The Life and Works of Manuel Chrysaphes the *Lampadarios*, and the Figure of Composer in Late Byzantium: Volume 1

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THE FOLLOWING PARTS OF THIS THESIS HAVE BEEN REDACTED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS:

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Declaration

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Spyridon Antonopoulos

Boston, Massachusetts, October 2013

Abstract

This is the first full-length, bioergographical study devoted to Manuel Chrysaphes, a fifteenth century composer, theorist, and singer, who worked in the imperial court of Constantinople as *lampadarios* (a director of the imperial choirs) under the final two emperors of Byzantium, residing in Mistra, Serbia, and Crete after the disintegration of the Empire in 1453. Aside from Edward Williams' study dedicated to the fourteenth-century musical reforms of Ioannes Koukouzeles, there are virtually no complete studies on notable musicians of the late Byzantine Empire. This dearth of scholarship is all the more remarkable considering these musicians' prodigious output and the emphasis on the individual and the act of composition evident in manuscripts and treatises of Byzantine psalmody.

Manuel Chrysaphes was the probable scribe of four codices, the author of an important theoretical treatise, and the composer of approximately 300 works, which range from simple psalmody to virtuosic chants composed in the florid, *kalophonic* style. This study embraces Chrysaphes' multifaceted personality as scribe, theorist, and composer, in order to bring his aesthetics and compositional voice into relief. A detailed analysis of Chrysaphes' arrangement and settings of the *Anoixantaria* (verses and troped refrains based on Psalm 103) not only serves to update our knowledge of evening worship in late Byzantium, but also provides a starting point towards understanding the identifiable elements of Chrysaphes' style as composer. More broadly, this thesis attempts to define the figure of composer in the context of the late medieval world of the Christian East. Chrysaphes took the kalophonic tradition he inherited – a tradition of elaborate psalmody in which individual composers figured prominently – to its logical extreme, filling out repertories with his own compositions, innovating in certain areas, and defending the traditions of his predecessors elsewhere. Chrysaphes, a scribe, singer, and choir director, operated first and foremost as a self-consciously authorial composer. His prolific activity as author of hundreds of veritable 'art works' nevertheless leaves us with the impression that these were not detractors from, but rather, instruments of worship and spiritual perfection.

Abbreviations

ASBMH	American Society of Byzantine Music and Hymnology
CIMAGL	Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge grec et latin
CSDRM	Corpus Scriptorum de re Musica
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DORLC	Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection
JAMS	Journal of the American Musicological Society
LSJ	Liddell & Scott
LOC	Library of Congress
MMB	Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
ODB	Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium
OUP	Oxford University Press
PLP	Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit
SEC	Studies in Eastern Chant

ΕΕΒΣ	Επετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών (Athens)
ΙΒΜ	Ίδρυμα Βυζαντινής Μουσικολογίας
ΠΙΠΜ	Πατριαρχικόν Ίδρυμα Πατερικών Μελετών
ΣΤΕΔΚΚ	Σύνδεσμος Τοπικών Ενώσεων Δήμων & Κοινοτήτων Κρήτης

A Note on the Musical Transcriptions

The transcription principles established by the founders of *Monumenta Musica Byzantinae* (MMB)[1] are based on the theory that the interval signs of middle Byzantine musical notation should be read at face value with a rhythmic interpretation of 1:1 (i.e., one sign: one beat), or 1:2.[2] In contrast to this theory, the Constantinopolitan cantor and teacher Constantine Psachos argued that the middle Byzantine notation[3] represented only the skeleton of the actual melody: medieval singers, relying on orally transmitted performance conventions, would double or quadruple the time values of the interval signs, interpolating extra notes or phrases not explicitly written down, thereby realising the true melody (*melos*).[4] A foundational principle for Psachos, unlike some other Greek critics of MMB's transcription methodology, was his belief in the aural identity between a chant in its medieval and modern forms, despite obvious changes in the notation.[5] This theory of the stenographic interpretation of the middle Byzantine notation, also known as 'long exegesis', was further developed much later by Gregory Stathis in his book *Η Εξήγησις της Παλαιάς Βυζαντινής Σημειογραφίας (The Exegesis of the Old Byzantine Notation)*.[6]

More recent scholarship – far removed from the torrid disputes of the first half of the twentieth century between Western and Greek scholars – has highlighted problems with theory of the stenographic nature of the middle Byzantine notation.[7] Alexander Lingas has demonstrated how differences in cultural presuppositions and the 'perceived meaning of transcriptions'

[1] In 1931, Henry Tillyard, Egon Wellesz, and Carston Hoeg founded the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* (MMB), an academic society centred in Copenhagen whose aim was the musicological study of medieval Byzantine chant. For the transcription principles promulgated by MMB, see H.W.J. Tillyard, *A Handbook of the Middle Byzantine Notation*, MMB: Subsidia 1b (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1935).

[2] The standard rhythmic unit in MMB transcriptions is the quaver. Thus, all interval neumes are transcribed as quavers except when modified by neumes of shortening or lengthening, the latter including the *dyo apostrophe* and *diple* (crotchet), the *tzakisma* and *klasma* (dotted quaver), and the *apoderma* (quaver with fermata).

[3] 'Middle Byzantine notation' denotes the family of *diastematic* (interval-specific) medieval notation that arose around the middle of the 12th century and replaced the *adiastematic* 'Palaeobyzantine notation' families, which lacked intervallic specificity and functioned more as an *aide-mémoire*.

[4] For the varied critiques put forth by Thrasyvoulos Georgiades and Simon Karas, see Alexander Lingas, 'Performance Practice and the Politics of Transcribing Byzantine Chant', *Acta Musicae Byzantinae*, no. 6 (2003): 62-69. On the other hand, Markos Vasileiou, a Constantinopolitan cantor active around the turn of the twentieth century, promoted the theory that the middle Byzantine notation interval signs were read by singers at face value. For Vasileiou, see Markos Dragoumes, 'Μάρκος Βασιλείου ένας Πρωτοπόρος της Βυζαντινής Μουσικολογίας', *Απόψεις* 4 (1988) and Lingas, 'Performance Practice', 56, 63-64.

[5] Middle Byzantine notation remained relatively unchanged in its constitution of signs and their basic function until the notational reforms of the early 19th century, under the aegis of the Patriarchal School in Constantinople. For the reforms and transcriptions of the 'Three Teachers', cf. infra Ch. 1, fn. 69, and Ch. 4, passim.

[6] Stathis, following in the footsteps of Psachos, argues that one of the keys to unlocking the 'long exegetical form' of the notation is the proper interpretation of the *great hypostases*, the subsidiary signs that undergirded and grouped various combinations of interval signs. See Gregorios Th. Stathis, *Η Εξήγησις της Παλαιάς Βυζαντινής Σημειογραφίας* (Athens: IBM, 1978). For the 'great hypostases', see also Chapter 1, fn. 166.

[7] For the historiography of these early to mid-twentieth century debates, see Lingas, 'Performance Practice'.

influenced scholars' and cantors' interpretation of the medieval notation, while Ioannes Arvanitis has focused on problems related to notation, text, and the liturgy.[8] While it is clear that, within some repertories, middle Byzantine notation acquired a more stenographic character over the course of the post-Byzantine period, my transcriptions are based on the notion that during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the interval signs were interpreted by singers for the most part at face value.

Egon Wellesz, one of the founding members of MMB, promulgated essentially an equalist approach for the interpretation of medieval Byzantine notation, 'bringing Byzantine chant into line with contemporary ideas of Gregorian "free rhythm."'[9] My transcriptions, on the other hand, are aligned with the approach of scholars such as Arvanitis, J. v. Biezen, and Jørgen Raasted, who for the most part propose a mensuralist interpretation of medieval Byzantine chant. Arvanitis extends the mensuralist approach to all genres of medieval Byzantine chant, although he limits his theory of 'primarily binary rhythm' to the genres of the *heirmoi* and the *stichera*, chants that are found in medieval books known as the Heirmologion and Sticherarion, respectively.[10] Even within these genres, Arvanitis allows for instances of ternary rhythm, noting that in some cases they are regular occurrences in the context of a particular mode or type of cadential pattern, whereas in others, they are 'corrected' by scribes in alternate MSS, which Arvanitis takes as further evidence to support a binary rhythmic interpretation of these chants. Arvanitis notes that ternary feet appear in other genres, such as Kontakia, Kathismata, and regular psalmody, although these genres are out of the scope of his study.[11]

The majority of the musical transcriptions in the present dissertation are from the psalmodic genre of the *Anoixantaria* (see Chapter 5 and Appendix I). Based on my study of fourteenth

[8] Ioannes Arvanitis, 'On the Meaning and Purpose of the Treatise by Manuel Chrysaphes', in ed. G. Wolfram, *Tradition and Innovation in Late- and Postbyzantine Liturgical Chant* (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 105-28; 'Ο Ρυθμός των Εκκλησιαστικών Μελών μέσα από τη Παλαιογραφική Έρευνα και την Εξήγηση της Παλαιάς Σημειογραφίας', Ionian University, 2010). Arvanitis gives a few explicit examples that highlight the problem with the theory of 'long exegesis', specifically pertaining to the medieval Heirmologion (and the hymnographic genre of the Kanon), in 'Ενδείξεις και Αποδείξεις για την Σύντομη Ερμηνεία του Παλαιού Στιχηραρίου,' Paper presented at the Second International Conference on the Theory and Practice of the Psaltic Art: The Genres and Forms of Byzantine Psaltic Melopoiia, Athens, 15-19 October, 2003 (Athens, 2006): 237-38.

[9] Lingas, 'Performance Practice', 72. Somewhat counter to this notion of free rhythm, the MMB utilised rhythmically precise notation in its *Transcripta* series, though devoid of mensuration indications. Tillyard's response to criticism on this front, leveled by one of his Greek opponents, Thrasyvoulas Georgiades – that, 'it is incorrect to say that because the MMB Transcripta use crotchets and quavers, that they therefore imply a mathematically exact time-duration' – leads Lingas to suggest that the MMB transcriptions should be thought of not as performance editions but 'quasi-facsimiles' open to further realization (Lingas, 'Performance Practice', 61).

[10] Arvanitis and van Biezen's studies were primarily concerned with the *heirmoi*, for which they proposed a primarily binary rhythm, although van Biezen's conclusions were argued almost a half-century earlier, in J. van. Biezen, *The middle Byzantine kanon-notation of manuscript H* (Bilthoven: A.B. Creyghton, 1968). In his dissertation, Arvanitis states that he arrived at conclusions similar to those of van Biezen by means of completely different research methods. For brief definitions of the Heirmologion and the Sticherarion, cf. infra, Ch. 1, fn. 30.

[11] Arvanitis, *O Ρυθμός I*, 324-326.

and fifteenth century sources of this quasi-kalophonic complex of psalm verses and troped refrains, I believe that Arvanitis' theory of a regular, mostly binary pulse with scattered instances of ternary feet applies also to this genre, with the exception of the opening portion – the syllabic, psalm-tone recitation – which is governed by textual accents, not a binary pulse. In some cases, the notation itself provides inconclusive evidence in one direction or another (i.e., binary vs. ternary), and here my transcription decisions are based on a feel for the rendering of the chant in performance.[12] Given these limitations – and acknowledging that the transcription system I employ does not allow for 100% reverse transcribability – I endeavour to supplement my transcriptions of the *Anoixantaria* found in Appendix I with the original neumes of middle Byzantine notation.[13]

For a recent, concise overview of the various transcription methods employed in the twentieth century, see Christian Troelsgård, *Byzantine Neumes: A new Introduction to the Middle Byzantine Musical Notation* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2011), 35-40.

[12] For MMB, one of the major problems encountered was how to deal with the *klasma*, which is referred to as a 'half-argia' in some of the theoretical treatises (i.e., a neume extending the time-value of an interval sign, but not so much as a full-doubling, as with other signs of lengthening, such as the *diple*). Arvanitis argues for the *klasma* as an ornament (a 'breaking' of the voice, relating to the neume's etymology) and interprets its function as lengthening an interval sign only in the context of composite neume groups with a subdivided beat. In my study of manuscripts of the fifteenth century, I have seen the *klasma* sometimes used interchangeably with a *diple* (a 'full-argia' in the theoretical treatises) so it seems that by the late Byzantine period the *klasma* was used, at least on occasion, to double the time value of a given neume. Nevertheless, I follow Arvanitis' principles, generally speaking, and do not double an interval sign's time-value when written with a *klasma*.

[13] A system of transcription that is directly convertible has obvious advantages. Various neumes in the middle Byzantine system have an identical intervallic or rhythmic function but may possess additional nuance. For example, the *kratema* doubles the value of a given interval sign under which it is placed, but also suggests some kind of ornament. Furthermore, various groupings of interval neumes are supported by the so-called subsidiary signs, such as *tromikon* or *lygisma*, and rendering these figures in staff notation with a slur may not adequately capture the nuance associated with each figure. For medieval Byzantine chant, it is accurate to state – as Margaret Bent did in an article on the manifold difficulties present in editing musical scores of the early Renaissance – 'the original notation is the only textual representation of the work... to some extent... it is the work' ('Editing Early Music: The Dilemma of Translation.' *Early Music* XXII, no. 3 (1994): 391).

Introduction to the Study and Current State of Research 1

1.1 Background

A Brief Overview of Late Byzantium (1261-1453)

The last centuries of the Byzantine Empire are characterized by diminution in all respects and increased subservience to regional neighbours. In what the historian Angeliki Laiou has called 'The Final Collapse', the formerly mighty Byzantine state, which at one time stretched from Southern Italy to Persia, was reduced to Constantinople and its immediate hinterland, portions of Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaloniki, and the Despotate of the Morea in the Peloponnese.[14] Fraught by dwindling imperial coffers, plague, internal dynastic strife, and the relentless expansionism of the Ottoman Turks (not to mention the growing relative power of regional neighbours, such as the Bulgarians and the Serbs), the Byzantine Empire was but a shadow of its former imperial might. The discourse of Byzantine intellectuals during this period features an increased intensity in motifs of decline, ranging from complexes of cultural inferiority with respect to the Latin West to eschatological narratives of impending universal doom.[15] Yet, in the face of such difficulties, the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in Byzantium featured a remarkable (and seemingly, paradoxical) rebirth of intellectual and artistic activity that some modern scholars have called 'the Palaiologan Renaissance', named after Byzantium's final dynastic house which ruled the Empire after the re-conquest of Constantinople from the Latins in 1261.[16] Philosophers, scientists, and artists of this period flourished in the imperial centres

[14] Angeliki E. Laiou, 'The political geography of the Byzantine world. Political-historical survey. 1204-1453', in eds. E. Jeffreys, J. F. Haldon, and R. Cormack, *Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford: OUP, 2008), 291.
[15] The motif of bemoaning present decadence in comparison to halcyon days of yore was certainly not isolated to the late Byzantine period, but is seen in varying contexts as early as the fifth century. Nevertheless, according to the late Byzantinist Ihor Ševčenko, these notions are most intensely present in the literature beginning around 1300. Ševčenko speaks of two primary ways in which intellectuals of Byzantium expressed awareness of and coped with the reality of decline: 'the eschatological and the relativistic,' which, 'could stand side by side on the same folio of a manuscript,' sometimes even in the writings of the same author ('The Decline of Byzantium Seen through the Eyes of its Intellectuals', *DOP*, 15 (1961): 171, 177, 186).
[16] On the Palaiologan Renaissance, see Deno John Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the 'Sibling' Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330-1600)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 17-23, 63-64, 217-21, 291, and Steven Runciman, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), who concludes that '…during those last centuries of political decadence and thickening gloom, the intellectual torch had burned brightly' (103). With respect to architecture and major church construction in Constantinople, Robert Ousterhout reckons that the 'short-lived' Palaiologan renaissance ended in 1330, only 70 years after the Byzantine reconquest of Constantinople ('Churches and Monasteries', in eds. E. Jeffreys, et al, *Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford: OUP, 2008), 353-72).

of Constantinople, Thessalonica, and Mistra, in one final burst of creative activity before the Queen City herself was taken by the Ottomans in 1453.[17]

FIGURE 1.1: THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE, C. 1350[18]

The Liturgical Background

Jerusalem and Constantinople

Prior to the Latin conquest of 1204, the Divine Offices of Justinian's cathedral of Hagia Sophia and many other churches in Constantinople were celebrated according to Late Antique models of urban worship.[19] Psalm verses, accompanied by simple refrains, formed the scaffolding of the services while elaborate liturgical processions, which had their roots in urban stational liturgy of Late Antiquity, demarcated climactic moments of worship.[20] This office, commonly referred to as the Asmatic Office (Ἡ Ἀσματικὴ Ἀκολουθία, lit: 'the Sung Office'),[21] or the Cathedral Rite, differed in many ways from the Rite of Jerusalem, which was centred on the

[17] See Ihor Ševčenko, 'Palaeologan learning', in ed. Cyril Mango, *The Oxford History of Byzantium* (Oxford: OUP, 2002), 284–93.
[18] Map based on Alexander Kazhdan et al., eds., *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York: OUP, 1991), 359.
[19] Alexander Lingas, 'Sunday Matins in the Byzantine Cathedral Rite: Music and Liturgy', Ph.D. diss., (University of British Columbia, Vancouver, 1996), 130.
[20] For stational liturgy in the Late Antique Period, see the classic study by James Baldovin, 'The Urban Character of Christian Worship in Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople from the Fourth to the Tenth Centuries: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy' (Yale University, 1987).
[21] The name 'Asmatic Office' was an anachronism by the fifteenth century when it was used by St. Symeon of Thessaloniki. The term originally referred to the Psalms that, 'unlike the monastic rite at the time [i.e., well before the tenth century], were recited.' Both the 'Monastic' (i.e., Jerusalemite/Palestinian) and the Asmatic Cathedral (i.e., Constantinopolitan) Rites were sung offices by the tenth century and after. The proper name belonging to the daily offices of the Cathedral Hagia Sophia in Constantinople was not ἀσματική, but rather, ἐκκλησιαστής (see Stefano Parenti, 'The Cathedral Rite of Constantinople: Evolution of a Local Tradition', *OCP* 77 (2011), 451-53).

Cathedral of the Anastasis and its associated pilgrimage sites, and later, Mar Saba (St Sabas Monastery) in the Palestinian desert.[22] One important difference between these two rites was the division of the Psalter and its distribution throughout the liturgical day/week.[23] Another was the preponderance of proper hymnody in the Jerusalem Rite, in contrast to its seemingly more austere Constantinopolitan counterpart. Although the tradition of hymn-composition can be traced to the earliest surviving layers of Jerusalem liturgy, it was the torrent of artistic production instigated in and around St. Sabas Monastery in the wake of its early seventh century restoration, by the celebrated *melodoi* (μελωδοί, i.e., poet-composers), John Damascus, Andrew of Crete, and Cosmas of Maiouma, that would have a longer lasting impact on the shape of liturgy in late Byzantium.[24]

Though a bi-directional diffusion of liturgical practices between Jerusalem and Constantinople can be traced back to Late Antiquity, this cross-fertilization intensified after 799, when the charismatic liturgical reformer Theodore, Abbot of Stoudios, repopulated the Monastery of the Forerunner on the outskirts of Constantinople in 799,[25] bringing with him the Palestinian *Horologion* (Book of Hours), a recension of the ancient Jerusalem Cathedral Horologion.[26] Over the next few centuries, the Stoudite fathers, on account of their geographic proximity to Hagia Sophia, enriched their services with 'borrowings from the Rite of the Great Church,' including *kontakia*, *prokeimena*, and probably propers from the Divine Liturgy.[27] Furthermore, they adorned their services with a prodigious body of proper hymnody they themselves composed, following earlier models established by John Damascus and his cohort of Sabaïte fathers. By the time of the fourth crusade, these two waves of liturgical creativity had resulted in the production of roughly 60,000 non-scriptural, liturgical texts that filled out 15 liturgical

[22] This Rite is commonly referred to as the 'monastic rite' by scholars, despite the important role played by the Cathedral of the Anastasis in Jerusalem in its development. Stig Frøyshov has gone so far as to refute the 'monastic' vs. 'cathedral' distinction as a valid heuristic for studying the development of liturgy in the East, calling into question the validity of the 'pure monastic' counterpart of this dyad, concluding for one, that the fifth-century Codex Alexandrianus' prescription of 24 psalms for each hour of the day and night represents a cathedral liturgical tradition (Frøyshov, 'The Cathedral-Monastic Distinction Revisited, Part I: Was Egyptian Desert Liturgy a Pure Monastic Office?' *Studia Liturgica* 37 (2007): 198-216).

[23] The Psalter was divided into '60 antiphons, 20 kathismata, and 4782 verses' at the Cathedral of the Anastasis in Jerusalem, versus a division into '2542 verses and 72 "glories"' in Constantinopolitan practice at Hagia Sophia, according to a tenth century Psalter, MS Oxford Bodleian Auctarium D.4.1 (Parenti, 'Cathedral Rite', 452).

[24] Recent scholarship, based largely on Georgian sources, has shown that a distinct layer of non-scriptural hymnody predates the seventh and eighth century output of these three Sabaïte fathers. Cf. infra, Ch. 1, fn. 28.

[25] According to Patriarch Tarasios, Theodore's biographer, the move was driven by the need for safety from Arab incursions in Bithynia (promised within the walls of Constantinople). However, it is clear that the monastic community could have required a move on the basis of its rapid growth alone (Cholij, Roman. *Theodore the Stoudite: The Ordering of Holiness* (New York: OUP, 2002), 43-44).

[26] Robert Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History* (Colgeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 56-57.

[27] Alexander Lingas, 'From Earth to Heaven: The Changing Musical Soundscape of Byzantine Liturgy', in eds. M. Jackson and C. Nesbitt (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), 340-41.

volumes: the Great *Oktoechos* (book of eight modes),[28] the 12 *Menaia* (book of months), the *Triodion* ('three-ode' book for the penitential period preceding and during Lent), and the *Pentecostarion* (book of propers from Pascha through the Sunday after Pentecost).[29] These hymns were notated in chant books known as the Heirmologion and Sticherarion, the earliest of which date to the tenth and eleventh century, respectively.[30]

The Neo-Sabaïtic Rite

The co-existence of both Stoudite and Cathedral Rites within the walls of Constantinople was maintained until the Fourth Crusade in 1204, after which the Cathedral Rite, 'originally conceived for the great basilicas of Christian antiquity', was reduced to select urban cathedrals of the empire, having experienced a half-century of silence in its home cathedral of Hagia Sophia.[31] Meanwhile, Stoudite practices had diffused outward to regions including Southern Italy and Palestine – where the Stoudite Rite was reworked by the monks of St. Sabas monastery. There, as early as the twelfth century, a 'neo-Sabaïtic rite' emerged, transmitted north to Constantinople and the ascendant monastic communities of Mt Athos.[32] Although the Stoudite and neo-Sabaïtic rites were variants of the same rite – essentially a Palestinian

[28] The body of hymns that would come to form the liturgical book known as the Oktoechos had its roots in the Ancient *Tropologion* ('book of chants') of Jerusalem, whose earliest surviving witness is the seventh century Georgian *Iadgari*. Peter Jeffrey argues for the Jerusalemite origin of the Oktoechos, dating its consolidation to the eighth century (see 'The Earliest Octôëchoi: The Role of Jerusalem and Palestine in the Beginnings of Modal Ordering', in ed. idem, *Study of Medieval Chant, Paths and Bridges, East and West. In Honor of Kenneth Levy* (Woodbridge, Suffolk; Rochester: Boydell Press, 2001), 147-209). Frøyshov follows Jeffreys but prefers the sixth century for the origins of the first *modally ordered* Oktoechos. While Jeffreys argues that the Oktoechos existed as a sort of appendix to the Georgian *Iadgari*, Frøyshov maintains that the Sunday Oktoechos formed a core part of the *Iadgari*, dating its hymns to the fourth or fifth centuries and its redaction to the sixth. These dates are based on evidence of modal ordering in certain parts of the *Iadgari* a century prior, and on an Armenian treatise that testifies to the Oktoechos on Jerusalem's extreme periphery as early as the seventh century (Frøyshov, 'The Early Development of the Liturgical Eight-mode System in Jerusalem. *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 51, 2-3 (2007): 139-178).

[29] Lingas, 'Soundscape', 341.

[30] The *Heirmologion* was essentially a reference book for the unascribed, brief, model melodies known as *heirmoi*, to which other contrafacta texts were written (Lingas, Soundscape 337-38). Copies of *Heirmologia* exist as far back as the end of the tenth century, represented in the Palaeobyzantine MSS Lavra B. 32 and Petropolitanus graecus 557 (written in Chartres & Coislin notation, respectively). For this musical codex, see Constantine Floros, *Universale Neumenkunde*, Vol. 1 (Kassel-Wilhelmshöhe: Bärenreiter-Verl., 1970), 46-66; Spyridon Antoniou, *Το Ειρμολόγιον και η Παράδοση του Μέλους του* (Athens: IBM, 2004), and infra, Ch. 1, fn. 42. The 'Standard Abridged Version' (SAV) of the *Sticherarion* consists of ~750 *stichera idiomela*, a non-melismatic corpus of chants (though more elaborate than the *heirmoi* of the Heirmologion), that were interpolated between the psalms verses of Vespers and Orthros on fixed feasts throughout the year. For Oliver Strunk's classification of the SAV, cf. idem, 'The Notation of the Chartres Fragment', in *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York: Norton, 1977), 68-111. The antiphoner is the Sticherarion's closest Western equivalent.

[31] Alexander Lingas, 'Sunday Matins', ii. See also idem, 'How Musical Was the "Sung Office"? Some Observations on the Ethos of the Byzantine Cathedral Rite.' Paper presented at the First International Conference on Orthodox Church Music, 13–19 June 2005 (University of Joensuu, Finland, 2007), 217-18.

[32] Neo-Sabaïtic is the term coined by the liturgical scholar Robert Taft to describe the final scene in the long play of mutual influence between the liturgical rites of Jerusalem and Constantinople. For the influence of Mt. Athos in liturgical developments of especially the fourteenth century, cf. idem, 'Mount Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite', *DOP* 42 (1988): 179-94.

Horologion, Psalter, and proper hymnody, along with the *Euchologion* of the Great Church[33] – one major difference included the Sabaïtic addition of the all-night vigil, the *agrypnia*, which was celebrated on nights before Sundays and great feasts.[34] The neo-Sabaïtic rite and its *agrypnia* waxed in popularity – at the expense of the long-declining Rite of the Great Church – and by the late thirteenth century had become the dominant liturgical rite of the Byzantine Empire.

Musical Trends: Kalophonia

The ascendancy and popularity of the neo-Sabaïtic rite is associated with the proliferation of a stylistically new idiom of liturgical singing, which reached its apogee in the fourteenth century under the stewardship of a new group of composers and theorists including musicians of the imperial palace, the likes of Ioannes Koukouzeles (c. 1280 - c. 1341) and his successors Xenos Korones and Ioannes Kladas. This musical style, called 'kalophonic' by its own creators (lit: 'beautiful-sounding'), featured highly personalized chants with expansive, melismatic phrases, sophisticated sequencing, frequent intervallic modulations, text-troping and 'vocal genuflection' on free syllables, such as *te-ri-rem* and *to-ro-to*. Such vocalisation on 'nonsense' syllables became a form in and of itself, known as the *kratema* (pl. *kratemata*): full-fledged, self-enclosed compositions that were, in some cases, named by their authors, the sobriquet ranging from the topographical and ethnic, e.g., 'Frankish' & 'Persian', to the onomatopoeic, e.g., 'Instrumental' & 'Like a Violin'.[35]

Kalophonia had its roots in the eponymous thirteenth century chants of Koukouzeles' Constantinopolitan predecessors as well as in the mostly anonymous, florid chant of the *Asma* tradition, represented in a few South Italian sources dated to the thirteenth century.[36] The development and expansion of this new musical idiom was accompanied by the concomitant re-codification of the entire chant repertory. The musical collections of the once-dominant Cathedral Rite, the *Asmatikon* and the *Psaltikon* (the Constantinopolitan books for choirs and

[33] The *Euchologion* was a collection of litanies and priest's prayers. The oldest surviving Euchologion is the eighth century MS Barberini Gr. 336, which represents pre-iconoclast practices of the Great Church in Constantinople (Lingas, 'Sunday Matins', 51).
[34] Taft, *Byzantine Rite*, 58-59, 80-81.
[35] The standard survey on this musical form and its development is given in Gregorios Anastasiou, *Τά Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη* (Athens: IBM, 2005).
[36] The earliest appearance of the term 'kalophonia' appears in an early thirteenth century South Italian manuscript, MS Messina 161. For an overview of these sources and an introduction to the *Asma* repertory, see Bartolomo Di Salvo, 'Gli Asmata nella Musica Bizantina', *Bolletino della Badia Greca de Grottaferrata* XIII; XIV (1959; 1960): 45-50; 145-78. For an analysis of a composition by the only named composer from the twelfth century South Italian sources of the *Asma*, see Luigi Abbruzzo,'Il kratema di Andronico nel Cod. Crypt. Γ.γ. VII', *Bollettino della badia greca di grottaferrata* 49-50 (1995-96): 221-77. For Koukouzeles' predecessors mentioned in Chrysaphes' theoretical treatise, cf. infra, Ch. 4 (especially, Fig. 4.3).

soloists, respectively),[37] were supplanted by a new musical codex known as the *Akolouthia* (pl. *Akolouthiai*; lit: 'the order [of services]'). The earliest surviving, dated manuscript of its type is the MS EBE 2458, from the year 1336,[38] although scholars have traced the compilation of the Akolouthia to the beginning of the fourteenth century.[39] The Akolouthia featured older, anonymous musical settings, including music which it absorbed from the *Asmatikon* and *Psaltikon*, alongside new chants composed in the kalophonic style. Within a generation, a burgeoning repertory of eponymous material – often featuring multiple settings of the same texts – would fill the Akolouthia and more specialized collections such as the *Kalophonic Sticherarion*.[40]

Authorship and the Figure of Composer in Late Byzantium

Arguably the most remarkable aspect of this new idiom was the increased visibility of the figure of composer. In the Latin West, the psalmodic cores of the Latin rites along with their added tropes remain anonymous, and, barring some exceptions, attribution of chants to individuals is generally not given in the musical sources.[41] In the tradition of the Byzantine East, attribution is more frequent. The names of the Palestinian composers of the Kanons (and some *stichera idiomela*), the poet-melodists, Sophronius, Cosmas of Maiouma, and John

[37] Kenneth Levy has suggested that the Asmatikon was compiled in Constantinople at least as early as the eleventh century (Levy, 'A Hymn for Thursday in Holy Week.' *JAMS* 16, no. 2 (1963): 127-75). Although a Greek archetype of the Asmatikon has not survived, five related collections of florid *Kontakia* survive in Slavonic MSS known as *Kondakaria*. The Asmatikon and Psaltikon repertories are discussed in Chapter 1 of Clara Adsuara's thesis, 'Textual and Musical Analysis of the Deuteros Kalophonic Stichera for September' (Universidad Complutense, 1997), 28-96. For an updated bibliography on these repertories, see Christian Troelsgård, *Byzantine Neumes*, 85-88.

[38] I use the Greek abbreviation for the manuscripts held at the Athens National Library (i.e., EBE = Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη της Ελλάδος). For a description of the contents of EBE 2458, which I shall explore in more detail below, see Gregorios Th. Stathis, 'Η ασματική διαφοροποίηση όπως καταγράφεται στον κώδικα ΕΒΕ 2458 του έτους 1336', in *Χριστιανική Θεσσαλονίκη: Παλαιολόγειος εποχή* (Thessalonica: Κέντρο ιστορίας Θεσσαλονίκης του Δήμου Θεσσαλονίκης: ΠΙΠΙΜ, Ιερά Μονή Βλατάδων, 1989). For a brief overview of this manuscript type, see Annalisa Doneda, 'I manoscritti liturgico-musicali bizantini: Tipologie e organizzazione', in ed. A. Escobar, *El palimpsesto grecolatino como fenomeno librario y textual, Coleccion Actas. Filologia* (Zaragoza, 2006): 108-110.

[39] Troelsgård, Christian. 'Byzantine Chant Notation - Written Documents in an Aural Tradition.' Stanford University, 2014.

[40] As a musical codex, the *Kalophonic Sticherarion* appears first in the fifteenth century, though embellished stichera are seen as early as the twelfth. It consists of embellished festal *stichera idiomela* from the fixed monthly cycles, which are derived from the hymns found in the classical *Sticherarion*.

[41] Attribution to specific composers is certainly not absent in the tradition of Latin plainchant. Indeed, some (un-notated) hymns from Late Antiquity carry ascriptions, while from the Carolingian period onward, some medieval festal offices are ascribed to specific author-composers, while named composers of notated chants appear in various contexts (Susan Boynton, 'Plainsong', in *Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music*, ed. Mark Everist (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 23). Aside from obvious cases such as the twelfth century composer, writer, and mystic-nun, Hildegard of Bingen, there are less well-known exceptions to the rule of non-attribution, such as the case of Adam of St Victor (d. 1146), the precentor of the Notre Dame cathedral, who 'composed texts and melodies for numerous sequences' in the new style of the Parisian sequence (see Michael McGrade, 'Enriching the Gregorian Heritage', in ed. Mark Everist, *Cambridge Companion to Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 39-40).

Damascus, appear in Heirmologia and Sticheraria.[42] This seems to reflect a tradition of eponymity in Palestinian-Syrian orbits dating back to Romanos the Melodist.[43] One also encounters other notable names in Greek musical sources of the Christian East: authors of *stichera idiomela* (the texts of which would be found in the *Menaia* or the *Oktoechos*), such as Kassia, Constantine Porphyrogennitos, and Leo the Wise, are also encountered. By way of example, the index of ascriptions given in MMB's supplement to the facsimile of the famous Sticherarion, MS Ambrosianus A 139 sup. – written in 1341 but representing a much earlier melodic tradition – testifies to the fact that attribution of hymns was common in the Christian East: in this Sticherarion at least, it is the rule and not the exception.[44] Despite this, it is fair to say that composers of psalmody and the ordinary hymns of the offices were rarely mentioned in the sources before the fourteenth century. In fact, the ordinary hymns of the offices were rarely notated until around 1300, testifying to the pre-eminence of orality in the transmission of this body of chants, especially prior to this point.

The explosion of names in the musical manuscripts of the kalophonic period is unprecedented on three levels. First, the number of names counted among the composers of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries (in the hundreds) dwarfs anything previously witnessed. Second, attribution in the kalophonic period differs from earlier periods in that the names of composers are found in *notated* sources which are *contemporaneous with the composers*. Finally, manuscripts of Byzantine chant now featured multiple settings of the same psalmodic propers or ordinary hymns of the divine office. Composers that operated during this 'Byzantine *ars nova*' provided alternate, often, far more embellished, versions of the same hymns, set ordinary chants in new, 'untraditional' modes, and signed their names in the MSS alongside their works. All these factors contribute to what Christian Troelsgård has described 'a shift in the status of a given chant from being considered part of the received tradition to becoming a piece of art'.[45] This

[42] The complex strophic poems known as the Kanons were the 'crowning glory' of the burst of literary creativity that took place in and around the Palestinian monastery of St Sabas in the seventh and eighth centuries. Kanons typically consisted of eight or nine textually and melodically unique *heirmoi* (sing: *heirmos*), to which multiple thematically linked (contrafacta) *troparia* were adapted. The heirmoi were originally attached to and interpolated between the Nine Biblical Canticles (the 'Odes') of Orthros, which they eventually supplanted. The heirmoi formed the basis for the notated musical collection of the Heirmologion (cf. supra, fn. 30).

[43] Romanos, born in Emesa, Syria (present day Homs) and active at Constantinople during the first half of the sixth century, is the author of dozens of works – mainly *kontakia*. A recent work on authorship in the Christian East that includes a case study dedicated to Romanos' activity as author is Derek Krueger, *Writing and Holiness: The Practice of Authorship in the Early Christian East* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 159-88.

[44] See eds. Lidia Perria and Jørgen Raasted, *Sticherarium Ambrosianum: Pars Suppletoria*, MMB XI (Hauniae: Munksgaard, 1992), 57-58.

[45] Christian Troelsgård, 'Tradition and Transformation in Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Chant', in ed. J.O. Rosenqvist, *Interaction and Isolation in Late Byzantine Culture, papers read at a Colloquium held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 1-5 December 1999* (Stockholm, 2004), 158. This shift, and the related change

was an era in which, at least in the realm of ecclesiastical music, individuals demonstrated an impressive degree of creativity and personal agency with respect to the creative works they authored.

The figure arguably most responsible for documenting and expanding this new musical style – which the musicologist Edward Williams famously dubbed 'a Byzantine *ars nova*' – was Ioannes Koukouzeles.[46] Koukouzeles, a composer, singer, and musical reformer whose reputation long outlived his activity in the first half of the fourteenth century, was most likely the redactor of the three most important chant books of the fourteenth century – the Heirmologion, the Sticherarion, and the Akolouthia (he is thought to have been the redactor of MS EBE 2458).[47] If Koukouzeles was the chief representative of the kalophonic movement during its heyday in the fourteenth century, then its primary exponent and defender in the fifteenth was the imperial court musician Manuel Chrysaphes, who was crowned 'the new Koukouzeles' by one of his successors in Crete shortly after his death.[48]

1.2 Aims and Scope of the Present Study

Overview, Aims, and Scope

Manuel Chrysaphes

Emmanuel Doukas Chrysaphes (c. 1415 – c. 1480) was the Byzantine Empire's last *lampadarios*, serving in this official capacity under the last two emperors, John VIII and Constantine XI.[49] By the late Byzantine period, the *lampadarios* was one of the most prestigious musical offices of the imperial court, a singer and choirmaster for the imperial

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from adiastematic Palaeobyzantine notation to diastematic 'round notation', is discussed in depth in Kenneth Levy, 'Le Tournant Décisif dans l'histoire de la Musique Byzantine: 1071-1261', in *Actes de XV^e Congrès International d' Études Byzantines*, (Athens, 1979), 473-80.

[46] Edward Williams, 'A Byzantine ars nova: The 14th-century reforms of John Koukouzeles in the Chanting of Great Vespers', in eds. H. Binbaum and J. Speros Vryonis, *Aspects of the Balkans: Continuity and Change, Contributions to the International Balkan Conference held at UCLA, October 23-28, 1969* (The Hague: Mouton, 1972), 211-29.

[47] Oliver Strunk first argued for Koukouzeles' revision of the Heirmologion in *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1977), 199-201, and later, Jørgen Raasted made the same case for Koukouzeles' revision of the Sticherarion in idem, 'Koukouzeles' Revisions of the Sticherarion and Sinai Gr. 1230', in eds. Janka Szendrei and David Hiley, *Laborare Fratres in Unum: Festschrift László Dobszay Zum 60* (Zurich: Weidmann, 1995), 261-77.

[48] The manuscript in which this sobriquet is found (MS Sinai gr. 1312, written by Ioannes Plousiadenos) is discussed below. See especially Ch. 2, p. 78.

[49] The last emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire was Constantine XI Palaiologos. Occasionally in the literature he is erroneously referred to as Constantine XII. The source of this confusion is the misconception that Constantine Lascaris, the brother of Theodore I Lascaris of Nicaea, had been crowned emperor in 1204 (Warren Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 966).

palace and its associated ecclesiastical establishments.[50] Aside from these duties as *lampadarios*, Chrysaphes was a prolific composer, with some 300 compositions attributed to him in the sources, an active scribe of at least three autographed musical codices (along with a non-musical autograph), and one of the most important music theorists of the Palaiologan period, the author of the treatise, *On the Theory of the Art of Chanting*, invaluable for the information it transmits on aspects of liturgical singing and composition in late Byzantium. He travelled to Mistra, Serbia, and Crete after the disintegration of the Empire in 1453, and after his death, church musicians of the Byzantine Rite throughout the Eastern Mediterranean treated him as one of the most revered figures of their collective, musical past, judging by the wide diffusion of his compositions in manuscripts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, along with the abundance of references to his name in headings and marginal inscriptions in codices of the post-Byzantine period.

Primary Objectives

To date, a full-length study assessing Manuel Chrysaphes' contribution to the tradition of medieval and post-Byzantine chant has not been undertaken. In fact, aside from Edward Williams' dissertation dedicated to the activity of 'the second source of Greek music', Ioannes Koukouzeles, and his impact on the shape of evening worship in Late Byzantium, there are virtually no full-scale studies focused on the important musicians of the late Byzantine Empire.[51] This dearth of scholarship is seemingly disproportionate to these individuals' prodigious output and even more remarkable when one considers the emphasis on the individual in the act of composition suggested by the manuscripts of Late Byzantium, especially the Akolouthia type, and documented by Chrysaphes in his own theoretical treatise. It is the goal of this thesis to provide a starting point for remedying this lacuna in the scholarship of medieval music.

[50] The *lampadarios* was a court official whose primary duty was to hold a great candelabra (a 'λαμπάδα' or sometimes 'χρυσὸν διβάμπουλον') in front of the Patriarch, or the Emperor, during imperial ceremonies, as indicated in the testimony of the fourteenth century treatise attributed to Pseudo-Kodinos (ed. Jean Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos: Traité des offices. Introduction, texte et traduction* (Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1966)), and in the lists of official Byzantine court titles compiled by Jean Darrouzès in *Recherches sur les Offikia de l' Église Byzantine* (Paris: Institut français d' études byzantines, 1970), e.g., lists H, K2, K3. The *lampadarios* acquired musical responsibilities during the late Byzantine period, and by the post-Byzantine period, this title was given to the director of the left choir of the Great Church (N.K. Moran, *Singers in late Byzantine and Slavonic painting* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), 19, 28, 90). The title of *lampadarios* is discussed in greater detail below, along with the title, *maistor* (Ch. 2, pp. 68-74), which provides further evidence that Manuel Chrysaphes was not just an imperial singer but a director of the palatine choirs.

[51] Edward Williams, 'John Koukouzeles' Reform of Byzantine Chanting for Great Vespers in the Fourteenth Century.' Yale University, 1968. For the claim that Koukouzeles was called the 'second source of Greek music' after John the Damascene, cf. idem, 'Koukouzeles', viii.

This is a bioergographical study, as the thesis title suggests, in which I attempt to provide a thorough, if preliminary, treatment of Chrysaphes' life and output as scribe, theorist, and composer. The present study is not satisfied with merely documenting the 'life and works' of this important fifteenth century musician, and thus throughout seeks to contextualise his activity and artistic sensibilities in a wider context. On the one hand, I aim to locate Chrysaphes in the context of the artistic, socio-political, and spiritual world in which he operated. On the other, I attempt to define the figure of composer in the Byzantine ecclesiastical context, focusing on Manuel Chrysaphes in the early to mid-fifteenth century. This investigation will attempt to explore the following questions: did the composer exist in late Byzantium? If so, what did s/he do? What roles did s/he embody? What authority did s/he wield? And what was the relationship of composers and their work to piety?

It is my contention that Manuel Chrysaphes operates a self-consciously authorial figure – a composer – one who functions not just as a medium for the transmission of traditional models, nor simply as a vessel that channels divinely inspired motifs, but one who demonstrates creativity and exercises agency over the works he authors. Like Kladas, Korones, and Koukouzeles before him, Chrysaphes, while operating in the context of a conservative tradition, creates new material that bears his unmistakeable, authorial stamp. In this analysis, many faces of Chrysaphes emerge: Chrysaphes the authority, admonisher of those who deviated from rules of sound composition; Chrysaphes the antiquarian, bent on anthologising and preserving a threatened tradition, whether it be the repertory or the compositional methods of the 'great masters' that came before him; Chrysaphes the critic, who in his treatise castigates those who sing in an 'unembellished manner' or compose incorrectly; and Chrysaphes the innovator, who recomposes old material, composes new material, or creates alternate versions of traditional hymns that had been, until then, untouched by any of his predecessors.

The Composer and the 'Work' in Late Byzantium

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the intellectual environment of the Romantic period proved fertile ground for the treatment of composers of Western art music as idealised and idolized heros, 'creative geniuses', who, as Christopher Wiley puts it, 'ruled the concert hall and (in exceptional circumstances) the opera house, and whose pieces continued to be popularly performed even after their own day, while those of more minor individuals lay

essentially forgotten to history.'[52] This environment led to the proliferation of great composer studies focused on the likes of Mozart, Handel, Beethoven, and Bach, resulting in a 'top-down' writing of history, with the exaltation of an elite cadre of composers and the canonisation of their works at the expense of those others who were evidently less gifted. This hero worship and the concomitant periodisation of the history of Western art music even influenced nascent scholarship of non-Western musics of the mid-19th century, as Philip Bohlman has pointed out.[53] This was, to some degree, related to the work-centredness in Western art music, instigated in a watershed moment around 1800, according to Lydia Goehr, after which 'persons who thought, spoke about, or produced music were able for the first time to comprehend and treat the activity of producing music as one primarily involving the composition and performance of works.'[54]

The 'great composer' narrative along with the centrality of the work-concept in Western art music merit brief attention before proceeding, on account of the apparent similarities of these themes (even if by now outmoded or disputed) to themes and language used in the present dissertation to describe the increased visibility of the composer, on the one hand, and the emergency of the chant as 'art work' on the other. Dealing first with the notion of work-centredness, it might be argued that the transition from older chant forms to *kalophonia* related briefly above and also throughout this thesis may seem to describe, conceptually, a similar watershed to that described by Goehr. However, it is obvious that most of the cultural coordinates at work around 1800 in Western Europe (even loosely accepting Goehr's reasoning) do not apply to the environment of ecclesiastical music in late Byzantium. For example, the individual musicians in question, such as Chrysaphes, are not 'emancipated' from the constraints of 'functional' music, that is, religious or secular ceremony. For these Palaiologan *maistores*, liturgy and worship (or, alternatively, imperial ceremonial) still serve as the primary drivers and environments for composition and performance, respectively.

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[52] Christopher Wiley, 'Re-writing Composers' Lives: Critical Historiography and Musical Biography', Ph.D. diss., (Royal Holloway, University of London, 2008), 1-2. My use of the term 'top-down' in this context is also derived from Wiley.

[53] 'Non-Western traditions *ipso facto* belied analysis according to great composers or theorists and thus did not fall neatly into schemes of periodization. [Raphael Georg] Kiesewetter, one of the most notable exponents of this approach, did, in fact, attempt to extend it to his history of Middle Eastern music by dubbing Safi al-Din "the Zarlino of the Orient," a title that subsequent generations continued to give to the thirteenth-century Arabic writer' (Phillip V. Bohlman, 'The European Discovery of the Music of the Middle East and the "Non-Western" in 19th Century Music History.' *The Journal of Musicology* 5, no. 2 (1987): 155-156.

[54] Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 113. For Reinhard Strohm's rebuttal to this book, see idem, 'Looking Back at Ourselves: The Problem with the Musical Work-Concept.' In *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?* ed. M. Talbot, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 128-52.

At the same time, there is most certainly a transition during the era of kalophonia, a shift in the aesthetic of chants *as part of the received tradition* to chants *as works*, in the sense of works as written texts with identifiable creators that are reproducible, circumscribable, and in some cases, named. Furthermore, music of the kalophonic period arguably approaches the realm of 'pure music' in the genre of the wordless *kratema*, in a manner that resembles, in some sense, the 'pure', instrumental music of the nineteenth century, as conceived in some Western art music circles.[55] But there is little evidence that the emergence of the chant as art work in Byzantium diminishes its functional role in the context of liturgy and worship. In his critique of Goehr's central argument – that the work acquired its regulative role after that watershed moment around 1800 – Reinhard Strohm argues for the coexistence of the 'concept of the work with the performative tradition' in the Renaissance West, citing a French humanist's commentary on Ockeghem around 1470 as one example supporting this claim: 'He (Ockeghem) sang marvelous songs, and left new written [pieces] behind, which all the people now hold in honor.'[56] That a similar double-existence is enjoyed by the elaborate kalophonic chants of the Byzantine East is implicitly suggested throughout my dissertation. Strohm's critique moves on to the thesis of Michael Talbot, who, like Goehr, observes a distinct line in the sand around 1800, but sees the change relating less to the existence and function of works as to the culture that produced these works and the emergence of a new notion of 'composer-centredness.' Strohm writes: 'The fact that all the musical products of a certain individual were given blanket attention seems new and decisive to him (Talbot). This example does not quite harmonise with the information that already in 1477 Tinctoris summarily admired the 'works' (opera) of Ockeghem and Dufay.'[57] Tinctoris' admiration for the 'works' of his predecessors is strikingly similar to Chrysaphes' laudatory praise for his predecessors' compositions of the elaborate *oikoi* of the *Akathistos* (discussed in Chapter 4). Like the musical culture of the Renaissance West as assessed by Strohm, the kalophonic period in the Byzantine East featured the emergence of musical compositions as art works, alongside a vibrant performing tradition in which both 'works' and 'non-works' played a vital, functional role.[58]

[55] The differences between the purely vocal kratema and instrumental 'pure music' are obviously manifold. A recent survey the historiography of the concept of pure/absolute music is Thomas Grey, 'Absolute Music.' In *Aesthetics of Music: Musicological Perspectives.*, ed. Stephen C. Downes (NY: Routlege, 2014), 42-61.
[56] Strohm, 'Work-Concept', 143-144.
[57] Strohm, 'Work-Concept', 148.
[58] Fleshing out the distinction between works and non-works in a Byzantine ecclesiastical music context is beyond the scope of this dissertation. For the purposes of the point I wish to make above, I consider 'works' to be the elaborate, kalophonic chants whose authors are given in the manuscripts, whereas 'non-works' may include orally chants transmitted, anonymous, syllabic chants labeled *palaion* ('ancient') in the sources, etc.

I shall now deal briefly with the notion of the 'great composer' and the possibility that such an outmoded narrative may be given undue emphasis in this dissertation. I frequently describe Chrysaphes as part of an elite cadre of composers. But my emphasis is in marked contrast to a) the elevation of a small circle of elite composers as described by *post-hoc* analyses of Western art music of the so-called 'common practise era'; and to b) the implications of the term composer in this same, post-Enlightenment, Romantic-era context. On the first point, I argue that Chrysaphes and his colleagues represented an elite group of educated musicians who spurred on, contributed to, and defended the kalophonic tradition, based on the objective fact that Chrysaphes was a member of the very limited class of educated elite in Byzantium.[59] Furthermore, that there was a defined group of 'insiders' who possessed a shared lineage is strongly suggested in the artifacts of the kalophonic period. Attention to the shared lineage of an elite group of composers is evident in the headings, rubrics, and ordering of musical manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[60] It is abundantly clear in the famous miniature and rubric on a now lost folio from MS Athos Koutloumousiou 457 (f. 1r), which shows the composers Ioannes Koukouzeles and Xenos Korones, seated at the feet of their teacher, the thirteenth century composer Ioannes Glykys, who holds a staff as he teaches the art of *cheironomia* to his two students.[61] And as I discuss in Chapter 4, lineage and its relationship to authority is perhaps most clearly articulated in the theoretical treatise of Chrysaphes, who names a select group of composers from the past as masters worthy of imitation and guardians of the tradition of *psaltiki*.[62]

Turning to the second point, concerning the use of the term 'composer', one of the most important pieces of evidence for making this argument is the preponderance in the musical manuscripts, as well as in Chrysaphes' theoretical treatise, of the word ποίημα (lit: poem) or ποιητής (lit: poet) from the verb ποιέω. This was the word used by scribes and composers to

[59] For Chrysaphes' education, cf. infra, Ch. 2, passim. In Chapter 4, I discuss Chrysaphes' use of rhetorical models of Late Antiqutiy in his treatise, and what this reveals about his education.

[60] For the preponderance of Koukouzeles' name at the heading of the majority of fourteenth century Akolouthia MSS (and even some from the fifteenth), cf. infra, Ch. 5, pp. 235-238, including Figure 5.13.

[61] According to Stathes, this miniature was likely stolen from Porfirij Uspensky, under whom it was published in *St. Petrov-Hr. Kodov, Old Bulgarian Musical Documents* (Sophia, 1973), 42. Stathis dates this to the second half of fourteenth century (*Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 126). The rubric that accompanies this miniature is purported to have read, 'Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ ἁγίῳ τοῦ μεγάλου ἑσπερινοῦ, ἀπὸ χοροῦ, περιέχει δὲ ἀλλάγματα παλαιά τε καὶ νέα, διαφόρων ποιητῶν, τοῦ τε θαυμαστοῦ πρωτοψάλτου τοὺ Γλυκὺ καὶ τῶν διαδόχων ἀυτοῦ καὶ φοιτητῶν κυροῦ Ξένου καὶ πρωτοψάλτου τοῦ Κορώνη καὶ τοῦ Παπαδοπούλου κυροῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ μαΐστορος τοῦ Κουκουζέλη, σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἑτέρων'.

[62] Chrysaphes' construction of a past – a pantheon of composers worthy of imitation – was not new within Byzantine ecclesiastical music environments (though he is perhaps the first to explicitly articulate this view). In fact, the'lineage of authority' approach in Chrysaphes' treatise could be viewed as, in part, a rhetorical exercise following ancient precedents that were established in the genre of biography of Late Antiquity, which had sacred analogues seen later in the cultivation of hagiographical literature (see Krueger, *Writing and Holiness*, 5-6).

refer to their colleagues in the art of *psalmodia*. The word's primary meaning, dating back to Homeric and later Attic Greek forms, is the act of 'making', 'creating', or 'producing', and one of its secondary meanings is the act of writing or composition.[63] I translate ποίημα as composition, ποιητής, as composer, and the various forms of the verb ποιέω as 'to compose', following the almost universal manner of translating this word in English scholarship of Byzantine chant by musicologists including Jørgan Raasted, Dimitri Conomos, Alexander Lingas, Ioannes Arvanitis, et al.

In doing so, however, it should be stressed that I do not wish to impute on my use of the term 'composer' post-Enlightenment, Romantic notions of the creative genius or originality (and the necessary break with the past that originality in that sense implies).[64] Chrysaphes, like the ideal musicians he describes in his theoretical treatise, donned a number of hats, functioning as cantor and choir director (i.e., performer), as scribe and editor, and even as music critic. Thus, I argue that the composer of late Byzantium was not divorced from the function and context of his or her compositional act, that is, worship in the ecclesial community, whether in imperial or monastic environments. In fact, as I show in chapter five, the act of composition for the composer of the kalophonic era was evidently a spiritual, as well as an artistic exercise, one that did not detract from, but rather enhanced piety.[65]

To be sure, refracting the tradition of Byzantine psalmody along the lines of individuals, i.e., 'great men', or compositions, i.e., 'works', is not the only cross-section from which to view the tradition. Indeed, scholarship of Byzantine chant has, especially in the first half of the twentieth century, carried out fruitful investigations focused on issues of notation, orality, and chant transmission, manuscripts families, and chant genres. More recently, sharper focus has been drawn to the impact of liturgical rites and practices on the musicians and the music performed, and similarly to the overall experience of worship, considering sound as one of many components of a larger *gestalt*. Nevertheless, to my view, following a life and works approach to analyse this music and its culture is *inevitable* given the overwhelming emphasis on individuals in our source material of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and, as I have briefly alluded to above, the importance that these individuals evidently accorded to agency

[63] See the extensive entry for the verb ποιέω in Liddell and Scott's abridged Greek-English Lexicon, Liddell, Henry George, Robert Scott, Henry Stuart Jones, and Roderick McKenzie. 'An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon.' (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889, reprint 1999), 650-51.
[64] For a brief history and critique of the 'great composer' philosophy and aesthetic in the nineteenth century, see Jim Samson, 'The Great Composer'. In *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. idem (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 259-286.
[65] This argument has been made by other scholars with respect to John Koukouzeles and his activity at the Great Lavra on Mt Athos, cf. infra, p. 53.

and creativity, even in the context of an arguably conservative tradition. Thus, consideration of the activities and viewpoints of these individuals is integral to an analysis of the music of this period, whether from the perspectives of worship and liturgy, performance and composition, or music theory and aesthetics.

Ioannes Koukouzeles has been given considerable attention as a larger-than-life figure operating at a musical and liturgical watershed for Byzantium, but other than him, the contributions of the individual *maistores* of the Palaiologan period have not been adequately assessed. Among these figures, Chrysaphes stands out as one of the most important, based on (if nothing else) the objectively abundant amount of material that he produced, from compositions and manuscripts, to a theoretical treatise. Acknowledging the crucial rule played by individuals during, especially, the kalophonic period, and regarding the ascendancy of composers as a notable phenomenon – one typically not associated with plainchant traditions – a life and works study on the figure of Manuel Chrysaphes stands out as a *desideratum* for the field of medieval Byzantine chant scholarship. The remainder of this chapter covers a historiographical background of Chrysaphes and the figure of composer in the literature, and then, a summary, by chapter, of the remaining dissertation.

1.2 Current State of Research

Introduction

While Manuel Chrysaphes' settings are copied almost without equal in the MSS of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, they are gradually supplanted by those of later composers, especially by the new compositions and embellishments of Panagiotes Chrysaphes the New (c. 1623-1685),[66] and later, by the revisions of eighteenth century cantors and composers such as Petros Lampadarios 'the Peloponnesian' (1730-1778).[67] While the compositions of Petros Lampadarios and those who immediately followed him came to form the basis of the vast majority of the central repertory heard today in Orthodox and Greek Catholic churches of the Eastern Mediterranean (what is often referred to as 'the received tradition' of Byzantine

[66] Panagiotes Chrysaphes was *Protopsaltes* (first chanter) of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople from 1655-1682. His *Sticherarion* and *Anastasimatarion* gained widespread use and prestige, supplanting prior versions and becoming the standard until the reforms of Petros the Peloponnesian. He is the author of eight known manuscripts (Alexander Lingas, 'Panagiotes the New Chrysaphes,' *Grove Music Online*, Accessed 29-Nov 2011).
[67] Petros of Peloponnese was a student of Ioannes Trapezountios and the eventual Lampadarios, or leader of the left choir, in the Constantinopolitan cathedral, from 1769-1773. He contributed an immense amount of original compositional material to the repertory in addition to revising (usually, by way of abbreviation) the melodies of the *Doxastarion, Sticherarion,* and *Anastasimatarion* as they were written by his predecessors. His works form much of the basis of the received repertory of Byzantine chant (Conomos, 'Petros of Peloponnese,' *Grove Music Online*, Accessed 29-Nov 2011).

chant),[68] the voluminous body of Manuel Chrysaphes' work was relegated to the background of the modern repertory, largely unknown and unexplored by cantors and musicologists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[69]

This, coupled with the relative infancy of the state of research in Byzantine musicology, has resulted in the dearth of knowledge around the important composers of the late Byzantine period, including Manuel Chrysaphes. Our improved ability to study figures of the late Byzantine period has been facilitated by recent progress in research, especially in the detailed cataloguing of the thousands of Byzantine chant manuscripts preserved in libraries and collections from Mt Athos and Athens to the United Kingdom and the United States. Progress in the academic sphere has contributed to a renewed interest in the recovery of the medieval repertory, a revival spanning academics as well as Eastern Orthodox cantors and choirs who have dusted off little-known, early nineteenth century transcriptions of late- and post-Byzantine compositions for performance in both services and concerts of Byzantine chant. Similarly, a few professional musical ensembles have created 'modern' performance editions of these medieval works, a process that has breathed life into this largely unknown repertory and assisted scholarship in the same area.[70]

Catalogues of Musical MSS of Byzantine Chant

The cataloguing of Byzantine musical manuscripts has taken a great leap forward over the past four decades, enabling the identification of authorship of manuscripts as well as individual compositions therein, which in turn helps musicologists place key musical figures geographically and chronologically. Some of the most important catalogues have been published by Gregorios Stathis, Professor Emeritus of Musicology at Athens University, founder of the Institute for Byzantine Musicology and now supervisor of more than a dozen important dissertations on Byzantine and post-Byzantine chant. Arguably, Stathis' most important work lies in his analytical catalogues of the musical manuscripts of Mt Athos, of which the first three volumes have been published, with four forthcoming.[71] In addition,

[68] 'Received tradition' Byzantine chant is a moniker often used to denote the current range of musical repertory and performance practice in Greek Orthodox Churches.

[69] An enormous body of Chrysaphes' work was transcribed into the New Method (see below) by Chourmouzios the Archivist of the Great Church of Christ, including his settings of the *Anoixantaria* (Ps 103) in MS EBE-MPT 703 and his propers for the Divine Liturgy, as preserved in MSS EBE-MPT 704 and 705. However, a majority of his music was never transcribed into the new method, let alone published (e.g., many of the kalophonic stichera), and it is unlikely that these chants were widely known or sung by the nineteenth century.

[70] Cappella Romana, an internationally renowned ensemble founded in 1991 in Portland, OR, along with Romeiko (based on Athens, Greece), are two groups in particular that explore the medieval repertory, both employing (primarily) the transcriptions of the musicologist Dr. Ioannes Arvanitis.

[71] Gregorios Th. Stathis, *Τά Χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινής Μουσικής - Άγιον Όρος*, 3 Volumes (Athens: IBM, 1975, 1976, 1993).

Stathis has recently produced a detailed catalogue of the musical manuscripts of the monastery of Meteora, Greece.[72]

Another important catalogue is Manolis Chatzegiakoumes' self-published, analytical catalogue of the contents of 131 post-Byzantine manuscripts, which are replete with compositions by the most important musicians of the late- and post-Byzantine periods.[73] Additional manuscript catalogues that have been critical for this dissertation in particular include Dimitris Balageorgos and Flora Kritikou's first volume of the musical manuscripts held at the famed monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai (volume two of this series is forthcoming).[74] This is especially important as St. Catherine's of Sinai had a *metochion* (dependency) in Chandax (Candia) on the island of Crete. In 1669, when Chandax was given up to the Turks, monks that served the metochion church in Crete departed from the island, taking with them to Sinai precious relics and dozens of musical manuscripts that had been produced in Crete over the prior three centuries, preserving them for posterity.[75] Thus, many of the musical manuscripts of St. Catherine's on Sinai bear witness to the psaltic tradition of Crete, a region in which Manuel Chrysaphes' reputation exerted a great deal of influence, a theme that will be explored below in Chapter 2, in greater detail.

The Spanish musicologist Clara Adsuara has published an article detailing the contents of an important Cretan manuscript, Sinai 1251, an autograph of the Cretan composer, Ioannes Plousiadenos.[76] Andrija Jakovlević of Serbia has produced two important monographs cataloguing the contents of various musical MSS,[77] especially important for helping to place

[72] I am deeply grateful to Professor Stathis for providing me with a copy of the detailed contents of Chrysaphes' most important autograph, MS Iviron 1120, which is in the fourth (not yet published) volume of Stathis' catalogues of the manuscripts of Mt. Athos. A fairly detailed yet still summarised list of the contents of MS Iviron 1120 is included in Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 100-10.

[73] Manolis Chatzegiakoumes, *Μουσικά Χειρόγραφα Τουρκοκρατίας (1453-1832)* (Athens: Chatzegiakoumes, 1975).

[74] Dimitris Balageorgos and Flora Kritikou, *Τά Χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινής Μουσικής, Σινά, Κατάλογος περιγραφικός των χειρογράφων κωδίκων βυζαντινής μουσικής των αποκειμένων στην βιβλιοθήκη της ιεράς Μονής του Όρους Σινά*, Vol. 1 (Athens: IBM, 2008).

[75] Dimitris Balageorgos, 'Οι αποκείμενοι στη βιβλιοθήκη της ιεράς μονής του Σινά αυτόγραφοι κώδικες του Ιωάννου ιερέως του Πλουσιαδηνού', *Paper read at the 1st International Conference of the ASBMH held in Athens, 10-15 September, 2007*: 50-51.

[76] Clara Adsuara, 'The Kalophonic Sticherarion Sinai gr. 1251: Introduction and Indices', *CIMAGL* 65 (1995): 15-58. The composer, scribe, and scholar, Ioannes Plousiadenos, was born in Venetian-occupied Candia in Crete in 1429. He traveled to Constantinople prior to the Fall to study, prior to returning to Crete. Following his conversion to Catholicism, he was ordained priest and then Bishop Joseph of the Venetian port town of Modon (Methone) where he died fighting the Turks in August of 1500. On Plousiadenos, see Bjarne Schartau, 'Observations on the Transmission of the Kalophonic Oeuvre of Ioannes (and Georgios) Plousiadenos', in ed. G. Wolfram, *Tradition and Innovation in Late- and Postbyzantine Liturgical Chant* (Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA: Peters, 2008), 129-57. Plousiadenos is discussed further in Chapter 2.

[77] Andrija Jakovljević, *Catalogue of Byzantine Chant Manuscripts in the Monastic and Episcopal Libraries of Cyprus* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Center, 1990).

Chrysaphes' influence on the island of Cyprus. The German musicologist Nina-Maria Wanek's catalogue of the 18 musical MSS of the 'Supplementum graecum' collection at the Austrian National Library is likewise useful for this present study, as Manuel Chrysaphes is featured prominently in some of these sources, including MS Suppl. gr. 110, which contains dozens of compositions ascribed to him.[78] Emmanuel Giannopoulos' prolific cataloguing of manuscripts has been critical towards improving our understanding of Manuel Chrysaphes' reception on the periphery of Byzantium, especially in Crete. To this end, his most important works are, first, his published thesis on the flowering of the psaltic art in Crete during the post-Byzantine period,[79] and more recently, a monograph detailing the contents of Byzantine music MSS in libraries of the United Kingdom.[80] Giannopoulos has also published an article detailing the contents of the manuscripts in the library of the monastery of Timiou Prodromou in Veroia, Greece, containing a manuscript he asserts is a possible autograph of Chrysaphes.[81] Finally, Diane Touliatos-Miles' recent publication on the contents of the manuscripts at the National Library of Greece[82] is an important work for its inclusion of several key fifteenth century Akolouthia manuscripts as well as two important codices critical for the reconstruction of the Cathedral Rite of Hagia Sophia.[83] Many other researchers have contributed to the systematic identification and description of musical MSS of Byzantine chant, but those mentioned above are the most critical with respect to the activity and reception of Manuel Chrysaphes. What is still lacking, but now possible on account of these manuscript catalogues, is the collection of all the compositions attributed to Manuel Chrysaphes, and a resulting full list of works, the beginnings of which I include in Appendices III and IV below.

Nineteenth Century Historiography

Chrysanthos of Madytos

[78] Nina-Maria Wanek, *Nachbyzantinischer Liturgischer Gesang im Wandel* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007).
[79] Emmanuel Giannopoulos, *Η Άνθηση της Ψαλτικής Τέχνης στην Κρήτη (1566-1669)* (Athens: IBM, 2006).
[80] Emmanuel Giannopoulos, *Τα χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινής Μουσικής, Αγγλία: Περιγραφικός κατάλογος των χειρογράφων ψαλτικής τέχνης των αποκειμένων στις βιβλιοθήκες του Ηνωμένου Βασιλείου* (Athens: IBM, 2008).
[81] Emmanuel Giannopoulos, 'Περιγραφικός Κατάλογος Χειρογράφων Κωδίκων Βυζαντινής Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής της Ι.Μ. Τιμίου Προδρόμου Βέροιας', *Γρηγόριος ο Παλαμάς* 77 (1994): 563-606. Less important but worth mentioning is Giannopoulos' catalogue of the MSS on the island of Andros: *Τα Χειρόγραφα Ψαλτικής Τέχνης της Νήσου Άνδρου* (Chora, Andros: Καΐρειος Βιβλιοθήκη, 2005).
[82] Diane Touliatos-Miles, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Musical Manuscript Collection of the National Library of Greece* (Surrey, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010). This is a useful resource, but it contains a number of errors. A rather severe critique of this catalogue is given in Emmanuel Giannopoulos, 'Review of Diane Touliatos-Miles' *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Musical Manuscript Collection of the National Library of Greece: Byzantine Chant and Other Music Repertory Recovered* (2010)', *Byzantina* 32 (2012): 314-21.
[83] These important musical MSS are EBE 2061 & 2062. See Lingas, 'Sunday Matins', 11, 53, and passim.

The first printed historical inquiry into the tradition of composers and compositions of Byzantine psalmody is found in the monumental *Great Theory of Music* by Chrysanthos of Madytos (c. 1770 – 1843), written first in 1816 and later revised and published in Trieste in 1832.[84] The second section of Chrysanthos' published book is a historical overview of music from the time of Ancient Greece until the nineteenth century (whose starting point is, in fact, figures of the Old Testament such as David and Solomon), in which Chrysanthos provides an alphabetical list of Byzantine and post-Byzantine composers.[85] Katy Romanou has suggested that Chrysanthos' original ambitions were far broader than a presentation of simply the medieval tradition of Byzantine psalmody. According to Romanou, Chrysanthos intended for the *Great Theory* to be a sort of history of the music of the Greek people: both his historical demarcations as well as certain theoretical classifications were influenced to a great degree by his attempt to establish a master narrative which connected the Ancient Greeks to the people of the then nascent Greek state.[86]

Despite this (and despite the fact that Chrysanthos doesn't always cite his sources, occasionally presenting anecdotes that are of dubious provenance), his work furnishes modern readers with valuable insights into the history of the late- and post-Byzantine musical tradition. Concerning Manuel Chrysaphes, Chrysanthos writes: 'Manuel Chrysaphes the old was *lampadarios* of the Great Church under Constantine Palaiologos, the last Emperor of the Romans.'[87] In this same index of composers, he writes concerning another Chrysaphes: 'Manuel the new Chrysaphes flourished around the year 1660… and he wrote a handbook concerning music, from which it

[84] Chrysanthos of Madytos, who was ordained Bishop and served in Dyrrachium (1821-33), Smyrna (1833-36), and Prousa (1836-43), was the student of the Protopsaltes of the Great Church in Constantinople, Petros Byzantios (d. 1808), and one of the most significant personalities of Byzantine ecclesiastical music of the nineteenth century. The importance of Chrysanthos' contribution resides not only in his *Θεωρητικόν*, discussed below, but also in the role he played establishing – in some cases borrowing Western models – and subsequently disseminating the reformed notation of the New Method, an effort in which he was aided by two Constantinopolitan Byzantine chant experts, Gregorios Levitis the Protopsaltis (1778-1821) and Chourmouzios the Archivist. This succinct summary is found in Grammenos Karanos, 'The Kalophonic Heirmos', (University of Athens, 2012), 89, fn. 79).

[85] This biographical index is borrowed from the work of Kyrillos Marmarinos, Bishop of Tinos, the catalogue of 'all outstanding masters of ecclesiastical chant', originally written in the eighteenth century. See Achilleas Chaldaeakes, 'Daniel the Protopsaltes (1789): His life and work', *Revista Muzica* 3 (July/Sept., 2010): 39.

[86] Katy Romanou, 'A New Approach to the Work of Chrysanthos of Madytos: The New Method of Musical Notation in the Greek Church and the Μέγα Θεωρητικόν της Μουσικής', in ed. D. E. Conomos, *SEC*, Vol. 5 (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1990), 89-100. Furthermore, John Plemmenos has shown that Chrysanthos was heavily influenced by writings and ideologies percolating within the intellectual orbits of the Hellenic Enlightenment of the early nineteenth century, and that his work should be viewed in the tradition of 'classical revivalism', a tradition with origins in late Byzantium. Plemmenos demonstrates how Chrysanthos drew from sources as disparate as Cleonidas' third century BC treatise, *Introduction to Harmonics*, to Heinrich Koch's *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*, a treatise written in Leipzig in 1787 and focused on listener classification and the aims of composition. See Plemmenos, 'The Active Listener: Greek Attitudes Towards Music Listening in the Age of Enlightenment', *British Journal of Ethnomusicology* 6 (1997): 51-63.

[87] 'Μανουὴλ Χρυσάφης ὁ παλαιὸς ἦν Λαμπαδάριος τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου, ἐσχάτου Αὐτοκράτορος τῶν Ῥωμαίων' (Chrysanthos of Madytos. *Θεωρητικὸν Μέγα τῆς Μουσικῆς*. (Tergeste, 1832), XXXIX).

appears he was an educated man, being capable in both psalmody and Hellenic song. His handbook is preserved in his manuscript.'[88] Thus, Chrysanthos correctly distinguishes between two ecclesiastical musicians both with the surname Chrysaphes, accurately dating the 'Old' Chrysaphes to the reign of Constantine XI Palaiologos and Chrysaphes the New to the middle of the seventeenth century.[89] However, he calls the new Chrysaphes 'Manuel' (his baptismal name was Panagiotes) and states that he (the new Chrysaphes) authored a theoretical treatise, which is obviously the treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes preserved in his autograph MS Iviron 1120. Moreover, he correctly notes that the old Chrysaphes held the title of *lampadarios*, but incorrectly states that he was a singer at Hagia Sophia (he was, at least primarily, a singer in the palatine chapel).

Other Nineteenth-Century Historiography

Manuel Chrysaphes is mentioned in the works of Johannes Tzetzes (1874), Porfirij Uspenskij (1881),[90] George Papadopoulos (1890),[91] and Karl Krumbacher (1891). The confusion between Manuel and Panagiotes Chrysaphes found in Chrysanthos' work is present in many of these later histories, for which *The Great Theory* must have been a source. For example, Papadopoulos attributes Manuel Chrysaphes' theoretical treatise to Panagiotes, also stating that the former was a singer at Hagia Sophia.[92] Papadopoulos, like Chrysanthos, rightly states that

[88] 'Μανουὴλ ὁ νέος Χρυσάφης ἤκμασε περὶ τὸ ᾳχξ' ἔτος ἀπὸ Χρ. ἐμέλισεν Ἀναστασιματάριον, Στιχηράριον, χερουβικά, κοινωνικὰ καὶ ἕτερα. Συνέγραψεν ἐγχειρίδιον περὶ μουσικῆς, ἐξ οὗ φαίνεται πεπαιδευμένος ὁ ἀνὴρ ἱκανῶς καὶ τὴν ψαλμωδίαν καὶ τὴν ἑλλάδα φωνήν." (Chrysanthos, *Θεωρητικόν,* XLII).

[89] Conomos' suggestion that George Papadopoulos (in *Συμβολαί εις της παρ' ημίν Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής* (Athens, 1890), 292), and Chrysanthos before him, made the mistake that the two Chrysaphes were contemporaries does not seem justified. Nor does it seem that either of these authors conflated the two into one personality. Rather, aspects of Manuel's life and work were attributed to Panagiotes, who lived two centuries later. There can be no doubt that both Chrysanthos and Papadopoulos understood that these were two separate musicians, one who lived at the end of the empire, and one who lived in the seventeenth century. Dimitri Conomos (ed.), *The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes, the Lampadarios: On the Theory of the Art of Chanting and on Certain Erroneous Views That Some Hold About It (Mount Athos, Iviron Monastery MS 1120, July 1458)*, MMB: CSDRM 2 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985), 11.

[90] I have not read Profiirij Uspenskij's work cited in Conomos, *Treatise*, 11.

[91] Papadopoulos, Συμβολαί 219, 292, 324, 334. Papadopoulos writes an independent bioergographic entry for several composers, including Manuel Chrysaphes, his only serious error being the common misplacement of his primary activity at Hagia Sophia vs. the imperial chapel and his attribution of Manuel Chrysaphes' theoretical treatise to Panagiotes.

[92] Papadopoulos' later historiographical work *Ιστορική επισκόπησις της βυζαντινής εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής από των αποστολικών χρόνων μέχρι των καθ΄ ημάς* (Athens, 1904), revises many of his initial errors as well as filling in some details concerning Chrysaphes' life (primarily based on the testimony of MS Leimonos 239). However, he still misattributes his place of activity to Hagia Sophia vs. the palatine chapel: 'Μανουήλ η Εμανουήλ Χρυσάφης ο παλαιός, ο επί της αλώσεως Λαμπαδάριος του ναου της Αγίας Σοφίας, διακεκριμένος μελοποιός, μελίσας πολλά έργα, εξ ων ως εκ των περιστάσεων σώζονται τινά, ανήκοντα εις το Παπαδικόν μέλος. Έγραψεν εξ επόψεως θεωρητικής περί της Εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής πραγματείαν. Έσχε Γεράσιμον ιερομόναχον μαθητήν αύτού, πιθανώς τον ενώπιον του Πορθητού προσκληθέντα μετά του Γεωργίου η Γρηγορίου του Αλυάτου. Κώδιξ του έτους 1672 της ιεράς μονής Λειμώνος (αρ. 239), ονομάζει τον Μανουήλ «Λαμπαδάριον του ευαγούς βασιλικού κλήρου». Ο Μανουήλ εν τοις χειρογράφοις ονομάζεται και Μαΐστωρ. Το υπό του Μανουήλ Χρυσάφου ποιηθέν Στιχηράριον είχεν ανά χείρας και ο νέος Χρυσάφης, όστις και μετέβαλε την σημαδοφωνίαν αυτού,

he was active at the Fall of Constantinople, whereas Karl Krumbacher dates him to the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Krumbacher correctly associates Manuel Chrysaphes with other important composers like Koukouzeles and Ioannes Kladas the *lampadarios*, implicating him in the period at the end of the Middle Ages, during which, Krumbacher concludes, 'coloratura singing flourished' in Byzantium (*Koloraturgesang gesteigert*). He also cites Chrysaphes' treatise but states its opening line erroneously, as: 'Ἀρχὴ τῶν ἐρωτημάτων τῆς ψαλτικῆς τέχνης' (i.e., 'The beginning of the questions concerning the psaltic art'), an error that may have been based on his source, MS Clark. 36.[93] Tzetzes' chronological placement of Manuel Chrysaphes in the middle of the fifteenth century, on the other hand, is accurate. Tzetzes also points to Chrysaphes' treatise as evidence of a musical culture in the fifteenth century in which conservative compositional procedures were upheld by outspoken defenders of traditional models, a reasonable conclusion taking Chrysaphes' words at face value, though it leads him to the rather dubious corollary that composers in the fifteenth century lacked artistic freedom whatsoever.[94]

Twentieth Century Bioergographical Scholarship

The first study dedicated to Manuel Chrysaphes is Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus' 1901 article, 'Μανουήλ Χρυσάφης, Λαμπαδάριος του Βασιλικού Κλήρου' ('Manuel Chrysaphes, *lampadarios* of the imperial clergy'), which appears in Volume VIII of the journal *Vizantiskij Vremennik* (pp. 526-45). This study provides the most extensive introduction to date on prior scholarship concerning Manuel Chrysaphes. It begins with an overview of Chrysaphes' life based on fresh manuscript sources (in other words, Papadopoulos-Kerameus does not simply take Chrysanthos' words and reproduce them), and continues with a catalogue of attributed compositions, and finally, it includes the first full (printed) reproduction of Chrysaphes' theoretical treatise. Drawing largely on sixteenth and seventeenth century manuscripts rather than the composer's autographs, this article corrects the chronological errors of prior scholars, asserting that Manuel Chrysaphes lived during the final decades of the Byzantine Empire's reign, emphasising the fact that Chrysaphes' primary duty was not as singer of Hagia Sophia,

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ανανεώσας αυτήν κατά το ίδιον αυτού σύστημα, ως εξάγεται εκ του υπ' αρ. 239 κώδικος της μονής του Λειμώνος.' These biographical mistakes concerning Chrysaphes' life persisted in widely disseminated music books well into the twentieth century. For example, see the 'historical' work of the cantor, choir director, and Patriarchal-school educated Byzantine music theoretician, Theodosios' Georgiades, *Η Νέα Μούσα: Συνοπτική ιστορική καί τεχνική μουσική μελέτη* (Istanbul, 1936), 54-55.

[93] Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Ostromischen Reiches (527-1453)* (Munich, 1891), 599, 678.

[94] Johannes Tzetzes, *Über die altgriechische Musik in der griechischen Kirche* (Munich, 1874), 123-24.

but rather, as a member of the imperial clergy,[95] he was a singer at the palatine court chapel[96] under the final Palaiologan emperors, John VIII and Constantine XI.[97]

Remarkably, bioergographical scholarship concerning Chrysaphes did not advance beyond that set forth in Papadopoulos-Kerameus' 1901 article for another 60 years.[98] Christos Patrinelis' important article on the musical offices of the Great Church of Christ[99] in the post-Byzantine period was the first scholarly work to include a refreshed biography for Manuel Chrysaphes. The entry for Chrysaphes is brief, but Patrinelis comes to the correct conclusion that Chrysaphes was *lampadarios of the royal clergy*.[100] Chatzegiakoumes' aforementioned *Μουσικά Χειρόγραφα* stands out among manuscript catalogues and is mentioned here as a result of its impressive indexing of the contents of the manuscripts by composer (as well as by incipits). Thus, for Manuel Chrysaphes, Chatzegiakoumes provides a small biographical entry followed by an alphabetical listing of his compositions found in the 131 post-Byzantine manuscripts in the catalogue. He also provides extensive manuscript references for those compositions that were transcribed in the nineteenth century from the medieval to the Chrysanthine notation.[101] Gregorios Stathis includes a more robust, if still brief, biographical entry for Manuel Chrysaphes in his work on the fifteen-syllable hymnography in Byzantine and post-Byzantine manuscripts,[102] which includes an index and biography of the musicians and poets that contributed to this genre of hymnography. This is superseded in some ways by Andrija Jakovljević's entry in a similar index of composers included in his important work on

[95] Chrysaphes' autograph, MS Iviron 975 provides indisputable confirmation of Chrysaphes' position in the imperial court, on fol. 173r: 'Ἐποιήθη καὶ παρὰ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Χρυσάφου καὶ Μαΐστορος τοῦ εὐαγοῦς βασιλικοῦ κλήρου' ([this was] also composed by Manuel Chrysaphes the maistor of the sacred and imperial clergy), although Papadopoulos-Kerameus bases his assertions on other sources, as noted below. For the detailed contents of MS Iviron 975, see Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα III*, 766.

[96] For one overview of the palatine chapel in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Paul Magdalino, Pseudo-Kodinos' Constantinople, in ed. idem, *Studies on the history and topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 1-14.

[97] The basis for Papadopoulos-Kerameus' biographical assertions concerning Chrysaphes are, among others, the following manuscript references: 1) MS Hypselou 40 (18th century), in which appear certain compositions commissioned by the Emperor John Palaiologos; 2) MS Leimonos 244 (16th century), which contains the inscription: 'Vespers: a hymn of Chrysaphes, composed at the request of the pious Emperor of Constantinople Lord Constantine'; 3) on folio 51 of an unnamed eighteenth century *Papadike*, which contains the following inscription, frequently encountered in various earlier sources for Chrysaphes' setting of Ps 2:7c, Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε: 'The following was composed by Lord Manuel the lampadarios, at the request of the last emperor, Constantine'; and, 4) MS Leimonos 239 (1672), which names Manuel Chrysaphes as 'lampadarios of the sacred and imperial clergy'.

[98] See the entry for Manuel Chrysaphes in PLP 31080.

[99] Hagia Sophia was referred to as 'The Great Church of Christ' during the Byzantine period. After 1453, this name was used to refer to the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople.

[100] Christos Patrinelis, 'Protopsaltae, Lampadarii and Domestikoi of the Great Church During the Post-Byzantine Period (1453-1821)', in eds. M. Velimirović and E. Wellesz, *SEC*, Vol. 3, (London: OUP, 1973), 157-59. Patrinelis translates 'βασιλικοῦ' as 'royal'.

[101] Chatzegiakoumes, *Τουρκοκρατίας*, 392-403. Most of these transcriptions were executed by Chourmouzios the Archivist of the Great Church of Christ (c. 1770 – 1840).

[102] Stathis, *Η Δεκαπεντασύλλαβος Υμνογραφία εν τη Βυζαντινή Μελοποιΐα*, (Athens: IBM, 1977), 110.

the history and contents of the bilingual musical codex, EBE 928, which includes the identification of a new Chrysaphes autograph (MS Xeropotamou 270), as well as a reassessment of Chrysaphes' probable activity in Serbia.[103]

One of the most extensive life and works surveys of Manuel Chrysaphes appears in Stathis' 1994-1995 publication of the programme for a series of concerts that took place at the *Megaro Mousikes Athenon* during that same season. This publication consists of various essays on Byzantine music as well as brief 'chapters' for arguably the three most important composers of the late Byzantine era, Manuel Chrysaphes, Ioannes Kladas, and Ioannes Koukouzeles, which include an updated biography and list of compositions for each. In addition to these biographical entries, the programme includes notes on these composers' works,[104] which were performed in concert (three choirs participated in this series, including Gregorios Stathis' ensemble, the *Maistores of the Psaltic Art*).[105] With respect to Chrysaphes, this publication contains the most comprehensive summary of his life and works, adding MS Iviron 975 to the list of known autographs, and including a refreshed list of his compositional oeuvre.[106]

Finally, two recent publications have made a significant contribution to our knowledge of Chrysaphes' life and works. The first is the 2006 published thesis of Emmanuel Giannopoulos, *The Flowering of the Psaltic Art in Crete (1566-1669)*,[107] which is especially important for its contextualisation of the activity of musicians active in Crete, a known stopping point for Manuel Chrysaphes at some point after the Fall of Constantinople. Giannopoulos' fastidious study of Athonite, Sinaitic, and Cretan codices has led to the identification of what he argues are two additional autographs of Chrysaphes. The first of these is the Athonite codex Skete Agias Annes 123 42, a discovery he presents in this study.[108] A year later, Christiana Demetriou's study on the Cypriot musical codex Machairas A4 was published.[109] Machairas A4, a Kalophonic Sticherarion, seems to be based on a Chrysaphes' prototype and thus, he is the most anthologised composer in the source. Demetriou devotes an entire chapter to

[103] Andrija Jakovljevic, *Δίγλωσση Παλαιογραφία και Μελωδοί-Υμνογράφοι του Κώδικα των Αθηνών 928* (Leukosia: Κέντρο Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου, 1988), 87-88.
[104] The concert featuring the compositions of Manuel Chrysaphes took place on Sunday, 19-February, 1995, in the Demetrios Mitropoulos hall at the *Megaro Mousikes Athenon*.
[105] The Greek Byzantine Choir directed by Lycourgos Angelopoulos performed a concert of chants by Ioannes Koukouzeles on Saturday, 1-April, 1995, while the Demotic Byzantine Choir of Heraklion performed the music of Ioannes Kladas on Sunday, 19-March, 1995.
[106] Gregorios Th. Stathis, 'Μανουήλ Χρυσάφης ο λαμπαδάριος', in *Κύκλος Ελληνικής Μουσικής, Βυζαντινοί Μελουργοί, Μεγάρου Μουσικής Αθηνών* (Athens, 1994-5): 33-45.
[107] Giannopoulos, *Η Άνθηση*, 64-69.
[108] Giannopoulos, *Η Άνθηση*, 66. In Chapter 3, I discuss my preliminary doubt (albeit, not based on an *in situ* study of the codex) that this manuscript is authored by Chrysaphes' hand.
[109] Christiana Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische Kirchenmusik im Spiegel der zypriotischen Handschriftentradition: Studien zum Machairas Kalophonon Sticherarion A4* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2007), 247-320.

Chrysaphes' life, geographic movements, and works, whereas the other represented composers are given shorter index entries in her work. Whereas Giannopoulos' study is laser focused on Chrysaphes' life and activity with respect to the island of Crete, Demetriou's is broader, and in her treatment of Chrysaphes, she includes extensive footnote references to Byzantine and post-Byzantine MSS from especially the catalogues of Stathis and Chatzegiakoumes.

Chrysaphes' Treatise

We possess a complete version of Chrysaphes' treatise in his autograph, MS Iviron 1120. Although the treatise was copied in several later recensions and was clearly known to Greek ecclesiastical musicians of the post-byzantine period, it was not until its publication in 1903 in the Athenian periodical *Φόρμιγξ* by the Constantinopolitan cantor and musicologist Constantine Psachos (1869-1949),[110] that the entire treatise was reproduced based on this Chrysaphes autograph.[111] Other publications of the treatise include the aforementioned complete reproduction of A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (1901) as well as Fr. Lorenzo Tardo's near complete version in *L' antica melurgia bizantina*, based primarily on MS Lavra Λ 165.[112] Emmanuel Bamboudakes published the entire treatise in the same year in his history of Byzantine ecclesiastical music, *Συμβολή εις την σπουδήν της παρασημαντικής των Βυζαντινών μουσικών*, based on an unspecified Jerusalem codex and Psachos' reproduction in the journal *Φόρμιγξ*.[113] The first English translation of Chrysaphes' treatise was published in 1985 as part of MMB's subseries, the *Corpus Scriptorum de re Musica*, by the musicologist, Dimitri Conomos.[114] This work is a significant accomplishment as it includes the original text (based on MS Iviron 1120), a complete English translation, and a commentary, including discussions related to Chrysaphes' conceptions of both melodic *theseis* (sing: *thesis*), the individual musical phrases that comprise the building blocks of Byzantine chants, and the *phthorai* (sing: *phthora*), the modulatory signs of Byzantine chant notation (graphically derived from the Greek letter φ). Conomos' first chapter is the source of the table of printed editions below (Fig. 1.2).[115]

[110] Markos Dragoumes, 'Constantinos A. Psachos (1869-1949): A Contribution to the Study of His Life and Work', in ed. D. E. Conomos, *SEC,* Vol. 5, (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1990), 78-88.
[111] Constantine A. Psachos, *Φόρμιγξ* 2 (1903), *passim*.
[112] Lorenzo Tardo, *L' Antica Melurgia Bizantina: nell' interpretazione della scuola monastic di Grottaferrata,* (Grottaferrata, 1938), 230-43.
[113] Emmanuel Bamboudakis, *Συμβολή εις την σπουδήν της παρασημαντικής των Βυζαντινών μουσικών*, Vol. 1, (Samos, 1938), 35-53.
[114] Cf. supra, fn. 89.
[115] See Miloš Velimirović's Review, in 'The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes, the Lampadarios by Manuel Chrysaphes: Dimitri E. Conomos', *JAMS* 43, 1 (1990), 143-148. Overall, Velimirović praises Conomos' work, but suggests that it would have been more valuable had 'the textual references to specific incipits been followed in

FIGURE 1.2: TABLE OF PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE TREATISE OF MANUEL CHRYSAPHES

Author	Title	Translation	Year
Johannes Tzetzes	*Über die altgriechische Musik in der griechischen Kirche*	Excerpts based on MS Arch. Seld. B. 43 (1517)	1874
Johannes Tzetzes	*Τα Μουσικά Χειρόγραφα της εν Άνδρω Μονής Ζωοδόχου Πηγής*	Excerpts	1880
A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus	'Μανουήλ Χρυσάφης, λαμπαδάριος του βασιλικού κλήρου' in *VV*, Vol. 8	Entire treatise based on MS dated 1656	1901
Porfiry Uspensky	*Pervoe putesestvie v Afonskie monastyri I skity II (Prilozenija)*	Excerpts	1881
Constantine Psachos	Treatise reproduced in translation in Patriarchal publication 'Φόρμιγξ' (1903)	Entire treatise based on Iviron 1120	1903
J. B. Thibaut	*Monuments de la notation ekphonétique et hagiopolite de l' église grecque*	2nd part of treatise from MS 811 Holy Sepulcher	1913
E. Bamboudakis	*Συμβολή εις την σπουδήν της παρασημαντικής των βυζαντινών μουσικών*	1st part of treatise based on various sources	1938
Lorenzo Tardo	*L' antica melurgia bizantina*	Most of treatise reproduced, based on MS Lavra Λ 165	1938
Dimitri Conomos	*The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes, the Lampadarios*, MMB: CSDRM (2)	'Definitive reproduction' based on Iviron 1120	1985

The Musical Repertory

The Divine Liturgy

Although the systematic identification and analysis of the extant repertory of Manuel Chrysaphes – not to speak of scribal variants and later embellishments – is far from complete, the repertory of some of the major chants of the Divine Liturgy has been elucidated by several scholars over the past half century. The efforts of Dimitri Conomos are particularly important for the study of Chrysaphes. His two most important works represent an extensive survey of the three central chants in the Eastern Orthodox Divine Liturgy – the *Trisagion*, the *Cherubic Hymn*, and the *Koinonikon*,[116] and include transcriptions and analyses of several Chrysaphes compositions.[117] Other important work in this area includes Kenneth Levy's studies of the

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the commentaries by presentation of musical examples indicating what the text of the treatise suggests in terms of interpretation of such a melody.'

[116] Even though the Koinikon is a proper chant – really, a psalm verse – while the Trisagion and Cherubic Hymn are invariable ordinary chants, the shared 'centrality' of these three chants in the Divine Liturgy can be argued on the basis of the fact that, as Alexander Lingas notes, 'the musical weight of the divine Liturgy… was, from the earliest sources of Byzantine musical notation until the 1850, concentrated mainly in three elaborate chants that were explicitly or implicitly invested with symbolism as aural icons of angelic worship: the Trisagion, the Cherubic Hymn, and the Communion Verse' (Lingas, 'The Genesis of this Project', from the booklet accompanying *Cappella Romana: The Divine Liturgy in English. Byzantine Chant recorded at Holy Rosary Church, West Seattle, 6-11 August 2005 and 20-24 August 2007* (Portland, OR: Cappella Romana, 2008), 7).

[117] Dimitri E. Conomos, *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: a study of late Byzantine liturgical chant* (Thessaloniki: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1974); and Dimitri E. Conomos, *The Late Byzantine and Slavonic Communion Cycle: Liturgy and Music* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1985). Aside from selected *koinonika* written in Slavonic, Conomos does not survey the post-Byzantine (sixteenth century and later) repertory for any of these three chants.

Byzantine Trisagion and the Cheroubikon for Holy Thursday,[118] Neil Moran's investigation of a certain Asmatic Trisagion in the context of the Ordinary hymns of the Divine Liturgy[119] and most recently, Konstantinos Karangounes' comprehensive study of the Cheroubikon in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine era. Karangounes' exhaustive study of the genre provides a detailed analysis of each of Chrysaphes' known settings of the Cherubic Hymn.[120]

In *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika*, Conomos provides transcriptions and comparative analyses of Chrysaphes' three Trisagia and five Cherubic Hymns in the context of the entire corpus of this repertory from the same period. Concerning his Trisagia, Conomos notes that Chrysaphes remains traditional, as the composer himself argues in his treatise, yet there is a 'distinct relaxation of certain firmly held principles.'[121] This characterisation of Chrysaphes, as an innovator and simultaneously an ardent defender of traditional forms, is echoed in Conomos' analysis of his Cherubic Hymn settings. Conomos calls Chrysaphes the 'leading figure of fifteenth century developments in Byzantine chant melody and composition,'[122] a conclusion he arrives at based on three important revelations in the manuscript tradition.[123] First, though 'his writings demand the sustenance of the traditions,'[124] Chrysaphes is described as the composer who broke down traditional barriers related to the composition of Cherubic Hymns in modes other than the traditional ones (primarily second and plagal second modes), given his important settings of the ordinary Cherubic Hymn in first, third, and plagal first modes.[125] Second, it is Chrysaphes who first anthologises the Cherubic Hymns by mode in the manuscripts, as indicated in f. 504r of his autograph, Iviron 1120: 'the beginning of the Cherubic Hymns, by mode', after which follow a collection of the major settings of Cherubic

[118] Kenneth Levy, 'A Hymn for Thursday in Holy Week', *JAMS* 16, no. 2 (1963): 127-75.
[119] Neil K. Moran, *The Ordinary Chants of the Byzantine Mass*. 2 vols, (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung Karl Dieter Wagner, 1975).
[120] Konstantinos Karangounes, *Η Παράδοση και Εξήγηση του Μέλους των Χερουβικών της Βυζαντινής και Μεταβυζαντινής Μελοποιΐας* (Athens: IBM, 2003). A possible limitation of Karangounes' study is based on the fact that his morphological analyses appear to be, for the most part, based on later transcriptions of Chrysaphes' settings, versus the hymns as notated in fifteenth century manuscripts.
[121] Conomos, *Byzantine Trisagia*, 72.
[122] Conomos, *Byzantine Trisagia*, 194.
[123] In his article on the Sunday Koinonikon, the Romanian musicologist Nicolai Gheorgita echoes Conomos' conclusions, calling Chrysaphes the 'leading exponent' of the 'First Period' of post-Byzantine chant, defined as 1453-1670, in 'The Structure of Sunday Koinonikon in the Postbyzantine Era', in ed. G. Wolfram, *Tradition and Innovation in Late- and Postbyzantine Liturgical Chant: Acta of the Congress held at Hernen Castle, the Netherlands, in April 2005* (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 331-56.
[124] Conomos, *Byzantine Trisagia*, 76.
[125] Conomos, *Byzantine Trisagia*, 193. It is well known that the first composer to depart from the second and fourth modal areas for the composition of a Cherubic Hymn was Xenos Korones in the fourteenth century, a meaningful, yet isolated deviation from the tradition. Karangounes' inventory of Chrysaphes' Cherubic Hymns is the most up to date: he composed five, in the first, third, fourth, grave, and plagal fourth mode. He also embellished the third mode Cherubic Hymn of Manuel Argyropoulos (Karangounes, *Χερουβικών*, 246-57, passim).

Hymns by various composers, arranged in order of mode.[126] Karangounes reiterates Conomos' conclusions with respect to the importance of Iviron 1120 for the development and evolution of the Cherubic Hymn. In Iviron 1120, Chrysaphes completely fills out the repertory with 16 settings, including five of his own, a remarkable fact given that the Cherubic Hymn was among the last bastions of conservatism, with manuscripts of the fourteenth century featuring, for the most part, anonymous settings in only the second or plagal second modes.[127]

Finally, Conomos claims that Chrysaphes is among the very first composers in the manuscript tradition to have his name attached to a Trisagion composition.[128] Conomos suggests that the dearth of ascriptions associated with this hymn, historically, is related to the tradition of the angelic reception of the Trisagion in the sixth century, and thus, the hymn's reputation as inviolable.[129] It is certainly true that the Trisagion of the Divine Liturgy was a conservative genre, seeing far less elaboration even in the fifteenth century than its counterparts in the liturgy – the Cherubic Hymn and the Koinonikon.[130] But it seems that Conomos' above assertion (that Chrysaphes is the first to have his name attached to a Trisagion) is based on the

[126] See Stathes, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 109, as well as Ch. 3 below describing the contents of MS Iviron 1120 in further detail. Chrysaphes is also one of the first to anthologise the *Alleluiaria* by mode (see Iviron 1120, fol. 495r). The scribe of MS Athos Laura E 173 (1436) anthologises a series of *Alleluiaria*, from f. 100v.

[127] Karangounes, *Χερουβικών*, 123-25. The Akolouthia EBE 2406 is an important manuscript worth mentioning in any discussion related to Chrysaphes, the Cherubic Hymns, and modal ordering. The majority of Cherubic Hymns in this codex are found between f. 236v-248r. At the very end of the manuscript, however, between f. 462r and 467v, a complete set of Cherubic Hymns is included. According to Conomos, this latter group is unique for two reasons. First, they are Cherubic Hymns by composers (including Chrysaphes) whose settings are not to be found in any earlier musical source, and second, they are modally ordered. The phenomenon of modal variety and extensive eponymity in this genre is witnessed to in Chrysaphes' autograph, Iviron 1120, but f. 462r-467v of EBE 2406 would seem to place the precedent for this tradition elsewhere (outside of Constantinople, as this MS was written at the Monastery of the Forerunner in Serres) and earlier (1453 vs. 1458). However, on the basis of assistance from the palaeographer Nigel Wilson, Conomos states that, although it is clearly the same scribe who has written both sets, the second set was written later – by possibly as many as 20 to 30 years (Conomos, Byzantine Trisagia 193-95). A detailed survey of this manuscript is also found in Miloš Velimirović, 'Byzantine Composers in MS Athens 2406', in eds. J. A. Westrup and E. Wellesz, *Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 7-18.

[128] Here Conomos is specifically referring to the first part of these settings, Ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, versus the composed Δύναμις perisse. Chrysaphes' predecessors Koukouzeles and Korones provide versions of the Δύναμις, both included in Iviron 1120.

[129] Conomos, *Communion Cycle*, 25-26, 55-56. In an earlier article, Conomos elaborates on this general point, concluding with a rather lukewarm appraisal of the phenomenon of composer visibility I have described above: 'Two concepts deserve our attention if we wish to appreciate fully the function of music in the... Christian East. The first... was the belief in the angelic transmission of sacred chant: the assumption that earthly worship was an imitation of heavenly praise, and that the earthly church united men in the prayer of the angelic choirs... The effect this concept had on church music was threefold: firstly, it bred a highly-conservative attitude to musical composition; secondly, it stabilised the melodic tradition of certain hymns; and thirdly, it preserved, for a time at least, composer anonymity. For if a chant is of heavenly origin, then the acknowledgement received by man in transmitting it to posterity ought to be minimal... until the appearance of the Palaiologan "Meistersingers", it was inconceivable for a composer to place his name beside notated text in the manuscripts' (Conomos, 'Change in Early Christian and Byzantine Liturgical Chant', *Studies in Music from the University of Western Ontario* 5 (1980): 49-50.

