



## The Evolution of Chant Exegesis in the *Anastasimatarion* of Anton Pann

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The adaptation of liturgical songs to the Romanian language is a complex topic that involves, first, a clarification of the issue of the translation of religious books into Romanian.<sup>1</sup> We owe Deacon Coresi the first printings in Romanian, with Cyrillic letters: *Tetraevanghel* [*The Four Gospels*] (1561), *Psaltire* [*Psaltery*] (1570), *Liturghier* [*Liturgy Book*] (1570). Although some of the books in Romanian were a means for Reformed propaganda among Romanians, his prints have played an important role in the development and unification of Romanian as a cultural language. We can not talk about liturgical singing in Romanian without the existence of religious books in Romanian. The question is: Why were Slavonic and Greek abandoned and replaced by writing in Romanian? There are multiple causes, both external and internal, such as: the service and the religious texts in foreign languages were not available, sometimes not even to Romanian priests, let alone believers; Reformed propaganda sought to attract Orthodox Romanians to the new Lutheran Church. One of the innovations of the Reformation was to introduce national languages in the religious service. The movement was broad and covered the entire Europe, thus enabling the emergence of concerns for adapting the liturgical songs to Romanian. In the fight with Slavonic, Romanian became increasingly prominent in church service. In this respect, Gheorghe Ciobanu stated: “Slavonic was up to the late seventeenth century both the religious language and the state language [...]; in the second half of the seventeenth century, Greek replaces Slavonic in the chancelleries of the Romanian rulers, with increasing use in the Church as well, and in the early eighteenth century Romanian ultimately became the language of worship”<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is a rewriting of the author’s dissertation, defended in July 2010, on graduating the Master degree programme of the University of Arts “George Enescu” of Iași, under the guidance of Prof. PhD Florin Bucescu. I would like to take this opportunity to also thank the musicologist Nicolae Gheorghită for providing several manuscripts necessary to complete this study.

<sup>2</sup> Gheorghe Ciobanu, *Raportul dintre muzica liturgică românească și muzica bizantină* [*The Relation Between the Romanian Liturgical Music and Byzantine Music*] – paper at I. Congresso internazionale di studi di musica bizantina liturgica e orientale, Grottaferatta (Italy), 6-11 maggio 1968; published in: *Studii de*

In the musical field, two important musical personalities of the eighteenth century, Filothei Protopsaltul and Mihalache Moldo-Vlahul, are worth mentioning in this respect.

The first musical personality who initiated the process of adapting liturgical songs to Romanian was Filothei sin Agăi Jipei or Filothei Protopsaltul. His most important work is *Psaltichia rumânească* [*The Romanian Psalter*], completed on December 24, 1713. Filothei Protopsaltul adapted the Romanian texts to traditional Byzantine music. Songs from *Psaltichia* were then copied by other musicians and circulated in all Romanian provinces. Nearly three centuries later, *The Romanian Psalter* was studied and published by the Byzantinist Sebastian Barbu-Bucur, in four volumes. Thus, Sebastian Barbu-Bucur noted: “The work of translating the hymn books from Greek was linked to the difficulty of matching the text in Romanian with the traditional melody, which could not be changed. This meant to select and set out in order the Romanian words so that they would have the rhythm required by the melodic needs of Byzantine music. The translation problem thus became complicated with a musical issue.”<sup>3</sup> From the Byzantinist’s statements we can deduce that Filothei Protopsaltul encountered two major difficulties in the process of adapting musical works to Romanian: “the translation” from Greek to Romanian and the matching of the musical accent to the prosodic / metric accent. Referring to the work of Filothei, Gheorghe Ciobanu<sup>4</sup> mentioned the existence of three types of songs: 1. translations, fully respecting the Greek melody; 2. translations in which the melodic line was adapted to the Romanian prosody and word order; 3. own melodic creations.

Mihalache Moldo-Vlahu is the author of an *Anastasimatar românesc* [*Romanian Anastasimatarion*], dated 1767. The original manuscript was discovered at Mount Athos and has been printed recently by the Byzantinist Sebastian Barbu-Bucur. The work is mentioned by Anton Pann. The aforementioned Byzantinist shows that with Mihalache began the second stage of the process of adaptation to Romanian. This means that it is no longer about adapting the text to music or vice versa, but about a melodic line “processed and adapted to

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*etnometodologie și bizantinologie* [*Studies of Ethnomethodology and Byzantinology*], vol. II, Editura Muzicală, București, 1979, p. 263.

<sup>3</sup> Sebastian Barbu-Bucur, *Filothei sin Agăi Jipei. Psaltichie rumânească* [*Filothei sin Agăi Jipei. Romanian Psalter*], vol. I, *Catavasierul* [*Hymn Book*], Editura Muzicală, București, 1981, p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> Gheorghe Ciobanu, *Cultura psaltică românească în secolele al XVII-lea și al XVIII-lea* [*Romanian Psaltic Culture in the Seventeenth century and Eighteenth century*], in: *Muzica* [*Music*], Bucharest, Year XXIII, no. 3, March 1973, p. 46; reprinted in: *Studii de etnomuzicologie și bizantinologie* [*Studies of Ethnomusicology and Byzantinology*], vol. I, p. 302.

the Romanian text<sup>5</sup>. The preference for the eirmologica style is noted in Mihalache, his *Anastasimatarion* being written συντόμων (syllabic, short, concise).

The music scene of the first half of the nineteenth century is a syncretic one, featuring the coexistence of completely opposite styles. Music in this period is under continuous transformation, seeking its own identity in an attempt to relate to Western music, but also to preserve the national character. In terms of music theory, two directions are configured and will develop in parallel during 1823-1859: sacramentary music (Hieromonk Macarie and Anton Pann) and Western music (Teodor Burada, I. A. Wachmann and A. Petrino). Regarding the byzantine notation system, we note a first tendency to adapt the sacramentary to Romanian by removing oriental influences, and a second tendency, consisting in the attempt to adopt the western music system and even to introduce harmonic chanting in church.

Titus Moisescu identifies four important moments in the development of religious music in the Romanian Orthodox tradition<sup>6</sup>, namely: 1. old Byzantine music (ecphonetic, paleo-Byzantine, medio-Byzantine / Hagiopolite and neo-Byzantine / Koukouzelian), also known as “the old system”; 2. modern Crysanthine sacramentary (XIXth-XXth centuries), also known as “the new system”; 3. monodic religious music in linear notation from Transylvania, Banat and Bukovina; 4. harmonic and polyphonic choral religious music, with or without instrumental accompaniment, developed starting with the XIX<sup>th</sup> century.

Those who continued, in the XIXth century, the tradition started in the VIII<sup>th</sup> century of adapting chants to Romanian were Hieromonk Macarie, Anton Pann and Dimitrie Suceveanu. The three psaltes of the XIXth century explained in their prefaces that the process of adapting chants to Romanian did not take place *ex nihilo*, but was the result of a complex process, a struggle of centuries, with the Romanian culture emerging victorious in the end. Adaptation to Romanian involved: removing the supporters of chanting in Greek, consolidating the position of the singers who supported the Romanian language, removing the Turkish influences (eliminating *tererems* or *dashes*), publishing theoretical works, interpreting and creating in Romanian. Among the

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<sup>5</sup> Sebastian Barbu-Bucur, *Manuscise muzicale românești la Muntele Athos. Anastasimatarul lui Mihalache Moldovlahul* [Romanian Music Manuscripts at Mount Athos. The Anastasimatarion of Mihalache Moldovlahul], a study commissioned by the Union of Composers and Musicologists, no. 22 679, p. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Titus Moisescu, *Cântarea monodică bizantină pe teritoriul României. Prolegomene bizantine* [Monodical Byzantine Chant in Romania. Byzantine Prolegomena], vol. II, *Variante stilistice și de formă în muzica bisericească* [Variants Differing in Style and Form in Church Music], edited by Constantin Secară, Editura Muzicală, București, 2003, pp. 41-42.

important theoretical works of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century I would like you mention: *Theoreticonul* [*The Theoreticon*] of Macarie, 1823, Vienna; *Bazul teoretic și practic al muzicii bisericești sau gramatica melodică* [*The Theoretical and Practical Basis of Church Music or the Melodic Grammar*] of Anton Pann, Bucharest, 1845; *Prescurtarea după Bazul teoretic* [*Abridgement of The Theoretical Basis*], Bucharest, 1847; *Mica gramatică muzicală* [*The Little Grammar of Music*] of Anton Pann, Bucharest, 1854. “Since 1814, following a so-called reform promoted by the three musicians – Chrysanthos Arhimandritos, Gregorios Lampadarios and Chourmouzos Chartophilax – appeared the *modern* religious music, called *Chrysanthic*, after the name of one of the reformers, *the new system*, the so-called *sacramentary* ...”<sup>7</sup>. In 1816, the first school of psaltery was established in Bucharest, at St. Nicholas Church in Șelari, thanks to the initiative of Petru Efesiu. The students of this school include Hieromonk Macarie and Anton Pann.<sup>8</sup>

Titus Moisescu discusses the main features of modern psalm notation<sup>9</sup>: 1. giving up many signs from the notation of the old system; 2. introducing 20 ftorals – 8 diatonic, 5 chromatic, 5 enharmonic, 2 supports (the sharp and the ifes); 3. using the stichirarica, eirmologica and papadica times, distinguished by the final cadences, perfect and imperfect and by tempo; 4. clarifying the rhythmic structures.

Constantin Catrina demonstrates that the psaltes of the XIX<sup>th</sup> century had merit because “they created a full repertoire of songs in Romanian, offering psaltes from monasteries and parish churches the entire musical creation required for all religious services in the Orthodox Church. They all tried their hand at original creation [...] at first timidly (Macarie, Dimitrie Suceveanu), then with more courage and more originality (Anton Pann, Ioan Popescu-Pasărea)”<sup>10</sup>.

Hieromonk Macarie was one of the first Romanian musicians who talked about the need to replace the Greek chant with the Romanian one. In the preface to *The Heirmologion*, Macarie stated: “The wealth and happiness of a people, my dear, comes from respecting the ancient laws and the love and strong desire to increase the wealth of the nation because the laws are like springs that water the soul, multiply and feed that close relation of love and desire on which depend the richness and

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<sup>7</sup> ibidem, p. 37.

<sup>8</sup> ibidem.

<sup>9</sup> Titus Moisescu, *Cântarea monodică bizantină pe teritoriul României. Prolegomene bizantine* [*Monodical Byzantine Chant in Romania. Byzantine Prolegomena*], vol. II, p. 38.

<sup>10</sup> Constantin Catrina, *Ipostaze ale muzicii de tradiție bizantină din România* [*Faces of Byzantine-Inspired Music in Romania*], Editura Muzicală, București, 2003, p 116.

the happiness, they work and multiply sciences that are so useful in people's lives."<sup>11</sup>

Anton Pann, the second founder of the Romanian psaltery, paid attention to the importance of the word that imposes the accents of the musical phrase. "The theoretical and rhetorical principles are designed and applied according to the specificity of the Romanian language, which is the decisive factor in composing the chants."<sup>12</sup>

These psaltes were criticized for not taking into account the existence of an original chant from the churches in the villages, heavily influenced by folk music.<sup>13</sup> There are manuscripts by Anton Pann that show a tendency to compose some songs under the influence of folk songs and western songs. "Researching the content of these manuscripts puts us in a position to discover the development in the concept of Anton Pann [...]. It's about some so-called «Great responses», which, due to their non-Byzantine style, Anton Pann did not include in any of his printings."<sup>14</sup>

Anton Pann supports the idea of adapting to Romanian in verse too: "Many, I noticed, when they look at the song/ And they see it with gorgons, they like it like mad,/ Not knowing that art does not lie in the writing with gorgons,/ But in the best adaptation and the enlightened style./ But I, I avoided as many gorgons as I could/ And I respected the accuracy, I never ignored the rules ..."<sup>15</sup>.

