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**IZMEĐU SREDNJE EUROPE
I MEDITERANA: GLAZBA,
KNJIŽEVNOST I IZVEDBENE
UMJETNOSTI**

**BETWEEN CENTRAL EUROPE
AND THE MEDITERRANEAN:
MUSIC, LITERATURE AND
THE PERFORMING ARTS**

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Filozofski fakultet / Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences



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Ivana Tomić Ferić, Antonela Marić (Ur. / Eds.)

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Orthodox Church Music at the Crossroads between Central-European and Mediterranean Cultural Heritage

Vesna Sara Peno (Beograd) – Ivana Vesić (Beograd)

Numerous studies have been written and published on the social status and cultural progress of the emerging Serbian and Greek bourgeoisie of the Habsburg Monarchy in the 18th and 19th centuries.¹ Still, only a handful of them is devoted to the role of music in the shaping of the identity of Balkan Christians in the given country and period. In the focus of this chapter is the establishment of the practice of multipart choral singing in the Serbian and Greek Orthodox Churches of the Habsburg Monarchy, which was untypical for their liturgical traditions. This novel musical current will be explored from the perspective of theological and cultural influences from the West, which rapidly and profoundly transformed the image of Orthodox Balkan nations, and blurred the boundaries between West and East, and European and Balkan/Mediterranean cultural spaces. The self-perceived cultural inferiority of members of the Greek and Serbian diaspora in the face of the abundant and diverse musical heritage of imperial Vienna, was, as will be pointed out, critical for «installing» multipart choral ensembles in the galleries of Orthodox church edifices. Therefore, this phenomenon will serve as a basis for our narrative.

The Bitter Fruit of Cultural «Shame»

A historian and representative of the Serbian Orthodox Church clergy², Jovan Rajić (1726–1801), left an interesting testimony on the amalgamation of the feel-

¹ See: Nikos G. SVORONOS, *Episkopisi tis neoellinikis istorias* [Overview of Modern Greek History], Athens: Themelio, 1985, 55-64; Georgiou D. METALLINOY, *Tourkokratia – Oi Ellines stin Othomani Autokratoria* [Tourkokratia – The Greeks in the Ottoman Empire], Athens: Akritas, 1988, 111-147; Vaso SEIRINIDOU, *Ellines sti Bienni, 18os – mesi 19ou aiona* [Greeks in Vienna, 18th – mid 19th C.], Athens: Herodotos, 2010; Aleksandar FORIŠKOVIĆ, *Građanski stalež kod Srba u Ugarskoj* [The Civic Class Among Serbs in Hungary], in: *Istorija srpskog naroda* [History of the Serbian People], eds. Vladimir Stojančević – Jovan Milićević – Čedomir Popov, vol. IV/1, Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga, 2000, 294-305.

² The Serbian Orthodox Church in the territory of the Habsburg Monarchy was an autonomous and self-governing part of the Serbian Orthodox Church which was founded in the beginning of the 18th century, after the great migrations of Serbs from the Ottoman Empire.

ings of shame and contempt that were brought to the fore among Orthodox peoples after they settled in a culturally distant and alien Habsburg Monarchy. Rajić particularly addressed «the harsh character of the vestments of Orthodox clerics which dated to Ottoman times» and which provoked ridicule «among the people of other orders [Roman Catholics], and, nowadays, among ourselves». ³ As soon as they adapted to the clothing trends and social rules of those in front of whom they initially felt ashamed, their discomfort was substituted with a false superiority toward newly settled and still unadjusted compatriots. ⁴

The sense of humiliation in the presence of the civilizational Other left its mark, long before Rajić's remarks were published, in the change of perceptions and criteria of leading Orthodox church clerics in connection to more important topics than the issue of dress codes. Surrounded by the baroque church art and architecture of the Roman Catholic temples, Serbian Patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta (1698–1748), prohibited in 1743 the work of self-taught icon painters who, by that time, had decorated the walls and altars of Serbian churches in the spirit of post-Byzantine forms. Threatening to cast an anathema, he, moreover, imposed a rule that neither church officials nor private persons could buy or order icon paintings from «uneducated» craftsmen. The main reason behind this decision was the fact that non-academic painting represented a primary source of mockery for domestic Habsburg citizens, to which Jovanović, as a leader of Serbs, was not insensitive. ⁵

