BIZANTINOLOGIE

"Tracing the sources of the enormous oeuvre of the famous ecclesiastical musician Petros the Peloponnesian (ca. 1735-†1778)"[1]

Emmanouil Giannopoulos

Anyone who deals with the ecclesiastical music of the Orthodox Church -either as a student who wants to learn how to chant, or as a scientist who wants to examine its melodies- knows the name of the brilliant musician Petros from Peloponnēsos. Petros was a gifted man who in his childhood moved from Peloponnēsos to Smyrna (today Izmir) where he first was taught the holy music. Later he went to Constantinople where he became a student of the Protopsaltēs Ioannēs from Trebizon and of the Lampadarios Daniēl from Tyrnavos. He served in the Church of Saint George at the Ecumenical Patriarchate as a Domestikos and later as a Lampadarios, until 1778, when, unfortunately, he died because of a plague at the age of about 40-45.

Petros was a musical talent by nature and in his short life produced an enormous oeuvre in almost all the various aspects of the ecclesiastical music. He also was an expert in the secular music of his era and the singers and the musicians respected him deeply. His main contribution to the field of ecclesiastical music was that he composed the main musical books (such as the Anastasimatarion, Heirmologion, Stichērarion) in a new form which was shorter than the old

[1] Paper in the INTERNATIONAL MUSICOLOGICAL CONFERENCE, *Musical Romania and the neighbouring cultures: traditions, influences, identities,* Iaşi , 4-7 July 2013.

melodies, and these books have been accepted and widely used by the majority of psaltes (chanters) since then. He also composed an extensive number of melodies in the Papadikē, which constitutes the backbone of the classical repertory of the so-called Byzantine music.

A monograph and some works and opinions have been published in the past with reference to the sources of Petros' work.[1] However, only in some very limited cases has someone showed and published particular examples which demonstrate that Petros based on this or that old melody of the work of a particular musician in order to create his compositions. The fact is that we do not know what exactly Petros did, which were his main priorities, and why he made the changes he did in the old melodies. In this paper, I will make an attempt to trace Petros' main artistic production and to show his main influences.

As musicologists know, Petros' work on ecclesiastical compositions can be classified into three fundamental categories: a. his own compositions (mainly ecclesiastical, but also secular music), b. his recordings of the melodic tradition of his era, and, c. his transcriptions (Greek word: «εξήγηση») of

[1] The most complete work on Petros' life and work was made by Prof. Grēgorios Stathēs (Γρ. Θ. Στάθη, «Βυζαντινοί και μεταβυζαντινοί μελουργοί. 4. Πέτρος λαμπαδάριος ο Πελοποννήσιος» booklet in the double LP with the same title, and also published: «Πέτρος Λαμπαδάριος ο Πελοποννήσιος ο από Λακεδαίμονος. Η ζωή και το έργο του († 1778)», *Λακωνικαί Σπουδαί* 7 (1983), pp. 108-125· Γρ. Θ. Στάθη, «Πέτρος λαμπαδάριος ο Πελοποννήσιος», *Μελουργοί 18ου αιώνος* [Μέγαρο μουσικής Αθηνών 1996-1997. Κύκλος Ελληνικής μουσικής], pp. 25-27. See also Μ. Χατζηγιακουμής, *Μουσικά χειρόγραφα τουρκοκρατίας*, Αθήνα 1975, pp. 368-377· Μ. Χατζηγιακουμής, *Χειρόγραφα εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής (1453-1820)*, Αθήνα 1980, pp. 46-47· Μ. Χατζηγιακουμής, *Η εκκλησιαστική μουσική του ελληνισμού μετά την Άλωση (1453-1820)*, Αθήνα 1999, pp. 77-80. For the chronological periods of Petros' service as a chanter in the Ecumenical Patriarchate see: Patrinelis Christos, «Protopsaltae, Lampadarii, and Domestikoi of the Great Church during the Post-Byzantine Period (1453-1821)», *Studies in Eastern Chant* III, (London 1973), pp. 141-170.

many old compositions from the musical notation in use in those years, to a more analytical one which he established in his works. It is well known that this third category of Petros' work was based primarily on the very important and similar work of his teacher Ioannēs Protopsaltēs from Trebizon and secondarily on the efforts of Ioannēs'succesor, Daniēl.[1] It is of great importance that Petros advanced and perfected the analytical musical notation, becoming the decisive link between the preceding musicians and the new period, which led to the New Method of musical notation, which has been in use since 1815.

The first and the second categories of Petros' work lead us to the oral musical tradition of the Great Church of Christ. Indeed, as we can read in all the musical manuscripts containing Petros' ecclesiastical compositions, and especially those which include the Anastasimatarion, Heirmologion and Stichērarion, this very skilful musician recorded, taught his students and disseminated the melodies in the way they had been chanted in the church of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. In this point we have to accept, of course, that Petros was taught this special way from his teachers and did not formulate it himself. On the other hand, we also have to accept that a charismatic man like Petros, who gained distinction for his excellent musical knowledge and ability, certainly added in his recordings his own musical elements and aesthetic perception. Moreover, this is something that we can observe throughout the entire development of ecclesiastical music over the centuries and up to our days.

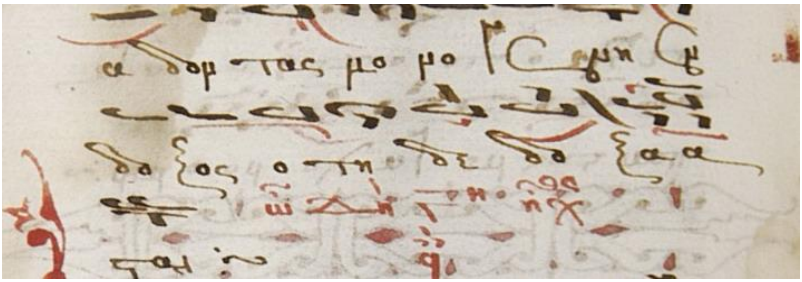
After studying the Heirmologion of Petros, I would argue that he continued the tradition of the famous musician and priest Balasēs who flourished in the 17th century and died about 1700. In the Heirmologion of Balasēs, one can find both the Heirmoi in every mode and the Katavasiai of the various feasts, but Petros included in his Heirmologion only the Katavasiai and made some changes in the order of the contents. However, especially for the Canons of Holy Week,

[1] See the bibliography in footnote 2.

