STUDII

Daniel the Protopsaltes (†1789): His life and work

A PRELIMINARY PAPER

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In the well known catalog of "all outstanding masters of ecclesiastic chant", composed by Kyrillos Marmarinos, bishop of Tenos, "in the time of John the Protopsaltes" (i.e. during the period 1434/6-1770) – a catalog included by Chrysanthos in his handwritten Theoretikon (1816) and published afterwards (1832) in his printed book, and which constitutes one of the oldest (and most accurate) collective historical testimonies about the persons studied by the specialists of Byzantine musicology – Daniel is already referred to as "Protopsaltes" and as a student of Panagiotes Haladzoglou; it is, very probably, the same catalog of "all those who flourished, at various times, in ecclesiastic music", that is also registered (fol. 140 ff.) in the codex Xeropotamou 318 (an autograph by archdeacon Nikephoros Kantouniares from Chios at the beginning of the 19th century), where Daniel is mentioned more periphrastically: "Daniel Protopsaltes of the Great Church, student of Panagiotes Haladzoglou, in the 17th [= 18th] century the only one with profound knowledge of music and the only one who excelled at the composite lessons. Composite are the lessons that unite internal subjects of music with external ones."

Despite the fact that Protopsaltes Daniel remains – undoubtedly - a very well known figure in the broader domain of ecclesiastic chant, he nonetheless continues to arouse the "curiosity" of specialized scholars, inviting to new – always fascinating for the researcher - attempts to shed light at or to reevaluate some less well known or even misunderstood aspects of his life and work. Having dealt for a long time with the subject, I will here content myself to outline, in the form of a preliminary paper, the points that are analyzed and commented upon in a more exhaustive manner in a more extensive monograph of mine with the same title.

I. L I F E

Origin

According to the testimony of Chrysanthos, in a special addendum to his printed Theoretikon, Daniel was a native of Tyrnavos, in Thessaly. His birth (as it will be shown in what follows) must have occurred in the first decade of the 18th century. It remains, for the time being, unclear how he moved from Tyrnavos to Constantinople, where he established himself and became known for his achievements. However, the channel of communication between the broader region of Thessaly and the great centers of ecclesiastic musical creation (such as Mount Athos or Constantinople) was already open before his time; especially for the region of Tyrnavos, there is the earlier, by one century more or less, example, of the famous bishop of New Patras Germanos, who, having departed from the same locale (Tyrnavos) with the support of former bishop of Larissa and later Ecumenical Patriarch Dionysios, had established himself in Constantinople as a guest of his fellow-countryman Ioannikios, then serving as an "archdeacon by his aforementioned holiness", being thus able to devote himself undisturbed to his musical studies. Obviously Daniel followed the same path, perhaps taking benefice from a "Larissean community", which we are legitimately entitled to suppose that existed and flourished by his time in Constantinople.

Studies

In Constantinople, Daniel studied (as it has been previously noted) with cantor Panagiotes Haladzoglou († 1748). In that apprenticeship, and in the subsequent closer relationship between the master and the student, lurks an extremely interesting "convergence" of socio-political identities and musical culture. First of all, Daniel moves all of a sudden form the Greek provincial environment of Tyrnavos to the cosmopolitan ambience of Constantinople, where he discovers a new – and undoubtedly fascinating – world. There he encounters Panagiotes Haladzoglou, who has a similar background; a man of humble and provincial origin, he also combines the life in the capital with ecclesiastic music studies in a famous monastery of Mount Athos. Here are, therefore, the elements that clearly informed the "mixture" of Daniel's musical profile: a good-hearted provincial disposition, the savor of a multicultural cosmopolitan spirit, the apprenticeship with a wise and judicious master, the experience of ecclesiastic chant in Mount Athos. We have here an absolutely interesting combination, which was meant to be enriched later, as a result of Daniel's encounter and collaboration with Zacharias Chanendes, on which we will elaborate in what follows.