Dimitrie Suceveanu, the most important representative of the sacramentary in Moldova, is considered "the last of the triad of the Chrysantine reformers in our country", "who gave us the richest music literature in the church circuit, collected in the three volumes of the incomparable *Idiomelar, adecă cântarea pe singur glasul unit cu Doxastarul* [*Idiomelar, that is chanting in one voice united with the Doxastar*], printed at Neamț Monastery, during 1856-1857"<sup>16</sup>.

Thus, the process of adapting church songs to Romanian began in the XVIII<sup>th</sup> century with Filothei sin Agăi Jipei and continued with greater impetus in the XIX<sup>th</sup> century through the efforts of three Romanian protopsaltes: Hieromonk Macarie, Anton Pann and Dimitrie

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<sup>11</sup> Hieromonk Macarie, *Irmologhion sau catavasieriu musicesc* [*Irmologhion or Musical hymn Book*], p. III, București, 1823.

<sup>12</sup> See Octavian Lazăr Cosma, *Hronicul muzicii românești* [*History of Romanian Music*], vol. III, "Preromantismul" [*Pre-Romanticism*], p. 139.

<sup>13</sup> George Breazul, *Patrium Carmen*, pp. 574-576.

<sup>14</sup> Gheorghe Ciobanu, *Studii de Etnomuzicologie și Bizantinologie* [*Ethnomusicology and Byzantinology Studies*], vol. II, Editura Muzicală, București, 1979, p. 241.

<sup>15</sup> Anton Pann, *Heruico-Chenonicar*, București, 1846, p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> Vasile Vasile, *Istoria muzicii bizantine si evoluția ei în spiritualitatea românească* [*History of Byzantine Music and its Evolution in the Romanian Spirituality*], vol. II, Editura Interprint, București, 1997, p. 162.

Suceveanu. Their contribution is essential, resembling that of deacon Coresi for the Romanian religious printing from the XVIth century. What the three did should not be considered a xenophobic act, but an attempt to bring church music closer to the soul and the feelings of the people – a simple, humble people who wanted music to be closer to their soul, less “baroque” and “gorgoned.” The entire XIXth century is characterized by an attempt to modernize the Romanian society, which began by replacing the Phanariot rulers with native rulers and continued with the Bourgeois-Landlord Revolution of 1848. This explains why there are changes in church music as well. If the three psaltes had not fought for the adaptation of the songs to Romanian, it is possible that this kind of music would have disappeared because it was in strong competition with the Western, linear music.

As mentioned above, the oldest manuscript with songs on musical notes in Romanian is *Psaltichia rumânească* [*The Romanian Psalter*], of Hieromonk Filothei sin Agăi Jipei, completed on December 24, 1713. The manuscript also contains an *Anastasima* (f. 71-113)<sup>17</sup>, which was composed after the model of Hrisah’s *Anastasimatarion*, Filothei processing the Greek material in whole or in part. Another *Anastasimatarion* is that of Mihalache Moldoveanu, produced in 1767 and mentioned by Anton Pann in *Bazul teoretic și practic...* [*The Theoretical and Practical Basis...*] Another *Anastasimatarion* in Romanian was written by Protosinghel Ianuarie, before 1821, but the manuscript was not found. Anton Pann mentioned in the same work that he had seen it. The first *Anastasimatarion* printed in Romanian was that of Hieromonk Macarie, written after that of Petru Efesiul (1823). In 1847, Anton Pann published *Prescurtarea din Bazul muzicii bisericesti din Anastasimatar* [*Abridgement of the Basis of Church Music from the Anastasimatarion*]. As the title indicates, the book also contained chants from *Anastasimatarion*. In 1848, *The Anastasimatarion* of Dimitrie Suceveanu is published, which was reedited after *The Anastasimatarion* of Macarie, revised and enlarged.

Another important *Anastasimatarion* is the one published by Anton Pann, in 1854, the year of his death, after the model of *The Anastasimatarion* written in 1809 by Dionisie Fotino (Fig. 1). The present study aims to unravel some of the mysteries of the process of adapting to Romanian the chants in this *Anastasimatarion*. I chose for analysis 2 compositions and 3 examples to discover what this process actually comprised. I stopped only at the chants of voice I from Vespers,

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<sup>17</sup> See Gheorghe C. Ionescu, *Muzica bizantină în România, Dicționar cronologic* [*Byzantine Music in Romania, Chronological Dictionary*], with a preface by Academician Virgil Candea, German-English translation: Carmen Simina Ionescu; French translation: Magda Bindea, Editura Sagittarius, București, pp. 50-53.

intending to approach the subject in more detail in a subsequent book. The applied method is inductive and comparative. It starts from examples and by means of comparison it extracts the mechanisms of the adaptation to Romanian. The three books from which the songs were extracted were not selected fortuitously, as they are related to one another. In fact, every new book published arose from the previous one. Here they are:

1. the Greek manuscript *Νέον Αναστασιματάριον*, from the collection of psalms *Livre de Musique*, of Dionisie Fotino; signed manuscript found in the Library of the Romanian Patriarchate, Bucharest, under Ms. gr. 185 – Ms. 198, year 1809; Anton Pann stated in the preface to *The Anastasimatarion* that this *Anastasimatarion* had been burnt, but, in reality, it is now found in the Library of the Romanian Patriarchate; “on leaf 343 starts Αναστασιμάριον Νέον (Fig. 2 n.n.) with a total of 112 pages preceded by the title of the work and a dedication to Ștefan Belu”<sup>18</sup>.

“Νέον Αναστασιματάριον, which is in *Livre de musique*, mentions right from the title its stylistic and aesthetic dimension, the author and the place of its writing”<sup>19</sup>: „Αναστασιμάριον νέον, σύντομον, ευρυθμόν, και κατα νοήμα συντεθέν, παρά εμού Διονυσίου βατάφου του εκ παλαιών πατρών, της εκ πελοποννήσω αχαιας προτοπή (!προτροπή translator’s note) του αρχόν (!αρχου translator’s note) παχάρνηκ Στεφάνου πελίου προς χάριν, των εκ τω της Υγγροβλαχία Βουκουρέστιο φιλομούσων κατά μήνα σευτέβριος τω αωθ’ έτος.”<sup>20</sup>

At the end of *The Anastasimatarion*, Dionysios presents a brief characterization of his musical genre, in the decapentasyllabic technique: “Τόδε υπάρχει σύνθεμα, εμού Διονυσίου/εκ των Πατρών της Πόλεως, του Πελοποννησιου./όπερ προς χάριν γέγονε, των φιλομούσων μόνων,/οίτινες κρίνουσιν ορθώς και νόημα και τόνον./Το ύφος έχει

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<sup>18</sup> Nicolae Gheorghită, *Dionysios Foteinos (1777-1821), Opera muzicală. Anastasimatarul [Dionysios Foteinos (1777-1821), The Musical Work. The Anastasimatarion]*, p. 19; This study is an abridged form of some chapters from the PhD thesis of Nicolae Gheorghită (in development) at the University Makedonias of Thessaloniki, entitled *Ο ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΦΩΤΕΙΝΟΣ (1777-1821) ΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙ Η ΑΙ ΡΟΥΜΑΝΙ Η ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΗΣ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗΣ*.

<sup>19</sup> Nicolae Gheorghită, *Dionysios Foteinos (1777-1821), Opera muzicală. Anastasimatarul [Dionysios Foteinos (1777-1821), The Musical Work. The Anastasimatarion]*, p. 21.

<sup>20</sup> Ms. gr. 185 – Ms. 198, year 1809, Library of the Romanian Patriarchate, f. 184 r; “The new short / concise harmonized Anastasimatarion, drafted according to the established order by me, Dionisie Vatafu, from the old Patras, in Achaia Peloponnese, at the suggestion of cupbearer Ștefan, whom I thank, and the music lovers in Bucharest of Ungro-Wallachia, in September of 1809.” (translated by sister Paraschiva Grigoriu).

σύντομον, εθρύθμους (! ευρύθμους translator's note) τας συνθέσεις,/το μέλος κατά νόημα, με φθορικάς τε θέσεις/Μανθάνειν ἔξεστι λοιπόν, λογίοις καλοφώνοις,/αλλ' οὐ τοις αμαθέσι δε, ἀμα και κακοφώνοις./ αι ἔστω εις μνημόσυνον, του φιλομούσου ὄντως,/αιτίου τε και προτρεπτοῦ κα'μου του κοπιώντος/."21

2. 741<sup>st</sup> (527<sup>th</sup>) Greek manuscript, BAR, Αναστασιμάριον νέον, the new writing (Fig. 3), interpreted by Anton Pann in 1853-1854, at the suggestion of the Metropolitan of Moldova, Iosif Naniescu. “Αναστασιμάριον νεον, σύντομον, ευρυθμον, και κατά νόημα συντεθέν, παρά Σερδάρου Διονυσίου Φωτηνώ, νυν δε εξυγήθη κατά των νέον μέθοδον παρά εμου Αντωνίου Πανν.”22

“This book, the Anastasimatarion of Dionisake Fotino, translated by Mr. Anton Pann after the system of church chants with the old, complicated notes into the new system, with the same simplified notes, is translated and written by Anton Pann himself with his own hand in 1853-1854, for me, the undersigned, according to our agreement; I write this here for eternal remembrance in 1899. † Iosif Naniescu, Metropolitan of Moldova, in 1899, May 29.”23

Ms. gr. 741 (527), BAR, Αναστασιμάριον νέον, was edited by the musicologist Nicolae Gheorghîță, on Mount Athos, at the Hermitage “St. Demetrius”, Lake, 2009.24

3. *The Anastasimatarion* of Anton Pann, 1854, published in his own typography (Fig. 8). *Noul Anastasimatar, tradus și compus din sistima cea veche a serdarului Dionisie Fotino, dedicat Prea Sfințitului și de Dumnezeu alesului, Episcop Filoteiu al Buzăului de Anton Pann [The New Anastasimatarion, translated and composed of the old system of serdar Dionisie Fotino, dedicated to His Holiness and God's Chosen, Bishop Filoteiu of Buzău by Anton Pann]*. I shall provide the

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21 Ms. gr. 185 – Ms. 198, year 1809, Library of Romanian Patriarchate, f. 245 r; “This is my composition, of Dionisie from the city of Patras in the Peloponnese, which was created only for the satisfaction of music lovers who can rightly appreciate the order and the tone. The style is concise, the compositions are harmonized, the melos is set according to the established order. It should therefore be learned by those educated in music, and not by the uneducated or the tone deaf. And it is to be in remembrance of the true music lover, Ștefan, who commissioned this composition and my exhorter, whom I worked for.” (translated by sister Paraschiva Grigoriu).

22 Ms. gr. 741 (527), donated to BAR by Metropolitan Iosif Naniescu in 1894, f. 1 r; The new short / concise harmonized Anastasimatarion, drafted according to the established order by serdar Dionisie Fotino, and now interpreted according to the new method by me.” (translated by sister Paraschiva Grigoriu).