Even more visible manifestations of cultural inferiority, on the one hand, and, on the other, of the emphasized deviation in the understanding of the role of church – meaning the turn from its primary eschatological dimension to a sociohistorical function – were characteristic for the governing of Metropolitan Stefan Stratimirović (1790–1836), who presided over the Karlovci diocese for more than five decades. It was owing to his intervention that the members of the saint Serbian Nemanjić dynasty were represented without the marks of sacred

³ Jovan RAJIĆ, *Istorija katihizma pravoslavnih Srbalja u Cesarskim državama* [History of the Catechism of Orthodox Serbs in Imperial States], Pančevo: Braća Jovanović (s. a.), 22-23.

⁴ In order not to stand out from Roman Catholic bishops, Serbian archbishops discarded the strict black garment of the Balkan monks. Instead, they wore silk red robes and red skullcaps in the manner of Roman Catholic cardinals. Similar to Habsburg aristocrats and elite cardinals, they resided in majestic palaces with extravagant furniture and art works which were procured from the leading European centers. Miodrag KOLARIĆ, *Osnovni problemi srpskog baroka* [Basic Problems of the Serbian Baroque], *Zbornik Matice srpske za likovne umetnosti*, 3 (1967), 240-243.

⁵ Dimitrije RUVARAC, *Cirkular patrijarha Arsenija Jovanovića o svetkovanju praznika i o zabrani kupovanja ikona od koje kakvih molera* [Epistle of Patriarch Arsenije Jovanović on the Celebration of Church Feasts and a Ban on Buying Icons from Uneducated Painters], *Bogoslovski glasnik*, 20 (1911), 29-30.

personages (aureola) in a monumental study entitled *Istorija raznih slovenskih naroda, najpače Bolgar, Horvatov i Serbov* [The History of Various Slavic Peoples, especially Bulgarians, Croats, and Serbs]. By contrast, they were painted with features of the secular, imperial status they held until they renounced the throne, received monastic tonsure, and became monks. This was an indirect message to the Viennese imperial court on the glorious past of the Serbian state before it fell into the hands of the Ottoman Turks, and before the Serbs were forced to leave their homeland and accept to be subjects of the Habsburg crown. Parallel to that, it served to strengthen the historical consciousness of the Serbian people whose integrity was constantly under threat. Stratimirović's calculated political gesture reflected the effects of aberrations of theological thought, or of the «Orthodox pseudomorphosis», as Georgie Florovsky designated the fall of the Eastern Christian theological tradition into «Babylonian-Western captivity».⁶

The Era of the Decline of Faith and the Enlightenment of Reason

The spiritual confusion in the historical reality of the Orthodox East became noticeable as the critical stance toward influences from the West shrunk. Due to the decay of the church enlightenment after the fall of the Byzantine Empire, a deep chasm between faith and knowledge emerged. It left a mark on the numerous theologians who, despite their clinging to Orthodox traditions, actually promoted its Romanized version regarding the methods of practice of faith they employed. Many of them were appointed to high ranks in their church communities.⁷ Being educated in the Jesuit schools of the West, they were responsible for the systematic Romanization of Orthodox theology and, more general, of the worldview of Orthodox Christians. Struggling against proselytism with its own means, the influential church officials among Greeks and Russians, in the first place, are to be blamed for the «breaking of bonds in the East, and the anchoring of a foreign, artificial, non-organic tradition which blocked creative paths» in modern history.⁸

Along with Protestant erudition, the Orthodox East appropriated the psychology of the Western person as well. The new type of Orthodox Christian, like their fellow Christians from the Western hemisphere, stepped with great enthusiasm into the epoch in which the slogan *sapere aude* gloriously echoed. The Age of Enlightenment (*Siècle de Lumières*), when «darkness was eradicated from human

⁶ Georgije FLOROVSKI, *Putevi ruskog bogoslovlja* [The Paths of Russian Theology], (transl. from Russian into Serbian by Sreto Tanasić), Podgorica: CID, 1997, 64.