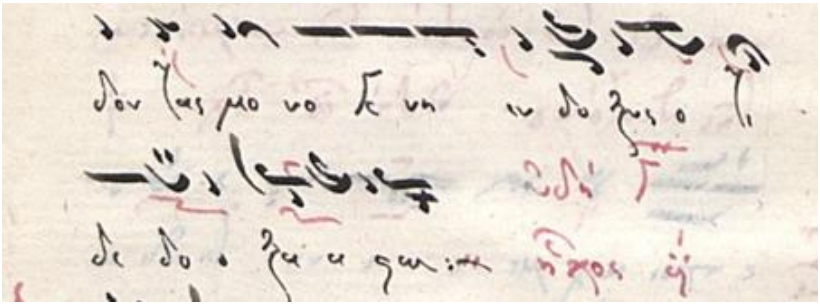
Petros composed in his work not only the Heirmoi but also the troparia of every Canon.

A century ago, Konstantinos Psachos wrote in his Parasēmantikē that Petros abridged the Heirmologion of Balasēs[1] and, in the decade of 1970s, Professor Gregorios Stathēs wrote similarly and more accurately that Petros abridged the Heirmologion of Balasēs, made some changes in the medial and final cadences and in this way formed and presented his book.[2] For my research, I tried to compare some representative musical phrases from the two musical books.[3]

In the katavasiai of the Dormition of the Theotokos, we can observe the style and the logic with which Petros changed the melodies of Balasēs. In many cases, he tried to correct the melody when it stressed a non-stressed syllable of a word. Let's examine the final cadence in the heirmos of the 1st ode: *Πεποικιλμένη τῇ θείᾳ δόξῃ... ὅτι δεδόξασται*. Balasēs' melody stressed the syllable *δε*, while Petros change the melody to the more logical and grammatically correct stress: *δε**δό**ξασται*.



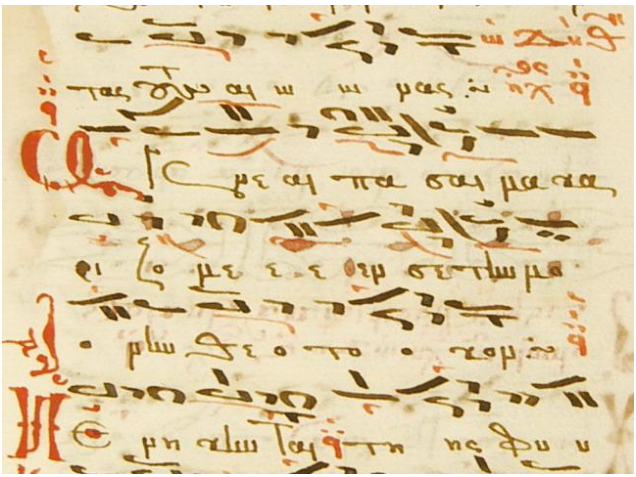
[1] Κ. Ψάχου, *Η παρασημαντική της Βυζαντινής μουσικής*, 2nd edition: Αθήνα 1978, pp. 65, 80.
[2] See footnote 2.
[3] I use the manuscripts National Libr. of Greece 3482 (Heirmologion of Petros the Peloponnēsian written in the composer's musical notation) and Byzantine Culture's Museum (Thessaloniki) 11 (Heirmologion of Balasēs).

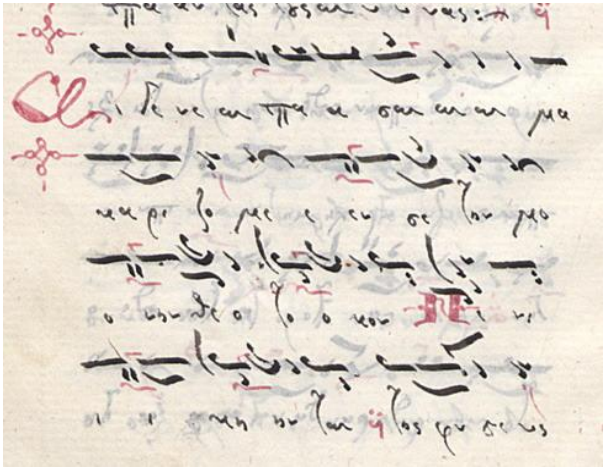


In the katavasia of the 9th ode, we can also locate similar changes which have the same purpose. Balasēs' melodical accent is on ***Aἱ*** *γενεαὶ* but Petros corrects and puts the accent on *Aἱ γενεα****ί*****.**

Balasēs puts the accent on ***Θεο****τόκον* but Petros corrects and puts the accent on *Θεο****τό****κον*.

Balasēs puts the accent on ***Νε****νίκηνται* but Petros corrects and puts the accent on *Νε****νί****κηνται*. Balasēs puts the accent on the article ***τῆς*** *φύσεως* but Petros corrects and puts the accent on *τῆς* ***φύ****σεως*.



