The Kalophonic Settings Of The Second Psalm In The Byzantine Chant Tradition Of The Fourteenth And Fifteenth Centuries

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THE KALOPHONIC SETTINGS OF THE SECOND PSALM
IN THE BYZANTINE CHANT TRADITION
OF THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

By

ARSINOI IOANNIDOU

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Music in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York
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ABSTRACT

THE KALOPHONIC SETTINGS OF THE SECOND PSALM
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Arsinoi Ioannidou

Adviser: Professor Anne Stone

The kalophonic settings of the second Psalm emerged in music manuscripts of the Byzantine Empire during the early fourteenth century and were long considered the exemplary specimens of their kind, yet no scholarly study has ever examined the reasons behind their significant production, purposeful usage and abrupt vanishing, two centuries later, from the church repertory. In this dissertation, I explore the historical and political circumstances of the Palaiologan period (1261-1453) that determined the creation and usage of these settings as an artistic propagandistic vehicle that glorified the image of the emperor. The politics of imitation of Christ by the imperial figure was supported by the messianic message embedded in the psalmic text. In addition, the prolific compositional production of the greatest composers of the period, often commissioned by the emperors and the church authorities, is testified to by the abundant creation of kalophonic settings for every verse of the psalmic poem. The direct association of this music with the imperial office is such that the vanishing of the latter in 1453 compromised the survival of the former in the performing repertory of the Office of Great Vespers. The musicological part of my study focuses on all three types of musical settings - simple, florid and prologue with kratema - which are illustrated with eighteen examples of music,
in complete pieces or in excerpts, chosen from twenty music codices. Where needed, I have cited and provided quotes from performance practice commentaries and contemporary music treatises to enhance my analytical approach. Similarly, I have analyzed compositions of the same psalmic verse(s) by different composers for comparative purposes, and I have identified two hundred fifty-seven concordances of all types of musical settings. I have transcribed all the melodies into Western staff notation and have provided the original Byzantine notation as it appears in the manuscripts with the Psalmic text written in Greek language below the staves. The results of this musicological study finally confirm the variety of the settings and the claims that the musical settings of the second Psalm are indeed the quintessential specimens of the kalophonic style.
Στον αγαπημένο μου δάσκαλο βυζαντινής μουσικής κ. Ιωάννη Τσελεπιδάκη για την σημαντικότατη συμβολή του στο έργο μου.
Και στον μονάκριβο γιό μου Ορέστη για όλες εκείνες τις ώρες που αφιέρωσα στην ολοκλήρωση αυτού του έργου και όχι σ’ εκείνον.
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract .................................................................................................................... iv
Table of Contents ..................................................................................................... viii
List of Tables ............................................................................................................ x
Music Examples ....................................................................................................... xii
Appendices ............................................................................................................. xiii

Introduction ............................................................................................................ 1

Chapter 1: The Kalophonic Style
1.1. Introduction ....................................................................................................... 13
1.2. Features of Kalophonic Style ........................................................................... 14
1.3. Historical Background to the Development of Kalophonia ......................... 20
1.4. Kalophonia in the Manuscript Tradition ....................................................... 28
1.5 Kalophonia and Music Notation .................................................................... 36
1.6. Decline of the Kalophonic Style .................................................................. 41

Chapter 2: The Second Psalm in the Byzantine Tradition
2.1. Introduction ....................................................................................................... 44
2.2. The Secular and Monastic Rites Before 1204 ............................................. 50
2.3. The Second Psalm Settings in the Cathedral and Monastic Rites
   Until 1204 ............................................................................................................. 55
2.4 The Office of Great Vespers and the Second Psalm Settings ....................... 59
2.5. The Second Psalm: Its History, Interpretation and Usage in the Byzantine
   Tradition ............................................................................................................. 65
2.6. Historical Background 1261-1453 ................................................................. 71

Chapter 3: The Kalophonic Settings of the Second Psalm
3.1. Introduction ....................................................................................................... 76
3.2 The Musical Settings of the Second Psalm .................................................... 88
3.3. The Simple Settings ...................................................................................................91
3.4. The Florid Settings ................................................................................................111
3.5. The Prologues with *Kratemata* ........................................................................146
3.6. Summary ................................................................................................................152

Conclusions ..................................................................................................................158

Music Examples ..........................................................................................................160

Appendices ..................................................................................................................200

Bibliography ..............................................................................................................246
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1:
Psalmody Structure of Great Vespers (Sunday Vespers of Great Feasts) in the 14th-15th Centuries ..............................................................................................................4

Table 2:
The Technique of Anagrammatismos or Textual Reworking and the Melismatic Elaboration of the Words ..............................................................................................................18

Table 3:
Comparative Chart of Contents between Codices Messinensis Gr. 161 and EBE 2458 ....................................................................................................................................................33

Table 4:
The Diatonic Scale in the Three Systemata .................................................................................................................................82

Table 5:
The Fourth Plagal Mode ............................................................................................................................................................96

Table 6:
The Modes of Second Plagal and Nenano ..................................................................................................................................107

Table 7:
The First and First Plagal Mode .................................................................................................................................................109

Table 8:
The Fourth Mode ........................................................................................................................................................................129

Table 9:
The Mode of Protobarys ..............................................................................................................................................................131

Table 10:
The Third and Barys Modes .......................................................................................................................................................132

Table 11:
The Mode of Legetos ..............................................................................................................................................................133

Table 12:
Modal Variances of Koronis' Piece Across Five Manuscripts .........................................................................................................135

Table 13:
The Nana Mode ........................................................................................................................................................................143
Table 14: 
The *Barys Diatonicos* Mode ........................................................................................................149

Table 15: 
Modal Statistics of Florid Settings by Composer .......................................................................154

Table 16: 
Structural Statistics of Florid Settings by Composer ..............................................................155
MUSIC EXAMPLES

Example 1. "Διαγγέλων τὸ πρόσταγμα Κυρίου." Koukouzeles in EBE 906 f.29v.

Example 2. "Διαγγέλων τὸ πρόσταγμα Κυρίου." Anonymous (Παλαιόν) in EBE 2444 f.30r.

Example 3. "Ὡς σκεύη κεραμέως συντρίψεις αὐτούς." Korones in Filotheou 122 ff.60v-61r.

Example 4. "Ὡς σκεύη κεραμέως συντρίψεις αὐτούς." Stylianos in EBE 2401 f.68r.

Example 5. "Ποιμανεῖς αὐτούς ἐν ραύδῳ σιδηρᾷ." Sgouropoulos in EBE 906 ff.30v-31r.


Example 7. "Οἰ κρίνοντες τὴν γῆ." Kladas in EBE 906 f.32r.

Example 8. "Ἰνατί" (echema). Koukouzelis in EBE 2406 f.295r.

Example 9. a) Καμπάνα (Bell). Gregorios Domesticchos in EBE 2406 f.17v.  
    b) Τρουμπέτα (Trumpet). Kladas in Sinai 1252 f.60v.


Example 13. Variants on verse "Ἰνατί." Korones in EBE 2406 ff.293r-293v.


Example 16. "Ἔγω σήμερον γεγένηκά σε." Manuel Chrysaphes in Iviron 1120 ff.139r-140r.


Example 18. "Ἰνατί" (Prologue). Koukouzeles EBE 2406 f.329r.
APPENDICES

Appendix A. List of Manuscripts with Kalophonic Settings of the 2nd Psalm.

Appendix B. Consulted Manuscripts.

Appendix C. Music Concordances.

Appendix D. Text of Psalm 2.

Appendix E. Index of Composers with Kalophonic Settings of the Second Psalm in Byzantine MSS.

Appendix F. Composers’ Dates and Relationships.

Appendix G. Theophanes the Greek ca.1330-1410.

Appendix H. Koukouzelian “Wheel” in an 18th-Century Manuscript.


Appendix J. Chant Commissioned by the Emperor in Chrysaphes’ Autograph, Mount Athos Monastic Community Libraries, Iviron 1120 f.139r.

Appendix K. Modal Signatures and Fthorai.

Appendix L. Interval Signs.

INTRODUCTION

The Byzantine musical tradition from the end of the Latin occupation of the Fourth Crusade (1204-1261) to the fall of Constantinople (May 29, 1453), also known as the Palaiologan period, is characterized by the emergence in the written sources of *kalophonia* or kalophonic chanting, which translates as “beautified chant.” In developing the kalophonic style composers expanded the centuries-old centonization technique of composition and began an unprecedented practice of free melismatic compositional technique that decisively changed the more moderate musical style of the previous period.

The kalophonic settings of the second Psalm are considered by scholars to be especially exemplary of that style. Edward Williams declared that the kalophonic chants for the second Psalm performed at the Office of Great Vespers established a musical style unknown in any previous body of Byzantine chant, while Gregorios Stathēs claimed that the verses of the second Psalm are the kalophonic verses *par excellence*. The additional repertory that the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm enjoy in the service of Great Vespers supports these claims. More

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1 Palaiologan is a name taken from the last name (Palaiologos) of the last dynasty of Byzantine emperors.

2 “The technique of musical composition in Byzantine chant consists of juxtaposing and linking a number of modal formulae which are manipulated by the composer.” See Edward Williams, *John Koukouzeles’ Reform of Byzantine Chanting for Great Vespers in the Fourteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 391.

3 According to the Jerusalem Typikon or Typikon of St. Sabas, which became the basic rule for the Greek Orthodox religious services from about the thirteenth century onward, Great Vespers were to be celebrated on the eve of every Sunday and on the eve of the feasts of the Lord.

specifically, although the second Psalm is sung in conjunction with Psalms one and three, certain music manuscripts transmit an additional repertory for the second Psalm during the Office of Great Vespers.

The aim of the present study is to place the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm in musical, liturgical and historical perspective and to provide a convincing answer to the question of their “enigmatic” existence.\(^5\) By addressing this scholarly lacuna, I am adding to our knowledge of the developmental stages of the Byzantine ecclesiastical chant during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as well as to that of the chant’s politico-historical context. For such an endeavor, my research follows an interdisciplinary approach, embracing the disciplines of liturgiology, theology, music paleography and history for a full understanding of the subject under study. The main reason for this approach is that Byzantine ecclesiastical music cannot be studied in isolation from its cultural context, historical milieu, theological / philosophical connection, and liturgical functions.

My study concludes that the kalophonic settings for the second Psalm were composed and used as music "filler" for the extended schedule of the newly created Office of Great Vespers. The Psalm was carefully selected from the rest of the Psalms to be sung in this new Office because of its traditional position as a Psalm recited or chanted (typically in Vespers) according to the monastic rite tradition, and also because of its messianic message and direct association with the emperor. Under the Palaiologoi, the propagandistic image of the emperor was that God had predestined him for imperial power. The emperor was God’s imitator (\textit{mimetes Theou}) and scriptural texts and images were used to promote the emperor’s figure as the Lord’s

\(^{5}\) Williams, \textit{John Koukouzeles’s Reform}, 262-263.
Anointed One.⁶ From this perspective, the kalophonic repertory of the second Psalm was in essence a musical portrait of the emperor and was directly related to the politics of the ruler to imitate Christ’s character as King, a socio-political tendency known as Christomimetic rulership.⁷ The second Psalm’s variety of musical settings, the volume of settings attributed to named composers and the evidence from the manuscripts’ concordances attests to their promotional usage, prominence, validity and performance in the context of the Office of Great Vespers during the Palaiologan period.

Table 1 shows the occurrence of the second Psalm (see II. and IV.) in the service of Great Vespers according to the written sources:

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TABLE 1

PSALMODY STRUCTURE OF GREAT VESPERS IN THE FOURTEENTH-FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

I. The Prooemiac Psalm (Psalm 103)

II. The First Stasis of the First Kathisma (Psalms 1, 2 and 3)

III. Doxology of the First Stasis

IV. Kalophonic Repertory for Psalm 2

V. The four Psalms of Light (Psalms 140, 141, 129 and 116)

The kalophonic settings of the second Psalm in the Byzantine chant tradition emerged in music manuscripts beginning in the early fourteenth century and were produced continuously until roughly the mid-fifteenth century and the collapse of the Byzantine Empire in 1453.

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8 The liturgical day starts in the evening of the previous day and therefore, Sunday vespers are celebrated on Saturday evening. See Williams, *John Koukouzeles’ Reform*, 85.

9 According to the monastic rite, the Psalter is divided in twenty sections or kathismata. A single kathisma contains groupings of (one to five) Psalms called staseis and each stasis consists of one or more Psalms. For example the first stasis of the Greek Psalterion comprises Psalms 1, 2 and 3:

: Stasis 1: Psalms 1, 2, 3.
Kathisma 1= : Stasis 2: Psalms 4, 5, 6.
: Stasis 3: Psalms 7, 8.

10 All references to Psalms by number are following the Septuagint (LXX).

11 EBE 2458 is the earliest music manuscript (dated March 4, 1336) that transmits the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm. There are numerous subsequent music manuscripts that record this repertory until roughly the end of the fifteenth century. Beyond the collapse of the empire there are fewer and fewer music manuscripts transmitting this repertory until the beginning of the nineteenth century and the codex EBE 3014 ca. 1800. For a descriptive catalogue of these manuscripts, see Diane H. Touliatos-Miles, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the*
These settings are exemplary instances of kalophonic composition for several reasons: the predominance and frequency of the settings in the music sources, their proliferation in terms of kinds of settings and composers’ production, their direct connection with the newly created service of Great Vespers, and their association with the historical and cultural milieu of the Palaiologan era.

The period from 1261, when Emperor Michael VIII re-conquered the capital from the "Latins," until the final fall of Constantinople and the empire in 1453, is one of major historical and political developments as well as cultural changes. These socio-political developments and shifts of power were inevitably reflected and manifested in the arts. For example, iconography of the emperor in the thirteenth century emphasizes the angelic nature of the ruler and thus reflects his divine appointment and earthly omnipower. A century later and only outside the Byzantine territories, where the image of the emperor had become increasingly weak, artists portrayed Christ with the imperial costume, reflecting in this way the power shift from the royal court to the patriarchal throne.  

There are four groups of Psalm settings that received kalophonic treatment during the period under study. Two of these groups are found in the morning Office of Orthros (Matins and Lauds) and the other two are found in the evening Office of Hesperinos (Vespers). They are described by musicologists as "large units" because the Psalms that they contain have been set to music in their entirety. On those grounds, they are considered "through-composed" settings as opposed to just a few verses from a Psalm, as is the case for the remainder of the Psalms, the

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musical settings of which can be found scattered all over the Orthodox Eucharistic Liturgies and Divine Offices.

More specifically, in the Office of Orthros, there are two units: the so-called Polyeleos (τό ἔλεος αὐτοῦ - His mercy), comprised of Psalms 134 and 135; and Amomos (Μακάριοι οἱ ἁμομοὶ ἐν ὅδῷ - Blessed are the blameless in the way), which is Psalm 118, the longest one of the Psalter. These Psalms have been studied in doctoral dissertations by Achilleus Chaldaiakeš ¹³ and Diane Touliatos, ¹⁴ respectively. Chaldaiakeš investigated the Polyeleos unit in a number of music codices dating from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century, i.e., in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine periods. Included in his monumental thesis are surveys of manuscripts, liturgical books, composers’ attributions and analyses of the melodies using modern Byzantine notation over the neumes.¹⁵ Touliatos, on the other hand, limited her research to the Byzantine era, exploring the melodies transcribed in Western notation and the different uses of the Amomos in the various liturgical services of Byzantium. Both Chaldaiakeš’ and Touliatos’ investigations covered the usage and melodies of the Psalms under study at great length developing a methodology of research in Psalm settings and thereby contributing decisively to the further study of Byzantine chant.

As for the other two large units that occur in the Office of Hesperinos, the unit of Anoixantaria (Ἀνοίξαντος σον τὴν χεῖρα - and when thou hast opened thine hand), whose title is taken from verse 28b, has been partially studied by Edward Williams in his dissertation on the

¹⁵ Notational signs from Greek νέυμα (neuma) used in medieval manuscripts representing single notes, as well as groups of two, three and more.
reform of the Office of Vespers by Koukouzeles. His study also touched upon the subject of the kalophonic settings of the other large unit, called Makarios Aner, which is comprised of Psalms 1, 2 and 3. His approach to the latter unit is rather narrow owing to the limited number of sources and composers he considers. Therefore, a thorough examination of the unit is still pending.

In his dissertation as well as in a subsequent article, Williams examines the kalophonic treatment of the text and music of the second Psalm. His focus, though, is the corpus of the composer Koukouzeles, and he therefore takes no other composers into account; further, he based his conclusions on a relatively small number of manuscripts. As a result, a comprehensive survey of the kalophonic musical settings of the same Psalm by other composers based on a larger number of music sources still remains to be carried out.

Williams observed the additional florid kalophonic repertory of the second Psalm and commented: “The precise reason for the presence of these chants in the evening Office is unexplained in the rubrics of Akolouthiai and remains an enigma.” He also affirmed that “the kalophonic chants for the second Psalm performed at Vespers established a musical style

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16 Williams, John Koukouzeles’s Reform, 110-142.
17 The nomenclature of the aforementioned group of Psalms derives from distinctive words found usually but not necessarily at the beginning of the Psalm verses. More specifically, Polyeleos which in Greek means “much mercy,” was named after the repetition of the expression τὸ ἐλεός αὐτοῦ - His mercy, which appears several times in the text of Psalm 135. The word Amomos as a distinctive name for Psalm 118, the longest Psalm in the Psalter and therefore a large unit by itself, derives its name from the opening verse Μακάριοι οἱ ἄμωμοι ἐν ὀντίῳ. The “Anoixantaria” receive their names from verse 28b of Psalm 103 Ἀνοίξαντός σου... Finally, the Makarios Aner unit to which the second Psalm belongs was named after the opening verse Μακάριος Ἀνήρ of the first Psalm.
19 Akolouthiai are music manuscripts of the period in the form of anthologies that record the new repertory and the music of the Great Vespers. See chapter 1 for more details.
20 Edward Williams, John Koukouzeles’s Reform, 262.
unknown in any previous body of Byzantine chant."\textsuperscript{21} Such an evaluation only serves to confirm the critical need for explication of this repertory not only from the artistic point of view but also to determine the purpose of its placement in the Office of Great Vespers.

Gregorios Stathēs has also studied the predominance of the second Psalm settings in the Office of Great Vespers. He claimed that “the main kalophonic verses came from the second Psalm, Ινατί ἔφρυαξαν ἠθνη καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά.\textsuperscript{22} [Wherefore did the heathen rage, and the nations imagine vain things?] either as they are or as they are treated by anagrammatismoi,\textsuperscript{23} focusing on either the first verse or on any other verse of the Psalm. Always, all the verses from the second Psalm were used as kalophonic text.”\textsuperscript{24} Both Williams and Stathēs mention that certain Akolouthiai transmit an additional repertory for the second Psalm for reasons still unknown to them. With the exception of Williams, who examined the anagrammatismoi of the Psalmic text and transcribed a number of musical settings of the second Psalm by Koukouzeles alone, no one has studied the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm. Furthermore, neither of these scholars attempted to place their subject in an historical or cultural perspective, and their approaches, although undeniably valuable and pioneering, are in principle strictly musical and service-related.

With the present study, I will offer both the first comprehensive overview of the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm and also attempt to provide a convincing explanation of the unexplained presence of the additional repertory. In order to comprehend this musical phenomenon in its context, an interdisciplinary approach to the subject is imperative, as well as

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{21} Idem., 383.
\textsuperscript{22} Introductory verse of the second Psalm.
\textsuperscript{23} The rearrangement or change of word syntax of a Psalmic text.
\textsuperscript{24} Stathēs, Hoi anagrammatismoi, 134-135.
\end{flushright}
music analyses of all types of kalophonic settings from a wide selection of manuscripts by several composers.

Chapter One deals with the characteristics, origins, development and decline of kalophonia in order to demonstrate that the kalophonic style, and by extension, the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm in the Byzantine chant tradition were not an abrupt, sudden and secretive musical phenomenon that emerged unexpectedly in the music manuscripts of the early fourteenth century, but that they were the manifestations of an ongoing flourishing of a style at its zenith. Particular attention is paid to the embellished repertory of the previous period as a point of departure for the kalophonic style. In the process, the technical advancements of the preceding period, such as the modification of music notation towards a more analytical script, and the impact of the cultural and historical contemporary environment, which propelled the developmental progress of kalophonia, are discussed in some detail.

In Chapter Two, I consider the second Psalm settings in their liturgical and historical contexts. The use of the second Psalm in the different Church services according to the monastic and cathedral rites during the preceding chronological period and the final amalgamation of these two rites are also examined. My study of this development, which chronologically coincides with the kalophonic period in ecclesiastical music, reveals that the use of the second Psalm in Vespers stems from the monastic tradition, a position in the liturgical calendar that has been maintained to this day. The formation of the Office of Great Vespers, celebrated by itself or as the opening part of an All-Night-Vigil during the period under study, created the need for lengthy compositions with the purpose of covering musically its extended schedule. I suggest that the additional settings of the second Psalm fulfilled this requirement.
The prominence of the second Psalm settings for this Office is furthermore viewed from the perspective of its prophetic message and its potential for communal impact. It is an encouraging scriptural text that upholds faith in God and implies confidence in the emperor through the practice of Christomimesis. It most likely was intended as part of a strategy to unify the congregation in a period when public opinion was divided between either acquiescing to the papal throne or succumbing to Ottoman subjugation. This is not an unjustified supposition if we consider the level of social anxiety during this historical time when Michael VIII Palaiologos recovered the Empire in 1261, an empire that was by then irreversibly reduced to the city of Constantinople and some areas in the Balkans, Asia Minor and continental Greece.\footnote{For the territorial shrinkage of the Empire in 1261, see Jonathan Harris, \textit{Constantinople: Capital of Byzantium} (New York: Continuum, 2007), 176-177, and Donald M. Nicol, \textit{The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453} (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 15-16.}

In Chapter Three, I present all varieties of kalophonic settings of the second Psalm with musical examples by all composers selected from a large range of music manuscripts. I discuss the simple settings, the florid settings and the prologues with \textit{kratemata}\footnote{\textit{Kratema} or \textit{kratemata} (in plural) are extended melismas over syllables from the text and/or extended melismas over nonsense syllables called \textit{teretismata}. \textit{Kratemata} are either part of a kalophonic composition or music pieces that stand on their own.} and analyze their features based on examples from the repertory. An appendix offers a list of one hundred fifty-five music codices currently residing in thirty libraries worldwide.\footnote{See Appendix A.} From this list, twenty music codices have been consulted and eighty concordances of music settings identified.\footnote{See Appendices B and C.} The selection of the manuscripts is determined by their relevance to the topic under discussion, i.e., the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm in the Office of Great Vespers, the legibility of the melodies, the limited number of errors, and the input of new information about the subject. The frequency with which a chant appears in the music codices is considered important, since it is
indicative of having been consistently selected by its contemporaries as exemplary of its kind, discloses the popularity of the setting in terms of performance and usage, and reveals the necessity for preservation. Out of the eighty settings, I have selected twenty-four chants for analysis based on the number of codices in which they appear and their distinctiveness in terms of "unusual" modal treatment or melodic originality. In addition, I analyze and compare musical settings of the same verses from the Psalm by different composers in order to show each author’s personalized style and diverse musical treatment.

Comparison with non-kalophonic settings of the second Psalm from the preceding period is also included to facilitate our perspective of the music-historical advancement of the so-called kalophonic period. The stylistic divergence between the pieces of a pre-kalophonic and kalophonic setting is easily detected yet the melodic similarity cannot be missed. Since the melodies of the chant are constructed on the formulae specific to each mode, the melodic material between the two pieces (Music examples 1 and 2) is related owing their affinity to their common source, the formulae. Therefore, the composers of the kalophonic style founded their melismas on the conventional formulae of the preceding period. In general, the identification of melodic origins of a repertory is critical in order to contextualize a particular musical phenomenon. It adds to our knowledge of the source at hand, allows a systematic search for other concordances, and provides evidence of important structural or textual details and results in an awareness of stylistic and historical features.

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29 See my analysis of these two pieces in Chapter 3.
30 The valuable association with the earliest style has been demonstrated for much of the melismatic Communion chant repertory in the Akolouthiai by Conomos. See Dimitri Conomos, The Late Byzantine and Slavonic Communion Cycle: Liturgy and Music (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1985), xiii.
All analyses are based on transcriptions from Byzantine "Round" notation, a diastematic notation in use from ca.1150 to ca.1815, to Western staff notation. Modal and compositional analyses are made based on the elucidation of contemporary and modern music treatises, on the one hand, and on the analytical studies performed by modern scholars in the field, on the other.\textsuperscript{31} The transcription of melodies from an interval-based notation (Byzantine) to a notational system designed for specific pitch notation (Western) predictably results in a simplification of the musical material. Many details concerning the performance of the piece, implied by specific neumes or a combination of neumes, are lost once those neumes are transcribed to black-head notes. A case in point is the existence in Byzantine neumatic script of six different neumes to indicate the interval of an ascending second;\textsuperscript{32} those neumes were created to indicate a particular way of performing this interval, something taught only inside the tradition.

The aim of transcription of this repertory is not to substitute for the original notation but to create a methodological tool for a better understanding of the transcribed melodies. Given the "relative" or "digital" character of the Middle Byzantine notation, the reader can have only a "linear" or "dynamic" perception of the melody whereas with the "analogue" or "two dimensional" character of the Western staff notation a visual comprehension of the melodic line is assured.\textsuperscript{33} The results from the analyses finally confirm the variety of the settings and the claims that the musical settings of the second Psalm are indeed the quintessential specimens of the kalophonic style.

\textsuperscript{31} See my bibliography in the section of "Primary" and "Secondary" sources for the contemporary music treatises and the analytical studies by modern scholars respectively.

\textsuperscript{32} These are: oligon, oxeia, petasthe, kouphisma, pelaston and dyo kentemata. See Appendix L for their expressive quality.

CHAPTER 1

THE KALOPHONIC STYLE

1.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will summarize the features of the kalophonic style and then trace the emergence and flourishing of the style in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. My intention is to shed light on the provenance of the style’s unique characteristics and to put into perspective the occurrence of the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm in the written sources. I will argue that the surfacing of the kalophonic style in the musical codices\(^\text{34}\) was not an unexpected artistic phenomenon but a foreseeable musical development that had its origins in the melismatic repertory of the preceding period.

The historical and cultural circumstances that propelled the developmental stages of the style may be summarized as follows: the reclaiming of the Byzantine Empire from the "Latins" by the Palaiologan dynasty and the advancement of an artistic revival associated with the cultural ambiance of the city of Constantinople; the creation of new Offices in the Orthodox rite due to the fusion of two distinct liturgical traditions, monastic and cathedral (as, for instance, the newly-created Office of Great Vespers), which required new musical compositions functioning as a filler to that liturgical action; and the recent achievements in music writing with the final advent of a diastematic and therefore more analytical notational tool known as the "Round" or "Middle Byzantine" notation. This new notational script unquestionably facilitated the rapid stabilization of the new repertory and provided composers with a more refined tool to code their music works. Without this historical and cultural background in process, the developmental route of

\(^{34}\) See Appendix A for a list of manuscripts with kalophonic settings of the second Psalm.
*kalophonia* would not have been encouraged, just as, without the total collapse of the empire in 1453, its final and irreversible decline would not have been precipitated. In other words, as a style promoting the splendor of the imperial throne and reflecting the rebirth of Byzantium, *kalophonia* became outdated, and therefore, the production of new compositions and the performance of this style inevitably declined.

### 1.2. FEATURES OF KALOPHONIC STYLE

Until the advent of *kalophonia* during the early thirteenth century, there were essentially two distinct vocal idioms, syllabic and melismatic. The syllabic repertory comprises the styles of simple Psalmody, the *automelon/proshomoion* singing, the *heirmologion*, and the *sticherarion*. The *Sticherarion* is a collection of chants with their original melodies, also called *stichera idiomela*. These chants were intercalated between the two parts of the doxology and the last psalm-verses. *Stichera automela* are a few pieces found in the *Sticherarion* which can be used as model melodies for *contrafacta* or *proshomoia* singing. The *Heirmologion* is a collection of model melodies, also called *heirmoi*, to be used for the *troparia* of the *kanon* and is together with the *Sticherarion* the earliest chant collection that was furnished with notation. The melismatic repertory contains the styles of *Psaltikon*, *Asmatikon* and *Asma* and, from the thirteenth century, the kalophonic style.\(^{35}\) The *Psaltikon* comprises the soloist’s repertory that has its origins in the cathedral rite of Constantinople and the *Asmatikon* contains the choral tradition of the old cathedral rite of Constantinople. The *Asma*, on the other hand, is the solo melismatic music corpus cultivated and performed by professional virtuoso castrati in the cathedral of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople until 1204 and has survived only in a few south Italian manuscripts. All

\(^{35}\) See Troelsgård, *Byzantine Neumes*, 76-90.
styles from the melismatic repertory have their origins in the cathedral rite of Constantinople and major parts of their respective repertoires were absorbed by the Akolouthiai manuscripts where the mature kalophonic repertory was initially transmitted at the beginning of the fourteenth century. In other words, the synthesis of various elements from these three distinctive chanting styles made possible the creation of a new melismatic style, the kalophonic.

Regarding the actual performance practice, in the Orthodox rite, as far as is known today, the usage of polyphony and of musical instruments is prohibited. Yet, the existence of a second voice with the function of a “tenor” to hold a sustained note - essentially drone-notes - was particularly important; it existed very early in the melismatic Byzantine tradition and continues to exist to the present day. The isokratema, as the drone is called in the Byzantine tradition, was not conceptualized either to be a primitive form of polyphony or to play the role of a second voice. The drone-notes are practically pitch-guides functioning like a sonorous compass that monitors the soloists and choruses from modal deviation or pitch falseness. The drones never carried intelligible text as was the case in Western music, and remained always vocal.

36 Two known music composers of the fifteenth century, Ioannes Plousiadinos and Manuel Gazes, wrote a few pieces in a primitive kind of two-voice discant polyphonic style. Rubrics described one of them as "Διπλούν μέλος κατά τήν τῶν ἐλατίνων [sic] ψαλτικήν" (A double melody according to the chant of the "Latins"). The pieces were written in Byzantine notation, a script designed exclusively for monophonic compositions and thus inadequate for polyphonic or polyrhythmic music, which possibly made their performances extremely difficult. None of the pieces enjoyed wide and lasting transmissions and clearly they were isolated 'music experiments' by their authors. For details on the pieces and the composers, see Dimitri Conomos, "Experimental Polyphony, 'According to the 'Latins', in Late Byzantine Psalmody," Early Music History 2 (1982), 1-16.

37 The purpose of the bastaktai, tenors or holders of the ison, a sustained note, was to prolong the first note of the tetrachord or pentachord depending on the modal properties while the melodic ambitus of the chant was still that of the tetrachordal or pentachordal frame. Accordingly, when the melody was surpassing the ambitus limits by entering in a new tetrachord, the tenor had to chant and sustain the first note of the new tetrachord until further change. The harmonic sonority of the two voices was very important since the principal chanter or chorus knew, by hearing the drone sound, the exact pitch that he or they as chorus eventually
The arrival of the kalophonic idiom foregrounded three principal stylistic features in this melismatic repertory: the rearrangement or change of word syntax, called *anagrammatismoi*; the melismatic embellishment of the text according to which several syllables of the text receive as a rule more than one note; and extensive melismas over a syllable from the text, also called *kratemata* and/or *teretismata*, meaning “holdings,” which refers to holding a syllable from the text or interpolation of nonsense syllables like “te-re-rem” and “to-ro-ro,” etc., respectively, in the form of vocalization.

First, I present the text as transmitted in the Septuagint version of the Book of Psalms in order to show the original word syntax as it appears in the primary source. The Byzantine rite follows the Septuagint numbering, as far as the Book of Psalms is concerned. The Septuagint (LXX in Latin, or O’ in Greek, or 70 in Arabic numeration) is pre-Christian and the oldest translation of the original Hebrew scriptures into Hellenistic Greek, dated circa the third century B.C. The Septuagint Psalter encompassing 151 psalms remains untranslated from Hellenistic Greek and is in continuous usage by the Greek Church up to the present day.

had to return to. Its function was practically a sort of vocal guidance for the correct performance of the chant.

38 Stathēs, *Hoi anagrammatismoi*, 66-71. See example 4 for a kalophonic composition by Koukouzeles written in the oldest existing *Akolouthia* manuscript, EBE 2458.

39 For a concise and very informative account regarding the history of Psalms with an attached bibliography see Diane Touliatos, *The Byzantine Amomos*, 13-18. There are two different traditions of numbering the Psalms: a) the Greek Septuagint followed by Jerome’s Latin version of the Bible, the Vulgate, and b) the Hebrew Masoretic followed by the Protestant King James Bible. The Septuagint numbering slightly differs from that of Vulgate, the latter written around the late fourth century A.D. Their difference consisted of the addition of one more psalm to the Septuagint, Psalm 151. The Easter Greek Orthodox Church accepts Psalm 151 as canonical. The numbering of the two traditions are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Septuagint / Vulgate</th>
<th>Masoretic / Protestant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-8</td>
<td>1-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-112</td>
<td>11-113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>114-115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114-115</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Second, I give the text as it has been manipulated syntactically by the composer in order to show the various textual repetitions of words or groups of words and to highlight the extent of change in the word order of the original syntactical organization. The English translation in 1 and 2 is provided to facilitate the reading. Third, in the melismatic setting, I provide the prolonged version of words and syllables as they appear in the chant to show how the repetition of the vowels or syllable(s) in the text acquires additional music material. Last, in the kratema section, every syllable receives a note that makes this section the most florid of all.

In Table 2, examples are taken from EBE 2406 (ff. 296r-297r) a manuscript that records a textual reworking and the melismatic elaboration of the first verses from the second Psalm as a characteristic feature of the style.

116-145 117-146
146-147 147
148-150 148-150
151 (Septuagint only)

TABLE 2

THE TECHNIQUE OF ANAGRAMMATISMOS OR TEXTUAL REWORKING AND THE MELISMATIC ELABORATION OF THE WORDS.

1) Septuagint text:

'Ινατί ἐφρύαξαν ἑθνη, καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά;
Παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς,
καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπίτοιχο
catά τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ κατά τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Wherefore did the heathen rage, and the nations imagine vain things?
The kings of the earth stood up,
and the rulers gathered themselves together,
against the Lord, and against his Christ.

2) Textual reworking:

Ἐφρύαξαν ἑθνη καὶ λαοὶ
'Ηνατί
ἑθνη καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά
κατά τοῦ Κυρίου
ἐφρύαξαν ἑθνη καὶ λαοὶ
'Ηνατί ἐφρύαξαν
κατά τοῦ Κυρίου
ἑθνη καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν.

Wherefore did rage
the heathen rage, and the nations
heathen and the nations imagine
vain things?
against the Lord
heathen rage, and the nations
Wherefore did rage
against the Lord
the heathen rage, and the nations
imagine.

3) Melismatic setting:

'Ηναααααααααααααααααατί τι τιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτιοτiοt

4) Kratema:

'Ηνατι τι τι τι τι τι...τιριτι τιτι τι...τιτριτρι...τα τα τα
to summarize, kalophonic compositions are defined by textual reworking, melismatic
treatment of the text, and extended vocalizations. These features are essentially artistically-made
prolongation techniques on the composer’s part that demanded virtuosity from the performer and designed to cover musically the lengthy services.

Interestingly enough, two novelties that were introduced into the ecclesiastic repertory through the kalophonic style seem to render the sacred text incomprehensible to the listener: the act of kratemata that implies vocal music without words and anagrammatismoi as a textual reworking practice that disturbs the proper flow of the wording. On the face of it, the fact that the music becomes the "master" and the text the "servant" is puzzling, since these compositions were solely destined for church services in a rite where the clear and comprehensible delivery of the text was of foremost concern.

In the kalophonic style, the traditional melodies of the old repertory are mostly used as material for reworking. This practice placed these old melodies in the new repertory as the structural basis for new, extended, and more elaborate music compositions. The employment of old monophonic lines, a cantus firmus, as a structural basis for new pieces is also known in the West except that in that music tradition the new compositions were polyphonic. In the East, the monophonic ideal was preserved yet adjusted and transformed according to the innovative techniques of the new musical style. As a result, the kalophonic idiom with the application of various prolongation and embellishment techniques (e.g., the anagrammatismoi and the kratemata) applied on the traditional monophonic line created new, longer and more complex compositions, inaugurating simultaneously a new musical style.\footnote{Christian Troelsgård, “Tradition and Transformation in Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Chant,” in \textit{Interaction and Isolation in Late Byzantine Culture: Papers Read at a Colloquium Held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 1-5 December, 1999}, ed. Jan Olof Rosenqvist (Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute, 2004), 163.} In other words, the composers of the kalophonic style founded their melismatic elaborations on a common vocabulary of conventional formulae. However, the idiomatic writing by each composer based on this
vocabulary marks a crucial stylistic difference from the anonymous repertory of the previous period.\textsuperscript{42}

Hence, the continuation of producing solely monophonic compositions and the exclusion of polyphony and of instrumental accompaniment was a conscious choice and is based on the principle of the prominence of the text over the music. On the other hand, the rearrangements of the text as well as the extensive vocalizations confer prominence to the music over the text, and therefore mark a significant stylistic and aesthetic change in the Byzantine rite standards. This apparent contradiction is explained once we take into account the cultural transformations that took place during the Palaiologan period and see how these aesthetic changes were accepted and embraced as part of the tradition.