⁷ Christou GIANNARA, *Orthodoxia kai Disi sti Neoteri Ellada* [Orthodoxy and the West in Modern Greece], Athens: Ekdoseis Domos, 1992, 96.

⁸ G. FLOROVSKI, 64.

life» (*Aufklärung*), offered more than just an ideology. The new age brought to the whole humankind a different type of being,⁹ based on a reliance on the natural capacities of human reason. Eruditio – the prerequisite of abandoning «self-blaming immaturity»,¹⁰ as Kant wrote – encouraged the newly formed Orthodox intellectual elite to critically examine traditional values and strive for reform.

In the climate of declining faith, the criteria for self-assessment were fading, and, as a result, Orthodox communities, especially in the diaspora, quite unexpectedly initiated an uncritical appropriation of Western values and their blending into a unified traditional Orthodox culture. None of the artistic fields were exempt from the influence of these progressive tendencies, and the most pronounced shifts occurred in the domain of church art production.

Musical Reform in the Bosphorus in the Shadow/Light of European Influences

After several centuries of stagnation, the interest in the Eastern-Christian chanting tradition in the Balkans intensified during the second half of the 18th century, despite the very unfavorable circumstances for all Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire.¹¹ A pleiad of musicians and music scribes appeared among Greeks who enthusiastically worked on the simplifying of complex and ambiguous rules of neumatic notation and copying chanting collections. The proper interpretation of neumatic signs was a privilege of a minority of chanters and, consequently, the art of chanting was acquired and nurtured primarily by word of mouth. Experienced connoisseurs of neumatic notation among the Greek chanters from Mount Athos, Salonika, and Constantinople were invited by Serbian archbishops to transfer their knowledge to the Serbian chanters. Still, the attempts at making late Byzantine neumatic notation familiar to Serbs did not have any long-lasting results.

Before the need for exact, rationally determined knowledge, the «relative» nature of the simiographic/synoptic neumatic notation could not be satisfying even for

⁹ Hristo JANARAS, *Filosofija iz novog ugla* [Philosophy from a New Angle], (transl. from Greek into Serbian by Maksim Vasiljević), Vrnjačka banja: Bratstvo Sv. Simeona Mirotočivog, 2000, 127.

¹⁰ Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) used these words as a response to the question *Was ist Aufklärung?* (What is the Enlightenment?) in his text of the same title; see Milorad PAVIĆ, *Istorija srpske književnosti – Klasicizam* [History of Serbian Literature – Classicism], vol. 3, Beograd: Dosije, Naučna knjiga, 1991, 16-17.

¹¹ For a comparative examination of chanting practices in the Balkans with a comprehensive literature review see: Vesna Sara PENO, *Pravoslavno pojanje na Balkanu na primeru grčke i srpske tradicije. Između Istoka i Zapada, eklisiologije i ideologije* [Orthodox Chanting in the Balkans in the Examples of Greek and Serbian Traditions. Between East and West, Ecclesiology and Ideology], Beograd: Muzikološki institut SANU, 2016.

the most persistent advocates of the late Byzantine musical tradition. The rich sound heritage had to be preserved and saved from deterioration by its simplification. Musical notation had to be made more analytical and easier to read to provide a uniform and reliable interpretation. A group of musicians from Constantinople devoted themselves to the realization of these tasks in the late 18th century. Three of them, Chrysanthos, Gregorios, and Chourmouzius, led these musical reforms to their completion during the first decade of the 19th century.¹²

The reform of neumatic notation, or the so-called New Method, was manifested by the Constantinople group, particularly by its most prominent member Chrysanthos of Madytos, who was also a bishop of Durres, was well acquainted with the rules of the European theory of music and staff notation. Moreover, the crowning moment of his work in the field of church music, *The Great Theory of Music*, will clearly demonstrate that his standpoints and education were shaped by the dominant tendencies of the European enlightenment.¹³ The above-mentioned theoretical discussion, whose publishing in its original or shortened form occurred in Constantinople, Paris, and Venice, represents an example of the Greek reception of the most popular European literature on the philosophy of music at the time.

It is important to add that despite the influences from the West, including the progressive ideas that inspired Chrysanthos and his associates in their collaborative project, the traditional iphos of Byzantine church chants, written down via a new method, was not disrupted. Furthermore, being embedded in stable theoretical principles and precise notation, the preservation of these melodies was secured, which could not be enabled through oral transmission.

