Abstract: Scenes with musical instruments in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine art encompassed the regions of Asia and Europe influenced the painting of Orthodox peoples made for Serbian rulers on the art of Bulgarian and Romanian soil. Musical instruments, which were present on the miniatures, mosaics, sculptures and frescoes in the early times, in time were submitted to some changes, simultaneously with compositions on which they were presented.

Ancient and early Christian thematic with scenes of organs, diaulos, transverse flutes, salpinxs, various types of castanets and crotales, cymbals, drums and small drums, harp psalteries and harps, in the later period are changed with new themes – only some of them were fostered, primarily those connected with King David and his life. In the most typical later compositions, *The Nativity of Christ*, *The Day of Judgment* and *The Mocking of Christ* can be considered a richer selection of musical instruments is on the scenes *David and the musicians*, on the illustrations of the 150. *Psalm* and *The Mocking of Christ*. String instrument (lyra, psaltery, harp psaltery or harp) is often in David’s hand, while musical instruments on the scenes of *David and musicians* and on the illustrations of the 150. *Psalm* mainly depended on the text of David’s psalms and the time in which they are painted. The most typical for *The Mocking of Christ* are long wind instruments – horns, buisines or S-trumpets – and above all a drum-tapan, one of the most characteristic instruments of the Balkan region.

Monumental and solemn, Oriental in character and faithful to tradition, Byzantine art conveyed the thoughts of theologians and commented on words spoken and sung in religious services. In colours that intensified irreality, on golden or blue background, without a central perspective, painters depicted objects devoid of weight and human figures adopted from antiquity, in dignified poses and with measured gestures.

Encompassing the regions of Asia and Europe, from the 4th to the 6th century it was characterized by Hellenistic illusionism and expressive portraits on mosaics in Saint George in Thessaloniki and Saint Vitale in Ravenna. Neoclassicism was the basis of Macedonian dynastic art. The classical style of the Middle Ages, the spiritual style of the Comnenus dynasty featuring elongated and slender figures, was represented on 12th-century monuments in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, Nerezi, Djurdjevi Stupovi, Bačkovo, the Palatine Chapel in Palermo, Basilica San Marco in Venice, in Torcello… It was the monumental style of Mileševa, Sopočani and Morača.

Byzantine and post-Byzantine styles, the latter continuing to exist after the fall of the Byzantine state, left their marks on east European Orthodox art, but also on the art of many Asian countries. From 1450, enriched by west European medieval and Renaissance influences, it developed in the 15th century on the territory of Poland and the Ukraine, in Crete and Cyprus, and in the Balkans (Kastoria, Ohrid, Saint Nikita, Poganovo; Dragalevci, Konstantin and Jelena in Ohrid, Boboshevo…). The following century was marked by

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1 The text is part of a book entitled *Musical Instruments of Medieval Serbia in a Byzantine Setting*, which is being prepared for printing.
the painter Theophan and “the Cretan school”, as well as that same school in Meteora, Zorzis in the Holy
Monastery of Dionysiou, painters of the catholicon in Dochiarou, as well as on the island of Ioannina, and in
addition to them, Georgios and Frangos Kontaris, Frangos Katelanos… The region of the southern Balkans,
the Greek islands and Asia Minor were also encompassed.2

In addition to the influences of Constantinople and local tradition, 14th and 15th-century Cretan
frescoes were influenced by the Italian Gothic that was most frequently manifested on objects and garments,
while musical instruments most often remained in Byzantine tradition.3

Our starting point, when examining musical instruments on Byzantine pictorial monuments, was the
fact that they are an element of a work of art, so they do not have to be represented faithfully in all scenes.
For this reason we are forced to settle for their belonging to particular families of instruments, without
insisting on details. Being a link to the ancient world, between the East and the West, i.e. Asia and Europe,
Byzantine artists fostered not only ancient themes associated with polytheistic gods and demigods, but also
Christian themes, in which musical instruments also had their place.

