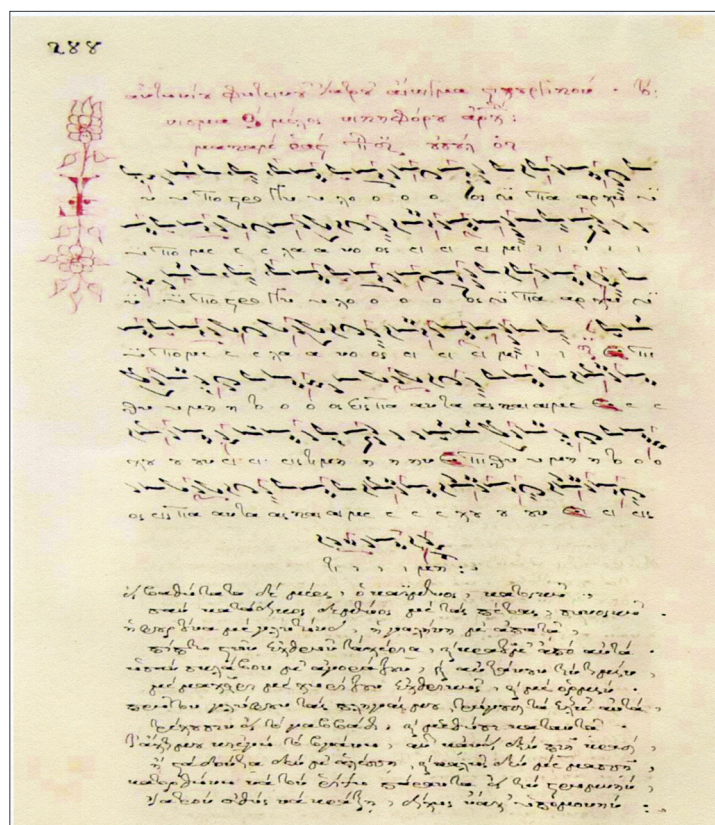
lashi is also related to the name of Nikēphoros Kantouniarēs.⁶⁴ Born on the island of Chios around 1770, Nikephoros was an important psaltēs,

⁶⁴ The most important dates can be found in: ΧατζηγιακουμΗ, Μ., *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 100 (notes 323, 324), and pp. 214-217; Eustratiades, S. – Batopedinos, Arkadios, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos*, Cambridge Mass. (1924); Παπαδοπούλου, Γ., *Συμβολαί εις την ιστορίαν της παρ' ημίν εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής* [Contribution to the history of our ecclesiastical music] Athens 1890 (1970), p. 327; Plemmenos, G., John, "Micro-music" of the Ottoman Empire: the case of the Phanariot Greeks of Istanbul, St Edmond's College, July 2001, unpublished dissertation. But specially, *Idem*, "The Greek Contribution...", pp. 135-154; Stathes, Gregorios, „Neumated Arabic, Gypsy's, and other songs by Nikeforos Kantouniaries (A.D. 1818)", in: „Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis", Dissertationes ad musicae historiam et theoriam spectantes, Folia Musica, vol. I, no. 2, Bydgoszcz, 1983, Poland; and Nicolae Gheorghitã, *Nikēphoros Kantouniarēs*, entry in *The Canterbury Dictionary of Hymnology* (forthcoming).

a composer of both ecclesiastical and secular music, a pedagogue, scribe, and exegete. As arch-dean of Antioch, he worked in Damascus, Constantinople, and around 1814 he resided in the monastery Golia in Iasi, where he taught Byzantine music in the Holy Metropolitan Church. He was a friend of Moldavia's Metropolitan Bishop Veniamin Costache, a man of letters and a music lover, to whom he dedicated praises and religious chants such as the polyeleos *Douloi Kyrion*, *Anoixantaria heirmologika* etc. Kantuniarēs dedicated chants not only to ecclesiastical personalities but also to Phanariot noblemen who lived in capital of Moldavia in his time. We can mention again the physician Antonios Photeinos, whom Kantouniarēs composed a series of church chants and the music of a riddle in verse by Antonios⁶⁵:

Ex. 17

MS 1428, dated 1810
Monastery of Vatopedi, Athos

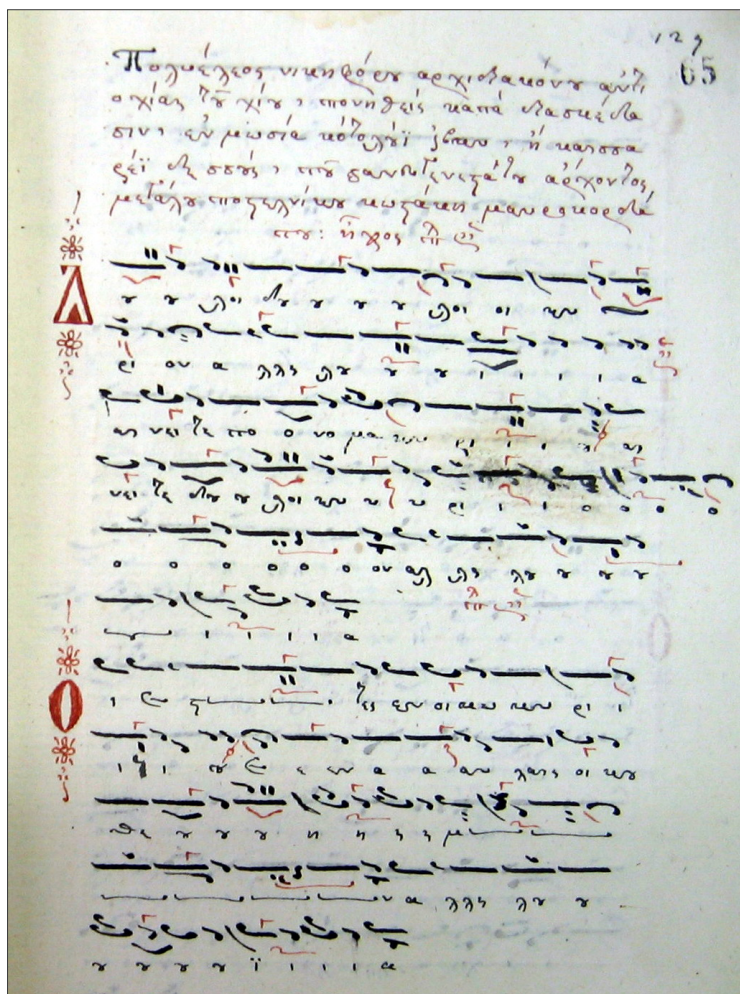


⁶⁵ Αντωνίου Φωτεινού ιατρού, αίνιγμα στιχουργικού. Τόνισμα και μέλος Νικηφόρου Αρχιδιακόνου, in: Vatopedi 1428, dated 1810, p. 288.

or another aristocrat man like the postelnic⁶⁶ Constantine Mavrocordato⁶⁷:

Ex. 18

Gr. MS 678, dated 1831
Library of Romanian Academy, Bucharest



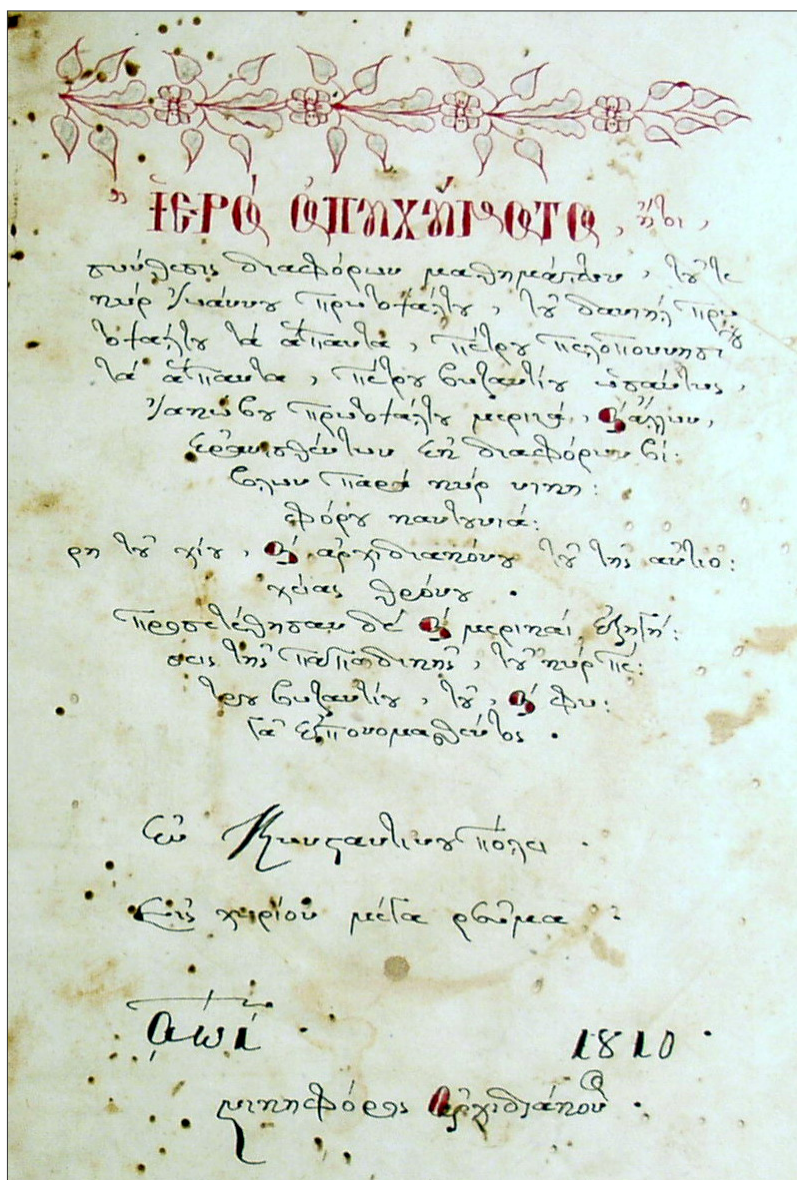
⁶⁶ Postelnic was the office of minister and master of ceremonies at court in Danubian Principalities. See W. Wilkinson, *An Account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia*, London (1820), p. 48.

⁶⁷ Πολυέλεος Νικηφόρου Αρχιδιακόνου Αντιοχίας του Χίου, τονηθείς κατά διασκέδασην εν μωσία Κότου λούϊ Ιβάν, ή Καισαρρεί δε Σούς, του πανευγενεστάτου άρχοντος μεγάλου ποστελνίκου Κοστάκη Μαυροκορδάτου, Δούλοι Κύριον ήχος πλ. Β'. I have to mention that *Cotu lui Ivan* is a small village near city of Iashi. See Lahovari Ioan, I. C. Brătianu & Grigore G. Tocilescu, *Marele dictionar geografic al României (The Great Geographical Dictionary of Romania)*, Bucharest (1899), p. 707.