[130] Compare the 3 Trisagion and 4 Dynamis settings in to the 16 ordinary Cherubic Hymns and 99 (!) ordinary and festal Koinonika in Iviron 1120.

Trisagion from f. 414r of Iviron 1120, which is, actually, a Trisagion not composed for the Divine Liturgy. Based on its placement in the manuscript and the accompanying liturgical rubrics, it is clear that this was the Trisagion appended to the end of the Great Doxology, the entire order of which is from the Constantinopolitan Cathedral Rite.[131] The rubric on f. 413v reads:

> Μετὰ τὸ ἑωθινὸν ἰδιόμελον καὶ τό, ‘Ὑπερευλογημένη, γίνεται ἡ μεγάλη δοξολογία· Εἶτα τὸ Ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τρίτου, ὕστερον δὲ τοῦτο· πλ. β’, Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός.[132]
>
> [After the Eothinon idiomelon and the *Most Blessed*, the great doxology occurs. Then the *Holy God*, three times, and after, this one, in the plagal second mode, *Holy God*.]

The first such setting in Iviron 1120, an anonymous melody in the plagal second mode, is followed by a composition of Manuel Chrysaphes in the fourth mode, described explicitly as ἀσματικόν, a melody that includes the intercalated syllables γγ, which are characteristic of the repertory of the Constantinopolitan choir book, the *Asmatikon*. This is clearly not the Trisagion of Liturgy, but rather, the final Trisagion of the Doxology, for which both simple and elaborate versions were composed and sung in Cathedral Rite Matins.[133] It is interesting to note that post-Byzantine manuscripts attest to the fact that this Chrysaphes setting in the fourth authentic mode seems to be a favoured composition for these two commemorations of the Cross (14 September and the Third Sunday of Lent).[134] To my knowledge, previous scholars have not implicated Chrysaphes’ fourth mode Cathedral Rite Trisagion with these commemorations of the Cross in particular, a remarkable fact given that this practice – that is, singing an elaborate Trisagion labelled ‘asmatikon’ in the fourth mode for feasts of the Cross after the Great Doxology – persists as *the* standard practice in the Greek Orthodox church today. Further study is needed to validate this beyond reasonable doubt, but it seems that Chrysaphes (as he has been shown to do in many other repertories) instigated the practice of singing the Trisagion for

[131] Cf. infra, Appendix II, Iviron 1120, f. 413v. After identifying this inconsistency, I noticed that the same had been pointed out by Lingas in ‘Sunday Matins’, 107, fn. 134. However, I do not note the same concordance between the ‘asmatic’ Trisagion and a later ‘dynamis’ composition in Iviron 1120.

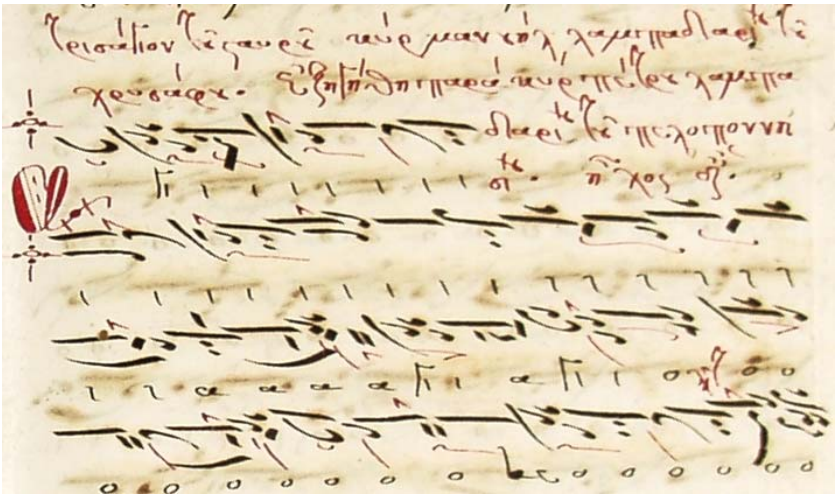
[132] Stathis, ‘Ιβήρων 1120’, 15.

[133] Lingas elaborates on this ‘quintessentially Constantinopolitan’ structure of the close of Cathedral Rite Matins in his thesis, mentioning the Trisagion settings found in Iviron 1120 and providing an analysis of eight distinct settings in the context of the Matins of the Cathedral Rite. This includes a discussion of the practical (i.e., liturgical) functions of the Trisagion, by means of an analysis of two Trisagia that were processional chants for Holy Saturday and the two liturgical commemorations of the Cross (in the MSS Lavra Γ.3 and Vienna Theol. Gr. 183). See Lingas, ‘Sunday Matins’, 98-110.

[134] Other examples include MS Timiou Prodromou Beroias 1 (1750-1775), p. 639: εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ... p. 641: ἕτερον τοῦ κὺρ Μανουήλ τοῦ Χρισάφου (sic) ἦχος δ’ (Giannopoulos, ‘Βέροια’, 578); MS Gr. Liturg. E. 4 (S.C. 36615) (1810-1812): τὸ παρὸν κὺρ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Χρυσάφου, ἐξηγήθη δὲ παρὰ κὺρ Πέτρου λαμπαδαρίου, ἦχος δ’, Ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς, Ἀσματικὸν τοῦ Σταυροῦ (Giannopoulos, Αγγλία 255), and, shown above in Fig. 1.3, MS Panteleimonos 906, f. 222r: Τρισάγιον τοῦ σταυροῦ κὺρ Μανουὴλ λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Χρυσάφου, ἐξηγήθη δὲ παρὰ κὺρ Πέτρου λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Πελοποννησίου, ἦχος δ’ (the relevant folios from this MS were kindly sent to me by George Konstantinou).

commemorations of the Cross in fourth mode and that his composition was handed down for centuries, even though elaborated on by future cantors. One such example of the persistence of Chrysaphes' 'Asmatic Trisagion' in the commemorations of the Cross in a late (18th c.) post-Byzantine Greek Orthodox source is given below in Figure 1.3. In this case, an *exegesis* (lit: explanation, analytical elaboration) of Chrysaphes' composition is provided by Petros Lampadarios, who was contemporary with the manuscript:

FIGURE 1.3: MS PANTELEIMONOS 906 (18TH C.), F. 222R: CHRYSAPHES' ASMATIC TRISAGION 'FOR THE CROSS'



'Trisagion of the Cross, by Manuel Chrysaphes the lampadarios· "Written analytically" (ἐξηγήθη) by Petros the Peloponnesian the lampadarios· Fourth mode

Conomos' 1985 work on the Late Byzantine and Slavonic communion cycle is a comprehensive study of the third central chant of the Orthodox Eucharist service, the *Koinonikon*. A major component of this study is a comparative analysis of the body of Koinonika from the Asmatikon with those found in the Akolouthia anthologies of the Late Palaiologan period. Conomos, who surveys the repertory by mode, includes 42 Koinonika by Chrysaphes (including 17 settings of Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον, the Sunday ordinary), from MSS including Iviron 1120, EBE 2406, and MS Vladaton 46, among others.[135] Conomos' main thesis is that the Koinonika of this latter period are direct inheritors of the styles and idioms of the Asmatikon repertory and, moreover, maintain vestiges of what he terms an 'ancient congregational psalm tone', an underlying melody that predates even the Asmatic repertory and, owing to the fact that the Koinonikon is attested to as one of the oldest psalm chants in Christian worship, may even go as far back as Late Antiquity.[136] He suggests that these basic,

[135] For EBE 2406, cf. supra, fn. 127.

[136] Conomos, *Communion Cycle,* 63, 190, and elsewhere. Conomos' thesis on the origins of the Koinonikon psalm verse melodies seem to follow those presented first by Levy in Hymn for Thursday, which focuses on Τοῦ δείπνου σοῦ τοῦ μυστικοῦ ('At Thy mystical supper'), the proper Cherubic Hymn and Koinonikon for Holy Thursday (which, according to the eleventh century Byzantine chronicler Giorgios Cedrenos, was instituted by Justin II in the sixth century). Levy's analysis is probably among the first to describe the 'centonate' style of Asmatic florid composition versus the freer, sequential, 'improvisatory' style of the Akolouthia, a distinction

structural melodic arches formed the framework for the extremely elaborate melodies of the Koinonika found in the compositions of later figures such as Chrysaphes. While Conomos acknowledges that 'the uniformity exhibited in the psalm verses perhaps suggests that we must look to hymns like the alleluia [the often elaborate refrains appended to all but two of the proper Koinonika] if we wish to investigate the origins of the encroaching florid style,'[137] he leaves an analysis of the Alleluia for another study. Pointing out the differences between the psalm verses and the Alleluia refrains, he continues:

> [The Alleluia refrain] is written in a style entirely different from that of the psalm text. The long lines, characterized by uninhibited melismatic elaborations, require the support of intercalated foreign letters. Cadential patterns are complex and randomly juxtaposed. To my understanding, this ornate appendage exists for reasons of liturgical expediency [owing to the lengthy Communion rite]. In the majority of cases… the alleluias appear to be independent units of chant grafted onto the ends of the verses.[138]

Conomos' somewhat critical assessment of the melodic construction of the Alleluia refrains of the Koinonika represents a shift from the positive undercurrents one gleans from his analysis of the *maistores*' compositions of melismatic *Trisagia* and Cherubic Hymns in his first publication. Picking up on this shift, Alexander Lingas argues that Conomos has a tendency to employ language reminiscent of that used by early Western musicologists of Byzantine chant who derided melismatic singing as a sign of decadence, the result of Oriental accretions onto an otherwise balanced and pure repertory. Specifically, he asserts that Conomos' choice of words and phrases serve to 'cast doubt on the legitimacy and propriety of melismatic chanting, [by speaking of] opportunities "for vocal display" and indulgence in "interminable psalmodising" by professional virtuosos, the way for whose rise was paved by "the lapse in congregational singing,"' a narrative, according to Lingas, 'absorbed from modern liturgists' and featuring 'the gradual debasement of ideal(ised) forms of Early Christian worship supposedly characterised by musical democracy.'[139]

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reiterated by Conomos in his own analyses. In doing so, Levy points out several concordances amongst melodies, especially in the Alleluias of Cherubic Hymns in modal areas around G, suggesting also perhaps that the liturgical solemnity and tradition of angelic transmission of these hymns contributed to their melodic stability. This conclusion is echoed throughout Conomos' work on the Koinonika, for example, in Conomos' notion of 'modal fluidity' (*Communion Cycle*, 147), the phenomenon where Byzantine composers reused material across modes, changing very little, especially where the liturgical solemnity was highest.

[137] Conomos, *Communion Cycle*, 62.

[138] Conomos, *Communion Cycle*, 60, and fn. 22.

[139] Alexander Lingas, 'Preliminary Reflections on Studying the Liturgical Place of Byzantine and Slavonic Melismatic Chant', in ed. G. Wolfram, *Palaeobyzantine Notations* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 147-55, citing Peter Jeffrey, *Re-envisioning Past Musical Cultures: Ethnomusicology in the Study of Gregorian Chant,* Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology (Chicago and London: 1992), 78-83. The logic to which Lingas is responding is more concisely spun out by Conomos in his 1980 article (cf. supra, fn. 129), where he suggests that the focus of composers on writing melismatic alleluias results in 'choral music that became more ornate, and the corporate sense of worship – the concept of *koinonia* which was so deeply embedded in the early church – was substantially

While it is possible to detect such undercurrents in Conomos' *Communion Cycle* (and even, to some extent, in Williams' dissertation on John Koukouzeles), they are certainly far from wholesale criticisms of the kalophonic repertory or the compositions of Chrysaphes on Conomos' part.[140] Elsewhere, Conomos praises the 'high quality and striking originality' of Chrysaphes' compositions.'[141] A theme that pervades Conomos' analyses of the music of the Divine Liturgy is that of the interaction of traditional and innovative elements in music of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. According to Conomos, this was a period during which reverence for traditional forms competed with innovation and personal creativity, or perhaps more correctly, that innovative compositional styles flowered but traditional forms were still revered, and in some ways, retained. In both of Conomos' works of this melismatic repertory analysed above, it is Chrysaphes who receives the most attention as operating at the centre of this sea change.

Music of Vespers and Orthros

Scholarship concerning the compositions of Chrysaphes outside of the repertory of the Divine Liturgy is less developed, but this void is slowly being filled. The Greek musicologist Arsinoi Ioannidou is currently working on a dissertation concerning the 'Kalophonic Settings of the 2nd Psalm in the Byzantine Tradition', in which she draws her musical material primarily from Chrysaphes' autograph MS Iviron 1120 as well as two Athens manuscripts (MSS EBE 2406 and 2458). Ioannidou is also investigating liturgical treatises in an attempt to connect the kalophonic idiom and its kratemata with concomitant liturgical and spiritual practices, an important bridge between liturgiology and musicology that other scholars have explored (see below).[142] Diane Touliatos-Miles' 'The Byzantine Amomos Chant of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries' provides an exhaustive catalogue of all the musical settings of Psalm 118, ranging from Cathedral Rite Orthros settings to those for the funeral offices of laymen and monks, in which Chrysaphes' settings are featured prominently.[143] Most notably, Touliatos-Miles points out that, by the seventeenth century, when the Amomos repertory for the funeral

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weakened… the composition of hymns began to flourish, and the sense of corporate action – the concerted effort by all participants – hardened into something very like a traditional ritual' (Conomos, 'Change', 60).

[140] For Williams' criticism of Ioannes Kladas' allegedly unsophisticated compositional techniques, cf. infra, Ch. 5, p. 244.

[141] Conomos, *Treatise*, 14. On the other hand, in at least one instance Conomos goes so far as to characterise Chrysaphes' application of 'whole lines [which reappear] in a variety of musical contexts' as 'slavish' (*Communion Cycle*, 143-45).

[142] Arsinoi Ioannidou, 'The Kalophonic Settings of the Second Psalm in the Byzantine Tradition (Fourteenth-Fifteenth centuries): A Dissertation In-Progress', *Paper read at the 1st International Conference of the ASBMH held in Athens, 10-15 September, 2007*: 210-22.

[143] Diane Touliatos-Miles wrote her dissertation under the name Diane Touliatos-Banker (elsewhere, she is simply 'Diane Touliatos'). For convenience, I use the name 'Diane Touliatos-Miles', given in her most recent publication cited in this dissertation.

services of laymen had crystallised, it was Chrysaphes' settings of the verses which are most often retained in the later manuscripts. This is even more striking when one considers the fact that he included very few of his own compositions of the Amomos in his autograph MS Iviron 1120.[144] This point is supported by Nina-Maria Wanek's conclusions concerning Psalm 118, in her previously mentioned investigation of the musical manuscripts of the *Supplementum graecum* at the Austrian National Library. Wanek goes so far as to suggest that it was Chrysaphes himself who standardised the various melodies of this chant.[145]

Recent scholarship has highlighted Chrysaphes' works in other areas of the repertory. In a reference I have not found corroborated elsewhere, Wanek identifies an Anastasimatarion of Manuel Chrysaphes in manuscript number 288 from the Leimonos monastery, probably the oldest autograph of the scribe Clement the hieromonk.[146] Prior scholarship has not considered Chrysaphes an important figure in the development or consolidation of the musical repertory of the Anastasimatarion. Stathes writes that Chrysaphes 'without question' played a role in 'beautifying' the repertory of the Anastasimatarion, but states that we do not have any compositions within this repertory specifically attributed to him.[147] The various introductory phrases from the Kekragaria (Ps 140:1-2) and the Dogmatic Theotokia from Saturday Vespers found in Iviron 1120 are not ascribed and thus should at this point be thought of as traditional, anonymous melodies of the Anastasimatarion. Nevertheless, Wanek's above-mentioned discovery along with Giannopoulos' identification of a possible Anastasimatarion, MS Timiou Prodromou, Veroia 9, which he believes to be an autograph of Chrysaphes (but more likely, if

[144] Diane Touliatos-Miles, 'The Byzantine Amomos Chant of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', PhD diss. (Ohio State, 1979), 155. Touliatos' claim that Chrysaphes includes none of his own compositions for the Amomos in his autograph Iviron 1120 is incorrect. For example, see Chrysaphes' kalophonic setting of the verse *Θρηνῶ καὶ ὀδύρομαι ὅταν ἐννοήσω τὸν θάνατον* on f. 484v. However, Touliatos is correct in pointing out the fact that while his settings of Psalm 118 are disseminated widely in Post-Byzantine manuscripts, only a scant few are included in Iviron 1120.

[145] The inscription before the chants of the Amomos in MS Suppl. gr. 130 (in between the Kalophonic Theotokia and Cherubic Hymns) reads Ἄμωμος ψαλλόμενος εἰς κοιμηθέντας σμικρυνθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ παλαιοῦ παρὰ τοῦ πρωτοψάλτου κῦρ Χρυσάφου... Παλαιὸς' (Wanek, *Nachbyzantinischer*, 30-31).

[146] Wanek, *Nachbyzantinischer*, 167. The Anastasimatarion is a modally arranged musical collection which congealed in the sixteenth (Makris) or seventeenth century (Kujumdzieva). Its texts, from the larger Oktoechos, consist (primarily) of Resurrectional propers for Saturday Vespers, Sunday Orthros and Sunday Divine Liturgy. The oldest Anastasimatarion is MS Xenophontos 128, an autograph of Panagiotes Chrysaphes, dated to 1671 (described in Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα II*, 57-68). The most comprehensive study of the Anastasimatarion is in Adriana Şirli, *The Anastasimatarion* (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală, 1986). Şirli's study includes the collation of over 1500 melodies from manuscripts of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. See also Svetlana Kujumdzieva, 'The Kekragaria in the Sources from the 14th to the Beginning of the 19th Century', in *Cantus Planus. Papers Read at the 6th Meeting in Eger 1993* (Budapest, 1995), 449-63; and Eustathios Makris, 'Die Musikalische Tradition des Anastasimatarion im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', (Universität Wien, 1996).

[147] Stathis, 'Μανουήλ Χρυσάφης', 37.

anything, is based on an earlier Chrysaphes prototype), seems to point the way to future studies with new potential discoveries within this genre.[148]

Kalophonic Heirmoi

The term *kalophonikos heirmos* is most commonly used today to describe the paraliturgical genre of compositions that peaked first under the aegis of the seventeenth and eighteenth century composers Balasios the Priest and Nomophylax (d. 1700) and Petros Bereketis (d. ~1725), and later, under cantors such as Panagiotes Chalatzoglou (d. 1748) and Petros Byzantios (d. 1808). Eventually anthologised in manuscripts known as *Kalophonic Heirmologia*, which first appear as independent musical collections in the final decades of the eighteenth century, these compositions continued to grow in number and popularity, persisting to this day as arguably the most beloved chants of Greek and Romanian cantors.[149] As Grammenos Karanos relates in his dissertation – the first full study on this post-Byzantine genre – the two chief characteristics of this musical species are, first, the embellishment of the heirmoi of the Kanons in the 'slow heirmologic style', and second, the addition of a full-length kratema to the end of the heirmos text.[150] Chants characterised by these specific morphological attributes have their roots in the sixteenth century compositions of Arsenios the Small and Theophanes Karykes, yet both Karanos and Emmanuel Giannopoulos (the latter in a recent article on the development of the same genre), point to the Late Palaiologan period as the site of origin of the post-Byzantine kalophonic heirmos.[151] In fact, it is in the autographs of Manuel Chrysaphes where the term καλοφωνικὸς εἱρμὸς is first encountered. Two entries, from Iviron 975 and Iviron 1120, are given below (see also Fig. 1.4 below):[152]

- MS Iviron 975, fol. 387v: εἱρμοὶ καλοφωνικοὶ ψαλλόμενοι ὕστερον εἰς τὴν καταβασίαν (kalophonic heirmoi chanted later at the *katavasies*)
- MS Iviron 1120, fol. 621r, καλοφωνικοὶ εἱρμοὶ ψαλλόμενοι εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μεγάλην Κυριακὴν τοῦ Πάσχα (kalophonic heirmoi chanted on the Holy and Great Sunday of Pascha)

In these manuscripts, Chrysaphes uses the name 'kalophonic heirmos' to describe the elaborately composed heirmoi from the Kanons of selected feasts (e.g., Pascha, Christmas,

[148] For the *Anastasimatarion* MS Veroia 9, cf. infra, Chapter 3, pp. 126-127.
[149] Emmanuel Giannopoulos, *Η Ψαλτική Τέχνη: Λόγος και Μέλος στη Λατρεία της Ορθοδόξης Εκκλησίας* (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2008), 80-81.
[150] Karanos, 'Kalophonic Heirmos', 106-8, and elsewhere.
[151] Emmanuel Giannopoulos, 'Η Εξέλιξη των καλοφωνικών ειρμών (14ος -18ος αιώνας)', in ed. Nina-Maria Wanek, *Psaltike neue Studien zur Byzantinischen Musik: Festschrift für Gerda Wolfram* (Wien: Praesens, 2011), 145-53.
[152] For a more comprehensive list of late Byzantine manuscript inscriptions with this term, see Karanos, 'Kalophonic Heirmos', 108.

Annunciation, St. Demetrios) that were to be chanted during Orthros, 'at the *katavasies*'. Chrysaphes anthologises settings by Ioannes Glykys, Manuel Plagites, Ioannes Koukouzeles, Xenos Korones, Ioannes Kladas, and Gregorios Mpounes Alyates.[153] Based on the dates of the composers whose names accompany kalophonic heirmoi in the late Byzantine sources, we can date the origins of this genre to at least as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century.[154] Here, yet again, Chrysaphes plays a vital role in anthologising – and enriching – another genre of chant, in this case, one that already had a long tradition of eponymous settings.

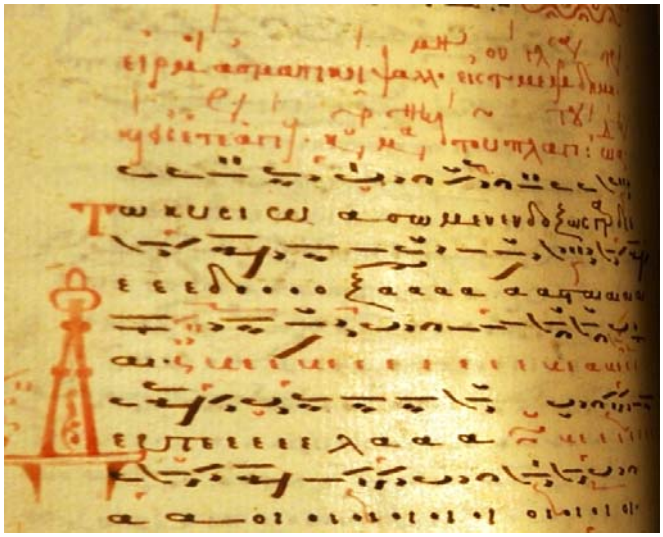
Giannopoulos argues that the presence of kalophonic heirmoi (also called 'asmatic heirmoi' or 'very artful heirmoi' in fifteenth and sixteenth century MSS)[155] in Late Byzantine sources provides further evidence that the thousand-year development of Byzantine ecclesiastical music occurred smoothly and continuously and 'without any significant breaks or changes imposed by foreign music systems.'[156] Giannopoulos' contends that the appearance of new compositions of 'kalophonic heirmoi' during the time of Balasios the Priest, Petros Bereketes, and even before, does not constitute a new practice, as was once thought, but is rather a variation on a traditional theme.[157] Beyond simply referring to a similarity in nomenclature, he points out that several Cretan composers, especially figures such as Benediktos Episkopopoulos, followed the Constantinopolitan tradition of embellishing heirmoi in the kalophonic style for major feast days, and serve as something of a link between the Palaiologan kalophonic heirmoi and the paraliturgical compositions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Likewise, Karanos notes that while the kalophonic heirmoi of the Palaiologan *maistores* are 'completely different with respect to their structure and their melodic content' than the later

[153] While Ioannes Plousiadenos, Chrysaphes' successor, anthologises the Kalophonic Heirmoi of Chrysaphes composed for the feast of the Annunciation (e.g., the fifteenth century MS Sinai 1253 f. 127r).
[154] We know that Manuel Plagites, priest, domestikos, and protopsaltes of Thessaloniki, was active at least as early as 1336, on account of his appearance in EBE 2458 (f. 90r: 'Τοῦ παπᾶ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Πλαγίτου, ἦχος α', Ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχουσι'). He composed kalophonic heirmoi in honor of the patron saint of his city, St Demetrios. Chrysaphes includes these in Iviron 1120 from f. 631v-636r. An earlier witness of these kalophonic heirmoi is MS Laura I 185 (likely from the first three decades of the fifteenth century), which, from f. 189r contains all 8 settings of these kalophonic heirmoi to St. Demetrios, preceded by the following: 'Κανών εἰς τὸν ἅγιον μεγαλομάρτυρα Δημήτριον τὸν μυροχεύμον, ποίημα τοῦ Πορφυρογεννήτου κὺρ Κωνσταντίνου, μελισθὲν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ πρωτοψάλτου Θεσσαλονίκης κὺρ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Πλαγιάτου, ἦχος β', Δεῦτε λαοί... μέχρι τῆς η′ ᾠδῆς' ('Canon to the Great-martyr St. Demetrios the myrrh-streaming, poem of Konstantinos Porphyrogennitos, composed by the Protopsaltes of Thessaloniki, Manuel Plagiates, second mode, "Come, O ye people"… until the 8th ode'). For the dating of MS Laura I 185, see S. Lauriotes and S. Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on the Mount Athos, with Notices from Other Libraries* (Cambridge, 1925; New York, 1969), 211. For an updated bioergographical entry on Manuel Plagites, see Ioannes Liakos, *Η Βυζαντινή Παράδοση της Θεσσαλονίκης κατά τον ΙΔ'-ΙΕ' Αιώνα* (Athens: IBM, 2007). 117-20.
[155] Giannopoulos, 'Εξέλιξη', 146.
[156] Giannopoulos, 'Εξέλιξη', 145.
[157] Giannopoulos, 'Εξέλιξη', 149 and passim.

kalophonic heirmoi of Karykes, Balasios, and Bereketes, these 'proto-kalophonic heirmoi' are nevertheless predecessors of the latter. For one, the poetic text of the two genres is based on the heirmoi of the canons. Second, in both cases, the melodic theseis are melismatic, although Karanos draws a distinction between the melodic theseis of the two genres, classifying the earlier (Byzantine-era) compositions as, morphologically speaking, 'papadaic', and the latter (post-Byzantine) as 'slow heirmologic'.[158] Third, both genres of kalophonic heirmoi employ teretismatic material, though in the late medieval kalophonic heirmoi, the teretismata are scattered throughout the piece, 'comprising its backbone,'[159] whereas in the kalophonic heirmoi of the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries, independent kratemata are appended to the end of the composition.[160]

FIGURE 1.4: IVIRON 1120, F. 632V, 'ASMATIC HEIRMOI CHANTED FOR THE GREAT MARTYR DEMETRIOS'



The inscription reads: *Asmatic Heirmoi chanted for the Great Martyr Demetrios and for other Saints, by Manuel Plagites, Ode 1*

The text of the first heirmos, Δεῦτε λαοὶ ('Come, People'), is preceded by the incipit for the first Biblical Canticle (from the Song of Moses in Exodus 15:1-19), Τῷ Κυρίῳ ᾄσωμεν ἐνδόξως γὰρ δεδόξασται (Let us sing to the Lord for gloriously has he been glorified)

[158] Karanos makes these distinctions based on all relevant aspects of musical theses, including melodic direction, cadential notes, and ratio of syllables to notes in a given melisma, based on their appearance in the analytical notation of the New Method.

[159] Karanos, 'Kalophonic Heirmos', 110.

[160] Karanos ('Kalophonic Heirmos', 108-10) groups three 'late' compositions among the genre he characterises as 'proto-kalophonic', which has its roots in the compositions of Ioannes Kladas, Manuel Chrysaphes, etc. These three compositions, the heirmoi *Νενίκηνται τῆς φύσεως οἱ ὅροι* (first mode) by Germanos of New Patras, *Χριστός γεννᾶται* (first mode) by Balasios the Priest, and *Ἅπας γηγενής* by Daniel the Protopsaltes, are grouped with the earlier works on the basis of their publication in the third volume (*Mathematarion*) of the Μουσική Πανδέκτη (eds. Ioannes the lampadarios and Stefanos the domestikos, Constantinople, 1851) and the fact that they are morphologically closer to the kalophonic heirmoi of the Palaiologan period than the paraliturgical genre of Bereketes et al. His quick comparison of these three compositions with those from the later paraliturgical repertory does not take into account the settings by Chrysaphes, Kladas, etc. (understandably out of scope, given the primary aims of the thesis). Moreover, the comparison is – by the author's own admission – exclusively on the basis of the analytical transcriptions of the New Method. Based on a comparison of the two genres, the aforementioned three kalophonic heirmoi are ~20 pages in length, vs. 5-6 pages, the average length of the paraliturgical kalophonic heirmoi. Indeed, Chrysaphes' asmatic (kalophonic) ninth ode heirmos for the feast of Christmas, when performed according to the analytical transcription of Chourmouzios (as my choir did in a concert in Cambridge, MA, in December 2011), is over 35 minutes in length! The liturgical anomalies that arise when considering the fact that eight of these would have, theoretically, been sung during the Christmas Orthros (comprising 4 hours of chanting according to the New Method transcriptions) are evident, but out of the scope of the present study.

As a way of demonstrating evidence of smooth transition between the two genres, Giannopoulos points to the Wallachian MS, Oxford Jesus College 33, written in 1635 by the Hieromonk Meletios, a manuscript containing several embellished heirmoi composed by Theophanes Karykes. To each of these heirmoi, Meletios the scribe appends a kratema by Palaiologan composers (e.g., Chrysaphes, Kontopetris), thus 'marrying the old with the new.'[161] Nevertheless, both Giannopoulos and Karanos acknowledge probably the biggest difference between the Late Byzantine 'proto-kalophonic heirmoi' and the kalophonic heirmoi written by their post-Byzantine successors:[162] the former were written to be sung as katavasies in the services of special feasts, a view supported by the rubrics in the MSS but also by the biblical canticles appended after the kalophonic heirmoi, as shown in Fig. 1.4 below (see note to the right of figure). The latter genre is a paraliturgical genre – the kalophonic heirmoi of Bereketis, Panagiotes Chalatzoglou, and co. were not intended to be sung during Orthros, 'at the katavasies.'[163] Ultimately, the witness of the kalophonic heirmoi in sources such as Chrysaphes' autographs, MSS Iviron 975 and 1120, supports the argument that the post-Byzantine genre did not appear out of nowhere with the compositions of Petros Bereketes around the year 1700, but was the result of a long development that can be traced back to the kalophonic period of Byzantium. In both above mentioned studies on the kalophonic heirmos, Chrysaphes' contribution as scribe and composer within this genre is viewed as seminal.

The Kalophonic Sticherarion

Manuel Chrysaphes' body of kalophonic stichera is one of the most impressive classes of compositions, both for the quantity of output and innovative nature of the compositions. The kalophonic stichera – including the subgenres of *anagrammatismoi* and *anapodismoi*[164] – are extensively surveyed in Gregorios Stathis' study, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί και τα Μαθήματα της*

[161] Giannopoulos, 'Εξέλιξη', 149.

[162] To my knowledge, no one has yet compared the musical phrases of the post-Byzantine kalophonic heirmoi by Cretan composers with the kalophonic heirmoi of Chrysaphes, Kladas, etc., to inventory morphological similarities and differences. Such a study would be fruitful in establishing links between the Palaiologan tradition and the post-Byzantine, and could be extended to a comparison with the post-Byzantine paraliturgical genre initiated by Karykes and Arsenios. This could provide a corrective to the obviously precursory 'periodisation' and/or classification I am implicitly proposing above.

[163] To my mind, the jury is still out on whether the various kalophonic heirmoi from the post-Byzantine Cretan sources were intended to be sung during Orthros (see Giannopoulos, 'Η Εξέλιξη', 147).

[164] *Anagrammatismoi* ('rearranged letters') and *anapodismoi* ('rearranged feet', i.e., 'rearranged phrases') are kalophonic stichera in which the composers have rearranged the words, utilising repetition, inversion, and recapitulation for artistic purposes. Stathis' use of the term 'mathema' (lit: 'lesson') and 'Mathematarion' (the latter, as interchangeable for describing the manuscript containing the Kalophonic Stichera) seems to invite potential for confusion with its nineteenth century usage, when such hymns had fallen out of the repertory and thus had more of an academic / educational (vs. practical) purpose. Chrysaphes' uses the term μάθημα four times in his treatise (lines 82, 186, 248, 481), at least once referring to something with a pedagogical purpose (l. 82). See Conomos, Treatise: Appendix C, 110. Stathis argues that Chrysaphes' uses the term 'mathema' to refer to a kalophonic sticheron twice. For Stathis' definitions of these terms, see *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 79-89 (anagrammatismoi and anapodismoi) and 89-92 (mathema).

Βυζαντινής Μελοποιίας, a work also critical for the study of Chrysaphes as a result of its description of the contents of Manuel Chrysaphes' autograph, Iviron 1120. In his description of this manuscript, Stathis reiterates what Conomos says concerning Chrysaphes: that he was probably the most important figure in bringing the new kalophonic chant idiom to its peak of ripeness.[165]

Furthermore, Stathis states that Chrysaphes' treatise is relevant to modern performance practice. In particular, certain excerpts are of utmost importance for acquiring an understanding of the kalophonic stichera. First, he notes that it is exclusively from this repertory that Chrysaphes draws his examples in explaining the function of the phthorai. Second, Stathis views Chrysaphes' words regarding *theseis* and 'the great *hypostases*' of *cheironomia*[166] central to the correct transcription of the old notation specifically within the kalophonic repertories.[167] Finally, he points out that the compositions of Chrysaphes, especially in Iviron 1120, confirm that the kalophonia of these settings – indicated by the rubric, 'ἄρχονται τῆς καλλιφωνίας' (beginning of the kalophonia)[168] – is morphologically based on the simpler, 'common' melody ('τὸ κείμενον', i.e., the original *sticheron*). Furthermore, Stathis posits a relationship between the melismatic style of the kalophonic stichera, instigated by Koukouzeles and those around him, and the melismatic styles of the *Psaltikon*, the Constantinopolitan book containing the melismatic allelouiaria, prokeimena, and kontakia.[169]

Christian Troelsgård accepts Stathis' general conclusion that such a relationship exists, but argues that 'the precise character of this relation between the kalophonic verses and the chants of the "classical" Byzantine cathedral rite still remains to be determined.'[170] In a recent article on early kalophonia, Troelsgård makes a preliminary attempt at tracing motific relationships in kalophonic stichera and earlier forms of melismatic singing in order to establish tangible links on the basis of melodic formulae, cadential patterns, and so on. Troelsgård concludes that there

[165] Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 100-10.
[166] The 'great hypostases' are the 3 to 4 dozen signs that are preserved in various late and post-Byzantine treatises and tables of neumes as well as in Koukouzeles' didactic poem which are 'not to be sung' but played a subsidiary role, i.e., 'grouping the *emphona* (interval signs) and *argiai* (neumes of lengthening) usually on one syllable and as a concise indication of a formula,' useful as well for *cheironomy* (the practice of indicating melodic movement by a sort of gesticulation) and ornamentation (see Ioannis Arvanitis, 'Byzantine Notation', original appearing in *Pravoslavnaya Entsiklopediya* (2007), 360-76). These signs, typically written in red (vs. black) ink, proliferated in the post-Byzantine period and have been interpreted by some scholars to indicate a stenographic realisation of older repertories.
[167] Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 34-35. Stathis' theory of interpretation of the old notation, along with several transcriptions of various neume groups into modern Byzantine and Western staff notation is given in full in Stathis, *Η Εξήγησις*, cited above in 'A Note on the Musical Transcriptions'.
[168] Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 83-84.
[169] Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 77.
[170] Christian Troelsgård, 'Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Melismatic Chant and the Development of the Kalophonic Style', in ed. G Wolfram, *Palaeobyzantine Notations III* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 72.

is indeed continuity in the melodic traditions of the classical Sticherarion, proto-kalophonic stichera, and mature kalophonia, and that Chrysaphes' treatise 'seems to be very precise,' where it states:

> 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 preserved (as it is recorded in the Old Sticherarion), 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.[171]

Finally, it is worth mentioning again Clara Adsuara's work within this area of the repertory. Her dissertation provides a background of the historiography concerning theories on the development of kalophonia and then introduces a detailed textual and musical analysis of a selection of kalophonic stichera.[172] In addition to this, her aforementioned analytical description of one of the most important Kalophonic Sticheraria of the fifteenth century, MS Sinai 1251, which contains an index of composers and compositions, is extremely useful for the study of Manuel Chrysaphes, in particular. This article contains the type of indexical groundwork – of which much more is needed – that begins to address the 'what' with respect to Chrysaphes' filling out of the repertory of the kalophonic stichera, which will lead to further conclusions concerning the 'how' and 'why'. In other words, we can only begin to understand Chrysaphes' behaviour as a scribe and composer – for example, why in a given situation he wrote an entirely new composition versus providing an embellishment of an existing chant – when we have a full handle on his contribution to the genre of the kalophonic stichera.

We have only scratched the surface in our understanding of this voluminous body of chants. Detailed studies of the kalophonic stichera will be particularly critical for answering questions that transcend the compositions themselves. For example, a study that analyses all kalophonic stichera, by composer, mode, time period, and geography, and compares them to one another, to earlier versions of kalophonic stichera, and to 'simple' versions from the classical Sticherarion, will reveal a great deal about performance, notation, scribal habits, and methods of elaboration in late- and post-Byzantine practice. This could have far reaching implications for increasing our understanding of the origins of the kalophonic movement, as well as the post-Byzantine phenomenon of *exegesis*.[173] The fifteenth century is particularly critical for the study of these issues, for, according to Ioannes Arvanitis, it was when the notation, 'while

[171] Troelsgård, 'Melismatic Chant', 76 (translation based on Conomos, *Treatise*, 43-45).
[172] Cf. supra, fn. 37.
[173] Cf. supra, 'A Note on the Musical Transcriptions'.

possibly retaining its old short form, may have started to acquire an additional more elaborated form in performance.'[174]

Liturgical Musicology

It will be useful for the purposes of this dissertation to review important scholarship in one final area, which I categorise loosely under the umbrella of *liturgical musicology*, the cross disciplinary field that emerged decades ago from the deconstruction of liturgiology and musicology as disciplines focused primarily on text and meaning through text. As Robin A. Leaver writes:

> Liturgy is more than text.... it also includes sight and sound, as the seasons and celebrations indicate their changing context by the different colors of paraments and vestments and by the alternative music of celebrant, choir, and congregation, and as the liturgical order is actualised in ritual actions, processions, silences, and sometimes the visual and olfactory presence of incense. The 'new liturgiology'... is therefore moving beyond the earlier preoccupation with textual concerns to encompass a broader, three-dimensional understanding of the liturgical rite.[175]

The study of all the components of liturgy, text, sight, sound, smell, ritual, and experience, must inform any study of ecclesiastical music in Byzantium, and the full breadth of 'experiential analysis' is of no less importance for understanding the period during which Chrysaphes lived. These areas, with respect to Eastern Christianity, have been enriched recently with the promising interdisciplinary research of Susan Harvey on the importance of olfaction in Christian Liturgy, and by Bissera Pentcheva's exploration of 'acoustical phenomenology' and the impact of space – i.e., Hagia Sophia – in interaction with all other aspects of ritual (sound, sight, smell), on the experience of the liturgy's participants.[176]

The groundbreaking work of Edward Williams on Koukouzeles and the music of evening worship in Late Byzantium privileged the kalophonic repertoire in contrast to its debasement in prior scholarship and provided useful interpretive analyses based on liturgical as well as

[174] Ioannes Arvanites, 'On the Meaning and Purpose of the Treatise by Manuel Chrysaphes', in ed. G. Wolfram, *Tradition and Innovation in Late- and Postbyzantine Liturgical Chant* (Leuven: Peters, 2008), 122.
[175] From her forward to William T. Flynn's *Medieval Music as Medieval Exegesis* (Lanham, Md. and London: Scarecrow Press, 1999), xv-xvi. See also William T. Flynn, 'Liturgical Music as Liturgy' and Leaver, Robin A. 'Liturgical Music as Homily and Hermeneutic', in *Liturgy and Music: Lifetime Learning*, eds. R.A. Leaver, and J.A. Zimmerman (Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 1998), 252–64; 340–59.
[176] Bissera V. Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2010). In a more recent presentation (at Stanford University in May 2013), Pentcheva introduces the concept of *chiasmus*, the notion of the meeting point of the heavenly and earthly within the space of Hagia Sophia, by means of the ascent of the melodies of chants (in this case, a Koinonikon from the feast of Pentecost), incense, and prayer, and the descent of the Holy Spirit amongst the congregation.

musical sources.[177] Dimitri Conomos made further inroads into this multidisciplinary field, offering theories for the development of the musical repertories in the office of the Divine Liturgy, especially during the singing of the *Trisagion*, the Cherubic Hymn, and the *Koinonikon*. Drawing largely on the comparative analysis of liturgical rubrics and typika in Alexis Dimitrievski's *Opisanie liturgiceskikh rukopisei*,[178] Conomos concluded that the liturgical prayers, clerical dialogue, and accompanying actions had expanded significantly by the fourteenth century, creating a musical 'problem' that needed to be solved by contemporary composers, who were thus pre-empted to develop lengthier musical compositions.[179] In the case of the Cherubic Hymn, significantly expanded compositions accompanied by lengthy kratemata are found starting in the fourteenth century, which corresponds to liturgical documents that feature this textual and ceremonial expansion.[180] Conomos' survey of the compositions within the genre of the Cherubic Hymn, especially, emphasises the fact that Chrysaphes unquestionably inherited and further developed this expansive compositional idiom, although the question of etiology of longer forms needs further investigation.

Alexander Lingas has furthered research in the space of liturgical musicology in two important ways. First, his dissertation on Sunday Matins in the Byzantine Cathedral Rite, a reconstruction of the Constantinopolitan Sunday morning service that had nearly died out by Chrysaphes' time, offers insight into the synthesis of two 'mutually irreducible'[181] liturgical practices, those of Constantinople and Jerusalem/Palestine. This work is especially relevant to the study of Chrysaphes for its discussion of the bidirectional influences of music and liturgical practices on one another. That the development of melismatic repertories was often pre-empted or influenced by the need to cover liturgical action has been suggested by prior scholars, as we have noted above. But Lingas demonstrates that during the Palaiologan period the composers and their music had a great deal of influence over the shape of a particular service.[182] He concludes:

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[177] For Oliver Strunks begrudging acknowledgment of recent progress in the scholarship in melismatic repertories (whose manuscript tradition he calls 'capricious and untrustworthy'), and a call to his colleagues to return to the core repertories of the Heirmologion and Sticherarion, see idem, *Essays*, 243-245.
[178] Alexis Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie Liturgicheskikh; Rukopisei Khraniaschchikhsia v' Bibliotekakh; Pravoslavnago Vostoka*, Vol. I, Typika (Kiev, 1895).
[179] Conomos, *Byzantine Trisagia*, 35-38. See also Dimitri Conomos, 'Communion Chants in Magna Graecia and Byzantium', *JAMS* 33, 2 (1980): 243-263.
[180] Conomos, *Byzantine Trisagia*, 35-38 and passim.
[181] Lingas, 'Sunday Matins', 276, after Miguel Arranz, 'Les grandes etapes de la Liturgie Byzantine: Palestine-Byzance-Russie. Essai d' apercu historique', in *Liturgie de l' eglise particuliere et liturgie de l' eglise universelle, Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae, Subsidia* 7 (Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche, 1976): 43-72.
[182] Lingas, 'Sunday Matins', 245-63.

> The newly composed alternate chants in the repertories of the Antiphonaria and Akolouthiai show how music, as a force operating independently of the traditional distinction between cathedral and monastic rites, could alter the contours of asmatic Sunday matins in a much more radical way… the eponymous compositions transmitted for the cathedral rite Amomos witness to the partial abandonment of the ancient patterns of asmatic psalmody for the sake of greater melodic variety, complexity, and expressiveness… [transforming] the antiphons of the Amomos from utilitarian constructions designed to foster congregational participation into objects of contemplation performed by highly-trained specialists.[183]

Whereas Conomos' research opened the door to the study of the kalophonic repertory and the impact of liturgical practices on composition, Lingas' studies have started an important trend for further studies of the role of the composer and the musical composition as an independent art object and its impact on spirituality and experience in Late Byzantium.[184]

Lingas' second important contribution concerns, similarly, the question of precursors of this new compositional idiom. Lingas shows that it is not simply the evolution of liturgical practices which may have decidedly influenced the compositional style of the Late Palaiologan period, but that other forces may have been at work. He draws a now familiar connection between the rise of hesychastic practices in the Orthodox East with the expansion of the melismatic repertory, citing various relevant texts of the fourteenth century,[185] and in a later article, he discusses some of the broader historiographic and hermeneutic issues associated with this melismatic repertory.[186] In the former, Lingas suggests that the practice of silent, repetitive, inner prayer of the fourteenth century monastic is complementary to the new kalophonic style of John Koukouzeles, himself a monk at Great Lavra on Mt Athos. The *teretismata* and *anagrammatismoi*, which during Chrysaphes' time provided fertile ground for elaboration, were cases in point that the music no longer existed solely (if, indeed, it ever did) for the sake of delivering text, but functioned as enablers of meditation and anamnetic worship. The roots of such musical expression can be seen in the generations even before Koukouzeles, over a century or two prior to Chrysaphes, but by the time of the latter, they had a firm hold on the soundscape of Byzantine monastic and cathedral environments. Thus, it is clear that study of contemporary spiritual practices is of utmost importance towards gaining an understanding

[183] Lingas, 'Sunday Matins', 277.
[184] The idea of kalophonic chant as an independent art object is stated in Troelsgård, 'Transformation', 158, and Rosemary Dubowchik, 'Singing with the Angels: Foundation Documents as Evidence for Musical Life in Monasteries of the Byzantine Empire', *DOP*, No. 56 (2002): 294.
[185] Alexander Lingas, 'Hesychasm and Psalmody', in eds. A. Bryer and M. Cunningham, *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996), 155-68. In Chapter 5, I discuss the allegedly 'hesychast' tropes of Psalm 103.
[186] Lingas, 'Melismatic Chant', passim.

the musical trends that crystallised during the last century of the Byzantine Empire and that Chrysaphes sits at a critical juncture with respect to these trends.

1.3 Structure of Thesis

The thesis began with a historiographical overview that traces the current state of research from the nineteenth century to the present day, highlighting major gaps in scholarship around Manuel Chrysaphes and individual composers in Byzantium. Chapter 2 provides an overview on the life and travels of this Constantinopolitan composer, drawing on contemporary (or near-contemporary) documents on court ceremonial in Constantinople and daily life in Crete to compensate for the lack of references to Manuel Chrysaphes outside of the musical sources. Chapter 3 focuses on Chrysaphes' activity as scribe by providing an overview of his four autographs and providing a detailed catalogue (supplementing the prior work of Gregorios Stathis) of his most important, the Akolouthia-Papadike, MS Iviron 1120, written in 1458. On the basis of its contents, that is, the chants included, the composers included, the order and arrangement, the rubrics, etc., we can gain a clearer picture of Chrysaphes' overall contribution not only to the repertory of Byzantine chant but also to the shape of worship in his and future generations. As I will explore further below, an analysis of Chrysaphes the scribe is akin to an analysis of Chrysaphes the music editor, the redactor – both the arbiter of what should be chanted in his own day, but also of what was included in the musical books for posterity.

In Chapter 4, I present for the first time an analysis of the reception history of Manuel Chrysaphes. To do so, I focus on his theoretical treatise, which is important in two respects. On the one hand, it reveals the philosophies of Chrysaphes 'the theorist', which can be taken to mean, as we shall see, Chrysaphes 'the composer'. It is for this reason that the technical aspects of Chrysaphes' *Treatise* are mostly dealt with in Chapter 5 (see below). On the other hand, Chrysaphes' *Treatise* is significant for the multiplicity of roles it has taken on, to serve specific purposes at different times. In the years following Chrysaphes' activity, the manuscripts testify to extensive copying and broad geographic distribution of his treatise (along with his compositions), suggesting a profound admiration amongst contemporary ecclesiastical musicians for the theoretical teachings of their Constantinopolitan forebear. By the nineteenth century, when his original compositions may have no longer formed the core of the standard chant repertories, Chrysaphes gains prestige once again, now as the author of a critical foundational document in the context of early nineteenth century debates of continuity and performance practice. Chrysaphes' treatise provides Chrysanthos, and later, cantors such as Constantinos Psachos, with a witness from Byzantine times, to support contemporary

theories on performance practice and psaltic style. This chapter will demonstrate how Chrysaphes' *Treatise* came to become so important for debates related to authenticity and continuity, though not always in the same way, from the nineteenth through the twentieth centuries.

Chapter 5, the lengthiest chapter, is a preliminary study of Chrysaphes' activity as composer. It takes as a case study the *Anoixantaria* of Great Vespers, especially focusing on the 48 settings Chrysaphes includes in his autograph, Iviron 1120, of which 13 are his own compositions. This chapter provides a detailed summary of the liturgical scholarship concerning the place of the *Anoixantaria* in evening worship, an overview of the role of text in the context of this genre – specifically focusing on the expansion of the Trinitarian refrains – and an in-depth analysis of the musical settings and their relationship to both archaic and kalophonic idioms. This chapter, which provides extensive references to Chrysaphes' treatise, especially with respect to his theories around use of the phthorai, most clearly elucidates his aesthetics and attitudes towards authorship and composition.

In his treatise – allegedly written to correct his 'unscientific' and 'unlearned' contemporaries whom he harshly criticizes for promulgating untraditional compositional methods and inartistic performance practices – Chrysaphes articulates a conception of the musician par excellence, whom he refers to as the 'perfect teacher' (διδάσκαλος τέλειος), one who has attained such perfection in the art primarily as a result of the ability to *ποιῆσαι ποιήματα* – to author musical texts, or in other words, to compose. This emphasis on composition – as opposed to performance – was uncommon to Byzantine musical treatises of this period, which were more focused on the practical aspects of ecclesiastical chant.[187] Yet the notion of 'composer as authority' seems to be a culmination of a shared ideology of an elite cadre of learned musicians active around the imperial palace in Constantinople. While asserting their artistic creativity, these same individuals, including composers such as John Koukouzeles, very clearly

[187] One exception is the treatise of Manuel Bryennius (completed around 1300), which contains a section on musical composition, although this differs significantly from Chrysaphes' presentation of very technical aspects of composition (related to use of the phthorai). See Goverdus Henricus Jonker, *The Harmonics of Manuel Bryennius* (The Netherlands: Groningen, 1970). In 'Ancient Musical Theory in Byzantine Environments', *Cahiers de l' Institute de Moyen-age Grec et Latin* 56 (1988): 228-38, Christian Troelsgård notes that Bryiennius connects the Ancient Greek and Byzantine ecclesiastical music theory in the same way as observed in the Hagiopolites treatise (see Jonker, *Manuel Bryennius*, 164, 304, 308) and that his collation of sources was a 'conscious redaction'. For another discussion on Manuel Bryennius, which, similarly, argues for an interpretation of his treatise as not a mere collection of copied texts from ancient Greek theoretical treatises on music, but rather a serious scholarly attempt at understanding the tradition of music theory as understood by the ancients and an attempt at relating them to his own theoretical structures, see Thomas J. Mathiesen, 'Aristides Quintilianus and the "Harmonics" of Manuel Bryennius: A Study in Byzantine Music Theory', *Journal of Music Theory* 27, no. 1 (1983): 31-47. The amalgamation of ancient with contemporary material in Byzantine environments, and Chrysaphes' Treatise in the context of this tradition, is discussed below in Chapter 3.

maintained their devotional – if not ascetic – practices: personalised expression and self-assertion does not appear to have intruded upon piety, but perhaps even enhanced it. Musical manuscripts of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries attest to an explosion of musical creativity: the codices are filled with named composers, and their margins with commentary concerning the compositions. A rubric in Iviron 1120 reveals the author's relationship to his own work: ποιήμα παρ' ἐμοῦ, σφόδρα δοκεῖ μοι γλυκύτατον ('a composition by me, which, I think, is most sweet'). This expressive outburst is not isolated, but rather reflects a mentality which coursed through the ranks of Late Palaiologan musicians, and it is Chrysaphes, the last representative of this tradition, who arguably articulates this world-view most lucidly.

2.1 Biographical and Prosopographical Coordinates

Writing on Musicians

Manuel Doukas Chrysaphes figures prominently amongst the great musicians of late Byzantium. The prolific *lampadarios* of the imperial court is author of at least five surviving autographs, hundreds of compositions, and an invaluable theoretical treatise. Chrysaphes is one of the musicians most responsible for the dissemination of the Constantinopolitan idiom of ecclesiastical chant to the periphery of the former Byzantine Empire after the Fall of Constantinople, areas such as Crete, Cyprus, Serbia, and the principality of Moldova-Wallachia, which became flourishing centres of *psaltiki* in the post-Byzantine period. He was revered by his contemporaries and successors, who copied his compositions in hundreds of manuscripts to be sung in churches and monasteries throughout the Mediterranean basin for generations to come.

His reception can be gleaned to some degree by surveying the numerous laudatory marginalia accompanying his name and compositions in the post-Byzantine musical sources. Two examples illustrate this point. In the first, from the early seventeenth century codex, MS Iviron 1205, Chrysaphes is praised with this iambic couplet on f. 346r:

> Φερωνύμως κέκτησαι χρυσᾶ τὰ μέλη,
> ἡδύτατον δὲ πλεῖστον ὡς ὑπὲρ μέλι.[1]
>
> [In accordance with your name, you have amassed golden melodies,
> which are so utterly sweet, even more than honey itself.]

And from an eighteenth century *Papadike*, MS Laura I 92 (f. 82r), another characteristic marginal inscription is found, topical to the Orthodox Feast of the Transfiguration:

> Ἐκ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ μεταμορφωθέντος
> Ὁ χαριτόπνους αὐλὸς χαριτωνύμου
> ᾄδει μέλος εὔηχον εἰς δόξαν τούτου.[2]
>
> [From the grace of the Transfigured One

[1] Stathis, 'Μανουήλ Χρυσάφης', 36.
[2] Lauriotes-Eustratiades, 'Laura' 194. Ironically, these verses were originally written by Chrysaphes! On f. 305v of his autograph Iviron 975, the same verses are found below a composition of Koukouzeles, Οὐρανοὶ ἔφριξαν ('The heavens trembled') also for the feast of the Transfiguration, followed by the phrase 'στίχοι τοῦ Χρυσάφη' ('verses by Chrysaphes'). Such laudatory verses are encountered frequently in post-Byzantine musical manuscripts; whether the scribe of MS Laura 194 knew that the original verses were written by Chrysaphes is not clear. See Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα III*, 770.

> The grace-endowed aulos of the grace-filled one
> Sings a beautiful-sounding melody to His glory.]

The abundance of effusive praise encountered in the musical manuscripts – what we might expect for an esteemed member of the imperial court who was among the most productive composers, theorists, and scribes of his generation – might seem at first glance inconsistent with the dearth of references to Chrysaphes outside of the musical sources. This, nevertheless, is hardly unusual for some of the greatest artistic figures of the Renaissance West, at any rate. As William Byrd scholar Kerry McCarthy writes:

> Writing about the life of a Renaissance artist is usually a matter of filling in the gaps between an impressive body of art and some rather sketchy biographical documentation. This may be most keenly felt in biographies of Shakespeare, where the distance between what we see in the artists' works and what we know of his life can seem almost unbridgeable at times.[3]

This distance is also keenly felt in the case of Manuel Chrysaphes, to whom thousands of surviving folios and hundreds of compositions of Byzantine chant are attributed. Whereas an extensive *vita* for Ioannes Koukouzeles survives in multiple sources – not surprising, given his status as canonised saint of the Orthodox church[4] – unfortunately, very little information about Chrysaphes exists outside of the musical MSS, and thus our biographical knowledge of one of the most important musicians of the late Byzantine period is almost exclusively limited to any information that can be derived from the musical sources themselves. This paucity of raw biographical material can nevertheless be overcome. As Dimitri Conomos notes, Chrysaphes' theoretical treatise 'handsomely compensates' for the lack of detailed information about his place of origin, schooling, religious vocation, etc., in that it reveals a great deal of information about contemporary performance conventions as well as the musical and intellectual climate of mid-fifteenth century Constantinople,[5] at least according to Chrysaphes' viewpoint. This study extends Conomos' observations and attempts to extract more pertinent biographical coordinates by combining the information that can be gleaned from his compositions and the treatise with contemporary documents that describe ceremony in the palace in Constantinople or everyday life in urban Crete of the fifteenth century. In doing so, we are able to draw reasonable conclusions with respect to his dates, his geographic coordinates, and some of his activity as musician in the employ of the Byzantine royal court, and, after the Fall of

[3] Kerry McCarthy, 'Q&A: Kerry McCarthy, long-time participant in the William Byrd Festival', available at http://oregonmusicnews.com/2013/08/12/kerry-mccarthy-long-time-participant-in-the-william-byrd-festival-shares-interesting-facts-about-the-renaissance-composer/ accessed on 18-Aug 2013.
[4] The surviving *vitae* of Koukouzeles are extensive but problematic in part due to the fact that they contain many generic *topoi* of hesychast hagiography. This is discussed in detail in Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 304-508.
[5] Conomos, *Treatise*, 19-20.

Constantinople, his status and working conditions as a Greek musician operating on the periphery of the former Empire.

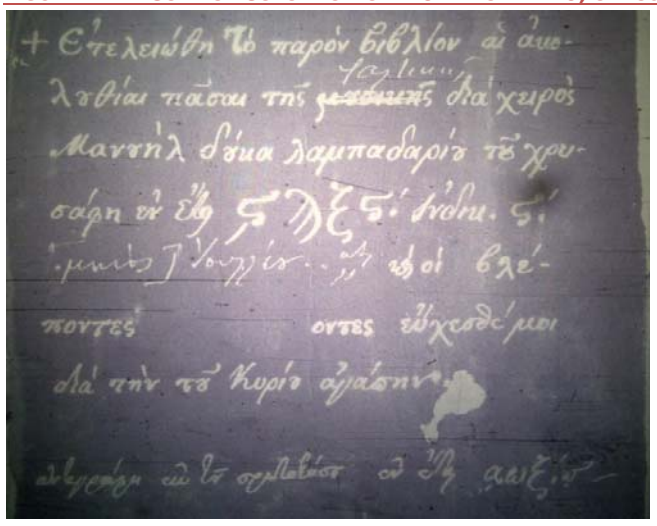
Names and Titles

The subject of our present study refers to himself as Manuel Doukas Chrysaphes, *lampadarios* of the imperial clergy. This can be ascertained from the colophon on fol. 674r of his autograph Iviron 1120. My microfilm copy of the original colophon (f. 674r / 704v) is difficult to read but the original manuscript is clear.[6] Moreover, a much later hand copied the manuscript's colophon on the opposite folio (705r). In Figures 2.1a & 2.1b below, I include both original and copy, with a transcription written to the right of the images:[7]

FIGURE 2.1A: ORIGINAL COLOPHON OF MS IVIRON 1120, F. 674V (704V)

Ἐτελειώθη τό παρόν βιβλίον αἱ ἀκολουθίαι πᾶσαι τῆς ψαλτικῆς διά χειρός Μανουήλ δούκα λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Χρυ[σάφ]η ἐν ἔτει ϛ^{ω}π^{ω}ξϛ^{ω} , ἰνδικτιῶνος ϛ΄ (μηνός Ἰου)λλίου... ἡμέρα... καί οἱ βλέ(ποντες καὶ ἀναγινώσκο)ντες τοῦτο εὔχεσθέ μοι διά (τήν) τοῦ Κυρίου ἀγάπην.

FIGURE 2.1B: COPY OF COLOPHON OF MS IVIRON 1120, OPPOSITE F. 674V (704V)



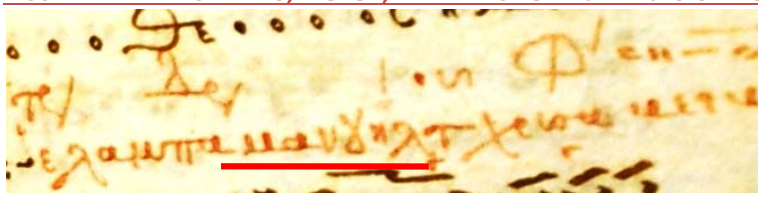
This present book, the order of all the services of psaltike, was completed by the hand of Manuel Doukas Chrysaphes the lampadarios in the year 1458, sixth Indiction, month of July… day… and those who see and read this, pray for me for the love of the Lord.

[6] For specifics regarding the numbering of Iviron 1120, cf. infra, pp. 140-141.
[7] This image is a photograph from a microfilm reader in the British Library based on Dimitri Conomos' microfilm copy of the MS.

Μανουὴλ / Ἐμμανουὴλ / Ἐμμανουήλος[8]

His given name was Manuel / Manouel (Μανουὴλ), based on the baptismal surname, Emmanuel (Ἐμμανουὴλ). Chrysaphes writes his first name as Μανουὴλ (i.e., not Ἐμμανουὴλ) almost exclusively in his autographs, as in Iviron 1120, f. 525r, given below in Fig. 2.2a:

FIGURE 2.2A: IVIRON 1120, F. 525R, EXAMPLE OF CHRYSAPHES' SIGNATURE

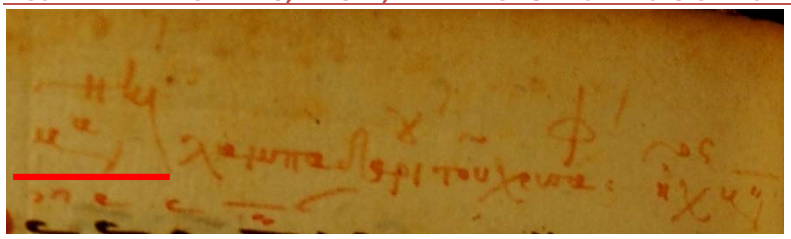


Ἕτερον λαμπαδαρίου Μανουὴλ τοῦ Χρυσάφου, νενανω

[Another one, by the lampadarios Manuel Chrysaphes, nenano]

Very often, Chrysaphes writes his first name using two ligatures, one connecting the letter 'μ' to another ligature of the 'ο & υ', and another connecting the 'ν' to a ligature of 'ὴ & λ'. This particular signature is very common in Chrysaphes' Iviron 1120 (see below, Fig. 2.2b):

FIGURE 2.2B: IVIRON 1120, F. 167V, EXAMPLE OF CHRYSAPHES' SIGNATURE – ALTERNATE



Μανουὴλ λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Χρυσάφου, ἦχος βαρὺς

[(By) Manuel lampadarios Chrysaphes, grave mode]

Post-Byzantine scribes occasionally use the full form of the name, 'Ἐμμανουὴλ' to refer to the composer. This is the case in the following inscription from f. 124r of MS Byzantine Museum of Athens 18, a Cretan manuscript written in 1610 by the *protopsaltes* of Crete, Demetrios Tamias:[9]

> Πλ. δ', Δόξα, Λαμπρῶς πανηγυρίσωμεν, χαμηλά· ποίημα κὺρ **Ἐμμανουὴλ τοῦ Χρυσάφη** γράμματα καὶ μέλος, ψάλλεται δὲ οὕτως ὡς καὶ παρὰ κὺρ Δημητρίου τοῦ Ταμία καὶ α'ψάλτου Κρήτης.[10]
>
> [Pl. 4th mode: Let us make festival radiantly; softly; composition by **Emmanuel Chrysaphes**, text and melody, but chanted also in this way, by Demetrios Tamias, the *protopsaltes* of Crete']

[8] In some manuscript sources containing a letter from Michalis Apostolis addressed to Chrysaphes, he is addressed as Ἐμμανουῆλος Χρυσωλορᾶς instead of 'Μανουὴλ' (PLP 31080). For Michalis Apostolis, cf. infra, pp. 109-110 and passim.

[9] For Demetrios Tamias, who was the *protopsaltes* of Crete for virtually the entire first half of the seventeenth century, see Giannopoulos *Η Άνθηση*, 185-220.

[10] Giannopoulos, *Η Άνθηση*, 464.

Δούκας

Manuel Chrysaphes also has the cognomen *Doukas* attached to his name. This is found in the colophon of Iviron 1120, as well as elsewhere, such as in his autograph Xeropotamou 270 (f. 162r):

> Ἀκάθιστος, ποιηθεὶς παρὰ Μανουὴλ λαμπαδαρίου Δούκα τοῦ Χρυσάφη, ἦχος δ' Ἄγγελος πρωτοστάτης
>
> [Akathistos, composed by Manuel Doukas Chrysaphes the *lampadarios*, fourth mode, 'The Angel first in rank']

The name Doukas (Δούκας / Δούκαινα), Latinized as Ducas / Doukaina (pl. Gr.: Δούκαι, Lat.: Doukai/Ducae), is derived from the Latin title *dux* ('leader, general', Hellenized as *doux*). It first appears in Byzantine environments in the ninth century, but is later primarily associated with one family of Byzantine nobility that attained prominence amongst the aristocracy especially in the eleventh century.[11] Members of the *Doukai* include several notable generals and rulers of the Byzantine Empire, but do not constitute one large family with a traceable lineage, as was suggested by some late Byzantine historians.[12] Scholars today generally recognize several distinct groups of Doukai, and, after the twelfth century, individuals with that name can be traced to members of several prominent late Byzantine families, including the Komnenoi, Bryennioi, Kamateroi, Palaiologoi, and Angeloi. Dimitri Polemis provides a brief, prosopographical entry for Manuel Doukas Chrysaphes in his work on the subject (entry #83, p. 116), classifying him amongst the people who bear the name of Doukas but belong to different families. Jakovljević states that Manuel Chrysaphes was 'a member of the family of the Doukaioi,'[13] but Demetriou is doubtful of such a kinship, citing Jakovljević's lack of evidence (aside from a citation to Polemis) and the fact that Chrysaphes is from Selyvria in Thrace, whereas the eleventh century Doukai hailed from Pamphlagonia in Anatolia, on the south coast of the Black Sea.[14] Manuel is not the only late Byzantine ecclesiastical musician to bear the name Doukai. He shares this name with at least one other figure, Ioannes Doukas the *laosynaktes*,[15] a composer of ecclesiastical hymns who was also possibly a priest or a deacon in

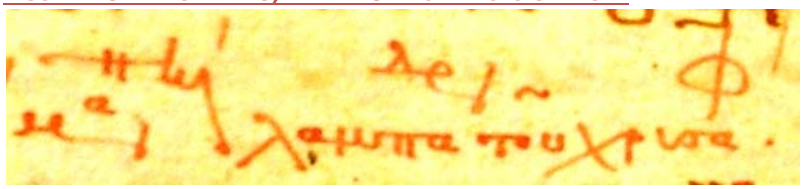
[11] Demetrios I. Polemis, *The Doukai: A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography* (London: The Athlone Press, University of London, 1968), 4-7.
[12] For example, Manuel Bryennios 'categorically states that the First Doukas was in fact a cousin and close colleague of Constantine the Great who moved from Rome to Constantinople... this unnamed *dux* became the founder and the common ancestor of all the later Doukai... no credence whatsoever can be given to such late inventions of palace scholars' (Polemis, *Doukai*, 3).
[13] Jakovljević, *Παλαιογραφία*, 88-89.
[14] Polemis, *Doukai*, 8.
[15] For the position of the *laosynaktes*, see Evangelia Spyrakou, *Οι χοροί ψαλτών κατά τη βυζαντινή παράδοση* (Athens: IBM, 2008), 173, 496, et al.

the service of Hagia Sophia.[16] No connection between the two musicians can be established. Furthermore, given the virtual silence in the sources regarding Chrysaphes' ancestors, we are unable to draw any connections between the subject of our study and any of the Doukai – musicians, royalty, or otherwise – in the Byzantine Empire.[17]

Chrysaphes

The subject of this study is most well known by his last name, Chrysaphes, a name he shares with the seventeenth century *protopsaltes*, Panagiotes Chrysaphes, leading to confusion between the two in some nineteenth and early twentieth century histories of Byzantine chant.[18] That this was a source of confusion even prior to the writing of these histories is testified to by the fact that in several post-Byzantine sources, he is referred to as 'the ancient' or 'the old' in order to distinguish him from his seventeenth century namesake.[19] As scribe, Chrysaphes writes his surname consistently, distinguished by a large letter φ typically placed above the rest of the last name, to the left of the *oxeia* (acute accent) above the letter α. One of many examples is given here, from Iviron 1120, f. 42v (essentially the same signature is seen in Figs. 2.2a & 2.2b above):

FIGURE 2.3: IVIRON 1120, F. 42V: CHRYSAPHES' SIGNATURE



On f. 247v of MS Dionysiou 569, which was copied in the year 1685, he is referred to as Χρυσολωρᾶς[20] ('Chrysoloras'), a name also found in some manuscripts containing the letters

[16] The full name of the church musician and composer of various kalophonic *mathemata*, Ioannes Doukas the laosynaktis, is given in the seventeenth c. MS Laura 1657 as Ἰωάννης Δούκας καὶ λαοσυνάκτης ἁγιοσοφίτης (Lauriotes-Eustratiades, Laura 292, 449). The sobriquet ἁγιοσοφίτης in Laura 1657 implies that he was in the service of Hagia Sophia either as a priest or as a deacon (Polites, Doukai 198).
[17] Stathes, *Τά Χειρόγραφα I*, 27.
[18] The confusion this led to in Chrysanthos' *Great Theory* and other early twentieth century authors is discussed above in Chapter 1.
[19] See Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische,* 248, for several post-Byzantine sources referring to Manuel Chrysaphes as 'τοῦ ἀρχαίου' ('the ancient', less frequent) or 'τοῦ παλαιοῦ' ('the old', more common), as in e.g., the early nineteenth century MS Xeropotamou 295 (Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα I*, 69-70), f. 328r, which refers to him as 'κὺρ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Χρυσάφη παλαιοῦ ποιητοῦ' ('Lord Manuel Chrysaphes the old composer').
[19] E.g., Stathes, *Τα Χειρόγραφα II*, 306, Chatzegiakoumes, Τουρκοκρατία 404.
[20] Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα II*, 696. See also A. Jakovljević, *Κατάλογο Χειρογράφων τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Μουσείου Ἀθηνῶν II,* σ. Κβ' (1988), 88, after Pallas 1933); and Stathis, 'Η Βυζαντινή Μουσική στη Λατρεία και στην Επιστήμη: Εισαγωγική Τετραλόγια', *Byzantina* (1972): 416, where he refers to Chrysaphes, without any qualifications, as 'Μανουὴλ Δούκας Χρυσολωρᾶς τὸ "ἐπίκλην" Χρυσάφης ὁ Λαμπαδάριος' ('Manuel Doukas Chrysoloras, called Chrysaphes the lampadarios').

of Michalis Apostolis, where – in the one letter addressed to him – he is referred to as Ἐμμανουὴλ Χρυσωλορᾶς.[21]

In a few late post-Byzantine MSS, the name Ρήτωρ (Rhetor, i.e., public speaker, rhetorician) is attached to Manuel Chrysaphes' name, especially (but not exclusively) in association with his *Asmatikon* Trisagion for the Feast(s) of the Cross. Three references, collected by Christiana Demetriou, include:[22]

1. MS Xenophontos 156 (18th c.), f. 177r: Ἕτερα ἀσματικὰ τοῦ Σταυροῦ, ποίημα Ῥήτορος Μανουὴλ Χρυσάφου καὶ λαμπαδαρίου τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας, ἦχος δ'.[23]
2. MS Docheiariou 356 (beg. 19th c.), f. 215v, Ἀσματικὸν τοῦ Σταυροῦ ποίημα τοῦ γλυκυτάτου κυρίου Μανουὴλ λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Ῥήτορος, ἦχος δ', Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός.[24]
3. MS Machairas A3 (17th – 18th c.), f. 98r, Τρισάγιον ἀσματικὸν τοῦ μεγάλου ῥήτορος κὺρ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Χρυσάφη, ἦχος γ'.[25]

As the name 'Rhetor' is attested to only in later sources (the earliest being seventeenth century), it is most likely that it was acquired by Chrysaphes posthumously, if at all. Stathis, for one, believes that the scribe in MS Xenophontos 156 has confused Manuel Chrysaphes with the composer Manuel Megas Rhetor.[26]

Other Epithets

Chrysaphes was called a 'New Koukouzeles' posthumously by his successor in Crete, Ioannes Plousiadenos (1429-1500), the prolific Greek composer, scribe, and music theorist (who was, as a Greek Orthodox priest in Crete, granted the title of *protopapas* of Chandax by the Venetian overlords, before converting to Catholicism and attaining the title of Bishop Joseph of Methone).[27] Plousiadenos bestows this honorary title on Chrysaphes in one of his late autographs, MS Sinai 1312:

> Κυροῦ Μανουὴλ καὶ μαΐστορος, τοῦ ἀληθῶς Χρυσάφη καὶ νέου Κουκουζέλη[28]
> [(Composition by) Lord Manuel Chrysaphes, the *maistor*, and truly a new Koukouzeles]

[21] Cf. supra, Ch. 2, fn. 8.
[22] Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 248-49, fn. 18.
[23] Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα I*, 118-19: 'Other asmatika for the Cross, composition by Manuel Chrysaphes, Rhetor and lampadarios of Hagia Sophia (sic), fourth mode.' This MS also refers to Chrysaphes as Rhetor later, on f. 275v: Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα, Μανουὴλ Χρυσάφου, τοῦ Ρήτορος, ἦχος πλ. α' ('The day of Resurrection, by Manuel Chrysaphes the Rhetor, plagal first mode').
[24] Stathis, *Χειρόγραφα I*, 465: 'Asmatikon of the Cross, composition by the sweetest Lord Manuel Chrysaphes the Rhetor, fourth mode, Holy God.'
[25] Jakovljević, *Cyprus*, 76: 'Asmatikon Trisagion by the *Great Rhetor* Lord Manuel Chrysaphes, third mode.' I have not seen this MS, so I cannot tell if this unusual modal marking is a mistake of Jakovlević's, the scribe's, or indicative of a different composition (Chrysaphes' well-known Asmatikon Trisagion is in the fourth mode).
[26] For Manuel Megas Rhetor, a composer and singer from Corinth, see Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 237-40.
[27] Ioannes Plousiadenos is discussed in various contexts below.
[28] See Balageorgos, 'Οι Αποκείμενοι', 58.

This epithet is found elsewhere, as in the sixteenth/seventeenth century MS Docheiariou 315, which states on f. 172r, before a Koinonikon for Pascha, Σῶμα Χριστοῦ: '΄Ετερον, τοῦ αὐτοῦ κὺρ Μανουὴλ λαμπαδαρίου Χρυσάφη καὶ νέου Κουκουζέλη, ἦχος βαρὺς καὶ α' Σῶμα Χριστοῦ.'[29]

Finally, Chrysaphes is referred to as διδάσκαλος (teacher) in various sources. One such example is the seventeenth century MS Docheiariou 369, f. 83r: 'Τοῦ αὐτοῦ διδασκάλου Μανουὴλ Χρυσάφη, ἦχος πλ. β', Αἰνεῖτε' ('composition by Manuel Chrysaphes the Teacher, plagal second mode, Praise').[30] That Chrysaphes was a teacher is, of course, also implied by Chrysaphes himself in his theoretical treatise, where he writes:

> Ἐπεὶ δὲ νῦν ὁ ἐν ἱερομονάχοις Γεράσιμος, τῶν ἡμετέρων μαθητῶν τυγχάνων... πολὺ τὸ ἐπικρατοῦν ὁρῶν ἄτεχνον καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τὴν ἐνίων ἀμάθιαν κινδυνεύουσαν τῆς ἄλλων ἐπιστήμης δόξαι προτιμοτέραν, σφοδρῶς ἔγκειται κανόνας ἀπαιτῶν τινας παρ' ἡμῶν, οἷς ἑπόμενος αὐτός τε ἂν ἔχοιτο τοῦ ἀπταίστου καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, εἴπου δεήσειεν, ὑφηγητὴς τοῦ ὀρθοῦ γένοιτο λόγου...
>
> [One of my pupils, the hieromonk Gerasimos... has seen for himself the lack of artistry which prevails so widely and also that the ignorance of some is in danger of being thought more preferable to the exact knowledge of others; so he has vehemently demanded certain rules from me which he may follow and thus attain to perfection and could become, if necessary a teacher of the right method to others...][31]

Chrysaphes' treatise was transmitted widely in the post-Byzantine period. This alone would have been enough to cement his reputation as 'teacher' in the eyes of his successors in the art of *psaltiki*, and thus, it is no surprise to find him referred to as 'teacher' in the sources.[32]

Early Biographical Coordinates

Connection to Selyvria (Σηλυμβρία) in Eastern Thrace

Based on the presence of his compositions in MS Jerusalem 31, a manuscript whose main body dates to 1439/40, we can place Chrysaphes' birth at some point between 1410 and 1420.[33] The

[29] Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα I*, 354: Docheiariou 315 (16-17th c.): 'Another one, by the same, Lord Manuel Chrysaphes the lampadarios and New Koukouzeles, grave mode and first mode, "Σῶμα Χριστοῦ".' See Demetriou, Spätbyzantinische 248 for more MS references pertaining to this sobriquet.
[30] Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα I*, 501.
[31] Original Greek and translation based on Conomos, *Treatise*, 36-37.
[32] See also Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 247-48, fn. 9.
[33] See the description of this manuscript in A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ιεροσολυμιτική βιβλιοθήκη: ήτοι κατάλογος των εν ταις βιβλιοθήκαις του αγιωτάτου αποστολικού τε και καθολικού ορθοδόξου πατριαρχικού θρόνου των Ιεροσολύμων και πάσης Παλαιστίνης αποκειμένων Ελληνικών κωδίκων*, Vol. 5. (St. Petersburg: B. Κιρσπάουμ, 1915): 350-53. Note, the prefix 'Jerusalem' can be misleading as a result of the several different collections within Jerusalem (not to speak of their movement between collections in the last several decades since originally catalogued). This manuscript ('Jerusalem 31') is not from the collection of the Library in Constantinople of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre (also known as 'ΜΠΤ' for Μετόχιον Παναγίου Τάφου) but rather, from the 'Νέα Συλλογή Κωδικών της Κεντρικής Πατριαρχικής εν Ιεροσόλυμοις Βιβλιοθήκης' ('The New Collection of Manuscripts of the Central Library of the Jerusalem Patriarchate). In his description of this

place of his birth was likely around Selyvria, on the coast of the Sea of Marmara, in Eastern Thrace. This assertion is based primarily on an inscription found in at least two late fifteenth century Athonite manuscripts, Iviron 964 (f. 3v) and Iviron 977 (f. 7r), after the kalophonic sticheron, Ἡ μόνη καὶ μόνον εἰσάγουσα, in the plagal second mode:

> Ἕτερος ἀναγραμματισμὸς ποιηθεὶς παρὰ κυροῦ Γρηγορίου ἱερομονάχου ἐκ τῆς Συλυβρίας, τοῦτος ὁ Γρηγόριος πάππος ἐστὶν κυροῦ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Χρυσάφου[34]
>
> [Another anagrammatismos, composed by Lord Gregory the Hieromonk from Selyvria; this Gregorios is the grandfather of Lord Manuel Chrysaphes]

Because this inscription is found in two sources nearly contemporary with Manuel Chrysaphes, we are able to plausibly assert that Manuel Chrysaphes was indeed the grandson of the composer and heiromonk Gregory, and that Chrysaphes, like his grandfather, was probably from Selyvria in Eastern Thrace.[35]

Connection to Gregory Mpounes Alyates

A similar connection, though one that rests on the testimony of later sources, is Chrysaphes' relationship to the imperial composer, singer and priest-monk Gregory Mpounes Alyates.[36] While late sources often refer to Alyates as *protopsaltes* of Hagia Sophia,[37] or sometimes, 'protopsaltes of the Great Church' (i.e., the Patriarchate), Christos Patrinelis (who lists him amongst the rest of the *protopsaltae* of late- and post-Byzantine Constantinople) points out that this title first appears in Chrysanthos' *Great Theory* and is not corroborated by an earlier source.[38] We cannot rule out the possibility that Alyates was the first chanter of the right choir

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MS, Papadopoulos-Kerameus' clarifies the dates of separate sections within this manuscript (i.e., folios written later than the date given on the colophon, 1439/40, and bound to the original codex): Τινά τούτων [φύλλων] πρόσθετα, τα μεν (φ. 429-452) της 15-ης, τα δε (φ. 64, 160, 161, 220, 375) της 16-ης εκατ.' One example of a composition of Chrysaphes found in one of the original folios in on f. 424r, a kalophonic sticheron for the Beheading of the Forerunner, Τί σε καλέσωμεν προφῆτα.

[34] Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα III*, 680, 783.

[35] Stathis, 'Μανουήλ Χρυσάφης', 35. For Gregoria of Selyvria, see Sophronius Eustratiades, 'Θράκες Μουσικοί', *ΕΕΒΣ* 12, 53 (1936): 58.

[36] Alyates is the author of a 15-syllable liturgical poem and dozens of musical compositions across most genres. His most well-transmitted compositions include his *phthorikon kratema* and his paidagogical method, *Νε Οὕτως οὖν ἀνάβαινε καὶ οὕτω καὶ κατάβαινε* ('ne-in-this-way-ascend-and-in-this-way-descend'). Four of his autographs survive: three musical MSS and an edition of the typikon. See Maria Alexandru, 'Gregorios Mpunes Alyates: An Open Bioergographic Index Card and an analysis of the pentekostarion Τὴν λάμψιν τοῦ προσώπου σου', in ed., N.M. Wanek, *Psaltike. Neue Studien zur Byzantinischen Musik: Festschrift für Gerda Wolfram* (Wien: Praesens, 2011), 13-63, and Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 230-32.

[37] MS MPT 710, f. 1r, an autograph of Chourmouzios the Archivist written in 1817: 'Τὸ παρὸν Γρηγορίου Μπούνη τοῦ Ἀλυάτου καὶ πρωτοψάλτου τῆς Ἁγίας Σοφίας, ἔντεχνον' (Alexandru, Alyates 17).

[38] Patrinelis, Protopsaltae 148. See also George Papadopoulos' (Συμβολαί 370) retelling of the apocryphal story by the sixteenth century chronographer Theodosios Zygomalas, of a certain Gregorios (who Papadopoulos equates with Mpounes Alyates, the 'Protopsaltes of the Great Church'), who, after the Fall, impressed the music-loving Sultan Mehmet with his ability to transcribe a Persian song into his notation and sing it even better than the Persian musician, and was thus tasked with teaching the Ottomans Byzantine musical notation.

at the Patriarchate for some time after the Ottoman conquest in 1453,[39] but we can be more certain that he worked as a singer in the imperial court in Constantinople as early as 1434. His royal position and this dating are based on the colophon of one of his six autographs, MS Dionysiou 401, in which he refers to himself as τοῦ βασιλικοῦ:

> Ἐτελειώθην τὸ παρὸν Τετραμηναῖον διὰ χειρὸς Γεωργίου Ἀλλιάτου τοῦ βασιλικοῦ[40]
>
> [This present four-volume Menaion was completed by the hand of George Alyates of the royal (clergy, court)]

At least two sources suggest that he bore the title *domestikos*, including the mid-15th century MS Meteora 192, which refers to him on f. 66r as 'Κὺρ Γρηγορίου Ἀληάτου καὶ δομεστίκου.'[41] Other manuscripts testify to his activity on Mt Athos, including his autographs MS Laura I 71, an *Euchologion* copied in 1435 that shows Alyates had accepted monastic tonsure and changed his name to Gregorios,[42] and MS Sinai 1262, a *Kontakarion* copied in the year 1437, whose colophon mentions four different monastic communities at which Alyates worked on the same manuscript's production, Vatopaidi, Esphigmenou, the Great Lavra, and the Akataliptos.[43] Thus, we can assert that Alyates was an imperial singer until at least 1434 and a monastic as early as 1435. In the monastic tonsure, it is clear that he spent a great deal of time on Mt Athos as singer, composer and scribe. We do not know if he returned to Constantinople (either frequently or rarely) after 1434, as there is no direct evidence in either direction.

Did Chrysaphes and Alyates overlap in the imperial court? Chrysaphes' compositions are first testified to in 1439/40 (MS Jerusalem 31), five years after the last testimony of Alyates in the royal clergy. Furthermore, MS Sinai 1529, an undated (fifteenth century) Akolouthia also written by Alyates, does not contain any compositions by Chrysaphes.[44] Sinai 1529 was

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[39] Patrinelis notes that from the Fall of Constantinople until the 1570s – when Theophanes Karykes appears in sources as the Protopsaltes of the Great Church (he would eventually become Patriarch) – 'there is no information concerning the names of these singers (the protopsaltae and lampadarioi) or the structure of the choirs of the Great Church, as the Ecumenical Patriarchate continued to be called' (Patrinelis, 'Protopsaltae', 147). It is not impossible that Gregorios Mpounes Alyates, even though a monastic, would have served as first cantor at the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the years following 1453, although he would have been advanced in age by then.

[40] Evidently, Alyates' surname in the world was George, after which he took up the name Gregorios in the monastic tonsure, sometime the next year, as indicated in the colophon of another one of his autographs, MS Laura I 71, written in 1435: Ἐτελειώθην τὸ παρὸν Εὐχολόγιον παρ'ἐμοῦ Γρηγορίου μοναχοῦ μὲν τῷ σχήματι, τὸ 'πίκλην δὲ Ἀλιάτη λεγομένῳ" (Alexandrou, 'Alyates', 15).

[41] Stathes, *Μετέωρα*, 63. Additional evidence of his position as *domestikos* is found in an inscription in the Cretan MS, British Library Add. 28821, which Giannopoulos dates very loosely from the 15th to the 17th centuries. This MS is not analytically described in Giannopoulos, *Αγγλία*, 85, and has not yet been digitised by the British Library.

[42] Cf. supra, Ch. 2, fn. 37.

[43] Alexandru, 'Alyates', 19.

[44] I kindly thank Flora Kritikou for searching her notes on MS Sinai 1529 to verify this point. The contents of this manuscript will be published in Balageorgos and Kritikou's third volume of the Manuscripts of Mt. Sinai.

probably written earlier in Alyates' career, before Chrysaphes had blossomed as composer. While this evidence does not rule out the possibility that the two overlapped for some time as singers in the imperial retinue, it seems to hint at a wider chronological gap between the two. Alyates was certainly the elder of the two, and Chrysaphes may have arrived in Constantinople at the imperial court years after Alyates had left for Mt Athos.

These observations notwithstanding, there are scattered inscriptions in later sources that seem to suggest an additional connection shared by Alyates and Chrysaphes, though they are more likely the result of scribal confusion. Two manuscripts suggest that Alyates came from Selyvria, MS Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale IV 515, f. 18r (17th – 18th c.),[45] and MS Petropolitanus graecus 132, written in 1858.[46] Selyvria, as we have already established above, was Chrysaphes' likely place of origin, and thus, one might be led to posit a family relationship between Chrysaphes and Alyates on the basis of a possible shared place of origin. Furthermore, Eustratiades writes that, Alyates was 'protopsaltes of the Great Church and uncle and teacher of Manuel Chrysaphes, according to the testimony of the seventeenth century MS Lavra K 17.'[47] This is a tantalising bit of evidence further hinting at a familial relationship between two of the most important imperial musicians of the Empire's final decades, but as it is isolated and from a late source, it should not be taken as necessarily valid.

Preliminary Conclusions

For our purposes, we can plausibly state that Manuel Chrysaphes had roots in Selyvria in Eastern Thrace and that he had a family member who was entrenched in ecclesiastical and musical circles, Gregorios Hieromonachos of Selyvria. As for Gregory Mpounes Alyates, though he and Chrysaphes were both active in the second quarter to the middle of the 15th century, I do not believe it to be likely that the two overlapped as singers in the imperial court. Given that the name Mpounes Alyates is associated with Selyvria and with Manuel Chrysaphes (as an older relative) in no sources earlier than the seventeenth century, we are led to the conclusion that Mpounes Alyates was not actually related to Chrysaphes, nor from Selyvria, but rather, a scribe confused him with another fifteenth century priest-monk named

[45] Ἕτερη μέθοδος τῆς μετροφωνίας πάνυ ὀφέλημος ποίημα κὺρ Γρηγορίου Μπούνι τοῦ Ἀλυάτου ἐκ τῆς Σηλιμβρίας... Νε Οὕτως οὖν ἀνάβαινε (Alexandru, 'Alyates', 15).

[46] MS Petrop. Gr. 132, f. 27, Ἑτέρη μέθοδος τῆς μετροφονίας, πάνυ ὀφέλιμος ποίημα κὺρ Γριγορίου Μπούνι τοῦ Ἀλυάτου ἐκ τῆς Συλιμβρίας (sic), ἦχος πλ. δ', Νε Οὕτως οὖν ἀνάβαινε, οὕτως καὶ κατάβαινε (Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 249, after E.V. Gertsmann, *Τα Ελληνικά Μουσικά Χειρόγραφα της Πετρουπόλεως*, vol. I (St Petersburg, 1996), 377.

[47] Eustratiades, 'Θράκες', 74. Unfortunately, in Eustratiades' catalogue of the codices of Laura, only a very brief summary of MS K 173 is given, and thus, the specific ascription mentioning Alyates' connection to Selyvria cannot be verified.

Gregorios.[48] Furthermore, in Iviron 1120, which contains many compositions by Mpounes Alyates, Chrysaphes never refers to him as from Selyvria nor as a relative.[49] Until refuted by further evidence, we are obliged to assume at this point that Gregorios Alyates and Manuel Chrysaphes were not related.

Chrysaphes' Education

Virtually nothing else is known about Chrysaphes' early life, education, or training. It is easy to believe that Gregory Hieromonachos of Selyvria, his senior relative and a composer and singer in his own right, would have likely provided some education to the young Chrysaphes on the practical aspects of chanting, but we have no direct evidence that this was the case.[50] On the other hand, his theoretical work, *Concerning the Theory of the Psaltic Art*, highlights the fact that Chrysaphes received the type of Classical education reserved for Byzantium's few, privileged elite. Written in high, ecclesiastical Greek, this treatise communicates directly with the intellectual traditions of Byzantium, with respect to its language and rhetorical devices, hearkening back not only to the late thirteenth / early fourteenth century *Harmonics* of Manuel Bryennius, but also to the work of the Hellenistic grammarian Dionysius Thrax,[51] revealing an author well-versed in many of the standard, Classical and Byzantine texts, some of which were copied and taught for over a millennium in Byzantium. As I show later in the present study, Chrysaphes' treatise is manifestly the product of an individual who was among Byzantium's educated elite.

Chrysaphes in the Royal Clergy

Lampadarios **of the Royal Clergy**

At some point, most likely in the 1440s, Chrysaphes entered into the employ of the Byzantine imperial court[52] as a member of the royal clergy, holding the position of *lampadarios* of the

[48] For clarification regarding the confusion between Gregory of Selyvria and Gregory Mpounes Alyates, see Alexandru, 'Alyates', 15-16.

[49] Chrysaphes' autograph Iviron 975 contains the kalophonic sticheron, Μόνη καὶ μόνον εἰσάγουσα on f. 12r, preceded by the inscription: παρὰ τοῦ τιμιωτάτου ἐν ἱερομονάχοις, Γρηγορίου ἐκ τῆς Σηλυβρίας (by the most honourable of monastics, Gregory from Selyvria). Stathis believes this Gregorios is Gregorios Mpounes Alyates: 'Η αναφορά εις τον Γρηγόριον Μπούνην ως τον "τιμιώτατον ἐν μοναχοῖς", είναι στοιχεί[ο] δηλωτικ[ό] του μαΐστορος Μανουήλ Χρυσάφου' (*Τα Χειρόγραφα III*, 778).

[50] About his education, musical and otherwise, as revealed through his theoretical treatise, see Chapter 4 below.

[51] Bryennius, a correspondent of Maximos Planoudes and private tutor to the Byzantine statesman Theodore Metochites, was active around 1300. For his life, see the introduction of in G. H. Jonker's critical edition of this work, in *The Harmonics of Manuel Bryennius* (The Netherlands: Groningen, 1970). For Dionysious Thrax, cf. infra, Ch. 4, pp. 165-166.

[52] For a discussion of the term 'court' in Byzantine contexts, see Michael McCormick, 'The Social World of the Byzantine Court', in ed. H. Maguire, *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1997), 172-75. Speaking of the imperial 'court' of the tenth century, he notes: 'There is no single Byzantine

palatine choir, not of the Cathedral Hagia Sophia, as Chrysanthos and some early twentieth century scholarship had claimed. In Byzantine times, the terms *protopsaltes* and *lampadarios* usually applied to singers and choirmasters of the palatine churches, not the great Cathedral of Hagia Sophia. Important evidence supporting this fact is found in a certain *Treatise on court titles*, which dates to the reign of John VI Kantakouzenos in the mid-fourteenth century and has survived anonymously, its author known to modern scholarship as Pseudo-Kodinos.[53] Summarising the testimony of Ps-Kodinos, Christos Patrinelis writes:

> There were no protopsaltae and lampadarii among the singers of the Great Church [i.e., Hagia Sophia] in Byzantine times. In musical manuscripts we often come across composers referred to as protopsaltae or lampadarii, but these were either singers of parochial or provincial churches... or they belonged to the so-called 'Royal Clergy', i.e., they were members of the palatine choirs.[54]

By the fourteenth century, and certainly in the fifteenth, the term *lampadarios* denoted a musical position in the imperial court, as key documents on liturgical order and court ceremonial in late Byzantium tell us.[55] This assertion can also be made simply on the basis of the fact that some of the most prolific composers and singers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, who are called *lampadarioi* and *protopsaltae* (among other titles) in the musical

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term that exactly corresponds to our word "court." Perhaps the word that best circumscribes the specific reality of the tenth century court is *to palation*, "the palace".'

[53] 'Οὐδὲ πρωτοψάλτην ἔχει ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἀλλὰ δομέστικον, ὁ δὲ βασιλικὸς κλῆρος καὶ ἀμφοτέρους. Καὶ ὁ μὲν πρωτοψάλτης τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ἔξαρχος κλήρου, ὁ δὲ γε δομέστικος τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ· καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἔχει καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἕτερον δομέστικον παρὰ τὸν δεσποινικόν, ποτὲ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς κλήροις ὑπηρετεῖ', in Jean Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos: Traité des offices. Introduction, texte et traduction* (Paris: Ed. du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1966), 265-66, lines 21-4. Ruth Macrides is preparing a new edition with English translation and commentary to be published in late 2013. The treatise of Ps-Kodinos is explored in depth below. For another historical overview of various Byzantine offices, see Jean Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les Offikia de l' Église Byzantine* (Paris: Institut français d' études byzantines, 1970).

[54] Patrinelis, 'Protopsaltae', 146. Neil Moran argues that Patrinelis has overemphasised one particular 14th c. quote from Ps-Kodinos (cf. supra, Ch. 2, fn. 53) to propagate a fallacy, that Hagia Sophia never had *protopsaltae*. In Moran's view, 'rather than being of general application... this regulation [from Ps-Kodinos] seems to refer only to the peculiarities of the Late Byzantine coronation service.' Moran cites various lists published by Darrouzès of Hagia Sophia officials that include the title *protopsaltes*, (N.K. Moran, *Singers in late Byzantine and Slavonic painting* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), 18).

[55] I am referring here to, on the one hand, the aforementioned fourteenth century *Treatise on court titles* by Ps-Kodinos, and on the other, fourteenth century recensions of the 'Typikon of the Great Church' (which was originally a Synaxarion/Kanonarion), not to speak of all the musical manuscripts from the late Byzantine period. Evangelia Spyrakou extracts key information from these primary sources in her extensive study on the history, structure, and performance of choirs in Byzantium, which includes an assessment of the evidence for the titles of singers, the different types of choirs, placement of singers in liturgical ceremony, typical performances practices (recitation vs. antiphonal psalmody, choral vs. solo singing, etc.), and interactions between singers of the Cathedral (including the choirs of orphans, monastics, and specialized singers) and the imperial singers of the palatine chapel, such as Chrysaphes, which would have accompanied the Emperor and his retinue to Hagia Sophia and other Constantinopolitan churches on particularly festive occasions (cf. supra, Ch. 2, fn. 15). For the structure of the 'Secular' (Κοσμική) Byzantine Choir and the terminology encountered in the sources, see Spyrakou, *Οι Χοροί*, 160-78. See pp. 176-77 specifically for the title of the *lampadarios*, and Moran, *Singers*, 19, 28, and 90, who, to the testimony of Ps-Kodinos and the lists of Darrouzès (e.g., Offikia, lists: K2 and K3), adds late Byzantine and early post-Byzantine iconographic evidence to support the argument that the lampadarios was a musical role and the director of the left choir. Note that in Darrouzès' list H, the *lampadarioi* are not referred to as having musical duties, but simply holding the lanterns in front of the Patriarch (*Offikia*, H16).

manuscripts, are also associated in these same sources with the imperial clergy (τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κλήρου). Thus, when Chrysaphes refers to Xenos Korones as *protopsaltes*, or Ioannes Kladas as *lampadarios* (the latter, whom he refers to often by his title only, i.e., '*the Lampadarios'*), he is referring to singers of the imperial palace and its associated ecclesiastical institutions.[56] The imperial palace of the Palaiologan period was the Blachernai, established as the preferred residence of the imperial family as early as the end of the twelfth century.[57] This complex was in the northwest of the city, 'diametrically opposite the… former heart of the capital in the southeast, with the Great Palace and the neighbouring Hagia Sophia.'[58] Singers of the royal clergy are known to have sung in Hagia Sophia and other churches in Constantinople, but only during imperial visits on various feast days throughout the year.[59] The Constantinopolitan churches regularly manned by singers of the royal clergy included, at different times, the Church of St John the Baptist in the suburb of Hebdomon,[60] the Church of Ss Sergius and Bacchus, and the Church of the Holy Apostles.[61]

Chrysaphes' autographs Iviron 1120, Iviron 975, and Xeropotamou 270 all testify to Chrysaphes' position as *lampadarios*, and MSS Iviron 1120 and 975 provide explicit evidence that he was a member of the royal clergy. The colophon of Iviron 1120, described in detail above, contains Chrysaphes' signature with the title *lampadarios*. In the same manuscript, Chrysaphes signs his name with the title *lampadarios* in the bottom margin of f. 451r, preceding an elaborate composition evidently written to commemorate the Fall of Constantinople (an event Chrysaphes may very well have witnessed): Ἕτερον ποιηθέντα μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν Κω[νσταντινου]πό[λεως], Μανουὴλ λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Χρυσάφη ('Another,

[56] Two examples among dozens, include Iviron 1120, f. 305r: 'Καλοφωνία τοῦ πολυελέου: στίχος καλοφωνικός ποιηθεὶς παρὰ κὺρ Ξένου πρωτοψάλτου τοῦ Κορώνη,' and Iviron 1120, f. 319r: 'κεκαλλωπισμένον παρὰ τοῦ κὺρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ λαμπαδαρίου.' Kladas' imperial position is confirmed in multiple instances in MS EBE 2406, a manuscript copied in Serres in Northern Greece in 1453 just a few months after the Fall of Constantinople. For example, f. 338v contains the following inscription prior to a kalophonic setting of a verse from Psalm 2 (Τότε λαλήσει πρὸς αὐτοὺς): Τοῦ μακαρίτου Ἰωάννου Κλαδᾶ καὶ λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ εὐαγοῦς βασιλικοῦ κλήρου' (Touliatos-Miles, *National Library*, 350). This inscription also confirms that Kladas had died by 1453.

[57] The Komnenian emperors initiated the move to the Blachernai in the eleventh century, and after the Fourth Crusade, this tradition was followed by the Palaiologans. However, the imperial class continued to 'cling to the Great Palace' in order to 'impart to the reigning sovereign the legitimacy and glory of the past', as demonstrated by the fact that as late as the fourteenth century, the Palaiologans returned to the Great Palace on important occasions, such as imperial coronations (Jeffrey Featherstone, 'Emperor and Court', in eds. E. Jeffreys et al, *Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford: OUP, 2008), 509).

[58] Ruth Macrides, 'Ceremonies and the City: The Court in Fourteenth-Century Constantinople' in ed., J. Duindam, *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2011), 226-27.

[59] Spyrakou, *Οι Χοροί*, 177.

