

# *PSALTIC MUSIC*

## *IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY BUCHAREST*

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### **ABSTRACT**

This article provides a synthetic review of research on the psaltic music schools in 19th-century Bucharest, including the teaching programs and orientations that marked monodic church singing in the capital of Wallachia. Drawing on unpublished archival documents, this paper also attempts to highlight the musical and ecclesiastical personalities who have perfected the teaching of this art during the early stage of modernization of the Romanian society.

**Keywords:** psaltic music, schools for church singers, choir chanting, Chrysanthine notation, psaltic music books

## 1. BUCHAREST BETWEEN EAST AND WEST IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The beginning of the modern era finds the city of Bucharest stranded between two worlds, two forms of civilization and, essentially, two cultural paradigms. This is the background against which the musical culture of Byzantine tradition unfolded and developed in the nineteenth century. While anchored in the tradition of the Orthodox East by its very origin, content and function, its evolution through time and the shifts brought about in history by the contact with the Western world and with a different kind of spirituality contributed greatly to the shaping of its identity. We, therefore, considered it appropriate to start the present study with a brief presentation of the political, social and cultural framework, or, in short, of the general context into which our subject can be integrated.

All the historians of the city of Bucharest note that the gradual break of the social life with the East had started already at the end of the eighteenth century due to the influence of the Austrian army during the 1787-1789 war, and deepened at the beginning of the following century due to the influence of the Russian armies during the 1806-1812 war. Added to this was the role played by the consuls of the foreign powers, who arrived in Bucharest and Iași after the Peace of Kuciuk-Kainargi.<sup>1</sup> Following this gradual opening to the West, the French language became the current language and the European forms of civilization started spreading everywhere. As the Eastern clothing and customs started to gradually disappear, the European dances and, along with them, music, became more and more prevalent at the court and in the boyars' homes. Almost imperceptibly, a revolution was sweeping over the mentality of Bucharest's society. The officers of the Russian army, many of Western origin or education, the Western tax collectors (mostly French and Italian) from the court of the last Phanariote rulers, along with the staff of the foreign consulates were the factors that contributed to this spread of new ideas and of a new outlook on life, which was the very spirit that the French Revolution brought to the whole of Western Europe. There were many receptions and balls, a new system of social relations emerged, homes began to be furnished with Western furniture, mostly from Vienna, and expensive carriages started to

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<sup>1</sup> For the Bucharest of the late eighteenth century and early twentieth century see G. I. Ionescu-Sion, *Istoria Bucureștilor*, Bucharest, 1899; Nicolae Iorga, *Istoria Bucureștilor*, Bucharest, 1938; Ulysee de Marsillac, *Bucureștiul în veacul al XIX-lea*, translated by Elena Rădulescu after Ulysse de Marsillac; *De Pesth a Bucarest. Note de voyage*, Bucharest 1869 and idem., *Guide de Voyageur a Bucarest*, Bucharest, 1877, Editura Meridiane, Bucharest, 1999; Constantin C. Giurescu, *Istoria Bucureștilor din cele mai vechi timpuri până în zilele noastre*, Editura pentru literatură, Bucharest, 1966; Ștefan Ionescu, *Bucureștii în vremea fanarioților*, Editura Dacia, Bucharest, 1974.

run through the city, until eventually the influence of Constantinople on the life of Bucharest's citizens started to wane, and the Western one took over.<sup>1</sup> Obviously, not everyone agreed with this change and not all the social strata were able to assimilate it, but this was the course of history and it appeared to be irreversible.

In the areas of culture and education, ever since the time of the penultimate Phanariote reign (Prince John Caradja, 1818-1821), the history of Bucharest was marked by several important moments: the foundation of the new Romanian school<sup>2</sup>, the establishment of the first private printing house (the former ones had belonged to the Church or had been founded with royal support), where the first collection of poems, by Paris Mumuleanu, was printed, along with the Caradja Code and numerous tragedies translated from French. Regarding public education in its early period of organization, the English consul Wilkinson, in his book on the status of the Romanian Principalities in the early nineteenth century, published in London in 1820 and in Paris in 1821, writes about the schools supported from public funds, where “teachers teach Romanian, Hellenic and Greek, the Holy Writ and Arithmetic” [*“predau lecții dascăli de românește, elinește și grecește, Sf. Scriptură și aritmetica”*], and whose students are lower-class boyars' and merchants' children, while upper-class boyars' children learn with private teachers at home, who are “usually Greek priests born in the Principalities” [*“de obicei preoți greci născuți în Principate”*]<sup>3</sup>. With regard to religious education, Wilkinson wrote – unfairly, according to his translators into Romanian<sup>4</sup> – that young people of both sexes did not receive a proper religious education, and that all that they knew was a few concepts learned in the practice of life.

Tudor Vladimirescu's revolution, with all its tragic end, had important consequences for the political life: the Turks agreed to reinstate the rule of

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<sup>1</sup> Constantin C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> On December 10, 1817, Prince John Caradja signed the charter for the introduction of the Romanian language as the teaching language at the Princely Academy, with the first teacher being Gheorghe Lazăr. This was the beginning of a strong and growing trend towards the use of the Romanian language, with Petrache Poenaru and Eufrosin Poteca at its forefront. See Ștefan Ionescu, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> W. Wilkinson, *An Account of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia*, London 1820, p. 48. Translated into Romanian after the French edition: *Starea Principatelor române pe la începutul veacului trecut*, Bucharest, 1936.

<sup>4</sup> In 1936, Colonel Ionescu and M. Dobrogeanu translated Wilkinson's work and added their own comments, including information on Bucharest's society of the time. In regard to church life, they mentioned Constantin Mavrocordat's princely decree urging the priests to keep churches open all day and sometimes also at night, until three o'clock in the morning. This is especially relevant from the perspective of our topic, as this concern for the places of worship, religious services and spiritual life of Bucharest's citizens also implied a growing interest in church singing, which gradually became an everyday necessity for the ordinary Bucharest citizen, and not just for the liturgical life of the monasteries or great cathedrals. This also had consequences on the theological and musical education, as the need for priests and church singers led to a proper development of the education system.

domestic princes and to remove the Greek from the civil, military and ecclesiastical offices. The rule of Grigorie Ghica, the first domestic ruler, was marked by important achievements and great progress particularly in the cultural life, while Dinicu Golescu, surrounded by a number of (mostly young) advocates of the new ideas, established, after his return from abroad, The Romanian Literary Society [*Societatea literală românească*], whose statutes, drawn up by Ion Heliade Radulescu, comprised a vast program of national prosperity. Its objectives were: the foundation of normal schools in each county capital and primary schools in every village, the foundation of newspapers in Romanian, the encouragement and printing of translations in the Romanian language [*“limba patriei”*], the establishment of a national theatre. Similar ideas were also coming from the young people returning from their studies in the West, who saw Bucharest as the perfect place for their implementation, with its striking social, class and wealth contrasts, where unbridled luxury was juxtaposed with poverty or even squalor, and from where emerged the protest movements and the attempts to change the regime, which eventually led to the 1848 Revolution.<sup>1</sup>

In 1830, during the administration of General Kiseleff, a direction for the “town embellishment” was set up which, through the measures it initiated, brought significant changes to the image and life of Bucharest: streets received names, the main streets were stone paved, the route of the future Kiseleff boulevard was laid out, street lights were introduced in the city. The process of shaking off the obviously Constantinoplean influence was in full swing, the Greek language of the Phanariote era was replaced by French in the high society of the time, young people were walking the streets dressed in the fashion of Paris, passing by elderly people still wearing the loose and flowing garments of the East. The picture was a typical one and was emphasized by all the foreign travellers passing through Bucharest at the beginning of the nineteenth century: an accumulation of contrasts, Asia and Europe, civilization and primitivism, village and city.

A new trend was taking shape in the years before the 1848 Revolution: the young people returned from their studies abroad, the newly established press, the historical and literary publications and the artistic societies, all gradually produced a major change in mentality. The national idea of Romanian prosperity and unity in language, literature and even political organization, alongside the democratic liberal one, dominated increasingly the enlightened minds and especially the universe of the young and of the rapidly expanding new bourgeoisie.

This was where the 1848 revolution would start, with a profound impact on the society and especially on the ruling class that facilitated the penetration of

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<sup>1</sup> Constantin C. Giurescu, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-120.

social reform ideas, which were later embodied in the provisions of the 1858 Convention of Paris (equality of all before the law, abolition of nobility titles) and in the laws issued by Cuza and Kogălniceanu between 1863 and 1864: secularization of monastic estates and redistribution of land to the peasants.

The years following the 1848 Revolution had a special significance for Bucharest, which in 1861 grew into the capital city of the United Principalities and consequently experienced an unprecedented boom<sup>1</sup>.

The Union and the reign of Alexandru Ioan Cuza marked a new era in the history of the city, which through its architecture, organization and daily routine had already taken on a Western look. New institutions and high schools were born, along with “superior schools” which, in 1865, were incorporated into the newly established University, followed in 1898 by the School of Fine Arts and Conservatory of Music and Dramatic Art. The first scientific literary and academic societies come into being, the National Museum of Antiquities was established and no less than 82 periodicals saw the light of day, 14 of which were in foreign languages.

All these details regarding the urban, social, institutional and cultural evolution of Bucharest did nothing but exacerbate a phenomenon that affected musical culture as well: the gradual shift from the East to the West, from the church to the state institutions, from borrowings and adaptations coming from the Greek school to the creation of a national one.

This shift, however, was neither easy nor smooth, as illustrated in *Memoriu pentru Cântările bisericești* drawn up in 1881 by Bishop Melchisedek for the autumn meeting of the Holy Synod, according to which in the early nineteenth century “it was very difficult to do something for the Romanians and in Romanian” [*“era foarte greu a lucra ceva pentru Români și românește”*], because the entire intelligentsia was Greek or Hellenized, schools were Greek, the ruler, boyars and even the bishops and metropolitans from Wallachia were Greek, and the only Romanians left were “the peasant and his priest” [*“țăranul cu popa lui”*]<sup>2</sup>. It is in this context that the tendency to form a national culture emerged, as an echo of the ideas of the French Revolution, but it was met with resistance from the Greeks. In the preface to his

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<sup>1</sup> One of the most suggestive descriptions of the Bucharest of this time of transition to modernity belongs to the French consul Eugene Poujade: “elegant men and women dressed in the latest fashion of Paris and peasants clad like the Dacians of two thousand years ago; Albanians in dirty clothes, roaming the streets and selling millet beer ... and confectionery shops displaying sweets from the houses of Boissier, Potel and Chabot; monks smoking their pipes in pubs or on graves in the downtown cemeteries, side by side with gypsy musicians wearing long, loose robes and a fiddle, kobsa or panpipe fastened to their waist, ready to offer their services for a baptism, wedding or funeral. Eastern life, fading away, and European civilization replacing it, go side by side, succeeding each other as in a panorama.”

<sup>2</sup> Episcop Melchisedek, “Memoriu pentru cântările bisericești în România”, in *BOR* 6(1882), pp. 11- 47.

*Heirmologhion*, Macarie noted that this Greek opposition or persecution was also directed to the Romanians' desire to have a "Romanian psaltic music manual" ["*psaltichie românească*"] and thus free this art from the "Greek Turkish influences" ["*turcismurile grecești*"], in order to create a national school: "I see that the presumptuousness of the Greek psaltes runs so high that they dare to write that all those who want to learn this system should learn it from Greek teachers, for no other European people can chant these scales correctly, and I was surprised by their devilish arrogance" ["*văd că un deșert dintre psalții greci până acolo se suie cu nesimțirea, încât îndrăznesc să scrie că tot cel ce va voi să învețe această sistimă, să caute să o învețe de la dascăli elini, pentru că toate celelealte neamuri urmând europenilor nu pot să-și aducă glasul pe treptele scărilor, și m-am mirat de sataniceasca lor mândrie*"].<sup>1</sup> In 1821, while in Pesta, Macarie wrote a fiery speech to the Romanian chanter – signed "Macarie the Hieromonk, author of the psaltic music manual" [*Macarie ieromonahul alcătuitorul psaltichiei românești*]–, whom he urges: "do not be ashamed to sing in your mother tongue. Do not let yourself be influenced by those who advise you to not use the art of psaltic music in your own language, for all they want is to always have you under their control" ["*să nu te rușinezi iubitulă a cânta pe graiul limbii tale. Nimic să nu te sfiștii de acum de cei ce te sfătuiesc pe tine ca să nu întrebuințezi meșteșugul a toată psaltichia în limba ta, că aceia voiesc totdeauna să te aibă supus*"]<sup>2</sup>. All the spirits emboldened by the idea of national revolution were listening to the then widespread wake-up call "love your people and render yourself useful to your motherland" ["*fă-te iubitoriu de neam, folositor patriei*"].