Kantouniarēs' ecclesiastical compositions include not only chants for all religious services like Vespers, Matins, Holy Liturgy:

Ex. 19

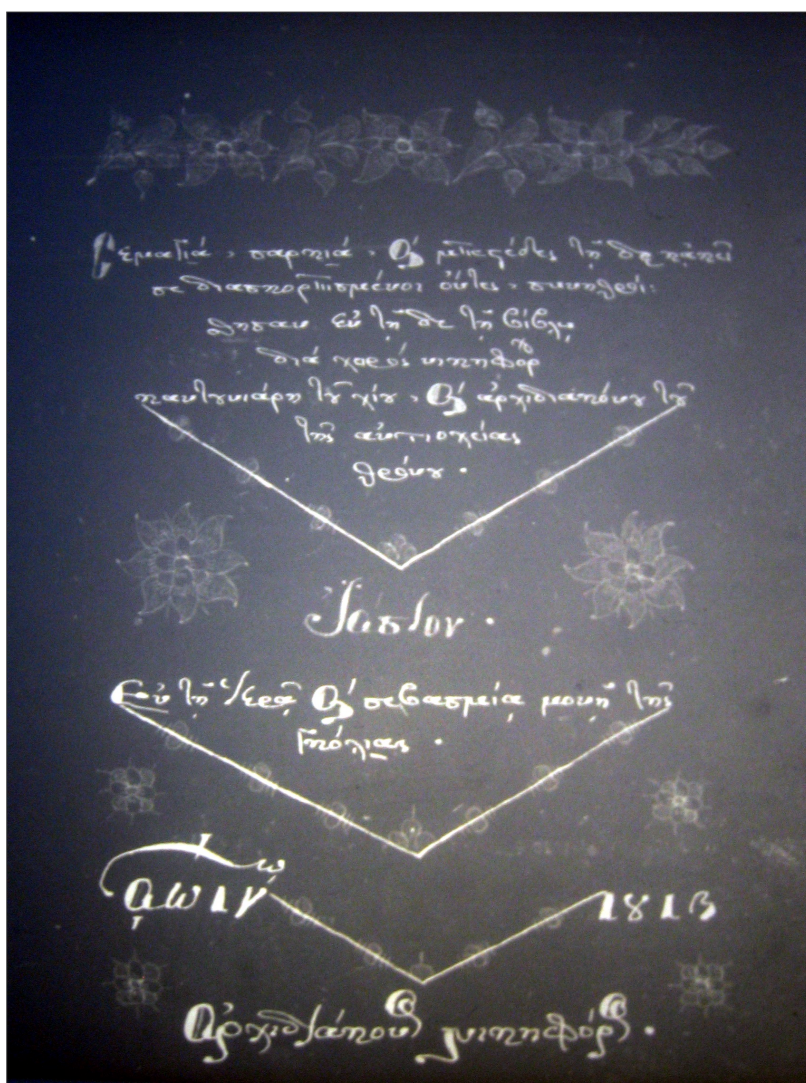
MS 1427, dated 1810
Monastery of Vatopedi, Athos



but also a series of five *kratēmata*, four callophonic *heirmoi*, three *mathēmata*, seven Christian – Arab hymns in Greek transliteration, a series of acclamations to Virgin Mary (*megalynaria*), alphabetic acclamations for the feasts of Candlemas, a polyeleos for Cheese Sunday (*By the rivers of Babylon*) etc. and an important number of music settings in the Arabic/Persian Ottoman tradition:

Ex. 20

MS 129, Anthology of secular songs, dated 1813,
Metropolitan Church Library of Moldavia and Suceava, Iași



The *Anoixantaria heirmologika* was his only composition to be transferred into the “New Method” of Byzantine notation by the protopsaltēs of Metropolitan Church of Iasi Georgios Paraskiadēs Byzantios.⁶⁸

The last years of Phanariot reign are closely related to the reform acceptance and the implementation of the new notation for the Byzantine music in the Danubian Principalities. In 1816, Petros Manuēl Ephesios arrives in Bucharest in order to teach the New writing System for the church music.⁶⁹ His arrival in the Wallachian capital seems to have been determined by a mission assigned by the Patriarchate, who wanted the reform installed in this centre, too. Just one year afterwards on 16 June 1817, Ephesios has founded the new Princely School of ecclesiastic chant at the Church of St Nicholas Șelari⁷⁰ where Romanians and Greeks would learn “The New Method”: Anton Pann, Macarie Hieromank, Theodorakis Kastrino, Panagiotis (Pangratie) Eggiurliu etc. By the official order of 17 June 1817 the nobleman Grigorie Băleanu will be appointed by the prince Ioannes Karatzea as a special *ephoros* of this school.⁷¹

At the same time, Ioannes Karatzea is interested in the activity of the new ecclesiastical music school founded by the Three Teachers in the former capital of Byzantium. Therefore the abovementioned prince appoints on 15 May 1816 three important *epitropoi* (administrators): the noblemen Ioan Moscu, Dumitru Polizache and the bishop of Arges Iosif, whom he sends to Constantinople, to represent Danubian Principalities, to take care of the school welfare.⁷²

Here is what this document stipulates, among other things:

*“As the music school that has been founded now in Țarigrad (Constantinople) is one of which should be the jewel of the saint churches and is to be forever carefully taken care of, through this kingly official decree (pitac) and through the letter sent to us by the Țarigrad ephoros for this school and, especially, through the letter of the Patriarch, I name you administrators (epitropoi) of this music school there, to take care and supervise the welfare of the school...”*⁷³

After three years on 17 of July 1819 the Patriarchate of Constantinople through patriarch Grigorios 5th addresses a latter Metropolitan of Wallachia Dionyios asking him to support financially the new founded music school

⁶⁸ Xenophontos 193 (middle of XIX c.), in: *STATHES II*, pp. 152-153. In the very famous secular music anthology named *Pandora*, Georgios is mentioned as *Γεώργιος Παρασκευάδης Βυζάντιος ο μένων εις Ιάσιον*.