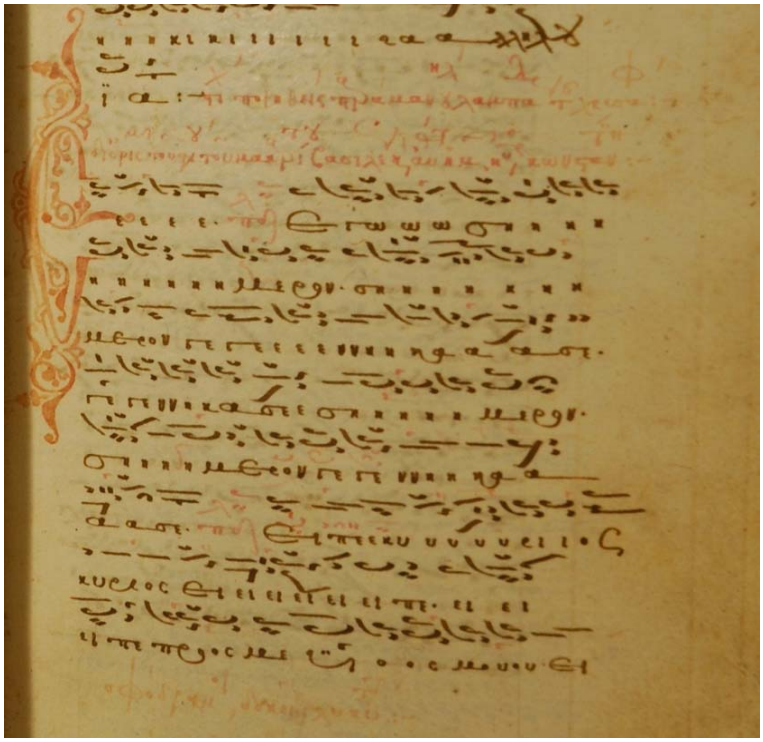
[60] The Church of St. John the Baptist in Hebdomon was in ruins by the ninth century, when it was renovated by Basil I, only after which it would have functioned as a centre of imperial ceremony (Melina Moisidou, 'Hebdomon,' in *Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World*, accessed 19 September 2013, http://constantinople.ehw.gr).

[61] Spyrakou, *Οι Χοροί*, 177, fn. 146.

written after the Fall of Constantinople, Manuel Chrysaphes the *lampadarios*').[62] But the most telling evidence of his imperial position is on f. 139r of Iviron 1120, an inscription indicating a royal commission of Emperor Constantine XI Palaiologos, the last Emperor of the Byzantines (see Fig. 2.4 below):

> Στίχος ποιηθεὶς παρὰ Μανουὴλ λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Χρυσάφη, δι' ὁρισμοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦ μακαρίτου βασιλέως καὶ αὐθέντου ἡμῶν κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου, πλ. δ' *Ἐγώ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε*... [and, in the bottom margin:] σφόδρα μοι δοκεῖ γλυκύτατον.[63]
>
> [A verse composed by Manuel Chrysaphes the *lampadarios*, by request of our holy emperor and master, the late (lit: 'most blessed') Lord Constantine. Plagal fourth mode, 'Today I have begotten thee'… I think this composition is the sweetest][64]

FIGURE 2.4: MS IVIRON 1120, F. 139R: ΕΓΩ ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΓΕΓΕΝΝΗΚΑ ΣΕ, BY MANUEL CHRYSAPHES



Iviron 1120, f. 139r: A kalophonic setting of Psalm 2, verse 7, a commission of Emperor Constantine XI Palaiologos, written by Chrysaphes:

Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε, plagal fourth mode.

This inscription confirms the fact that Chrysaphes held the position of *lampadarios* in the royal court, highlighting the close relationship between the musician and his patron and demonstrating the important role played by musicians in ceremony in Late Byzantium, a theme that I shall expound on below.

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[62] Cf. infra, Appendix III, for the composition's full text (based on Psalm 78).

[63] The same is also found in various post-Byzantine MSS, including the eighteenth c. MS Jerusalem 129, f. 64v: Ἕτερος στίχος ποιηθεὶς παρὰ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Χρυσάφη καὶ λαμπαδαρίου τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας [sic], ἐποιήθη δε διὰ προσταγῆς καὶ ὁρισμοῦ τοῦ ἀοιδίμου καὶ μακαρίου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου, *Ἐγώ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε*' (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ιεροσολυμητική V*, 454). In his description of Iviron 1120, Stathis does not include the phrase τοῦ ἁγίου, which is clearly legible in the manuscript.

[64] This is my translation. For a discussion of the term μακαριωτάτου as meaning 'late' or 'recently deceased', see immediately below in the section on 'The Kalophonic Sticherarion as a Chronological Marker.'

Chrysaphes' autograph Iviron 975, a *Kalophonic Sticherarion* that has not been dated, also confirms Chrysaphes' place in the royal clergy. On f. 173r of Iviron 975, Chrysaphes writes: Ἐποιήθη καὶ παρὰ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Χρυσάφου καὶ Μαΐστορος τοῦ εὐαγοῦς βασιλικοῦ κλήρου ('composed by Manuel Chrysaphes the maistor of the sacred and royal clergy'). This is, to my knowledge, the only time the phrase βασιλικός κλήρος (royal clergy) is encountered in one of Chrysaphes' autographs. Along with the testimony provided in Iviron 1120, it confirms without a doubt that Chrysaphes was a member of the royal clergy.

Chrysaphes signs his name with the title *lampadarios* throughout MS Xeropotamou 270 and the same title is testified to in several other fifteenth century sources. Among these include the aforementioned MS Jerusalem 31, a manuscript written on the Monastery of Vatopaidi on Mt Athos in 1439/1440 (but which contains folios added later),[65] which refers to Chrysaphes in one of its original folios as *lampadarios* (f. 424r).[66] To this list can be added the mid-fifteenth century *Akolouthiai*, MSS Metamorphoseos 44 (f. 8r, 47r, 113r, et al) and Metamorphoseos 192 (f. 134r, et al),[67] as well as various important Sinaitic codices which are surveyed below. Finally, it is worth mentioning one of the more important post-Byzantine references to Chrysaphes as *lampadarios* of the royal clergy, found on f. 147r of the Athonite codex MS Xenophontos 128:

> Ἕτερον κοινωνικὸν, ποίημα κὺρ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Χρυσάφη καὶ λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ εὐαγοῦς βασιλικοῦ κλήρου, ἦχος τρίτος[68]
>
> [Another Koinonikon, a composition of Lord Manuel Chrysaphes the *lampadarios* of the sacred and royal clergy, third mode]

This manuscript was completed in 1671 by none other than Chrysaphes' namesake, Panagiotes, the 'New Chrysaphes', who was *protopsaltes* of the Great Church (i.e., the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople) from 1655-1682. Whereas by Chrysanthos' time the titles *protopsaltes* and *lampadarios* were confused with Hagiosophitic singers, authoritative ecclesiastical musicians of the seventeenth century, such as Panagiotes Chrysaphes, seem to have still been aware of the employment details of their Byzantine forebears.

[65] Cf. supra fn. 33.
[66] Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ιεροσολυμιτική V*, 350.
[67] Stathes, *Meteora*, 13, 68.
[68] Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα II*, 61. Also, see the autograph of Panagiotes Chrysaphes 'the New' MS Xenophontos 128. On f. 147v of this codex, dated 1671, the scribe states that Manuel Chrysaphes was *λαμπαδάριος τοῦ εὐαγοῦς βασιλικοῦ κλήρου* (Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα II*, 61).

Connection to Ioannes Palaiologos VIII

Papadopoulos-Kerameus states that Chrysaphes was *lampadarios* in the imperial clergy as early as the reign of Ioannes Palaiologos VIII. Ioannes VIII was the son of Manuel Palaiologos II and elder brother of the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI, who held the throne – rather precariously at times – for over two decades from 1425 until his sudden death in 1448, prompting a 'shotgun' coronation of Constantine XI outside of Constantinople. Papadopoulos-Kerameus draws the connection between Emperor Ioannes VIII and Chrysaphes in his aforementioned biography of the latter, on the basis of one eighteenth century musical manuscript, which is the only medieval or post-Byzantine musical manuscript I have yet encountered in the literature that connects Chrysaphes to the penultimate Byzantine emperor:

> [Manuel Chrysaphes] was the *lampadarios* in Constantinople for the two last Byzantine emperors, Ioannes V (sic) and Constantine X (sic). Thus, in MS 40 of the Hypselou Monastery (18th century) there is a composition by Manuel 'commissioned by King Ioannes Palaiologos…' this based on my manuscript catalogue. See Library of Mavrogordateios, p. 157.[69]

Unfortunately, Papadopoulos-Kerameus does not provide a detailed description of this particular manuscript in his catalogue of the Mavrogordateios Library so it is difficult to ascertain the validity of this source.[70] Nevertheless, given Chrysaphes' activity as early as 1439/40 (at which point, according to Papadopoulos-Kerameus' catalogue, he is referred to in the manuscript as *lampadarios*), it is probable that he ascended to the high position of *lampadarios* before Constantine was crowned in 1448. Whether Ioannes VIII commissioned Chrysaphes to write compositions on his behalf, on the other hand, cannot be ascertained, as the evidence for it is found in only one late source, the eighteenth century MS Hypselou 40.

Maistor / Maistoros

In one of his autographs, Iviron 975, and in several other musical MSS, Chrysaphes is referred to as *maistor* (derived from the Latin *magister* / Greek μάγιστρος).[71] By the late Byzantine

[69] The translation above is my own. The original Greek is: '...υπήρξε λαμπαδάριος εν Κωνσταντινουπόλει επί των δύο τελευταίων βυζαντινών αυτοκρατόρων, Ιωάννου του 5-ου (sic) καὶ Κωνσταντίνου του 10-ου (sic). Ούτος εν τω 40-ω κώδικι της μονής Υψηλού (18-ου αιώνος) υπάρχει σύνθεσίς τις του Μανουήλ «εκ διορισμού βασιλέως Ιωάννου του Παλαιολόγου»... κατά τον χειρόγραφόν μου κατάλογον. Πρβλ. Μαυρογ. Βιβλιοθ. σ. 157.' Emmanuel Giannopoulos believes that these manuscripts are now held at the Hypselou Monastery on the island of Lesbos (Mytilini).

[70] MS Hypselou 40 is an eighteenth century codex written by Nektarios Hieromonachos. The only indication given is in a footnote, which states that 'Manuel Chrysaphes, according to this manuscript, was lampadarios under the Emperor Ioannes Palaiologos.' Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Μαυρογδάτειος Βιβλιοθήκη Ανέκδοτα Ελληνικά* (Constantinople: Typois S. I. Voutira, 1884), 157.

[71] See, for example, the *Kalophonic Sticherarion* of Ioannes Plousiadenos, MS Sinai 1234, f. 104r: 'Ἡ ἐν τῷ ναῷ Εἴσοδος τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου, στιχηρόν, ποίημα κυροῦ Μανουὴλ μαΐστορος τοῦ Χρυσάφου.' MS H Laura 138 a *Mathematarion* containing *anagrammatismoi* and other kalophonic compositions, refers to Chrysaphes as

period, the *maistor* was a palace official with musical responsibilities. According to Evangelia Spyrakou, in later Byzantine sources, where there is evidence for the distribution of liturgical singers into the ranks of *anagnostes* ('readers', akin to English lay clerks) and *psaltes* (soloists, also known as *kalophonoi*), and where the choirs had begun to be separated into 'right' and 'left', each with its own director, it was the *maistor* who took the leadership in directing both choirs.[72] At the same time, that the term appears in the plural in late Byzantine sources is indicative of the fact that there existed a 'system of weeks' in palace environments as well as at Hagia Sophia. In other words, Spyrakou argues, there was more than one *maistor* and thus, more than one cohort of palace singers. These different groups, and their directors, the *maistores*, shared singing duties at any one of the palatine churches based on the day of the week or the week of the year.[73]

Chrysaphes' autograph Iviron 975 contains the epithet *maistor* several times accompanying his name, usually according to the following formula: Μανουὴλ μαΐστορος τοῦ Χρυσάφου. Most interestingly, the title *lampadarios* is not encountered at all next to Chrysaphes' name in Iviron 975. Conversely, in Iviron 1120, Chrysaphes refers to himself as *lampadarios*, but never signs his name with the title *maistor* (the same is the case for Xeropotamou 270). In Iviron 1120, Chrysaphes reserves the name *maistor* almost exclusively for Koukouzeles, to whom the title is ascribed dozens of times.[74] It is difficult to draw any conclusions from these observations, given that our knowledge of the duties and responsibilities associated with these titles is more general than precise, since the sources describing these roles often antedate the musicians in question. Furthermore, we are unable to precisely date Iviron 975. If we could plausibly date Iviron 975 to some time prior to 1453, we may then be able to assert that Chrysaphes held the position of *maistor* earlier in his career, before advancing to *lampadarios*, which he held until the Fall of Constantinople.[75] The claim that such a trajectory represented a 'promotion' or advancement admittedly rests on unstable ground. What we do know is that Chrysaphes refers

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'Μανουὴλ Χρυσάφου καὶ μαΐστορος.' In the eighteenth-century codex, MS 269 of the Jerusalem Patriarchate Library, he is referred to as Μανουὴλ Χρυσάφης πρωτομαΐστορος (Manuel Chrysaphes the chief-maistor) (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ιεροσολυμιτική IV*, 249).

[72] The *maistor* is described as 'the superior of the choirs' (le maître de chapelle) in the 15th-century list of titles of the Great Church (i.e., Hagia Sophia) published by Darrouzès in his study on Byzantine court titles (Moran, *Singers*, 17 after Darrouzès, *Offikia*, 285-85, 574).

[73] Spyrakou, *Οι Χοροί*, 172. In spite of the fact that the title *maistor* was without a doubt an official title with specific musical duties in late Byzantium, as Spyrakou shows, we should not rule out the possibility that, in some cases when encountered in the musical manuscripts, it may have been used by the scribe as perhaps a more generic term of praise akin to 'most musical'.

[74] Aside from describing Koukouzeles, Chrysaphes uses the title *maistor* only four other times in Iviron 1120: to describe Manuel Argyropoulos (twice), David Raidestinos, and Koukoumas.

[75] Of course, we do not know if the position of *lampadarios* was actually higher ranking than *maistor*, and in fact it seems that the opposite might be true, given that Chrysaphes refers to Koukouzeles, whom he regards as first amongst his predecessors, as *maistor*.

to himself as *lampadarios* in his autograph of 1458, Iviron 1120, and it is how his successors referred to him almost universally.

The Kalophonic Sticherarion as a Chronological Marker

Manuel Chrysaphes was active for several years after the Fall of Constantinople as testified to by the colophon of his autograph Iviron 1120, which indicates its completion outside of Constantinople in the year 1458. The *terminus ante quem* traditionally given by scholars for Chrysaphes is 1463, based on the date of his latest autograph, MS Seraglio 15, a Grammar of Manuel Moschopoulos[76] (the only non-musical autograph of Chrysaphes that has survived), completed on July 29 of that year.[77] Recent progress researching the contents of various musical MSS in the Library of St. Catherine's on Mt. Sinai – especially the autographed Kalophonic Sticheraria (KS) of Ioannes Plousiadenos – enable us to fix the dates of Chrysaphes' activity after the Fall of Constantinople with more certainty.

Chrysaphes' autograph Iviron 975 is a necessary starting point for a discussion of the KS of Ioannes Plousiadenos. Iviron 975 contains three basic layers of compositions:[78] first, what might be called the KS of Koukouzeles,[79] which includes compositions by Koukouzeles and his immediate predecessors, such as Ioannes Glykys and Nikiphoros Ethikos. The second layer of Iviron 975 includes compositions by Ioannes Kladas and other figures active in the early fifteenth century. The third layer consists of compositions by Chrysaphes' contemporaries around the middle of the fifteenth century – including Gregory Mpounes Alyates, his student Gerasimos Chalkeopoulos, and regional composers such as Andreas Stellon of New Patras.[80] As part of this third layer, Chrysaphes includes several of his own compositions (145 in total), often accompanied by epithets praising their quality, such as πάνυ καλόν (very beautiful).

[76] Manuel Moschopoulos was a Byzantine author and philologist from Constantinople active at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries (See PLP 19373).

[77] Conomos, Treatise 12 (citing Adolf Deissmann, *Forschungen und Funde im Serai mit einem Verzeichnis der nichtislamischen Handschriften im Topkapu Serai zu Istanbul* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1933), 59). See also Stathes, 'Μανουήλ Χρυσάφης', 34.

[78] The notion of chronological 'layers' of compositions in the Kalophonic Sticheraria of the fifteenth century is taken from Adsuara, Sinai gr. 1251 15-17. In Iviron 975, the three 'layers' are mixed together, i.e., they are not separate, distinct sections of the codex.

[79] See Jørgen Raasted's two publications on the Sticherarion of Koukouzeles, Raasted, Sinai gr. 1230 (cited in Chapter 1), and Jørgen Raasted, 'Koukouzeles' Sticherarion', in ed. C. Troelsgård, *Acts of a Meeting held at the Danish Institute at Athens* (Athens: The Danish Institute at Athens, 1997), 9-22.

[80] Chrysaphes' revision of Andreas' Stellon's kalophonic sticheron for St. Andrew (f. 86r) is preceded by a rubric that can be interpreted as oblique criticism: 'Ποιηθὲν παρὰ κὺρ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Στελοῦ καὶ δομεστίκου τῶν Πατρῶν· ἐγράφη παρὰ τοὺ Μανουὴλ Χρυσάφου σαφέστατα, Ὁ πρωτόκλητος μαθητής' ('A sticheron composed by Andrew Stellon, domestikos of Patras, written more expertly by Manuel Chrysaphes'). See Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα III*, 763).

Iviron 975 seems to be a model for later KS, including two important Sinai codices, both autographs of Ioannes Plousiadenos. The first, Sinai 1234, is among the most impressive fifteenth century manuscripts, having been studied extensively for its remarkable illuminations in addition to its musical contents.[81] Of Plousiadenos' nine possible autographs, it is the only one that retains its original colophon, which gives us a clear witness of its place and year of production (Venice, 1469).[82] Sinai 1234 is an extremely important witness to the tradition of the kalophonic stichera of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Like Iviron 975, it contains the same three basic 'layers' of composers, but there is one significant difference. In Sinai 1234, Plousiadenos includes far fewer of Chrysaphes' compositions, compensating for their absence with a healthy collection of his own.[83] Figure 2.5 below shows the distribution of kalophonic stichera by composer, across these two important fifteenth century Kalophonic Sticheraria (this table also includes two rows for MS Sinai 1251, about which, see below).

FIGURE 2.5: COMPARISON OF KALOPHONIC STICHERARIA BY NUMBER OF COMPOSITIONS[84]

	Νικηφόρος Ηθικός	Ἰωάννης Γλύκης	Ἰωάννης Κουκουζέλης	Ξένος Κορώνης	Ἰωάννης Κλαδᾶς	Μανουὴλ Χρυσάφης	Ἰωάννης Πλουσιαδηνὸς
Iviron 975 (c. 1453)	8	17	104	36	20	145	0
Sinai 1234 (1469)	23	38	109	27	9	14	56
Sinai 1251-1 (≤1469)	21	39	106	30	18	5	0
Sinai 1251-2 (≥1469)	0	0	0	0	1	87	0

The second Sinai codex important for dating Chrysaphes is Plousiadenos' autograph Sinai 1251, a KS comprising three distinct sections.[85] The first and third sections of Sinai 1251

[81] See for example, Panagiotes Vokotopoulos, 'Εικονογραφικές παρατηρήσεις στο στιχηράριον Σινά 1234', *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογίας Εταιρίας* 22 (2001):87-102.

[82] Demetri Balageorgos describes the physical attributes (including watermarks) and contents of Plousiadenos' musical autographs, the provenance of one which he calls 'indisputable'. He includes another nine manuscripts which are probable autographs of Plousiadenos but for which no colophon attributed to Plousiadenos survives. See Balageorgos, 'Οι αποκείμενοι', 50-62.

[83] In addition to the kalophonic stichera, Plousiadenos includes various *polychronismoi* (i.e., imperial acclamations), as well as other rubrics and chants from the *prokypsis* service from a period some three decades prior to the manuscript's authoring.

[84] I count compositions that have two 'feet' (given in the MSS as α' πους and β' πους) once. Compositions that are embellishments of earlier compositions are counted.

[85] Sinai 1251 is of paramount importance for understanding the Cretan cleric's relationship to his Constantinopolitan predecessor, and more importantly, for its illumination of Chrysaphes' impact on the evolution of this musical codex and its repertory. Balageorgos and Kritikou date this manuscript generally to the second half of the fifteenth century. Their identification of this MS as an autograph of Plousiadenos is based on its resemblance to Sinai 1234, which is dated 1469. Adsuara bases her dating of the 'middle layer' of *kalophonic stichera* in Sinai 1251 on the *polychronismoi* (i.e., imperial acclamations) included. One set is dedicated to John VIII Palaiologos and his wife Mary, daughter of King Alexios of Trapezountos, who were married in 1433. Mary died in 1439 (Adsuara, 'Sinai gr. 1251', 16).

(henceforward Sinai 1251-1) contain kalophonic stichera from the *Menaia* cycle and from the *Triodion*/*Pentecostarion*, respectively, from generally the same group of composers as reflected in Sinai 1234. Wedged between these two sections, starting on fol. 280r, however, is an entirely new KS, preceded by the following inscription, which is critical for establishing biographical coordinates for Chrysaphes:

> Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ ἁγίῳ τῶν στιχηρ(ῶν) τοῦ ὅλου χρόνου ἀπὸ τὸν α᾽ σεπτέμβριον ἕως ὅλον τὸν αὔγουστον· ποίημα τοῦ διδασκάλου καὶ μακαριωτ[άτου] Μανουὴλ τοῦ Χρυσάφη τοῦ νέου λαμπαδάριου.[86]
>
> [The beginning with holy God of the stichera of the entire year from the first of September through the entirety of August· a composition of the teacher and most blessed Manuel Chrysaphes the new *lampadarios*.]

This second section of Sinai 1251 (henceforward Sinai 1251-2) is none other than the Kalophonic Sticherarion of Manuel Chrysaphes: contained within those 100 folios are 87 (!) kalophonic stichera composed by Chrysaphes, with a scattered few ascribed to other mid-fifteenth century composers.[87] Dimitrios Balageorgos has shown based on watermarks that Sinai 1251-1 was written before Sinai 1234, but that Sinai 1251-2 was written many years after. The book was probably rebound in the Cretan workshop of the Greek scholar Michalis Apostolis at the behest of Plousiadenos himself.[88]

We can extend Balageorgos' conclusions, which are based on palaeographical analysis, by means of an analysis of the contents of Sinai 1251, in order to prove that Chrysaphes was alive when Sinai 1234 and Sinai 1251-1 were written, and that he had died when Sinai 1251-2 was written and rebound to Sinai 1251-1. First, it seems unlikely that Chrysaphes' compositions would be scattered within sections one and three if the original plan was to include a separate, dedicated section for his compositions in the same codex – yet that is exactly what we find. Plousiadenos includes nearly a dozen compositions by Chrysaphes in Sinai 1251-1 (with the

[86] MS Sinai 1251 fol. 280r. My copy of this manuscript is based on the microfilm from Kenneth Levy's collection at Princeton University. The appellation of Chrysaphes as 'the new lampadarios' (as 'Μανουὴλ Χρυσάφης καὶ νέο Λαμπαδάριος') is also found in the Cypriot MS Machairas A4, on fols. 135v, 209r, 263r, 273v (Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 248).

[87] Actually, this *Kalophonic Sticherarion* only contains compositions for the fixed feasts of the year, not from the movable cycle of the Triodion/Pentecostarion (for which, of course, Chrysaphes also wrote kalophonic stichera, as seen in Iviron 975).

[88] 'Η πρώτη και η τρίτη ενότητα του χειρογράφου γράφτηκαν την ίδια εποχή και πιθανότατα, αν κρίνουμε από τα υδατογραφήματα, πριν από σύνταξην του κώδικα Σινά 1234... Η δεύτερη ενότητα γράφτηκε πολύ αργότερα. Τα υδατόσημα που ανιχνεύθηκαν στα φύλλα της και παριστάνουν χέρι (main) που ταυτίζεται με το υπ' αριθμ. 10713 υδατογράφημα του Ch. Briquet (Grasse 1485 – Genes 1488/89) καὶ ζυγαριά (balance) που ταυτίζεται με το υπ' αριθμ. 2590 υδατόσημο του Ch. Briquet (Nordinglen 1491 – Venise 1496) το αποδεικνύουν. Από τα ανωτέρω προκύπτει αβίαστα ότι η δεύτερη ενότητα είναι παρέμβλητη και συσταχώθηκε κατόπιν επιθυμίας και ζητήσεως του ιδίου του Πλουσιαδηνού με τα άλλα δύο τμήματα... η εξαιρετικής τέχνης βιβλιοδεσία έγινε στο Κρητικό εργαστήριο του Μιχαήλ Αποστόλη. Στα πλευρικά πάχη των βιβλίων κύκλοι, διακοσμημένοι με έγχρωμα σχέδια και κλαδωτές απολήξεις' (Balageorgos, 'Οι αποκείμενοι', 55).

result that Chrysaphes' compositions appear in this section of Sinai 1251 with a frequency corresponding more or less to that observed in Sinai 1234).[89] Sinai 1251-2, on the other hand, is almost exclusively dedicated to the kalophonic stichera of Manuel Chrysaphes.

Second, in Sinai 1251-1 (again, written before 1469), Plousiadenos refers to Chrysaphes simply as 'Chrysaphes the *lampadarios*'. In Sinai 1251-2, which, as Balageorgos has established was written well after Sinai 1251-1, Plousiadenos writes 'ποίημα τοῦ διδασκάλου καὶ μακαριωτ[άτου] Μανουὴλ τοῦ Χρυσάφη τοῦ νέου λαμπαδάριου' ('a composition of the teacher and most blessed Manuel Chrysaphes the new *lampadarios*'). The critical epithet in this inscription, for the purposes of establishing chronology, is the superlative 'μακαριωτάτου'. The literal meaning of this term is 'most blessed' or 'most fortunate'. However, μακαριωτάτου is also commonly used in late Byzantine and post-Byzantine sources to indicate that an individual has died, and to accord to them some degree of reverence.[90] It should be noted that dead composers are not usually referred to as μακαριωτάτου in late Byzantine MSS, so the absence of the term in no way implies that they are living at the time of a given manuscript's writing. In the case of this inscription from MS Sinai 1251-2, it is clear that Plousiadenos uses μακαριωτάτου to call special attention to the fact that Manuel Chrysaphes had recently died, and in doing so, to thus honor him.

Furthermore, in this same inscription, Plousiadenos refers to Chrysaphes as 'teacher', hinting on the one hand at the possibility that Chrysaphes taught chant to the scholar and composer Plousiadenos, whether back in Constantinople or on the island of Crete, but more broadly, that Chrysaphes, in the eyes of Plousiadenos, ought to be considered a teacher by future generations.[91] In another late autograph, Sinai 1312, likely written after Chrysaphes' death, Plousiadenos describes Chrysaphes as a 'new Koukouzeles' (κυροῦ Μανουὴλ λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Χρυσάφη καὶ μαΐστορος, τοῦ ἀληθῶς Χρυσάφη καὶ νέου Κουκουζέλη).[92]

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[89] E.g., see Sinai 1251, f. 78r: Εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἑορτὴν, Στιχηρὸν ποίημα κυροῦ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Χρυσάφη καὶ λαμπαδαρίου, α'-Ἀγαλλιάσθω σήμερον ὁ οὐρανός ('For the same feast, Sticheron, compositions by Manuel Chrysaphes the lampadarios, first mode, Heaven, rejoice today'). The next four compositions – all from the same feast – are also by Chrysaphes (Adsuara, 'Sinai gr. 1251', 30).

[90] See the relevant entry in Kriaras, Emmanouel. 'Λεξικό Της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Δημώδους Γραμματείας 1100-1669' (Thessaloniki: E. Kriaras, 1997), which can also be found at: http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/medieval_greek/kriaras/search.html?lq=Μακαριος&dq= . In addition to its more literal meaning of 'happy' or 'fortunate', μακαριώτατος is also used as an honorific to refer to (living) ecclesiastical individuals, at least in a post-Byzantine context.

[91] Chrysaphes is referred to as a teacher elsewhere in the Post-Byzantine manuscript tradition. See MS Iviron 951, fol. 83r, where he is referred to by the scribe as 'Μανουὴλ Χρυσάφη, τοῦ ἀληθοῦς διδασκάλου' in a rewriting of his communion hymn by Germanos of New Patras (Spyrakou, *Οι Χοροί*, 520).

[92] Balageorgos reads a faded yet still legible signature on the side of the manuscript that indicates Plousiadenos as the author of this manuscript, which on the basis of watermarks cannot have been completed before 1454. The inscription in question referring to Chrysaphes as the 'maistor, the true Chrysaphes and new Koukouzeles' (Sinai

That Sinai 1234 and Sinai 1251-1 are similar with respect to the frequency of compositions by Chrysaphes[93] and the epithets used to describe him, and markedly different to Sinai 1251-2 across these same dimensions, strongly suggests that Chrysaphes was alive when the Sinai 1251-1 was written (sometime before 1469), and had died by the time Sinai 1251-2 was arranged many years later. Had Chrysaphes died by the time Sinai 1234 was produced, we would expect Plousiadenos to have included more of his compositions and for his praise of the former *lampadarios* to be more effusive, as it is in Sinai 1251-2 and other later MSS. In Sinai 1251-2, Chrysaphes is presented as a figure equal in importance to Koukouzeles, as the preeminent figure of the prior generation.[94] The conclusions gleaned from the aforementioned Sinai codices enable us to push the *terminus ante quem* of Chrysaphes to 1469. Unfortunately, as Sinai 1251 is undated, we are not able to establish a date after which Chrysaphes had certainly died, until further research reveals more information concerning his activity after the Fall of Constantinople. The chronology described above is given above in Figure 2.6.

FIGURE 2.6: CHRONOLOGY OF CHRYSAPHES' BASED ON PLOUSIADENOS' AUTOGRAPHS

	Scribe		
Year	Other	Chrysaphes	Plousiadenos
1439/40	Jerusalem 31		
≤1453		Iviron 975?	
1453	EBE 2406		
1458		Iviron 1120	
1463		Seraglio 15	
≤1469			Sinai 1251 Pt. 1 & 3
1469			Sinai 1234
≥1469			Sinai 1251 Pt. 2

***Terminus post quem* for Chrysaphes' activity (1439/40)**

***Terminus ante quem* for Chrysaphes' death (1469)**

1312, f. 6r), leads me to suspect that it was written after 1469, that is, not before Chrysaphes had died (Balageorgos, 'Οι αποκείμενοι', 58).

[93] One of Chrysaphes' fourteen kalophonic stichera included by Plousiadenos in Sinai 1234 is on f. 98r, Γέγονας Χρυσόστομε θεόπνευστον ὄργανον, for the feast of St. John Chrysostom, introduced with the simple inscription: '"Ετερον εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἑορτήν, ποίημα τοῦ [Μανουὴλ] Χρυσάφη'. See Balageorgos & Kritikou, *Σινά I*, 71.

[94] Balageorgos, 'Οι αποκείμενοι'', 58. Interestingly, Sinai 1251 contains no compositions by Plousiadenos, whereas Sinai 1234 is replete with Plousiadenos' work. Whether Plousiadenos had a strangely duplicitous relationship to his predecessor, or simply held him in high regard and wished to anthologize him as such only after his death, we cannot know for sure. What is certain is that Plousiadenos' inclusion of a separate, dedicated section of the kalophonic Sticherarion containing almost exclusively compositions by Chrysaphes constituted, on the one hand, an a explicit acknowledgment of their centrality in the repertory of Byzantine chant, but also the unabashed assertion that he belonged amongst the pantheon of musicians from the Empire, and, as Koukouzeles was the primary figurehead of the fourteenth century, Chrysaphes represented the leader of the fifteenth.

2.2 Chrysaphes in the Imperial Court

Background and Source Material

As I have shown above, Manuel Chrysaphes held the offices of *maistoros* and *lampadarios* in the imperial court. Although we cannot establish exactly when he held each office, we know he worked under the Emperor Constantine XI Palaiologos (1448-1453) and most likely under his predecessor, Ioannes VIII Palaiologos (1425-1448), possibly as early as 1439/40.[95] What was life like for a musician in the imperial court of the mid-fifteenth century, only years before the collapse of Constantinople and the exile or death of many of its intellectuals and political leaders? Although there is not yet enough evidence to determine detailed aspects of Chrysaphes' life such as his exact duties, payment, or a day in the life,[96] an examination of key ceremonies described in documents of court ceremonial corroborated with evidence in Chrysaphes' musical autographs enables us to sketch some of Chrysaphes' activities in the Byzantine palace, while providing us with some idea of his aesthetics as a composer and scribe. In doing so, we are able to argue that Manuel Chrysaphes maintained important musical and ceremonial duties and was in all likelihood a prestigious and close member of the Emperor's inner circle.

In Hagia Sophia, lavishly patronized by the Empire, the divine offices were served by an impressive number of presbyters, deacons, and clergy of other ranks, including two orders of singers (the *anagnostes* and *psaltai*).[97] The singers assigned to the smaller churches connected to the imperial palace were naturally fewer in number and would have been staffed by singers from the royal clergy. For example, Heraclius' novella calls for only 12 presbyters, 20 *anagnostes*, and four *psaltai* for the Church of the Blachernae.[98] We know that in the tenth

[95] Cf. supra, Ch. 2, fn. 69.
[96] For a discussion of the payment and working conditions of singers in choirs of the Byzantine Empire, although mostly based on the fourteenth century and earlier, see Moran, *Singers*, 21-23.
[97] The systems of clerical assignment were famously established and detailed in imperial novellas issued around the time of Hagia Sophia's construction (Justinian, 535 AD, Heraklius, 612 AD). The Emperor Heraclius' novella is often cited by scholars to contextualize the size and scope of these liturgical forces. Heraclius assigns 525 clergy to Hagia Sophia and its three dependent churches (the Church of the Theotokos of Chalkeoprateia, the Church of St. Theodore of Sphorakios, and the Church of St. Irene), including 80 priests, 150 deacons, 160 readers (*anagnostes*), and 25 cantors (*psaltai*). The actual number of clergy and singers present in any given service is not entirely clear on account of the lack of specificity in the novellas regarding assignment of clergy to Hagia Sophia vs. its three dependencies as well as the so-called 'system of weeks', in which clergy rotated assignments on a weekly basis. The number 525 could have been the maximum number of clergy on the imperial payroll, not necessarily those present at Hagia Sophia for a given service. See Spyrakou, Οι Χοροί 166-70 for a discussion of these decrees and the relevant bibliography, as well as Lingas, Soundscape 320-21. A critical edition and commentary of Herakleios' novella is given in Johannes Konidaris, 'Die Novellen des Kaisers Herakleios,' in ed. D. Simon, *Fontes Minores V (Forschungen Zur Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte 8)* (Frankfurt am Main, 1982), 34-106.
[98] Spyrakou, *Οι Χοροί*, 169.

century, the palace clergy – including the *psaltai* and *anagnostes* numbered in the dozens and had duties which extended beyond the liturgy, '[playing] a significant role in the life of the capital… their privileged position and proximity to power [making for] remarkable careers.'[99] Our notions of court life in fourteenth and fifteenth century Byzantium, on the other hand, are by and large limited to essentially one text, the aforementioned *Treatise on court titles* of Pseudo-Kodinos. This text provides lavish descriptions of certain aspects of court ceremonial: the hierarchy, the different hats and staffs worn and carried by the emperor and other dignitaries (detailed by colour, material), the clothes donned by the imperial family at different times of the day, as well as the rubrics around certain important ceremonies, some regular, such as the *prokypsis*, and some once-in-a-generation (and clearly based on a historical event),[100] such as 'the reception of a foreign imperial bride-to-be in Constantinople.'[101]

A digression is necessary in order to assess Pseudo-Kodinos' *Treatise* and its relevance for reconstructions of court life during the time of Manuel Chrysaphes. Judith Herrin has argued that the relatively thin *Treatise*, in contrast to the voluminous *De ceremoniis* compiled in the tenth century by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennitos,[102] reflects the weakened state of the Byzantine Empire's capital and the concomitant reduction of ceremony conducted by the imperial court, which maintained a minimal public presence and was almost entirely oriented inward, while its members retained 'grossly inflated' honorific terms.[103] It is true that the *Treatise* lacks descriptions of the pomp of imperial banquets, omits details of the palace quarters, and seems to ignore specifics around public processions. But this does not seem to be

[99] McCormick, Social World 180 (based on the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, about which cf. infra, fn. 100). The number of imperial singers implied in this excerpt is nevertheless modest when compared to the number of clergy assigned to Hagia Sophia and its three dependent churches in the early seventh century (based on Emperor Heraklios' novella), a corps that included 80 priests, 150 deacons, 160 readers (*anagnostes*) and 25 cantors (*psaltai*). See Lingas, 'Soundscape', 320.

[100] In this way, the *Treatise* of Pseudo-Kodinos most closely resembles the ninth century book on banquets, the *Kletorologion* by Philotheos. See Ruth Macrides, 'Ceremonies and the City: The Court in Fourteenth-Century Constantinople,' in ed. J. Duindam, *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2011), 220.

[101] Macrides, 'Ceremonies', 219. Elsewhere, Macrides discusses the ways in which Ps-Kodinos' treatise departs from the ceremonical handbooks of earlier times, emphasizing that he acknowledges a changing (vs. static) tradition in ceremony. He writes about specific events (e.g., a specific coronation is a chapter in his book) while referencing the past for explanation of existing rituals. Moreover, he does not hesitate to say he is ignorant of the origin of certain rituals (Macrides, '"The reason is not known." Remembering and recording the past. Pseudo-Kodinos as a historian,' in eds. P. Odorico et al, *Papers read at the III^e Colloque International Philologique 'Ερμηνεία', 23-25 February 2006* (Paris: Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 2009), 317-30).

[102] The tenth century Book of Ceremonies contains 153 chapters (See Michael McCormick, 'Analyzing Imperial Ceremonies' in *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Gesellschaft für Byzantinistik* 35 (1985): 11).

[103] Judith Herrin, *Byzantium: The Surprising Life of a Medieval Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 184.

on account of the absence of any of these things, and furthermore, does not seem to indicate that the imperial family had completely retreated to within their palace walls.

First, recent scholars of Byzantine ceremony have pointed out that authors of these documents are notorious for omitting the obvious, presuming their audience has seen dozens of ceremonies. Michael McCormick writes:

> The Constantinopolitan and privileged character of much of Byzantine historical writing's readership conditioned what authors chose to include... imperial processions through the streets of Constantinople were a pretty common occurrence, and ceremonies inside the Great Palace complex took place on a weekly and even daily basis. Presumption of familiarity led Byzantine observers to emphasize details which appeared atypical at the time they were writing.[104]

On a similar note, Ruth Macrides has argued that *The Treatise* is more useful when viewed as a historical document, in contrast to a technical treatise 'that can help us to reconstruct court hierarchy and the functions of office holders.'[105]

As for whether the *Treatise's* relative poverty of content is indicative of a decayed and destitute Byzantine state, Ruth Macrides argues for a more nuanced interpretation of this traditionally held view. She suggests that 'the modern portrayal of a reduced and impoverished ceremonial and court life… relies not so much on the text of Pseudo-Kodinos itself, as on expectations and preconceptions created by the tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies*. The latter is the standard against which the *Treatise* is measured.'[106] While it cannot be denied that Constantinople after the Latin conquest saw a relative loss of influence and wealth that was to some degree reflected in a reduction in public spending, Constantinople in fact experienced a major rebuilding effort under Michael VIII Palaiologos in the middle of the thirteenth century – including the fortification of the city walls, restoration of Hagia Sophia for its 'return to the Byzantine Rite,'[107] and the complete refurbishing of the imperial palace – an influx of financial investment towards public works which in turn spurred a rebirth of intellectual and artistic activity. The orator Manuel Holobolos's praise for the Emperor's investment in public works is telling of the urban renewal, when he speaks of the 'beautification of public buildings, hippodromes… a teeming marketplace, theatres, law courts, streets, stoas, a multitude of baths and old age homes everywhere.'[108] Macrides argues that the *Treatise* actually omits ceremonies and rituals whose persistence is evidenced by other sources, whereas the *Book of*

[104] McCormick, 'Imperial Ceremonies', 7, here refers to earlier Byzantine ceremonial documents.
[105] Macrides, 'Remembering', passim.
[106] Macrides, 'Ceremonies', 218.
[107] Alice-Mary Talbot, 'The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII,' *DOP* 47 (1993): 251.
[108] Talbot argues that, as a panegyric, Holobolos' praise may be exaggerated, but the underlying sentiment should be trusted ('Restoration', 253)

Ceremonies, in contrast, 'includes a great deal of material not in use at the time of its compilation… [being] an antiquarian [work], while the *Treatise* presents living ceremony, protocols that reflect ceremonies that were being performed in the mid-fourteenth century,'[109] such as the *prokypsis* at Christmas and Epiphany, the Ceremonial around Palm Sunday, or the service of the washing of the feet on Great Thursday before Easter.[110]

Third, Macrides argues that court ceremony in Late Byzantium was not as isolated from the public as is claimed by some scholars, who have described Late Byzantine imperial ritual as something 'taking place in seclusion in the fortress-like remains of a palace.'[111] In fact, according to Pseudo-Kodinos, the emperor's schedule attending churches outside of the palace was as rigorous as that described in the tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies*.[112] It is simply the case that Pseudo-Kodinos omits details about the processions to these churches. The Byzantine historian Nikiphoros Gregoras, speaking of the attendees – from regular citizens to members of the army – of the Christmas *prokypsis* of John V in 1341, compares the mass of people to 'rivers that converged'.[113] Thus it seems clear that the relatively impoverished state of Constantinople did not result in a complete retreat of public ceremony into the private confines of the imperial palace. Moreover, 'already in the tenth century, [when the *Book of Ceremonies* was being compiled], the Great Palace was being compared to a fortress, as has been the Blachernai palace of the 14th century, and already in the tenth century ceremonial was taking on a less public role.'[114] Thus, any change in ritual practice from public and grand to (more) private and (more) modest was a gradual process with its roots as early as the 10th century.[115]

While we can thus discard the notion that ritual was impoverished and completely private during the fourteenth century when *The Treatise* was written,[116] Macrides cautions against extending its relevance beyond then, citing the work of T. Kiousopoulou, who 'expresses doubts about the relevance of Pseudo-Kodinos' *Treatise* to the fifteenth century.'[117] Though

[109] Macrides, 'Ceremonies', 233.
[110] This ceremony is discussed further below.
[111] Macrides, 'Ceremonies', 235 (citing Paul Magdalino, 'Court and Capital in Byzantium', in eds. M. Kunt et al, *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2011), 141-143).
[112] For the Emperor's attendance at celebrating churches and monasteries in Constantinople, along with the imperial clergy and singers, see Spyrakou, *Οι Χοροί*, 177, fn. 147; and Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 242-43.
[113] Macrides, 'Ceremonies', 234, fn. 103.
[114] Macrides, 'Ceremonies', 235.
[115] Of course, it has been argued that this trend began earlier, in the so-called 'Dark Ages' of Byzantium, from the seventh to eighth centuries, following territorial losses, political turbulence, the depopulation of cities, and the general retreat of social life to private spheres with the end of Late Antiquity.
[116] The notion that public ritual was impoversished during the fourteenth century is even more difficult to maintain when considering the expansion of various musical forms and their accompanying liturgical rubrics found in musical manuscripts of the same time.
[117] Macrides, 'Ceremonies', 217.

this text 'is generally regarded as representative of the whole of the late Byzantine period from the late thirteenth century to 1453,'[118] there is much evidence suggesting it was not. In the 200 years following the reconquest of Constantinople from the Latins in 1261, the period of relative expansion and rebuilding under Michael Palaiologos was followed by a gradual decline starting in the middle of the fourteenth century[119] and accelerating in the fourteenth. The witness of the Spanish traveller Pero Tafur who was received in the palace of Ioannes VIII in 1437, when it was entirely possible for Chrysaphes to have been present, provides some insight into the fifteenth century Byzantine court:

> The Emperor's Palace must have been very magnificent, but now it is in such state that both it and the city show well the evils which the people have suffered and still endure... Inside, the house is badly kept, except certain parts where the Emperor, the Empress, and attendants can live, although cramped for space.[120]

Caution must be exercised, therefore, in assuming that all the events described in Pseudo-Kodinos were alive and well in the fifteenth century. Yet, I will attempt to point to a few key ceremonies involving Chrysaphes' royal office that show evidence of these rituals' persistence in the fifteenth century. This is by no means an attempt to assess the relevance of all of the *Treatise's* descriptions of ceremony, dress, and ritual to the fifteenth century, but merely an attempt to focus on a few aspects of the *lampadarios*' (and more generally, the court singers') duties. I do this by marrying descriptions in *The Treatise* with musical compositions and rubrics in the musical sources. For the purposes of this dissertation, I focus on the celebration of Christmas Eve, Christmas Day, and Palm Sunday, during which a full cycle of ceremonies was celebrated, many involving the Emperor directly, especially, the ceremony of the *prokypsis*.[121]

The Prokypsis on Christmas

The festivities 'Concerning the order of the patronal feasts and the customs that apply to those days,' centred on the prokypsis, are described in great detail in the fourth book of Pseudo-

[118] Macrides, 'Ceremonies', 217.
[119] As Macrides notes, 'the imperial treasury was depleted by… territorial losses to the Turks and the civil wars of the 1320s and '40s… and disasters such as the plague of 1347 contributed to the reduction in the empire's resources' (Macrides, 'Ceremonies', 217).
[120] Macrides, 'Ceremonies', 229, after Pero Tafur, ed. & trans. M. Letts, *Travels and Adventures 1435–1439* (London, 1926).
[121] The term *prokypsis* indicates an elevated wooden platform and an imperial ceremony performed on that structure in the Komnenian and Palaiologan court, in which the emperor and his family were presented dramatically to the guards and dignitaries of the palace, elevated on the wooden platform and illumined, while acclamations and chants were sung by the imperial singers. The prokypsis ceremony was performed on Christmas and Epiphany and possibly on all patronal feasts. It is described in detail in Pseudo-Kodinos 195.11-204.23 (Michael McCormick, 'Prokypsis,' in ed. A. Kazhdan, *ODB* (Oxford: OUP, 1991), 1732-1733).

Kodinos.[122] The prokypsis probably originated in the Comnenian period,[123] replacing the public, grandiose imperial ceremonies of the hippodrome (which had evidently become too time-consuming and too expensive). The prokypsis was tied into the religious celebration of the patronal feasts of the ecclesiastical year, but its function included the display of imperial power by means of the fantastic visual and aural effects achieved in the ceremony,[124] and by means of repeated imperial acclamations, which served to highlight the allegiance of the courtiers and dignitaries to their Emperor. As Michael Jeffreys writes:

> The prokypsis [involved] an appearance made by the Emperor and his family on a high platform, accompanied by music and the recitation of appropriate eulogies... The prokypsis seems normally to have taken place after sunset, for it is nearly always connected in the sources with light, which we may surmise, often implies artificial light. The imperial party was concealed by curtains until the right moment, when they were suddenly revealed, in glittering, bejewelled costumes, set off by as much illumination as contemporary technology could produce…. The purpose was to allow the people of Constantinople to give due reverence to their ruler at a great religious festival or a moment which marked some landmark in his reign.[125]

The rubrics of *The Treatise* highlight the central role of the singers in the festivities associated with Christmas. The singers are present from the beginning of the observance on 24 December, assembling, in their traditional dress, with other dignitaries before the Emperor's first exit out of his private quarters. The *psaltai*, the corps of singers that Chrysaphes would have presumably directed,[126] decked in purple,[127] greet the emperor with the imperial acclamation, as he exits and proceeds to venerate the icons at the iconostasis of the chapel.[128] An elaborate procession then takes place with the Emperor at centre, comprising various dignitaries and singers, including the *lampadarios*, who is described as standing on the left of the emperor (a

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[122] Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos*, from p. 189.

[123] The first secure use of the term *prokypsis* is during the reign of John III Vatatzes in a group of ceremonial poems written by Nikolaos Eirenikos in Nikaia, datable to 1244, although the verb προκύπτω ('to emerge' is used much earlier). See Michael J. Jeffreys, 'The Comnenian Prokypsis,' *Parergon* 5, 1 (1987): 40-41, who also argues for the notion of the *prokypsis* as a 'Comnenian invention'.

[124] Several panegyrical poems written for the prokypsis by the court rhetorician Michael Holobolos in praise of the Emperor Michael VIII survive. In one of them, Michael VIII and 'his two songs became the three angelic messengers entertained by Abraham. In another, the emperor was described as seated between Michael and Gabriel' (See Robert G. Ousterhout, 'A Byzantine Chapel at Didymoteicho and its Frescoes,' in eds., A. Iacobini and M. D. Valle, *L' arte di Bisanzio e l' Italia al tempo dei Paleologi, 1261-1453* (Rome: Argos, 1999), 200-201).

[125] Jeffreys, 'Prokypsis', 40-41.

[126] This is a reasonable assumption given his dual titles of *maistor* and *lampadarios*, both roles involving directing choirs, as discussed above.

[127] For the color purple in ceremonial, after the testimony of Cassiodorus, see McCormick, 'Imperial Ceremonies', 19.

[128] As an indication of the ubiquitousness of singing in this imperial ceremony, the verb used here, ψάλλειν, 'to chant' ('Οἱ ψάλται αὐτίκα ψάλλουσι τὸ πολυχρόνιον' in Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 190, IV.23), is encountered over twenty times in various contexts, both liturgical and para-liturgical, in *The Treatise's* description of Christmas ceremonial. This does not even take into account the various other ways in which singing or acclamation is indicated (e.g., λέγειν, ἀναγινώσκειν, πολυχρονίζουσιν). For the multivalent, technical vocabulary employed to indicate singing and melodic recitation in Greek sources, see Lingas, 'Soundscape', 311.

bit below the *grand domestikos*), and carrying a giant, two-pronged candelabra with a gold-plate encircled by red crosses in the middle, with ends (presumably where the candles were lit) illumined in cinnabar colour.[129] We are left to wonder how someone carrying such an elaborate instrument could also sing and direct a choir of singers[130] – especially given the requirements of *cheironomia*. While Chrysaphes' role as an active singer in the presence of the Emperor is certainly without question, it is difficult to say with certainty whether he regularly held the giant *dibampoulon* in these ceremonies as well as completing his singing and directing duties.[131] We cannot rule out the possibility that, by the fifteenth century, the roles and responsibilities of court dignitaries were more fluid and less rigid than that described in Pseudo-Kodinos. Furthermore, we cannot rule out the possibility that there was more than one *lampadarios* in the imperial court of the fifteenth century.

After ceremonial involving various dignitaries and the presentation of the Emperor's staff, *The Treatise* indicates that the Hours of Christmas Eve were sung with their accompanying troparia, climaxing at the end of the Ninth Hour with the *protopsaltes'* chanting of the well-known troparion *Semeron gennatai ek parthenou* ('Today there is born of a Virgin'), preceded by the small doxology (i.e., Δόξα Πατρί... καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεῖ).[132] Following the chanting of the *Semeron gennatai*, the kanonarch is said to have intoned the same troparion, after which he would lead the singing of the acclamations and polychronion to the emperor. Then, the troparion *Semeron gennatai* is chanted again, according to Pseudo-Kodinos. After a description of the completion of the Hours and the retreat of the Emperor to his quarters, Pseudo Kodinos goes on to describe the celebration of the Vespers and the Liturgy,[133] for which the Emperor has returned to the church. After the completion of the liturgy, the singers chant the requisite imperial acclamations, the Emperor takes his *antidoron* from within the church, and then,

[129] For a discussion on the difficulty of translating the dazzling *termini technici* of Byzantine imperial ceremony, see McCormick, 'Imperial Ceremonies', *passim*.
[130] I cannot help but think of the difficulties in such a situation given the requirements of choral conducting as we know it today, let alone the requirements of *cheironomia*, the art of Byzantine choral conducting involving gesticulation for the purposes of directing the melody (which may, nevertheless, have been a dead art by the time of Chrysaphes). For references and descriptions of *cheironomia* in various Byzantine and post-Byzantine sources, see Spyrakou, *Οι Χοροί*, 174, 178, 468-470, 477, 479-480, 482-484, 517-518, 523-524, 529, 534, 561 as well as Moran, *Singers*, 6, 37-47, and elsewhere.
[131] There is scattered evidence that suggests that various titles, such as *domestikos*, had both musical and non-musical duties, so it is possible that the same was true for the office of *lampadarios* (Moran, *Singers*, 20).
[132] This hymn, modelled poetically and musically after the prototype Σήμερον κρεμᾶται ἐπὶ ξύλου ('Today there is hung on the wood') for Great Friday hours, is sung at the end of the Ninth Hour of Christmas Eve today and still constitutes a climactic moment in contemporary Eastern Orthodox worship.
[133] The rubrics for these services differ based on whether Christmas falls during the week or on Saturday or Sunday, as described in Pseudo-Kodinos, differences which are still maintained in the practice of the Greek Orthodox Church today.

exiting with the entire imperial retinue, he stands before various festive banners[134] to a great deal of clamour. Pseudo-Kodinos describes the array of instrumentalists, standing in between the imperial assembly and the banners, who play instruments resembling trumpets, sackbuts, cymbals, and pipes.[135]

The next several lines in Pseudo-Kodinos describe the ascent of the Emperor onto the elevated *prokypsis* and the pomp which includes the entrance of the *lampadarios* – third in rank, in this procession, after the Bishops and Emperor – who carries the giant candelabra. Even soldiers and guards were integral parts of the ceremony on Christmas Eve: 'the Varangians [then come], and they stand in the court near the columns of the *prokypsis*, carrying their axes in their hands. When the emperor appears from on high on the prokypsis, they raise them to their shoulders as is the custom' and then…, 'they wish the emperor "many years" according to their rank.'[136] The light that was shined on the Emperor – presumably by the *lampadarios* – the instruments, and the singing, in combination with the Emperor's elevated position and his encirclement by the Varangian guards, must have created an awesome visual and aural spectacle for the crowds attending this ceremony.

Concordances I: Σήμερον γεννᾶται ἐκ Παρθένου, et al.

The rubrics here invite an opportunity for comparison with the musical sources. In particular: the troparion *Semeron gennatai*, the polychronismoi, and the hymn, Ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη ὁ στέψας σε βασιλέα ('Christ is born, who has crowned you King'), described in Ps-Kodinos with various rubrics, are found in MSS Iviron 975 and Sinai 1234, autographs of Manuel Chrysaphes and Ioannes Plousiadenos, respectively. Iviron 975 (fols. 128r-130v) contains the *Semeron gennatai* and rubrics specifying aspects of its performance that relate closely to those found in *The Treatise*. Sinai 1234 also includes the *Semeron gennatai*, but in addition, is followed by a set of *polychronismoi* to the Emperor John and his wife Maria of Trebizond, reflecting to some degree the order detailed in Ps-Kodinos. Finally, the hymn, Ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη ὁ στέψας σε βασιλέα ('Christ is born, who crowned you king'), is found immediately following the polychronismoi in Sinai 1234.[137]

[134] Verpeaux translates this as 'oriflammes'.
[135] The best overview of instruments in Byzantium is found in Nikos Maliaras, *Βυζαντινά Μουσικά Όργανα* (Athens: Παπαγρηγορίου-Νάκας, 2007).
[136] Mark C. Bartusis, *The late Byzantine army: arms and society, 1204-1453* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), 282.
[137] According to Alexander Lingas (personal communication, 16 August 2013), the eponymous *polychronismoi* indicate that this ceremony was codified during the Koukouzeles/Korones era (i.e., first half of the fourteenth century), a period that also produced the Service of the Furnace.

The fourteenth century *Treatise* includes extensive explanations not relevant to musical performance (and thus, not found in the musical sources), such as details around the dress of the Emperor, his positioning and appearance to the crowd, and the other (non-musical) dignitaries associated with the ceremony and their respective duties. Indeed, the hymn, Ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη, is encountered in Ps-Kodinos dozens of lines after the description of the celebration of the Ninth Hour, whereas in Sinai 1234 it is found immediately after the polychronismoi. Nevertheless, the following table shows, the rubrics in Pseudo-Kodinos compare favourably with these two musical sources, Iviron 975 and Sinai 1234, the first written by a member of the imperial clergy himself, and the second authored by a learned man who was, at the very least, an acquaintance and great admirer of Chrysaphes, and possibly even his student in the imperial court.[138] Though the concordance between Pseudo-Kodinos and the musical sources is far from perfect, it enables us a fair approximation of music and ceremony in the imperial court, and it strengthens the reliability of Pseudo-Kodinos' description of ritual in the imperial court, at least for aspects of the Christmas ceremony and the *prokypsis*, a festivity within which Manuel Chrysaphes would have without question occupied a critical musical and ceremonial role.[139]

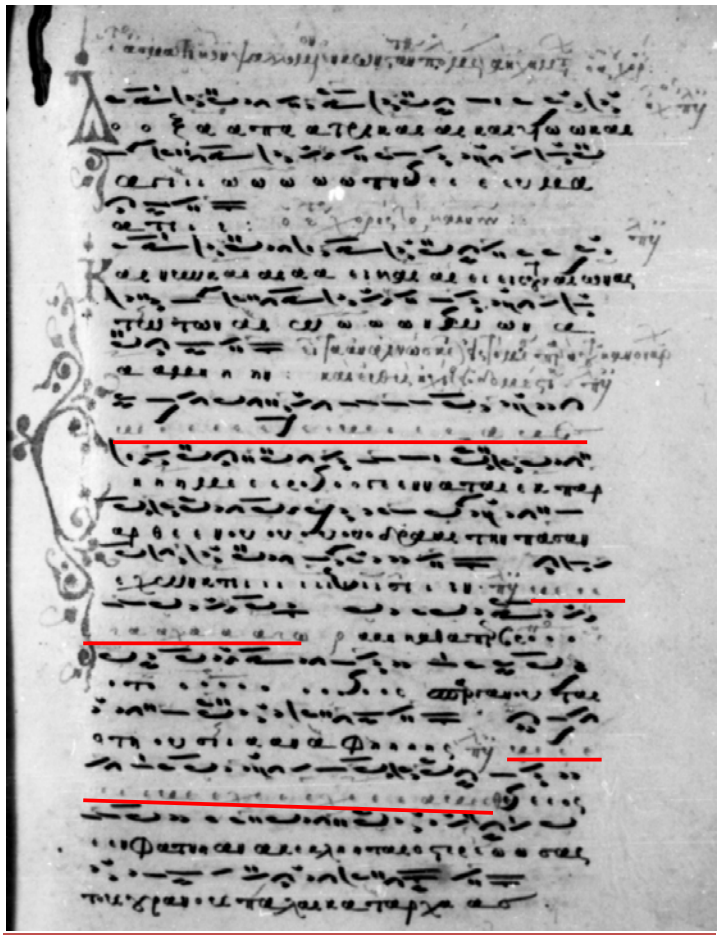
[138] We know that Plousiadenos was born in Chandax, Crete, but spent many of his younger years, until 1453, in Constantinople, most likely in elite, imperial environments (Balageorgos, 'Οι αποκείμενει', 49).
[139] In general, the integration of the Prokypsis with the palatine Christmas offices is more complicated than indicated by Ps-Kodinos, some of which I address below.

Pseudo-Kodinos	**MSS Iviron 975 (f. 128r-129r) & Sinai 1234 (f. 177v-180r)**	**Comments**
Εἰς μέντοι τὸ τελευταῖον τῆς ἐννάτης ὥρας τροπάριον λέγει ὁ πρωτοψάλτης τὸ· Δόξα [πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι]	Another Asmatikon, chanted in Constantinople with *echemata*, by the first choir,[140] in the plagal second mode:[141] Δόξα πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι	
Καὶ ψάλλεται εἶτα καὶ τὸ· Καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεί [καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμὴν]	The other choir, the "both now": Καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμὴν.	
Καὶ οὐ ψάλλεται ἐκ δευτέρου μὲν τὸ τροπάριον, ἀναγινώσκεται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ κανονάρχου,	And then [*the semeron gennatai*] is read in the middle [of the church?] by the *kanonarches* and straightway the domestikos intones: (Soloist): Νεανες... (Right Choir): Σήμερον γεννᾶται ἐκ Παρθένου, ὁ δρακὶ τὴν πᾶσαν ἔχων κτίσιν. (Soloist): Νενανω... (Left Choir): Ῥάκει καθάπερ βροτὸς σπαργανοῦται, ὁ τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἀναφής. (Soloist): Νεχεανες... (Right Choir): Θεὸς ἐν φάτνῃ ἀνακλίνεται, ὁ στερεώσας τοὺς οὐρανούς πάλαι κατ' ἀρχάς. (Soloist): Νενεανες, νενεανες, ανανεναχενε (νενανω)... (Left Choir): Ἐκ μαζῶν γάλα τρέφεται, ὁ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Μάννα ὀμβρίσας τῷ Λαῷ. (Soloist): Νεα,νενανω... (Right Choir): Μάγους προσκαλεῖται, ὁ Νυμφίος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. (Soloist): Νενεανεναω... (Left Choir): Δῶρα τούτων αἴρει, ὁ Υἱὸς τῆς Παρθένου. (Soloist): Νενεανες... (Right Choir): Προσκυνοῦμέν σου τὴν Γένναν Χριστέ (Soloist): Νεανες... (Left Choir): Προσκυνοῦμέν σου τὴν Γένναν Χριστέ (Soloist): Νενεανες... (Right Choir): Προσκυνοῦ... (Soloist): Νεανες... (Left Choir): τὴν Γένναν Χριστέ (Soloist): Νεανες... (Right Choir): Δεῖξον ἡμῖν... τιν τιν τιν... (Soloist): Νενεανες... (Left Choir): καὶ τὰ θεῖά σου Θεοφάνεια.	Though it is not specified in Iviron 975, the rubrics on fol. 177v of Sinai 1234 state that, 'in the City' (i.e., Constantinople),[142] this troparion is chanted antiphonally, by both choirs ('Ετερον ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἀπὸ χοροῦ, τοῦτο ψάλλεται δίχορον ἐν τῇ Πόλει, παρ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν χορῶν'). Most likely, each new intonation (in red) was the point at which the choirs switched. There are several similar examples in Chrysaphes' MS Iviron 1120 that indicate double choir performance explicitly in this manner, that is, separated by intonation figures. Thus, here in Iviron 975, the solo chanting is indicated by cinnabar ink and choral chanting by black ink, resulting in the order presented to the left (choirs in black, domestikos soloist in red).
...ὃς καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀναγνῶναι λέγει οὕτω Πολυχρόνιον ποιήσαι ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ἁγίαν βασιλείαν σας εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη Πολυχρόνιον ποιήσαι ὁ Θεὸς τὴν κραταιὰν καὶ ἁγίαν βασιλείαν σας εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη Καὶ πάλιν ἐκ τρίτου, Πολυχρόνιον ποιήσαι ὁ θεὸς τὴν θεοπρόβλητον, θεόστεπτον καὶ θεοφρούρητον κραταιὰν καὶ ἁγίαν βασιλείαν σας εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη	Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα λέγουσι τὴν εὐφημίαν, Ὁ πρωτοψάλτης Πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη τῶν βασιλέων Πρῶτος Ἰωάννου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Ῥωμαίων τοῦ Παλαιολόγου πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη Ὁ λαός Ἰωάννου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Ῥωμαίων τοῦ Παλαιολόγου πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη Ὁ πρῶτος	The polychronismoi are anonymous in Pseudo-Kodinos, whereas, in Plousiadenos' Sinai 1234, we are given specific historical characters, Emperor John VIII Palaiologos, and his wife Maria of Trebizond. The words and order are slightly different between the sources, but there are many correspondences: a) the fact that polychronismoi are included after the troparion *semeron gennatai*, b) the exchange between soloist and "people" in the acclamations (ἡ παράστασις – the company or attendees, in Ps.-Kodinos, vs. 'ὁ λαός'[143] – the people in Plousiadenos' MS, and c) many shared words and phrases, e.g., πολυχρόνιον, εἰς πολλά ἔτι.

[140] The indication 'by the first choir' is difficult to make out in the photograph I have of this folio. There is a ligature of omikron and ypsilon that I am unable to make out at this point.The indication of χορός is clear.
[141] Ἕτερον ἁσματικὸν ψαλλόμενον ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει μετ' ἠχημάτων, ἦχος πλ. β' (Iviron 975, f. 129r).
[142] The specification 'in the City', i.e., Constantinople, is given here, as it is in many other musical MSS, because of the existence of an alternate, 'Thessalonian' setting.
[143] For the contribution of the λαός in imperial ceremony and ecclesiastical services, see Spyrakou, *Οι Χοροί*, 117, 121, 147-8, 152, 157-8, 161 and table Λ.7.6.

	Ἰωάννου τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Ῥωμαίων τοῦ Παλαιολόγου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης αὐγούστης πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη Καὶ πάλιν γεγωνοτέρᾳ φωνῇ ὁ δομέστικος τό, Πολλά τὰ ἔτη Καὶ ὁ λαὸς ὁμοίως	This *polychronismo* complex of alternating call and response between the *protopsaltes* and the people is not included in Iviron 975.
Εἶτα ἐπευφημίζει ἡ παράστασις λέγουσα Πολυχρόνιον ποιήσαι ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἁγίαν βασιλείαν σας εἰς πολλὰ ἔτι	Εἶτα τὸ πολυχρόνιον Πολυχρόνιον ποιήσαι Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς	
Καὶ ψάλλεται τὸ τροπάριον αὖθις, ἐπεὶ τὸ «καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεῖ» προερρέθη.		Thus, based on Pseudo-Kodinos, this troparion is to be chanted, read (intoned), then chanted a second time, after the polychronismoi.
[…] Οἱ μέντοι ψάλται μετὰ τὸ πολυχρονίσαι σιωπῶσι, τὰ ὄργανα δὲ ἠχοῦσι μέχρι καὶ ἱκανῆς ὥρας. Εἶτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἠρέμα κινήσαντος τὸ μανδύλιον παραυτίκα καὶ ταῦτα παύουσι, καὶ ἄρχονται πάλιν οἱ ψάλται, προσφόρους λέγοντες στίχους τῇ ἑορτῇ, καὶ μετ᾽ὀλίγον τὸ: Ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη ὁ στέψας σε βασιλέα …καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο στίχους, καὶ πάλιν αὐτό, μέχρι καὶ ἱκανῆς ὥρας.	Τοῦτο ψάλλεται εἰς τὴν πρόκυψιν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἦχος δ᾽, Ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη ὁ στέψας σε βασιλέα	As noted above, the hymn Ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη ὁ στέψας σε βασιλέα is found in MS Sinai 1234 immediately following the polychronismoi to the Emperor. In Pseudo-Kodinos, the hymn is found after dozens of lines describing various aspects of the *prokypsis* service, including musical events such as the sounding of various instruments and the singing of more polychronismoi by the *psaltai*. We cannot be sure exactly where the polychronismoi represented in MS Sinai 1234 were to be sung. Most probably, they were the polychronimsoi which immediately followed the *Semeron gennatai*, as suggested by this table. Another possibility is that they were sung immediately following the Ὁ Χριστὸς ἐγεννήθη ὁ στέψας σε βασιλέα. This is a compelling choice since Pseudo-Kodinos, immediately after this hymn, indicates that the actual names of the Emperor and Empress are to be said, immediately before the singing of the polychronion by the chanters: Εἶτα γίνεται ἡ εὐφημία τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν δεσποινῶν, μεθ᾽ ἣν πολυχρονίζουσιν αὖθις οἱ ψάλται.

FIGURE 2.7: IVIRON 975, FOL. 128R, ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ ΓΕΝΝΑΤΑΙ FROM THE NINTH HOUR OF CHRISTMAS EVE



A high-level analysis of the above composition lends credence to the notion that it was a hymn to be sung for a particularly festive or solemn occasion. The musical phrases included in Chrysaphes' version are far more elaborate and melismatic than the more compact version from the classical *Sticherarion*, as an analysis of the version in MS Ambrosianus 139 (from the year 1341) clearly shows.[144] Similarly, Chrysaphes includes elaborate *echemata* demarcating the right and left choir execution of the chant (underlined in red in Fig. 2.7 above).[145] These intonation formulae are included in the older version, but in their more compact form. As Jørgen Raasted has shown in his analysis of intonation formulas in medieval MSS of Byzantine chant, there is evidence that singers had the option of singing these outright or omitting them. On particularly festive occasions, these intonation formulas would have been

[144] See below for a brief analysis of *Semeron gennatai*, both Chrysaphes' version in Iviron 975, and the classical version in MS Ambrosianus 139.

[145] That this hymn was to be executed by both choirs interspersed with echemata is supported by the rubrics in at least two fifteenth century MSS containing rubrics and music for the prototype of Σήμερον γεννᾶται, that is, the troparion of the Ninth Hour on Holy Friday, Σήμερον κρεμᾶται. See the descriptions of the execution of this hymn, which include references to double-choir performance and the singing of echemata, in MSS Pantokratoros 211, fols. 275r-276r and Vatopaidi 1529, fols. 88r-89v, in Spyrakou, *Οι Χοροί*, 421.

much more than simply functional, providing the singers with the starting pitch and setting up the modality of the upcoming phrase. Rather, they would have become performative, aesthetic objects utilized by singers to display their skill and adorn the service with extra festivity. Thus, we can plausibly assume that the version of this troparion from the Ninth Ode of Christmas Eve, Σήμερον γεννᾶται, from MS Iviron 975, was written in this more elaborate form in order to fit with the ceremony of the imperial events as described in Pseudo-Kodinos. As such, it demonstrates Chrysaphes' close connection to events in the palace environment and its impact on his musical output.

Concordances II: Μάγοι Περσῶν

Another compelling concordance between Pseudo-Kodinos and an autographed musical manuscript belonging to Chrysaphes can be found during the proceedings after the meal[146] on Christmas day. After the celebration of Liturgy and various other ceremonial, Pseudo-Kodinos indicates that the *psaltai* stood before the emperor in full regalia to sing an *idiomelon* of the feast of Christmas, 'Μάγοι Περσῶν βασιλεῖς' (The Magi, Kings of Persia), during which the Emperor would formally pause from eating and listen to the singers. After the completion of the hymn, the Emperor re-commences eating and the singers receive their portion of food (μίνσους).[147] During this ceremonial banquet and after completion of the singing of the idiomelon, the Emperor gives gifts to the members of his court, from the singers and the grand domestikos (the leader of the army), all the way down to the soldiers.

The description given in *The Treatise* is as follows:

> Ἔπειτα εἰσέρχονται καὶ οἱ ψάλται μετὰ τῶν ἐπιρριπταρίων καὶ καμισίων αὐτῶν, καὶ ψάλλουσιν ἰδιόμελον τῶν τῆς ἑορτῆς, ἤτοι τὸ «μάγοι Περσῶν βασιλεῖς». Ψαλλόντων οὖν τούτων ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς μικρὸν ἀποσχόμενος τοῦ ἐσθίειν κάθηται... καὶ μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι τούτους τὴν ψαλμῳδίαν, τοῦ βασιλέως αὖθις ἀρξαμένου ἐσθίειν, ὁ μέγας δομέστικος πρὸς τὴν τράπεζαν ἀπελθὼν κατέρχεται πρὸς τὸ ἄκρον, καὶ καλεῖ κατ' ὄνομα τὸν τε πρωτοψάλτην, τὸν δομέστικον, τὸν λαμπαδάριον, καὶ τὸν μαΐστορα. Ἐλθοῦσιν οὖν, δίδωσι μίνσους αὐτοῖς...
>
> [Then, the psaltai come in with their *epirriptaria* and their cloaks, and they chant the idiomelon of the feast, that is, the "Magi Kings of Persia". While the psaltai are chanting, the Emperor sits, ceasing for a moment to eat… and after they have completed the chanting, the Emperor straightway re-commencing to eat, the grand domestikos coming from the table goes towards the corner and calls by name the protopsaltes, the domestikos,

[146] The singing of *psaltai* during imperial meals was apparently an old tradition, also described in the *De Ceremoniis of* Constantine Porphyrogennitos: 'Τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπὸ τοῦ παλατίου ἐλθόντος εἰς τὸ μητατώριον τῆς μανναύρας καὶ εἰσελθόντος ἐκεῖσε, ἤρξαντο οἱ ψάλται μετὰ τῶν δημοτῶν ᾄδειν τὰ βασιλίκια. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ καθεσθῆναι πάντες ἐπηύξαντο πολυχρόνιον' (Spyrakou, *Οι Χοροί*, 156).
[147] Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 214-15. The term 'μίνσους' is translated 'plateau' by Verpaux.

> the *lampadarios*, and the maistor. Then they all proceed, and he gives to them a plate (of food?)].[148]

The concordance to be drawn between this excerpt from Pseudo-Kodinos and the musical sources is to be found in Chrysaphes' autograph Iviron 975 on folio 133r and in Plousiadenos' autographs, Sinai 1251 (f. 115r) and Sinai 1234 (f. 182v). In Iviron 975, Chrysaphes has written an extremely elaborate *anagrammatismos* based on the following text, attributed to 'John' or 'John the Monk',[149] probably an eighth century hymnographer from the desert of Palestine:

> Μάγοι Περσῶν Βασιλεῖς, ἐπιγνόντες σαφῶς, τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς τεχθέντα, Βασιλέα οὐράνιον, ὑπὸ λαμπροῦ ἀστέρος ἑλκόμενοι, ἔφθασαν ἐν Βηθλεέμ, δῶρα προσφέροντες ἔγκριτα, χρυσὸν καὶ λίβανον καὶ σμύρναν, καὶ πεσόντες προσεκύνησαν· εἶδον γὰρ ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ, βρέφος κείμενον τὸν Ἄχρονον.[150]

Chrysaphes introduces this composition with the following inscription: 'Another Pentecostarion for this feast (Christmas), a composition by Ioannes Comnenos, embellished afterwards by Xenos Korones, and then later, unified and embellished a bit by Chrysaphes, in the first mode.'[151] Sinai 1251, on the other hand, includes the same composition but based on the first embellishment, by the fourteenth century *protopsaltes* Xenos Korones. Sinai 1234 includes both versions, the simpler composition by Ioannes Comnenos (though not attributes in this source) and another, 'more kalophonic' (καλοφωνικότερον) setting by Xenos Korones. The place of this composition in the imperial ceremony of Christmas day is confirmed by the preceding note in Sinai 1251, which states that it is a 'Pentecostarion to be chanted at the meal of the Emperor' ('Πεντηκοστάριον ψαλλόμενον εἰς τὸ γεῦμα τοῦ βασιλέως').[152]

Both embellished versions by Korones and Chrysaphes are virtuosic, with interspersed *teretismata* and an expansive range.[153] Perhaps more strikingly, the text itself is a heavily

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[148] My English translation is based on the Greek and French in Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 214.

[149] For example, see the mid-14th century MS Ambrosianus 139, in which this is attributed to 'John.' Traditionally, this is attributed to 'John the Monk' in the non-musical Greek sources. On the difficulty of identifying the common name 'John the monk,' see Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford: OUP, 1961), 237; Th. Antonopoulou, 'A Kanon on Saint Nicholas by Manuel Philes,' *REB* 62 (2004):197-213, and Dimitrios Skrekas, Studies in the Iambic Canons attributed to John of Damascus: A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary (University of Oxford, 2008), esp. xxxv-xxxvi and xlviii.

[150] 'The Magi, kings of Persia, plainly recognized the Heavenly King, born upon the earth. Drawn by a bright star, they came to Bethlehem, offering choice gifts, gold and frankincense and myrrh; and falling down, they worshipped. For in the cave they beheld the timeless one lying as a babe' (Translation: Holy Transfiguration Monastery, Brookline, MA, 2005).

[151] This text appears in Sinai 1234 as well, on fol. 182v, as a 'regular' version, and then on f. 183r, one that is 'more embellished' (καλοφωνικότερον), by Xenos Korones. I have not yet identified who, among the many individuals named Ioannes Komnenos, this might be referring to (e.g., see PLP 12103-12110).

[152] Virtually the same inscription is found preceding the Μετὰ ποιμένων μάγοι in MS Sinai 1234.

[153] See appendix for musical analysis and commentary.

manipulated version of the original, even including phrases from other hymns from the Christmas season.[154] The full text from Iviron 975 is:

> Μετὰ ποιμένων μάγοι, μάγοι περσίδος – πάλιν – μάγοι ἐκ περσίδος προσκυνήσατε... χε... τῷ βασιλεῖ – πάλιν – τῷ βασιλεῖ προσκυνήσατε, τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν δυνάμεων, τῷ ἐκ παρθένου ἀνατείλαντι, μετὰ ποιμένων μάγοι προσκυνήσατε τῷ βασιλεῖ – Τι τι τι... τε ρι ρι τι τι…
>
> Προσκυνήσατε τῷ βασιλεῖ, τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν δυνάμεων, προσκυνήσατε, τῷ ἐκ παρθένου ἀνατείλαντι, σὺ δὲ Ἰωσὴφ – πάλιν – μηκέτι – Τι τι τι...
>
> Μηκέτι στύγναζε, ἀλλὰ προσκυνοῦ, ἀλλὰ προσκυνοῦ, ἀλλὰ προσκυνοῦ τὸ τικτόμενον, τῷ ἐκ παρθένου ἀνατείλαντι – Τι ρι ρι τι τι τι...Τε ρι ρεμ...
>
> Τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν δυνάμεων ἐκβοῶν[155]

The extremely kalophonic musical idiom encountered in Chrysaphes' Μάγοι Περσῶν speaks for itself, but in addition, the text is manipulated to emphasize the imperial occasion. Here, Chrysaphes' text-troping takes on a symbolic meaning, where the Magi's worship of Christ is likened, one may surmise, to the imperial subjects' allegiance and subservience to the Emperor. This is emphasized by a repetition and elaboration of the phrase 'μάγοι προσκυνήσατε τῷ βασιλεῖ' (Magi, worship the King). The phrase is repeated several times, and often without its subject ('Magi') explicitly included, as 'Προσκυνήσατε τῷ βασιλεῖ' ('You, worship the King!'). Note the shift of person, tense, and mood. The original chant has προσεκύνησαν (3rd person plural, aorist, indicative, i.e., 'they worshipped'), but here we have προσκυνήσατε – a 2nd-person plural aorist imperative, reflecting a change that shifts the action from the manger of Bethlehem to the imperial palace, probably for the purpose of promoting themes of imperial power and allegiance of subjects, themes that would be heightened in the context of the ritual (alternatively, this shift would have simply served to emphasise the Emperor as a type of Christ). It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that the original composition and the subsequent embellishments by Korones and Chrysaphes, both members of the royal clergy, were conceived for the purpose of the ceremonial Christmas meal in the presence of the Emperor, similar to the embellished, 'Constantinopolitan' version of the Σήμερον γεννᾶται discussed above.

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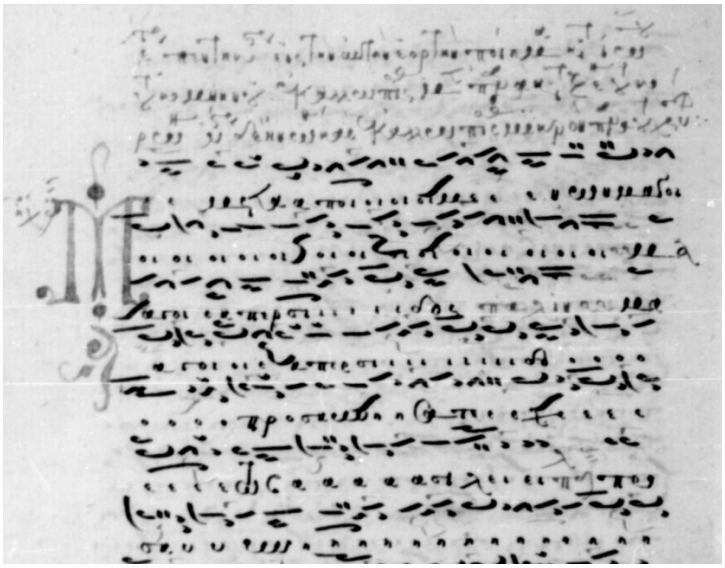
[154] Specifically, the insertion of Joseph's name and the phrase μὴ στύγναζε (do not be troubled) into the existing text is somewhat unexpected. It is based on the pre-festal *Theotokion* troparion which is chanted on December 17 and 22: Μὴ στύγναζε Ἰωσήφ, καθορῶν μου τὴν νηδύν· ὄψει γὰρ τὸ τικτόμενον ἐξ ἐμοῦ καὶ χαρήσῃ, καὶ ὡς Θεὸν προσκυνήσεις, ἡ Θεοτόκος ἔλεγε τῷ ἑαυτῆς μνηστῆρι, μολοῦσα τοῦ τεκεῖν τὸν Χριστόν. Ταύτην ἀνυμνήσωμεν λέγοντες· Χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη, μετὰ σοῦ ὁ Κύριος, καὶ διὰ σοῦ μεθ' ἡμῶν.

[155] This text, translated, is: 'With the shepherds, Magi, Magi of Persia – again – Magi from Persia, worship… the King – again – the King, worship the King of the Powers, the one who shined forth from the Virgin, with the shepherds, Magi, worship the King – terirem – Worship the King, the King of the Powers, worship, the one who shined forth from the Virgin, and you Joseph – again – do not – Tititi… do not be troubled, but worship, but worship, but worship him who was born, him who shined forth from the Virgin… Tiriri tititi…Terirem…The King of the Powers, crying out...'

FIGURE 2.8: CHRYSAPHES' ANAGRAMMATISMOS 'ΜΑΓΟΙ ΠΕΡΣΩΝ', FOR THE MEAL OF THE EMPEROR[156]



Concordances III: Ἐξέλθετε ἔθνη (Palm Sunday)

The rubrics found in Pseudo-Kodinos for the celebration of Palm Sunday validate the fact that the office of lampadarios was a fundamentally 'musical' office that nevertheless entailed important ceremonial duties. The passage quoted below begins with the preparations that occur at the beginning of the week prior to Palm Sunday, then skipping several lines of the original text, re-commences at the celebration of Palm Sunday Matins:

> Τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν Βαΐων προετοιμάζεται μὲν ὁ περίπατος διὰ μέσης τῆς ἑβδομάδος, ἀπὸ τοῦ κελλίου τοῦ βασιλέως διήκων μέχρι καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας... Προανέρχεται γοῦν ὁ λαμπαδάριος εἰς τὸν περίπατον λαμπαδηφορῶν, ψάλλων ὅλον τὸ ἰδιόμελον, τό «ἐξέλθετε ἔθνη, ἐξέλθετε καὶ λαοὶ, καὶ θεάσασθε σήμερον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν οὐρανῶν»· εἰς τύπον γὰρ Χριστοῦ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἔρχεται. Εἶτα ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλεύς, εἰ παρατύχοι... Ἀπελθόντων οὖν οὕτω διὰ τοῦ περιπάτου μέχρι καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, γίνεται ἡ ἀπόλυσις τοῦ ὄρθρου ἐκεῖσε. Εἶτα ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑποστρέφει καθ'ὃν εἴρηται τρόπον, τοῦ λαμπαδαρίου προπορευομένου.[157]
>
> On the feast of the Palms, the covered walkway (*peripaton*) is prepared from the middle of the week, from exactly the cell of the Emperor all the way up to the Church... [in the Orthros], the lampadarios proceeds into the covered walkway, carrying the great lantern, and chanting the *idiomelon*,[158] 'Come out, ye nations, come out, ye peoples, and behold today the king of the heavens.' For the Gospel comes as a type of Christ. Then, the Emperor and the Emperor's son [proceed out], if [the Emperor's son] happens to be present. Then walking out in this way across the covered walkway (*peripaton*) to the

[156] Iviron 975, f. 133v.
[157] Verpeaux, *Pseudo-Kodinos*, 225-26.
[158] An idiomelon is a melody that either exists uniquely, something like a *hapax legomenon* in the Byzantine melodic tradition, or, one that serves as a model melody for identical texts composed subsequently, which are called *prosomoia*. Presumably, this idiomelon is not being chanted in its usual modern place in the middle of the Lauds stichera, but has been pulled out to be used separately as a processional sticheron for an imperial ceremony.

> church, the dismissal (*apolysis*) of Orthros occurs there. Then, the Emperor turns around in that way, as it has been said[159], proceeded by the lampadarios.[160]

This passage highlights the central role occupied by the lampadarios in the presentation of the Emperor in the context of the ritualized ceremony occurring on Palm Sunday, one of the most festive celebrations of the liturgical year. Not only did the lampadarios' duties include leading the procession, but impressively, he was also tasked with singing (possibly the most) important hymn of these festivities. This is similar to the dual-nature of the lampadarios' duties as detailed in the celebration of Christmas Eve, but in this case, the singing of a particular climactic musical moment is exclusively assigned to the *lampadarios*, as opposed to the psaltai, generally. The text of the hymn to be sung by the lampadarios juxtaposes Christ the Heavenly King with his 'lowly throne' of the foal of an ass and an emphasis on the theme of the New and Old covenants. In this ceremonial context, however, these lines become laden with extra-scriptural symbolism. The opening line, 'Come out you nations, come out also you peoples, and behold today the King of the Heavens,' when associated with the dramatic entrance of the Emperor, seem to be a not-so-subtle expression of imperial propaganda, consistent with the overall theme of imperial ceremony, as seen above in the prokypsis. Here, the Emperor's entrance is likened to the triumphal entrance of Christ – who is described as the King of heavens – into Jerusalem, to the cheers of crowds of enthusiastic citizens of Jerusalem.

Did Chrysaphes likely participate in this ritual and sing this proclamation in presentation of the Emperors John VIII and Constantine XI? The answer again may reside in the musical sources, specifically, on folio 369v of Chrysaphes' autograph, the Kalophonic Sticherarion MS Iviron 975. Beginning on this folio is an elaborate setting of the idiomelon, 'Ἐξέλθετε ἔθνη, ἐξέλθετε καὶ λαοὶ' the very hymn referenced in Pseudo-Kodinos' passage of the Palm Sunday ceremonial above. The inscription on f. 369v of MS 975 states:

> Τὰ μὲν γράμματα Θεοφίλου βασιλέως, τὸ δὲ μέλος κὺρ Μανουὴλ μαΐστορος τοῦ Χρυσάφου, ἦχος δ', Ἐξέλθετε ἔθνη.
>
> [The words are by the Emperor Theophilos, while the composition is by Manuel Chrysaphes the maistor, in the fourth mode, 'Come ye people'].

The text of this idiomelon was originally written back in the ninth century by the iconoclast Emperor Theophilos and remained in use in the Matins service of Palm Sunday, carrying extra weight for its position in the entrance of the Emperor at least during the time of Pseudo-

[159] The phase 'καθ'ὸν εἴρηται' ('as it is said') is indicative of Pseudo-Kodinos's 'awareness of continuity and discontinuity,' which is also made evident by his willingness to admit ignorance of the origins of certain rituals (Macrides, 'Ceremonies', 225). For more on this theme, see Macrides, 'The Reason'.
[160] The present author is responsible for the English translation.

Kodinos.[161] It is entirely plausible to posit that Chrysaphes' embellishment of this composition – the only one of his own included in MS Iviron 975 for Palm Sunday – was written with this specific festivity in mind. The entire text of this hymn is:

> Ἐξέλθετε ἔθνη, ἐξέλθετε καὶ λαοί, καὶ θεάσασθε σήμερον, τὸν Βασιλέα τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὡς ἐπὶ θρόνου ὑψηλοῦ, ἐπὶ πώλου εὐτελοῦς, τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ προσεπιβαίνοντα, γενεὰ Ἰουδαίων, ἄπιστε καὶ μοιχαλίς, δεῦρο, θέασαι, ὃν εἶδεν Ἡσαΐας ἐν σαρκὶ δι' ἡμᾶς παραγενόμενον, πῶς νυμφεύεται ὡς σώφρονα, τὴν νέαν Σιών, καὶ ἀποβάλλεται τὴν κατάκριτον συναγωγήν· ὡς ἐν ἀφθάρτῳ δὲ γάμῳ καὶ ἀμιάντῳ, ἀμίαντοι συνέδραμον εὐφημοῦντες, οἱ ἀπειρόκακοι Παῖδες μεθ' ὧν ὑμνοῦντες βοήσωμεν ὕμνον τόν Ἀγγελικόν. Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, τῷ ἔχοντι τὸ μέγα ἔλεος.
>
> [Come forth, you nations, and come forth you peoples, and look today on the King of Heaven on a humble colt as on a lofty throne treading the path to Jerusalem. Faithless and adulterous generation of the Jews, look on the one whom Isaias saw who has come for our sake in flesh. See, how he weds the new Sion, for she is chaste, and rejects the synagogue that is condemned. As at a marriage that is incorrupt and undefiled, the undefiled and innocent Children run together as they sing his praise. As we raise the song with them, let us cry aloud the Angels' song, 'Hosanna in the highest to him who has great mercy!']

The following conclusions can be drawn based on the above analysis of music and ceremony, which focused on the three hymns Σήμερον γεννᾶται, Μάγοι Περσῶν, and Ἐξέλθετε ἔθνη, as described in selected passages of the fourteenth century *Treatise* by Pseudo-Kodinos and the musical sources. First, Pseudo-Kodinos confirms the fact that the lampadarios was an important role in the imperial court possessing both critical ceremonial as well as musical duties. As for the person of Manuel Chrysaphes, we can only be sure of his participation as singer and choir director in these festivities. We cannot say with certainty whether or not the various ceremonial duties assigned to the lampadarios in Pseudo-Kodinos were carried out by him, or even to what degree the ceremony described in the *Treatise* reflected actual ceremony in Constantinopolitan imperial environments of the 1440s and 1450s. Nevertheless, the concordances between Pseudo-Kodinos and the musical sources belonging to Chrysaphes and those in his immediate circle (i.e., Plousiadenos), testify to the fact that some of the religious festivities that occurred in the presence of the Emperor as described in Pseudo-Kodinos were alive and well in the fifteenth century. In fact, the Prokypsis rites as described in the

[161] The Emperor Theophilos (829-842) seems to have been among the musically skilled Byzantine Emperors, like Leo V (813-820), who was involved in composition and performance. He is known as a composer of hymns, as above, and there is evidence that he directed the choirs at times, with *cheironomia* (Spyrakou, Οι Χοροί 154, fn. 28). It is interesting to note that this sticheron does not appear in either the Typikon of the Anastasis or the Georgian Iadgari (edited by Charles Renoux, *L'hymnaire de Saint-Sabas (Ve-VIIIe siècle): le manuscrit géorgien H 2123. I. Du samedi de Lazare à la Pentecôte*, Vol. 50, 3, Patrologia Orientalis (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), about which, cf. infra, Ch. 5, pp., 194-195). Although it is not surprising that it is absent in the Iadgari (as the old Jerusalem rite used other processional stichera), it is a little more unusual for it not to have made its way in to the Anastasis Typikon, given how much later Byzantine material the latter includes. Perhaps this is an indication of its redactors holding a grudge against its author, Emperor Theophilos, for his iconoclast tendencies. For the purposes of future studies it would be useful to trace this hymn – if it exists – to liturgical documents of the Stoudite period.

[162] Translation by Fr. Ephrem Lash (http://www.anastasis.org.uk/).

Plousiadenos autographs indicate more elaborate musical development than suggested by Ps-Kodinos. If we are to believe that Plousiadenos was documenting the *Prokypsis* ceremony as celebrated in mid-fifteenth century Constantinople – which he would have known from his time in the capital – what we witness is the rather paradoxical elaboration of ritual across some dimensions in the face of a declining empire with shrinking resources. Finally, our analysis above proves that some of Chrysaphes' compositions and arrangements, e.g., Σήμερον γεννᾶται, Μάγοι Περσῶν, and Ἐξέλθετε ἔθνη, were written with imperial festivity in mind. This final point is not only confirmed based on the concordances – both musical and ritual – that have been identified between the musical sources and ceremonial documents, but perhaps most tellingly, on the basis of the fact that these compositions are among the more florid and expressive in the repertory – elaboration is a hallmark sign of ceremonial festivity throughout the Eastern and Western music traditions. More generally, our analysis of this source material demonstrates the importance of musicians as composers and singers in imperial environments in Constantinople, and more specifically, the central position occupied by Manuel Chrysaphes in his role as lampadarios and maistor of the royal clergy.

2.3 Peregrinations after the Fall of Constantinople

Background

Rubrics in fifteenth century MSS witness to Chrysaphes' presence in Mistra, Serbia, and Crete following the Fall of Constantinople.[163] Although we cannot rule out the possibility that he travelled to any of these locations prior to 1453 (especially in the case of Mistra), the most probable chronology seems to be as follows:[164]

Early life:	Selyvria (Eastern Thrace)
1440 – 1453:	Constantinople
1453 – 1459:	Mistra
1453 – 1459:	Smenderevo, Serbia
1458/9 – 1469:	Crete

[163] There is no direct evidence supporting Chrysaphes' presence on the island of Cyprus, but Christiana Demetriou does not rule out the possibility. For one, the MS Machairas A4, the subject of her aforementioned monograph, is a Kalophonic Sticherarion that anthologises Chrysaphes' compositions more than those of any other composer. Another intriguing piece of evidence is Chrysaphes' setting of a sticheron in honor of the little-known St. Tryphillos, Bishop of Ledra (Nicosia), in Cyprus. For the possibility of Chrysaphes' presence in Cyprus, and at least, his influence on the musical production of the island, see Demetriou, Spätbyzantinische 245 and Christiana Demetriou, 'Επτά καλοφωνικά στιχηρά ή τα ίχνη του Μανουήλ Χρυσάφη στην Κύπρο', *Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών* 29, 98/2399 (2003): 53-78.

[164] The dates included in this timeline cannot be fixed at this time but are given as the most probable coordinates based on the current state of research.

The following portion of the chapter on Chrysaphes' life and travels cannot be organised on a purely chronological basis since we lack specific dates for much of Chrysaphes' life. Therefore, in the first section, I foreground geography and place chronology in the background in reviewing the manuscript evidence for Chrysaphes' travels and habitation in Mistra, Serbia, and Crete. Crete, a colony of Venice from the early thirteenth century until the Ottoman conquest in 1669, naturally merits more extensive treatment. For centuries, home to Greeks and Latins living side by side, the ethnically diverse urban areas of Crete provided opportunities for cultural exchanges as well as contested allegiances. The cultural context and recent historical events in Venetian Crete created an environment in which the gamut of interaction, from antipathy and suspicion, to mutual influence, cooperation, and miscegenation, are encountered, and in which musicians often played a surprisingly central role. By analysing the evidence for these strands, we are able to present a picture of what life might have been like for Chrysaphes, a transplanted Constantinopolitan musician in Crete. But first, we review the evidence for Chrysaphes' travels in Mistra and Serbia.

Chrysaphes and Mistra

Palaiologan Mistra

The connection of Chrysaphes to imperial environments extends after the Fall of Constantinople, based on evidence of his presence in Mistra, a Byzantine imperial stronghold throughout fourteenth until the middle of the fifteenth century. A marginal inscription on folio 171a of Iviron 1000 gives evidence of the composer's presence in 'Sparta.' This inscription, concerning Chrysaphes' setting of the sticheron to the Theotokos, Τίς μὴ μακαρίσει σε ('Who will not call you blessed') is also found in MS Pantokratorinos 211:

> This previously written sticheron was composed prior to the Fall of Constantinople. Afterwards, I looked for it but was not able to find it, and not remembering how to write it, I composed another one – the following. But then, later, I found the first one. I wrote both. Another, which I myself composed in Sparta after the Fall.[165]

Sparta is to be taken as, more generally, the Despotate of the Morea – 'a triangle of land demarcated by the castles of Maina, Monemvasia, and Mistra'[166] – which had its capital at Mistra. The scribe of Iviron 1000, likely copying from a Chrysaphes original, uses the

[165] Based on Stathis' transcription of the relevant inscription from MS Pantocratorinos 211, in 'Μανουήλ Χρυσάφης', 34-35: 'Τοῦτο τὸ προεγραφὲν στιχηρὸν ἐποιήθη πρὸ τῆς ἁλώσεως τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως. Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ζητήσας τοῦτο οὐχ εὗρον καὶ μὴ ἐνθυμουμένου τούτου γράφειν ἐποίησα ἕτερον, τὸ ἔμπροσθεν, ὕστερον δὲ εὗρον τὸ α΄· ἔγραψα καὶ τὰ δύο... Ἕτερον τοῦ αὐτοῦ ποιηθὲν ἐν Σπάρτῃ μετὰ τὴν ἅλωσιν.'

[166] Sharon Gerstel, 'Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea', in eds. A. E. Laiou and R. P. Mottahedeh, *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World* (Washington, D.C.: DORLC, 2001), 263. Cf. supra, Ch. 1, Fig. 1.1 for a map of the Late Byzantine Empire including the Despotate of the Morea.

classicising name for Mistra, or Sparta, a familiar literary *topos* particularly in that area in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[167] The Despotate of the Morea, in Frankish hands from the time of the Fourth Crusade until 1349, became a bastion of Greek power in the face of the final Ottoman onslaught of Constantinople. It was initially ruled by the Kantakouzenos dynasty, finally passing on to Palaiologan hands in 1380.[168] Byzantine emperors and members of the royal family travelled frequently between Constantinople and Mistra, driven by the vicissitudes of political manoeuvrings within the royal house, the requirements of diplomacy or the necessities of military presence. Since then, members of the Palaiologan family, including the Emperors Manuel II, John VII, John VIII, and Constantine XI, travelled to (and often resided in) Mistra several times during the first half of the fifteenth century. For example, Manuel II visited the Morea in 1408 to mourn the death of his brother Theodore I, erstwhile Despot of Morea, and in 1415 to refortify the famed Hexamilion Wall. In 1428, three of Manuel's sons were present in the Morea (Constantine, Theodore II, and Thomas), each claiming a right to the title of Despot. Constantine XI himself travelled to and from Mistra and Constantinople several times between 1428 and 1448, when he held the title of Despot of the Morea. Mistra finally fell to the Turks on May 29, 1460.[169] This manuscript reference to Sparta confirms that Chrysaphes was in Mistra at some point after 1453. Based on the timing of the conquests of Constantinople (1453) and Mistra – seven years later to the day – it is reasonable to believe that Chrysaphes would have resided in Sparta, that is, Mistra, for a time at some point between 1453 and 1460.

Coronations and Imperial Commissions

While Chrysaphes was certainly in Mistra at some point after the Fall, his presence there before 1453 cannot be ruled out. It seems plausible to suggest that Chrysaphes, a member of the imperial court and this Palaiologan milieu, would have accompanied the royal family on its many travels, perhaps working and living in Mistra for some time during the 1440s or early 1450s. A particularly intriguing episode in the final years of the Empire related to the coronation of Constantine XI lends credence to this latter point.

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[167] As Gill Page states, 'the Byzantine Romans knew that Mistra was just a couple of miles from ancient Sparta and this clearly played a part in fostering Hellenizing self-identification under such men as Gemistos Plethon. In this regard, the nearest [Manuel] Palaiologos comes to any identification between Theodore and the *exempla* from the past is to remark of Agesilaus that "he had reigned here," i.e., in Sparta (*Funeral Oration* 221.1). Mazaris too repeatedly identifies Mistra with Sparta (*Journey to Hades*, 64.11, 68.17, 76.6); however, like Manuel Palaiologos, he uses the terminology of Hellenism with minimal self-identification' (Gill Page, *Being Byzantine: Greek Identity before the Ottomans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 255).

[168] Donald Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor: The life and legend of Constantine Palaiologos, last Emperor of the Romans* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[169] For this chronology and the related political environment, see J.W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus, 1391-1425* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1969), *passim*; Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, (London, 1995); and Nicol, Donald. 1988. *Byzantium and Venice: A study in diplomatic and cultural relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, as well as Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor*.

Following the death in 1448 of the penultimate Byzantine emperor, John VIII, a coronation ceremony was held under the auspices of the local Bishop at the Cathedral in Mistra, rather than in Constantinople with the Patriarch performing the crowning, as was customary.[170] The manuscripts tell us that the Emperor Constantine commissioned Chrysaphes to write a hymn, Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε ('Today, I have begotten Thee'). Though there is no direct evidence to support this, I believe that the coronation of Constantine Palaiologos XI was the most likely occasion for this imperial commission, based on three observations. First, Constantine XI was crowned on 6 January (1448), the feast of Theophany, 13 days after Christmas.[171] The reason for the importance of the proximity of the coronation to the celebration of Christmas shall be made clear below. Second, the composition shows evidence of a function outside of its normal place in Saturday evening Vespers. Third, we have evidence of Western composers, specifically, Guillaume Du Fay, being commissioned to write and perform pieces for major events connected to the Byzantine court. Thus, the practice of imperial court musicians commissioned to compose and perform at major imperial events had precedents in Byzantine environments and thus it does not seem to be a stretch to suggest the same was the case for Constantine XI and his royal court musician, Manuel Chrysaphes.