1.3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF \textit{KALOPHONIA}

By the year 1200 Constantinople was a thriving metropolis, the seat of an empire with a multi-ethnic population of around 500,000 people.\textsuperscript{43} Named as "Queen of Cities" (\textit{Βασιλεύουσα}) by its inhabitants, it was legendary for its flourishing trade, abundance of gold, silver and silks on display in the streets and numerous houses and palaces of colossal scale. Inside the city’s walls there were countless churches and monasteries of great beauty and priceless assets, among them an impressive collection of relics, a sufficient amount to credit the city as "holy." Visitors were astonished by the wealthy and powerful imperial capital that had no equivalent in the rest of Christendom in either size or splendor. Although Constantinople seemed as prosperous and secure as ever, internal conspiracies focused on claims to the throne weakened its diplomatic competence and made it vulnerable to its covetous fellow Christians. Exhorted by the Pope

\textsuperscript{42} Dimitri Conomos, \textit{The Late Byzantine and Slavonic Communion Cycle}, 89.  
\textsuperscript{43} Number of people taken from Harris, \textit{Constantinople: Capital of Byzantium}, 113.
Innocent III in the name of God, but sponsored by the bankers of Venice who had different objectives and ambitions, the Crusaders on their way to capture Jerusalem were diverted from their original purpose and sacked Constantinople in April 1204.\footnote{A very informative account of the city, exploring the complex interaction between the mythical and the everyday in Constantinople by the year 1200, may be found in Harris, \textit{Constantinople: Capital of Byzantium}.}

Devastation, destruction and looting halted any artistic development in the capital during the so-called Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204-1261), which was notorious for its instability and incompetence. Constantinople before 1204 was the wealthiest city in Christendom. However, the city suffered great physical damage at the hands of the crusaders. The city’s decline continued even after the sack during which several works of art including books and manuscripts were destroyed or simply vanished. Even the number of the population declined dramatically. From 500,000 inhabitants in 1203, only 35,000 were left when the Byzantines reclaimed the city in 1261.\footnote{See Thomas Madden, “The Fourth Crusade: A Tragic Misfire,” in \textit{Crusades: The Illustrated History}, ed. Thomas F. Madden (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 113.} The urban physiognomy of the capital was altered due to abandonment and destruction. Fires, earthquakes and reuse of building materials added to the devastation. Artists and craftsmen deserted the capital as they contracted commissions in other cities of the empire such as the city of Mistras in the southern Peloponnese or even in the Balkans to continue their line of work.\footnote{For more details on this subject see Vassilios Kidonopoulos, “The Urban Physiognomy of Constantinople from the Latin Conquest through the Palaiologan Era,” in \textit{Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557): Perspectives on Late Byzantine Art and Culture}, ed. Sarah T. Brooks (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2006), 98-117.}

The century that followed the end of the "Latin" conquest, the same century in which \textit{kalophonia} appeared in the musical sources, is described by modern scholars as a period of
revival, even as a "Renaissance." These suggestions are based on the fact that, once the last Byzantine dynasty of emperors, the Palaiologoi, reclaimed the city back from the western European invaders, they prioritized its rebuilding, restoration and monumental decoration. The refurbishment of buildings such as the church of Hagia Sophia and the palace at Blacherna, the creation of monumental church iconography, such as the Deisis mosaic inside the cathedral, and the development of the virtuoso micro-mosaic panels resembling the painted icon, illustrate this cultural revival. In the field of music, the emergence of the highly embellished kalophonic style stands among those artistic examples that created an atmosphere of rebirth and to some degree recuperated the prestige of Byzantium. This cultural revitalization with its own artistic idiom was prominent in the capital, and it was supported not only by imperial patronage but also by the active participation of the aristocracy as patrons, commissioners and recipients of works of art. This aristocracy promoted the renovation of various monasteries, commissioned the creation of illustrious manuscripts and sponsored various series of iconographic programs.


50 See Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, “Patronage and Artistic Production in Byzantium during the
In general, one may say that the Palaiologan period witnessed the last flourishing of the arts and sciences of the Byzantine era. The tendency of this period was to cultivate an artistic style characterized by the sophisticated visual representation of concepts and ideas based on theological doctrines, extravagance of materials used, exquisite decoration and monumental range. Traditional aesthetic attitudes were transformed in order to be made more intense, expressive, and dramatic. In his article regarding the aspects of architecture, space and narrative in the mosaics of Kariye Camii, Øystein Hjort concludes that the apparently absurd and pointless exceptional constructions in architecture are in reality expressive and contribute to the production of empathy and the creation of meaning.\(^{51}\) This art was not considered by its contemporaries as an act of radical change but as a revival and intensification of classical Greek culture.\(^{52}\) In essence, it was an effort to promote the stature of imperial Byzantium, to underline its cultural supremacy and concurrently to preserve the artistic accomplishments of the past.\(^{53}\)

In the century after the Byzantine emperors reclaimed the city in 1261, *kalophonia* became the new compositional style that dominated the ecclesiastical repertory. Beyond the artistic preeminence accrued from compositional novelties such as the impressive proportions of melismatic melodies and their demand for virtuosity, the kalophonic style was directly associated

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\(^{52}\) Deno John Geanakopoulos, *Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization Seen through Contemporary Eyes* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1984), 380.

with the victory of the imperial court and its success in recovering the capital, as with the re-
institution of the Byzantine rite in the cathedral.\textsuperscript{54} Eventually, it became a central ingredient of
the "Palaiologan revival," the last artistic effort to recuperate the damaged prestige of Byzantium.

Considering the artistic developments described above, my focus turns towards the field
of music in search of the manifestation of such trends in this particular discipline. The two
aforementioned features of the kalophonic style, the act of syntactical textual change,
anagrammatismoi, and the extended melismas over syllables from the text, kratemata (also
called teretismata, when nonsense syllables are used), contribute to the false notion that the
sacred text seems to lose its prominence over music. However, these features can be viewed as
an ordinary continuation of the tradition under a new aesthetic prism. In particular, if we take a
closer look at the music manuscripts, kalophonia is applied to a selective number of chants
dispersed through almost all church services including Vespers, Orthros,\textsuperscript{55} and the Mass.\textsuperscript{56} The
words and meaning of the Psalm texts set in music form part of the ecclesiastical standardized
repertory and thus were popular and well-known to the congregation. The educated listeners who
attended the lavish ceremonies and sacred services of important feasts in the cathedral of the
capital, frequently in the presence of the emperor, knew in advance the position of the Psalms in
the liturgical order as well as their words and implicit message. Therefore, the worshippers were

\textsuperscript{54} From 1204 to 1261, the Byzantine rite ceased to be performed in the cathedral of
Constantinople as well as in other big churches and monasteries around the capital.
\textsuperscript{55} The Byzantine Orthros is a combination of the Western Matins and Lauds. See Touliatos
\textsuperscript{56} For a detailed account of which chants or group of chants receive kalophonic settings see
Gregorios Anastasiou, \textit{Ta kratemata sten psaltikê technê} (Athens: Hidryma Vyzantinês
Mousikologias, 2005), 138-166. For dissertations and monographs that cover extensively the
kalophonic settings of genres of chants see the bibliographic entries under the names of
Chaldaikês, Conomos, Karankounês, Kritikou and Touliatos.
able to anticipate the already-established position of these chants in the liturgy, whether in morning or evening services and participants were on familiar terms with the text set to music.

Consequently, the act of anagrammatismoi and krate mata did not make the meaning of the words unintelligible and unclear, as it seems at first sight, but rather enhanced and intensified them through modification of text syntax and extravagant lengthy vocalizations. As with the other arts, the innovative role of music was not to obscure the text and its meaning but rather to transcend it, reaching another level of perception. As a style flourishing in Constantinople during the Palaiologan period, kalophonia was the quintessential musical match for its cultural milieu.57

Another development of the period was the amalgamation of liturgical practices between the hitherto separated monastic and cathedral rites. This fusion led to the formation of a "mixed rite" from which among other things, a new extended service was created, that of Great Vespers, celebrated on Sunday vespers (i.e., Saturday evening) and on the eves of great feasts. This service was performed both apart from Orthros and in combination with it to form an All-night vigil. Great Vespers as part of a vigil is described by Philotheos, Patriarch of Constantinople from 1353-1354 in his treatise Ordo sacri ministerii.58 This new Office demanded new lengthy music compositions to accompany the liturgical action and thus the extensive kalophonic compositions of Psalm settings sung in Vespers found in this new Office their suitable home.

Additionally, influential to kalophonia, not in its developmental process but rather to the way in which listeners and singers experienced the performance of the kalophonic chants, was the celebrated Hesychastic movement. Hesychasm was supported in the fourteenth century by an

57 An excellent account of the stylistic change in Byzantine music in the period under study is offered by Kenneth Levy, “Le ‘tournant décisif’ dans l’histoire de la musique byzantine 1071-1261,” in Actes du XVe Congrès International d’ études byzantines 1 (1979), 474-480.
58 Philotheos, Patriarch of Constantinople, Διατάξεις τῆς ἱεροδιανοιας (Ordo sacri ministerii), PG, CLIV, cols. 748-757.
Athonite monk, St Gregory Palamas, who sought a divine quietness (hesychia) through constant contemplative prayer. Although this concept has its roots in the fourth century, designating the meditative monastic way of life, in the fourteenth century it was mostly a theological view understood more as a pattern of thought, a set of procedures and/or an exegetical approach of religious texts rather than a prescriptive body of doctrine. In other words, "Byzantine Hesychasm was deeply rooted in the experience of the liturgy."

The sponsorship of the church services by the Imperial court and aristocracy all helped, along with the ambition of the clergy to reestablish the Byzantine rite in Constantinople, to create the fertile soil where the new style flourished and developed. Its appearance in contemporary music manuscripts as an already mature music style along with the lack of written sources to show in detail the process of stylistic change are problems that can be partly attributed to the consequences of the conquest of the capital by the Crusaders.

From 1204 to 1261, the Byzantine rite ceased to be performed in the cathedral and big churches of the capital. The Crusaders also looted Byzantium of many of its manuscripts. Music manuscripts that record contemporary ecclesiastic music are "missing" and none of the Byzantine copies of Ancient Greek musical treatises exist in present day Greece. Performers and composers fled to other parts of the Byzantine Empire to continue their creative course. It is not coincidental that the earliest sources that record proto-kalophonic compositions are of Italian-


Greek provenance from the thirteenth century. These sources preserve the repertory of the
Asma, the solo melismatic music corpus cultivated and performed by professional virtuoso
castrati in the cathedral of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople until 1204. In these music
manuscripts the word kalophonic is stated in the rubrics, and core features of the kalophonic
style are embedded in the melodies. As a result, these musical sources of the periphery trace the
stylistic change, a new musical phenomenon that matured in the monasteries outside of occupied
Constantinople, codified by diastematic notation, only to return with the Palaiologan dynasty and
thrive as "kalophonic style" in the capital.

In conclusion, based on the existing written sources, the kalophonic style was born in the
capital’s cathedral out of the Asma tradition. Being at the early stages of development, the
production and further maturity of the style was suspended by the impact of the Fourth Crusade.
At this stage it was transferred to south Italy, a region under Byzantine influence since the ninth
century. San Salvatore in Messina, a monastery where the important manuscript Messinensis Gr.
161 comes from, stood directly under the influence of the Hagia Sophia church as far as its
Typikon is concerned. Moreover, during the Norman period in south Italy (11th-12th centuries)
music sources bear witness to an increasing activity of Italo-Byzantine scribes and an interest in
importing manuscripts from Constantinople. Neil Moran has proposed that the disappearance

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62 See also Bartolomeo di Salvo, “Gli asmata nella musica bizantina,” Bolletino della Badia
64 The word ‘kalophoniko’ in this source (Messinensis Gr. 161) appears in the rubrics to
introduce the Asma repertory.
65 Typikon (Typika in plural) is a liturgical book which provides directions and rubrics for the
liturgies and the Offices for each day arranged according to the liturgical year. It was primarily
used as a charter in a monastic foundation containing regulations on the monastic way of life.
66 Donatella Bucca, Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali greci del SS. Salvatore di Messina
(Biblioteca Regionale Universitaria di Messina), (Roma: Comitato nazionale per le celebrazioni
del millenario della fondazione dell'abbazia di S. Nilo a Grottaferrata, 2001), lxiv-lxxiv.
of the castrati from the capital during and permanently after the Fourth Crusade created a vacuum in the performance of the early kalophonic chant tradition and inevitably caused an aesthetic change, because the type of music composed in the capital for the services of the cathedral was based on the latest musical, social and cultural circumstances.67

When the Greek Orthodox clergy claimed Hagia Sophia Cathedral back from the Venetians and resumed its ritual ceremonies, prominent composers influenced by the fusion of the already mentioned monastic and cathedral rites, as well as by the availability of performers in Byzantium at this time, composed music for the newly-created Offices, following and further developing the course of the kalophonic idiom. New books of the anthology-type were fashioned to host the melodies of the old repertory along with the current mature kalophonic compositions. And in these contemporary manuscripts of the early fourteenth century the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm appear to dominate the music for the service of Great Vespers, perhaps in an effort to emulate and preserve the remarkable performance practice tradition of the past in a new reality.

1.4. KALOPHONIA IN THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION

To judge by the date of the written music sources that contain kalophonic compositions, the peak of the kalophonic style can be dated between 1336, the year of the earliest manuscript that transmits this repertory, and the mid-fifteenth century around the final collapse of the Byzantine Empire. Nevertheless, the origins and possibly the early stages of this new musical style are to be found in the musical achievements of the previous period and more specifically in the repertory of the cathedral rite of Constantinople.

By revisiting the manuscripts in search of evidence for the genesis of the kalophonic style, some scholars have tried to locate its provenance as far back as the eleventh century or even earlier.\(^6^8\) However, although these compositions are fairly melismatic, they do not present those kalophonic features as described above. Some scholars agree that in the eleventh century we have the most important precedent of *kalophonia* based again on the fairly melismatic repertory as found in the first copies of the liturgical books, the *Psaltikon*, the book of the soloist, and the *Asmatikon*, the book of the choir(s).\(^6^9\) These two terms, *Psaltikon* and *Asmatikon*, are also used to designate separate music melismatic idioms that set their corresponding melodies stylistically apart. Each one of these distinct styles preserves a well-defined function and content of its own. Although these two books are mutually exclusive, both are essential to the proper conduct of the musical part of the cathedral rite as performed in the Hagia Sophia.\(^7^0\)

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\(^6^8\) In this early period there is abundant melismatic repertory but without those characteristics that define the kalophonic style. Some scholars even see a vague connection between kalophonia and any kind of melismatic repertory of the past. Palikarova-Verdeil has stated that the melismatic repertory of the Eastern Church is considered the immediate ancestor of *kalophonia* and can be traced even earlier around the ninth century. Her statement is based on the fact that those compositions found in the Slavic *kontakaria* are as embellished as those from the fourteenth century. In fact, these are manuscripts from the eleventh through thirteenth centuries which record Byzantine florid music borrowed by the Slavs in the ninth century. See H. R. Palikarova-Verdeil, “La musique Byzantine chez les Bulgares et les Russes (du IX au XIV siècle). *Monumenta Musicæ Byzantinae. Subsidia III*. (Copenhagen: MBB, 1953), 136. Moreover, at the beginning of the twelfth century, manuscript Sticherarion Grottaferrata E.a.XI dated in 1113, of Calabrian provenance, records melismatic compositions in paleobyzantine notation belonging to neither the *Psaltikon* nor *Asmatikon* repertory. However, as is the case with Slavic *Kontakaria*, these pieces, although quite melismatic, do not present any kalophonic features. See Clara Adsuara, “Remarks on the Structure of Kalophonic Stichera: A Working Hypothesis,” *Cantus Planus* (1995), 1-2.

\(^6^9\) See bibliography under the names of Oliver Strunk, Gregorios Stathis, Edward Williams, Kenneth Levy and Egon Wellesz.

as well as the usage of the so-called "asmatic syllables" ne, na, chi, and ou. These syllables are inserted in the vowels in order to support the melismatic passages and are in essence a technique adopted as well by the kalophonic idiom.

Since the kalophonic style came from the same melismatic tradition of the cathedral rite that was cultivated in Constantinople, it was natural for it to have integrated the aforementioned features as found in the melismatic repertory of the previous period and to have formed continuity with it to some extent. However, this assertion seems to be belied by the manuscript tradition. Manuscripts transmitting music representing the first break from tradition with the presence of proper kalophonic features in their early stages of development are all thirteenth-century sources that originated in south Italy: Messinensis Gr. 161, MS. Crypt. Γ.γ. IV, MS. Crypt. Γ.γ. VI, MS. Crypt. Γ.γ. VII, MS. Crypt. Γ.β. XXXVII, MS. Crypt. Ε.α. X. The first source was produced in the Scriptorium di S. Salvatore in Lingua Phari di Messina and is currently housed in the library of Messina University under the title Manoscrito Καλοφωνικόν PIA-161 del sec. XIII della Biblioteca Universitaria di Messina. The rest of the sources were created also in a monastic Scriptorium, that of di la Badia Greca di Grottaferrata and currently are residing in the library of that monastery in Calabria, Italy (Grottaferrata, Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale). These manuscripts preserve the compositions within the tradition of the Asma repertory, the solo melismatic music corpus performed in the Hagia Sophia Cathedral of Constantinople. By presenting a mix of melismatic and kalophonic features, and by using for the first time the word kalophonico in the rubrics, they support the idea that these pieces are indeed the immediate ancestors of kalophonia.71

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71 "See Bartolomeo di Salvo, "Gli asmata," 138-139."
In addition, their melodies were copied during the fourteenth century in the newly-created liturgical books along with the mature kalophonic-style compositions, a practice pointing to their musical connection in the minds of the scribes copying them. For our purposes, although no settings of the second Psalm are involved, Messinensis Gr. 161 is the most important manuscript since it is better preserved than the rest of the sources and features the earliest use of a word relating to kalophonia, kalophonico, to designate a new distinct music idiom, rich in melismas, of free rhythm, no tied to the meter of the text. Also, written in "Round" notation, a diastematic notation, and produced in a monastic environment, this manuscript is one of the earliest sources associated with the kalophonic repertory.

According to Clara Adsuara, in these manuscripts of the thirteenth century where the Asma repertory is transmitted, music compositions present melismatic ornamentation mixed with kalophonic musical features such as the interpolation of nonsense passages teretismata and kratemata with structural function, the word πάλιν (again) that introduces a shorter textual and melodic repetition of the previous section and the word λέγε (say), a textual linkage of different text and music in the same composition.

Therefore, irrefutably by the year 1300 A.D. there was a separate and well-defined melismatic musical genre in the Byzantine tradition with kalophonic features yet not fully developed. And it is the maturity of such features as the change of word syntax of the text,

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72 See Lorenzo Tardo, "Un Manuscrito Καλοφωνικόν del sec. XIII nella Collezione Melurgica Bizantina della Biblioteca Universitaria di Messina," Bolletino della badia greca di Grottaferrata 23 (1969): 172. This manuscript has the heading: Σύν Θεό καλοφωνικόν ἔρχομενον ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης μελωδίας, containing the beginning of the Hexapsalmos Psalm 142. For a complete annotated list of the contents of this manuscript See Bartolomeo di Salvo, “Gli Asmata,” 127-178.


sustained melismas over the text, and interpolated nonsense syllables that will finally define this genre as kalophonic.\textsuperscript{75}

Having discussed the sources where the direct early precedents of *kalophonia* can be found, we now turn the discussion to the principal sources of *kalophonia* in its mature stage as manifested in the fourteenth century. The new type of liturgical book variously called *Papadikai, Akolouthiai, Anthologia, Mousikon* or *Psaltikē Techne*, henceforth *Akolouthiai*, a term translated as Orders of Service, is the principal music source that transmits the kalophonic repertory. Since there is a striking resemblance in the order of services presented in the *Akolouthiai* with those in the Calabrian sources transmitting the *Asma* repertory, we may assume that the new type of book has its roots in the thirteenth century.\textsuperscript{76} The similarity, however, is limited to the order of presenting the material and less in the content, since the latter got eventually modified as a result of the final amalgamation of the monastic and cathedral rite traditions, a topic thoroughly discussed in the next chapter.

Table 3 shows in parallel only the common contents between Messinensis Gr. 161 and EBE 2458, a music codex dated to 1336 and currently residing in the National Library of Greece in Athens, thus far the earliest specimen of the *Akolouthia* type.


\textsuperscript{76} Bartolomeo di Salvo by observing the order of the chants in manuscript Messanensis Gr. 161 wrote the following: "Come potrá osservarsi, mancano ancora gli Ἀνοιχτάρια, che cominciano ad apparire nell’epoca cucuzeliana e che nelle Papadikai sono poste all'inizio del libro in conseguenza dell'inizio del giorno liturgico dal vespers del giorno precedente la festività." Bartolomeo di Salvo, "Gli asmata,” 140.
The table shows that the Office of Orthros and the position of the Eucharistic liturgy are the only common contents of the two codices. Great Vespers are missing from Messinensis Gr. 161, an indication that the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm were not included in the Asma repertory but are a product of the new "mixed rite" during the Palaiologan period. In other words, although the kalophonic style traces its genesis in the Asma repertory, the kalophonic settings of the second psalm are not directly connected with the Asma repertory but are a product of the Palaiologan period reflecting a new political and historical reality.

As far as its musical content related to the ecclesiastical services is concerned, both the Akolouthiai and the manuscripts from south Italy are collections of chants organized liturgically and not modally. In contrast to the books of Psaltikon and Asmatikon, which present a modal

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77 Data for this table are taken from Salvo, "Gli asmata," 128-137 and Touliatos-Miles, A Descriptive Catalogue, 171.
organization and are destined for different groups of performers, Akolouthiai contain an anthology of chants for Vespers, Orthros and the Liturgies with rubrics to cue the soloist(s) and/or the choir(s). Vespers and frequently Great Vespers is the first service of the day, and it is precisely in this service that the kalophonic musical settings of the second Psalm are recorded and disseminated.

Fundamentally, the Akolouthiai are compilations that comprise a merging of the three distinct repertories of the previous period, the Psaltikon, the Asmatikon and the Asma repertory. The Akolouthiai are not, however, simple copies and grouping of the above-mentioned music corpuses but in essence are the transferring and reworking of a large part of the old repertory into one volume with the addition of newly melismatic melodies analytically written by means of the "Round" notation. These music collections were produced in abundance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and a large number have survived to the present time. The majority of these manuscripts dated between 1336 and the 1450s reside today mostly at the National Library of Greece in Athens, in St. Catherine’s monastery on Mount Sinai, and at different libraries in the monastic community of Mount Athos in northern Greece. Additionally, these new anthologies are organized liturgically as far as their textual contents are concerned.

The Akolouthiai were considered by contemporaries not as books of musical reform but as books of codification, preservation, instruction, reference and embellishment. Quite possibly these small-size cathedral books were not meant for use in performance but to provide reference

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79 See the discussion below under the title Kalophonia and music notation.
80 Gregorios Stathēs has suggested that the number of surviving Akolouthiae of the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine periods is around 60. See Stathēs, Hoi anagmmatismoi, 111. See the bibliographies on the manuscript catalogs from Mount Athos, Mt. Sinai, Athens, Meteora and British Isles and my own list in Appendix A.
compendiums from which clergy and cantors could make selections according to local customs and needs. Instruction regarding the new analytical script, the "Round" or "Middle Byzantine" music notation, is another component of the Akolouthiai, since explanation of neumes, modal signatures, fithorai and training on the modes constitutes the standard introduction to the book (Appendix M). This educational element is indicative of the need arising during the Palaiologan period for preservation of the tradition and the call for improving the learning standards of the Byzantine chant.

Musical treatises from the same period that aim toward the clarification of the new notational signs and/or the approved way of performance practice also aspire to these objectives. For example, Manuel Chrysaphes, the Lampadarios in Hagia Sophia in the mid-fifteenth century, and a prominent composer, accomplished cantor and prolific author of musical manuscripts, assigned this descriptive title to his celebrated musical treatise: “On the Theory of the Art of Chanting and on Certain Erroneous Views that Some Hold About It.”

In conclusion, the contents of those manuscripts duplicated in subsequent copies are testimony to the significance of the Akolouthiai and their prevalent usage. They provide information on liturgical and stylistic changes, and a means to trace the transmission of the older repertory, i.e., the preservation, suppression, and revision of melodies according to local practice, occasion, and need. By preserving the melismatic repertory of the previous period along with the new musical achievements of the present, the Akolouthiai unquestionably meet the standards of the Palaiologan restoration.

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81 See the bibliography under "Primary Sources" for the treatises of Chrysaphes, Pseudo-Ioannes Damaskenos, Gabriel Hieromonachus and Anonymous.
1.5. **KALOPHONIA AND MUSIC NOTATION**

The stylistic change from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries was long and complex and neither the adiastematic "archaic" music notations nor the sum of the surviving music manuscripts can reflect every detail of the process. Certainly, the mature kalophonic style that surfaced in the early fourteenth-century manuscripts was not an unanticipated new musical phenomenon. The principally memory-aide music notations that transmit the melismatic repertory of the past, and which date roughly from the tenth century, are unable to give specific data to allow us consider this music material as the predecessor of *kalophonia*. The *Asma* repertory, on the other hand, was associated with the cathedral of Hagia Sophia and is regarded as the immediate antecedent of *kalophonia*, given that many features of the latter are already present. Regrettably, no music manuscript originating from the cathedral has survived after the siege of the city of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204. However, later dated copies that transmit this repertory may be found in the Eastern Orthodox diaspora of Italy and in other parts of the periphery of the Empire, such as the monasteries of Mount Athos and Mt. Sinai. At this point, a summarized historical retrospective of the Byzantine notations as found in the manuscripts of the tenth century until the period under study is crucial in order to comprehend the kind of relationship that exists between the notational changes and those in style and artistic idiom.

The oldest sources, dated in the tenth century, use two notational scripts to record ecclesiastical music. These so-called *Paleobyzantine* notations "Chartres" and "Coislin"\(^{83}\) were

\(^{83}\) "Chartres" was named because a manuscript which records this type of notation was found in the library of the city of Chartres (Chartres, 1754). "Coislin" was named because another manuscript with this type of notation was found in the National Library in Paris inside the "Coislin" collection (Coislin 220). Both notations are adiastematic which means that the neumes show direction but not the specific number of steps up or down. For more details on the subject
adiastematic and were developed in parallel routes until the first half of the eleventh century.

Both notations must have a common notational ancestor, unfortunately now lost, since they share a substantial number of neumatic signs. Constantine Floros has analyzed the evolutionary stages of "Chartres" and "Coislin" notations and has shown that both notations during their first four stages (meaning chronologically until 1050 A.D.) had a parallel course of development. He has also demonstrated that until then the tendency of both notations is towards a more explicit script, with the addition of new neumes or a change of usage and function of the existing ones. More specifically, he applied three criteria in order to reconstruct the various stages of technical development of the notations and the establishment of a chronology for the undated manuscripts. The criteria are: the number of syllables remaining without neumes, the form and manner of writing the neumes, and certain technical changes in the notation. By taking at face value these two adiastematic music notations we could suppose that the transcribed melodies are quite simple and entirely syllabic. In some cases there is even an absence of neumes over the syllables. But such a supposition is totally erroneous, since these notations were created to facilitate the memory of their users and not to code every single nuance of the melody. Therefore, the melismatic repertory of the Byzantine chant until the advent of the “Round notation” is stenographically recorded in the music sources by the "Coislin" or "Chartres" memory-aid scripts.


84 Idem., 30-31.
A table of signs (neumes) recorded on f.159r of the manuscript Lavra Γ.67 from the tenth century, coded in "Chartres" notation, offers some of the earliest written evidence that certifies the existence of stenographic-coded short melodies, the elucidation of some of which still remains in the realm of the oral tradition. This list of signs called melodemata, meaning "sort of melodies," attests that melodic phrases ciphered by a sign existed very early in the Byzantine chant tradition. For example, signs such as thematismos inner and outer (θεματισμός ὁ ἕω καὶ ἕξω) are melodic figurations that may combine from three to fifteen notes and are recorded in the manuscripts ciphered by the Greek letter theta written twice. Therefore, some melodic standardized phrases were coded by a sign rather than written out in an analytical manner, i.e., note by note.

Additionally, if we take into account that during this period of the first four stages of the "archaic" notations’ development there were in effect two different repertory types, syllabic and melismatic, it may be assumed that the repertory was stabilized and disseminated by way of oral tradition and the aforementioned "archaic" scripts (Chartres and Coislin) and therefore no further analytical written codification was needed until the eleventh century. However, the gradual abandonment of the old repertory in favor of a new music style or artistic idiom might have motivated such an invention for preservation purposes. In other words, the need for an analytical musical notation was triggered by the desire to safeguard the old repertoire from the danger of

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86Konstantin Floros, Η ἡλληνικὴ παράδοσις στὶς μουσικὲς γραφὲς τοῦ μεσαίονα εἰσαγόγε στὴνευματικὴ ἐπιστήμῃ: συνκριτικὴ παρουσίασι τῶν ἑστὶς ἱστορικῆς καὶ τεχνικῆς exelixēs tōn Vyzantinōn, tōn palaioslavikōn kai tōn latīnikōn mousikōn neumatosēmeiographiōn (Thessalonikē: Ζίτη, 1998), 128-129. Also Christian Troelsgård supports the idea that “the most primitive way of rendering Byzantine melodies proper in writing is the ‘Theta’ notation and related types. Basically speaking, this kind of notation is used to mark off places of melismatic ornamentation in otherwise syllabic or quasi-syllabic melodies.” See Troelsgård, Byzantine Neumes, 27.
87Stathēs, Hoi anagrammatismoi, 37 and 103.
obliteration since the majority of the music material was transmitted hitherto only through the oral tradition.\textsuperscript{88}

In the process, "Chartres" notation, which was the more stenographic-type of the two, disappeared. The "Coislin" notation kept expanding its stenographic character by introducing more neumatic signs and at its final stage of development certainly lead directly to the advancement of the "Round" or "Middle Byzantine" notation that was a far more accurately analytical script.\textsuperscript{89} With the advent of the "Round" notation in the thirteenth century, the tradition of coding melodic phrases did not vanish but evolved into the so-called "Great Hypostaseis" or subsidiary signs used for conventional groupings of notes and found in the kalophonic compositions of the Palaiologan period.

Consequently, the stylistic change or the genesis of the new style in the Byzantine chant tradition that took place around the twelfth century could not be documented by the contemporary adiastematic music notations, "Chartres" and "Coislin." Their scripts were not refined enough to permit the modern scholar to draw conclusions.

As a result of the earlier notations' inability to explicitly communicate details of melody, the emergence in the music manuscripts of a new style, \textit{kalophonia}, with a developed and analytically described melismatic repertory, is simply portrayed as a sudden and surprising occurrence. This assumption is based on the evidence from the surviving music manuscripts of the previous period (tenth-eleventh centuries) that lack information on specific details (stenographically written melodies) that could help us detect the change. For that reason, the kalophonic repertory analytically written in the music sources gives the incorrect impression of a large scale shift of composition from a syllabic repertory to a melismatic one. This is an

\textsuperscript{89} See Floros, \textit{Introduction to Early Medieval Notation}, 34.
erroneous view since melismatic repertories existed in the previous period but were coded stenographically. However, during the course of the twelfth century, in some of the folios of a few manuscripts, a notational experiment in the direction of the diastematic Middle Byzantine notation was attempted. The principle of step counting was introduced and by the middle of the century a major notational reform had taken place.\(^90\)

From this period on until the middle of nineteenth century, the "Round" or "Middle Byzantine" notation prevailed in the written sources that transmit the repertory of the Greek Orthodox church, only to be succeeded in 1832 by "the new method," a simplified script in use to the present day.\(^91\) The "Round" notation is diastematic and defines each tone in its relation to the immediately preceding one. In addition, it does not give directly any information on the size of each interval. The intervals' sizes, which are specific to each mode, were known to the composer/performer via his/her theoretical training. A crucial role, not in the genesis but in the advancement of the kalophonic style, was played by the application of this new musical notation ("Round" notation), because it is fully diastematic and allows the composers to codify in detail and thus to stabilize the new music material through writing.

Although the oral tradition was always present in the transmission and dissemination of Byzantine chant, even today (especially when we are referring to the different styles or \textit{hyphos} of performance practices),\(^92\) the written tradition had assumed, by means of this new notational

\[^90\] Troelsgård, \textit{Byzantine Neumes}, 29-30.
\[^91\] The reform was published in 1832 under the title ‘\textit{Theōrētikon mega tēs mousikēs}. See Chrysanthos of Madytos, \textit{Theōrētikon mega tēs mousikēs} (Trieste: Weis, 1832).
\[^92\] Alexander Konrad Khalil has made the central part of his dissertation the phenomenology of \textit{yphos}, which can be roughly translated as an expressive form of chanting which results from the chanter’s proper experience with multiple layers of remembered melody together with people and events associated with them. The author has showed that by chanting with and against these melodies, the chanter creates resonances which bring him into dialogue with psaltes of the past. See Alexander Konrad Khalil, “Echoes of Constantinople: Oral and Written Tradition of the
diastematic script, a more decisive role in the transmission and progression of a style.

Accomplished Byzantine composers of the kalophonic period such as Nikeforos Ethikos, Ioannis Glykes, Xenos Korones, Ioannis Koukouzeles, Ioannis Kladas, and Manuel Chrysaphes were not limited by the old stenographic signs and formulae of the archaic notations but had at their disposal a notation tool of unparalleled potential for music writing to codify and standardize their artistic creations. We may even cautiously assume that the mature lengthy kalophonic pieces could not be composed without an analytical notational script. As Kenneth Levy accurately stated, “the Round notation, emerging in the middle of our two centuries of change, is both the stern guardian of the past and the most powerful catalyst for the shaping of the future.”

1.6. DECLINE OF THE KALOPHONIC STYLE

After the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453, ecclesiastic musical production in the capital declined abruptly. The authorities of the Ottoman Empire commanded the closure most of the churches and the conversion of the cathedral (Hagia Sophia) to a mosque. It is indicative that a significant number of eminent teachers of church music such as Chrysaphes and Chalkeopoulos, among others active in Constantinople, took refuge in Crete, which was under Venetian domination. There they established the Cretan school of composers from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century.

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93 For more details on the creation of the ‘Round’ notation see Levy, “Le ‘Tournant Décisif’,” 480.
94 The fate of churches and monasteries of Constantinople after the Ottoman occupation is described by Harris, Constantine, Capital of Byzantium, 185-188.
95 According to the official Venetian proclamation of religious freedom, Concessio insulare Cretensis, facta per dominium Petrum Ziani, Ducem Veneciae, fidelibus suis Venetis, the Greek Orthodox population was free to continue to observe their faith although they had to follow the
For approximately one and a half centuries after the fall of the Byzantine Empire, the works of the kalophonic style were vigorously copied, for preservation purposes, in large numbers of manuscripts, and the teaching of theory and chanting remained active under the protection of the Church, an institution which survived the Ottoman occupation. The new historical reality inevitably generated a new stylistic change in post-Byzantine chant. The kalophonic repertory could not be performed anymore due to its demanding virtuosity, duration of performance, and large number of people involved. More to the point, as a style promoting the splendor of the imperial throne and reflecting the rebirth of Byzantium, it became anachronistic, and therefore, fewer new compositions in this music idiom were created.

Nonetheless, the kalophonic corpus remained and was remembered, according to the rubrics of prescriptions of the Latin Archbishop of Crete. See Maria Georgopoulou, "Late Medieval Crete and Venice: An Appropriation of Byzantine Heritage," The Art Bulletin 77.3 (1995): 480-481. 96 Crete became part of the Ottoman Empire as late as 1718. It was under Venetian rule since 1204 (Fourth Crusade). Two prominent composers-theorists active in Crete, Ioannes Plousiadenos and Akakios Chalkeopoulos, are the main representatives of the period 1453-1580. Demetrios Damias, Kosmas Varanes, Andreas, priest from Morontzanettes, and Antonios Episkopoulos are the representatives of the 17th century. See Touliatos-Miles, A Descriptive Catalogue, 171.