23 Ms. gr. 741 (527), f. 8 v.

24 Διονυσίου Φωτεινού, *Αναστασιματαριον νεον*, Ἐπιμέλια-Πρόλογος-Σχόλια ἀπο τον Nicolae Gheorghîță Μουσικολόγο, Ιερά Καλύβη «Εὐαγγελισμος της Θεοτόκου», Ιερά Σκήτη Αγίου Δημητρου-Λάκκου, ΑΠΙΟΝ ΟΡΟΣ, 2009.



transliteration of the preface of the book, which contains important information about it:

*“To His Holiness and God’s Chosen  
Bishop D.D. Filotei of Buzău.*

*Your Holiness!*

*This Anastasimatarion was composed according to the old system by serdar Dionisie Fotino in 1809 and, as the author was embraced by the sons of the country back then, it was taught until 1816 to the youth, among which was one, the late, His Holiness, Bishop Chesarie of Buzău, who had been a singer of the worthy of remembrance Iosif, the first Bishop of Arges, when I, too, attended as an auditor with him; then also came Petru Efesiu with the new system of the Art of Music, the old system was abandoned and they all followed this one, as it was simpler and easy to learn.*

*After that, being chosen and enthroned as Bishop Chesarie of Buzău, seeing that this Anastasimatarion remained forgotten, knowing the artful composition and the gentle song in it and wishing very much for his singers to interpret it, he called on me and urged me first to translate it in the original Greek, and then in Romanian, wanting to print it and publish it; he also ordered me to begin to work on prodobii of the evenings and the mornings from all mineie to regulate them according to rhythms and tones similar to the Greek, as it is the funeral song of our Lord Jesus Christ and podobii in this Anastasimatarion. When both Anastasimatarions still needed work, His Holiness moved to the eternal palaces, The Anastasimatarion in Greek language burned in 1847 in the Church of St. Demetrius; and the Romanian one remained until today, waiting for a patron to publish it.*

*Your Holiness, as the one who has been apprentice and in all a follower of the good works of the late Bishop, and wishing to carry out what he had had in mind and remained unfinished, death ending his life, you favoured this Anastasimatarion as well to bring out to light. And in order not to bury it with me in the grave, you gave the necessary aid and you interceded for its printing. Now that it is finished, please receive it and give it to be taught at Seminar, for your Holiness’ eternal remembrance; and I always remain*

*Your Holiness’s  
Humble servant  
A. Pann”*

From the Preface of *The Anastasimatarion*, we find out that it was composed around 1809 and has been studied in schools until the coming of Petru Efesiu in Bucharest (1816). The old system was replaced with the new one also because the latter was easier to learn. Among the disciples of serdar Dionisie Fotino, Anton Pann mentions the future Bishop of Buzau, Chesarie, who was then singer of the Bishop of Arges, Iosif. Among the students was also the author of the Preface (Anton Pann). Because the *Anastasimatarion* had been forgotten, Bishop Chesarie of Buzău urged Anton Pann to translate it first into Greek, then into Romanian, in order to be printed. While Anton Pann was finishing the two *Anastasimatarions*, Bishop Chesarie passed away. In 1847, following a fire at St. Demetrios Church, the Greek *Anastasimatarion* disappeared, and Anton Pann thought it was burned. In 1854, Anton Pann printed the *Anastasimatarion* of Fotino which he had translated from the old system to the new, from Greek into Romanian. Let us observe in the three titles mentioned two stages of the adaptation of chants to Romanian: the first stage is the translation of *The Anastasimatarion* of Dionisie Fotino by Anton Pann, from the old system to the new one, but preserving the Greek text; the second stage refers to the Romanian translation of the Greek text; the text is written using Cyrillic letters.

The musicologist Nicolae Gheorghîță believes that after Petru Efesiul came to Bucharest, in 1816, Dionisie Fotino fell into obscurity, as his musical concerns were set aside for his historical concerns.<sup>25</sup>

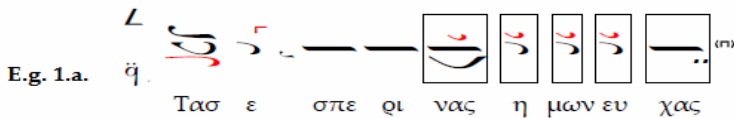
To analyze Anton Pann's methods of interpretation and translation rules, I have chosen two stichera from First Mode, written in the stichirarica form, and three musical examples, studied comparatively: stichera "Our prayers..."; stichera "Heavens, rejoice,...". For each musical phrase, observations will be made, outlining what was involved in the process of adaptation to Romanian.

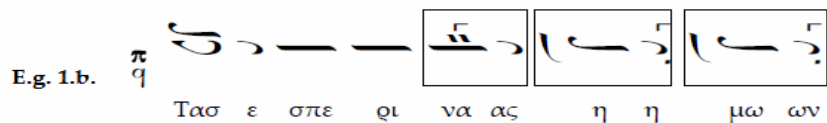
**Our prayers... /First Mode** (see Fig. 4 and Fig. 6) – Comparative analysis from Ms. gr. 185 – 198, 1809, The Library of the Romanian Patriarchate (the first example from each musical phrase noted a); Ms. gr. 741/527, 1853-1854, BAR (the second example from each musical phrase noted b); *Anastasimatarul românesc* [*The Romanian Anastasimatarion*] of Anton Pann, 1854 (the third example from each musical phrase, noted by c)


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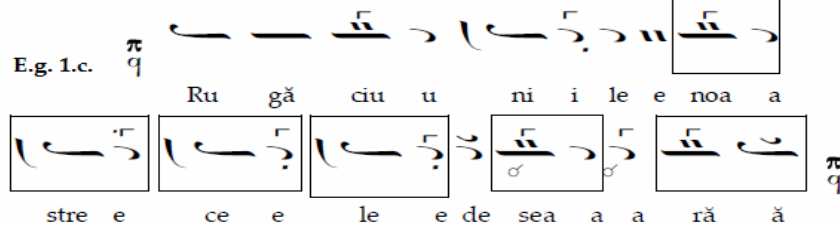
<sup>25</sup> Nicolae Gheorghîță, *Dionysios Foteinos (1777-1821), Opera muzicală. Anastasimatarul* [*Dionysios Foteinos (1777-1821), Musical Work. The Anastasimatarion*], p. 17.

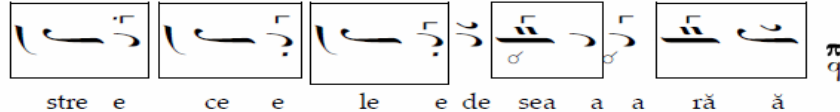
## Musical phrase 1

E.g. 1.a.    
 Τασ ε σπε ρι νας η μων ευ χας

E.g. 1.b.    
 Τασ ε σπε ρι να ας η η μω ων

   
 ε ευ χα ας

E.g. 1.c.    
 Ru gă ciu u ni i le e noa a

   
 stre e ce e le e de sea a a ră ă

In Ms. gr. 185 – Ms. 198, the martyriai appear less, while in the new system, the musical phrases are well defined. Where the martyriai does not appear in Ms. gr. 185 – Ms. 198 I only noted the sound in the parentheses. Frequently, Anton Pann transforms a musical phrase from the old system into two phrases in the new one. Titus Moiescu explains that the new system does not simplify notation, but establishes a more rigorous framework of notation: “In terms of graphics, the old neumatic writing was preserved, with the necessary adaptations to the new theoretical concept, such as, for example, noting the ftorals, the martyriae and other signs specific to the new system, signs that they also converge towards complexity.”<sup>26</sup>

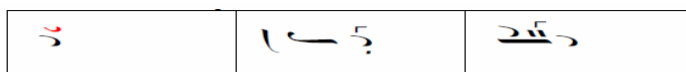
The Romanian text of the chant *Our prayers...* has more syllables than the Greek one. Anton Pann solves the problem by repeating some melismatic structures, as seen in the musical phrase 1.c. from AP 1854 (*The Anastasimatarion* printed by Anton Pann):

❖ repeating three times the following musical structures:

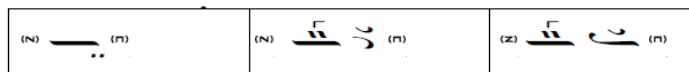


The interpretation in two ways of the clasma in E.g. 1.b. should be noted:

<sup>26</sup> Titus Moiescu, *Al cincilea sistem de notație neumatică bizantină. De la diatonism la cromatism* [The Fifth Byzantine Neumatic Notation System. From Diatonism to Chromatism], in “Acta Musicae Byzantinae”, Centrul de Studii Bizantine, Iași, vol. III, April 2001, p 33.



The oligon with 2 apli from the end, from E.g. 1.a., is interpreted differently: in E.g. 1.b. it appears as superior embroidery; in E.g. 1.c. it changes the interpretation of the final note due to the occurrence of a Zo towards the end. In both examples, the first time is divided:



## Musical phrase 2

E.g. 2.a.   
 Προς δε ξαι α α α γι ε ε

Κυ υ ρι ε

E.g. 2.b.   
 Προς δε ξαι Α α α α γι ι ε

Κυ ρι ε

E.g. 2.c.   
 pri i me e ste le e e e

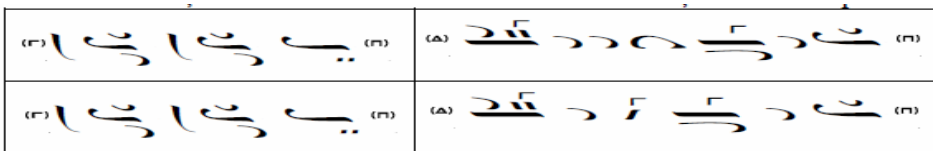
Sfi i in te Doa a a a mne

Isachi disappears in the new system, as it can be noted from all Romanian Anastasimatarions from the XIX<sup>th</sup> century; it is possible to preserve them only in writing in the manuscripts that mark the transition from one notation to another, as in old Romanian certain sounds were recorded in writing, but were not pronounced in speech (see the case of the -u ending in old Romanian). The text in Romanian metrically prevented the departure directly from Ga or from Di. Whereas in E.g. 2.a. it starts from Ga, in E.g. 2.b. it starts from Di, and in E.g. 2.c. it also starts from Di through a skip from Pa. This allows it to reach the sound Ni, enhancing the beauty of the chant. Otherwise, the three phrases are similar.

Lyghisma, a sign that in the old system indicates “the flexing of the voice, legato and the first tremolo sound,”<sup>27</sup> disappeared from the new system and is interpreted, as we see from the examples above, as follows, being replaced with the homalon (in E.g. 2.b. and E.g. 2.c.).



An interesting combination of notes from the old system is that of the apostrophos located underneath the ison. It appears repetitively in cadences on Pa, in First Mode, stichirarica, forming a well-known formula. The difference between E.g. 2.b. and E.g. 2.c. resides only in the writing of the formula and not in the interpretation:



### Musical phrase 3

E.g. 3.a.  $\overset{\text{L}}{\text{q}}$

Και πα ρα σχυ η μιν α φε σιν

α α α μα ρ τι ι ων  $\overset{\text{q}}{\text{x}}$

E.g. 3.b.  $\overset{\pi}{\text{q}}$

Και πα ρα σχου η μιν α φε ε ε σιν

α α μα ρ τι ων  $\overset{\text{q}}{\text{x}}$

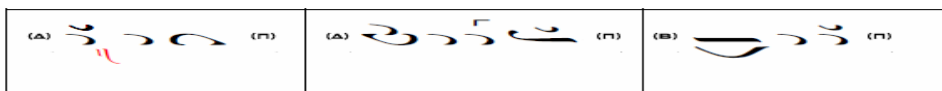
E.g. 3.c.  $\overset{\pi}{\text{q}}$

și ne dă no o uă ier ta a re pă ă ă

ca a a te e e lor  $\overset{\text{q}}{\text{x}}$

<sup>27</sup> Grigore Panțiru, *Notația si ehurile muzicii byzantine* [Notation and Echos of Byzantine Music], Editura Muzicală, București, 1971, p. 70.

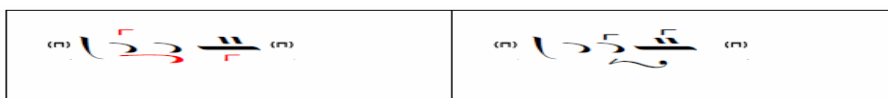
Piasma, the sign that starts to be recorded in the manuscripts of the mid-Byzantine period, appears, in our case, in the combination apostrophos with clasma – apostrophos – elaphron and is often found in first mode.



One can see that the first note with piasma is transcribed with accent both in E.g. 3.b. and in E.g. 3.c. In E.g. 3.b., the second epistrophos halves its time value by gorgon. Piasma, in Greek (πίασμα), means pressing down. In E.g. 3.c., piasma is replaced by psifiston placed under oligon.