⁶⁹ Pann, Anton, *Bazul teoretic și practic al muzicii bisericești (Ecclesiastical Music's Practice and Theory Basics)*, Bucharest (1845), p. XXXII.

⁷⁰ Poslușnicu, Gr. Mihail, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

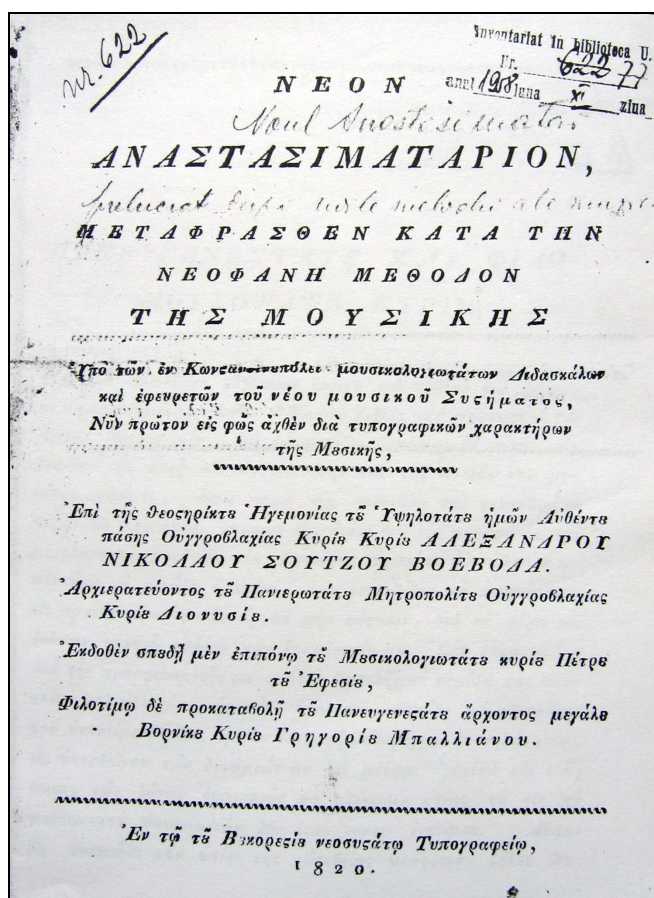
⁷² Popescu, N. M., *Viața și activitatea dascălului de cântări Macarie Ieromonahul (Life and Activity of Macarie the Hieromonk)*, Institutul de arte grafice Carol Göbl, Bucharest (1908), p. 31. See, also POSLUȘNICU, Gr. Mihail, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁷³ Popescu, N. M., *op. cit.*, p. 15; Poslușnicu, Gr. Mihail, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

and the printing of some books, which he accepts.⁷⁴ In this way the well known *didaskalos* from Constantinople – Petros Ephesios would write his name in the Eastern European music universal history through the printing of the first psaltic music books in the world in Bucharest, in 1820 (Ex. 21): *Neon Anastasimatarion* and *Neon Doxastarion*, thus ending the long period of copying the Byzantine music manuscripts.

Ex. 21

Neon Anastasimatarion, 1820, Bucharest

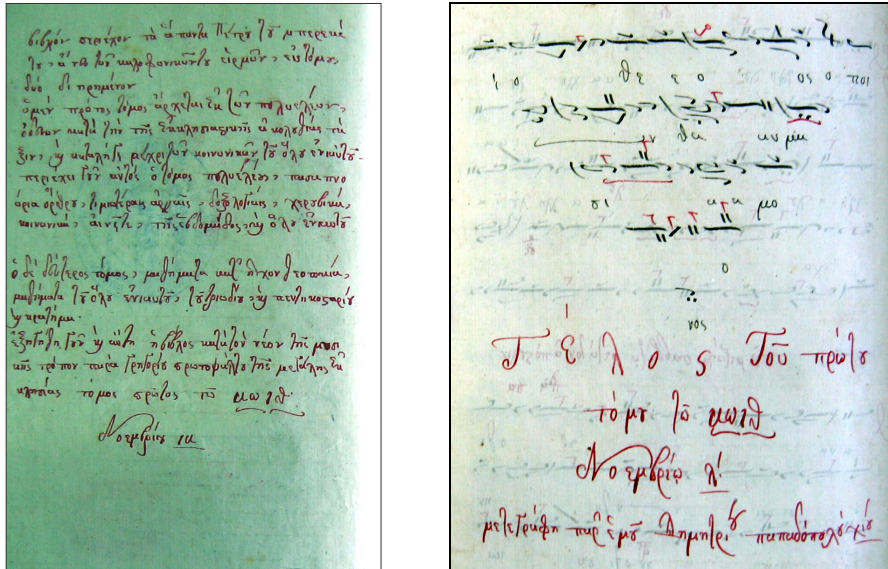


The years before 1821 are marked by an intense activity in the didactic, composing, copying domains, in the translation of the old musical settings into the „New Method” of analytical music notation, the printing etc.: (Ex. 22-25).