Chrysaphes' Setting of Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγεννηκά σε

The text of this commission, found in Iviron 1120, f. 139r, is based on Psalm 2:7-8:

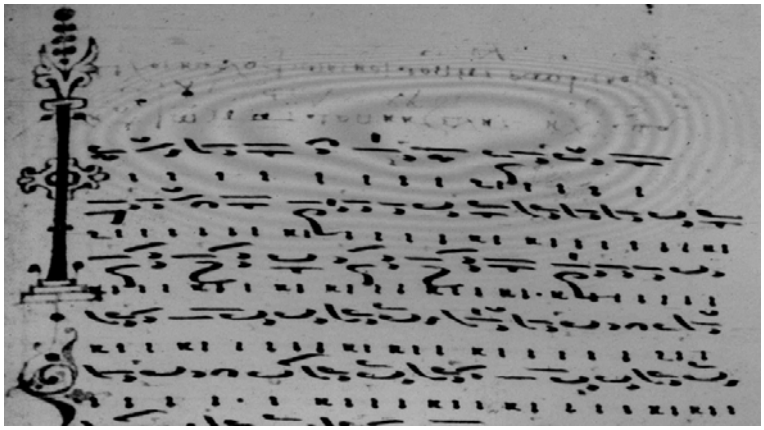
> Κύριος εἶπε πρός με· υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε. αἴτησαι παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου
>
> [The Lord hath said to me: Thou art my son, today have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thy inheritance]

Akolouthiai of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries testify to the chanting of Psalms 1-3 (the first Kathisma, according to the Jerusalem division of the Psalter) during Vespers, after the *Invitatorium* ('Come let us worship'), the *Prooemiakos* (Psalm 103), and before the *Lychnika* (Psalm 140).[172] These manuscripts typically contain two sections of musical settings of the First Kathisma: the first are usually anonymous and based on verses from Psalms 1, 2, and 3, set in a relatively simple, quasi-syllabic style. The second section, often preceded by the rubric 'the beginning of the kalophonia', includes eponymous, kalophonic settings of verses from

[170] For the coronation of Constantine Palaiologos XI in Mistra, see Michael Kordoses, 'The question of Constantine Palaiologos' coronation,' in eds. R. Beaton and C. Roueche, *The Making of Byzantine History: Studies Dedicated to Donald M. Nicol* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1993), 137-41.
[171] Donald Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: A study in diplomatic and cultural relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 390.
[172] See my chapter below on the *Anoixantaria* for an overview of Vespers in late Byzantium, which provides a historical context for the above mentioned chants.

Psalm 2 (called 'Prologues' in many of the Akolouthiai), to which are often appended lengthy *kratemata*.[173] The beginning of the kalophonic settings of Psalm 2 in Iviron 1120 is given in Figure 2.9 below, preceded in the codex by the phrase: 'Kalophonic verses of Great Vespers by Lord Ioannes Koukouzeles the *maistor*, plagal fourth mode.'

FIGURE 2.9: IVIRON 1120, F. 70R: KALOPHONIC VERSES OF PSALM 2



'Kalophonic verses of Great Vespers by Lord Ioannes Koukouzeles the *maistor*, plagal fourth mode' (Note: Chrysaphes includes settings by composers besides Koukouzeles in this section.)

The text Chrysaphes set for this imperial commission is from Psalm 2:7-8, verses that were set kalophonically elsewhere as part of the *kalophonia* of the First Kathisma. For example, Chrysaphes includes in Iviron 1120 a kalophonic setting of Psalm 2:7a by Xenos Korones (137v, followed by a virtuosic kratema by the same composer) and a kalophonic setting of Psalm 2:8a (141r) by Koukouzeles. Interestingly, however, Chrysaphes' kalophonic setting of Psalm 2:7-8[174] appears elsewhere in the liturgical cycle aside from Saturday evening Vespers. Specifically, it is a festal *prokeimenon* from the period of Christmas, chanted in the First Royal Hour of Christmas and during the Vespers of Christmas Eve as the *prokeimenon* of the Apostle reading.[175] The *prokeimenon*, most similar to the Western responsory and gradual, consisted of a psalm verse (the *prokeimenon*) that was sung elaborately, followed by psalm verse(s) (*stichoi*) that were sung or intoned, often recapitulated by the original *prokeimenon*.[176]

[173] Arsinoi Ioannidou promises to uncover liturgical / historical reasons for the sole kalophonic treatment of Psalm 2, in her aforementioned dissertation (Ioannidou, 'Second Psalm', 210-211).
[174] Chrysaphes' composition begins with the second part of verse 7, Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.
[175] After its chanting as a *prokeimenon*, Psalm 2:7-8 is quoted in the Apostle reading which follows, Hebrews 1:1-14, 2:1-3. Clearly, the words 'Son' and 'begotten' (γεγεννηκά, from the verb γίγνομαι, 'to be born', 'to come into being') had a particularly strong resonance when associated with the feast of Christ's Nativity.
[176] The classic study on the prokeimenon repertory is by Gisa Hintze, *Das Byzantinische Prokeimena-Repertoire Untersuchungen u. krit. ed.*, (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung Wagner, 1972). For a more recent, discussion concerning the difficulties in reconstructing the performance of the *prokeimena*, see Christian Troelsgård, 'The Prokeimena in Byzantine Rite, Performance and Tradition', *Papers read at the 6th Cantus Planus meeting in Eger, Hungary, 1993*. Troelsgård's study, which includes evidence from *Asmatika*, *Psaltika*, and fourteenth century Akolouthiai, as well as from lectionaries and other liturgical manuals, deals with various issues afflicting the *prokeimenon* repertory: how much of each psalm verse was included (i.e., only the portions typically notated in the sources)? Why is the finalis in some of the *Psaltikon* settings an 'awkward' note for the

The full text of Chrysaphes' kalophonic composition (which is, in essence, an *anagrammatismos*, given the rearrangement of words and phrases from the original Psalm text), is given below in Figure 2.10. I have included in red the intonation formulas corresponding to the *martyriai* (modal signatures) which appear in Iviron 1120. The Byzantine neumes known as modal signatures have been shown to have functioned as shorthand for longer intonation formulas appropriate to a given mode. For example, for the following plagal fourth mode signatures,  , and  , I write out the text of the intonation formula for plagal fourth mode, Νεαγιε. These signs gave the lead singer or choir director the option of pausing and re-establishing the modal centre by means of a short melodic phrase corresponding, in this case, to the tetrachord scale of plagal fourth mode from g.[177] As Clara Adsuara has shown, the modal signatures served more than this performative function: they were poles around which the text and music of a kalophonic composition were structured. As Figure 2.10 below shows, the psalm verses take on a new semantic dimension based on their rearrangement, a repositioning that also includes the interjection of *teretismatic* ('nonsense') syllables:[178]

FIGURE 2.10: TEXTUAL STRUCTURE OF CHRYSAPHES' KALOPHONIC SETTING OF PSALM 2:7-8[179]

Ἐγὼ σήμερον, σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε, γεγέννηκά σε, σήμερον, σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε	I today, today I have begotten Thee, begotten Thee, today, today, I have begotten Thee
Νεαγιε	Νεαγιε
Εἶπε Κύριος, Κύριος, εἶπε πρός με, υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γε γεγέννηκά σε γεγεννηκά σε	Said the Lord, the Lord, said to me, my son art Thou, I today be... have begotten Thee, have begotten Thee
Νανα	Νανα
Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε	I today have begotten Thee
Νανα	Νανα
αἴτησε πὰρ' ἐμοῦ, αἴτησε, αἴτησε πὰρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ δώσω σοι, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη, ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σοῦ	Ask of me, ask, ask of me, and I will give to you, and I will give to you, the nations, the nations for thine inheritance
Νανα	Νανα
Καὶ τὴ... καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα, τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς, δώσω σοι	And the... and to your possession the utmost, the utmost parts of the earth, I will give to you
Νεαγιε	Νεαγιε
αἴτησε παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη, ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, αἴτησαι, τεντεντετε	Ask of me, and I will give to you the nations, the nations for thine inheritance, ask, tententen
Νεαγιε	Νεαγιε
Τεντεντετε τεντετεντεϊ ανανε...	Tententete tentetenteï anane...
Ανενανενα...	Anenanena...
Τεριρερερε...	Terirerere...
Τερερερερε...	Terererere...
αἴτησε παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη, ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου	Ask of me, and I will give to you the nations, the nations for thine inheritance

given mode? Which verses are repeated? How are the non-notated verses to be performed? Did the congregation participate?

[177] Intonation formulas could be short or elaborate, depending on where they appeared in a given setting, the liturgical festivity of the day, or the mood of the singers. The modal signatures and their function are discussed further in Chapter 5 below.

[178] Clara Adsuara, 'Remarks on the Structure of Kalophonic Stichera: Working Hypotheses,' *Paper presented at the Cantus Planus meeting in Sopron, 1995*: *passim*.

[179] Iviron 1120, f. 139r-141r.

Νεαγιε Άλλη, κικικι... τιτιτι... τιρριρρι... Άλλη, κι, να αλληλούια.	Νεαγιε Alli, kikiki... tititi... tirrirri... Alli, ki, na allelouia.

I believe that this composition was envisioned for performance in a festal context, i.e., Christmas, on the basis of its elaborate nature (both from a textual and musical standpoint). Moreover, in the section of Iviron 1120 dedicated to the kalophonic settings of Psalm 2 for Vespers, verses 7 and 8 are never combined in one setting, except here. In their appearance in the liturgical contexts of Christmas noted above, they are found together.[180] One final point connects this composition to performance as a *prokeimenon* in a festal context, i.e., Christmas. Christian Troelsgård classifies this particular *prokeimenon* amongst those he calls 'proper' or 'common' prokeimena from the greater feasts of the *temporal* and the *sanctorale*. They are sung, as above, in Vespers, before the Apostle reading of liturgy, or in the Orthros service in connection with Πᾶσα πνοὴ (Let every breath) and the Gospel-reading.[181] On f. 393r of Iviron 1120, Chrysaphes' sets a contrafactum of this setting, writing: 'Πᾶσα πνοή ('Let every breath'), plagal fourth mode, by Manuel Chrysaphes the lampadarios. This is another one [composed] in the manner of *Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε*.[182] The full text makes use of various phrases from Psalms 148-150 and interpolates words not found in those psalms, to create a veritably original text.[183] What is remarkable about this setting is that this melody is a *prosomoion* (i.e., contrafactum) of Chrysaphes' imperially commissioned setting of Psalm 2:7-8. This is unusual in that most prosomoia, both in the medieval and modern traditions, are syllabic or near-syllabic. This hymn, on the other hand, is obviously melismatic. For the purposes of this discussion at hand, this setting is significant since it connects the original composition to a liturgical context specifically correlating to one in which the *prokeimena*

[180] E.g., when Psalm 2:7-8 appears as the prokeimenon for Vespers of Christmas Eve, the *prokeimenon* is Psalm 2:7 'Κύριος εἶπε πρὸς με· Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε', and the verse to be recited in between the chanting of the *prokeimenon*, is Psalm 2:8: 'Αἴτησαι παρ' ἐμοῦ, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου,' as in, for example, MS Patmos 221, f. 1v-2r. These are, of course, preliminary observations, which in order to be validated would require the support of various additional twelfth to fourteenth century musical sources. Moreover, these sources do not always lead to clear conclusions, leading Troelsgård to open his discussion on the repertory by referring to 'the problem of the performance of the prokeimena' ('Prokeimena', 65).

[181] Troelsgård, 'Prokeimena', 67.

[182] This melody is a *prosomoion* (i.e., contrafacta) of a melody Chrysaphes wrote at the request of the Emperor Constantine Palaiologos XI. This is unusual in that most prosomoia, both in the medieval and the modern traditions, are syllabic or near-syllabic, in other words, 1-2 notes per syllable. This hymn on the other hand, is more melismatic. The connection between these two hymns has also been noticed by Gregory Anastasiou, 'Τα Παραπνοάρια του Όρθρου ως Καλοφωνικές Συνθέσεις: σκέψεις που γεννιούνται για την σκοπιμότητα του καλοφωνικού μέλους γενικότερα', *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference of the ASBMH*, (Athens, 2008), 125.

[183] See Appendix: Iviron 1120. The full text is: 'Πᾶσα πνοή αἰνεσάτω, αἰνεσάτω πνοὴ πᾶσα, πᾶσα πνοὴ τὸν Κύριον· αἰνεσάτω τὸν Κύριον· πᾶσα πνοὴ καὶ πᾶσα κτίσις αἰνεσάτω, αἰνεσάτω τὸ φοβερὸν καὶ ἅγιον ὄνομα κυρίου τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἅγιον Κυρίου· αἰνεσάτωσαν αὐτὸν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, ψαλλάτωσαν αὐτὸν ἅπαντες, ἅπαντες οἱ λαοὶ· νεανίσκοι καὶ παρθένοι πρεσβύτεροι μετά νεωτέρων· αἰνεσάτωσαν αὐτὸν οἱ οὐρανοὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ αἰνεσάτωσαν· ἐν τυμπάνῳ καὶ χορῷ ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ καὶ κιθάρᾳ αἰνεσάτωσαν τὸν Κύριον, τὸν Κύριον – Το το το – Ανανες – Τε ρι ρεμ – Τὸν Κύριον αἰνεσάτω πνοὴ πᾶσα τὸν Κύ- τὸν Κύριον.'

would have been performed (i.e., at the 'Let every breath' of Christmas Orthros, prior to the Gospel reading). Given the evidence set forth above, it seems clear that this composition was not meant for performance, originally, in regular Saturday evening Vespers, but for Christmas as a *prokeimenon*. This may or may not connect it to the coronation of Constantine XI, which took place around the Christmas season.

Western Parallels

It is well known that Guillaume Du Fay (1397-1474), one of the most important European musicians of the fifteenth century, composed one of his first motets, *Vasilissa ergo gaude*, to adorn the celebration of the wedding of Cleofe Malatesta da Pesaro to the younger brother of Constantine XI Palaiologos, Theodore II, who was Despot of the Morea at the time of their wedding on 19 January, 1421.[184] Another Du Fay motet, the Italian-texted *Apostolo glorioso*, written in honour of the patron saint of Patras, the apostle Andrew, has also been connected to Byzantine circles. Alejandro Planchart has argued that *Apostolo glorioso* was performed in Patras upon the arrival of Pandolfo Malatesti, the 'hunchback son of Malatesta dei Malatesti and brother of Cleofe Malatesti,' whom the pope had appointed as the Archbishop of the Latin See of Patras in the Peloponnese (the last Latin archdiocese in Greece) on 10 May 1424.[185] On the basis of a newly discovered papal supplication that places Du Fay in Patras late in 1424, Planchart argues that Du Fay actually travelled to Greece to lead Pandolfo's retinue of musicians in the performance of this complex 5-voiced motet.[186]

Given the examples of royal patronage and travelling musicians in the Palaiologan orbit cited above, it is not difficult to envision Chrysaphes likewise patronized by royalty, 25 years later, to compose a hymn of psalmody in honour of the occasion of the coronation of Constantine, and even perhaps, to perform it himself. The language of Psalm 2:7-8 is uniquely appropriate for a festivity in which projecting imperial power and authority was desired. Furthermore, we have shown above that the composition was most likely composed for performance at Christmas as a festal *prokeimenon*, which is very close to when Constantine's coronation took place. Admittedly, the correspondence is not precise, and even if so, we would still lack direct evidence connecting Chrysaphes and this composition to a particular historical event. Further research along these lines promises not only to shed light on this particular episode, perhaps

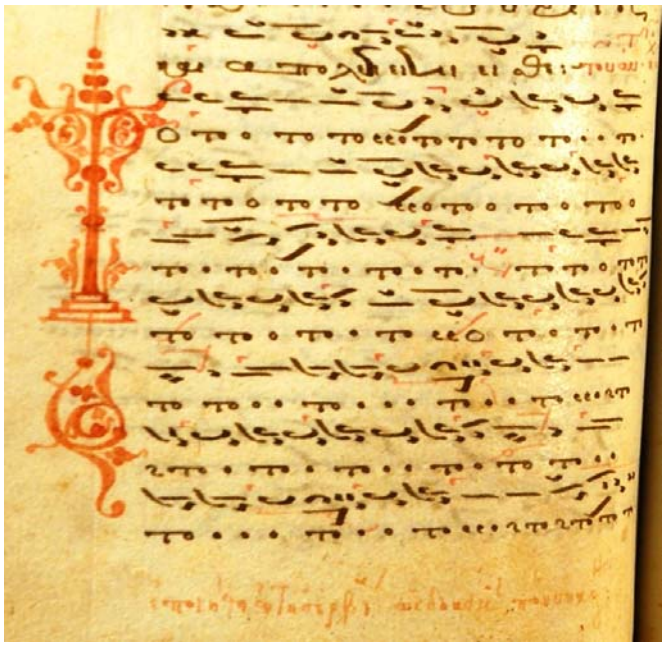
[184] Alejandro Enrique Planchart, 'The Early Career of Guillaume Du Fay', *JAMS* 46, no. 3 (1993): 343.
[185] Alejandro Enrique Planchart, 'Four Motets of Guillaume Du Fay in Context', in eds. K. K. Forney and J. L. Smith, *Sleuthing the Muse: Essays in Honor of William F. Prizer*, (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2012), 13.
[186] Planchart, 'Four Motets', 13-17, *passim*. Interestingly, Pandolfo Malatesti da Pesaro is associated with Constantine XI Palaiologos only a few years later. Pandolfo went to Patras in 1424 in order to take possession of his see, where he remained until 1428, when he left for Venice to seek military aid against Constantine XI who would enter the city on 1 June 1429 (Planchart, 'Four Motets', 13).

confirming Chrysaphes' presence in Mistra prior to the Fall of Constantinople, but more fundamentally, increase our understanding of the role played by singers and composers like Chrysaphes in royal circles in Late Byzantium.

Chrysaphes and Serbia

In addition to Mistra in the Peloponnese, abundant evidence in the musical manuscripts testifies to Chrysaphes' presence in Serbia at some point after 1453. The two most important witnesses are from Chrysaphes' autographs. On fol. 167v of MS Iviron 1120, we find the following inscription in the bottom margin underneath a Kratema in the grave mode, composed by Chrysaphes: 'ἐποίηθη ἐν τῇ Σερβίᾳ, ὡς δοκεῖ μοι πάνυ καλὸν' (composed in Serbia, it seems to me that this is very beautiful).[187] Figure 2.11 shows the portion of the original folio from Iviron 1120.

FIGURE 2.11: IVIRON 1120, FOL. 167V – ΕΠΟΙΗΘΗ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΣΕΡΒΙΑ ('COMPOSED IN SERBIA')



On folio 123v of another Chrysaphes autograph, Xeropotamou 270, we find the same dentifying rubric, 'ἐποιήθη ἐν τῇ Σερβίᾳ,' a stock phrase found in at least six other manuscripts.[188] Although we cannot be sure exactly when Chrysaphes emigrated from

[187] See also Stathes, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 103.

[188] Jakovljević identifies the six manuscripts in question in *Δίγλωσση*, 88-89 (fn. 6). Besides Chrysaphes' autograph, Xeropotamou 270, manuscripts with references to Chrysaphes composing in Serbia include, Egerton 2393 British Museum, f. 81b: *Μανουήλ λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Χρυσάφη ἐν τῇ Σερβίᾳ*; MS Μονῆς Κύκκου No. 7, f. 154a-155a; MS Sinai 1327, f. 1b; MS Μονῆς Μεταμορφώσεως τῶν Μετεώρων, f. 265a: *κύρ Μανουήλ τοῦ Χρυσάφη ὅπερ ἐποιήθη ἐν τῇ Σερβίᾳ πάνυ καλόν*; MS Panteleimon 1271, f. 120r, *Κράτημα, Μανουὴλ λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Χρυσάφη, ὅπερ ἐποιήθη ἐν τῇ Σερβία, πάνυ καλὸν, ἦχος βαρύς*.

Constantinople, it is almost certain that he arrived in Serbia at some point between 1453 (Fall of Constantinople) and 1458 (the date of Iviron 1120's completion). The Serbian scholar Andrija Jakovljević, in his work on the bilingual (Greek and Serbian) manuscript EBE 928,[189] states that Chrysaphes likely settled in Smenderevo, the Serbian capital, a city on the Danube River, about 900 kilometres from Constantinople, and that his stay must have occurred during the reign of Bishop Tziortzie Brankovitch (1446-1456) and his son Lazaros (1456-1458).[190] Smenderevo, furthermore, became a place of settlement for Greek refugees fleeing Constantinople, who clustered around Irene Kantakouzenos, the mother of Bishop Lazaros, and Eleni Palaiologos, the wife of the bishop.[191] The presence of a branch of the royal family would make Smenderevo, Serbia, especially attractive for Chrysaphes, who for his entire career appears to have been employed by and associated with the imperial milieu.

His association with Serbia is strengthened by the evidence for his widespread influence in ecclesiastical music there and in neighbouring Moldavia and Wallachia. The late fifteenth century codex EBE 928, with its amalgamation of works by Late Byzantine ecclesiastical musicians such as Xenos Korones and Manuel Chrysaphes alongside works by the prolific Serbian composer, Isaiah the Serb, paints a picture of a cosmopolitan culture that embraced Byzantine ecclesiastical music as practiced by the Constantinopolitan masters and as adapted into the native language of Byzantium's north-western neighbour. Dimitri Conomos' comparative analysis of Late Byzantine and Slavonic *koinonika* lends credence to the assertion that Chrysaphes' stay in Serbia was meaningful and extensive. Conomos shows that Chrysaphes' compositions, often along with Serbian counterparts, are abundantly present in Moldavian manuscripts as 'early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, and possibly earlier.'[192] Thus, there is every reason to believe that Chrysaphes would have followed those who had been his benefactors in Constantinople to a region of relative peace, where he would have been a sought-after teacher of ecclesiastical music, transmitting the Constantinopolitan

[189] For EBE 928, which was possibly copied at the Matejce Monastery near the border of present-day Serbia, Kosovo, and FYROM, see Stefanovic, 'Two Bilingual Manuscripts' and Touliatos-Miles, *National Library*, 123-26.
[190] Jakovljević, *Δίγλωσση*, 88.
[191] Jakovljević, *Δίγλωσση*, 88.
[192] The MSS included in Conomos' analysis were written in the monastery of Putna. In the Moldavian MSS Ščukin 350 and Putna 56, the scribe Evstatie, monk, includes a composition attributed to κὺρ Μανουὴλ with the epithet ὀργανικὸν ('instrumental'), on the basis of which Conomos concludes that Evstatie was the first Moldavian scribe to incorporate the compositions of Chrysaphes into Moldavian chant anthologies. At all events, the Moldavian MSS included in Conomos' analysis show that Chrysaphes' compositions had penetrated deep into Moldo-Wallachia within a generation of Chrysaphes' presence in Serbia (Conomos, *Communion Cycle*, 186).

idiom of ecclesiastical chant amongst the musicians in similar ecclesiastical-imperial environments to those he had heralded from in Constantinople.[193]

2.4 Chrysaphes and Crete

Source Documents

An inscription on f. 64 of MS Jerusalem 31[194] represents one of many references in the manuscript tradition which confirm Chrysaphes long-term presence and widespread influence on the island of Crete:

> Στιχηρόν, νέα ὁδός, εἰς τὸ γενέσιον τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου· Στεῖρα ἄγονος ἡ Ἄννα. Ποιήματα πάντα ταῦτα τοῦ κὺρ Μανουὴλ λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Χρυσάφη· ἐποίησε δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Κρήτῃ.[195]
>
> [Sticheron, new path,[196] for the Nativity of the all-holy Theotokos· 'The barren and childless Anna'· all of these compositions are by Manuel Chrysaphes the lampadarios· he wrote these on the island of Crete.]

Further evidence is found in Manuel Chrysaphes' setting of a sticheron dedicated to the feast of local saints, the Holy Ten Martyrs of Crete. This sticheron, Προεόρτιος σήμερον, ἡ τῶν μαρτύρων ἐπέστη ἑορτή, in the third mode, is found on f. 118v of MS Sinai 1438, a codex representative of the Cretan psaltic tradition of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, according to Giannopoulos.[197] This sticheron is found in two additional Cretan MSS, Sinai 1482[198] and the above-mentioned autograph of Plousiadenos, Sinai 1251 (f. 312r, in the section written after Chrysaphes' death), preceded by the heading: τῶν ἁγίων ι' Μαρτύρων ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ, στιχηρόν τοῦ αὐτοῦ (see Figure 2.12).[199] Giannopoulos suggests that Chrysaphes would not

[193] Political and military stability are nevertheless only relative terms when applied to the Balkans in the fifteenth century. The Ottomans were a constant threat to the Kingdom of Serbia: Murad II and Mehmed II launched repeated from the 1420s to the 1450s, devastating various parts of the Serbian Kingdom. Smenderevo itself held on until its fall in 1459. For the fall of Smenderevo, see Franz Babinger, *Mehmet the Conquerer and His Time*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 163-65.

[194] MS Jerusalem 31 (cf. supra, Ch. 2, fn. 33) was written in 1439/1440, which would certainly be the earliest dated reference to Manuel Chrysaphes. Though at first it would appear problematic to place the Constantinopolitan composer in Crete over a decade before the Fall of Constantinople, this inscription is from an additional folio from the sixteenth century and thus the 1439/1440 dating would not apply to his presence in Crete (pointed out first in Patrinelis, 'Protopsaltae', 158, which is based on the description in Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ιεροσολυμιτική V*, 350).

[195] Stathis, 'Μανουήλ Χρυσάφης', 34.

[196] The word ὁδός should probably be translated something like 'way of composition' or 'way of execution'. For a discussion of this word in fifteenth century Byzantine musical contexts, see Arvanitis, On the Meaning 110-12.

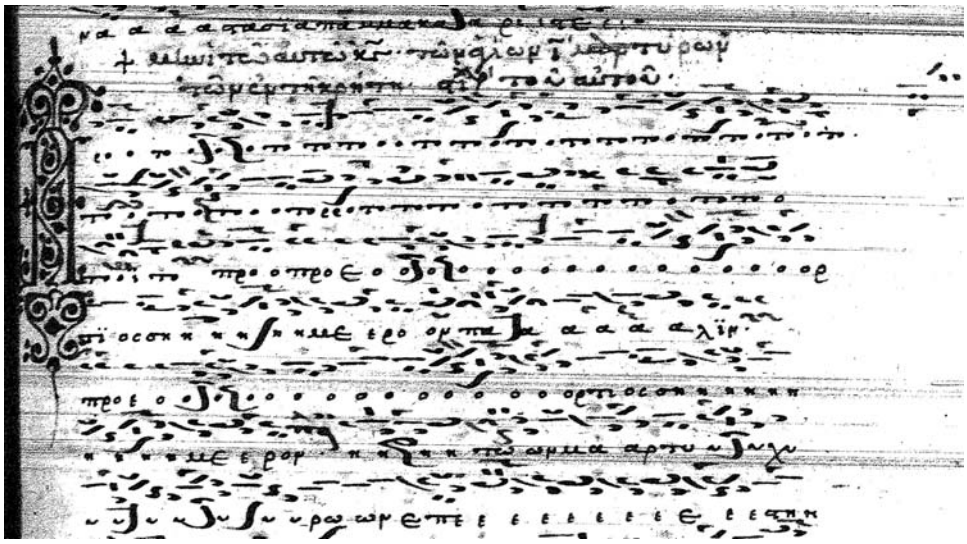
[197] Giannopoulos, *Η Άνθηση*, 65, 552.

[198] Giannopoulos, *Η Άνθηση*, 616.

[199] 'Sticheron of the holy ten martyrs in Crete, (composed) by the same (as above, i.e., Chrysaphes).'

have known about these local saints, nor been motivated to compose hymns from their service had he not been present on the island for at least some time.[200]

FIGURE 2.12: MS SINAI 1251, F. 312R, STICHERON FOR THE HOLY TEN MARTYRS OF CRETE BY CHRYSAPHES



While we lack precise chronological coordinates for Chrysaphes' presence in Mistra and Serbia, we can plausibly place him in Crete from ~1459 until at least 1469. It is unlikely that he would have resided in either Smenderevo or Mistra after their conquests to the Ottomans in 1459 and 1460, respectively, and the autographs of Ioannes Plousiadenos analysed above show that he was most likely active until at least 1469 when MS Sinai 1234 was written. Further evidence of his presence in Crete after the Fall of Constantinople, and possibly as early as 1459, is a letter from the well-known Cretan author, book-binder, and book-dealer, Michalis Apostolis, addressed to 'Emmanuel Chrysaphes… the Constantinopolitan.'[201] H. Noiret and M. Desrousseaux date this, Apostolis' tenth letter, within the range of 1455-1461.

More vital than its confirmation of chronology is what the letter tells us about Chrysaphes' place in post-Byzantine Greek society. According to the letter, Apostolis expressed a fervent desire to see Chrysaphes, an indication of the latter's place in Veneto-Cretan urban-intellectual circles of the fifteenth century. Recipients of Apostolis' correspondence include the likes of Gemistos Plethon, the philosopher-mystic who resided in Mistra for many years, and Plethon's

[200] Giannopoulos' argument that these saints were only known in Cretan environments is perhaps weakened by the presence of a kalophonic composition to these same saints in MS Sinai 1438 (on f. 121r, Κρήτη προεορτάζει σήμερον τὰ γενέθλια Χριστοῦ ἐν τὴ μνήμη τῶν ἀθλοφόρων) by Gregory Mpounes Alyates, who is not known to have traveled to Crete. It does not, however, weaken the argument that Chrysaphes himself lived in Crete and had a great impact there.

[201] Patrinelis, 'Protopsaltae', 158. See Emile Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique; ou, Description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-septième siècle* (Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1894); and the edited letters of Michalis Apostolis in Hippolyte ed Noiret, and Alexandre Marie Desrousseaux, *Lettres inédites de Michel Apostolis*. Vol. fasc. 54, *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* (Paris, E. Thorin, 1889), 30, 59.

student, Cardinal Bessarion, the prolific Greek scholar, humanist, and cleric who gained the title of Latin Patriarch of Constantinople and was intimately involved with the proceedings of the Council of Florence / Ferrara as well as in the affairs of Crete.[202] Apostolis' eleventh letter, for example, is addressed to Bessarion, recording the author's desire to found a school in Crete. Apostolis is also associated with the cantor and composer Manuel Gazes, whom he speaks about on the occasion of his death in an undated letter, as well as with the aforementioned polymath and prodigy of Bessarion, Ioannes Plousiadenos.[203] Based alone on the number of the Plousiadenos's manuscripts bound in Apostolis' bookshop, we could safely assume that Apostolis and Plousiadenos had a close relationship. Plousiadenos' association with the Veneto-Cretan intelligentsia is well known: he was but a boy when the Council of Florence-Ferrara took place, but found himself at the forefront of the unionist cause by the 1460s, gaining the admiration and friendship of Bessarion.[204] He was also, of course, deeply embedded in the cultural affairs of the Greeks, being possibly a student of Chrysaphes – and without question, an admirer – in his capacity as scribe and composer of Greek ecclesiastical music. Thus, even in the absence of more direct evidence, we are able to assert with confidence Chrysaphes' close association with these figures of the Veneto-Cretan intelligentsia, possibly before, but certainly after he had arrived in Crete.

Venetian Crete: The Cultural Context

Thankfully, recent research into the vast store of Venetian notarial records – marriage and death certificates, payment contracts, and records of legal proceedings –, which were kept fastidiously by the Venetian authorities to regulate and monitor activity on their colony, has shed light on various facets of everyday life on Crete.[205] Two aspects of this archival research enable us to paint a picture of what life may have been like for someone like Manuel

[202] For Cardinal Bessarion and his activity as intellectual, book-collector, religious mediator, and mentor of Ioannes Plousiadenos, see Dimitri Conomos, 'Music as religious propaganda: Venetian polyphony and a Byzantine response to the Council of Florence', in eds. J. Behr, D. Conomos and A. Louth, *Abba: The Tradition of Orthodox in the West* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Press, 2003), especially 114-18.
[203] For the letter concerning Gazes, see Giannopoulos, *Η Άνθηση*, 62.
[204] The affinity and admiration of Plousiadenos for his teacher in matters of theology, Bessarion, is strengthened by a fascinating discovery by Conomos, in the early seventeenth century Athonite codex, MS Koutloumousi 448, which includes a nine-stanza hymn in fifteen-syllable verse by Plousiadenos, in which the first letter in each stanza spells out the acrostic BESSARION, followed by the rubric '...I composed this for the Cardinal' (Conomos, 'Propaganda', 120).
[205] The literature on Venetian archival research is growing and includes, on marriage contracts: Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the myth of ethnic purity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); on contracts between musicians and patrons, N. M. Panagiotakis, 'Μαρτυρίες για τη μουσική στην Κρήτη κατα τη Βενετοκρατία,' *Θησαυρίσματα* 20 (1990), 9-169; and on apprenticeship in general, K. D. Mertzios, 'Σταχυολογήματα από τα κατάστιχα του νοταρίου της Κρήτης Μιχαήλ Μαρά (1538-1578),' *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 15-16 (1961-1962): 253-57, 287-90, and I. P. Kiskiras, 'Η σύμβασις μαθητείας εν τη Βενετοκρατουμένη Κρήτη (Μετ' ανεκδότων εγγράφων εκ του Archivio di Stato της Βενετίας),' *Έρευναι επί του εν Ελλάδι δικαίου της εποχής της Βενετοκρατίας*, Vol. 1 (Athens, 1968).

Chrysaphes, a Constantinopolitan intellectual who found himself transplanted to the cosmopolitan environment of Venetian Crete some years after the Fall of Constantinople. The first describes a series of key events pitting a Constantinopolitan-born musician who lived and worked in Crete against the Venetian authorities, an interaction that sheds important light on socio-cultural environment of the mid-fifteenth century island colony of the Most Serene City.[206] The second is based on stores of surviving chanting apprenticeship contracts, which enable us to look at Greek Orthodox ecclesiastical music education on the island of Crete, and gain insight into the lifestyle and work conditions of personalities such as Chrysaphes, Constantinopolitan musicians transplanted to Crete who assumed the role of singers and teachers in their new environment.

These investigations have brought into relief the divide that persisted between Latins and Greeks, a rift that seems to have intensified during the first three to four decades of the fifteenth century. Yet, underneath this tension, there is an abundance of evidence of cultural assimilation in various aspects of everyday life. Whether related to questions of intermarriage, religious loyalties, or shared artistic practices, ethno-religious identity was not binary and monolithic throughout Venetian Crete. Manuel Chrysaphes and other prominent Greek musicians of the fifteenth century, such as Ioannes Laskaris, Manuel Gazes, and Ioannes Plousiadenos, sit at the forefront of these questions of identity and issues of Greek and Latin mutual influence and rivalry on the peripheries of the former Byzantine Empire. Selected works of some of these Greek composers betray a direct encounter with and borrowing of Latin musical practices, which, at least in the culturally permeable areas of the Frankish Morea and Venetian Crete, would have been familiar, if not also 'aurally compatible.'[207] This aspect of cultural assimilation, specifically, the evidence for Latin-inspired performance practices and compositional devices making their way into the compositions of Manuel Chrysaphes *et al.* will be treated fully in a later chapter.

Ecclesiastical Musicians and Orthodox-Catholic Relations

The tradition of musicians emigrating from Constantinople to Crete was well established by the middle of the fifteenth century. While Chrysaphes may have been forced to Crete for lack of better options in the face of a series of Ottoman conquests which swept through the Balkans

[206] Of course, as I discuss below, the socio-cultural context was far from monolithic, constantly evolving on the basis of events internal and external to Crete.
[207] Alexander Lingas, 'Medieval Byzantine Chant and the Sound of Orthodoxy,' in eds. A. Louth and A. Casiday, *Byzantine Orthodoxies, Proceedings of the 36th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Durham, 23-25 March 2002* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 156-57.

in the middle of the fifteenth century, other such transplants occurred earlier and were promoted by the Ecumenical Patriarchate (EP) in Constantinople. As Athanasios Markopoulos' work has shown, the phenomenon of Constantinopolitan émigrés of ecclesiastical rank in Crete should be viewed in the broader context of relations between the authorities of the Most Serene City and the EP, especially from 1380-1439, prior to the Council of Florence-Ferrara.[208] The most contentious and threatening issue facing the local Greek Orthodox population, and certainly in the eyes of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople, was the Venetian prohibition of the Greek Orthodox episcopacy on the island,[209] a prohibition which essentially severed ecclesiastical ties between religious periphery and motherland. Evidently, ecclesiastical music was viewed as a vital component of Orthodox identity, and it is for this reason that – along with learned priests – musicians were sent to teach Byzantine chant to the Orthodox populace, in an attempt to re-establish these severed ties and to combat the cultural influence resulting from Venetian overlordship.

The Catholic-Orthodox rivalry in Crete played out on the stage of religious music with some of the most prominent Constantinopolitan musicians playing central roles. Perhaps the most famous case was that of Ioannes Laskaris (also called 'Πηγονίτης' or 'Σηρπάγανος,' in some sources), the singer, music teacher, composer of ecclesiastical hymns, and music theorist.[210] In 1411, Laskaris was sent to Crete by the Ecumenical Patriarchate in order to teach ecclesiastical music, where, in Candia, he established a music school, contributing to his prestige amongst the local Orthodox populace.[211] In the eyes of the Cretans, Laskaris represented the Greek Orthodox hierarchy back in Constantinople, and for this reason, he was viewed with suspicion

[208] See Athanasios Markopoulos, 'Ιωάννης Λάσκαρης. Ένας Κωνσταντινουπολίτης μουσικός στην Κρήτη', in eds. I. Vassis, S. Kaklamanes and M. Loukaki, *Παιδεία και πολιτισμός στην Κρήτη, Βυζάντιο-Βενετοκρατία: Μελέτες αφιερωμένες στον Θεοχάρη Δετοράκη* (Ηράκλειο & Ρέθυμνο: Συμβολές στις επιστήμες του ανθρώπου Φιλολογία, 2008), as well as Giannopoulos, *Η Άνθηση*, 63-70.

[209] M. Manousakas, 'Μέτρα της Βενετίας εναντί της εν Κρήτη επιρροής του Πατριαρχείου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατ' ανέκδοτα βενετικά έγγραφα (1418-1419),' *ΕΕΒΣ Α* (1960): 85-144. For the 'new ecclesiastical reality' which followed the Venetian occupation and the subsequent prohibition of the episcopacy, see Manousakas, Μέτρα 85-87. For further bibliography on this subject, see Markopoulos, 'Ιωάννης Λάσκαρης', 94, fn. 29.

[210] Laskaris is anthologized in Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine sources (e.g., MS EBE 2406 from 1453), his compositions including *koinonika*, *alleluaria*, *anoixantaria*, etc.), and author of poems to the Trinity and Theotokos, including at least four 15-syllable poems, as well as a short music theory treatise, *Ἡ ἑρμηνεία καὶ παραλλαγὴ τῆς μουσικῆς τέχνης* that survives in MSS EBE 2401 and Vallicelliana gr. 195 (see Ch. Bentas, 'The Treatise on Music by John Laskaris', in ed. M. Velimirović, *SEC* 2 (London: OUP, 1971), 21-27). Ascriptions in later MSS have led some scholars to speculate that he was of Cretan origin, but he was more likely from around Constantinople, where his circle of supporters seems to have included Manuel Palaiologos II and the Patriarch Joseph II as well as the imperial musician Ioannes Kladas. MS Sinai 1584 preserves a *polychronismos* to Ioannes Palaiologos VIII and Maria of Trebizon possibly composed by Laskaris, which would push his activity to 1427 or later. His compositions are anthologized especially in Cretan sources of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries.

[211] Markopoulos notes that he became well-known for his chanting and teaching abilities and was thus commonly invited to sing at the feasts, weddings, and funerals of the local Cretans (Markopoulos, 'Ιωάννης Λάσκαρης', 94-95).

by the Venetian authorities and his Greek rivals. These rivals included the Venetian-appointed *protopsaltes* of Candia, Manuel Savios,[212] and *protopapas*, (first-priest) Ioannes Symeonakes, who were, at the very least, sympathetic with the general aims of the Venetian authorities and supportive of Latin Catholic-Greek Orthodox union.[213] The resulting ethno-religious rivalry was thus not simply popular and local, but involved the authorities and authoritative figures on both sides. According to Markopoulos, Savios and Symeonakes were pushing for Laskaris' banishment for several years after his arrival in Crete. As such, it was only a matter of time before the requisite provocation was supplied.[214] On 6 October 1418, a conflict broke out between Manuel Savios and Laskaris, at a memorial service for which Laskaris had been invited to sing by the sponsor of the service, Ioannes Skouloudes. Apparently, the fight was triggered when Laskaris boldly ascended the *analogion* (chanting-stand) and commenced the chanting of the *amomos*,[215] which essentially prevented the appointed *protopsaltes*, Savios, from uttering a note. The episode was apparently bad enough that, days after, the Venetian authorities prosecuted Laskaris, resulting in his banishment from Crete under threat of imprisonment. He was given eight days to leave the island.[216]

The incident with Laskaris was not an isolated case. It is mirrored by at least three other events during this time period in which ecclesiastical personalities with ties to the Ecumenical Patriarchate were expelled or imprisoned, a policy that continued until 1439.[217] After the Council of Florence-Ferrara, according to Markopoulos, the conflict between the two factions simmered down. The Venetian authorities changed their stance, while at the same time the Ecumenical Patriarchate became embroiled in other more pressing matters, such as the new reality of Ottoman dominion. Thus, Chrysaphes would have immigrated to Crete at a time

[212] Manuel Savios held this position for virtually the entire first half of the fifteenth century. For his biographical coordinates and activity, see Giannopoulos, *Η Άνθηση*, 59-60.
[213] Giannopoulos points to a canon composed by Savios on behalf of the 'resplendent feast of the most-desired Union' (of the Churches, completed at Florence-Ferrara in 1438/9). See Giannopoulos, *Η Άνθηση*, 59.
[214] Markopoulos, 'Ιωάννης Λάσκαρης', 95-97.
[215] The 'amomos' is the name given to the psalm verses that begin with Psalm 118, 'Blessed are the blameless who walk in the way of the Lord.' These verses are prescribed to be sung at Greek Orthodox funeral services.
[216] See Markopoulos, 'Ιωάννης Λάσκαρης', 95-98, largely based on Manousakas, 'Μέτρα', 85-144. Although Laskaris was sentenced to exile *in perpetuo* from Crete, he seems to have remained in Crete, because in 1421, he signed a contract of apprenticeship to teach chant to Emmanouil, the son of Georgios Marizis. His whereabouts after his banishment and prior to 1421 cannot be ascertained. For this episode, see also M. Velimirović, 'Two Composers of Byzantine Music: John Vatatzes and John Laskaris,' in ed. J. Larue, *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A birthday offering to Gustave Reese* (New York: Norton, 1966), 818-21; C. Hannick, 'Βυζαντινή Μουσική,' in ed. H. Hunger, *Βυζαντινή Λογοτεχνία. Η λόγια κοσμική γραμματεία των Βυζαντινών*, Vol. 3 (Athens, 1994), 419. The final point regarding Laskaris contract with Georgios Marizis is noted in Ioannis Markouris, 'Apprenticeships in Greek Orthodox chanting and Greek language learning in Venetian Crete (14th–15th century),' in eds. C.A. Maltezou et al, *I Greci durante la venetocrazia: Uomini, spazio, idee (XIII-XVIII sec.)* (Venice: Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia, 2009), 240.
[217] For these events, see Markopoulos, 'Ιωάννης Λάσκαρης', 97-98.

when such rivalries and musical factions were still recent memory, but when tensions were perhaps not as hot as they were during the prior decades.

Greek Orthodox Ecclesiastical Education in Venetian Crete

Recent research into Venetian archival documents enables us to sketch a probable picture of Manuel Chrysaphes' activity as teacher of chant, as a Constantinopolitan émigré in Venetian-ruled Crete. Although no documents specifically referencing Chrysaphes have yet been uncovered, a rich collection of archival contracts and payment records related to one specific aspect of the Veneto-Cretan educational system – the chanting apprenticeship – has survived, in contrast to the dearth of information concerning the same system as it existed in Constantinople. Ioannes Markouris has begun the important work of delving into these sources. In a recent article he presents preliminary findings on contracts between chant teachers and their employers from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[218] Though he only offers conclusions based on a fraction of the contracts, they are adequate to shed important light on the educational methods and materials, the types of individuals who would enter into such contracts, and the working conditions of Greek chanters and chant-teachers.[219]

Evidence concerning the education of the Greek Orthodox population in Crete goes back to the fourteenth century. According to MSS from this time, the majority of teachers were priests or monks[220] who undertook the responsibility of instructing students in basic reading and writing, in accordance with the Byzantine educational tradition in which the Church was entrusted with education of its population in basic literacy. As Markouris states, 'we can assume that in order for a child to pursue a career as a chanter, he had first to learn reading and writing according to the Byzantine educational system.'[221] In some cases, the primary book employed by teachers was the *Oktoechos*, while the Psalter was also a well-documented tool for education of basic literacy and music skills. The custom of education by means of the Psalter dates back to the eighth or ninth centuries, when pupils of chant were obligated to learn twelve specific psalms that were part of the sacred services.[222]

[218] The area of chanting education is completely untrodden, according to Markouris, in contrast to the field of education at large – at official schools, monasteries, and the academies of wealthy patrons – in Venetian Crete. For this bibliography, see Markouris, 'Apprenticeships', 233, fn. 2, and 235, fn. 5.
[219] See Markouris, 'Apprenticeships', 233-49.
[220] One oft-named instructor in both literacy and ecclesiastical chant was Ioannes Sofianos, who seems to have been the abbot of the well-known Christ Chefalas monastery in Candia. Documents show that the two basic books of instruction at this monastery at least seem to have been the Oktoechos and the Psalter (Markouris, 'Apprenticeships', 236).
[221] Markouris, 'Apprenticeships', 237.
[222] Markouris, 'Apprenticeships', 236.

This system underwent growth in the first decades of the fifteenth century, becoming professionalized in a number of ways. First, the curriculum underwent renewal. The contracts reveal that the lessons became enriched with new material, including, *polyeleoi*, *eothina doxastika*, *theotokia*, and *kratemata*, while books such as the Menaion, Triodion, *Propheties* (Prophecies), and the *Praksapostolo* (Acts of the Apostles) enter into the teaching corpus. Writing is also mentioned as fundamental component of the curriculum for the first time in the fifteenth century. Second, famous teachers from Constantinople arrive in Crete, such as Ioannes Laskaris and of course, later, Manuel Chrysaphes. Correspondingly, fees increase.[223] Third, independent chanting schools are founded, such Ioannes Laskaris' (in 1411) and that of his possible competitor in Candia, Ioannes Sourios.[224] By Laskaris' time and shortly thereafter, the courses appear to have become quite rigorous, commencing annually in September and lasting from two to as many as six years. Students were examined by two external teachers, but the accountability seems to have fallen to the teachers who had engaged in the contracts: 'if a pupil failed these exams, the teacher had to reimburse the whole amount of money that had already been paid by the parent.'[225]

Many of the contracts include language specifying the patrons' desire for their children to be educated according to Greek customs and dogma, highlighting the cultural threat, whether real or perceived, of Venetian overlordship in Crete. More interestingly, those who entrusted Greek clerics and master-chanters with the instruction of their children were very often Veneto-Cretans of mixed origin. Contracts reveal names such as Georgios Quirino and Emmanuel Marizis, and yet, in several such cases from the early fifteenth century these mixed-origin individuals are the ones who request that their children be taught 'according to Orthodox doctrine,' confirming their adherence to Greek dogma and rites, in spite of their mixed heritage.[226] Thus, there was a class of Veneto-Cretans that remained strictly faithful to Orthodox dogma in spite of the miscegenation: ethnic boundaries, in these cases, seem more permeable than religious ones. Perhaps also, however, this reflects the possibility that instructors of Greek chant and their schools were coveted places of learning for children of mixed-origin patrons, in both the city and countryside, regardless of religious affiliation. According to archival evidence, it wasn't until 1474 that Catholics established their first school of chanting, at Saint Titus in Candia, so the children of Veneto-Cretans may not have had

[223] Markouris, 'Apprenticeships', 239.
[224] Ioannis Sourias' school had an almost identical study curriculum to Laskaris', though his courses were different with respect to the polyeleos: he taught the Koukoumas and Latrinos polyeleoi (both documented by Chrysaphes in Iviron 1120). See Markouris, 'Apprenticeships', 241.
[225] Markouris, 'Apprenticeships', 238
[226] Markouris, 'Apprenticeships', 237, 239.

Catholic options of the same calibre.[227] At all events, it seems probable that the influx of musicians and clerics from Constantinople was partially responsible for both the flourishing of the psaltic art and the resistance to Catholic doctrine in Venetian-ruled Crete.

Thus, already decades before Manuel Chrysaphes would have arrived, we observe a transition in chanting education, moving away from the informal setting of monasteries and priest-monk instructors, to official schools with rigorous curricula, run by a *magister cantus* (chief cantor) such as Laskaris, Sourios, and others.[228] It was into this culture that Chrysaphes would have arrived and doubtless he would have had no trouble earning a good living, even if we are to assume his prior patronage in imperial circles had become diluted. According to Markouris, 'the chanting profession was quite profitable and conferred a different social and financial status, especially within small communities in the countryside.'[229] A course of study in Laskaris' school in the 1420s cost a student 15 hyperpyra. Furthermore, it seems that some individuals sent their children to these chanting schools precisely so they could be in a position to earn a good living when they finished their course, eventually contributing to the household, as the case of a contract involving two widows suggests.[230] Teaching revenue of this sort, supplemented by income earned from singing services, would have provided a good standard of living to a musician of Chrysaphes' prestige.

Preliminary Conclusions

Though he was likely advanced in age by the time he arrived in Crete (most likely between 40 and 50 years old), he would have been a coveted teacher and singer. As his stay in Crete was rather lengthy, as many as ten or more years, it is reasonable to believe that he engaged in several contracts with students who wished to learn the psaltic art. And while his arrival came after the island had witnessed its most intense ethno-religious strife, he nevertheless inherited this tradition and sat on the precarious border of affinity with the Greek Uniates – individuals in the Veneto-Cretan intelligentsia such as Apostolis, Bessarion, and Plousiadenos, and adherence to more conservative Constantinopolitan norms, both dogmatic and musical. As my chapter on Chrysaphes' settings of the *Anoixantaria* shows, Chrysaphes occupied something of

[227] Though rather late, we are aware of the musical activity of the Latin churches in Candia from an archbishop's encyclical in November 1474 which laments the 'low level' of church music and proposes reforms to increase the education in music for ecclesiastical purposes, lest the people be scandalized (Nikolaos M. Panagiotakes, *Η Παιδεία και η Μουσική στην Κρήτη κατά τη Βενετοκρατία* (Heraklion, Crete: ΣΤΕΔΚΚ, 1990), 70-1).
[228] Markouris, 'Apprenticeships', 240.
[229] Fees for teachers were higher in the countryside as compared to those in the capital 'probably because the teachers there had more expenses to cover such as maintenance or accommodation' (Markouris, 'Apprenticeships', 241, 243), and also, we must assume, because of basic rules of supply and demand.
[230] Markouris, 'Apprenticeships', 238.

a diplomatic position between the traditional Orthodox stance and the new environment in Venetian Crete following the Council of Florence-Ferrara. There is evidence that his position was stridently Orthodox – as compared to the stance of Plousiadenos or Bessarion, initially Orthodox in view but later convinced by Latin arguments concerning the Filioque –, yet his language and expression of this Orthodoxy was tempered, no doubt on account of his close relations with Greek Uniates. In a later chapter, I describe his limited foray into experimental polyphony witnessed in a few manuscripts, suggesting that Chrysaphes did not take issue with borrowing from the musical palette of his Venetian co-residents in Crete.

2.5. Chrysaphes' Life and Travels: Conclusions

This chapter has reigned in important but heretofore scattered research of the past century concerning Manuel Chrysaphes, leading us to conclude that our composer and choir director was born around 1410-1420, possibly in Eastern Thrace, received a privileged education in Constantinople, and eventually ascended to the rank of *lampadarios* of the royal clergy – possibly as early as 1439/40, but certainly by the time of the reign of Emperor Constantine XI Palaiologos, the last emperor of the Byzantines. The musical sources also reveal the fact that Chrysaphes operated as *maistor*, director of both palatine choirs, though we cannot at this point give dates for when he held either of the two titles, nor can we say whether he held these positions simultaneously or in succession.

After establishing these key chronological and prosopographical coordinates concerning Manuel Doukas Chrysaphes, this chapter has, for the first time, made an attempt to marry information contained in important fifteenth century musical manuscripts with documents of court ceremonial in Constantinople and archival evidence from daily life in Crete. This has brought the figure of Manuel Chrysaphes, cappelmaistor of the palatine choir in Constantinople, into relief as a fully entrenched member of the imperial retinue and key participant in court festivities, which were ritually and musically elaborate even in the context of a depleted capital city and rapidly receding empire. Following the Fall of Constantinople, Chrysaphes' tracks follow those of branches of the imperial family – to Smenderevo in Serbia and to Mistra in the Peloponnese – strengthening our conclusions concerning his proximity to imperial circles, even after the imperial palace was overtaken and its retinue disbanded. His travels eventually led him to Crete, and though evidence pertaining to his daily life there is sparse, his far-reaching impact on the island and its musical culture can be gleaned by studying fifteenth and sixteenth Cretan musical manuscripts, including those written by one of the island's most active scribes and composers, Ioannes Plousiadenos. Finally, ample evidence

survives that pertains to various aspects of daily life for a Greek musician in Crete, from the general socio-political environment, to the working conditions and social status enjoyed by singers and teachers of ecclesiastical music. Thus, we are able to imagine what life might have been like for a high-ranking musician of the imperial court, who was transplanted from Constantinople to an island on the periphery of the former Byzantine Empire, one inhabited by (mostly) Greek Orthodox, but governed by Latin Catholics.

Although we would welcome the discovery of more evidence pertaining directly to Manuel Chrysaphes – whether personal correspondence or chant contracts from his time in Crete – we need not rely solely on these types of data to expand our knowledge of this musician. His compositions, his treatise, and the dissemination of his work by his successors in Crete can tell us a great deal about his philosophy as a musician, his network of influence, and his impact on the musical tradition of the Greek Orthodox Church. The next three chapters, and especially Chapter 5, provide a preliminary attempt at filling in the sketch introduced above, by means of analysing his autographs, his treatise, and finally, his compositions within one of the very many genres to which he contributed.

Chrysaphes as Scribe: An Analysis of the Autographs of Chrysaphes, especially MS Iviron 1120

3

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a high level summary of all six purported autographs of Chrysaphes, which includes an investigation into two whose authorship I call into question along with a detailed analysis of the two most important musical autographs, the Kalophonic Sticherarion, MS Iviron 975, and the Akolouthia, MS Iviron 1120. Emmanuel Giannopoulos' study *Η Άνθηση της Ψαλτικής Τέχνης στην Κρήτη (1566-1669)* contains the most up-to-date treatment of the subject of Chrysaphes' autographed codices. Until the publication of Giannopoulos' work in 2006, four autographs had been associated with Chrysaphes as author: MSS Iviron 1120, Iviron 975, Xeropotamou 270, and Seraglio 15. Of these four, Iviron 1120 is the only indisputable musical autograph of Chrysaphes, with a surviving colophon bearing the name of Chrysaphes and the year of its authorship, 1458. Based on other manuscripts' resemblance to the writing and contents of Iviron 1120, Gregory Stathis and Andrija Jakovlević have argued that MS Iviron 975 and Xeropotamou 270, respectively, were scribed by Chrysaphes' hand. To these four autographs of Chrysaphes, Giannopoulos adds MS Sketes Agias Annes 123 42 from the Skete of St Anne on Mt Athos[1] and MS Veroia 9 from the monastery Τιμίου Προδρόμου (*Timiou Prodromou*; lit: 'Venerable Forerunner', i.e., John the Baptist) in Veroia, Greece.[2] To date, I have not had the opportunity to investigate any of the MSS *in situ* except for the most controversial of the ascriptions, that is, Veroia 9, which, as I discuss below, does not appear to hold up to scrutiny as a fifteenth century *Anastasimatarion* as suggested by Giannopoulos.

By analysing the contents of (especially) MS Iviron 1120, we are able to enter the mind of Chrysaphes – not Chrysaphes the mere copyist, but Chrysaphes the editor and the music critic. We have to assume that the compositions he included were of a standard he deemed acceptable, and furthermore, we have to assume that his standards – as outlined in his theoretical treatise – excluded the settings of some composers, those he castigates as 'ignorant,' 'unscientific,' and 'unlearned.'[3] The compositions he includes, whether Cherubic Hymns or *koinonika* from his Akolouthia, or *kalophonic stichera* found in MS Iviron 975, are

[1] The Skete of St. Anne, in the northwest corner of the peninsula of Mt Athos, was founded in the sixteenth or the seventeenth century.
[2] The monastery of Τιμίου Προδρόμου is on the Aliakmonas River outside of present-day Veroia, Greece, about one hour southwest of Thessaloniki. Its long and storied history that dates to the ninth or tenth century includes the presence of various celebrities in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine Orthodox tradition, including St Gregory Palamas, St Athanasios of Olympos, and St Kosmas of Aitolos (Giannopoulos, 'Βέροια', 564).
[3] Conomos, *Treatise*, 36-41.

those he considered worthy of performance and dissemination for future generations. Furthermore, the order of his liturgical arrangements bore witness to the arrangement of musical codices in the mid-fifteenth century and thus give clues about the order of services at the time and the range of performance choices available to Constantinopolitan, Thessalonian, Athonite, and Cretan singers of the fifteenth century. For this reason, it is especially important to consider his liturgical arrangement of hymns in MS Iviron 1120, which contains the 'Order of Services' for the regular cycle of the ecclesiastical day – Vespers, Orthros, and the Divine Liturgy – for both ordinary and proper days throughout the year. Likewise, MS Iviron 975 is one of the most important manuscripts of the fifteenth century as it contains some of the most innovative compositions of its era, the *kalophonic stichera*, the inspiration of the great *maistores* of the Late Palaiologan period, initiated by Koukouzeles and his predecessors, and refined as an art form by Chrysaphes and those around him.[4]

Another point worth noting is that Chrysaphes – like his successor Ioannes Plousiadenos – includes material that can be argued was liturgically anachronistic by the mid-fifteenth century, such as the Service of the Furnace, traditionally celebrated in the Cathedral Rite two Sundays before the feast of Christmas. This, in combination with the volume and variety of chants anthologised by Chrysaphes in Iviron 1120 and Iviron 975, and the commentary on present decline in his treatise (discussed below), paints the picture of a scribe obsessed with preserving what he perceives to be a threatened tradition. This mentality may have been even more present in the mind of Plousiadenos, who completed the bulk of his manuscript writing after the Fall of Constantinople, after which he may have experienced first-hand the impact of the dispersion of the torch-bearing cantors and composers from Constantinople to the periphery of the former empire.

3.2 The Autographs of Manuel Chrysaphes

The Undisputed Autographs of Chrysaphes, i.e., Autographs with a Colophon

MS Iviron 1120

MS Iviron 1120 is a gargantuan Akolouthia-Papadike written in 1458 outside of Constantinople. The only autograph of Chrysaphes with a surviving colophon, it is discussed below along with a detailed description of its contents.

MS Seraglio Library Constantinople 15

[4] This repertory and its manuscripts are discussed in Chapter 2 for the purposes for establishing key chronological coordinates of Chrysaphes.

The second codex indisputably attributed to Chrysaphes is manuscript number 15 from the Seraglio Library in Istanbul,[5] which stands out as the only non-musical autograph of Chrysaphes. This manuscript is important not only for its inclusion of Chrysaphes' theoretical treatise along with the *Grammar* of Manuel Moschopoulos,[6] but for its colophon that indicates a completion date of 1463.[7] Until recent research around the Kalophonic Sticheraria of Plousiadenos, which I have summarised and contextualised in Chapter 2, the year 1463 was traditionally given as the latest known date of Chrysaphes' activity. As discussed earlier, we can now push that date to at least 1469 based on the evidence derived from the autographs of Ioannes Plousiadenos.

Chrysaphes' Possible Autographs that do not have a Colophon

MS Iviron 975

MS Iviron 975 is a Kalophonic Sticherarion including over 100 kalophonic Sticheraria by Ioannes Koukouzeles and approximately 145 composed by Manuel Chrysaphes. It is undated but, given that it lacks references to Sparta, Serbia, or Crete, it is possible that it was written before 1453 in Constantinople. It is also discussed in detail below.

MS Athos Xeropotamou 270

MS Xeropotamou 270 was identified as an autograph of Manuel Chrysaphes by Andreas Jakovljević a few years after the same codex had been described by Gregorios Stathis in the first volume of his catalogue of the manuscripts of Mt Athos.[8] Jakovljević identified a watermark (open scissors with a circle above) that he matched with watermark number 3715 according to Charles Briquet's reckoning,[9] which is dated to 1453-55, whereas Stathis had dated the MS to the end of the fifteenth century.[10] The identification of this watermark confirmed its dating to the mid-fifteenth century, after which the manuscript's connection to Manuel Chrysaphes was made on the basis of the similarity of its handwriting to that of Chrysaphes' in MS Iviron 1120.[11]

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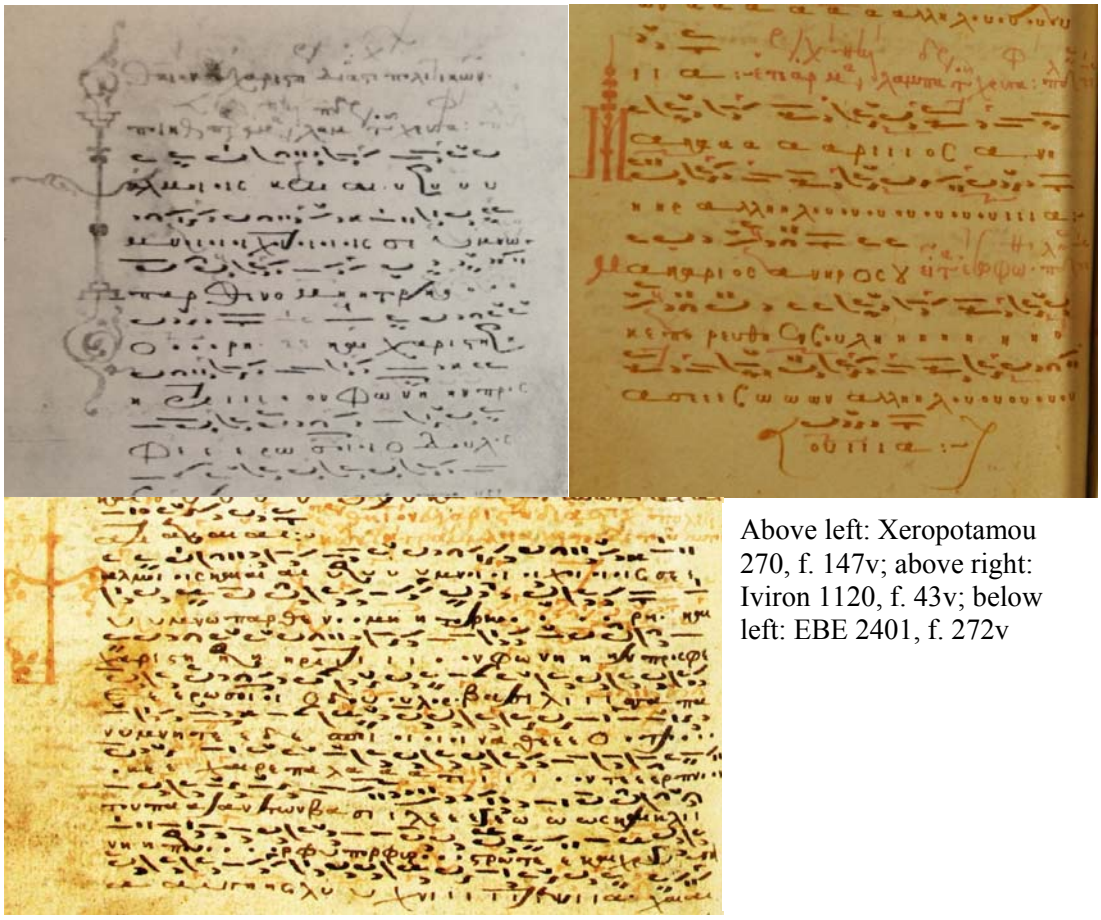
[5] Also known as the Library of the Topkapı Seray Palace.
[6] Cf. supra, Ch. 2, p. 75.
[7] See Deissman, *Serai*, 59.
[8] Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα I*, 25-27.
[9] C. M. Briquet and Allan Stevenson, *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire Historique des Marques du Papier dès leur Apparition vers 1282 jusqu' en 1600 [par] C.M. Briquet* (Amsterdam: Paper Publications Society, 1968). Jakovlević cites an earlier edition of this work.
[10] Interestingly, Gregory Anastasiou maintains this earlier dating of Xeropotamou 270 (end-15th c.) in his 2005 study (*Τα Κρατήματα*, 35).
[11] The identification of Xeropotamou 270 is described by Jakovljević, *Δίγλωσση*, 87.

Figure 3.1 below includes an image from Xeropotamou 270 that was published in Stathis' catalogue (a 15-syllable hymn, a kalophonic *theotokion* composed by Manuel Chrysaphes, Ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις σε ὑμνῷ),[12] side by side with an unrelated composition from Iviron 1120 (Psalm 1:1, Μακάριος ἀνὴρ). The similarity of handwriting is unmistakeable, both with respect to the neumes and the inscriptions (i.e., see the manner in which Manuel Chrysaphes writes his name, Μανουὴλ Χρυσάφη, and title, λαμπαδάριος, above the compositions). To further emphasise the similarity, I have included the same hymn, Ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις σε ὑμνῷ, as written by another scribe in the mid-fifteenth century manuscript EBE 2401.

FIGURE 3.1: HANDWRITING OF XEROPOTAMOU 270 (F. 147V) COMPARED TO IVIRON 1120 AND EBE 2401



Above left: Xeropotamou 270, f. 147v; above right: Iviron 1120, f. 43v; below left: EBE 2401, f. 272v

MS Xeropotamou 270 is a short manuscript (170 folios) that is described as a *Mathematarion-Kratematarion* by Stathis.[13] It cannot be called an Akolouthia, since it does not contain chants laid out in the typical order of Vespers, Orthros, and the Divine Liturgies, like Iviron 1120, nor can it be classified as a Kalophonic Sticherarion, like Iviron 975, with embellished stichera following one or both of the two cycles of the liturgical year, the fixed (*Menaion*), and the

[12] Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα I*, 27.
[13] For a background of the term *mathema* (lit: 'lesson'), cf. supra, Ch. 1, fn. 164.

movable (*Triodion-Pentecostarion*). Folios 2r-113v contain dozens of *kratemata* by several of the major composers of the kalophonic period: Ioannes Glykys, Koukouzeles, Xenos Korones, Ioannes Kladas, Dokeianos, Kontopetris, and Chrysaphes. The 'prologues' of the First Kathisma (i.e., simple settings of the verses from Psalms 1-3, from the opening of Great Vespers) are written prior to some of the kratemata in this section. In this respect, this section of Xeropotamou 270 resembles folios 70r-202v of Iviron 1120, which contain the 'kalophonia of Psalm 2 of Great Vespers'.[14]

The majority of the rest of this short codex contains Marian kalophonic hymns, especially those composed in 15-syllable meter, the so-called 'political verse'. Other fifteenth century Akolouthiai often include these hymns – kalophonic compositions also known as *Theotokia*, *Stavrotheotokia*, or *Katanyktika* – towards the end of the codex, after the koinonika from the Divine Liturgy, probably on account of the fact that they fell outside of the normal repertory of the divine offices.[15] For example, see the relevant sections of at least two fifteenth century Akolouthiai, MS Athos Λ.Ε. 173, f. 241v-408r, and MS Iviron 1120, f. 588r-617v.[16] Both contain kalophonic material that falls outside of the regular liturgical repertory, with many 15-syllable compositions included, but also, kalophonic heirmoi and megalynaria. In a typical Akolouthia, these hymns do not have a place either within Vespers, Orthros, or the Divine Liturgy, and thus are included at the end. The inclusion in Xeropotamou 270 of hymns of this genre (i.e., kalophonic, 15-syllable hymns), along with prologues and kratemata from the First Kathisma of the Psalter – but nothing else from the service of Great Vespers – contribute to this manuscript's rather 'piecemeal' character.

Finally, as discussed above in Chapter 2, MS Xeropotamou 270 is significant for its indication of a composition 'composed in Serbia' (ἐποιήθη ἐν τῇ Σερβία, f. 123v). If Jakovljević's assessment of the watermark in this manuscript is accurate, and if we are to believe in the precise dating of the watermark as given in Briquet (1453-55), then, of course, this would place Chrysaphes in Serbia during this period, if not before. This is not inconsistent with the chronology of his life and travels as detailed in Chapter 2.

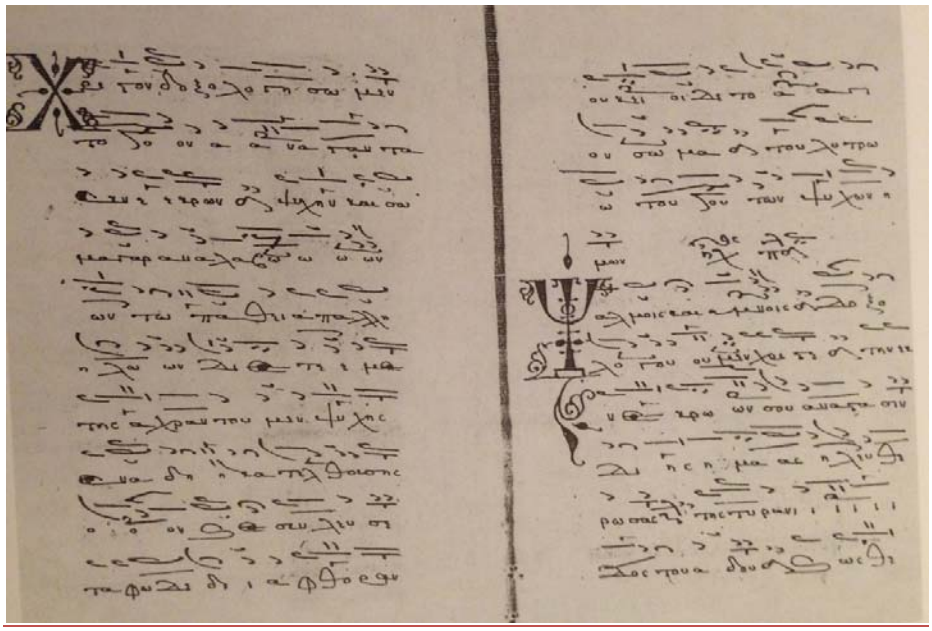
Manuscript Claimed as Autographs in the Literature

[14] Cf. supra (Ch. 2, pp. 101-106), for a discussion of this repertory in the context of Chrysaphes' imperial commission, Psalm 2:7-8. See also below in this same chapter for the description of this section of Iviron 1120,.
[15] Theotokia are Marian hymns (Θεοτόκος, i.e., *Theotokos* = 'God-bearer'); Stavrotheotokia are Marian hymns that refer to the Crucifixion, akin to the Stabat mater (i.e., Mary at the foot of the Cross); Katanyktika (lit: 'compunctionate') are personal prayers focusing on human travail and God's salvific forgiveness and redemption. See Appendix: Chrysaphes' as Hymnographer for a full catalogue of Chrysaphes' compositions on these texts.
[16] MS Athos Λ.Ε. 173 is discussed below (Ch. 3, fn. 58). These sections also contain kalophonic heirmoi, megalynaria, and anagrammatismoi, along with the kalophonic 15-syllable hymns.

MS Athos Skete Agias Annas 123 42

One of the two manuscripts Giannopoulos suggests as an autograph of Chrysaphes is MS 123 42 from the Athonite *Skete Agias Annes* (Σκήτη Ἁγίας Ἄννης, i.e., Skete of St Anne), a folio of which is shown below in Fig. 3.2. It was identified as such on the basis of the purported similarity of the scribe's handwriting to that in Iviron 1120 and Xeropotamou 270. MS Skete Agias Annas 123 42 is an *Anastasimatarion-Sticherarion* containing, in addition to chants from the *Anastasimatarion*, *idiomela* for the Great Hours of Christmas, Theophany, and Great Friday and, before these, a small selection of hymns from Orthros and the Divine Liturgy.[17] Giannopoulos describes this manuscript as being in excellent condition, despite the fact that the first folio has fallen off. A high level description of its contents is given in a catalogue written by the monk Gerasimos of the Skete of St Anne, published in 1961.[18] Figure 3.2 shows a folio of this manuscript published by Giannopoulos.

FIGURE 3.2: MS SKETE AGIAS ANNES 123 42 F. 97V-98R, PL. 4TH MODE ANASTASIMATARIA TROPARIA[19]



A tabular comparison of a few selected neumes of the folio shown above from MS Skete Agias Annes with the same neumes from several other manuscripts, including MS Iviron 1120, calls Giannopoulos' assertion into question. My tables below include three neumes: the *oligon*, *ison*,

[17] Giannopoulos, *Η Ἀνθηση*, 67.

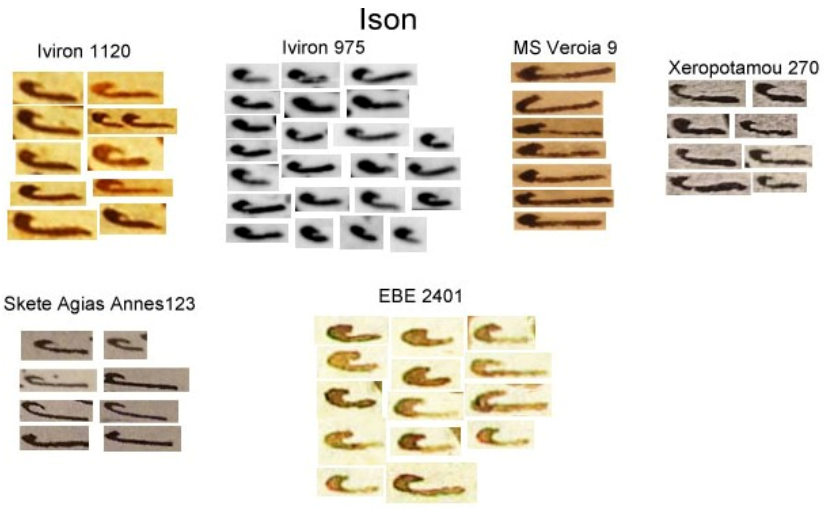
[18] Gerasimos Agiannanitou, *Κατάλογος Χειρογράφων Κωδίκων της Βιβλιοθήκης του Κυριακού της κατά το Αγιώνυμον Όρος του Άθω Ιεράς και Μεγαλωνύμου Σκήτης της Αγίας Θεοπρομήτορος Άννης* (Athens 1961), 144. I viewed the microfilm of this manuscript briefly while at the Library of the Vlatades in Thessaloniki in June 2011. Unfortunately, there was not enough time to take detailed notes of its contents.

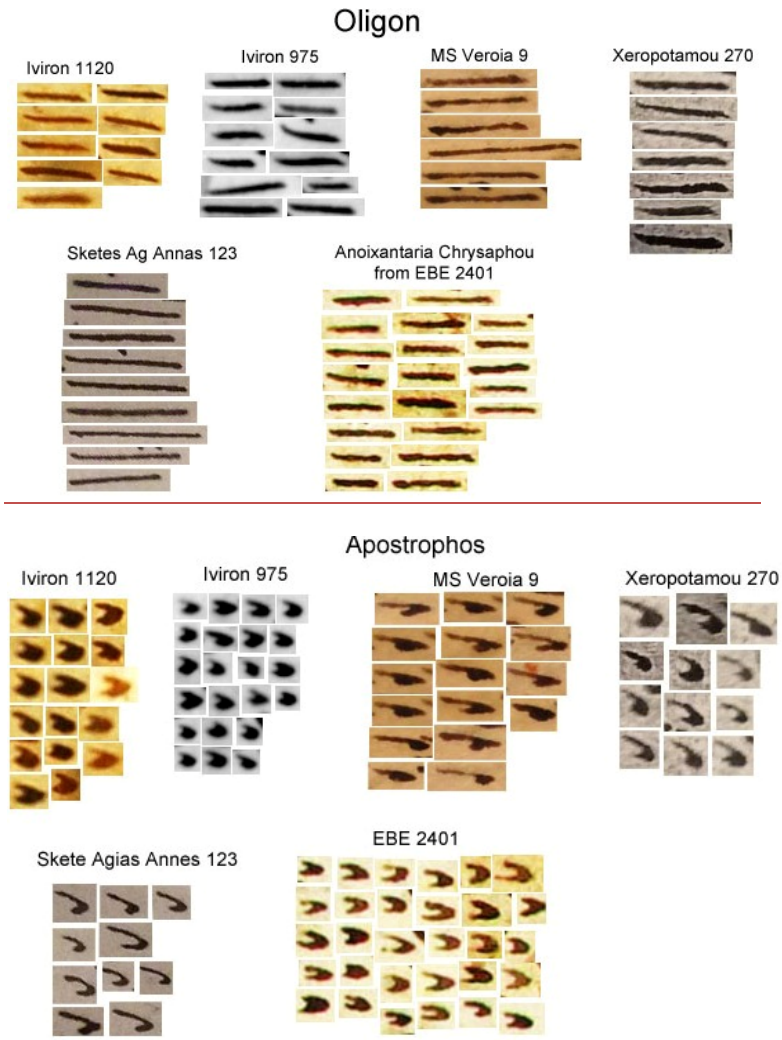
[19] This image is from Giannopoulos, *Λόγος και Μέλος*, 291. The assertion that this manuscript is an autograph of Chrysaphes, of course, requires further investigation to validate beyond reasonable doubt. To me, the handwriting seems more similar to that found in Xeropotamou than in Iviron 1120.

and *apostrophos*. Six manuscripts are represented: MS Iviron 1120, Chrysaphes' undisputed autograph; four manuscripts claimed as autographs in the literature – MS Iviron 975 (identified by Stathis), Xeropotamou 270 (identified by Jakovljević and confirmed by Stathis), Skete Agias Annes 123 42 (identified by Giannopoulos), Veroia 9 (identified by Giannopoulos); and finally, MS EBE 2401, an undated, mid-fifteenth century manuscript that has three scribes, none of which have been associated with Manuel Chrysaphes by any palaeographer or musicologist.

Whereas the neumes of MSS Iviron 1120 and Iviron 975 appear to be part of the same family of handwriting, MS Skete Agias Annes and MS Veroia 9 (about which, see below), are more similar to one another than they are to Iviron 1120 and Iviron 975, an observation especially apparent in the neumes of the *ison* and the *apostrophos*. According to this preliminary assessment, it would appear to me that MS Xeropotamou 270 lies somewhere in between the two 'families', with far too little evidence to suggest overturning's Jakovljević's assertion. This is, of course, far from an exhaustive analysis of script samples, as I include only three neumes and no letters, neume indications (*martyriai*), or words. Nevertheless, at the present moment, I believe that the comparison of neumes below suggests that MS Skete Agias Annes 123 42 is not an autograph of Manuel Chrysaphes. This conclusion is strengthened when considering my analysis of MS Veroia 9 below and my rejection of its authorship by Chrysaphes.

FIGURE 3.3: COMPARISON OF SCRIBAL HANDWRITING ACROSS SIX 15TH / 16TH CENTURY MSS





MS Veroia (Timios Prodromos) 9

The last manuscript in our list of possible Chrysaphes autographs is an *Anastasimatarion* located today in the Monastery of Τιμίου Προδρόμου on the Aliakmonas River outside of the city of Veroia in Imathia, Greece. The library of Τιμίου Προδρόμου contains 11 musical manuscripts that were first described in an article by Giannopoulos in 1994.[20] When Giannopoulos initially catalogued the contents of MS Veroia 9, he classified it as a seventeenth century manuscript, and he included in his entry 'Χρυσάφου;', by which I suspect he meant to suggest the possibility that the scribe was the aforementioned Panagiotes Chrysaphes, who lived in the seventeenth century and is known to have reworked the *Anastasimatarion* repertory. More recently, however, Giannopoulos changed his opinion concerning this

[20] Cf. Ch. 1, fn. 81.

manuscript, stating: 'now… the identity of the scribe of this manuscript (i.e., Manuel Chrysaphes) and its dating to the fifteenth century can be confirmed.'[21]

This codex is in poor shape and the first few folios have fallen off. It begins with the first mode *troparion* from the *Anastasimatarion* cycle for Saturday evening Vespers, Εὐφράνθητε οὐρανοί ('Rejoice, heavens'), and includes *Anastasimataria troparia* for Saturday evening Vespers, Sunday morning Orthros, and Sunday Divine Liturgy (i.e., one model melody for the *Makarismoi*[22]), for first, second, third, fourth, plagal first, and plagal second modes. The last two modes, grave and plagal fourth, are not included. The manuscript is completely rebound, however, and it is not clear to me whether the chants for these modes were originally included and fell off before the rebinding, or whether the manuscript was written as such (i.e., incompletely). Although the writing of the scribe of this manuscript is very clean and at first glance seems to reflect the style of Chrysaphes, a closer investigation of its contents suggests that it resembles an *Anastasimatarion* of the sixteenth (or even seventeenth) century. This observation is based on a comparison of the melodies of Veroia 9 with, first, the same melodies that are included in Iviron 1120, and second, with melodies of other *Anastasimataria* that are known to be from the sixteenth century. These comparisons suggest to me that Veroia 9 was written much later than Iviron 1120, and thus, not by Chrysaphes.[23]

Comparison of Veroia 9 with Iviron 1120

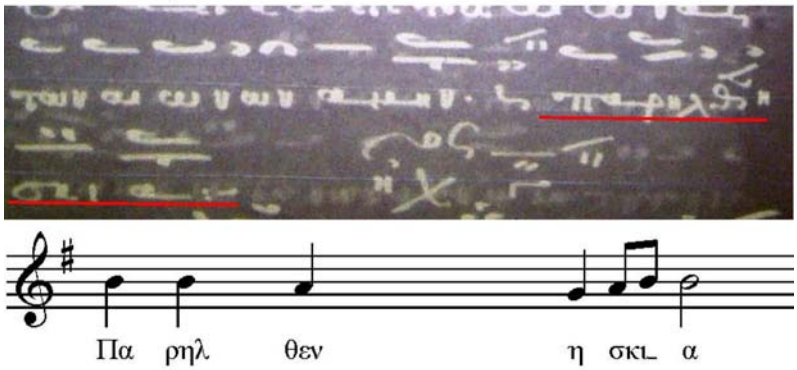
Iviron 1120 is not an *Anastasimatarion* but does contain selections of chants from this repertory. Specifically, it includes, for each mode, the *kekragaria* (Ps. 140:1-2 – 'Lord I have cried' & 'Let my prayer be set forth'), as well as the melody for the incipit of the *dogmatic theotokion* for Saturday evening Vespers. In Iviron 1120, these *Anastasimataria* excerpts seem to be included for reference more than anything. They are not attributed and thus are presented as traditional melodies from the anonymous well of the *Anastasimatarion* tradition. Nevertheless, they enable a direct comparison with corresponding melodies in Veroia 9, which shall help us determine whether it is plausible to accept the latter source as an autograph of Chrysaphes. For the purposes of this discussion, I include one melody below (Fig. 3.3), the incipit from the second mode dogmatic theotokion, Παρῆλθεν ἡ σκιὰ τοῦ νόμου ('The shadow

[21] Giannopoulos, *Η Ἀνθηση*, 66-67, fn. 53.
[22] The Makarismoi (μακαρισμοί) are hymns chanted at the liturgy after each of the Beatitudes (Matthew 5:1-12). A history of this genre is given in A. M. Pentkovskiy and M. Yovcheva, *Prazdnichnye i voskresnye blazhenny v vizantiyskom i slavyanskom bogosluzhenii* VIII-XIII, Palaeobulgarica 3/25 (2001): 31-60.
[23] I thank Ioannes Arvanitis for looking at this manuscript with me on a train ride from Munich to Regensburg in May 2013 and suggesting I dig deeper for concordances with later *Anastasimataria* to verify its authorship.

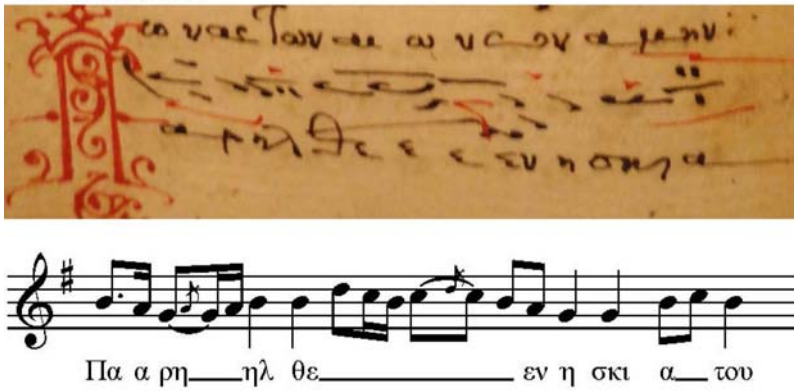
of the Law is passed away'),[24] which highlights a characteristic difference in the settings of Psalm 148:1-2 between these two manuscripts: the melodies in Iviron 1120 are more compact whereas those in Veroia 9 are more melismatic, especially on certain syllables.

FIGURE 3.4: INCIPIT OF SECOND MODE DOGMATIC THEOTOKION 'ΠΑΡΗΛΘΕΝ Η ΣΚΙΑ'

MS Iviron 1120, f. 204v



MS Veroia 9, f. 15v



As Figure 3.3 above shows, the melody of Iviron 1120, written in the middle of the fifteenth century, has been elaborated in Veroia 9. In my transcription, this elaboration is represented as 7 beats in Iviron 1120 vs. 11 beats in Veroia 9,[25] the biggest difference occurring on the syllable 'θε' of the word παρῆλθεν ('has passed away'). In Iviron 1120 this is represented by one neume: an *apostrophos* indicating a descent of a second. In Veroia 9, this is written with several neumes, an *ison* (indicating the same pitch as before), a *petaste-oligon* combination (ascent of a third), an *hyporrhoe* (successive, quick descents of a second), an oligon (ascent of

[24] The full text of the second mode dogmatic theotokion is: Παρῆλθεν ἡ σκιὰ τοῦ νόμου, τῆς χάριτος ἐλθούσης· ὡς γὰρ ἡ βάτος οὐκ ἐκαίετο καταφλεγομένη, οὕτω Παρθένος ἔτεκες, καὶ Παρθένος ἔμεινας, ἀντὶ στύλου πυρός, δικαιοσύνης ἀνέτειλεν Ἥλιος, ἀντὶ Μωϋσέως Χριστός, ἡ σωτηρία τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, and in English: 'The shadow of the Law is passed away with the coming of grace; for as the bush was not consumed when it was burning, thus as a virgin didst thou give birth, and a virgin didst thou remain. In the stead of a pillar of fire, there hath arisen the Sun of Righteousness; in the stead of Moses, Christ the Salvation of our souls.' Translation Holy Transfiguration Monastery (Brookline, MA, 2005).

[25] The number of time units is odd (vs. even) in this phrase because of the unaccented first syllable 'πα' falling on the weak beat, a fact that is supported by the neume group in Iviron 1120 above the syllable 'ρῆ', i.e., an ison supported by a 'voiceless' oligon that functions as a stress.

a second) and two *apostrophe* (successive descents of a second), all undergirded by the subsidiary signs *xeron klasma* (black) and *tromikon* (red). Clearly, the second melody is an elaboration of the first. The same phenomenon is observed across all the *dogmatic theotokia* incipits shared between these two manuscripts (6 in total).[26]

It may be possible to argue that Chrysaphes' inclusion of just the opening phrase of each *dogmatic theotokion* in Iviron 1120 is evidence that this does not represent a real 'composition,' but more of a reference point (and consequently, if it were more than just a reference, Chrysaphes would have written it out as it would be sung, i.e., more elaborately). But this seems to be a weak line of reasoning which is further rebutted if we compare a full melody in Veroia 9 to a comparable *Anastasimatarion* that is known to be dated to the mid-sixteenth century. For this, we take the melody of the first *Anastasimatarion sticheron*, Τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων ἐκ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα ('Who was begotten of the Father before the ages')[27] from Veroia 9, f. 12v, and compare it to the same sticheron from Xeropotamou 280 (f. 32v), an *Anastasimatarion* that Gregorios Stathis has dated to the second half of the sixteenth century on the basis of its contents,[28] and which Eustathios Makris has included in his analysis of the tradition of the *Anastasimatarion* of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Makris' morphological analysis of its contents confirms its place in the sixteenth century.[29]

I have not included transcriptions of these melodies below, since even a neophyte in medieval Byzantine chant notation can judge that the written forms of these two melodies are nearly identical, down to the relationship between text and neumes, the modal signatures, the great

[26] It is instructive also to compare the melodies of the *Ainoi* (i.e., the Lauds, Psalms 150:6 and 148:1), for which Iviron 1120 also includes settings in each mode. In Iviron 1120, the first mode melody for Ps. 150:6, Πᾶσα πνοή αἰνεσάτω τὸν Κύριον ('Let every breath praise the Lord'), found on f. 411r, is actually more elaborate overall than the opening of the *Ainoi* (Psalm 150:6) as set in Veroia 9 (f. 8v). Furthermore, the second psalm phrase of the *Ainoi* in Iviron 1120 includes the following text: Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, σοι πρέπει ὕμνος τῷ Θεῷ, αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις, σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος τῷ Θεῷ (the 'σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος τῷ Θεῷ,' translated as 'To Thee is due praise, O God', serving obviously as a refrain). The text of the second part of the *Ainoi* in Veroia 9, on the other hand, reads: Αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ, αἰνεῖτε αὐτὸν πᾶσαι αἱ Δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ, σοὶ πρέπει ὕμνος τῷ Θεῷ. The text of Iviron 1120 represents a more archaic verse-refrain structure of the *Ainoi*, whereas the text of Veroia 9 is the text that crystallised around the 16th century and is still sung as the second part of the *Ainoi* in modern Orthodox Orthros. This observation strengthens the argument that these two sources do not represent the same melodic – or liturgical – tradition, and that Veroia 9 is a later source, no earlier than the sixteenth century. Thus it could not have been copied by Chrysaphes.

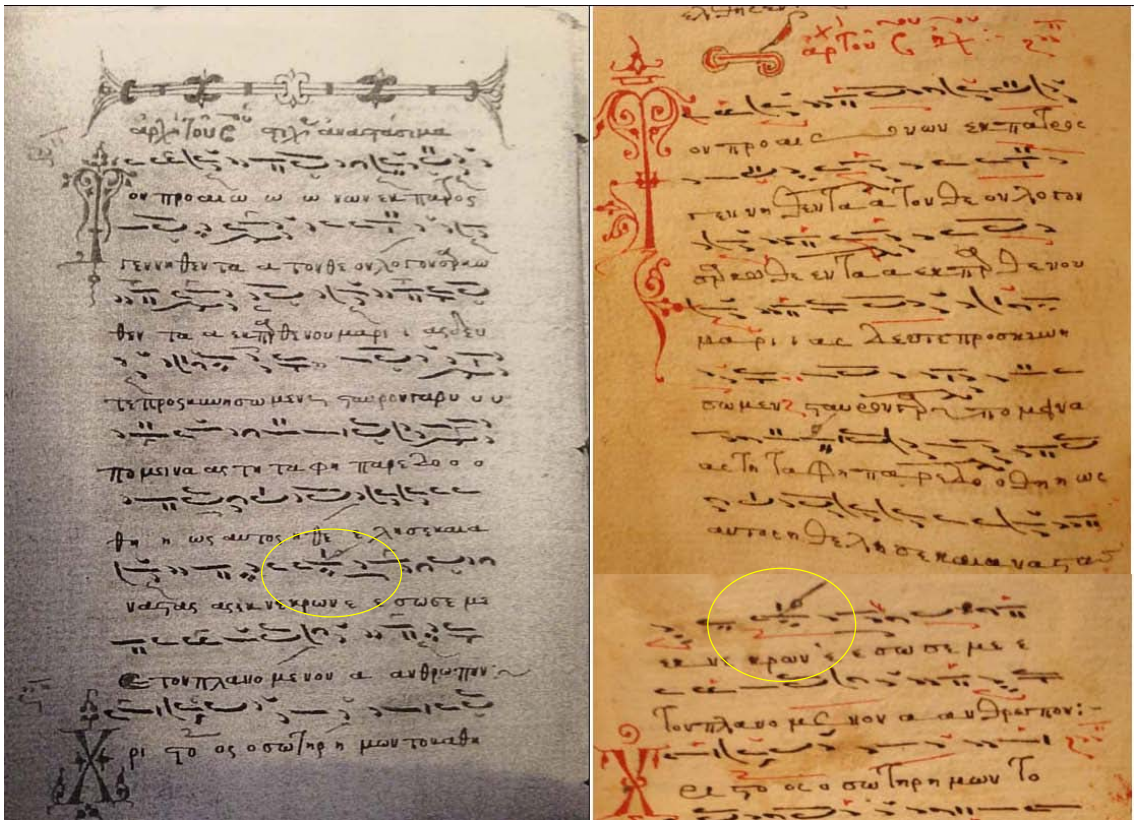
[27] The full text of this sticheron is: 'Τὸν πρὸ αἰώνων ἐκ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα, τὸν Θεὸν λόγον σαρκωθέντα, ἐκ Παρθένου Μαρίας, δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν· Σταυρὸν γὰρ ὑπομείνας, τῇ ταφῇ παρεδόθη, ὡς αὐτός ἠθέλησε, καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἔσωσέ με τὸν πλανώμενον ἄνθρωπον', and in English: 'Come, let us worship God the Word, Who was begotten of the Father before the ages, and was incarnate of the Virgin Mary; for having endured the Cross, He was delivered over to burial as He willed; and arising from the dead He saved me, the erring man'. Translations by Holy Transfiguration Monastery (Brookline, MA, 2005).

[28] Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα I*, 43-45.

[29] Makris, Anastasimatarion', 80 and passim.

hypostases,[30] and even the placement of the *nenano* phthora above the word νεκρῶν (circled in yellow).[31] That the written form of the melody for this sticheron in Veroia 9 is so similar to that found in the mid- to late-sixteenth century *Anastasimatarion* Xeropotamou 280 is further confirmation that the melodic tradition represented in Veroia 9 comes from a period later than the fifteenth century, and thus, it is improbable that it is an autograph of Manuel Chrysaphes.

FIGURE 3.5: COMPARISON OF VEROIA 9 (UNDATED) TO XEROPOTAMOU 280 (2ND HALF OF 16TH C.)[32]



3.3 MS Iviron 975

Background – Development of the Kalophonic Sticherarion[33]

MS Iviron 975, a voluminous (475-folio) Kalophonic Sticherarion attributed to Manuel Chrysaphes, is arguably one of the most important codices of its type. The Kalophonic

[30] I do not have space in the current study to elaborate on the following, but I have also observed the fact that certain 'great hypostases' appearing in Veroia 9, such as the *chorevma*, are not ever written in Iviron 1120. It is well known that these 'great hypostases' proliferated in the post-Byzantine period, eventually numbering more than 40. Chrysaphes draws from a palette of far fewer of these neumes in his confirmed autographs.
[31] The modulation sign known as the *nenano* phthora is discussed further in Chapter 5 on the *Anoixantaria.*
[32] The photograph of Xeropotamou 280, f. 32v. is from Makris, Anastasimatarion 80. All photographs of Veroia 9 were taken by me on 11 June 2011 at the monastery of Τιμίου Προδρόμου in Veroia.
[33] Cf. supra, pp. 48-50.

Sticherarion is derived from the older Sticherarion,[34] a musical collection containing festal hymns called *stichera*,[35] from the *Menaion* (the fixed festal cycle), the *Triodion* and *Pentecostarion* (the movable festal cycles), and the *Oktoechos*.[36] The melodies of the Sticherarion, while slightly more elaborate than those of the Heirmologion, were written in a simple, non-embellished form, generally featuring 1-2 notes per syllable with a smattering of stereotyped melismas on selected syllables.[37] Oliver Strunk coined the phrase 'Standard Abridged Version,'[38] to refer to the 'standard' or 'classical' Sticherarion, which dates to at least the eleventh century and consists of a corpus of about 750 non-melismatic *stichera idiomela* that were interpolated between the psalm verses of Vespers and Orthros on feasts throughout the year. Strunk's research showed that the Sticherarion repertory was transmitted with remarkable uniformity over the course of the next two centuries, probably on account of the fact that, being a mostly festal repertory, it was sung once per year and thus not realistically committed to memory by the singers. Such a repertory would require a consistently notated form to ensure stability in transmission. In a 1993 study, Jørgen Raasted extended Strunk's earlier work, analysing the melodic formulas in classical Sticheraria including MSS Dionysiou 564, Vatopaidi 1493, and Ambrosianus A 139 sup, to conclude that the SAV of the Sticherarion was revised by Ioannes Koukouzeles sometime in the beginning of the fourteenth century.[39]

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[34] Some of the earliest surviving notated sources of Greek chant including *Sticheraria* (e.g., the late tenth century MS Lavra Γ.67), and thus, there are many studies on this musical codex and the genre of the *Sticherarion* from the first half of the twentieth century, including A. Gastoué, *Introduction è la paléographie musical byzantine* (Paris 1907), 59-99; H.J.W. Tillyard, 'The Stichera Anastasima in Byzantine Hymnody,' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 28 (Leipzig, 1928), 25-37; E. Wellesz, *Die Hymnem des Sticherarium für September*, MMB *Transcripta*, Vol. III (Copenhagen*:* E. Munksgaard, 1936), to name a few of the early ones.

[35] These are referred to also as *stichera idiomela*, the latter term meaning 'same melody,' to indicate that the melodies are unique and not *prosomoia*, i.e., contrafacta, or *automela* (i.e., the model melodies on which other *prosomoia* are based).

[36] The *Oktoechos* is defined *supra*, Ch. 1, fn. 20.

[37] Ioannes Arvanitis refutes the notion that the hymns of the classical *Sticherarion* are melismatic and thus should be transcribed as such, a claim that has been argued by some scholars on the basis of the alleged connection between the branch of Palaeobyzantine notation known as 'Chartres' with the classical *Sticherarion*, due to the stenographic signs known as *melodemata* abundant in the Chartres' notation (e.g., see Stathis, *Η Εξήγησις*, 59, 65). Arvanitis argues that the connection of Chartres notation with the classical *Sticherarion*, and thus, the position that its melodies were melismatic and its notation stenographic, is erroneous (Arvanitis, *Ο Ρυθμός Ι*, 115, fn. 26). While the hymns of the Sticherarion (and the Heirmologion) were simple, indeed, almost syllabic, melismatic singing is of course attested to from the earliest notated sources, for example, in the *kontakia*, *prokeimena* and *alleluiaria* featured in the Constantinopolitan soloists' book, the *Psaltikon*, which may witness to a tradition of singing dating as far back as the ninth century (a conclusion consistent with the work of scholars of the Slavonic *kondakaria*, who conclude that these eleventh to thirteenth century sources represent melodies dating back likewise to the ninth century and are at least as embellished as the works of the kalophonic period).

[38] For Oliver Strunk's classification of the SAV, cf. supra Ch. 1, fn. 30, based on Strunk, 'Chartres', 68-111.

[39] Raasted argued that these manuscripts contained cadential figures and other characteristic elements that resembled the same 'Koukouzelian' features observed in his revisions of the Heirmologion, the two exemplars of the latter being MS St. Petersburg 121 and MS Sinai 1256. See Raasted, 'Sticherarion', 9-10 and *passim*. Similar conclusions are presented in Raasted, 'Sinai gr. 1230'.