Tracing from the 3rd and 6th, but primarily from the 11th century, the abundance of scenes illustrated
with musical instruments in Byzantine miniature painting, as well as on reliefs in ivory, on mosaics and
frescoes, we come across ancient and Christian themes. In the art of Domitilla’s Catacombs (3rd century) we
discover Christ-Orpheus with a panpipe, on a relief from Theodosius’ obelisk in Constantinople (6th century)
we find a music scene attended by Theodosius and his courtiers, while the miniatures feature, in addition to
the temples of Athena and Apollo, namely the Temple of Apollo in Delphi and the Temple of Apollo with
Golden Statues, representations of The Nativity of Christ, Zeus, Rhea, Orpheus, the Bridal Scene and
Naumachia.4 Byzantine masters immediately began presenting a large number of instruments, which could
have been, on the one hand, under direct ancient influence of, or on the other, imported from the Orient.

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2 Bibliography (selection): Gabriel Millet: Monuments byzantin de Mistra, Paris 1910; idem, Recherches sur
l'iconographie de l'Évangile au XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles d'après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macédonie et du Mont

Louis Bréhier, La sculpture et les arts mineurs byzantins, Paris, 1936; Виктор Никитич Лазарев, История
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moyen âge, Paris, 1966; Underwood, Kahiye Djami. 1. 2, New York, 1966; John Beckwith, Early Christian and
Byzantine Art, London, 1970; Tilman Seebass, Musikdarstellung und Psalterillustration, Bern, 1973; Fivos Anoyanakis,
Greek Popular Musical Instruments, Athens 1979;

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Transfiguration à Velsista (1568) en Épire, et l'atelier des peintres Kondaris, Ioannina, 1989;

Miltiadis-Mílos Garídis, La peinture murale orthodoxe (1450-1600), Athènes, 1989; Museum Exhibits. Museum

3 Míliadís-Mílitos Garídis, La peinture murale orthodoxe (1450-1600), Athènes, 1989, 37.

4 Athena’s Temple (Codex Taphou 5, fol, 100 r, Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem), Temple of
Apollo in Delphi (Codex Taphou 5, fol, 101 v, Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem), Temple of
Apollo with Golden Statues (Codex Taphou 5, fol, 102 r, Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem), The
Treating this ancient and other secular themes, they painted the organ, diaulos, salpinx, rattles, a type of castanets and crotale, cymbals, drums and small drums, string instruments, harp psalteries, harps, lyres, buisines and transverse flutes. Certain instruments, belonging to the same family, were represented several times. They include rattles, castanets, cymbals, small drums, string instruments, harp psalteries, buisines and transverse flutes. The reasons for this could be manifold – linking certain instruments to the cult of certain gods and other mythical figures, possible local influences, copying of existing models…

Christian themes illustrated with musical instruments, which soon pushed the ancient ones into the background, were fostered at the same time, primarily those connected with King David and the psalms, Gregory of Nazianzos, legends attributed to John of Damascus, the Book of Job… On a silver tablet dating from 610-629 we perceive on a relief representing David’s Wedding two shawm players who frame the composition on the left and right side, a position later taken by the heralds in The Mocking of Christ, who also play wind instruments (horns, buisines or S-trumpets). In certain manuscripts, such as The Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (1066-1081), the text itself mentions the performing of music: Now the shepherds are playing pastoral melodies on their syrinxes. Their music flows through the trees and the rocks, carried away by the winds. Syrinxes or panpipes are mentioned in this quote and, in addition to the syrinxes, the miniature also depicts a transverse flute player. We can trace such discrepancies between the text and the music throughout the subsequent development of Byzantine musical instruments. The importance attached to music in the early period of the development of musical instruments, namely in the 11th century, can also be perceived in the representation of two statues – one is depicted with a spear and shield and the other with a fiddle and bow, symbolizing the unity of might and art.

The death-trumpet was already represented on 11th century miniatures in the hands of king Ioasaph’s brother; in a later period it would be played by the angels on the portrayals of The Day of Judgment. The
Feast of Job’s Sons and Daughters in the House of the Eldest Son (Job 1:13), with organs and dancers, was interpreted as a kind of house ensemble, a dance or theatre scene.

Only scenes portraying Miriam and David would be more widely represented later on. Miriam’s Dance with crotales was portrayed in the second half of the 9th century, while two miniatures with Miriam’s Song and Dance date from 1274, each of them shows four female figures – in the first, two players beat cymbals and the third a drum, while the two central ones dance; in the second one, all figures are shown in an ecstatic dance, with a kind of rattle (tupim, resembling a bone, which had not existed in earlier cultures, but today is used in Africa and India) and cymbals. It is believed that the Apollonian and Dionysian principles are perceived in the opposing still and moving figures of dancers. There are no major differences in depicting the dance of the Israelite girl either.