⁷⁴ ΣτΑθη, Γρ., “Ἡ μουσική τυπογραφία τῆς Ψαλτικής Τέχνης”, in: *Τιμὴ πρὸς τὸν Διδάσκαλον. Ἐκφραση ἀγάπης στο πρόσωπο τοῦ καθηγητοῦ Γρηγορίου Θ. Στάθη*, Athens (2001), p. 211.

Ex. 22

Gr. MS 741, *Apanta Petros Bereketis*, dated 1819
Library of Romanian Academy



Ex. 23

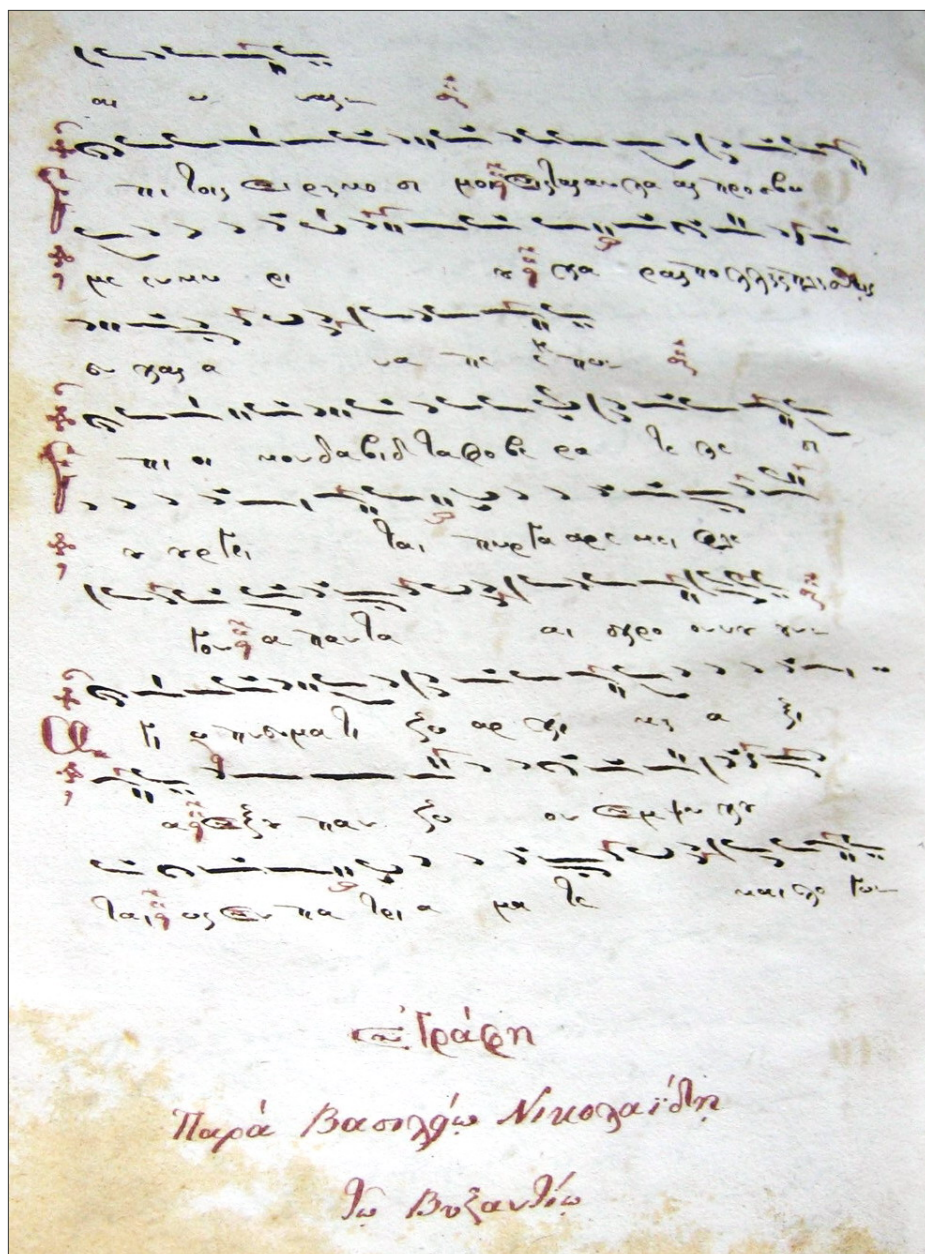
Gr. MS 840, dated 1820, Iași – Socola
Library of Romanian Academy



Gr. MS 33, dated 1799
Library of Romanian Academy, Bucharest



Gr. MS 31, c. 1830
Episcopal Library, Galați



In Bucharest under the Metropolitan of Wallachia Dionisie Lupu, the Byzantine music school in the Romanian language is re-opened (1819), having as teacher Macarie Hieromonk⁷⁵ and in the same year, Anton Pann, according to his own confession, prints an *Axion* in Romanian (lost today).⁷⁶