It is possible that, at some point, several musical signs might have had the same meaning/interpretation. Therefore, the Crysanthine reform can be said to have simplified a difficult notation in which many of the cheironomic signs had come to overlap as intonation. Moreover, about the consonant signs in the new system (bareia, homalon, antikenoma, psifiston and heteron), Titus Moiescu states that “they have a somewhat similar meaning, of superior embroidery.”<sup>28</sup>

Antikenoma (ἀντικένομα) in Greek means emptying against and was part of the dynamic signs from the paleo-Byzantine notation period. It played the role of liaison between two or more sounds like a legato. Evolving in the following centuries, antikenoma is performed today as an échappé note. In E.g. 3.b. and in E.g. 3.c., antikenoma is transcribed by heteron. Simple antikenoma was written in the old system under apostrophos with gorgon, while in the new system it is written under simple oligon or with gorgon, followed by a descending sign.<sup>29</sup> In fact, in a certain period, two different neumes have come to have the same interpretation or explanation. How did the reformers solve the dilemma? One of the signs disappeared and was replaced by another or changed its interpretation.




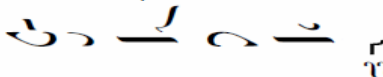
<sup>28</sup> Titus Moiescu, *Al cincilea sistem de notație neumatică bizantină. De la diatonism la cromatism* [*The Fifth Byzantine Neumatic Notation System. From Diatonism to Chromatism*], p. 33.

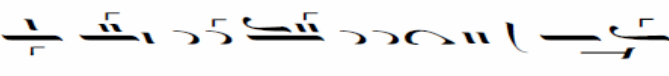
<sup>29</sup> Grigore Panțiru, *Notația și ehurile muzicii bizantine* [*Notation and Echos of Byzantine Music*], p. 197.


### Musical phrase 4

The first two examples are similar, while the Romanian phrase no longer resembles the Greek one but is enriched, making the perfect cadence on pa and not on ga.

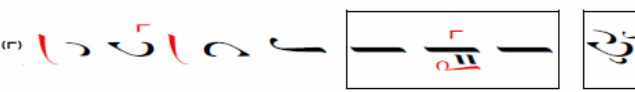
E.g. 4.a.   
 O ti mo vos ei

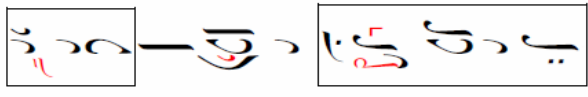
E.g. 4.b.   
 O ti mo vos ei

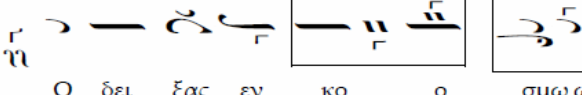
E.g. 4.c.   
 că Tu u u Î în su ții e e

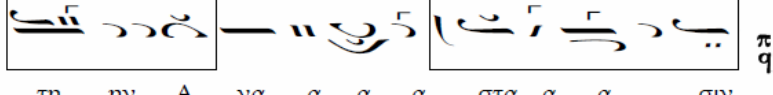
  
 ești

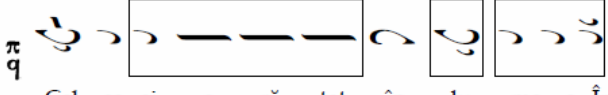
### Musical phrase 5

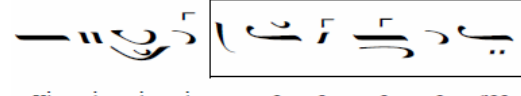
E.g. 5.a.   
 Ο δει ξας εν κο ο ο σμω

  
 την α να α α στα α α σιν

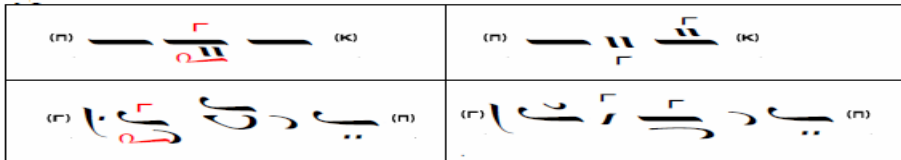
E.g. 5.b.   
 Ο δει ξας εν κο ο σμω

  
 τη ην Α να α α α στα α α σιν

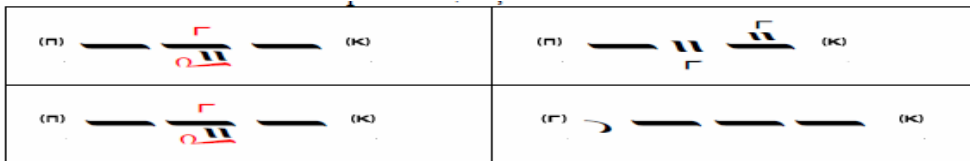
E.g. 5.c.   
 Cel ce ai a ră tat în lu me e În

  
 vi i i i e e e e rea

Other uses of lyghisma can be observed in the fifth musical phrase. In E.g. 5.b., there is the following translations of lyghisma into the new system:

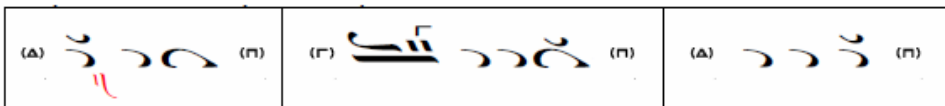


In the first transcribed example, in the new system there is another gorgon. It is not known if the lyghisma acted in this situation as a gorgon. In E.g. 5.c. notes last one time each, compared to E.g. 5.b.:



In the second example, lyghisma is a part of the cadential formula. Perhaps its function was similar to that of clasma, making a superior embroidery of ga.

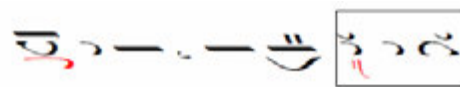
Piasma appears again in the combination apostrophos with clasma – apostrophos – elaphron, only it is transcribed differently in E.g. 5.b., compared to the case of E.g. 3.b. In E.g. 5.c., the transcription is done simply by lowering the notes with one step, like in E.g. 3.c. Anton Pann, in the Romanian version, opts to simplify the examples with piasma:

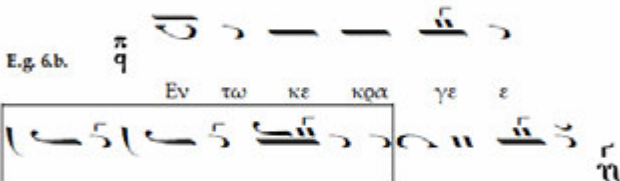


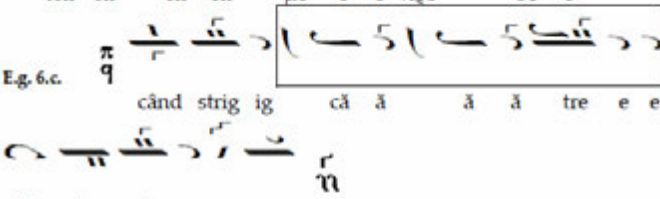
To see other uses of piasma, I have chosen three examples from other songs of first mode, from the Vespers:




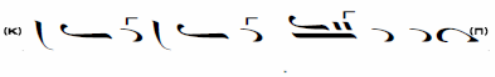
### Musical phrase 6

E.g. 6.a.  $\overset{L}{\overset{\pi}{q}}$     
 Εν τω κε κρα γε ναι με  
 προς σε

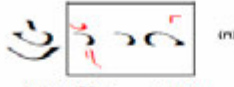
E.g. 6.b.  $\overset{\pi}{q}$     
 Εν τω κε κρα γε ε  
 ναι αι αι αι με ε ε προ σε ε

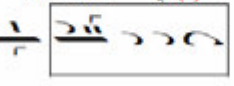
E.g. 6.c.  $\overset{\pi}{q}$     
 cãnd strig ig cã ä ä ä tre e e  
 Ti i i ne e e

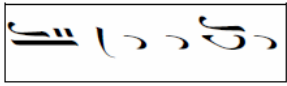
Piasma has the same interpretation both in E.g. 6.b., and in E.g. 6.c.:

(z)  (r)	(k)  (m)
--	---

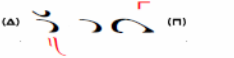
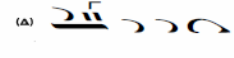
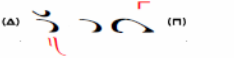
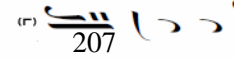
### Musical phrase 7

E.g. 7.a.  $\overset{L}{\overset{\pi}{q}}$   (m)  
 Θεου Κυ ρι (ε)

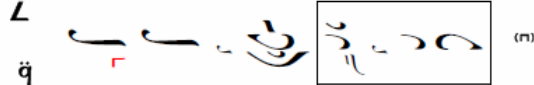
E.g. 7.b.  $\overset{\pi}{q}$   (m)  
 Θεου Κυ υ ρι (ε)

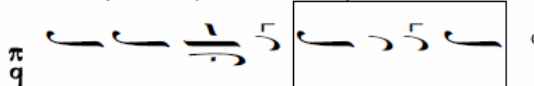
E.g. 7.c.  $\overset{\pi}{q}$   (N)  
 Pu ne Doa mne (stra a je)

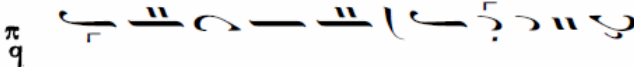
In E.g. 7.c., the formula in which piasma appears is more developed, containing a syllable in addition to the first two (stra-):


(a)  (m)	(a)  (m)
(a)  (m)	(r)  (N) 207

## Musical phrase 8

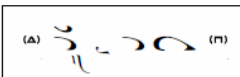
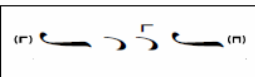
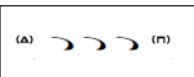
E.g. 8.a.  $\overset{L}{\underset{\text{q}}{\ddot{a}}}$   (m)  
 Την παγ κο σμι ο (ov)

E.g. 8.b.  $\overset{\pi}{\underset{\text{q}}{\ddot{a}}}$   (m)  
 Την παγ κο ο σμι ι ι ο (ov)

E.g. 8.c.  $\overset{\pi}{\underset{\text{q}}{\ddot{a}}}$    
 Pe ce ea ce e ste e mă ă ri

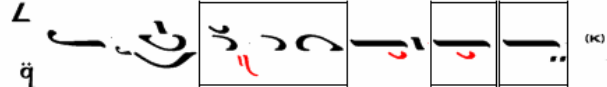
 (m)  
 rea a A

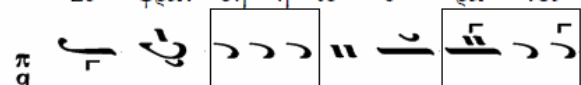
In the examples below there is a simple interpretation of piasma without superior embroideries:

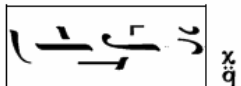
(a)  (m) (r)  (m) (a)  (m)

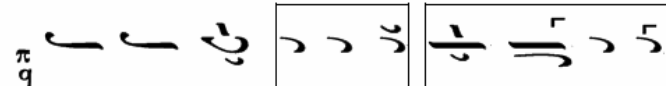
## Heavens rejoice... / Mode I (see Fig. 5, Fig. 7 and Fig. 9)

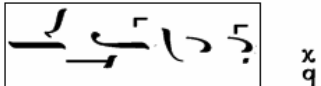
### Musical phrase 9

E.g. 9.a.  $\overset{L}{\underset{\text{q}}{\ddot{a}}}$   (κ)  
 Ευ φραν θη η τε υ ρα νοι

E.g. 9.b.  $\overset{\pi}{\underset{\text{q}}{\ddot{a}}}$    
 Ευ φραν θη η τε ε ου ρα α α

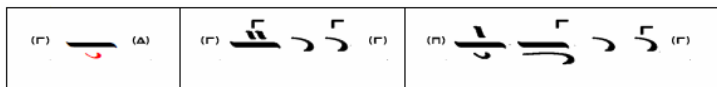
  $\overset{\chi}{\underset{\text{q}}{\ddot{a}}}$   
 voi oi

E.g. 9.c.  $\overset{\pi}{\underset{\text{q}}{\ddot{a}}}$    
 Ve se li țî i vă ce e e e

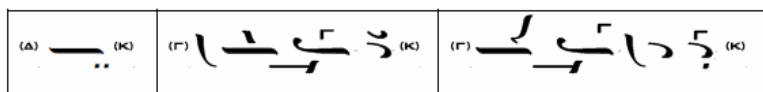
  $\overset{\chi}{\underset{\text{q}}{\ddot{a}}}$   
 e e ru uri

Piasma has an interpretation that I identified in E.g. 8.c. An oscillation can be seen between interpreting the sign simply, by three apostrophoi, or as melismatic.