98 On important feasts of the ecclesiastic calendar such as, on Easter day, on all days of Easter week, on the Sunday of the Apostle Thomas, on the twelve feasts of the Lord, and on the eves of Christmas and Epiphany the personnel was increased in order to confer to these celebrations the desired grandeur. Pseudo-Kodinos in his treatise (fourteenth century) describing the ceremonial feasts of the Lord, without giving specific numbers, refers to Protopsaltes, Domesticos, Lampadarios, Maistor as the leaders of various choruses (music personnel) and Patriarch, Archdeacon, Kanonarch, Protapostolarios, Protopapas, Deacons, Priests, (clergy) as the church personnel. See Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité des Offices, 189-247. According to Spyrakou, up to early thirteenth century, the Byzantine system of chanting was based on a huge number of performers (24 Psaltes, 110-160 Anagnostes, 70-90 Subdeacons and other choirs), with each group hierarchically situated in the ecclesiastical space with a specific participation in the rite depending on occasion and service. See more details in Euangelia Ch. Spyrakou, Hoi choriō psaltōn kata tēn Vyzantinē paradosē (Athens: Hidryma Vyzantinēs Mousikologias, 2008), 435.
the post-Byzantine manuscripts, as a great artistic creation that decisively influenced the future developmental course of Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical music.\textsuperscript{99}

CHAPTER 2

THE SECOND PSALM IN THE BYZANTINE RITE

2.1. INTRODUCTION

The kalophonic settings of the second Psalm appear in the musical manuscripts of the Akolouthia-type as the exemplary specimens of their kind established in the Office of Great Vespers. The reason behind the predominance of these settings has never been explained, to my knowledge, by any liturgist or musicologist. Also their association with the newly-formed service of Great Vespers remains unexplored.\(^\text{100}\)

The present chapter aspires to give some clarification to both queries, the reason behind the predominance of the settings and their relation to the Office of Great Vespers. In order to attempt such a task it is imperative to place the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm in historical perspective within the Byzantine rite from its early stages of development up to the period under study. In the previous chapter, I provided the musicological framework of kalophonia and by extension of the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm. In this chapter, I will contextualize this music phenomenon in order to offer a convincing answer associated with the usage and connection of these settings in liturgy and its ramifications in society. Such a task aims to show that the additional music settings that the second Psalm enjoyed during Great Vespers might be explained as a propaganda device in favor of the image of the emperor. The connection of the additional kalophonic settings with Great Vespers was based partially on the flexible nature of the service to provide room for special events. This newly-created Office is celebrated on important feast days of the ecclesiastical calendar and its character could be

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\(^{100}\) Williams, *John Koukouzeles’s Reform*, 262-263.
affected by the nature of the occasion on which the rite is performed to such an extent as to undergo structural alternations in order to accommodate exceptional events.\textsuperscript{101}

The outline of the occurrence of the second Psalm in the Byzantine liturgical services before the kalophonic period bears witness to its stable position in Vespers consistent with the monastic rite. According to primary sources, the entire Book of Psalms was read in the monasteries during the course of one week and was repeated in this fashion throughout the ecclesiastical calendar, with few exceptions. Due to its numbering in the Psalter, the second Psalm always falls at Vespers, since the evening Office is considered as the first one to begin the liturgical day. The gradual amalgamation of the two hitherto existing \textit{Typika} or Order of Services, the \textit{Typikon} of Hagia Sophia, also called the "Chanted Rite" or "Cathedral Rite," and the \textit{Typikon} of monastic communities, or "Monastic Rite," was finalized during the early thirteenth century. The end result of this long and complex merging gave birth to a new "mixed" rite that, by adopting and synthesizing diverse features from traditions both secular and monastic, along with the addition of new services, became the only authoritative liturgical order established in Orthodox churches and monasteries. It is in the context of this new Chanted Rite based on the Canon of Psalmody that the formation of a new Office, Great Vespers, took place, accompanied by its exemplary musical vestments embellished by the kalophonic idiom.

This "mixed" rite adopted the monastic method of dividing the Psalms in \textit{kathismata} or groups of Psalms beginning with Sunday vespers and extending over a week. In this way, the entire Psalter was heard once a week during daily Offices and twice a week during Lent. The second Psalm, due to its numbering, adopted a permanent position in Sunday vespers as inherited from the "Monastic Rite" tradition, while the custom of singing the Psalm stemmed primarily

\footnote{Idem., 29. Williams offers a concise yet comprehensive account on the historical structure of Great Vespers.}
from the "Chanted Rite" tradition. The additional music settings that this Psalm enjoyed during Great Vespers were not used as a mere music filler for special events but rather, I argue, as an artistic vehicle transmitting a premeditated political message supporting the emperor and, by extension, the Church.

This chapter also examines the semantics of the Psalmonic text and its association with the emperor. The fact that the second Psalm is among the few psalms with musical settings composed for all its verses, and the only one with additional settings (as the music codices testify), reveals the importance of the text and the significance of its message during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. My proposal is that embedded in the meaning of the Psalm’s messianic message in this particular period is the deliberate identification of the "Anointed One" with the Byzantine emperor. This hypothesis promotes by extension the idea that the composition of the settings and their celebrated performance in the cathedral, very possibly in the presence of the Emperor himself, amount essentially to a musical portraiture.

The purpose of this musical portrait is twofold: first, it is based on the supposition that the figure of the emperor imitates Christ and therefore optimism is disseminated from Church and State to the congregation for a victorious ending of the contemporary dilemmas and difficulties; and second, that the emperor and listeners are united, joined in solidarity and forming a community based on a shared religious belief, a condition that both the emperor and the Church patriarch were eager to uphold and propagate. In other words, music during a religious service serves a number of different functions such as to draw the listener's thoughts away from this world and toward, for example, the contemplation of heavenly matters or even communication of propagandistic messages. Therefore, when the Emperor (or even just his
retinue) was present in the church, then the music - written and performed by musicians known to be employed by him - also becomes capable of communicating messages about him.\textsuperscript{102}

The presence of the emperor in Hagia Sophia during the Office of Vespers on some of the feasts of the Lord is testified by Pseudo-Kodinos, a fourteenth-century writer, in his book \emph{Le traité des offices}.\textsuperscript{103} According to this source, Hagia Sophia is the venue for only a small number of feast days. However, it has been argued that the \emph{Treatise} is not comprehensive in terms of including all ceremonies performed in the mid-fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{104} For our purposes, Pseudo-Kodinos’s testimony is important because it reflects early to mid fourteenth-century ceremonial practices which coincide chronologically with the height of the kalophonic period and by extension the composition and performance of the second Psalm’s settings.\textsuperscript{105} Interestingly enough, the same writer on describing the coronation ceremony of Manuel II Palaiologos (1350-1425) mentioned that the “maistores” were chanting in the Fourth plagal mode, by far the most


frequently used mode for the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm. The association of a particular mode with the emperor's figure is significant in terms of establishing connections between the mode's ethos and the image of this figure.

Moreover, my hypothesis gains support if we take into consideration the fact that the appearance of the additional florid kalophonic settings of the second Psalm in the Akolouthiai manuscripts produced during the Palaiologan period (1261-1453) happened only during this period. In the post-Byzantine era we encounter the gradually diminishing significance of this Psalm’s musical settings. The additional kalophonic settings of the second Psalm were eliminated from Great Vespers service and they were sung only in conjunction with Psalms 1 and 3 with far less splendor and cultural significance. Therefore, the “sudden” predominance of the additional settings in the music sources during the period under study (fourteenth-fifteenth centuries) may be connected and serve a dual purpose: being part of the musical filler for the lengthy service of the Great Vespers yet depicting a musical portrait of the emperor for profile-raising reasons.

This hypothesis gains even more ground if we consider the historical context of the liturgical event as it was shaped by the theological, political and cultural transformations that took place during the last two centuries of the Byzantine Empire. First, there were the efforts by the Palaiologan dynasty starting with Michael VIII (1259-1282) and continuing with his descendants to recuperate the prestige and authority of the imperial throne. Secondly, there was the increasing role of the church in state affairs from 1261 to 1453, with some emphasis on the ecclesiastical reform of Patriarch Athanasius of Constantinople (1289-1293; 1303-1309) and

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107 See Table 1 for the psalmody structure of Great Vespers.
108 Michael VIII was the emperor who re-conquered the capital in 1261.
its impact on the society. Thirdly, there was the Hesychastic controversy (1337-1341), considered here as “a broad phenomenon of spiritual and ecclesiastic revival.”¹⁰⁹ Fourthly, there are psychological repercussions of the various unsuccessful political attempts to make coalitions with the Latin West to confront the danger from the Muslim East. These political and social events, especially in Constantinople, affected the people’s receptivity to the Church’s political messages.

In this unstable political environment, with its agonizing historical timing, it was crucial to convince the subjects that their ruler’s authority was still sustainable. For such persuasion to be successful, the type, content, and style of media used had to be carefully thought through and artfully employed. Above all, it was necessary to prevent the opposite outcome -- the undermining of authority-- from occurring.¹¹⁰ As far as the case under study is concerned, the performance of a sacred musical work with a well-known messianic psalmic text containing an overlying representational message that pointed to the emperor, promising imminent hope and public unity, a sacred text set to music by the masters of the kalophonic style and performed by accomplished musicians in a magnificent liturgical cathedral space, must have been a very powerful and overwhelming experience.

¹⁰⁹ The term *Hesychasm* is used in this dissertation as "a convenient term to encompass a broad religious and political movement which [during the fourteenth century] struggled for a common set of values, promoted political and cultural priorities inherited from Byzantium, and, in the face of challenges coming from the East and the West, maintained the universalism and the dynamism of Orthodox christianity amidst drastic social and political changes." See John Meyendorff, “Is ‘Hesychasm’ the Right Word? Remarks on Religious Ideology in the Fourteenth Century,” in *Harvard Ukrainian Studies, 7, Essays presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students*, ed. Cyril Mango (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1983), 451.

¹¹⁰ See Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image*, 4-5.
2.2. THE SECULAR AND MONASTIC RITES BEFORE 1204

By examining the liturgical books, the Typika, and the literary sources of the period, we can reach a crucial understanding of the distinction between the cathedral and monastic liturgical practices, since their final amalgamation coincides historically with the advent of the kalophonic period. This distinction is important because, by taking into account the individual characteristics of both merging traditions, we can isolate the particular event under study, the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm, which takes place in the succeeding "mixed rite" (essentially a sung monastic rite), and then comprehend its provenance and explain its appearance and function in its new context.

The new context is the Office of Great Vespers, a service where the second Psalm’s kalophonic settings are encountered, according to the evidence from the music manuscripts. Its structure, which was built around elements taken over from the monastic Typikon of Saint Sabas and appropriations from the chanted tradition of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, bears witness to its double heritage. The study of both liturgical traditions and their synthesis provides supportive information on the genesis of Great Vespers, its contents and theological significance. All these facts introduce new information about the criteria on which the psalmic selections were based and, by extension, on the predominance and special musical treatment that the second Psalm, specifically, enjoyed during the kalophonic era.

Until the eighth century there were two diverse liturgical traditions inside the Byzantine Empire that evolved independently, yet influenced one another during the course of their development: the secular rite tradition practiced in churches and cathedrals tailored to

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112 Williams, John Koukouzeles’ Reform, 31-54.
accommodate the religious needs of laity; and the monastic one performed in monasteries and convents, a rite exclusively customized to the ascetic daily life of monks and nuns. Both practices originated in the area around Palestine where Jesus was born, taught, and died.  

Regarding the geographical center of these practices, the secular liturgical tradition emerged in the local churches of the city of Antioch, Syria. The preference for this location is clearly based on geographical, historical, and sociopolitical circumstances. Due to its close proximity to Jerusalem, Antioch became the shelter for many persecuted Christians who escaped from the Holy City in the year 37 A.D. Furthermore, the destruction of the Jewish temple in Jerusalem by the Romans in 70 A.D. contributed to the further blooming of the city of Antioch as a political and thriving commercial center that facilitated the rapid organization and development of the Christian Church. However, by the fourth century, when the capital of the Roman Empire was transferred to the province of Byzantium (and more specifically to the new city of Constantinople), and John Chrysostom, an Antiochian deacon and public preacher, became its Archbishop in 397, the center of the secular rite shifted to that location. Therefore, the Antiochian liturgical rite that featured the singing of antiphons and the antiphonal way of singing makes it the forerunner of the secular or "Chanted Rite." Under the influence of the

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113 For a comprehensive account on the historical development of of the rites, see Dēmētrios Balageōrgos, Ἡ πσαλτικὴ παράδοση τῶν ἀκολουθιῶν τοῦ Βυζαντίου Κοσμικοῦ Τυπικοῦ (Athens: Ηδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας), 2001.

114 The inauguration of the city of Constantinople was on May 11th 330 A.D.

115 “In Byzantine liturgical usage, the word 'antiphon' means a selection from the Psalter, followed by a doxology. Such a selection may consist of several psalms, not necessarily consecutive, it may consist of one psalm only, it may even consist of single verses. The presence of a refrain is not essential, but when we find one it will be called ὑπόψαλμα, ἐφύμιον, ἡπακοή, or τροπάριον - the name 'antiphon' is never given to the refrain itself, as it is in the West." Oliver Strunk, “The Antiphons of the Octoechos,” in Essays on Music in the Byzantine World (New York: Norton, 1977), 166.

116 Balageōrgos, Ἡ πσαλτικὴ παράδοση, 59-60.
imperial court and the authority of the patriarchal throne, the "Chanted Rite" received in "New Rome" its final shape.

The main characteristic of the cathedral (or Chanted) rite is its predilection for music. The so-called Ἀσματικὴ Ἀκολουθία, which translates to "Chanted Rite," denotes the incessant presence of responsorial and later antiphonal chanting throughout the services, along with splendid ceremonies and processions according to local customs. The "Chanted Rite" was lavish and impressive; it was performed in the cathedrals and big churches of the empire, and was admired by the newly converted Slavs.

As far as the provenance of the monastic liturgical tradition is concerned, the center of the ascetic way of life became the Lavra of Saint-Sabas, a celebrated monastery located in the southern region of Jerusalem and established around the year 482 A.D. The monastic liturgical tradition expressed basically the austere way of life in the monastic communities and reflects its reserved character. Music was not a major component of the rite. What characterized the rite was rather the incessant daily recycling of the Psalms or Canon of Psalmody. The influence of the

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117 "The Christian emperors of Byzantium were the direct heirs of the masters of the Roman world. In fact, "Byzantium" and "Byzantine" are modern scholarly conventions, a convenient shorthand to designate the millenary survival of the Roman Empire in its mighty eastern heart of New Rome, modern Istanbul (from the Greek, eis ten polin)." See Cavallo, The Byzantines, 231.

118 Russian envoys were impressed by the rich Byzantine ritual in 987 A.D. For more testimonies on the Hagia Sophia ritual, see Deno John Geanakopoulos, Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization Seen Through Contemporary Eyes (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 189-197.

119 The early Christian monks were fervent opponents of the urban practices of chanting and in general the acceptance of singing in the monastic offices was inconsistent across the monasteries of the Byzantine Empire. Although the earliest of the Church Fathers such as St. Basil the Great, Clement of Alexandria and St. John Chrysostom emphasized the beauty and euphony of human voice as a living means of glorifying God, many monastic establishments resisted in any development of ecclesiastic singing except for a recitative delivery of the psalms and hymns. Especially in Oriental monastic cycles, the common position regarding singing is the idea of "the man who gives in to the beauty of singing or of any other kind of music thereby falls into the power of sensuality and abandons true spiritual interiority." For more details on the
aforementioned monastery soon went beyond the geographical limits of Palestine, and the so-called Sabaitic Typikon became the model to follow in all monasteries of the Byzantine Empire until the seventh century. The increasing number of newly founded monasteries across the Byzantine Empire, and more specifically those established in close proximity to large urban centers, made possible the mutual influence between the secular and monastic rites. A case in point is the distinguished monastery of Studites close to Constantinople. The monastery of Studites was founded in 462 A.D., but it became the most important center for the monastic Typikon when Theodore (759-826) became its abbot.120 Theodore’s main contribution was to initiate a reform of the Sabaitic Typikon with detailed regulations of monks’ lives, duties and services. The monastery also became a major center of hymnography until 1453. However, most important for the history and development of the monastic Typikon was the incorporation of elements from the secular Typikon of the Great Church, the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, and more specifically the tradition of chanting.121 The Typikon of the Studite monastery was so

subject, see Johannes Quasten, Music and Worship in Pagan and Christian Antiquity, trans. Boniface Ramsey (Washington, DC: National Association of Pastoral Musicians, 1983), 92-99. The monastic Office according to the Typikon of St. Sabas is made up entirely of psalms and biblical readings frequently without singing. Symeon also wrote that in those monasteries and churches following the Typikon of St. Sabas, the rite is doable even with one monk and can be performed with not much chanting. ("Ἐν ταύταις δέ ταϊ μοναϊς και σχεδόν πάσαις ταις ἐκκλησίαις ἡ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱεροσολύμων Τυπικὸ τῆς μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Σάββα τελεῖται τάξις. Ὡτι δή καὶ παρά μόνου τινός δυνατὸν ἐστὶ ταύτην γίνεσθαι, ἐπεί καὶ παρά μοναχῶν ἐξετέθη, καὶ χωρίς ἁμάτων πολλάκις ἐν κοινοβίοις ἐκτελεῖται.") See Symeonis Thessalonicensis Archiepiscopi, De Sacra Precatione, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca, 155 (Athens: Kentron Paterikon Ekdoseon, 1857), col. 556.

120 Under Theodoros’ administration the Studite monastery emerged as the defender of the veneration of the icons during the iconoclast controversy (728-843). See Monk Euthimios Trikaminas, Osios Theodoros the Stoudite (Larissa: Orthodoxia, 2000), 132-163.

eminent that it was transferred unaltered to Russia (Kiev and Novgorod) and southern Italy (Calabria). ¹²²

It is evident from the parallel development of the two rites between the two centers of Jerusalem and Constantinople that although each rite had its own particular characteristics and served diverse groups of people, eventually their differences diminished due to their reciprocal influences and interchanging of practices. In the process, an array of historical events -- for instance, the "Latin" occupation in 1204 that led to the abrupt disruption of the "Chanted Rite" in the big cathedrals, and the increasingly active role of the monks in serving the Patriarch throne, fighting against heresies and producing hymnography -- broke the balance between the two traditions and led to the predominance of the monastic Typikon over the secular one.¹²³ In their final fusion around the late twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries, the influence of the secular rite, though not dominant, is still evident. The end result was a liturgical Typikon of monastic provenance as far as the Canon of Psalmody is concerned, which was also heavily influenced by the "Chanted Rite" where everything was sung.¹²⁴

This hybrid type of rite was established in both churches and monasteries of the Eastern Christendom by the end of the thirteenth century. This historical-liturgical context is where the Office of Great Vespers was formed, standing alone as the evening service apart from Orthros or together with the latter forming part of an All-night vigil. And it was in Great Vespers that the

¹²² Williams, John Koukouzeles’s Reform, 11-12
¹²³ Idem., John Koukouzeles’s Reform, 20, fn. 41.
¹²⁴ Miguel Arranz, “N.D. Uspensky: The Office of the All-Night Vigil,” 107. “The 'mixed rite' had adopted the monastic method of dividing the entire Psalter (150 Psalms) into twenty sections called kathismata. …the performance cycle of the twenty kathismata began with Sunday Vespers and extended over a regular seven day period.” See Williams, John Koukouzeles’s Reform, 42.
kalophonic settings of the second Psalm acquired a prominent place and exhibited an outstanding musical splendor.

2.3. THE SECOND PSALM SETTINGS IN THE CATHEDRAL AND MONASTIC RITES UNTIL 1204

The examination of written sources such as the Typika and the contemporary literary works of the pre-kalophonic and kalophonic periods provides indispensable information about the provenance and usage of the second Psalm in secular and monastic traditions, so as to place the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm in historical perspective within the Orthodox rite. The study of Typika of both traditions until their final merging provides factual evidence of the second Psalm's music-liturgical itinerary from the genesis of the church’s services up to the kalophonic period by concluding that the liturgical position of the Psalm in Vespers is inherited from the monastic tradition while the elaborate singing of its text stems from the cathedral one.

One early testimony concerning the Typikon of the churches in Palestine and Constantinople is recorded in the celebrated document also known as Egeria’s travels. Egeria was a Spanish Christian traveler who kept a diary about her pilgrimage in Constantinople and Palestine. Her description of places, buildings, and rituals provides us with a partial but authentic view of the customs and services during the fourth century A.D.125 From Egeria’s descriptions of church services we understand that there were no existing Typika as we know them today. The rite was not fully developed and new practices and ideas were welcomed. Instead of a fixed protocol there was a simple and flexible schema whereby the Archbishop or Abbott could

125 “Egeria described the Jerusalem liturgy so carefully because it was novel. This is obscured for the modern reader because so much of what she thought new has since become common usage. When in Jerusalem she is the earliest witness to a liturgy which was in fact going to spread all over the world.” John Wilkinson, ed., Egeria’s Travels (Warminster: Aris & Philips Ltd., 1999), 82.
perform the rite dictated by daily circumstances and needs. For our purposes, Egeria’s testimony is of twofold importance. On the one hand, it confirms the singing of hymns, psalms and antiphons during the fourth century as they were performed in services with the participation from the laity too. On the other, it describes the custom of vigil, which is the forerunner of the Agrypnia (i.e., vespers-lité-matins), an All-night vigil, a service which incorporated the Office of Great Vespers during the late thirteenth century.

Patmos, Greece, Monastery of St. John, Codex Patmos 266 (ca. 9-10th centuries) is the manuscript where the oldest extant example of the Typikon of the Hagia Sophia Church in Constantinople is recorded. In spite of the date of the manuscript, the Typikon reflects much older practices. In this manuscript, the second Psalm appears in the Office of Vespers, on Monday of the first week of Lent. It is sung in conjunction with the first and third Psalms as the first stasis or antiphon of the Psalter and set in Barys (third plagal) mode. By considering this piece of information and taking into account the fragmentary condition of the source, we can observe that until the tenth century the second Psalm, although sung in Vespers, did not have a prominent position in the secular rite but simply formed part of the ordinary recycling of the Psalter.

The third source under examination is the important manuscript Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Staurou 43 (1122 A.D.) It is a fragment from the Jerusalem Typikon-Triodion of the Anastasis performed during Holy Week at the Holy Sepulcher Church Naός τῆς

126 “During the fourth century the Jerusalem liturgy was expanding, and probably keeping pace with the building of new churches. At any rate Egeria links most of the liturgical activities to buildings. The ritual received constant additions, and, as she herself hints, made unreasonable demands on the congregation.” Wilkinson, Egeria’s Travels, 81.
127 The full text of Codex Patmos 266 is published in Aleksej Dmitrievskij, Opisanie Liturgitseskich Rukopisej I (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965), 1-151.
128 Barys is called the third plagal mode in the Byzantine tradition. The term translates as ‘heavy,’ pointing to the low register of the mode.
This source is valuable because it is the earliest document that refers to the Office of the Agrypnia. According to this document that records the "Chanted Rite," the musical settings of the second Psalm are set in various modes and appear independent (meaning without the accompaniment of the first and third Psalms) from the first stasis of the Psalter; moreover, the second Psalm’s usage surpasses the restriction of the Office of Vespers to processions and other local rituals. This is the first clear indication that the practice of singing the second Psalm only during Vespers does not derive from the "Chanted Rite" tradition.

The source that describes the monastic rite of the Studites monastery as it was transferred and performed unaltered in South Italy is Università degli Studi di Messina, Messinensis 115, in 1131 A.D. It is the Typikon of San Salvatore monastery in Messina, Italy. According to this source, the second Psalm is used during Holy Week and sung independently from the Makarios Aner unit (Psalms, 1, 2 and 3). On Thursday Vespers, the psalm is set in mode Barys and on Friday at the first hour, it is set in the Fourth plagal mode. However, on every Sunday vespers (i.e., Saturday evening except Holy Saturday and the Saturday of the Pentecost), the second Psalm is sung together with the first and third Psalms set in Fourth plagal mode. A preliminary examination of the monastic rite reveals the practice of chanting the second Psalm on Saturday evening as part of the Makarios Aner unit, usually in the Fourth plagal mode. This is a practice retained during the Palaiologan period and eventually enriched musically by the kalophonic vocal idiom.

In conclusion, the practice of chanting the second Psalm predominately in the Fourth plagal mode during Vespers is inherited in the new "mixed" rite from the monastic liturgical

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tradition. According to information brought to light by the important music manuscript Messinensis Gr. 161, where the proto-kalophonic musical settings first appear, we learn that by the thirteenth century, a period when the Messina monastery stood directly under the influence of the Hagia Sophia church as far as its Typikon is concerned, the amalgamation of the monastic and cathedral rites was already in place and the kalophonic idiom had plainly been launched.

Setting the historical clock forward, “De sacra precatione” Περί τῆς Θείας προσευχῆς ca. 1425 A.D. by Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonike, is another important testimonial about the history of "Chanted Rite" by a fourteenth-century author. Symeon was a prolific writer who initiated and complemented a comprehensive renovation of the entire Thessalonian "Chanted Rite" by updating the archaic cathedral psalmody with monastic hymnography embellished by the kalophonic style. In reality, the Archbishop was not the first to bring those elements into the "sung office" of Thessalonike. What he actually did was rather to systematize those existing precedents and ratify the already mixed character of some offices. Although Symeon is an "archaizing" source not to be taken at face value when we trace the developments of liturgy and Offices, he provides a lot of information on how liturgy was done in his day and his own interpretation and symbolism of some liturgical actions. What is important about this report for our purposes is that, according to his treatise, the second Psalm position is standardized and performed only during Vespers and on the eves of important feasts as part of the first stasis. In

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131 See Chapter One for more information regarding this source.
133 Symeonis Thessalonicensis Archiepiscopi, cols. 533-670.
other words, even in a subjective, biased and "anachronistic" fourteenth-century document, the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm are connected directly with Vespers.

2.4. THE OFFICE OF GREAT VESPERS AND THE SECOND PSALM SETTINGS

The creation of a new Office or the repurposing of an existing one in a liturgical ordo at a certain period of time usually reflects historical and social changes in the society that demanded such events. The Byzantine rite evolved organically, meaning that it adapted to social changes by creating, eliminating or modifying its elements accordingly. This is the case of the Office of Great Vespers as an evening service destined to be performed on the Sunday eves of important feasts and/or to form the first part of Agrypния during the Palaiologan period. Great Vespers demanded lengthy new music compositions to accompany the liturgical action that took place during the Palaiologan period and, as expected, the extensive kalophonic compositions of the second Psalm settings sung in the cathedrals found in this Office their home.

As we have seen, Agrypния (i.e., vespers-litē-matins) has a dual heritage from both the monastic and the cathedral rites. Stemming from the monastic liturgical tradition, the nocturnal vigil was a customary Office that originated in the first monastic establishments in Palestine and later was gradually influenced by the secular churches of the patriarchal cities Jerusalem and Constantinople. The nocturnal vigil, established in the Palestinian ritual practices by the fourth century, was adapted and formed part of the new synthesis by the Studite monasteries in the eighth century. This hybrid urban monastic office in due course made its way to Mount Athos. According to Uspensky, there the service was preserved in a manner consistent with the

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monastic tradition until the late twelfth century when Constantinopolitan influences featuring chant, decoration, bells, light, and incense modified the original purpose of the Office.\textsuperscript{136} Finally, with the fusion of the aforementioned traditions the nocturnal vigil developed into \textit{Agrypnia} (All-Night-Vigil), an Office performed during the Sunday vespers of great feasts. The earliest documents that provide information on the service of \textit{Agrypnia} are the aforementioned Staurou 43, as well as Sinai gr. 1095 and Sinai gr. 1096.\textsuperscript{137} All these documents describe the usages of the St. Sabas \textit{Typikon} and belong to the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. In these sources the Office of \textit{Agrypnia} is presented as either a new Office or one rediscovered and returned into practice at that time.\textsuperscript{138}

In 1261 the Palaiologan dynasty had reclaimed the city of Constantinople back from the "Latins" and reestablished the Orthodox rite in the Great Church of Hagia Sophia. Regaining the glory of Byzantium was a political and religious imperative; the church services after almost sixty years of interruption had to respond to this new requirement. As a result, by the end of the thirteenth century some church services were modified, revisited or newly created, partly due to the synthesis of the monastic and secular traditions and partly due to the demands of the new historical reality. The amalgamation of the two aforementioned traditions is the result of a selective evolution of all the elements that fit the new circumstances. The merging of the two traditions was characterized by the increasing power of monasticism to the detriment of the

\textsuperscript{136} “St. Sabas instructed his monks to spend the whole night assembled in the same church in vigil before Sundays and feasts of the Lord….The monks spent the night praying together because of the difficulty they would have had in returning to their caves after vespers.” See Arranz, “N.D. Uspensky: The Office of the All-Night Vigil,” 181-183.

\textsuperscript{137} These sources can be found in Dmitrievskij, \textit{Opisanie liturgitseskich rukopisej} I, 223. Uspensky states that since the first manuscripts that documents \textit{Agrypnia} as made of vespers and matins date from the twelfth - thirteenth centuries, this service also belongs to the newly-created offices during the Palaiologan period. See Arranz, “N.D. Uspensky,” 89.

\textsuperscript{138} Idem., 174.
secular tradition, which was weakened by the interruption of its performance in the capital.\textsuperscript{139} And music with the kalophonic vocal idiom was about to grant to these new and old services the desired splendor and grandiosity.

In this new historical context (1261-1453), \textit{Agrypnia} is documented as an office made up of two services according to the \textit{Typikon} of St. Sabas: Great Vespers and Festal Matins (\textit{Orthros}).\textsuperscript{140} Therefore, after almost a millennium of liturgical conflict and amalgamation in the Orthodox East between the rites of Jerusalem and Constantinople, a “mixed” form of the evening Office had produced Great Vespers. It was observed during the reign of Palaiologoi on the eve of every Sunday and on the eve of the feasts of the Lord.

Moreover, the newly-created service of Great Vespers, was an Office musically embellished with the kalophonic style during the thirteenth century. This Office was presumably created and used to reflect the success of a complete reconstitution of the Orthodox liturgy in the cathedral that concurred with the re-conquest of the city of Constantinople in 1261 and the aim of the Byzantine emperors to gain back their reputation. A splendid performance in the cathedral on major ecclesiastical feasts, in the presence of the emperor and the aristocracy, was most probably a credible event to endorse these achievements.

Furthermore, the long service of \textit{Agrypnia}, which starts at sunset and ends by sunrise, demanded new musical settings, especially as a rite where almost everything is sung throughout. And the first part of the vigil, Great Vespers, with its flexible and adaptable nature, was the


\textsuperscript{140} Great Vespers as part of a vigil is described by Philotheos, Patriarch of Constantinople from 1353-1354, in his treatise \textit{Ordo sacri ministerii}. See Philotheos, Patriarch of Contantinople, \textit{Διάταξις τῆς ἱεροδιακονίας} (\textit{Ordo sacri ministerii}), ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca, 154 (Athens: Kentron Paterikon Ekdoseon, 1857), cols. 748-757.
perfect liturgical framework to accommodate the long kalophonic settings. In addition, Great Vespers may exist separately from matins, Orthros, with which it forms an Agrypnia. Great Vespers exist on several occasions such as on the eves of those days on which a Polyeleos is to be sung during Orthros, on Easter day, on all days of Easter week, on the Sunday of the Apostle Thomas, on the twelve feasts of the Lord, and on the eves of Christmas and Epiphany. All these feasts are of foremost importance according to the Orthodox ecclesiastical calendar and therefore their celebration in the cathedral of the capital of the empire is expected to be no less than magnificent.

Regarding the Psalmic kalophonic musical settings of Great Vespers, Psalm 103 from verse 28b and on, all verses of the first stasis of the first kathisma (Psalms 1, 2, and 3), and the first two verses of the oldest known Psalm connected with vespers (Psalm 140), receive a music performance. Concerning the position of the second Psalm and its settings, the Office of Vespers is considered as the first Office of the liturgical day and the second Psalm corresponds to the beginning of the Book of Psalms. According to the Canon of Psalmody, the Book of Psalms is read or sung in the course of a week, meaning that the first Psalms naturally “fall” inside the first Office of the liturgical day - i.e., that of Vespers. However, the fact that in some music manuscripts the second Psalm receives an additional kalophonic repertory is exceptional, since none of the rest of the Psalms enjoys any additional kalophonic settings either in Vespers or in Orthros.

In the music sources that transmit the additional kalophonic repertory of the second Psalm, this collection of chants can be found after the settings of Psalm three, interpolated among the simple settings of Psalm two, or apart from the section of the Office of Great Vespers.

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142 Idem., 41-54. See details in Chapter One.
in a special section along with other kalophonically treated chants. This inconsistency of location in the manuscripts reflects primarily a variation in performance that may support my hypothesis that this additional repertory was reserved for special occasions and particular purposes. Similarly, the distinction between “simple” and “florid” kalophonic settings of the second Psalm also reflects the variance in performance for each type according to the occasion. Since the repertory was sung mainly in the cathedral of Constantinople and probably in other major churches across the crippled empire, the required performers for the virtuoso singing might or might not be available and thus, the services were tailored and shortened according to local customs and needs. Therefore, what we find in these music manuscripts are a number of options that clergy and performers had at their disposal to celebrate the feasts according to local circumstances.

Consistent with the Orthodox rite, Vespers is considered as the "learning service" of the Church. Since it is the first Office of the liturgical day, the contents of Vespers in essence instruct the faithful as to the meaning of what is being celebrated as well as to the correct interpretation of various Psalms and scriptural verses and their proper context. Therefore, in line with the day’s theme that in the case of Great Vespers is either an important Christological event or the celebration of a special feast, the second Psalm is used in this context as a didactic and admonishing text. By identifying the "Anointed One" with the emperor, along with the messianic message, a political statement is transmitted as well.

In conclusion, it is not possible to discover why the second Psalm is the only psalm that enjoys additional kalophonic repertory solely by examining the musical manuscripts. To provide

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143 More details regarding the presence of the kalophonic settings of the second chant in the musical sources are provided in Chapter Three.
a context for the discussion of the reasons for the exceptional musical treatment of the second Psalm, its text is reproduced here in full:

Wherefore did the heathen rage, and the nations imagine vain things?
The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers gathered themselves together, against the Lord, and against his Christ;
Let us break through their bonds, and cast away their yoke from us.
He that dwells in the heavens shall laugh them to scorn,
and the Lord shall mock them.
Then shall he speak to them in his anger, and trouble them in his fury.
But I have been made king by him on Sion his holy mountain,
declaring the ordinance of the Lord: the Lord said to me,
Thou art my Son, to-day have I begotten thee.
Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for thy possession.
Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron; thou shalt dash them in pieces as a potter's vessel
Now therefore understand, ye kings: be instructed, all ye that judge the earth.
Serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice in him with trembling.
Accept correction, lest at any time the Lord be angry, and ye should perish from the righteous way: whensoever his wrath shall be suddenly kindled,
blessed are all they that trust in him.\textsuperscript{144}

The repetition of the psalmic text or variation in its performance (additional kalophonic settings of the second Psalm) is justified only if we assume a particular association taking place that does not form part of the ecclesiastical protocol. If my suggestion of explaining the existence of additional settings as a vehicle to create a musical portrait for political reasons is accurate, then we need to pay some attention to the text of the second Psalm and seek the reasons behind its selection from the rest of the messianic Psalms.\textsuperscript{145} My research at this point turns to the

\textsuperscript{144} Translation copied from Brenton, \textit{The Septuagint}, 699. See Appendix D for text in Greek.
\textsuperscript{145} Psalm 2 belongs to the Royal Psalms category due to its direct reference to the Messiah. Other psalms in this category are the 47\textsuperscript{th}, 72\textsuperscript{nd}, 93\textsuperscript{rd} and 96\textsuperscript{th} to 99\textsuperscript{th}. Their connection rests on their thematic similarity, which focuses on how God operates through the Office of King. Psalm 2 is anonymous, without attribution to any known Jewish author. In some Hebrew manuscripts, Psalm 1, also anonymous, is considered to be an introductory poetic text, which, as a result makes the Messianic Psalm 2 count as the opening one in the Psalter. However, if we take into account the subject matter of both psalms – Psalm 1 refers to the praise of law and Psalm 2
Psalmic text per se, its messianic message, usage and interpretation in the context of the daily social anxieties and the new course of the theological spirituality of the Palaiologan period.

2.5. PSALM 2: ITS HISTORY, INTERPRETATION AND USAGE IN THE BYZANTINE TRADITION

Performing a hermeneutic analysis on the second Psalm’s sacred text\(^{146}\) is not only a necessity for the present study but a prerequisite, since the aim is to understand and appreciate its implication and meaning in the cultural context of the Byzantine ecclesiastical liturgical tradition during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. When one studies the text with knowledge of the political and social circumstances that prevailed during the period under study, one sees an association between the symbolism of the specific messianic psalm text and its contemporaneous usage in Byzantine worship. It seems that the motivation for elevating the text of the second Psalm above others in the music of Great Vespers is that it associates the prophetic message with contemporary desires and expectations. In other words, I am suggesting that there was a deliberate association/identification between the Messiah of the text and the Emperor, pointing on the one hand to a happy solution of contemporary difficulties and dilemmas and on the other, to a dissemination of unity and loyalty.