The reform was brought into effect owing to a large number of music scribes who «translated» the ancient tunes – they were transcribed from the late Byzantine into the analytical neumatic system. Because of the expansion of music publishing and music literacy in a number of newly founded chanting schools across the Balkans, there was not any possibility for reversal. Progress has already been achieved.

¹² Katy ROMANOU, A New Approach to the Work of Chrysanthos of Madytos: The New Method of Musical Notation in the Greek Church and the Μέγα Θεωρητικόν της μουσικής, in: *Studies in Eastern Chant*, ed. by Dimitri Conomos, vol. V, Crestwood New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1990, 89-100.

¹³ John PLEMMENOS, The Active Listener: Greek Attitudes Towards Music Listening in the Age of Enlightenment, *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 6 (1997), 51-63.

New-old Church Music: The Multipart Aria in the Church Services of Orthodox Christians in Vienna

Despite the great success of the «Enlightenment» undertakings in advancing the sound of Greek churches in the homeland, of which Balkan Orthodox Christians outside the Ottoman Empire were regularly informed, they were not satisfying for the pro-European oriented Greeks, and, even less, for the Serbian diaspora. Actually, in the mid-19th century, Orthodox Christians from the capital of the Habsburg Monarchy decided to support a radical musical turn whose aim was to substitute a traditional monophonic chant of the central church service, the Liturgy, with multipart choral singing.

Greeks were the first who took practical steps in applying vocal polyphony to church rites. The representatives of the church boards of two Greek Church communities – Saint Trinity and Saint George – agreed that it was necessary to first write down traditional church chants in European staff notation after which they needed to be harmonized. Two leading chanters of these church communities, Ioannes Chatzinikolaou Chaviaras (Ιωάννης Χατζηνικολάου Χαβιαράς) and hieromonk Anthimos Nikolaides (Ἄνθιμος Νικολαΐδης) – the latter a student of three Greek reformers, a faithful disciple of Konstantinos Protopsalti, and a former teacher of the New Method in Odessa – were engaged for the completion of the first phase of this process. Still, these chanters' musical education did not allow them to play a part in the second phase.

While Orthodox peoples in modern history usually recruited foreigners, in particular, the most famous artists and craftsmen for copper engravings, the construction and painting of church walls, or illustrating historical publications, while leading Vienna artists, who were probably not very familiar with the atmosphere of Orthodox churches, yet were invited to harmonize the monophonic chants. However, this fact did not have any relevance for both Greek and Serbian Orthodox Christians in the Habsburg Monarchy.

Four-part versions of liturgical chants were ordered in 1844 from the then very popular court composers Benedict Randhartinger and Gottfried von Preyer.¹⁴ The premiere performance of Randhartinger's score occurred on the greatest Christian feast day, the Pentecost, in 1844 in the Church of Saint Trinity, and artists of the Vienna Opera House participated. In October of 1844, the same choral ensemble, with Austrian conductor Joseph Griebel, performed Preyer's Liturgy for the first time in the Church of Saint George. The Serbian Metropolitan, Josif Rajačić, a church representative of all Orthodox citizens in the Habsburg Monarchy, presided over these liturgies while Greek and Russian priests also participated.

¹⁴ The Greek authors of four-part scores presented manifestos on new musical trends in the prefaces of their publications. V. PENO, *Orthodox Chanting in the Balkans*, 64-65.

Solemn liturgies in Orthodox temples were appraised by the Viennese press in German, Greek, and Serbian as culturally *par excellence*, but also as ecclesiastical and political events of ecumenical importance.¹⁵ The fact that apart from the «leading music figures of the imperial throne», almost all dignitaries of Vienna's social milieu – representatives of various nations and confessions – also took part in the celebrations of two Greek church edifices testifies to the achievements of the progressive current of the Greek diaspora. In contrast to the past when they enjoyed splendid Viennese musical spectacles mostly from the sidelines, they were now in a position to contribute to such events. Exposed to diverse and flamboyant musical impressions from Viennese theaters and public and private concert venues, members of the Greek and Serbian elite were imposed to make a comparison with what represented their own musical tradition.