Service in sacred chant

Daniel served the Great Church of Christ as a Domestikos (the older known mention is from 1734), a Lampadarios (older known mention in 1740) and a Protopsaltes (since 1770, when he succeeded John from Trebizond). During his 55-year service in ecclesiastic chant, Daniel collaborated not only with his master and Protopsaltes of the Great Church of Christ Panagiotes Haladzoglou (of whom he had been a Domestikos), but also with some of the most eminent figures of ecclesiastic music in Constantinople; notably, with his fellow student Kyrillos Marmarinos, former bishop of Tenos – who, despite the fact that he did not held an official position as a cantor, "chanted in times with Daniel in the patriarchate" (according to Chrysanthos) –, but also, and more importantly, with his immediate collaborator, John from Trebizond (of whom

he had been a Lampadarios). Furthermore, he chanted with the famous Peter from Peloponnese (who had been his Domestikos and Lampadarios), and also with the successors of the latter, Jacob the Protopsaltes (who had also been his Domestikos and Lampadarios) and Peter Byzantios (who had been his Domestikos). Within that "harmonic circle" of Daniels' masters, fellow students, students and successors, the only "discordant note" was, probably, the renowned Peter from Peloponnese. History has now proven that collaboration, and, much more than that, artistic coexistence with a restless and vanguard musician, such as undoubtedly was Peter from Peloponnese, was not an easy affair. Notably, it is well known from incidents concerning the succession in the patriarchic lecterns, that Peter, according to Chrysanthos, "was despised by both Iacobos and his teacher Daniel, with a hidden hate, that made its appearance at times". One may reasonably assume that the backstage of the ecclesiastic musical scene of the Patriarchate was the theater of important upheavals. The same Chrysanthos, in a note included in his handwritten Theoretikon, sheds some light in an aspect of these upheavals, by letting transpire some suspicions about the relations of the then Protopsaltes of the Great Church with his Lampadarios, and, more concretely, about some specific issues of "intellectual property" concerning a number of similar compositions of theirs.

Daniel as a teacher – The circle of his students

Of course Daniel was also a teacher of the art of chanting. According to historical testimonies, a school of ecclesiastic music that functioned in Constantinople in the year 1776 (Second Patriarchic Musical School) had offered "to protopsaltes Daniel 400 piasters per year in exchange for teaching the mathimatari." Therefore, his teaching activity must have begun many years earlier, given that in 1776 (when, as a Protopsaltes of the Great Church, he stood at the highest point of his chanting career) he was not only a well paid teacher, but also able to teach the "Mathimatarion", viz. the most advanced level of chant education.

There is no doubt that many lovers of music benefited from Daniel's lessons, either as his immediate students in some school of sacred music, or, in the broader sense, as his auditors or even as members of the choirs of the Patriarchate, where Daniel served for more than half a century. However, his most well known student were Stavris or Stavrakis (probably the one referred to elsewhere as Stavrakis Domestikos), who became known especially for his activities as an author of codices, and the famous Zacharias Chanendes, with whom Daniel developed not only a close friendship, but also an absolutely interesting relationship of "mutual teaching", as is noted by Chrysanthos in a special addition to his printed Theoretikon: "Being indeed a friend of Zacharias Chanendes, [Daniel] learned by him a lot on exoteric music; likewise, he taught Zacharias in return ecclesiastical mele". It may therefore reasonably be inferred that Daniel completed a second "circle of studies", which constitutes a token of his humility (since he accepted to be taught by one of his students), and, in a broader context, of his thirst for progress through continuous learning. At the same time, the contact of Daniel with Zacharias, and therefore with the "artistic world" that the latter represented (the so-called "foreign" musical culture), created an interesting "musical interaction", which, either in the form of unprecedented "openings" of sacred music to other, non ecclesiastic musical genres, or as an attempt of "tracing" the secular dimension of ecclesiastic chant, must be researched in Daniel's musical work as a whole.