The ecclesiastical music world personalities continue to arrive at the Romanian provinces, some of them coming together with the Greek Princes proposed by the Sublime Porte. A good example is the one of sword bearer (*spatharios*) Ianku Malaxa, former canonarh in Constantinople, who arrived together with the Prince Michael Gregory Soutzo to Iasi,⁷⁷ taking over the position of first chanter at the princely court in 1819,⁷⁸ and becoming the most well-known singer of Iasi. Besides the church chants he was also a famous **chanende** (singer) of the secular music.⁷⁹ He was accompanied at tambura by *the kaminarios* Grigore Avram⁸⁰ and at *ney* by the cupbearer (*paharnic*) Andreas (Andricu) Vizantios (Vizanti) Terzi-başa,⁸¹ one of the virtuosi of this instrument, who seemed to be son of Gregorios Protopsaltēs Byzantios.⁸²

According to the Romanian musicologists's writings of the second half of the nineteenth century, Gregorios Protopsaltēs, had strong connections with Moldavia, being invited by the Metropolitan Veniamin Costache to lead the Byzantine school of the Moldavian capital.⁸³ Like Chourmouziou Chartophylakos, he dedicates a *polyeleos* (*By the rivers of Babylon – Επί των ποταμών Βαβυλώνας*) in the third mode to the above-mentioned hierarch,⁸⁴ but also a couple of *laika tragoudia* to the patriarch Gregorios 5th and to the Phanariot prince Michael Soutzo.

⁷⁵ Popescu, N. M., *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁷⁶ Pann, Anton, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁷⁷ Păltinescu, Ștefan, *Musichia (The Music)*, in: *Buciumul Romanu*, anul I, ed. Theodor Codrescu, Jassii (1875), p. 465.

⁷⁸ Burada, T. Theodor, *Cronica muzicală a orașului Iași (1780 – 1860) (The Musical Chronicle of the city of Iasi [1780 – 1860])*, in: *Convorbiri literare*, Iasi, 21, no. 12, March (1888), pp. 1061-1101; republished in *Idem, OPERE* vol. I, First part, Music Publishing House, Bucharest (1974), p. 142.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁸⁰ This musician studied the tambura in Constantinople. Cf. Theodor T. Burada, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-142; Mihail Gr. Poslușnicu, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

⁸¹ Burada, T. Theodor, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

⁸² Vizanti, Andrei, *Veniamin Costaki. Mitropolit Moldovei și Sucevei. Epoca, viața și operile sale (1768 – 1846) (Veniamin Costaki. Metropolitan Bishop of Moldavia and Suceava. His Epoch, Life and Works)*, Iasi (1881), p. 110.

⁸³ Păltinescu, Ștefan, *op. cit.*, pp. 465-466; VIZANTI, Andrei, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110.

⁸⁴ Ο τρίτος ψαλμός του πολυελέου τον οποίον αίτησαι (sic) ο άγιος Μολδαβίας κύριος κύριος Βενιαμίν, εμελοποιήθη παρ' εμού Γρηγορίου πρωτοψάλτου εις ήχον τρίτον [...]· ει μεν βούλει, ψάλλεται Δόξα... και νυν... του Δούλοι, Κύριον του αυτού, ει δ' ου μετά σύντομα Δόξα - Και νυν, άπερ έχει εν τω τέλει ο ίδιος με τα Αλληρούια· ήχος τρίτος **Επί των ποταμών Βαβυλώνας**, in: Dionysiou 632 (first half of XIX c.), apud STATHES II, p. 741.

Regarding the relation with the ecclesiastical music school in Moldavia, there exist an extremely exciting text by Andrei Vizanti, professor at the University in Iasi, deputy and nephew of the musician. He mentions the following:

“My grandfather, Grigori Vizanti, who came from Venice, former protopsaltēs at the Patriarchate in Constantinople, is one of the main reformers of the Old Musical System, who founded and introduced the new system in the Church music from the Orient. Brought to the country by Veniamin, ever since the beginning of the current century (1804), he contributed a lot with his knowledge both to the foundation of the new systematic school of music, as to the spreading of the music culture, especially of the New System, in the churches of our country. The events in 1821 made him retreat together with his family to Odessa, keeping the same activities. In 1827, being invited again, he came back to Iasi where he was appointed protopsaltēs of the Metropolitan Church and charged to re-found the music school.”⁸⁵

Regarding his music talent, the above mentioned writer Ștefan Păltinescu and at the same time, one of Gregorios apprentices from Iasi, was remarking:

“He was sing in with a voice full of a rare enchantment and a powerful force; his chanting mode was such that it did not show any effort, not a strange grimace as you could see in most singers, his face was peaceful, but inspired by the chant ideals”.⁸⁶

Of his apprentices in Iasi one could mention: Atanasie Oikonomos, Grigorie Boatcă Oikonomos, Costachi Oikonomos, Ioan Oikonomos, Ștefan Păltinescu, Alexios Petrino, Dimitrie Suceveanu, Petre Alexandrescu, Filip Peleologul, Manolachi Paleologul, Gheorghie Esopă, Costachi Stiglețu etc.⁸⁷

And a last piece of information that the same Andrei Vizanti offers: *Grigorie Vizantie died in 1842.*⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Vizanti, Andrei, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁸⁶ Păltinescu, Ștefan, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

⁸⁸ Vizanti, Andrei, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

III. The Idea of Canonicity in the Romanian Music of Byzantine Tradition

As it is well known, the conception according to which the music has a divine origin and it was transmitted by angels to the people, is one of the fundamental ideas that provided and granted the success of a non-distortion transmission both of the liturgical text as of its music, for more than a millennium.