Among early Byzantine miniatures whose theme was carried over into the centuries to come, we should mention the one showing King David surrounded by musicians. David as a Liturgist, as well as Psalms 137 and 150, was among the compositions portrayed in the 11th century. It was not customary in Byzantine art to illustrate Psalm 150 with the representation of King David alongside a flock of sheep, like on an 11th-century miniature. Nonetheless, this is not the only case – other scenes were also often compositionally different in later paintings.

Eleventh-century instruments illustrating Christian content corresponded to the ones depicted on miniatures with an ancient theme – rattles, cymbals, string instruments, psalteries, bisesines and transverse flutes, but their number increased, which is evident owing to the lutes, harps, double pipes, panpipes and portative organs.

The description of the cosmos (the history of the world) according to Cosmas Indicopleustes was illuminated in the 11th and 12th centuries: four angels blowing into typical Byzantine short horns symbolize the four sides of the world or the four winds, perhaps even “the harmony of the world” or the creation of music. On the miniatures of the Serbian painter Andrija Raičević, Cosmas Indicopleustes (1649) – created thanks to Mojsej, prior of the Trinity of Pljevlja, who commissioned it – is decorated with a different instrument, the lyre, in the scenes from David’s life, showing Hellenistic influences.

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10 Cod. gr. 3, fol. 17 v, St. Catherine’s Monastery Library.
11 Joachim Braun, op. cit. 323.
12 Athos, Pantocrator 61.
13 Cod. gr. 61, fol. 235 v, St. Catherine’s Monastery Library.
14 This characteristic instrumental group can be seen in Codex Vaticanus 747, fol. 90 v from the 11th century as well as in Codex Vaticanus 746, fol 194 v from the 12th century, cited from: Joachim Braun, op. cit. 324.
15 Joachim Braun, op. cit. 324.
16 Paris grec. 139, fol. 5 v from the 10th century.
17 Rom. grec. 699 and Rom. grec. 752, fol. 5 r and 7 v.
18 Codex Taphou 53, fol. 203 r, Library of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem.
Musical instruments on monuments up to the 12th century point to a certain break with ancient tradition – both in terms of the subject they illustrate and in terms of the represented types. Sacred scenes replaced secular ones; horns of extremely large dimensions, huge bows used to draw on instruments with small bodies and harp psalteries all disappeared, while horns of animal origin, castanets and crotales were being represented less and less. However, lutes, buisines, horns, string instruments of diverse shapes and others confirmed their existence.

In the history of musical instruments depicted on Byzantine pictorial monuments, the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries, on the one hand, point to a kind of complete mastering of the previously used themes and to new subject matter, and on the other, to the more frequent presence of compositions which would be constantly portrayed.

In addition to the scenes that were illuminated with musical instruments (Miriam’s Song and Dance, The Book of Job…), events related to Jesus Navin were also depicted. The accepted theme that would be fostered in post-Byzantine art as well was reduced to the frequent repetition of scenes portraying The Nativity of Christ, The Day of Judgment and The Mocking of Christ, and later on other themes from the cycle of the Passion of Christ (Cavaliers with Pilate) and those related to King David and the Apocalypse. Illustrations of Psalters, that is, scenes referring to King David and the psalms introduced a certain variety, as did compositions related to the Archangel Michael, The Romance of Alexander the Great, The Ark of the Covenant, The Parable of Dives and Lazarus, The Wedding at Cana and The Parable of the Prodigal Son, Apocalypse and The Betrayal of Christ.

In the period from the 12th to the 14th century, the The Day of Judgment scene in Torcello (12th century) featured horns, similar to the Chilandari horns (ca. 1303), while the scene of The Nativity of Christ in Kurbinovo (1191) featured a transverse flute (?). The shepherd-flutist was depicted more often in the second half of the 12th century.