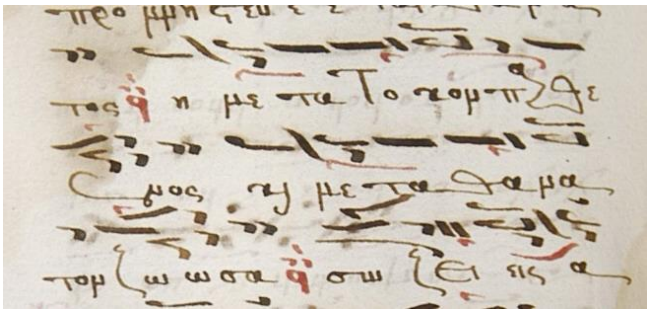


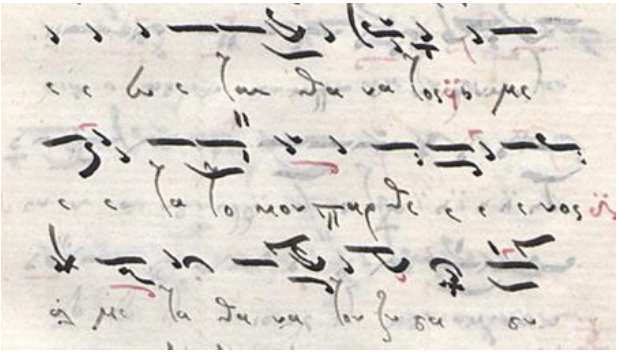
Further down in the same heirmos, we can observe that Balasēs composed two verses which grammatically have the same number of syllables and the stresses are at the same points, with the same music, therefore following the poetical division.

Ἡ μετὰ τόκον Παρθένος (medial cadence on αννανες)

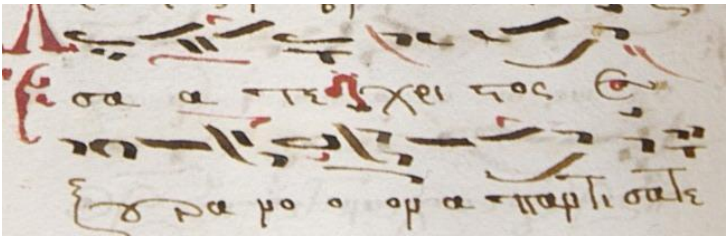
Καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ζῶσα (medial cadence – again - on αννανες)

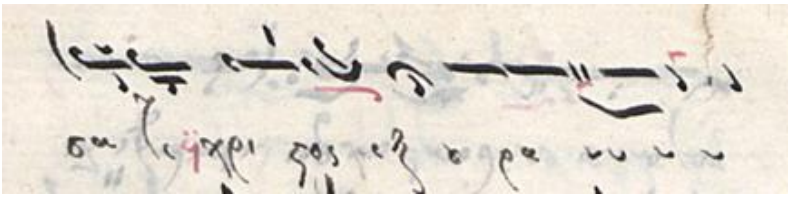
On the contrary, Petros changes the melody following the meaning of the ecclesiastical poem. So, in the first verse *ἡ μετὰ τόκον Παρθένος* Petros goes to αγια (incomplete cadence) and in the second verse where the meaning consummates goes to the tonal step αννανες (complete cadence).





I could continue showing many similar comparisons between Balasēs' and Petros' Heirmologia, all of which lead us to the same conclusions. Petros follows Balasēs' musical tradition which was widely rife, but in many cases changes the melody at the points at which Balasēs' melody stresses the words in an (allow me to say) inappropriate way. Petros also tries to use the so-called "descriptive setting". For example, in the 1st heirmos of the katavasiai in the Nativity of Christ and particularly in the word *οὐρανῶν*, Balasēs' melodic movement is on the second and third step above the tonal note ανανες, while Petros goes up to the fourth, trying to express the meaning of the word (*οὐρανῶν*-heaven).





The Easter Resurrectional *Εὐλογητάρια* in a (new) slow composed way are very familiar among ecclesiastical musicians. Petros presented two melodies of these hymns, the most popular of which are the "synoptic evlogētaria". When we try to compare the old melody of these hymns which was in use in Constantinople and (probably) derives from the Protopsaltēs Panagiotēs Chrysaphēs "the new", with Petros' melodies, we see that Petros again based his on the oral and written tradition. At many points he embellished the "Evlogētaria as they are being chanted in Constantinople" and formed his own composition. Grēgorios Stathēs comments that these Evlogētaria are not Petros' composition but an abbreviation of the older melodies.[1]

But here we have to note that between the older melodies of the Evlogētaria (ca 1680-1730) and Petros' composition there is an intermediary step. Indeed, the evolution of these melodies from the tradition of the 17th century to Petros' work can be witnessed in the compositions of Daniēl's era (ca 1734-1770)[2] which have the inscription "Evlogētaria in a brief heirmologic composition as they are being chanted in the city of Constantinos".[3] As we can see at specific points in these hymns, the melody develops to a more decorative form and Petros follows rather more Daniēl's composition.

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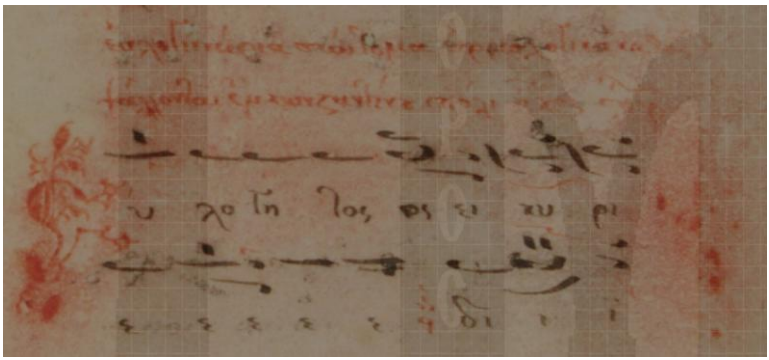
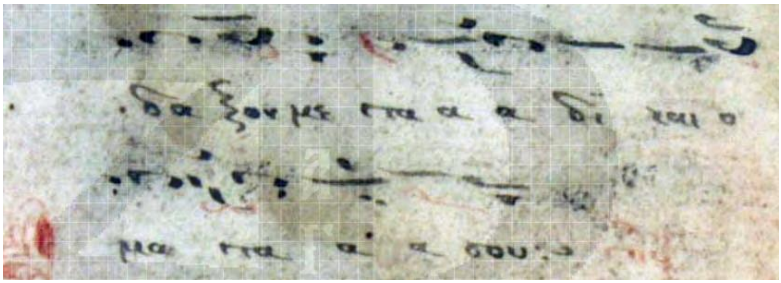
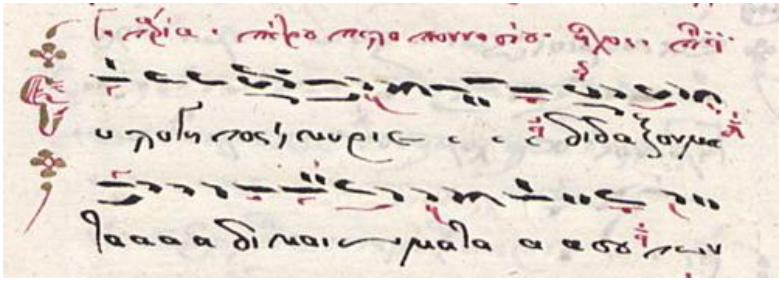
[1] Γρ. Θ. Στάθη, «Η σύγχυση των τριών Πέτρων (δηλ. Μπερεκέτη, Πελοποννησίου και Βυζαντίου)», *Βυζαντινά* 3 (1971), pp. 250-251.