Unlike the remarkable and voluminous sounds of organs and the voices of complex polyphonic arrangements which arose from the Roman Catholic temples, the traditional monophonic chants, often ornamented with nasal tones, seemed too simple and monotonous.¹⁶

In addition, the performing of chants by unskillful chanters, in case of the Greeks, and especially the Serbs, tainted the impressions of Orthodox church services in the Viennese milieu. Legitimate efforts to catch up with the European progressive tendencies at the time, but, above all, to become equal with the dominant peoples of the Habsburg Monarchy on the psychological plane, represented the main motives for the promoters of Greek-Serbian musical reform aimed at introducing multipart singing into church services. This is confirmed by the numerous written accounts. One of the striking examples of that kind were the responses addressed to Anthimus VI, Patriarch of Constantinople, who in 1846 sent an epistle from Fener to all Orthodox church communities in the diaspora asking for the proscription of unacceptable musical novelties.¹⁷

¹⁵ Anonymous, Beč. Na Voskresenije [Vienna. On Easter], *Peštansko-budimski skoroteča*, 27 (1844), 159; Th. M., O muzikalnom izobraženiju [On Musical Education], *Serbskij narodnij list*, 26 (1846), 202-206.

¹⁶ Writing on the «reforms» of church music in Greek Orthodox church communities in Vienna, Viennese physician Anastasios Pallatides noted that «the ancient monophonic music sounds monotonous», siding himself with progressive circles and pleading for the «melodic sonority of polyphony»; Anastasiou PALLATIDOU, *Ipomnima istorikon peri arhis kai proodou kai tis simerinis akmis tou en Bienni ellinikou sunoikismou, autoshedisthen aformi tis neosti genomenis metarruthmiseos tis ekkhhsiasitikis imon mousikis eis to tetrafonon* [Historical Fact about the Beginning and Progress and the Current Prosperity of the Greek Parishes in Vienna, Concerning the New Reform of Our Ecclesiastical Music], Vienna, 1845; P. E. FORMOZES, *Oi horodiakes ekdoseis tes ekklesiastikes mousikes se europaike mousike grafe stis duo orthodoxes elleneikes ekklesies tes Viennes* [Editions of Choral Church Music in the European Music Notation in Two Greek Orthodox Churches in Vienna], Thessalonike: B. Regoupoulos, 1967, 17-19, 22.

¹⁷ *Engkuklios Patriarchike kai Sunodike Epistole katargousa kai apagoreusa ten kainotomon eisaxin kai*

The members of community of the Church of Saint George in Vienna commenced their letter with the following words: «In this outstanding city we are settled in, all music is artistic and harmonious, in churches and theaters, in taverns or in the streets, and all its residents, young and old, natives and foreigners, those that are settled in the center or in the neighborhoods [...], and not only those generations born here, but also those that are coming across the Danube, tend to reject their old appearances in favor of novel ones: they are competing to look alike to the majority as much as possible».¹⁸ In the same year (1846), the magazine *Srpski narodni list* (*Serbian National Magazine*), published an article entitled «On Musical Education» whose author spoke to his compatriots in a similar vein, warning them about the necessity of taking part in contemporary European cultural trends: «Living here among culturally enlightened peoples, we are still attached to the old place and are slumbering, in the name of God. Everything around us swirls and progresses during time in the face of the world and God, while we are languishing in the darkness without moving».¹⁹ The author realized that introducing multipart singing which «delighted the hearts of Russians for a long time, and, from recent times, the hearts of Viennese Greeks as well» would contribute to establishing of musical aesthetical criteria among the Serbs on the level of Viennese and Habsburg milieu.²⁰