Until the fall of Constantinople in 1453 as, especially afterwards, the Ecumenical Patriarchate had an important role in keeping and transmitting the Byzantine music repertoire to the countries that embraced the Orthodox ritual. The canonical, liturgical and spiritual authority determined this that the Constantinople Patriarchate was enjoying in the Orthodox countries.

Knowing that, along with the conquest of the empire, the Danubian Principalities are the only states that can support the Orthodoxy in front of the Turkish invasion lead to the intensification of the relations with the Patriarchate and the others liturgical centres and their mutual support.

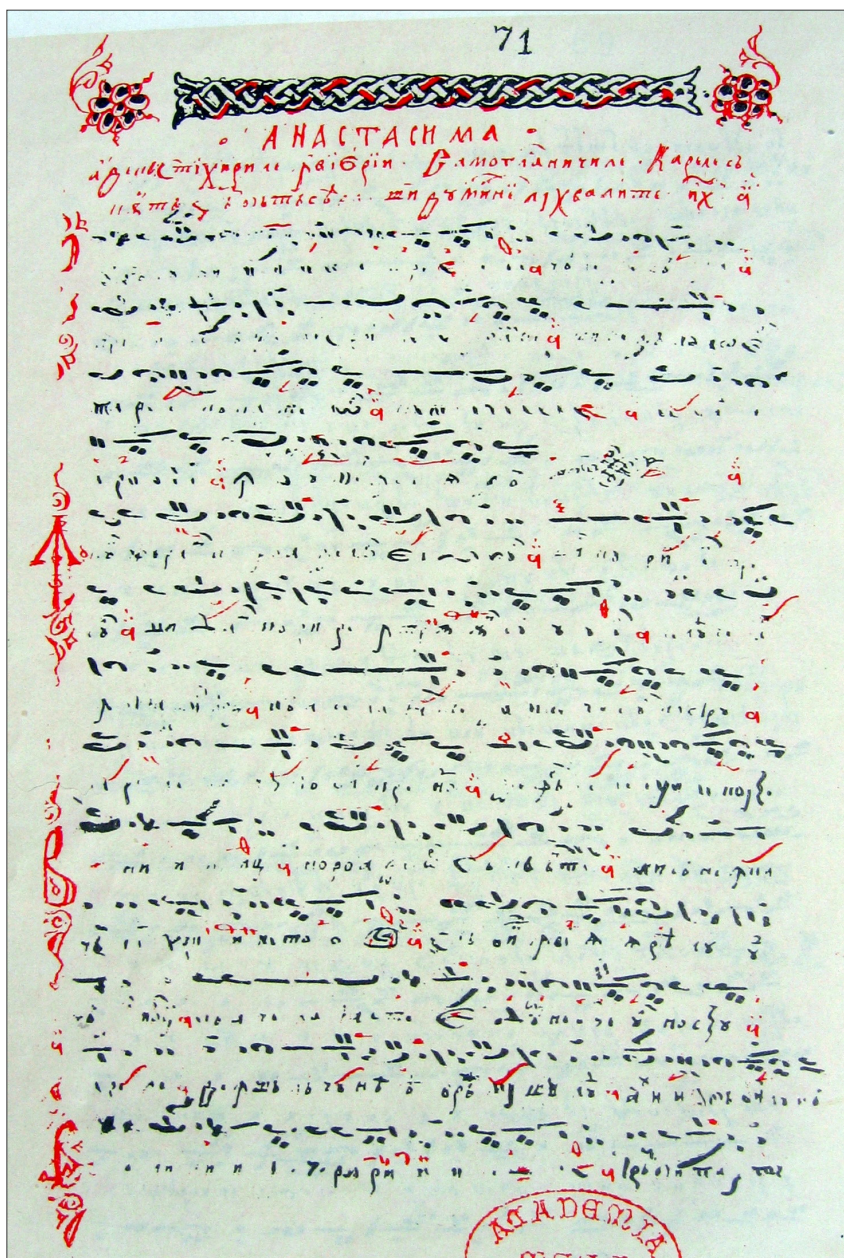
In the musical field in the two principalities Wallachia and Moldavia, this meant the copying, but especially the translation into Romanian of the creations of the most important composers from Constantinople or from the Holy Mount of Athos. This translation process of a part of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine music repertoire and the adaptation of the stylistic particularities of the Romanian language was called the process of „Romanization” of the church chants.

The three moments of the process were marked by the following composers: Filotei Jipa at the beginning of the Phanariot epoch (1713), Mihalache Moldovlachos in the second half of the eighteenth century (fl. 1767–86) and, for the third moment of the „Romanization”, Macarie Hieromonk (1750 – 1836), Anton Pann (ca. 1796–1854), Ghelasie Basarabeanul (†1851) – in Wallachia, Visarion Hieromonk (fl. 1814–43) and Dimitrie Suceveanu (1818–98) — in Moldavia.

What is fundamental to keep in mind regarding this practice, is the fact that these Romanian musicians' action is not something else but a long and sustained effort of translation and implementation in the church ceremonies in the two provinces of the contemporary music repertoire, used especially in Constantinople.

In 1713 Filothei Jipei finishes to translate the Sticherarion by Germanos Neon Patron, the Anastasimatarion by Chrysaphes the Younger (Ex. 26), to whom he adds the composers who were mentioned in the anthologies of the time.