The classical Sticherarion, with its simpler, mostly non-melismatic melodies, continued to be copied, transmitted, and utilised as a singing book from the eleventh through at least the fourteenth century (and probably much later). At the same time, the tendency towards embellishment of the same repertory can be observed fairly early on – in fact, embellished stichera have been located as early as the twelfth century. A unique South Italian manuscript dated to 1113 AD, the Calabrian Sticherarion E.α.XI, contains certain festal stichera written in a more melismatic style. Although Clara Adsuara has argued against Strunk's classification of these chants as *kalophonic stichera*,[40] she acknowledges that these twelfth century hymns represent the first melismatic compositions not belonging to the Constantinopolitan *Psaltikon* or *Asmatikon*. According to Adsuara, the nearly mature kalophonic style is observed in South Italian manuscripts of the next century, those which contain the so-called *Asma* repertory (one of the most important of these codices, MS Messina 161, contains the characteristic phrase ἀρχὴ τοῦ ᾄσματος, i.e., 'the beginning of the *asma*' before its musical contents). In these codices, which are in part amalgamations of both the *Psaltikon* and the *Asmatikon* repertories, some festal *stichera* – which Adsuara refers to as 'proto-kalophonic' – possess nearly all the attributes of the kalophonic stichera in their fully mature style of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: they are melismatic, they utilise teretismatic passages in a structural manner, they contain the words, πάλιν and λέγε, and so on. For these reasons, Adsuara believes that the music found in these sources is the immediate ancestor of the *kalophonic stichera*, the elaborate, independent 'art works' of Koukouzeles, Korones, and Chrysaphes.[41]

MS Iviron 975

The tendency towards melodic expansion of this genre described above reaches its apogee in the fourteenth century under the aegis of Koukouzeles and his counterparts in Constantinople, Thessaloniki, and elsewhere, and as a musical codex, the fully developed Kalophonic Sticherarion is witnessed to in the fifteenth.[42] Chrysaphes' autograph Iviron 975, 'a brilliant witness of the *Mathematarion*,'[43] is arguably the most important of the Kalophonic Sticheraria

[40] Adsuara prefers not to call these chants '*kalophonic stichera*,' based on their lack of 'intercalation of either echematic syllables or teretismata,' fundamental elements that characterise the genre of the kalophonic stichera according to Adsuara (Adsuara, 'Working Hypotheses', 1-2).

[41] Adsuara, 'Working Hypotheses', 2-3. The *Asma* repertory is found in MSS Γ.γ.I, Γ.γ.IV, Messanensis gr. 161, Γ.γ.VII, and Γ.γ.VI. A fourteenth century codex with a more developed repertory of *kalophonic stichera* is MS Cryptenses E.γ.IX. These are surveyed in Di Salvo, 'Gli Asmata'.

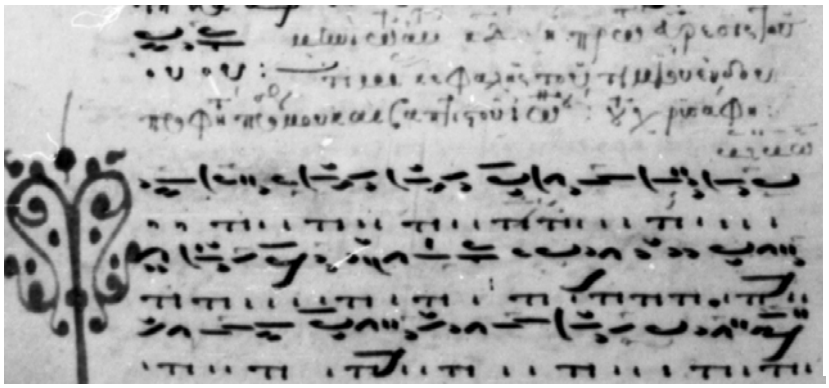
[42] Aside from Iviron 975 and the important Plousiadenos autographs (Sinai 1234, 1251, et al.), an important fifteenth century Kalophonic Sticherarion is MS Vatopaidi 1497, dated to 1445 (Giannopoulos, *Λόγος και Μέλος*, 74). Perhaps the earliest surviving Kalophonic Sticherarion is, however, MS Sinai 1311, dated to 1356-1391 by Kenneth Levy (see Dubowchik, 'Singing', 293, fn. 99).

[43] Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα III*, 778, where this MS is described in detail. For some background on the terms *mathema* and *Mathematarion*, cf. supra Ch. 1, fn. 164.

of the late Byzantine period. It is obviously a model for the manuscripts of Ioannes Plousiadenos, which were copied in second half of the fifteenth century and which are critical in their own right for their transmission of the repertory of the composers of kalophonic period. The importance of Chrysaphes' Kalophonic Sticherarion hardly waned over the next few centuries, as testified to by scribes who continued to copy this model almost verbatim,[44] and which continued to acknowledge him as the founding father of this genre, despite adjustments and embellishments to the repertory, as is found in the autographs of Panagiotes Chrysaphes.[45] Furthermore, Iviron 975 is a massive codex that includes over 300 *kalophonic stichera* composed by a slew of composers of the kalophonic period, from the most important personalities to those less well-known, and thus, its value as a historical witness to the kalophonic movement cannot be underestimated.

It was Stathis who first claimed that Chrysaphes was the scribe of Iviron 975, based on 'several unmistakable trademarks of Chrysaphes.' First and foremost, he argued that the writing is very similar to that found in Iviron 1120. Figure 3.5 below is from f. 214v of MS Iviron 975, the heading and opening few lines of a *kalophonic sticheron* for the feast of the Beheading of St John the Baptist (here, the text is spun out as a *teretismatic* passage from the very beginning), which demonstrates the orthographic similarities between the two codices.

FIGURE 3.6: IVIRON 975, F. 214V: KALOPHONIC STICHERON IN *NENANO* MODE BY CHRYSAPHES



Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ, ΚΔ', ἡ πρώτη εὕρεσις τῆς τιμίας κεφαλῆς τοῦ τιμίου ἐνδόξου προφήτου προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ Ἰωάννου, τοῦ Χρυσάφη, νενανω

Aside from the similarity in writing between Iviron 975 and Iviron 1120, Stathis notes various marginal inscriptions that point to Chrysaphes as the scribe. On f. 328r of Iviron 975, for example, there is a *megalynarion* for the feast of the Dormition composed by Chrysaphes (interestingly, in a branch of first mode called *naos*) which is described in the lower margins as

[44] One example of a post-Byzantine copy of Chrysaphes' Kalophonic Sticherarion, amazingly faithful in its relationship to Chrysaphes' prototypes and containing hundreds of Chrysaphes' compositions, is MS Greek Mingana 4, copied in Trapezountos in 1678 and held today at the University of Birmingham in the UK. It is described in detail in Giannopoulos, *Αγγλία*, 358-388.

[45] See infra, Ch. 4 regarding Chrysaphes' reception.

having been 'composed unerringly' (ποιηθὲν ἄφθορον). On f. 54v of the same codex, the scribe writes: Ἕτερον στιχηρὸν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἑορτήν, ἐκαλλωπίσθη παρ' ἐμοῦ ('another sticheron for the same feast, embellished by me'). Stathis does not mention this in his catalogue, but this composition is attributed to Chrysaphes elsewhere, e.g., on f. 251a of Sinai 1416 (1648), British Library Add. 28821, f. 142v (fifteenth/sixteenth century), and most importantly, in Plousiadenos' autograph Sinai 1251, f. 299r, within the portion of this codex that we have referred to as the Kalophonic Sticherarion of Manuel Chrysaphes (dated to sometime between 1469 and ~1500).[46]

Chrysaphes' Enrichment of the Repertory of the Kalophonic Stichera

Perhaps the most telling characteristic of this manuscript revealing Chrysaphes as its scribe is the great number of compositions ascribed to him. In Chapter 2, I included a table of composers and frequency of attribution in several Kalophonic Sticheraria of the fifteenth century – there, for the purpose of establishing chronology (Fig. 2.5). It is worth including again, here, in order to highlight the fact that Iviron 975 was an admixture of Koukouzeles' Kalophonic Sticherarion and Chrysaphes' Kalophonic Sticherarion. Koukouzeles' compositions are the most frequently encountered (by a significant margin) when compared to the other Palaiologan 'maistores.' His 104 compositions, however, are dwarfed by the 145 compositions by Chrysaphes' included in Iviron 975.

FIGURE 3.7 (FIG. 2.5): KALOPHONIC STICHERA BY COMPOSER IN KEY 15TH CENTURY KALOPHONIC STICHERARIA

	Νικηφόρος Ηθικός	Ἰωάννης Γλύκης	Ἰωάννης Κουκουζέλης	Ξένος Κορώνης	Ἰωάννης Κλαδᾶς	Μανουὴλ Χρυσάφης	Ἰωάννης Πλουσιαδηνὸς
Iviron 975 (c. 1453)	8	17	104	36	20	145	0
Sinai 1234 (1469)	23	38	109	27	9	14	56
Sinai 1251-1 (≤1469)	21	39	106	30	18	5	0
Sinai 1251-2 (≥1469)	0	0	0	0	1	87	0

It is interesting to point out that the number of *kalophonic stichera* attributed to Koukouzeles is consistent in all three MSS represented above (Sinai 1251 is shown in two parts), suggesting that there was a conception amongst musicians in the fifteenth century of a core repertory of *kalophonic stichera*. Chrysaphes, operating as self-consciously authoritative composer, essentially doubles this repertory with his contributions. A full assessment of Chrysaphes'

[46] Cf. supra, pp. 76-79.

enrichment of this genre as testified to in Iviron 975, and later, in Sinai 1251 and other post-Byzantine Kalophonic Sticheraria, would constitute an entire study. We can, nevertheless, classify the kalophonic stichera found in these manuscripts according to the following four categories. I argue that category 1 represents something close to Chrysaphes' conception of the existing core repertory of *kalophonic stichera*, whereas categories 2-4 constitute Chrysaphes' personal enrichment of the repertory of the kalophonic stichera:

1. Compositions by his contemporaries or predecessors he included, for which he did not compose an alternate version (e.g., the nearly dozen *kalophonic stichera* by Koukouzeles for 25 December, Christmas);
2. His personal compositions on texts that had no existing alternate compositions (e.g., Τὸ ἀπόρρητον τοῖς ἀγγέλοις for 9 December, the Conception of St Anna);
3. His personal compositions on texts that had existing compositions by his contemporaries or predecessors (e.g., Ἄνθρωπε τοῦ Θεοῦ for the feast of St Nicholas on 6 December).
4. His own embellishments of compositions by his contemporaries or predecessors (e.g., Μάγοι ἐκ Περσίδος for the feast of Christmas, but more likely, composed for the occasion of the imperial banquet at Christmas);

A more detailed look at concordances between the three above-mentioned Kalophonic Sticheraria along with one post-Byzantine codex modelled after these (Birmingham Mingana Greek 4), highlights the unity between these Kalophonic Sticheraria and furthers the argument that Chrysaphes' Iviron 975 was a model for those which followed.

FIGURE 3.8: CHRYSAPHES' ENRICHMENT OF THE REPERTORY OF THE KALOPHONIC STICHERA

					Manuscript Source				
Date	Commemoration	Incipit	Ascription	Mode	975	1234	1251-A	1251-B	M
4-Dec	St. Barbara	Τὴν πανήγυριν σήμερον τῆς ἀθληφόρου Βαρβάρας	Koukouzeles	2		x			
4-Dec	St. John of Damascus	Τὴν χεῖρα τὴν σήν, Ἰωάννη πάτερ	Ethikos	1		x	x		
4-Dec	St. John of Damascus	Λαμπρῶς πανηγυρίσωμεν σήμερον	Chrysaphes	8	x			x	x
4-Dec	St. John of Damascus	Διὰ τὸν νόμον Κυρίου τὴν δεξιὰν ἀπετμήθης	Plousiadenos	2		x			
5-Dec	St. Savvas the Sanctified	Ὅσιε πάτερ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν	Ethikos	6			x		
5-Dec	St. Savvas the Sanctified	Ὅσιε πάτερ εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν	Cornelius the monk**	6	x	x			
5-Dec	St. Savvas the Sanctified	Ἀναγραμματισμὸς, Τῶν δαιμόνων ὤλεσας	Koukouzeles	6	x	x	x		x
6-Dec	St. Nicholas	Σαλπίσωμεν ἐν σάλπιγγι ἀσμάτων	Kampanes**	5	x	x			
6-Dec	St. Nicholas	Σαλπίσωμεν ἐν σάλπιγγι ἀσμάτων	Korones	5	x		x		
6-Dec	St. Nicholas	Ἀναγραμματισμὸς, Πανάγιε Νικόλαε	Koukouzeles	5	x	x	x		x
6-Dec	St. Nicholas	Ἱεραρχῶν τὴν καλλονήν	I. Glykys	6	x	x	x		
6-Dec	St. Nicholas	Τῶν ἀνδραγαθημάτων σου	Kampanes**	8	x		x		x
6-Dec	St. Nicholas	Τῶν ἀνδραγαθημάτων σου	I. Glykys	8		x			
6-Dec	St. Nicholas	Αναγραμματισμὸς, Τῶν θλιβομένων τὸ συμπαθές	Koukouzeles	2		x	x		
6-Dec	St. Nicholas	Ἄνθρωπε τοῦ Θεοῦ	Chrysaphes	1	x	x		x	x
6-Dec	St. Nicholas	Ἄνθρωπε τοῦ Θεοῦ	M. Argyrou of Rhodes	6	x				
6-Dec	St. Nicholas	Ἀναγραμματισμὸς, Συνέλθοντες ὦ φιλέορτοι	Chrysaphes	6				x	
6-Dec	St. Nicholas	Κληρονόμε Θεοῦ, συγληρονόμε Χριστοῦ	Plousiadenos	6		x			
6-Dec	St. Nicholas	Ἀναγραμματισμὸς Ἡ ζωή σου ἔνδοξος	Plousiadenos	6		x			
6-Dec	St. Nicholas	Κανόνα πίστεως	Kladas	2	x				x
6-Dec	St. Nicholas	Συνελθόντες ὦ φιλέορτοι	Chrysaphes	6	x				x
6-Dec	St. Nicholas	Ἀναγραμματισμὸς, Ἡ ζωή σου ἔνδοξος	Koukouzeles	6	x				x
6-Dec	St. Nicholas	Τῶν θλιβομένων τὸ συμπαθὲς	Koukouzeles	6	x				x
6-Dec	St. Nicholas	Εἰς αἶνον ἕδραμες τοῦ Κυρίου	Karbounariotes	8	x				
9-Dec	Conception of St. Anna	Τὸ ἀπόρρητον τοῖς ἀγγέλοις	Chrysaphes	2	x				
11-Dec	St. Daniel the Stylite	Τὸ ἐμπιστευθέν σοι τάλαντον	I. Glykys	5		x	x		
12-Dec	St. Spyridon	Ἱεραρχῶν τὸ θεῖον κειμήλιον	I. Glykys	2		x	x		
12-Dec	St. Spyridon	Ὅσιε πάτερ μακάριε	Chrysaphes	1	x			x	x
12-Dec	St. Spyridon	Νεκροὺς δὲ πάλιν (β' pous of Ὅσιε πάτερ)	Chrysaphes	3	x			x	x
12-Dec	St. Spyridon	Ἀναποδισμός, Ἀλλ ὦ πατέρων ἀξιάγαστε	Chrysaphes	4	x			x	x
15-Dec	St. Eleutherios	Τὸν ἐν μάρτυσι μάρτυρα καὶ ἐν ἱεράρχαις ἱεράρχην	I. Glykys	2		x			
15-Dec	St. Eleutherios	Ὡς τῆς θείας ἐλευθερίας ἐπώνυμος	Plousiadenos	2		x			
17-Dec	Daniel the Prophet	Πνευματικῶς ἡμᾶς πιστοὶ	I. Glykes**	2	x	x			
17-Dec	Daniel the Prophet	Δανιὴλ ἀνὴρ ἐπιθυμιῶν	Chrysaphes	6	x				x
22-Dec	Great Martyr Anastasia	Τῆς ἀναστάσεως εἴληφας	Magoulas	2	x				x
22-Dec	Great Martyr Anastasia	Προεόρτιος ἡμέρα σήμερον	I. Glykys	5		x	x		
22-Dec	Great Martyr Anastasia	Τῆς ζωηφόρου ἀναστάσεως Χριστοῦ	Kampanes*	4				x	x
23-Dec	Ten Martyrs of Crete	Προεόρτιος σήμερον	Chrysaphes	3				x	
23-Dec	Ten Martyrs of Crete	Κρήτη προεορτάζεται σήμερον	Plousiadenos	2		x			
23-Dec	Ten Martyrs of Crete	Τὴν πολυθαύμαστον Κρήτην τιμήσωμεν	Plousiadenos	3		x			
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Σπήλαιον εὐτρεπίζου	Koukouzeles	6	x	x	x	x	
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Βηθλεὲμ ἑτοιμάζου	Korones	8			x		
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Βηθλεὲμ ἑτοιμάζου	Unascribed	8		x			
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Ἦλθεν ἡ αλήθεια, ἡ σκιὰ παρέδραμε	Korones	8		x			
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Καὶ θεὸς ἀνθρώποις, ἐκ Παρθένου πεφανέρωται	Palaion	8		x			
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Καὶ θεώσας τὸ πρόσλημμα	Ethikos	8		x			
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Ἀναγραμματισμὸς, Ἀδὰμ ἀνανεοῦται σὺν τῇ Εὔᾳ	Koukouzeles	8		x	x		
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Ἀναγραμματισμὸς, Ἀδὰμ ἀνανεοῦται σὺν τῇ Εὔᾳ*****	Koukouzeles	8		x			
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Νῦν προφητικὴ πρόρρησις	Philanthropinos	3		x	x		
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Ἀναγραμματισμὸς, Ἐκ παρθένου κόρης	Koukouzeles	5		x	x		x
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Τάδε λέγει Ἰωσὴφ πρὸς τὴν Παρθένον	Koukouzeles	8		x	x		x
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Ἀναγραμματισμὸς, Οὐκέτι φέρω λοιπόν	Koukouzeles	8		x	x		x
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Οὗτος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν οὐ λογίσθήσεται	Unascribed	6		x	x		
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Πρὸ τῆς γεννήσεως	Unascribed	8		x	x		

Key

	Composition by Chrysaphes
*	*Embellished by Chrysaphes
**	**Embellished by Koukouzeles
975	MS Iviron 975 copied by Chrysaphes, possibly before 1453
1234	MS Sinai 1234 copied by Plousiadenos in 1469
1251-A	MS Sinai 1251 copied by Plousiadenos before 1469
1251-B	MS Sinai 1251 - 'Chrysaphes' Kalophonic Sticherarion, copied by Plousiadenos after 1469
M	MS Greek Mingana 4 (Birmingham, UK), copied in Trapezountos in 1678

FIGURE 3.8 (CONTINUED): CHRYSAPHES' ENRICHMENT OF THE REPERTORY OF THE KALOPHONIC STICHERA

					Manuscript Source				
Date	Commemoration	Incipit	Ascription	Mode	975	1234	1251-A	1251-B	M
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Τρόμῳ ὀρῶσαι τὸ μυστήριον Κύριε	Koukouzeles	2		x			
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Ἰωσὴφ εἶπε ἡμῖν πῶς ἐκ τῶν ἁγίων	Unascribed	3		x	x		
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Ἄκουε οὐρανέ	Manourgas	1	x	x	x		
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Ἀναγραμματισμός, Ὁ βάθος πλούτου	Koukouzeles	8	x	x	x		x
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Ἐξεπλήττετο ὁ Ἡρῴδης	Almyriotes	7		x	x		
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Ἀναγραμματισμός, Μητέρες ἠτεκνοῦντο	Koukouzeles	8	x	x	x		x
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Σήμερον γεννᾶται ἐκ Παρθένου	Constantinopolitan	6	x	x	x		x
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Προσκυνοῦμεν τὴν γέννην Χριστὲ	Thessalonikaion	6	x	x	x		
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Μετὰ ποιμένων μάγοι, εἰς το γεῦμα τοῦ βασιλέως	Unascribed	1		x			
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Μετὰ ποιμένων μάγοι, εἰς το γεῦμα τοῦ βασιλέως	Korones	1		x	x		
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Ἀναγραμματισμός, Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ	Koukouzeles	1			x		
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ	Koukouzeles	7	x	x			x
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Μεγάλυνον ψυχή μου	Mavropoulos	1	x				
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Μεγάλυνον ψυχή μου	Koukouzeles	1	x	x	x		x
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Μυστήριον ξένον	Koukouzeles	1	x	x			x
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Μεγάλυνον ψυχή μου	I. Glykys	1		x			
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Μυστήριον ξένον	I. Glykys	1		x			
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Μεγάλυνον ψυχή μου	Eteron	1		x			
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Μεγάλυνον ψυχή μου	Chrysaphes	1					x
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Μυστήριον ξένον	Chrysaphes	1					x
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Μεγάλυνον ψυχή μου	Magoulas	1					x
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Σήμερον ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν Βηθλεὲμ γεννᾶται	Koukouzeles	2		x	x		x
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Ἀνύμφευτε Παρθένε πόθεν	Laskares	6		x	x		
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Μὴ στύγναζε Ἰωσὴφ	Plousiadenos	5		x			
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Ὅτε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Ἱερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου	Plousiadenos	7		x			
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Ὑπόδεξαι Βηθλεέμ	Chrysaphes	8	x			x	x
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Δεῦτε χριστοφόροι λαοί, κατίδωμεν θαῦμα	Chrysaphes	5	x			x	x
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Ἀναποδισμός, Τί τὸ ἐν σοὶ ξένον καὶ παράδοξον μυστήριον	Chrysaphes	8	x			x	
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Ὅτε Ἰωσὴφ Παρθένε, πάνυ καλόν	Chrysaphes	2	x			x	x
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Εὐφραίνεσθε δίκαιοι οὐρανοί ἀγαλλιᾶσθε	Chrysaphes	4	x			x	x
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Χορεύουσιν ἄγγελοι πάντες	Chrysaphes	6	x			x	x
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Ὁ σαρκώθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς	Magoulas	7	x				x
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Δεῦτε πιστοὶ ἑπαρθῶμεν	Magoulas	1	x				
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Ἐπιλαβέτο τρόμος	Kontopetris	7	x				
25-Dec	Nativity of Christ	Μάγοι ἐκ Περσίδος	Komnenos/Korones*	1	x				
27-Dec	St. Stephen	Πρώτος ἐν μάρτυσιν ἐδείχθης	Thevaiou	6		x	x		
27-Dec	St. Stephen	Χαίροις ἐν Κυρίῳ, ὦ Στέφανε	Koukouzeles	8	x	x	x		x
27-Dec	St. Stephen	Πρώτομάρτυς ἀπόστολε	Chrysaphes	5	x			x	
29-Dec	Holy Infants	Ἡρῴδης ὁ παράνομος	Karbounariotes	8		x	x		
29-Dec	Holy Infants	Prologue to Ἡρῴδης ὁ παράνομος	G. Plousiadenos	8		x			
29-Dec	Holy Infants	Ἐν ὥρα τῇ φρικτῇ	Koukouzeles	6	x				
1-Jan	St. Basil the Great	Ὦ θεία καὶ ἱερά	Anapadras	1		x	x		
1-Jan	St. Basil the Great	Ὦ θεία καὶ ἱερά	Chrysaphes	1	x			x	x
1-Jan	St. Basil the Great	Μνημόνευε καὶ ἡμῶν παρεστῶς	Koukouzeles	1		x	x		x
1-Jan	St. Basil the Great	Πάντων τῶν ἁγίων ἀνεμάξω	G. Glykys	1	x	x	x		x
1-Jan	St. Basil the Great	Ὡς ὁ Παῦλος ἐκβοῶν	Koukouzeles	6	x				
1-Jan	St. Basil the Great	Ἀρχιερέων ἐδείχθης δόξα	Chrysaphes	6	x				
1-Jan	St. Basil the Great	Ἐξεχύθη ἡ χάρις	Chrysaphes	6	x				x
1-Jan	St. Basil the Great	Σοφίας ἐραστὴς γενόμενος	Koukouzeles	8		x			
1-Jan	St. Basil the Great	Σοφίας ἐραστὴς γενόμενος	Chrysaphes	8	x				
1-Jan	St. Basil the Great	Ἀναγραμματισμός, Διὸ σάρκα καὶ κόσμον μισήσας	Plousiadenos	8		x			
1-Jan	St. Basil the Great	Παρίστασαι πρὸς Κύριον	Chrysaphes	4	x				

Key

	Composition by Chrysaphes
*	*Embellished by Chrysaphes
**	**Embellished by Koukouzeles
975	MS Iviron 975 copied by Chrysaphes, possibly before 1453
1234	MS Sinai 1234 copied by Plousiadenos in 1469
1251-A	MS Sinai 1251 copied by Plousiadenos before 1469
1251-B	MS Sinai 1251 - 'Chrysaphes' Kalophonic Sticherarion, copied by Plousiadenos after 1469
M	MS Greek Mingana 4 (Birmingham, UK), copied in Trapezountos in 1678

Figure 3.7 uses the month of December as a sample from which we can extrapolate broader conclusions.[47] It highlights what I have already argued: that Iviron 975 is allied to Sinai 1234 with the exception that Chrysaphes' autograph contains the compositions of Chrysaphes whereas in Sinai 1234 Plousiadenos prefers to include his own compositions at the expense of Chrysaphes – for reasons we have yet to uncover. Likewise, the first section of Sinai 1251 is allied to both Iviron 975 and Sinai 1234, though more closely to the latter, while the second

[47] I include the hymns for January 1, which happens to be a major feast on the Orthodox calendar (St Basil the Great and the Circumcision of Christ).

section of Sinai 1251 is allied to the Chrysaphes settings in Iviron 975. Finally, one post-Byzantine manuscript is included, Greek Mingana 4 of Birmingham University, copied in 1678 in Trapezounta, to highlight, graphically, the relationship between Iviron 975, the second section of Sinai 1251 and the Kalophonic Sticherarion of Chrysaphes as it was transmitted during post-Byzantine times.[48] This figure highlights the importance of Iviron 975 and Chrysaphes' importance as both scribe and composer within this genre. Future studies are needed to refine these general conclusions across the lines of inquiry we have highlighted above.

3.4 MS Iviron 1120

The Akolouthia Manuscript[49]

According to Gregorios Stathis, there are approximately 60 codices from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that can be classified as a *Papadike* / *Akolouthia*.[50] The earliest surviving Akolouthia that we can date precisely is EBE 2458, dated to 1336.[51] It was the prolific Ioannes Koukouzeles, instrumental in revising the Heirmologion and the Sticherarion as well as contributing to the genre of the Kalophonic Sticherarion, who evidently was also responsible for arranging the contents of this new musical codex. Koukouzeles' contribution is indicated in the heading of this manuscript: Ἀκολουθία συντεθειμέναι παρὰ τοῦ Μαΐστορος Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κοκουζέλη ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῦ Μεγάλου Ἑσπερινοῦ μέχρι καὶ τῆς συμπληρώσεως τῆς Θείας

[48] As far as the music itself is concerned, I will only offer one brief observation. As we have noted, Chrysaphes typically enriches the repertory with kalophonic settings of previously untouched texts. In some cases, however, he provides new settings. In those cases, we have to ask why – did Chrysaphes find the current setting inadequate? One case is the sticheron Ὦ θεία καὶ ἱερά for the feast of St. Basil on 1 January. The first setting, by the little known thirteenth century composer Anapadras, is a sprawling, relatively disorganised (or one might prefer, 'improvisatory' and 'effusive') composition featuring sections of nonsense syllables interpolated amongst the text, versus Chrysaphes' version, which is much more compact, both musically and textually. Chrysaphes' setting is about half the length and is composed in formal sections, which are clearly demarcated: an opening *teretismos*, an opening statement of the incipit, the main text, and then a *teretismos* at the very end before a final brief recapitulation of the text. This, incidentally, is the 'preferred' structure, which Clara Adsuara has labelled 'tripartite'. Perhaps Chrysaphes' aesthetics demanded a new setting of this piece due to the former's sprawling and allegedly disorganised nature – but we cannot know for sure.

[49] The Akolouthia (lit: 'Order of Services') is also sometimes referred to as the Ἀνθολόγιον ('Anthology') or the Ἀνοιξαντάριον ('Anoixantarion'), the latter term after the name of the first chants typically included in this musical codex. The term Papadike, which Giannopoulos traces to a late thirteenth century codex (mentioned in one of Papadopoulos-Kerameus catalogues but not surviving), could possibly derive from the name given to the theoretical treatises, charts, and didactic exercises included at the beginning of these MSS (for a discussion of this term and the codex, see Giannopoulos, *Λόγος και Μέλος*, 82-83).

[50] Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 111. This number may actually be lower depending on how narrowly or broadly one wishes to define an 'Akolouthia' / 'Papadike.' For a recent analysis of the age of the term *Papadike* – and the contents of the theoretical manuals referred to as *Papadike*, which appeared at the beginning of Akolouthiai manuscripts, see Christian Troelsgård and Maria Alexandru, 'The Importance of the so-called Papadike Treatise in the Study of Byzantine and Postbyzantine Music,' In *Actes du VIe Colloque International de Paleographie Grecque, Drama 21-27 Septembre 2003*, ed. B. Atsalos and N. Tsironi, (Athens: Ελληνική Εταιρία Βιβλιοδεσίας, 2008), 559-72, 1222-33.

[51] For EBE 2458, cf. supra, Ch. 1, fn. 38.

Λειτουργίας (‘Akolouthia [i.e., the order of services] arranged/edited by Ioannes Koukouzeles the maistor, from the beginning of Great Vespers until the completion of the Divine Liturgy’), as shown in Figure 3.8 below. Here we should mention another manuscript, MS Jerusalem Taphou 425, which, although undated, is a contemporary or possibly even earlier redaction of the ‘Koukouzelean’ Akolouthia manuscript type, according to Christian Troelsgård.[52]

FIGURE 3.9: MS EBE 2458, F. 11V – THE AKOLOUTHIA EDITED BY KOUKOUZELES (‘1336’)

By Koukouzeles’ time, Constantinople’s ancient Cathedral Rite – which already since the ninth century had begun to yield to, and fuse with, the Stoudite Rite[53] – played a diminished role in the liturgical landscape of Byzantium, practised regularly in only a few major establishments of the Empire.[54] At the same time, the Palestinian rite in its ‘neo-Sabaïtic usage,’ as codified in the διάταξις (‘liturgical rubrics’) of Philotheos in 1347, i.e., ‘basically the Rite of the Great Lavra [monastery on Mt Athos] during the abbacy of Philotheos,’ privileged hesychast

[52] I thank Christian Troelsgård for pointing out this manuscript and sharing his opinion of its dataing and contents with me. Selections of its contents are included in articles by Simon Harris (‘The “Kanon” and the Heirmologion.’ *Music and Letters* 85, no. 2 (2004): 175-97; and Nancy van Deusen, (‘*Planus, Cantus Planus*: The Theological Background of a Significant Concept.’ Paper presented at the Cantus Planus, Eger, Hungary, 1993), though neither article describes this source in the context of its importance as an early witness to the Akolouthia tradition. MS Jerusalem Taphou 425 is not mentioned by Stathis in his description of the tradition of the *Papadike* (i.e., Akolouthia) in *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 99-100.

[53] Cf. supra, Ch. 1, pp. 14-17.

[54] The Cathedral Rite of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople was originally known as the ἐκκλησιαστής, but popularly termed the ‘Asmatic (i.e., ‘Sung’) Office’ after Symeon of Thessalonica’s fifteenth century description. By the time of Symeon in the fifteenth century (and only until 1430) the Cathedral Rite was yet more diminished, practiced as a full cycle of services only in the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia in Thessalonica and, ‘to a lesser extent, the secular basilicas’ (of Thessalonica). See Lingas, ‘How Musical’, 217-18.

monasticism and its liturgical practices.[55] The liturgical cornerstone of hesychast monasticism of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was the Athonite all-night vigil (*agrypnia*), which served as the scaffolding for much of the kalophonic chant that was composed by Koukouzeles, his colleagues, and his successors.[56] The Akolouthia codex bears witness to these glacial liturgical trends which crystallised in this way in the fourteenth century. For example, Iviron 1120 devotes 158 folios to both simple and kalophonic psalmody for Psalms 1-3 (the First Kathisma, which begins with Ps 1:1, Μακάριος ἀνήρ). The first antiphon of the Cathedral Rite Vespers of Hagia Sophia was Psalm 85, for which no settings are included by Chrysaphes in Iviron 1120. Furthermore, the space devoted to the kalophonic verses of the Μακάριος ἀνήρ dwarf that devoted to the simple verses of the same psalm (by a factor of five!). While the Athonite all-night Vigil may have been the driving inspiration behind much of this kalophonic chant, we certainly cannot rule out the possibility that such settings were not only chanted in, but also conceived for, the imperial ecclesiastical establishments served by Chrysaphes and his royal milieu. Indeed, if this was not the case, Chrysaphes would probably have not contributed such a wealth of material to the genres originally expanded by Koukouzeles' and those of a generation or two before him.

Overview of MS Iviron 1120[57]

Iviron 1120 is a sizeable, 704-folio Akolouthia, much larger than the aforementioned fourteenth century Akolouthia, MS EBE 2458, which comprises some 232 folios.[58] The folios

[55] Taft, *Byzantine Rite*, 81. Regarding Philotheos, Taft notes that after his accession to the patriarchal throne in 1353, the Neo-Sabaitic Rite as documented in Philotheos' διάταξις, 'became normative throughout the Byzantine Church outside Italy, and was incorporated into Demetrius Doucas' *editio princeps* of the liturgy' published in Rome in 1526, becoming the 'rite of world Orthodoxy.' See Robert Taft, 'The Liturgy of the Great Church: An Initial Synthesis of Structure and Interpretation on the Eve of Iconoclasm,' *DOP* 34/35 (1980/1981): 45, fn. 5.

[56] Lingas, 'How Musical', 218.

[57] My analysis and catalogue of the contents of Iviron 1120 is based directly on Stathis' description of this manuscript as presented in the unpublished fourth volume of his catalogues of the MSS of Mt. Athos. The present study contributes to knowledge of Iviron 1120 by a) providing an English translation of Stathis' entries, b) by providing extensive detail of incipits and composers on specific folios based on my own reading of the manuscript, especially for sections only summarised by Stathis (e.g., the *Anoixantaria* of Great Vespers, from fols. 30r – 42r, *Doches* of Great Vespers, Renewal Week, Great Lent, the *Polyeleos* of Chrysaphes, fols. 281r-290r, etc.), and c) by providing interpretation of selected sections based on current liturgical or musicological scholarship as it relates especially to Manuel Chrysaphes. As noted above, I am extremely grateful to Professor Stathis for allowing me to view a pre-publication copy of the manuscript catalogue. Any mistakes are, of course, my own. My copies of folios from Iviron 1120 are from color photographs taken at Iviron Monastery by my dear colleague from Belgium, Marcel Pirard, over the course of his visits to Iviron Monastery in 2012 and 2013, as well as from the microfilm of Dimitri Conomos, which I viewed over the course of several weeks in the microfilm readers at the British Library. I am grateful to Marcel Pirard for his time and effort and to Dr. Conomos for his generosity and counsel.

[58] Although MS Iviron 1120 contains over 700 folios, it does not contain as much music as, say, the Akolouthia MS Laura Epsilon (Λ.Ε.) 173, written by David Raidestinos in AD 1436. MS Iviron 1120 averages approximately 15 lines of music per folio in contrast to the small script of the earlier MS by Raidestinos, which contains an average of 23 lines of music on its 550 folios. Thus, Iviron 1120 contains perhaps between 10,000 and 11,000

of MS Iviron 1120 are numbered to 674, but there are actually 30 additional folios due to two repetitions by Stathis, who is responsible for numbering the codex: from 463 the next folio is numbered 444 and after 569 the next folio is numbered 560. In his description of the MS contents, Stathis notates the repeated numbers with a χ, e.g., 463χ, 464χ, etc. (below, I notate them as 463r, 463r-2). The difference in size between these two Akolouthiai is of course due to the expansion of repertories of the Akolouthia, from the time of Koukouzeles (early fourteenth century) to the time when Chrysaphes wrote Iviron 1120 in 1458. As was the case with the Kalophonic Sticherarion – which doubled in size due to the contributions of Chrysaphes' (let alone those of his contemporaries, such as Gregory Mpounes Alyates, who are also anthologised in Iviron 975), Iviron 1120 witnesses to a burgeoning standard repertory composed for the Daily Offices, from *Anoixantaria*, to the First Kathisma of the Psalter, to the major chants of the Divine Liturgy such as the Cherubic Hymn. For example, EBE 2458 contains 3 ordinary Cherubic Hymns (i.e., Οἱ τὰ χερουβίμ), whereas Chrysaphes includes 16 in Iviron 1120. This anthology contains 'regular' (i.e., traditional, older forms which obviously persisted in usage through the kalophonic period) and kalophonic versions of hymns from Vespers and Orthros, hymns from the Divine Liturgy anthologised by mode, and various kalophonic compositions including 15-syllable hymns, a favourite genre of the Late Byzantine period (see Appendix IV), various *anagrammatismoi*, and of course, a voluminous collection of *kratemata* dispersed throughout the MS (the majority of the *kratemata* are found accompanying kalophonic settings of Psalm 2 in Vespers).

Iviron 1120 has a clear colophon that, in spite of a worm hole, indisputably preserves the name of its author, Manuel Doukas Chrysaphes, and the year of its authorship, 1458 (cf. Chapter 2, Figures 2.1a & 2.1b). This codex and its authorship were known to Spyros Lamprou at the turn of the century and included in the second volume of his catalogue of the Greek manuscripts of Mt Athos, though with only an eight-line description including part of the manuscript's colophon.[59] The first analytical description of Iviron 1120 is provided in Stathis' 1992 publication *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*,[60] a work that is expanded further in the fourth (yet unpublished) volume of the series *Τα Χειρόγραφα* (Stathis' abbreviated description in *Οι*

lines of chant notation, in contrast to Laura Λ.Ε. 173, which contains between 12,000 and 13,000 lines of music. This does not even account for the fact that the length of the musical lines of the latter manuscript is nearly twice as long as that of the musical lines in Iviron 1120 (using number of neumes as a rough metric). Thus, it appears that MS Laura Λ.Ε. 173 contains roughly twice as much musical notation as MS Iviron 1120! I am grateful to Christian Troelsgård for sharing this information with me and providing me with several folios from MS Laura Λ.Ε. 173.

[59] Spyros Lamprou, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mt. Athos*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), 252. Volume 1 of Lamprou's catalogue was published in 1895 and also includes Iviron 1120.

[60] Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 100-10.

Αναγραμματισμοί is eleven pages, whereas it takes 28 pages for the full, analytical description given in the unpublished fourth volume of *Τα Χειρόγραφα*). Due to the large size of this manuscript, even Stathis' descriptive catalogue summarises certain sections. For example, the non-kalophonic Vesperal repertory of the Prooemiac Psalm (103) is summarised, whereas much more detailed attention is given to the kalophonic repertory of Psalms 1-3. Thus, my detailed description of MS Iviron 1120, which would have been impossible without Stathis' extensive groundwork, is over 55 pages of incipits, modal indications, performance rubrics, and composers' names. Below, I include a summary. The full description is reserved for Appendix II.

History of the Manuscript

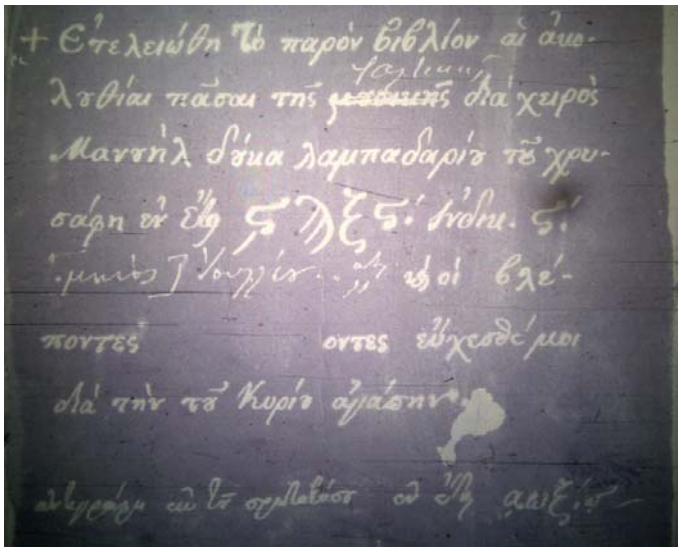
This manuscript was written in the year 1458 by Manuel Chrysaphes as indicated by the colophon on fol. 674v (actually 704v), which reads:[61]

> Ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρόν βιβλίον αἱ ἀκολουθίαι πᾶσαι τῆς ψαλτικῆς διά χειρός Μανουήλ δούκα λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Χρυ[σάφ]η ἐν ἔτει ϛ^{ω}π^{ω}ξϛ^{ω} , ἰνδικτιῶνος ϛ΄ (μηνός Ἰου)λλίου... ἡμέρα... καί οἱ βλέ(ποντες καὶ ἀναγινώσκο)ντες τοῦτο εὔχεσθέ μοι διά (τήν) τοῦ Κυρίου ἀγάπην.
>
> This present book, the order of all the services of psaltiki, was completed by the hand of Manuel Doukas Chrysaphes the lampadarios in the year 1458, sixth Indiction, month of July… day… and those who see and read this pray for me for the love of the Lord.

Stathis notes how on the outside of the second *eksofyllo* (i.e., flyleaf), opposite the colophon, another page has been stuck onto the MS, which has a copy of the colophon, copied by the handler of the MS in the middle of the nineteenth century obviously due to his concern for the decayed nature of this all important sheet. This copy of the colophon is preceded by the note: 'Ἀντεγράφη ἐκ τοῦ πρωτοτύπου ἐν ἔτει ͵αωξ^{ω}' ('This [colophon] was copied from the prototype in the year 1860').[62]

[61] Based on Stathis, 'Ιβήρων 1120', 26.
[62] Stathis, 'Ιβήρων 1120', 26.

FIGURE 3.10: COPY OF COLOPHON OF MS IVIRON 1120, THE EKSOFYLLO OPPOSITE F. 674V[63]



Stathis posits that this MS was completed in Serbia, in which a vibrant Greek community flourished in the middle of the fifteenth century, especially in the city of Smenderevo, where members of the former imperial family migrated to after the Fall.[64] The MS made its way to the monastery of Iviron by means of a certain monk, Ignatius, as given in a note on folio 1r of the MS, as transcribed by Stathis:

> This present Papadike is mine, Ignatius, the monk of Iviron, and it was purchased by my uncle, Father Parthenios, and he gave it to me as a gift. And again upon my death I shall give leave it here at the monastery. 1710, March 12. And whoever wishes to take it away from the monastery, may a curse of Christ and of Panagia and of all the Saints be upon him, Amen. And may his lot be with Judas.[65]

At this point, we do not have the ability to ascertain the whereabouts of this manuscript between the middle of the fifteenth century until the beginning of the eighteenth, when it arrived at the Iviron Monastery on Mt Athos, where it remained ever since.

Analysis of Iviron 1120

My analysis of Iviron 1120 is divided into three sections: the first section is focused on the contents of the codex (this is actually an abbreviated summary of the contents, which are fully described in Appendix II); second, I list the represented composers whose arrangements are included in this codex, figures who date from the thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth century and

[63] Cf. Chapter 2, Fig. 2.2b.
[64] Cf. supra, pp. 106-108.
[65] Stathis, 'Ιβήρων 1120', 27. This trope is encountered in post-Byzantine manuscripts frequently, musical and non-musical, e.g., see the inscription on fol. 64 of the early eighteenth century Cypriot *Kratematarion*, MS Kykkos Mon. Lib. 7: 'τὸ παρὸν κρατηματάριον... καὶ ὅστις ἄν ἦ ὁ βουληθεὶς ἀποξενῶσαι αὐτὸ ἐκ τῆς μονῆς, ἢ οἰκειοποιηθῆναι ὡς ἴδιον, ἐχέτω τὰς ἀρᾶς τῆς Θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων... τὴν ἀτελεύτητον κόλασιν καὶ τὸν τάρταρον' (Jakovljević, *Catalogue*, 5).

whose works exist alongside more traditional, anonymously ascribed works; and third, I briefly describe some of the terminology encountered in this manuscript, especially that of the kalophonic variety, along with some thoughts regarding the significance of such terms in the context of mid-fifteenth century music-making in and around Constantinople.

Contents of Iviron 1120

Broadly speaking, Iviron 1120 is organised like other Akolouthia, beginning with the classic *Papadike*, diagrams of neumes, intonations, excerpts from chants, didactic exercises, and a treatise – naturally, the treatise by Chrysaphes himself. Next, the manuscript follows the general order given in the heading of its fourteenth century predecessor, MS EBE 2458, that is, the music for Vespers, Orthros, and the Divine Liturgies, in that order.[66] Like the aforementioned Akolouthia MS Laura Ε.Λ. 173, written in 1436, its 'Divine Liturgies' section is followed by an extensive selection of mostly kalophonic material (some of which may have been paraliturgical in nature, either performed only at feasts or for special occasions), including kalophonic theotokia, stavrotheotokia, and heirmoi.[67]

The three large sections of musical material from Vespers, Orthros, and the Divine Liturgies services are preceded in the beginning of the codex, The following section provides an overview of the arrangement of musical and liturgical material in Iviron 1120 along with several key observations within each section. A full catalogue, with further footnotes and details is included in Appendix II below.

1. **Fols 2r-10r:** 'The beginning with God of the signs of the Psaltic Art, the ascending and descending [signs], the bodies and the spirits and every cheironomia…' This is followed by the usual *Protheoria* and *echemata* (intonation formulas), given by mode. Various pedagogical exercises set to religious text follow, to introduce concepts of *metrophonia* and *parallage*.[68] They are both ascribed (Ioannes Xeros, Manuel Chrysaphes) and unascribed.
2. **Fol 10v:** *Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν* (Invitatorium, 'Come let us worship') – *Εὐλόγει ἡ ψυχή μου* (Psalm 103, 'Bless the Lord, O my soul'), Stathis notes that this, the 'beginning of Great

[66] Music from the liturgies of St John Chrysostom, St Basil, and the Presanctified Gifts are typically represented in the Akolouthiai.

[67] One difference between these two MSS is that the scribe of MS Laura Ε.Λ. 173, David Raidestinos, also includes kalophonic material from the Menaion, material Chrysaphes relegates to the *Kalophonic Sticherarion*.

[68] *Metrophonia* was considered a second step of learning a melody following the basic interval counting of *parallage*. These terms have been the source of some controversy in musicological circles as relates to the debate of *melodic exegesis*, or the stenographic interpretation of the old notation. Arvanitis argues that Chrysanthos' use of the term *metrophonia*, which was 'supposed to have the meaning of a very simple "unornamented" way of singing, a "short exegesis" maybe but not a real melos, rather a forerunner of real melos…' and his attribution of it to Chrysaphes, is the primary source of the misunderstandings in this debate (Arvanitis, On the Meaning 118). Chrysaphes' does not use the term *metrophonia* in his treatise, but it is used in his manuscript autograph (e.g., see Iviron 1120, f. 2r-10r) to describe a certain type of didactic singing method. This debate is described further in Chapter 4 below.

Vespers,' is incomplete.[69] It is odd that Chrysaphes begins the music for Great Vespers here, only to be interrupted by a span of 20 folios by his theoretical treatise, and then continue with a completely new heading for the beginning of Great Vespers and the music that follows normally after that written (but not finished) on folio 10v. It may have simply been a question of Chrysaphes writing in haste and recalling that he wished to include his treatise before proceeding with more music. This phenomenon is actually documented by Chrysaphes himself later in the folio (cf. Appendix II, Iviron 1120, f. 523v). Folio 11 is blank.

3. **Fols 12r-29v:** Chrysaphes' complete theoretical treatise. The folio begins with Chrysaphes' name and continues: Manuel Chrysaphes the Lampadarios· *Περὶ τῶν ἐνθεωρουμένων τῇ Ψαλτικῇ Τέχνῃ καὶ ὧν φρονοῦσι κακῶς τίνες περὶ αὐτῶν* ('Concerning the Psaltic Art and those who are seen to possess certain erroneous views about it). The Prooimion (Preface) of the Treatise begins as follows: *Ἐμοὶ μὲν πολλάκις κατὰ νοῦν ἐπῆλθεν περὶ τῶν τῆς ψαλτικῆς τέχνης...* ('It occurred to me many times to write a treatise concerning the Psaltic Art…').[70]

4. **Fols 30r-43v: The beginning of Great Vespers**. The heading of this section follows the model of the fourteenth century, 'Koukouzelean' Akolouthia, EBE 2458. In large, majuscule, the heading reads: *Ἀκολουθίαι συνετεθεῖσαι παρὰ Κυροῦ Ἰωάννου Μαΐστωρος τοῦ Κουκουζέλη*, and below, in cinnabar and miniscule: *Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ τοῦ μεγάλου ἑσπερινοῦ, ποιηθέντος παρὰ διαφόρων ποιητῶν παλαιῶν. Ἄρχεται ὁ δομεστικός ἡσύχῳ φωνῇ εἰς ἦχον πλ. δ΄, Ἀνοιξαντός σου*. Compare this to the very similar introduction to the 'primary contents' of MS EBE 2458: *Ἀκολουθίαι συντεθειμέναι παρὰ τοῦ μαΐστωρος κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κουκουζέλη ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῦ μεγάλου Ἑσπερινοῦ μέχρι καὶ τῆς συμπληρώσεως τῆς Θείας Λειτουργίας. Ἄρχεται δὲ ἡσύχως καὶ εὐτάκτως, ἐκ τρίτου καὶ ἀργῶς...*[71] This section contains the *Ἀνοιξαντάρια* of Great Vespers, settings of verses starting with Psalm 103:28b, accompanied troped triadic refrains ('Triadika'). These *Triadika* exhibit almost all elements present in kalophonic chants, and thus, this genre can be called quasi-kalophonic. There are a total of 48 unique settings, including anonymous 'old' settings as well as compositions by 14 composers from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[72]

5. **Fols 43v-49v:** Psalm 1 from the First Kathisma of the Psalter, *Μακάριος ἀνήρ*, first stasis ('Blessed is the man'). Non-kalophonic settings of the first stasis of the First Kathisma of the Psalter, including traditional melodies as well as attributed settings by nine composers.

6. **Fols 50r-59v:** Psalm 2 from the First Kathisma of the Psalter, *Ἵνα τί ἐφρύαξεν ἔθνη*, second stasis ('Why have the nations raged'). Quasi-kalophonic settings from the second psalm of the First Kathisma of the Psalter.[73] Four settings of the verse *Ἵνα τί ἐφρύαξεν ἔθνη* are given, one traditional, and three ascribed.

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[69] I did not investigate this manuscript on a basis of its quires to determine if the treatise was a later addition, but no indication is given by Stathis who studied the manuscript *in situ* that this was the case. The *Invitatorium* and opening psalm verses from Psalm 103 are discussed further in Chapter 5 below.

[70] Conomos, *Treatise*, 36-37.

[71] The rubrics for this sub-heading, concerning the performance practice of the *Invitatorium* and Psalm 103 are also found in EBE 2458 (Stathis, 'Η Ασματική', 170-71).

[72] This entire section of Iviron 1120 is analyzed from a liturgical, scribal, textual and musical perspective in the chapter on Chrysaphes as Composer and the *Anoixantaria*.

[73] Although the Kalophonic verses of Μακάριος ἀνὴρ begin on folio 70r, evidently Chrysaphes includes a rubric here, 'Ενταῦθα γίνεται ἡ καλοφωνία' ('Here begins the kalophonia'). My negative copy of folio 50r is too faded to read the inscription and the positive doesn't include the red-ink inscriptions at all. We have no reason to doubt Stathis that this indication was included in the original MS by Chrysaphes, but we are left with open questions as to the reason for this appellation. These settings resemble the melodic style of the above *Anoixantaria*, and are certainly 'less kalophonic' than the indisputably kalophonic settings of Ps. 1-3 later on in the MS.

7. **Fols 60r-69v:** Psalm 3 from the First Kathisma of the Psalter, *Κύριε, τί ἐπληθύνθησαν οἱ θλίβοντές με*, third stasis ('Lord why are they multiplied that afflict me'). A half dozen quasi-kalophonic compositions of the verse *Κύριε, τί ἐπληθύνθησαν* are given, four ascribed and a few unascribed.

8. **Fols. 70r-202v:** Kalophonic verses from the *Μακάριος ἀνὴρ* (First Kathisma of the Psalter) and accompanying *kratemata*. This section begins with the heading 'Kalophonic verses of Great Vespers by Lord Ioannes Koukouzeles the maistor, plagal fourth mode.' All of the immediately following settings through folio 89v (kalophonic settings of Ps 2:1a, *Ἵνα τί ἐφρύαξαν ἔθνη* and Ps 2:2a, *Παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς*, and various kratemata), are by Koukouzeles or Xenos Korones. The next 120 or so folios include a wealth of kalophonic settings of verses from the Psalm 2 of the Psalter and dozens of ascribed kratemata, often in the form of 'Πρόλογος – Psalm Verse – Kratema.' Nearly 60 unique settings of psalm verses and nearly as many independent kratemata are included in this section by over a dozen composers. Manuel Chrysaphes' imperially commissioned composition, based on Ps 2:7-8, *Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε*, is included on f. 139r, with the following inscription: 'Verse (*stichos*) composed by Manuel Chrysaphes the lampadarios, by order of the king and our master Lord Constantine of blessed memory, plagal fourth mode, *Today I have begotten thee*,' and further below, in the margins: 'I strongly think this [composition] is most sweet.' Another notable composition is a kratema by Chrysaphes, evidently composed for three voices, from f. 197r: *Πρόλογος – Ετεντεντεν, ἦχος δ', Μουσικὸς, ὀργανικός, ψαλλόμενος διὰ τριῶν μελῶν ἐντέχνως* ('Prologue – en-ten-ten, fourth mode: musical, instrumental, chanted by means of three melodies, artistically').

9. **Fols. 203v-207v:** *Κύριε ἐκέκραξα* (Ps 148, 'Lord, I have cried'). Chrysaphes includes the entire first verse from Psalm 148, the Glory, Both Now, and the incipit from the *dogmatic theotokion*, for each mode. The *anastasima stichera* are not included in this collection in Iviron 1120. Thus, Chrysaphes provides the scaffolding for these common hymns, probably as a reference point. A separate book was probably consulted for the chanting of these hymns and, perhaps, there was less urgency on the part of Chrysaphes when it came to documenting this mostly as yet still anonymous tradition of hymns.

10. **Fols. 208r-220v:** The beginning of the *echemata* in each mode, chanted during feasts at the entrance of Vespers (at the chanting of *Φῶς ἱλαρόν*, i.e., 'O gladsome light'). Stathis states that these are kratemata appended at the end of the dogmatic theotokia of the Oktoechos.[74] These function similarly to kratemata – providing an elaborate musical extension towards the end of a chant on nonsense syllables, but their syllabic content is different, as they are based on the echemata (ne-a-nes, a-na-nes, etc.) versus the syllables more familiar to kratemata proper, to-ro-to, te-ri-rem, etc.[75]

11. **Fols. 223r-231v:** Anthology of the small and great *doches* (*prokeimena*) for Vespers of every weekday, to be chanted after the *Φῶς ἱλαρόν*. Chrysaphes includes two versions: brief (near-syllabic) and long (moderately melismatic, but non-kalophonic), arranged by weekday, not mode (in EBE 2458, these are arranged by mode).[76] The *doches* in this section are unascribed.[77] On folio 227r, a rubric states, 'ἐνταῦθα γίνεται καλοφωνία εἴ τι βούλει'

[74] Stathis, 'Ιβήρων 1120', 8.

[75] Anastasiou posits that these echemata hearken back to an older Constantinopolitan tradition and are predecessors of the *kratemata* of the kalophonic period (Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα*, 126).

[76] See Stathis, 'Η Ασματική', 182.

[77] Remarkably, every *doche* in this cycle, both the brief and the long versions, bears the marks of the old Psaltikon / Asmatikon repertory, specifically, the ending phrases demarcated by ου and the double gamma (ΓΓ). In his efforts as copyist, Chrysaphes is known to have preserved various aspects of clearly outdated Constantinopolitan traditions, such as the Service of the Furnace. In this case, the tradition of singing the *doches*, or *prokeimena*, at the Vesperal entrance persisted, but the music Chrysaphes was carrying over seems to witness to a much older tradition of these hymns.

('and here begins the kalophonia, if one wishes'). Kalophonic compositions by Koukouzeles (3) and Ioakeim Monachos (1) are accompanied by *epiphonemata*, melismatic repetitions of the psalm text written in red ink, presumably to be sung by a soloist.

12. **Fols. 232r-236r:** The Great Prokeimena: psalm texts to be sung as prokeimena on various feasts, e.g., Renewal Week, the Sunday of Pascha, Christmas, Thomas Sunday, and for various other feasts throughout the year. Short and long melodies are given for each prokeimenon. The only ascribed version is a setting of *Μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς τὸ πρόσωπόν σου* ('Turn not your face away') in the plagal fourth mode, to be chanted on the Vespers of the Sunday of Cheesefare and the second and fourth Sundays of the Fast, accompanied by the rubric, 'the same, embellished (κεκαλωπισμένον) by me (Manuel Chrysaphes).'

13. **Fols. 236r-240v: The beginning of Orthros**. The Θεὸς Κύριος ('God is the Lord') with the incipit of the Resurrectional *apolytikion* in each mode. One version, unascribed. The *Ἀλληλούια, Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος* ('Alleluia, Holy, holy, holy') as chanted during the fast instead of Θεὸς Κύριος. Fol. 240v includes the troparion for Holy Thursday, *Ὅτε οἱ ἔνδοξοι μαθηταὶ* ('When the glorious disciples').

14. **Fols. 241r-253v:** The first stasis of the Great Polyeleos, Psalm 134, *Δούλοι Κύριον* ('Servants of the Lord'). Dozens of settings, including the 'Latrinos,' 'palaion' (i.e., 'old') versions, and attributed compositions by the likes of Koukouzeles, Korones, Kladas, and Chrysaphes, although a separate section is reserved for a polyeleos composed by the latter (see below), in addition to several other minor composers. Fol. 251r contains a composition by Koukouzeles for the 'Feast of Christ's Birth and the Bodiless (Archangels),' followed by psalm settings and troped ferial texts 'for feasts of the Theotokos,' and 'for martyrs.'

15. **Fols. 254r-261r:** The second stasis of the Polyeleos, Psalm 135, *Ἐξομολογεῖσθε* ('O give thanks'). Chrysaphes includes the 'Latrinos' and settings by Manourgas, Panaretos, Mystakonos, and a 'Thessalonian' and 'Asmatikon.'

16. **Fols. 262r-280r:** The Polyeleos of Koukoumas, first and second stasis, preceded by the heading: 'Another polyeleos, which is called "Koukoumas," composed by Koukoumas the maistor, chanted on patronal feasts and feasts of great saints.' It is called 'the polyeleos of Koukoumas' in spite of the fact that it also includes verses set by Chrysaphes, Koukouzeles, and several other minor composers. Interesting rubrics on fol. 274r, 'double-choir, as is chanted in Constantinople, with echemata.' Several verses include refrains with text pertaining to specific feasts, e.g., fol. 275r, *Οἶκος Ἀαρὼν – Ἐμμανουὴλ παιδίον* (Ps 134:19b and interpolated festal hymn, 'House of Aaron... Emmanuel, child') for the Nativity of Christ, by Klobas and *Οἶκος Ἀαρὼν – Ἀλλαλάξατε τῷ Θεῷ* (Ps 134:19b and interpolated festal hymn, 'House of Aaron... Shout to God') by Koukouzeles, for the Ascension and various feasts of Christ. Folio 277r includes a τετράστιχος (four-verse) setting of the second stasis of the polyeleos, which is 'an eight-mode polyeleos that changes every verse.'[78] Notable also is the inclusion of *Αὕτη ἡ πύλη τοῦ Κυρίου* ('this is the gate of the Lord'), by Christophoros Mystakonos, called 'Asmatikon of the Odes', by Manuel Chrysaphes.

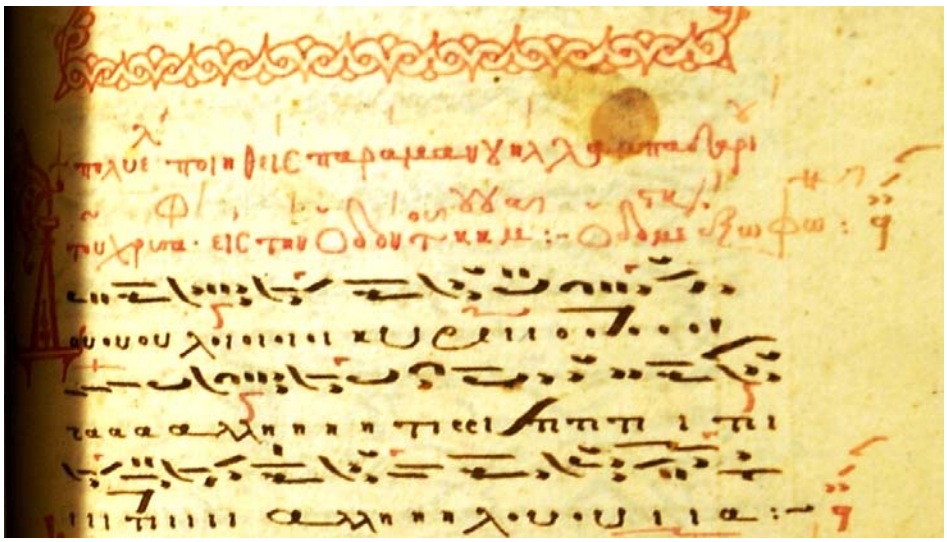
17. **Fols. 281r-292v:** The Polyeleos by Manuel Chrysaphes, first stasis. The rubric at the beginning states: 'Polyeleos, composed by Manuel Chrysaphes the lampadarios, according to the path of Koukoumas. The domestikos begins, in a high voice' (see Fig. 3.10 below). Chrysaphes composes 22 settings, including multiple settings of some of the same psalm verses, with appended teretisms and refrains, for example, on folio 290v, Ps 134:21, *Εὐλογητὸς Κύριος ἐκ Σιών... Σὲ τὸν γενναῖον ἀθλητὴν καὶ μέγαν στρατιώτην Γεώργιον* ('Bless the Lord from Sion... You, noble athlete and great soldier, George'), for the feast of

[78] Stathis, 'Ιβήρων 1120', 10.

St. George. The last setting by Chrysaphes in this section is an *anagrammatismos* of the same psalm verse with teretismatic passages throughout.

18. **Fols. 293r-304v:** 'The Great Polyeleos, by mode, composed by Koukoumas'. This is an eight-mode polyeleos that is chanted antiphonally. Extremely detailed rubrics regarding changes in modes and alternation of right and left choirs are given by Chrysaphes.[79]

FIGURE 3.11: MS IVIRON 1120, F. 281: THE POLYELEOS (PS 134) BY MANUEL CHRYSAPHES



19. **Fols. 305r-352v:** Kalophonia of the Polyeleos. Rich collection of kalophonic settings of verses from the first stasis of the Polyeleos (Ps 134, *Δοῦλοι Κύριον*) and kratemata, by several composers, including Ethikos, Koukouzeles, Korones, Kladas, Chrysaphes, et al. Several named kratemata are found in this section, e.g., τὸ μέγα σημάντρι on f. 307v ('the great wood-block'), πολεμικὸν on f. 325r ('warlike'), ἡ ἀηδών on f. 328r ('nightingale'), and πέρσικον on f. 342v ('Persian').

20. **Fols. 353r-359v:** Antiphons for the Theotokos, Psalm 44, *Λόγον ἀγαθὸν* ('A good word'). Multiple settings of several verses, all in first mode, the majority composed by Gregory Glykys the domestikos, others unascribed, and the rest by a selection of composers including Koukouzeles, Ioannes Glykys, Korones, and Basilios Batatzes. Fol. 357v has a verse with refrain specific to the Entrance of the Theotokos and fol. 259 for the Annunciation.

21. **Fols. 360r-365v:** Antiphons chanted on Meatfare Sunday, Cheesefare Sunday, and for Saints, Psalm 136, *Ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν Βαβυλῶνος* ('By the rivers of Babylon'). Multiple settings of several verses, all in third mode, compositions by Korones, Kladas, Agallianos, Chrysaphes, et al.

22. **Fols. 366r-376v:** Antiphons chanted for feasts of apostles, martyrs, prophets, saints, and hierarchs, Psalm 111, *Μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὁ φοβούμενος τὸν Κύριον* ('Blessed is the man that fears the Lord'), with multiple settings of several verses by composers such as Gregorios the domestikos, Koukouzeles, Korones, Kontopetres, et al, in fourth and plagal fourth modes. This antiphon, like those prior to it, close with multiple composed settings of Glory and Both Now.

[79] These detailed performance practice rubrics relating to modal changes, antiphonal chanting between right and left choir, and the exclamation of the *epiphonemata* are retained is several later recensions of musical MSS, for example, MSS EBE 2175, written around 1791 (see Touliatos-Miles, *National Library*, 264).

23. Fols. 377r-379r: Antiphons to be interpolated between the verses of Psalm 148 in the plagal of second mode, for the Synaxis of the Bodiless Hosts and the Nativity of Christ, Psalm 148, *Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν - ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος εἶ Θεὲ παντοκράτωρ* ('Praise the Lord from the heavens – holy, holy, holy is the Lord almighty'). Most settings are by Nikiphoros Ethikos (one is by Koukouzeles). Remarkable troped refrains to the Trinity, Theotokos, and Angels, include e.g., Psalm 148:2, *Αἰνεῖτε αὐτόν, πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ· αἰνεῖτε αὐτόν, πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις αὐτοῦ, - ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος εἶ Κύριος Σαβαώθ πλήρης ὁ οἶκος τῆς δόξης σου* ('Praise him, all ye his angels, praise him, all ye his hosts, holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Sabaoth, the house is filled with your glory').

24. Fols. 379v-387r: Antiphons to be chanted at the Transfiguration, the Feast of Lights, or the Ascension, interpolated among verses of Psalm 88, *Τὰ ἐλέη σου, Κύριε* ('Thy mercy, O Lord'). Composers of these verses, in grave mode, include: Aneotes, Xenos Korones, Ioannes Kladas, Koukouzeles, Gregorios Alyates, Manuel Chrysaphes, Agathonos [Korones], Nikiphoros Ethikos, et al.

25. Fols. 388r-397r: The order of the Gospel of Orthros (i.e., Matins). The rubric at the beginning of this section is: 'And then the *anavathmoi* (Hymns of Ascent), the prokeimenon of the feast or of the Sunday; and straightway the Πᾶσα πνοή ('Every Breath'), fourth mode.' A short version of Πᾶσα πνοή, closing with the intercalated double-gamma (ΓΓ) cadential figure, is followed by four kalophonic versions, one labelled 'palaion,' two by Koukouzeles, and one by Chrysaphes, which according to the rubrics, is modelled after his imperially commissioned *Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε*. Then the rubrics indicate: 'And then the Gospel, and after this the fiftieth [Psalm]· and then, Glory, By the intercessions of the Apostles, Both now, by the [intercessions] of the Theotokos, and then if it is Sunday, say *Ἀναστὰς ὁ Ἰησοῦς*, but if it is the Holy and Great Sunday of Pascha, say this one', after which follow a kalophonic setting of Ἀναστὰς ὁ Ἰησοῦς by Ioannes Comnenos and an Anagrammatismos of the same by Nikolaos Palamas which was later embellished by Mark of Corinth and then Chrysaphes.

26. Fols. 397r-410v: Megalynaria to the Theotokos at the Ninth Ode. 'Simple' and kalophonic settings, both unascribed and ascribed to composers such as Koukouzeles, Chrysaphes, etc. Folios 401v to 402r include the text for all the verses of the ninth ode of the well known canon *Χέρσον ἀβυσσοτόκον*, from the feast of the Encounter (Ὑπαπαντὴ). Chrysaphes sets the ninth ode heirmoi for various feasts kalophonically, e.g., *Θεὸς Κύριος καὶ ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν* for Palm Sunday (fol. 406v) and *Χαίροις ἄνασσα, μητροπάρθενον κλέος* for the feast of Pentecost (409v).

27. Fols. 411r-414r: The Lauds: *Πᾶσα πνοή*, in every mode. All settings are unascribed. The rubric 'when there is no great doxology, this is chanted' precedes the second verse of the Praises, i.e., *Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον*. Folios 413v to 414r include *asmatikon* versions of the *Ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς* (the Trisagion for the Doxology, discussed above in Chapter 1), two unascribed and one by Chrysaphes. One of the unascribed versions utilizes the double gamma cadence.

28. Fols. 414v-425r: The Amomos (Psalms 118, Kathisma 7)[80] introduced with the heading: 'The Amomos chanted at the tomb of the divine body of our Lord Jesus Christ and at the

[80] The *Amomos* ('The 'Blameless') is the name of the psalm verses, as well as the musical settings, of Psalm 118, (from the Seventeenth Kathisma of the Psalter), its name taken from Ps 118:1, *Μακάριοι οἱ ἄμωμοι ἐν ὁδῷ* ('Blessed are the blameless that walk in the path of the Lord'). As Ol'ga Krašennikova writes: 'The performance of the amomos chant during the most solemn part of the Sunday matins most likely reflects the influence of the cathedral rite of the Great Church. It is well known that the performance of Psalm 118 in the rite of the Great Church of Constantinople was the central part of the matins, where it compensated for the missing polyeleos. It was performed in three stasis, with solos, refrains, and verses sung by the choir, and was accompanied by censing… The Stoudite rite assigned a much smaller place to the amomos chant, considering it to be just an ordinary psalm of the seventeenth kathisma; it was performed in the Saturday matins' (Ol'ga Krašeninnikova,

Dormition of the all-holy Theotokos and for the forerunner.' This section includes dozens of simple settings for all three staseis of the Amomos, including psalm verses and interpolated hymns, e.g., *Ἡ ζωὴ ἐν τάφῳ κατετέθης Χριστέ* ('In a grave they laid you, O Life, Christ'), appropriate for each given commemoration, including hymns that generically commemorate the Apostles, Hierarchs, Martyrs, and Saints. These hymns are often set as *prosomoia* of the originals, e.g., for Martyrs, *Μακαρίζομέν σε ἀθλοφόρε Χριστοῦ*, matches the prototype (*idiomelon*) *Ἡ ζωὴ ἐν τάφῳ*, in terms of syllable count and accentuation. This section includes several unnotated texts.

29. **Fols 425v-434v:** Kalophonia of the Amomos. Various kalophonic settings of interpolated hymn texts from the Amomos, including kratemata, by Korones, Koukouzeles, and Ioannes Kladas, including the following from fol. 434v: 'Kratema in both grave and first mode in the polyeleos. From the *perisse* of the melody *Ριφεὶς Ἀδάμ*, re-composed and extended and embellished by Lord Ioannes the Lampadarios [Kladas], at the encomia of the Theotokos, chanted at the end of the Service, double choir, first mode.'

30. **Fols. 435r-439v:** Theotokia, especially, *Ἄνωθεν οἱ προφῆται*, and troped variations on that text, e.g., *Στάμνον, ῥάβδον, πλάκαν, κιβωτόν, ἡμεῖς δὲ Θεοτόκον, ἡμεῖς δὲ Θεοτόκον πάντες σε κηρύττομεν*, by Ioannes Kladas, with double-choir performance rubrics.

31. **Fols. 440r-451v:** The Service to the Three Children in the Furnace,[81] with the following introductory rubrics: 'Service chanted on the Sunday of the Holy Forefathers before Christ's nativity, that is, the Service of the Furnace. Rubrics: After the end of Orthros, the furnace having been prepared, and the children in the same way, the psaltes chant around the furnace the idiomelon *Πνευματικῶς ἡμᾶς πιστοί.* This having been chanted, the children enter and go into the furnace. And they bow three times towards the east. And the idiomelon having been completed, the domestikos begins the antiphons in plagal fourth mode, with their verse (stichos), 'Blessed is the Lord the God of our fathers and praised and glorified is your name unto the ages".' Compositions by Xenos Korones, Manuel Chrysaphes, Manuel Gazes. Settings of the 'Asmatic Odes' are also included, with Ode 3 beginning on fol. 444r, set by various composers including Andriomenos, Dokeianos, Koukouzeles, Plagitis, Chrysaphes and a 'palaion' setting.

32. **Fols. 453r-474r:** The beginning of the Amomos: the Amomos for Laymen. Various settings of verses of Ps. 118, organized by stasis (first stasis: primarily second mode, second stasis: primarily plagal first mode, third stasis: primarily plagal fourth mode, with several settings in nenano),[82] 'composed by various composers and by the notable Fardivoukes as well as by Lord Ioannes the lampadarios [Kladas],' as Chrysaphes himself relates. Other composers represented include Ioannes Glykys, Nikiphoros Ethikos, and Manuel Chrysaphes, as well as many 'palaion' and Thessalonian settings. Notable are many names not often encountered in other contemporary Akolouthia manuscripts, e.g., Klobas, Perephemos, Orphanotrophos, etc. The Resurrectional *Evlogeitaria* are included in this section (i.e., 'Blessed art Thou, O Lord, teach me Thy statutes').

33. **Fols. 474v-488v:** The Kalophonia of the Amomos. Unique settings of the Amomos in kalophonic style, including 'compunctionate verses for the dead' written in 15-syllable meter by Melissenos the Philosopher and set to music by Xenos Korones. This section also

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'Psalter performance in the medieval Russian Sunday office of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,' in ed. G. Wolfram, *Palaeobyzantine Notations III* (Leuven; Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2004), 128-29).

[81] See Alexander Lingas, 'Late Byzantine Cathedral Liturgy and the Service of the Furnace,' in eds. by S.E.J. Gerstel and R.S. Nelson, *Approaching the Holy Mountain. Art and Liturgy at St Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2010), 179-230, and also the much earlier but then seminal study by Miloš Velimirović, 'Liturgical Drama in Byzantium and Russia,' *DOP* 16 (1962): 351-85.

[82] Neil Moran summarizes the modal prescriptions for each stasis of the Amomos as published in Jacques Goar's 1730 edition of the burial office (Moran, *Singers*, 78).

includes Chrysaphes' famous composition from the Amomos, *Θρηνῶ καὶ ὀδύρομαι ὅταν ἐννοήσω τὸν θάνατον*, in the plagal fourth mode, which was transcribed by Gregorios Protopsaltis in the nineteenth century and included in the printed Byzantine chant series of *Πανδέκτης*, published in Constantinople in 1851.

34. **Fols. 489r-494v:** The beginning of the Divine Liturgy. The *Trisagion* with four *Δύναμις* settings, by Koukouzeles, Korones, an abbreviated version of that by Korones, and by Manuel Chrysaphes. The festal alternate *Ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν* ('All you in Christ') with four *Δύναμις* settings, including one by Korones and one by Chrysaphes. Chrysaphes also includes the festal alternate *Τὸν σταυρόν σου* ('Your Cross') with one anonymous *Δύναμις* setting.

35. **Fols. 494v-503v:** The Alleluiarion of the Gospel. The rubrics for the reading of the Epistle followed by 31 settings of *Alleluia* in all eight modes by several composers. Chrysaphes is the only composer who has one setting in every mode.

36. **Fols. 504r-521r:** The Cheroubikon: 16 settings of the ordinary Cheroubikon, *Οἱ τὰ χερουβὶμ μυστικῶς εἰκονίζοντες* ('Let us who mystically portray the Cherubim'), including five by Chrysaphes.

37. **Fols. 522v-526v:** Hymns for the Divine Liturgy of St. Basil, including three settings of *Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος – Σὲ ὑμνοῦμεν* ('Holy, holy, holy – We praise Thee'), and two of the Theotokion, *Ἐπὶ σοὶ χαίρει κεχαριτωμένη* ('In Thee, Full of Grace').

38. **Fols. 527r-562r-2:** The *koinonika* (communion verses) by mode. This is a vast section of the codex that includes 99 koinonika set by dozens of composers, including 44 settings of the Sunday ordinary, *Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον* ('Praise the Lord') followed in number by *Ποτήριον σωτηρίου* ('I will take the cup of salvation') with 26 settings, and *Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον* ('In everlasting remembrance'), with 8 settings. On 538r there is a likely double-voiced composition of *Αἰνεῖτε*, called 'μουσικὸν, ὀργανικὸν, ἀσματικὸν' (musical, instrumental, asmatic) by its composer, Chrysaphes. Note that there are dozens of additional koinonika in subsequent sections, including the Koinonikon for the Presanctified liturgy and for Holy Saturday and Pascha (see below).

39. **Fols. 566r-2-571v:** The Divine Liturgy of the Presanctified gifts, including settings of Κατευθηνθήτω ἡ προσευχή μοῦ ('Let my prayer be set forth') with its interpolated verses from Psalm 140, followed by six unique settings of the Cheroubikon of the Presanctified gifts, *Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν* ('Now, the powers of the heavens'). All settings are in the archaic plagal second mode except for one of Chrysaphes' two settings, a version in plagal first mode, the first setting in this alternate mode for the *Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις*, yet another witness to Chrysaphes' expansion of the modal palette of formerly more conservative chant genres.

40. **Fols. 572r-579v:** Seventeen settings of the *koinonikon* for the Presanctified Liturgy, *Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε* ('Taste and see'). Notable settings include an anonymous, labelled 'Asmatikon,' a version by Manuel Chrysaphes in first mode 'naos'.[83] Three settings of Psalm 33, *Εὐλογήσω τὸν Κύριον ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ* ('I will bless the Lord at all times') are included, to be chanted 'At the end of the (Presanctified) Liturgy'.

41. **Fols. 580r-580v:** The Cherubic Hymn for Holy Thursday, which also serves as its *koinonikon*, *Τοῦ δείπνου σου τοῦ μυστικοῦ* ('At your mystical supper').

42. **Fols. 581r-582v:** Holy Saturday: *Ἀνάστα ὁ Θεὸς* ('Arise, O God'), chanted instead of the Alleluia of the Gospel, the festal Cherubic Hymn, *Σιγησάτω πᾶσα σάρξ βροτεία* ('Let all

[83] This particular branch of first mode is the subject of much discussion in today's psaltic circles.

mortal flesh be silent'), by Nikiphoros Ethikos, and two settings of the *koinonikon* for the same day, *Ἐξηγέρθην ὡς ὁ ὑπνῶν* ('The Lord awoke as one who sleeps').

43. **Fols. 583r-585r:** The *koinonikon* of the Sunday of Pascha: seven settings of *Σῶμα Χριστοῦ μεταλάβετε* ('Partake of the body of Christ'), including two by Chrysaphes.

44. **Fols. 586r-617r:** Kalophonic Theotokia (Marian hymns) & Stavrotheotokia (Marian hymns commemorating the Crucifixion), e.g., *Ἄξιον ἐστὶν* ('It is truly right'), *Σὲ μεγαλύνομεν* ('We praise you'), *Τὴν ὄντως Θεοτόκον* ('The very Theotokos'), etc., 15-syllable verses, *anagrammatismoi* with troped refrains and teretismata, by Koukouzeles, Korones, Kladas, Chrysaphes, et al.

45. **Fols. 618v-619v:** Kontakion of the Akathist, *Τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ* ('To you, champion'), by Ioannes Kladas. Unusually, this is separated from the rest of the settings of the *oikoi* of the Akathist, which begin on fol. 637v.

46. **Fols. 620r-620v:** Koinonikon *Σῶμα Χριστοῦ* in the plagal first mode first mode by Manuel Gazes, followed by an anonymous setting of *Χριστὸς ἀνέστη*. Gazes is known to have experimented with basic 2-voiced polyphony.[84] Could this *Σῶμα Χριστοῦ* be separated from the normal cycle of *koinonika* (fols. 583r-585r) because of its different, i.e., polyphonic, performance characteristics, thus placing it amongst the various kalophonic and paraliturgical hymns, such as the *kalophonic heirmoi* (see below) and the 15-syllable verses?

47. **Fols. 621r-636v:** *Kalophonic/asmatic heirmoi* for the Sunday of Pascha (two odes set by Kladas and the rest by Chrysaphes) in first mode, and for the Great Martyr Demetrios, by the Thessalonian Manuel Plagitis, in second mode. Although kalophonic heirmoi are naturally present in earlier MSS (Kladas and Plagitis were active a generation or two before Chrysaphes), this is the first known reference to the term *heirmoi kalophonikoi / asmatikoi* (also found in the undated and possibly earlier Iviron 975).[85]

48. **Fols. 637v-667v:** Kalophonic compositions: the *kontakia* and *oikoi* of the Akathist Hymn. Compositions by Koukouzeles, Kladas, and Chrysaphes. Chrysaphes precedes this section with the following heading: 'Akathist hymn composed by Lord Ioannes Kladas the lampadarios, imitating as much as possible the old[er versions], as he himself writes.' This refers to some manuscript or treatise that does not survive, written by Ioannes Kladas the lampadarios, evidently on the subject of composition. This specific line is referenced also in Chrysaphes' treatise.[86]

49. **Fols. 668r-674v:** The eleven eothina by Emperor Leo the Most Wise.

Represented Composers

Certainly, the field of Byzantine musicology has progressed by leaps and bounds since Miloš Velimirović's article, 'Byzantine Composers in MS. Athens 2406', was published in 1966, in which he described the state of affairs in Byzantine music prosopography: 'Little, if anything, is known about composers of Byzantine music and it is quite likely that a large number of them

[84] The first to identify these hymns was Michael Adamis, 'An Example of Polyphony in Byzantine Music of the Late Middle Ages,' *Paper presented at the 11th Congress of the International Musicological Society* (Copenhagen, 1972).

[85] Cf. supra, Ch. 1, pp. 45-46.

[86] 'Ὁ δὲ λαμπαδάριος Ἰωάννης τούτων ὕστερος ὢν καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν ἐλαττούμενος τῶν προτέρων, καὶ αὐταῖς λέξεσι γράφων ἰδίᾳ χειρί, ἔφη· Ἀκάθιστος ποιηθεῖσα παρ'ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Κλαδᾶ, μιμουμένη κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν τὴν παλαιὸν ἀκάθιστον. Καὶ οὐκ ᾐσχύνετο γράφων οὕτως...' (Conomos, *Treatise*, 44; see MS Iviron 1120 fols. 16r-v).

may for ever remain simply names in a list of Byzantine musicians… By the mid-fifteenth century Western Europe had already produced composers such as Perotinus, Machaut, and Dufay (not to mention scores of others), but even musicologists would feel hard put to it if they were asked to name Byzantine musicians of repute for the same period.'[87] While much has changed since 1966, including extensive catalogues on the manuscripts of Byzantine chant, a full dissertation on the life and works of Ioannes Koukouzeles by Edward Williams, several shorter bioergographical studies dedicated to the major composers of the late Byzantine period, and scattered efforts by cantors and selected vocal ensembles in Greece and the United States to transcribe, perform, and record hymns from the kalophonic period, the vast majority of these composers do still remain 'names in a list' as Velimirović once opined.

While for many years MS EBE 2406 remained the standard indexical manuscript for the study of Byzantine composers of the late thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, it is now clear that Manuel Chrysaphes' Iviron 1120 rivals the former in importance. Chrysaphes anthologises the works of at least 77 composers who lived from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, nearly as many as the hundred or so included in EBE 2406. In fact, it may be the case that Chrysaphes' autograph contains the names of more composers, for, as Velimirović admits, his number is inflated due to probable double counting. For example, he did not take the time to determine if Μανουὴλ ἱερομόναχος and Μανουὴλ ἱερομόναχος ἐκ τῆς μονῆς τῶν Ξανθοπούλων are the same person. The importance of Chrysaphes' index of composers will be proven by future research. On the basis of the authority of the scribe of Iviron 1120, future studies will be able to use the index below as a cross-reference to further research along various lines, for example, validating attribution of compositions in other, less well-preserved sources.

Although Dimitri Conomos does well to read Chrysaphes' *Treatise* with a critical eye – arguing, for example, that Chrysaphes may not have seen Koukouzeles' original compositions but may have rather been basing his theories of modulation on 'retouched or altered recensions',[88] I believe that we still have to accept the authority of this source since we know, at the very least, the identity of the author; we know he held a position of importance in the imperial palace; and we know he was provided with the highest level of education Byzantium offered in Constantinople in the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, much work remains to be done in order to prove or disprove theories such as the example raised by Conomos concerning

[87] Velimirović, 'Athens 2406', 7.

[88] Conomos, *Treatise*, 98. Conomos argues this point on the basis of the fact that the rules prescribed by Chrysaphes in his treatise do not conform in all cases to practises of modulation observed in compositions from various fourteenth and fifteenth century manuscripts. I think this is a reasonable hypothesis, but far more data are required before it will be proven or disproven.

Chrysaphes' exposure to the compositional 'originals' by the masters he was urging his readers to emulate.

The composers in Iviron 1120 are as follows:

FIGURE 3.12: COMPOSERS INCLUDED IN IVIRON 1120

Agathon	Katakalos, *domestikos*
Agathon Korones	Keladinos
Agathonos	Klobas
Andreas Sigeros	Konstantinos Magoulas
Andriomenos	Konstantinos Moschianos
Aneotes	Koukoumas
Argyropoulos of Rhodes	Logginos Hieromonachos
Athanasios, *hieromonk*	Manouel Agallianos, *domestikos*
Basilios Batatzes	Manuel Argyropoulos, *maistor*
Chalibouris	Manuel Blaterou
Chomatianos	Manuel Chrysaphes, *lampadarios*
Christophoros Mystakonos	Manuel Gazes
Cornelios the monk	Manuel Kourteses
Demetrios Dokeianos	Manuel Panaretos, *priest*
Domestikos Kassianos	Manuel Patrikou
Fardivoukes	Manuel Plagites
Ferentaris, *domestikos*	Manuel Thyvaiou
Fokas, *laosynaktes of the Great Church*	Mark of Corinth, *metropolitan*
Gabriel of Xanthopoulos	Michael Kontopetris
George Kontopetris, *domestikos*	Michael Mystakonos
George Panaretos	Michael Orphanotrophos, *priest*
George Sgouropoulos	Michael Propolas, *priest*
Gerasimos Chalkeopoulos, *hieromonk*	Nikiphoros Ethikos, *domestikos*
Gregorios Alyates Hieromonachos	Nikolaos Kampanes
Gregorios, *domestikos*	Nikolaos Palamas
Gregorios Glykys, *domestikos*	Nikolaos Asan
Hiereos (Priest) Ambelokipiotou	Nikon Monachos
Hiereos (Priest) Constantine Gabras	Perephemos, *maistor*
Ioakeim Monachos	Phillipos Gavalas, *domestikos*
Ioannes, *patriarch*	Spanou
Ioannes Damaskenos	Theodore, *domestikos of Katakalon*
Ioannes Glykys, *protopsaltes*	Theodore Argyropoulos
Ioannes Kampanes	Theodore Korones
Ioannes Kladas, lampadarios	Theodore Manougras
Ioannes Komnenos	Theodoulos the monk
Ioannes Koukouzeles, *maistor, protopsaltes*	Theophylaktos Argyropoulos
Ioannes Tzaknopoulos	Xenophontos
Ioannes Xeros	Xenos Korones, *protopsaltes*
Kassas of Cyprus, *domestikos*	

Contents and Terminology

In his article describing the contents of MS EBE 2458, Stathis points to a number of terms as evidence of a 'new reality', a new set of performance conventions and a new style of singing and composing. This new style was, of course, *kalophonia*, which was ushered in by the

composers of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Stathis believes that the terms used to describe the older chants when compared with the terms used to describe chants composed in the newer, kalophonic style, are on their own indicative of the stylistic change. On the one hand, the older style chants are described in the Akolouthiai sources as αρχαῖον or παλαιόν ('ancient', 'old'), κοινό or συνοπτικό ('common', or 'abbreviated'), or even Θετταλικόν or μοναχικόν ('from Thessaly', 'monastic') – adjectives used to 'name' pieces based on their style or provenance.[89] The kalophonic compositions of the Palaiologan *maestores*, on the other hand, were attributed to named composers and described with terms such as καλοφωνικό ('kalophonic') or καλλωπισμένο ('embellished') in the sources. For Stathis, this provides clear evidence of the co-existence of two distinct musical traditions, a traditional style that predated but persisted through the Palaiologan er, and a new, effusive kalophonic breed of chanting and composing.[90]

While Stathis' basic point is certainly supported by the musicological data – for example, by the co-existence of simpler (near syllabic) with extremely melismatic settings of troped versions of the same texts (as in the First Kathisma of the Psalter), or in the *Anoixantaria*, genre (the latter featuring simple psalm-tone recitation in its psalm verses and kalophonic expansion in its troped refrains), I believe that the contents and the terminology extracted from Chrysaphes' autograph (included below) tells a more profound story than simply the existence of two binary traditions of singing. Though the persistence of an older tradition and its co-existence with a newer one is certainly a reality, the contents of Iviron 1120 reveal something far more nuanced. First, the fraternity of *maistores* as described in Chrysaphes' *Treatise* and repeated in historiographical studies of the post-Byzantine period is, at least to some degree, a constructed reality. In fact, by the time of Chrysaphes, the kalophonic movement was several generations old, dating back to the thirteenth century with Ioannes Glykys, and even earlier, to shadowy figures such as Anapadras, Aneotes, or Katakalos the *domestikos.* The conservative nature of the tradition of ecclesiastical chant in Byzantium has been well-documented by scholars and cannot be denied. But in spite of this conservatism, the manuscript evidence tells the story of a musical tradition that was constantly developing, innovative techniques and compositions and ways of singing being spurred on by singers who were prolific composers and scribes, such as Koukouzeles and Chrysaphes.

[89] Found on f. 41r of MS EBE 2406, a term referring to a specific composition (and presumably a certain regional way of singing), as well as a region in Central Greece. Geographic terms, however, were often used as descriptors of kalophonic compositions, too, as I note in my introduction.
[90] Stathis, 'Η Ασματική', 189-90.

I believe that Koukouzeles probably would have recognised the kalophonic stichera Chrysaphes was composing over a century later. Furthermore, he would have certainly recognised many of the settings of Psalm 103 (which I analyse below), several of which are found in both EBE 2458 and faithfully transmitted in Iviron 1120. But would Koukouzeles' teacher, Ioannes Glykys, have recognised mid-fifteenth century liturgical cycles that included Alleluiaria and Cherubic Hymns composed in all eight modes, given that during his time there is evidence of only a few settings, all in the second or plagal second mode? Answers to these questions are, of course, conjectural and at this point not yet supported by empirical evidence. What we are obliged to acknowledge, it seems to me, is that the kalophonic tradition of the late thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries is far more multi-layered and varied than previously held notions which either posit a unified, singular tradition, or one that is binary, i.e., 'old' vs. 'new'. This conclusion has certainly been hinted at in studies cited above concerned with tracing the origins of the kalophonic style, and it seems to be supported by an analysis of the exceedingly varied contents of Iviron 1120.

Second, our understanding of the coexistence of an 'old' and a 'new' tradition should be extended to speak of the coexistence of chants from different liturgical rites, those of the neo-Sabaïtic Rite, with those from the Constantinopolitan Cathedral Rite, which as noted above was on its very last legs by Chrysaphes' time. On the one hand, Iviron 1120 contains chants for neo-Sabaïtic services which clearly contain elements of the old *Asmatikon* and *Psaltikon* repertories (e.g., the Prokeimena, which contain the characteristic cadential double-gamma phrases of the *Asmatikon*). Furthermore, the persistence of the Constantinopolitan Cathedral Rite in the memories of composers active at the end of the Empire is attested to by the frequency of the phrase 'asmatikon' in Iviron 1120, but also, by the inclusion of elements such as the Service of the Furnace, faithfully copied, not only by Chrysaphes, but also by his successors in Crete.

Finally, the descriptions listed below reveal something about the characterisation of the newer compositions by their authors. The terms encountered in Iviron 1120 span the gamut, from geographical (e.g., 'Thessalonian'), to ethnic ('Persian'), to laudatory ('marvellous'), to performance-related ('difficult' or 'chanted artistically, with three melodies'). The prevalence of this sort of terminology in MS Iviron 1120 suggests that composers in the fifteenth century were operating with a great degree of personal freedom. The concept of a chant as a musical work, that is, as something with an author that could be named, reproduced, performed, and recognised, is alive and well in the fifteenth century. The list of terms and names associated

with the compositions in Iviron 1120, taken together with Chrysaphes' *Treatise*, which shall be analysed in the next chapter, strengthen this argument.

FIGURE 3.13: TERMINOLOGY INCLUDED IN IVIRON 1120

Agiosophitikon, 44r-49r
Aedon, 109r, 328r, 333v
Anakaras, 105r
Anyphantes, 111v
Biola, 82r
Boulgara, 262r, 278v
Boulgarikon, 326r
Choros, 87v
Dedemenon, 132r, 148r
Dyskolon, 146r, 189r
Entexnos, 197v, 316r
Ethnikon, 85r, 210r, 345r
Glykytaton, 123r, 152r
Fragkikon, 60r-70r
Fthorikon, 118v, 129r, 130v, 189r
Hedytaton pany, 95r
Isophonia, 120r
Kalliston, 181r
Kampana, 82r
Kinnyra, 124v
Leptotaton, 179v, 316r
Margaritis, 85r
Mega semantri, 307v
Mikro semantri, 155r
Monopnous, 209r
Mousikos, 195v, 197v
Oktaechon, 40r (2)
Organikos, 122r, 123r, 195v, 197v
Orphanon, 311r
Palaion,
Pany kalon, 134r, 150r, 160v, 167v, 384v
Pany wraion, 103r, 157v, 166r
Papadopoulou, 177v
Persikon, 342v, 343v
Polemikon, 325r
Politikon, 237v
Rodakina, 313r
Rodanin, 97r
Rodion, 196r
Terpnon, 123r
Tetraphonos, 315r
Thavmaston, 157v
Thessalonikaion, 254r, 366r
Tou Basileos, 92r
Trochos, 90r

3.5 Chrysaphes' Autographs: Conclusions

MS Iviron 1120 is an authoritative witness to the central tradition of ecclesiastical singing in the mid-fifteenth century in and around Constantinople. The authority of this manuscript is derived from the fact that it is dated (1458), attributed to a high-ranking musician whose activity spanned the gamut of musical activity from composition and theory to singing and choir directing, and voluminous – comprising over 700 folios containing both anonymous chants and compositions attributed to over 76 composers from all the major Divine Offices of the Byzantine Rite. As it was written right after the Fall of Constantinople, it is a verifiable witness to the tradition of singing in Constantinople as codified by someone who was particularly concerned with documenting as much of the music of his time, as well as that of the prior two and a half centuries, as possible. The narrative that Chrysaphes was significantly impacted by the Fall of Constantinople, and that this major change in the world order, which resulted in his forced expatriation, was a significant driving force in his prolific activity as scribe is found throughout the studies that refer to Chrysaphes or his autograph, Iviron 1120.[91] Giannopoulos, for example, calls Chrysaphes' composition of the codex 'an effort to collect all the relevant melodic production from the imperial years,'[92] while Ioannes Arvanitis (speaking more specifically of Chrysaphes' *Treatise*) suggests that 'Chrysaphes, as if feeling the coming storm against the Empire and his nation, ordered the preservation and continuation of the tradition: μίμησις, imitation of the masters.'[93] While the image of a musician, formerly of the imperial palace, working feverishly (under, perhaps, far less favourable conditions) in order to document the musical works and practises of the late Byzantine Empire lest they be lost forever, may seem romantic and contrived, the arrangement and contents of Iviron 1120 – along with Chrysaphes' other autographs, especially the Kalophonic Sticherarion, Iviron 975, suggest that there may be some truth to such a conception of Chrysaphes in the years following 1453.

MS Iviron 1120 is a sizeable musical codex, containing well over 500 musical settings by over 75 named composers along with dozens of anonymous settings, from all the services of the ecclesiastical day of the Byzantine Rite as celebrated in the fifteenth century.[94] It includes

[91] This view is widely documented, e.g., see Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 100-10; Stathis, 'Ιβήρων 1120'; Giannopoulos, *Η Άνθηση*, 66-67; and Stathis, 'Μανουήλ Χρυσάφης', 33. This conclusion is formed simply by one who takes his voluminous autographs at face value. It is confirmed based on a reading of his *Treatise*, which reveals an author obsessed with preserving for posterity the style and works of older composers.
[92] Giannopoulos, *Λόγος και Μέλος*, 83.
[93] Arvanitis, 'On the Meaning', 125.
[94] Cf. supra, Ch. 3, fn. 58 regarding the MS Laura Epsilon (Λ.Ε.) 173, written by David Raidestinos in AD 1436, which may contain twice as much musical notation as MS Iviron 1120.

several settings of venerable old genres, such as the *prokeimena*, material from services that were likely an anachronism by 1458, such as the Service of the Furnace, and compositions from innovative genres that were written to be performed at high feasts and even possibly, outside of the services, such as the *kalophonic heirmoi* and various 15-syllable *theotokia*, and embellished *anagrammatismoi* and *kratemata*. Taken together with the Kalophonic Sticherarion Iviron 975, one of the earliest and most important codices of its type (and voluminous in its own right), and Chrysaphes' other autographs, Seraglio 15, MS Xeropotamou 270, and MS Sketes Agias Annes 123 42, an image of Chrysaphes as a musician who was, in fact, obsessed with documenting the tradition of music in Constantinople as it was transmitted to him, comes into relief. Even more, Chrysaphes' codification of various repertories includes, in nearly every genre, a prodigious contribution of his own compositions, revealing a musician who was keen to respond to changing liturgical, ceremonial, and aesthetic requirements of his time. Further studies are certainly required to determine to what degree his conception of unity with his predecessors – Kladas, Korones, and Koukouzeles – was constructed versus real, but we possess enough fundamental data at this point to assert that Chrysaphes was one of the most important scribes of the fifteenth century. He influenced nearly every genre of music that was sung during the fifteenth century, either by means of his activity as scribe – based on the compositions he anthologised, or by means of his activity as composer, which is revealed through his activity as scribe.

The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes: A Case Study in Reception History 4

4.1 Introduction

In addition to hundreds of compositions and four autographed manuscripts, Chrysaphes' productive output includes an important theoretical treatise, *Περὶ τῶν ἐνθεωρουμένων τῇ ψαλτικῇ τέχνῃ καὶ ὧν φρονοῦσι κακῶς τινες περὶ αὐτῶν* ('On the theory of the psaltic art and on certain erroneous views that some hold about it'), a document critical for the insights it reveals regarding performance practise in the fifteenth century and unique for its time on account of its emphasis on composition.[1] This chapter is focused on Manuel Chrysaphes the theorist, but, rather than providing an extensive overview of the technical aspects of his theoretical work (which are, instead, dealt with in the next chapter in the context of his settings of the *Anoixantaria*), this section shall, first, provide an overview of the *Treatise* and its relationship to other literature – both musical and non-musical – of the Byzantine intellectual tradition, and then, it shall focus on the dissemination and reception of Chrysaphes' *Treatise* in the post-Byzantine era. Chrysaphes' *Treatise* furnishes us with an excellent case study by which we shall be able to analyse the variety of ways in which his theoretical document was utilised and reshaped over the centuries, and thus, arrive at a preliminary assessment of the composer's reception in the post-Byzantine era.

In the years following Chrysaphes' activity, the manuscripts testify to extensive copying and broad geographic distribution of his compositions and treatise, suggesting a profound admiration amongst contemporary ecclesiastical musicians for their Constantinopolitan forebear. By the nineteenth century, Chrysaphes' original compositions no longer formed the core of the standard chant repertories. Yet at this time, Chrysaphes – who in his treatise makes his own case for 'correctness' on the basis of continuity – gains prestige once again, now as the author of a critical foundational document in the context of early nineteenth century notions of continuity. Specifically, Chrysanthos of Madytos utilises Chrysaphes' words in his own work, the *Θεωρητικόν Μέγα τῆς Μουσικῆς*,[2] to buttress theories of contemporary performance practise by means of providing a witness from Byzantine times. Chrysaphes' *Treatise* would continue to be interpreted in the context of similar debates related to authenticity and continuity, though in largely different contexts, in the twentieth century. On the one hand, Chrysaphes rich expositions related to compositional genres, melody, and modality have

[1] Conomos, *Treatise*, 37, translates ψαλτικῇ τέχνῃ as 'art of chanting'; my translation is 'Psaltic art'.
[2] For Chrysanthos, cf. supra, Ch. 1, pp. 30-32.

provided the basis for several twentieth century musicological investigations of the medieval Byzantine chant repertory. On the other, the *Treatise* has been referenced to support theories of continuity in the tradition of Byzantine chant, especially as a reaction to allegations of stark discontinuity between the medieval and received traditions. The durability of Chrysaphes' *Treatise* and its author's authoritative position in the post-Byzantine psaltic milieu can be gleaned from the frequency with which it has been utilised, and the range of arguments it has been called on to support. Therefore, the present chapter shall endeavour to provide a brief overview of Chrysaphes' reception – both by church musicians in the generations immediately following his activity, as well as by cantors and musicologists of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

4.2 The Treatise

Manuel Chrysaphes' treatise, *On the Theory of the Psaltic Art*, has been one of the most frequently referenced theoretical works concerning music from the Byzantine or post-Byzantine era. Chrysaphes' words have been used to underpin theories ranging from continuity in performance practices to the characteristics of the modal system of Byzantine chant. This chapter will sketch a background of Chrysaphes' one surviving literary work in the context of the intellectual culture of the late Byzantine Empire in order to highlight the fact that Chrysaphes both utilised traditional rhetorical models common to Byzantium's educated elite, yet departed from the classicising music theorists of his time by writing on a subject related directly to contemporary musical practices. Next, Chrysaphes' immediate reception will be considered, based primarily on the relative frequency and distribution of his works in post-Byzantine musical sources. Finally, a preliminary survey of the modern reception of Chrysaphes will be offered, starting with Chrysanthos (c. 1770-1846) in the early nineteenth century. For Chrysanthos, Chrysaphes provided the authoritative link between contemporary (i.e., early nineteenth century) practice and Byzantine chant's venerable imperial heritage, a theme that would be taken up by later musicians and scholars but in a largely altered context, as I will discuss below.