Listening the voices of the Orthodox flock in Vienna, and sharing its musical preferences, Serbian spiritual leader and ethnarch Josif Rajačić aligned with the progressive musical current in his words and deeds. Apart from the fact that he gave legitimacy to the multipart choral performances by having them participate in the most solemn festive liturgies, he also sent a letter to Fener in which he defended the newly established singing practice. To the Patriarch of New Rome, Anthimus VI, Rajačić highlighted the ecclesiastical motives which support such a practice. In a polemical tone, typical for Enlightenment thinkers, Rajačić pointed to the broader interests of Orthodox Christians in the world of progressive tendencies. Among them, «ecclesiastical» aesthetics, unfamiliar with the Orthodox spirit, held a prominent place. Similarly to many before him, the archpriest noticed that «chanting in their church communities seems strange to Greek and Serbian Orthodox Christians, habituated to the sounds of the theater», and, instead

chresin tes kainofanous tetrafonou mousikes en tes ierais akolouthiais ton apantachou orthodoxon ekklesion [The Epistle of the Patriarchy and Synod that Condemns and Proscribes the Introduction and Use of Four-part Music in the Services of Orthodox Churches] (En Konstantinoupolei: Patriarchikes tou Genous Tupografio, 1846).

¹⁸ Giannes FILOPOULOS, *Eisagoge stin ellenike polyphonike ekklesiastike mousike* [Introduction to Greek Polyphonic Church Music], Athens: Nefele Mousike, 1990, 22.

¹⁹ Th. M., On Musical Education, 203.

²⁰ *Id.*, 203-204.

of serving the purpose of uplifting the spirits, church chants hindered them. As a result, as Rajačić wrote, they either visited the church services at the chapel of the Russian Consulate in Vienna where they could hear polyphonic choral works, or they stopped going to church, while younger believers took themselves to taverns and entertainment venues. The point was the following: the flock should be motivated and attracted to the church, and the new musical practice represented a powerful tool to do this.²¹

In the Serbian case, the so-called «*harmoničko notalno pjenije*» (harmonic notated singing) was itself a consequence of an already-achieved change which had moved the national culture – initially only in the northern parts, and later also in the areas south of the Sava and the Danube – firmly along another, European civilizational path. In comparison with the traditional monophonic church chanting practice, the introduction of multipart choral singing into the Serbian Church was a multifaceted ambition. The interest and the receptivity of the majority of the Transdanubian Serbs to the new, European sound, which was brought by multipart choirs, should be sought in the fact that, for centuries, monophonic church singing barely survived in church services. Moreover, it was not exemplary at all; it was reduced to a simplified and modest melodic repertoire. Finally, in comparison with these aspects of singing in the Serbian Church, which would remain the enclave of national and Orthodox identity throughout the 19th century, the introduction of multipart choral ensembles could appear as a revelation of true «*toržestvo*» (celebration) and «*blagoljepije*» (spiritual beauty). The new liturgical experience had nothing in common with the impressive Byzantine type of ritual, which had been embedded into the mediaeval Serbian liturgical consciousness. However, it is a fact that this awareness was inexorably fading, due to the tragic conditions under which the Serbian Church existed during the Ottoman enslavement and, later, under the influence of the new type of so-called baroque ceremony imported from Russia.

There is no doubt that the popularity of four-part church music works renewed the interest in the traditional monophonic chant. Patriarch Rajačić played an essential role in fostering both traditions. It was him who strongly supported the young Kornelije Stanković, the first educated Serbian musician trained in Western European theory, harmony, and counterpoint, who was, in a way, chosen to be Serbian Randhartinger or Preyer.²² In other words, Rajačić as a Serbian spiritual

²¹ Archive of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Sremski Karlovci, MP-A 293-1848, Josif RAJAČIĆ, *Svjatijejšemu vostočnija pravoslavniija Cerkvi Patriarhu Konstantinopolskomu Antimu v Požunje* [To the Holy Patriarch of Constantinople of the Eastern Orthodox Church]; P. E. FORMOZES, *Oi horodiakes ekdoseis*, 26.

²² Vesna PENO – Goran VASIN, *The Birth of the Serbian National Music Project under the Influence of*

and political leader in the Habsburg Monarchy, in cooperation with influential representatives among the Transdanubian Serbs, as well as with the church and laity in the Principality of Serbia, participated in a specific national musical project headed by Kornelije Stanković. His two scores of the «Serbian Folk Divine Liturgy»,²³ with traditional monophonic Serbian church chants in the soprano line,²⁴ were broadly sponsored, while Rajačić's mentorship and suggestions guided his work in the realm of collecting different chants.²⁵ By transposing traditional Serbian monophonic chants for the first time into European staff notation, the links with the Byzantine neumatic system were formally interrupted. It was, along with other cultural phenomena, a confirmation that the Serbs distanced themselves from the Eastern cultural sphere, choosing to become a «visible part of the West». However, the Serbian nation will become more alienated from its Orthodox roots in the Western world, drawing less and less inspiration and vital force from Eastern Christian identity.