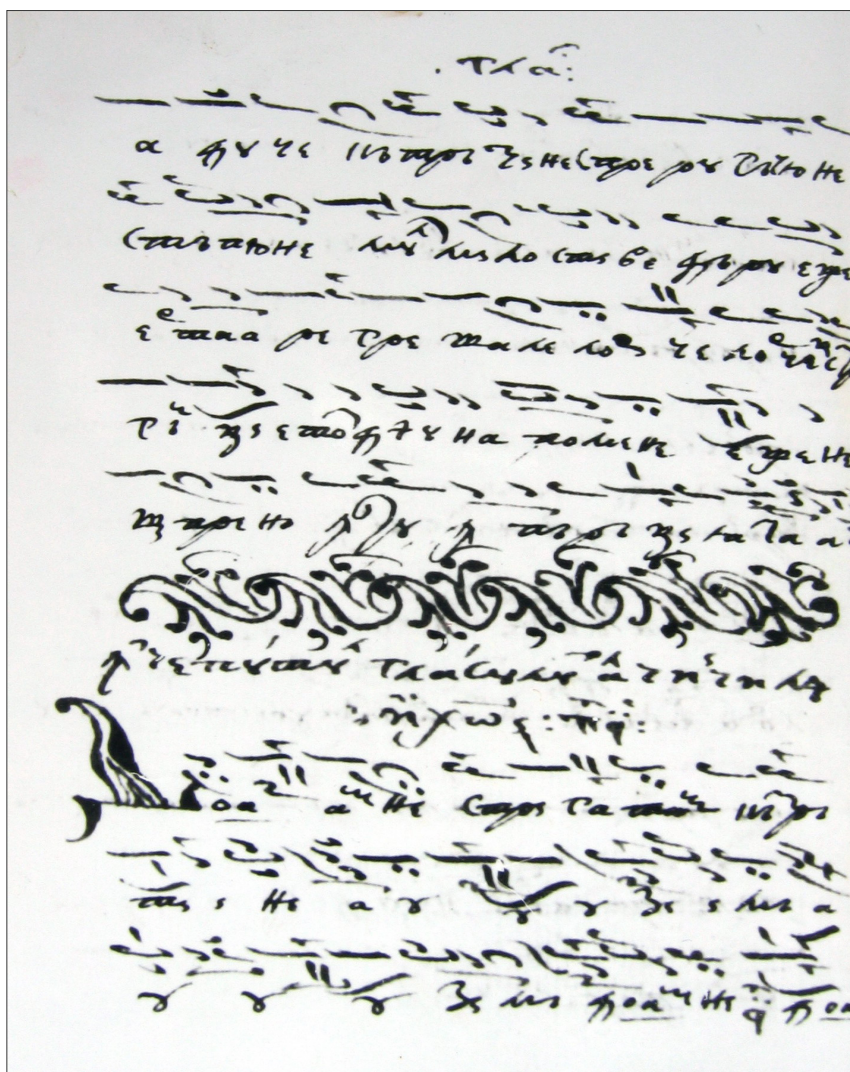
Rom. MS 61, dated 1713, Anastasimatarion
Library of Romanian Academy



In 1767, Mihalake Moldovlachos translates the Anastasimatarion of his teacher Petros Lampadarios Peloponesios:

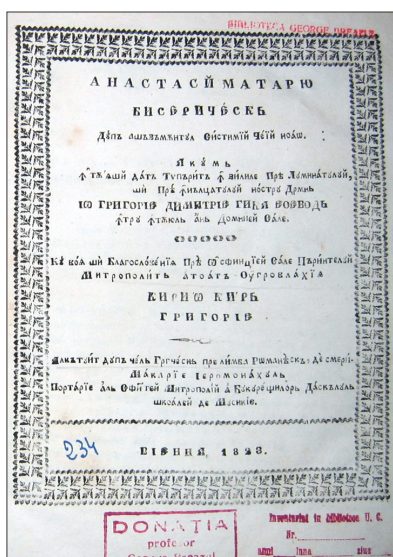
Ex. 27

MS Z 64, Anastasimatarion, dated 1767, mode I plagal
Monastery of Lavra, Athos



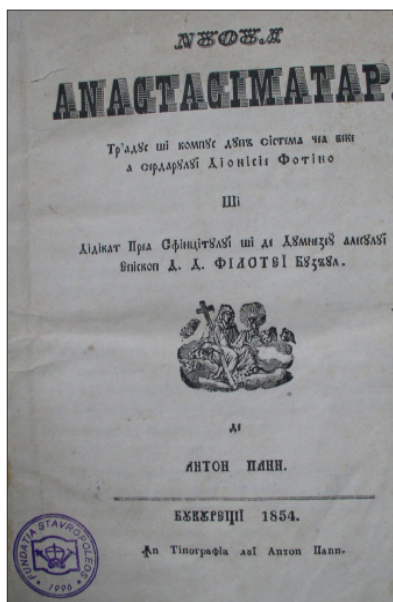
and the Romanian Anastasimataria from the beginning of the nineteenth century are by Petros Lampadarios Peloponnesios in the exegesis (interpretation) of Petros Ephesios:

**Macarie Hieromonk
Anastasimatar, Viena (1823)**



and Dionysios Photeinos:

Anton Pann, Anastasimatar, București (1854)



In this case, the problem of the „Romanization” is not a singular one, but it is the problem of all peoples – older or younger - that passed to the Orthodox ritual.

(Translated by Silvia Ștefan & Nicolae Gheorghită)

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