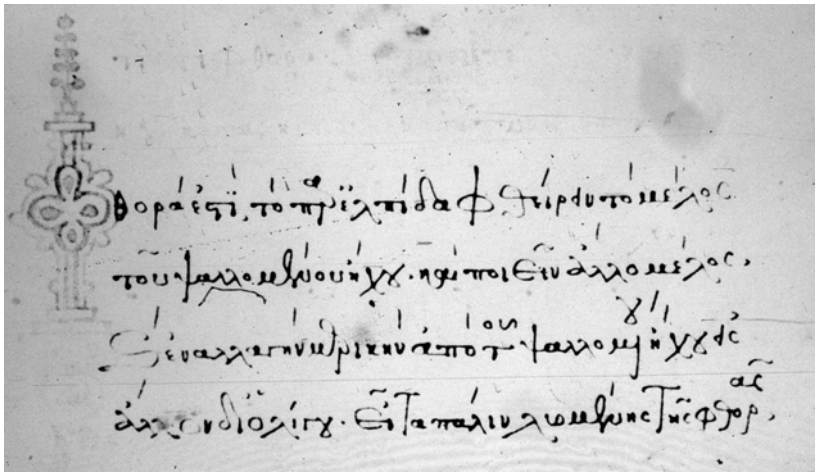
The Intellectual Environment of Late Palaiologan Byzantium

Chrysaphes' *Treatise*[3] consists of three main parts: 1) a Prooimion, 2) a section on *melodic theseis*,[4] and 3) the largest section, an overview of the *phthorai* (sing: *phthora*) and proper

[3] Chrysaphes' *Treatise* is documented first in Iviron 1120, from 1458, but we still cannot determine exactly when it was written.

methods of composition utilising these signs of modal alteration, which were written in red ink and proliferated in musical manuscripts after about 1300.[5] The final section is a critical witness to the tradition of Byzantine chanting in the fifteenth century, especially regarding both 'correct' and 'incorrect' techniques of modulation (as prescribed by Chrysaphes), but also, for its cross references to real compositions that can be located in sources from the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries. The treatise bears the traits of comparable literary products of Palaiologan Byzantium and, by extension, of late antiquity, in a few important respects. This should not be surprising given, on the one hand, Chrysaphes' status as an imperial musician, which would place him amongst the few educated elite, and on the other, the survival of secular education in Byzantium in its 'antique, i.e., rhetorical form.'[6] As I will show below, Chrysaphes both communicates with and departs from these classical and late Byzantine models.

FIGURE 4.1: ΦΘΟΡΑ ΕΣΤΙ ('A PHTHORA IS'), EXCERPT FROM CHRYSAPHES' TREATISE, IVIRON 1120, F. 18V



In his Prooimion, Chrysaphes claims to have been pressured by his student Gerasimos to write his treatise. The historical Gerasimos Chalkeopoulos and his role as Chrysaphes' student is firmly attested to in sources of the fifteenth century (including Iviron 1120) and of the post-Byzantine period,[7] nevertheless, this opening reads similar to other *topoi* of 'requests by

[4] *Theseis* (singular: *thesis*) are the individual musical phrases that comprise the building blocks of Byzantine chants. For differing interpretations of its precise definition in Chrysaphes' medieval document, see for example Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 34-5, in contrast to Arvanitis, 'On the meaning', passim.

[5] Troelsgård, 'Transformation', 162. Conomos points out that even in early Akolouthiai from the fourteenth century, such as EBE 2458 (1336) and EBE 2622 (1341 – c. 1360), 'the phthorai are used somewhat sparingly in comparison with later practice' (Conomos, *Treatise*, 98).

[6] Cyril Mango, 'Byzantine Literature as a Distorting Mirror,' ed. idem, *Byzantium and Its Image*, II (London: Varorium Reprints, 1984), 9.

[7] Gerasimos Chalkeopoulos was a hieromonk from Thessaloniki as an inscription on EBE 2406 (1453), f. 254 bears witness to: 'Κυρίου Γερασίμου ἱερομονάχου τοῦ Χαλκεοπούλου ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως Θεσσαλονίκης' (Lord Gerasimos Chalkeopoulos the hieromonk from the city of Thessalonica), see Karangounes, Χερουβικών 257. Chrysaphes includes compositions by Gerasimos in Iviron 1120 (e.g., the *Koinonikon Ποτήριον σωτηρίου*, on f. 531v). That Gerasimos was a student of Chrysaphes is mentioned by Chrysaphes himself but also corroborated by

students of teachers for the rules of the art', common in medieval treatises of music.[8] Chrysaphes' purported objective is to benefit those who wish to seriously study the psaltic art, but also to rebuke those who hold incorrect opinions, 'those who without exact and unfailing knowledge have undertaken this art' ('τὸ μὴ μετ' ἐπιστήμης ἀκριβοῦς τε καὶ ἀπταίστου τὴν τοιαύτην μετέρχεσθαι τέχνην').[9] Though we do have evidence of a musical controversy documented in some monastic *ktetorika typika* of the late Byzantine period, this narrative of opposition should nevertheless be seen as another rhetorical device not unfamiliar to highbrow Byzantine literature.[10] Manuel Bryennius, the eccentric late thirteenth/early fourteenth century intellectual and author of probably the most widely copied late Byzantine musical treatise, *Harmonics*, begins his work by stating that he wishes 'to revive the interest of those who, understanding the importance of this science, regret its loss and are eager to learn but unable to without assistance,' and furthermore, 'to defend and clarify this science from those men whom the ignorant masses call sages,' two objectives which are strikingly similar to those found in Chrysaphes' Prooimion.[11] This trope is also encountered in classical works, such as the musical treatise of Aristoxenus (fourth century BC).[12] As Andrew Barker points out, Aristoxenus 'mentions earlier exponents of the science repeatedly, but always to criticise them... their main function in his writings is to point up, by contrast, his own immeasurable superiority.'[13] Likewise, Chrysaphes does not hesitate to imply that he and his theories are

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several post-Byzantine sources ('Γερασίμου μαθητοῦ τοῦ Χρυσάφη') and other similar inscriptions are found in e.g., MSS Gregoriou 5, between f. 144b-169b; Philotheou 133, between f. 65a-73a, Docheiariou 337, between f. 165b-170a, et al. See Karangounes, *Χερουβικών*, 258.

[8] Conomos emphasises that this was a common rhetorical device employed in both Eastern and Western writings of the Middle Ages, giving two examples, the *Bibliotheca* and *Amphilochia* of Patriarch Photios of the ninth century and Johannes de Grocheo's *De Musica*, a thirteenth century Western treatise on music (Conomos, *Treatise*, 72-73).

[9] Conomos, *Treatise*, 36.

[10] The controversy Dubowchik uncovers in the *Typikon* of Skoteine (from 1247) refers to the main monastery which possessed, and chanted from, a *Sticherarion* referred to as 'neophonon' ('new-sound'), whereas one of the monastery's dependencies chanted from a *Sticherarion* referred to as 'palaiophonon' ('old-sound'). These terms probably refer to 'new notation' vs. 'old notation,' given the change from the adiastematic systems to the 'Round Notation' around the middle of the twelfth century along with the testimony of the anonymous treatise Ἀκρίβεια, ed. Bjarne Schartau, *Anonymous Questions and Answers on the Interval Signs*, MMB: CSDRM 4 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998), lines 998, 999, 1030. I am grateful to Christian Troelsgård for pointing me to this reference. This evidence would seem to go against Dubowchik's suggestion that, on the basis of Chrysaphes' distinction between notational signs (σημεῖα) and sounds (φωνῶν), these terms refer to the co-existence of two repertories, the archaic, anonymous chants often labelled 'palaion' and the eponymous compositions sometimes labelled 'kalophonic' or 'embellished' (as found in Akolouthiai MSS such as Iviron 1120). For this viewpoint and an analysis of other *ktetorika typika*, see Dubowchik, 'Singing', 292-93.

[11] Jonker, *Harmonics*, 51. The importance of Bryennius' *Treatise* is evidenced by its widespread transmission. Jonker points to 46 known manuscripts with 'integral text prior to 1600,' in comparison to only a handful of copies of the *Ἁρμονικά-Μουσική* of George Pachymeres, Bryennius' senior contemporary (*Harmonics*, 21).

[12] Arvanitis, 'On the Meaning', 105-28.

[13] Andrew Barker, *The Science of Harmonics in Classical Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 136, 442. For a reassessment of the Harmonics of Bryennius in light of its debased status in recent historiography, see Thomas J. Mathiesen, 'Aristides Quintilianus and the "Harmonics" of Manuel Bryennius: A Study in Byzantine Music Theory,' *Journal of Music Theory,* 27/1 (1983): 31-47. In this study, Mathiesen cites 43

irreproachable (ἀνεπιλήπτοις), especially in the face of his critics, who are motivated rather by envy and jealousy (φθόνος).[14]

Chrysaphes was evidently well versed in elite Byzantine literature, which included a standard corpus of classical and Hellenistic works based on the *trivium* of grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, and the *quadrivium* of arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy.[15] Ioannes Arvanitis recently located an important parallel between Chrysaphes' treatise and one of these core texts, the treatise of the Hellenistic grammarian, Dionysius Thrax, which was *the* core grammar used throughout the Byzantine Empire's existence.[16] In his section on the melodic *theseis*, Chrysaphes enumerates six essential characteristics of the psaltic art, and calls the individual who has mastered these categories a 'perfect teacher' ('διδάσκαλος τέλειος').[17] The treatise of Dionysius Thrax also includes six essential components of the art of grammar. Not only do these passages share the number of traits essential for achieving perfection in their respective arts, but they end with the very same words, leading Arvanitis to conclude that Dionysios's *Γραμματικὴ Τέχνη* must have functioned as a model for Chrysaphes (these concordances are shown in Fig. 4.2 below).[18] Thus, it is not difficult to establish an intellectual

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loci paralleli between the works of Bryennius and Quintillianus, emphasising the interconnected web between the musical treatises of Late Antiquity and the theorists of Late Byzantium, who, as Mathiesen argues, were far more than simply redactors of earlier theory (Mathieson, 'Aristides Quintilianus', 34).

[14] Conomos, *Treatise*, 67. The rather unusual phrase used by Chrysaphes near the end of his treatise, 'ἀκαίρῳ φιλονεικίᾳ' (translated by Conomos as 'untimely envy') is found in a similar context (to refute invisible enemies) in Chapter 62 of Theodore Metochites' treatise 'Memoirs and Didactic Notes' (*Ὑπομνηματισμοὶ καὶ Σημειώσεις Γνωμικαί*), strengthening the connection between Chrysaphes and intellectuals such as Manuel Bryannius (who tutored Metochites) and those around him. See Theodoros Metochites, Christian Gottfried Müller, *Theodori Metochitae Miscellanea Philosophica et Historica. Graece* (Lipsiae: Sumtibus F.C.G. Vogelii, 1821), 381.

[15] The education system in Byzantium was 'in all major respects, the ancient educational format inherited from its Hellenistic and Roman past, which it perpetuated with remarkable constancy down to the last years of the empire's life' (Athanasios Markopoulos, 'Education,' in eds. E. Jeffreys et al, *Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford: OUP, 2008), 785). Although it has been argued that, after 1204, formal secondary and advanced education in Byzantium 'did not possess the structure or scope of the great higher educational foundations of earlier periods' (Markopoulos, 'Education', 791), it is clear – from a reading of Chrysaphes' *Treatise*, at the very least, that many of the core texts were transmitted through the educational system of Byzantium for centuries, such as the *Γραμματική Τέχνη* of Dionysios Thrax, or the Platonic Dialogues.

[16] Markopoulos, 'Education', 789.

[17] Jørgen Raasted suggests that this terminology is reminiscent of – and thus may refer to – Aristotle's *teleion systema* ('perfect system') and the *Hagiopolites* Treatise's *teleia mousike* (Jørgen Raasted, ed., 'The Hagiopolites. A Byzantine Treatise on Musical Theory,' in *CIMAGL* 45 (Copenhagen: Erik Paludan, 1983).

[18] Dionysious Thrax writes: Ὅ δὴ κάλλιστόν ἐστι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ, as compared to Manuel Chrysaphes, who writes, almost verbatim, Ὅπερ δὴ κάλλιστόν ἐστι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ. Incidentally, *thesis* is itself a word lifted from the grammatical disciplines, dating at least as early as Late Antiquity, in the treatise of Aelius Donatus (c. 350 AD), who uses the term to describe syntactical structure (Conomos, *Treatise*, 77-78). The connection of grammar to music extends to Western medieval music treatises such as that attributed to Guido of Arezzo. With respect to Guido's education outside of music, the *Micrologus* is the most revealing of his treatises. Chapter 15, 'De commode vel componenda modulation,' highlights the fact that Guido was schooled in medieval grammar, rhetoric, and poetry. He begins the chapter by stating that one can put together musical sounds in successively larger units in the same way that one joins constituent parts of language: i.e., for music: *pthongi*, *syllabae*, *neumae*; likened to those used in verse: *litterae*, *syllabae*, *partes*, *pedes*. The analogy to language structure returns in the Guido's *Regule* and *Epistola*. See Dolores Pesce, ed., *Guido d' Arezzo's Regule Rithmice, Prologus in*

thread connecting classical writing on the science of music and harmonics as well as on grammar and rhetoric, through Late Byzantine authors such as Manuel Bryennius, to Manuel Chrysaphes. This connection is further emphasized when Chrysaphes' treatise is put into relief against other treatises of ecclesiastical music such as that of Gabriel Hieromonachos and the Anonymous *Ἀκρίβεια*, which, intended for (especially monastic) students of chant, are generally devoid of the rhetorical devices which characterise Chrysaphes' work.[19]

FIGURE 4.2: CONCORDANCES BETWEEN THE GRAMMAR OF D. THRAX AND THE PSALTIC ART OF CHRYSAPHES

Περὶ τῆ Γραμματικῆ Τέχνη Dionysios Thrax (c. 3rd c. BC)	Περὶ τῆ Ψαλτικῆ Τέχνη Manuel Chrysaphes (~1450s)
Γραμματική ἐστιν ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεῦσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ λεγομένων. μέρη δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστιν ἕξ·	**Περὶ τῶν τῆς ψαλτικῆς** λοιπῶν κεφαλαίων διαληψόμεθα. ταῦτα δὲ τὸν ἀριθμόν εἰσιν ἕξ·
Πρῶτον ἀνάγνωσις ἐντριβὴς κατὰ προσωιδίαν,	Πρῶτον οὖν ἐστιν τὸ ποιεῖν τινα θέσεις προσηκούσας καὶ ἁρμοδίας, ἑπόμενον τῷ ὅρῳ τῆς τέχνης
Δεύτερον ἐξήγησις κατὰ τοὺς ἐνυπάρχοντας ποιητικοὺς τρόπους,	Δεύτερον, τὸν μὴ ἐγκύπτοντα τῷ βιβλίῳ καὶ ὁρῶντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ χωρὶς βιβλίου γράφειν ἀσφαλῶς καὶ ὡς ἡ τέχνη βούλεται, εἴτε ἄν τις ἐπιτάξειε γράφειν
Τρίτον γλωσσῶν τε καὶ ἱστοριῶν πρόχειρος ἀπόδοσις,	Τρίτον, τὸ ἀμελετήτως μὴ προδιασκεψάμενον, ἀλλ' ἅμα τῷ θεάσασθαι δύνασθαι παντοῖα ψάλλειν μαθήματα, παλαιά τε καὶ νέα τοῦ ἁπταίστου πάντη πάντως ἐχόμενον
Τέταρτον ἐτυμολογίας εὕρεσις,	Τέταρτον, τὸ ψάλλειν μεν ἄλλον, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸ ψαλλόμενον γράφειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν ὁμοίως ἐκείνῳ
Πέμπτον ἀναλογίας ἐκλογισμός,	Πέμπτον, τὸ παντοῖα ποιεῖν ποιήματα ἴδια, ἢ οἴκοθεν κινούμενον, ἢ καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρων ἐπιτάγματος καὶ μετὰ μελέτης καὶ ταύτης ἑκτός
Ἕκτον κρίσις ποιημάτων, ὃ δὲ κάλλιστόν ἐστι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ.	Ἕκτον, ἡ τῶν ποιημάτων κρίσις ἐστίν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἴσως μὲν καὶ τὸ δύνασθαι κρίνειν τὸ ποιηθέν, καθ' ὅ, τι τε καλῶς ἂν ἔχει ἀσφαλῶς καὶ καθ' ὅ, τι μὴ, ἴσως δὲ καὶ τὸ δύνασθαι γνωρίζειν ἀπὸ μόνης ἀκοῆς τὸ τοῦδέ τινος ποίημα-ὅπερ δὴ καὶ κάλλιστόν ἐστι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ.

Ancient Greek Music Theory and Ecclesiastical Chant in Byzantium

In his introduction to *The Harmonics of Manuel Bryennius*, Goverdus Jonker argues that, 'By the sixth and seventh centuries, when Byzantine ecclesiastical music began to develop along its own lines, ancient Greek music was long dead and forgotten, but for hundreds of years people continued theorising about tone-systems with their underlying acoustic and mathematical principles… without relating their reflections to the music of their own day.'[20] This dichotomy,

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Antiphonarium, and Epistola ad Michahelem: A Critical Text & Translation (Ottawa, Canada: Institute of Medieval Music, 1999). Conomos notes that Aristides Quintilianus applies the concepts of grammatical structure to music and that the earliest writing on ecclesiastical music to make this connection is an eighth century treatise entitled *Musica* (wrongly attributed to Alcuin, according to Conomos, *Treatise*, 78). In spite of these connections, Conomos questions whether the author of *Musica*, or Manuel Chrysaphes for that matter, would have been familiar with any ancient Greek writings on music, a claim that recent research has proven unsatisfactory, as described above.

[19] Gerda Wolfram and Christian Hannick date the monk and theorist Gabriel slightly earlier than Chrysaphes. See *Gabriel Hieromonachos: Abhandlung über den Kirchengesang* (1985, Wien), 21.

[20] Jonker argues that Bryennius' impact was especially far reaching in his own time (*Harmonics*, 29). For example, it was Theodore Metochites, a pupil of Bryennius, who introduced the 'encyclopedic, humanist scholar' Nicephorus Gregoras (1295-1395) to the study of astronomy, mathematics, and music. For Bryennius' impact, see

familiar in the West via Boethius' distinction between the *musicus* ('the knower') and the *cantus* ('the singer, the doer') also characterised, to some extent, late Byzantine musical treatises such as those by George Pachymeres and Bryennius, which, it has been argued, relate to practical music only briefly and superficially.[21]

Others have argued that the dichotomy between the ancient, philosophical systems, and contemporary, practical music, was not so black and white. Christian Troelsgård points to the coexistence of technical terms of Byzantine chant and ancient theory in the *Harmonics*, stating that Bryennius 'even harshly criticises features of ancient theory which he considers of no use to a student of music theory', suggesting that this late Byzantine author considered at least some aspects of ancient theory of practical value.[22] The same – in Troelsgård's view, conscious – amalgamation of ancient theory with contemporary exists in the *Hagiopolites* treatise,[23] which contains psaltic content but also a hodgepodge of ancient Greek musical theory, demonstrating 'a very conscious employment of the ancient material' by the Byzantines, perhaps as a way of establishing a theoretical framework for their own contemporary music.[24] Troelsgård argues that Byzantine theorists copied material from ancient Greek music theory manuals not for the mere purpose of preservation but because they found them to be of practical value in describing contemporary musical phenomena.[25] Nevertheless, a real distinction can be observed between two bodies of musical texts in late Byzantium, those

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also Karl Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des ostromischen Reiches, 527-1453* (1891, Munich), 293-298.

[21] Jonker, *Harmonics*, 27-28. That, as Jonker writes, 'the two leading Byzantine theoreticians Pachymeres and Bryennius are not named in the chapter headed "Byzantine Music" in the Cambridge Medieval History (Vol. IV, part II), [but] both occur in the one headed "Byzantine Science" in the same work' speaks to the persistence of scholarship's view of the division between practical music and music as philosophy or science in Byzantium (Jonker quote from *Manuel Bryennius*, 264-305).

[22] Troelsgård's nuanced perspective on this debate is argued in 'Ancient Musical Theory in Byzantine Environments,' *CIMAGL* 56 (1988), 228-38. Troelsgård points to a handful of medieval treatises to make this point, in addition to the *Hagiopolites*, e.g., the treatise ascribed to Bacchius Senex, and even, but to a lesser extent, the treatises of George Pachymeres and Manuel Bryennius. A similar point is made in Pavlos Erevnidis, '"In the Name of the Mode:" Intervallic Content, Nomenclature and Numbering of the Modes,' *Paper read at the Cantus Planus meeting in Lillafured / Hungary (2006)*, 93-114.

[23] The *Hagiopolites* treatise is preserved in one manuscript, the fourteenth century MS Parisinus ancient fonds grec 360, fol. 216-237. See Lukas Richter, 'Antike Überlieferungen in der byzantinischen Musiktheorie,' *Acta Musicologica* 70/2 (1998), 137.

[24] For example, strings names of the ancient *mousike* (the common name of ancient string instruments with 4, 7, or 15 strings) are found together with Palaeobyzantine neumes. Troeslgård theorises the Byzantines might have found these names useful for explaining intervals or tetrachordal structure of modes to students of ecclesiastical chant. See Troeslgård, 'Ancient', 235-36; 228; and passim.

[25] Echoed in Mathieson, 'Aristides Quintilianus', passim.

redacting the largely theoretical systems of ancient music theory and those concerned with instruction and dissemination of ecclesiastical chant.[26]

The highly theoretical nature of some writings on music in the West prompted Guido of Arezzo – the eleventh century singer and theoretician largely credited with introducing staff notation – to claim that it was necessary to depart from the example of Boethius, for his book was 'useful to philosophers only, not to singers.'[27] The departure from the theoretical to the practical is also witnessed to in manuscripts of the early period of Palaiologan Byzantium, which begin to transmit a body of didactic material which included several anonymous diagrams and exercises focused on teaching the neumes of melodic ascent and descent as well as the modal signatures. This body of work includes the lists of neumes and signs in the *Hagiopolites*, the theoretical diagrams, intonation formulas, and methods of solmisation found at the beginning of the Akolouthia manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (including the 'Great Ison' of Koukouzeles), as well as the treatises of Hieronymos Tragodistes, the Cypriot student of Zarlino,[28] Gabriel Hieromonachos,[29] John Plousiadenos,[30] the anonymous *Akriveia*,[31] and that of the Cretan composer and cantor, Akakios Chalkeopoulos. These diagrams and texts transmit exercises and theoretical material which are, on the whole, largely devoid of classical rhetoric, being practically-minded and suited for the ecclesiastical singer.

Chrysaphes' Treatise: Emphasis on Composition

Though, as stated above, Chrysaphes' *Treatise* is written in the framework of the rhetorical, classical tradition, its content is strikingly relevant to the fifteenth century. While Chrysaphes' *Treatise* is directed towards the ecclesiastical musician, his work differs from the rest: rather than focusing on the reading of the neumes or on the execution of *parallage*, Chrysaphes directs his material towards the composer, the individual who imagines and then writes the

[26] Christian Hannick's classification of Byzantine music theory texts into essentially these two groups – 'classical' and 'ecclesiastical' – is found in Hunger, Herbert, ed. *Die Hochsprachliche Profane Literatur Der Byzantiner*, Vol. 2 (München: Beck, 1978), 181-218 (cited in Troelsgård, 'Ancient', 229).
[27] Pesce, *Guido d' Arezzo*, 8.
[28] Bjarne Schartau, *Hieronymus Tragodistes, über das Erfordernis von Schriftzeichen für die Musik der Griechen*, MMB: CSDRM, 3 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990).
[29] Christian Hannick and Gerda Wolfram, eds., *Gabriel Hieromonachos: Abhandlung über den Kirchengesang*, MMB: CSDRM, 1 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985).
[30] Plousiadenos' treatise, Ἑρμηνεία τῆς παραλλαγῆς ('Study of Parallage') is preserved in his autograph, MS Dionysiou 570, and reproduced in A. Alygizakes, 'Η Οκταηχία στην Ελληνική Λειτουργική Υμνογραφία', (Aristotle University, 1985), 235-39.
[31] Bjarne Schartau, ed. *Anonymous Questions and Answers on the Interval Signs*, MMB: CSDRM, 4 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998).

hymns.[32] Remarkably, five of the six chief components (κεφάλαια)[33] of the psaltic art relate exclusively to the process of composition, and the opponents Chrysaphes seeks to correct are characterized as *ἀμαθῶς καὶ ἀνεπιστημόνως* ***ποιοῦντας ποιήματα***, 'those who ***compose melodies*** ignorantly and unscientifically' (Conomos' translation; my emphasis). They are not worthy of criticism because of the way they sing, but because of how they write melodies. Moreover, Chrysaphes, in his appeal to authority, speaks exclusively of composition, about writing melodies which are independent works of art with identifiable creators. *Composers* constitute the figures in his lineage of authority. Figure 4.3 highlights how frequently the verb ποιέω ('to produce; to compose') or γράφω ('to write') are encountered, in addition to the term διδάσκαλος ('teacher'). The latter – teacher – draws attention to Chrysaphes' emphasis on traditional models, while the former terms emphasise the *Treatise's* focus on composition and the skills required to do so. This emphasis on composition seems to reflect the tradition of originality and eponymous melody making already well-established in Byzantine ecclesiastical music by Chrysaphes' time.

FIGURE 4.3: AUTHORSHIP AND COMPOSITION IN CHRYSAPHES' TREATISE

Original Greek (Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1901, *Manuel Chrysaphes*)	**English Translation** (Conomos 1985, *The Treatise*)
ἀντιφώνοις λεγομένοις καὶ τοῖς οἴκοις ὁμοίως. τῶν οἴκων δέ γε πρῶτος ποιητὴς ὁ Ἀνεώτης ὑπῆρξε καὶ δεύτερος ὁ Γλυκύς, τὸν Ἀνεώτην μιμούμενος· ἔπειτα τρίτος ὁ Ἠθικὸς ὀνομαζόμενος, ὡς διδασκάλοις ἑπόμενος τοῖς εἰρημένοις δυσί, καὶ μετὰ πάντας αὐτοὺς ὁ χαριτώνυμος Κουκουζέλης; ὃς καὶ μέγας τροφὴν διδάσκαλος ἦν. εἶπετο δ' οὖν ὅμως κατ' ἴχνος αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐδέν τι τῶν ἐκείνοις δοξάντων καὶ δοκιμασθέντων καλῶς δεῖν ᾤετο καινοτομεῖν. διὸ οὐδὲ ἐκαινοτόμει. ὁ δὲ λαμπαδάριος Ἰωάννης τούτων ὕστερος ὢν καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν ἐλαττούμενος τῶν προτέρων, καὶ αὐταῖς λέξεσι γράφων ἰδίᾳ χειρί, ἔφη· «Ἀκάθιστος ποιηθεῖσα παρ' ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Κλαδᾶ, μιμουμένη κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν τὴν παλαιὰν ἀκάθιστον». καὶ οὐκ ἠσχύνετο γράφων οὕτως, εἰ μὴ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ὥσπερ ἐνομοθέτει διὰ τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑποδείγματος τοῦ τῶν παλαιοτέρων ζήλου μηδόλως ἐξίστασθαι, μηδὲ καινοτομεῖν τι παρὰ τὰ καθάπαξ δόξαντα καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτοῖς. καὶ καλῶς γε ποιῶν ἐκεῖνός τε οὕτως ἐφρόνει καὶ φρονῶν ἔλεγε, καὶ λέγων οὐκ ἐψεύδετο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἐμιμεῖτο τῶν ποιητῶν, τοὺς τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ ἐνδιαπρέψαντας. καὶ ἡμᾶς, εἴ γε	The first **composer** of *oikoi* was Aneotes and the second was Glykys who imitated Aneotes; next, the third was named Ethikos who followed as **teacher** the aforementioned two writers, and after all of these Ioannes Koukouzeles who, even though he was truly great, was a **teacher** and did not depart from the science of his predecessors. Therefore, he followed in their footsteps and decided not to change anything which they had considered… thus he made no innovations. Ioannes the lampadarios, who came after these men and who was in no way inferior to his predecessors, **wrote** with his own hand these words saying 'Akathistos **composed** by me, Ioannes Kladas, the lampadarios, imitating the old Akathistos as closely as possible. And he was not ashamed to **write** this… if I myself wish not to distort the truth and precision of our science, I must not cease imitating the old **composers**.

[32] Achilleus Chaldaiakes, in an article that explores the relationship between the *melopoios* (composer) and the *psaltes* (singer), suggests that today we conceive of a dichotomy between the two which did not necessarily exist in the Byzantine theoretical sources. He cites Gabriel's description of the *τέλειος ψάλτης* ('perfect singer') as well as Chrysaphes' *τέλειος διδάσκαλος* ('perfect teacher') to show that, in the ideal conceptions of these theoreticians, there was a mixing of these two roles in the same individual. I contend that while Gabriel expected his *psaltes* to have the ability to write melodies, Chrysaphes' emphasis on composition is far more pronounced (see Chaldaeakes, 'Ο Μελοποιός και ο Ψάλτης στην Ελληνική Ψαλτική Τέχνη,' *Βυζαντινομουσικολογία*, ed. idem (Athens, 2010): 227-39).

[33] Conomos translates this term as 'categories'.

4.4 Reception of Chrysaphes and the *Treatise*

Post-Byzantine Reception

Diffusion of Chrysaphes' Compositions

The post-Byzantine reception of Manuel Chrysaphes is a multi-faceted topic that can only be briefly touched on in this present paper. Based on the frequency and geographic distribution with which his compositions were copied, we know that his impact was significant and widespread. As Conomos first observed, 'it is no exaggeration to say that Chrysaphes' compositions appear with unequalled consistency in Byzantine musical sources written after the middle of the fifteenth century.'[34] The significant representation of Chrysaphes' works in the manuscript tradition is not a phenomenon relegated to one locality. This is due at least in part to his extensive – and geographically broad – activity as teacher and scribe, which spanned an impressive range across the centre and periphery of the Mediterranean basin and Balkan Peninsula, undoubtedly contributing to his prestige amongst Greek ecclesiastical musicians.

The manuscript sources and their liturgical arrangements, along with the tradition of composition in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, suggest that Chrysaphes' impact was particularly meaningful in Crete, and Emmanuel Giannopoulos has argued that Chrysaphes was instrumental in establishing the Constantinopolitan idiom of ecclesiastical chant on that island.[35] The notion of Chrysaphes' importance in this regard must have lived on in the collective consciousness of Constantinopolitan musicians in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, for, as Chrysanthos writes nearly four centuries later, 'When our psalmody was driven out of Constantinople, it was saved in the churches of the Peloponnese and Crete.'[36] Chrysaphes' treatise is copied in two important manuscripts, probably of Cretan origin, EBE 968 and MS M. Σπηλαίου 233, leading Giannopoulos to conclude that this theoretical work was revered greatly in the post-Byzantine period, especially on the island of Crete.[37]

That Chrysaphes was immediately revered as an authority in the sphere of Byzantine ecclesiastical music is supported when considering the contents and arrangement of MS Sinai

[34] Conomos, *Treatise*, 13.
[35] A brief summary of this position is described in Emmanuel Giannopoulos, 'The Stability and Continuity of the Old Tradition in Cretan Psaltic Art in the 17th Century and Generally in the Following Centuries,' in ed. G. Wolfram, *Tradition and Innovation in Late- and Postbyzantine Liturgical Chant* (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 159-89. For a more comprehensive overview, see Giannopoulos' published thesis, *Η Άνθηση*, 64-69, in which Giannopoulos offers extensive evidence to support the claim that Chrysaphes was one of the primary figures who established the Constantinopolitan idiom of chant on the island of Crete.
[36] Giannopoulos, *Η Άνθηση*, 66.
[37] Giannopoulos, *Η Άνθηση*, 66.

1251, the impressive autograph of Chrysaphes' successor in Crete, Ioannes Plousiadenos.[38] As detailed above in Chapter 2, Plousiadenos – who calls Chrysaphes a 'new Koukouzeles' in another autograph, Sinai 1312 – emphasises Chrysaphes' pre-eminence amongst the pantheon of ecclesiastical musicians of the prior three centuries by means of his ordering of Chrysaphes' settings within this Kalophonic Sticherarion.[39] Giannopoulos' descriptive catalogue of the 91 Byzantine musical manuscripts in the libraries of Great Britain provides another powerful testimonial of Chrysaphes' reception on the island of Crete and the peripheries of the former Empire.[40] In the codices surveyed, there are over 300 compositions ascribed to Chrysaphes, from all hymn genres, and spanning a vast geographic range from Crete to the Black Sea. A few of the more significant codices include the late fifteenth century MS British Library Add. 28821[41] (over 25 compositions ascribed to Chrysaphes), the sixteenth century MS British Library Harleian 1613 from Crete (over 10 compositions), MS Jesus College 33, dated to 1635 from Wallachia (over 40 compositions), and the aforementioned MS Greek Mingana 4 (Birmingham), dated to 1678 and heralding from Trebizond in Pontos (over 145 compositions – essentially, the complete Kalophonic Sticherarion of Chrysaphes).[42]

Chrysaphes is also frequently encountered in seventeenth century manuscripts native to the islands of Cyprus and Lesbos, as pointed out by Christiana Demetriou,[43] Andrija Jakovljević[44] and Papadopoulos-Kerameus, respectively. Thus, it seems that within a century, Chrysaphes' compositions and arrangements form the basis of several repertories: mainland Greece, Crete, Mt Athos, and Constantinople, and soon after, they proliferate in Moldova-Wallachia, Serbia, and the Greek-speaking regions of the Black Sea. Finally, Chrysaphes' influence can likewise be measured by the impact of *his own* liturgical arrangements in the musical manuscripts. Based on the surviving evidence, it also seems that he is the first composer-scribe to have included sets of the hymns of Divine Liturgy – the Alleluiaria, Cheroubic Hymns, and Koinonika – in each of the eight church modes, using many of his own compositions to fill out

[38] Balageorgos, 'Οι αποκείμενοι', 54-55.
[39] See my discussion of this above, especially in Ch. 2, 'The Kalophonic Sticherarion as a Chronological Marker'.
[40] Giannopoulos, *Αγγλία,* passim.
[41] Giannopoulos suggests that this manuscript may be of Cretan origin, although my colleague Dimitrios Skrekas, who studied this codex as part of the British Library's manuscript digitisation efforts, believes that it came from Epirus in the nineteenth century, thus casting some doubt – but not entirely ruling out – its Cretan provenance.
[42] Giannopoulos, *Αγγλία*, 85-89, 136-40, 189-201, and 358-85.
[43] See Demetriou's description of the Kalophonic Sticherarion of Chrysaphes, MS Machairas A4, in *Spätbyzantinische*, esp. 144-173.
[44] Jakovljević, *Catalogue*, passim.

the repertory.[45] This trend of full modal representation within particular hymn genres would persist for the next several centuries until the present day.

The Sticherarion of Panagiotes Chrysaphes

In his article on Manuel Chrysaphes, Papadopoulos-Kerameus includes a few interesting passages related to the composer from sixteenth and seventeenth century MSS. One inscription, from MS number 4 of the Monastery of Abraham in Jerusalem, a Kalophonic Sticherarion comprising several compositions attributed to Chrysaphes, is notable for its commentary on contemporary performance practice. At the end of the anthology, the scribe – Panagiotes 'the New' Chrysaphes himself[46] – writes a note concerning his source and the melodies he was writing down at the time:

> The present book, replete with melodies as sweet as honey, was completed... in the year 1655… authored and arranged by me the poor, the least, the uneducated, and the chief among sinners in truth, Chrysaphes the Protopsaltes of the Great Church of Christ. At my own expense, I willingly undertook the very painstaking task of editing and composing this, alone copying by hand the old Sticherarion and handwritten manuscript of the old Master Chrysaphes called Emmanuel and lampadarios of the sacred and royal clergy. However**, I did not compose according to the contents of that particular book, but with some new embellishments and with mellifluous, innovative theseis, in accordance with how things are chanted presently by singers in Constantinople.** I accomplished this task, insofar as was possible for me, because of the instruction I received from my teacher, Master George Raidestinos, the Protopsaltes of the Great Church of Christ, which I have expounded on and highlighted.[47]

In this excerpt, Chrysaphes is presented as a venerable figure, a member of the founding fathers of kalophonic psalmody – a position consistent with the breadth and depth of his reception already explored above.

At the same time, Panagiotes seems to suggest that by the time this manuscript is written in the middle of the seventeenth century, the melodic lines and *theseis* of Manuel's kalophonic stichera are already out of step with contemporary performance practice in Constantinople. It is out of the scope of this present study to discuss the exact nature of Panagiotes' re-working of Manuel's *Kalophonic Sticherarion*, but it should be no surprise that the latter's original

[45] I thank Christian Troelsgård for calling to my attention the oktaechal cycle of koinonika included by David Raidestinos in the aforementioned MS Athos Laura Epsilon (Λ.Ε.) 173, written in 1436 (cf. supra, Ch. 3, fn. 58). The trend for conceiving of hymns within a genre in eight-mode cycles thus seems to have preceded Chrysaphes. Chrysaphes obviously took hold of this trend and extended it, supplying his own compositions where there was a need within a given genre and mode.

[46] Cf. supra, Ch. 1, fn. 146.

[47] I emailed the *proestamenos* of the Holy Sepulchre Cathedral in Jerusalem, Fr. Aristovoulos, with whom my supervisor did fieldwork in the summer of 2013 concerning the current location of MS Abraham 4. As yet, I am still waiting for further information. It was described in Kleopas Koikylides and A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Κατάλοιπα χειρογράφων Ιεροσολυμιτικής Βιβλιοθήκης* (Jerusalem: ek tou typographeiou tou Hierou Koinou tou P. Taphou, 1899), 26-28.

compositions were embellished by this time (perhaps several times over), over two centuries since the works were first written down.[48] In fact, the verb καλλωπίζω (to beautify or embellish) is among the more frequently encountered descriptors (in various forms) in the musical manuscripts as early as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, explicitly indicating authorial intention to embellish or even re-compose earlier works. On folio 133v of MS Iviron 975, one of the aforementioned autographs of Chrysaphes, this process of embellishment is described in a rubric preceding the *kalophonic sticheron*, 'Μάγοι ἐκ Περσίδος' ('Magi from Persia'), which has already been analysed above in Chapter 2: '...ποιήμα κὺρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, ἐκαλλωπίσθη μετὰ παρὰ κὺρ Ξένου τοῦ Κορώνη, ὕστερον δὲ ἡνώθη καὶ ἐκαλλωπίσθη μικρὸν παρὰ τοῦ Χρυσάφου' ('composition by Master John Comnenos, afterwards embellished by Xenos Korones, and later united and embellished a little bit by Chrysaphes'; see Fig. 4.4). Chrysaphes both pays homage to the composition's original creator and its second redactor, while simultaneously claiming a degree of editorial authorship. The same forces seem to be at work, over two centuries later, in the seventeenth century embellishments of Panagiotes Chrysaphes on earlier compositions by his fifteenth century namesake.

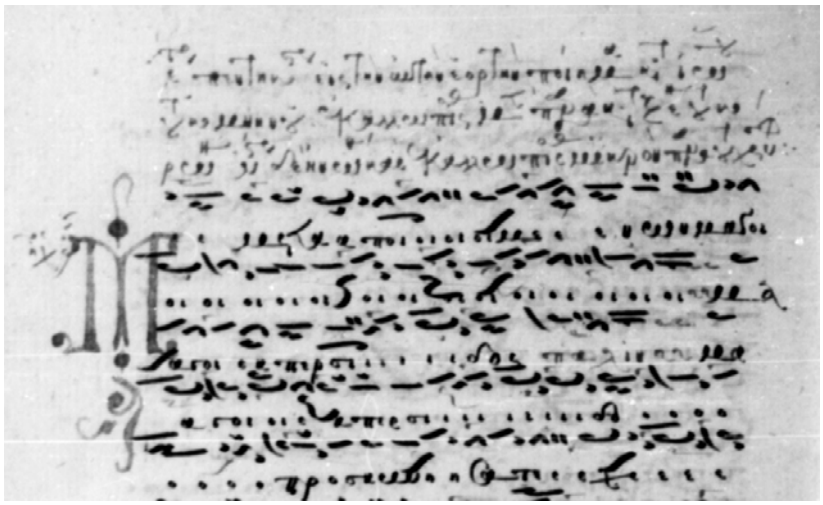
Given the current state of research, notions of authorship and broader questions regarding continuity and change in the tradition of Byzantine ecclesiastical music from the medieval through the post-Byzantine periods must be cautiously addressed on a case by case basis.[49] We are, however, on firm ground to conclude that Chrysaphes, in the decades immediately following his activity and well into the post-Byzantine period, was revered as a figure, and his compositions were admired, extensively copied, widely distributed, and presumably sung across a wide geographic span – from the Ionian Islands to the Black Sea. Furthermore, it

[48] For one perspective on the existence (and perhaps development) of different styles of singing in Byzantine chant, including the concurrence of long and short *sticheraric* styles in the *Anastasimatarion*, see Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 37-47.

[49] One example of remarkable continuity, at least from the perspective of the notated score if not the realized performance, is in a kalophonic sticheron by Koukouzeles, *Μεγαλύνω τὰ πάθη σου*, from Chrysaphes' autograph Iviron 975. Giannopoulos traces this Koukouzeles original through the MSS of the Cretan period, for example as embellished by Dimitrios Tamias, all the way to the *exegesis* of Chourmouzios in the Chrysanthine notation (MS EBE MPT 733). Despite certain variations, Giannopoulos concludes that this is the same composition, which, moreover, adheres faithfully to the compositional technique as laid out by Chrysaphes in his treatise for the application of the *nenano* and *nana* phthorai in the phrase *Οἴμοι γλυκύτατε Ἰησοῦ* ('Woe to me, sweetest Jesus'). See Giannopoulos, 'The Stability', 159-89. In *Η Άνθηση*, especially pp. 447-50, Giannopoulos includes a comparative analysis of specific theseis of M. Chrysaphes, the later embellishments of Cretan composers (the subject of the work), and the subsequent transcription of these Cretan compositions into the New Method. Although his results are useful, they represent a sliver of Chrysaphes' output and further work is required before broad conclusions can be drawn regarding originality and embellishment of both melodic phrases as well as entire compositions.

seems that his compositions functioned as authoritative models on which later composers would base their own works.

FIGURE 4.4: CHRYSAPHES' DESCRIPTION OF 'KALLOPISMOS', MS IVIRON 975, F. 133V.



Nineteenth Century Reception: Chrysanthos

In his *Treatise*, whether for rhetorical purposes or to counter criticism of real opponents, Chrysaphes presents a lineage of composers in an attempt to assert a theory of continuity from early Palaiologan times through the latter centuries of the Byzantine Empire (see Figure 4.5). Interestingly, these same words provided the basis from which scholars and musicians of the nineteenth and twentieth century would bolster theories of continuity sometimes far grander in scope. If Chrysaphes was simply providing a justification for his kalophonic style of compositions on the basis of linking himself with the prior masters,[50] Chrysanthos – over 350 years later – had far greater ambitions.[51] In his section on music theory, Chrysanthos lists all of the musical treatises he knows of, including 'The handbook of Manuel Chrysaphes which is concerned with the characters, modes, and especially with the phthorai.'[52] He praises Chrysaphes' treatise for providing clarification of the characters (including the phthorai), and, several chapters later, he paraphrases Chrysaphes in order to bolster his description of the eight ecclesiastical modes. Chrysanthos begins book four with a description of the foundational

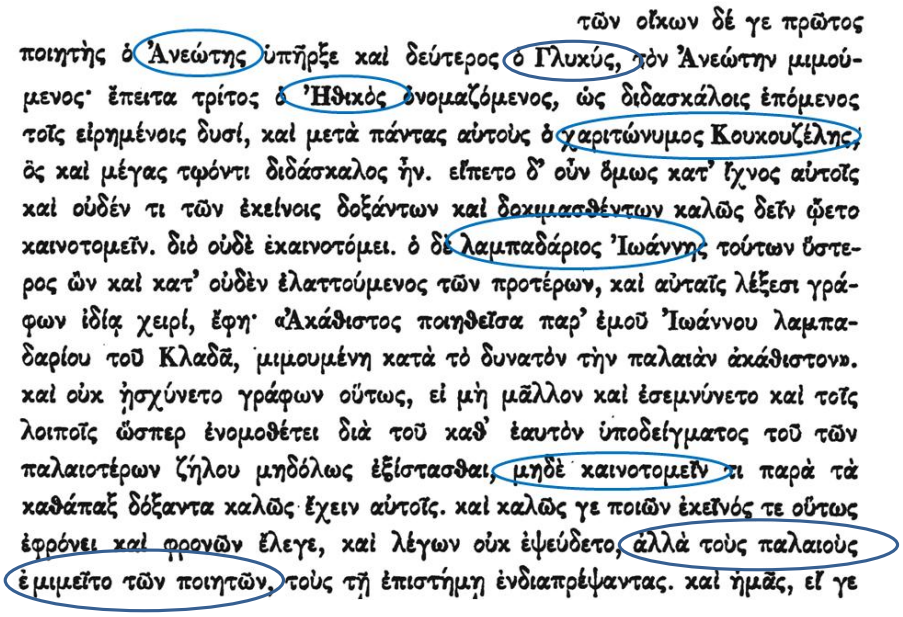
[50] Conomos suggests that this description of agreement amongst the composers in the lineage from which Chrysaphes himself had descended may have been the author's justification for his own innovations.
[51] Prior to the notational reforms of Chrysanthos in 1814, *parallage* was a method of learning melodies by applying polysyllabic words to each structural note in the melody. These were replaced by monosyllabic solfege syllables (e.g., Ni, Pa), imported by Chrysanthos in imitation of western solfege syllables (e.g., Do, Re).
[52] George N. Konstantinou, *Θεωρητικόν Μέγα της Μουσικῆς Χρυσάνθου του εκ Μαδύτων, Κρητική Έκδοση*, (Mt. Athos: Vatopaidi Monastery, 2007), 125.

tetrachord, its notes, and the intervals therein, and in doing so, he presents Chrysaphes as an authority who corroborates his own explanation.[53]

More salient to the issue of Chrysanthos' assertions of continuity, however, is his citation of Chrysaphes in the introduction to book two, which concerns composition. Chrysanthos points to Chrysaphes as validation of his claim that, 'when the students of these musicians would compose, they imitated the method (τρόπον) of their teachers.'[54] The term 'imitated' (ἐμιμοῦντο) is of course lifted directly from Chrysaphes, who uses the word a handful of times to describe the process of composition adhered to by the great masters.[55] Moreover, the genealogy of kalophonic composers offered by Chrysaphes provides Chrysanthos with a historical, and thus venerable and inviolate witness to the 'agreement amongst the masters' with respect to the compositional embellishment of the old *stichera*. Figure 4.5 highlights this lineage of composers from Chrysaphes' *Treatise* (as reproduced in Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Χρυσάφης). As I alluded to in Chapter 3, this lineage must be itself constructed to some degree, for the span of time covered by the composers Chrysaphes references stretches two centuries – from the mid-thirteenth century with composers such as Aneotes and Ioannes Glykys, the generation before Koukouzeles, to the early fourteenth century with the *maistor* Nikiphoros Ethikos, and Xenos Korones (who is mentioned elsewhere in the *Treatise*), to the early fifteenth century with Ioannes Kladas. Finally, he refers to himself as the inheritor of this lineage, declaring at the end of this passage that 'he would not be ashamed in any way to imitate the old masters in their science.'

[53] Chrysanthos, *Μέγα Θεωρητικόν*, §298.
[54] Chrysanthos, *Μέγα Θεωρητικόν*, §400.
[55] E.g., 'ἀλλὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἐμιμεῖτο τῶν ποιητῶν', Chrysaphes, speaking of Ioannes *Lampadarios* (Kladas) and his composition of the *Akathistos* (line 162 in Conomos' edition).

FIGURE 4.5A: CHRYSAPHES' LINEAGE OF COMPOSERS AND THE 'AGREEMENT OF THE MASTERS'



τῶν οἴκων δέ γε πρῶτος ποιητὴς ὁ Ἀνεώτης ὑπῆρξε καὶ δεύτερος ὁ Γλυκύς, τὸν Ἀνεώτην μιμούμενος· ἔπειτα τρίτος ὁ Ἠθικὸς ὀνομαζόμενος, ὡς διδασκάλοις ἑπόμενος τοῖς εἰρημένοις δυσί, καὶ μετὰ πάντας αὐτοὺς ὁ χαριτώνυμος Κουκουζέλης, ὃς καὶ μέγας τῳόντι διδάσκαλος ἦν. εἴπετο δ' οὖν ὅμως κατ' ἴχνος αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐδέν τι τῶν ἐκείνοις δοξάντων καὶ δοκιμασθέντων καλῶς δεῖν ᾤετο καινοτομεῖν. διὸ οὐδὲ ἐκαινοτόμει. ὁ δὲ λαμπαδάριος Ἰωάννης τούτων ὕστερος ὢν καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν ἐλαττούμενος τῶν προτέρων, καὶ αὐταῖς λέξεσι γράφων ἰδίᾳ χειρί, ἔφη· «Ἀκάθιστος ποιηθεῖσα παρ' ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Κλαδᾶ, μιμουμένη κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν τὴν παλαιὰν ἀκάθιστον». καὶ οὐκ ἠσχύνετο γράφων οὕτως, εἰ μὴ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ὥσπερ ἐνομοθέτει διὰ τοῦ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὑποδείγματος τοῦ τῶν παλαιοτέρων ζήλου μηδόλως ἐξίστασθαι, μηδὲ καινοτομεῖν τι παρὰ τὰ καθάπαξ δόξαντα καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτοῖς. καὶ καλῶς γε ποιῶν ἐκεῖνός τε οὕτως ἐφρόνει καὶ φρονῶν ἔλεγε, καὶ λέγων οὐκ ἐψεύδετο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς ἐμιμεῖτο τῶν ποιητῶν, τοὺς τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ ἐνδιαπρέψαντας. καὶ ἡμᾶς, εἴ γε

Chrysanthos takes at face value Chrysaphes' stated intentions for writing the *Treatise*. More specifically, he interprets portions of the manual as an argument against those who were singing, during the fifteenth century, in an unembellished manner, without care for the great hypostatic signs.[56] In §69 of the second book of his *Theoretikon*, Chrysanthos reports that there were certain teachers during Chrysaphes' time who taught that music consisted entirely of *metrophonia* (lit: 'counting notes') and that the so-called *hypostases* and *theseis* were superfluous. To correct this errant thinking, Chrysanthos says, Chrysaphes wrote his treatise, to elucidate the importance of the *theseis* and *hypostases*. Chrysanthos concludes this eulogy to Chrysaphes by stating that our teachers have preserved three ways of singing from Chrysaphes' time until this day, that is, singing first according to *parallage*, next according to *metrophonia*, and finally, according to *melos* (Chrysanthos' distinction between these three styles of singing is shown in Figure 4.5b; Byzantine neumes are taken directly from his *Theoretikon*).[57] Chrysanthos thus reshapes Chrysaphes' original words, relating them to terminology describing contemporary practice. For example, the word *metrophonia* is entirely foreign to Chrysaphes' vocabulary, yet it has a very explicit meaning according to Chrysanthos.[58] Chrysanthos equates certain fifteenth century phrases, such as 'singing only

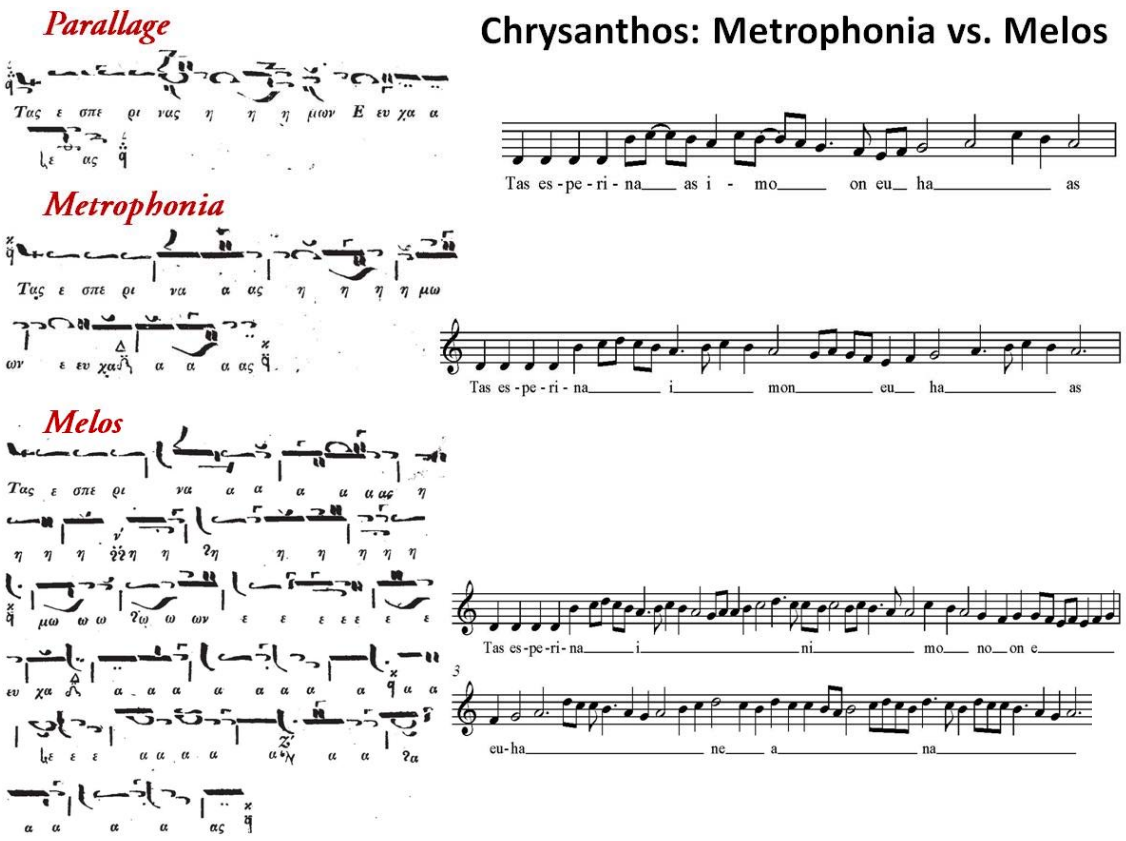
[56] Cf. supra, Ch. 1, fn. 124.

[57] According to Chrysanthos (§§69-73), to sing *parallage* is to chant the polysyllabic note names for each of the neumes of melodic ascent or descent. To sing *metrophonia* is to chant the hymn melodically but without care for the *theseis* of the characters with their hypostases, through which not just the 'quantity' of the melody is written, but also the 'manner of execution'. To sing with *melos* is to chant the hymn with the correct execution as indicated by the melodic *theseis* and the *hypostases*.

[58] Chrysanthos provides an example transcription to describe *metrophonia* in the new analytical notation in *Μέγα Θεωρητικόν*, p. XLVIII.

with *parallage*' to his 'singing with *metrophonia* versus singing with *melos*.' In this way, Chrysanthos explicates a theory of 'correct' performance practice using the treatise of Chrysaphes as his basis. In doing so, Chrysanthos also suggests that his description of proper interpretation of the notated score extends back to the Byzantine period, demonstrating continuity with the former masters, including Chrysaphes.

FIGURE 4.5B: CHRYSANTHOS' EXPLANATION OF PARALLAGE, METROPHONIA, AND MELOS



Constantine Psachos

If Chrysanthos' motivations were inextricably linked to the ideals of the Neo-Hellenic enlightenment and an attempt to show continuity with Ancient Greece,[59] later appropriation of Chrysaphes' treatise was related to the discourse in the early twentieth century concerning authenticity of the contemporary tradition of singing in Greek Orthodox Churches. A characteristic allegation – levied both by internal reformers such as John Sakellarides[60] as well

[59] And, perhaps, to 'enhance the performer-composer dialectic' through the creation of fixed scores which transmit specific information, as observed by Alexander Khalil in 'Echoes of Constantinople: Oral and Written Tradition of the Psaltes of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople', (UCSD, 2009), 68. For Chrysanthos and interpretation of his work, cf. supra, Ch. 1, fn. 86.

[60] The Athenian cantor John Sakellarides (1853-1938) was one of the most prominent figures associated with the Westernizing reforms of Byzantine chant (introduction of four part harmonization, rhythmic simplification of

as Western academics – was that twentieth century Greek ecclesiastical psalmody was too sullied by Arabo-Turkish influence to be properly called Byzantine chant anymore, leading the latter group to derisively classify it as 'Neo-Greek Music.' Most Western scholars who engaged with Byzantine chant at this time believed that the *authentic* form of this once-glorious music was hopelessly shrouded by a miasma of Oriental accretions that had taken place over the prior four centuries.[61]

Although Chrysaphes' treatise was copied in several later recensions and was clearly known to Greek ecclesiastical musicians of the post-Byzantine period, it was not until its printing in 1903 in the Athenian publication *Φόρμιγξ*, by the Constantinopolitan cantor and musicologist Constantine Psachos, that the entire treatise was reproduced (this based on Chrysaphes' autograph MS Iviron 1120). This reproduction furnished Psachos and some members of the Greek psaltic community with (what was presumed to be) a historical validation of many of their current positions regarding performance practice, for example, of the 'perfect melodic identity' of the medieval tradition with the modern, in opposition to claims of stark discontinuity by their various opponents.

The amateur cantor and secretary at the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople, Markos Vasileiou (1856-1919), was perhaps the first to challenge Psachos' notions of melodic continuity in Byzantine chant. Vasileiou believed that the pre-Chrysanthine notation was not originally stenographic in character but that gradually, over time, cantors began to interpret lines stenographically, adding melismas on top of the structural notes.[62] A skilled transcriber of medieval Byzantine hymns and practitioner of contemporary Byzantine chant in his own right, Vasileiou nevertheless believed that the cantors of his day, separated by a vast expanse of time and an evolving notation system and performance practice, could only approximate the sound of the medieval Byzantine repertory.[63]

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existing melodies). See Lingas, 'Performance Practice', 56-76. This article is the best introduction to the early twentieth century disputes involving Sakellarides, Markos Vasileiou, Tillyard, Psachos, Simon Karas, et al.

[61] As detailed in my introduction 'A Note on the Musical Transcriptions', the transcriptions of Tillyard and MMB were based on the belief that the phonetic signs of Middle Byzantine notation (also, 'Round Notation') should be read at face value with a rhythmic interpretation of 1:1 or 1:2 (sign:beat). Such a theory implied that the melodies sung in Greek churches during Psachos' time had no relationship to the melodies written for and chanted in the cathedrals and monasteries of the Byzantine Empire.

[62] Incidentally, he seems to blame this on monks, who 'had nothing better to do but extend the services with more elaborate chants' (Dragoumes, 'Μάρκος Βασιλείου', 205).

[63] The transcription methods of Vasileiou, though similar to those of the later MMB scholars in regards to the theory of time-value interpretation of the neumes described above, differed in at least one important way. Vasileiou's transcriptions were rhythmically prescriptive with the expectation of mensural realizations, while Tillyard and Wellesz promoted a theory of 'free rhythm' in performance (see, for example, Tillyard, *Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Great Britain, 1923), 39-40, 70).

Such theories of discontinuity were untenable for Psachos, who would eventually expound a theory of stenographic interpretation of the middle Byzantine notation in his 1917 monograph, *Η Παρασημαντική της βυζαντινής μουσικής* in 1917. Psachos' work shares a common thread with a work by the Constantinopolitan cantor George Violakes, *Μελέτη συγκριτική*,[64] in that it provides a defence for the theory of perpetual stasis within the tradition of Byzantine ecclesiastical chant.[65] While Violakes was concerned primarily with the change in musical *yphos*[66] – in his view the result of the elimination of the great *hypostases* following the reforms of the 'Three Teachers' in 1814 – Psachos led the charge in defending an explicit manner of transcription and thus performance.

It is in this Psachos publication that the importance of Chrysaphes' definition of *thesis* becomes manifest. Psachos lifts concepts from Chrysanthos which seem to have their origin in Chrysaphes' Treatise, notably, the distinction between *parallage*, *metrophonia*, and *melos*. In his chapter on *cheironomia*,[67] Psachos quotes Chrysaphes' definition of melodic theseis.[68] *Cheironomia*, a practice inextricably linked with medieval conceptions of melody making, is described as threefold in function by Psachos: for the signing of the great hypostases, for the signing of the musical lines – the *theseis* – formed by the motion of the hands, unifying the voiced and unvoiced signs, and for the keeping of *chronos* and rhythm. Like Violakes, Psachos could not deny that the notation had changed. But, unlike Vasileiou and Western musicologists such as Tillyard, Psachos insisted on the melodic identity of contemporary practice with medieval compositions. The evolution of the notation, he posited, was driven by the cantors' desire, each in their own era, to indicate the melodies more precisely for purposes of teaching, transmitting, or remembering. For Psachos, Chrysaphes' definition of the melodic theseis,

[64] George Violakes' (1822-1905) was *Protopsaltes* of the Great Church of Christ in Constantinople until 1905. The full title of his monograph is *Μελέτη Συγκριτική της νυν εν Χρήσει Μουσικής Γραφής προς την του Πέτρου του Πελοποννησίου και προς την Αρχαιότεραν Γραφήν*, i.e., 'A Comparative Study of the Contemporary Musical Notation with the Notation of Petros the Peloponnesian and the Older Musical Notation' (Constantinople, 1899; Reprint: Katerini, Greece, 1991). Violakes states that 'our 40 musical signs (the great *hypostases*) came from St. John of Damascus… and this is confirmed by the theoretical works of Gabriel Monachos and Manuel Chrysaphes' (*Μελέτη*, 44). While he admits that the appearance of the notation has changed, he makes the rather dubious claim that this is perhaps due to calligraphic embellishments rather than a change in musical sound (instigated, his opponents allege, due to the reform of Koukouzeles).

[65] Lingas, 'Performance Practice', 62-63.

[66] *Yphos* literally means 'style.' For Violakes, *yphos* probably meant something close to 'the style of the way things are sung.' See also Khalil, Echoes, especially 4-11 and 73-80, for contemporary conceptions of *yphos*, especially amongst certain Greek Orthodox cantors in Istanbul.

[67] Cf. supra, Ch. 1, fn. 130.

[68] Chrysaphes' definition of *melodic theseis*, is, taken from Conomos *Treatise*: 'Θέσις γὰρ λέγεται ἡ τῶν σημαδίων ἕνωσις ἥτις ἀποτελεῖ τὸ μέλος· καθὼς γὰρ ἐν τῇ γραμματικῇ τῶν εἰκοσιτεσσάρων στοιχείων ἡ ἕνωσις συλλαβηθεῖσα ἀποτελεῖ τὸν λόγον, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῶν φωνῶν ἑνοῦνται ἐπιστημόνως ἀποτελοῦσι τὸ μέλος, καὶ λέγεται θέσις. ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τὸν δρόμον, ᾧ οὗτος, τῆς μουσικῆς ἁπάσης τέχνης και τὴν μεταχείρησιν ἁπλῆν τινα νομίσῃς εἶναι καὶ μονοειδῆ... μὴ τοίνυν νόμιζε ἁπλῆν εἶναι τὴν τῆς ψαλτικῆς μεταχείρησιν, ἀλλὰ ποικίλην τε καὶ πολυσχιδῆ καὶ πολύ τι διαφέρειν ἀλλήλων.'

despite its virtual silence with respect to the interpretation of the great *hypostases*, in consort with Chrysanthos' explication of *metrophonia* vs. *melos*, was enough evidence to support his stenographic theory of transcription of Medieval Byzantine chant. Moreover, given the charged political and intellectual climate in Greece at the time, the treatise of Chrysaphes was almost a necessity, as it provided the requisite historical link to the medieval era.

4.5 Chrysaphes' *Treatise* and recent scholarship

Composition

Chrysaphes' treatise has served as an important reference point for several other musicological investigations of the modern era. In the late nineteenth century, Johannes Tzetzes' – perhaps taking the words of the treatise too literally – argued that Chrysaphes was a staunch champion of the musically conservative element in the Church, which allowed very little flexibility in terms of compositional autonomy, especially as related to altering the melodic *theseis*. Tzetzes seems to understand Chrysaphes' treatise as a reaction to certain innovative compositional forms and a defence of the status quo, and thus, representative of its author as a figure of continuity.[69]

In the very important work *L' antica melurgia bizantina*, Fr. Lorenzo Tardo of the Grottaferrata Monastery Library suggests that, while one would hope to be able to derive a thorough 'grammar' of a musical system from the extensive collection of Byzantine and post-Byzantine theoretical texts (including Chrysaphes' treatise, which was published in Tardo's monograph), these sources in fact describe a living, developing tradition, and are thus of limited practical utility.[70] In spite of the practical limitations of these treatises, Tardo seems to accept Chrysaphes' notion of continuity.[71] Tardo theorises the potential provenance of certain anonymous hymns that predate the personalised tradition of the Palaiologan period, by providing a comparative analysis of various compositions of the Akathist hymn. He concludes that Chrysaphes may have it right when he claims that the *maistores* of Palaiologan Byzantium were attempting to faithfully imitate their predecessors, pointing to an Akathist hymn labelled *palaion* ('old'), which compares favourably – as a potential prototype – to later compositions of the Akathist hymn by masters such as Ioannes Kladas. Tardo's analysis is based on a now

[69] Tzetzes, *Altgriechische Musik*, 123-24.
[70] Tardo, *L' Antica*, 235-43. Tardo's near complete reproduction of Chrysaphes' *Treatise* is based on MS Lavra Λ 165.
[71] George Violakes expresses a similar degree of disappointment when referring to the treatise of Chrysaphes, stating that it is difficult to form conclusions regarding the function of certain signs in the old notation, since 'even Chrysaphes' is unclear, presenting only certain 'vague points' (*Μελέτη*, 25).

well-known thirteenth century South Italian manuscript, MS Ashburnhamensis 64, which preserves a version of this hymn from perhaps the early twelfth century.[72]

Phthorai and the Modal System of Byzantine chant

That musicologists would turn to Chrysaphes' treatise for investigations of the modal system (and modulation techniques) of medieval Byzantine chant is no surprise, given that nearly 60% – the vast majority of the treatise – is actually devoted to the phthorai and their use in composition. The late Jørgen Raasted considers Chrysaphes the 'best starting-point for [understanding] the modulation from one mode to another within a given melody.'[73] In his dissertation, *Intonation Formulas and Modal Signatures in Byzantine Musical Manuscripts* published in 1966, Raasted delves into the medieval *martyriai*, the *echemata*, and the *phthorai*, and in attempting to extrapolate the meaning of the latter, refers to Chrysaphes' explanation of proper modulation techniques. Later studies of tonality and chromaticism in Byzantine chant have relied on Raasted's study, emphasising the continued importance of Chrysaphes' fifteenth century work.

Dimitri Conomos, in his commentary on the *Treatise*, concludes that 'in spite of the fact that the music in Iviron 1120 virtually without exception conforms admirably to the directions of his treatise with regard to the modulation signs, there are a high number of incidences in the later manuscripts and in works by celebrated composers where the resolutions of the phthores do not behave in the prescribed manner.'[74] Perhaps, speculates Conomos, Chrysaphes was trying to regulate an increasingly confused system by establishing a set of rules. Arvanitis supports a similar conclusion; he does not read Chrysaphes' explication of proper composition with respect to modulation and resolution of phrases as necessarily a correction of 'bad' compositions (though he does not exclude the possibility), but more so as a manual whose purpose is to clarify a rapidly developing system that had not yet been codified, one based on a 'new reality: the kalophonic chant.'[75] The notion that Chrysaphes develops his theory of *phthorai* in direct response to the 'new reality' of kalophonic chant[76] is supported first, by the

[72] Tardo, *L' Antica*, 240-42.
[73] Raasted, *Intonation Formulas*, 17.
[74] Conomos, *Treatise*, 98-99, who cites a handful of examples in which he believes there are violations of Chrysaphes' rules on modulation. That the exceptions are not rare is evidence, but much further research is required to determine who Chrysaphes' 'good' and 'bad' composers were, based on a collation of such modulations and a comparison to the rules in Chrysaphes' *Treatise*.
[75] Arvanitis, 'On the Meaning', 125.
[76] In an article on the (Western) medieval techniques of *organum*, *discantus*, and *contrapunctus*, Susan Fuller has pointed out that past theoretical writings related to the combination of two or more voices only partially overlapped with the full range of oral, and eventually, notated practices ('Organum - discantus - contrapunctus in the Middle Ages,' in ed., Thomas Christensen, *Cambridge History of Western Music Theory* (Cambridge,

fact that these signs proliferated in the latter years of the empire, at the same time that kalophonic chant was reaching its ascendancy and, second, by Gregorios Stathis' observation that all of the musical examples concerning the phthorai proffered by Chrysaphes in his treatise are from the repertory of the kalophonic stichera.[77]

Long vs. Short Exegesis

Most recently, Chrysaphes' treatise has once again been turned to as an important historical witness in debates over the proper interpretation of medieval scores. Stathis' aforementioned monograph, *Η Εξήγησις της Παλαιάς Βυζαντινής Σημειογραφίας*, written decades after the works of Violakes and Psachos, represents a more nuanced defence of the same stenographic theory of interpreting medieval and post-Byzantine melodies. Stathis is responsible for collating two very important sources, MS Dionysiou 389 (autograph of Apostolos Konstas) and MS Xeropotamou 357 (anonymous author and scribe),[78] and extracting from them a theory of transcription from the old notation into the new, thus providing the 'official' response to the transcription methods of MMB (touched upon briefly above in 'A Note on the Musical Transcriptions'). Both codices investigated by Stathis originate from the period immediately preceding the notation reform of 1814 and thus provide a 'key' to the reading of the old notation, something the Three Teachers were not so concerned with, according to Stathis.

Chrysaphes' *Treatise* plays an important role in the subsequent leap in this theory, that is, the application of this late eighteenth century 'transcription key' to earlier repertories. To support this notion of continuity, Stathis quotes an observation of Apostolos Konstas, from f. 9v of Dionysiou 389, concerning the unification of the signs and the creation of melody by the great hypostases. Stathis suggests that 'this observation [of Konstas] comes directly from the Byzantine era, from the theories and treatises of Manuel Chrysaphes and Gabriel Hieromonachos.'[79] He argues that Konstas is speaking of the unification of the voiced signs of ascent and descent, in other words the *theseis*, which is exactly consistent in his view with the teaching of Chrysaphes: 'Θέσις [ἐστί] ἡ τῶν σημαδίων ἕνωσις, ἥτις ἀποτελεῖ τὸ μέλος' ('Thesis is the unification of the signs, which comprise the melody').[80] Stathis calls

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Cambridge University Press, 2002), 477-502). One wonders if a larger sphere of techniques (especially related to modulation) would emerge if we had more theoretical documentation from the time of Chrysaphes, or a century earlier. It is plausible to view Chrysaphes' explication of modulation techniques and singing styles (via definition of the *thesis*) as an attempt, at least in part, to articulate a theory of a 'psalmodic best practices' amongst a larger plethora of both oral and written conventions of the time.

[77] Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 68. Actually, a few of the examples are from *kratemata*.

[78] Stathis suggests that these sources were known to Psachos (Stathis, *Η Εξήγησις*, 21-22).

[79] Stathis, *Η Εξήγησις*, 85-96.

[80] Stathis, *Η Εξήγησις*, 86.

Chrysaphes' definition of melodic theseis of 'great importance' for the interpretation of the old notation.[81] He concludes that, according to Chrysaphes, the different 'paths' and 'interpretation' ('ὁδοί' and 'μεταχείρησις'), which are contingent on the type of hymn being sung (e.g., a *kalophonic sticheron* vs. a Cherubic Hymn), concern the manner of performance, that is, whether they should be sung in a 'long' (stenographic) or 'brief' manner.[82]

Arvanitis, a recent proponent of the theory of *short exegesis*,[83] argues that the notation in Chrysaphes' time was read with short time values. While Arvanitis states that the fifteenth century may have witnessed the beginnings of embellishments on existing melodies, that is, *exegesis*,[84] he argues that Chrysaphes' treatise is not to be read as a defence of a certain way of transcription or performance.[85] Rather, Chrysaphes' treatise is to be understood primarily as an instructional manual concerned with composition. Arvanitis suggests that certain cantors and musicologists have misinterpreted Chrysaphes' words in their efforts to co-opt the treatise in support of specific transcription theories. In particular, he states that words such as ὁδός (lit: 'way', 'road', 'path'), δρόμος (lit: 'road', 'path'), πολυσχιδής (lit: 'many-faced'), and especially μεταχείρησις (lit: 'handling'), have been misinterpreted, the latter probably meaning scheme of composition depending on repertoire, versus manner of singing (i.e., with short or long time values). Arvanitis writes: 'Chrysaphes' μεταχείρησις has been supposed to refer to the signs, to the notation like the μεταχείρησις of the theoretician Gabriel over a century later. And because, according to Chrysaphes, μεταχείρησις has many meanings, the term has been interpreted as referring to the really multi-faced long exegesis.'[86] The most recent debate regarding the proper interpretation of medieval melodies is unlikely to be the last, for, as Arvanitis himself notes, 'there must be some other explanation for the existence of three ways of singing in our modern tradition' (i.e., syllabic, short melismatic, and long melismatic).[87] Chrysaphes' treatise will likely play an important role in future discourse on this topic.

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[81] See also Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 33-38.
[82] Stathis, *Η Εξήγησις*, 85-96.
[83] This theory was also promulgated by Arvanitis' teacher, Simon Karas (1905-1999), who suggested that the notation developed into more analytical forms over time in part due to the termination of choral psalmody in Greek churches, which in term led to the decay of the art of cheironomia and thus a semantic gap between the notated score and realised performance, and that the late medieval notation was not synoptic and the phonetic characters are to be read 'as is' (Simon Karas, *Η Βυζαντινή Μουσική Σημειογραφία* (Athens, 1933)). This theory was fully expanded and published in 1953, in an article entitled 'The Correct Interpretation of Byzantine Musical Manuscripts' (cited in Lingas, 'Performance Practice', 66), where Karas departed from both Tillyard and Psachos, arguing for a modified stenographic interpretation of the melodies while refuting the notion of 'exact melodic identity' of nineteenth century chants with their medieval forebears.
[84] Arvanitis, 'On the Meaning', 125-28.
[85] Argued in detail in his dissertation *O Ρυθμός Ι*.
[86] Arvanitis, 'On the Meaning', 111-13.
[87] Arvanitis, 'On the Meaning', 122.

4.6 Reception History: Preliminary Conclusions

Research towards the uncovering, classification, and interpretation of the compositional output of the ecclesiastical musicians of the Byzantine Empire is still in its nascent stages. Yet there is perhaps an equal expanse of material to traverse concerning the reception of these musicians and their works. In this chapter, I have attempted to provide a preliminary introduction to such a survey. Musicians such as Manuel Chrysaphes should neither be understood as inanimate receptacles of received traditions, nor as creators of immutable, indestructible works. Rather, they should be viewed as members of inherited musical cultures, who reacted dynamically to material that had been handed down to them – emulating their predecessors in some cases, departing from established models in others, and for Chrysaphes, commenting on various musical phenomena that were evidently variable in contemporary practice. Manuel Chrysaphes – composer, singer, scribe, and theoretician – was one of the most esteemed musicians of his day, and as far the manuscripts tell us, this prestige continued well into the post-Byzantine period. On the one hand, his compositions are copied and transmitted throughout the Mediterranean basin in the decades and centuries following his activity. On the other, his treatise has served as a rich repository from which musicians and scholars have drawn, due in part to its very practical commentary on melody and composition in Byzantine chant, as well as its author's assertions of continuity within a cadre of composers from the late Byzantine period. Later musicians have often reshaped Chrysaphes' words to underpin arguments relevant to their own times. These works, like the compositions and texts of the prototypes they point back to, demand interpretation, without which our understanding of this musical tradition will remain incomplete. The next chapter provides an extensive analysis of one genre to which Chrysaphes' made a great contribution as composer. My musical analysis shall draw directly on Chrysaphes' treatise, specifically citing his techniques and compositional 'rules' concerning modulation. While I claim to be reading Chrysaphes' words at face value, ostensibly for the purposes of creating faithful realisations of Chrysaphes' original melodies, I am perfectly aware that I am participating fully in the interpretation of his treatise in a similar manner as described above, and that my interpretation is coloured by my modern sensibilities and my non-medieval ears.[88]

[88] Richard Taruskin's well-known critique of our contemporary attempts at recovering early music repertories includes the notion that, even if all performance information was available to us in a more or less interpretable format, we do not possess the same ears and aesthetics as medieval listeners did, and thus our interpretation of the music we create will necessarily be different (*Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (Oxford: OUP, 1995)).

Chrysaphes as Composer: An Analysis of the *Anoixantaria* from MS Iviron 1120

5

5.1 – Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of the body of psalm verses and accompanying refrains[1] known today as the *Anoixantaria*,[2] for which dozens of settings survive in musical manuscripts written during Byzantium's final centuries, both anonymous compositions labelled *palaion* ('old') along with multiple layers of eponymous compositions that are more elaborate in style (though not fully 'kalophonic'). Chrysaphes' Akolouthia, Iviron 1120, features settings by a host of composers from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, from the elite imperial musicians of the Palaiologan period, Ioannes Koukouzeles, Xenos Korones, and Ioannes Kladas, to lesser known personalities, such as Kassianos the Domestikos and Nikon the Monk. Edward Williams' 1968 dissertation on the music of evening worship focused on the activities of Koukouzeles as composer and reformer in the context of the emergent kalophonic style, and along with an important study by the late Miloš Velimirović, has helped to advance our understanding of the contribution of Koukouzeles and his immediate successors to the shape and aesthetics of worship in Late Byzantium.[3] These studies, focusing especially on the repertory of the *Anoixantaria*,[4] have rightfully highlighted Koukouzeles' far-reaching reforms and contribution to the structure and music of neo-Sabaïtic Byzantine Vespers of the fourteenth century. Two generations after Koukouzeles, it was Manuel Chrysaphes who exercised the most control over the arrangement and composition of this repertory of psalm verses and refrains, his influence stretching far beyond the fifteenth century during which he operated.

This chapter will be divided into three sections, liturgy, text, and music.[5] 'Liturgy' will comprise two parts. I will first provide a summary of current theories related to the origins and

[1] Perhaps the most analogous term in Western plainchant would be *trope*, which has been used to denote anything added – musical or textual – to an existing (usually Proper) body of plainchant. For an overview of trope repertory in Western plainchant, see David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: a Handbook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), especially 196-237. The term 'trope' was first used in reference to the refrains of the *Anoixantaria* by Williams, though he gives credit for its usage to Oliver Strunk, based on an informal conversation between the two in Grottaferrata, Italy (*Koukouzeles*, 207, fn.7).

[2] The name of this musical genre, the *Anoixantaria*, is taken from the first word of the initial psalm verse on which these compositions are based, Psalm 103.28b: Ἀνοίξαντός σου τὴν χεῖρα (When thou openest thy hand).

[3] Miloš Velimirović, 'The Prooemiac Psalm of Byzantine Vespers', *ed.* L. Berman, in *Words and Music: The Scholar's View* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 317-37.

[4] Williams' study also includes a chapter on the musical settings of first kathisma of the Psalter (Psalms 1-3, known as the Μακάριος ἀνὴρ), which are chanted after the *Anoixantaria* in Neo-Sabaïtic vespers. Notably, MS Iviron 1120 was not given much attention in Williams' study while it was excluded entirely from Velimirović's.

[5] In reality, of course, these delineations are far from perfect, as liturgical, textual, and musical concerns are inextricably linked across multiple dimensions.

transmission of Psalm 103, starting with Late Antiquity and progressing to the end of the Byzantine period, during which a plethora of *Anoixantaria* settings were written by Chrysaphes. Then, I will provide an analysis of the rubrics found in these Late Byzantine musical manuscripts, in order to shed light on the performance conventions of the *Anoixantaria* in neo-Sabaïtic Vespers. The second section of this chapter provides an analysis of the textual structure of the *Anoixantaria* as found in Iviron 1120, focusing on both the psalm verses and troped refrains. I will show how the troped refrains followed a trajectory of expansion which resulted in the flipping of psalm verse and refrain proportions, a trend that nevertheless should be viewed as simply the extension of an existing practice to a new repertory of psalms. Further, I will argue that the majority of these refrains utilised stock motifs that had a long history in patristic exegesis and hymnography on Trinitarian theology, but selected settings also expressed theologies that were especially salient in Late Byzantium as a result of contemporary theological debates, such as the Hesychast controversy. Finally, this chapter provides a holistic overview of various musical attributes of the *Anoixantaria*, such as the treatment of text in the psalm tone, cadential formulas, quasi-kalophonic devices employed in the troped refrains, and melodic theseis. The analysis and conclusions are primarily based on the *Anoixantaria* as arranged by Chrysaphes in his autograph, Iviron 1120 (f. 30r-43v), focusing especially on the thirteen settings he composed. I shall provide an especially close reading of two of Chrysaphes' compositions, including a daring eight-mode setting of a psalm verse and accompanying triadic refrain, with cross-references to the teachings concerning modulation found in his own theoretical treatise. I have included my transcriptions of all 48 settings recorded in Iviron 1120, with the original neumes provided above the staff notation transcriptions (see Appendix I). This represents the first attempt in modern scholarship or performance to transcribe the vast majority of these settings.[6]

Several important points emerge from this analysis of the *Anoixantaria* in Iviron 1120. First, most generally, Chrysaphes' arrangement of material along with his own compositions show a general conservatism and reverence for traditional models and the hierarchy of established figures in the canon of late Byzantine ecclesiastical music. Conservatism is demonstrated by his placement of Koukouzeles as the foremost figure responsible for the music as arranged by Chrysaphes in the *Akolouthia* manuscript. It is also demonstrated by the relative order and

[6] Ioannis Arvanitis has transcribed all five settings attributed to Ioannes Koukouzeles, as well as the 'traditional' anonymous material that appears at the beginning and end of the *Anoixantaria*. These editions have been performed and recorded by *Cappella Romana*. In their studies on the subject, Williams and Velimirović also supply their readers with several transcriptions of excerpts as well as a handful of full settings, mostly those by Koukouzeles. Their transcriptions follow the principles of MMB and are thus are not ideal as performance editions in this author's opinion.

weight given to the settings of the other imperial composers: Xenos Korones and Ioannes Kladas. The preponderance of settings by these three composers and their prominence in Iviron 1120 reveal Chrysaphes' clear conception of 'core repertory' and 'central composers'. Furthermore, Chrysaphes' settings are models of compositional clarity and creativity in their own right. But they do not deviate in any meaningful way from the precedents already set by Kladas and Korones. Textually, his troped refrains are both expansive and expressive, yet these trends were initiated by several fourteenth century composers included by him in his central canon. Musically, his use of modal colour (specifically, addition of the chromatic *nenano* phthora in many of the troped refrains) is masterful and certainly a departure from Koukouzeles, the tessitura of his settings is wide, and his *oktoechal* (eight-mode) setting is bold, yet all these are foreshadowed in the fourteenth and early fifteenth century settings of other composers, such as Korones and Kladas.

On the other hand, it is also clear that Chrysaphes self-consciously asserts his authority, both as scribe and composer, and in some cases, introduces innovations. He does so perhaps most clearly by setting more verses of Psalm 103 than any other composer, at least based on evidence provided by extant fourteenth and fifteenth century *Akolouthia* manuscripts. He presents Koukouzeles as the primary historical authority of the psaltic art, yet he is the first composer to provide alternate settings for certain verses that existed historically only as 'traditional' or 'Koukouzelean' settings, verses that Korones or Kladas evidently did not touch. Aspects of his musical treatment of text reveal an innovative mindset. My analysis shows that he is the first composer to favour textual intelligibility over more traditional concerns relating to modes and stock melodic phrases, at least in this genre. Moreover, while much of the musical materials employed in his settings have precedents, as a whole they are innovative. His settings reveal his compositional aesthetics and express a uniqueness of voice,[7] which I believe exists throughout Chrysaphes' compositional oeuvre. Pointing out a few of these stylistic attributes, by means of a close analysis of two of his most daring settings – including the aforementioned setting of a verse from Psalm 103 that modulates though all eight modes in the span of a few musical lines – will advance the argument that his unique compositional voice emerges even in this relatively conservative genre of chant. Evidently, the notions of 'voice'

[7] Here I am reminded of an excerpt from an article by Maria Alexandru, quoting Clara Adsuara, regarding the compositional voice of Ioannes Koukouzeles: Alexandru writes, 'She [Adsuara] exclaimed once in Kopenhagen, while working at her PhD thesis (1997) about kalophonic chant: "Koukouzeles' pieces are recognizable among hundreds; they have a very clear form, they are like crystal"' (Maria Alexandru, 'Byzantine Kalophonia, Illustrated by St. John Koukouzeles' Piece Φρούρησον Πανένδοξε in Honour of St. Demetrios from Thessaloniki: Issues of Notation and Analysis,' paper presented at *Musique et notations Post-Byzantines. Colloque scientifique international autour d' un manuscrit grec du XVIe siècle held at the Conservatoire de Musique de Geneve HEM on 26 Feb 2010*, 63).

and 'attribution' were very real to musicians like Chrysaphes. As he relates in his own theoretical treatise, anyone who wishes to be a true master the art of *psaltiki* should be able to function as something of a music critic, possessing the ability to recognise compositions by their author without reference to the notated manuscript, and to judge the quality of said compositions.[8]

5.2 – Liturgy: Origins, Transmission, and Performance of Psalm 103

Attestations of Psalm 103 in Early Christian Worship

The Cathedral Rite of the Great Church of Hagia Sophia featured Psalm 85 (Κλῖνον, Κύριε τὸ οὖς σου) as the first antiphon of evening worship.[9] Based on musical manuscripts of the Late Byzantine period, we know that these psalm verses, and in general, the asmatic antiphons of the Cathedral Rite, were usually performed according to simple, syllabic, psalm-tone recitation melodies (with the exception of the soloists' more florid introductions and codas), and punctuated by syllabic doxological refrains.[10] In the case of Psalm 85, these refrains were always: 'Glory to Thee, O God.'[11] In contrast to this, vespers according to the Typikon of St Sabas, which had come to dominate most Constantinopolitan ecclesiastical establishments by the thirteenth century and certainly by the time of Chrysaphes, had as its opening antiphon Psalm 103 (Εὐλόγει ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν Κύριον),[12] also known as the 'prooemiac psalm' (ὁ ψαλμὸς προοιμιακὸς), or simply, the *prooemiakos* (ὁ προοιμιακὸς). It is from the latter verses of this psalm that the *Anoixantaria* are derived, starting with verse 28b (Ἀνοίξαντός σου τὴν χεῖρα). Like the antiphons of the Cathedral Rite, doxological refrains followed each half-verse

[8] The last row of Fig. 4.2 above, in Chrysaphes' description of the necessary traits of a *didaskalos teleios* ('perfect teacher'), is translated by Conomos as: 'Sixthly comes the judgment of the compositions, which is partly the ability to judge what is good and accurate in the work and what is not, and partly the ability to recognize someone's work simply by hearing it. This is indeed the greatest achievement in all the art.' See Conomos, *Treatise*, 46-47.

[9] This psalm is called for in the Patmos 'Typikon' of Hagia Sophia (a manuscript dated by Anton Baumstark to 802-806). An even earlier attestation is in the eighth century Barberini *Euchologion* (the earliest surviving manuscript of this type), which preserves the priest's first prayer of Vespers, which is 'in effect, a patchwork of quotations from Psalm 85, the simultaneous singing of which it obviously presupposes' (Oliver Strunk, 'The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia,' in ed. idem, *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1977), 184). Interestingly, this Constantinopolitan-originated 'First Prayer of Light' remained in its place, recited inwardly by the celebrant at the beginning of Vespers. This represents one of many liturgical anomalies resulting from the mutual influence between Palestinian and Constantinopolitan traditions (Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 37-40).

[10] Occasionally, more florid settings of the Trisagion would be included (Lingas, 'How Musical', 224). Furthermore, some thirteenth-fourteenth century MSS from Southern Italy (e.g., Vatican gr. 1606, Grottaferrata Γ.γ.V & Γ.γ.VII, and Messina gr. 129) provide more elaborate versions of Psalm 85 for the Kneeling Vespers of Pentecost, surveyed and transcribed in Simon Harris, 'The Byzantine Office of the Genuflexion,' *Music & Letters* 77, no. 3 (Aug. 1996): 334-45. For the liturgical rubrics of Cathedral Rite Vespers and selected musical examples, see Strunk, 'Byzantine Office', 183-89, and Lingas, 'Soundscape', 322-29.

[11] Refrains of the *kekragaria* (Ps 148:1-2) and Ps 50 were variable, appropriate to the liturgical day.

[12] Also known and referred to as the *prooemiac psalm* or *prooemiakos* (after the Greek, 'ψαλμός προοιμιακός').

of Psalm 103, but unlike the more conservative settings of Cathedral Rite Vespers, the refrains of the *Anoixantaria* ranged from simple to florid. Quasi-syllabic appendages to the psalm verses (e.g., 'Glory to Thee, O God'), found in the earliest musical sources containing the *Anoixantaria*, gave way to florid tropes, textually expanded with material of rich theological import, the personalised creations of the Byzantine *maistores* of the kalophonic period.[13]

The psalm *par excellence* of evening worship in Christian liturgy is Psalm 140.[14] It is present in 'virtually all historical traditions', most widely attested to in Jerusalem, Syria, and Constantinople, but also evidenced in Ethiopia, Egypt, and the West.[15] Though certainly second in degree to Psalm 140 as *the* representative psalm of evening worship, Psalm 103 appears to have likewise existed in several, disparate liturgical traditions from very early times. In the Christian West, such early attestations include the case of Caesarius, Bishop of Arles (502-542), who speaks of the ubiquity of Psalm 103:[16]

> That psalm (103), dearest friends, which is said throughout the world both in churches and in monasteries at *Duodecima*[17] is so well known to everybody that the greatest part of the human race have memorized it.[18]

Psalm 103 is also found in the evening worship of many other early Western sources, such as the Antiphony of Bangor (680-691),[19] sources of the Ambrosian Rite,[20] the Old Spanish Offices,[21] and in the Sunday evening vespers of the Roman breviary.[22]

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[13] It should be pointed out that the Cathedral Rite featured extremely melismatic layers of musical performance such as the *prokeimenon* and the *alleluiarion*. For the latter, see Christian Thodberg, *Der Byzantinische Alleluiarionzyklus: Studien im Kurzen Psaltikonstil*, MMB, Vol. 8 (Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard, 1966). For the *prokeimena*, see Hintze, *Prokeimena-Repertoire* and Troelsgård, 'Prokeimena', cited above (Ch. 2, fn. 178).

[14] In arguing that morning and evening worship of the pre-Constantinian tradition originated 'ritually and ideologically' in the two daily Temple sacrifices or the twofold Jewish prayer patterns derived from these, Stig Frøyshov points out that the most widely attested to psalms in the early Christian sources associated with morning and evening prayer, Psalms 50 and 140, respectively, both contain themes of non-bloody (i.e., prayerful) sacrifice, which may trump the psalms' relationship to other themes, such as daybreak, light, evening, etc. ('The Formation of a Fivefold Cursus of Daily Prayer in Pre-Constantinian Christianity: Backward Inferences from Later Periods,' eds. D. Galadza, et al., *Toxotēs: Studies for Stefano Parenti*, (Grottaferrata: Monastero esarchico, 2010), 121–22 and 126–27).

[15] In addition to Frøyshov, Formation, Gregory Woolfenden provides a thorough review of this psalm's attestation across Christian liturgical traditions in Woolfenden, *Daily Liturgical Prayer: Origins and Theology* (Aldershot, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004).

[16] Caesaria presided over the Council of Agde in AD 506, which in its thirtieth canon laid down in detail the order to be followed in the daily offices. See Paul F. Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer in the Early Church* (London: Alcuin Club / SPCK, 1981), 116-17.

[17] *Dueodecima* is a monastic name for the evening office (Woolfenden, *Daily Prayer*, 56).

[18] Caesarius, Sermon 136.1, quoted in Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer*, 119.

[19] The Antiphonary of Bangor is an Irish monastic work, dated to between 680-691, which includes psalms 64, 103, and 112, for the service of Vespers. Ps 103 is particularly appropriate given its references to the evening but also because it, along with the other two psalms, 'has a special concentration on such favourite evening themes as the work of God and man in creation and praise of God for all his wisdom and bountiful goodness as manifested in his creation' (Woolfenden, *Daily Prayer*, 272).

In the Christian East, the evidence shows that this psalm probably originated in Palestine and was established in the Stoudite Rite around the time of St Theodore's installation of Sabaïtic liturgical practices at the monastery of Stoudios in Constantinople,[23] after which it remained the opening psalm of Orthodox (Byzantine Rite) Vespers until today. In his summary of the origins of the *Anoixantaria* in the 'mixed-rite'[24] Vespers of the Empire, Edward Williams correctly points to the Palestinian provenance of Psalm 103, following the testimony of MS Sinai gr. 863, a Palestinian[25] *Horologion* dated to the ninth century by Juan Mateos.[26] On the basis of this evidence, the 'received theory'[27] of the origin of the prooemiac psalm in evening worship of the Christian East holds that this psalm was added to Vespers by the monks of St Sabas around this time. This notion has been recently questioned by scholars such as Stig Frøyshov on the basis of the contents of newly discovered Georgian MSS, which are thought to be representative of Hagiopolite liturgical practices of Late Antiquity.[28] Frøyshov's analysis provides a corrective to Williams' point that Psalm 103 was a 'monastic' import into 'cathedral liturgy.' The evidence shows that Psalm 103 and other elements of liturgy were more likely representative of a Cathedral-based tradition of Hagiopolite liturgical practices, which were later reshaped by the practices and requirements of the monastic community at Mar Saba, and

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[20] In the Ambrosian Rite, Ps 117 is given as the first antiphon of Vespers, but Ps 103 is found as a Responsory in Monday night Vespers (Woolfenden, *Daily Prayer*, 260).

[21] The lamplighting psalm of the Old Spanish evening offices was Ps 140, but the weekday cycle, beginning on Sunday evening, includes Ps 103, among Psalms 17, 26, 54, 26, and 133 (Woolfenden, *Daily Prayer*, 232).

[22] The Sunday evening responsory of the Roman Breviary features a quote from Ps 103, v. 24 ('How great are thy works, O Lord? Thou hast made all things in wisdom: the earth is filled with thy riches'). According to Hansjakob Becker, 'this responsory is a shriveled remnant of an opening *lucernarium* psalm. Well suited to the end of the day, the psalm is also found in such Western monastic orders for Vespers as those of Caesarius and Aurelian' (Woolfenden, *Daily Prayer*, 211, quoting H. Becker, 'Zur Struktur Der "Vespertina Sinaxis' in Der Regula Benedicti', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 29 (1987): 177-88).

[23] As I detail below, it is possible that the practice of singing Psalm 103 may have made its way back to Palestine along with an abundance of Stoudite hymnography (that was influenced, initially, by Palestinian models).

[24] Williams uses the term 'mixed' (originally after Mikhail Skaballanovich, *Tolkovyi Tipikon'*, I. (Kiev, 1910), 421), to describe the Sabas-based liturgical rite in Constantinople from the 10th century on. Contemporary liturgical scholars prefer 'Sabaïtic' and 'Neo-Sabaïtic' to describe the rites resulting from two distinct waves of liturgical influence that flowed from Palestine to Constantinople eventually resulting in the wholesale replacement of the Cathedral Rite (though not without the adoption of some of its elements).

[25] Frøyshov uses the term 'Palestinian' to denote the practices derived from the Cathedral of the Anastasis but revised and edited over time based on the order of the Great Lavra monastery of St Sabas.

[26] Williams refers to 'MS Sinai gr. 863' as 'Hagios Sabas 863' (Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 35-36). This codex is edited by Juan Mateos in 'Un Horologion inédite de Saint-Sabas. Le codex sinaitique grec 863 (IXe siécle)', ed. E. Tisserant, *Mélanges Eugene Tisserant III, Orient chrétien, 2ieme partie* (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1964), 47-76. By Frøyshov's classification, it is a 'Sabaite' Horologion, a descendant of the more ancient 'Georgian' Horologion and the predecessor of the modern Orthodox Horologion. He believes that the contents of Sinai gr. 863 likely represent a tradition going back to the seventh century, when the Jerusalem Book of Hours was revised (Frøyshov, 'Eight Mode System', 142-43, fn. 15, and Frøyshov, 'Georgian Witness', 249-54).

[27] Stig Simeon R. Frøyshov, 'L' Horologe "Georgien" Du *Sinaiticus Ibericus 34*.' Universite de Paris-Sorbonne et L'Institut Catholique de Paris, 2003.

[28] 'Hagiopolite' is a common term referring to Jerusalem and the things of Jerusalem. It is derived from the Greek, *hē hagia polē* (ἡ ἁγία πόλη = the holy city).

subsequently transmitted north to Constantinople. The digression below allows for a summary of the evidence that forms the basis of Frøyshov's conclusions.

Origins of Psalm 103 in Vespers of the Christian East

The earliest surviving description of Hagiopolite worship commonly referenced by liturgical scholars is the *Peregrinatio ad loca sacra*, a late fourth century travel log compiled by a certain Spanish nun named Egeria. The *Peregrinatio*, which contains rich descriptions of the places and rituals encountered by Egeria on her pilgrimage to Sinai and the Holy Sites of Jerusalem, includes her description of the Anastasis Cathedral's service of the *Lychnikon*[29] (the lamp-lighting), which began at 4PM:

> All the people congregate once more in the Anastasis, and the lamps and candles are all lit, which makes it very bright. The fire is brought not from outside, but from the cave – that is from inside the railing – where a lamp is always burning night and day. For some time they have the Lucernare psalms and antiphons; then they send for the bishop who enters and sits in the chief seat. The presbyters also come and sit in their places, and the hymns and antiphons go on (my emphasis).[30]

Gregory Woolfenden suggests that 'the Bishop's entry, further psalmody, and the prayer, may well be the central core of an office that has been lengthened by a series of psalms *preceded* by the lucernarium.'[31] Frøyshov, emphasising the apparent extended time available at this point for the singing of psalms, estimates the service's entire duration at 2.5 hours.[32] While we know psalms were sung to fill the time before the Bishop's entrance, Egeria gives no indication of which ones were sung. Was Psalm 103 sung at this point? In other words, was Psalm 103 a constituent component of evening worship in Jerusalem as early as Egeria's time (the fourth century)?