For an intellectual of the early nineteenth century, the written confession of love for his motherland was something natural. Unlike at the beginning of the previous century, the word 'motherland' did not refer to the state (i.e. Wallachia), but to the entire territory inhabited by Romanians.<sup>3</sup> Macarie the Hieromonk spoke about the Romanians "living in Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, Banat, the Hungarian Country and Macedonia" [*lăcuitori în Țara Românească, în Moldova, în Ardeal, în Banat, în Țara Ungurească și în Machidonia*]<sup>4</sup>. A few years later, when he was planning to publish several music books in Romanian, Macarie had in mind not only the Romanians from Wallachia and Moldavia, but also those from Bessarabia (then under Russian rule), Transylvania and Banat<sup>5</sup>. For him, the

<sup>1</sup> *Idem.*, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Macarie Ieromonahul, "Înainte cuvântare către cântărețul român, să se bucure în Domnul", in Titus Moiescu, *Prolegomene bizantine*, Ed. Muzicală, Bucharest, 1985 (vol. I), p. 133-134.

<sup>3</sup> Vlad Georgescu, *Istoria românilor*, Humanitas, Bucharest, 1995, pp. 132-133.

<sup>4</sup> See note 74 from the letter sent by Macarie the Hieromonk from Pesta, in 1821.

<sup>5</sup> *Idem.*, pp. 126 și 148.

translation of chants was not only a sign of obedience to the bishop's order, but also a holy duty to the motherland.

When Macarie obviated Petros Efesios's printing house just two years after its establishment, by publishing, in Vienna, the music books in Romanian, the fight between the Greeks and the Romanians in the field of psaltic music had already been won, and the Greek influence on psaltic music started to wane. However, Macarie, full of modesty and aware of the origins of the psaltic chant, did not neglect to mention, in the notification he sent from Vienna, that “the goal of my endeavour is not to urge the rejection of all that is Greek, but instead, animated by patriotic zeal, I wish that, just as all other peoples embrace the values of their forefathers while adopting the foreign ones only to highlight their own, so, too, should we, Romanians, make use of our own values rather than imitate those of others, and no longer be ashamed to sing the troparia, cheroubika, koinonika and Lord, have mercy in the Romanian language” [*scopul osârdiei mele nu iaste pentru a îndemna ca cu totul să se lepede cele grecești, ci râvnind cu râvnă patrioticească am râvnit, ca precum alte toate neamuri întru toate să slujesc cu ale sale, și pe cele străine le au numai cinstindu-le ca pe cele dintâi așa și noi Romanii (...) să le îmbrățișăm ca pe ale noastre și să ne slujim mai bine cu ale noastre decât cu cele străine, nemairușinându-ne a cânta în limba noastră tropare, heruvice, pricesne și Doamne miluiește*”].<sup>1</sup>

Anton Pann, who, in turn, was fully aware of the role and place of the Greek psaltes in the musical culture of the century, did not hesitate to praise the compositions of Dimitrie Fotino, whom he called “my good teacher” [*“bunul meu dascăl”*], and learned the new system, just like Macarie, with Petros Efesios, in whose printing house he also served as director. Both Romanian psaltic music teachers used the Greek theoretical books on music as the starting point for their grammars.

However, the major change brought by the nineteenth century in the field of church chant came with the development of education and the setting up of the priestly seminars, the institutionalization of the teacher-student relationship, the development of a general teaching methodology, the development of psaltic music grammars, and the demise of orality and improvisation as a means of conveying theoretical and practical knowledge.

On the other hand, the openness to the West brings, in addition to significant progress in the spheres of culture and civilization, a spirit of gradual laicization and secularization which led to a decline in the realm of church chant. The causes of this decline were already identified by Bishop Melchisedek as: the lack of material resources in dioceses, metropolitanates and monasteries after the secularization of the monastic estates, as a result of which singers no longer

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<sup>1</sup> Macarie Ieromonahul, *Înștiințare*, March 1822, in Titus Moisesescu, *Prolegomene ...*, p. 141.

benefited from the advantages or exemptions granted in return for their services and therefore were not longer interested in pursuing this profession; the growing indifference towards the church and the religious services and, last, but not least, the growing taste for harmonic music and the advent of church choirs, whose inclusion in the church was supported by some bishops, against tradition<sup>1</sup>.

However, the music of Byzantine tradition continued to hold an important place in the Church through the care of certain bishops and of the following generations of psaltes, who formed the national school of psaltic music.

## **2. SCHOOLS, REPRESENTATIVES AND THEORETICAL MODELS IN THE CHURCH MUSIC OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY BUCHAREST**

### **2.1. The Music of Byzantine Tradition in the Nineteenth Century – Shifts and Trends**

The 19th century brought a major shift in the evolution of the musical culture of Byzantine tradition: the spread of the printing press facilitated the wider circulation of psaltic music and, consequently, the schools of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, until then isolated and circumscribed to their geographical area, merged into one single national school. The teaching, composition and performing activities broke away from their isolated framework and were institutionalized first as church music schools and then as priestly seminaries, becoming an important vehicle in the promotion of the national culture.

The process of integrating the culture accumulated through assimilation and of giving it a strong national identity characterized the entire artistic output of the time. In the case of church music, an important role in this shift that marked the nineteenth century was played by the Chrysanthine reform, started in Constantinople by the followers of Georgios of Crete, i.e. Chrysanthos of Madytos, Gregorios the Levite and Hourmouzos Hartofilax, and brought to Wallachia by Petros Efesios, in the early nineteenth century. The reform, or the new musical system, spread very fast throughout the Orthodox world and in Wallachia as well, where the Romanian great protopsaltes wholeheartedly embraced the more simplified musical system, even though it meant a departure from the old Byzantine chanting style. It is important to note that according to this type of neumatic notation, the music preserved its monodic character typical of the Byzantine traditional chant, with its four states – recitative, heirmologic, stichiraric,

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<sup>1</sup> See Episcop Melchisedec, *art. cit.*, pp. 39-40.

papadic – and their characteristic modal and cadential structure. However, what characterizes and distinguishes this system from the old one is, in the first place, the simplification of the notation system by renouncing to a series of signs that complicated the reading and the deciphering of the melodies. Secondly, a much more accurate modal system was created and several changes were made to the musical forms and styles and to the structure of the diatonic and especially chromatic scales, which differ greatly from the archaic diatonism of the old Byzantine music. The Reform also brought clarifications with respect to the variable quality of intervals, establishing three interval sizes: major, minor and neutral. Only the sharp and the flat could modify these intervals, by half of the great tone (a semitone). As a result of all these interventions, many of the confusions of the old system were eliminated and thus the theory of the new system became much clearer and more accurate.<sup>1</sup>

In the Principalities, the Reform was adopted very rapidly. On May 15, 1816, Prince Caradja, the ruler of Wallachia, appointed three church administrators to look after the welfare of the recently established school in Constantinople, and in 1817 he officially opened a school for the learning of the new system, attached to the St. Nicholas-Șelari Church in Bucharest, appointing Petros Efesios as teacher, who “had studied at the School of Constantinople” [*“se desăvârșise la Școala de la Constantinopol”*]. He contributed to the formation of the first generation of psaltes who knew the new musical theory, and to the establishment of the first printing press of psaltic music in the East. He also worked hard on the transcription of the songs into the new musical system (while keeping their text in Greek), and later on their printing. In a study dedicated to Macarie the Hieromonk, Nicolae M. Popescu wrote about Petros Efesios that “although a foreigner, when he was working, all he was thinking of was the patriot music lovers” [*“deși străin, nu se gândea când lucra decât la iubitorii de muzică patrioți”*], being one of those who were “extremely helpful to us” [*“ne-au adus multe foloase”*]; it was through him that the new musical notation was spread in our country and that the psaltic music printing press was invented, and “one of his disciples will certainly be the one to eliminate Greek music from our church” [*“un ucenic al lui va fi acela care va izgoni muzica grecească din biserica noastră”*].<sup>2</sup>

Through their work of adaptation, translation and Romanianization of church chants, the psaltes of the early nineteenth century created the necessary

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<sup>1</sup> A synthetic and clear presentation of the stylistic differences brought by the Chrysanthine Reform is provided by Titus Moisescu in “Muzica bizantină în Evul Mediu românesc. Schița unei eventuale istorii a acestei străvechi arte” in *Memoriile comisiei de folclor*, vol. VI/1992, Ed. Academiei, Bucharest, 1995, pp. 65-66.

<sup>2</sup> Nicolae M. Popescu, *Viața și activitatea dascălului de cântări Macarie Ieromonahul*, Bucharest, 1908, p. 19.

environment for the emergence of the national psaltic music, which would be promoted throughout the century by the singers and teachers of church music, who would thus contribute to the emergence and expansion of the national school of church music. As Nifon Ploeșteanu, the vicar of the Holy Metropolitanate of Ungro Wallachia wrote in 1902, these are “the distinguished teachers and great music composers who adorned the liturgical service of the Romanian Church with their musical compositions and chants. They deserve our deepest gratitude; for not only have they cleansed the religious songs from all that was foreign, but they have also set Romanian texts to the melodies and have accommodated them to the musical genre and taste of the Romanian people” [*“distinguiții profesori și marii compozitori de muzică carii au împodobit serviciul liturgic al Bisericii Române, prin compozițiunile și cântările lor musicale. Ei au tot dreptul la recunoștința noastră; de ore-ce, nu numai că au curățit cântările bisericesti de tot ce aveau strein; dar au pus melodiile pe românește și le-au acomodat cu genul și gustul de cântare al poporului român”*].<sup>1</sup>

The Romanian Orthodox Church itself fought for the promotion of the national culture on several levels. From a musical standpoint, with the introduction of the Chrysanthine Reform in Wallachia, Moldavia and part of Transylvania, it contributed to the organization of psaltic music education in the Romanian language, by constantly stimulating and encouraging its development. The psaltic music schools established in larger cities, metropolitanates, dioceses and monasteries played a key role in the formation of psaltes, who, through their compositions, performances, translations and Romanianization of chants, as well as through their calligraphic art and editorial skills, laid the foundations of the national school of psaltic music. Its purpose was – as Fr. Alexis Buzera concludes in his study dedicated to our nineteenth-century musical culture – to fulfil the ideals of the psaltes and protopsaltes of the last centuries, who championed the promotion of church singing in the Romanian language, the strengthening of the national ethos and the development of the musical culture of Byzantine tradition<sup>2</sup>.

In 1813, at the insistence of Metropolitan Nectarie and by order of Prince Caradja, the ruler of Wallachia, a school of church music (“*musicchie*”) was founded, whose teacher in charge of “teaching the art of music to those eager to learn it was Hieromonk Gherasie” [*“paradosească meșteșugul muziceii la cei ce vor voi a-l învăța, dascălul musicos, Gherasie Ieromonahul”*]. The school set up “due to the lack of singers needed in the divine services” [*“fiind lipsă de cântăreți trebuincioși pentru aceleași Dumnezeuiești slujbe”*] was held in “two rooms of the St. Sava School” [*“două odăi ale Școalei ot Sfeti Sava”*], and teacher Gherasie was paid “with 250 thalers from the school's incomes, without taking any payment from the pupils” [*“cu leafă din*

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<sup>1</sup> Nifon N. Ploeșteanu, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Alexie Al. Buzera, *op. cit.*, pp. 342-344.

*venitul școalelor pe lună protaleri 250, fără a se lua vreo plată de la ucenici*”<sup>1</sup>. Given that classes were held at St. Sava and not at the Metropolitanate, it means – according to musicologist Octavian-Lazăr Cosma – that Gherasie, the music teacher [*dascăl musicos*], continued the teaching work started by Mihalache Protopsaltis at St. Sava, at the end of the previous century<sup>2</sup>. However, due to the lack of funds, the school was closed down the following year, in August, 1814.

Given the connections with the Patriarchate of Constantinople and with Mount Athos, Wallachia was among the first to adopt the new notation. Prince John Caradja, in response to the demand for help from Patriarch Cyril, provided moral and material support for the implementation of the reform in the school founded in Constantinople in 1815, and on May 15, 1816, he appointed Iosif, Bishop of Argeș, Ioan Moshu and Polizache Dimitriu to handle its proper operation. Although the hypothesis of sending young Romanians to Constantinople to study the new notation is therefore quite plausible, in Bucharest, the reform was brought by the Greek Petros Efesios<sup>3</sup>.

The national character of church music is emphasized by Macarie the Hieromonk in the preface to the Heirmologion – Katavaseion [*Irmologhion – Catavasier*] printed in Vienna in 1823, where he speaks about the Greeks' contempt for the Romanian chanters who “are of no worth, and sing in Wallachian” [*“nu iaste nimic, cântă vlahica*”]<sup>4</sup>.

As all his biographers agree, Macarie engraved his name in the history of psaltic music as “the greatest translator of ecclesiastical chants” [*“cel mai desăvârșit tâlmăcitor al cântărilor eclesiasitce*”]. Although he had translated and composed many chants in the old Cucuzelian system, or, as he confessed, “not few were the chants that I have translated and composed in the old system of musical notation” [*“și pe sistima veche nu puține cărți în limba noastră am prefăcutu și cântări am alcătuitu*”], once the reform was adopted, he transcribed and adapted them to the new system, because he realized the need for the religious repertoire to be “translated” [*“intradus*”] into “the New System and into Romanian” [*“sistima noao și în limba graiului nostru*”]. Macarie understood to reform the psaltic chant by uniting the two desiderata of the moment: the simplification and clarification of the chant, and its stamping with a national character. In both form and content, the Byzantine chant had to be a new one. Metropolitan Dionisie Lupu therefore charged him with the creation of a work of great national significance. The Romanianization of psaltic chants was ultimately a highly complex technical

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<sup>1</sup> V. A. Urechia, *Istoria Școalelor de la 1800 – 1864*, vol. IV, Bucharest, 1901, pp. 201 – 202.