For the romantic composer Kornelije Stanković, just like his fellow 19th-century artists, Orthodox Christianity was primarily a part of national projects and policies, while its theological aspects were of secondary value.²⁶ Believing that «our people with their chants stand high above others [...], he strove to create a universal church chanting for the whole Orthodox Christian world. This idea was permanently on his mind».²⁷ Moreover, Stanković clung to the same ambitions as those of Greek chanter Ioannes Chaviaras, expressed earlier. Both of them were certain that their work would transcend the boundaries of the Orthodox Chris-

Diplomacy, in: *The Tunes of Diplomatic Notes. Music and Diplomacy in Southeast Europe (18th–20th century)*, eds. Ivana Vesić – Vesna Peno – Boštjan Udovič, Belgrade: Institute of Musicology SASA, 2020, 37-52.

²³ Both of Stanković's works were performed with Josif Rajačić's blessing. According to the testimony of the composer himself, one of his Liturgies was sung on Easter in 1851 in a Greek church (it is not stated which one), in the presence of Patriarch Rajačić and a mass of believers, «Greeks, Russians, Serbs, and Germans». Members of the Vienna Opera House took part in performing as was the case with the premieres of Randharinger's and Preyer's works in Greek churches. It was also a cultural and social event of great significance in the multinational capital of the Habsburg Monarchy.

²⁴ The same compositional principle was also applied by Randhartinger and Preyer in their works.

²⁵ Vesna PENO, Jednoglasni zapisi crkvenog pojanja Kornelija Stankovića [Kornelije Stanković's Monophonic Records of the Church Chant], in: *Tradicija kao inspiracija. Naučni skup Vlado S. Milošević – etnomuzikolog, kompozitor i pedagog* [Tradition as Inspiration. The Scientific Symposium Vlado S. Milošević – Ethnomusicologist, Composer, and Pedagogue], eds. Sonja Marinković – Sanda Dodik – Dragica Pantić Kašanski, Banja Luka: Akademija umjetnosti u Banjoj Luci, Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Republike Srpske, Muzikološko društvo Republike Srpske, 2015, 199-210.

²⁶ Miodrag JOVANOVIĆ, Srpsko crkveno slikarstvo i graditeljstvo novijeg doba [Serbian Church Painting and Architecture of Recent Times], Beograd – Kragujevac: Kalenić, 1987, 148; M. JOVANOVIĆ, Kriterijumi srpske crkvene umetnosti [Criteria of Serbian Church Art], *Zbornik Matice za scenske umetnosti i muziku* 15, (1994), 11-15.

²⁷ Fedor DEMELIĆ, Kornelije Stanković, *Letopis Matice srpske* XXXIX (1865), 210.

tian world, becoming a basis for Pan-Christian liturgical musical practice. While Chaviaras believed that the traditional Byzantine chant in a four-part choral arrangement could evoke deep remorse among the non-coreligious, Kornelije's aim was «not only to show to the foreigners that we also have an artificially created chanting, and that our church musical heritage stands on a par with the rest of Europe [...]. He wanted to overcome certain religious obstacles through his work by opening the doors of his creative temple to all Slavs in order to revitalize the lost unity». «If I happen to actualize my idea», Stanković wrote to his future biographer, «our church chanting – whenever it comes, sooner or later – will certainly leave a mark on the West; because their church music is declining rapidly».²⁸