Moreover, the influential power of kalophonic musical settings, embellishing the sacred text, adds more layers of connotations and meanings relevant to the present situation. Performed in the cathedral of the capital, a sacred space with not only pastoral and liturgical functions but social and political functions as well, the florid kalophonic settings of the second Psalm were in reports a great prophesy - their placement in the Psalter suggests an introductory role to the entire book. See Kemper Fullerton, “Studies in the Psalter,” *The Biblical World*, 36, no. 5 (1910): 323. \(^{146}\) See Appendix D for the text in English with enumeration of its verses and the Psalmic text in Greek.
effect drawing the musical portrait of the mighty emperor, thus fulfilling, apart from a liturgical purpose, a propagandistic one in favor of the sovereign, and by extension the Church, in the name of unity and solidarity. Besides, an historical retrospective on the usage of the second Psalm until the period under study exposes its relative absence from the music manuscripts and reveals its secondary rank in the services. This fact alone puts my hypothesis, which is that the additional second Psalm settings were used exclusively during the Palaiologan period for both liturgical and promotional purposes, on solid ground.

The Psalms were thoroughly studied by the first Christian scholars because they were appropriated for their intellectual content. Since the first years of the organization of the new religion, the Book of Psalms became a central part of Christian education due to the repeated quotations from their verses by Jesus and the Apostles, according to the New Testament. The educational component of the Psalter was and still is an important vehicle for the Church to promote ideas and endorse ethical matters. Inevitably the Psalms have a long-established exegetical tradition, which varied through the centuries according to the current historical, political and cultural realities.

Regarding the second Psalm’s historical itinerary and subsequent textual renditions of it over the centuries, we know the following: in the Hebrew tradition, this Psalm refers to the coronation of the King of Israel, who will defend the country from his enemies, who historically were the surrounding tribes in Palestine looking for land. Allen Ross writes on the historical provenance of the second Psalm:

This Psalm is classified as a Royal Psalm because it is about the coronation of the Davidic King in the holy city of Zion. It was originally written for a coronation, but was then included in the collection of Psalms to be sung by the levitical choirs at any time that was considered appropriate - certainly at coronations of subsequent kings, but also in times of national crises when people needed to be reminded that God had
installed their king and the threats from the nations would come to naught.\footnote{Allen Ross, A Commentary on the Psalms, (Grand Rapids, MI : Kregel Academic & Professional, 2011), 197-214.}

It is interesting to realize that in its original cultural environment, the second Psalm had an optimistic message and was used to disseminate hopefulness in times of difficulty, a property used also in thirteenth-fourteenth century Byzantium.\footnote{The early Christian writers acknowledged the God-inspired twofold value of the psalmic texts: on the one hand, the fulfilled prophesy concerning the advent of the Messiah, and on the other, the perpetual nourishing power, through their didacticism and aesthetic qualities, that the biblical texts exercise on the Christian way of life. Consequently, the everlasting value of the psalmic texts and their approval by the new religion resided primarily in the subject matter but also on the artistic preeminence of the poetic texture. See Athanasios Vourlis, Dogmatoethikai Opseis tes Orthodoxou Psalmodias (Athens: Eptalofos, 1994), 11-45.}

In the Christian tradition, Origen of Alexandria (ca.183-ca.254),\footnote{«Καὶ ἔπει ὁ ἄρνούμενος τὸν Υἱόν, οὐδὲ Πατέρα ἔχει, καὶ ὁ δεχόμενος τὸν Χριστὸν δέχεται τὸν ἀποστείλαντα αὐτόν, διά τοῦτο ὁ κατὰ Χριστοῦ στρατευόμενος εἰς τὸν Πατέρα ἀσεβεῖ» in Origen, Selecta in Psalmos, in Jacques-Paul Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca, 12 (Athens: Kentron Paterikon Ekdoseon, 1857), cols. 1100-1117. “And then He who denies the Son, he denies the Father, and by believing in Christ acknowledges also the One who sent Him. Therefore, the one who does not live the life as Christian is disrespectful to the Father.”} Eusebius of Caesarea (261-339),\footnote{«Προφητείαν ἐντίθησι Χριστοῦ παρουσίας προσαγορευτικήν» in Eusebius, Commentaria in Psalmodias, in Jacques-Paul Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca, 23 (Athens: Kentron Paterikon Ekdoseon, 1857), cols. 80-92. “Prophesy of Christ’s presence is pleaded.”} Cyril of Alexandria (375-444),\footnote{«Πάντα τα ἔθνη δίδονται τῷ Χριστῷ πιστεύοντά εἰς αὐτῷ ἐθνὴ ἐλπιοῦσι» in Cyrilli Alexandrini Archiepiscopus, In Psalmum II, in Jacques-Paul Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca, 64 (Athens: Kentron Paterikon Ekdoseon, 1857), cols. 721-724. “All nations that believe in Christ put their hope.”} and Theodoretus Cyrensis (393-466)\footnote{«Ἐν γὰρ τῷ δευτέρῳ ψαλμῷ τοῦ Δεσπότου Χριστοῦ, καί τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πάθη, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν προσαγορεύει» in Theodoretus Episcopi Cyrensis, In Psalmum II, in Jacques-Paul Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca, 80 (Athens: Kentron Paterikon Ekdoseon, 1857), cols. 873-884. “In the second Psalm the kingdom of Christ the Master and the human passion are pleaded.”} are among the first commentators and interpreters of the second Psalm who acknowledged the prophetic revelation of the text. All authors identified Jesus as the Messiah in the face of the
Davidic King. Regarding their particular exegesis though, some minute variances in interpretation can be detected, due perhaps to each author’s theological and philosophical orientation, political and social milieu, and central concerns in extrapolating a given ethical query instead of another. Besides, the several metaphors in the text make apparent the plasticity of the verses’ intellectual content and the potential subjective treatment of their meaning according to the interpreter’s motivation and his targeted audience. These exegetical variations are significant to show to what extent the various hermeneutical approaches are distinct and where they actually converge.

For instance, Origen, a writer of the first half of the third century, is not only an expert in Greek philosophy but considers philosophy as an essential filter for his interpretation of the Old and New Testaments. Therefore, regarding his interpretation of verses 5a and 5b of the second Psalm, Origen tries to define philosophically the words “anger” and “wrath” and how they relate to each other. Only at the end of the section does he connect them with God’s punishment, the consequence of which was the destruction of the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem by the Romans.

Another example is Theodoretus Cyrensis, a fifth-century author, who also attempts a hermeneutic approach to the Psalms. Contrary to Origen, Theodoretus is not concerned with philosophical renditions but only with the actual facts: the destruction of the Temple and the scattering of the Jewish people around the world in a perpetual search for a homeland. His point is to prove divine intervention manifested through historical events. Therefore, the selection and usage of the same Psalmic text a few centuries later may establish new associations among specific views and emotions of people in line with a new historical, social and political reality.

A case in point is that, for the same aforementioned verses, Nicephorus Blemmides (1197-1272), a prolific writer, philosopher, theologian, pedagogue, and monk of the thirteenth
century, used this excerpt to foretell the “last judgment:” the return of Jesus to take disciplinary action against the disloyal and save the faithful, according to the Christian belief based on the Apocalypse. Blemmides, who lived most of his life during the "Latin" occupation or the so-called Latin Empire of Constantinople, approaches the Psalmic text neither philosophically nor as an illustration of divine intervention, but as pure prophesy in order to propagate the need for radical change, an expectation that a sovereign is about to accomplish.

Additionally, Symeon, in his “De sacra precatione” Περί τῆς θείας προσευχῆς, justifies the position of the Psalms in Vespers on theological grounds and explains their position in the rite as a result of their direct reference to Christ. Another point of interest is his theological elucidation regarding the great entrance of Sunday vespers as a major occasion.

It is important to recognize here that even though many interpretations can be made regarding the meaning of the psalmic text, its message of promise and hope is communicated to its readers regardless of the sociopolitical situation, historical period, or cultural setting. This message of promise and hope cannot be missed. Whether in a Jewish or Christian context, the second Psalm maintains that God is omnipresent and protects believers even in the most frightful situations. The Church fathers agreed on two central issues: at the outset the scriptural text is prophetic, explicitly announcing the advent of the Messiah, the victorious manifestation of the Son of God. On the whole, the psalm is didactic and full of admonishments, illustrating with metaphors and emotional phrases that Christ is the only path to salvation.

153 «Τότε δέ κατά τήν δευτέραν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν, ἐλέγχων αὐτοὺς ἐν ὀργῇ, καί στήσας αὐτοὺς τὴν ἀνομίαν αὐτῶν κατὰ πρόσωπον, καταδικάσει αὐτοὺς, καί σφοδρὰς τιμωρίαις ὑποβάλει δι᾽ ὧν ἀεί ταραχθοῦσαι ὑπὲρ μηθεμίαν ἀνακωχῆν, μηθεμίαν γαλήνην, ἔξοντες πώποτε» in Nicephori Blemmidae, Expositio In Psalmos, cols. 1330-1336. "Therefore, during the Last Judgment, He controls them in anger and confronts them with their iniquity. [He] condemns them and punishes them relentlessly and forcefully without tranquility."

154 Symeonis Thessalonicensis Archiepiscopi, col. 597.

155 Idem., 608.
Moreover, the relationship between King and God as a central idea in the psalmic text, and its subsequent interpretation by the Byzantines requires further examination since the text has been created in one tradition (Jewish) and is used extensively in another (Christian).\textsuperscript{156} Contrary to the Jewish, Hellenistic and Roman traditions in which the ruler was worshipped as divine, Christian tradition says that the emperor is charged by God to defend and promote orthodoxy and to be responsible for the good government of the empire and not to generate theological doctrines. The divine nature of the appointment was stressed by elaborate liturgies, premeditated iconography including Christian themes associated with the empire, and celebrations characterized by magnificent display, such as coronations inside the church.\textsuperscript{157} Pseudo-Kodinos provides a detailed description in his work "On Offices and Ceremonies" of the place, special attire, and participation of the emperor during the liturgy; it portrays imperial coronation ceremonies with all their ritual symbolism. According to the testimony of Pseudo-Kodinos, the emperor comes to the church during Christmas Vespers dressed not in his uniform but in festive clothing full of pearls.\textsuperscript{158}

Furthermore, the poetic text lends itself to musical settings since there is a lot of dramatic action, the zenith of which is the Messiah addressed in person. According to a Greek psalm

\textsuperscript{156} For the strophic structure and a comprehensive commentary of the second Psalm See Samuel Terrien, \textit{The Psalms: Strophic Structure and Theological Commentary} (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2003), 77-87.

\textsuperscript{157} For more information on the relationship between the emperor and the patriarch see Joan Mervyn Hussey, \textit{The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire} (New York: Oxford, 1986), 299-303.

\textsuperscript{158} “...κατά δὲ τὸν ἐσπερινόν καὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν ἀλλάσσει ῥοῖχον μαργαριταρέζον...” See, Pseudo-Kodinos, \textit{Traité des Offices}, 192, 195 and 237. For more information on liturgical vestments in Byzantine society and the imperial role within the Church during the Palaiologan period see Warren T. Woodfin, \textit{The Embodied Icon} (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 200-207.
analyst Vasilios Vellas, the poem is divided into three parts: In part one the poet presents the nations that plot against God and his Anointed One -- in the Byzantine context during the Palaiologan period, the emperor. In part two, God authorizes the emperor to take action against the conspirators. In part three, the poet admonishes the nations to stop plotting against God and instead pay their respects to Him and seek His shelter and protection. By identifying the "Anointed One" in the Psalmic text with the Byzantine emperor, the second Psalm becomes popular not only from a religious point of view but from a political one. The second Psalm's kalophonic settings became a music medium to exalt the image of the emperor through ecclesiastical services; concurrently, the Psalm is made instrumental to the imperial court for its advocacy of obedience, loyalty, unity, and courage to the disconcerted and anxious citizens who sense that the end of the empire is near.

2.6. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND 1261-1453

The performance of the florid kalophonic musical settings of the second Psalm in the cathedral of the Hagia Sophia was not an ordinary ecclesiastical occasion. It was a festive and yet solemn performance of the Psalm in the context of Great Vespers and was always celebrated on important feasts of the Lord, with the Patriarch, Emperor and aristocracy in attendance. The stunning building of the church and its lavish interior decoration, the effect of scent, light, and astonishing acoustics, the numerous professional personnel in charge of the event, the luxurious attire of the participants and the virtuoso singing of the best performers of the empire must have had a profound impact on the attendees. By experiencing this event with all senses delightfully

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160 Guglielmo Cavallo supports the idea that at the heart of Byzantine spiritual life was the liturgy and that the Byzantines were attracted not only by the spiritual nature of worship but also
engaged, the mind was made more susceptible to the encouraging and optimistic message coming from God through the Psalm and eventually materialized by the Emperor, especially when outside the church the Byzantine world was leaving its worst historical period.

On August 15, 1261 Michael VIII Palaiologos made his ceremonial entry into Constantinople, celebrating the restoration of the Empire. A few days later he blinded the legitimate heir to the throne, John Laskaris, and as a result he was excommunicated by the Patriarch. Both events severely damaged his public image. In order to prove himself worthy, he started a process of restoration around the city, a process continued by his successors. Although he succeeded at last in convincing the people of Constantinople that his dynasty was legitimate and that they should forgive his atrocious actions, his successor Andronicus II Palaiologos (1282-1328) had to face the irreversible loss of territories that had once provided the capital with goods and taxes to maintain its lavish life-style. Crowds of refugees continuously arrived from the lost provinces, destabilizing everyday life, while a civil war between John Katakouzenos (1347-1354) and John V Palaiologos (1332-1391) irreparably bankrupted the empire.¹⁶¹ A propagandistic promotion of religious and cultural unity was terribly needed; the timing of this need coincides with the emergence of the mature kalophonic style in the musical manuscripts that record the ecclesiastical repertory.¹⁶²

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¹⁶¹ For more detailed information on the historical events see Harris, Constantinople, Capital of Byzantium, 169-192.
¹⁶² The imperial virtues that were present in the official propaganda for the image of the emperor in Byzantium during the Palaiologan period were: the emperor’s divinity and the sacredness of his power, the similarity of the emperor to the sun, the four cardinal virtues of Menander (bravery, justice, prudence, and intelligence), stoicism and self-control, military prowess, and leadership of the oikoumene. See Angelov, Imperial Ideology, 78-85.
Inevitably, the restoration program of the city’s buildings came to a halt and the decay of public edifices started. Only the Hagia Sophia remained as splendid as ever. Obviously, the cathedral of the capital was not a mere sacred space for church services. The continuation of its celebratory events that promoted the supremacy of the church and the divine authority of the imperial Office to protect the church had to be maintained. The prestige and power of the church was on the rise after 1204, and the political decay of the state contributed to its growing influence. The church was now more than ever a factor of unity and stability in the politically fragmented Byzantium. The balance between the imperial Office and the patriarchate shifted to such an extent that during the patriarchate of Athanasius (1289-1293; 1303-1309), emperors were required to give a special coronation promise of subjection to the church. The ritual of *chrismation* with the holy myron, testifies that the power and position of a sovereign derives exclusively from the Church and they were no longer simply *de facto* the elect of God. The hierocratic idea behind the ceremony was that the emperor received the grace of God through his agent, the patriarch. Yet kingship remained first and foremost a divine ministry and Athanasius in his letters speaks of the emperor as God’s minister. The musical portrait of the emperor in the cathedral with the messianic text of the second Psalm set to music embellished by the kalophonic idiom fits the picture perfectly.

Other historical and cultural advancements that happened during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries indirectly intensified the practice of the kalophonic style and can be identified

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163 The emperors appointed the patriarchs with careful scrutiny, since these appointments were critical, especially when the unity of the empire was truly at stake. The relationship between the emperor and the patriarch was such that after the death of the emperor his successor often chose a new ecclesiastic partner. See Cavallo, *The Byzantines*, 189.
165 For more information on this subject see Angelov, *Imperial Ideology*, 351-416.
in the theological spirituality of the period. A case in point is the celebrated Hesychast movement that was revived in the fourteenth century by a Mount Athos monk, St. Gregory Palamas (1296-1359). This monk sought a divine quietness (hesychia) through constant contemplative prayer. Although this concept has its roots in the fourth century, in which it designated the contemplative monastic way of life, in the fourteenth century the term Hesychasm broadened, to include questions and other theological issues such as that of theosis (deification) and the nature of the vision of "Uncreated Light."167

While Hesychasm with its teachings, spirituality, and devotional practice did not fundamentally affect the creation of artworks per se, it did impact the religious experience of its partisans and supporters. It must have provided a kind of constructive guidance on how to look at images or how to appreciate the sacred chanting that surrounded them inside the church. In general, Hesychasm had a profound influence on society and possibly brought a powerful insight to the arts.168 If we understand theology not so much as a prescriptive body of doctrine but rather as a set of procedures and thought patterns that could structure ways of religious experience, then by all means it conditions the production and reception of religious works of art.169 From this perspective, it can be suggested that the spirituality of the movement intensified the artistic

167 Meyendorff, "Is ‘Hesychasm’ the Right Word?,” 449.
168 “I believe that these phenomena [Hesychasm and Kalophonia] are indeed related and that their common denominator is to be found in the artistic, liturgical, and even spiritual freedom presupposed by the music of the Akolouthiai.” Alexander Lingas, “Hesychasm and Psalmody,” in Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism: Papers from the 28th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, eds. Anthony Bryer and Mary Cunningham (Birmingham: Variorum, 1996), 168.
creations of the period with deep and prophetic meaning. The paintings of Theophanes the Greek, in which some critics see the internal light coming out of the faces of the person(s) in the icon, pointing to the "Uncreated Light" advocated by the Hesychasts, illustrate this perspective. By the same token, the long, mystifying kalophonic compositions with their wordless virtuoso sections may well have been received by their contemporaries as the experience of hesychia itself, without necessarily having been conceptualized as such by the composers.

Under all the historical circumstances described above, it would not be a stretch to assume that the selection of an encouraging scriptural text that upholds faith in God and implies trust in the emperor might be preferred and deliberately selected during those challenging last two centuries of the empire, the territory of which had shrunk considerably since 1204.

170 Kalolyris, “The Theology of Light and the Palaiologan Painting,” 343-354. See also Appendix G for Theofanes’s icons.

171 The Empire was smaller in 1261 than in 1200. It consisted only of a third of Asia Minor, a strip of territory across the Balkans, part of Peloponnese and some of the Aegean islands. The consequences of the territorial shrinkage meant also economic hardship since tax receipts have been lost and the Venetians with Genoese were controlling the trade and its revenues. See Jonathan Harris, Constantinople: Capital of Byzantium, 176-177.
CHAPTER 3

THE KALOPHONIC SETTINGS OF THE SECOND PSALM

3.1. INTRODUCTION

The analyses of the different types of musical settings - simple, florid, and prologues with kratemata (as those are recorded in the music manuscripts from both the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine eras) - constitute the main subject of this chapter. The results from such an endeavor, apart from presenting all characteristic and atypical compositions that represent by and large all types of musical settings written for the second Psalm, offer, in addition, valuable information on a variety of other significant topics such as performance practice, individual composers’ styles, and compositional techniques.

Music analyses of Psalmic verse settings have been an important component of other scholarly works in the field of Byzantine musicology. Edward Williams has transcribed the kalophonic melodies by different composers that accompanied the verses of the Prooemiac, Psalm 103. The analyses of the melodies across musical sources dated between 1309 and 1453 provided him with the following conclusive remarks: First, by the year 1332, the Prooemiac Psalm of Byzantine Vespers marked a shift regarding its performance practice.\(^{172}\) Second, Ioannes Koukouzeles was the first composer to depart from the older performance practice of the Prooemiac Psalm during the first half of the fourteenth century. Third, by comparing the musical settings by Koukouzeles for Psalm 103 and for Psalms 1, 2 and 3, Williams concluded that, with

\(^{172}\) In source EBE 2622 (1341-ca.1360) Williams has detected a new arrangement of verses for Psalm 103 that was to become standard during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. According to his observation, a new performance scheme can be derived based on the frequency of the transmitted text lines. For more details on the subject, see Williams, *John Koukouzeles’s Reform*, 146-149.
his skillfully conceived vocal lines produced by the coherent progressions from one register to another, the sympathetic approach to the text, his elaborate refrains and the dexterous fusion of diverse musical phrases, Ioannes Koukouzeles is the leading representative of the mature kalophonic style.\(^{173}\)

Diane Touliatos reached certain important conclusions from her music analyses of the Amomos, Psalm 118, in which she discerned kalophonic settings in various liturgical services by different composers. She discovered two basic families of melodies for the Asmatikos Orthros which the technique of migrating melodies is applied. This is a practice lying between contrafacta and centonization in which a melody for one Psalm verse is adapted to another. Touliatos argues that orally transmitted melodic formulae were still adhered to and passed on to succeeding generations of composers. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the composers of the kalophonic style with the melismatic sections and the intercalated syllables were freed from textual restrictions and were thus enabled to develop and express their own personal styles.\(^{174}\)

Achilleas Chaldaikēs analyzed the music settings of Polyeleos, Psalms 135-136, in the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine traditions, and concluded that, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, each Psalmic verse was composed to a simple and unembellished melody, using similar and cyclic musical theseis or phrases, thus putting the melic weight of the composition on the cadential refrain.\(^{175}\)

The music analyses of the present study provide some guidance on the performance practice of singing the second Psalm based on repetitions of music phrases, medial signatures\(^{176}\)

\(^{173}\) Idem., 205-206.

\(^{174}\) See Touliatos, The Byzantine Amomos, 88 and 215.

\(^{175}\) See Chaldaikēs, Ho polyeleos, 943.

\(^{176}\) Raasted draws three conclusions regarding the role of the medial signatures. "Thesis 1: The medial signatures in Byzantine musical manuscripts are to be taken to indicate that the
and other sets of printed rules. These features also dictate the alternate sections of soloist and choruses and their interaction during performance. This information is complemented by the statements in the rubrics and the comments in contemporaneous literary sources.

Music analyses also provide some acquaintance with the individual composers’ styles and inclinations. This is especially true through comparative studies of melodies by different composers, setting to music the same verses from the Psalm. Similarly, through the analyses we start to comprehend the artistic aims of composition of sacred vocal music and perhaps attain an aural glimpse of the ceremonies where these compositions were destined to serve either as music filler during the festive evening service and more specifically during Great Vespers and/or as a musical portrait in honor of the emperor.

This chapter focuses primarily on the analyses of the different types of musical settings of the second Psalm. All types of musical settings are illustrated with examples of music, in complete pieces or in the form of excerpts, enlightened with performance practice commentaries and represented with pieces by different composers for comparative purposes.

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corresponding intonations could be sung, for practical or ornamental reasons, except in cases where the opposite can be shown. Thesis 2: At times medial signatures are connected with singing that involves repetition or alternation between performers; in these cases the corresponding intonations were probably sung to facilitate precise attacks. To what extent conclusions about such performance types can be drawn from occurrences of medial signatures, is still an open question. Thesis 3: A considerable number of seemingly wrong medial signatures reflect tonal peculiarities in the musical context and cannot be dismissed as copyists’ errors or misunderstandings. It is reasonable to infer that the Byzantines felt the melodic formula in many of these cases to be transpositions or modulations.” See Jørgen Raasted, *Intonation Formulas and Modal Signatures in Byzantine Musical Manuscripts*, Monumenta Musicæ Byzantinae, Subsidia, VII (Copenhagen: E Munksgaard 1935), 162-163. In Appendix K, I provide the modal signatures which are placed at the beginning of the chant to determine the mode and the scale degree to which the piece will start. These signs may also be found at some of the structural point(s) of the composition to indicate modal change.
A comprehensive list of known music manuscripts around the world based on library catalogues and personal fieldwork is provided in Appendix A. From this list, a distinction has been made according to the host libraries’ inventories; ninety-nine manuscripts contain kalophonic settings of the second Psalm and forty-one give a vague indication of their possible inclusion in the settings in their folios. Listed in Appendix B, twenty music codices were consulted from which all analyses of entire pieces and excerpts were chosen. The selection of these music sources is based on the abundance of the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm in the Office of Great Vespers, on the condition of the manuscript and the legibility of the melodies, on the provision of new information about the subject, and lastly, on the limited number of scribal errors. From these codices, two hundred fifty-seven concordances of all types of musical settings are identified and provided in Appendix C.

From those twenty codices, eighteen pieces are analyzed in their entirety or are presented in the form of excerpts to illustrate the discussion of composition, performance practice and composers’ styles. Moreover, the selection of these chants is based on two basic criteria: frequency and distinctiveness. The frequency of their appearance is important since it reveals popularity in terms of performance and educational usage among their contemporaries as well as the need for preservation. On the other hand, those compositions that present some kind of divergence from the norm in terms of melodic originality, inventiveness concerning modal deviation and complexity in addition to any other novelty in composition, are also partially or fully analyzed in order to offer a wide-ranging account of the musical settings for this specific Psalm.

Emphasis is also given to the author's personalized style of composition. The kalophonic style witnessed the demise of a composer's anonymity as well as the participation of more than
one composer in the process of composition. Such cases are encountered in some florid settings where a composer improvises on an already finished composition by another named composer. Further interesting instances are the prologues with *kratemata*. It is conceivable that it is the scribe of the manuscript who combined a prologue with a *kratema*, since we may come across the same prologues to be accompanied by different *kratemata* and the same *kratema* to be preceded by different prologues. Consequently, prologue and *kratema* as a unit is commonly considered a composition by two different composers.

Furthermore, in the vast majority of music pieces under examination, the scribes provide the names of the composers, an action that permits the identification of personal styles and simultaneously traces the degree of continuation of the traditional method of composition across subsequent generations of composers. Music settings of the same verses by different composers and individual pieces with signatures by two composers are fully analyzed to illustrate the techniques of composition, either new or traditional, that marked this period. A list of names and titles of composers who set the verses of the second Psalm to music is provided in Appendix E. In Appendix F the same composers are listed with the intention of illustrating in chronological order the different generations of the authors and to trace the possible relationships amongst them.

Additionally, a comparative study with non-kalophonic anonymous settings of the second Psalm from the preceding period, found in the written sources alongside the mature kalophonic compositions, is offered to facilitate our overview of the musical and historical development of the kalophonic style. These "archaic" pieces are transcribed in an effort to show that many of their melodies are used as reworking music material in the mature kalophonic compositions. Besides, the fact that these melodies are found next to mature kalophonic pieces in the music
manuscripts testifies that these pieces were considered by their contemporaries as important source material for performance or possibly for instruction, or both, and therefore they were not necessarily disconnected from present-day music proceedings.

All music sources under examination are written in Byzantine "Round" notation. The transcriptions from the "Round" notation to Western staff notation follow the old *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* (MMB) system of transcription that (although the dynamic marks and rhythmical interpretation have been questioned, is still (in my opinion) valid and necessary for a number of reasons. The aim of the transcription is to create a methodological tool with a two-dimensional depiction of the music material (Western staff notation) as opposed to a linear representation of it (Byzantine neumes) in order to achieve a visual comprehension of the melodic line, especially for the non-readers of Byzantine neumes.

Evidently, the musical material is simplified, particularly when we transcribe a melody coded in a neumatic interval-based notation to a specific pitch notation written in staves. The Byzantine notation is not pitch-specific and the intervallic structure of the modes is founded on tetrachordal, pentachordal and octachordal systemata with fixed and movable steps where gravitational tonal attractions (ἐξεικότα) are applied in a dissimilar way, as the melody goes

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178 The *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* was formed in Copenhagen back in 1931 by three professors: Casten Höeg, H. J. W. Tillyard and Egon Wellesz. Many important publications have been produced, such as facsimiles of important Byzantine music manuscripts, studies and transcriptions on Byzantine chant notation, and translations and critical commentaries of theoretical music treatises regarding music notation and chant composition. In 2011, Christian Troelsøgård published a book introducing a revised method of transcribing the Byzantine neumes. See fn. 33.


180 For various debates regarding the transcription issue of the Byzantine chant, see Troelsøgård, *Byzantine Neumes*, 35-40.

either up or down the steps. Moreover, according to the concept of systema (in singular) the scale consists of the repetition of the same structural unit in a consecutive order. For example, the systema called trifonia or tetrachordal (diatessaron) has its scale built up by repetition of the same tetrachord while in the pentachordal system or trochos (diapente) the repeated unit is a pentachord. In the octachordal system (diapason) the unit is constructed of two tetrachords and a major tone. The tetrachords are either conjunct with the tone on the top or the bottom, or disjunct with the tone in between.

Table 4 shows the diatonic scale according to the three different systems. The shaded interval (c-d), theoretically distinguishes the tetrachords or pentachords as lower (G-c) and upper (d-g). 182

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 4</th>
<th>THE DIATONIC SCALE IN THE THREE SYSTEMATA</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>G</td>
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<tr>
<td>Octachordal</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentachordal</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tetrachordal</td>
<td>12</td>
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</table>

182 In Byzantine music theory the modes are called Kyrioi and Plagioi, which correspond to the Gregorian Authentic and Plagal. The modal theoretical tetrachordal or pentachordal structure is extended beyond the upper and lower tetrachords by repeating the tetrachordal or pentachordal sequence of conjunct or disjunct tetrachords or pentachords. Usually the plagal modes venture in the lower tetrachords (below and above the finalis) and Kyrioi modes tend to construct their melodies in the upper tetrachords.

183 All intervallic sizes are based on the decisions as have been standardized by the Patriarchal Committee in 1881 for the dissemination and rescue in essence of the sacred chant in accordance with the dictates of the tradition.
In addition, the properties of each neume are not limited only to intervallic steps but were conceived concurrently to point out a particular way of performing this interval. Dynamic qualities, such as moderate or sharp accentuation, rhythmical values dictating considerable or slight shortening or lengthening, including fermata, are a few of the properties that may be found embedded in a neumatic sign of the Byzantine music script. An anonymous music treatise dated from late fifteenth century called "Ἀκρίβεια περί τῶν τόνων τῆς παπαδικῆς τέχνης" (Questions and Answers on the Interval Signs) specifies the distinction between three one-step ascending signs, oligon, oxeia and petasthe, as follows:

In exactly the same way also the maker of the voices (tonal steps) has made first the foundation, i.e. the ison. And from the ison he wanted to ascend seven voices (steps), though not all of them at one time, but one by one. He made the oligon, namely in order to ascend little by little, i.e., one step (voice) and two and three, until seven. And for that reason it is called oligon. But when the maker then realized that the cheironomy is in need of another sharper voice, he made the oxeia. And it is sharper than the oligon, and for that reason is called oxeia. And again he wished to find for the cheironomy yet another voice broader than the oxeia; so he added up those three signs, i.e., the ison, the oligon and the oxeia, and it became one hypostasis (neumatic sign) called petasthe which means to fly.

In addition, this notation also depends on the oral tradition as a complementary tool to reproduce the sound that it purports to code. A case in point is the usage and function of the so-called subsidiary signs, variously called megalai semadia (great signs), megalai hypostaseis (great entities) and cheironomiai (cheironomic signs). These subsidiary signs, applied since ca.1300, are used to accompany specific conventional neume groups, confer precise rhythmical qualities upon the interval sign, convey a particular dynamic expression upon some of the interval signs and maintain a close relationship with the practice of cheironomy, hand-signs.

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184 See Appendix L for the neumes’ shape, value and dynamics.
performed simultaneously with the singing.\textsuperscript{186} Several of the specific qualities and properties of all these signs (approximately twenty in number) remain still in the realm of oral tradition.

Occasionally, interlinear variants are taken into consideration when transcription reaches a point of confusion. These variants (ranging from a single neume to a music phrase) are usually written in the manuscript above the music notation in red ink. Most likely their purpose is to resolve ambiguity by giving an alternative rendition of the melodic line. It seems that these lines bear witness to the scribe's effort to diminish, as much as he possibly could, the distance between oral and written sound.\textsuperscript{187}

Therefore, a great effort has been made to transcribe as closely as possible the Byzantine neumes to Western staff notation by respecting to a certain extent not only their intervallic quality but also approximately all their distinct properties in terms of rhythm, stress and length. My goal is to provide this study not just with a mere picture of the melodic line represented in stem-less black or white notes, as is currently suggested by MMB,\textsuperscript{188} but with a transcription of the melodic lines based on what is known hitherto about the interpretation of the Byzantine neumes, founded on several years of research by experts in the field of Byzantine musicology.\textsuperscript{189}

\textsuperscript{186}Katsifis, Elxeis, 47.
\textsuperscript{188}See Diane Touliatos-Miles’ criticism of the current MMB method of transcription of the Byzantine neumes to Western staff notation in her book review of Byzantine Neumes: A New Introduction to the Middle Byzantine Musical Notation, by Christian Troelsgård, Notes 69, no. 1 (2012): 101-103.
\textsuperscript{189}Investigation of the recurrent formulaic melismas with a Byzantine nomenclature has been conducted by Annette, Jung, “The Long Melismas in the Non-kalophonic Sticherarion,” Ph.D diss., University of Copenhagen 1998. A concise account of her results may be found in her article of the same title published in Cahiers de l’Institut du moyen-âge grec et latin, 70 (1999): 13-80. Various noteworthy attempts by modern scholars to assess Byzantine didactic poems regarding the interpretation of the neumes such as the Ison, oligon, oxeia attributed to Glykys and the Mega Ison attributed to Koukouzeles, and the “Method of Kalophonia” attributed to both
In order to achieve the greatest possible degree of accuracy and precision, contemporary music treatises\textsuperscript{190} are consulted as well as analytical studies performed by modern scholars in the field of Byzantine musicology. Scholarship and conjecture based on educated assumptions as well as information from current historical performance practices that honor the Byzantine medieval notation\textsuperscript{191} are in all probability a suitable way to obtain more accurate knowledge on this exciting topic, rather than to oversimplify this rich material and abandon almost every effort to promote and foster it.

However, we should never disregard the fact that the transcription, above and beyond everything, aims to be an illustrative tool to represent the music graphically, rather than to substitute for the original notation.

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\textsuperscript{190} See primary sources in the bibliography. Also, the critical edition of Chrysanthos of Madytos, \textit{Theōrētikon megal tēs mousikēs}, which standardized the notational reform which took place in the beginning of the nineteenth-century, can sometimes be quite useful for our understanding of Byzantine composers’ attitudes. Given the desire for preservation of the Byzantine and Greek traditions, we may accept the idea that many practical observations and positions explained in this nineteenth-century theoretical treatise of post-Byzantine chant have been “religiously” transmitted to the modern era from the Byzantine period. See Chrysanthos of Madytos, \textit{Theōrētikon megal tēs mousikēs}, ed. Georgios Konstantinou (Agio Oros: Iera Megisti Moni Vatopediou, 2007).

Hence, the transcriptions in the current study provide the original Byzantine notation as it appears in the manuscripts with the Psalmic text in Greek Koine\textsuperscript{192} below the staves. This preference lies at the heart of my aim, which is to graphically illustrate the analyzed melodies in order to comprehend the logic of composition, distinguish the composers' personal styles, trace the frequency of modulations, identify old melodies used as reworking material, and even to loosely follow the development of the notation along with the evolution of the kalophonic style. In other words, by providing the original notation and language below the staves, the reader can have a comprehensive representation of the music material, since the neumes and the language of the poetic text are in constant interaction with the music-making. In this way, the reader of the analyzed pieces can gain a notion of the melodic lines by looking at the staves, can understand the expressive and dynamic marks by observing the corresponding neumes, and can appreciate the interaction between text and music, whether they are bound as they flow or go along independently. The old MMB transcription system with the original neumatic notation and the scriptural text in Greek Koine below the staff fulfills this purpose.

Finally, the results from the analyses corroborate the variety of the settings composed for this Psalm and give validation to the claims that the musical settings of the second Psalm are exemplary specimens of the kalophonic style, fulfilling not only a liturgical purpose but also, according to my hypothesis, constituting simultaneously an artistic vehicle for imperial promotion. The prolific compositions for this Psalm during the Palaiologan period, when the last dynasty of Byzantine emperors was struggling for the survival of their institution and ultimately

\textsuperscript{192} This language is the popular form of the ancient Greek language during the Hellenistic period (323 B.C - 324 A.D.), Koine (common) was used widely during the medieval period, especially in the Eastern Europe. It is the language in which the Gospels were originally written and was also used for the teaching and spreading of Christianity. The Greek Orthodox Church uses this language for its rite to the present day.
of the empire itself, bear witness to the hidden purpose of these pieces, the production of which stopped abruptly after the fall of Constantinople.