Codex-writing activity

Unfortunately, neither autograph codex by Daniel, nor any other handwritten musical text of his has been identified so far, which is of course particularly impressing. Moreover, it is curious that in the only extant picture of his, of the year 1815 (in codex Θ 178 of the Athonite monastery of Megisti Lavra, fol. 1^{v}), where he is represented in a relatively young age and wearing the insignia of his office as a chanter (the portrait bears the inscription: Daniel Lampadarios), he is depicted with a stylus

and a parchment in his hands, writing. Perhaps this total lack of handwritten documents by Daniel is due to the fire that burnt out his home on June the 15th of the year 1770, according to the testimony of a deacon named Ananias, preserved in codex Gregoriou 37, fol. 17v: "In the year 1770, on June the 15th, in a horrible fire that broke on Wednesday morning, the house of Daniel the Protopsaltes, in the Phanar, was completely burned. I register this for the readers to remember."

Death

Thanks to an accurate historical testimony, transmitted by Chrysanthos from Madyta, we know exactly the time, date and year of Daniel's death. The detailed way of registering this testimony (an unusual phenomenon for other contemporary figures of ecclesiastic chant) is an undisputable token of the historian's interest, but also of Daniel's importance: "Daniel Protopsaltes, the melodic trumpet of our century […], passed away in 1789, 23 December, Saturday at 12 o'clock".

II. W O R K
General characteristics and historical evaluation of his work

The particularity of Daniel's musical work lies in the fact that, in accordance with the teachings of Panagiotes Haladzoglou, he used the "interpretative way" of writing down (and composing) music. Daniel grew up musically and then developed his activities and composed his masterpieces at the very time when that "fever" of interpretation (still under formation) was "burning" the world of ecclesiastic chant in Constantinople. From the beginning of 18th century, a series of musicians worked (as chanters, chant-makers and teachers) following that new direction; in the course of this transition from the synoptic to the interpretative way of writing down (and composing) music, vividly sketched by Chrysanthos, Daniel holds the third place. First comes his teacher, Panagiotes Haladzoglou, who decisively contributed to the elaboration of the famous "style of the Great Church of Christ": relying on the

very Athonite tradition of sacred chant, which had been taught to him, “he abridged some melodies of the theses or, in other cases, he even altered them, aiming, it is said, at pleasure and embellishment”. Next comes John the Protopsaltes, who “transubstantiated” (with the encouragement of the Patriarchate) the preceding “abridgements and transformations” of his teacher. John used “a way of writing, which is different from the old and akin the analytical way”, publicly claiming that “the difficulty of teaching and the transmitting psalmody, due to all the time it takes, ought to be removed from their creations” and that “a simpler, more methodical and elementary system of characters ought to be established, making it possible to write every kind of melody and to transmit it accurately.” Thus Daniel, who comes third in this historic succession, used naturally and effortlessly “that interpretative way” in order to write down his new musical creations. This new way was, of course, different from the traditional one, provoking at first serious reactions: “there exist in his mele innovative theses, such that were never used by psalmodists before or after him. Because of them, certain persons dared to accuse him of ignorance.” Also different (as it can be inferred from the testimony of Chrysanthos quoted above) was the content of all these new compositions; in fact, they already constituted a new musical proposal, introduced hesitatingly by Haladzoglou and then supported wholeheartedly by John – the latter “was maybe imitating his teacher, because usually the teachers’ manner are inherited by students.” This was the “new style of the Great Church of Christ”, a style that would later be shaped more clearly (both in the writing method and in the content of musical compositions) in the works of the other members of the aforementioned “series”, such as Peter from Peloponnese, Jacob the Protopsaltes, Peter Byzantios and Manuel Protopsaltes. To these two differentiations, concerning the form of writing and the way of composing music, Daniel added a third one: “He was obliged to innovate because he attempted to introduce in ecclesiastical mele, exoteric mele also, that is mele played in his times by instrumentalists, that it was not possible to write