Instruments in the composition The Mocking of Christ in St. Bogorodica Perivlepta (1295) in Ohrid – a long horn which is similar to buisines in shape, a long buisine, a drum similar to a tapan and cymbals – represent particular patterns that would later be painted in the churches and monasteries of Serbian rulers. Another instrument that can also be added to this group is a small instrument resembling a pipe or oboe from Saint Nikola in Markova Varoš near Prilep (1298-1299).

Instruments belonging to these families in the Byzantine cultural circle often cannot be defined with certainty. Both churches – St. Bogorodica Perivlepta and Saint Nikola in Markova Varoš near Prilep, as well as other Greek churches feature another iconographic characteristic: the heralds do not overarch the composition to the left and right like in the churches and monasteries of Serbian rulers; they are placed in those same positions but are level with Christ. While on the monuments of Serbian rulers the players of long
instruments are among a host of faces surrounding Christ, in Saint Nikola in Markova Varoš they are situated in the upper zone, above him.

While at the beginning of the 14th century, Serbian monuments depicted horns, whose elegance is similar to that of buisines, and other wind instruments that can belong to both families, buisines in 14th-century Crete and Dečani (1335-1350) were long, without a prominent bell, similar to tubas.

In the 15th century, musical instruments were embraced not only by icons, but primarily by the art of churches in the Peloponnesus and Cyprus. Interesting are the details in The Mocking of Christ in Saint John Lampadistis and Saint Herakleidios in Cyprus (second half of the 15th century). The players of buisines, like all other figures, are smaller than Christ and situated in the host surrounding him, like in other Greek churches. It seems that in this composition the details are simplified, so that the types of musical instruments are reduced in number as well, but the number of buisines is increased to four – two on the left and two on the right side of the central figure of Christ, like in the Serbian monastery Piva (1604-1606).

It is characteristic that certain post-Byzantine masters of the 16th century followed tradition (even in terms of musical instruments, horns were still depicted in Greek art, even at the time they began to fade slowly from Serbian, Bulgarian and Romanian monuments), while others departed from it, both in the shaping of figures and the colour, yet continued to foster established iconographic models. Some musical instruments that were painted underwent slight changes, others drew closer to Renaissance instruments or were influenced by the Greek region, and there were even cases where both Renaissance and folk influences were identified. We can trace a strong relationship between instruments from one composition to another in the same monument, and a similarity between instruments represented in different monasteries.

On the icon The Nativity of Christ that is glorifying in character and features a choir of angels created in the period of the Palaeologi, in the 15th and 16th centuries the musical instrument remained conventional (it was the shawm or pipe), but in scenes in the Varlaam Monastery in Meteora dating from the 16th century both traditional and folk and Renaissance influences are visible. The icon The Nativity of Christ from the 17th-18th century in the Church of Bethlehem in Jerusalem is unusual: instead of the shepherd holding one instrument, as would be expected, two instruments are depicted – bagpipes and a pipe or shawm.

However, this does not mean that no new musical instruments appeared in churches and monasteries alongside the changes to composition and style. The scene Cavaliers with Pilate from the monastery of Saint Nikolaos Philantropinon in Ioannina (before 1540), in which the trumpeter playing the S-trumpet is on a horse, did not appear in the paintings created for Serbian rulers. In the same monastery we find obvious Renaissance influences not only in the portrayal of the S-trumpet but also in the representations of a string instrument and lute, while buisines and psalteries, although more massive than before, are closer to tradition

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20 In the New Treasury of St. John the Theologian Monastery in Patmos (M. Chatzidakis, Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Art, Athens, 1985, 133).
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(on the composition *Praise Ye the Lord*). The same scene, *Cavaliers with Pilate*, has certain interesting features in Saint Nikolaos Magaliou in Kastoria (1505). Namely, two dancers (?) of small stature, similar to those from the scene *The Mocking of Christ*, are situated in the upper zone, above Christ, which is not where they were situated in the composition *The Mocking of Christ* (one is holding a handkerchief in one hand, and a horn /?/ in the other, while the other is holding handkerchiefs in both hands).