Although there is evidence, if inconclusive, supporting both a positive and negative answer to this question, Stig Frøyshov believes that Psalm 103 was a later addition. MS *Sinaiticus Ibericus* ('Georgian') O.34 – a tenth century manuscript that Frøyshov believes preserves the ancient Jerusalem Horologion[33] – includes Psalm 103 as the very first item at the beginning of

[29] Egeria calls this service *licinicon* from the Greek λυχνικόν (Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 3).
[30] Woolfenden, *Daily Prayer*, 50. The critical edition of Egeria's travels is in ed. Pierre Maraval, *Égérie, Journal de Voyage: Itinéraire*, Réimpr. de la 1. éd. (1952) rev. et corr. ed. Vol. no 296, Sources Chrétiennes, 0750-1978 (Paris: Cerf, 2002). See also Miguel Arranz, 'L'office de la veillée nocturne dans l'Eglise grecque et dans l'Eglise russe,' *Orientalia Christiana Periodica,* 42 (1976): 140.
[31] On the other hand, Woolfenden suggests, as a tentative hypothesis, that 'possibly Psalms 119-34 comprised the regular Vespers psalmody "of the ascetics" and then the bishop entered for the evening psalms (140, etc.)' (Woolfenden, *Daily Prayer*, 50, 56).
[32] Frøyshov, 'L' Horologe', 437.
[33] MS Sinai Georgian O.34 contains two Horologia, a more ancient 'Georgian' version, representative of earlier practices at the Cathedral of the Anastasis, and its successor, the 'Sabaite' version, representative of practices at

public (i.e., Cathedral) vespers,[34] which took place at the eleventh hour of the daily cursus of prayer. This manuscript preserves an order of evening worship almost identical to that of the Sabaïtic Horologion Sinai gr. 863:

1. Psalm 103
2. Kanoni 18[35]
3. Psalm 140
4. The Lamplighting and Fos Hilaron

Although the bulk of this manuscript (the 'Georgian' Horologion) is faithful to the Ancient Jerusalem Horologion, it nevertheless underwent considerable rewriting by its tenth century scribe.[36] Frøyshov argues that Psalm 103 is one of these tenth century interpolations,[37] on account of its absence from other contemporary witnesses to the ancient Jerusalem liturgy.[38] Specifically, Psalm 103 is absent from the Ancient Iadgari,[39] from all but one copy of the ancient Georgian Lectionary,[40] and from the Narration of John and Sophronius with the Abbot Nilus of Sinai concerning the Palestinian liturgy prior to the reforms of 750.[41] He views Psalm 103's absence from contemporary Syrian and Armenian sources as corroboration of the fact that its absence from these Jerusalemite sources are not mere scribal omissions, but rather, indicative of actual liturgical practice.[42]

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the Great Lavra of St Sabas from the seventh century on. The latter Horologion is comparable to the long-known ninth-century MS Sinai gr. 863 (about which, see below). The 'Georgian' Horologion of MS Sinai O.34 shows evidence of a 24 hour daily cursus of prayer (incompatible with the monastic practice of St. Sabas), an alternation between 'public' hours vs. 'lesser, intermediate' hours, and the inclusion of hymns from the Ancient Iadgari and the ancient Georgian ('Hagiopolite') *Euchologion* (Frøyshov, 'Georgian Witness', 249-54).

[34] Frøyshov, 'L'Horologe', 22.

[35] Kanoni 18 is 'identical to the gradual psalms (psalms 119-133)' (Frøyshov, 'L' Horologe', 22, 444).

[36] Frøyshov, 'L' Horologe', 440-43. See also, Frøyshov, 'Georgian Witness', 249-54.

[37] In a personal communication from 31-Aug. 2013, Stig Froyshov related to me his opinion that, in contrast to what he wrote in his thesis, he believes Zosime = Iovane the Presbyter, who copied the original Horologion.

[38] Just because it was a tenth century interpolation, that does not mean it does not reflect an earlier practice, though certainly one which would be no earlier than the eighth century. While this chapter concludes with the narrative that posits a Palestinian origin for Psalm 103, that it appears so late in MS Sinai Georgian O.34 leads us to wonder whether this was a Stoudite, i.e., Constantinopolitan, innovation, along with other genres like the *Anavathmoi, Exaposteilaria*, etc. At this point, there is not enough evidence to rule out this possibility.

[39] The Ancient Iadgari is the ancient hymnal which preceded the later Georgian Lectionary. It 'predates the new hymnographers of the seventh-eighth centuries' (Frøyshov, 'Georgian Witness', 230, fn. 18).

[40] The 'Georgian Lectionary' is also known as the 'Great Lectionary,' the book of hymns accompanying the Horologion, postdating the Ancient Iadgari and representing Jerusalemite practice prior to the reforms of the 8th century. The variant that contains references to Ps 103 is the 'Kala Lectionary,' which mentions it out of order (i.e., after psalms 120 and 140) and only on Holy Monday Vespers (Frøyshov, 'L'Horologe', 342, 441), leading to Frøyshov's suspicion of the validity of this attestation.

[41] Frøyshov, 'L'Horologe', 442. For a brief summary of this sixth century dialogue, see Robert S.J. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in the Christian East* (Kerala, India: K.C.M. Press, 1985), 199-201.

[42] Frøyshov, 'L'Horologe', 442.

The earliest attestation of Psalm 103 in Palestinian worship is in the eighth/ninth century *Tropologion*, MS Sinai MG 56-5,[43] where it appears in the tenth hour for the service of Vespers on the Eve of Pascha but nowhere else, including the Vespers for the Washing of the Feet on Holy Thursday. A second, still early, attestation of this Psalm's presence in Jerusalem is in the *Typikon of the Anastasis*, based on an early twelfth century manuscript which reflects Palestinian practices of the tenth century and contains elements of Ancient Jerusalemite practice.[44] The *Typikon of the Anastasis* mentions Psalm 103 in the Vespers of Holy Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, although not in the more penitential services of Holy Monday through Wednesday. Frøyshov invokes Baumstark's Law[45] in his interpretation of the presence of Psalm 103 in the more 'festal' services of Holy Week and its absence from the more penitential ('Lenten') days of Holy Week, Monday through Wednesday, as reflected in the *Typikon of the Anastasis*, to argue that Psalm 103 was an innovation of tenth century Palestinian practice.[46] If it were a more ancient tradition, it would probably be more prevalent.

Frøyshov concludes that Psalm 103 was not part of evening morning worship during Egeria's time, nor was it present in Palestinian evening worship prior to the eighth century reforms. However, on the basis of 1) Psalm 103's absence from various important sources reflecting Jerusalemite liturgy pre-750; 2) Psalm 103's attestation in the *Tropologion* Sinai MG 56-5, a source that predates the Sabaïtic Sinai gr. 863; and 3) its presence, in the 'Georgian' Horologion, as a constituent component of daily vespers, which are characterized in Sinai Georgian O.34 as *saeroj*, or 'public' worship services, he argues that the origins of Psalm 103 lay in the post–750 *public* (not monastic) worship of Jerusalem, 'unless one wishes to suggest a Sabaïtic influence on Jerusalem prior to 800 – a possibility, but nowhere documented.'[47]

Psalm 103 in Stoudite Liturgical Rubrics

Liturgical documents attest to the presence of Psalm 103 in evening worship in Constantinopolitan environments already by the ninth or the tenth century,[48] suggesting the

[43] The contents of this manuscript are published by Alexandra Nikiforova in *Towards a History of the Menaion in Byzantium: Hymnographic Monuments of the 9th-12th Centuries from the Collection of the St. Catherine's Monastery on Sinai*, St. Tikhon's Orthodox University for the Humanities, Russian Academy of the Sciences (Moscow: ПСТГУ, 2012), from 195.
[44] Frøyshov, 'L' Horologe', 400.
[45] Baumstark's Law posits that the more solemn services in the liturgical year preserve more ancient elements, being resistant to accretions and innovations due to their penitential character.
[46] Frøyshov, 'L'Horologe', 443.
[47] Frøyshov, 'L'Horologe', 443.
[48] Ps 103 is absent from the eleventh century *Taktikon* of Nikon of the Black Mountain, a collation of several monastic rules including that of Stoudios, probably produced north of Antioch between 1072-1018. But its compiler admits that various *typika* of the same traditions even disagree among themselves: 'Χρή δὲ γινώσκειν, ὅτι καθὼς καὶ οἱ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄντες ἀδελφοὶ μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐπίστανται, πῶς διάφορα τυπικὰ τῶν τε Στουδίτων καὶ τῶν

rapid and ongoing diffusion of Hagiopolite practices north to Constantinople.[49] The first attestations are found in the *Hypotyposis* of Theodore the Stoudite (entitled 'Υποτύπωσις σὺν Θεῷ καταστάσεως τῆς εὐαγεστάτης μονῆς τοῦ Στουδίου'),[50] a liturgical document which aimed to solve the various liturgical anomalies that cropped up in Stoudite circles from the ninth century on, the result of the grafting of a full yearly cycle of newly composed Stoudite hymnography[51] and various Cathedral Rite elements onto the Sabaïtic Horologion.[52] Various rubrics in the *Hypotyposis* of Stoudios indicate that Psalm 103 was to be found at the beginning of evening worship in ninth/tenth century Constantinople:

1. Concerning Holy Pascha... it is good to know that at the lamp-lighting services of the entire week of the Lord (Renewal Week), the *prooemiakos*, which is customarily said, is not said, but only the "Christ is Risen" and straightway the "Lord I have cried" (Ps 140.1).[53]

2. One must know that on the Saturday of Renewal week at the lamp-lighting we re-commence chanting (ψάλλειν) the customary and traditional *prooemiakos* (i.e., Psalm 103), 'Εὐλόγει ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν Κύριον' and immediately after, the 'Lord I have cried.'[54]

3. One must see that on the Transfiguration and on the Dormition of the all-holy Theotokos, late, namely, at the lamp-lighting of the after-feast, after the *prooemiakos*, straightway the "Lord I have cried" [is said]. And it is the same way at the Elevation of the Cross, and the Nativity of the Theotokos, and the same at the Nativity of Christ, and just the same at the Feast of the Lights and at the Encounter.[55]

Ἱεροσολύμων ἐνέτυχα καὶ ἐσύναξα καὶ ἕνα τὸ ἄλλο οὐκ ἐσυμφωνοῦσαν, οὔτε τὸ στουδιωτικὸν μετὰ ἕτερον στουδιωτικὸν.' See N.V. Beneševićh, *Taktikon' Nikona Chernogortsa* (Petrograd, 1917), 21.

[49] Unless Ps 103 was first added by the Stoudites and transmitted south to Palestine (cf. supra, Ch.5, fn. 38).

[50] Edited by Alexis Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie Liturgicheskikh; Rukopisei Khraniaschchikhsia v' Bibliotekakh; Pravoslavnago Vostoka*. Vol. I: Typika (Kiev, 1895), 225-28.

[51] Whereas the Sabaïtic offices had already been infused with the 'new' Palestinian hymnography of Sophronius, John Damascus, and Kosmas of Jerusalem, the Stoudite fathers became the driving force behind the new flourishing of non-scriptural poetry, such that by the twelfth century the liturgical cycles were filled out with proper hymns for almost every day of the year. Sophronius' dates are traditionally given as ca. 560-638 (ODB, III, 1928) and John Damascus' as ca. 675-749 (Andrew Louth, *St John Damascene, Tradition and Originality in Byzantine Theology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002)). The traditional eighth century date for Kosmas of Jerusalem was challenged by Alexander Kazhdan (Stratis Papaioannou, *Michael Psellos: Rhetoric and Authorship in Byzantium* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 59, fn. 33), but based on eighth century MSS among the Sinai new finds that contain his Canons, the view that he was a contemporary (if, later) with John Damascus has been recently rehabilitated (see Giussepe Lozza (ed.), *Cosma Di Gerusalemme: Commentario ai Carmi di Gregorio Nazianzeno; Introduzione, Testo Critico e Note* (Naples: M. D'Auria, 2000), 5-11).

[52] Lingas, describing the genesis of the new genre of liturgical book, the Typikon, states: '[the vast repertories of Stoudite hymnography] were accommodated within offices that were themselves a complex synthesis of the Palestinian Horologion with prayers and other material from the offices of the Great church. Conflicts between temporal cycles, combined with the variety of books needed to construct a single Stoudite office, necessitated the composition of increasingly complex collections of liturgical regulations for the monastic rite. Initially appearing as short sets of instructions within the context of such monastic rules as the Hypotyposis of Stoudios, these were transformed by the rapid progress of the Stoudite synthesis into fully-formed Typika by the first half of the eleventh century' ('Sunday Matins', 149-50).

[53] Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie I*, 227.

[54] Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie I*, 228.

[55] Dmitrievsky, *Opisanie I*, 231.

Generally speaking, these excerpts point to the presence of Psalm 103 at the beginning of evening worship and prior to the recitation of Psalm 140, a liturgical order consistent with that described in both the Sabaïtic and the earlier 'Jerusalem' ('Georgian') Horologion. In Stoudite practice, apparently, Psalm 103 was prescribed throughout the year except during renewal week, during which 'Christ is Risen' was chanted in its place. Moreover, the second excerpt above concerning Psalm 103 uses the verb ψάλλειν ('to sing / chant'), confirming the musical performance of this psalm as early as the ninth/tenth century, when it first appears in liturgical documents. We can safely assume therefore that this psalm was chanted when it was originally added to the liturgy, despite the fact that the oldest musical manuscripts containing notated settings of the *Anoixantaria* do not appear until the early fourteenth century[56] – in three well-known Heirmologia, MSS Sinai 1256 (1309), Sinai 1257 (1332), and Trinity College 0.2.61 (dated generally to the fourteenth century).[57] Below, I will explore some of the simplest musical settings of the *prooemiakos*, which are labelled *palaion* ('ancient') in the musical codices. Aspects of these melodies reflect the melodies found in the simplest versions of the opening antiphon of Cathedral Rite vespers, suggesting a common, ancient psalmodic language, despite disparate liturgical origins.

The Anoixantaria in Neo-Sabaïtic Vespers

The Invitatorium

Having traced the origins of Psalm 103 and its transmission from Jerusalemite to Constantinopolitan environments, we can now turn our attention to the fifteenth century and say a few words about its performance during Chrysaphes' time. By comparing the commentary from the treatise *Διάλογος ἐν Χριστῷ* (Dialogue in Christ)[58] by Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica (†1429), Byzantium's 'last and most prolific' liturgical commentator and reformer,[59] with the rubrics and arrangement of music in selected *akolouthia*

[56] The pre-existence of melodies to their notated forms has been argued as a phenomenon applying to Western chant. See for example, Leo Treitler, 'The "Unwritten" and "Written" Transmission of Medieval Chant & the Start-up of Musical Notation.' *The Journal of Musicology,* Vol. 10, no. 2 (1992): 131-91 (esp. 138-40).

[57] Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 80. The actual date of MS Trinity College 0.2.61 is difficult to ascertain. Williams' dating of this Late Byzantine Heirmologion is based on Montague Rhodes James, *The Western Manuscripts in Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue*, Vol. III (Cambridge, 1902), 181. However, in the digitised entry of this catalogue, this manuscript is dated as '15th c. (?)' (Montague Rhodes James, *The James Catalogue at Trinity College, Cambridge*, http://sites.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/show.php? index=686 (August, 4, 2013). For this Heirmologion see also H.W.J. Tillyard, *Twenty Canons from the Trinity Heirmologium* (Boston: Byzantine Institute, 1952).

[58] The full title of this treatise, which 'established Symeon's subsequent reputation in the West as an astute liturgical commentator with a marked anti-Latin bias,' (Lingas, 'Sunday Matins', 193), is *Dialogue in Christ against all heresies and concerning the only faith of our Lord and God and Saviour Jesus Christ, as well as the sacred services and mysteries of the Church* (PG 155, cols. 333-696).

[59] Lingas, 'Sunday Matins', ii.

manuscripts, we are able to observe certain aspects concerning the practice of singing the *Anoixantaria*. First, it is clear that the brief prayer, Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν (*Venite adoremus*, 'Come let us worship') was widely sung prior to the singing of Psalm 103, at least through the fifteenth century, and possibly much later.[60] Second, there is good reason to believe that verses 1-28a of Psalm 103 were sung antiphonally, according to relatively simple melodies with predictable cadential patterns. Finally, we know that the *Anoixantaria*, from Psalm 103:28b, were sung in a more elaborate fashion, alternating between right and left choirs, with a dramatic unification of the two choirs for the final verse and the 'Glory – Alleluia' coda, an order that is still maintained today by the monks of Mt Athos during the celebration of all-night Vigils.

In his *Treatise on Prayer*, part of the larger *Dialogue in Christ*, Symeon writes:

> When the priest has given the blessing in the sanctuary, as though in heaven before God, the 'Come, let us worship…' is said three times by someone… If it is an ordinary day, the whole of the *prooemiakos* is said (λέγεται), blessing the Lord and recounting his creative work, thanking him for everything, for it is fitting always and especially at the close of day to give thanks for everything. If however it is a feast day it [the *prooemiakos*] is said (λέγεται) as far as "When Thou openest Thy hand" (v. 28), and then the rest is sung more festally by all (καὶ τότε παρὰ πάντων λαμπρότερον ᾄδεται), and at each verse we glorify the Holy Trinity as creator of all.[61]

Here Symeon is describing the opening of evening worship as practiced in fifteenth century Thessalonica (and most of Byzantium) during the Empire's twilight. By this time, the brief prayer, 'Come let us worship' (hereafter: *Invitatorium*) and Psalm 103 were firmly entrenched as components of the beginning of neo-Sabaïtic Vespers, while Vespers of the Cathedral Rite of Hagia Sophia, with Psalm 85 as its first antiphon, was practised only a few times per year in selected Cathedrals of the Empire, except for Symeon's own cathedral of Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki, where it was served daily. Symeon's description conforms to the beginning of the structure of Vespers as represented by the eighth/ninth century Sabaïtic Horologion, Sinai

[60] Tracing the origins of the *Invitatorium* to its eventual place before Ps 103 is out of the scope of this dissertation, but it is testified to certainly by the eleventh century, as testified to by various liturgical MSS, including, e.g., the eleventh century MS Benaki 27 (f. 53v), the twelfth century MS Barberini gr. 329 (f. 10v), and the Typikon of the Holy Saviour (1131 AD). See Stefanos Alexopoulos, 'The Presanctified Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite: A Comparative Analysis of Its Origins, Evolution, and Structural Components' (Notre Dame, 2004), 173-74.

[61] Symeon of Thessalonica, 'Περὶ τῆς θείας προσευχῆς' (De sacra precatione), PG 155, col. 597; translated by H.L.N. Simmons in *Treatise on Prayer: An Explanation of the Services Conducted in the Orthodox Church*, (Brookline, Mass: Hellenic College Press, 1984), 52. The original text is: 'Τοῦ ἱερέως τοίνυν εὐλογήσαντος ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸ, «Δεύτε προσκυνήσωμεν» τρὶς παρ' ἑνὸς διὰ τὴν εὐλάβειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν λεγομένων σύνεσιν λέγεται. Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἡ ἡμέρα κοινὴ, ὁ ψαλμὸς ἅπας λέγεται, ὁ τὸν Κύριον εὐλογῶν, καὶ τὴν δημιουργίαν αὐτοῦ ἅπασαν διηγούμενος, καὶ ἐπι πᾶσιν εὐχαριστῶν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τελευτώσης τῆς ἡμέρας, δέον ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων εὐχαριστεῖν· εἰ δὲ ἡμέρα ἑόρτιος, ἄχρι τοῦ, «Ἀνοίξαντός σου τὴν χεῖρα» καὶ τότε παρὰ πάντων λαμπρότερον ᾄδεται, ἑκάστῳ στίχῳ τὴν Τριάδα πάντων δοξολογούντων, ἥτις τῶν ὅλων δημιουργός.' Unfortunately, Simmons' translates 'λέγεται' as 'read', which seems to explicitly rule out melody. For reasons described below, it is probably better to translate λέγεται as 'said', 'rendered', 'recited', or even 'sung'.

gr. 863, as well as that which has remained in place in Eastern Orthodox Vespers until today. See for example, the rubrics for the same point in the service, as given in one contemporary, Greek Orthodox Typikon:[62]

> [The *prooemiakos*] is to be read by a monk or a reader… at the beginning of every Vespers, only being omitted during Renewal week vespers, being preceded always only by the *Δεῦτε, προσκυνήσωμεν* (i.e., the *Invitatorium*)... After the end of the psalm, the verses, *ἔθου σκότος, καὶ ἐγένετο νύξ* (v. 20a) and *ὡς ἐμεγαλύνθη τὰ ἔργα σου, Κύριε· πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησας* (v. 24a-b) are repeated, after which we say, 'Glory, Both now, Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia, Glory to Thee O God' three times… If on this day a vigil is to be celebrated, the *prooemiakos* is read during Great Vespers only through the verse *δόντος σου αὐτοῖς συλλέξουσιν* (v. 28a). The remaining verses, called the *Anoixantaria*, are to be chanted slowly and with melody ('μετὰ μέλους') by the choirs, alternating every verse, beginning with the right (choir).[63]

For reasons that shall be fully fleshed out in the musical section of this chapter, the *Invitatorium* (which is also found at the beginning of Byzantine midnight and morning services) should be considered an integral part of the opening of Vespers, which would have been sung as one cohesive unit along with all of Psalm 103, including the more elaborate *Anoixantaria*. The text of this three-line invocation is derived from verse 6a of Psalm 94:[64]

> Δεῦτε, προσκυνήσωμεν καὶ προσπέσωμεν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἡμῶν Θεῷ.
> Δεῦτε, προσκυνήσωμεν καὶ προσπέσωμεν Χριστῷ, τῷ βασιλεῖ ἡμῶν Θεῷ.
> Δεῦτε, προσκυνήσωμεν καὶ προσπέσωμεν αὐτῷ Χριστῷ, τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Θεῷ ἡμῶν.

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[62] The Typikon of George Regas (*Γεώργιου Ρήγα Τυπικόν* (Thessalonica: Πατριαρχικόν Ἵδρυμα Πατερικών Μελετών, 1994), 52-53) is extensive, yet rather idiosyncratic. Its shortcomings notwithstanding, the excerpt above reflects current practice in the vast majority of churches and monasteries throughout Greece and its diaspora communities. For another contemporary source that echoes this practice, see the Typikon of the liturgical scholar and protopresbyter, Konstantinos A. Papagiannis (valuable for its inclusion of information concerning historical usages): *Σύστημα Τυπικού των Ιερών Ακολουθιών του Όλου Ενιαυτού* (Athens: Αποστολική Διακονία της Εκκλησίας της Ελλάδος, 2006), 47. A notable exception is reflected in the Typikon of George Violakes (1820-1911), concerning the Patriarchate of Constantinople, historically a bastion of conservative liturgical practices. Violakes does not prescribe the chanting of the *Anoixantaria*, nor are they chanted in the Patriarchate today. See G. Violakes, *Τυπικόν: κατά την Τάξιν της του Χριστού Μεγάλης Εκκλησίας* (Constantinople: Πατριαρχικού Τυπογράφου, 1888), 2-4. An Encyclical of Patriarch Joakim III, written in 1880 to all the *hieropsaltes* (archcantors) concerning order in the services including details on repertoire choices, prohibits the chanting of the *Anoixantaria* on feast days (except in the case of a vigil) in favor of the Μακάριος ἀνὴρ by Manuel Protopsaltes (d. 1819) and the extended *Kekragaria* of Iakovos Protopsaltes (fl. 1765-1800): ''Εν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀπαγορεύονται ψάλλεσθαι διὰ λόγους οὕς οἶδεν ἡ Ἐκκλησία τὰ ἀνοιξαντάρια καὶ τὸ ὀκτάηχον Θεοτόκε παρθένε, ἅτινα μόνον ἐν ταῖς ἀγρυπνίαις χρησιμεύουσι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐτονίσθησαν, ψάλλεται δὲ μόνον τὸ Μακάριος ἀνὴρ τοῦ Μανουὴλ, καὶ... τα κεκραγάρια Ἰακώβου πρωτοψάλτου' (see Papadopoulos, Συμβολαί 420-24). The *Anoixantaria* are included in the first volume of the *Ταμείον Ανθολογίας* of Chourmouzios the Chartophylax, published (in the New Method of notation) in 1824 in Constantinople, although they are absent from the *Ταμείον Ανθολογίας* of Gregory Levitis the Protopsaltes, which begins volume 1 with the Μακάριος ἀνὴρ (*Ταμείον Ανθολογίας Περιέχον Άπασαν την Εκκλησιαστικὴν Ενιαύσιον Ακολουθία Εσπερινού, Όρθρου, Λειτουργίας* (Constantinople: Kastru, 1834), 1).

[63] In Modern Greek Orthodox practice, verses 1-28a of the *prooemiakos* are simply read before the rest of the psalm verses are chanted: this is followed whenever a vigil is to be celebrated, in the monasteries. In lay-environments, vigils need not be celebrated, but it must be the occasion of a major feast.

[64] Psalm 94:6a is: Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν καὶ προσπέσωμεν αὐτῷ καὶ κλαύσωμεν ἐναντίον ('Come let us worship and fall down before him and weep in front of him'), as noted by Velimirović, 'Prooemiac', 318.

[O Come, let us worship and fall down before our King and God.
O Come, let us worship and fall down before Christ, our King and God.
O Come, let us worship and fall down before Him, Christ the King and our God.]

On the basis of Williams' extensive study, along with testimony of the Cretan manuscripts catalogued by Giannopoulos, we can estimate that roughly half of the Akolouthia manuscripts from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries that contain *Anoixantaria* also contain a composed setting of the *Invitatorium*, which despite some variations between manuscripts, is unquestionably the same setting throughout.[65] Examples of Akolouthia MSS which contain a composed *Invitatorium* include:[66]

1. From the fourteenth century:
    - MS EBE 2458 (1336)
    - MS Koutloumousi 457 (c. 1360-1385)
    - MS Vatopaidi 1495 (c. 1360-1385)
    - MS Trinity 0.2.61 (14th c.)[67]
    - MS Sinai 1256 (14th c.)
    - MS Sinai 1257 (14th c.)
    - MS EBE 2444 (mid-14th c.)
2. From the fifteenth century:
    - MS Pantokratoros 214 (1433)
    - MS Laura E. 173 (1436)
    - MS Iviron 1120 (1458)
    - MS Varlaam 211 (15th c.)
    - MS Barb. gr. 300 (15th c.)
    - MS Sinai 1293 (15th c.)
    - MS Sinai 1527 (15th c.)
    - MS Sinai 1529 (15th c.)
    - MS Vat. gr. 791 (15th c.)
    - MS EBE 2401(mid-15th c.)
3. From the sixteenth century:
    - MS Vienna Phil. gr. 344 (1st half 16th c.)
    - MS Padova Bibl. Panepistimiou 432
    - MS Padova Bibl. Panepistimiou 1140[68]

The *Invitatorium* ceased to be sung in Greek Orthodox practice possibly as early as the seventeenth but certainly by the nineteenth century,[69] whereas it persisted in the all-night vigils in Russian practice as the *Priditye*. It is difficult to say when exactly its singing fell out of

[65] Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 110-12. I have not yet analysed the *Invitatorium* compositions in the Cretan sources; my point above is based on Williams' analysis along with my reading of Iviron 1120. Only 4 of the 12 *akolouthiai* included in Velimirović's study contain a composed *Invitatorium* ('Prooemiac', 322).
[66] The majority of these MSS are based on Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 110-11, 140, while certain Cretan MSS are based on Giannopoulos, *Η Ἀνθηση*.
[67] Cf. supra, fn. 57.
[68] See several Cretan MSS which well into the seventeenth century bear evidence of an unbroken performance, from the *Δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν* through the first few verses of the prooemeic psalm, e.g., MS Padova Bibl. Panepistimiou 432, f. 1r-4v; MS Padova Bibl. Panepistimiou 1140, et al. (Giannopoulos, *Η Ἀνθηση*, 678, 697).
[69] To my knowledge, no printed books of Byzantine chant in Greek from the nineteenth century contain settings of the *Invitatorium.*

practice, since manuscripts at least into the seventeenth century contain notated settings of the *Invitatorium*,[70] while some typika as late as the same time prescribe its singing.[71] This question must be left for a separate study, and it is sufficient for our purposes to note that Symeon's rubrics and the several musical MSS containing notated settings of the *Invitatorium* testify to the practice of the widespread singing of the *Invitatorium* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[72] We shall return to these settings later in this chapter in order to show how the *Invitatorium* is musically linked to the first verse of Psalm 103, Εὐλόγει ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν Κύριον, but for the moment, we focus on the manuscript layout and selected rubrics in order to give some idea of the manner of performance of this entire group.

Initial Psalm Verses and Refrain

Musical manuscripts containing the *Invitatorium* almost invariably contain notated settings for the first handful of verses of Ps 103. For example, MS Sinai 1257 contains anonymous, simple settings for Psalm 103, verses 1a (Εὐλόγει, ἡ ψυχή μου, τὸν Κύριον), 1b (Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου, ἐμεγαλύνθης σφόδρα), and 1c (ἐξομολόγησιν καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν ἐνεδύσω). Iviron 1120 is somewhat unusual in this respect: the composed *Invitatorium* and the introductory psalm verses of the *prooemiakos* are separated from the *Anoixantaria*. Chrysaphes begins Great Vespers with the *Invitatorium* and the first verses of Psalm 103 on folio 10v, then, rather abruptly, following a blank folio (11 – the only in the entire MS), begin his extensive theoretical treatise, which ends on fol. 29v. Great Vespers is thus resumed – or commenced – on fol. 30r, with a new majuscule inscription followed by rubrics for performance. In all likelihood, this was a rushed error on the part of Chrysaphes, who makes similar mistakes elsewhere in his autograph, displaying the behaviour of a scribe whose mind is ahead of his pen.[73]

[70] One example is the early to mid-seventeenth century MS, Holy Monastery of Great Lavra H 136, f. 1r (Giannopoulos, *Η Ἀνθηση*, 511).

[71] The Sabaïtic Typikon of Markos Maras, priest of Crete, printed in Venice in 1685, contains rubrics for the singing of the Invitatorium and initial verses of Psalm 103. Μάρκου ιερέως Μαρά του Κρητός, *Τυπικόν της Εκκλησιαστικής Ακολουθίας* (Venice: Τετύποται παρά Ανδρέα τω Ιουλιανώ, 1685). Available at: http://anemi.lib.uoc.gr//metadata/b/2/e/metadata-165-0000014.tkl.

[72] It is interesting to note that in the modern Greek Orthodox Typikon cited above, the verb ἀναγινώσκεται ('is read') is used to describe the proper rendering of verses 1-28a of Psalm 103 on feast days (after which verses 28b through the end are sung), whereas Symeon uses the verb λέγεται (lit. 'is said'), which can indicate 'to sing' in various medieval contexts (see, for example, Lingas, 'Soundscapes', 311, fn. 2).

[73] As on f. 523v of the same manuscript, where he includes a communion hymn, Ποτήριον Σωτηρίου, before finishing the anaphoral responses for the liturgy of St Basil. Above this misplaced *koinonikon*, he writes: 'By mistake, this was not placed in its usual order.' Cf. infra, Appendix II.

The rubrics Chrysaphes includes on fol. 30r of Iviron 1120, for the beginning of the *Anoixantaria* and Great Vespers, are relatively sparse and provide us with the most basic information:

> Ἀκολουθίαι συνετεθεῖσαι παρὰ Κυροῦ Ἰωάννου Μαΐστωρος τοῦ Κουκουζέλη.
> Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ τοῦ μεγάλου ἑσπερινοῦ, ποιηθέντος παρὰ διαφόρων ποιητῶν παλαιῶν. Ἄρχεται ὁ δομεστικός ἡσύχῳ φωνῇ εἰς ἦχον πλ. δ΄Ἀνοιξαντός σου.
>
> [The services edited by Lord Ioannes Koukouzeles the Maistor.
> The Beginning with God of Great Vespers, composed by various old poets.
> The domestikos begins with a soft voice in the plagal fourth mode, the '*Anoixantos sou'*.]

Based on Iviron 1120, we know that the *Invitatorium* was sung and immediately followed by the initial verses of Psalm 103. At verse 28b, the singing of the *Anoixantaria* commenced, led by the domestikos (probably of the right choir).

For more detailed performance rubrics, we can turn to another mid-fifteenth century codex, the rich, yet idiosyncratic, MS EBE 2401.[74] The inscription below (from fols. 46v-47r of this codex) gives us more details than available in Iviron 1120 and can help us piece together key aspects of the liturgical performance of the *Anoixantaria* in the fifteenth century:

> Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ ἁγίῳ τοῦ μεγάλου ἑσπερινοῦ· ποιηθέντων (sic) παρὰ διαφόρων ποιητῶν· Ἀρχόμεθα οὖν τὴν τοιαύτην ἀκολουθίαν ἡσυχὰ καὶ ἀργὰ μετὰ πάσης πραότητος, προθυμίας τὲ καὶ εὐλαβίας καθὼς διατάττεται καὶ ὁ Ἱεροσολυμίτης· Τοῦτο δὲ λέγεται δύχορον. Ὁ α' δομέστικος τοῦ δεξιοῦ χοροῦ μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄρχεται τὸ δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν, λέγοντες αὐτὸ ἐκ τρίτου, πρώτον χαμιλὰ· τὸ β' ὑψηλότερα, καὶ τὸ γ' μέση φωνὴν· ἦχος πλ. δ'.[75]
>
> [The beginning with God of the Holy and Great Vespers. Composed by various composers. We begin this service therefore quiet and slowly, with all reverence, attention, and piety, as instructed by the Jerusalemite. This is called double-choir. The first domestikos of the right choir with his people (i.e., singers) begins the 'Come let us worship', saying this three times, first low, second higher, and the third time middle-voiced, in the plagal fourth mode.

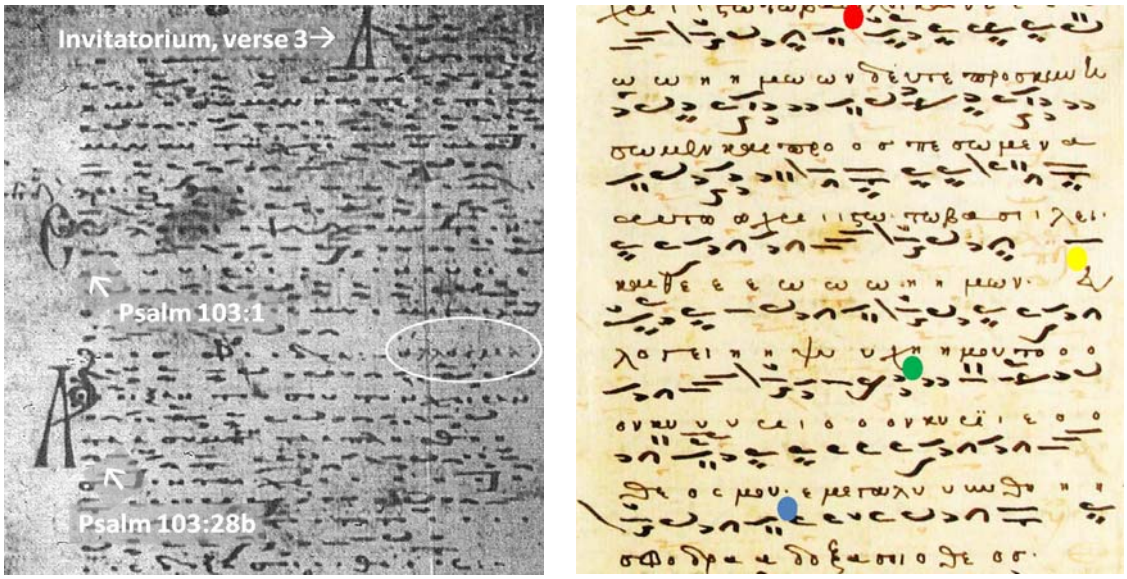
Leaving aside for now questions of translation of the scribe's unusual terms of χαμιλὰ ('low'), ὑψηλότερα ('higher'), and μέση φωνὴν ('middle voice'), and the transcription issues that

[74] EBE 2401 is large (329-folio), mid-fifteenth century *akolouthia* that shows evidence of connections to Crete and Manuel Chrysaphes, which have yet to be fully explored. For example, EBE 2401 contains the entire set of *Anoixantaria* by Chrysaphes, but the scribe(s) place(s) them later in the MSS (fol. 268v – 270v), apart from the rest of the *Anoixantaria*. In addition, this MS is one of the key sources of explicitly composed double melodies indicative of the presence of experimental polyphony in certain pockets of Venetian Crete. EBE 2401 also has a healthy representation of compositions by musicians in Cretan-Cypriot orbits, such as Manuel Gazes, Chrysaphes, and Andreas Stellon. Its scribes were of a different educational class than Chrysaphes, as evidenced by the many misspellings it contains (not uncommon in later post-Byzantine MSS), rarely found in Chrysaphes' autograph (e.g., ἀρχέον vs. ἀρχαῖον). This manuscript is described in Touliatos-Miles, *National Library*, 314-38.

[75] The beginning of MS Sinai 1529 is: 'Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ ἁγίῳ, τοῦ μεγάλου ἑσπερινοῦ. Ἄρχεται δὲ ἡ τοιαύτη ἀκολούθη (sic?), ἀργὰ καὶ ἔσω φωνὴ, διὰ τὰ διπλάσματα ποιήματα διαφόρων ποιήτων παλαιῶν τε καὶ νέων' (Lingas, personal notes, May 2013).

follow,[76] we are given further confirmation that the *Invitatorium* is the first chanted item of Great Vespers. Second, these rubrics make clear the fact that this prayer and the psalm verses that follow were to be chanted antiphonally. Third, the manuscript's layout shows that the *Invitatorium* leads straight into Psalm 103. Figure 1 shows the transition from the *Invitatorium* to the *prooemiakos* in two separate Akolouthiai, Koukouzeles' MS EBE 2458, and the later MS EBE 2401.

FIGURE 5.1: TRANSITION FROM INVITATORIUM TO PSALM 103 IN MSS EBE 2458 (11V), EBE 2401 (47R)



As we can see from these examples, the third verse of the *Invitatorium* (Δεῦτε, προσκυνήσωμεν καὶ προσπέσωμεν αὐτῷ Χριστῷ, τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Θεῷ ἡμῶν) leads into the first verse of Psalm 103 without fanfare – only a new modal indication is given, in order to remind the singers to continue in plagal fourth mode. In EBE 2401 (above right), we can clearly see how the third exclamation of the *Invitatorium* (indicated by the red dot) leads directly into Ps 103:1a (yellow dot). This verse flows directly into Ps 103:1b (green dot) and is followed by a melodic bridge that leads smoothly into the refrain, 'Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός' (blue dot). In EBE 2458 (above left), the smooth transition is evident even though the third verse of the *Invitatorium* is distinguished from the first verse of Psalm 103, Εὐλόγει ἡ ψυχὴ μου, by the majuscule "E" of Εὐλόγει (in Sinai 1257, like EBE 2401, there is no majuscule E, and Ps 103:1a begins in the middle of the line).[77] As for the opening verses of Psalm 103, only verses 1a and 1b are given in EBE 2458, as in Iviron 1120 and Sinai 1257. EBE 2401 includes more

[76] Williams offers a solution to the translation of these terms and a transcription based on MS Sinai 1256, f. 208r (*Koukouzeles*, 114-17), while Velimirović leaves this question for further investigation ('Prooemiac', 320-21).
[77] Note, as my study focuses on the settings in Iviron 1120, I have not seen the vast majority of the Invitatorium-Ps 103-Anoixantaria layouts as preserved in the list of MSS above. Aside from Iviron 1120, I have seen Sinai 1257, EBE 2401, and EBE 2458.

notated half-verses of Psalm 103, through verse 2b (ἐκτείνων τὸν οὐρανὸν ὡσεὶ δέρριν), with the following versification: v. 1a/1b + refrain, v. 1c/2a + refrain, and v. 2b & refrain.

We can assume that scribes did not copy all verses for expediency's sake and that the initial verses functioned as melodic models for the singers to apply to the subsequent psalm verses. This assumption seems to be verified by another rubric from EBE 2401 (f. 47v), which follows the rubric quoted above, and which precedes the *Anoixantaria*:

> Καὶ γίνετε (sic) οὕτως κοματιαστὸν· ἕως τὸ ἀνοίξαντός σου, καὶ εὐθὺς, ὅλοι ἀπὸ χοροῦ ἄρχεται· ὁ πρῶτος χορὸς· ὁ δομέστικος.]
>
> [And it is done thusly (i.e., the singing of the initial verses of Psalm 103) in parts, up until the 'Anoixantos sou', and straightway everyone begins, chorally. The first choir, the domestikos...]

In other words, the chanting of the opening verses of Psalm 103 is to continue in the same manner (with respect to the application of melody to text), 'in pieces', or 'in parts', that is, each pair of hemi-stichs alternated between choirs.

Regarding the refrain itself ('Δόξα σοὶ ὁ Θεός'), it is not included in EBE 2458, Iviron 1120 or Sinai 1257. Yet another idiosyncratic characteristic of EBE 2401 is the inclusion of this refrain, which may have at the time been an archaism. As noted by Alexander Lingas, 'singing with refrains all the way through (a psalm) is an archaic and very Stoudite thing to do. The Sinai MSS (e.g., Sinai 1257) and EBE 2458 seem to indicate a more Sabaïtic/modern style of *stichologia* without refrains.'[78] This bears further investigation, which is out of the scope of the present study.

The Anoixantaria

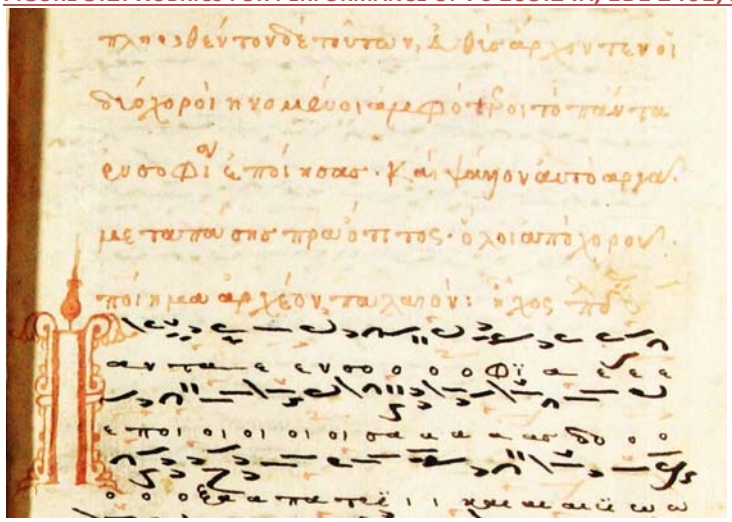
The manuscripts almost universally signal a change in style right before the commencement of the *Anoixantaria*. In EBE 2458 (Fig. 5.1, above left), the word ἄλλαγμα ('change') is written before the *Anoixantaria* to indicate this change. In the case of EBE 2401, the indication is given by the rubric already quoted above ('and it is done thusly in parts, up until the "*Anoixantos sou*", and straightway everyone begins, chorally'). In MS Laura E. 173 (not shown above), the scribe writes: καὶ λέγ[ουν τοὺς στίχους εἰς τὸ] μέλος αὐτόν ἕως τὸ ἀνοίξαντός σου, καὶ εὐθὺς, ἄρχονται τὰ τρϊαδικά: ἄλλαγμα ('and they say the verses according to this melody until the "*Anoixantos sou*", and straightway, the Triadika begin: change').[79]

[78] Alexander Lingas, personal communication, 24 October 2012.
[79] For the *Triadika* – the troped, Trinitarian refrains appended to the verses of Psalm 103, cf. infra, Fig. 5.11 and passim.

This moment would have possibly called for a new intonation from the *domestikos*, which would serve both to re-pitch but also re-establish the mood based on the change in musical pace about to occur. The shift in vocal style or musical character is denoted in Sinai 1257, by the rubric: ὁ δομεστικὸς ἄρχεται ὑψηλότερη φωνὴ ('the domestikos begins in a higher voice') and in Iviron 1120 (noted already above), ἄρχεται ὁ δομεστικός ἡσύχῳ φωνῇ ('the domestikos begins, with a soft voice'). These rubrics correspond to Symeon's exhortation 'καὶ τότε παρὰ πάντων λαμπρότερον ᾄδεται' to describe what happens at verse 28b. One might translate Symeon's exhortation for the execution of the latter part of the psalm during festal vespers as 'and then, on those days, it is sung even more brightly', with the 'παρὰ πάντων' being taken as an adverb of degree, implying that the prior verses were also sung, but more simply. Symeon is likely comparing two manners of singing, i.e., not recitation with singing, but rather, the more formulaic singing of Psalm 103:1-28a with the extended melodies and even more elaborate refrains of the *Anoixantaria*.

Finally, the manuscripts testify to a dramatic unification of the choirs at the final verse of the *Anoixantaria*, Πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησας ('In wisdom hast Thou made all things'). Before the traditional setting of this verse in Iviron 1120 (f. 42r), the following rubric is encountered: ἀπὸ χοροῦ, ὅλοι ὅμοιοι, παλαιὸν, ἦχος πλ. δ' ('[chanted] chorally, everyone together, the old [melody], plagal fourth mode'), which could be interpreted as an indication for the choirs to unify for the singing of this final verse, a practise still followed at all-night vigils on Mt Athos. Conclusive evidence for this hypothesis can be gleaned by turning, once again, to the more detailed rubrics of EBE 2401, given below in Figure 5.2:

FIGURE 5.2: RUBRICS FOR PERFORMANCE OF PS 103:24A, EBE 2401, FOL. 58R



The scribe of EBE 2401 here writes:

> Having completed these [verses], straightway the two choirs, having unified, begin both together the 'Πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ'. And they chant this slowly, with all manner of reverence, all together, chorally. An ancient composition, old. Plagal fourth mode.

This is not a case of the scribe of EBE 2401 documenting an idiosyncratic or regional practice. Validation of the choirs' unification at this verse is given in what is widely considered the most authoritative Akolouthia of the fourteenth century, Koukouzeles' *Papadike*. On folio 19r of EBE 2458, the following simple rubric is given to instruct the singers to come together for the Πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ: 'ὁμοῦ οἱ δύο χοροί' (together, the two choirs). Thus, we can say with a high degree of certainty that it was the common practice for both choirs to come together to chant the final psalm verse along with the first part of the Doxology (Δόξα Πατρί). And another point: rubrics in the right hand margin of Chrysaphes' setting of Πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ (Iviron 1120, f. 43) help refine our understanding of the close of this psalm. These instructions, written in Chrysaphes own hand, indicate that the choirs reverted to antiphonal style (i.e., alternating between right and left choirs) at the 'Both now and ever' (Καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεί),[80] and when taken together, yield the following double-choir order for the close of the *Anoixantaria*:

All together (right and left choirs):
Πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησας. *Δόξα Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι*,
The other (left) choir:
Καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.
And again the first (right) choir:
Ἀλλη-ἀλληλούια, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεὸς
Then the second (left) choir:
Ἀλληλου-ἀλληλούια, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεὸς

[80] Chrysaphes' alternate setting of Ps 103:24a, and its implications, are discussed below.

The first (right) choir:
Ἀλληλου-ἀλληλούια, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεο-νο- ὁ Θεὸς, δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεο- ὁ Θεὸς.

The Anoixantaria & Liturgy: Conclusions

Current liturgical scholarship confirms the long-held notion that Psalm 103 was an import into Constantinople from Palestine around the time of St Theodore's establishment of the Sabaïtic Typikon at his monastery on the outskirts of Constantinople around the turn of the ninth century.[81] This general narrative has been refined by the work of scholars such as Stig Frøyshov who hold that, while Psalm 103 was probably not a constituent component of liturgy at the Cathedral of the Anastasis during Late Antiquity, it most likely originated in Jerusalemite (i.e., public, Cathedral) environments post-750, after which it was adopted by the monks of St Sabas before being transmitted to Constantinople. By the time of the first Stoudite liturgical documents, the chanting of Psalm 103 in evening worship is clearly attested to. Fast forwarding to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the first settings of *Anoixantaria* are found in musical manuscripts, we can paint a clear picture of the opening of neo-Sabaïtic Vespers. The Akolouthia manuscripts surveyed by Williams and Velimirović, along with my analysis of Iviron 1120, show that the opening of Vespers comprised a single, coherent musical unit, which included the *Invitatorium*, the initial verses of Psalm 103, and the *Anoixantaria*, all chanted antiphonally and concluding with both choirs singing the final psalm verse in unison. As we shall see below, the *Invitatorium* was linked to the initial verses of Psalm 103 on the basis of shared melodic phrases, whereas the *Anoixantaria* are set off as something musically and liturgically special, though still part of the whole opening of Great Vespers, a fact confirmed by the layout of several Akolouthiai and their accompanying rubrics. The joining of the forces of the right and left choir must have made for a dramatic close of the *Anoixantaria*, the first major musical component of the celebration of neo-Sabaïtic Vespers.

5.3 – The *Anoixantaria*: Textual Concerns

Arrangement of Psalm Verse Texts

The text of the *Anoixantaria* can be analysed from two standpoints, roughly along the lines of 'psalm verse' and 'refrain'. First, we should like to know which verses are included in Chrysaphes' Iviron 1120, both the arrangements he set and those by other composers, and any implications of the division of the psalm text in Iviron 1120 and other *akolouthiai* of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. As part of this, we will review the standard mystagogical

[81] This view is nevertheless qualified above, fn. 23, 39.

interpretation of this text in the context of evening worship. Second, the troped refrains warrant much attention. On the one hand, I will analyse them in relation to the psalm verses to which they are attached, namely, to highlight the fact that over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the relative weight, both textual and musical, shifted from psalm verse to refrain. What was once a simple appendage to the focal psalm text now became the locus of textual and musical expansion. On the other hand, I will delve into these expanded tropes and analyse their textual content in the context of the theological climate of late Byzantium. The tropes can be interpreted on multiple levels: as artistic expressions composed for the express purpose of Trinitarian doxology; as pro-Palamite commentary on the theological debates of the fourteenth century around Hesychasm; and even as anti-Latin polemic in the context of fifteenth century Byzantine ecclesiastical dialogue with the Papacy and the Latin West.

The textual divisions of Psalm 103 shown below (Figure 5.3) are found almost universally in fourteenth and fifteenth century Akolouthiai that contain settings of the *Anoixantaria*. In the same MSS, these half-verses are always followed by a refrain beginning 'Δόξα σοι...' ('Glory to Thee...'), with the exception of the last verse (24b) which is followed by the small doxology, 'Δόξα Πατρί' & 'Καὶ νῦν', and the concluding *ephymnion* 'Ἀλληλούια, Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεὸς'.

FIGURE 5.3: STANDARD TEXTUAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE PSALMIC ELEMENT OF THE ANOIXANTARIA

	Greek Text	English Translation[82]
28b	Ἀνοίξαντός σου τὴν χεῖρα, τὰ σύμπαντα πλησθήσονται χρηστότητος.	When thou openest thy hand, they shall all be filled with good.
29a	Ἀποστρέψαντος δέ σου τὸ πρόσωπον ταραχθήσονται·	But if thou turnest away thy face, they shall be troubled
29b	Ἀντανελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκλείψουσι	Thou shalt take away their breath, and they shall fail,
29c	Καὶ εἰς τὸν χοῦν αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέψουσιν.	And shall return to their dust.
30a	Ἐξαποστελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμά σου, καὶ κτισθήσονται,	Thou shalt send forth thy spirit, and they shall be created:
30b	Καὶ ἀνακαινιεῖς τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς.	And thou shalt renew the face of the earth.
31a	Ἔτω ἡ δόξα Κυρίου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας,	May the glory of the Lord endure for ever:
31b	Εὐφρανθήσεται Κύριος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ·	The Lord shall rejoice in his works
32a	Ὁ ἐπιβλέπων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ποιῶν αὐτὴν τρέμειν,	He looketh upon the earth, and maketh it tremble,
32b	Ὁ ἁπτόμενος τῶν ὀρέων καὶ καπνίζονται.	He toucheth the mountains, and they smoke.
33a	Ἄσω τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου,	I will sing to the Lord throughout my life.
33b	Ψαλῶ τῷ Θεῷ μου ἕως ὑπάρχω·	I will chant to my God for as long as I have my being.
34a	Ἡδυνθείη αὐτῷ ἡ διαλογή μου,	May my words be sweet unto Him
34b	Ἐγὼ δὲ εὐφρανθήσομαι ἐπὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ.	And I will rejoice in the Lord.
35a	Ἐκλείποιεν ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς	Let sinners be consumed out of the earth,
35b	Καὶ ἄνομοι, ὥστε μὴ ὑπάρχειν αὐτούς.	And the unjust, so that they be no more:
35c	Εὐλόγει, ἡ ψυχή μου, τὸν Κύριον.	Bless the Lord, o my soul.
19a	Ὁ ἥλιος ἔγνω τὴν δύσιν αὐτοῦ	The sun knoweth his going down.
20b	Ἔθου σκότος, καὶ ἐγένετο νύξ·	Thou hast appointed darkness, and it is night:
24a	Ὡς ἐμεγαλύνθη τὰ ἔργα σου, Κύριε·	How great are thy works, O Lord?
24b	Πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησας	In wisdom hast Thou made them all;
	Δόξα / Καὶ νῦν / Ἀλληλούια, Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός	Glory / Both now / Alleluia, Glory to Thee, O God

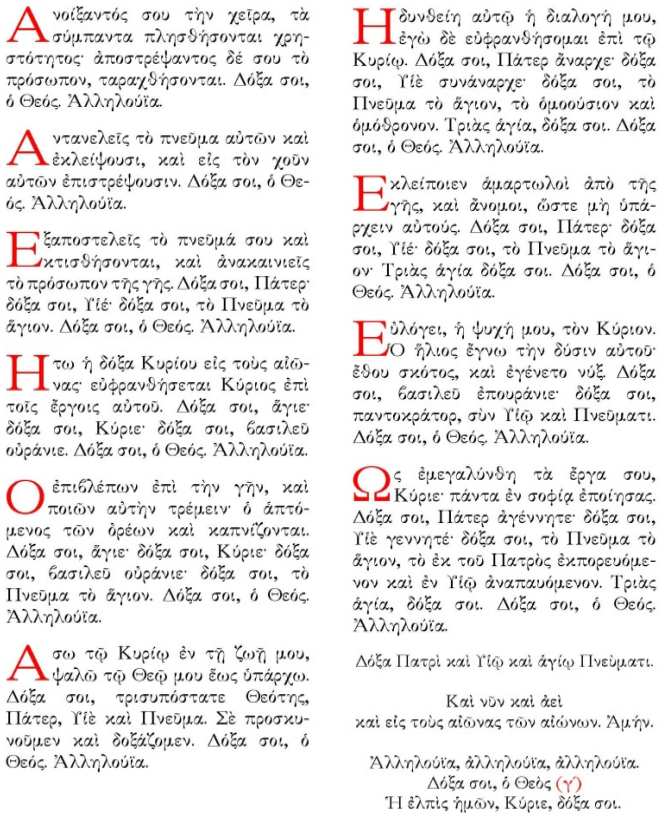
[82] Translations (slightly modified) are based on the 18th century edition of the Bible by Richard Challoner, which can be found at the following website http://www.medievalist.net/psalmstxt/ps103.htm.

In contemporary Greek Orthodox practice, the half-verses are typically combined to form one complete psalm-verse before the Triadic refrain,[83] a practice that probably crystallised in the nineteenth century with the extremely popular *Anoixantaria* settings ascribed to the cantor, composer, and music editor Theodore Fokaeus (1791-1848).[84] Likewise, the standard refrains changed over time. The triadic tropes from the late Byzantine and early post-Byzantine periods display an astounding degree of variety. In Iviron 1120, for example, there are dozens of distinct tropes, and indeed, when we attribute the setting of a particular psalm verse and trope to a composer, we are almost invariably speaking of the trope as the distinct identifier of a unique setting (see 'Migrating Melodies' below). On the other hand, the troped refrains which came to form the standard verses in modern practice, crystallising in the nineteenth century as a result of the popularity of Fokaeus' settings, number less than ten. Outside of musicological and Athonite circles, there is little memory of the wealth of textual variety of the medieval settings of this genre. Figure 5.4 shows the textual arrangement of the *Anoixantaria* as sung in most churches and monasteries of Greece and the diaspora today, including the refrains which persisted and remained in the standard repertory.

[83] The medieval versification survives in selected printed editions (in the notation of the New Method), such as Fokaeus' aforementioned *Ταμείον Ανθολογίας*, as well as the *Μουσικός Θησαυρός του Εσπερινού*, ed. Nektarios Monachos the Hieropsaltis (Karyes, Mt. Athos: 1935; Reprint 1985). These editions include various settings by Koukouzeles, Kladas, Chrysaphes, et al., which are still sung at the beginning of all-night Vigil celebrations on Mt Athos, but rarely elsewhere (cf. supra, fn. 62).

[84] The two most popular settings in modern practice include the more elaborate settings of George Raidestinos (1833-1889), which are often sung, especially at major feasts, as well as the settings of Fokaeus. The rumor of the misattribution of these *Anoixantaria* (to Fokaeus) is well established. Antonios Sigalas, a composer from the island of Santorini (Thira), is purported to have composed these very settings in 1830 and sent them to Constantinople for publication in 1833, only to have them published under Fokaeus' name in the latter's *Μουσικὴ Μέλισσα Περιέχουσα το Αργόν καὶ Σύντομον Αναστασιματάριον* (Constantinople, 1847). Fokaeus failed to mention Sigalas' name before the *Anoixantaria* and thus the attribution to Fokaeus, whether intended or not, stuck (see Georgiades, *Ο Βυζαντινός Μουσικός Πλούτος* (Athens: Typographeio Kerameikou, 1959, 140), whose source is most likely Papadopoulos, *Συμβολαί*, 437). A defense of Fokaeus' authorship of these famous and widely beloved *Anoixantaria* is discussed in Giorgos K. Aggelinaras, 'Θεοδώρου Φωκαεὺς Μνήμη', *Ὀρθοδόξου Τύπου*, 4-5-1984, and is echoed by Gregorios Stathis. In the liner notes to an album dedicated to the compositions of Fokaeus, Stathis relates that, according to the famed philologist and musicologist Dionysios, the late Metropolitan of Kozani, the Library of the Metropolis of Kozani contained a manuscript autograph (unfortunately, now lost) of Sigalas. The Metropolitan recalled that this manuscript contained a setting of *Anoixantaria* by Sigalas which was completely different in structure and form to the version ascribed to Fokaeus, a viewpoint corroborated by the late lampadarios of the Metropolis of Kozani, Evaggelos Tzelas (according to the Metropolitan). See Gr. Th. Stathis, *Θεόδωρος Παπαπαράσχου Φωκαεύς (1790 - 1851) – Η Ζωή και το Έργο του: Ψάλλει Χορός Ψαλτών με Χοράρχη τον Πρωτοψάλτη Θεόδωρο Βασιλικό* (Athens: IBM, 1984), LP. The testimony of Dionysios settles the case for Stathis, although even if it is true, it certainly does not rule out the possibility that Sigalas composed more than one series of *Anoixantaria* verses and triadic refrains. And indeed, a newly catalogued manuscript from the Monastery of Prophet Elias in Santorini contains a setting of the *Anoixantaria* by Sigalas, perhaps the same as the setting from the now lost manuscript from Kozani. These settings have been published in *Αθωνική Μουσική Πανδέκτη* (Ιερόν Ιβηριτικόν Κελλίον Αγίας Άννης: Karyes, Mt. Athos, 2011), 12-25.

FIGURE 5.4: 'STANDARD' VERSE & REFRAIN STRUCTURE IN CONTEMPORARY ORTHODOX VESPERS



Ἀνοίξαντός σου τὴν χεῖρα, τὰ σύμπαντα πλησθήσονται χρηστότητος· ἀποστρέψαντος δὲ σου τὸ πρόσωπον, ταραχθήσονται. Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός. Ἀλληλούϊα.

Ἀντανελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκλείψουσι, καὶ εἰς τὸν χοῦν αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέψουσιν. Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός. Ἀλληλούϊα.

Ἐξαποστελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμά σου καὶ κτισθήσονται, καὶ ἀνακαινιεῖς τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς. Δόξα σοι, Πάτερ· δόξα σοι, Υἱέ· δόξα σοι, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός. Ἀλληλούϊα.

Ἡτω ἡ δόξα Κυρίου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· εὐφρανθήσεται Κύριος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ. Δόξα σοι, ἅγιε· δόξα σοι, Κύριε· δόξα σοι, βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε. Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός. Ἀλληλούϊα.

Ὁ ἐπιβλέπων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ποιῶν αὐτὴν τρέμειν· ὁ ἁπτόμενος τῶν ὀρέων καὶ καπνίζονται. Δόξα σοι, ἅγιε· δόξα σοι, Κύριε· δόξα σοι, βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε· δόξα σοι, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός. Ἀλληλούϊα.

Ἀσω τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου, ψαλῶ τῷ Θεῷ μου ἕως ὑπάρχω. Δόξα σοι, τρισυπόστατε Θεότης, Πάτερ, Υἱὲ καὶ Πνεῦμα. Σὲ προσκυνοῦμεν καὶ δοξάζομεν. Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός. Ἀλληλούϊα.

Ἡδυνθείη αὐτῷ ἡ διαλογή μου, ἐγὼ δὲ εὐφρανθήσομαι ἐπὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ. Δόξα σοι, Πάτερ ἀναρχε· δόξα σοι, Υἱὲ συνάναρχε· δόξα σοι, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ὁμόθρονον. Τριὰς ἁγία, δόξα σοι. Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός. Ἀλληλούϊα.

Ἐκλείποιεν ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἄνομοι, ὥστε μὴ ὑπάρχειν αὐτούς. Δόξα σοι, Πάτερ· δόξα σοι, Υἱέ· δόξα σοι, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον· Τριὰς ἁγία δόξα σοι. Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός. Ἀλληλούϊα.

Εὐλόγει, ἡ ψυχή μου, τὸν Κύριον. Ὁ ἥλιος ἔγνω τὴν δύσιν αὐτοῦ· ἔθου σκότος, καὶ ἐγένετο νύξ. Δόξα σοι, βασιλεῦ ἐπουράνιε· δόξα σοι, παντοκράτορ, σὺν Υἱῷ καὶ Πνεύματι. Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός. Ἀλληλούϊα.

Ὡς ἐμεγαλύνθη τὰ ἔργα σου, Κύριε· πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησας. Δόξα σοι, Πάτερ ἀγέννητε· δόξα σοι, Υἱὲ γεννητέ· δόξα σοι, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον καὶ ἐν Υἱῷ ἀναπαυόμενον. Τριὰς ἁγία, δόξα σοι. Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεός. Ἀλληλούϊα.

Δόξα Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι.

Καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ
καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Ἀλληλούϊα, ἀλληλούϊα, ἀλληλούϊα.
Δόξα σοι, ὁ Θεὸς (γ')
Ἡ ἐλπὶς ἡμῶν, Κύριε, δόξα σοι.

Based on the *Sylleitourgikon*, published by Simonos Petras Monastery on Mt Athos (see *Συλλειτουργικόν – Ήτοι η Τάξις Αναγνώστου και Ψάλτου* (Άγιον Όρος: Ιερά Μονή Σίμωνος Πέτρας, 1997).

Figure 5.5 shows that the singing of the *Anoixantaria* in neo-Sabaïtic Vespers commenced with verse 28b of Psalm 103. The first two pairings of half-verses combined verses 28b with 29a, and 29b with 29c. From verse 30a, Ἐξαποστελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμά σου, καὶ κτισθήσονται, the psalm's half-verses are paired 'in order' (i.e., a with b of the same verse versus b with a of the subsequent verse). This pattern continues until verse 35c, Εὐλόγει, ἡ ψυχή μου, τὸν Κύριον ('Bless the Lord, o my soul'), which is paired with verse 19b from earlier in the psalm. Three more half-verses from earlier in the psalm are then recapitulated before the Doxology and Alleluia are sung. The practice of repeating material from earlier in the psalm as a coda to the entire performance is an ancient practice[85] and one that persists today, for example, in the recitation of the *Heksapsalmos* ('six-psalms') during the Orthodox morning service (Orthros).[86] The significance of these repeated verses from a liturgiological and mystagogical standpoint is explored further below.

[85] For example, the choral repetitions of the Κατευθυνθήτω (Ps. 140.2) after the priest's recitation of verses from Psalm 140 (verses 1,3,4, and the Doxology) served to emphasize the predominant theme of Presanctified Vespers, that of the evening sacrificial offering (for this structure, see Alexopoulos, Presanctified 210-11).

[86] After each psalm of the *Heksapsalmos*, 1-2 verses from earlier in the psalm are repeated for emphasis. See Regas, *Τυπικόν*, 72.

In the manuscripts surveyed by Velimirović, the verses on the left-hand side of Figure 5.5 are 'invariably found in all of the available musical settings of the prooemiac psalm… [while] the texts of the half-verses listed here in the right-hand column may be found only exceptionally.'[87] He observes that, of the Akolouthiai he surveyed, the earliest manuscript (EBE 2458) does not contain any settings for the appended verses after v. 35c (19b, 20a, 24a), until v. 24b, which leads straight into the Doxology-Alleluia conclusion. A musical setting of verse 20a is first encountered in MS Milan Ambrosianus Cod L. 36 Sup, dated to 1341-1360, after which it is found regularly, which, for Velimirović, suggests that 'the final arrangement of the text of the prooemiac psalm for the Great Vespers may have taken place at about the middle of the fourteenth century.'[88]

FIGURE 5.5: COMMON VERSE PAIRINGS IN LATE BYZANTINE AKOLOUTHIAI

First half-verse (typically included)		Second half-verse (often excluded)	
28b	ἀνοίξαντός σου τὴν χεῖρα, τὰ σύμπαντα πλησθήσονται χρηστότητος	29a	ἀποστρέψαντος δέ σου τὸ πρόσωπον ταραχθήσονται·
29b	ἀντανελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκλείψουσι	29c	καὶ εἰς τὸν χοῦν αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέψουσιν.
30a	ἐξαποστελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμά σου, καὶ κτισθήσονται	30b	καὶ ἀνακαινιεῖς τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς.
31a	ἤτω ἡ δόξα Κυρίου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας	31b	εὐφρανθήσεται Κύριος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ
32a	ὁ ἐπιβλέπων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ποιῶν αὐτὴν τρέμειν	32b	ὁ ἁπτόμενος τῶν ὀρέων καὶ καπνίζονται.
33a	ᾄσω τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου,	33b	ψαλῶ τῷ Θεῷ μου ἕως ὑπάρχω·
34a	ἡδυνθείη αὐτῷ ἡ διαλογή μου,	34b	ἐγὼ δὲ εὐφρανθήσομαι ἐπὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ.
35a	ἐκλείποιεν ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς	35b	καὶ ἄνομοι, ὥστε μὴ ὑπάρχειν αὐτούς.
35c	εὐλόγει, ἡ ψυχή μου, τὸν Κύριον.	19b	ὁ ἥλιος ἔγνω τὴν δύσιν αὐτοῦ.
20a	ἔθου σκότος, καὶ ἐγένετο νύξ	24a	ὡς ἐμεγαλύνθη τὰ ἔργα σου, Κύριε
24b	πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησας (followed by Doxology)		

Williams, whose survey of Late Byzantine Akolouthiai was even more exhaustive (including over 30 Akolouthiai) notes that of these half-verses in the left-hand column, those most frequently set are 29b, 30a, 32a, 33a, 34a, 35a, and 20a. In Iviron 1120, seventeen unique half-verses from Psalm 103 are included, with more than one musical setting included for all but three of the half verses (which have one setting each). Leaving aside for the moment issues of compositional variety and Chrysaphes' personal aesthetics, it is interesting to note that Chrysaphes' arrangement of material follows the pattern already observed by both Williams and Velimirović. Figure 5.6 shows the percentage of Akolouthiai which include settings for each half-verse and highlights which verses are included in particular in Iviron 1120 (using '1' = yes and '0' = no).[89] As the table shows, the four verses least often included in Akolouthiai of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, verses 29c, 30b, 31b and 32b, are also neglected by Chrysaphes.

[87] Velimirović, 'Prooemiac', 323. The schematic above (Fig. 5.5) is based on Velimirović's, to which I have added a few elements.
[88] Velimirović, 'Prooemiac', 324.
[89] The underlying data of this visualisation is based on Williams, *Koukouzeles*, Appendix F.

FIGURE 5.6: COMMON VERSIFICATION OF THE ANOIXANTARIA PSALM VERSES

	Frequency of Verse Inclusion in 14th-15th MSS (based on 31 MSS from E. Williams, 'John Koukouzeles', Appendix F)	%	Iviron 1120	Choir
28b	ἀνοίξαντός σου τὴν χεῖρα, τὰ σύμπαντα πλησθήσονται χρηστότητος	100%	1	Right
29a	ἀποστρέψαντος δέ σου τὸ πρόσωπον ταραχθήσονται·	58%	1	Left
29b	ἀντανελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκλείψουσι	96%	1	Right
29c	καὶ εἰς τὸν χοῦν αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέψουσιν.	15%	0	Left
30a	ἐξαποστελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμά σου, καὶ κτισθήσονται	89%	1	Right
30b	καὶ ἀνακαινιεῖς τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς.	24%	0	Left
31a	ἤτω ἡ δόξα Κυρίου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας	97%	1	Right
31b	εὐφρανθήσεται Κύριος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ	31%	0	Left
32a	ὁ ἐπιβλέπων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ποιῶν αὐτὴν τρέμειν	93%	1	Right
32b	ὁ ἁπτόμενος τῶν ὀρέων καὶ καπνίζονται.	43%	0	Left
33a	ᾄσω τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου,	94%	1	Right
33b	ψαλῶ τῷ Θεῷ μου ἕως ὑπάρχω·	61%	1	Left
34a	ἡδυνθείη αὐτῷ ἡ διαλογή μου,	87%	1	Right
34b	ἐγὼ δὲ εὐφρανθήσομαι ἐπὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ.	55%	1	Left
35a	ἐκλείποιεν ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς	97%	1	Right
35b	καὶ ἄνομοι, ὥστε μὴ ὑπάρχειν αὐτούς.	55%	1	Left
35c	εὐλόγει, ἡ ψυχή μου, τὸν Κύριον.	97%	1	Right
19b	ὁ ἥλιος ἔγνω τὴν δύσιν αὐτοῦ.	58%	1	Left
20a	ἔθου σκότος, καὶ ἐγένετο νύξ	87%	1	Right
24a	ὡς ἐμεγαλύνθη τὰ ἔργα σου, Κύριε	58%	1	Left
24b	πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησας,	100%	1	Both

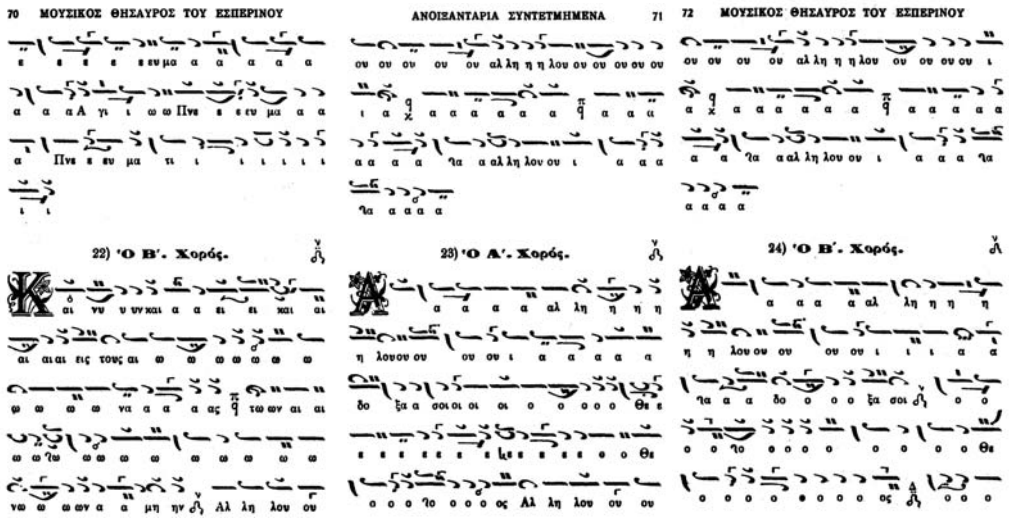
Their exclusion from Iviron 1120 certainly does not mean that these half-verses were not sung during Vespers. While we cannot rule out the possibility that selected psalm verses from the *Anoixantaria* were excluded in actual performance, I do not find it probable. My analysis below shows that existing psalm verse melodies were easily applied to different verses, with slight adjustments to account for differences between verses (perhaps reusing refrains that were attached to other verses).[90] What seems more plausible, however, is that the table above reflects scribes' and cantors' bias for the right choir, which may have had the better singers (as often is the case in modern practice), thus demanding the most complex and elaborate settings. As we have already shown above, antiphonal choral execution of Psalm 103 was the widespread practice (both from v. 1a-28a, as well as thereafter, for the *Anoixantaria*), at least at the ecclesiastical institutions which had the resources to support such choirs. If we are to assume that the antiphonal chanting of the *Anoixantaria* was the rule, then Figure 5.6 is strongly suggestive of a bias towards the right choir's settings (represented by the left-hand column). All the verses that would belong to the right choir (shaded in darker blue), according to the schematic above, are included in the vast majority of the Akolouthiai surveyed, and Iviron 1120 is no exception. The half-verses that would belong to the left choir (right-hand side of Figure 5.6) are set less frequently but by no means entirely absent from late Byzantine

[90] The same phenomena of reusing basic melodic phrases and making adjustments based on textual requirements is witnessed to frequently in the medieval repertory, cf. the Polyeleos (Ps 135) of Manuel Chrysaphes, Iviron 1120, from f. 281r, or the Polyeleos (Ps 135) of Andreas Stellon in EBE 2401 from f. 95r.

Akolouthiai. The schematic above also provides a sensible transition to the final verse: after singing exactly 10 verses each, the right and left choirs would join forces for the Πάντα ἐν σοφία ἐποίησας ('In wisdom hast Thou created them all'), followed by the return to antiphonal style for the singing of the Alleluia-Glory to Thee, go God refrain (as indicated in Iviron 1120).

Although it is a late source (twentieth century), the Athonite musical collection *Μουσικός Θησαυρός* must be regarded as a valuable witness to the persistence on Mt Athos of this medieval practice of chanting the *Anoixantaria* alternating between two choirs.[91] Pages 31-75 of the 1985 reprint of this edition contain the medieval *Anoixantaria*, transcribed into the New Method of notation by Chourmouzios.[92] The textual divisions as well as the indications for right and left choral execution of the verses correspond exactly to the schematic in Figure 5.6, down to the execution of the Πάντα ἐν σοφία and doxology as preserved in Iviron 1120 (see Fig. 5.7 for of the Καὶ νῦν and two Ἀλληλούια verses from this publication).[93] For our purposes, the 1935 Athonite publication of *Μουσικός Θησαυρός* does not stand on its own, but in consort with the medieval Akolouthiai, it seems to confirm the antiphonal chanting of the *Anoixantaria* and the verse divisions as indicated in Figure 5.6. Moreover, it is a strong witness to the persistence of this Constantinopolitan tradition of double-choir psalmody for many centuries after its origin.

FIGURE 5.7: EX. OF DOUBLE-CHOIR INDICATIONS FROM 1985 REPR. OF 1935 ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΣ ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΣ



[91] *Μουσικός Θησαυρός, I*, 31-75 (cf. supra, fn. 83).

[92] These *Anoixantaria* (p. 31-75) are entitled ἕτερα συντετμημένα ὑπὸ Χουρμουζίου Χαρτ[οφύλα]κος ('alternate versions, abbreviated by Chourmouzios Chartofylakos'), in contrast to the *Anoixantaria* commenced on p. 7 of the same edition, which are entitled Ἀνοιξαντάρια Μέγιστα ('Great Anoixantaria', i.e., 'very long').

[93] This contemporary edition was evidently unknown to Williams and Velimirović, who, as was often the case in Byzantine musicological studies prior to the last few decades, did not study of the medieval sources diachronically, that is, utilizing sources from contemporary practice (nineteenth and twentieth century) as supplements to the medieval material.

Psalm 103: Text and Symbolism

Psalm 103 is a lofty panegyric to God and his creation.[94] The subject of the text's praise runs the gamut from the celestial (clouds - v. 3, angels - v. 4, the moon and the sun - v. 19) to the terrestrial (mountains - v. 8, trees - v. 16); from the things of the sea (ships, dragons - v. 25) to the things living on land (cattle - v. 14, birds - v. 19, lions - v. 21), and of course, to humans. The praise, which exists for the sake of praise itself (v. 33), is intertwined with a reflection on humanity's daily activity and its interaction with the physical world, a world that is ever-imbued with the spirit of God and bears evidence of His perpetual activity in it (v. 28, 30, 32, et al.).[95] Beyond these themes is a pervasive thematic juxtaposition of day vs. night and light vs. darkness. In verse 23, for example, the psalm references human activity as it relates to the cycle of the day: 'Man shall go forth to his labour and shall remain on his labour until the evening.'[96] Verses 19-22 emphasise this theme even more directly with a narrative that begins with the setting of the sun and the rising of the moon and continues through the rising of the next day's sun, with reference to the accompanying behaviour of the animals as a result of this natural pattern of light and darkness:

> He appointed the moon for its season, the sun knows its going down, he brings darkness, and it becomes night, wherein all the beasts of the forest move about; the young lions roaring after their prey, and seeking their meat from God. The sun ariseth, and they are gathered together, and they shall lie down in their dens.[97]

Psalm 103 is thus manifestly appropriate for an office that traditionally took place at the setting of the sun.[98] Symeon, in his defence of the Constantinopolitan order, attempted to draw an analogy between the first antiphon of the Cathedral Rite (Psalm 85) and the setting of the sun, to describe why Psalm 85 was particularly suitable for evening worship:

> Always at Vespers is sung 'O Lord, incline your ear' (Ps 85) because our Saviour… the sun of righteousness, inclined the heavens and came down, remaining unapproachable, and because the physical sun inclines towards its setting at evening, and through all this

[94] The *Encyclopaedia Judaica* proclaims this psalm, the 'Barekhi Nafshi' (number 104 in the Hebrew Bible), as 'one of the loftiest and most beautiful examples of ancient Hebrew poetry and a magnificent expression of monotheism' (Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, eds. 'Barekhi Nafshi,' in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. Vol. 3, (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007)).

[95] Useful but out of the scope of the present study would further inquiry into patristic exegesis of the Psalter. See for example St John Chrysostom's homilies on the psalms, of which 58 survive, recently translated by Robert Charles Hill in *St. John Chrysostom commentary on the Psalms* (Brookline, Mass: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1998).

[96] Ἐξελεύσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐργασίαν αὐτοῦ ἕως ἑσπέρας.

[97] Ἐποίησε σελήνην εἰς καιρούς, ὁ ἥλιος ἔγνω τὴν δύσιν αὐτοῦ. Ἔθου σκότος, καὶ ἐγένετο νύξ· ἐν αὐτῇ διελεύσοντα πάντα τὰ θηρία τοῦ δρυμοῦ. Σκύμνοι ὠρυόμενοι τοῦ ἁρπάσαι καὶ ζητήσαι παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ βρῶσιν αὐτοῖς. Ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ συνήχθησαν...

[98] A point made also by Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 36.

> (inclining, setting, rising) it proclaims the unsetting and splendid Sun of Righteousness who appeared in the flesh.[99]

Symeon's allegorical interpretation of Psalm 85 in the context of the close of day is masterful in its rhetoric but at the same time somewhat forced, at least in comparison to the ease with which the opening psalm of neo-Sabaïtic Vespers is connected to the themes of light/day turning into darkness/night and thanksgiving to God for his creation: in Psalm 103, hardly any allegorical leap is required. Symeon himself comments briefly on the appropriateness the *prooemiakos* for evening worship, stating that it is 'fitting always and especially at the close of the day to give thanks for everything.'[100]

The association of the theme of light, in particular, with the office of Vespers, is probably based on the ancient precedent of evening worship in Jerusalem, as described by Egeria. We should remind ourselves here of Egeria's focus on light and the central role it played in the service of the *lychnikon* in fourth century Jerusalem:

> All the people congregate once more in the Anastasis, and the lamps and candles are all lit, which makes it very bright. The fire is brought not from outside, but from the cave – inside the screen – where a lamp is always burning night and day.'[101]

As Robert Taft relates: 'the symbolism is familiar: out from the tomb comes the risen Christ, the light that illumines, i.e., saves: φώτισμα (illumination) means baptism (cf. John 1; Heb. 6:4-6; etc.).'[102] In other words, the theme of light, so central to Jerusalemite evening worship from as early as the fourth century, was based on the association of light with the site of Christ's burial and resurrection. This Scripturally grounded association was re-enacted in Jerusalem, and to the memorial of the historical event were added layers of interpretation (light = illumination, baptism, purification, salvation, etc.). Given the centrality of the light-dark imagery in Jerusalemite evening worship, it is perfectly sensible that Psalm 103 would have eventually been added to the opening of Evening Worship.

The underlying focus on light and darkness found in Psalm 103 align it closely with several other prayers in neo-Sabaïtic Vespers. For example, Psalm 103 can be seen to echo the phrase, 'We, that come to the setting of the sun, beholding the evening light, praise Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, God', of the ancient Vespers hymn of *Fos Hilaron* ('O gladsome Light').[103] The

[99] Symeon, *Treatise*, 73.
[100] Symeon, *Treatise*, 52.
[101] This excerpt is based on Taft's citation of Wilkinson's translation, in Robert Taft, 'Iconoclasm', 65-66.
[102] Taft, 'Iconoclasm', 66.
[103] This hymn apparently had such an ancient precedent that even the fourth century Cappadocian father Basil remarked that it was so old that no one really knew who the author was or where it came from. Woolfenden states that some of the earliest evidence of this hymn is from the Cappadocian region, including the account of the death

theme of light is reiterated in the Canticle of Symeon (*Nunc dimittis*), which is said aloud (usually by the priest)[104] near the end of Vespers.[105] And the priest's Seventh Prayer of Light emphasises the themes of light vs. darkness and night vs. day. This Constantinopolitan ('Cathedral Rite') prayer is a unique case, for at some point in the process of its being grafted onto neo-Sabaïtic Vespers, it was grouped with the other six 'Prayers of Light' and ultimately divorced the antiphon it originally preceded, Psalm 85, to which it was thematically linked.[106] Any 'liturgical incongruity'[107] that might have been noticed by the congregation as a result of a prayer being linked to a psalm to which it was not related, if we are to believe medieval congregations would have operated with that degree of perception, would have been a non-issue based on the fact that now the prayer was recited silently (with the other six Prayers of Light), and accompanied by the singing of Psalm 103, 'whose imagery was much more appropriate to the evening office.'[108]

Furthermore, the structure of Psalm 103 highlights the motivic nature of these themes. One might suspect that the final verse of the psalm, 'Bless the Lord, o my soul', provides an adequately dramatic ending to the entire psalm, by means of repeating the opening phrase verbatim, as a way of restating the central theme of thanksgiving to God. As we have noted above, however, verses 19a, 20b, and 24 were appended to the end of the psalm, and in this way the *Anoixantaria* came to have a structure that further emphasised, by means of repetition, the key thematic motifs of light/dark and day/night, which must still have been salient to

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of St. Macrina, the sister of St. Gregory of Nyssa, in 379, 'where we find the words: "but the chant of the singers called to the thanksgiving for the light and she (Macrina) sent me off to church". Many scholars think that the hymn [mentioned in this account] is the thanksgiving for light', i.e., the *Fos Hilaron* (Daily Prayer 75-76). For another recent study on the origins of this hymn, see Alexandros Korakides, *Αρχαίοι Ύμνοι: Η Επιλύχνιος Ευχαριστία 'Φως Ιλαρόν Αγίας Δόξης'* (Thessaloniki: Πουρναράς Π. Σ., 1990) and Peter Plank, 'Φῶς Ἱλαρόν: Christushymnus Und Lichtdanksagung Der Frühen Christenheit'. Borengässer, 2001.

[104] Who actually recites (or sings) this canticle varies according to the source. Jacob Goar (ed., *Εὐχολόγιον Sive Rituale Graecorum*. Graz: Akademische Druck-U. Verlagsanstalt, 1730. Reprint, 1960), 34, for example, notes that it is said by someone, though presumably not the priest, since the celebrant's parts are given in this *Euchologion*.

[105] The *Nunc Dimmitis* is found in evening worship in various early Christian traditions, first testified to in Late Antiquity. For example, it is testified to in Jerusalem, Syria, and later, in Sabaïtic, i.e., Palestinian environments (Woolfenden, *Daily Prayer*, 54, 55, and 56, respectively). The full text is: 'Now, Master, you let your servant depart in peace, according to your word; for my eyes have seen your Salvation, which you have prepared before the face of all peoples, a Light to bring revelation to the nations, and the Glory of your people Israel' (translation by Fr. Ephrem Lash, from www.anastasis.org.uk/vespers.htm).

[106] The first of the 'Seven Prayers of Light,' 'Κύριε οἰκτίρμον,' recorded as early as the eighth century in the Barberini Euchologion (Strunk, 'Byzantine Office', 184), accompanied the singing of Psalm 85 in the Cathedral Rite. This prayer begins with the words, 'Κύριε οἰκτίρμον καὶ ἐλεῆμον, μακρόθυμε καὶ πολυέλεε,' drawing material directly from Ps 85.15 ('Καὶ σὺ, Κύριε ὁ Θεός, οἰκτίρμων καὶ ἐλεήμων, μακρόθυμος καὶ πολυέλεος καὶ ἀληθινός'), a connection pointed out as early as the fifteenth century by Symeon of Thessalonica (*Symeon*, 72-73). The persistence of the Seven Prayers of Light in Neo-Sabaïtic Vespers, but now accompanied by a 'foreign' psalm, can be seen as an example of the sometimes disjointed fusing that resulted from the centuries-long 'mongrelisation' of the Byzantine Rite (Taft has famously called the Byzantine Rite a 'mongrel tradition').

[107] Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 41.

[108] Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 40.

congregations even though thousands of miles and many centuries removed from the original locus of the light imagery (i.e., Jerusalem). During the celebration of Vigils, these final verses would have been sung in an elaborate manner, providing a dramatic recapitulation of these important motifs, the daily cycle (v. 20b), light vs. darkness (v. 19a), and ending dramatically with the double-choir chanting of the half-verse that glorifies God's creation and His wisdom, summing up the entirety of the psalm: 'Thou hast created all things in wisdom' (v. 24).[109]

Troped Refrains: Psalm and Refrain Proportions

The psalm verses of the *Anoixantaria* are always accompanied in the musical codices by a doxological refrain, the simplest being Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός ('Glory to Thee, O God'). The oldest layers of *Anoixantaria* – the 'traditional' settings, which were labelled παλαιόν ('old') or ἀρχαῖον ('ancient') in the MSS – contain a structure which features the psalm text as the musical and textual focus punctuated by a brief refrain (that, due to its simplicity, might have been suitable as a congregational response), reflecting the archaic antiphon-refrain structure of the Constantinopolitan Cathedral Rite.[110] Verse 28b and its short refrain, which are found in all of the Akolouthia manuscripts surveyed by Williams (as shown in Figure 5.6 above), are characteristic of this style:

> Verse: Ἀνοίξαντός σου τὴν χεῖρα, τὰ σύμπαντα πλησθήσονται χρηστότητος
> Refrain: Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός

Very few unascribed settings of this archaic type survive – only one setting each for verses 28b, 29a, and 24a. I believe this suggests that, prior to Koukouzeles, the structure of 'psalm verse + short refrain' was the rule, and for the remaining verses of the *Anoixantaria*, singers applied basic formulaic rules to the psalm verses, capping off each one with a melodically simple, 'Glory to Thee, O God'.

Starting in the fourteenth century and continuing through the fifteenth, the refrains of the *Anoixantaria* experienced a remarkable degree of expansion with respect to textual length, theological import, and musical treatment. Koukouzeles is one of the first composers responsible for this expansion, but his texts are still compact in comparison to the effusive proclamations of Orthodox dogma found in some of the settings by later composers. Figure 5.8

[109] Williams (*Koukouzeles*, 37) suggests that the repetition of said verses is a way of underscoring these themes before the Doxology is sung.
[110] One of the fundamental differences between Constantinopolitan and Jerusalemite practice was the division of the Psalter (4782 verses in Jerusalemite practice vs. 2542 in Constantinople; Williams makes this point by noting that the insertion of refrains in the antiphons of the Constantinopolitan Cathedral Rite differed from the insertion of refrains in the *Anoixantaria*. Naturally, refrains occurred in the former less frequently due to the fewer psalm verse divisons (Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 37).

compares selected refrain texts to provide some framework for the textual expansion that occurred in the fourteenth century and continued apace in the fifteenth (Figure 5.11 provides the full list of psalm verses and tropes and their attributions included in Iviron 1120).

FIGURE 5.8: EXPANSION OF REFRAIN IN COMPOSED SETTINGS OF ANOIXANTARIA

Psalm Text[111]	Composer	Refrain
Ἀνοίξαντός σου τὴν χεῖρα, τὰ σύμπαντα πλησθήσονται χρηστότητος (28a)	Traditional	Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
Ἄσω τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου (33a)	Koukouzeles	Δόξα σοι τριάς ἄναρχε δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
	Manuel Chrysaphes	Λέγε, δόξα σοι τρισυπόστατε θεότης Πάτερ, Υἱέ καὶ Πνεῦμα σε προσκυνοῦμεν καὶ δοξάζομεν δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
Ἡδυνθείη αὐτῷ ἡ διαλογή μου (v. 34a)	Xenos Korones	Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
	Ioannes Kladas	Λέγε, δόξα σοι Πάτερ ἄναρχε δόξα σοι Υἱέ συνάναρχε, λέγε, δόξα σοι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ὁμόθρονον, τριάς ἁγία δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
	Manuel Chrysaphes	Λέγε, δόξα σοι Πάτερ ἄναρχε δόξα σοι Υἱέ συνάναρχε, δόξα σοι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, καὶ ἐν Υἱῷ ἀναπαυόμενον, Τριάς Ἁγία δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός

The text of the trope composed by Koukouzeles included above is fairly compact, comprising two short phrases, 'Glory to thee, beginningless Trinity' and 'Glory to thee, O God', yet still represents a departure from the traditional, single-phrased refrain. Koukouzeles' conservatism is emulated to some degree by his late contemporary, Xenos Korones. The Korones' trope included above is among his simplest, consisting of a simple repetition of the phrase 'Glory to Thee, O God'.

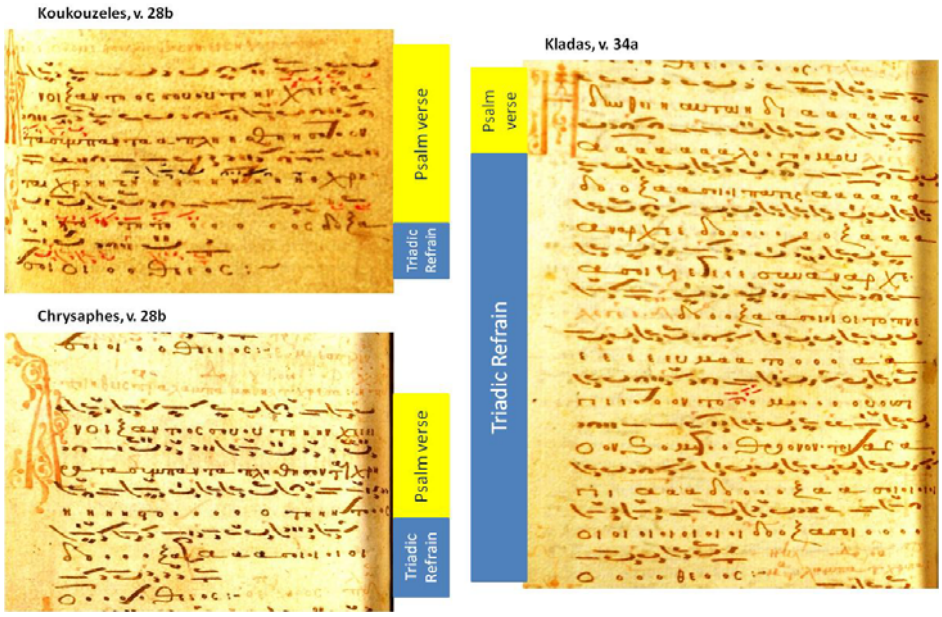
On the other end of the spectrum are the tropes written by the 'new' composers of the fifteenth century, including the most famous two, Ioannes Kladas the *lampadarios* (early 15th c.) and of course, Manuel Chrysaphes. Chrysaphes, over a century after Koukouzeles, composes a trope attached to psalm verse 33a that is over twice as long as Koukouzeles': 'Say: Glory to Thee, Thrice-hypostatic Godhead, Father, Son, and Spirit, we worship and glorify Thee, glory to Thee, O God.'[112] Kladas and Chrysaphes compose even more elaborate tropes later in the psalm. The final two texts I have chosen to highlight in Fig. 5.8 (both attached to verse 34a in

[111] The psalm text to which the tropes were attached varies in different manuscripts. See below in the section on 'Migrating Melodies'.

[112] 'Say' is a translation of the word λέγε (3rd person singular imperative), a device commonly utilized by the composers of this era to bridge two distinct sections within a (usually) kalophonic composition. In this case, the λέγε bridges the end of the psalm verse to the beginning of the refrain.

Iviron 1120) are laden with precise Trinitarian theology. The tropes, nearly identical, both refer to all three persons of the Trinity (Father, Son, Holy Spirit), the former two each addressed with a doxological epithet ('Beginningless Father' and 'Co-beginningless Son'). Kladas' trope differs by referring to the Holy Spirit as 'of one essence' and 'of one throne' (with the Father and the Son), whereas Chrysaphes prefers to call attention to the Holy Spirit's 'proceeding from the Father and resting in the Son.'

FIGURE 5.9: GRAPHIC DISPLAY OF PSALM VERSE & TROPED REFRAIN PROPORTIONS (IVIRON 1120)



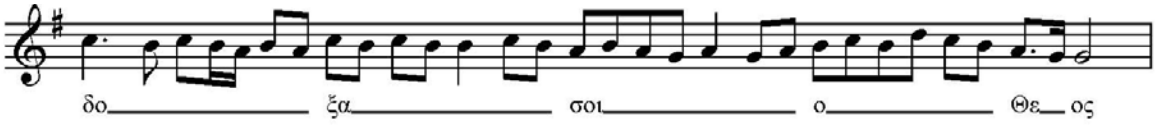
Thus, a trend which is first observed in the settings of Koukouzeles and Korones gains momentum in the settings of later composers, especially those of the fifteenth century. The textual emphasis 'shifts to the right,' away from the Old Testament psalm verse, focusing on the Orthodox dogmatic proclamation. This change in relative proportion can be observed on a simple graphical level, as shown in Figure 5.9. This visualisation highlights the difference between the traditional setting of v. 28b and that of v. 34a by Ioannes Kladas, as laid out in Chrysaphes' autograph. The proportions are polar opposites. Kladas' psalm verse spans two lines while his triadic refrain is stretched out over ten lines of notation (right), while the traditional verse (top left) has a refrain that is barely a line, in contrast to a four-line psalm verse.

I have also included Chrysaphes' setting of verse 28b in Figure 5.9 in order to call attention to another important point. Chrysaphes is the first composer to have composed an alternate setting for verse 28b, the opening of the *Anoixantaria*, as well as alternates for the other

previously untouched, traditional verses (29a & 24b). This reveals a degree of boldness on the part of Chrysaphes, who evidently had no qualms about providing new, personalized settings of verses that had previously been left untouched by his contemporaries and predecessors.[113] Yet, while Chrysaphes participated fully in the expansion of this genre, providing some of the most elaborate tropes for the *Anoixantaria*, we might be struck by the modesty of his refrain for v. 28b, which he does not trope, repeating the traditional refrain exactly (Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός). A transcription of Chrysaphes' setting of δόξα σοι ὁ Θεὸς (Fig. 5.10b) shows that it is textually identical to the traditional refrain of v. 28b (Fig. 5.10a), though melodically, slightly more elaborate:

FIGURE 5.10A: TRADITIONAL SETTING OF REFRAIN TO PS 103:28B (IVIRON 1120)

FIGURE 5.10B: CHRYSAPHES' SETTING OF REFRAIN TO PS 103:28B (IVIRON 1120)



But in terms of its relative length with respect to the psalm verse, it is similar to the traditional setting (see Fig. 5.9, bottom left hand). Moreover, it is the most restrained of all of Chrysaphes' tropes. Musically, it spans a mere fourth and while it is about twice the length of the traditional version, Chrysaphes' tropes attached to other psalm verses are five times (or more) longer than the traditional refrain. Thus, when it came to these 'archaic' verses (i.e., παλαιόν, ἀρχαῖον), Chrysaphes displays a remarkable degree of restraint, following the general proportions of psalm verse to refrain as found in the traditional settings, proportions that were emulated, to some degree, by Koukouzeles. This is one of many examples of Chrysaphes' simultaneous embodiment of innovative and conservative principles.

[113] To my knowledge, Williams is the only one to have pointed out the significance of Chrysaphes' settings of the previously untouchable and anonymous verses (29a, 29b, and 24b). However, the significance for Williams seems to be that Chrysaphes included the anonymous melodies at all, a sign of their immutability. I, on the other hand, take their inclusion as a given and view Chrysaphes' composition of new melodies as the more remarkable point (see Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 123, 142).

FIGURE 5.11: VERSES OF THE *ANOIXANTARIA* AND TROPED REFRAINS IN MS IVIRON 1120

Ἀνοίξαντός σου τὴν χεῖρα, τὰ σύμπαντα πλησθήσονται χρηστότητος (v. 28b)

Koukouzeles or Traditional (f. 30r)	Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
Manuel Chrysaphes (f. 30v)	Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός

Ἀποστρέψαντος δέ σου τὸ πρόσωπον ταραχθήσονται (v. 29a)

Koukouzeles or Traditional (f. 30v)	Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
Manuel Chrysaphes (f. 30v)	Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός

Ἀντανελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκλείψουσι (v. 29b)

Koukouzeles (f. 30v)	Δόξα σοι Πάτερ, δόξα σοι Υἱέ, δόξα σοι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, δόξα σοι
George Panaretos (f. 31r)	Ανεανες... Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
Ioannes Kladas Lampadarios (f. 31r)	Νεανες... Δόξα σοι ο Θεός
Manuel Chrysaphes (f. 31v)	Δόξα σοι Τριὰς ἁγία, δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός

Ἐξαποστελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμά σου, καὶ κτισθήσονται (v. 30a)

Koukouzeles (f. 31v)	Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός, δόξα σοι
Ioannes Kladas Lampadarios (f. 31v)	Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός, δόξα σοι
Xenos Korones (f. 32r)[114]	Δόξα σοι δεδοξασμένε Κύριε, δόξα σοι
Manuel Chrysaphes (f. 32r)	Δόξα σοι Τριὰς ἁγία, ὑπερούσιε καὶ ὁμόθρονε δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός

Ἤτω ἡ δόξα Κυρίου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας (v. 31a)

Koukouzeles or Traditional (f. 32r)	Δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
Ioannes Kladas Lampadarios (f. 32v)	Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός, δόξα σοι Τριὰς ἁγία, δόξα σοι
Manuel Chrysaphes (f. 32v)	Δόξα σοι Πάτερ, Υἱέ, καὶ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, δόξα σοι Τριὰς ἁγία, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός

Ὁ ἐπιβλέπων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ποιῶν αὐτὴν τρέμειν (v. 32a)

George Kontopetris (f. 32v)	Λέγε, δόξα σοι ἅγιε, δόξα σοι Κύριε, δόξα σοι βασιλεύ οὐράνιε, δόξα σοι το Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, δόξα σοι, νε δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
Koukouzeles[115] (f. 33r)	Δόξα σοι ἅγιε δόξα σοι Κύριε, δόξα σοι βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε, δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
Ioannes Kladas Lampadarios (f. 33r) (only "και ποιῶν αυτήν τρέμειν")	Δόξα σοι Τριὰς ἁγία, δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
Manuel Chrysaphes (f. 33v)	Δόξα σοι βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε, Παράκλητε, τό Πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός

ἌΙσω τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου (v. 33a)

Koukouzeles (f. 33v)	Δόξα σοι Τριάς ἄναρχε, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
Xenos Korones (f. 34r) (only "ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μοῦ)	Δόξα σοι βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε, Παράκλητε ἀγαθὲ, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός, δόξα σοι ὁ Θέος
Ioannes Kladas Lampadarios (f. 34r)	Λέγε, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός, δόξα σοι Παράκλητε ἀγαθὲ, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
Manuel Chrysaphes (f. 34v)	Λέγε, δόξα σοι, τρισυπόστατε θεότης, Πάτερ, Υἱέ, και Πνεῦμα, σε προσκυνούμεν και δοξάζομεν, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
Manuel Korones (f. 35r)	Δόξα σοι Πάτερ ἅγιε, δόξα σοι Υἱέ, ὁ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Θαβώρ μεταμορφωθείς, δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, δόξα σοι

Ψαλῶ τῷ Θεῷ μου ἕως ὑπάρχω (v. 33b)

Agathon Korones (f. 34v) (only "Ψαλῶ τῷ θεῷ μου ἕως ὑπάρχω")	Λέγε, δόξα σοι ἅγιε βασιλεῦ παντοκράτορ, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός

Ἡδυνθείη αὐτῷ ἡ διαλογή μου (v. 34a)

Xenos Korones (f. 35r)	Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός

[114] On the basis of comparison of the music for this verse with the Ἐξαποστελεῖς (v. 30a) in MS EBE 2458 fol. 12r, the not-yet-ascribed verse (due to an overexposed photograph of the folio) is not the same as that by Georgios Panaretos (the setting by Panaretos is that which is transmitted – often exclusively for verse 30a – throughout the 14th and 15th century sources used by Velimirović). Stathis' description of this section of Iviron 1120 (*Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 101) is summarised but on the basis of his ordering and the faint red ink on folio 32r of Iviron 1120, one might conclude this composition belongs to Xenos Korones. That would be an unusual ordering for Chrysaphes, however: when he has multiple settings of the same verse by Korones and Kladas, Kladas otherwise appears after Korones, reflecting their relative chronology.