<sup>2</sup> Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

<sup>3</sup> Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> Macarie Ieromonahul, *Irmologion sau Catavasieru....*, p. X.

process by which, starting from the original, he created a naturally unfolding melodic line that was adapted to the Romanian musical text and to the word, with all its nuances in terms of content, expressivity and metrics. Always attentive to the word, Macarie creatively intervened at the beginning or inside the phrases by making them shorter, or longer, as required, and thus obtaining a new, somewhat modified work, in which the national character complemented and merged with the Byzantine one. We can therefore conclude – in agreement with musicologist Gheorghe C. Ionescu in the study dedicated to the Romanianization efforts of Macarie the Hieromonk – that in his strive for the Romanianization of chants, Macarie was concerned with the faithful correspondence between the Romanian text and the music created, so that the work would acquire a new identity, a new personality, stemmed from the joined effort of the composer and translator, and fulfilling all the requirements of a work of art.<sup>1</sup>

The phenomenon is certainly much more complex and has a long history that also underlies Macarie's entire work; for more than a century, from Filothei sin Agăi Jipei to Macarie the Hieromonk, a plethora of musicians – psaltes-composers, copyists, teachers, singers – contributed, each in their own way, to the Romanianization of church chants. Among them, Șărban the Protopsaltis – disciple of Filothei and protopsaltis of the Princely Court Church, gifted translator and psaltis-composer, Ioan sin Radului Duma Brașoveanu, who left us a Romanian Psaltic Music Manual [*Psaltichie românească*] which he completed in 1751, and which is actually a copy of Filothei's Psaltic Music Manual [*Psaltichie*], and Constantin Ftori Psalt, the calligrapher of an *Antologion*, which was a copy of some chants from Filothei's *Psaltichie*. An important name in this context is that of Mihalache Moldovlahul, “music teacher at the St. Sava School” [*“dascăl de musichie la școala de la Sf. Sava”*], who around 1784-1786 translated an *Anastasimatarion* mentioned by Anton Pann in the preface to his Theoretical Basis [*Bazul theoretic*], but which, unfortunately, has not been preserved<sup>2</sup>. Mihalache took a significant step ahead of Filothei, through his creative interventions in the treatment of the score, by which he managed to give a musical form to the Romanian words. He was followed by Naum Râmniceanu, from whom we have an *Antologion* comprising the Romanian translation of a *Propaedia* and several songs reproduced

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<sup>1</sup> Gheorghe C. Ionescu, “Macarie Ieromonahul și opera de românire a cântărilor psaltice”, in idem., *Studii de muzicologie și bizantinologie*, Bucharest, 1977, pp. 65-66.

<sup>2</sup> A reference to Mihalache Moldoveanu, Mihalache Moldovlahul or Mihalache “the singer of the Holy Forty Martyrs” [*“Cântărețul celor 40 de mucenici”*], in Sebastian Barbu-Bucur, *Cultura muzicală...*, p. 109. According to Sebastian Barbu-Bucur, if Mihalache Moldovlahul is the same person as Mihalache Eftimivici, then his *Anastasimatarion* is preserved in two manuscript copies (BAR mss. rom. No. 578 and 551). See, in extenso, Sebastian Barbu-Bucur, “Protopsaltul Mihalache Moldovlahul” (I), *Muzica*, Year XVIII, No. 3/2007, pp. 113-120.

from Filothei's Psalmody [*Psaltire*], Joseph the Monk, Protopsaltis of the Neamț Monastery and Ioniță Pralea Moldoveanul, the first translator in rhythmic verse of the Lamentations of Jesus Christ [*Prohodului Domnului*] and of the Lamentations of the Virgin Mary [*Prohodului Maicii Domnului*] (1810). In the preface to his *Heirmologion*, Macarie, aware of the value and role of these ancestors, noted:

“Many of our accomplished psaltes zealously served our language over time, as did Hieromonk Arsenie Cozianul, Calist the Protopsaltis of the Holy Metropolitanate of Bucharest and Șarban the Protopsaltis of the Princely Court, who translated into Romanian not only the Anastasimatarion, Cheroubika, all the Koinonika, Katavasias and Heirmoi, but also most part of the Papadike, used by the old *didaskaloi* and composers. But, because of the difficulty to learn these songs and of the envy of those who do not want them to be sung in our motherland's language, these songs disappeared with their death” [*Mulți din psalții cei desăvârșiți din neamul nostru s-au arătat cu râvnă în vreme, ca să facă câte ceva în limba noastră, precum fericitul întru pomenire Arsenie Ieromonahul Cozianul, Calist protopsaltul sântei Mitropolii a Bucureștilor și Șerban protopsaltul Curții Domnesci, carii nu numai Anastasimatarul Melos, cheruviciele, pricesnele toate, catavasiele, irmoasele toate și altele, dar și partea cea mai multă a papadichiei o au prefăcut românesce cu toată desăvârșita alcătuire, minunați dascăli și alcătuitori ai vremii lor, stând, în cea veche musichie. Însă una pentru greutatea și alta pentru zavistia celor ce nu pot să vadă sporirea și să audă pre acestea în limba graiului nostru, d'împreună cu mormintele lor au perit și ostenele lor*”]<sup>1</sup>.

## 2.2. Schools

The activity of the psaltic music school in Bucharest continued the tradition of the previous centuries, starting with Filothei Jipa, Șarban the Protopsaltis of Wallachia, Constantin and Mihalache Moldovlahul, and perpetuated by those mentioned above, who took it to further heights. After the 1859 Union of Principalities and later the Great 1918 Union, the goals of the Bucharest psaltic music school were shared by other similar schools, including those in south-eastern Transylvania.

But let us follow, in chronological order, the most important moments of the evolution of schools in nineteenth-century Bucharest, starting from the premise that a picture of the musical culture of this century would not be complete without mentioning this essential component of our emerging national consciousness: education and its organization on new foundations. From the schools affiliated to churches or metropolitanates, still lacking a complex educational form and

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<sup>1</sup> Macarie Ieromonahul, *Irmologhion sau catavasieriu*..., p. IV.

oriented solely towards singing, to the priestly seminaries, true confessional schools providing a comprehensive theoretical and practical training, the schools included in this chapter provide an accurate illustration of the evolution of the educational and formative process over a century.

### 2.2.1. *The School affiliated to St. Nicholas-Șelari Church*

The teaching component of the formative process in the field of church music was resumed in the 19th century, with the establishment of the school affiliated to **St. Nicholas-Șelari Church**, where Petros Efesios “taught the New Notation to many Romanian and foreign learners” [*“a desăvârșit destui români și streini în sistema cea nouă”*]<sup>1</sup>. Efesios's arrival in the Wallachian capital city may have been determined, according to his biographers, by a certain mission entrusted to him by Patriarch Cyril of Constantinople in response to the aid provided by Prince John Caradja of Wallachia, but also by the desire to implement the new notation in Wallachia<sup>2</sup>.

Petros Efesios enjoyed the support of the Prince and of the Court, who smoothed his efforts to establish the school affiliated to St. Nicholas-Șelari Church. The princely school of psaltic music, as it was also called, was supported by a prince who had also supported the foundation of a printing house, the first of its kind in the Eastern Orthodox world. In 1818, Efesios signed a contract with the goldsmith Serafim Hristodul and with Grigore Razul for the metal casting of the psaltic neumes, and afterwards the first church music books were printed in 1820: *Νέον Αναστασιματάριον* and *Σύντομον Δοξαστάριον*, in Greek, both written by Petros Lambadarios.

Both the school and the printing house played an important role in the implementation of the reform: firstly, it trained the first specialists in Chrysanthine notation, including Macarie the Hieromonk, Anton Pann, Gelasie Basarabeanul and many others, who promoted its immediate spread. Secondly, the professionalism of the first specialists trained by Petros Efesios enabled Metropolitan Dionisie Lupu – from the moment of his election as ruler of Wallachia – to establish the first psaltic music school in the Romanian language, along with a committee for the translation and Romanianization of church chants.

Initially, Efesios's plan was to print all the religious books in his new printing house, but his plan “was obstructed by various obstacles” [*“a fost sfărâmat de multe piedici”*], such as the high costs of casting the signs and the small profit obtained from their sale. A significant role was also played by the political context, i.e. the revolutionary movement of 1821, and by the “final blow” that came with

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<sup>1</sup> Anton Pann, *Bazul teoretic și practic al muzicii bisericești*, Bucharest, 1845, p.XXXIII.

<sup>2</sup> Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

the establishment of a Romanian language school affiliated to the Metropolitanate.<sup>1</sup> In addition to that, Macarie, the head of the school, started the action of Romanianization of church chants that had been entrusted to him by court order and therefore went to Vienna in 1823, where he printed in the Romanian language and in much better printing conditions the religious music books that thus “rendered those of Efesios entirely useless” [*“făcură cu totul nefolositoare pe ale lui Efesiu”*].<sup>2</sup> Disgusted and tired, Efesios gave up his printing house, sold what was left of it to the Metropolitanate and started promoting a new system of musical notation, i.e. the alphabetical system. To that purpose he invented a kind of lithography that he called *hartotipie* and began promoting his new system. However, his attempt had no effect as it was inferior to the ordinary notation, which had the great advantage of being older and known by more people. Efesios's originality in proposing this notation was nevertheless relative; the alphabetical notation had been introduced by Agapios Paliermos of Chios in the early nineteenth century, at a time when Eastern musicians were seeking a reformation of their own musical notation, proposing instead a solution borrowed from the West, where the alphabetical musical notation had been preserved even in the 18th century. After Agapios Paliermos's attempt failed in Constantinople, he came to Bucharest, where he died in 1815, one year before Ephesios's arrival. 15 years later, Efesios borrowed this system, with minor changes.<sup>3</sup> Despite the failure of his printing attempts, obviously due to objective historical circumstances that were ultimately linked to the development of the national school, the role played by Petros Efesios remained a decisive one and can be summarized in a few words: he is the one who printed the first psaltic music books in the world, who brought the new system to Romania, through the school affiliated to St. Nicholas Church, and last, but not least, who formed the first generation of specialists in the new system, and through them, the future generations of teachers and leading personalities in the field of church music of Byzantine tradition.

### 2.2.2. *The School affiliated to the Metropolitanate*

With the establishment of the Romanian-language **School affiliated to the Metropolitanate** [*“Școala de la Mitropolie”*] in 1819, headed by Macarie the Hieromonk<sup>4</sup>, the educational process in the field of church music entered a new

<sup>1</sup> Nicoale M. Popescu, “Notația muzicală a lui Petru Efesiu”, BOR, XXXII, No. 10, January 1909, pp. 1191.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem.*, pp. 1197-1198.

<sup>4</sup> The history of the establishment of the School affiliated to the Metropolitanate started in 1812, when Bishops Iosif of Argeș and Constandie of Buzău sent a petition to “the Kaymacam boyars” [*“Domnia lor Boierii caimacami”*], requesting the establishment of a church music school and the appointment of Macarie as music teacher, while “providing him with all that is necessary and with a salary” [*“dându-i-se*

stage. The objectives of establishing the school on new foundations, based on complex methodologies, were intertwined with those of imposing a national identity and a specific area of focus, aligned with the theoretical and practical directions to be followed.

The psaltic music teacher, translator and reformer of the Byzantine chants also proved to be an excellent organizer and mentor for the religious music education in our country. Macarie the Hieromonk's biography and work as a teacher and administrator provides an indirect picture of the Romanian musical education of the early nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup> This is why we have chosen to present Macarie's personality as a teacher in this chapter and not in the one dedicated to him in the third part of this study.

In a letter sent by Macarie from Pest, in 1821, in which he was praising the Romanian people "living in Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, Banat, the Hungarian Country and Macedonia" [*"lăcuitori în Țara Românească, în Moldova, în Ardeal, în Banat, în Țara Ungurească și în Machidonia"*], along with their historical and cultural traditions, referring to education, he wrote: "Kyrio Kyr Dionysius, driven by the love for his people and country, zealously founded the Romanian-language music school in which country-loving students can learn this psaltic music system in the Romanian language, and entrusted us with the task of translating this entire notation system into Romanian, and with teaching it" [*"Kirio Kir Dionisie, cu iubire de neam și de patrie înfocat fiind pornit [...] au binevoit de au sistisit și școală de musichie românească, în carea să poată învăța ucenicii patrioți această sistimă a psaltichiei pre graiul patrioticesc, rânduintu-ne pre noi ca să prefacem și să alcătuim cu cuvinte românești toată sistima aceasta și să o paradosim"*]<sup>2</sup>.