with the old ecclesiastical theses." This might very well be explained as an attempt of renewal of the existing repertoire (and, therefore, as a noteworthy contribution of Daniel to ecclesiastic chant-making), but his contemporaries considered it as an unprecedented innovation, attributing it to his "communication" with non ecclesiastic musical figures. This phenomenon cannot be easily assessed in a unilateral way; besides music itself, it also presents historical, socio-political and even anthropological dimensions that have to be taken into consideration. What must be underlined here (from a strictly musicological point of view) is Daniel's unparalleled ability to "cover" his innovations under an unmatched musical imagination: "Daniel's qualities are the sobriety and richness of his creation, because when he comes to a phthora, he exceedingly insists on its melody and does not abandon it quickly." The intelligent bridging of such apparent contradictions or, in other words, the harmonious continuation of ecclesiastical chanting tradition by all licit (and even illicit) means, is a fundamental characteristic of Daniel's chant-making production, and at the same time a musical quality of crucial importance: "such a melopoeos is indeed to be praised", notes rightly Chrysanthos. This ability of Daniel, which is highly estimated today, was meant to be very positively evaluated after his death, when a more sober approach to his work permitted to his pairs to sincerely appreciate his musical talents; it was only then that Daniel was recognized (as we have noted in the introduction) as "the only one with profound knowledge of music and the only one who excelled at the composite lessons".

Range, value, influence and propagation of his work

Daniel's musical work is a wide and extremely interesting one. His particular musical compositions and Daniel himself as a chant-maker (but also as an interpreter) are always described in a dithyrambic way in the musical manuscripts; for instance, a monk and chant-maker named Theokletos, in his autograph codex Iviron 983 of 1762, characterizes Daniel (fol. 656^{v}-661^{r}, referred to as a

Domestikos) as “the new Koukouzelis”. His activities as a composer begun relatively early (at least according to the extant testimonies of our sources), when he was still a Domestikos; his work survives up to the present day in the chants of the Orthodox Church, either in its original form or through the influence that it exerted in the compositions of his contemporary or even later chant-makers; the most characteristic example being the setting to music of the famous troparion of Cassiane by Peter from Peloponnese “in imitation of Daniel the protopsaltes”. Numerous are his widely known (and extremely important) compositions, such as the Great Doxology in barys mode, the Polyeleos Δοῦλοι, Κύριον in Hagia mode, or the series of the eight Sunday’s Koinonika. More significant, though, is the case of a complete Anastasimatarion, set to music by Daniel in an “heirmologic”, as it is called, way, i.e. considerably shorter in comparison to the older tradition (it is preserved in the codex Xeropotamou 374), a musical material on which also relied the eight modes’ Kekragaria, the Dogmatika of the oktoechos and the eight modes’ Pasapnoaria of the Ainoi, which appear in a widespread manuscript tradition. In general, his compositions are widely spread, and many of them have known numerous re-editions. It is obvious that I cannot mention here, even in a superficial way, all the parameters of Daniel’s musical work; I will content myself in offering, in a special addendum, a detailed table of his works. Suffice it to note that he also dealt with poetry, an example of which I will quote, as a prayer in the memory of Daniel the Protopsaltes, in the end of the present paper. It is a theotokion Mathema in 15-syllable verse, the music and lyrics of which, according to the manuscript tradition, were composed by Daniel:

Χαῖρε, κατάρας λύτρωσις, χαῖρε, χαρᾶς αἰτία,
χαῖρε, Ἀδὰμ ἀνάκλησις, Δέσποινα παναγία,
χαῖρε, τὸ καταφύγιον πάντων τῶν ὀρθοδόξων,
χαῖρε, λιμὴν ὁ εὔδιος τῶν εἰς σὲ προστρεχόντων,
χαῖρε, νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε, ὑπερευλογημένη,
χαῖρε, μήτηρ ἀπείρανδρε, ὑπερδεδοξασμένη,

χαῖρε, ἐξ ἧς ἄνευ σπορᾶς ἐτέχθη Θεὸς Λόγος,
Θεὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπος, ὡς οἶδεν αὐτὸς μόνος.