Moreover, in order to comprehend the value of this sacred music at its heart, it is imperative to keep hold of the underlying principle of the very existence of Christian chant in general: to pray for forgiveness for the sins of humankind and reunion with God. Consequently, vocal sacred music in this context, especially during the sections without words, when long melismas (kratemata) isolate and alienate a syllable from its original word and teretismata, lengthy vocalizations considered by the practitioners as meaning-free\textsuperscript{193} rather than meaningless sounds, presume to render this spirituality, the same act of prayer, at a more profound level than the words themselves, even of a sacred text.\textsuperscript{194}

\textsuperscript{193} In the \textit{Theōrētikon mega tēs mousikēs} by Chrysanthos published in 1816, it is stated that the syllables-words that are used in order to tune correctly and find the base of each mode are not random nonsense syllables but rather words with meaning. "Παράγεται δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀνανα νές ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνα ἄνες, τούτεστιν ἄνα ἄφες, τὸ δὲ νεανες, ἀπὸ τοῦ ναί ἄνες, τὸ δὲ νανά ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνα ἄνα, τὸ δὲ ἄγια, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄγιε, εὐχή ἐστὶ πρὸς θεὸν ἀναφερομένη." See Chrysanthos of Madytos, \textit{Theōrētikon mega tēs mousikēs}, 232-233. Also Constantine Porphyrogenitus (913-959), a Byzantine emperor who composed ecclesiastical music, wrote a treatise called \textit{Armonika} in four volumes in which he discussed the meaning of these words and their theological connection. In the dictionary by Skarlatos D. Vyzantios, written in 1874, the entry "Χάδι" which is derived from the word "Ηχάδιον" (which translates to 'mode'), refers to Constantine Porphyrogenitus as providing the first testimony of using these words to tune or define the ecclesiastical modes. "Χάδι (προφ. και Χάδι, και ως ἐπὶ τό πληθ. τά Χάδια έκ τοῦ Ηχάδιον, λέξις τῆς παλαιᾶς μουσικῆς, τήν ὅποια ἀναφέρει ὁ Κ. Πορφυρογέννητος. "Καί εἰθ' οὕτως λέγουσιν οἱ κράκται το ιχάδιον (sic)" ναάτα (καὶ κατωτέρω) "Καί μετά ταῦτα λέγουσι οἱ κράκται ιχάδιον 'ἀνανα'. Τά ήχαδια ταύτα ψάλλονται εἰσέτι, ώς γνωστόν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ἡμῶν ὑμνοῖς τῶτε Χερουβικώ καὶ Κοινωνικώ." See Skarlatos D. Vyzantios, \textit{Lexikon tes kath' hemas hellenikes dialekton} (Athens: Andreas Koromilas, 1874), 516. Panagiotopoulos also informs us about these polysyllabic formulae, stating that they owe their provenance to an actual prayer "ἀναξ ἄφες, ναί ἄφες, ἄναξ, ἄναξ, ἄγιε." [Καί τὸ μὲν ἀνανανες παράγουν ἐκ τοῦ ἄνα, ἄνες, τὸ δὲ νεανες ἀκ τοῦ ναί ἄνες, τὸ νανά ἐκ τοῦ ἄνα ἄνα καὶ το ἁγια ἐκ τοῦ ἁγιε.] D. G. Panagiotopoulos, \textit{Theōria kai praxis tēs vyzantinēs ekklesiastikēs mousikēs} (Athens: Soter, 2003), 45, fn. 3.

3.2. THE MUSICAL SETTINGS OF THE SECOND PSALM

Within the Greek Orthodox rite, the Psalter constitutes an essential element for the development of liturgical services and sacred ceremonies and has remained since the beginning of the rite’s formation an important component of community and private prayer. Regarding the musical settings of the Psalms, they constitute some of the oldest compositions that embellished and subsequently developed the rite. In other words, apart from the pure recitation of the Psalms during services, these scriptural texts became the sacred pretext for the development of ecclesiastical music and consequently contributed in a direct way to the further growth of the rite.\textsuperscript{195}

However, as the liturgies were enriched by additional music material, other independent musical genres appeared such as \textit{Troparia}, which were once destined to serve as refrains to the Psalmic settings. The result was the diminishing frequency of the Psalmic music composition. Their presence in the liturgy was overshadowed by the musical settings of the developing hymnography such as \textit{Kontakia} and \textit{Kanons}, two of the non-scriptural genres of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. Nevertheless, the Book of Psalms as the primary source of texts for musical settings never ceased to be considered as a major component of music-making. In line with liturgical circumstances, Psalmic texts were selectively chosen and embellished with music of unprecedented beauty.

This is the case for the musical settings of the second Psalm, the text of which during the kalophonic period enjoyed an astonishing prevalence of music embellishment. According to the

\textsuperscript{195} “In the early centuries, there was no such a thing as a free-standing liturgical song, i.e., a non-scriptural composition sung independently. All early liturgical chants were Psalmody, and ecclesiastical songs had no independent liturgical existence, but served only as refrains to be repeated after the verses of a Psalm.” Robert Taft, “How Liturgies Grow: The Evolution of the Byzantine ‘Divine Liturgy,’” \textit{Orientalia Christiana Periodica} 43, no. 2 (1977): 372.
evidence from the written sources, the second Psalm, as far as its musical settings are concerned, reaches its zenith during the kalophonic period, and more specifically from the early fourteenth century until roughly the end of the Byzantine Empire in 1453. Its presence in the manuscripts after the 15th century is mostly due to preservation purposes, an attempt to safeguard the best examples of a vanishing repertory.

By examining a number of Akolouthia manuscripts dating from 1336 (EBE 2458) to ca. 1700 (Koutloumousiou 449) that include kalophonic settings of the second Psalm, one can distinguish three different types of settings: simple, florid, and prologues with vocalizations over syllables from the text known as kratemata or textless vocalization on meaning-free syllables called teretismata.

The simple settings are typically found in the manuscript in the section of Great Vespers between the settings of the first and the third Psalms. Once Psalm 103 (known commonly as Anoixantaria) is sung, the Great Synapti, a series of petitions each concluding with the phrase "Let us pray to the Lord" follows, and immediately after them begins the Makarios Aner unit that encompasses Psalms 1, 2 and 3, also known as the first stasis of the first kathisma. Curiously enough, in the vast majority of the sources, simple settings of the same verses by different

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196 The usage of the second Psalm during the preceding periods has been explored in chapter 2.

197 Newly composed settings for the second Psalm appear again in the written tradition in 1741. Jerusalem, Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Codex Taphou 489 ff. 45v-46v records the simple rather syllabic settings by Genadeios of Anchialos. All verses of the Psalm are set to music without kratema and alleluia sections but with syntactically-altered text applied to almost all the verses. Since these compositions are composed in another chronological period with no aim to preserve the kalophonic corpus of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, they are considered irrelevant to the present study.

198 See Appendix B for a list of consulted manuscripts.

199 Kratema (singular) and kratemata (plural) translate ‘to hold’ and in a musical context means ‘to prolong the composition.’ The same applies to teretism and teretismata. Both words are used where needed.

200 Williams, John Koukouzeles’s Reform, 221.
composers are copied consecutively in the same manuscript. A plausible explanation for such a phenomenon is that the scribe intentionally provided the performers with the option of selecting the composition of their liking rather than singing them all one after the other. Besides, the relatively small-sized Akolouthia book where these compositions are gathered is practically an anthology with the purpose of reference and not performance per se. In other words, the cantors knew the repertory by memory and thus they referred to the book to choose specific pieces to chant during the services according to local customs and need. More specifically, the choice from the selector’s standpoint was based on modal or/and melodic preference, performers’ skill and availability, and the local liturgical occasion.

The florid settings appear always in the manuscripts’ section of Great Vespers service and as a result at times seem disconnected from the aforementioned group of Psalms (1, 2 and 3). However, in some sources, the florid settings are interpolated with the simple settings. But whether interpolated or separated they are always found in that part of the manuscript where Great Vespers is assigned. Such a choice of integration is also possibly due to local usage and/or events and unquestionably reflects actual performance practice. In other words, the users of this manuscript had the option, depending on the liturgical occasion, to choose between a long or short musical setting of verses from the same Psalm.

The prologues with kratemata are compositions with the Psalmic text in the prologue and an extended kratema attached to it. Usually the prologue section resembles the form of a simple setting, given that it sets to music just a few verses from the Psalm in a rather syllabic fashion. However, the prologues present diverse stylistic music writing, and most importantly, are lacking refrains. Without refrains, which incidentally are the section of embellishment for the simple

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201 Some of the manuscripts that interpolate the simple with the florid settings are: EBE 906, EBE 2456, VAT 1527, and MIIT 425.
settings, the prologues focus on showing artistry in the Psalmic text section. The *kratema*, on the other hand, is an independent composition following the prologue, sung in florid style. Prologue and *kratema* are composed by either the same or two different composers. Based on the evidence from the music manuscripts, certain prologues are not consistently followed by the same *kratema* and different combinations of prologues with *kratemata* are plentiful in the sources. Therefore, a prologue and accompanying *kratema* are frequently connected modally but not always melodically. And it appears that in the case of a two-author composition it is up to the scribe’s preference to match the music works and create such a combination.\footnote{Anastasiou, *Ta kratēmata*, 128.}

The prologues with *kratemata* are compositions to be found either interpolated with the florid settings of the second Psalm or grouped together as “Order of Kratemata” (Ἀρχὴ τῶν κρατημάτων) in another section of the manuscript. Whether interpolated or grouped together, they are almost always encountered in the section of the Great Vespers service to supply music material to this lengthy and festive liturgical act.\footnote{The order [of the *Akolouthia* book, where the kalophonic chants are recorded,] follows the conventions of liturgical books, placing Vespers before *Orthros* and putting the three forms of the Mass at the end. But between *Orthros* and the Mass, the old arrangement of chant-cycles is kept - at least in the fourteenth century- chants like the *Polyeleos* and the *Amomos*, forming cycles that lie outside their liturgical position.” See Simon Harris, “The Fourteenth-Century Akolouthiae,” *Cantus Planus* (1998): 452.}

3.3. THE SIMPLE SETTINGS

The simple settings typically present a syllabic opening section, but in the process they show evidence of some if not all of the signature kalophonic features such as melismas, text reworking with almost complete rearrangement of the word syntax (anagrammatismoi) and even textless vocalizations on nonsense syllables *te, ti, ta, to* (teretismata). All these features are
presented in a more concise and shorter version than those in the florid settings and their main function, as far as music composition is concerned, is to lengthen the piece and allow for the materialization of the composer's inspiration and/or the performers virtuosity. It is plausible that in churches and parishes where the personnel was either deficient or not skillful enough to perform highly technical complex compositions, or in cases where the services were shortened, the simple settings were probably preferred.

Another usage of simple settings might be during the Daily Vespers, essentially the plain evening Office without the parallel celebration of any specific feast or any Sunday eves, both occasions reserved for Great Vespers. Information on performance practice as offered in the rubrics regularly dictates that the syllabic section is to be sung by the choir and the more elaborate section by the soloist. There are also on display other types of rubrics, such as the words λέγε “say it” and πάλιν “again,” which instead of being written in the margins of the manuscript's folios are interpolated inside the text in red ink with short melodic figurations to accompany them. These words prompt the soloist to start his line or repeat the previous music phrase, respectively. At the same time, both of these rubrics, λέγε “say it” and πάλιν “again,” as is indicated in the music analyses, constitute structural points of the composition.

Concurrently, one can argue that the simple settings are not considered as genuine kalophonic compositions since typically the kalophonic style is associated with, and defined by, extended florid compositions. Nonetheless, long and florid settings are not features limited to kalophonic compositions. Melismas in Byzantine music can be dated as far back as the ninth century.\footnote{Jung examined manuscripts of the 10\textsuperscript{th} to 12\textsuperscript{th} centuries in the Sticherarion and concluded that: “Expressed by the ‘theta’ and ‘diple’ notations, which mark only the presence and position of a melisma, there is an indication that the hymns had their long melismas already in the oral
scale, many indisputable kalophonic features such as the *kratemata*, extensive melismas, and, in cases, change of text syntax that definitely classify them as such.

More to the point, in some manuscripts at the beginning of a group of simple settings, one may find explicit rubrics attesting that these “undemanding” compositions are kalophonic, a testimony that I am taking at face value.  

Likewise, Jørgen Raasted was inclined to accept the idea that these traditional melodies may be expanded or enlarged according to occasion, desire, and need.  

In other words, these compositions may appear short in written form but they might have constituted the basic material for their contemporary performers to launch their improvisation according to unwritten rules. Another reading of the rubrics can possibly indicate that the simple settings were considered indeed as kalophonic compositions by their contemporaries with only the florid ones destined to be sung in the service of Great Vespers.

The following composition (Example 1) is a simple setting of the second Psalm, verse 7a:  

> Διαγγέλων τὸ πρόσταγμα Κυρίου” (I will proclaim the decree of the Lord). It is composed by Ioannes Koukouzeles (1270-1350?), frequently indicated in the rubrics simply as "maistor," the master. Koukouzeles was a prolific composer, theorist, and performer of the fourteenth

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205 Rubrics of Filotheou 122, ff. 57v and EBE 2401 ff.63v: ἀπὸ τούτου γίνεται καλλιφωνία, καὶ μετὰ ταύτα ἀρχεῖ τὸ δομέστικος τοῦ αʹ χοροῦ τὴν βαν στάσιν, ἦτοι τοῦ βʹ ψαλμοῦ, ἀπὸ χοροῦ, translates to: “From here the kalophonia takes place and with these the Domestikos of the first choir [starts] the second stasis, that is Psalm 2, by the choir.” In both manuscripts only simple settings are listed after the opening statement from the rubrics. See also Appendix I for rubrics preceding simple kalophonic settings of the second Psalm in facsimile.

206 There may always have been a possibility to enlarge and expand the short traditional melodies whenever the need arose according to unwritten rules of which we may have a glimpse in the post medieval exegetical versions.” Jørgen Raasted “Length and Festivity: On Some Prolongation Techniques in Byzantine Chant,” in *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of C. Clifford Flanigan*, eds. Eva Louise Lillie and Nils Holger Peterson (Copenhagen: Museaum Tusculanum Press, 1996), 81.

207 See Appendix D for the enumeration of the Psalm's verses.
century as well as the acclaimed reformer of Byzantine chanting for Great Vespers.\textsuperscript{208} According to a list of the consulted manuscripts, this piece is copied into two sources from the late fourteenth century EBE 906 (f.29v) and mid-fifteenth century EBE 2401(ff.65v-66r), respectively. Its dissemination in these manuscripts suggests that this composition is not only considered an artistic piece worthy preserving, but also bears witness to its popularity and usage a century after its creation.

This composition presents two features that qualify it as a kalophonic one. There are long melismas over syllables from the text and a kratema over the word “alleluia,” interpolating meaning-free syllables, ne-ta-ne, known as teretism. The main text has not been altered by the lengthening technique of anagrammatismos, since the composition is relatively short and in simple settings the main melodic development usually occurs in the alleluia section. The piece does not modulate to modal areas other than the initial one, the Fourth plagal mode.

With few exceptions, composers do not venture to other modes in simple setting compositions, possibly due to the short size of the piece. And if they do, they usually modulate to a mode of the same genus, in the case of the Fourth plagal mode, the diatonic genus or to other modes in the enharmonic or chromatic genus if they share the same melodic formulae.

More specifically, there are three genera in Byzantine music theory: the diatonic, the chromatic and the enharmonic. The First and Fourth modes along with their plagals belong to the diatonic mode, the Second and its plagal to the chromatic and the Third with Barys (third plagal) to the enharmonic. The relationship between modes and genera is based on the different sizes of intervals (tones, semitones, quarter of a tone, ditones, tritones, etc.) that comprise each particular

\textsuperscript{208} For the best account in English on Koukouzeles and his contribution to the Byzantine chanting for Great Vespers in the fourteenth century see Edward Williams, \textit{John Koukouzeles’s Reform} and, by the same author, “A Byzantine Ars Nova,” 211-229.
mode. Diatonic intervals are perfect unison, octave, fifth, fourth, large, small and smallest seconds, minor and major third, sixths, sevenths, the augmented fourth and its inversion, the diminished fifth. Chromatic intervals are the augmented and diminished intervals obtained as a result of chromatic alteration like the augmented third. Enharmonic intervals are those smaller than a semitone, or larger intervals involving microtones, like the three quartertone interval.\textsuperscript{209}

The enharmonic genus which comprises the Third mode and its plagal \textit{Barys} was very difficult to perform and it became obsolete when the notational and theoretical reform took place in 1816. Since then, the enharmonic modes’ intervallic structure is based on two conjunct tetrachords of tone-tone-semitone.\textsuperscript{210}

In this piece the composer uses the properties of the Fourth plagal mode, such as initial (A), medial (B) and cadential (C) formulae that coincide naturally with the accents of the text, as well as with either weak or strong textual caesuras. In addition, the elaborate usage of all those characteristics proper to the Fourth plagal mode such as initial, medial and cadential formulae, the highlighting of dominant pitches such as G, b, and d, and a suitable vocal range are essential in order to establish audibly the particular \textit{ethos} of the mode and consequently to enhance the symbolic meaning and spiritual content of the text.\textsuperscript{211}

Table 5 shows the intervallic structure, lower and upper tetrachords, basic formulae, finalis and dominant notes of the Fourth Plagal mode, by far the most frequently used mode for the kalophonic settings of the second psalm.

\textsuperscript{209} Gheorghe, \textit{A Theory of Byzantine Music}, 60-63.

\textsuperscript{210} See Table 10 for Third and Barys mode’s interval sizes.

\textsuperscript{211} The accidentals that I am using are based on the practice of the so-called 'attractions' which determines the gravitational poles that exist between the pitches of a tetrachord and the way by which the affected pitches move when ascending or descending the tetrachords. A comprehensive account of this theory can be found in Katsifis, \textit{Elxeis}. In Western music this practice of unwritten accidentals in vocal music is called 'musica ficta.'
An important aspect for the analysis of a Byzantine music composition is the identification of the melodic formulae found purposely dispersed throughout the work and more precisely at the beginning and end of musical phrases. It is very important to become conscious of the idea that Byzantine composers do not conceive their melodic lines note-to-note but rather formula-to-formula. In other words, the composer does not consider the mode as a sequence of pitches in ascending or descending order but rather as a set of formulae that define the mode's sound and ultimately its ethos.

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212 All intervallic calculations in modal tables are taken from D. G. Panagiotopoulos, *Theoría kai praxis tês vyzantinês ekklesiastikês mousikês* (Athens: Soter, 2003) and reflect the theoretical reform and new educational methods that took place in the nineteenth century.

213 "Formula is a brief musical phrase which, depending on its kind, shows up in a great or limited number of incidences in the melodies of a mode or a group of related modes. The same formula, in accordance with the number and accent pattern of the syllables of the poetic text it covers, or even in the way it is connected to the preceding or following formula, may appear as a variation, without altering its basic nucleus. Every formula, according to its kind (beginning, medial, cadential), lies at a specifically defined position in the text." See George Amargianakis, "The Interpretation of the Old Sticherarion," in *Byzantine Chant: Tradition and Reform*, ed. Christian Troelsgård (Athens: The Danish Institute at Athens, 1997), 23.

214 The transcription of the formulae in the staves does not indicate the Byzantine neumes' intervallic value and consequently such an action oversimplifies the material. The same sequence of notes encountered in one mode has a distinctive audible result proper to that mode. Equally, the same formula applied to different modes has a unique characteristic sonority effect pointing to each specific mode because the intervallic value varies substantially.
The formulae move within a tetrachord or a pentachord and in essence are melodic phrases that emphasize the stable or fixed pitches of the mode in order to present its character.\textsuperscript{215} In this way, some formulae are exclusive to a particular mode or are shared with other modes, a fact that facilitates the modulation of the melody back and forth. The formulae in a music composition are repeated as such or are modified in a simple or complex way. Sometimes the text with its poetic melody (accent and syllable-count), but mostly the composer and/or soloist’s inventive skills and preferences, are the main modifying factors of the modal formulae.\textsuperscript{216}

There are three identifiable formulae (in brackets)\textsuperscript{217} associated with the Fourth plagal mode that govern the melody of this composition. These formulae are presented in a simple form and/or are manipulated by the composer in such a way that the music performs a dual role: to enhance the words of the text (syllabic form) or to convey its meaning (embellished form). Evidently, it is the composer’s preference and skill that determines how a given text is to be sung. In Koukouzeles’ piece (Example 1), I have identified three formulae relevant to the Fourth plagal mode to illustrate the above statement: The initial or intonation formula A (G-a-G) found at the beginning of the piece and as a companion to the meaning-free syllables, the medial formula B (c-b-a-b) applied in the refrain section on the syllables "ta-alle" functioning as a half cadence, and the cadential one C (c-b-a-G) that is encountered as a rule at the end of a textual

\textsuperscript{215} Since the Byzantine modes have a tetrachordal and pentachordal structure at heart, the steps of the scale that are fixed and inmovable are I, IV and V, while the flexible steps are considered to be II, III, VI, and VII. The latter steps in the course of the performance may be slightly moved as they are attracted by the powerful stable steps. Exceptions to the above rules may apply.


\textsuperscript{217} All indentified formulae for each particular mode will be marked in brackets in the music examples. Each formulae is marked as A, B, C, etc., letters which point to the tables, where the interval sizes, dominant and cadential pitches and formulae are presented for each specific mode.
phrase and every so often in a simple and/or more elaborated form. In this piece, the cadential formula appears in the last three syllables of every occurrence of the word alleluia and therefore coincides with the textual caesuras.

When we encounter the formula enhanced by interpolated notes, the main notes of the formula are still identifiable since they frequently coincide with accented syllables of the text. In some other cases though, the composer decides to ignore the inflections of the text in favor of the melodic line. If we take a closer look at the beginning of the piece we can observe that the intonation formula G-G-a-G-G follows the word accent but totally ignores it when the melody jumps to b in order to initiate an embellished melodic departure right on the syllable -γμα and to land on G again. The word Κυρίου (of the Lord) is accompanied by a rather conclusive melodic phrase that follows the accent of the word and highlights the Fourth plagal mode's distinguishing intervals.

The melodic ambitus is that of an octave, from D to d that makes the final note G the central pitch of the compositional register. Traditionally, the plagal modes use extensively the lower tetrachord as well as the one below the final pitch, while their respective Kyrioi κύριοι modes form their melodies mostly in the upper tetrachords. In the middle of the second staff, the word λέγε, (“say,”) in red ink comes into sight as a structural point that marks the end of the Psalmic text section and the beginning of the refrain, the alleluia section. It is, in fact, a textual linkage of different text and music in the same composition that clearly serves as a musical cue, since it anticipates the note that follows. The word “say” also plays the role of musical rubric pointing to performance practice. This change equally corresponds to the end of the text sung by the choir and the beginning of the alleluia, a more florid, improvisatory section probably reserved for the soloist.
The alleluia section, which surpasses the textual section in length and complexity, can be divided into three parts. The first part starts after the word λέγε ("say") and ends before the word πάλιν ("again"). In this part, the first two syllables from the word alleluia are repeated (a-lle-alleluia) and the whole part is repeated twice. The melodic line is getting bolder by running through all notes of the octave from d to G to D and back to G. The second section starts with the word πάλιν, in red ink, which dictates that the melody of the second statement of the word alleluia be repeated. In fact, though, it introduces a shorter textual and melodic repetition of the previous section. A melodic bridge from a to c is formed over the word πάλιν in order to accomplish the transition. Evidently, the word πάλιν, although it prescribes a specific action to the performers, that of repetition, maintains the same application, that of a musical cue, by emphasizing the anticipated note. After the repetition the melody enters into the third part of the alleluia section where, within the syllables of the word alleluia, meaning-free syllables are interpolated (teretism), a feature suggesting in all probability their performance by the soloist.\(^\text{218}\)

The melodic flow of the composition changes considerably, a trait always found in the kratemata section of the florid compositions. In this part the melody runs the whole octave again, this time from D to G to d and back to G. Melodic leaps of ascending and descending fifths and fourths add a dramatic quality to this closing section that is marked by the final cadence in G, the finalis of the Fourth plagal mode.

In this composition there is no particular word painting. The Psalmic text is accompanied by a syllabic melodic line respecting the accented syllables of the text and there is an embellished cadential formula from c to G on the last syllable of the word pro-sta-gma ("decree"). In the alleluia section the composer uses a more adventurous musical language, and

\(^{218}\) Anastasiou, *Τα kratêmata*, 444.
as a result the concluding part of the composition acquires a dramatic quality. The means by which the composer develops this section allows him to exhibit his personal style without disregarding the tradition’s confines. However, the degree to which tradition and personalized style are combined in Byzantine chant needs more clarification.

With respect to the melodic formulae or theseis associated with a particular mode, they comprise a compositional technique that goes back as early as the tenth century, according to the evidence from the written sources. This practice is evidently much older but without written records to denote its genesis. The composers of the kalophonic period were using the formulae in a simple or modified form in an effort to honor and disseminate the tradition and yet leave their personal mark on their artistic creations, clearly a new trend during the period under study. Not coincidentally, during the kalophonic period another novelty came to the surface. Composers’ names appear for the first time with frequency in the manuscripts, a fact which reveals that the Byzantine composers were emerging from anonymity, personalizing their pieces by manipulating the melodic formulae in innovative ways. Their achievements were such that some of them enjoyed imperial patronage and fame. In addition, all Byzantine composers were also accomplished chanters with professional positions not only in the ecclesiastic organizations but as prominent teachers disseminating their art through education. The preparation of the church cantors was accomplished under the supervision of the church. The performers were active as singers in the liturgies and as educators in the ecclesiastic music preparatory schools. The relationship between teacher and student was based on respect for the tradition, with the teacher setting an example and the student imitating it. Students could start their education at the age of
five years, learning reading and writing from the sacred texts so that ethos, knowledge, and sacred music would be part of their life experience.\footnote{For more details on the singer's education in Byzantium see Spyrakou, \textit{Hoi chori psaltôn}, 517-537. For more information about the teaching of the discipline of music in the Byzantine educational system see Floros, \textit{Hē hellēnikē paradosē stis mousikes graphes tou mesaiôna}, 99-107.}

In order to appreciate fully the previously analyzed composition by Koukouzeles we need to recognize the advancements made in the field of composition by comparing this piece to a much earlier, anonymous composition that sets to music the same verse (Example 2). The rubrics tagged it as Παλαιόν that translates to “old,” referring possibly to the first anonymous compositions with kalophonic features worthy of being kept and disseminated in the same music sources with the mature kalophonic masterpieces for performance and / or instruction. This composition is recorded in EBE 2444 (f.30r), a mid-fourteenth-century \textit{Akolouthia} manuscript, with no concordances in the examined manuscripts.

The anonymous composition starts on b instead of G by using as an initial formula (c-b-a-b), instead of (G-a-G), the intonation formula omnipresent in every attributed composition. This divergence may be an indication of a change in the performance practice domain. The anonymous piece uses a very low register with the melodic line descending down to C, a low pitch reached repeatedly in the second occurrence of “alleluia,” assuming the role of an anticlimax. The musical phrases do not always coincide with the textual ones, particularly in the alleluia section, granting to the melodic flow some form of emancipation from the text. The opening melodic phrase remains within the tetrachord c-b-a-G and concludes in an embellished descending stepwise motion from G to D on the syllable -ou. The next melodic line expands the vocal range from D to d. It also accompanies the textual phrase, “The decree of the Lord,” respecting the accents of the words and thus emphasizing their meaning.
However, the same exact melodic line is applied identically in the last part of the alleluia section and therefore is eventually used to conclude the composition. It seems like the first appearance of this melodic phrase supports and follows the musicality of the text while in its reappearance it is more independent from its textual companion. This must be an excellent example for instructional purposes of applying “economy of means,” by denoting that the same exact music material with a different text underneath it can still accomplish an interesting, suitable effect.

Moreover, the alleluia section is equal in length to the section with the Psalmic verse, a proportion no longer proper for the mature simple kalophonic setting. The opening melodic phrase of the alleluia section resembles the one in the text in terms of register, b to G, adding an embellished stepwise descent to C, which mirrors the stepwise descent to D in the text section in terms of using the lower below-the-finalis tetrachord, repeated twice for dramatic purposes. In short, the composition can be divided into two parts, with Part B (refrain) considered as a more elaborate variation of Part A (psalmic verses). Both parts’ endings are identical as far as music is concerned. Part A carries the text, with the melody supporting its accents. In Part B, which comprises the refrain or alleluia section, the melodic lines gain independence from the text and appear bolder in terms of ambitus by reaching as far low as C, thus creating the most dramatic point of the composition.

The concluding remarks on the two analyzed compositions, separated chronologically by perhaps two generations of composers, offer a better understanding of the developmental progress of the kalophonic style and its impact on Byzantine chanting in general. The anonymous piece is simpler in writing, with the melodic phrases mainly in stepwise motion and a few leaps of a third. Both parts are almost equal in length. As far as performance practice is
concerned, the rubrics remain silent. We may suggest that the identical melodic lines that conclude Parts A and B may be performed by the choir(s) as refrains, while the rest of the composition is reserved for the soloists.

The piece by Koukouzeles has taken over some of the features that have been found in the anonymous piece and has brought them to the next level. He makes use of the lower tetrachord under the finalis (G) by reaching to D four times. Intonation and cadential formulae are well-defined and appear varied throughout the composition. The writing is bolder than the writing in the earlier anonymous piece, with leaps of thirds, fourths and fifths creating more than one dramatic point. In addition, the purpose of a repetitive musical phrase is different in these two pieces. In the anonymous composition, the repetition works as the set line to conclude both parts and, as a result, the composition itself. In Koukouzeles’ piece, the repetitions just add some length to the piece and probably facilitate performance practice variation. The alleluia section is longer by far in the piece by Koukouzeles, acquires melodic independence from the textual part, and evidently constitutes the part where the composer shows off his talent and inspirational zeal.

The purpose of the following analyses is also comparative. I choose to analyze two pieces by two contemporaneous authors in order to illustrate the plurality of compositional styles during the kalophonic period. These next examples are two simple setting compositions by different composers both setting to music the same verse 9b "Ὥς σκεύη κεραμέως συντρίψεις αὐτούς" (You will dash them to pieces like pottery.) The first composition (Example 3) is by Xenos Korones (flourished in early fourteenth century), Protopsaltes of the royal clergy (Πρωτοψάλτης Εὐαγός βασιλικοῦ κλήρου), a title recorded in the manuscripts. The composition is copied in three manuscripts: EBE 906 (f.31v), Filotheou 122 (ff.60v-61r) and, EBE 2401 (ff.67v-68r). The second composition (Example 4) is by Stylianos Hieromonachus (fourteenth century?), possibly
a monk at the Mount Athos community or in a monastery around the city of Constantinople. This piece is recorded in EBE 2401 (f.68r) and EBE 906 (f.31r).

Both compositions present common characteristics consistent with the kalophonic tradition’s standards. They are written and remain in the Fourth plagal mode. The text is accompanied by music in syllabic style with short melismas respecting the accents of the words while the refrain section is more florid and bolder melodically. On the other hand, the way in which the formulae are manipulated determines the manner in which the text is to be heard, and, as a result, characterizes and individualizes the compositional style of each author.

More specifically, both composers choose to underline musically the Psalmic verses in different ways. Korones uses the intonation formula (A) to accompany the words of the text until the first melisma, which starts at the accentuated syllable of the word (συντρίψεις) meaning “to crush.” The melodic phrase finishes in b and not in g, granting an unending effect fulfilled by the subsequent alleluia section. Stylianos, on the other hand, chooses to start with the intonation formula (A) and to jump abruptly to the reciting tone d on the accented syllable of the word “συντρίψεις,” successfully using that leap as a word painting effect. In the process, he unfolds a melisma only to go back to G in order to close the textual section by means of the cadential formula (C). In this way, he clearly distinguishes the Psalmic verse section from its refrain (alleluia). As far as the melodies in the alleluia section are concerned, in Stylianos’ piece, the first two statements of alleluia are fairly syllabic and conservative in style. Korones, on the other hand, begins the alleluia section by using a melismatic version of the medial formula (B) and,

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moreover, reaches to the highest note of the composition. The cadential formula (c-b-a-G) is found unmodified yet accompanied by a short coda in Stylianos' piece while in Korones' it is rhythmically varied. Stylianos uses more disjunct intervals of octaves and fifths in consecutive fashion to create dramatic points and word painting, while Korones reserves those leaps merely to change registers, granting an affected quality to his textless melodies.

A fifth composer using the kalophonic style is by Georgios Sgouropoulos the *Domestichos*, who flourished around the end of the fourteenth century and in the early fifteenth century. His composition (Example 5) sets to music verse 9a "Ποιμανεῖς αὐτούς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ" (You will rule them with an iron scepter) and has been recorded in two of the consulted manuscripts, EBE 2401(f.67v) and EBE 903 (ff.30v-31r). Sgouropoulos composed a century later than Koukouzeles, the reformer of Byzantine chanting for Great Vespers. His style is obviously more developed with bold melodic writing, yet it follows the master’s guidelines.

The piece starts rather conventionally with the intonation formula (A) of the Fourth plagal mode (G-a-G) carrying on four out of five words of the text (Ποιμανεῖς αὐτούς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ) in syllabic form, while on the word σιδηρᾷ (iron) it sustains a long melisma in the first syllable “σι-,” emphasizing the important pitches of the mode, including the cadential formula (C). He retains the same musical technique (sustained syllable) for the first out of three alleluia occurrences. Until this moment, the melodic line has reached d as the highest note and E as the lowest one. In this way, G, the finalis of the Fourth plagal mode, becomes the central pitch of the compositional register and the final note of this section. With an abrupt leap of an octave from G

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221 *Domestichos* means “leader” and translates to “precentor.” His position was in the centre of the church and he was the one who used the art of ‘cheironomy’ to conduct the correct execution of the melodic phrase.
to g, the *Nenano fthora* is placed to mandate the chromatic alteration of the intervals. This section also introduces to the Psalmonic text new and foreign syllables *aneane ta ne*, perhaps to facilitate the proper intonation performed by the *Domestichos*.

From the performer’s perspective, this is an important modal shift that comprises not only a modal change, from the Fourth plagal to a division of the Second plagal, *Nenano*, but also a genus change, from the diatonic to the chromatic. In other words, the intervallic changes are so radical that without an accurate intonation by the singer, the correct performance of the piece is severely compromised.

As a result, *Nenano* as a chromatic mode alters the tonal level of the chant and introduces new melodic material, expanding at the same time the vocal range of the composition. Its function is to create a dramatic point exactly where the Psalmonic text yields to the longer alleluia section with the introduction of chromatic intervals and new melodic lines. Its resolution is indicated by the *fthora* of the Second plagal mode where it naturally modulates.

The predictable and artistically approved resolution of the *Nenano fthora* is documented in the theoretical treatise by Manuel Chrysaphes, "On the Theory of the Art of Chanting and on Certain Erroneous Views That Some Hold About It," written in 1458. Chrysaphes clearly states that whenever the *Nenano fthora* stands in the melody of another mode, it creates its own melody

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222 *Fthora* (plural, *fhorai*) means literally “to alter, to destroy, to ruin.” Inserted in a melodic line the *fthora* sign changes the route of the mode to something else and often waits for another sign in order for its influence to be dissolved. See Appendix K for a list of *fhorai*.

223 The intonation formulae proper to each mode are texted to trigger the memory and facilitate the tuning. See more details when I explore the *echemata* in the florid settings section.

224 According to the theory of the attractions, the descending pentachord (upper tetrachord plus the disjunct tone) written in *Nenano* mode *a-g-f-e-d* has as stable notes *a* and *e* and *d* and as movable notes, *f* and *g*. Therefore the intervallic structure of this descending pentachord is approximately the following: *a-g#-f-flat-e-flat-d-flat-c*, considering *d-flat* and *c*, two close but well separated pitches.
and seeks its resolution in the Second plagal mode, otherwise it is not artistic.\footnote{225 “Ὅταν δὲ τεθῇ καὶ εἰς ἄλλου ἡχον μέλος, ποιεῖ μέλος ἵδιον παρ’ ὃ ποιοῦσιν αἱ ἄλλαι φθοραί, καὶ ἡ κατάληξις ταύτης οὐ γίνεται εἰς ἄλλον ἡχον ποτέ, εἴ μὴ εἰς τὸν πλάγιον δευτέρου, εἰ δὲ τήσι τις ταύτην τὴν φθορὰν καὶ οὐ καταληξεῖ εἰς πλάγιον δευτέρου, ἄλλ’ εἰς ἐτερὸν ἡχον, τούτο οὐκ ἐστὶν ἔντεχνον.” Chrysaphes, On the Theory of the Art of Chanting, 64.} Indeed, the alleluia section starts its melody in the Fourth plagal mode and with the meaning-free syllables introduces the Nenano mode that dissolves in the Second plagal mode. From that mode with an abrupt leap of an octave the piece modulates to the Fourth plagal mode, in order to bring the piece “back home” according to the tradition's guidelines.

Table 6 shows the intervallic structure, finalis, cadential and dominant notes of the Second Plagal modes and Nenano (in parenthesis).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tetrachords</th>
<th>Interval size</th>
<th>Dominant</th>
<th>Cadential</th>
<th>Formulae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>a’</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nenano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e (e)</td>
<td>(e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d (d)</td>
<td>(d)finalis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>(B)e-d-c-b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a (finalis)(a)</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The next example that I am presenting in order to illustrate further the plethora of simple settings for the second Psalm and the diversity of compositional approaches by named

\footnote{226 The sizes of intervals are the same for both modes. Nenano’s dominant and cadential pitches and formulae are indicated in parenthesis. The Second plagal has ‘a’ as its finalis and Nenano has d. Nenano constructs its melodies mainly on the upper pentachord from d to a while the Second plagal mode may reach even down to G.}
composers is a piece by Georgios Kontopetris (Example 6) on the verse 9a "Ποιμανείς αὐτούς ἐν ραβδίῳ σιδηρᾷ" (You will rule them with an iron scepter).