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*toate cele trebuincioase precum și leafă*"]. Unfortunately, from causes unknown, the school was not established, but in 1813, a church music school was set up at St. Sava that was operational until 1814, and where Gherasie the Hieromonk was appointed as the teacher in charge. The following year, a group of boyars from Târgoviște sent a petition to the Ministry requesting the re-establishment of the school for the education "of their children and of the poor ones" [*"copiilor lor și a celor sărmani"*] and the appointment of a teacher "to teach church music" [*"să paradosească cântarea bisericăscă"*], which was approved by a written resolution signed by Prince Caradja on April 7, 1815. When Dionysius Lupu was elected metropolitan of Wallachia in 1919, he set up a Romanian-language psaltic music school [*"pre graiul limbii noastre"*] within the Metropolitanate, and appointed Macarie as teacher and head of the school. Constantin Erbiceanu, "Material pentru istoria învățământului la Români", in BOR Year XVI, No. 2, May 1892, pp. 116-117.

<sup>1</sup> To this end, we have closely followed the synthesis offered by Georghe C. Ionescu in his study "Macarie Ieromonahul, dascăl de psaltichie și epistat al școlilor de muzichie din Țara Românească" from *Studii...*, op. cit., pp. 42-54. The Appendix to his study contains 18 articles proposed by Macarie, which constitute the first methodology for the teaching of psaltic music, to which we will make reference below.

<sup>2</sup> Macarie Ieromonahul, *Înștiințare*, in Nicolae M. Popescu, "Știri noi despre Macarie Ieromonahul", in BOR, Year XXIX, No. 8 (Nov.), 1915, pp. 800-805.

Macarie oversaw the organization of this school in which psaltic music and chants were taught in Romanian, and actually worked there until the spring of 1821, when, together with Nil Poponea Sibianul, he was sent to Buda by Metropolitan Dionysius Lupu, to print his “Romanianized” works, i.e. the *Heirmologion* and the *Anastasimatarion*.

Tudor Vladimirescu's revolution, however, delayed this plan, as the metropolitan whose support Macarie had enjoyed was forced to withdraw to Braşov. Nevertheless, Macarie set off to Vienna and in 1823 he managed to print his works. He started with the *Theoretikon*, which had been translated from Greek and conceived and organized according to the requirements of the new system of Byzantine notation recently adopted in the practice of church music study, the result being a musical grammar of major importance in the pedagogy of church music education. It was addressed to teachers and students alike, helping them to acquire the methods for the transmission and assimilation of knowledge. Macarie, with his sound experience in teaching, understood perfectly the importance of this work and therefore started the series of printed books with the *Theoretikon*, knowing that this grammar book contained sufficient information for the easy learning of not only one type of chants, but of all the chants of the New System” [“Această gramatică cuprinde în sine îndestulată cuvântare cu meşteşugită înlesnire, nu numai pentru o carte sau doao, ci pentru aşezarea tuturor cârţilor de musicie a aşezământului celui nou”], as he writes in the *Notice* sent from Vienna, in March 1822.<sup>1</sup>

Returning to the country in 1823, he resumed his teaching at the School of Church Music, whose running had for more than two years been in the hands of the teachers Costache and Grigore. According to records, he taught there until 1829, when he settled for a while in Moldavia, at the Bârnova and Neamţ monasteries. There he continued to fulfil his teaching vocation, constantly trying to teach the writing of church music in Chrysanthine notation, as well as its singing in the Romanian language.

Meanwhile, across the entire country, music, and especially church music, gained a tremendous momentum [“un avânt extraordinar”], as V. A. Urechia wrote in *Istoria şcoalelor de la 1800 - 1864*<sup>2</sup>. A budget for the 1825-1826 period, published here, provides clear information about this, as does a princely register containing the “teachers' yearly pay” [“lefile dascălilor ce s-au găsit de cuviinţă a să da pă un an la fieşcare”].<sup>3</sup> Macarie himself, now administrator of the music schools [“epistat

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<sup>1</sup> Macarie Ieromonahul, *Înştiinţare*, in Nicolae M. Popescu, *art. cit.*, pp. 1101-1107.

<sup>2</sup> V. A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> See Gh. C. Ionescu, Appendix to the article “Macarie Ieromonahul, dascăl...”, in *Studii...*, p. 51, document taken from C. M. Boncu, *Documente privind istoria învăţământului prahovean*, Bibl. Nicolae Iorga, Ploieşti,

școalelor de musichie”], sends his former apprentices to other Romanian towns, with letters and recommendations to the local bishops or archpriests, to set up music schools there as well. In September 1825, Grigorie Dimitrie Ghica, the Prince of Wallachia, signed the “bishops' and high boyars' report” [*“obșteasca anafora a părinților arhieriei și a dumnealor veliților boieri”*] for the establishment of Romanian-language schools in the county capital cities, with two teachers each, “one to teach in Romanian and another to teach religious songs according to the new system of musical notation, and thus, through the reading of sacred texts, to praise God in His Holy temples” [*“unul să învețe rumânește și altul cântările bisericesti după meșteșugul psaltisimii celei nouă căci prin cântări și cităriri cuvioase se cade să slăvim pe Dumnezeu în sfintele Sale lăcașuri”*]<sup>1</sup>. Consequently, several schools were established in Craiova, Caracal, Râmnicu-Vâlcea, Târgu Jiu, Cerneți, Pitești, Câmpulung-Mușcel, Târgoviște, Ploiești, Buzău and Focșani, whose teachers were paid from the State Budget, through the school administration centre (*casa Școalelor*). Schools would officially open on September 1, 1825, while the actual courses would begin after the teachers appointed by the schools' administration board [*“Eforie”*], at the proposal of Macarie the Hieromonk, had recruited their students and made all the preparation for the commencement of classes. These schools were added to the four new schools established in Bucharest, in 1821 (the School on *Podul Caliților*, headed by the teacher Iancu Stan) and in 1823 (the School on *Podul Șerban Vodă*, headed by Costache Chiosea, the School on *Podul Târgului de Afară*, headed by the teacher Constandin, the School on *Podul Mogoșoaiei*, headed by the teacher Ghiță), all under the supervision and teaching and methodological guidance of Father Macarie the Hieromonk<sup>2</sup>.

We also know the names of several teachers certified by Macarie, trained at his school of church music, who headed schools and taught psaltic music in several provincial towns ever since their establishment in September 1825. These are Ioniță Stoicescu-Logofețelul, the teacher of the music school from Ploiești and singer at the local St. George Church, who headed the school until 1838, when, due to a lack of funds, the school was closed. An apprentice of teacher Chiosea and certified by

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pp. 19-21 which transcribes *Condica domnească* 113, f 72-73 from the State Archives. Included in the list of teachers are the payments due to each of them, according to the princely orders, as follows: “singer-teachers affiliated to four guilds of Bucharest, in charge of teaching psaltic art (2,400 thalers); Father Macarie, entrusted with the transcription of all the Romanian chants (3,000 thalers); the singer-teacher from Craiova, Caracal, Râmnic etc. (600 thalers)” [*“dascăli cântăreți ce sunt orânduți la patru senturi a Bucureștilor să învețe meșteșugul psaltichiei (2. 400 taleri); părintelui Macarie ce s-a însărcinuat să prescrie toată sistima psaltichiei rumânești (3.000 taleri); dascălului cântăreț de la orașele Craiova. Caracal, Râmnic etc. (600 taleri)”*]. Apud Gh. C. Ionescu, “Macarie Ieromonahul, dascăl...”, in *loc. cit.*, p. 52.

<sup>1</sup> C. M. Boncu, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> V. A. Urechia, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 135.

Macarie in May 1824, Ioniță Stoicescu organized the school that functioned in the building of the churchyard<sup>1</sup>. We also know the name of teacher Constantin Ion from Câmpulung-Muscel, who on November 10, 1825 sent a letter to “father Kyrio Kyr Macarie the Hieromonk, head of the psaltic music schools” [“*părintelui Chiriu Chir Ieromonah Macarie, epistatul școalelor de musichie*”], “humbly” [“*cu fiască evlavie*”] informing him that “after arriving in the town of Câmpulung, he immediately presented himself to the school” [“*șosind aicea în oraș Câmpu-Lung, fără a mai pierde o cirtă de ceas măcar, m-am sistisit la locul de școală pentru învățătura copiilor*”]<sup>2</sup> and that “Archbishop Apamias and the County Archpriest” [“*Arhiepiscopul Apamias și protopopul județului*”], for whom he had letters of recommendation, promptly found a school for him, and then the “children with beautiful voices” [“*copii de cei grăitori cu glas bun*”] immediately started to gather. He went there to spread the New System, in the dissemination of which “His Grace Bishop Apamias was equally zealous” [“*fireasca râvnă și preasfinția sa episcopul Apamias*”]<sup>3</sup>. Later, in 1830, we learn the names of other teachers and singers from the county capital cities, sent by Macarie to teach [“*paradosească*”] psaltic music to the children with beautiful voices [“*cei grăitori cu glas bun*”] and to others – singers, priests and deacons – who “would come to school eager to learn psaltic music” [“*vor veni în școală cu râvnă ca să învețe musichia*”]. These were Petrache Eliad in Craiova, Teodorache in Focșani, Ghelasie in Buzău, Gheorghe Istrati in Târgoviște, Nicolae Nan in Pitești, Costache in Râmnicu Vâlcea, Toma in Cerneți and Nicolae Pandele, who substituted for Ion Constantin, in Câmpulung<sup>4</sup>.

The establishment of music schools in the counties, in 1825, and the appointment of Macarie the Hieromonk as their administrator actually marked the organized beginning of musical education in Wallachia. There had certainly existed music schools before that date as well – as we have showed in the previous chapter –, which had functioned through the zeal or even sacrifice of some passionate and skilled teachers and through the love and commitment to music of a few clergymen, with or without administrative or religious responsibilities, as well as through the understanding and generosity of some boyars and princes. This time, however, church music schools had their own specially equipped

<sup>1</sup> Nicolae-Carol Debie, *O cronică ploieșteană*, vol. I, Ploiești, 1980, p. 13; Gheorghe C. Ionescu, “Circulația unor manuscrise muzicale românești în prima jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea”, in *SCIA*, series TMC, vol. 36, 1989, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Constantin Erbiceanu, *Cronicarii greci carii au scris despre români în epoca fanariotă*, Bucharest, Tipografia Cărilor Bisericești, 1890, pp. XXIII-XXIV.

<sup>3</sup> Apud. Nicolae M. Popescu, *Viața și activitatea...*, op. cit., p. 69. see also Sebastian Barbu-Bucur, “Gheorghe Căciulă – 150 de ani de la prima atestare documentară”, *Acta Musicae Byzantinae*, Iași, vol. V/2003, p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> V.A. Urechia, op. cit., t.I, p. 135 și t. IV, p. 238.

premises, printed manuals, an advanced teaching system with specifically trained teachers, and a practical and specialized guidance, ensured directly through class attendance and based on written instructions, specific to the study of music.

When the psaltic music teachers ordained to teach in county capitals received the letters addressed to the local officials and “took note of their contents” [*“a lua pliroforie de cele cuprinse într’însele”*], they also received a set of articles regarding the organizational rules and teaching and methodological guidelines, i.e. “the way in which they are to conduct the exercises, from the beginning to the end” [*“în ce chip au să urmeze de la început până la săvârșirea mathimilor”*]. The printed articles, dated September 1, 1825 and signed by the schools' administration board [*Eforii Școalelor*] and by Macarie the Hieromonk, constitute the first Romanian-language methodical document on the teaching of psaltic music in Wallachia.<sup>1</sup>

These articles established in writing the methodology for the teaching of psaltic music and of music in general in our country, and the credit for it belongs again to Macarie the Hieromonk. His vast teaching experience is reflected in the 18 Articles addressed to the music teachers [*“Ponturi 18 către dascălii de musicie”*] assigned to teach in Bucharest and in other counties, guiding them on how to conduct the exercises from the beginning to the end<sup>2</sup>.

Although these articles [*“ponturile”*] were not preserved in their original form, we do have a typed copy of the original one addressed to Ioniță Stoicescu-Logofețelul, the teacher of psaltic music from Ploiești, which was donated to the History Museum in Ploiești and which was reproduced by George C. Ionescu in the Appendix to the above-mentioned study and accompanied by a thorough analysis thereof, from which we can identify the articles regarding the organization and administration of the courses, the discipline and work schedule, the curriculum and teaching material, as well as the (practical) repertoire recommended. These articles, which were extremely helpful to both teachers and students, indicate the stage reached by the methodology for the study of psaltic music at that time.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Gh. C. Ionescu, *Studii...*, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> These 18 Articles (*18 Ponturi*), printed and sent to the teachers heading the schools in Bucharest and in other counties, were first mentioned in 1872 by Ioanne D. Petrescu, in his book *Arta artelor sau elemente de istoria Musicei*, Bucharest, 1872, but without detailing their contents. On p. 40, No. 1., the “public teacher” [*“profesoru publicu”*] I. D. Petrescu wrote “See the document issued by the schools’ administration board (*Ephoria scolelor*) for the names of those Teachers and the instructions contained in the eighteen Articles on the maintenance of those schools and the music teaching methods to be used” [*“Vede-se cartea Eporiei scolelor, pentru denumirea acelor Dascăli, împreună cu Instrucțiunile coprinse în opt-spre-dece Ponturi prin-care se pune în vedere cellor numiți, întreținerea acelor scole și method’a învețiamentului musicalu”*].