T A B L E O F W O R K S

Complete Anastasimatarion

A. Mele of Vespers

Κατευθυνθήτω and Cherubikon Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις of the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts; second plagal mode [and interpretation of the koinonikon Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε of the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts by John Kladas; first mode]

B. Mele of Matins

Polyeleos Δοῦλοι, Κύριον; fourth mode

Doxology; barys eptaphonos mode

C. Mele of the Holy Mass

Cherubika in eight modes; nine (two of them set to music in the first mode)

Koinonika of Sundays, eight (each per mode)
Koinonika of the week (four) and of the whole year (twelve)
Monday: Ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα; second plagal mode
Tuesday: Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται δίκαιος; barys mode
Wednesday: Ποτήριον σωτηρίου λήψομαι; fourth mode
Thursday: Εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν; first mode
On Crucifixion: Ἐσημειώθη ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου, Κύριε; first mode
On Christmas: Λύτρωσιν ἀπέστειλε Κύριος τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ; first mode
On Epiphany: Ἐπεφάνη ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ; first mode
On Annunciation: Ἐξελέξατο Κύριος τὴν Σιών; first mode
On Palm Sunday: Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου; fourth mode
On Easter: Σῶμα Χριστοῦ μεταλάβετε; first mode
On St. Thomas' Sunday: Ἐπαίνει, Ἰερουσαλήμ, τὸν Κύριον; first plagal mode
On Mid-Pentecost: Ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα; first plagal mode
On Assumption: Ἀνέβη ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἀλαλαγμῷ; fourth mode
On Holy Spirit's Monday: Τὸ πνεῦμα σου τὸ ἅγιον; fourth mode
On All Saints Sunday: Ἀγαλλιάσθε δίκαιοι ἐν Κυρίῳ; fourth plagal mode
On Transfiguration: Ἐν τῷ φωτὶ τῆς δόξης τοῦ προσώπου σου, Κύριε; barys mode
In the place of the Cherubikon and the Koinonikon, hymns of Maundy Thursday (Τοῦ Δείπνου σου τοῦ μυστικοῦ; second plagal mode) and of Holy Saturday (Σιγησάτω πᾶσα σὰρξ βροτεία; first plagal mode)
Calophonic Heirmos Μνήσθητι, Δέσποινα, κᾄμοῦ; second plagal mode, the so-called nenano
Kratemata (for Calophonic Heirmoi and for Τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ by Ioannes Kladas; five [in the modes: first, fourth, second plagal and fourth plagal (two) respectively])

D. Mele of the Mathematarion

Mathemata (some in 15-syllable verse); theotokia (six) and various eortia (nine)
Σὲ προκατήγγειλε χορὸς; first tetrafonos mode
Χαῖρε, κατάρας λύτρωσις; first plagal mode
Σὲ μεγαλύνομεν, τὴν πύλην τὴν οὐράνιον; barys mode
Ἅπας γηγενής; fourth mode
Ρῶσιν διὰ τοῦ ραντίσματος; first mode
Δέσποινα πρόσδεξαι; fourth mode
Γεώργιος ὁ ἔνδοξος; first mode
Πανάγιε Νικόλαε; first plagal mode
Μεγάλυνον ψυχή μου τὸν Ἐμμανουήλ; first mode
Ψυχή μου, ψυχή μου; second plagal mode, the so-called nenano
Μεγάλυνον ψυχή μου τὸν ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ; first mode
Ὁ νοῦς σου ταῖς νεύσεσι; fourth mode
Τί σὲ καλέσωμεν προφήτα; first mode
Περίζωσαι τὴν ρομφαίαν σου; fourth mode
Πᾶσαν τὴν ἐλπίδα μου; barys mode