Kontopetris was an active and prolific composer working as Domesticos in the Hagia Sophia Cathedral of the city of Thessalonike in the early fourteenth century. He is considered as the most important representative of the Thessalonian Psalmonic tradition and, according to a few written sources, he was a student of Koukouzeles and a teacher of Ioannes Kladas the Lampadarios.227 These testimonies are especially significant to trace the compositional styles of various composers from different generations.228

This piece, recorded in EBE 906 (f.30v), has no concordances in the list of consulted manuscripts. Its distinctiveness is not limited to only that one fact but also to a number of kalophonic features seldom found coexisting in a relatively short piece. The Psalmonic text receives long melismas and interpolation of meaning-free syllables written in the Fourth plagal mode. The alleluia section is quite expanded, stating the word alleluia six times. All of these textual occurrences are prolonged by the repetition of the syllables from the word alleluia and by the interpolation of the polysyllabic formula ανανεσ, an intonation formula properly assigned to the First mode (staves 5 and 6). These textual prolongation techniques provide the composer with a lot of room for modal progressions and melodic development.

Table 7 shows the intervallic structure of the First and First plagal modes along with their lower and upper tetrachords, dominant and cadential pitches and encountered formulae. The formula of the First plagal mode is in parenthesis.

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228 See Appendix F for the relationships of composers.
Indeed, the alleluia opens its section with a modulation to the Second plagal mode progressing to First mode (staff 2). The word πάλιν (again) in staff 4, however, conceals a surprise. The melody that follows is not an exact match of the later melody that supposedly repeats, in line with the rubrics. In other words, the word πάλιν (again) in staff 4 refers only to the exact melodic repetition of the formula A of the First mode and not the whole melodic line of staff 3. The medial signature of the First mode may indicate repetition or alteration between performers. The medial signature also dictates that the singer now has to sing the melodic formulae associated with the First mode until the last statement of the word alleluia, after which the melodic line modulates back to the Fourth plagal mode, as is confirmed by its characteristic cadential formula that concludes the composition. The medial formula of Fourth plagal mode in staff 5 is considered as an anticipation of the upcoming modulation back to the initial mode.

The last example of simple settings is a piece by Ioannis Kladas, or simply known in the manuscripts as Lampadarios (Example 7). Active in Constantinople around the mid-fourteenth
century, Kladas, as Korones before him, was a member of the royal clergy (Πρωτοψάλτης Εὐαγγελίου Βασιλικού Κλήρου).\textsuperscript{231} He was a student of Kontopetris and therefore he was two generations younger than Koukouzeles. His composition is recorded in two manuscripts EBE 906 (f.32r) and Filotheou 122 (f.62v). In this composition, Kladas sets to music verse 10b "Οἱ κρίνοντες τὴν γῆν" (You rulers of the earth).

The piece is written in Fourth plagal mode and starts on d instead of G. The composer uses the first note of the upper tetrachord of the mode (d) and utilizes it as the reciting tone that dominates the segment of the Psalmic text that reaches the highest note of the composition, f, creating a climactic point on the word “earth” (staff 1). It seems as though the composer uses verse 10b to make his statement in a “loud” voice and then utilizes the alleluia section for the musical rendition of the meaning of the text. In the process, the composition enters the alleluia section, which is three times as long as the corresponding section of the Psalmic part. The first alleluia statement is short but it brings back the melody into the ambitus of the lower tetrachord, and it finishes with a “broken” stepwise motion form of the cadential formula (C). In the second alleluia the composer has interpolated meaning-free syllables in the text, to delay the conclusive purpose of this section and create more room for melodic development. The vocal range is almost an octave since he started this part on “c” and reached the lowest pitch of the composition on “D.” On the last alleluia statement, Kladas simply applies the familiar cadential formula (c-b-a-G) to conclude the composition.

Through this analysis one can observe the imitation of the "Koukouzelian style" of composition, as far as the expansion of vocal range and usage of melodic leaps are concerned.

\textsuperscript{231} For the role of the performers according to their specific titles and further distinctions between being part of the palace personnel or the cathedral personnel, see Spyrakou, \textit{Hoi choroi psaltōn}, 171-178.
Nonetheless, Kladas manages to individualize the piece by inserting unanticipated elements, e.g., by starting the composition on the reciting tone d instead of the finalis G and, by extension, by emphasizing the upper tetrachord of the mode in a surprising way. In addition, the melodic flow is not synchronized with the textual one. In other words, the melodic caesuras do not correspond with the words' endings. Yet, it is composed in such an artistic way that it seems as if the melodic course is leading and the words simply float over it.

Therefore, this composition constitutes another case in point, to illustrate that accomplished Byzantine composers were not supposed to break with tradition, but to be inventive and melodious, while yet honoring concurrently their predecessors’ achievements and the tradition's principles. Manuel Chrysaphes endorses this norm in his celebrated music theory treatise when he says:

Thus even in the kalophonic stichera the composers of these do not depart from their original melodies but follow them accurately, step by step, and retain them. Therefore, they take over some melodies unchanged from tradition and from the music thus preserved and they all follow the path unaltered throughout the entire composition. The second composer always follows his predecessor and his successor follows him and, to put it simply, everyone retains the technique of the art.232

3.4. THE FLORID SETTINGS

The florid settings of the second Psalm are sizeable compositions of unparalleled musical embellishment, providing the composer with the chance for extended improvisation, a novel feature in the Byzantine written tradition. This type of setting is not transmitted in all Akolouthiai manuscripts. According to the rubrics, these compositions are directly associated with the Office of Great Vespers. Therefore, those Akolouthiai that do not record the florid kalophonic settings of the second Psalm were in all probability originated or copied in small churches or parishes.

232 Chrysaphes, On the Theory of the Art of Chanting, 43.
where the Office of Great Vespers was not celebrated. The service of Great Vespers was apparently performed only in big churches and cathedrals, was extended in length, and required a lot of personnel for its performance.\textsuperscript{233}

According to Williams, Great Vespers was celebrated either apart from Orthros (Lauds) or with it to form a vigil. It was considered as a flexible Office, since its structure could be altered according to the occasion on which the rite was performed.\textsuperscript{234} Given that Great Vespers are prescribed on approximately seventy different important occasions (mainly Feasts of Christ) throughout the church calendar, the service already had an exceptional weight in terms of solemnity.

Therefore, a particularly prestigious social involvement was expected as far as the congregation was concerned, with the participants being active in the liturgy, to include patriarchs, accomplished performers, and members of the royal family. It seems as though Great Vespers could offer the ideal environment for the emperor to promote his image as redeemer and exclusive leader by integrating the divine with the earthly, enhanced by musical masterpieces in an extraordinary sacred event.

At this point I am restating my hypothesis in order to test its strength and validity from the performance practice viewpoint, to be precise that, the musical portrait of the sovereign was drawn by the florid kalophonic settings of the second Psalm based on the following thought

\textsuperscript{233} In his \textit{Diataxis}, Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos defines the personnel needed for the performance of the All-night vigil in the fourteenth century: A priest, a deacon, a canonarch, two readers and two choirs led by two \textit{domestichoi} as soloists. See Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos, \textit{Διάταξις τῆς ἱεροδιακονίας} ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca, 154 (Athens: Kentron Paterikon Ekdoseon, 1857), cols 745-766.

\textsuperscript{234} “The character of Great Vespers, like Daily Vespers, is also affected by the nature of the occasion on which the rite is performed. Not only are certain items solemnly chanted which are only recited at little and daily Vespers, but definite structural alterations also occur in the form of the rite itself.” See Williams, \textit{John Koukouzeles’s Reform}, 29.
process: This corpus of music was an apparent redundancy if we consider that the second Psalm had already been heard and performed earlier in the same service in conjunction with Psalms one and three. Therefore, it is reasonable to ask what was the reason for this exceptional and exclusive, extravagantly embellished reappearance of the second Psalm. More to the point, before the Palaiologan period and after the fall of Constantinople up to this day, the second Psalm never acquired or regained any particular prominence in the Byzantine rite. This is a very important point since it associates the existence of this musical event with a distinctive political, social and cultural reality and thus places my hypothesis on solid grounds. And, although the singing of the second Psalm remained in the post-Byzantine Great Vespers, it was no more than a mere part of the first stasis of the first kathisma, the so-called Μακάριος Ανήρ unit, and it never surpassed Psalms 1 and 3 again, either in volume or in splendor. Therefore, the second Psalm's almost “explosive” appearance during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was unquestionably associated with certain historic-political circumstances and events.

The features that characterize the kalophonic style are prominent and well developed in the florid settings. The Psalmic text section is prolonged by long melismas, highlighted with word painting melodic phrases and even accentuated with modulations to other modes for dramatic purposes. Therefore, the section with the Psalmic text is no longer the short part of the composition but rather an extended one that provides the composer with room to use extensively the anagrammatismos technique and insert a combination of melodic phrases to enhance artistically, according to his taste and traditional principles, the meaning of the sacred passage.

In the kratema section, the most improvisatory part of the composition, the composer, free from the mandates of the text, expands the melodic lines and frequently navigates to multiple modal areas. Therefore, this section epitomizes the difference between a “simple” and a
“florid” kalophonic setting of a Psalmic text. The modal changes, whether unadventurous or bold, are based on the relationships that exist among the modes as they are codified in the *Trochos* system. In other words, apart from the obvious close relationship between an *kyrios* and plagal mode, there are modes with dissimilar intervallic structure that share common melodic *theseis* or formulae. The composer, depending on his inspiration and talent, has the option of choosing the modal direction of his melodies based on these modal relationships. Some composers are conservative and do not venture to multiple modes, while others present more experimental traits in terms of modal navigation since the text no longer bounds the melodic lines. Sometimes the emancipation of music from the text is such that we may even find in these sections imports of identifiable (at least to their contemporaries) secular melodies. These features give evidence of the “flexible” character of the melodic lines encountered in the *kratema* section that permits such a liturgically odd and yet appealing audible result. However, the formulaic character of the melodic lines is still encountered along with the secular melodies in order for the *kratema* to be accepted as part of an ecclesiastical chant.

Finally, the refrain part with the word alleluia occurring regularly in several repetitions brings the composition directly to its conclusion rather than being the more complex and extended part of it, as is the case with the simple settings. There are instances in which the alleluia section is limited only to one syllabic statement of the word. On the other hand, there are numerous occurrences where the alleluia section incorporates *kratemata* and therefore is dramatically lengthened. In other words, the incorporation of a *kratema* in the refrain predictably expands this closing section and therefore its conclusive property is suspended temporarily, creating in this way another dramatic point in the composition.

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235 See Appendix H for the *Trochos* illustration in facsimile.
236 Anastasiou, *Ta kratêmata*, 410.
The sequence in which these three parts (text - kratema - refrain) occur in the florid music settings allows for further categorization of the composition. According to Williams the “through-composed” pieces, meaning the work of one composer, can be divided into three different structures: Tripartite, where text, kratema and the alleluia section are found in a consecutive fashion; intermediate, where the text reappears after the kratema and before the refrain or alleluia section; and complex, where the composer introduces krate mata inside the textual section and the alleluia section. Each specific section of the florid settings, i.e., the Psalmic text, the kratema and the refrain (alleluia) needs further elaboration separately in order to reveal its significance and structural function during the compositional process.  

The Psalmic text is typically limited only to some verses from the Psalm and occasionally combines words and/or verses that are not consecutive verses in the sacred poem. This is achieved by the application of the anagrammatismos, a technique that can combine repetition of a syllable from a word, repetition of a word or words from a sentence, word inversion, change of syntax, and interpolation of fragments from other lines of a verse. Although this technique is applied also in the simple setting, the degree of length and complexity in florid settings is such as to suggest that music is not the "servant" of the text but rather the "master." This text rearrangement aims also at the prominence of specific words or the highlighting of precise meanings from the text and eventually provides the composer with ample room for musical development. As stated above in chapter 1, for a text well-known to the congregation, it is evident that the purpose of anagrammatismos is not to impair the strength of the words and by extension the meaning of the scriptural text, but to a certain extent to intensify its significance in

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237 Williams, John Koukouzeles’s Reform, 263-283.
238 Idem., 267.
a dramatic and expressive way, in accordance with the aesthetic principles of the Palaiologan period.\textsuperscript{239}

As far as the compositional process is concerned, with the method of \textit{anagrammatismos}, the composer in effect employs a prolongation technique to expand the melodic lines according to his will. It is apparent that in the florid settings, the text becomes a suitable pretext for lavish artistic creation; therefore, the composer takes advantage of expanding the melodic range, transforming the original formulae of the mode, applying surprising melodic leaps and recurrent rhythmic phrases to achieve word painting, and even modulating to other modes with a different \textit{ethos} in order to underline the meaning and symbolic connotation of a word and/or phrase.\textsuperscript{240}

The selection of verses set to music was based on the composer’s preference unless the piece was commissioned by the emperor himself,\textsuperscript{241} and is related to the meaning to which he wished to call attention. In addition, as is the case with the simple settings, the presence in the manuscript of two or more consecutive versions of the same text set to music by the same or different composers is indicative of two facts: the value of the composition as a work of art worthy of preservation and performance, and the potential range of choices afforded to the performers by the variety of the chants to be sung at a given service. According to the written

\textsuperscript{239} See chapter 1 for a discussion of cultural and political background during the Palaiologan period.

\textsuperscript{240} Chrysanthos of Madytos explains in his book \textit{Theōrētikon mega tēs mousikēs} in 1816 that there are three basic \textit{ethe} in composition assigned concurrently to the modes: the diastaltic (dilative) associated with the First and Third modes; the systaltic (reductive) associated to the Second mode and all plagals except for Barys; and the hesychastic (consoling) associated with Barys and First. See Chrysanthos of Madytos, \textit{Theōrētikon mega tēs mousikēs}, 503-504.

\textsuperscript{241} Chrysaphes set to music verses 7b to 8b from the text: “He said to me, ‘You are my Son, today I have become your Father. Ask of me, and I will make the nations your inheritance, the ends of the earth your possession.’” The rubrics in the manuscript state that this piece was commissioned by the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine IX Palaiologos, to the last Lampadararios of the Hagia Sophia Cathedral (Chrysaphes) a few years before the fall of Constantinople. The composition is thoroughly discussed below as Example 16.
sources, in the post-Byzantine era this sort of preference continues, but with a limited number of chants from which to choose.

Another point to consider for better understanding of the composer’s intention during the compositional process is the correlation that exists between Greek Orthodox theology, hymnology, and ecclesiastical music. In Byzantines’ minds, theology is transformed to poetry through hymnology. Equally, hymnology in its turn is set to music and destined solely to embellish the ecclesiastic services. As a result, composers are aware that music should underline the theological messages according to the aesthetics of each artistic period. Hence, theology, hymnology and chant are intertwined and logos, which is the theological text in this case, remains the common denominator for all.242

However, under this perspective another apparent contradiction emerges. Music without sacred text has no room in an ecclesiastical composition. Under this logic, the section of meaning-free syllables should not exist and yet kratemata constitute a key feature of a kalophonic composition. The reasoning behind this noticeable contradiction lies in the elucidation of a number of issues. First, it is necessary to locate the genesis of the kratemata as musical parts of the ecclesiastical repertory and so to realize their provenance and original purpose in an effort to understand the raison d’être of these quintessential parts of kalophonic compositions. Secondly, it is indispensable to define the function of the kratemata in a kalophonic composition and the liturgical action that takes place during performance. And lastly,

242 "Ὁ ἀνθρώπινος λόγος ἐπίσης ἐχρησιμοποιήθη ως φορέας καί ἔρμηνευτής τῆς θείας Ἀποκάλυψεως καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐξυπνατηθῆ καὶ ἀνεπτύχθη ο ο περί Θεου λόγος, ἦτοι ἡ θεολογία. Ὁ θεολογών, χρησιμοποιών τὸ χάρισμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ λόγου, ύμνει, αἰνεῖ, δοξάζει καὶ ψάλλει τὸν Θεόν, ως πράττει καί ἡ Βίβλος, ὃ ἀποκαλυφθείς περί Θεοῦ λόγος.” [Human reason also was used as carrier and interpreter of divine revelation and it served and developed on the Word of God, i.e., theology. The theologian used the charisma and the power of speech, praising, glorifying and chanting God, as does the Bible, the Word of God revealed on.] See more details on this matter in Athanasios Vourlis, Dogmatoethikai Opseis tes Orthodoxou Psalmodias, 57-58.
it is important to recognize the theological presuppositions that justify the reception of a text-less large section of music composition and to grant it, to a certain extent, a prominent role in the most important services of the church.243

One may seek the genesis of the kratemata not in one person’s invention or artistic creation but in a developmental process built by performance practice through the centuries. According to written evidence, the kratemata owe their genesis to the practice of echemata244 sung by the Domesticos, who is the coordinator of the choruses. Echema or echema is an intonation formula with which the Domesticos tunes the choruses to sing the textual part of the chant antiphonally in the correct mode. The purpose of the echemata in the composition resembles the taksim, the improvised instrumental introduction of some of the classical music of the Middle East tradition.245

The intonation formulae are in effect polysyllabic words annanes, neanes, nana, agia, aanes, nexeanes, aneanes, neagie indicating the finalis of each one of the basic eight modes.246 These words eventually became not only the distinguishing intonation formulae for each particular mode but were used as solmization techniques for the teaching of modes. In the

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243 For a comprehensive account of kratemata see Anastasiou, Ta kratemata, 2005.
244 Echema, in plural echemata, and often enechema is used as an alternative word.
245 “The taksim as it is known in modern Turkish and Arab music is defined by four major characteristics, which are not present in conjunction in any other nonmetrical genre of the core Muslim musical world: (1) improvisation (“performance-generation”), which precludes learned, tune-like models; (2) specific rhythmic idioms within an overall flowing rhythm; (3) codified melodic progression (seyir); (4) modulation… The taksim as a genre was known in the twentieth century as essentially a vehicle for the expression of melodic progression (seyir) and modulation within the makam system.” See Walter Feldman, “Ottoman Turkish Music: Genre and Form,” in The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, 6, The Middle East, eds. Virginia Danielson, Scott Marcus, and Dwight Reynolds (New York: Garland, 2002), 121.
246 Instead of giving one syllable per pitch-note, as in the West ut-re-mi-fa-sol-la-si, the Byzantines used polysyllabic words to tune up in the following manner: A is the finalis of the First mode and the word a-nna-nes is sung g-a-a. The finalis of the Second mode is B, the polysyllabic word is ne-a-nes and is sung a-b-b and so on.
preface of several Akolouthiai manuscripts, the figure of *Trochos* is used as an instructional tool to teach the modes, to comprehend and explain their relationships. The word-formulae that were used to achieve the correct tuning of the voice to the finalis of each specific mode form part of the *Trochos* illustration (See Appendix H). This practice was not an invention of the Palaiologan period but is quite old and was even documented in Latin music treatises of the ninth century.

With the passing of the centuries, the role of *echemata* was not simply limited to establishing the mode of the chant and facilitating the tuning of the vocalists. From the late twelfth century, some fundamental changes can be observed in all aspects of the Byzantine rite. The performance of the chant in the ecclesiastical services tended towards splendor and exaggeration. The *echemata*, sung by the Domesticos, in addition to meaning-free syllables, started to incorporate syllables or words borrowed from the text of the introductory chant. As a result, the *echema* became an extension of the text, and grew in size; consequently, more music was added. On the other hand, the Domesticos, as an accomplished musician and skillful performer, by adding more notes to this section, in fact manipulated these intonation formulae in a rather improvisatory and embellished manner.

Effectively, the notion of the *kratemata* was conceptualized out of the *echema* development and in due course the *kratemata* were incorporated in a natural manner as an

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247 *Trochos* which translates to “wheel” was a circle with four equidistant diametric lines intercepted in the middle. The lines form eight equidistant points in the perimeter of the circle where the modal signatures of each of the eight ecclesiastical modes were written. In order to find the base of each mode, you start from the upper point where the first mode is and proceed in clockwise and stepwise motion to find all the bases of the Kyrioi modes.


249 See Chapter 2 for a discussion of these changes.
indispensable part of a kalophonic composition. Anastasiou makes a distinction between three types of *kratemata* based on the nature of the meaning-free syllables: *nenasmoi* from the words *anena, tenena, anane,* etc., and *teretismoi* from the words *terere, tororo, tititi,* etc., and mixed where both types appear in the same piece. He also confirms that in the *kratemata* of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, the *nenasmoi* are abundant since the role of *Domestichos* is of great importance for chanting. Likewise, the performance of the *nenasmoi* by the *Domestichos* and the *teretismoi* by the chorus are often dictated in the rubrics.  

In the following example (Example 8), the *echema*, in an advanced developmental stage, introduces a florid composition. This excerpt shows how an intonation formula may incorporate syllables from the text, develop to a *kratema* with *teretism*, and eventually become the introductory section of a florid kalophonic piece. This composition is by Ioannis Koukouzeles and is recorded in EBE 2406 (ff.295r) besides its numerous concordances in other manuscripts. The opening melody is characterized by the extended *kratema* on the word *Inati*, the opening word of the second Psalm. Therefore, the *echema* operates on an extended vocalization on letter "i" with interpolations of consonant letters as "k" and "t" which as a result form new types of syllables, *ki* and *ti*. The role of these new types of meaning-free syllables is to create more variety in the textual part of the *echema*. Also, since these text-less sections are quite long, the syllabic variety may provide the soloist and/or choir with some rhythmical sense.

The composer in this section introduces the initial mode of the composition, in this case the Fourth plagal mode, as well as improvising on the mode by highlighting its basic formulae, cadences, and fundamental pitches. Until the first fermata on G (staff 2), Koukouzeles' melody

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251 EBE 2444, EBE 2458, EBE 2622, Iviron 1120, EBE 2622, EBE 2600, Konst. 86, Kout. 457.
remains mostly in the ambitus of the lower tetrachords of the mode (below and above the finalis G) from D to b. In this way, he illustrates the possibility of the several variations that one may apply on a few notes not only melodically but also expressively by means of notation that dictates diverse ways to perform the same melodic lines. The Byzantine notation shows not only the melodic line but also the expressive quality of each notational entity. For example, Byzantine notation has five characters to show the interval of an ascending second. Each of these has embedded an expressive quality that is taken seriously into account during performance (Appendix L). These variations occur equally for the rest of the echema section where the vocal range expands to the upper tetrachord of the mode, d-g. However, the melodic ambitus G-e, constitutes the central material of the melodic lines. Melodic leaps of thirds, fourths, fifths and a sixth are scattered throughout to create dramatic points and then, with a cadential formula in stepwise motion from c to G, the echema section yields to that melodic part that accompanies the Psalmic text.

Considering the above analysis, the whole section gives the impression of being a tutorial on how to navigate artistically inside the Fourth plagal mode. Koukouzeles is celebrated for his educational devices such as the famous Trochos also known as the “Koukouzelian wheel” (Appendix H) and his treatise “Mega Ison,” a preparatory exercise on the musical theseis, which are standardized melodic phrases coded by notational characters. Besides, the didactic

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253 For the characters and their intervallic property and dynamic quality see Appendix L. Combinations of signs to indicate ascending or descending intervals of third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, octave and beyond are achievable by following certain rules.

254 Koukouzeles' Mega Ison was not the first treatise on the subject. It has been suggested that "in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries an enormous activity in the field of musical education took place" and other educators, musicians, and composers, like Ioannes Glykys, were involved in reforming the traditional didactic materials. For more details on the development of the didactic poem Mega Ison see Christian Troelsgård, “The Development of a Didactic Poem: Some Remarks on the Ἴσον, ὀλίγον, ὀξεῖα by Ioannes Glykys,” in Byzantine
component is not foreign to the Akolouthiai manuscripts either, a musical collection the form of which is attributed to Koukouzeles. All complete Akolouthia manuscripts regularly start with studies on music notation and modal navigation and may include both the Trochos diagram and the Mega Ison treatise. The Trochos illustration also assisted in the memorization of the modes because one could visualize the finalis of each mode and the affinities among them.

Another feature that makes the kratema an essential part of a kalophonic composition is its structural value. As has been pointed out earlier, the position of the kratema inside the composition defines the structure of the piece itself and categorizes it as tripartite, intermediate or complex. The kratema section usually borrows syllables from the Psalmic text in order to achieve a smooth transition from a textual section to a textless part. In continuation its melodic material may differ substantially from the rest of the composition. The reason behind this melodic dissimilarity is to create a contrasting melodic unit where “logos” (words), although not made audible yet, is conveyed through textless music, an analogous perception to the way in which the Hesychasts were praying without words, in plain silence.

The fourteenth-century theological presupposition that allows a large text-less musical section to be considered as consecrated as the text itself has to be related – though not exclusively - with the hesychastic movement. I am inclined to believe that the already-accepted kratemata in the composition obtained at this historical moment a new theological meaning solidly associated with the doctrine of Hesychasm. The wordless melodies with meaning-free syllables resemble the concept whereby the Hesychasts considered the bare repetition of the

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256 Some selective manuscripts that include the Trochos diagram and Mega Ison treatise are: EBE 885, 893, 894, 897, 898, 899, 901, 935, 939, 940, etc. See Touliatos, A Descriptive Catalogue.
Jesus Prayer,\textsuperscript{257} as a mere string of syllables, to have a “mystical” inner meaning beyond the plain verbal one. Similarly, the influence of the hesychastic movement in Byzantine painting was manifested through the manipulation of light. The doctrine of the "Uncreated Light"\textsuperscript{258} changed the Palaiologan icon painting aesthetics. Light in paintings came not from an exterior source, like the sun, creating shadows or being diffused all over the surface, but rather it sprang off people’s radiant faces as if the physics of light had no value any longer.\textsuperscript{259}

By the same analogy, in the meaning-free florid parts of the composition where a logical word array, \textit{logos}, is absent, the meaning of the sacred text is conveyed during \textit{kratemata}. The performance of these sections is made through the medium of challenging vocalizations, almost inhuman in nature,\textsuperscript{260} slow in tempo and bold in writing, destined to fill out the sacred space of cathedrals during the consecrated liturgical action of Great Vespers. From this perspective, the \textit{kratemata}, as experienced in the Palaiologan Period, may owe its mystical aura to the hesychastic movement. Adding to this point, Gregory Palamas, the fervent advocate of Hesychasm and Ioannes Koukouzeles, the music reformer of the fourteenth century, were both cantors in the Great Lavra Monastery on the Mount Athos peninsula. Both men spent their

\textsuperscript{257} Ἡ προσευχή τοῦ Ἰησοῦ” or "The Prayer" is a short, formulaic prayer esteemed and advocated within the Orthodox Church: Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, ὁ Θεοῦ Υἱὲ τὸν ἅμαρτωλόν, Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me, a sinner.

\textsuperscript{258} According to the Hesychast mystical tradition of Eastern Orthodox spirituality, a completely purified saint who has attained divine union experiences the vision of divine radiance that is the same "light" that was manifested to Jesus' disciples on Mount Tabor at the Transfiguration.

\textsuperscript{259} See paintings by Theofanes the Greek in Appendix G.

\textsuperscript{260} Some theologians identified the acoustical effect of the \textit{tererisms} or \textit{neanisms} with the Angels' singing and thought that during these audible passages the metaphysical union between humans and the celestial universe is accomplished. See Touliatos, “Nonsense Syllables in the Music of the Ancient Greek and Byzantine Traditions,” The Journal of Musicology 7: 2 (1989), 240 and Conomos, Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: A Study of Late Byzantine Liturgical Chant (Thessalonike: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1974), 273-274.
weekdays in *hesychia* (silence) at a hermitage near the monastery, only to return on weekends for liturgical worship.\textsuperscript{261}

The *kratema*, however, was not limited only to this type of spirituality. It was probably used for centuries as a vehicle of unreserved composition to such an extent that the *kratemata* constituted the portal for incoming secular melodies and/or rhythmic and melodic imitations of music instruments to mingle with sacred music. Rubrics acting as titles at the beginning of *kratemata* such as “viola,” “bell,” “nightingale,” “trumpet,” “national,” and “Persian” bear witness to such an interpretation.\textsuperscript{262} Moreover, the extended melodic and rhythmic motives imitating whatever the rubrics prescribe are perceptible - sometimes to such an extent that it would not be an exaggeration to call this musical section “programmatic.”

The next example (Example 9) illustrates excerpts from the two *kratemata* entitled “Τρουμπέτα” and “Καμπάνα” that translate to “trumpet” and “bell,” respectively. The former is composed by Georgios Kontopetris and the latter by Gregorios the *Domestichos*. Regarding the latter, it is explicitly written in the rubrics that this *kratema* was composed by Gregorios, and commissioned by the Emperor himself to be sung in the palace for the occasion of the composer’s promotion to *Domestichos* of the Church of the Saints Apostles in Constantinople.\textsuperscript{263} By only glancing at the music, we can observe that the rhythmical figurations as well as the meaning-free syllables emulate the sounds of the instruments that their titles describe.

\textsuperscript{261}See Lingas, “Hesychasm and Psalmody,” 159.

\textsuperscript{262}Anastasiou has signified in his study ninety-nine singular names for 'kratemata'. Anastasiou, *Ta kratêmata*, 522-524. However, many of those compositions were destined to be performed after the end of an Office or liturgy to accompany musically some non-liturgical action such as the distribution of bread after communion to the congregation. See more details in the section of prologues with *kratema* of the present study.

\textsuperscript{263}Idem., 101. “Τό παρόν ἐστι ποίημα κύρ Γρηγορίτζη δομεστίκου ποιηθέν παρ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ψαλθέν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ὀρίσμῳ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ τότε καίρου, ὑποκάτω στέρνης, ὅτε ἀποκρισαρίκιος ἐγένετο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, λεγόμενον καμπάνα; ἥχος δ’. “
Regarding the century-old office of Domestichos, the principal ecclesiastical singer who developed the polysyllabic intonation word-formulae to extended melodic improvisations, is associated with the repertory of Asma that was practiced in Constantinople and abandoned after the “Latin” occupation in 1204. This repertory was performed by eunuchs who were accused of bringing into the ecclesiastical music corpus instrumental airs, as well as music of popular origin. The accusations were focused on the “feminine” melodic lines of extensive variety and the unacceptable abundance of teretisms. The archbishop of Bulgaria, Theophylactos, in the late eleventh century, defending the eunuch-cantors, stated that if the teretism could possibly be incorporated into the church repertory accompanied by sacred texts then their function would be eventually sanctified to such a degree that the problem would be eliminated.

The first teretism with music notation surfaced in the manuscripts of South Italy that transmit the Asma repertory, the celebrated solo melismatic music corpus cultivated and performed by professional virtuoso castrati in the Hagia Sophia of Constantinople until 1204. And since the kalophonic style traces its genesis to those codices, it is safe to assume that the teretisms found in this abandoned repertory were eventually adopted and in due course transformed by the aesthetic standards of the Palaiologan musicians. In the process, the meaning-

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264 Neil Moran examined the Cherubikon melody in Codex Messanensis Gr. 161 and by reconstructing the scheme of its performance during the Great Entrance ceremony, he concluded that "there existed a world of difference between the liturgy in Hagia Sophia and the ordinary presbyteral liturgy involving only a priest and a deacon or in the liturgies in the monasteries, a difference seldom considered in analyses of the liturgy. It also [this scheme] serves to show why this elaborate ordo fell into disuse after the disruption of Byzantine liturgical life following the Latin conquest of 1204." See Moran, "The Musical ‘Gestaltung,’” 186.

265 Spyrakou, Hoi chorioi psaltôn, 513-515.

266 Messiniensis gr.161, Cryptensis. Γ.γ.IV, Γ.γ.V, Γ.γ.VII.E. are of Southern Italian provenance and are dated to the thirteenth century. See the examination of these pieces by Di Salvo, “Gli asmata,” 170-176.

267 See Chapter 1 for a discussion of those sources and their connection to the kalophonic style.
free syllables acquired new associations according to the ecclesiastical service in which they served, both as a music filler and as a structural component of kalophonic composition during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.  

Consequently, the kratema, due to its historic-artistic itinerary, provides the piece with a variety of melodic texture that would be too hard to achieve in a setting of mono-strophic poetry. Practically, it enriches the melodic variety and enhances the structural form of the composition. But above all, it provides the composer and performer with a lot of room for improvisation and unreserved creativity.

The last section and concluding part of a florid kalophonic composition is the refrain or alleluia section where composers are expected to restore the melody to its initial mode, apply the cadential formulae proper, and bring the piece to its conclusion. For these purposes, the refrain section is always shorter than the text and kratema parts and the occurrence of the word alleluia may be limited even to one or two repetitions only. However, this section's size is flexible as far as its capacity to comprise music material is concerned. Based on each composer's taste, the alleluia section can be expanded by adding more word repetitions, and even by incorporating kratemata; therefore, it may be pregnant with musical surprises and dramatic suspension.

The following composition (Example 10) is by Ioannes Glykys who set to music verse 1a and 1b “Ἱνατὶ ἐφρύαξαν ἐθνη καὶ λαοί ἐμέλετησαν κενά” (Wherefore did the heathen rage, and the nations imagine vain things?). The piece is recorded in three codices from the list of the consulted manuscripts: EBE 2406 (ff.293r-293v), EBE 2622 (ff.25r-26r), and Konstamonitou 86

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268 Kenneth Levy also recognizes the Asma repertoire as a related kalophonic tradition. He has pointed out that the term ἀσματικόν which can be found in manuscripts to accompany certain chants, may be used adjectivally, with the meaning "very florid," pointing to the Ἀσμα repertory, rather than as a reference to the Ἄσμαtic collection. See Kenneth Levy, “A Hymn for Thursday in Holy Week,” Journal of the American Musicological Society 16, no. 2 (1963): 166, n. 65.
(ff.70v-71r). Ioannis Glykys flourished ca. 1280-1340. He served as Protopsaltes\(^{269}\) in the cathedral of the capital and was also a prolific composer and theorist. He was the teacher of Koukouzeles and Korones, was referred to in a manuscript as "the teacher of the teachers,"\(^{270}\) and has further been identified by some scholars as serving the patriarchal throne of Constantinople.\(^{271}\)

This composition has a tripartite structure since the text section, the kratema, and the refrain are developed in a consecutive manner. The poetic verse is repeated five and a half times and is further expanded by the technique of anagrammatismos, supplying the composer with ample room for composition. Glykys starts the piece in the Fourth plagal mode, applying the intonation formula, keeping the ambitus to the lower tetrachord, and the one below the finalis (G), for the first thirty-three syllables of the text, and uses G as a reciting tone and D as the final note of the varied cadential formula (C').\(^{272}\) It seems as if the composer, although he restricted the melodic lines to a pentachordal range, varied this relatively limited material in four short, clearly delineated musical phrases in order to coincide this musical phrasing with the textual phrasing (staves 1 and 2). Immediately afterwards, he ascends a complete octave from D to d in stepwise motion, thus expanding the vocal range of the entire composition. In the process, he starts a melodic phrase that coincides with the second repetition of the verse 1a and part of 1b (ἲνατι ἐφρύαξαν ἐθνη καί λαοί). For our purposes, it is safe to divide this long musical phrase

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\(^{269}\) This is the title of the Domestichos of the chorus on the right.  
\(^{270}\) "Διδάσκαλος τῶν διδασκάλων" is an epithet given to Glykys in a manuscript from Mount Athos ca. 1330-1340 Chilandar 146, f.287r.  
\(^{272}\) The cadential formula c-b-a-g has the same intervallic structure as the one (G-F-E-D) pointed in the example as ([C']) that Glykys applies to this section. See table 5 for the intervals' sizes.
into two parts, since, after the medial signature of the Fourth plagal mode (staff 4), the phrase is repeated, with Part one identical and Part two varied.

The medial signature is there not only to remind performers of the modal change but possibly also to dictate performance practice. The alternative singing between choruses or between soloist and chorus was frequently noted with these modal signatures.\textsuperscript{273} The second part of the musical phrase is intentionally varied because the composer introduces the \textit{Nenano fthora} and quite smoothly changes the modality of the piece. However, the composer accomplishes more with this modal change. The chromatic intervals that the \textit{Nenano fthora} (staff 6) brings in, combined with the restriction of a tetrachordal range in the lowest register, it creates an excellent word painting of the underlined Psalnic text “imagine vain things?”

The \textit{Nenano fthora} dissolves naturally in the Second plagal mode.\textsuperscript{274} This modal change is not written in the manuscript but is common knowledge to those initiated in chanting. For the modern scholar the change is perceptible through the evolution of the melodic progression that puts emphasis on the cadential pitch a, instead of d, and the expansion of the vocal range to D. Another modal change happens without a \textit{fthora} written in the notational script. A melody written in the Second plagal mode frequently modulates to the Fourth mode due to the emphasis on common dominant pitches such as d and a that these two modes share.

Table 8 shows the intervallic structure, lower and upper tetrachords, dominant and cadential pitches and formulae of the Fourth mode.