<sup>3</sup> We will quote from the Appendix published on pp. 51-53 in the above-mentioned study.

Thus, we learn that the admission of students was made after initially checking “if they have a beautiful and skilful voice” [*dacă au glas îndestul și îndemânatec*] and “if they know how to read and write” [*dacă știu carte și scrisoare*], after which both the admitted students and their parents or relatives had to pledge [*siguranție*]<sup>1</sup> that they would attend the school and “not change it” [*fără strămutare*], “from the beginning to the end of the exercises, and that they will complete all the tasks they are given” [*de la început până la săvârșirea mathimilor lui, cum că își va păzi toate cuviincioasele datorii*]. Article 1 [*Pont 1*] Discipline during class was strict and disciplinary measures were extremely severe. Rude behaviour, talking and laughing that would distract other students' attention were fixed by sending the student out of the class and punishing him [*paradosis și pe urmă canonindu-l*], and if that happened again he could even be expelled from school. Article 11 [*Pont 11*]. Classes were held on a daily basis, in the mornings and in the afternoons, all year round except for Sundays and the Holy Days, and students had to be present in class in the morning, one hour before the start of the lesson [*de paradosis*], in order to review their exercises [*să-și procitească mathimile*] (Articles 11 and 16).

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<sup>1</sup> See in this respect the letter [*Zapisul*] by which teacher Neagu from the Holy Voivodes Church undertakes to attend the local school of singers led by Ioniță Stoicescu-Logofetelul, reproduced in Gh. C. Ionescu, *art. cit.*, Appendix IV, p. 54. “I, the below undersigned, have sent a letter to the honourable chancellor Ioniță, teacher of courtly music, informing him of my eagerness to take these music lessons, and therefore asking him to accept me to join the other students and he welcomed me as a son of his own, telling me from the start that I did not have to pay anything for his teachings, as he received a salary from the court administration. I was very happy to hear that and I prayed for the health of our blessed lords, asking God to grant them life for many and happy years to come, and then he finally read me the articles received from the honourable Ministry, which I understood very well and which I hereby undertake to follow closely, from the beginning of the easiest exercises until the completion of the most difficult ones, without changing them in any way, and to fulfil all the tasks given to me. However, if I fail to complete all the exercises, as I have written and sworn above, then I will be bound to pay the teacher 20 thalers a month, without having to ask forgiveness for not keeping my word to the end” [*Adică eu cel mai de jos iscălitu, dat-am bun și credincios zapisul meu la cinstita mâna dumnealui logofătului Ioniță, dascăl de musicie domnească, precum să se știe că având și eu râvnă ca să învăț aceste epsitimi, m-am rugat de dumenalui de m-au priimitu în școală între ucenici și dumnealui m-au priimitu cu bucurie ca pe un fiu al patrii și mai întâi mi-au arătat cumu că n’aveamu ca să plătim nici măcar o para pentru această învățătură, fiindcă dumnealui i se plătește leafa domnească. Pentru care și noi nu puțin ne-am bucuratu, rugându-nea pentru sănătatea blagorodnicilor stăpânitori, ca Dumnezeu să le înmulțească zilele întru mulți și fericiți ani și în cea mai de pe urmă ne-au cetit și ponturile ce-i sunt date de către cinstita Eforie, pre care bine înțelegându-le mă legu printracest zapisu al meu că voi fi următor întocmai după copriinderea cinstitelor ponturi, adecă de la începutul mathimilor celor mici, până la săvârșirea mathimilor celor grele, fără de strămutare și că-mi voi păzi toate datorii mele. Iar neurmând până la săvârșirea mathimilor, după cum mai sus m-am legatu, atunci să fiu dator ca să-i plătescu dascălului câte talere daozeci pe lună, fără de cuvântu de pricină, ca unul ce n-am fost următor până la sfârșit.”]. [...] /Novembre 1, 1825.*

Teachers also had obligations. Those who “are not conscientious” [*“nebăgătoriu de seamă”*] and “who do not follow these articles closely” [*“nu vor urma întocmai după ponturile acestea”*] would be blameworthy, and teachers “who show no enthusiasm or zeal for their profession, and have a rude behaviour” [*“fără râvnă, fără silință și cu purtări reale”*] would be removed from their posts and replaced with someone else [*“să va scoate și să va pune altul în locul lui”*] (Articles 15, 16, 17). In line with the patriotic zeal that animated rulers, teachers and students alike, Article 10 [*“Pontul 10”*] specified that “all the teachers, as patriots, must show their patriotic zeal by struggling day and night to prove themselves as prolific, accomplished and obedient disciples, in constant competition with the others” [*“toți dascălii ca niște patrioți să cade să să arate aprinși cu patrioticească râvnă silindu-se zioa și noaptea ca să arate spor, desăvârșiți ucenici, supunere, ca unul pe altul să se întrecă cu osârdia”*].

The instruction process would begin with the memorization of the ascending and descending signs [*“haractirurilor suitoare și pogorâtoare”*], their combination, the intonation of the eight tones of the diatonic scale [*“opt tonuri ale diapasonului diatonicesc”*], while trying to perform accurately the intervals of the scale, paying attention to the seventh sound, *zo*, because the faulty, oscillating intonation between natural *zo* and *zo ifes* would create bad habits, difficult to correct later. The intonation of the musical scale by using the solfège system (also called *parallage*) had to be accompanied by the beating of time, “raising the hand to the head and tapping the knee, and never saying anything before beating the time” [*“suind mâna până la cap și bătând genunchiul, și niciodată nimic să nu zică mai înainte de a bate vremile”*] (Article 2/Pont 2).

The study of musical signs continued with the learning of Consonants and Temporal Signs, focusing on their execution, then with the first mode, starting with Lord I Have Cried [*Doamne, strigat-am*] from the *Anastasimatarion*, reading the signs and chanting, then with the other troparia of the mode, until they were properly learned and “no mistakes are made in beating the time or chanting (...), as once this mode is learned properly, all that follows will be learned and improved upon easily” [*“întru nimic să nu o greșească, nici în bătaie, nici în glăsuire (...) căci de va învăța acest glas bine, întru toate cele dinainte va merag sporind, fără a simți vreo greutate”*]. Article 3 [*Pont 3*]. The lessons continued, according to the curriculum, with modes 4 and 4 plagal (diatonic), then with modes 1 plagal, 3 and 3 plagal (harmonic) and then with modes 2 and 2 plagal (chromatic), followed by the study of the modulation signs and of the scales Hisar, Nisabur and chromatic Mustar, “while always exemplifying what happens when we come across modulation signs” [*“întotdeauna arătându-i cu cuvântul puterea fthoralelor ce va întâmpina”*]. (Article 4/Pont 4)

Once the study of the *Anastasimatarion* was completed, lessons continued with the study and learning of the chants of the *Heirmologion*, then with Volume 2 (the *Utrenia*), Volume 3 (the *Liturgical Book*) and Volume 4 (*Cheroubiko-Koinonikarion*), with the *Doxastarion* of Petros Lambadarios, the *Doxastarion* of Jacob the Protosaltis, and finally the *Heirmologion Kalophonicon* and the *kratimata*, the chants of the *Triodion* and *Pentecostarion*, which the students had to learn separately and then “sing individually in front of the teacher” [*“pentru a le zice singuri înaintea dascălului”*] (Articles 6, 7 and 8).

Classes were divided into groups of students, according to the Lancasterian System, based on their level of understanding and assimilation, ranging between “extremely smart” [*“foarte ascuțiți cu istețimea”*], “not so smart” [*“nu prea grei”*] and “very slow” [*“cu totul grei”*]. By learning this way, through the effort of a good teacher [*“prin osârdia unui dascăl bun”*] who concentrated especially on the 2nd and 3rd groups, all students would end up being very well prepared (Article 13).

The teaching method was demonstration, with the teacher intoning the chant several times and then the students repeating it until they learned it. Depending on the specific character of the lesson, teachers would sometimes combine demonstration with other methods as well, especially with explanations and exercises. Thus they were actually applying the principle of integrating theory with practice and of correct learning and aesthetic interpretation, enabling the students to learn the entire church music repertoire used in the liturgical service.

After completing the program of study, the pupils would remain in school for a training period of three months, at the end of which they had to pass an exam on the entire notation system [*“eczamen pentru toată sistima”*]. Then, having received a letter from the teacher, “certifying that they passed all the exams” [*“scrisoarea mărturisitoare că și-au trecut mathimile”*], they were sent to Bucharest, where, after passing several other tests in front of Macarie – who, in his capacity as administrator, was also the examiner –, received the well-deserved diploma from the Ministry [*“cuvinciosul atestat de la Eforie”*] and were included in the “list of graduates who were entitled to exercise their profession” [*“catalogul celor desăvârșiți și trebuincioși”*], while the teacher was commended and praised “for his efforts and dedication” [*“silința și osârdia și de toți să se laude”*] (Article 8).

The study program and education system of that time had a surprisingly complex structure and content, along with a natural and logical progression of the lessons, which indicates a high level of rigour in the implementation of the methodological principles and the maturity of the educational-training process.

The planning and organization of the entire educational process, as scrutinized by Macarie the Hieromonk, stands out by its complex contents, didactic

principles, methods and results obtained, whereby the schools of psaltic music from Wallachia greatly contributed to the spread and consolidation of the liturgical chant in Chrysanthine notation.

Psaltic music teachers were paid from the Ministry budget, but after Macarie the Hieromonk left for Moldavia (1829), or, more exactly, once the national or public schools were set up in the county capital cities, their salaries were suppressed and the activity of the educational units fell into decline. Later, psaltic music was studied in these national schools and especially in those affiliated to monasteries and dioceses, in those headed by church chanters or teachers and in the seminaries established after 1835. With the establishment of seminaries, an important role was played by the psaltic music teachers Anton Pann, Oprea Demetrescu, Ștefanache Popescu and others. Gradually, however, the liturgical chant entered a new critical age, exacerbated in the second half of the nineteenth century due to the reforms adopted during the reign of Alexandru Ioan-Cuza.

### 2.2.3. *The Central Seminary*

February 2, 1836 marked the official opening of the courses of the Bucharest **Central Seminary**, a theological institution founded specifically to train future servants of the Orthodox Church in the Wallachian villages and cities. The efforts to ensure the proper functioning of the school, i.e. adequate premises, selection of pupils, appropriately trained teaching staff, the necessary funds for the maintenance of the school and for the pupils' needs, had started already in 1834. The impetus for the establishment of the priestly seminaries came from the Organic Regulations introduced during the time of Prince Barbu Știrbey, as Minister or Logothete of the Church.<sup>1</sup> Prince Alexandru Ghica watched closely the manner in which the Metropolitanate carried out the provisions of the princely act of April 21, 1834, regarding the establishment of seminaries in Bucharest, Buzău, Râmnicu Vâlcea and Curtea de Argeș.<sup>2</sup> On November 16, 1834, the Great Logothete of the Church [*Marele Logofăt al Treburilor bisericești*] submitted his report and the Princely Decree to the Public Assembly, for review and approval. It stipulated the setting up of a school with seven grades (4 preparatory grades and 3 higher-level grades [*“învățăturii îndeplinătoare”*]), the latter of which started operating only in 1860, when the new education reform was enacted<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Șt. Călinescu, D. G. Boroianu, *Istoria seminarului Central de la începuturi până la instalarea în localul propriu*, Ed. Dacia, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> Gheorghe C. Ionescu, *Muzica bizantină în România. Dicționar cronologic*, Bucharest, Editura Sagittarius, 2003, p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> *ibidem*.

In its early years, the Central Seminary functioned in the building of the Antim Monastery, then it moved to Jicnița where it functioned until 1855, then to the Radu Vodă Monastery until 1859, then to Calea Craiovei, on Podul Calicilor until 1864, to the Văcărești Monastery (1864-1866), in the houses of the Băleanu family on Șerban Vodă street (1866-1901), to finally settle in its own building on Queen Mary Boulevard. But even here it did not remain for too long, because in 1948, with the establishment of the atheist communist regime in Romania and following the adoption of the religious and lay education reform, the Central Seminary was transferred to Radu Vodă, where it has functioned to the present day.