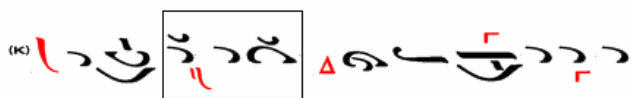
Clasma is also interpreted, in the second case, in E.g. 9.b., the 2 times are divided by gorgon. In E.g. 9.c., oligon with clasma is interpreted using a melismatic formula:

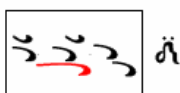


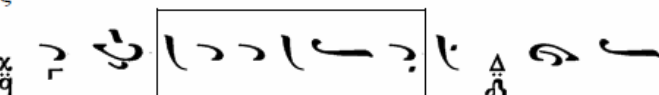
Oligon with 2 apli is transcribed differently. In E.g. 9.c., the leap is of four skipped steps, which enhances the beauty of song, compared to E.g. 9.b. where it is of three skipped steps. In the second part of phrase no. 9, one can see a potentiation of musical expressivity at AP. In E.g. 9.c. the first two times divide, compared to E.g. 9.b., where only the first time divides:

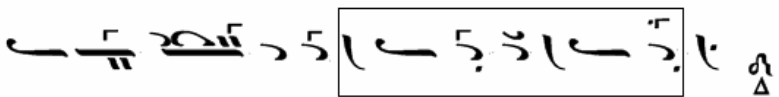


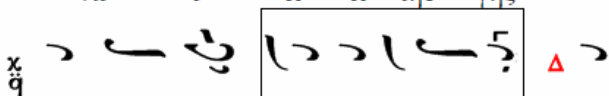
### Musical phrase 10

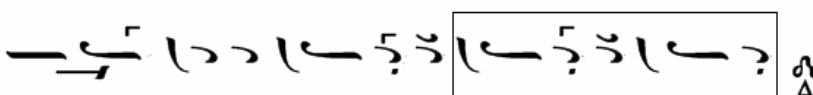
E.g. 10.a.   
σαλ πι σα α τε τα θε με ε λι ι

  
α της γης

E.g. 10.b.   
Σαλ πι σα α τε ε τα θε

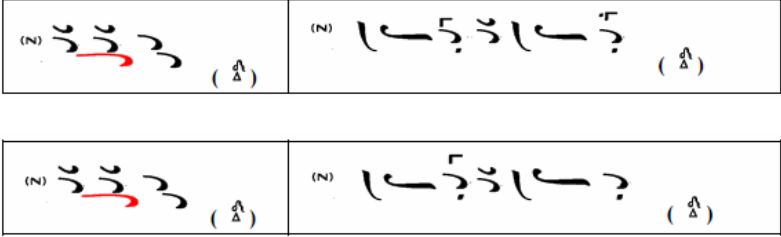
  
με ε λι ι α α της γης

E.g. 10.c.   
trâm bi țafi te e me e li


  
i i i i le e pă mâ ân tu lu ui

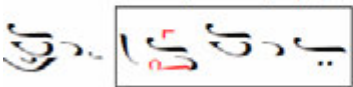
Piasma appears within this song also with an interpretation identified above as well.

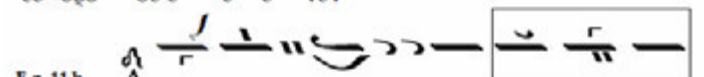
The 2 apostrophoi accompanied by clasma and the double apostrophos (Syndesmos apostrophoi) at the end are interpreted in the new system by division. The interpretation is identical in the two texts, in E.g. 10.b. and in E.g. 10.c.:

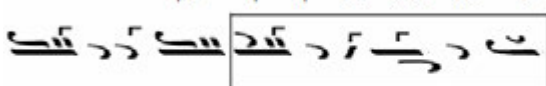


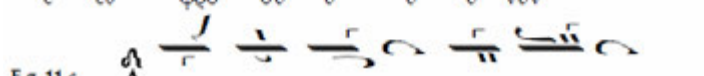
**Musical phrase 11**

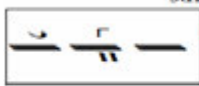
E.g. 11.a.   
 βο η η η σα α τε τα ο ο ο ρη

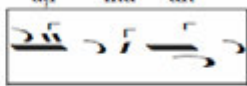
  
 ευ θρο συ υ υ υυυ


E.g. 11.b.   
 βο η η σα α τε τα ο ο ρη

  
 ε ευ φρο συ υ υ υ υυυ

E.g. 11.c.   
 stri ga a a aji mu un

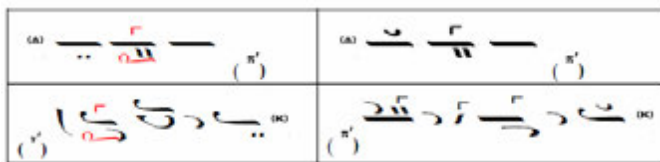
  
 ti i lor ve e e se

  
 li i i i i

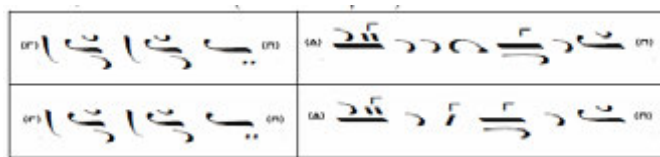
  
 e

Lyghisma appears in two different contexts and is interpreted similarly both in E.g. 11.b., as in E.g. 11.c. The first interpretation is also found in the stichera Our prayers ..., in musical phrase 2. The second

interpretation, in which the lyghisma is followed by ison with 2 apli, created the cadential formula specific for First Mode, stichirarica:



The same cadential formula, on pa or on ke, could also be written in another way, in the old system (see E.g. 2.b. and 2.c.)



These last examples confirm that, at one time, there were more possibilities to write the same melody: with lyghisma or with apostrophos under the ison (such as the case of the cadence formula discussed). This could be a reason why a reform was necessary to simplify things, as some neumes reached a synonymy relationship, while others had too many interpretations. This is a phenomenon that occurs in the sacramentary, created by a certain stereotype of religious music. The singer who can sing well feels the need to surpass the set scheme and, therefore, to introduce his or her own modes of expression, that is, small creations, melisms, embellishments, each time interpreted differently. In Gregorian music one can hardly find this rare phenomenon because polyphony implies a certain dynamic, though we can also find there heterophonies. Byzantine music, par excellence a monodic music, focuses on the freedom of expression.

### Musical phrase 12

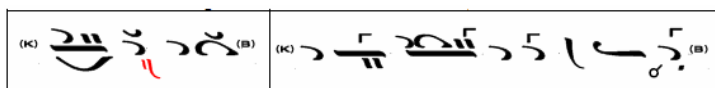
E.g. 12.a.

E.g. 12.b.

E.g. 12.c.

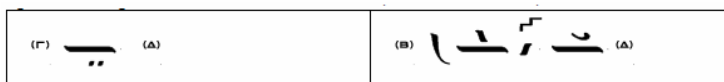
νῦ u u      ἰ ἰ ἰλ

Psfiston and piasma have the following interpretation in E.g. 12.b.:

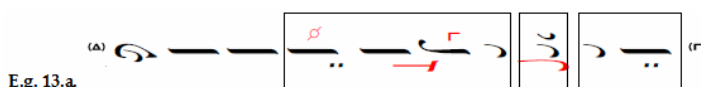


The interpretation is also preserved in the Romanian version in E.g. 12.c.

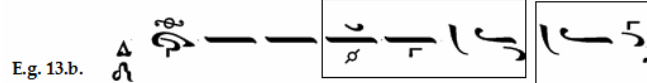
The final oligon followed by 2 apli has an interesting interpretation; the first time is divided into a triolet both in E.g. 12.b., and in E.g. 12.c.:



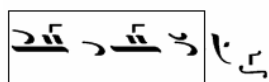
### Musical phrase 13



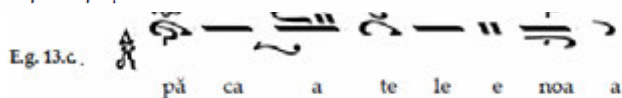
Τας α μαρ τι ι ι ι ας η μων



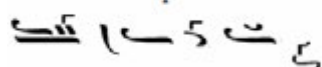
Τας α μαρ τι ι ι α ας



η η μων ων



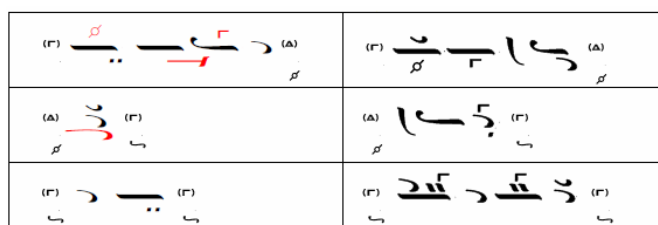
pă ca a te le e noa a



a a a stre


The Romanian phrase preserves the martyria on ga, the modulation, but changes the melody.

In E.g. 13.b. there are the following interpretations:

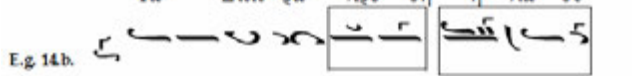


It can be noticed above that the oligon with 2 apli is divided, being interpreted as an oligon with clasma followed by an oligon with gorgon, and the homalon is replaced by bareia. In the second example, clasma divides the neuma by introducing an ison. The apostrophos in front of the final sound create a superior embroidery and the first time from the oligon with 2 apli also divides, in the third example above.

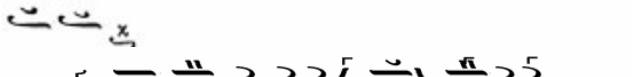
### Musical phrase 14

E.g. 14.a. 


Τω Σταυρω προ ση η λω σε

E.g. 14.b. 





Τω Σταυρω ω προ ση η η

E.g. 14.c. 

pre cru ce e le-au pi ro o o

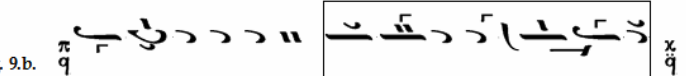


ni i it

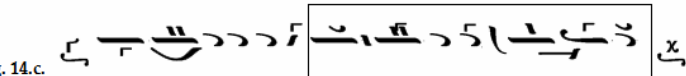
(r)  (Δ)	(r)  (κ)
(Δ)  (z)	(κ)  (κ)

In E.g. 14.b., the oligon with 2 apli is chanted as in the previous situation in E.g. 13.b. Lyghisma appears interpreted differently from previous examples in E.g. 14.b.

The Romanian phrase is altered, featuring the semi-cadence on Ke, similar to that in E.g. 9.b. It is clear that Anton Pann liked more the expressive formulas he created and, therefore, abandoned the Greek model:


E.g. 9.b. 