[2] Daniēl was domestikos in 1734, lampadarios in 1740 and he became a protopsaltēs after the death of Ioannēs from Trebizon in 1770. He died in 1789.

[3] As a composition of Evlogētaria in Daniēl's era I use the melody found in the manuscript Mount Athos-Xēropotamou monastery 374 (ff. 148r-151v) which contains his Anastasimatarion (the description of this manuscript can be found in Γρ. Θ. Στάθη, *Τα χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινής μουσικής. Άγιον Όρος. Τόμος Α'*, Αθήνα 1975, σ. 266). As far as I am concerned there is a strong possibility that this composition belongs to Daniēl.





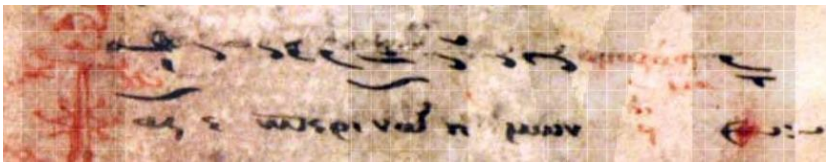


Here you can see the verse *Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε· δίδαξόν με τὰ δικαιώματά σου* in the versions I have already mentioned (Daniēl's and Petros'). It is clear that Daniēl is the link between the old melody and Petros' formulation. If we compare more melodic phrases (such as *Τῶν ἀγγέλων ὁ*

δῆμος, and many others), we will see that this does not happen accidentally but it is a systematic imitation in which Petros added his personal music stamp.

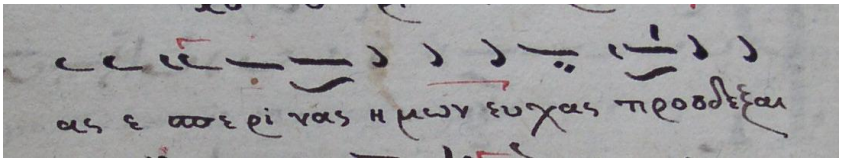
Generally speaking, it seems that a high percentage of Petros' work is based on Daniēl's tradition. There are some scientists who, in the past, pointed out that even the Anastasimatarion of Petros is an evolution of the Anastasimatarion of Daniēl, which hadn't been disseminated in those years.[1] Maybe Petros had the gift and the talent to record clearly and systematically what he heard, which he then taught to his students. One of them who was the more talented, Petros the Vyzantios, played a very important role in the dissemination of Petros' the Peloponnēsian musical work. Vyzantios copied many manuscripts that contain his teacher compositions, and of course his Anastasimatarion, too. In this fundamental book for the Sundays services, Petros again elaborates Daniēl's melodies, changes many stresses (in order to be more rational for the psaltes and for people who listen to the psalmody and try to understand the meaning of the verses), associates some verses, etc.

Some representative examples[2]: in the 1st stichēron of Vespers (mode a') *Τὰς ἑσπερινὰς ἡμῶν εὐχὰς* Daniēl's melody stresses the article ***Τὰς*****,** while Petros corrects and stresses only the right syllable *Τὰς ἑσπερι**νάς***.

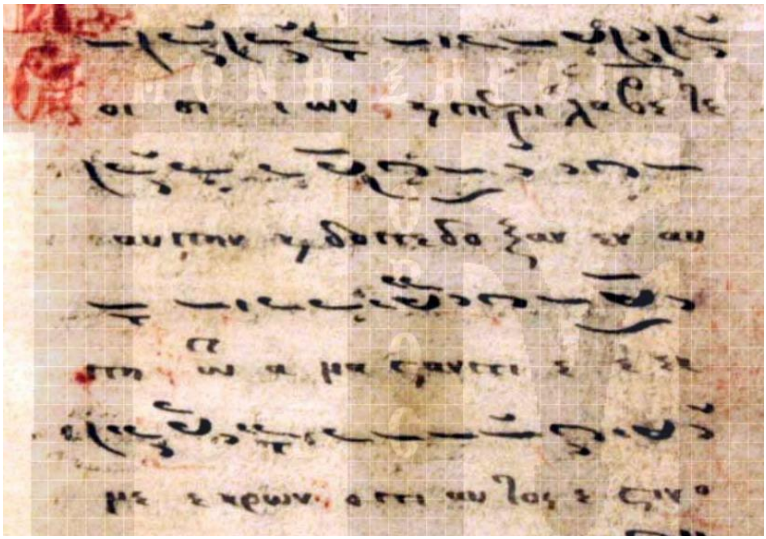


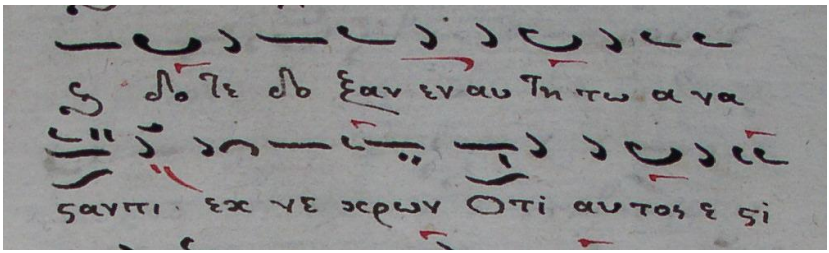
[1] See Grēgorios Stathēs' publications mentioned in the footnote 2.