Besides humanities and theological disciplines, the curriculum also included the study of psaltic music and church chants. The Preparatory Seminary Regulations [*Regulamentul seminarilor pregătitoare*], reinforced by the “Princely Decree No. 283/1835 read in the Public Assembly of May 28, 1935 [*ofisul domnesc nr. 283/1835 citit în Obșteasca Adunare la 28 Mai 1935*]”, provided, in Article 2, that “the 1st grade pupils will learn reading, writing and introductory grammar and arithmetic; in addition to these, they will begin the study of church chanting and will continue it in the following grades” [*în clasul 1-ul se va învăța citirea, scrierea și începuturi de gramatică și de aritmetică; pă lângă aceasta se va începe și să va în urma celelalte clasuri învățătura cântării bisericești*]<sup>1</sup>, while in 1836, “the list of books and other things bought by the seminary” included 20 copies of the 2nd Volume [*Tomul al doilea*] of psaltic music.<sup>2</sup> We do not know exactly what this 2nd Volume was about, but it is obvious that ever since the foundation of the Seminary, the church music classes and the teaching material related thereto had a well-established place in its activity. In a 1837 dossier of the Ministry of Cults and Public Instruction, at page 198, we find a mention of the list of books to be purchased in that year, which includes “Church Histories, the Four Gospels, Dogmatic Works and Typika” [*Istorie Bisericești, Tetraevanghelii, Dogmatici, Tipicuri*] and also: 10 Anastasimataria, 10 Heirmologia, 10 Theoretika for psaltic music [*10 Anastasimatare, 10 Irmologhii, 10 Teoreticoane, pentru psaltichie*].<sup>3</sup> Thirty-five years later, another dossier of the same ministry contains a list written in beautiful calligraphy including the “church chant books needed by the Central Seminary of Bucharest in the 1872-1873 school year” [*cărțile de cântări bisericesci, necesare Seminarului Centralu de Bucuresci pe anul scolar 1872-1873*], which enumerates, above the signature of Archimandrite Teoctist Scriban, the principal of the Seminary, six types of books needed for the learning of psaltic music:

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<sup>1</sup> The State Archives, fund *Ministerul Cultelor și Instrucțiunilor Publice*, Dossier 8317/1835.

<sup>2</sup> Victor Papacostea, Mihail Regleanu, *Seminarul Central. Documentele întemeierii*, Bucharest, 1938, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> The State Archives, fund *Ministerul Cultelor și Instrucțiunilor Publice*, Dossier 59/1837, p. 198.

- I. The *Anastasimatarion* of Dimitriță, 30 copies.
- II. The *Idiomelaron* united with the *Doxastarion*, Parts 1, 2, 3, 20 copies.
- III. The Cherouvikarion [*Heruvicarul*], volumes 1 and 2, 30 copies.
- IV. The Katavaseion [*Catavasieru*] containing katavasiae, podoben melodies and doxologies, 20 copies.
- V. Book (or volume) of polyeleos, 20 copies.
- VI. The Triodion [*Paresimieru*], with the chants of the Great Lent, 30 copies.<sup>1</sup>

The curriculum included the learning of *Chants* in all four years of study, and was actually divided into two main groups: *Sciences*, including the general disciplines (calligraphy writing, arithmetic, grammar, world history, psychology) and theological disciplines (catechism, church history, hermeneutical principles, pastoral theology), and *Chants*, comprising disciplines related to the study of psaltic music, organized by years of study and levels of difficulty.

#### The 1st Grade

Principles of musical grammar, and  
The chanting of the eight modes on the anastasimatarion.

#### The 2nd Grade

One set of Doxologies.  
Cheroubika, koinonika and the axions of the week.

#### The 3rd grade

A set of the greater Doxologies.  
Part 1 of the cheroubika. Koinonika and axions for Sundays.  
All the chants for the Great Lent.  
Axions of The Feast Days and of The Three Liturgies.

#### The 4th Grade

Part 2 of the cheroubika, koinonika, axions.  
Three polyeleos.  
Koinonika for feast days and other heirmoi, and a set of Greek cheroubika.<sup>2</sup>

This curriculum of “disciplines taught at the seminary” [*obiectelor predate în seminar*] was ongoing in the 1860-1861 school year, when Oprea Demitrescu

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<sup>1</sup> The State Archives, fund *Ministerul Cultelor și Instrucțiunilor Publice*, Dossier 59/1837, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> The State Archives, fund *Ministerul Cultelor și Instrucțiunilor Publice*, Dossier 358/1860, p. 597v.

was the teacher in charge of the first and second grades, and Nicolae Zaharia, of the other two.

The first teacher of church music was Dobre (Dobrică) Tântăveanu (1836-1840), followed by Costache Chiosea (1840-1848). During and after the 1848 Revolution, the courses of the Seminary were interrupted until 1851. Beginning with that year, church music was taught by teacher Ieronim (1851-1855) in the 1st and 2nd grades and by teacher Calistrat (1851-1855) in the 3rd and 4th grades. School records indicate that in 1863, Calistrat was still teaching psaltic music to the 4th grade. In 1855, the teaching of church music was entrusted to Alecu Mi[ri]nescu (the 2nd grade) until 1859, to Hierodeacon Meletie (the 1st grade), who in 1859 was also assigned to teach the 2nd grade, formerly taught by Alecu Mirinescu, and to Niță Zaharia, Protopsaltis of the Metropolitan Church (the 3rd and 4th grades) until 1864. Between 1859 and 1864, the teaching of psaltic music was entrusted to Oprea Demetrescu, who taught the 1st and 2nd grades, in parallel with Niță Zaharia. On September 17, 1864, Oprea Demetrescu was appointed as teacher of church music and chief pedagogue, by Ministry order No. 44868. As the school principal disagreed with the appointment, on October 24 of the same year, the Ministry issued another order, No. 51611, assigning that position to teacher Ștefan (Ștefanache) Popescu<sup>1</sup>, while Oprea Demetrescu remained in the school at the department of vocal music. In 1890, Ștefanache Popescu retired and was

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<sup>1</sup> On February 26, 1872, Ștefanache Popescu, apparently overwhelmed by this double assignment as church music teacher and chief pedagogue, appealed to the minister of cults of the time, asking for his support in solving the difficult situation he was in due to the fact that the post of church music teacher was combined with that of pedagogue, and therefore asking for the pedagogue's tasks to be assigned to somebody else. Ștefanache Popescu requested either the formal appointment of another person, or the separation of the two responsibilities so that he could perform his tasks with the same enthusiasm as before (*"pentru a-mi împlini datoria cu acelașu zelu ca și până acum"*), given that this double assignment was too difficult a task for a single person to perform (*"sarcină prea dificilă de împlinitu de către o singură persoană"*). Archimandrite Teoctist Scriban, the Principal of the Seminary, had previously sent a letter to the Ministry, stating that "on the several occasions when I invited him to stay at the boarding-house of the seminary and perform the duty of a chief pedagogue, Mr. Ștefan Popescu told me that he was unable to perform the pedagogue's duty due to his advanced age and that, as a married man, he could not stay at the boarding house". Consequently, the principal asked the minister to solve the situation, either by appointing another person as teacher of Byzantine music and chief pedagogue, or "by separating the department of Byzantine music from the office of chief pedagogue and appoint another person to it, who should also exercise the office of a secretary and writer, which is also of primary importance for the administration" (*"să se separe catedra de musică orientală de obligațiunea de șef-pedagogu, și să se orânduiască o deosebită persoană în funcțiunea de șef-pedagogu, care să îndeplinească și pe aceea de secretar și scriitoriu ce este iarăși foarte indispensabilă administrațiunii"*). By resolution 1003 of April 27, 1972, the Ministry of Cults decided to appoint another person as chief pedagogue in the place of Ștefan Popescu, namely Hieromonk Gherman, whom Ștefan Popescu had recommended himself and to whom he engaged to give that portion of his salary that was due to him. Correspondence with the Ministry of Cults and Public Instruction in Dossier 135/1972, p. 67-69v, the State Archives.

followed by Ghiță Ionescu (1891-1893) and later, between 1899 and 1936, by teacher and composer Ion Popescu-Pasărea<sup>1</sup>.

In 1885, the documents on the history of the seminary speak of the necessity “of setting up a choir”, because, as Ștefan Călinescu and D. G. Boroianu note in their monographic study, “besides the solo chant according to the Eastern-Greek musical tradition, His Highness wishes the introduction of the harmonic chant as well, after the European tradition” and therefore “the curriculum of the seminary will also include lessons on vocal harmonic music, for which a teacher will be appointed along with five assisting boys with the required skills for the job” [*“pe lângă cântarea în solo după psaltichia auzului greco-oriental, dorința Măriei Sale este de a se introduce și cântarea în armonie, după arta Europeană”*], so that [*“programa învățăturilor seminarului se va completa și cu lecțiile de muzică vocală în armonie, pentru care se va numi un profesor cu cinci băieți ajutoare, care pentru capacitate în artă să corespundă scopului propus”*].<sup>2</sup> The effects of modernization and the opening to the West were already being felt in the curriculum of the schools for priests, being reinforced by the law on Public Instruction enacted by A. I. Cuza in 1864, regarding the education reform. New schools and gymnasiums were established, the University of Bucharest began its courses, seminaries were reorganized. As a result of the new orientation and of this reform, the curriculum of the Central Seminary now included two different disciplines: *church music*, i.e. music of Byzantine tradition as studied for centuries and sung in our houses of worship, and *vocal music*, i.e. harmonic choral music, which gradually penetrated the church and for which a growing need was felt for trained singers. According to a curriculum dating from 1872, church music was taught in the 1st and 2nd grades, while vocal music was taught in the 3rd and 4th grades. After the reorganization and the introduction of the new curriculum, the focus shifted to vocal music, which was taught in all grades (which by now were seven, instead of only four), while Byzantine music was taught in parallel with it, but only in the 3rd and 4th grades.

Through the effort of its teachers, through the curriculum it designed and applied and through the training it provided to its graduates, the Central Seminary marked, according to historians, an important moment in the early days of theological education. As we look over the lists of graduates and follow their professional destiny, we can say the Central Seminary successfully fulfilled the objectives set out by the Great Logothete of the Church, Barbu Știrbey, in 1834, in the draft of establishment: “Many industrious shepherds have come out of these seminaries in a short period of time, who will preach the word of God throughout

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<sup>1</sup> Gheorghe C. Ionescu, *Studii...*, p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> Șt. Călinescu, D. G. Boroianu, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

all villages and hamlets (...). Highly-trained ecclesiastical personalities will graduate from the Central Seminary, from among whom the next abbots will be chosen, which will hopefully raise the monasteries to the flourishing state their founders always dreamt of. ( ... ) Others of them will be worthy enough to rise to even higher positions in the church hierarchy."<sup>1</sup> These clergymen, whether country priests, abbots or bishops, received a good theological, missionary, dogmatic and spiritual training, along with proper instruction in church singing, for which great credit is due to that outstanding group of teachers who through their efforts and professional skills honoured church music and the Seminary's department of Byzantine Music, being themselves our country's most valuable assets in the field of the psaltic music of Byzantine tradition of that time.

#### 2.2.4. *The Metropolitan Nifon Seminary*

The Metropolitan Nifon of Ungro Wallachia, deeply concerned with the spiritual state of the Romanian people and fully aware that “despite its beautiful intellectual qualities, the Romanian people lives in the shadow of ignorance” (“*deși are frumoase calități intelectuale, poporul român zace în umbra neștiinței*”), that education was “restricted to unjust proportions” [“*restrâns la niște proporțiuni nedrepte*”] and that “the religious education of the clergy is held in total disregard” [“*instrucțiunea religioasă a clerului este tratată cu cea din urmă nesocotință*”], decided “to wholeheartedly donate his entire fortune and all his savings for the education of our country's present and future children” [“*le consacre cu inima voioasă pentru învățământul fiilor prezenți și viitori ai patriei noastre*”]<sup>2</sup>. Thus was founded, on January 31, 1872, by royal decree, **the Metropolitan Nifon Seminary**. It worked alongside the Central Seminary, in compliance with the curriculum in force imposed by the Ministry of Cults and Public Instruction, until 1948, when, following the rise of the communists to power, it was closed down.<sup>3</sup>

The decree of establishment issued by King Carol I can be regarded as the first set of rules setting forth the obligations of the founder and the duties of the teaching staff that were to put this first private seminary into operation.

“We agree with the proposal made by His Holiness, Father Metropolitan Nifon, Primate of the country, in the document registered under No. 1140, whereby he, while still living, wishes to use his own savings to set up a Seminary in support of the education of our country's clergy, which should be called the Metropolitan Nifon Seminary; this seminary, as a property of His Holiness, will be managed and looked after by His Holiness for as long as he lives, with His Holiness taking charge of any related expenses, from the

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<sup>1</sup> apud. Șt. Călinescu, D. G. Boroianu, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> Nifon Mitropolitul, *Acte testamentare*, Bucharest, 1909, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Pr. Grigore N. Popescu, *Din trecutul Seminarului Nifon Mitropolitul din București*, Bucharest, 1943, p. 69.

largest to the smallest, without any right of interference in these matters on the part of anyone else.