\textsuperscript{273} See Raasted, \textit{Intonation Formulas}, 66 and 124.
\textsuperscript{274} Chrysaphes wrote his treatise one hundred years after this composition, expressing his concerns by observing the misconduct of composers on dissolving erroneously the \textit{fthorai}. See Chrysaphes, \textit{On the Theory of the Art of Chanting}, 64.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tetrachords</th>
<th>Interval size</th>
<th>Dominant</th>
<th>Cadential</th>
<th>Formulae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>a’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td>(A) e-d-c-d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>(d) finalis</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td>(B) c-d-e-f-d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td>(C)d-c-b-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The modal change from *Nenano* to Second plagal to Fourth (staff 9), however, comes before the medial signature of *Tetartos* (Fourth authentic mode), which is posted there to dictate a change in performance and as a reminder of the current mode.\(^{275}\)

With a short *echema* on the vowel i, the first syllable of the text *Ἰνατί*, the melody modulates to the Fourth mode, verified by the modal signature of *Tetartos* at the the end of staff 9. Verse 1a (Wherefore did the heathen rage) is sung for last time before it gives way to the *teretism* (staff 10) where the *kratema* section officially starts. There are three basic musical ideas that are repeated in varied form until the melody returns to the initial mode of the composition, the Fourth plagal mode. The first melodic motif (motif 1) is (a-e-a) and appears varied four times. The transition from a to e is always by a leap while the descent from e to a is in leaps or in stepwise motion. The second melodic motif (motif 2) is (b-f-b) and appears five times. Again the passage from b to f is mostly by a leap while the descent from f to b is carried out usually in stepwise motion and exceptionally by a leap. The third motif (motif 3) is (a-c-a) and appears four times. It also starts with a leap and descends varied in stepwise motion. Throughout the *kratema*\(^{275}\)

\(^{275}\) I have inserted in the medial signature of the Second Plagal mode to show where the modal change is actually happens. This mode signature is not written in the manuscript.
section the formulae of the Fourth mode are encountered in abundance (shown in brackets as A, B and C).

The refrain section is rather short but fairly effective in terms of restoring the initial mode (Fourth plagal) and concluding the composition. The word alleluia appears only twice. During the first occurrence, the ascending melodic progressions break away from the lower register (below-the-finalis tetrachord) starting from E and winding up in b (staff 16). With the second singing of alleluia the melody continues to rise until it reaches d and, always in stepwise motion, goes up and down the lower tetrachord (c-b-a-G) with d behaving as an important adjunct tone to that tetrachord. With a leap from G to d the cadential formula proper to the Fourth plagal mode is now varied and launched to conclude the composition.

The tripartite structure, although it is the simplest compositional form of the kalophonic florid settings, does not prevent the composers from creating quite complex and sophisticated pieces with unexpected modulations and text manipulation.

This is the case of a student of Glykys, the celebrated Koukouzeles, who composed a kalophonic florid piece in tripartite structure by setting to music verses 12a (Δουλεύσατε τῷ Κύριῳ ἐν φόβῳ) and part of 13a (μήποτε ὄργισθῇ Κύριος) which translates to “Kiss the Son, lest he be angry... for his wrath can flare up in a moment.” The composition has been recorded in Iviron 984 (ff.56r-57r) with no concordances from the list of the consulted manuscripts.

The following example (Example 11) is an excerpt from this composition illustrating the beginning of the piece until the final cadence that draws to a close the textual section. Rubrics prompt the “μονοφωνάρης” who is the soloist, to start singing the piece. The composition is written in Protobarys mode, a division of Protos (First mode) where the cadential pitches are

276 The Fourth Plagal's medial signature is inserted by me to show modal change.
characteristic of the *Barys* (Third plagal). The intervallic structure is still diatonic. In other words, the *Protobarys* mode has the intervallic structure of the First mode but its finalis is F in the lower tetrachord.

Table 9 shows the intervallic structure of the *Protobarys* mode with the dominant, cadential pitches and formula.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>THE MODE OF PROTOBARYS</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tetrachords</th>
<th>Interval size</th>
<th>Dominant</th>
<th>Cadential</th>
<th>Formulae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>(d) finalis</td>
<td>(A) f-e-d-c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F (finalis)</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this piece, the melody starts in a, the finalis of *Protos*, but the musical phrases alternately use the cadential formulae of *Barys* and *Protos*. The medial signatures posted at the end of these phrases or resting points indicate the modal change and in all probability performance practice.277

Table 10 shows the intervallic structure, dominant, cadential pitches and formulae of the Third mode and *Barys*.278

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277 Raasted, *Intonation Formulas*, 118.
278 The dominant and cadential pitches and formulae of *Barys* are indicated in parenthesis.
### TABLE 10

**THE THIRD AND BARYS MODES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tetrachords</th>
<th>Interval size</th>
<th>Dominant</th>
<th>Cadential</th>
<th>Formulae</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>a'</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>(g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>Third Mode</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>Barys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following example is a tripartite florid setting of verses 11a and b and 12a

(Δουλεύσατε τῷ Κύριῷ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀγαλλιάσθε αὐτῷ ἐν τρόμῳ, μὴ ποτὲ ὀργισθῇ Κύριος) that translates to "Serve the Lord with fear and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry" (Example 12). The composition is by Gabriel Hieromonachus, born in the early fifteenth century. He was a theorist, composer, and performer and also a monk in the Xanthopoulos monastery in Constantinople, composing around a hundred years after Koukouzeles. This piece is recorded in EBE 2406 (ff. 320r-321v) and Iviron 1120 (ff.152v-154v).

Gabriel is the only composer other than Koukouzeles who used the *Barys* mode for the second Psalm settings, an assertion based on the consulted manuscripts. However, Gabriel is bolder in the way he modulates. He uses successively *Barys*, *Nenano*, *Barys*, Fourth, *Nenano*, *Barys*, Fourth, *Nenano*, First, *Barys* for the textual part, while in the *kratema* section he

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279 Rubrics state in EBE 2406 ff320r: "Composed by Gabriel the monk from the Xanthopoulos monastery."
introduces also *Legetos*, a division of the Fourth mode, and *Nana*, a division of the Third mode in terms of dominant and cadential pitches but using the intervallic structure of the Fourth plagal mode. Table 11 shows the intervallic structure of the *Legetos* mode with its dominant and cadential pitches.

**TABLE 11**

**THE MODE OF LEGETOS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tetrachords</th>
<th>Interval size</th>
<th>Dominant/Cadential</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>b'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b (finalis)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The alleluia or refrain part is short and is written exclusively in *Barys* mode. Within two relatively short music phrases (staves 28 and 29) of fourteen (from d to g) and twenty-one (from d to c) notes respectively, the refrain assumes its role of concluding the composition and returning the melody to its initial mode.

There are a lot of repetitions of music phrases, mostly varied, throughout Gabriel’s composition. Occasionally, the variation does not concern the melodic contour but the application of another mode in the repeated phrase. All music phrases are marked by medial signatures that coincide with the textual phrases. Word painting is accomplished by descending the melodic line to a very low register on the words “fear” (staff 2) and "trembling" (staff 5) and
climbing up to the highest register over the word “angry” (staff 11). Gabriel also emphasized the Psalmonic verses 11a “Serve the Lord with fear” and 11b “and rejoice with trembling” by modulating to Nenano, a chromatic mode (staves 1 and 6 respectively). The numerous medial signatures are indicative of the need for explicitness in terms of modulation, transposition, intonation, and performance practice cues. The abundance of all these markings does not show a new practice or trend. Gabriel wrote music when the Byzantine Empire was already irreversibly conquered by the Ottomans and the tendency to preserve the musical material of a past music culture favored a more analytical script.

Another interesting example of modal variance using a tripartite florid setting is a piece by Korones who set to music the same verses as Gabriel: 11a and b and 12a (Δουλεύσατε τῷ Κύριῳ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀγαλιάσθε αὐτῷ ἐν τρόμῳ, μὴ ποτὲ ὀργισθῇ Κύριος) that translates to "Serve the Lord with fear and rejoice with trembling. Kiss the Son, lest he be angry." The composition is recorded in EBE 2406 (ff.318-319r), EBE 2622 (ff.57v-59r), EBE 2062 (ff.215r-217r), EBE 2456 (ff.22v-24r), and Koutloulousiou 457 (ff.44v-45v).

Korones, a contemporary of Koukouzeles, wrote this piece in First plagal mode. The textual part is almost entirely written in the initial mode except for a short musical phrase written in Nana mode. In the kratema section, the melody successively modulates from First plagal to First to Second, back to First plagal and then to First and Nenano. The Nenano fthora resolves to the Second plagal mode and the piece enters again into the ambitus of the First plagal mode. The melody modulates for the last time to Nenano, and then resolves in the Second plagal mode with the cadential formula proper to the First plagal mode, underlined by the word “alleluia,” as the piece comes to its end. The most interesting aspect of this composition is neither the plurality of
the modulations nor the idiomatic writing of the melodic lines. It is rather the number of modal variants across the consulted manuscripts and the possible reasons behind them.

Table 12 shows the modal variances of this piece across five manuscripts that span almost a century.280

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MODAL VARIANTS OF KORONES' PIECE ACROSS FIVE MANUSCRIPTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMS</td>
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<tr>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Text</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kratema</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Refrain</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The information regarding modal variations is based on the number of medial signatures found in the sources. However, we should take into consideration that medial signatures are scribal marks inserted into the notation for purposes of explicitness. The fact that the melodic script shows a remarkable stability as far as its dissemination is concerned makes the modal variations indicative of two basic attributes: the composer's ability to write melodic lines suitable for more than one mode and the performer's skill and comprehension to perform them correctly.

280 EBE 2622 (1341-ca. 1360), EBE 2062 (ca. 1385), Koutloumousiou 457 (1360-1385), EBE 2456 (mid-14th-15th c.), and EBE 2406 (1453).
Indeed, the modal variants across manuscripts used in the textual part of the composition do have a similar intervallic structure, a fact that makes it possible for the composer to modulate from one mode to another or to use them alternatively without altering the melodic lines. The same concept can also be applied to the *kratema* section.

The existence of chant variants across manuscripts or even in the same written source is a sign pinpointing the lapse of time that separates the creation of the piece from its subsequent copies on the one hand, and the diversity in terms of performance practice per location on the other. In other words, it is quite plausible to find variants on a Koukouzeles piece written around 1300 A.D. and copied successively in several codices for at least a couple of centuries. Comparative studies of a piece coded in manuscripts that span more than two centuries can show instances of stability or change. Different versions of the same chant also suggest the adaptation of the original piece according to the local taste of the place where the performance of the musical variant took place. It would be quite arbitrary to think that one variant is original and the other is not historically "correct." Since, in oral tradition, musical material is disseminated through performance practice, the piece naturally evolves through performance and becomes a variation, worthy of preservation and as genuine as the original as far as its historical validity is concerned.\(^{281}\)

Conversely, the presence of variants of a composition in the same music source is indicative of the scribe’s awareness and knowledge regarding the provenance of the variant and his willingness to gather in one source a vast repertoire of chants. This is the case of manuscript

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EBE 2406, written in 1453 at the monastery of St. John Prodromos\textsuperscript{282} near the city of Serres in northern Greece by Matthew, a monk at this location. By looking at the contents of this source we may say with certainty that the scribe had an extensive knowledge of the chants in use in Constantinople and Thessalonike since he acknowledges the variants for each location and identifies attributions to composers with great accuracy.\textsuperscript{283} Variants of the same composition may be practically from a simple or elaborate “rewording” of a formula to additions of extended sections.

The following example (Example 13) is a composition by Korones on verse 1a where, although there are concordances among four sources, the cadential formula of the Fourth plagal mode constitutes a significant variant. In codices EBE 2406 and Koutloumousiou 457 there is simply a plain “rewording” of the formula, the leap of an octave is broken by a fifth and a fourth although in Koutloumousiou 457, the formula is performed as an octave leap, a fact which does not alter the concluding pitch. However, in sources Vatopediou 1527 and EBE 906, more neumes have been added to the cadential formula that not only alters the course of the formula but eventually finalizes the piece in two different pitches. An explanation behind that kind of modification lies in the initial note of the successive chant in a given performance.

\textsuperscript{282} Established in 1270 by Ioannikios and further developed by his nephew Joachim, the monastery of St. John Prodromos was a center of spiritual life with a rich library and treasures. The monastery was protected by a number of Byzantine emperors including Andronicus the second (1282-1328), Andronicus the third (1328-1341), John Katakouzenos (1341-1354), and the Byzantine princess Simonida, daughter of Andronicus the second and wife of the Serbian King Miloutin (1294-1336). Distinguished personalities such as Saint Rafael and Gennadeios Scholarius former Patriarch of Constantinople (1457-1472), became monks and/or died there.

\textsuperscript{283} For a detailed account of composers listed in this manuscript see Milos Velimirovic, “Byzantine Composers in Ms. Athens 2406,” in Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 7-18.
The following composition is by monk Manuel Thebaios (of Thebes) and Laosynaktos of the Great Church,\(^{284}\) where he possibly flourished during the first half of the fourteenth century. Manuel sets to music verse 11a ("Δουλεύσατε τῷ Κύριῳ ἐν φόβῳ") which translates to "Serve the Lord with fear" (Example 14). The piece has been disseminated in five manuscripts from the consulted list and its ending has been found in two variations. Another variant among the written sources is a music phrase in the reinstatement section in First plagal mode that is omitted in two of the sources.\(^{285}\) The structure of the composition is intermediate because the text reappears immediately after the kratema section and before the refrain. Thus, the form of the composition could be described as a - b - a' - c. The melody remains in the Fourth plagal mode throughout the textual part of the composition. In the kratema section the piece modulates to the First plagal mode (staff 7) that is retained all through the reinstatement of the text only to return to the initial mode, the Fourth plagal (staff 15), at the refrain section in order to finalize the composition.

Manuel's compositional style is characterized by idiomatic writing in the Fourth plagal mode because he is using all those standardized formulae proper to the mode, yet he frequently modifies them in a very subtle way. He often uses leaps of fifth, fourth and third to initiate either short or long music phrases throughout the composition. The register is broad (from D to f') and there is no particular word painting. However, the word Δουλεύσατε, “to serve” is repeated

\(^{284}\) The title Laosynaktos (Λαοσυνάκτης), ascribed to Manuel according to Codex EBE 2062 (ff. 210v), used to designate an ecclesiastical Officer ranking after the Domestichoi in charge of leading the choirs. See Spyarakou, Hoi choroi psaltôn, 174.

\(^{285}\) Codex EBE 2062 records the same piece twice in (ff. 207v-208v) and (210v-211r) respectively. At the second occurrence of this piece, the scribe has inserted an alternative ending for this composition in red ink which has no concordances in the list of consulted manuscripts. EBE 2622 (ff. 60v-61v) is the earliest manuscript with the version recording the first ending. Codex Konstamonitou 86 (ff. 89v-91r) and (ff.93r-94r) records this piece with its first ending but the second occurrence omits a musical phrase in First plagal mode. EBE 2406 and EBE 2444 copy the EBE 2622 version with the first ending but have both omitted the musical phrase from the reinstatement section. For the present example, I am using EBE 2062 (ff. 210v-211r), which includes both the omitted phrase and the alternative ending.
thirteen times and none of these occurrences is accompanied by the same melodic phrase. The word πάλιν “again” is placed apparently not to reiterate the preceding musical phrase but, according to the medial signature, to mark a modulation to the First plagal mode without repeating the melodic phrase. And it is this melodic phrase that has been omitted in two sources, either by scribal mistake or by copying another performing variant.

The following piece from manuscript EBE 2406 (ff.322r-322v) (Example 15) is a florid setting composition of verse 12a (Δράξασθε παιδείας, μή ποτε ὀργισθῇ Κύριος) which translates to "Kiss the Son, lest he be angry" and is composed by Ioannes Tsaknopoulos, a contemporary of Ioannes Koukouzeles. This composition has concordances in five other music sources (EBE 2062, EBE 2622, EBE 906, Iviron 1120 and Koutloumousiou 457). The kratema appears twice in the composition, initially after the textual part (staff 8) and later on inside the alleluia (staff 14), a feature that gives to this composition its complex structure.

During its first appearance a meaning-free-syllabic text is introduced in the lower tetrachord of the Fourth plagal mode, the initial mode of the composition. Soon, abrupt leaps of fifths expand the vocal range to the upper tetrachord of the mode in order to prepare the modulation to the mode of Nenano (staff 9). This martyría, apart from modal change, can also indicate a performer’s cue or even a melodic formula stenographically written but only spelled out during performance. According to Manuel Chrysaphes’ treatise on fthorai, the fthora of Nenano must dissolve in the Second plagal mode. Tsaknopoulos does not indicate this change but his melodic line facilitates the modulation to that mode by descending down to a, the finalis

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286 Martyria or martyría in plural, translate to ‘witness’ and are modal signatures particular to each mode. See Appendix K for the modal signatures of the modes encountered in the music examples.

287 This interpretation has been suggested by Raasted in his article “Length and Festivity: On Some Prolongation Techniques in Byzantine Chant,” 75-84.
of the Second plagal mode, instead of d, the finalis of Nenano. The performer at this point is supposed to know that the Nenano has been resolved and that the next musical phrase belongs to the Fourth mode.

Indeed, the melody changes again to the Fourth mode until the alleluia section reestablishes the Fourth plagal mode (staff 13) only to be interrupted again by another shorter but equally demanding kratema section in the Fourth mode. The ambitus remains between G and g with leaps and melodic sequences to emphasize the structural notes of the mode. The melody over the last alleluia continues in the mode’s lower tetrachord and therefore marks a smooth descent to the final note of the Fourth plagal, the initial mode of the composition. Conclusively, the kratema part is a section with short melodic phrases, some of which remain faithful to the tradition of formula-based composition and others of which present a result of dramatic splendor caused by abrupt leaps on different tonal levels, rhythmical motives and changes of registers.

The following composition (Example 16) was written by Manuel Chrysaphes and recorded in his autograph Iviron 1120 (ff.139r-140r). This codex, written in 1458, five years after the collapse of the Byzantine Empire, aimed to record and codify the musical tradition of a vanished culture. This Akolouthia is perhaps the largest and most comprehensive repertory of its kind. Manuel Chrysaphes was not only a knowledgeable author but a famous theorist, accomplished musician, prolific composer, and expert in the Byzantine chant tradition of his era. Therefore, this codex is not only big in volume but rich in content and plentiful in rubrics. Musical concordances of this composition are to be found in codices EBE 2401 (ff.271r-272r) and Koutloumousiou 449 (ff.19v-20v).

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288 A concise description of the codex is offered by Statthēs, *Hoi anagrammatismoi*, 101-110.
Manuel Chrysaphes set to music the following verses from the text (7b to 8b): "Κύριος εἶπε πρὸς μέ, νῦς μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγένηκα σε. Αἰτήσε παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ, καὶ δύσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς" (Thou art my Son, today have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for thy possession). The most interesting part of this piece is not the beauty of the melodic lines but the fact that it was commissioned by the last Byzantine emperor who reigned from 1449 to his death in 1453, Constantine IX Palaeologos, from the last Lampadarios of the Hagia Sophia Cathedral of Constantinople, Manuel Chrysaphes, only a few years before the fall of the capital. The emperor perhaps identified himself with these specific words from the second Psalm and in view of the irreversible collapse of his empire and, presumably, the end of his life, he commissioned this composition from Chrysaphes as a symbolic gesture of leaving his heritage for posterity. If that is the case, then this composition, with its significant rubrics, epitomizes my hypothesis and places this piece as the quintessential kalophonic composition of the second Psalm utilized as a musical portrait of the sovereign. Furthermore, the rubrics continue at the lower margin of folio 139r by stating the following: "σφόδρα μοι δοκεῖ γλυκύτατον" which translates to: "Vehemently I considered this the sweetest," a direct emotional proclamation by the composer for this particular composition.

The form of the work is multipart and may be described as a - b - a' - b' - c. As far as the specific proportions of the composition are concerned, verses 7b, 7c, 8a and 8b occupy half of the composition leaving the other half for the kratema, the reinstatement of the text, and the

289 Constantine IX Palaiologos (1404-1453) died in battle on May 29th, 1453.
290 "Στίχος ποιηθείς παρά Μανουὴλ Λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Χρυσάφη, δι᾽ ὐρισμοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ μακαρίτου βασιλέως καὶ αὐθέντου ἡμῶν κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου." This translates to: "Music settings by Manuel Chrysaphes the Lampadarios, commissioned by our holy deceased King our lord Constantine." See rubrics from codex Iviron 1120 (f.139r).
291 See Appendix J.
alleluia section with its brief kratema. And it is this short kratema at the refrain (staves 24, 25 and 26) that makes this piece complex in structure. In general, the composer’s vocal writing is made bolder by using a broad ambitus with changes of register and departures to three different modes. The tempo is slow and meditative, most likely corresponding to Lento or Largo.\footnote{There are four idioms in Byzantine chant where the melody of the chant has a distinctive configuration determined by the specific relation between music and text and by the tempo in which the chant is performed: a) the Recitative, used when a clear enunciation of the text is required. It has a declamatory, dramatic, free rhythm and solemn character midway between recitation and singing; b) the Hermologic, which is monorhythmic, limited to a registral space of a fifth, and characterized by syllabic singing and a lively tempo; c) the Sticheraric, in andante tempo, lyrical, improvisatory and characterized by a combination of syllabic and melismatic structures; and d) the Papadike, characterized by intense melismatic passages, rich ornamentation, and specific improvisatory techniques designed for soloist virtuosity. Viorel Gheorghe, A Theory of Byzantine Music, Ph.D. diss., (University of Southern California, 1995), 79-87.}

The first component of this multipart structure, the Psalmic text section, can be further divided into two parts: The first part (staves 1 to 7) comprises verses 7b–7c and comes to a close at the end of the fermata on g. The text has been reworded at various levels: verse 7c precedes verse 7b, there is repetition of phrases, as well as words and syllables that obscure the original word syntax of the text. Melodically, almost every word of the Psalm text is embellished with long melismas. Chrysaphes uses a broad ambitus, that of a tenth, setting up D as the lower note and f’ as the higher. He establishes the Fourth plagal mode by accentuating all structural pitches of the mode by means of rhythmic augmentation, repetition, and usage of them at cadential points. Modally, although this section is in the Fourth plagal mode, a fthora appears at E, indicating a modal change to the Second plagal mode (staves 7 and 8). This fthora is mentioned in Chrysaphes' theoretical treatise\footnote{"The fthora of the second plagal mode, on the other hand, is not like this,[Nenano] but it too creates a brief alteration as do the fhorai of the other modes and it is resolved immediately in haste and without another fthora." See Chrysaphes, On the Theory of the Art of Chanting, 63.} as one that unlike the Nenano fthora, which creates its own
melody, alters the melodic intervallic structure briefly.\textsuperscript{294} Therefore, the Second plagal mode is used for dramatic and word painting purposes until the cadence on E, where the composer places the \textit{martyria} of the \textit{Nana} mode (staff 7) to indicate the modal change. The \textit{martyria} works as a reminder for the singer to adjust the intervallic relationships of the pitches to the new modal reality again, given that the \textit{Nana} mode is the Third mode, in terms of its cadentiaal pitches, but with the intervallic structure of the Fourth plagal mode.

Table 13 shows the intervallic structure, lower and upper tetrachords, dominant and cadential pitches of the \textit{Nana}.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 13</th>
<th>THE NANA MODE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tetrachords</td>
<td>Interval size</td>
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<td>Upper</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lower</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td></td>
<td>12</td>
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</table>

The second part of the Psalms text section comprises verses 8a and 8b (staves 8 to 15). The technique of \textit{anagrammatismos} is again present with the same textual rewording variations as in the preceding verses: repetition of syllables, words and phrases, inversion of words, interpolation of fragments from different lines, etc. However, what make this part interesting are the modulations from the \textit{Nana} mode to the Second plagal to \textit{Nana} to Fourth and back to \textit{Nana}.

\textsuperscript{294} The \textit{fthora} of \textit{Nenano} essentially works as a modal signature, meaning that this \textit{fthora} is not introducing a brief modal deviation but a mode with an individualized idiom.
mode. The first modulation is not indicated in the manuscript but implied, since the resemblance of repeating the musical phrase in the Second plagal mode cannot be missed (staff 10). Without any prompting, the singer knows that he supposed to sing in the Second plagal mode until the end of the musical phrase where the martyrria of the Nana mode marks the beginning of a new modulation (staff 10). Another martyrria, this time of the Fourth Mode placed over the G note, indicates another modulation (staff 12). From the Fourth mode the melody returns to the Nana mode, a modulation indicated this time by the Nana martyrria (staff 15).

As a faithful Byzantine composer who respects the tradition, Chrysaphes uses the same technique as his predecessors in order to make the modal change audible: stressing the structural notes of every new mode joined together in stylish melodic lines and using those melodic and cadential formulae pertinent to each mode. As far as the modulations are concerned, the Nana mode with its combination of diatonic intervals and irregular cadential pitches seems to constitute the pivotal mode, the intermediary so to speak, for modulation even to chromatic modes. Therefore, from Nana to Second plagal back to Nana and finally to the Fourth mode, the composer makes the modes identifiable as he did previously. What is remarkable now is the fact that he repeats the same melodic cells in two different modes with no intervallic common ground. Nevertheless, a couple of specific pitches with structural importance are common to all implicated modes, such as e, g and d and therefore a smooth modulation can be gained with very appealing audible results. Melodically, the vocal range remains expanded throughout the textual section.

With a new modulation to the Fourth plagal mode, the composition enters at this point into the section of kratema where over a series of meaning-free syllables, the composer crafts the climax of the composition and the soloist is called upon to demonstrate his ability for virtuosity.
By taking a closer look at the meaning-free syllables, we may observe that the most challenging part is accompanied by *nenasmo*, which indicates chanting by a soloist with the *teretism* part reserved for the choir. *Kratema* is also the section where the composition stays in its highest tessitura almost throughout, expanding the vocal range to b’. Interestingly enough, the composer writes the *kratema* almost exclusively in the Fourth plagal mode (except for a short modulation to the Second Plagal mode at the end of staff 16) and the melody does not modulate until it reaches the refrain section. Therefore, the composer explores all the Fourth plagal *theseis* in both lower and upper tetrachords.

However, this formulaic character of the melodic lines is disrupted in three instances by repeated *ison* neumes (staves 19 and 20), which maintain the same note but can vary rhythmically. According to Anastasiou these figurations are called *isofonies* and possibly code a more complicated melodic line than which we can read from the notational script.\(^{295}\)

More to the point, repetitive rhythmical patterns were regularly used to help memorize difficult material in didactic poetry, a principle that can be applied to musical material as well. In other words, it is plausible that an apparent simple rhythmic pattern may code demanding musical material that has been learnt, archived in memory, and retrieved with the reading of these rhythmic figurations. This example is another proof of the irreplaceable importance of the oral tradition for the accurate melodic rendition of the chant and provides evidence for the fact that orality and literacy interact in many diverse and unanticipated ways.\(^{296}\)

\(^{295}\) Anastasiou, *Ta kratêmata*, 413 and 487.

The *kratema* section is followed by the alleluia part. However, this part incorporates a small interlude of Psalnic text (staff 23) that is basically the reinstatement of verse 8a. In the alleluia section the composer attempts another mini-*kratema* by the interpolation of syllables *ni, ti, re*, foreign to the word alleluia. The composition modulates smoothly and inconspicuously to the Fourth mode right on the first statement of the word alleluia by stressing the structural pitches of the mode (a, d, e, f’), but applying the various semi-cadences on the c pitch, in all probability to match the delaying of the text that resulted from the insertion of the mini-kratema, and to intensify the suspense. Chrysaphes chooses to return the melody to its initial mode, the Fourth plagal mode, which he does by applying twice the medial cadence at the end of the mini-*kratema* and the final one in the last statement of the word “alleluia.”

3.5. THE PROLOGUES WITH *KRATEMATA*

According to Williams, prologues with *kratema* settings are those chants where an independent *kratema* provides a single long *teretism* and is preceded by a short prologue that contains a setting of selected Psalm lines. The main characteristic of these compositions is that although they are considered one piece, they are for all intents and purposes two independent parts united either in the process of composition or during their reproduction or performance. This practice explains the fact that these two-part compositions may in some cases be the work of two composers. In the case of one-composer creation, the settings are called “through-composed” while if they are the work of two composers, they are identified as “composite.” Both types of setting are testimonials to local compromise practices with liturgical regional tradition and/or individual preferences. Adding to this point, certain prologues are not consistently followed by the same *kratema* and different combinations of prologues with *kratemata* abound in

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the manuscripts. In addition, more than one kratema may follow a single prologue in the music sources, a detail that shows possible selections by the performers, perhaps during the same act of service.

In contrast with other kinds of settings (simple and florid), the prologues with kratemata almost never conclude with a refrain (alleluia). All these variations of mixing authors and matching pieces in all likelihood provide evidence of fulfilling a need for new promptly-made pieces. Consequently, what has been recorded in each Akolouthia manuscript is, on a practical level, one version of the combined pieces among the countless variations of the same material for chanting in the services.

The prologue is a relatively short composition that differs substantially from the textual section of a simple setting as far as the musical form, structure, length and style are concerned. More specifically, instead of extended melismas for lengthening purposes, intense text rearrangements, anagrammatismoi, are applied in order to prolong the composition. Although the melodic lines ignore the textual accents, the melodic phrases manage to enhance the musicality of the words overall. In order to compensate for this “disconnection” with the text, the composer employs an inspired idiomatic writing by using formulae and frequently remarkable modulations. Other than finishing in a different tone than the final one of the initial mode, thus achieving a sense of continuity in order to prepare the way for the succeeding kratema, the prologue can stand as an independent composition on its own merit. In this way, the prologues are considered as independent compositions but with versatile character.

There are instances, though, in which prologues are in fact recycled music from simple settings. An illustrative example is a piece by Koukouzeles recorded in codex EBE 2458 (ff.26r-27r) (Example 17). The composer sets to music verse 2b (Καί οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τό
αὐτό) which translates to “and the rulers gathered themselves together.” This is a tripartite florid setting as recorded in the oldest preserved Akolouthia manuscript, EBE 2458, dated 1336. Two later sources, EBE905 (ff.122v-125r), from the late fourteenth century, and EBE 2406 (ff.299v-301r) dated in 1453, copy the textual part of this piece and utilize it as an autonomous prologue succeeded by the same kratema that suggests that EBE 2406 copies directly or secondarily from EBE 905. This piece exemplifies the recycling of entire musical compositions to create new pieces in record time for local performance purposes.

The kratema that follows the prologues is usually not connected melodically and quite often not modally either. Since the method employed is simply a pairing process to generate kalophonic chants as fast as possible, the prologues differ stylistically from the kratemata. In other words, only the prologues set the Psalmic text to music, whereas the kratema were compositions transferred from other sources to supply the prologues with the typical teretism. Therefore, the study of these independent kratemata is outside the scope of the present study.298 Only the analyses of prologues are realized in this section while any reference to the kratemata is made for explicatory purposes.

The following composition from codex EBE 2406 (ff.329r) (Example 18) is a prologue accompanied by a subsequent kratema by Koukouzeles. It is through-composed - i.e., both the prologue and the kratema are works of the same composer. This pairing was not made by the composer though, since the pieces are not coherent, in other words, they are not connected melodically or modally.

The composition starts with a short echema on the vowel “i,” the first syllable of the text, followed by the cadential formula of the Fourth plagal mode, the dominance of which is

298 Idem., John Koukouzeles’s Reform, 290.
applicable until the *martyria* of the *Nana* mode. At this point, intense textual rearrangement is manifested to such an extent that any anticipation of a subsequent word according to the original syntax of the second Psalm would be unsuccessful. However, short melodic phrases accompany the words to balance the confusing effect of the *anagrammatismos*. Simultaneously, those phrases explore the ambitus, formulae, and dominant notes of the Fourth plagal mode (g, b, and d), in a fairly flowing manner. A modulation to the *Nana* mode guarantees a smooth modal change to the Third plagal or *Barys* mode. The modes *Nana* and this species of Third plagal (*Barys diatonicos*) are using diatonic steps instead of enharmonic, but they keep their formulae, the dominant and final notes of their scales.

Table 14 shows the intervallic structure of the mode with the dominant and cadential pitches.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 14</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BARYS DIATONICOS</strong></td>
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</table>

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Tetrachords</th>
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<th>Dominant/Cadential</th>
<th>Formula</th>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>F e</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lower</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>G</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F (finalis)</td>
<td>(A) c-a-g-f</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Therefore, although the composition modulates from the Fourth plagal mode to two other modes, the steps among the notes are still diatonic but the emphasis is given to other pitches of the scale. With a leap from F to c Koukouzeles launches the cadential formula of the Fourth
plagal mode to conclude the composition. This idiomatic writing as far as the modes are concerned along with the section of *echema* and the intense textual rearrangement gives the composition its self-sufficiency, while the subsequent *kratema* supplies it with the text-less florid section, as is demanded from a kalophonic composition.

The *kratema* that follows is titled *ethniko* (national) or *margaritis* (pearl), according to the rubrics. This *kratema* is found in the manuscript EBE 2406 (ff. 289v-299v), but also in Iviron 1120 (ff. 85r-87r) and EBE 2622 (ff. 36r-37v) to accompany three different prologues by Koukouzeles. In other words, the same *kratema* is found in three different manuscripts, twice in the same source, to accompany three different prologues. Therefore, the music of the *kratema* has little to share with its counterparts other than the hand and style of the composer. These types of *kratemata* entitled in the music sources as *viola, ethniko, persian, anakaras, Trochos, bell*, etc., are considered "programmatic" music, a characteristic that alienates them musically further from the prologues.

Additionally, by comparing the repetition of the *kratema* in the same manuscript, EBE 2406, one may observe that the very ending of the composition in its first instance is deleted and a new occurrence of *alleluia* with a new musical ending has been added. In EBE 2622, the change in the ending is only musical but not textual, meaning that no *alleluia* as text has been added. Iviron 1120 on the other hand, copies the first instance of EBE 2406. Especially when text is added, the *kratema*’s intention is to complement the prologue that it succeeds and not to be a mere copy of a detached composition. These alterations, either textual, musical or both, bear witness to the rapid kalophonic compositional procedures that took place during performance and/or at the creation of the manuscript.
As far as the music of the *kratemata* is concerned, it differs substantially from those *kratemata* found in the kalophonic florid setting pieces. According to Williams, the main characteristics of the *kratemata* as companions to the prologues are their splendid effect, the predictable repetition of stock melodic and rhythmic motives with a tendency to sudden changes of register and repetition of various tonal levels but without direction or momentum in the melodic lines.\(^{299}\) However, these pieces were for their creators the pretext to explore their inventiveness, to experiment with non-traditional melodic and rhythmical patterns and consequently to mingle sacred and secular music, to challenge the performer’s skills and capabilities and to subsist as music filler not only to long liturgical services such as the All-night vigil, but also to musical events associated with the palace.\(^{300}\)

By the end of the fifteenth century, the composition of kalophonic settings of the second Psalm was abandoned. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Gennadios of Anchialos set the text of the second Psalm to music.\(^{301}\) His composition, recorded in MPT 489, cannot be considered as “kalophonic” as the word and style are defined during the fourteenth century. The whole Psalmic text is included in one composition, the setting is mainly syllabic with the exception of short melismas, and there is a total absence of *kratemata* and refrain (alleluia). This setting, therefore, has nothing in common with the “simple” kalophonic compositions of the Palaiologan period, nor with the prologues, as far as the musical form and style are concerned. It has been suggested, though, that every verse can be easily used as a prologue to an extended


\(^{300}\)In EBE 2411 ff.349v and EBE 2406 ff. 17v there is a clear statement in the rubrics about the so-called ‘bell’ *kratema*: “the present piece by Domestichos and Apokrisarikios Mr. Gregoritzi was composed and chanted by him in the palace by the King’s command.” See Anastasiou, *Ta kratêmata*, 304, fn. 24.

\(^{301}\)Rubrics preceding the settings include: “Ἐτερον παλαιῶν, ἐκαλλωπίθη δέ παρά κυρίου Μάρκου τοῦ Ξανθοπούλου, ἔστι δὲ δίχορον, ἧχος πλ. δ’ Δόξα πατρί - Καὶ νῦν, Τοτοτο Ἕτερα σύντομα κύρ Γενναδίου τοῦ ἓξ Ἀγχιάλου, Ἦνατι ἔφρυάξαν ἔθνη."
kratema following the example of the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{302} Even so, without a shred of doubt, the compositional style of these pieces is literally centuries apart from the musical idiom of the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm in the Byzantine period.

3.6. SUMMARY

Finally, from the analyzed pieces we may observe the following outcome: The simple kalophonic settings were pieces most probably performed in small churches with fewer personnel most likely during the Daily Vespers service. They are characterized by the conservative melodic treatment of the text, possibly performed by the choir(s), and the more elaborate melismatic refrain destined for the soloist(s). Cautiously, we may even accept the idea of potential expansion of the melodic lines of these chants through improvisation according to unwritten rules. The modal treatment is quite conventional, encompassing as the dominant modal area the Fourth plagal mode with few exceptions. Traditional formulae are present either as such or as manipulated by the personalized style of named composers. The textual accents and syntactical structure of Psalm 2 can be reflected in the music, although often composers choose to ignore them. The vocal range is expanded, reaching to an octave, and there is no particular word painting because the musical weight is not on the Psalmic textual part but on the refrain or alleluia section.

Simultaneously, this particular feature differentiates the simple kalophonic settings from the “archaic” settings for the Second Psalm. The archaic settings tend to give the same quantity of notes to both psalmic text and refrain and are found transcribed with the new notation script (Round notation) next to the kalophonic ones in the manuscript folios.