Ευ φραν θη η τε ε ου ρα α α νοι οι

E.g. 14.c. 

pre cru ce e le-au pi ro o o ni i it

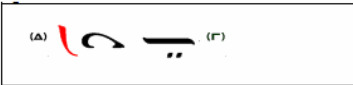
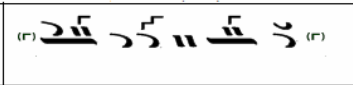
## Musical phrase 15

E.g. 15.a.   
 Και ζω ην ο δι δυς

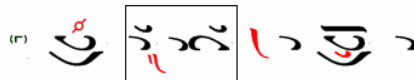
E.g. 15.b.   
 Και ζω ην ο ο δι ι ι δυ υς

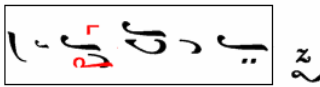
E.g. 15.c.   
 și Cel ce dă vi i a a a ță

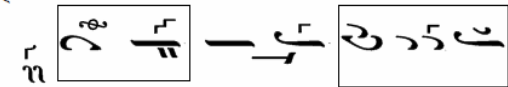
It should be observed that, in general, in the old system, the penultimate neuma followed by oligon with 2 apli divides, as well as the first time of the oligon with 2 apli. Below there is an interesting example, in Ms. gr. 741 (527):

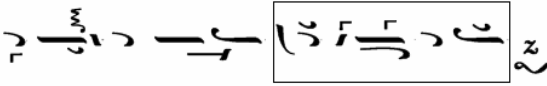
	
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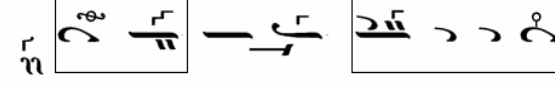
## Musical phrase 16

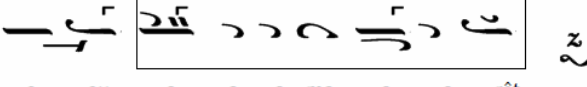
E.g. 16.a.   
 Θα να τον ε νε ε

  
 κρω ω σε

E.g. 16.b.   
 Θα α α α να α α τον


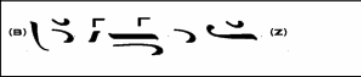
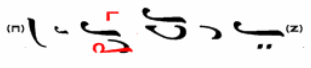
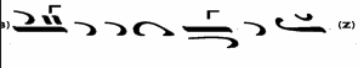
  
 ε νε ε ε ε κρω ω ω ω σε

E.g. 16.c.   
 moa a a ar tea a a a

  
 a au o o o mo o o rât




Piasma has an interpretation also found in the above examples, and lyghisma, both in E.g. 16.b., and in E.g. 16.c., is part of a cadential formula, on Zo:


(m) 	(m) 
(m) 	(m) 

It is worth mentioning the occurrence of the digorgon (triolet) at the beginning of the phrase, given that it was not used in the old system. I believe it is possible that the phrase in E.g. 16.b. might have been influenced by the Romanian phrase. Translations from the old system to the new one were not accurate and translators, when translating the phrases into the new system, made some changes, as seen above. Ms. gr. 741 (527) was interpreted in 1853-1854, about the same time when Anton Pann also worked on the Anastasimatarion written in Romanian, which he edited in 1854. If he completed them simultaneously, there may be some contamination between Ms. gr. 741 (527) and *The Anastasimatarion* printed by Anton Pann.

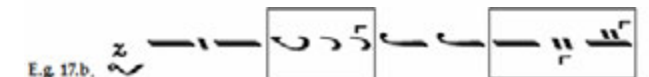
**Musical phrase 17**

Eg 17.a. 


Tov A δαμ α να στη η η



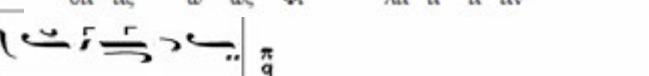
σας ως φι λα α αν τρω ω πος

Eg 17.b. 

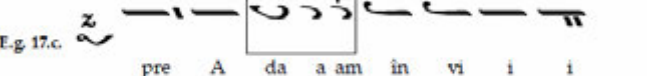
Tov A δα α αμ α να στη η η



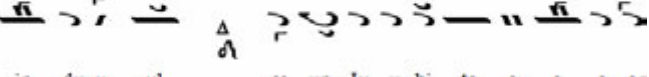
σα ας ω ως φι λα α α αν



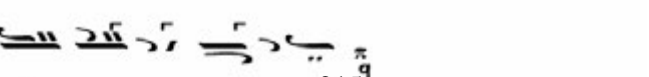
τρω ω πος

Eg 17.c. 

pre A da a am in vi i i

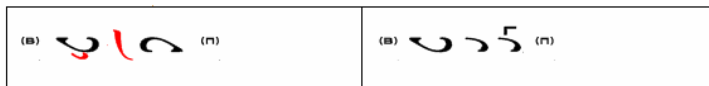


in du u ul ca un Iu u bi to o o o ou



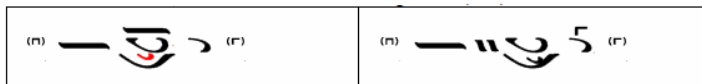
de oa a a a mefi

When the old system presented petaste followed by bareia and elaphron, the new system interpreted them as follows:

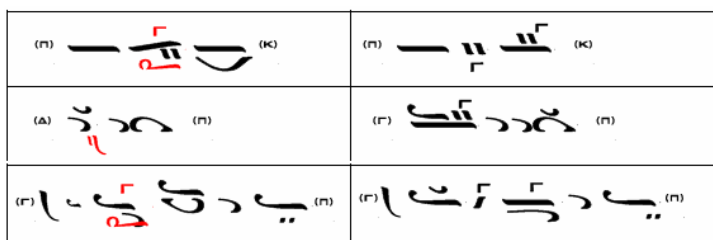


A similar situation we find in E.g. 14.b.

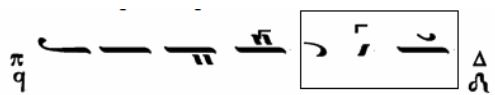
The elements analyzed so far show that in the old music leaps were generally avoided and the slow progression was preferred. In this sense, here is a clear example from Ms. gr. 741 (527):



Lyghisma and piasma have interpretations known from the other examples, in E.g. 17.b.:



The Romanian text deviates from the manuscripts by an expressive cadential formula on Di:



### Conclusions

The analysis above leads to the conclusion that the neumatic notation before 1814 was “synoptic”, “shorthand”, whereas the new notation is “interpretive”, “analytical”<sup>30</sup>. The only way to identify how they chanted before the reform is the comparative study, also used in linguistics to recreate extinct languages such as Sanskrit or Indo-European. This is discussed by Gregorios Stathis, who focuses on the five main elements promoted by the new method: “1. The polysyllabic

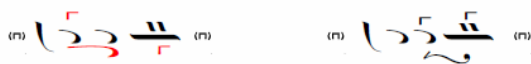
<sup>30</sup> See in this regard the observations of Titus Moiescu, *Al cincilea sistem de notație neumatică bizantină. De la diatonism la cromatism* [The Fifth Byzantine Neumatic Notation System. From Diatonism to Chromatism], pp. 32-37.

replacement of the paralaghia, the old solfeggio system (*annanes, neanes, nana, aghia, aanes, neeanes, aneanes, neaghie, nenano*) with the mono-syllables *pa, vu, ga, di, ke, zo, ni, pa* (which would correspond to the notes: *do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si, do*); 2. More precise time measurement for the duration of sounds; 3. Defining the size of the intervals between tones (high, low and lower) and regulating the structure of the scales in all three genres – diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic; 4. Reducing the number of neumes and clarifying their meaning; 5. “Analysis” or “exegeisis” of all music “theseis” and the music content of the great instances of chironomia from the old notation and the full transcription of this methodical content in the notation system of the new method.”<sup>31</sup> The new method aimed to transcribe meticulously the shorthand writing of the old method. Starting from the musical phrases of the new method towards those of the old method, one can reconstruct, using the comparative method, the music before 1814.

This study aimed to bring some light on the process of adapting church chants to Romanian. What did Anton Pann understand by adaptation to Romanian? How far is the model respected and what did Anton Pann understand by innovation? The full analysis of two stichera and other three examples revealed several aspects. Anton Pann delimited musical phrases by martyriai, characteristic of “the new system.” For Ms. gr. 185 – Ms. 198 I indicated the martyriai in parentheses where it was not mentioned, in an attempt to see if there are different cadences in the given examples. Cadences are the same with one exception: the musical phrase IV from stichera *Our prayers ...* from AP 1854. Among the cheironomic signs, I frequently found the simple antikenoma, the lyghisma, the homalon, the piasma, the psifiston. I also found other cheironomic signs in Ms. 741 (527), such as kylisma, tromiko etc., which will be the subject of a continuation of this study in an extensive paper.

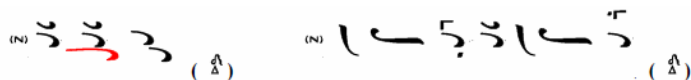
Simple antikenoma has the following transcriptions in the new system:

❖ musical phrase 3: it is substituted with the heteron;



<sup>31</sup> Gregorios Th. Stathis, *An Analysis of the Sticheron “Ton ilion krypsanta”, de Germanos, Bishop of New Patras. (The Old “Synoptic” and the New “Analytical” Method of Byzantine Notation)*, in “Studies in Easter Chant”, vol. IV, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, Crestwood, N.Y., 1979, pp. 177-227, apud Titus Moisescu, in *Al cincilea sistem de notație neumatică bizantină. De la diatonism la cromatism [The Fifth Byzantine Neumatic Notation System. From Diatonism to Chromatism]*, p. 36.

❖ in E.g. 10.b.: it is not transcribed; however, it may have been chanted as an échappé note, although it was no longer written;



❖ in E.g. 13.b.: it is not transcribed; the division that occurs is related to the presence of the clasma;



Lyghisma is transcribed as follows:

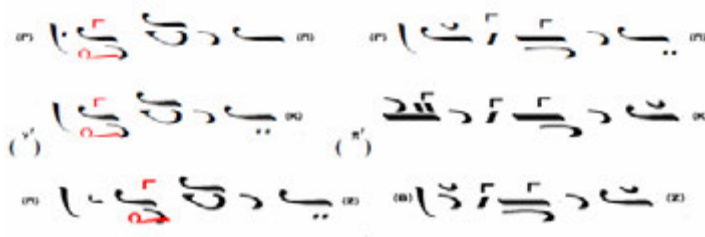
❖ musical phrase 2: it is substituted with the homalon;



❖ in E.g. 5.b.: it shortens the fourth neuma, as if it would be an échappé note;



❖ musical phrases 5, 11, 16: lyghisma makes a superior embroidery, like a tremolo, achieving the final cadence, specific to mode I stichirarica, in the first case; semi-cadence, in the second case; imperfect cadence on zo, in the last case:



❖ musical phrase 11: it is no longer transcribed;



❖ in E.g. 14.b.: it divides the sound;



❖ The homalon was identified only once, in E.g. 13.b., where it is replaced by bareia:



Piasma occurs frequently and has the following transcriptions:

❖ Piasma appears in the combination apostrophos with clasma – apostrophos – elaphron and is interpreted through an accent created by the sound supported on petaste in E.g. 3.b. or supported on psifiston in E.g. 3.c.