It should be equipped and administered by the Will of His Holiness, so that even after the death of His Holiness the seminary should be maintained in the best conditions, in strict accordance with the provisions of the Will of His Holiness;

The sciences taught in this seminary must be the same as those taught in the other seminaries of our country, for this regards the education of the young people who want to embrace a religious career within our country's Orthodox Church, and therefore after graduating and passing the required exam, these young people should have the same right to be ordained as any other seminarian." [*"Se încuviințează propunerea Prea Sfinției sale Părintelui Mitropolit Nifon, Primat al Țării, făcută prin actul înregistrat sub No. 1140, că pe când este încă în viață, dorește a fonda din propriile sale economii un Seminar spre îmbunătățirea clerului patriei Noastre, care seminar să poarte numele de Seminar al Mitropolitului Nifon; ca acest seminar, ca o proprietate a Prea Sfinției Sale, pe cât timp va trăi, să fie administrat și îngrijit de preasfinția Sa, întâmpinând cu dela Preasfinția sa toate cheltuielile lui dela cele mari până la cele mai mici, fără de a avea nimeni altul dreptul de a se amesteca la dânsul.*

*Ca să fie dotat de Prea Sfinția Sa prin testament, în mod d'a putea și după încetarea din viață a Prea Sfinției Sale, să se mențină în cea mai bună stare și să se întinză cu vremea în proporțiunile prin care se face, conform cu testamentul ce Prea Sfinția Sa îl va face; Ca științele ce se vor preda în acest seminar să fie tot aceleași ce se vor preda și în celelalte Seminarii din țară, întrucât privește învățătura tinerilor ce vor voi să îmbrățișeze cariera bisericii religiei ortodoxe a țării și ca tinerii după terminarea studiilor și examenul ce vor da să aibă dreptul d'a intra în hirotonie ca toți seminariștii în genere."]*<sup>1</sup>

According to the school regulations, the school maintenance funds were to come from the Metropolitan's personal savings and administered by a board of three members elected from among the teachers and trustworthy persons, close relatives of the Wallachian bishop. The newly established seminary opened its doors on November 19, 1872, in the building located at No. 2, 11 Iunie Street, under the direction of Archimandrite Genadie Enăceanu, and received the name of its founder, i.e. the Metropolitan Nifon Seminary. Beginning with the 1875-1876 school year and up until 1882, the seminary had 4 grades, then 5 and 6 grades, and between 1884 and 1893, it expanded to 7 grades. Between 1893 and 1948, when it was closed by the then recently established communist regime, the *Nifon Seminary* operated, like all the other seminaries in the country, with 8 grades in two cycles, a lower one and a higher one<sup>2</sup>. Paid from private funds, teachers were selected by the

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<sup>1</sup> Idem., pp. 70-71.

<sup>2</sup> Ghenadie Enăceanu, "Seminarul Nifon Mitropolitul. Situațiunea anului școlar 1874 și 1875", in *BOR*, Year I (1875), No. 11(Aug.), p. 872.

school board from among the most qualified secondary and higher education teachers from the Capital. According to the monograph by Grigore Popescu, one of the seminary principals, the teaching staff initially consisted of

“the learned Hieromonk Genadie Enăceanu, the future Bishop of Râmnic, as principal, Atanasie Veniamin, Archpriest R. Sterian Referendarie, N. Mateescu and Gh . Ionescu, and, many years later, of other illustrious secondary and higher education representatives, whose goal was to propagate the religious and profane truths for the benefit and enlightenment not only of students, but also of those living a humble life in the villages” [*“învăţatul ieromonah Ghenadie Enăceanu, viitorul episcop al Râmnicului ca director, Atanasie Veniamin, Protoiereul R. Sterian Referendarie, N. Mateescu și Gh. Ionescu, cărora aveau să le urmeze, după ani și ani, alți iluștrii reprezentanți ai învățământului secundar și universitar din țară, în propovăduirea adevărilor religioase și profane spre folosul și luminarea nu numai a elevilor ci și a celor rămași în umilința satelor”*].<sup>1</sup>

In the course of its history, the Seminary had among its teachers such eminent figures as Ghe. Țițeica, St. Călinescu, Ștefanache Popescu, Ion Popescu-Pasărea, Theodor Georgescu, Gheorghe and Ionel Brătianu, Gheorghe Cucu and others. With such a great team of teachers, the *Nifon Seminary* was rightfully ranked among the best secondary schools in Bucharest<sup>2</sup>.

Among the disciplines taught, church music had its well-established place in the educational process. Since the opening of the school in 1872, until its dissolution in 1948, there were two hours of church music per week for each grade, taught by highly qualified teachers who provided students with a proper training in the field. The first psaltic music teacher of the Seminary, who taught there in the 1872-1873 school year, was priest Gheorghe (Ghiță) Ionescu<sup>3</sup>, a student of Iosif Naniescu at Găiseni, who was followed by Evsevie Bălănescu<sup>4</sup>, protopsaltis of the Metropolitan Church, though only for a short while, i.e. between 1773 and 1775<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Pr. Grigore N. Popescu, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> Gheorghe C. Ionescu, *Muzica bizantină...*, p. 309.

<sup>3</sup> Ghiță Ionescu attended the courses of the Central Seminary, where he studied church music with Oprea Demetrescu and Niță Zaharia, protopsaltis of the Metropolitan Church. In 1862, at the urging of Iosif Naniescu, he compiled an *Anthology* of psaltic music, which was followed by several others. He was a singer at Mihai Vodă Church and at St. Ecaterina Church, deacon and then priest at the Zlătari Church. He was a teacher of church music at the Nifon Seminary (1872-1873) and at the Central Seminary (1891-1893). He wrote numerous collections of chants for the liturgical service and for teaching purposes, some of which were printed, while others remained in manuscript form *apud*. Gheorghe C. Ionescu, *Muzica bizantină...*, p. 271.

<sup>4</sup> Evsevie Bălănescu learned church music at the School in Buzău, and was a monk, protopsaltis at the Metropolitan Church in Bucharest and teacher at the Nifon Seminary, after Ghiță Ionescu *apud*. Gheorghe C. Ionescu, *Muzica bizantină...*, p. 276.

<sup>5</sup> Ghenadie Enăceanu, *op. cit.*, p. 872.

Since 1875, the teaching of church music was entrusted to Theodor Georgescu, who continued it until 1880, when he died. Besides church music, he also taught vocal music. His successor was Ștefanache Popescu, an accomplished musician (of whom we will speak more in the following chapter), who taught church music until 1893, when he was followed by his student, Ion Popescu-Pasărea. During the school year 1892-1893, Ion Popescu-Pasărea substituted for Ștefanache Popescu, who was sick, and gained full-time status in 1893<sup>1</sup>. The last teacher who taught church music at the *Nifon Seminary* was Anton Uncu, a gifted musician and singer and deacon at the Patriarchate. He worked there between 1936 and 1948, when the Seminary was closed down<sup>2</sup>.

A presentation of the church music curriculum for the school year 1874-1875, made by Ghenadie Enăceanu in an article published in the same year, reveals the methodology of study applied during that school year. The 1st grade curriculum included the study of psaltic music grammar, “with an emphasis on the properties of the musical signs” [*cu priviri asupra proprietăților semnelor și a sunurilor muzicale*”] and exercises “with the first and plagal fourth mode, chanted in solfège fashion” [*asupra glasului I și VIII cântatele pre semne*”]. At the same time, the 1st grade students “gained experience in the practical chanting of the Liturgical Service and of the Lord's Lamentations” [*s-au deprins în cântarea practică a Serviciului liturgiei și al înmormântării Mântuitorului*”]. In the 2nd grade, students learned how “to sing, with solfège syllables, the first mode and the plagal first mode, a cheroubikon in the first mode and the axion – The Angel Cried Out; and in practice, they learned how to improvise on the first, fourth, plagal first and plagal fourth modes, with their podoben melodies” [*cânta pe semne glasu I și V-le, unu cheruvicu pre glasul I-iu și acionul – Ângerul au strigatu; iar în practică s-a deprinsu a cânta glasurile I, IV, V și VIII cu podobiile lor*”]. Finally, in the 3rd grade, pupils “continued practising the use of the solfège system in singing the modes, more cheroubika and axions, the cheroubikon and Holy God at the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts, the special chants of the Great Lent and of various Great Feasts, and one polyeleos in the plagal first mode. In practice, the students learned how to improvise on all the modes with their podoben melodies, except for the plagal second and plagal third modes”.<sup>3</sup> By comparison, this curriculum is almost identical with that of the Central Seminary used in 1861. Sometimes, there were differences in terminology, as was the case with the chants of the Great Lent, studied in the 3rd grade, which were referred to as “*paresimierul tot*” at the Central Seminary and “*cântările speciale din Postul Mare*” at the Nifon Seminary. Other

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<sup>1</sup> Pr. Grigore N. Popescu, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> Gheorghe C. Ionescu, *Muzica bizantină...*p. 309.

<sup>3</sup> Ghenadie Enăceanu, *art. cit.*, p. 876.

differences were related to the methodological approach, as was the case with the eight modes, which at the Central Seminary were studied in their entirety from the first year, based on the Anastasimatarion, while at the Nifon Seminary they were introduced gradually over the years, based on their degree of difficulty.

During its 76 years long life, the *Nifon Seminary* produced more than 2,000 graduates, most of whom pursued university studies in theology and in other fields.<sup>1</sup>

Metropolitan Nifon, the founder of the Seminary, played an important role in the success and effectiveness of our theological education of nearly two centuries ago, through his fruitful pastoral work and his significant contribution to our country's religious, cultural and even political life. In 1871 he re-established the *Central Seminary* after the interruption of the courses in 1848, and later, in 1872, he founded the Seminary that bears his name, and financed its maintenance from his private funds. He also set up a printing house, built at his expense the Letca Nouă Church in Giurgiu County, and restored the church of the Zamfira Monastery in Prahova and the Cetățuia Hermitage in Ramnicu-Vâlcea. He was president of the Ad-hoc Divan of Bucharest and of the Elective Assembly that elected Alexandru Ioan-Cuza as ruler, on which occasion he made a passionate speech in favour of the Union<sup>2</sup>.

A contemporary of Veniamin Costache and Iosif Naniescu, Metropolitans of Moldavia, Andrei Șaguna, Metropolitan of Transylvania and Chesarie, Bishop of Buzău, Nifon, the Metropolitan of Ungro-Wallachia, was, like them, one of the great religious and cultural personalities of our country.

Psaltic music schools played a crucial role in the dissemination and transmission of values that crystallize over time, contributing to the development of a culture with specific traits, which stands within the broad Byzantine framework. These values would underpin the formation of our literary language and high-art music, becoming important means of educating the people. They represented the main institutionalized forms of artistic education, with profound implications in the shaping of our spirituality. The education provided by these schools shed its beneficial influence over all believers, for whom the Church was the primary means of spiritual education and enrichment, being as it was that religion itself was a strong educational factor and that the organization of church life had merged its destinies with those of our school. This fact was emphasized already a century ago by Metropolitan Iosif Naniescu, scholar, famous psaltis, teacher and author of church chants, who in 1887 wrote: "The church was the school of the people, a school of morality and light, a school of love, of union and

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<sup>1</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. Ialomițeanu, *Nifon, mitropolitul Ungrovlahiei. Viața și activitatea sa*, Bucharest, 1896, p. 42.

brotherhood" [*"Biserica a fost școala poporului, școală de morală și lumină, școală de iubire, de unire și frăție"*]<sup>1</sup>.

### 2.3. Printed works, theoretical books and histories of psaltic art

If, before the century whose image we are trying to recreate through the art of psaltic music, church chants were preserved and circulated orally or in manuscript, with the emergence of modernization, prints took on a key role in the learning and transmission of chants. The 19th century brought about this double opening: towards the formative-educational value and towards the circulation of information and knowledge, in any field, as a basis for a real communication and transmission of the fundamentals of a discipline, as well as for its enrichment and development. Along with it came the development of the theoretical foundations of a field, as the theoretical framework is a necessary condition for any coherent systematization and articulation. As the picture of the musical culture of the 19th century would not be complete without mention of these aspects, we will try to trace the emergence and evolution of the musical printing press in our country, on the one hand, and the development of the theoretical, doctrinal corpus, on the other, in the form and to the extent to which they were able to configure themselves: partly by way of appropriations and borrowings from foreign authors, and partly by way of original implants, pointing to the same trend of Romanianization, and of search for and promotion of a national identity.

The history of the musical printing press in Byzantine neumatic notation, which until the 19th century had been preserved only in manuscripts, started in 1820, when Petros Efesios printed the *New Anastasimatarion* in Bucharest, whereafter psaltic music could be multiplied and spread by printing. Up until then there had been no printing houses specialized in this field, since there were no matrices for the specific signs and, consequently, no means for the large-scale multiplication of these chants. But after this time, numerous and important psaltic music books were printed in large numbers in our country, within a short period of only 35 years. The two books printed by Efesios in Bucharest – the *New Anastasimatarion* and the *Short Doxastarion* – are actually the first psaltic music books in the world.

The three great teachers, Petros Efesios, Macarie the Hieromonk and Anton Pann, were at the same time composers and editors specialized in the

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<sup>1</sup> *Cuvântarea I.P.S. Arhiepiscop și Mitropolit al Moldovei și Sucevei, D.D. Iosif Naniescu pentru sfințirea bisericii celei mari catedrala mitropolitană din Iași, săvârșită la 22 aprilie 1887, Iași, 1887, p. 22.*

printing of the music composed or performed by them. Each of them brought something new, adding a personal note to the production of music books. These books, which by now were available everywhere, became an important factor in the foundation of the national school of music.