At the time when Chaviaras and Stanković were trying to accomplish their plans, Christian heritage and faith in an embodied God still represented a value per se, but, as it was already noted, in the new approach to life, ethical questions such as «What should be?» were given primacy over the metaphysical question of: «What is?».²⁹ From this perspective, the strivings of two representatives of Orthodox peoples in Vienna seemed entirely transparent. The church represented for them, as well as for their contemporaries, and particularly for intellectuals, primarily a secular institution whose role was to organize the spiritual, but also cultural life, and a space where confessional divisions could be overcome through musical and visual expression, together with a profound dogmatic schism between Orthodox Christians and Roman Catholics. Neither the «Greek» Liturgy of Chaviaras-Randhartinger or Nikolaidis-Preyer, nor its «Serbian» counterpart written by Stanković, were sung by foreigners in their Roman Catholic temples to praise the Christian God.³⁰ «Harmonious» multipart singing did not make Orthodox Christians glorious, as Chaviaras and Stanković were assured, nor had it «led to the remorse of foreigners, who were unjust to Orthodox Christians, approaching them with sarcasm and devious thoughts».³¹ However, it did bring, either in theory or in practice, the rising above the cultural inferiority complex, but also the expansion of pseudo-religiosity and pseudo-ethnophyletism – two aching wounds in the modern spirituality of Orthodox world.

²⁸ *ID.*, 207, 212.

²⁹ G. FLOROVSKI, *Ways of Russian Theology*, 316.

³⁰ Like Kornelije Stanković, Ioannes Chaviaras was also certain that Greek multipart singing would play a missionary role. See: P. E. FORMOZES, 40.

³¹ *ID.*

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Sažetak

Pravoslavna crkvena glazba na razmeđu srednjoeuropske i mediteranske kulturne baštine

Pojava «nove» – četveroglasne zborske glazbe umjesto tradicionalnog monofonog pjevanja u pravoslavnim grčkim i srpskim hramovima u Habsburškoj monarhiji sredinom 19. stoljeća bila je višeznačna kontroverzna kulturna pojava. Koliko su god Srbi i Grci nastojali ne biti ovisni o bečkoj kruni po pitanjima vjerskog identiteta i općih nacionalnih vrijednosti, njihove su zajednice nosile reformatorski potencijal na polju nacionalne kulture u cjelini, a prije svega na području glazbe. Usvajanje glazbenih navika europskoga glazbenog centra, što je Beč oduvijek bio, podjednako se očekivalo i u privatnom i u javnom životu, no ipak, moderne glazbene tendencije u pravoslavnom bogoslužju nisu na isti način primljene kod Srba i kod Grka u dijaspori. Štoviše, glazbene su inovacije povod za raspravu u srpskim i grčkim crkvenim i kulturnim krugovima, a postale su i tema o kojoj su se razmjenjivala oprečna mišljenja između crkvenih vođa srpskog i grčkog naroda. U ovom članku argumenti *pro et contra* za četveroglasnu zborsku glazbu u grčkoj i srpskoj pravoslavnoj crkvi analizirali su se uglavnom sa stajališta društveno-političkog i teološkog diskursa, uključujući dva fenomena koja su ozbiljno ugrozila sam entitet pravoslavne vjere. Prva je pojava etnofiletizam, koji je od bizantskog do modernog doba postupno dijelio jedinstveno tijelo pravoslavne crkve na takozvane «nacionalne» crkve vođene vlastitim, gotovo političkim interesima, često u suprotnosti s interesima drugih sestrinskih crkava. Drugi je fenomen vesternizacija «pravoslavne duše», koja je nastala kao rezultat nebrojenih napora pravoslavni teoloških vođa da obrane pravoslavnu neovisnost od rimokatoličkog prozelitizma. «Babilonsko ropstvo pravoslavne crkve», kako je govorio Georgije Florovski, započelo je kada su pravoslavni teolozi počeli primjenjivati zapadnjačke teološke metode i pristupe u očuvanju pravoslavne vjere, a poglavito u crkvenom obrazovanju.

Na taj su se način nove kulturne i društvene tendencije koje su zahvatile Europu nakon pokreta reformacije i protureformacije usvojile bez kritičke promišljenosti među pravoslavnim narodima, a posebno među predstavnicima pravoslavne dijaspore na Zapadu. Promatrano iz ovog opsežnog konteksta, četveroglasna glazba u pravoslavnim crkvama u Austriji jedan je od mnogih različitih zahtjeva koji se postavljaju ljudima u stranoj zemlji, u tuđem i u često neprijateljskom okruženju, kako bi se asimilirale njezine vrijednosti koje su u ovom slučaju povezane s usvajanjem glazbenih praksi.

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