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Born 1969 in Athens, Greece, he studied Theology and Musicology there. His graduate work was done in the School of Theology of the National and Capodestrian University of Athens. He received his doctorate from the Department of Music Studies of the same University [his doctoral thesis was entitled: *The Polyeleos in Byzantine and post-Byzantine Melopoeia*, Athens 2003, pgs. 992], where he was an academic assistant from the year 1992 and was elected Lecturer (1999), Assistant Professor (2004), permanent Assistant Professor (2008) and Associate Professor (2010) of Byzantine Musicology for the same Department.

Moreover, he is a director in a well-known international choir, the so-called *Maestors of Psaltic Art*. With this particular choir he has carried out more than 400 performances not only in Greece but also abroad (Europe, Asia, America, Australia) till now. The *Maestors of Psaltic Art* have chant in many famous concert places (among others: the lecture Hall at the University of Athens and Thessaloniki, the Opera House in Athens and Thessaloniki, Sydney Opera, Concert Hall of Seoul and so on), but in many monumental Byzantine temples (among others: the Cathedral temple of Athens, the temple of Virgin Mary Ekatodapilianis in Paros, the Holy Cave of Revelation in Patmos, St Mark's temple in Venice, the Monastery of Great Meteora, St Lazarus' temple in Larnaka-Cyprus, the most Holly temple of Resurrection in Jerousalem, St Andreas' temple in Patreus and so on), in different Calendar or Anniversary occasions (like the: 2000nd anniversary of Annunciation in Nazareth, ecumenical Patriarch's visit in Great Greece, opening ceremony of St. Nektario's temple in Aigina and so on) whereas they have already record more than 20 digital discs, as well.

In addition, he is developing an international artistic route as a director, since he is quite often invited as a guest director from famous, outside Greece, choirs, which are relevant or not with the field of traditional Byzantine music. Therefore, he has already carried out relevant events in Europe and America, with great success and the accordingly positive echo. Here are his latest jobs: on the one hand, in Tallinn, Estonia, as a guest director of *RAM - The Estonian Male Choir*, in the scope of 16th international festival Credo (*Credo XVI. The International Festival of Orthodox Sacred Music. 24 September-4 October 2009. Estonia*), where he was the Head of the famous fifty-member State Choir of Estonia in a programme of pure Byzantine Music, on the other hand, in Portland and Seattle of America, as a guest director of *Cappella Romana*, too. He introduced (January 2010) with the particular world-wide famous American choir a clearly Byzantine musical programme under the title "A Byzantine Christmas" (giving before each concert a pre-lecture).

He has won international recognition and acknowledgement as a chanter, which means an artistic interpreter of Byzantine music. He chants in a central church of Athens actively and systematically, while at the same time he chants in various artistic events both in Greece and abroad, where he is frequently invited as an artist interpreter. Last but not least, he has recorded whether alone or with different artistic forms, usually under his supervision and guidance, a

lot of chants of Byzantine production, which most of them were product of his simultaneously academic research.

He is a member of several scientifical and artistic societies (like the *Institution of Byzantine Musicology* – where he serves as general secretary –, the urban non-profit company *"Anatoles to Periixima"* – a company of which he is a founding member and administrator –, *The International Society for Orthodox Church Music, American Society of Byzantine Music and Hymnology*, and others); he is also a founding member of the urban non-profit company *"the Aiginaia"* and chief editor of the homonymous six-month periodical cultural publication (for the first 14 issues), as well as a scientific collaborator of the critical publication of the complete works of Saint Nektarios (of which 4 issues have been published already).

He has published ten self-contained books and has coordinated the publication of as many collective volumes (conference proceedings, honorary volumes, etc.). Tens of other studies have been published in periodicals and other collections. He has participated in international musicological and theological conferences and seminars. His research activity orbits around the areas of Byzantine musicology, music folklore, Christian worship, hagiology and hymnology.