[2] I use manuscripts Mount Athos-Xēropotamou monastery 374 (Anastasimatarion of Daniēl) and Romania-Stavropoleos monastery 54 (Anastasimatarion of Petros the Peloponnēsian).



In the next stichēron *Κυκλώσατε λαοὶ Σιών* Daniēl stops in the step of αννανες on the word *αὐτή* and so interrupts and divides the meaning, while Petros continues the melody and moves the complete cadence to the word *νεκρῶν*, which completes the meaning.

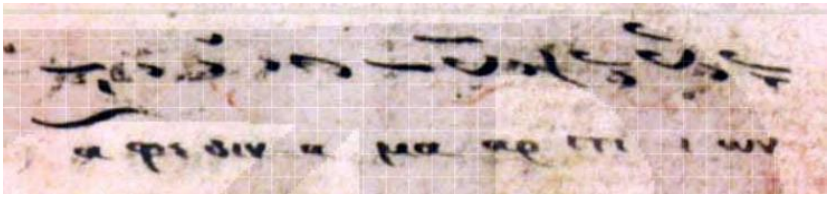


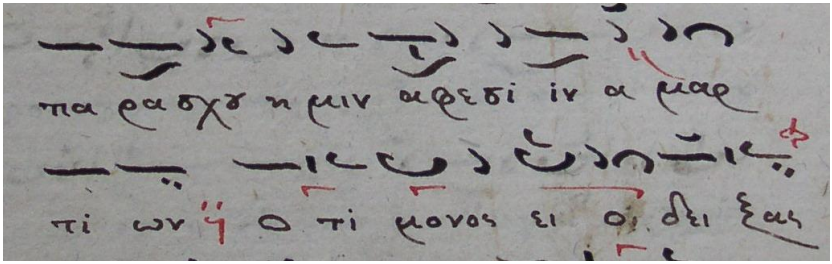


Petros abolishes some of Daniēl's cadences in the third step below the tonal which have no special purpose (such as the phrase *ὅτι μόνος εἶ ὁ δείξας* in the 1st stichēron) and at the same time inserts some others at the points he believes are helpful for the meaning.

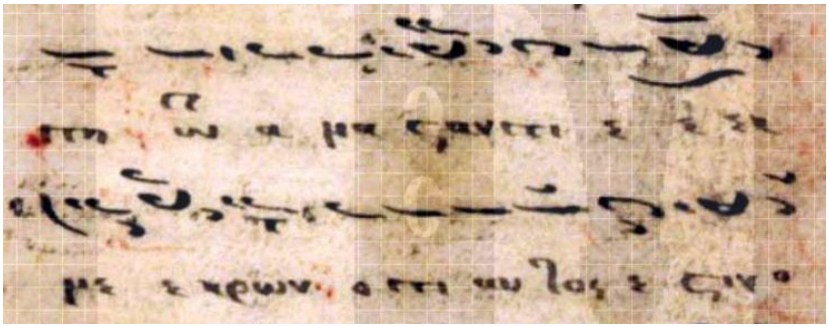
Some other examples on Petros' work from the first mode:

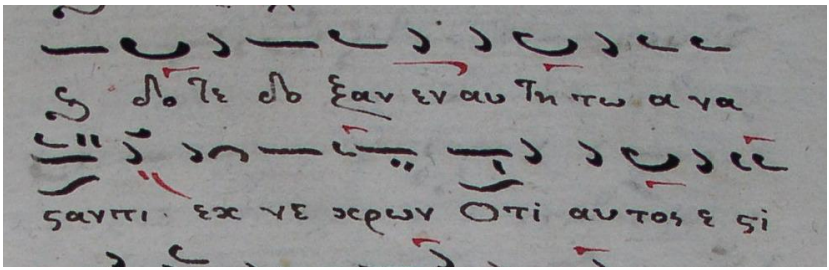
In the first stichēron *Τὰς ἑσπερινάς*, Daniēl: *ἀ**αα**μαρτιῶν·* Petros: *ἀααμαρτι**ῶν***.



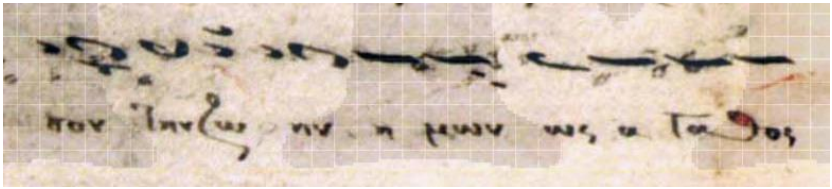


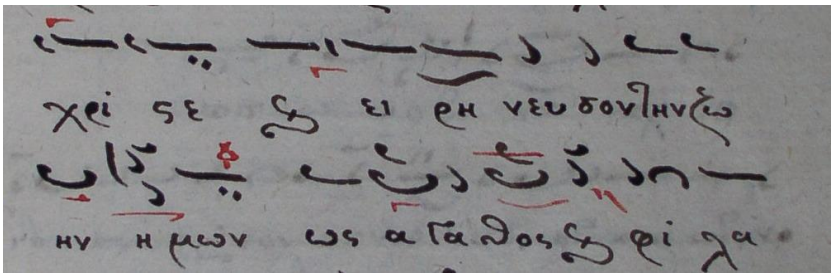
In the second stichēron *Κυκλώσατε λαοί*, Daniēl: *ἐ**εεκ** νεκρῶν·* Petros: *ἐεεκ νε**κρῶν***.





In the fifth stichēron *Τὸν σαρκὶ ἑκουσίως*, Daniēl: ***τὴν*** *ζωήν·* Petros: *τὴν ζω**ήν***.





In conclusion, Petros based his work on Daniēl's composition, but corrects what he thinks doesn't help the accentuation and turns the melody to a more continuous and beautiful movement.