\textsuperscript{302} Anastasiou, \textit{Ta kratémata}, 141, fn. 28.
On the other hand, the florid kalophonic settings are directly associated with the service of Great Vespers and the features of the style are mature and well-developed. Long melismas accompany the psalmic text with bold modulations and melodic and rhythmical manipulations of the traditional formulae. The melodic vocabulary is more expanded than in the simple settings but the principle of varying the traditional formulae, or of finding inventive ways to juxtapose the traditional musical material with ingenuity and imagination, is still the propelling force of composition. Word painting is achieved by lengthening techniques such as that of anagrammatismos and varied melodic figurations. Leaps of fifths, sixths and even octaves happen concurrently to sustain the numerous dramatic points of the composition.

Regarding the kratema section of the florid settings, the meaning-free syllables accompany contrasting musical material of pompous quality, with virtually no direction for momentum. The kratema constitutes the section where composers, freed from textual ties, are engaged in melodic development, with an urge to explore several modal areas and to experiment with new rhythmical patterns.

The refrain or alleluia section, even though it loses the magnitude acquired with the simple settings, remains a vital component of the composition. It is considered the concluding part of the florid composition, which does not necessarily imply that it is the least developed part of it. The statements of the word alleluia may vary from one to six or seven; these statements provide the composer with extra room for more melodic development. In addition, in the complex florid settings, the expansion of the refrain is realized through the incorporation of an extra kratema in that section that, by default, suspends its conclusive property and creates another dramatic point. As to the modal treatment in the florid settings, the Fourth plagal mode is still the prominent mode in these compositions.
Table 15 shows that out of fifty-one pieces, only three chants are written in the First plagal mode, one in the *Barys* mode, one in the *Protobarys* mode (First and Third plagal), and one in the First mode while the remaining forty-five are written in the Fourth plagal mode.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Mode</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chrysaphes, Manuel</td>
<td>Complex (1)</td>
<td>Fourth plagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dokeianos, Demetrios</td>
<td>Intermediate (1)</td>
<td>Fourth plagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethikos, Nikeforos</td>
<td>Intermediate (1)</td>
<td>Fourth plagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabriel (Hieromonachos)</td>
<td>Tripartite (1)</td>
<td>Barys plagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glykys, Ioannes</td>
<td>Tripartite (1)</td>
<td>Fourth plagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glykys, Ioannes</td>
<td>Complex (2)</td>
<td>Fourth plagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korones, Xenos</td>
<td>Tripartite (3)</td>
<td>First plagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korones, Xenos</td>
<td>Tripartite (6)</td>
<td>Fourth plagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korones, Xenos</td>
<td>Complex (5)</td>
<td>Fourth plagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korones, Xenos</td>
<td>Intermediate (3)</td>
<td>Fourth plagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koukouzeles, Ioannes</td>
<td>Tripartite (11)</td>
<td>Fourth plagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koukouzeles, Ioannes</td>
<td>Tripartite (1)</td>
<td>First</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koukouzeles, Ioannes</td>
<td>Tripartite (1)</td>
<td>Protobarys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koukouzeles, Ioannes</td>
<td>Complex (7)</td>
<td>Fourth plagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koukouzeles, Ioannis</td>
<td>Intermediate (4)</td>
<td>Fourth plagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thyvaios, Manuel</td>
<td>Intermediate (1)</td>
<td>Fourth plagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsaknopoulos, Ioannes</td>
<td>Complex (1)</td>
<td>Fourth plagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsaknopoulos, Ioannes</td>
<td>Tripartite (1)</td>
<td>Fourth plagal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also, the position of the *kratema* and the reoccurrence of the text in the piece determine the composition’s categorization as simple, intermediate, or complex.

Table 16 shows the production of florid settings with the structural subdivision composed for the second Psalm by composer. The tripartite structure is the most common, followed by the
complex and last by the intermediate. Koukouzeles is the most prolific in every structure, with Korones closely behind him.

Moreover, out of fifty-one attributed compositions of florid settings, twenty-nine have concordances in the list of selected manuscripts. The remaining twenty-two have no concordances in the examined manuscripts and thus are considered pieces unique to each individual manuscript.\(^{303}\)

The prologues with *kratemata* settings are pieces that supply musical material to long services such as Great Vespers according to the temporal needs of the specific service. There are

\(^{303}\) For the concordances in all settings see Appendix C.
a few examples in which prologues are, in fact, recycled music from simple settings. Prologues may be found interpolated with the rest of the florid setting in the service of Great Vespers or grouped together at the end of the manuscript. A prologue with a kratema is often not the work of one composer. The scribe has at his disposal prologues and kratemata that he pairs together for the local needs of the targeted church community. The same prologue can be followed by different kratemata and the same kratema can be preceded by different prologues. Unlike the other type settings (simple and florid), the prologues with kratemata do not supply a refrain (alleluia). The prologue, although it resembles the simple settings in size, differs substantially from them regarding the music form, structure, length, and style. Vigorous text rearrangements, anagrammatismoi, are applied for lengthening purposes and independent melodic lines enhance the musicality of the words. This kind of idiomatic writing is also achieved by the usage of varied melodic formulae and employment of frequent modulations. The prologue stands as an independent composition that can be easily adapted and form part of a bigger work.

The kratemata that accompany the prologues are more often than not connected neither melodically nor modally with their pair. The coupling process aimed to generate kalophonic chants as soon as possible; therefore the prologues are dissimilar stylistically from the kratemata. In short, the prologues are independent compositions where the settings of the Psalmic text in music take place, whereas the kratemata are also independent pieces that complement the prologues with the typical kalophonic teretism. The independent kratema constituted an autonomous music composition, tolerant of intrusive, secular, identifiable melodies, and ready to be performed whenever there was a need for music filler in events sacred and secular.

The analyses of all kalophonic pieces of the Second Psalm are far from exhausted. The present study shows those pieces that are the most common and exceptional melodically,
modally and rhythmically, based on a selected list of music manuscripts across different generations of composers. Hopefully, this paper will encourage more people to conduct research in the discipline of the Byzantine musicology, a neglected but promising field of study.
CONCLUSIONS

In this dissertation I set out to provide a first in-depth look of the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm in the Byzantine tradition and explain why these settings exceeded in volume, length and importance all the rest of the Psalms sung in the evening Office during the Palaiologan period.

My research has suggested that the unparalleled recurrent appearance of these psalmic settings is indicative of a plausible dual usage of them during the ritual: as music filler of a liturgical action and, according to my hypothesis, as a musical portrait of the emperor.

The rationale leading to this hypothesis is based on the following factors: the political and historical circumstances of the Palaiologan era (1261-1453), which launched a new demand for artistic creation. Liturgical reforms that drove the creation of new services, such as that of Great Vespers, provide the context for the prolific production of named composers to fill the music background of the Office's liturgical action and other local events. More specifically, this politically turbulent period propelled in particular the production of the second Psalm’s musical settings, which were also used for promotional and propagandistic purposes for the benefit of the imperial throne and the Church. The semantics of the Psalmsic text, which enclose a powerful messianic message, deliberately associated the figure of the emperor with the Anointed One, spreading optimism and hope, and by extension, upholding the imperial profile and the Church’s authority.

In addition to the nature of the music and the text, other historical facts related to the usage of the second Psalm in the Byzantine rite before and after the Palaiologan era provide persuasive inferences that the second Psalm’s prominent and abundant settings during this period
are, along with a liturgical event, the expression of an official propagandistic practice. According to the written sources, usage of the second Psalm was sporadic and inconsistent before the Fourth Crusade (1204 A.D.) and what’s more, its prominence virtually disappeared from the Office of Great Vespers in the Post-Byzantine era. Therefore, the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm are the product of this particular socio-political state of affairs reflecting specific events that took place at this period.

The kalophonic settings of the second Psalm in the Byzantine tradition are exemplary music compositions of this style with a prominent presence in the *Akolouthia* manuscripts during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Office of Great Vespers accommodated all types of settings of this particular Psalm. The musical analyses of pieces presented in this paper have shown that the second Psalm settings are of three different types: simple, florid, and prologues with vocalizations over syllables from the text known as *kratemata* or textless vocalizations on meaning-free syllables called *teretismata*. The vast majority of the pieces analyzed in this study are written in the Fourth plagal as their initial and concluding mode. All major composers of the kalophonic style left us with masterpieces on musical setting of the second Psalm.

The present study has placed the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm in musical, liturgical, and historical perspective and has provided a convincing answer to their prolific and previously inexplicable existence. Hopefully, by addressing this scholarly *lacuna*, I am adding to our knowledge of the developmental stages of the Byzantine ecclesiastical chant during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in general and of the politico-historical context of the kalophonic settings of the second Psalm in particular.
MUSIC EXAMPLES

Example 1

“Διαγγέλων τό πρόσταγμα Κυρίου” by Koukouzeles in EBE 906 f. 29v.
Example 2

“Διαγγέλων τὸ πρόσταγμα Κυρίου” by Anonymous (Παλαιόν) in EBE 2444 f. 30r.
"Ὡς σκεύη κεραμέως συντρίψεις αὐτούς" by Korones in Filotheou 122 ff. 60v-61r.
Example 4

“Ὡς σκεύη κεραμέως συντρίψεις αὐτούς” by Stylianos in EBE 2401 f. 68r.
Example 5

“Ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ραύδῳ σιδηρᾷ” by Sgouropoulos in EBE 906 ff.30v-31r.
Example 6

“Ποιμανεῖς αὐτούς ἐν ραύδῳ σιδηρᾷ” by Kontopetris in EBE 906 f.30v.
Example 7

"Οἱ κρίνοντες τήν γῆ" by Kladas in EBE 906 f. 32r.
Example 8

“Īvarti” (echema) by Koukouzelis in EBE 2406 f. 295r.
Example 9

Kratemata:

1) Καμπάνα (Bell) by Gregorios Domestichos in EBE 2406 f. 17v.

2) Τρουμπέτα (Trumpet) by Kladas in Sinai 1252 f. 60v.
Example 10

“Ινατί” by Glykys in EBE 2406 ff. 293r-293v.
Example 10 (continues)
Example 11

“Δουλεύσατε τῷ Κύριῳ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀγαλλάσσε αὐτῷ ἐν τρόμῳ, μή ποτὲ ὀργισθῇ Κύριος.”

Music excerpt by Koukouzeles in Iviron 984 ff. 56r-57r.
Example 12

"Δουλεύσατε τῷ Κύριῳ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἀγαλάτος αὐτῷ ἐν τρόμῳ, μή ποτὲ ὄργισθῇ Κύριος."

By Gabriel Hieromonachus in EBE 2406 ff. 320r-321v.
Example 12 (continues)
Example 12 (continues)
Example 12 (continues)
Example 12 (continues)
Example 12 (continues)
Example 13

Variants on verse “Ἰνατί” by Korones in EBE 2406 ff. 293r-293v

EBE 2406 (ff. 341r-342r)

Koutloumousiou 457 ff. 26v-28r

Vatopediou 1527 ff. 161v-163v

EBE906 ff. 38r-39v
Example 14

"Δουλεύσατε τῷ Κύριῳ ἐν φόβῳ" by Manuel Thebeos in EBE 2406 ff. 316r-317r.
Example 14 (continues)
Example 14 (continues)
Example 14 (continues)
Example 14 (continues)

Omitted musical phrase in First mode

Alternative ending
Example 15

"Δράξασθε παιδείας, μήποτε ὁργισθῇ Κύριος"

By Tsaknopoulos in EBE 2406 ff. 322r-322v.
Example 15 (continues)
Example 15 (continues)
Example 16

“Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγένηκά σε” by Manuel Chrysaphes in Iviron 1120 ff. 139r-140r.
Example 16 (continues)
Example 16 (continues)
Example 16 (continues)
Example 17

"Καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό."  

By Koukouzeles in EBE 2458 ff. 26r-27r.
Example 17 (continues)

"Καί οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό" by Koukouzeles in EBE 905 ff. 122v-125r.
Example 18

"Ἰνατί" (Prologue) by Koukouzeles in EBE 2406 f. 329r.
Example 18 (continues)
APPENDIX A

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS WITH KALOPHONIC SETTINGS OF THE SECOND PSALM

_Ethnike Bibliothike tes Elladas (EBE)_

<table>
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<th>Manuscript</th>
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<td>in 1336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EBE 2622</td>
<td>1341- ca 1360</td>
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<tr>
<td>EBE 2062</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>EBE 906</td>
<td>ca 14th - 15th century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EBE 2454</td>
<td>ca mid-14th century</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ca 15th century</td>
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<td>ca. 1430</td>
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<td>EBE 3324</td>
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<td>EBE 2980</td>
<td>in 1667</td>
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Mount Athos Monastic Community Libraries, Greece
Xeropotamou 270 end of 15th century (Kratematarion-Mathematarion)
Xeropotamou 273 2nd half of 16th century (Anthologia-Anstasimatarion)
Xeropotamou 307 in 1767 and 1770 (Papadikē) by Anastasios Baias.
Xeropotamou 317 1st half 18th century (Anthologia)
Xeropotamou 318 1st half 19th century (Anthologia)
Dochiariou 314 16th century (Anthologia)
Dochiariou 315 16th century (Anthologia)
Dochiariou 337 1764 (Anthologia)
Konstamonitou 86 1st half of 15th century (Papadikē)
Xenofontos 123 2nd half 18th century
Panteleymonos 959 end of 17th century (Anthologia)
Panteleymonos 969 in 1730 (Anthologia-Papadikē)
Panteleymonos 970 in 1815 (Anthologia)
Panteleymonos 1008 end of 17th century (Anthologia-Papadikē) by Balasios Iereus
Panteleymonos 1017 1st half of 16th century (Anthologia)
Panteleymonos 1035 in 1865 (Anthologia)
Panteleymonos 1045 end of 15th century (Anthologia)
Simonos Petras 1 1st half of 17th century (Anthologia)
Gregoriou 4 in 1744 (Papadikē) by Michael Iereus
Gregoriou 5 end of 17th century (Anthologia)
Dionisiou 581 mid 18th century (Anthologia) by Germanos Neon Patron
Dionisiou 775 mid 19th century (Fillada) by Ioasaph Dionisatou
Ag. Paulou 98 mid 18th century (Anthologia-Papadikē)
Ag. Paulou 107 mid 19th century
Koutloumousiou 395 2nd half 16th century (Anthologia)
Koutloumousiou 399 mid 14th century (Papadikē)
Koutloumousiou 449 ca. 1700 (Anthologia) by Daniel the monk
Koutloumousiou 455 end of 15th century (Papadikē)
Koutloumousiou 457 ca. 1360-85
Karakalou 216 in 1819 (Anthologia)
Filotheou 122 1st half of the 15th century (Papadikē)
Stauronikita 165 in 1665-1685 (Anthologia - Anstasimatario) by Cosmas Makedonas
Iviron 949 end of 17th century (Anthologia)
Iviron 951 2nd half of 17th century (Anthologia)
Iviron 961 end of 17th century (Anthologia - Papadikē)
Iviron 970 in 1686 (Anthologia) by Cosmas Makedonas
Iviron 972 1st half of 15th century (Oikimatario - Kratematario)
Iviron 973 1st half of 15th century (Papadikē)
Iviron 974 1st half of 15th century (Papadikē)
Iviron 982 1st half of 18th century (Papadikē)
Iviron 984 mid 15th century (Papadikē - Mathematario)
Iviron 985 in 1425 (Papadikē) by Manuel Blateros
Iviron 987 *ca.*1731 (Papadikē) by Athanasios Archbishop
Iviron 993 mid 17th century (Anthologia - Mathematario) by Cosmas Makedonas
Iviron 998 mid 18th century (Anthologia)
Iviron 1120 in 1458 by Manuel Chrysafis
**Iviron 1006 in 1463**
Megistis Lavras E 46 in 1436
Megistis Lavras I 173 in 1436
Megistis Lavras I 178 in 1377
Megistis Lavras I 185 mid 14th century
Vatopedi 1495 ca 1376-79
Vatopedi 1527 in 1434
Vatopedi 1498 mid 15th century

**St. Catherine Monastery at Mount Sinai, South Sinai Governorate, Egypt**
Sinai 1252 mid 15th century (Kratematarion) by Ioannes PlousiadeNos
Sinai 1253 2nd half of 15th century (Mathematario) by Ioannes PlousiadeNos
Sinai 1255 2nd half of 15th century (Anthologia-Mathematario) by Manuel Chrysafis
Sinai 1256 in 1309 (Eirmologio-Anthologia) by Irene daughter of Theodoros Agiopetritis
Sinai 1257 in 1332 (Eirmologio-Anthologia)
Sinai 1276 1st half of 15th century (Anthologia)
Sinai 1293 2nd half of 15th century (Anthologia) by Ioannes PlousiadeNos
Sinai 1294 1st half of 14th century (Papadikē)
Sinai 1295 1st half of 18th century (Anthologia-Mathematario)
Sinai 1297 in 1655 (Anthologia)
Sinai 1298 1st half of 18th century (Papadikē) by a student of Balasios
Sinai 1299 1st half of 18th century (Papadikē) by Athanasios monk from Moudania
Sinai 1300 in 1670 (Anthologia-Anastasimatarion) by Kosmas Alektiropolitis
Sinai 1306 2nd half 16th century (Anthologia) Crete
Sinai 1311 2nd half 14th century (Anthologia-Mathematario)
Sinai 1313 2nd half 16th century (Papadikē-Mathematario)
Sinai 1323 end of 15th century (Anthologia)
**Sinai 1462 14-15th centuries**
Sinai 1527 15th century
Sinai 1463 late 15th century
Sinai 1552 late 15th century
Sinai 1556 late 15th century

**Meteora Monastic Community Libraries, Greece**
Metamorfoseos 56 in 1580 (Anthologia) by Nikolaos Padiatis
Metamorfoseos 92 in 1772 (Anthologia-Papadikē)
Metamorfoseos 101 early 17th century (Anthologia)
Metamorfoseos 164 early 15th century (Papadikē)
Metamorfoseos 192 mid 15th century (Papadikē-Mathematario)
Metamorfoseos 203 mid 15th century (Papadikē-Mathematario)
Metamorfoseos 229 end of 17th century (Anthologia)
Metamorfoseos 295 2nd half of 18th century (Anthologia) by Anastasios Rapsaniotis
Metamorfoseos 310 2nd half of 17th century (Anthologia)
Metamorfoseos 323 2nd half of 18th century (Akolouthiarion)
Metamorfoseos 329 in 1775 (Anthologia) by Parthenios Meteoritis
Varlaam 208 ca. 15th -16th centuries (Anthologia)
Ag.Stefanou 19 1st half of 18th century (Papadikē)
Ag.Stefanou 52 in 1743 (Papadikē) by Ioannes Protopsaltes
Ag.Stefanou 127 2nd half of 18th century (Pandektis) by Daniel Protopsaltes
Ag.Triados 78 in 1380/81 (Papadikē)
Ag.Triados 113 end of 15th century (Papadikē)

London, Society of Antiquaries
Sal 48 ca. 1430 (Akolouthia) by David Redestinos

Oxford, Bodleian Library
Jesus College 33 in 1635 (Anthologia)
E.D. Clarke 13 (S.C. 18375) 17th century (Anthologia)
E.D. Clarke 14 (S.C. 18376) end of 15th century (Anthologia)

Vienna, National Bibliothek
MS theol. Gr. 185 ca. 1391-1425
MS phil. Gr. 194 15th century

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica
MS Barberini gr.300 15th century
MS Barberini gr.304 15th century
MS Barberini gr.392
MS Barberini gr.481 14-15th century
MS Barberini gr.791 first half 15th century
MS Ottoboniani gr.317 15-16th century
MS Vaticani gr.791 15th century
MS Vaticani gr.1562 1318

Jerusalem, Library of the Greek Patriarchate
MS Taphos 425 mid 14th century

Thessalonike, Vlatadon Monastery
MS 46 1591
**Grottaferrata, Biblioteca del Monumento Nazionale**
Γ.γ.IV ca. 13-14\(^{th}\) centuries

**Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
Milan gr. 476 14\(^{th}\) century
Milan gr. 665 14\(^{th}\) century

**Note:** Manuscripts in bold indicate inclusion of Psalm 2 but not a verification of a kalophonic setting.
APPENDIX B

CONSULTED MANUSCRIPTS

14<sup>th</sup> century

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<td>Koutloumousiou 457 1360-1385</td>
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<td>EBE 2062 1376-1379</td>
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<td>EBE 906 14&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; - 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; century</td>
<td>EBE 904 14&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; - 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; century</td>
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15<sup>th</sup> century

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<td>Konstamonitou 86 1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; half 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; century</td>
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APPENDIX C
MUSIC CONCORDANCES

CONCORDANCES OF SIMPLE SETTINGS

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<th>FOLIOS</th>
<th>VERSES</th>
<th>ALLELUIA</th>
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| EBE 2458          | Koukouzelles, Ioannis | 26r-27r | Και οι άρχοντες | Tripartite | No | Yes | Yes | πλ.δ' | No |
| EBE 2458          | Koukouzelles, Ioannis | 27r-28v | κατά τοῦ Κυρίου | Tripartite | No | Yes | Yes | πλ.δ'-πλ.β' | No |
| EBE 904           | Koukouzelles, Ioannis | 167v-169v | Ἰνατι...κε νά | Tripartite | No | Yes | Yes | πλ.δ' | No |
| EBE 904           | Koukouzelles, Ioannis | 169v-171r | Παρέστη-σαν | Tripartite | No | Yes | Yes | πλ.δ' | No |
| EBE 906           | Koukouzelles, Ioannis | 33r-33v | Ἰνατι | Tripartite | No | Yes | Yes | πλ.δ'-τέταρτος-φθορά-τέταρτος πλ.δ' | No |
| EBE 2600          | Koukouzelles, Ioannis | 71r-72r | Δουλεύ-σατε τον Κύριο | Tripartite | No | Yes | Yes | πλ.δ' | No |
| Koutloumousiou 449| Koukouzelles, Ioannis | 22r-23r | Δουλεύσ ατε | Tripartite | Yes | Yes | Yes | πλ.α'-πρώτος-τέταρτος-πρώτος | Εταυψοφ |
| Koutloumousiou 457| Koukouzelles, Ioannis | 40r-42r | Ἑγὼ δὲ κατεστά-θην | Tripartite | No | Yes | No | πλ.δ'-πλ.α' | No |
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<td>Διαφρήξομεν</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>πλ.δ΄…</td>
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<tr>
<td>EBE 2604</td>
<td>Korones, Xenos</td>
<td>188v</td>
<td>Κύριος εἶπε πρὸς με</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>πλ.δ</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>188v-189r</td>
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<td>188v-189r</td>
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<td>190v</td>
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<td>190v-192r</td>
<td>Ανακαράς</td>
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<td>127v-129v</td>
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<td>πλ.δ</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>EBE 905</td>
<td>Kontopetris, Georgos</td>
<td>42v-43r</td>
<td>Διαφήμιζομεν</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>πλ.δ-?-πλ.α</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Page Numbers</td>
<td>Reference</td>
<td>Final</td>
<td>Tetartos</td>
<td>Katalasia</td>
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<td>-----------</td>
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<tr>
<td>EBE 2406</td>
<td>Kasas</td>
<td>333v-334r</td>
<td>Του Βασιλέως</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Τέταρτος</td>
<td>Ποιηθέν όρα του Κασά, προτοψάλτου Κύπρου, καλλοπίσθεν δὲ παρα Νικολαου προτοψάλτου του Ρεντακινού / Θεσσαλοί + Κων/πολή = Βιολα</td>
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<tr>
<td>Iviron 1120</td>
<td>Kasas</td>
<td>172v-173r</td>
<td>Του Βασιλέως</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Τέταρτος</td>
<td>Πρόλογος</td>
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<tr>
<td>EBE 2062</td>
<td>Ethikos, Nikeforos</td>
<td>202r</td>
<td>'Εγώ δὲ κατεστάθην</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>Πρόλογος</td>
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<tr>
<td>EBE 2406</td>
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<td>309r</td>
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<tr>
<td>EBE 2622</td>
<td>Ethikos, Nikeforos</td>
<td>49r</td>
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<tr>
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<td>299v-301r</td>
<td>και οἱ ἄρχοντες</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>πλ.δ’ - νανάτεταρτος - πλ.δ - πρώτος</td>
<td>Θεσσαλοί = ζαμάρα - Κον/πολή = βιολα</td>
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<tr>
<td>EBE 905</td>
<td>Koukouzeles, Ioannis</td>
<td>122v-125r</td>
<td>και οἱ ἄρχοντες</td>
<td>Yes</td>
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<td>Πρόλογος</td>
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<tr>
<td>EBE 2062</td>
<td>Koukouzeles, Ioannis</td>
<td>187v-189v</td>
<td>Κράτημα</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>πλ.δ’</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EBE 2622</td>
<td>Koukouzeles, Ioannis</td>
<td>34v-36r</td>
<td>Κράτημα</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>πλ.δ’</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>EBE 2444</td>
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<td>42v-43r</td>
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<td>πλ.δ’</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>EBE 2622</td>
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<td>36r</td>
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<td>Koukouzeles, Ioannis</td>
<td>191v-191Ar</td>
<td>κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου + Κράτημα</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>πλ.δ’</td>
<td>Πρόλογος</td>
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</tbody>
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| EBE 2622 | Koukouzeles, Ioannis | 37v-40r | κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου + Κράτημα | No | πλ.δ´ | Πρόλογος + Κρατημα
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| EBE 2062 | Kontopetris, Georgos | 193v-194r | Διαφρήξωμεν | No | πλ.α´ | Πρόλογος του δομέστικου
| EBE 2622 | Kontopetris, Georgos | 40r-40v | Διαφρήξωμεν | No | πλ.α´ | Πρόλογος του δομέστικου
| EBE 2062 | Koukouzeles, Ioannis | 194r-196r | Κράτημα | No | πλ.α´-νανά | No
| EBE 2622 | Koukouzeles, Ioannis | 40v-42r | Κράτημα | No | πλ.α´-νανά | No
| EBE 2406 | Korones, Xenos | 304v-305r | ο κατοικών | No | πλ.δ´ | No
| EBE 2622 | Korones, Xenos | 43v-44r | ο κατοικών | No | πλ.δ´ | No
| EBE 2406 | Ioakeim, monachos Xarsianitou | 335r | καὶ ἀπορρίψωμεν | No | πλ.δ´ | Yes
| Iviron 1120 | Ioakeim, monachos Xarsianitou | 113v-114r | καὶ ἀπορρίψωμεν | No | πλ.δ´−… | No
| EBE 2406 | Dokeianos, Demetrios | 305r-305v | Κράτημα | Yes | πλ.δ´-νανά-τέταρτος·νανά | Yes
| EBE 2622 | Dokeianos, Demetrios | 49r-50v | Κράτημα | Yes | πλ.δ´-νανά-τέταρτος·νανά | Yes
| EBE 2062 | Koukouzeles, Ioannis | 204v-205v | ώς σκεύη κεραμέως | No | πλ.δ´-νανά-τέταρτος (κρατημα πλ.α´) | Πρόλογος + Κρατημα
| EBE 2622 | Koukouzeles, Ioannis | 53r-54r | ώς σκεύη κεραμέως | No | πλ.δ´-νανά-τέταρτος (κρατημα πλ.α´) | Πρόλογος + Κρατημα
| EBE 906 | Koukouzeles, Ioannis | 48v-49r | ώς σκεύη κεραμέως | No | πλ.δ | Πρόλογος |
APPENDIX D

TEXT OF PSALM 2 304

TEXT IN ENGLISH

[Poet]

1a Wherefore did the heathen rage
1b and the nations imagine vain things?

2a The kings of the earth stood up,
2b and the rulers gathered themselves together,
2c against the Lord
2d and against his Christ;

3a Let us break through their bonds,
3b and cast away their yoke from us.

4a He that dwells in the heavens shall laugh them to scorn,
4b and the Lord shall mock them.

5a Then shall he speak to them in his anger,
5b and trouble them in his fury.

[Messiah]

6a But I have been made king by him
6b on Sion his holy mountain,

7a declaring the ordinance of the Lord:
7b the Lord said to me, Thou art my Son,
7c to-day have I begotten thee.

8a Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance,
8b and the ends of the earth for thy possession.

9a Thou shalt rule them with a rod of iron;
9b thou shalt dash them in pieces as a potter’s vessel.

[Poet]

10a Now therefore understand, ye kings:
10b be instructed, all ye that judge the earth.

11a Serve the Lord with fear,

304 Brenton, The Septuagint, 699.
11b and rejoice in him with trembling.

12a Accept correction, lest at any time the Lord be angry,
12b and ye should perish from the righteous way:

13a whenever his wrath shall be suddenly kindled,
13b blessed are all they that trust in him.

TEXT IN GREEK

1a Ἰνατί ἐφρύαξαν έθνη,
1b καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν κενά;

2a παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς,
2b καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ
2c κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου
2d καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.

3a Διαφήξωμεν τοὺς δεσμοὺς αὐτῶν
3b καὶ ἀπορρίψωμεν ἀφ’ ἡμῶν τὸν ζυγὸν αὐτῶν.

4a ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἐκαλέσται αὐτούς,
4b καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἀκμαίκηται αὐτοὺς.

5a Τότε λαλήσει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ
5b καὶ ἐν τῷ θυμῷ αὐτοῦ ταράξει αὐτοὺς.

6a Ἑγὼ δὲ κατεστάθηκαν βασιλεῖς ύπ’ αὐτοῦ
6b ἐπὶ Σιών ὄρος τὸ ἄγιον αὐτοῦ

7a διαγγέλλων τὸ πρόσταγμα Κυρίου.
7b Κύριος εἶπεν πρὸς με· τίς μου εἶ σύ;
7c Ἑγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.

8a Αἰτήσαι παρ’ ἐμοῦ, καὶ δῶσω σοι έθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου
8b καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς,

9a ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ὀργῇ σιδηρῇ,
9b ὡς σκεύη κεραμείς συντρίψεις αὐτοὺς.

10a καὶ νῦν, βασιλεῖς, σύνετε,
10b παιδεύθητε, πάντες οἱ κρίνοντες τὴν γῆν,

11a δουλεύσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ
11b καὶ ἀγαλλιάσθε αὐτῷ ἐν τρόμῳ,
12a δράξασθε παιδείας, μὴ ποτε ὀργισθῇ Κύριος
12b καὶ ἀπολείσθε ἐξ ὁδοῦ δικαίας,
13a ὅταν ἐκκαυθῇ ἐν τάχει ὁ θυμὸς αὐτοῦ,
13b μακάριοι πάντες οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπὶ αὐτῷ.
## APPENDIX E

INDEX OF COMPOSERS WITH KALOPHONIC SETTINGS OF THE SECOND PSALM IN BYZANTINE MSS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF COMPOSER</th>
<th>TITLE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Glykys, Ioannis (ca. 1280-1340)</td>
<td>(Protopsaltes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethikos, Nikeforos (late 13(^{\text{th}}) century)</td>
<td>(Domestichos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koukouzeles, Ioannes (ca. 1270-1350)</td>
<td>(Maistor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agalianos, Manuel (end of 13(^{\text{th}}) century Constantinople</td>
<td>(Domestichos) Hagia Sophia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korones, Xenos (end of 13(^{\text{th}}) century)</td>
<td>(Protopsaltes) «Ευαγοῦς βασιλικοῦ κλήρου»</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segeros, Andreas (end of 13(^{\text{th}}) century -early 14(^{\text{th}}) century)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kontopetris, Georgios (early 14(^{\text{th}}) century)</td>
<td>(Domestichos) Thessaloniki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dokeianos, Demetrios (early 14(^{\text{th}}) century)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kladas, Ioannis (middle of 14(^{\text{th}}) c.)</td>
<td>(Lampadarios) «Ευαγοῦς βασιλικοῦ κλήρου»</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dokeanos, Demetrios (middle of 14(^{\text{th}}) c.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sgouropoulos, Georgios (end of 14(^{\text{th}}) c.)</td>
<td>(Domestichos)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athanasios Hieromonachos (end of 14(^{\text{th}}) c.) monastery in Constantinople</td>
<td>(Politis) Magganon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thivaios, Manuel (end of 14(^{\text{th}}) c.)</td>
<td>(Laosynaktis) Hagia Sophia Constantinople</td>
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<td>Tsaknopoulos, Ioannis</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Chrysaifes, Manuel (early 15(^{\text{th}}) century)</td>
<td>(Lampadarios) «Ευαγοῦς βασιλικοῦ κλήρου»</td>
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</table>
Gabriel Hieromonachos (15th century)

Chalivouris

Stylianos Hieromonachos

Xeros, Ioannis

Panaretos, Georgios
APPENDIX F

COMPOSERS' DATES AND TEACHER-STUDENT RELATIONSHIPS

Nikeforos Ethikos (late 13th c.)  Ioannes Glykys (ca.1280-1340)

Ioannes Tsaknopoulos (early 14th c.) Ioannes Koukouzeles (1270-1350?)  Xenos Korones (early 14th c.)

Georgios Kontopetris (early 14th c.) Demetrios Dokeianos (early 14th c.)

Ioannes Lampadarios Kladas (14th-15th c.)  Georgios Sgouropoulos (14th-15th c.)

Manuel Chrysafes (15th c.)

Gabriel (Hieromonachos) (1472)
APPENDIX G

THEOPHANES THE GREEK ca.1330-1410

_The Virgin._ c. 1405.

Tempera on wood. Icon from the Deisis Range of the Iconostasis of the Annunciation Cathedral in the Moscow Kremlin, Moscow, Russia.

Whole and detail.
The Dormition.

The reverse of *The Don Virgin* icon. Late 14th century. Tempera on wood. 86 x 68 cm. From the Annunciation Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin. The Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, Russia.

Whole and detail.

Source: http://www.abcgallery.com/I/icons/greek.html
APPENDIX H

KOUKOUZELIAN 'WHEEL' IN AN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MANUSCRIPT

(Private collection by Demetrios Kontogiorges)
APPENDIX I

SIMPLE KALOPHONIC RUBRICS
(Athens, National Library of Greece, EBE 2401 f.63v)

Rubrics: “ἀπὸ τοῦτο γίνεται καλλιφωνία, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀρχεται ὁ δομέστικος τοῦ α’ χοροῦ τήν βαν στάσιν, ἢτοι τοῦ β’ ψαλμοῦ, ἀπὸ χοροῦ”. It translates to: “From here the Kalophonia takes place and with these the Domestikos from the first choir [starts] the second stasis, which is Psalm 2, from the choir”.

From the image: A page from a manuscript written in Greek, with some text and symbols.
APPENDIX J

CHANT COMMISSIONED BY THE EMPEROR IN CHRYSAPHES’ AUTOGRAPH

(Mount Athos Monastic Community Libraries, Iviron 1120 f.139r)

Rubrics: “Στοίχος ποιηθείς παρά Μανουήλ λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Χρυσάφη, δι´ ὀρισμοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ μακαρίτου βασιλέως καὶ αὐθέντου ἡμῶν κυροῦ”. It translates to: Music settings by Manuel Chrysaphes the Lambadarios, commissioned by saint and blissful king our lord.
APPENDIX K

MODAL SIGNATURES AND *FTHORAI*

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Kyrioi (Authentic)</th>
<th>Plagioi (Plagal)</th>
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<td>Protos (First)</td>
<td>Plagios Protos (First Plagal)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deuteros (Second)</td>
<td>Plagios Deuteros (Second Plagal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tritos (Third)</td>
<td>Barys (Third Plagal)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tetartos (Fourth)</td>
<td>Plagios Tetartos (Fourth Plagal)</td>
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Divisions of Modes

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<th>Protobarys</th>
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<th>Legetos</th>
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## APPENDIX L

**INTERVAL SIGNS**

### Ascending Signs

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<th>Symbol</th>
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<td>Ison</td>
<td>← (same pitch)</td>
<td>![Ison Symbol]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oligon</td>
<td>– (second-neutral)</td>
<td>![Oligon Symbol]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxeia</td>
<td>– (second-moderate)</td>
<td>![Oxeia Symbol]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petasthē</td>
<td>/ (second-sharp/modulated)</td>
<td>![Petasthē Symbol]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koufisma</td>
<td>/ (second-light/modulated)</td>
<td>![Koufisma Symbol]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelaston</td>
<td>↘ (second-almost as Petasthē)</td>
<td>![Pelaston Symbol]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyo Kentemata</td>
<td>– (second)</td>
<td>![Dyo Kentemata Symbol]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentema</td>
<td>• (third)</td>
<td>![Kentema Symbol]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hypselē</td>
<td>(fifth)</td>
<td>![Hypselē Symbol]</td>
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### Descending Signs

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<tr>
<td>Apostrofos</td>
<td>↗ (second)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hyporrhoē</td>
<td>↘ (two consecutive seconds)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elaphron</td>
<td>• (third)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khamelē</td>
<td>(fifth)</td>
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</table>
APPENDIX M

STARTING FOLIOS OF AN AKOLOUTHIA MANUSCRIPT

(Athens, National Library of Greece EBE 2837 ff.1r-2v)
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Primary Sources


Secondary Sources


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Hjort, Øystein. “‘Oddities’ and ‘Refinements’: Aspects of Architecture, Space, and Narrative in


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