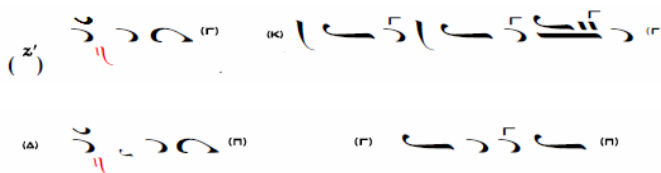


❖ in E.g. 5.b.: it makes a superior embroidery;



❖ it is transcribed by division in:

❖ in musical phrase 6:



❖ in E.g. 8.b.:

❖ in E.g. 9.b.: piasma no longer serves to emphasize the neuma, the mentioned structure is transcribed through three apostrophoi:



❖ musical phrase 12: combination between superior embroidery and division;



The psifiston has an accentuating role and is transcribed by neumes supported on the oligon:

❖ musical phrase 3:



Sometimes it is transcribed exactly, because it was also preserved in the new system:

❖ musical phrase 5:



❖ The accent can also be achieved by eliminating the psifiston at the beginning of the musical phrase and replacing it with a gorgon (Ms. gr. 741/527). The neuma that begins with gorgon receives accent:

❖ in E.g. 7.b.:



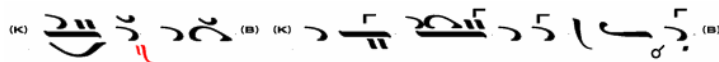
The psifiston is also transcribed through the antikenoma with 1 apli, preserving the idea of accent (Ms. gr. 741/527).



❖ in E.g. 8.b.:

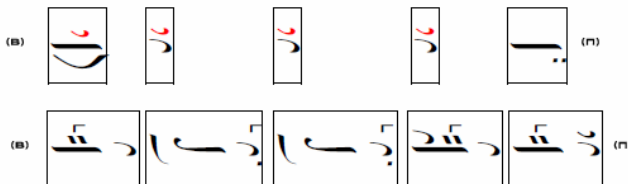
An interesting transcription of the psifiston is the following:

❖ in E.g. 12.b.: the kentimata make a superior embroidery.

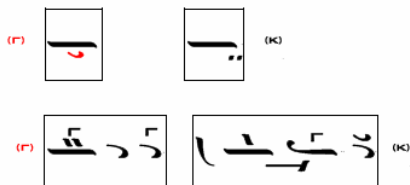


Regarding the time signs, I insisted on **clasma** and **apli**. These time signs accompany neuma, indicating superior embroideries or division of sounds:

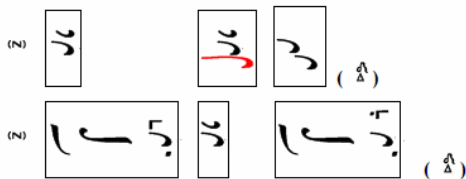
❖ in E.g. 1.b.:



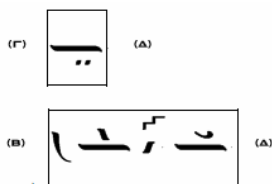
❖ in E.g. 9.b.:



❖ in E.g. 10.b.:



❖ musical phrase 12:



In AP 1854, from a total of 17 musical phrases, I found the following: no full copy of the melody in Greek; 9 partial copies of the Greek melody; 8 phrases completely changed.

It is important to note that no full copies of the melody were identified. Partial copies are due to the difference of syllables between the Greek text and the Romanian or to the Romanian metric, which differs from the Greek. Thus, the process of adapting to Romanian means, on the one hand, adapting the music to the Romanian metric and, on the other hand, creating a new melody, preserving the voice structure, beginning and ending with the same martyriae. The almost equal percentage reached proves that Anton Pann always tried to find new ways to enhance the expressiveness of the melody.

The uniformization of Byzantine music has led, in a way, to the loss of its specificity. By eliminating the melisms, introducing tones and halftones, and providing the progression of melody more through leaps rather than by slow progress and glissando, Romanian music of Byzantine tradition became closer to the Western music system. I believe that the current trend of highly melismatic chant is a response to the tendency of simplifying this music, with the result that sometimes the introduction of melisms is exaggerated. The fact is that the Romanian sacramentary is going through an identity crisis. Time will clear things, and going back in time we will help us see clearly where we are in this chain of the evolution of the notation system. I do not believe that the reintroduction of cheironomic signs from the old system would solve the problem. It would be like going back to the Cyrillic alphabet or the Romanian language of the 19th or the 18th centuries. Such a thesis

advocated by some contemporary psaltes is unrealistic, contradicting the natural evolution of culture. This is why many cheironomic signs disappeared because, as noted above, a single sign was interpreted in *n* ways. It was necessary to make an analytical presentation of a synoptic notation, because the interpretation was varied and it even varied from singer to singer. From among so many Romanian psaltes and composers of music of Byzantine tradition, each singer can choose what he wants to sing, depending on location (church or auditorium) and depending on time (liturgical or secular). I do not think that a reform of sacramentary grammar would be necessary and topical, as it would only contribute to satisfying the pride of some psaltes who want acknowledgement by any means. Reform must arise from some specific, objective needs. There is no need of reform for reform's sake. It is good to have varied songs and to be able to approach other sacramental musical styles. Implementing a single vision would reduce the freedom, the creativity of psaltes, contradicting the very evolution of the musical cultural phenomenon. This is the beauty of this sacramentary: although its canons are strict, as the cadences and the martyriae impose a kind of rigidity, within the phrase, nevertheless, a new melody and a new interpretation can always be created.

“If the admiration for old musical structures [...] is certainly a natural attitude in various modern and contemporary researchers, however, denigration based on questionable evidence of at least two centuries of music (18th – 19th centuries) shows an unrealistic attitude and an arrogant position to address the old-new relation, applied to the musical phenomenon. The apologists of (“pure”) Byzantine music forget that in the two centuries of supposed decadence the great Romanian psaltery was born, equally admired by believers as that of the early centuries of Orthodox church music. Asserting a sovereign contempt towards the music promoted by Hieromonk Macarie, Anton Pann, Dimitrie Suceveanu had negative consequences, demobilising those who wanted to study it and publish studies and articles.”<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Pr. Dr. Florin Bucescu, *Cântarea psaltică în manuscrisele moldovenești din sec. XIX. Ghidul manuscriselor saltice-Moldova, sec. XIX [Psaltic Chant in Moldovan Manuscripts from the XIXth Century. The Guide to Psaltic Manuscripts – Moldova, XIXth century]*, vol. I, Editura Artes, Iași, 2009, pp. 38-39.





Fig. 1  
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΦΩΤΕΙΝΟΣ  
(1777-1821)



1

**Ἀναστασιμαῖον  
νέον**

Ἐπιθρονον ἑρπυδιον καὶ κατὰ νόμους  
 συνταξίαν παρὰ ἑσπερῶν ἰσχυροῦς ἁγίου  
 νῶ, γινώσκων ἁγίου καὶ τῶν οἰονημάτων  
 περὶ τῶν ἁγίων πνεύματι.

Ἰὼν ἔχον πρῶτος ἀρχαῖος ἁγίου πρῶτος  
 τῶν ἁγίων νῶν καὶ πρῶτος ἁγίου πρῶτος.

ἡ γὰρ ἡ π. ἡ.

**Κ**υριε ἐπιθρονον ἑρπυδιον καὶ κατὰ νόμους  
 συνταξίαν παρὰ ἑσπερῶν ἰσχυροῦς ἁγίου  
 νῶ, γινώσκων ἁγίου καὶ τῶν οἰονημάτων  
 περὶ τῶν ἁγίων πνεύματι.

**Κ**αὶ ἁγίου πνεύματι ἁγίου πνεύματι ἁγίου  
 πνεύματι ἁγίου πνεύματι ἁγίου πνεύματι  
 ἁγίου πνεύματι ἁγίου πνεύματι ἁγίου  
 πνεύματι ἁγίου πνεύματι ἁγίου πνεύματι

(1)




Fig. 3  
 ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΜΑΡΙΟΝ ΝΕΟΝ, f. 1r  
 Ms. gr. 741 (527), year 1853-1854, BAR

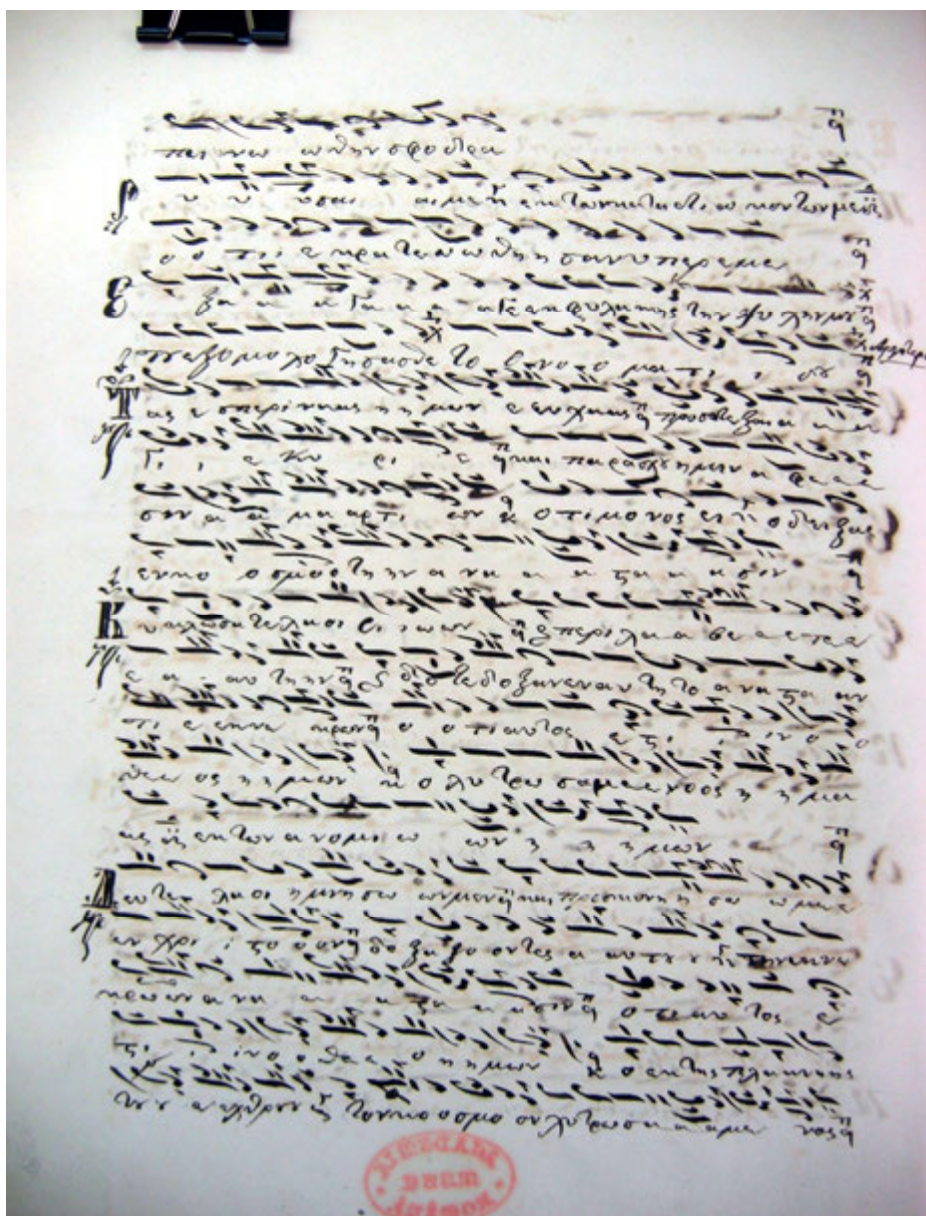


Fig. 4  
ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΜΑΡΙΟΝ ΝΕΟΝ, f. 2v  
Ms. gr. 741 (527), year 1853-1854  
BAR