The eleven Resurrectional Heothina are chanted in Matins almost every Sunday.[1] Petros' compositions of these hymns (in the "new sticheraric genre**"**) are very popular and were the basis for subsequent compositions. Is Petros' composition of these hymns unambiguously attributable to him? Or was Petros influenced by an earlier composition? We do not have these hymns set to music (in this type of composition) by Daniēl, or by Ioannēs. And the more impressive is that until Petros' era all the old melodies of the eleven heothina belong to the slow composed stichēraric genre, while Petros composed in the new short stichēraric genre. Thus, as an example, the old traditional melody of the first heothinon uses the high a' mode («ἔξω» or «τετράφωνο»), while Petros composed the same hymn using the "ἔσω" first mode.

Further research shows us again that Petros had a model in that case, too. Specifically, I had the pleasure to find in one (and unique until now) manuscript the eleven eothina composed by the hieromonk, music teacher and protopsaltēs of Smyrna Theodosios[2] in the new short stichēraric genre. Theodosios was the man who first taught Petros the ecclesiastical music before the latter moved to Constantinople. Theodosios' heothina (which in this manuscript have the name "ἐκκλησιαστικά" ("ecclesiastical"),[3] just like many of Petros' composition) uses the «ἔσω» a' mode and if we compare it to Petros' melodies, we conclude that Petros follows his first teacher's musical work and again embellishes Theodosios'

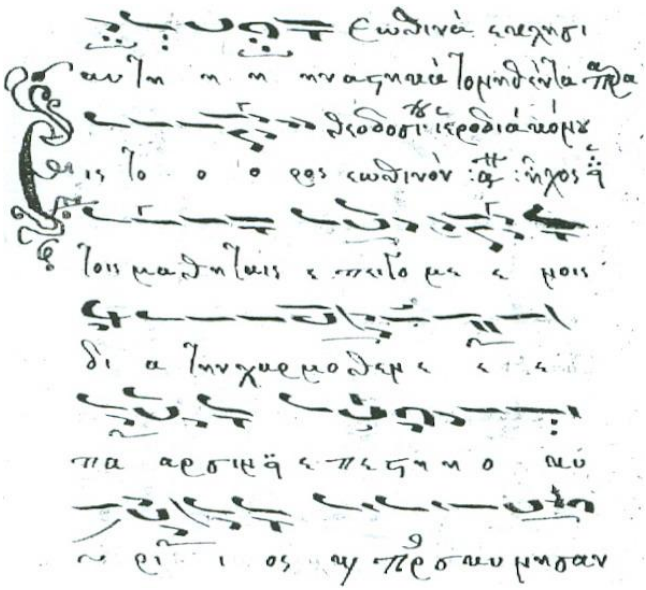
[1] See Εμμ. Γιαννόπουλου, article: «Εωθινά δοξαστικά τροπάρια», in *Μεγάλη Ορθόδοξη Χριστιανική Εγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. 7.

[2] See Εμμ. Γιαννόπουλου, article: «Θεοδόσιος ιεροδιάκονος, πρωτοψάλτης Σμύρνης», in *Μεγάλη Ορθόδοξη Χριστιανική Εγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. 8.

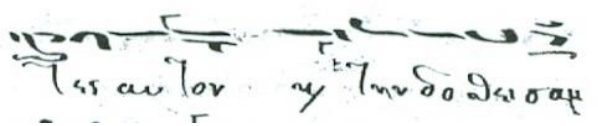
[3] See Εμμ. Γιαννόπουλου, article: «*Εκκλησιαστικόν*, χαρακτηρισμός μέλους», in *Μεγάλη Ορθόδοξη Χριστιανική Εγκυκλοπαιδεία*, vol. 6.

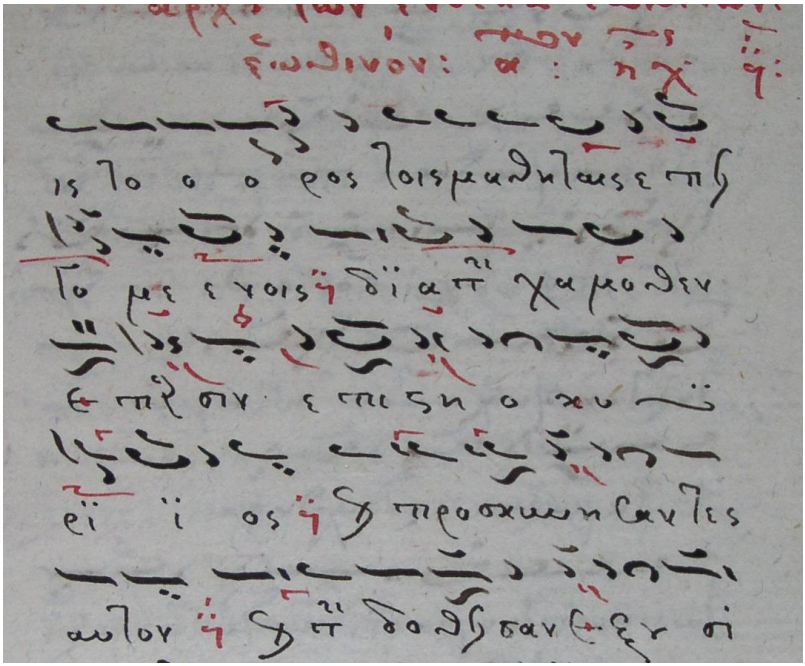
melodies, corrects some inappropriate stresses, abolishes some medial cadences in order to beautify the melody and connects the verses which belong to the same clause and have a complete meaning.

I will again mention some representative examples.[1] The initial melody of the two composition of the first heothinon (*Εἰς τὸ ὄρος*) is exactly the same. Then Petros abolishes Theodosios' medial cadence after the word *μαθηταῖς* (on the third step above the tonal) and connects the phrase *τοις μαθηταῖς ἐπειγομένοις*. Theodosios chooses to go down a fourth on the word ***διὰ*** [*τὴν χαμόθεν*] and a second on the syllables [*προσκυνή*]***σαντες*** (in order to express the meaning of the verses) while Petros prefers to compose similarly in the second case and use the fourth down on the word *ἐξαπεστέλλοντο*.