Efesios printed, in his own printing house, the books he wrote in the new system, i.e. the *Anastasimatarion* and the *Short Doxastarion*, with Greek texts and each preceded by a brief preface and dedication to Prince Alexandru Nicolae Șuțu, signed by the music teacher Petros Efesios, and by the master typographers Ștefan D., goldsmith from Linotipos and Hagi Teodosios Stregghios from Naoussa.<sup>1</sup> Efesios also made an attempt to impose a new system of notation, borrowed from Agapios Paliernos from Chios, i.e. the so-called alphabetical notation, and in 1932 he printed three books. However, he was unable to actually put it into practice and therefore returned to the Chrysanthine notation.<sup>2</sup>

In 1820, Macarie the Hieromonk, motivated by Petros Efesios's actions and realizing the possibility of a country-wide circulation of the books, proposed the establishment of a contract for the opening of a printing house at the Bucharest Metropolitanate. He formed a "partnership" with Serafim Christodoulos and Panaiot Enghiurliu for the printing work, asking the Metropolitan to allow them to use the publishing house of the Metropolitanate, until they would manage to print the music books with their own money. According to this contract, Macarie was to "notate" the liturgical service in the new system and to make the necessary corrections during the printing of the books, Kyr Serafim was to prepare "all the necessary letters and modes and characters and all the tools that may be required at the printing house", while Kyr Panarioti, who was highly knowledgeable in musical matters, was "in charge of depositing the money for the expenses [that were to occur] until the printing of the said books (*Anastasimatarion*, *Heirmologion*, *Doxastarion*, *Anthologion* and the *Kalophonic Heirmoi* – author's note), and was to serve as cashier for the book sales until the termination of the partnership.<sup>3</sup> However, while there are no data showing that such a contract was ever signed, the year 1923 found Macarie in Vienna, working with Armenian printers on the printing of his books.

From a letter exchange between Macarie and Nicolae, the tax collector of the Holy Metropolitanate, we learn that ten years later, Macarie was entrusted with the running of the publishing house of the Metropolitanate, opened at Cociocul

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<sup>1</sup> Titus Moisescu, "Începuturile tiparului muzical românesc în notație bizantină" in *Prolegomene...*, pp. 87-89.

<sup>2</sup> See Nicoale M. Popescu, "Notația muzicală alfabetică...", *art. cit.*, p. 1191.

<sup>3</sup> Autograph manuscript at the State Archives, fund Mitropolia București, Dossier XVI/7, folio 1-1v. *Apud.* Titus Moisescu, *Prolegomene...*, pp. 117-118.

Căldărușanilor through the care of the Metropolitan Grigorie the Teacher (*Dascălul*). By a decision of the Holy Metropolitanate of September 26, 1834, Macarie was entrusted with the management of the publishing house: “from now on you will be in charge with the supervision of the entire working team (...) as from now on the entire responsibility rests on you.” [*“însuși rămâi de acum înaintea căpeteniei tuturor lucrătorilor (...) căci de acum înainte răspunderea toată să cere de la cuvioșia ta”*].<sup>1</sup>

After the death of Macarie, the books he had printed in Vienna were reprinted by Dimitrie Suceveanu in Iași, in 1848, and by Hieromonk Serafim in Buzău, in 1856. According to Nifon Ploeșteanu, “they became extremely popular in Wallachia and became normative for the purely Romanian church chants” [*“epocă în Țările Române și au devenit normă pentru cântarea bisericească, curat românească”*].<sup>2</sup>

Anton Pann's editorial activity was also significant, and even more diverse than that of the others, being divided between music, poetry and folklore. According to his biographers, the list of music books printed by him included 30 titles of extremely varied contents, published within the short time period between 1820 and 1854. In 1843, he founded a small printing house of his own, which was initially housed in the cells next to the Olteni church and then at his home on Taurului Street (currently Anton Pann Street). In a Notice from 1845, Anton Pann provided a list of eight books that he had in preparation for printing in his printing house, which were also the most valuable music books that he ever published:

1. The Theoretical and Practical Basis of Church Music [*Bazul teoretic și practic al muzicii bisericești*] (printed in 1845)
2. Heirmologion or Katavaseion Syntomon [*Irmologhionul sau Catavasierul grabnic*](1846)
3. Anthology of Chants [*Priveghierul și mânecătorul*] (1848)
4. Triodion [*Păresimierul*] (1847)
5. Cheroubiko-Koinonikarion [*Heruvico-chinonicarul*] (1847)
6. Anastasimatarion Argon and Syntomon [*Anastasimatarul îndoit*] (1847), preceded by an Abridged Form of the Basis of Church Music [*“Prescurtare din Bazul muzicii bisericești”*]
7. Heirmologion Kalophonikon [*Calofoniconul*] (possibly published in 1846)
8. Doxastarion [*Doxastarul*] (possibly published in 1853).

An overview of the 19th century publishing landscape allows us to make a few clarifications: beginning with 1820, psaltic chants circulated in printed form as

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<sup>1</sup> See Titus Moisescu, “Macarie ieromonahul. Scrisori și documente (1820-1863)” in *Prolegomene...*, p. 162. Text reproduced after the original and published by Nicolae M. Popescu, “Știri noi ....”, pp. 1192-1193.

<sup>2</sup> Nifon N. Ploeșteanu, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

well, in nearly 100 editions published in Romanian until the end of the century, without counting the ones in Greek. One third of the Romanian editions are lamentations, which were easy to publish due to their small size and low cost. In terms of numbers, they were followed by *anastasimataria*<sup>1</sup> and *heirmologia*, the first books used in the teaching of young learners.

Almost all the types of chant books were translated from Greek and published until 1857 (except for the *Heirmologion Kalophonikon*, which was translated into Romanian, but was never published). After that date, which roughly corresponds with the emergence of the new Romanian state, the situation changed. The starting points of the newly published books were no longer the contemporary Greek editions, but the previously published Romanian ones. The publishers – mostly teachers from theological seminaries – made sure that the books would be easily accessible to students, both in terms of price and in terms of degree of difficulty of the chants. Many of the books printed during the latter part of the century include fewer and simpler chants than those printed during the early part. Gradually, the melismatic versions (*arga*) of the *katavasiae* and of the *arga* doxologies started to disappear from the printed books, the number of *koinonika* decreased and *kratemata* became shorter.

However, the circulation of manuscripts did not cease and if we were to analyze the printed materials and the manuscripts separately, we would come to contrary conclusions. The former would indicate a simplification of music over the century; the latter, on the other hand, would show a decrease of interest in the simple chants, along with the maintenance in use of the more difficult ones. The contradiction disappears if we take into account that the two types of books with musical notation were intended for different groups of users: the prints were accessible to learners as well, while the manuscripts – except for the school ones – were used only by skilled singers and especially by monks.

Throughout the nineteenth century, musical notation was used by an increasing number of singers, although their average level of competence decreased. Nevertheless, there always existed a highly-trained elite, able to masterfully compose and perform the most difficult chants.

Beginning with the early nineteenth century, the publishing activity and book production started to be accompanied by a penchant for theorization and systematization of the knowledge accumulated over the centuries. The theoretical vocation, reflected in the considerable number of grammars or theoretical writings published, was another specific characteristic of the time.

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<sup>1</sup> The great number of printed *anastasimataria* is the main cause for the decrease in number of the *anastasimataria* in manuscript form.

One could certainly find music theory elements in the manuscripts of the old method as well. About one in four manuscripts had their first pages filled with a rudimentary theoretical work, which was limited to a description of signs, some parallage exercises and some drawings after the trochos system (wheels or trees), showing the disposition of the echoi. The number of treatises in which the theoretical issues received a more elaborate treatment is considerably smaller: there are only four manuscripts in the Romanian libraries containing – in their entirety or only partially – one or several treatises, all of which are in Greek<sup>1</sup>. Written for the practitioners of the time, their interpretation raises a number of issues to researchers. Although the main topics discussed in the treatises are notation and the theory of modes, the manner of execution of most of the signs and the size of the intervals that made up the modal scales are still unclear to musicologists to this day.

The theoretical works written according to the new method addressed the same issue as those written according to the old one, but the manner of presentation – influenced by the Western musical theories – was much clearer. Compared to the old treatises, some of those of the new method were translated into Romanian and circulated in print. Two such treatises were published: one written by Chrysanthos (?1770-1846)<sup>2</sup> and published by Macarie the Hieromonk<sup>3</sup> and the other, written by Theodoros Phokaeus (1790-1851) and published by Anton Pann<sup>4</sup>. The Romanian editors followed closely the originals, but intervened with some punctual modifications. Macarie attached six drawings to his study, presenting the scales which sometimes extend beyond two octaves, instead of falling within one octave, as those of Chrysanthos. Macarie's drawings suggest that the structure of scales was mostly non-octavic, being usually formed by joining together pentachords, tetrachords or trichords. Anton Pann reduced the number of octave divisions from 68 to 22, and adjusted the intervals between tones proportionally. The system described by Pann was equivalent to that of Fokaeus, but the sizes of intervals were expressed in smaller, more convenient values.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The authors of these treatises are Pseudo-Damaskenos, Manouel Chrysaphes (1440-1463), Pahomios Hieromonachos (the second half of the 15th century), Ioannes Plousiadenos (c. 1429-1500), Laurentios Hierodiachos (1710), Kyrrillos Marmarinos (1730 -1760). See Nicolae Gheorghiuța, "Tratate ale muzicii bizantine. Tratatul lui Manouel Chrysaphes-Lampadarul. Manuscris grec nr. 1120, Mănăstirea Iviron, Muntele Athos, Iulie 1458" in *Byzantion Romanicon*, vol. VI, Iași, 2002, pp. 28-81.

<sup>2</sup> *Introducere în teoria și practica muzicii bisericești*.

<sup>3</sup> Macarie Ieromonahul, *Theoriticon sau Privire cuprinzătoare a meșteșugului musichiei bisericești, după așezământul sistimii ceii noao*, Vienna, 1823.

<sup>4</sup> Anton Pann, *Bazul teoretic și practic ...op. cit.*

<sup>5</sup> Costin Moisil, "Scările muzicale la Macarie Ieromonahul", *Acta Musicae Byzantinae*, II, 2000, p. 136.

The first two theoretical works printed in our country at the beginning of the nineteenth century dominated the theory of ecclesiastical music throughout the entire century and even into the next, until 1951, when the uniformization of ecclesiastical music took place, causing structural changes to the entire theoretical psaltic concept, especially with regard to the subdivision of tones, thus leading to a reorganization of the modal system.

The theoretical works that followed were either reprints of the *Theoretikon*, with minor changes, or more condensed versions of Pann's book (usually as the first part of a psaltic music manual). The latter category includes two works comprising several original elements. The former belongs to Oprea Demetrescu, who divided the octave into equally tempered tones and semitones, reducing the number of seconds from 7 to only 3 (semitone, tone, tone and half).<sup>1</sup> The latter was written by Ion Popescu-Pasărea<sup>2</sup> and was to undergo numerous reprints during the following century. Popescu-Pasărea was the first to present a number of melodic formulas for each mode, which could be arranged in different combinations to form entire melodies.

Macarie and Pann are also credited with the first historical references. In the preface to the *Heirmologion* and to the *Basis ...*, respectively, they supplemented a history translated from Greek with information on the Romanian psaltes of the late half of the eighteenth century. Other attempts at drawing a history of church music, though small in scale and inaccurate at times, can be found in Ioanne Dem. Petrescu's book, *Arta Artelor sau Elemente de istoria muzicii* (1872) and in Bishop Melchisedek's book entitled *Memoriu pentru cântările bisericesti în România* (1882). The first history of Orthodox music written in Romanian can be considered to be Alexandru Luca's graduation thesis entitled *Priviri generale asupra muzicii din Biserica Ortodoxă*, published one year before the end of the century.<sup>3</sup> The work is divided into three roughly equal parts: the first one is a history of Christian music up to St. John of Damascus (the eighth century), based on patristic writings; the second one is a history of Orthodox music from St. John of Damascus until the late nineteenth century, based mostly on a famous work published in Greece<sup>4</sup>; the third part refers to Romanian church music. These works are important in that

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<sup>1</sup> Oprea Demetrescu, *Principii elementare ale muzicii bisericesti și prescurtare din Anastasimatar*, Bucharest, 1859.

<sup>2</sup> Ion Popescu-Pasărea, *Principii de muzică bisericască orientală*, Tipografia Cărților Bisericești, Bucharest, 1897.

<sup>3</sup> Alexandru Luca, *Priviri generale asupra muzicii din Biserica Ortodoxă de Răsărit de la începutul creștinismului și până în zilele noastre*, Bucharest, 1898,

<sup>4</sup> Georgios Papadopoulos, *Symbolai eis tin istorian tis par'imin ekklisiastikis mousikis kai oi apo ton apostolikon chronon achri ton imeron imon akmasandes epiphanesteroi melodoi, ymnographoi, mousikoi kai mousikologoi*, Athens, 1890.

they are among the few sources that provide information about the life and work of the nineteenth century psaltes.

All these theoretical or historical writings that appeared already in the 19th century prove the fact that psaltic music had already reached its maturity and was already able to maintain an objective and critical distance in establishing its own doctrinal foundation.

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