Regardless of the fact that the shepherd-musician in the Church of the Transfiguration in Veltsista (1568) wears a western hat, he is closer to the shepherds in the old catholicon of Meteora (the Church of the Transfiguration), as well as those in Leskoec (1461-1462). In the same church, the scheme of the composition *The Mocking of Christ* follows a corresponding scene from Varlaam (16th century) and Balkan monuments of the Palaeologi epoch (Lesnovo and Nagoričino, but in these monasteries the string instruments that are frequent in post-Byzantine monuments are missing). Frangos Kontaris enriched the scene that had been adopted by the Cretans and painters from north-western Greece: it is a face with hands hiding the eyes and a child playing a tambourine, which are elements of the Palaeologi epoch in the monasteries on the island of Ioannina, in Stavronikita, Lavra and Dionysiou. The same can be said for the young man beating cymbals on the right side of the composition – he can be found in the monastery Philantropinon, as well as on monuments in Athos. An equivalent of this scene is in the nearby monastery Saint Demetrios.

A special group of painters whose scenes feature musical instruments belong to traditional painting from Athos with frequent portrayals of *The Day of Judgment* and *The Mocking of Christ*. The connection with tradition is reflected in the heralds that are depicted in the crowd surrounding Christ in these churches as well, in the portrayals of the horn in the scene *The Day of Judgment* in the monastery Dochiarou which corresponds to the Chilandari horn from ca. 1303, and of the buisine, similar to the one from Dečani (1335-1350), in the refectory of the monastery Lavra, as well as in the relatively long buisines with a prominent opening in Dionysiou and even those akin to the one in the Church of Our Lady in Studenica (1568), represented on a compositionally similar scene in the monastery Dochiarou. Triangular harps from the monastery Dionysiou in the *Apocalypse* scene had already appeared on the illustration *David Writing out a Psalter* in the *Munich Psalter* (1370-1390), and later on also in the compositionally similar scene *The Praise of Lord*, depicted in the Bulgarian monastery of Trojan (first half of the 19th century). The painted instruments in Stavronikita are closer to the Middle Ages than the Renaissance and seem to show direct influences on the scene *The Praise of Lord*.

22 Ibid., 68-69.
A miniature from 1503 representing King David carving an instrument, probably a violin, with a knife has unique content.\textsuperscript{23} Although containing elements of Byzantine tradition, the illuminations are close to 15\textsuperscript{th}-century Venetian style, but they could also have been the work of a Cretan master.\textsuperscript{24}

Musicians in the scene \textit{The Wedding at Cana} (16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} centuries) in Morača (1577), Hopovo (1608), the monasteries of Saint Menas in Monodendri (1619-1620) and of the Transfiguration in Dryovouno (1652) do not occupy the same positions: while they are closer to the guests in Morača and Hopovo, in Greek monasteries they are in the upper zone, above them, as if in a gallery, and they are unusually large.

Looking at the development of musical instruments in Byzantine and post-Byzantine art overall, we perceive that the basic concept of the majority of scenes remained traditional, without greater changes, but the details, including musical instruments, were subject to modification. Thematic enrichment can be also traced to monuments in the Byzantine region: it was achieved by masters commissioned by Serbian rulers in the Church of Our Lady of Ljeviška in Prizren (1307-1309) on the \textit{Sticheron for the Feast of the Dormition of the Theotokos by John of Damascus} and the lives of saints (\textit{St. George on Horseback}, 1644-1654; \textit{The Life of St. Luke} in the monastery Morača, 1672-1673), and they also existed in Bulgarian and Romanian art.\textsuperscript{25}

Translated by Jelena Nikezić

\textsuperscript{23} Codez Taphou 86, fol. 195 r; \textit{Psalter and Odes}, 1503.
\textsuperscript{24} Joachim Braun, op. cit. 320.
\textsuperscript{25} In Bulgarian art these are historical, or rather, war scenes from the \textit{Manasses Chronicle} (Cod. Vaticanus slav. II) from 1345, while in Romanian art they are \textit{The Legend of St. George} (the monastery of Arbore, 1541), \textit{The Dance of Salome} (in the Church of Sfintului Gheorghe, Cimpulung Mușcel, 1717 and others), \textit{Samson and the Lion} (the Church of Cuhea Maramures , 18\textsuperscript{th} century), \textit{The Sacrifice of Abraham} (the Church of Balcești, Craiova, 18\textsuperscript{th} century), \textit{The Death of a Righteous Man} (the monastery of Slatina, 18\textsuperscript{th} century).