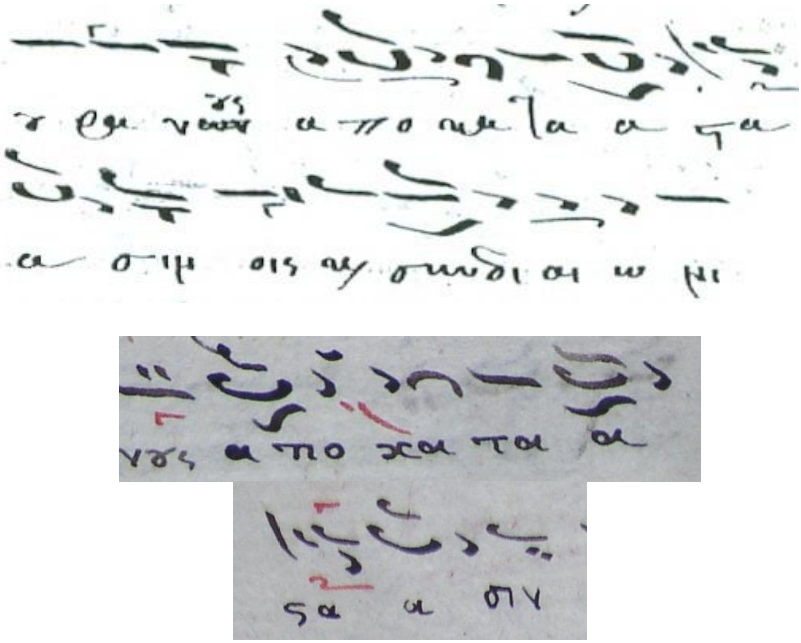


[1]I use a manuscript of a private collection (which contains Theodosios' Heothina in the new stichēraric genre) and the manuscript Romania-Stavropoleos monastery 54 (Anastasimatarion and Heothina of Petros).





The final formulas in many cases are the same, or almost the same (see the words *ἀποκατάστασιν*, *ἐπηγγείλατο*, et al).



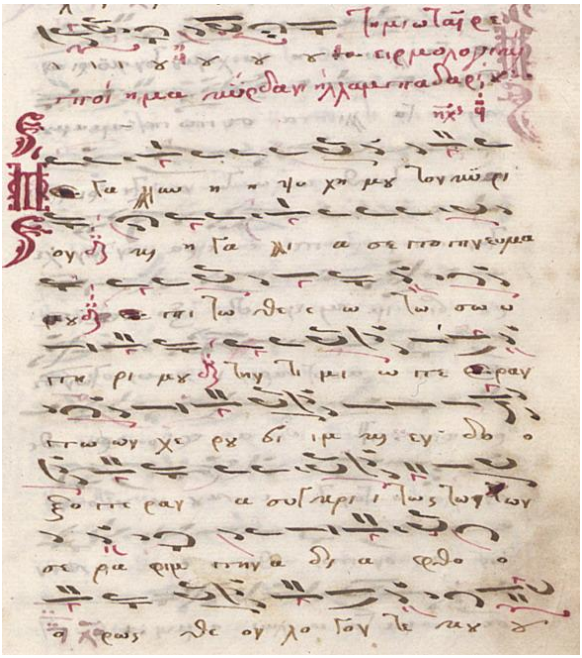
Generally speaking, Petros' composition is very similar to Theodosios' one[1] and it is written in the same type of notation. Petros prefers some other melodies in particular verses of the hymns, but it is clear that his work is based on his teacher's composition. The similarities between Daniēl's Anastasimatarion and Theodosios' heothina on the one hand, and the melodies of the same hymns made by Petros on the other, shows us that the origin of the new stichēraric genre wasn't Petros' initiative. Petros only applied the final stroke of the brush, choosing a better melodic movement and considering the better separation of the versions and the appropriate accentuation of the words. But, what is very important, he also recorded in this musical genre in a systematic way an extended corpus of stichēra idiomela of the Feasts and of the Triodion and Pentēcostarion.

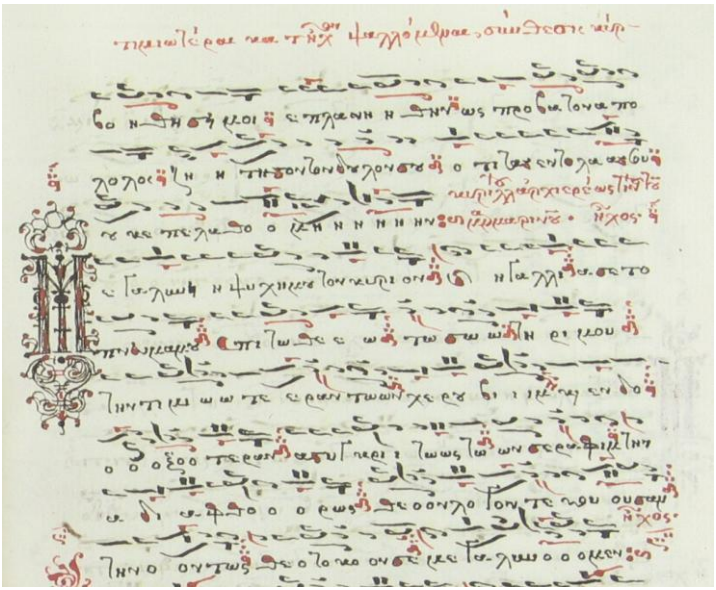
Given the fact that we do not know of any such organized and systematic musical work by Petros' teachers, he is considered the leader of a new era.