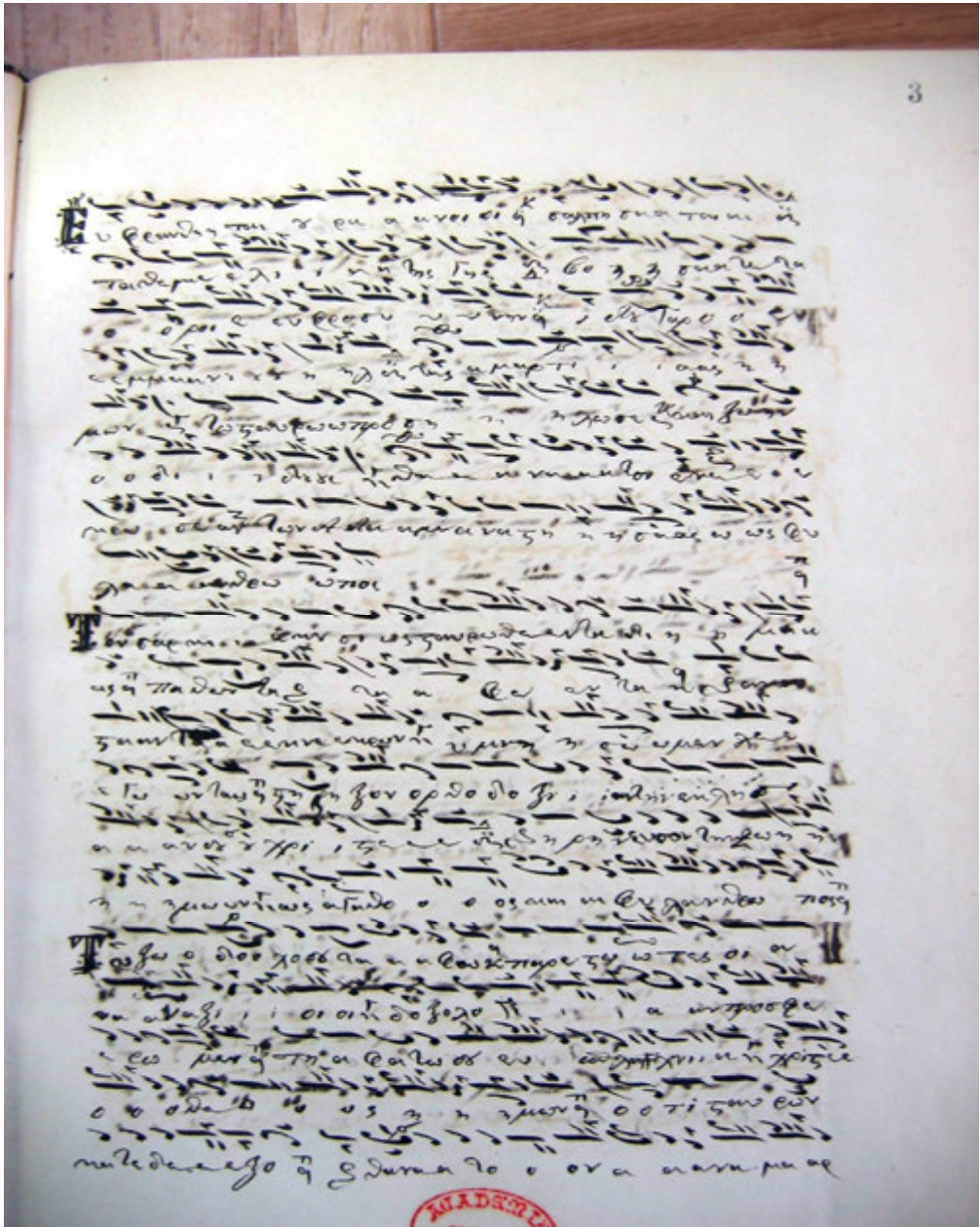


Fig. 5  
 ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΜΑΡΙΟΝ ΝΕΟΝ, f. 3r  
 Ms. gr. 741 (527), year 1853-1854, BAR

**Α** πω γέλο φυτό η απ καταμα καθεκα εστιν ο βαλκων  
λων των ψυχων μας  
**Β** ρε καβα προς σε κυρι ε κατασθενει η  
πει ρι νμα με ρις με κατα ει εν τω τοντων  
**Γ** ρο ο σχε es προς τονδε η σι ρι νμα ο ο ολι  
λα πεινω ω ω την σφοδρα  
**Δ** υ υ υ υ σα α α με κατα τονκαλα δια του τονμε  
ο ο ολι κατα λα ω ω την σαν υπερε με  
**Ε** α α α α α α ατε καταφυγα τον τον ψυχων μας  
κατα μο ροτη σα στα λα ο νο ο μα ρι ρι σα  
**Σ** α κατα ει να η των τονκα προσδεξα α α α  
ε ε κυρι ε κατα πασχα η μιν α φε σιν α α  
μα ρι ρι των τον τον μο νος ει κατα ζα η τον ο ο  
**Κ** σμων αν α να α α α α α σιν  
υ κατα σα η ρα οι σι των κατα παρ η κατα ει ει αυτην

Fig. 6  
ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΜΑΡΙΟΝ ΝΕΟΝ, f. 185v  
Ms. gr. 185 – Ms. 198 (year 1809),  
Library of the Romanian Patriarchate

ημε δὲ εὐδοξίαν ἐν αὐτῇ ἡ ἀναστάσις τῶν νεκρῶν  
 ὁ πῖ αὐτὸς ὁ ἰ ἰ ἰν ὁ ἴε ὁς ἡ μων ἰ ὁ γυ  
 ῥω σα με νος ἡ μας, ἑα ῥω να νο μι ω ω ν ἡ ἡ  
 ἡ ἡ μων:

αὐτὴ ῥα σὶ ὑ μνη σά μεν ἡ προσά κω ῥω μεν ῥι  
 ζον δὲ ζα ζου λῆς αὐτὰ ἰν ἑνε κρω να να α α  
 ζα α α α πιν ἰ ὁ ἰ αὐτὸς ὁ ἰ ἰ ἰν ὁ ἴε ὁς ἡ  
 μων ἡ εὐ κω τος πῥα α νη κω σὶ ῥω ῥα ἰν ἡ σὸ μων γυ  
 ῥω σα α α με ε ε νος:

ὑ φαν ἴσ η λῆ ς ρα νοὶ σα πῖ σα α λῆ λα ἴε με ε ῥ  
 ἰ αὐτῆς ἰν ῥω ῥο ἡ ἡ ἡ σα α λῆ λα ο ο ο ρω ῥω ῥο ῥο ὑ  
 ὑ ὑ νη ῥ ἰ ἴε ῥα ρο ο ε μμα νε κω λα α μα ρῖ ἰ ἰ  
 ἰ α ἡ μων ἰω ζα ῥω πῥω σὴ ἡ ῥω σὴ ῥω ῥω ῥων ο  
 δι ἴε ς θά να τὸν ὁ νε ε κω ω σε ῥ ῥων α δα ρ  
 α να ζῆ ἡ ἡ ἡ σα, ὡς φῖ ῥα α αν ἴε ρω ῥω πος:

Fig. 7  
 ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΜΑΡΙΟΝ ΝΕΟΝ, f. 186r  
 Ms. gr. 185 – Ms. 198 (year 1809),  
 Library of the Romanian Patriarchate

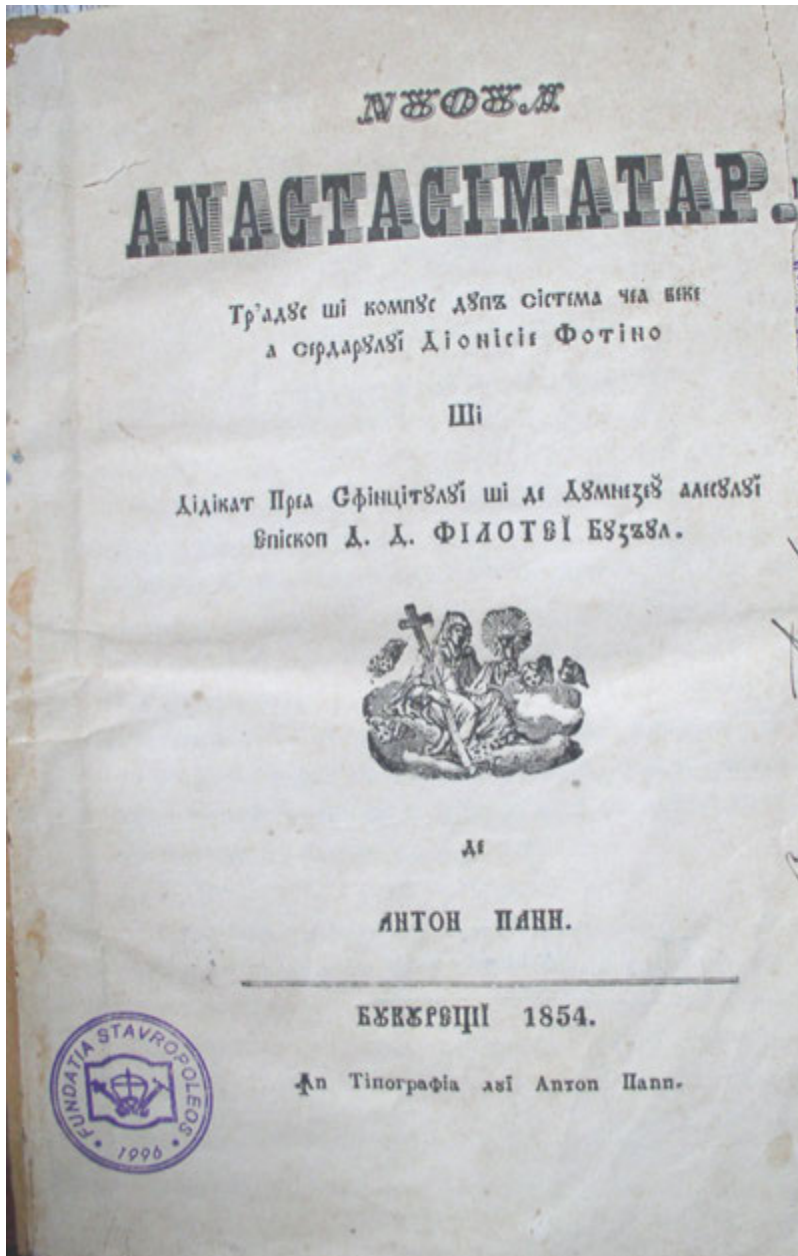


Fig. 8  
*Anastasimatarul românesc*  
[*Romanian Anastasimatarion*]  
of Anton Pann, 1854



129,2

Г ————— Г

Фі е з ре кі ле та ле аз жнд а min теспре гла сзл

рз гъ чз нїі те е е е ле п q

**В** Е се лі ці і вь че е е е е рз зрі q гржнві гаці

те е те е лі і і І і ле е нь жжн тз лз зі Δ стрі

га а а аці жжн ці і лор ве е е се лі і і і і

е q кз на а тз з з Е е ет та а нз з з і і іа Δ

пз ка а те ле е поа а а а а стре r пре крз че е лзб

ні ро о о ні і іг ж ші чел че дз ві і а а а цз r

шоа а а ар теа а а А а аз о о о то о о ржт z

пре А да а ам ам ві І і ін дз зл Δ ка за із з ві

то о о о ор де оа а а а мені п q

129,3

Г ————— Г

De те веі зі та ла фъ ръ де леуї Doамне Doамне чи

Fig. 9  
*Anastasimatarul românesc*  
 [Romanian Anastasimatarion]  
 of Anton Pann, 1854, leaf 8

## ABSTRACT

This study aims to clarify the process of chant adaptation to the Romanian language. What did Anton Pann understand by adaptation? What are the limits of this pattern and what does Anton Pann see as innovation? To answer these questions, I compare the development of chant exegesis at Anton Pann based on a complete analysis of two stichera and other three examples. More exactly, I compare and contrast three musical sources: 185th-198th Greek Manuscript, Library of the Romanian Patriarchate, 741st-527th Greek Manuscript, 1853-1854, BAR, Anton Pann's Romanian *Anastasimatarion*, 1854. The study finds that, for Anton Pann, this process has the meaning of adapting the music to specific Romanian standards, on the one hand, and creating a new song, which preserves the structure, the beginning and the end, on the other hand. The study also notes Anton Pann's interest in highlighting the expressivity of the song.

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