The heirmos of the 9th ode *Τὴν τιμιωτέραν* is chanted in Matins. Petros composed this hymn in all the modes (eight) both in slow and brief composition. Here we are interested in the slow one, which we can find in several manuscripts and of course in many printed editions after 1820. In manuscript No 1865 (ff. 29r-32r) of the National Library of Greece there are the melodies of Timiotera in the eight modes, composed by the Protopsaltēs Daniēl (I suppose this is a unique information, because we do not know any other manuscript that contains Daniēl's compositions of Timiotera).

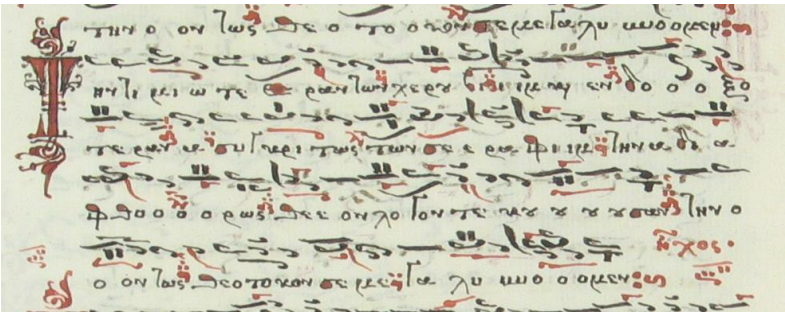
I compared these compositions with the compositions of Timiotera made by Kyrillos Marmarēnos, "former bishop of Tēnos Island" (ms 305 of Xēropotamou monastery-Holy Mountain, f. 116r-117v). They are exactly the same!

[1] The 1st Theodosios' "ecclesiastical" heothinon was chanted for the first time in our years during my lecture in the *Boston Byzantine Music Festival 2014* (24-2-14), transcribed in the New Method by me.





When we compare these melodies with the compositions of Timiotera made by Petros,[1] it is easy to see that the latter again follows the tradition of Kyrillos, who we know often chanted together with Daniēl in the Patriarchal Church.[2]



In his composition, Petros has many common musical lines with Kyrillos' compositions, but he also tries to stress better the right syllables that are accented grammatically. We can see this in the first mode, on the words or phrases

Kyrillos' melodies	Petros' melodies
*ἀσυγκρίτως **τῶν** Σεραφίμ*	*ἀσυ**γκρί**τως **τῶν** Σερα**φίμ***
***Θε**όν*	***Θεόν***
*Λό**γον***	***Λό**γον*
*με**γα**λύνομεν*	*μεγα**λύ**νομεν*

in the second mode (***Τὴν**Τιμιωτέραν-Τὴν Τιμιωτέ**ραν***), and in many other cases (e.g. mode plagal the first: *Τὴν **Τι**μιωτέραν-Τὴν Τι**μιωτέ**ραν*· mode plagal the fourth *Καὶ **ἐν**δοξοτέραν-καὶ ἐνδοξο**τέ**ραν*, ***τὴν** ὄντως-τὴν **ὄν**τως*).

[1] I use the manuscript Mount Athos-Xēropotamou monastery 305 which contains these Petros' compositions after the Timioteres of Kyrillos.

[2] See Χρυσάνθου αρχιεπισκόπου Διρραχίου, *Θεωρητικόν Μέγα της Μουσικής*, Τεργέστη 1832, part B, p. XXXVIII.

After all these references and before my conclusion I would like to note that even in the Papadikē we have some indications showing us that Petros follows in the footsteps of Ioannēs, Daniēl and perhaps others. Ioannēs from Trebizon transcribed in an analytical notation the Allēlouiarion of the Holy Gospel (Divine Liturgy) composed by monk Theodoulos, and Petros some years later also transcribed the same composition into an even more analytical notation. Something similar happened with the melodies of Basil the Great's Divine Liturgy.

Ioannēs composed kratimata for some of Petros Bereketēs' specific kalophonikoi heirmoi, while Petros the Peloponnēsian continued Ioannēs' activity by composing kratēmata for some others of Bereketēs' heirmoi, not the same. Ioannēs also composed kratēmata to be chanted with some extended musical compositions of Protopsaltēs Panagiotēs Chrysaphēs and maistor Ioannēs Papadopoulos Koukouzelēs, and again Petros did the same for some others compositions.

In one of his manuscripts Chrysanthos from Madytos gives us the information that Daniēl composed in every mode eight Koinonika (Communion Hymns) to be chanted on every Sunday, but he didn't want to give these compositions to his students. According to Chrysanthos (who was a student of Petros' disciple, Petros Vyzantios), Petros the Peloponnēsian listened carefully Daniēl's specific musical work, imitated him, and composed and presented his eight compositions of the same hymns.[1] After that, Daniēl also gave his compositions of Koinonika to his student.[2]

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[1] It seens that something similar happened with the well known doxastikon of Kassianē. According to some manuscript's references, Petros composed his famous slow stichēraric melody of this hymn, imitating («κατὰ μίμησιν») the melody of Daniēl. However, today we do not have a manuscript which preserves Daniēl's composition.

[2] *Θεωρητικόν Μέγα της μουσικής Χρυσάνθου του εκ Μαδύτων. Το ανέκδοτο αυτόγραφο του 1816. Το έντυπο του 1832. Κριτική έκδοση υπό Γεωργίου Ν. Κωνσταντίνου*. Βατοπαιδινή Μουσική Βίβλος. Μουσικολογικά Μελετήματα 1. Ιερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπαιδίου 2007, σσ. 140-142.

Petros also follows some habits of the older musicians who had strong relationships to the Ecumenical Patriarchate, such as the priest Antonios who had the office of «Οικονόμος». Like Antonios, Petros composed his Cherouvika for the weekdays in modes first, plagal the third (varys/grave), fourth, plagal the fourth and plagal the first.

I could present to you more evidence related to the Papadikē, but I believe that would lead us into a very time-consuming issue.

After the specific examples I have presented to you, I hope that it is clear that Petros had a strong basis on which he built his work. He imitated his teachers but went beyond them because of his talent, his musical perception and his systematic work. He didn't embellish the old compositions in an indefinite way, but with his settings tried to express better the words and the verses of the hymns. May this brief introduction be the spark for the deeper examination of his musical work.