[115] 'Koukouzeles #2', Sinai 1257, f. 169v.

Ioannes Kladas Lampadarios (f. 35r)	Λέγε, δόξα σοι Πάτερ ἄναρχε, δόξα σοι Υἱέ συνάναρχε, λέγε, δόξα σοι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ ὁμοούσιον καὶ ὁμόθρονον, Τριάς ἁγία δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
Manuel Chrysaphes (f. 35v)	Λέγε, δόξα σοι Πάτερ ἄναρχε, δόξα σοι Υἱέ συνάναρχε, δόξα σοι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ ἐκ Πατρός ἐκπορευόμενον, καὶ ἐν Υἱῷ ἀναπαυόμενον, Τριάς ἁγία, δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
George Kontopetris (f. 36r)	Λέγε, δόξα τῷ Πατρί σὺν αὐτῷ Υἱῷ, δόξα καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός

Ἐγὼ δὲ εὐφρανθήσομαι ἐπὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ (v. 34b)

Manuel Korones (f. 36v)	Δόξα σοι, Κύριε, ὁ φῶς ἄκτιστον τοῖς μαθηταῖς σου ἐμφανίσας ἐν Θαβώρ τῷ ὄρει, Τριάς ἁγία, δόξα σοι

Ἐκλείποιεν ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς (v. 35a)

Xenos Korones (f. 36v)	Λέγε, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεὸς, δόξα σοι – χοι χι τοι – ὁ Θεός
Ioannes Kladas Lampadarios (f. 37r)	Λέγε, δόξα σοι Πάτερ, δόξα σοι Υἱέ, δόξα σοι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, Τριάς ἁγία δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
Manuel Chrysaphes (37r)	Λέγε, δόξα σοι, ἅγιε, δόξα σοι, Κύριε, δόξα σοι, βασιλεῦ ἐπουράνιε, δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός.
Hiereos Ampelokipiotou (37v)	Λέγε, δόξα σοι ὁ ἐν Τριάδι ὑμνούμενος καὶ προσκυνούμενος, Θεός ἡμῶν, δόξα σοι

Καὶ ἄνομοι, ὥστε μὴ ὑπάρχειν αὐτούς. (v. 35b)

George Moschianos	Δόξα σοι, Πάτερ, δόξα σοι, Υἱέ, δόξα σοι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον δόξα σοι, λέγε, Τριάς ἁγία δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός

Εὐλόγει, ἡ ψυχή μου, τὸν Κύριον. (v. 35c)

Xenos Korones (f. 38r)	Λέγε, δόξα σοι, νε, Πάτερ ἅγιε, δόξα σοι σὺν Υἱῷ καὶ Πνεύματι, δόξα σοι Τριὰς ἁγία, δο-δο-δόξα σοι
Ioannes Kladas Lampadarios (f. 38v)	Δόξα σοι, βασιλεῦ ἐπουράνιε, δόξα σοι, παντοκράτορ, σὺν Υἱῷ καὶ Πνεύματι, δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
Manuel Chrysaphes (f. 38v)	Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός, δόξα σοι, βασιλεῦ, ἅγιε, ὑπεράγιε, Κύριε, ἀκατάληπτε, δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός

Ὁ ἥλιος ἔγνω τὴν δύσιν αὐτοῦ (v. 19b)

Ioannes Kampanes (f. 39r)	Δόξα σοι, Πάτερ ἅγιε, καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ Πνεύματι, σε ὑμνεῖ πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις, Τριάς ἁγία, δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός

Ἔθου σκότος, καὶ ἐγένετο νύξ (v. 20a)

Xenos Korones (f. 39v)	Νε δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός, δόξα σοι, παντοκράτορ, βασιλεῦ ἅγιε, δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι, Τριάς ἁγία, δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
Ioannes Kladas Lampadarios (f. 40r) *Oktaechon*	Δόξα σοι, Πάτερ ἀγέννητε, νε δόξα σοι, Υἱέ γεννητὲ, δόξα σοι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορευόμενον, καὶ ἐν Υἱῷ ἀναπαυόμενον, Τριάς ἁγία, δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
Manuel Chrysaphes (f. 40r) *Oktaechon*	Δόξα σοι, Πάτερ ἅγιε, Θεέ ἀγέννητε, νε δόξα σοι Υἱέ γεννητὲ, δόξα σοι, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ σὺν Πατρί καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον και συνδοξαζόμενον, Τριάς ἁγία, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
Domestikou tou Kassianou (f. 40v)	Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός, δόξα σοι, Πάτερ ἀγέννητε, καὶ Υἱέ γεννητέ, νε δόξα σοι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορευόμενον, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
Ioakeim Monachos (f. 41r) (only "καὶ ἐγένετο νύξ")	Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός, δόξα σοι, παντοκράτορ, βασιλεῦ ἅγιε, λέγε, δόξα σοι δεδοξασμένε Κύριε, Παράκλητε ἀγαθέ, Τριάς ἁγία, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός

Ὡς ἐμεγαλύνθη τὰ ἔργα σου, Κύριε (v. 24a)

Manuel Chrysaphes (f. 41v) (see EBE 2401 f. 279r)	Λέγε, δόξα σοι τριάς ὁμοούσιε, δόξα σοι μονάς τρισυπόστατε, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
Nikon Monachos (f. 41v)	Ἄναρχε Πάτερ, Υἱέ συνάναρχε, καὶ Πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον καὶ σύνθρονον, σὲ προσκυνοῦμεν καὶ δοξάζομεν, μία θεότητι βοῶντες δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός.

Πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησας. Δόξα, καὶ νῦν. Ἀλληλούια. (v. 24b, Doxology, Allelouia)

'Palaion'	Δόξα Πατρί, καὶ Υἱῷ, καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι· Καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. Ἀλληλούϊα, ἀλληλούϊα, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός (3x), ὁ Θεός, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός.
Manuel Chrysaphes	Δόξα Πατρί, καὶ Υἱῷ, καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι· Καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. Ἀλληλούϊα, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός (3x), ὁ Θεός, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεός.

Mystagogical Interpretation of Trinitarian Refrains

Over the course of the fourteenth century and well into the fifteenth, the psalm verse, once the textual focal point, became an afterthought, merely a springboard for tropes that were elaborated through the interjection, repetition, and inversion of epithets and personalised doxologies**.** This shift in focus from psalm verse to non-psalmic refrain should be viewed as part of a more general trend away from allegory to literalism in liturgical texts and the exegesis of liturgy.[116] The scriptures and psalms, which provided the scaffolding for the early divine offices, were gradually subjugated to newly composed texts, ranging from the Sabaïtic and Stoudite propers hymns (based on Palestinian genres) dedicated to feasts of Jesus Christ, the Virgin Mary, or the saints, to the personalised Trinitarian and Marian tropes composed by the Palaiologan masters. These 'extra-scriptural' texts came to be interpolated between (and would eventually dwarf) the psalm verses of genres such as the *Anoixantaria*, *Kekragaria*, *Polyeleoi*, and *Ainoi* (the 'Lauds'). The practice of interpolating non-psalmic material for essentially every element of the services had its roots in Late Antiquity, and its explosion in the eighth century and beyond has been connected to the rise of popular piety and reactions to the prohibition of icons.[117] By the time of Koukouzeles and, later, Chrysaphes, troping psalm verses with non-scriptural material *du jour* was the norm: the *maistores* were simply extending an existing practice to new genres.

The refrains of the *Anoixantaria* are magnificent expressions of Trinitarian theology. These tropes are almost exclusively devoted to praising God *as Trinity*. Thus, the archaic refrain of the *Anoixantaria,* 'Glory to Thee, O God', is most commonly troped as 'Glory to Thee, *O Holy Trinity*, Glory to Thee, O God.'[118] Koukouzeles' trope for v. 29b (Iviron 1120, f. 30v), 'Glory to Thee, Father, Glory to Thee, Son, Glory to the Holy Spirit, Glory to Thee', is a simple

[116] An inverse trend (possibly related, the subject of which to my knowledge has yet to be fully explored) *towards* abstraction can be seen in the realm of music – in the creation of 'art objects', or music for music's (or prayer's) sake, starting with the twelfth-thirteenth century repertory of the *Asma* in Southern Italy and reaching its fruition in the kalophonic period.

[117] See Taft, 'Iconoclasm'; Lingas, 'Sunday Matins', 122-28, 151-54, et al.

[118] Interestingly, Trinitarian tropes (or *Triadika*, to use Symeon of Thessalonica's nomenclature) show up also on feast days as additions to the psalms of the fixed First Antiphon of Cathedral Rite Orthros of Hagia Sophia (many in MS EBE 2061), including compositions by Koukouzeles, Korones, and Kontopetris that Lingas has identified with *Triadika* that appear as tropes of Psalm 103 elsewhere, leading him to conclude that 'it remains to be determined... whether the *Triadika* were first created to be sung with cathedral matins [or Stoudite, or Sabaitic Vespers]. With regard to Koukouzeles, one may ask if it is possible to take the existinece of his works for the "Sung Office" as evidence that he worked in a cathedral environment either before or after his removal to the Monastery of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos.' See A. Lingas, 'The First Antiphon of Byzantine Cathedral Rite Matins: From Popular Psalmody to Kalophonia', in ed. László Dobszay, *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the 9th Meeting, Esztergom and Visegrád, Hungary, 1998* (Budapest: Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2001), 491-492.

expansion of the most common doxology found in the Christian divine offices ('Glory to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit'). Ioannes Kladas' refrain for v. 33a: 'Say, Glory to Thee, O God, Glory to Thee, O Good Comforter, Glory to Thee O God', utilises an ancient epithet, Παράκλητε, found throughout scripture and later, Sabaïtic hymnography, to refer to the Holy Spirit.[119] The rather unique trope set by Hiereos Ambelokipiotis for v. 35a (Iviron 1120, f. 37v), 'Say, glory to Thee, who in Trinity art hymned and worshipped, O our God, glory to Thee', includes a more personal element, also encountered in other tropes of the *Anoixantaria*. A more theologically dense Trinitarian trope is Chrysaphes' setting attached to verse 33a (Iviron 1120, f. 34v), 'Say, Glory to Thee, three-hypostatic Godhead: Father, Son, and Spirit, we worship and glorify Thee, Glory to Thee, O God.' In all these cases, the simultaneity of God's singularity and multiplicity (of persons) is highlighted, a theology with deep roots in the patristic tradition.[120] The tropes of the *Anoixantaria* should therefore be thought of, most fundamentally, as the personalised expressions of faith by artists drawing from a rich stock of patristic and hymnographic motifs dedicated to the Holy Trinity, within the context of a well-established practice.[121]

Topical Tropes

Hesychasm

While the majority of the tropes of the *Anoixantaria* are generalised expressions of faith that utilise common Trinitarian motifs, certain tropes were topical to two contemporary socio-

[119] The epithet 'Comforter' (or 'Advocate', i.e., Παράκλητε) referring to the Holy Spirit is found in the New Testament, e.g., John 14:16, 14:20, et al. For the use of the term Παράκλητε in the third iambic canon attributed to St John Damascus for the feast of Pentecost, see Skrekas, Iambic lxx-lxxiv.

[120] One only need scratch the surface of a few patristic monuments of Trinitarian theology (e.g., Basil of Caesaria's *On the Holy Spirit:* PG 32, Cyril of Alexandria's *On worship in spirit and truth*: PG 68, Ps.-Athanasius of Alexandria, *Dialogues on the Holy Trinity*, I: PG 28, etc.) to find a defense of the themes of the unity and co-operation of the persons of the Holy Trinity, with language that later imbued the poetry of hymnographers like Andrew of Crete and John Damascus, such as the latter's third troparion for Ode 8 of Paschal Matins: Πάτερ παντοκράτορ, καὶ Λόγε, καὶ Πνεῦμα, τρισὶν ἑνιζομένη, ἐν ὑποστάσεσι φύσις, ὑπερούσιε καὶ ὑπέρθεε εἰς σὲ βεβαπτίσμεθα, καὶ σὲ εὐλογοῦμεν, εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας (Almighty Father, Word and Spirit, nature united in three Persons, beyond all being and beyond all Godhead, into you we have been baptised and we bless you to all the ages), or the first troparion from Ode 5 of the first canon from Matins of Pentecost by Kosmas of Jerusalem, Ἡ ἐπιφοιτήσασα ἰσχὺς σήμερον, αὕτη Πνεῦμα ἀγαθόν, Πνεῦμα σοφίας Θεοῦ, Πνεῦμα ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευτόν, καὶ δι' Υἱοῦ πιστοῖς ἡμῖν πεφηνός, μεταδοτικόν, ἐν οἷς κατοικίζεται φύσει, τῆς ἐν ᾗ κατοπτεύεται ἁγιότητος (The strength which has come down to-day is the good Spirit, Spirit of the Wisdom of God; Spirit proceeding from the Father and made manifest to us the faithful through the Son; giving freely to those in whom he dwells of the holiness in which he is perceived by nature). Translations are by Fr. Ephrem Lash, http://www.anastasis.org.uk, accessed on 14/9/2013).

[121] I use the term 'personalised' to emphasise the fact that, although composers drew from a veritable well of patristic exegesis, hymnographic material, and recent theological exposition to craft their Trinitarian tropes, the manner in which they deployed the tropes was personal, by virtue of the fact that they were attributed compositions – their names were assigned to these creations, many of these tropes contain personal pronouns to refer to the Trinity, and many of the turns of phrase do happen to be unique, not being found frequently in the hymnographic or euchologic tradition, as in some of the examples given above.

theological debates: the Hesychast controversy of the mid-fourteenth century, and the attempts towards (Latin and Greek) Church Reunion, an effort that was especially intense from the end of the fourteenth century, culminating with the Council of Florence/Ferrara in 1438-39. A brief overview of selected tropes and manuscripts in which they are encountered, in comparison to Iviron 1120, shows that certain composers and scribes took strong (often polemical) positions in these debates, whereas Manuel Chrysaphes' settings and 'behaviour' as scribe reveal a more diplomatic individual who maintains the Orthodox manner of expression but without any of the strident language, or even polemic, that is found in some other sources.

At least two tropes seem to be topical to the Hesychast Controversy, which raged in Constantinople, Thessaloniki, and Mt Athos, especially between 1337 and 1351, with opposing camps arguing well into the fifteenth century.[122] Hesychasm (from ἡσυχάζειν, 'to be quiet, still') – a general term used to describe the monastic practice of silent prayer and contemplation – had roots in Egyptian monasticism of the fourth century and was eventually developed by Gregory Palamas (1296-1357) into a full theology.[123] Palamas emphasised the reality of God's imminence in the lives of humans, by means of his 'energies' (ἐνέργιαι), or operations, which were distinct from his transcendent and unknowable 'essence' (οὐσία).[124] This distinction was, to Palamas, as real as the distinction between the Persons of the Holy Trinity, yet did not sunder the unity of God.[125] Perhaps most importantly, Palamas taught that these energies were uncreated, emanating perpetually from God's likewise uncreated essence. Furthermore, Palamas taught that humans were able to experience God, that is, to attain a sort of divine contemplation (θεωρία, i.e., 'vision'), by means of inner purification achieved

[122] The Hesychast Controversy did not exist in a vacuum but was a part of broader social struggles in the 1340s. For a background on the Byzantine civil war of the 1340s, see Donald M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), Part III: 'The mortal illness of Byzantium: the age of civil wars – 1321-1354', passim.

[123] The term *hesychastes* is found in the writings of the Egyptian desert fathers as interchangeable with the terms hermit or anchorite (ODB II, Hesychasm 923). For the consistency of Palamas' teachings with Greek patristic tradition, see György Geréby, 'Hidden Themes in Fourteenth-Century Byzantine and Latin Theological Debates: Monarchianism and Crypto-Dyophysitism', in eds. M. Hinterberger and C. Schabel, *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History: 1204-1500* (Leuven - Paris - Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2011), 201-3. More contemporarily, Palamas mentions Metropolitan Theoleptos of Philadelphia (1250-1326) as one of his 'forerunners in hesychasm' (Lingas, 'Hesychasm', 156).

[124] For a discussion on the pro- and anti-Palamite positions on the distinction between God's 'essence' and 'energies,' especially with respect to Palamas' usage of the Basilian phrase 'κατ΄ ἐπίνοιαν' and the influence of the corpus of Thomas Aquinas into Greek on these arguments, see John A. Demetracopoulos, 'Palamas Transformed. Palamite Interpretations of the Distinction between God's "Essence" and "Energies" in Late Byzantium', in eds. M. Hinterberger and C. Schabel, *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History: 1204-1500* (Leuven - Paris - Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2011), 263-372. For an updated, Orthodox-oriented perspective on Hesychasm and Thomism, see Marcus Plested, *Orthodox Readings of Aquinas* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[125] For this distinction, see Palamas' own words in PG 150, *Κεφάλαια Φυσικὰ, Θεολογικὰ, Ἠθικὰ τε καὶ Πρακτικὰ* 75. In spite of this distinction between God's essence and energies, Palamas repeatedly stated that 'it is impossible to think of any sort of incision or division between God's essence and energy' (from Palamas' treatise *Against Acindynos II*, quoted in Demetracopoulos, 'Palamas', 273).

through ascetic practises which included the repetition of the *Jesus prayer* (i.e., 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me').[126] The attainment of spiritual purification, enabled by this 'prayer of the heart', had the capacity to lead humans to 'divine vision' equivalent to the uncreated light witnessed by Moses as he descended from Mt Sinai, that which blinded Saul before his conversion to Christianity, and that witnessed by Christ's three disciples on Mount Tabor.[127] The teachings of Palamas were debated in three councils, first in 1341, then in 1347 – when they were officially adopted by the Patriarchate of Constantinople – and again in 1351, when they were reaffirmed. A fourth council in 1368 recognized Gregory as a saint, while condemning Prochoros Kydones, a prominent opponent of the recently affirmed Orthodox view.[128]

Two tropes that express Palamite theology are ascribed to Manuel Korones,[129] the son of the famous imperial musician and *protopsaltes*, Xenos Korones.[130] I have determined that Manuel, like his father Xenos, held the position of *protopsaltes*, based on an inscription written in Chrysaphes' hand, in the upper margin of f. 36v in Iviron 1120 (see Fig. 5.12 below), stating: κῦρ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Κορώνη καὶ πρωτοψάλτου (Lord Manuel Korones the protopsaltes)[131]. As the son of Xenos Korones, Manuel must have flourished in the mid to late fourteenth century, when Byzantine culture was embroiled in this controversy. The first 'Palamite' trope, composed by Manuel Korones, is attached to verse 33a of Psalm 103 in Iviron 1120 (fol. 35r):

> Δόξα σοι Πάτερ ἅγιε, δόξα σοι Υἱέ, ὁ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Θαβώρ μεταμορφωθείς, δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, δόξα σοι
>
> [Glory to Thee, Holy Father, Glory to Thee, Son, who on the Mount of Tabor was transfigured, Glory to Thee, Glory to Thee, the Holy Spirit, Glory to Thee.]

The second such refrain is attached to verse 34b, the only setting of this particular hemi-stich (Ἐγὼ δὲ εὐφρανθήσομαι ἐπὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ) included by Chrysaphes in Iviron 1120 (f. 36v):

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[126] ODB II, 'Hesychasm', 923.

[127] Moses' descent from Mt Sinai is described in Exodus 34: 29-30, 35. Saul's conversion story is related in Acts 9:3. The story of Christ's Transfiguration on Mt. Tabor is given by three Evangelists (Matthew 17:1–9, Mark 9:2-8, Luke 9:28–36) and referred to in 2 Peter 1:16–18.

[128] Prochoros Kydones (ca 1330-1369) was the outspoken brother of the court official and historian Demetrius Kydones (ca 1324-1397), the latter who was part of a wave of prominent intellectuals and court officials in the second half of the 14th century who converted to Catholicism (a group including John V Palaiologos). For a general overview of Hesychasm in the fourteenth century, see Dirk Krausmüller, 'The Rise of Hesychasm', in *Cambridge History of Christianity: Eastern Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 101-26. For the activity of D. Kydones including his 40+ years of service to John V Palaiologos, see Judith R. Ryder, 'Divided Loyalties? The Career and Writings of Demetrius Kydones,' in eds. M. Hinterberger and C. Schabel, *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History: 1204-1500*, (Leuven - Paris - Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2011), 243-62.

[129] These two topical tropes have been discussed briefly in Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 208, fn. 9, Stathis, 'Ασματική', 198-99, and Lingas, 'Hesychasm', 167, fn. 44.

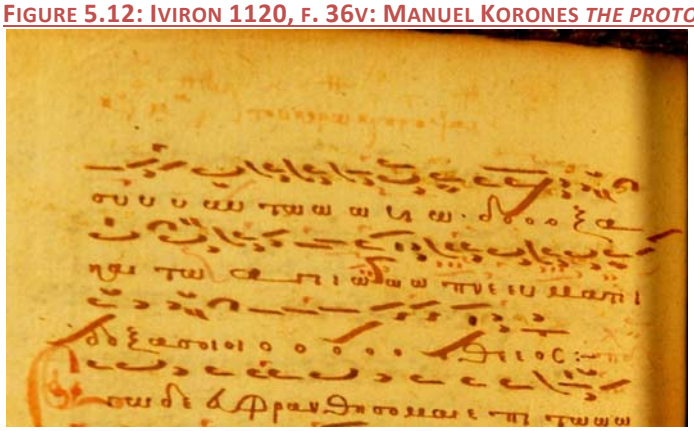
[130] According to Dimitri Conomos, MS Athens 899 refers to Manuel Korones as the son of Xenos Korones (Conomos, *Communion Cycle*, 78). For Manuel Korones, cf. infra, p. 246 and Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 202.

[131] This is also found in EBE 2401, f. 50v, but is not noted in Touliatos-Miles' description of the same manuscript.

Δόξα σοι, Κύριε, ὁ φῶς ἄκτιστον τοῖς μαθηταῖς σου ἐμφανίσας ἐν Θαβώρ τῷ ὄρει, Τριάς ἁγία, δόξα σοι

[Glory to Thee Lord, Thou who appeared as the uncreated light to Thy disciples on the Mount of Tabor, Holy Trinity, Glory to Thee.]

FIGURE 5.12: IVIRON 1120, F. 36V: MANUEL KORONES *THE PROTOPSALTES*



In the absence of more concrete evidence establishing ties between Manuel Korones and other members of Hesychast circles, such as the 'enthusiastic Palamite' Patriarch, Philotheos Kokkinos,[132] or Gregory Palamas himself, it is possible only to comment generally on the younger Korones' investment in the Hesychast debate as evidenced by the settings above. It has been posited that Palamas may have resided alongside Koukouzeles at the monastery of the Great Lavra on Mt Athos for some time – as much is suggested, at the very least, by their respective *Vitae*.[133] If it is true that they lived (and perhaps sang) together on Mt Athos, it does not necessarily imply that Manuel Korones would have had direct contact with Palamas. But there is circumstantial evidence linking Palamas and other supporters of Hesychasm to Koukouzeles, and by extension, to musicians connected to Koukouzeles, such as Xenos Korones and his son, Manuel. It should therefore be no surprise that expressions related to these much-debated themes would have found their ways into the compositions of a prominent fourteenth century musician with ties to the imperial chapel and hierarchy of Byzantium.

Hesychasm and Anti-Latin Polemic

In Chrysaphes' autograph, the first of these verses is preceded by the inscription: Μανουὴλ τοῦ Κορώνη εἰς τὴν μεταμόρφωσιν (before v. 33a on f. 35r: 'By Manuel Korones for the [Feast of the] Transfiguration'),[134] whereas in at least three other MSS, EBE 2401 (f. 50v), Philotheou

[132] Ryder, 'Demetrius Kydones', 249.
[133] While acknowledging the various problems with Koukouzeles' *vita*, Lingas finds the notion of their cohabitation plausible, stating that, at the very least, 'Gregory Palamas and John Koukouzeles were both cantors at the Great Lavra during the first half of the 14th century' (Lingas, 'Hesychasm', 159).
[134] This inscription appears in brighter red ink than the majority of the other rubrics, written by a curiously unstill hand, and thus it seems probable that this was written by a later hand.

(Mt Athos) 122/235 (f. 49v-50r),[135] and Societies of Antiquaries London 48 (f. 63r-66v),[136] they are preceded by the polemical phrase,[137] 'Μανουὴλ τοῦ Κορώνη καὶ α'(πρώτο)ψάλτου· κατὰ βαρλαὰμ καὶ ἀκινδίνου' ('Manuel Korones the protopsaltes· [verses] against Barlaam and Akindinos'). Manuel Korones' investment in Palamite teachings and his tropes on themes related to the uncreated light is sensible: he was operating in Constantinople in an official position around the time that Palamas' teachings had been affirmed by the Church. Korones' topical refrains must have resonated with a rather triumphant tone in the wake of these debates. But the inclusion of the names 'Barlaam' and 'Akindynos' as the 'dedicatees' of these verses in three *akolouthiai* that post-date the aforementioned hesychast councils by a century or more might strike us as anachronistic. It should be remembered, though, that while many intellectuals jostled with Palamas and his followers well into the latter half of the fourteenth century, it was specifically these two, Barlaam of Calabria[138] and Akindynos, who became the poster children of the losing side of the Hesychasm question. The reputation of this pair was solidified in history by a patriarchal tome composed by Palamas' biographer and champion, Philotheos Kokkinos,[139] against the two, and in the years that followed, pro-Palamite Byzantine hagiography features Barlaam as the primary scapegoat in this debate.[140] Furthermore, after the council of Florence/Ferrara (1437-38), Orthodox writers often grouped Latin and Latin-leaning Greek Orthodox theologians into the anti-Hesychast camp, even though Hesychasm was, initially, a struggle internal to Orthodoxy.[141] The inclusion of Barlaam and Akindinos prior to these topical *Anoixantaria* tropes by the scribes of these Akolouthiai should therefore be seen more generally in light of fifteenth century anti-Latin polemic which was especially rife in areas of Crete and Cyprus. The recasting of the hesychast controversy in

[135] Stathis, 'Ασματική', 199. I have not consulted the Philotheou manuscript.
[136] In this MS, dated c. 1430, the name 'Manuel' does not precede Korones, so Giannopoulos assumes it is a composition by his father, Xenos (Giannopoulos, *Αγγλία*, 158).
[137] The second 'Palamite' setting by Manuel Korones in Iviron 1120 is preceded simply by an inscription in the upper margin that states the attribution: 'κὺρ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Κορώνη καὶ Πρωτοψάλτου' (before v. 34b on f. 36v). This trope is preceded in EBE 2401 (f. 50v) by the phase 'for the same feast (i.e., Transfiguration)', whereas the polemic is found in Philotheou 122/235, which states that it is κατά τῶν λατίνων ('against the Latins'). It is out of the scope of this present dissertation to investigate the threads that follow from such polemics, but suffice it to say that after the council of Florence / Ferrara pro-Palamites often grouped Latin-leaning Greek Orthodox into the anti-Hesychast camp, even though the two controversies weren't initially linked.
[138] Barlaam first tangled with Palamas on the issue of the *Filioque*, a discourse that eventually morphed into a 'debate on theological epistemology… on the knowability of God', in which Barlaam denied the possibility of human direct experience of God (see Geréby, 'Hidden Themes', especially 200).
[139] Philotheos Kokkinos (1295/97-1379) was Patriarch of Constantinople from 1353-4 and 1364-77. In addition to the *Synodal Tome of 1351*, co-authered with Neilos Cabasilas, Kokkinos wrote the (as yet, unedited), *Fourteen Chapters against Barlaam and Acindynos*, probably before 1351 (Demetracopoulos, 'Palamas', 282-83).
[140] Martin Hinterberger, 'A Neglected Tool of Orthodox Propaganda? The Image of the Latins in Byzantine Hagiography', in eds. M. Hinterberger and C. Schabel, *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History: 1204-1500* (Leuven - Paris - Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2011), 137.
[141] Conversely, anti-hesychasts such as D. Kydones mined the recently translated Latin corpus of Thomas Aquinas for ammunition to be levied against the Hesychasts.

the context of the Latin-Greek debates surrounding the Council of Florence/Ferrara is out of the scope of this dissertation and has been taken up elsewhere,[142] but it is worth mentioning at least one manuscript which seems to validate this tendency. MS Philotheou 122/235 contains an inscription prior to the second 'Palamite' trope, which states that this verse is composed 'κατά τῶν λατίνων' ('against the Latins').[143]

The Procession of the Holy Spirit and 15th c. Latin-Greek Dialogue

Another topical trope is directly related to Latin-Greek dialogue and disagreements over one of the primary stumbling blocks towards union, the issue of the place of the Holy Spirit in the Holy Trinity. The Western Christian doctrine of the *Filioque* (lit: 'and from the Son') stated that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father and also the Son, whereas the Orthodox considered this an innovation and insisted on the Father's pre-eminence in the Holy Trinity, and thus, the single-procession of the Holy Spirit *from the Father only*.[144] The *Filioque* was among the primary issues featured at the forefront of ecclesiastical debates in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This was an issue that occupied the minds of not just churchmen and monks: even the Emperor Manuel Palaiologos II entered the theological fray, writing a tome of some 156 chapters on the subject.[145] His treatise, *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, was evidently a response to one written in support of the *Filioque*, authored by a Latin monk and given to the Emperor around 1400 when the latter was in Paris on his famous diplomatic journey to the West.[146]

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[142] For example, see Charalambos Dendrinos' discussion of Manuel II Palaiologus' refutation of the Latin doctrine of the *Filioque* (in a treatise written around 1400-2), in which he moves 'from the specific issues [of the *Filioque*] into a wider theological discussion regarding the Trinity, concentrating on the important theological questions which underlie the *Filioque* controversy: man's pursuit of the knowledge of God; the relations between God and His creation; and the path which leads to man's salvation and defiictation… and the Orthodox teaching regarding the distinction of divine essence, energy, and hypostases', a conflation that of theological controversies into one discussion that, by the 15th century, had become common, in 'Manuel II Palaeologus in Paris (1400-1402),' in eds. M. Hinterberger and C. Schabel, *Greeks, Latins, and Intellectual History 1204-1500* (Leuven - Paris - Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2011), 413-14.

[143] In EBE 2401, f. 50v, the inscription before the second Palamite trope is 'for the same feast', i.e., the Transfiguration.

[144] The *Filioque* was added to the Nicean Creed at a Spanish Council in Toledo in 589, although not accepted in Rome until the eleventh century, and officially, by the Western Church, in 1274 at the Council of Lyon. It was rejected in the East by Patriarch Photius in an encyclical written in 866. Orthodox rejection of both the addition to the Creed and the doctrine itself was maintained through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries during which these matters were hotly debated between Eastern and Western theologians (ODB II, 'Filioque', 785-86).

[145] The critical edition of this treatise is in Charalambos Dendrinos, 'An Annotated Critical Edition (*editio princeps*) of Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus Treatise "on the Procession of the Holy Spirit"', Royal Holloway, University of London, 1996.

[146] Manuel II Palaiologos initiated diplomatic overtures with the West in the face of external threats in the last decade of the 14th century. The Roman Pope Boniface IX' (1389-1404) responded by issuing a bull in 1398 appealing to Christian leaders throughout Europe to come to the aid of the Byzantines. This dialogue was the impetus behind Manuel Palaiologos' journey to the West, which has been studied extensively. For an updated bibliography, see Dendrinos, 'Manuel II', 397, 398, fn. 6.

In Iviron 1120 (f. 35v, verse 34a), Manuel Chrysaphes composes a trope that expresses the Orthodox position with respect to the Trinity, utilising theologically specialised language:

> Λέγε, δόξα σοι Πάτερ ἄναρχε, δόξα σοι Υἱέ συνάναρχε, δόξα σοι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ ἐκ Πατρός ἐκπορευόμενον, καὶ ἐν Υἱῷ ἀναπαυόμενον, Τριάς ἁγία, δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
>
> [Say, Glory to Thee, Beginingless Father, Glory to Thee, Co-beginingless Son, Glory to Thee, the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and takes rest in the Son]

This precise expression of the Holy Spirit as proceeding (ἐκπορευόμενον) from the Father and taking rest (ἀναπαυόμενον) in the Son is by no means unique or unprecedented in Byzantine hymnography.[147] This hymnographic formula hearkens back to the *doxastikon* of the kneeling vespers (γονυκλισία) for Pentecost, composed by Emperor Leo VI 'the Wise' (886-912).[148] Below, I give the full text of the *doxastikon* in which this phrase is found:

> Δεῦτε λαοί, τὴν τρισυπόστατον Θεότητα προσκυνήσωμεν, Υἱὸν ἐν τῷ Πατρί, σὺν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι· Πατὴρ γὰρ ἀχρόνως ἐγέννησεν Υἱόν, συναΐδιον καὶ σύνθρονον, καὶ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἦν ἐν τῷ Πατρί, σὺν Υἱῷ δοξαζόμενον· μία δύναμις, μία οὐσία, μία Θεότης, ἣν προσκυνοῦντες πάντες λέγομεν· Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, ὁ τὰ πάντα δημιουργήσας δι' Υἱοῦ, συνεργείᾳ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, δι' οὗ τὸν Πατέρα ἐγνώκαμεν, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον ἐπεδήμησεν ἐν κόσμῳ. Ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, **τὸ Παράκλητον Πνεῦμα, τὸ ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, καὶ ἐν Υἱῷ ἀναπαυόμενον**, Τριὰς ἁγία, δόξα σοι.[149]

While the formulation referring to the Holy Spirit as proceeding from the Father and resting in the Son is nearly eight centuries old, it finds new currency in the fifteenth century in the context of Latin-Greek dialogue.[150] In one polemical treatise written around the turn of the fifteenth century, entitled *Against the Errors of the Latins*, Metropolitan Makarios of Ankyra, a member of Manuel II's entourage on his journey through Western Europe, uses the formulation

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[147] Chrysaphes includes a trope composed by Ioannes Kladas that utilises this phrase as well (attached to verse 20a and found in Iviron 1120, f. 40r.

[148] As composer, Leo the Wise is best known for the eleven *eothina doxastika* which he wrote sometime in the late ninth century, settings famously recast in the thirteenth century in a quasi-kalophonic style by the 'Teacher of Teachers', Ioannes Glykys, (MS Sinai 291, Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 180). For a comparative analysis of the melodies attributed to Leo the Wise with those of Ioannes Glykys (along with brief commentary on the eighteenth century settings of Iakovos Protopsaltes and the more concise, nineteenth century settings by Peter the Peloponnesian) see Nina-Maria Wanek, 'The Eleven Heothina in Postbyzantine Manuscripts of the Austrian National Library', in ed. G. Wolfram, *Tradition and Innovation in Late- and Postbyzantine Liturgical Chant* (Leuven), 357-66.

[149] 'Come, you peoples, let us worship the Godhead in three persons, the Son in the Father, with the Holy Spirit; for the Father timelessly begot the Son, co-eternal and co-reigning, and the Holy Spirit was in the Father, glorified with the Son; one power, one essence, one Godhead, whom we all worship as we say: Holy God, who created all things through the Son, with the co-operation of the Holy Spirit; Holy Strong, through whom we have come to know the Father, and through whom the Holy Spirit came into the world; Holy Immortal, the Advocate Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and rests in the Son. Holy Trinity, glory to you.' Translation by Fr. Ephrem Lash, from http://www.anastasis.org.uk/PentAll.htm.

[150] The scriptural precedent for such a formulation can perhaps be loosely associated with the use of the verb ἀναπαύω, to describe an action of the Spirit of God, in the middle voice in 'τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πνεύμα ἐν / ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύεται', found in 1 Ep. Petr.4.14.

in question to point out what he alleges to be the stupidity of the Latins.[151] Makarios, speaking of an iconographic depiction he encounters in the West while on his travels with Manuel II, writes:

> So, the description of the aforementioned icon is as follows. As a symbol... of the blessed and life-giving Trinity, as far as it is possible to contemplate what is beyond us using our own human experience – not to mention those people who lack in intelligence – the Latins traditionally depict on the one hand God the Father as 'The Ancient of Days'... seated on a throne stretching His arms, while His Son our Lord and God Jesus Christ [is depicted] as usual on the Cross... The Father holds the Cross upright from the level of His chest down to His feet, while He projects the Holy Spirit, in the form of a dove, from His mouth, as if towards His Son our Saviour Jesus Christ... **The depiction shows that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and rests and remains within the Son**. But the Latins, shutting their physical and spiritual eyes, remain indifferent to the holy sayings and decrees of the Fathers, and in this way to the meaning of the icon, thus erring in both respects.[152]

The appearance of this specific pronouncement of Orthodox Trinitarian theology in *Anoixantaria* tropes of the early to mid fifteenth century, as in the treatise cited above, should be viewed as a strident affirmation of Orthodox identity in the face of pro-union sentiment.

At the same time, a careful look at similar tropes in other musical MSS may lead to a more nuanced interpretation of Chrysaphes' settings, and correspondingly, his mentality with respect to the Latin-Greek question. The mid-fifteenth century Cretan manuscript Sinai 1529 contains an analogous trope attached to verse 33b of Psalm 103, composed by Kassianos the domestikos:[153]

> Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός, δόξα σοι, Πάτερ ἀγέννητε, καὶ Υἱέ γέννητε, νε δόξα σοι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ μόνου τοῦ Πατρός ἐκπορευόμενον, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
>
> [Glory to Thee, O God, Glory to Thee, unoriginate Father, and originate Son, Glory to Thee, O Spirit, who proceededst only from the Father, Glory to Thee, O God]

But here, in contrast to Iviron 1120, the Trinitarian formulation is preceded by a marginal inscription, one we have already seen above: 'κατὰ λατίνων'. Essentially the same trope is found elsewhere, as in the manuscript Societies of Antiquaries of London 48, appended to Ps.

[151] In its barest form, the formulation is as it appears in Chrysaphes' trope on Psalm 103:34a, cited above: 'Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, τὸ ἐκ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, καὶ ἐν Υἱῷ ἀναπαυόμενον' ('...the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father and rests in the Son').
[152] Metropolitan Makarios' commentary is related in Dendrinos, 'Manuel II', 417.
[153] MS Sinai 1529 (f. 19r). This information is based on A. Lingas, personal notes to an *in situ* reading of MS Sinai 1529, kindly shared with me on 24 May, 2013.

103:32a, with a marginal inscription that is a variation on the same theme: 'τοῦ Κορώνη κατά Λατίνων' ('by Korones, against the Latins'):[154]

> Δόξα σοι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ μόνου, και μόνου, ἐκπορευόμενον, Τριὰς ἁγία δόξα σοι[155]
>
> [Glory to Thee, the Holy Spirit, who from the Father, and only, and only (from the Father), proceededst, O holy Trinity Glory to Thee]

These two tropes are similar to Chrysaphes' found in Iviron 1120, except that they are preceded by the polemical marginal inscription 'against the Latins'. Here, as in the treatise by Metropolitan Makarios cited above, this phrase is used expressely to refute Latin doctrine. The addition of the phrase καὶ μόνου ('and only') in MSS Sinai 1529 and SAL 48 places extra emphasis on the single-procession of the Holy Spirit in contrast to the Latin doctrine of double-procession, as if to proclaim, 'the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father... and only from the Father... and ONLY from the Father!' No explicit reference to 'anti-Latinism' can be located in Chrysaphes' use of this phrase found in his autograph, Iviron 1120.

At the risk of using limited data to draw an overly broad conclusion, I would like to suggest that the manuscript evidence reviewed above paints a picture of a figure secure in his Orthodox identity, but one who presents the Orthodox dogmatic position in a non-polemical manner, perhaps in a spirit of conciliation to his Latin or *latinophronic* Greek colleagues. First, as we have noted, Chrysaphes includes the verses directly related to Palamite teachings in his autograph, Iviron 1120, without any polemical comments in the margins (anti-Latin or otherwise). This differs from several other fifteenth century Akolouthiai, whose scribes seem to follow the Late Byzantine trend of conflating anti-Palamism with anti-Latinism – using phrases such as 'against Barlaam and Akindynos' or 'against the Latins' prior to these tropes. Likewise, Chrysaphes composes tropes for Psalm 103 that employ stridently Orthodox formulations concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, yet we do not find any explicitly anti-Latin expressions in his autograph, Iviron 1120, as is the case in other contemporary Akolouthiai. An analysis of the contents of Iviron 1120 in the context of other fifteenth century Akolouthia paints a picture of an individual who seemed to occupy a middle ground between his former patrons in the empire & the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the Veneto-Cretan intelligentsia, with whom he was undoubtedly closely associated during the final period of his life.

[154] The same trope is also found in MS Agias Triados 113 (f. 6v-10v), referring to the settings from folios 6v-10v as 'τοῦ Κορώνη κατὰ λατίνων' (Stathis, *Μετέωρα*, 517).
[155] See Giannopoulos, *Αγγλία*, 158.

The Text of Psalm 103 and the Anoixantaria: Conclusions

Bless the Lord, O my soul (Ps 103.1a), the opening psalm of neo-Sabaïtic evening worship, was probably added to the public vespers service of Jerusalem before radiating north to Constantinople,[156] where it is found in liturgical documents at least as early as the tenth century. Its themes of day/night, light/darkness, and thanksgiving to God for creation make it especially appropriate for evening worship, especially in its original context (the Jerusalem Cathedral of the *Anastasis*), where the theme of light was ubiquitous. The earliest musical manuscripts containing notated settings of this psalm are from the early fourteenth century, and the oldest versions found therein testify to the practice of singing psalm verses accompanied by textually simple refrains, hearkening back to an archaic Cathedral Rite practice of singing the psalm all the way through, punctuated by refrains that were easily memorisable and executable by congregations. Already by the fourteenth century, however, the manuscripts testify to the widespread practice of troping the refrains, a compositional genre initiated by Koukouzeles and further developed by a multitude of other fourteenth and fifteenth century composers, including Ioannes Kladas and Manuel Chrysaphes. The simple refrain, 'Glory to Thee, O God', was transformed into expansive praise dedicated to the Holy Trinity, ranging from simple doxological interpolations (e.g., 'Glory to Thee, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit'), to elaborate expressions of Orthodox dogma, which in some cases seem to provide commentary on contemporary theological controversies that occupied Byzantine society at all levels. Chrysaphes himself composes 'topical' tropes as well as including those of other composers in his autograph. In doing so, he reveals his position as a traditional Orthodox adherent, but his behaviour as composer and scribe suggests that he was not invested in the anti-Latin rhetoric that is found in many other manuscripts of the fifteenth century, especially around the orbits of Crete and Cyprus, probably as a result of his close connection to individuals such as Ioannes Plousiadenos, Michalis Apostolis, and others of the Veneto-Cretan intelligentsia.

As Alexander Lingas notes, musicians of the Palaiologan era 'had the ability to alter drastically the surface of Byzantine liturgy'[157] without changing the core texts of the services in any meaningful way. This conclusion shall be proven true on the basis of the musical analysis which follows, but as I have endeavoured to show above, the *maistores* who followed in the

[156] Unless of course, it was first added by the Stoudites, as I have alluded to as a possibility several times above.
[157] Lingas, 'Sunday Matins', 8-9. Further in this study, Lingas discusses this potential variability, on account of the 'incursion' of florid monastic hymnody in Cathedral Rite services. One example is the Great Doxology that preceded the rite of the Resurrectional Gospel in Orthros. 'As was also the case with the Marian troparion 'It is truly meet,' [the hymns preceding the Orthros Gospel] could be greatly altered through the substitution of new Koukouzelian compositions for the [simpler] anonymous chants…' (Lingas, 'Sunday Matins', 263).

footsteps of Koukouzeles also had the ability to alter the surface of Byzantine liturgy by means of textual interpolation – this was precisely one of the tools they had at their disposal by which they could 'drastically alter' the shape of a late Byzantine office, as is seen here in the expansion of the *Anoixantaria* exclusively on the basis of the troped refrains.[158] Chrysaphes was an active participant in this practice and to this genre contributed some of the most impressive tropes, which gives an indication of the degree of freedom accorded to and exercised by the composers of Late Byzantium.

5.4 – The *Anoixantaria* in Iviron 1120: Music

Introduction

Speaking strictly, the *Anoixantaria* of Iviron 1120 are not exemplars of the kalophonic idiom. Indeed, with respect to their melodic shape and virtuosity, they reside somewhere in between the expansive *kalophonic stichera* and *kratemata* found in Kalophonic Sticheraria like Chrysaphes' autograph Iviron 975, and the simpler styles of the classical Sticherarion and those non-kalophonic genres that were anthologised alongside the kalophonic works in late Byzantine Akolouthiai, such as the (non-kalophonic) first kathisma of the Psalter, the *polyeleoi*,[159] and the simple chants of the *amomos* (Psalm 118). Kenneth Levy, in his important study of the Cherubic Hymn for Holy Thursday, described the difference between the older styles of Cathedral Rite collections and the new kalophonic styles: 'where the Asmatic and Psaltic styles embody rigorous applications of the centonate procedure, the kalophonic style tends towards freer melodic effusions. With a predilection for sequences and repeated notes, it is more improvisatory in character, but within its own set of melodic conventions.'[160] This tendency towards 'freer melodic effusions' is present in the tropes of the *Anoixantaria*, many of which feature large melodic leaps (a fifth to an octave), a wide vocal ambitus (stretching as much as a 12th in some cases), and 'effusive' melismatic writing employing sequencing and generally virtuosic vocal writing. Moreover, composers of *Anoixantaria* introduce modal heterogeneity through the use of phthorai, a classic 'kalophonic' attribute, while text troping – which reaches its apogee in the kalophonic sub-genre of the *anagrammatismoi* and *anapodismoi* – is one of the key methods of elaboration in the *Anoixantaria* refrains, along with even the incursion of *teretismatic* passages. Taking a broader view of the kalophonic

[158] This is discussed by Lingas with respect to Cathedral Rite Matins of Hagia Sophia in 'First Antiphon', passim).
[159] There are, of course, dozens of kalophonic settings of the Polyeleos. A voluminous survey of this genre is given in Achilleas Chaldaiakes, *Ο Πολυέλεος στη Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Μελοποιΐα* (Athens: IBM, 2003).
[160] Levy, 'Hymn for Thursday', 155. Levy defines centonate melodic texture as the recurrence of non-syllabic, yet brief melodic cells, 'independent units that reappear in various combinations' ('Hymn for Thursday', 135).

idiom, therefore, we can certainly assert that the genre of the *Anoixantaria* is kalophonic, at least with respect to many of its elements.

This third section of Chapter 5 deals with the music of the *Anoixantaria* settings.[161] The musical analysis begins with a comparison of the melodic phrases of the *Invitatorium* to the opening verses of Psalm 103. Next, I provide an analysis of the treatment of text in the psalm verse, looking at both the opening psalm-tone recitation as well as the verse's cadential patterns. It is in the latter case where Chrysaphes' departs from any of his predecessors, preferring textual intelligibility over stock-cadential formulas. This leads to an investigation of the phenomenon of 'migrating melodies' – tropes which are stable throughout the repertory but attached to different psalm verses in different MSS – first noticed by Velimirović and Williams, but to which I add several observations with respect to Iviron 1120. Finally, I look at the settings by Chrysaphes, highlighting the various kalophonic devices he utilises to create melodies that are balanced, yet virtuosic. The chapter closes with an analysis of two of Chrysaphes' most evocative settings, verses 31a and 20a, the latter a composition that migrates through all eight modes. This analysis cross-references Chrysaphes' treatise on the phthorai in an attempt towards providing a transcription of this melody. First, however, I provide an overview of the arrangement of the *Anoixantaria* in Iviron 1120, which tells us not only about Chrysaphes' musical tastes but also about relative chronology of the composers included. I take the opportunity here to provide a brief, updated prosopography of the composers whose settings of *Anoixantaria* Chrysaphes includes in his autograph.

The Anoixantaria in Iviron 1120 and Chronology

Another look at the beginning of Great Vespers in Iviron 1120 reminds us that, for Chrysaphes, Ioannes Koukouzeles was the preeminent figure responsible for the music of the Akolouthiai manuscript.[162] The title prior to the *Anoixantaria* on f. 30r – Ἀκολουθίαι συνετεθεῖσαι παρὰ Κυροῦ Ἰωάννου Μαΐστωρος τοῦ Κουκουζέλη – reflects Chrysaphes' acknowledgment of Koukouzeles' preeminent role as editor of this musical codex.[163] While only 5 of the 48 *Anoixantaria* settings which follow were composed by Koukouzeles, this sweeping attribution

[161] It is, unfortunately, out of the scope of this present study to discuss Chourmouzios the Archivist's transcriptions of the *Anoixantaria* settings by Koukouzeles, Kladas, Chrysaphes, et al., into the New Method of notation, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. These transcriptions can be found in MS EBE-MPT 703, pp. 19-165 (1818).

[162] The beginning of vespers actually begins several folios before: the unusual placement of the *Invitatorium* between the *Papadike* (collection of didactic diagrams and intonation formulas) and Chrysaphes' Treatise is discussed above in my summary of MS Iviron 1120 (cf. Ch. 3, pp. 143-45).

[163] The literal meaning of συνετεθεῖσα given by the LSJ is 'to put/add together', and thus in this context it is best translated as 'arranged' or 'edited' Chrysaphes is explicit when discussing the art of writing chants, or composing, for which he almost exclusively uses an alternative verb: ποιήσω. See also Velimirović, 'Prooemiac', 320.

should be viewed as the continuation of a tradition observed in the vast majority of fourteenth century Akolouthiai manuscripts, whose scribes single out Koukouzeles as editor primarily (or entirely) responsible for the arrangement of music in this new musical collection. Figure 5.13 shows the headings of Iviron 1120 ('1458') and EBE 2458 ('1336') side by side. They differ only slightly in that Chrysaphes' simply states 'The order of services edited by Lord Ioannes Koukouzeles the Maistor', whereas Koukouzeles' Akolouthia, EBE 2458, reads: 'The order of services edited by Lord Ioannes Koukouzeles the Maistor, from the beginning of Great Vespers through the completion of the Divine Liturgy.'[164]

FIGURE 5.13: THE BEGINNING OF VESPERS IN IVIRON 1120 (F. 30R) & EBE 2458 (F. 11R)

Despite being separated by a century, the scribes of these two sources are identical in their acknowledgment of the Koukouzelean provenance of this musical collection, a position reflecting his reputation as the forefather of the kalophonic movement. Chrysaphes' role as a conservator of Byzantine heritage is on display here, when one considers the fact that Koukouzeles' name no longer appears at the heading for the music of Vespers in most fifteenth century sources,[165] in contrast to *akolouthiai* of the fourteenth century, which almost exclusively attribute the editing of the materials which follow to Koukouzeles. Velimirović concludes that this 'is not that Koukouzeles' reputation had diminished… but that the setting of the prooemiac psalm was no longer treated as the work of an individual, because many more composers had become involved in writing the music for individual verses.'[166] Chrysaphes, operating as a scribe intent on preserving Byzantium's heritage as an émigré in the aftermath of Constantinople's conquest, compensates for this possible dilution of Koukouzeles' reputation, by placing his name at the front of the manuscript and also citing him in his treatise as the most important model to follow.

[164] This exact heading is found in other fourteenth century MSS, e.g., Vatopaidi 1495, ca. 1360-1385 (Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 820).
[165] Velimirović, 'Prooemiac', 321. For example, see MS EBE 2401, f. 46v, which does not mention Koukouzeles at the beginning of Great Vespers.
[166] Velimirović, 'Prooemiac', 321.

In the older Akolouthiai, such as Sinai 1257 and EBE 2458, two different strata of *Anoixantaria* settings are encountered: 1) an archaic layer of 'quasi-traditional' chants for verses 28b and 24b, and 2) a contemporary layer in the 'newly-composed' Koukouzelean chants for verses 29b, 31a, and 35a. EBE 2458 is the first manuscript to contain all five *Anoixantaria* verses by Koukouzeles which are then transmitted throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with a remarkable degree of stability. Iviron 1120, a product of the mid-fifteenth century, is naturally different in this respect. Chrysaphes preserves the oldest settings for verses 28b, 29a, and 24b, includes the settings of the 'new composers' who are now referred to as 'various old composers' (διαφόρων ποιητῶν παλαιῶν), and to these he adds a newer layer of compositions, mostly by him. Thus, Iviron 1120 contains three basic layers of *Anoixantaria* chants, the older anonymous settings, those composed by 'various old composers', and contemporary compositions, adding up to a total of 48 unique settings. This is only surpassed by the number included in the unusual Akolouthia, EBE 2401, which contains 54 *Anoixantaria* settings.[167]

Throughout his theoretical treatise, Chrysaphes asserts his authority through a construction of the past which he presents as fully in agreement with respect to compositional style and technique. Whether this agreement was real or imagined, Chrysaphes certainly possessed a very clear conception of which past composers adhered to traditional models and thus qualified as 'good'. Perhaps expectedly, these composers are presented in his treatise in chronological order, since inherent to a discussion of adherence to tradition is the notion of transmission of knowledge ('the science') from one generation to the next. Chrysaphes' chronological lineage of composers, which has been extensively cited by historians of Byzantine chant from the nineteenth century until today, is as follows:

> The first composer of *oikoi* was **Aneotes** and the second was **Glykys** who imitated Aneotes; next, the third was named **Ethikos** who followed as teacher the aforementioned two writers, and after all of these **Ioannes Koukouzeles** who, even though he was truly great, was a teacher and did not depart from the science of his predecessors... **Ioannes the**

[167] EBE 2401 contains *Anoixantaria* in two separate sections (cf. supra, fn. 74). In the first, from f. 47v-58v, there are 42 settings. The second section, from f. 268v-278v, includes the entire set of 13 Chrysaphes' *Anoixantaria* settings. It is unclear why the settings were separated by the scribes, but it is possible that Chrysaphes' settings were composed, and thus transmitted as a complete set, apart from the older settings. This is actually similar to the situation at the end of MS EBE 2406, which contains a set of Cherubic Hymns (primarily by Chrysaphes but also including settings by a few other fifteenth century composers) found at the end of the codex, separated from the rest of the Cherubic Hymns. This does not seem to have been noticed by either Conomos in *Trisagia and Cheroubika* or Velimirović in 'Athens 2406'.

> ***lampadarios*** **(Kladas)**... came after these men and who was in no way inferior to his predecessors… and I, too **(Chrysaphes)**, compose according to these old masters.[168]

What is relevant for our purposes here is that the chronological lineage preserved in Chrysaphes' treatise is reflected in Chrysaphes' ordering of *Anoixantaria* settings in Iviron 1120. In Chrysaphes' autograph the *Anoixantaria* verses are grouped together (i.e., all settings of v. 28b, followed by all settings of v. 29a, v. 29b, and so on). Under this hierarchy, the old, anonymous melodies are always included first, if they exist, which they do for v. 28b, 29a, and 24b, followed by Chrysaphes' unprecedented alternatives. For all other verses, if there is a setting by Koukouzeles, it is included first (Aneotes and Ethikos did not compose any *Anoixantaria* as the elaboration of this genre seems to have started with Koukouzeles). The second most represented composer in Iviron 1120 after Chrysaphes is Ioannes Kladas, the most important musical figure in between Koukouzeles and Chrysaphes, and as a reflection of this chronology, his compositions always appear after Koukouzeles' and before Chrysaphes' in Iviron 1120. The order observed with respect to these three musical giants is, consistently, Koukouzeles → Kladas → Chrysaphes. Although the imperial musician and later contemporary of Koukouzeles, Xenos Korones, is not mentioned in the lineage above, he is mentioned in Chrysaphes' treatise as a member of the pantheon of musical predecessors,[169] and it is interesting to note that his chronological place is also preserved in the ordering of *Anoixantaria* verses. For example, in the only verse for which Chrysaphes includes settings by all four aforementioned composers (v. 33a, Ἄσω τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου, f. 33v-35r), the order Koukouzeles → Korones → Kladas → Chrysaphes is maintained. In several other settings not set by Koukouzeles, the generational order of Korones → Kladas → Chrysaphes is preserved (cf. Fig. 5.11). Thus, in the arrangement of eponymous settings of the *Anoixantaria* in Iviron 1120, Chrysaphes, in addition to giving us an idea of the composers and compositions he preferred, gives us clues into chronology pertaining to key Byzantine ecclesiastical musicians.

[168] Conomos, *Treatise*, 44-45. A portion of this chronology is also corroborated in an autograph of Gregory Mpounes Alyates, MS Sinai 1262 from the year 1437, which, like Chrysaphes, places Michael Ananeotes, Ioannes Glykyes, and Ioannes Glykys in ascending chronological order (Lykourgos Aggelopoulos, 'Ιωάννης Κουκουζέλης ο Βυζαντινός Μαΐστωρ', in *Κύκλος Ελληνικής Μουσικής, Βυζαντινοί Μελουργοί, Μεγάρου Μουσικής Αθηνών* (Athens, 1994-5), 64).

[169] Chrysaphes references Korones' 'methods' (i.e., pedagogical chants) for *kratemata* and for *stichera* (Iviron 1120, f. 13v).

FIGURE 5.14: TABLE OF VERSES AND COMPOSERS IN VARIOUS AKOLOUTHIAI[170]

		EBE 2458	EBE 2444	Amb Cod L36	Amb Cod Q11	EBE 899	Wein Phil gr 194	EBE 2599	EBE 2456	Sinai 1293	EBE 2401 f. 47v-58v	EBE 2401 f. 268v-278v	EBE 2406	EBE 2837	Iviron 1120
		1336	14th c.	1341-60	1360-85	15th c.	15th c.	14th-15th c.	14th-15th c.	15th c.	mid-15th c.	mid-15th c.	1453	1457	1458
28b	Ἀνοιξαντός σου	Zz	Zz	LACUNA	Zz	Zz	Zz		LACUNA	Zz	Zz	Ch		Zz	Zz, Ch
29a	Ἀποστρέψαντός						Zz	Zz		Zz	Zz	Ch	Zz	Zz	Zz, Ch
29b	Ἀντανελεῖς	Kz	Kz		Kz	Gp	Gp	Gp		Gp, Kl, Kz	Gp, Kl	Ch	Gp Kl	Gp	Kz1, Gp, Kl, Ch
29c	Καὶ εἰς τὸν χοῦν														
30a	Ἐξαποστελεῖς	Gp	Gp	Gp	Gp	Kz3	Kz3	Kz3, Kz2		Kz3, Kz2, Kl	Kz3, Kl	Ch	Kz3, Kl	Kz3	Kz3, Kl, Ch, Ag
30b	Καὶ ἀνακαινιεῖς				Xk2										
31a	ἦτω ἡ δόξα	Kz2, Xk1, Xk2	Kz2	Kz2	Kz2	Kz5	Kz5	Kz5		Kz5, Kl	Kz5, Kl	Ch	Kz5, Kl, Kz2, Nk2	Kz5, Kz1	Kz5, Kl, Ch
31b	Εὐφρανθείσεται			Xk6	Xk4								Km		
32a	Ὁ ἐπιβλέπων	Xk3	Gk1	Gk1	Gk1	Gk1, Kz1, Kl	Gk1, Kz1, Kl	Gk1, Kl	Gk1, Kl	Gk1, Kl	Gk1, Kz1, Kl	Ch	Gk1, Kz1, Kl	Kz1	Gk, Kz1, (v)2r, Kl,
32b	Ὁ ἁπτόμενος		Xk4	Xk4	Xk3										
33a	Ἄσω τῳ Κυρίω	Kz3	Kz3	Kz3	Kz3	Kz2, Ag	Kz2	Kz4, Ag, Kz2	Kz4, Ag, Kl, Gk2	Kz4, Ag, Kl, Gk2	Kz2, Ag, Kl, Mk	Ch	Kz4, Ag, Kl	Kz2, Ag, Kl	Kz4, Xk, Kl, Ch, Mk
33b	Ψαλῶ		Xk3	Xk3	Gk2						Mk		Xk3		
34a	Ἠδυνθείη		Xk2	Gk2	Xk2	Kz4, Gk2, Kl	Kz4, Kl	Xk4, Kl	Xk4, Kl	Xk4, Kl	Kz4, Gk2, Kl, Ka	Ch	Gk2, Kl	Kz4, Xk4, Kl	Xk, Kl, Ch, Gk
34b	Ἐγὼ δε		Xk5	Kz5	Xk5		Gk2								Mk
35a	Ἐκλοίποιεν	Kz4	Kz4	Kz4	Kz4	Xk5, Xk4, Kl	Xk4 Kl	Xk5 Kl	Xk5 Kl	Xk5 Kl	Xk5, Xk4, Xk3, Kl, Kl,	Ch	Xk5, Xk4, Kl, Kl, Dk,	Xk5, Kl	Xk, Kl, Ch, Am
35b	Καὶ ἄνομοι		Xk6	Xk5	Xk6						Xk6, Mg		Mh	Kl	Mh
35c	Εὐλόγει	Kz5	Xk7	Xk7	Kz5	Xk2, Kl	Xk5, Kl	Xk2, Kl	Xk2, Kl	Xk2, Kl	Xk2, Kl, Sg, Jf, Gm	Ch	Kl, Sg	Kl	Xk, Kl, Ch
19b	Ὁ ἥλιος		Xk8	My	Xk8		Ag						Xk6, My, Jo		Kp
20a	Ἔθου σκότος			Nk1	Xk7	Xk8, Kl	Xk8, Kl	Xk8, Xk2, Kl	Xk8, Kl	Xk8, Kl	Xk8, Kl	Ch	Xk8, Kl, Sg Am	Xk8, Xk2, Kl, Nk1, Ka, Jk	Xk, Kl, Ch, Ka, Jk
24a	Ὡς ἐμεγαλύνθη		Nk1								Nk1, X11, Gv, Jo	Ch	Xk9, Xk10, Gv, Ni	Gk2	Ch, Nk
24b	Πάντα ἐν σοφία	Zz	Zz	Zz	Zz	Zz	Zz	Zz	Zz	Zz	Zz	Ch	Zz	Zz	Zz, Ch

Zz	Traditional (not composed)	Sg	Georgios Sgouropoulos
Yy	Traditional (composed?)	Am	Ampelokipiotis Iereus
Ch	Manuel Chrysaphes	Ka	Kasian (Domestikos)
Kz	Ioannes Koukouzeles	Ni	Nikola
Xk	Xenos Korones	Gv	Gavala
Mk	Manuel Korones	Jo	Joasaf
Ag	Agathon Korones	Jk	Joakeim
Kl	Ioannes Kladas	Kp	Kampares
Gk	George Kontopetris	Gm	Gerasim
Nk	Nikon the Monk	Jf	Josif
My	Mihail Mystakonos	Rd	Redestinos
Gp	George Panaretos	Mh	George Moschianos
Km	Kamarianos		

The following section presents a brief biographical summary of the fourteen composers included by Chrysaphes in the collection of *Anoixantaria* in Iviron 1120. This variety surpasses that found in the collections of all earlier Akolouthiai. The composers represented include the most well known musicians of Palaiologan Byzantium, including fourteenth century figures such as Ioannes Koukouzeles and Xenos Korones, as well as those operating in the fifteenth century, such as Ioannes Kladas and, of course, Manuel Chrysaphes. Various settings of lesser known composers, encountered relatively infrequently in the MSS, are also included. The composers below are presented based on their order of appearance in Iviron 1120. Figure 5.14 (above) provides a list of settings of *Anoixantaria* in key manuscripts

[170] Based on Velimirović, 'Prooemiac', 322-23, slightly modified.

analysed by Velimirović. To his list I add the settings of Chrysaphes in EBE 2401[171] and Iviron 1120, which he did not include in his analysis.

Ioannes Koukouzeles Papadopoulos,[172] who has been referred to as 'the second source of Greek music,'[173] 'διδάσκαλος τῶν διδασκάλων',[174] 'μαΐστωρ', 'ὄντως μαΐστωρ' or Chrysaphes' favourite, 'ὁ χαριτώνυμος',[175] was perhaps the most influential musical personality of the fourteenth century. Today, he is commemorated as a saint in the Orthodox Church on 1 October along with two fellow ecclesiastical musicians, Ss Romanos and Gregory the *domestikos*.[176] Born around 1280[177] in Dyrrachium (present day Durrës, Albania), in all likelihood to a Slavic mother and Greek father, he trained early in life at the imperial school in Constantinople where his talents eventually propelled him into the employment of the imperial court under the Emperor Andronikos II Palaeologos (1282-1328).[178] At some point between 1309 and 1328,[179] he became a monk at the Great Lavra monastery on Mt Athos, where he likely overlapped with St Gregory Palamas. According to his *Vita*, his life as a monk followed the coenobitic style of fourteenth century monasticism, in which weekdays were spent in silent contemplation away from the monastery's main *katholikon*,[180] while weekends saw the unification of individual monks in the corporate participation of all-night vigils and the Divine Liturgy. A rubric in MS Athens 884[181] is taken by some scholars to indicate that Koukouzeles had died by the manuscript's date of 1341, although others have argued that there is evidence to suggest he lived until the mid to late fourteenth century.[182] Whatever age he lived to, his chronological placement in the fourteenth century is corroborated by the lineage of teachers in Chrysaphes' treatise, where he is located between Ioannes Glykys and before Ioannes Kladas. That Glykys was his predecessor and teacher is confirmed by the miniature and rubric on a now lost folio from Koutloumousiou 457 (f. 1r) that shows him seated with Xenos Korones, at the feet of Ioannes Glykys, who holds a staff as he teaches the art of *cheironomia* to his two students.[183] Chrysaphes' ordering of the *Anoixantaria* in Iviron 1120 preserves this same

[171] It seems that Velimirović missed these additional settings due to their unusual placement in the MS.
[172] Early references to his surname,'Papadopoulos', appear in two of Chrysaphes' fifteenth century autographs, Iviron 975 (f. 303v) and Iviron 1120 (f. 198v: Κύρ Ἰωάννου μαΐστωρος Παπαδοπούλου τοῦ Κουκουζέλη).
[173] Williams, *Koukouzeles*, viii.
[174] MS Iviron 1205 (seventeenth century), f. 273r: 'Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κουκουζέλη καὶ Παπαδοπούλου διδάσκαλος τῶν διδασκάλων καὶ μαΐστορος τῶν μαιστόρων' (Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 127, fn. 2).
[175] See, for example, in Chrysaphes' treatise, Iviron 1120, f. 15r: 'Ὁ γὰρ χαριτώνυμος μαΐστωρ, ὁ Κουκουζέλης...' ('For the grace-filled maistor, Koukouzeles…'). Conomos notes that χαριτώνυμος is an early Greek epithet for the name Ioannes (*Treatise*, 43).
[176] Conomos, *Communion Cycle*, 79.
[177] Simon Karas arrives at a much early date for Koukouzeles (2nd half of twelfth century), which is not accepted by most scholars. See Simon Karas, *Ιωάννης Μαΐστωρ ο Κουκουζέλης και η εποχή* του (Athens: Σύλλογος προς διάδοσιν της εθνικής μουσικής, 1992), 65.
[178] New Grove, Vol. 13: 841 'Ioannes Koukouzeles'.
[179] MS Iviron 984 (mid-15th c.), f. 48v: Ποίημα τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου μαΐστορος, ὁ διὰ τοῦ θείου καὶ ἀγγελικοῦ σχίματος ὑπονομασθῆς (sic) Ἰωαννίκιος μοναχός, ἦχος πλ. δ΄, Ὡς σκεύη κεραμέως (Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα III*, 812)
[180] Lingas, 'Hesychasm', 156.
[181] The scribe of MS EBE 884, 'Athanasios', suggests that Koukouzeles was no longer alive in 1341, the year of the manuscript's production, in a note on f. 390v: 'ἐξ ἀντιγράφου πάνυ διορθωμένου / ὄντως κἀκείνου τοῦ πάλαι Κουκουζέλη' (Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 127, fn. 4). Conomos notes that the earliest surviving version of Koukouzeles' *Vita* is in MS Vlatadon 46 ('1591'), which seems to have escaped the notice of Williams (Conomos, *Communion Cycle*, 79).
[182] Williams references two non-musical references to Koukouzeles in the sources that place him in an encounter with the Patriarch Philotheos, likely during the latter's years of exile (1355 – 1363) in between stints as Patriarch from 1353-54 and again from 1364-76 (*Koukouzeles*, 312-14).
[183] According to Stathes, this miniature was likely stolen from Uspensky, under whom it was published in St. Petrov-Hr. Kodov, Old Bulgarian Musical Documents, Sophia, 1973 (p. 42). Stathis dates this to the second half of fourteenth century (Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 126). The rubric that accompanies this miniature is purported

lineage: if Koukouzeles has set a particular verse, his setting is presented first in the manuscript.[184] Koukouzeles precedes Korones and Kladas, and in turn, Korones always precedes Kladas, who always precedes Chrysaphes. This chronological assembly of the *Anoixantaria* in 1120 is demonstrated, for example, on fols. 33v – 34v, where four settings of verse 33a ('I will sing unto the Lord') are presented in the aforementioned chronological order: Koukouzeles, Korones, Kladas, and Chrysaphes.[185]

The earliest musical witnesses to Koukouzeles are two Heirmologia, MS St. Petersburg 121 (1302) and MS Sinai 1256 (1309),[186] which, on the basis of their colophons (which both refer to Koukouzeles), their cadential patterns and melodic content, and based on the subsequent stability of the transmission of the Heirmologion according to the forms following these two manuscripts, led Oliver Strunk to the conclusion that Koukouzeles was responsible for editing and arranging the repertory of the Heirmologion.[187] Later, Raasted's analysis of MS Sinai gr. 1256 along with three other important fourteenth century *Sticheraria*, led him to a similar conclusion concerning Koukouzeles' relationship to the repertory of the classical *Sticherarion*.[188] Koukouzeles' most important manuscript, the aforementioned MS EBE 2458 written in the year 1336, was an exemplar for those which followed, including Chrysaphes' Iviron 1120. Chrysaphes gives Koukouzeles credit for the editing of his Akolouthia (Iviron 1120, fol. 30r), highlighting the persistence of his influence over a century after his activity. EBE 2458 contains a number of Koukouzeles' kalophonic chants from almost every repertory of Vespers and Orthros, along with his famous didactic chant, 'Ison, Oligon, Oxeia',[189] and some widely transmitted diagrams attributed to him, such as the *trochos* (wheel). His compositional output is prolific, consisting of hundreds of compositions in all genres (over 100 of his compositions are included in Chrysaphes' Iviron 1120), though his output for the Divine Liturgy is more limited in contrast to the likes of Kladas and Chrysaphes. He is known to have embellished the works of several of his predecessors, including those of Nikolaos Klobas, Theodore Manugras, Ioannes Glykys, Nikolaos Kampanes, Symeon of Pseritzes, David Karbunariotes, and some old stichera (labelled 'Palaion' in the MSS).[190] Koukouzeles' works were faithfully copied through the post-Byzantine period into the period of the notational reform. His kalophonic stichera are well represented in the exegetical autographs of

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to have read, 'Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ ἁγίῳ τοῦ μεγάλου ἑσπερινοῦ, ἀπὸ χοροῦ, περιέχει δὲ ἀλλάγματα παλαιά τε καὶ νέα, διαφόρων ποιητῶν, τοῦ τε θαυμαστοῦ πρωτοψάλτου τοὺ Γλυκὺ καὶ τῶν διαδόχων ἀυτοῦ καὶ φοιτητῶν κυροῦ Ξένου καὶ πρωτοψάλτου τοῦ Κορώνη καὶ τοῦ Παπαδοπούλου κυροῦ Ἰωάννου καὶ μαΐστορος τοῦ Κουκουζέλη, σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἑτέρων'.

[184] The exception to this is v. 32a, Ὁ ἐπιβλέπων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, for which Georgios Kontopetris' verse is included first. This follows the ordering of several older manuscripts, including EBE 899, Vienna Phil. gr. 194, EBE 2401, and EBE 2406 (see Velimirović, 'Prooemiac', 330-31). This suggests that Kontopetris was a member of the generation of composers prior to Koukouzeles.

[185] Two additional settings of this verse, one unidentified and one by the mid-14th century composer, Manuel Korones, are included after the Chrysaphes setting. Chrysaphes appears to adhere to a chronological arrangement of verses for the major composers but less so for the minor ones.

[186] MS Sinai gr. 1256 (1309) was copied by the calligrapher Irene, the daughter of Theodore Hagiopetrites, from an autograph of Koukouzeles: 'τέλος, τέλος, δόξα Θεῷ. ἀμὴν. Χεὶρ Ἰωάννου Παπαδοπούλου τοῦ Κουκουζέλη. Σὺν Θεῷ ἐπληρώθη τὸ παρὸν εἱρμολόγιον διὰ χειρὸς Εἰρήνης ἁμαρτωλῆς θυγατρὸς Θεοδώρου τοῦ Ἁγιοπετρίτου καὶ καλλιγράφου' (Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 198-99).

[187] Strunk, *Essays*, 199-201.

[188] Jørgen Raasted's two similar works on the subject (Sticherarion and Sinai gr. 1230, cited above in Chapter 1) follow on the earlier work of Strunk to conclude that the Sticherarion Sinai gr. 1230 was eventually revised by Koukouzeles sometime in the beginning of the 14th century, based on a collation of musical formulas from various manuscripts including Dionysiou 564, Vatopaidi 1493, and Ambrosianus A 139 sup. These manuscripts, according to Strunk and later, Raasted, contained cadential figures and other elements that resembled the same 'Koukouzelian' features observed in his revisions of the Heirmologion.

[189] About which, see Gabor Dévai, 'The Musical Study of Koukouzeles in a 14th Century Manuscript', *Acta antiqua Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae* VI (1958): 213-35.

[190] Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 199.

Chourmouzios Chartofylakos.[191] Interestingly, the compositions ascribed to Koukouzeles in the earliest MSS are from the repertory of the *prooemiakos* (Psalm 103) and represent the earliest witnesses of Psalm 103 in a musical manuscript. All five of Koukouzeles' original melodies for the *Anoixantaria* are transmitted in his Akolouthia EBE 2458 (it should be noted that it has not yet been proven that Koukouzeles was the actual scribe of this MS).[192]

Manuel Chrysaphes includes thirteen newly composed settings of *Anoixantaria* in Iviron 1120, the most prolific output for any composer of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries within this genre.[193] This includes his new melodies for the 'traditional' verses (28b, 29a, and 24b), settings that highlight the theme – which is present throughout Chrysaphes' oeuvre – of a composer who appeared to vigilantly defend the tradition of the 'old masters', through copying, imitation, and theoretical writings, while simultaneously taking liberties to move the tradition forward in ways that had not been broached by those that came before him. It is interesting to note MS EBE 2401, which contains all of Chrysaphes' original settings,[194] transmits the same verse-trope pairings found in Iviron 1120. While more exhaustive study of post-Byzantine manuscripts is needed to confirm this point, this at least suggests that by the time of the production of EBE 2401 (mid-15th c.), Chrysaphes' settings had crystallised as compositional units to an even greater degree than those of Koukouzeles, for which we can observe variability in the migration of melodies among psalm verses and in the verse-trope pairings (i.e., Velimirović's 'migrating melodies', about which, see below) – not to speak of the migration across services and rites as noted above. His unprecedented output for the music of the prooemiac psalm is matched or surpassed in several other genres, for which he composed dozens of settings (e.g., Μακάριος ἀνήρ, *polyeleoi*, *kalophonic stichera*, *kratemata*, etc.) or entire cycles, i.e., one composition for each mode (e.g., *alleluiaria*, Cherubic Hymns, and *koinonika*). Chrysaphes includes over 200 of his own compositions in Iviron 1120 and his works are anthologised throughout the post-Byzantine manuscript tradition (and without parallel in Crete).

George Panaretos was an early fourteenth century Byzantine composer whose works survive in MSS EBE 2458 (1336), Konstamonitou 86 (early 15th c.), and Iviron 1120. He has been confused with Manuel Panaretos the priest, to whom no relationship has yet been established.[195] He is also the author of two well-transmitted *koinonika*, an Αἰνεῖτε in plagal first mode and an ordinary for Saturday Liturgy, Μακάριοι οὓς ἐξελέξω also in the plagal first mode,[196] as well as anaphoral responses for the Liturgy of St Basil (Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος)[197] and the post-Communion response Εὐλογήσω τὸν Κύριον ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ – Ἀλληλούια, in the plagal first mode (included by Chrysaphes in Iviron 1120, f. 579v). His one setting of the *Anoixantaria* included by Chrysaphes (on f. 31r, attached to verse 29b) forms part of the core

[191] Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 163-256.
[192] Refer to the classifications of Williams and Velimirović.
[193] At the time of Williams' study, it was believed that 'the ten chants of Lampadarios (i.e., Kladas), the five of Koukouzeles, and the eleven of Koronis comprise[d] the three largest individual repertories for the Prooemiac Psalm' (*Koukouzeles*, 175).
[194] Chrysaphes' settings are also transmitted in EBE 2401, where they appear as a complete set, from f. 268v-270v separate from the rest of the *Anoixantaria* (cf. supra, fn. 74, 167).
[195] In his prosopographical entry for George Panaretos, Conomos (*Communion Cycle*, 81) mentions a 'singular reference, otherwise unknown' to Manuel Panaretos (on f. 200v of MS Ambrosiana Q. 11). In Iviron 1120, the distinction between the two is clear: Chrysaphes typically refers to Manuel Panaretos as κὺρ Μανουὴλ ἱερέως (Lord Manuel, priest), as in f. 465r prior to his setting of the *amomos* verse 'Ὡς γλυκέα τῷ λάρυγγί μου τὰ λόγιά σου', or as Μανουὴλ τοῦ Παναρέτου as in f. 471r in his setting of 'Τῆς φωνῆς μου ἄκουσον, Κύριε also from the *amomos*. George Panaretos, on the other hand, is referred to as κὺρ Γεωργίου τοῦ Παναρέτου.
[196] Transmitted in MSS Xeropotamou 307 and Docheiariou 337 (Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα I*, 114-15, 403-4).
[197] MS Iviron 1120, f. 524v.

repertory of settings that are consistently transmitted in Akolouthia manuscripts from the fourteenth (e.g., EBE 899) until the nineteenth century.[198]

Ioannes Kladas the *lampadarios*, the 'most-sweet-of-all',[199] preceded Chrysaphes as imperial court musician, holding the position of *lampadarios* of the royal clergy, as indicated in MS 2406 ('1453') where he is referred to as Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κλαδᾶ καὶ λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ εὐαγοῦς βασιλικοῦ κλήρου. He is listed among the 'new composers' in MS EBE 2622[200] and referred to almost exclusively in the musical sources by his imperial title, *lampadarios* (as Ἰωάννου τοῦ λαμπαδαρίου, or simply, τοῦ λαμπαδαρίου),[201] or later, as 'the old' *lampadarios*. He probably lived from the middle of the fourteenth century until the first quarter of the fifteenth. The earliest source that preserves the compositions of Kladas is MS Vatopaidi 1495 (c. 1360-1385).[202] A rubric in the Cypriot MS Machairas A4, fol. 175v, states that certain Lamentations for the Theotokos were set by Kladas at the request of the Patriarch Matthew I (1396-1410),[203] strongly suggesting that they were contemporaries, and furthermore, Kladas is known to have set to music the texts of the Constantinopolitan composer and singer Ioannes Laskares, who also lived in the second half of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries.[204] He had certainly died by the 1450s: he is referred to as τοῦ μακαρίτου ('blessed') λαμπαδαρίου κυροῦ Ἰωάννου in Iviron 1120 (f. 437r), a common Byzantine appellation applied to deceased members of the church, and a similar reference is found in EBE 2406, written 5 years earlier in 1453.[205] This corresponds to the fact that by that time, and perhaps as early as 1440, the imperial post of *lampadarios* was occupied by Chrysaphes, as we have shown above. It is not entirely clear exactly how many individuals occupied the position of *lampadarios* between the time of Kladas and Chrysaphes, but there was certainly one: Manuel Gazes, a Constantinopolitan musician, referred to as *lampadarios* in the sources, who would later immigrate to Crete.[206] It is therefore improbable that Kladas was actually a teacher of Chrysaphes, whose activity stretches at least to 1469, although the possibility that they overlapped for at least a few years cannot yet be ruled out.

No autographed codices of Kladas survive, but he has left hundreds of compositions across virtually every ecclesiastical musical genre, showing a particular, personal affection for the Theotokos, as can be judged by the number of compositions he wrote in honour of her.[207] Over one hundred compositions of his are included in Iviron 1120, which is further validation of Chrysaphes' admiration for him. Relative to the scant biographical information that has been left concerning his later contemporary, Chrysaphes, sufficient information is known about Kladas' personal life. For example, it is known that he had a wife, Laskarina, and that he had two sons, the first who became a monk at the Evergetinos Monastery in Constantinople, and the second who was a *domestikos* of the royal clergy in Hagia Sophia, suggesting that he was a

[198] Transmitted in MSS Xeropotamou 307 (1767 & 1770) and Xeropotamou 305 (early nineteenth century). See Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα I*, 95, 108. His setting is also transcribed into the New Method notation and included in several printed volumes from the nineteenth century.

[199] Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ τοῦ Πρώτου ἤχου, ποίημα τοῦ πανυγλυκυτάτου κὺρ Ἰωάννου Κλαδᾶ καὶ λαμπαδάριου, Ἄνωθεν οἱ προφῆται (Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα III*, 814, f. 132r).

[200] Conomos, *Communion Cycle*, 77-78. See also Dimitri E. Conomos, 'Music for the Evening Office on Whit Sunday', in *Actes du XV^e Congrès International des Études Byzantines*, 1, Athens, 1979, 453-69, fn. 21.

[201] Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 213-14.

[202] Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 207.

[203] Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 214.

[204] EBE 2406, f. 432v (Touliatos-Miles, *National Library*, 353).

[205] Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 214.

[206] At this point, it is not known why he left Constantinople given his important imperial position, but it is not impossible that he was likeminded with many intellectuals who fled Constantinople in the fifteenth century for the more sure harbors of Crete or even Italy.

[207] Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 215.

talented singer as well.[208] A unique reference in EBE 2406 mentions another child of Kladas, his daughter, who is presented as a musician, if not also a composer of Byzantine ecclesiastical music.[209]

Iviron 1120 includes nine of Kladas' settings of the *prooemiakos*, which is consistent with the number included in complementary fifteenth century manuscripts, EBE 2401 and Sinai 1293,[210] and one shy of the total number of settings according to Williams.[211] While Koukouzeles and Korones certainly composed in the more elaborate kalophonic style before the time of Kladas, Kladas seems to have taken it to a new level, at least with respect to melodic elaboration and vocal virtuosity. As the analysis below will show, Kladas extends vocal lines through use of sequencing ('melodic clichés' to Williams[212]), extends vocal tessitura, and even expands the modal palette of the *Anoixantaria* by more frequently utilizing the *nenano* phthora, and by writing a setting that cycles through all eight modes. This behaviour – as well as composition of completely new material, such as onomatopoeically named kratemata,[213] and *asmatic heirmoi* highlights Kladas as an innovator. Chrysaphes follows directly in the footsteps of Kladas, not simply composing time-honoured traditional chants such as *Anoixantaria* and *Oikoi* of the Akathist Hymn, but also imitating his predecessor in composing oktoechal settings of *Anoixantaria* verses as well as his own sets of *Asmatic* – or as Chrysaphes calls them in Iviron 975 – *kalophonic* heirmoi.[214] It should come as no surprise then that Chrysaphes takes great pains to present Ioannes Kladas the *lampadarios* as adhering to the exact science of his predecessors, especially Koukouzeles, the founder of the kalophonic movement that Chrysaphes was endeavouring to document and preserve.

George Kontopetris was a younger contemporary of the four most famous thirteenth and fourteenth century composers, Nikiphoros Ethikos, Ioannes Glykys, Xenos Korones, and Ioannes Koukouzeles, having Koukouzeles' as teacher, according to Gregorios Stathis,[215] and holding the position of *domestikos*.[216] His setting from Psalm 103, included on f. 32v of Chrysaphes' Iviron 1120 (attached to verse 32a), appears in most of the MSS surveyed by Velimirović and in three of the four from the fourteenth century (EBE 2444, Ambrosianus Cod. L36, and Ambrosianus Cod. Q11). Based on this, his activity in the early- to mid-14th is probable and thus he must have counted as one the 'old composers' in Chrysaphes' opening rubric to the music of Vespers in Iviron 1120. Other works of Kontopetris survive in Koutloumousi 457, Athens 2062, Vienna theol. gr. 185, and Chrysaphes' Iviron 975.[217] He composed the text and music for hymns in 15-syllable verse[218] and was an embellisher of

[208] Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 215 (citing Trapp, *Probleme*, 185).
[209] Velimirović, 'EBE 2406', 12. See also Achilleas Chaldaeakes, 'The Woman Figure in Byzantine Melopoeia', in ed. Nina-Maria Wanek, *Psaltike. Neue Studien zur Byzantinischen Musik: Festschrift für Gerda Wolfram* (Wien: Praesens, 2011).
[210] MS Sinai 1293 is probably from the early 15th century. Previously, it was incorrectly dated by Beneschevich as well as the LOC catalogue of Sinai MSS (Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 79).
[211] Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 199.
[212] Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 197.
[213] E.g., Iviron 993, f. 279r-v: Στίχοι ποιηθέντες εἰς τὸ κράτημα τὸ λεγόμενον βιόλα, παρὰ κὺρ Ἰωάννου λαμπαδαρίου δι'ὁρισμοῦ καὶ ζητήσεως τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου πατριάρχου κυρίου Ματθαίου.
[214] Although it is Chrysaphes who first uses the term 'kalophonic heirmoi' (MS Iviron 975 f. 87v, Τῇ ἁγία καὶ μεγάλη Κυριακῇ τοῦ Πάσχα· εἱρμοὶ καλοφωνικοὶ ψαλλόμενοι ὕστερον εἰς τὴν καταβασίαν· ᾠδὴ α', ποίημα κὺρ Ἰωάννου λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Κλαδᾶ, Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα), it is Kladas who first composes the heirmoi of the canons in this elaborate, kalophonic style. This genre and the appearance of the term 'kalophonic heirmoi' in Chrysaphes' autographs is discussed in Chapter 1.
[215] Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 127.
[216] Stathis, *Δεκαπεντασύλλαβος*, 104.
[217] E.g., Iviron 975, f. 120r: τοῦ Κοντοπετρῆ, [ἦχος] βαρὺς Ἐπιλαβέτω τρόμος.
[218] Stathis, *Δεκαπεντασύλλαβος*, 104-5.

hymns from the *Sticherarion*,[219] affirming his role as one of the key figures involved in the kalophonic movement's formative period.

Xenos Korones was a fourteenth century ecclesiastical musician who hailed from what seems to have been a very musical family. His brother, the monk Agathon, and his son, Manuel, were both musicians active in and around Constantinople in the fourteenth century and both of their works are included by Chrysaphes in Iviron 1120. Other composers bearing the name Korones include Theodoros, Nicandros (perhaps Xenos' brother), and Laskares.[220] Xenos was probably a younger contemporary of Koukouzeles, as he is depicted along with Koukouzeles learning from Ioannes Glykys in the aforementioned miniature from Koutloumousiou 457.[221] Fol. 602r of Iviron 1120 contains a *theotokion* composed by Korones, 'Σὲ μεγαλύνομεν – Τὴν ἄσπιλον καὶ ἄχραντον', with words written by Isidoros I, Patriarch of Constantinople (1347-49), an inscription found in at least two other important fifteenth century sources, EBE 2604 and Dionysiou 570.[222] Other sources suggest that he was a senior contemporary of Nikolaos Klobas and a contemporary of the poet Melissenus.[223] Thus, he can be safely placed in the middle of the fourteenth century.

Xenos Korones is referred to as *lampadarios* in the Koukouzelean Akolouthia EBE 2458 ('1336'),[224] while he is called *protopsaltes* by Chrysaphes throughout Iviron 1120 (see Fig. 5.15 below for one example written in Chrysaphes' hand). In the late fifteenth century MS EBE 885, he is referred to as 'πρωτοψάλτης τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κλήρου' ('*protopsaltes* of the royal clergy'), an attestation that enables us to discount later sources which erroneously associate him with the cathedral Hagia Sophia (e.g., the eighteenth century MS Meteora 329[225] or the early nineteenth century MS Xeropotamou 317).[226] He was thus most likely appointed *protopsaltes* at some point after 1336, before which he was *lampadarios* in the royal clergy (although this would not have excluded his singing at Hagia Sophia from time to time as a member of the imperial retinue). As is the case with Manuel Chrysaphes, it seems to have been later historiography and manuscript ascription that began to confuse the musical roles of the royal palace with those of the cathedral, Hagia Sophia.

[219] MS Sinai gr. 1251 (fifteenth century): Τῇ Κυριακῇ τῆς ἁγίας Πεντηκοστῆς, Ποίημα τοῦ Δαλασσηνοῦ, Ἐκαλλωπίσθη δὲ παρὰ κύρου Γεωργίου τοῦ Κοντοπέτρη, *Γλῶσσαι ποτὲ συνεχέσθησαν* (Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 207).

[220] 'Theodore' is found in MS Ambrosianus L 36 sup. (end-fourteenth century), Nicandros in EBE 2599 ('1352'), f. 237v (Νικάνδρου μοναχοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Κορώνη, Δόξα Πατρί), and 'Laskares' in MS Panteleimonos 1008 (late-seventeenth century). See Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 202.

[221] See the entry for Ioannes Koukouzeles above (pp. 228-229).

[222] At least two important fifteenth century MSS testify to Korones' relationship with Patriarch Isidoros: EBE 2604 from the year 1463 (f. 263r): Θεοτοκίον ποίημα τοῦ Κορώνη, τὰ γράμματα κυρίου Ἰσιδώρου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (Chatzegiakoumes, *Τουρκοκρατίας*, 319-320) and MS Dyonisiou 570 (end-fifteenth century), f. 151r: Τοῦτο ἐστὶ το λεγόμενον πολυώνυμον, τὸ μὲν μέλος τοὺ θαυμαστοῦ Κορώνη, τὰ δὲ γράμματα Ἰσιδώρου τοὺ Πατριάρχου, πλ. α′, Σε μεγαλύνομεν (Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα II*, 709). See also Stathis, *Δεκαπεντασύλλαβος*, 225.

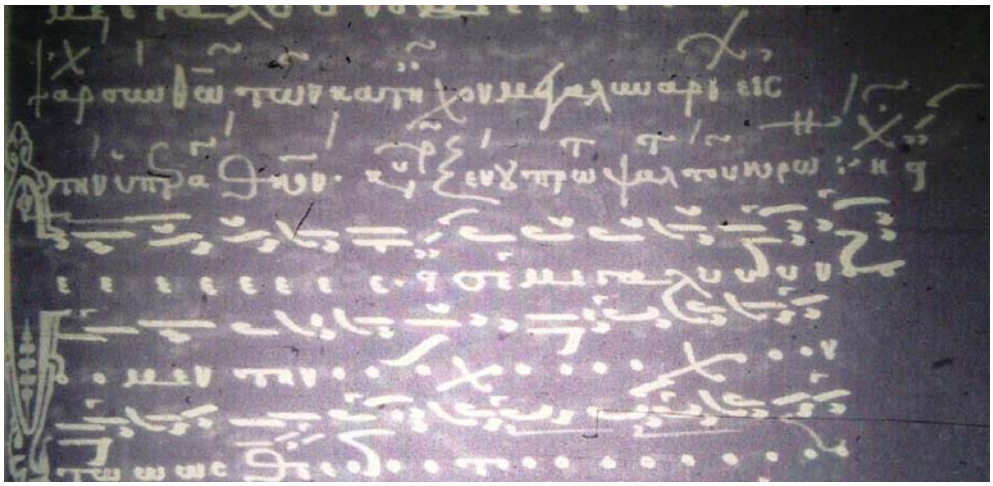
[223] Iviron 1120, f. 481r: Στίχοι κατανυκτικοὶ νεκρώσιμοι, ποιηθέντες παρὰ κυροῦ Μελισσηνοῦ τοῦ φιλοσόφου, καὶ μελισθέντες παρὰ τοῦ Κορώνη, πλ. β', Πληθύς ἀνθρώπων ἅπασα (Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 108).

[224] Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 202.

[225] Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 202.

[226] Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα I*, 138.

FIGURE 5.15: IVIRON 1120, F. 588R: XENOS KORONES 'THE PROTOPSALTES'



Xenos Korones was a prolific composer who composed hymns from every genre and for every divine office. As Chrysaphes informs us in his treatise, he also composed two pedagogical methods, one on the *kratemata* and one on the *stichera*,[227] which experienced widespread diffusion in MSS from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries.[228] The prestige of his method on the kratemata is further highlighted by the fact that his successor in Constantinople, Ioannes Kladas, wrote verses in honour of this Korones work, preserved in MS Lavra I 184 (eighteenth century).[229] Xenos also wrote a method on *metrophonia* and *parallage*[230] and a treatise on the psaltic art although it is not clear whether this was a compilation of prior theories from the *Papadike*, or a unique treatise.[231] He was the first composer to write a Cherubic Hymn in a mode other than fourth, plagal fourth, second or plagal second (all 'G-based' modes), a plagal first ordinary Cherubic Hymn recorded in Iviron 1120 on f. 510v. His prestige was maintained well into the nineteenth century, many of his compositions being transcribed by those immediately preceding the reform (e.g., Petros Byzantius)[232] and by the Three Teachers, into the New Method notation. His *Dynamis* from the Trisagion in second mode is still a standard of the contemporary liturgical repertoire (in its exegetical realisation by Chourmouzios), and many of his *mathemata* were transcribed and anthologized in Vol. 3 of the *Μουσική Πανδέκτη* (Constantinople, 1851). In Iviron 1120, which includes over 120 compositions attributed to Xenos Korones, Chrysaphes includes five of his settings from the *Anoixantaria*, out of a total of eleven as identified by Velimirović.[233]

Manuel Korones and Protopsaltes, the son of the famous Xenos Korones,[234] also held the position of *Protopsaltes*.[235] This late-fourteenth century Byzantine composer has works

[227] Chrysaphes' testimony in this respect is also important as it corroborates the chronological order already suggested above. The treatise states: 'ἐπεὶ εἰ ὅπερ ὁ τοιοῦτος ὑπ' ἀμαθίας ἴσως ἐρεῖ τὸ ὀρθὸν εἶχε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὐδεμία ἦν ἂν χρεία οὐδ' ἀνάγκη τοῦ τὸν μὲν Γλυκὺν Ἰωάννην πεποιηκέναι τὰς μεθόδους τῶν κατὰ τὴν ψαλτικὴν θέσεων, τὸν δὲ μαΐστορα Ἰωάννην μετ' αὐτὸν τὴν ἑτέραν μέθοδον καὶ τὰ σημάδια ψαλτά, εἶτα μετ' αὐτὸν πάλιν τὸν Κορώνην τὰς ἑτέρας δύο μεθόδους τῶν κρατημάτων καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν στιχηρῶν' (Iviron 1120, f. 13v; see Conomos, *Treatise*, 40). I emphasise the phrases 'after him' in order to highlight the chronological order of Glykys, followed by Koukouzeles, followed by Korones, which Chrysaphes preserves.

[228] Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 204.

[229] Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 205.

[230] Xenos Korones' *method of metrophonia* in the first, plagal first, and fourth modes is found on f. 72v of Plousiadenos' autography, Dionysiou 570 (f. 72v), see Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα I*, 398.

[231] Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 204.

[232] Demetriou, *Spätbyzantinische*, 204-5.

[233] Velimirović, 'Prooemiac', 330-31. Williams identifies only ten (*Koukouzeles*, 181).

[234] The relationship is given in the fifteenth century MS EBE 899 (Conomos, *Communion Cycle*, 79), among several other later sources, e.g., Docheiariou 315, f. 138v (Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα I*, 354).

surviving in various important MSS including Athens 899 (fifteenth century),[236] Iviron 1120 (1458) and MS Docheiariou 315 (late sixteenth century).[237] His modest output includes a Sunday *Koinonikon* Αἰνεῖτε in the plagal first mode as well as two settings of *Anoixantaria* verses, included in Chrysaphes' autograph Iviron 1120 on folios 35r (attached to v. 33a) and f. 36v (attached to v. 34b). His settings stand out in particular for the text included with their troped triadic refrains, each expressing a remarkably topical commentary on the fourteenth century Hesychasm debate, his tropes referencing the Feast of the Transfiguration and thus the theology of Gregory Palamas.

Manuel Hiereos Ampelokipiotou was a mid-fourteenth century composer and priest, as his name suggests (ἱερεύς), whose works survive in EBE 2622 ('1341-1360')[238] and later MSS such as Dochearíou 315 (1764).[239] Chrysaphes includes one verse from Psalm 103 composed by him, on folio 37v (attached to v. 35a) with the refrain, 'Λέγε, δόξα σοι ὁ ἐν Τριάδι ὑμνούμενος καὶ προσκυνούμενος Θεὸς ἡμῶν δόξα σοι'. This verse, although the only attributed to Ampelokipiotou, forms part of the core of well-transmitted *Anoixantaria* settings in fourteenth century Akolouthiai, and is included by Chrysaphes copied in several Byzantine anthologies all the way through the nineteenth century.[240] Only two of his compositions (the ordinary communion hymns Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον in the first mode and Ποτήριον σωτηρίου in the fourth) aside from the *Anoixantaria* setting are included by Chrysaphes in Iviron 1120, and he is rarely encountered in the manuscript tradition otherwise.

George Moschianos was an early-fourteenth century Byzantine composer and *domestikos* whose works survive in MSS Athens 2622 and 2406. His *Anoixantaria* setting (attached to v. 34b) is the only to be included in Iviron 1120. In the same codex, Chrysaphes includes three of his *koinonika*, the ordinary Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον in the second mode, the Presanctified Liturgy ordinary, Γεῦσασθε καὶ ἴδετε in the plagal first mode, and Ἐπεφάνη ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ in the plagal second mode for the feast of Theophany.

Ioannes Kampanes is the composer of the setting on f. 39r of Iviron 1120 (the only setting attached to v. 19b, *Ὁ ἥλιος ἔγνω τὴν δύσιν αὐτοῦ*, in Iviron 1120), according to Stathis,[241] but I personally cannot tell from the digital image of fol. 39r whether this is indeed Ioannes Kampanes. The ascription to an 'Ioannes' is clear, but below the first name is a χα or κα. I have no reason to doubt Stathis' assertion, since for one, he viewed the manuscript *in situ*, and moreover, the only other Ioannes – Kladas – is almost always written as 'Ioannes the *lampadarios*' by in Iviron 1120. It is interesting though that, while a few compositions of Nikolaos Kampanes (no relation known) are scattered throughout Iviron 1120, the only attribution to Ioannes Kampanes (if correct) is from this setting of the *Anoixantaria*. The refrain's text is 'Δόξα σοι, Πάτερ ἅγιε, καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ Πνεύματι, σὲ ὑμνεῖ πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις, Τριάς ἁγία, δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός.'

Domestikou tou Kassianou is included amongst the 'new composers' in the mid-fourteenth century manuscript EBE 2622 (fol. 403v – 419v),[242] but is entirely absent from EBE 2458, suggesting that he flourished no earlier than the middle of the fourteenth century.[243] By the

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[235] MS Iviron 1120, f. 36v (1458); MS Docheiariou 337 f. 202r (1764), Αἰνεῖτε πλ. α, where he is called Ἐμμανουὴλ Πρωτοψάλτου υἱοῦ τοῦ Κορώνη (Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα I*, 403).
[236] Conomos, *Communion Cycle*, 73.
[237] Stathes, *Τα Χειρόγραφα I*, 348.
[238] Conomos, *Communion Cycle*, 74.
[239] Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα I*, 402.
[240] E.g., Stathes, *Τα Χειρόγραφα I*, 95, 107, 143, 660.
[241] Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί*, 100.
[242] Conomos, *Communion Cycle*, 75.
[243] Conomos, *Communion Cycle*, 77.

time of Chrysaphes, he seems to be one of the 'old' composers. He is sparsely encountered in Iviron 1120 and overall in the manuscript tradition.

Ioakeim Monachos was a fifteenth century composer and monk of the Serbian Harsianites monastery in Constantinople who would later emigrate to Serbia, where he served as *domestikos*,[244] his Greek chants functioning as models for later Slavic composers' adaptations of hymns into Slavonic.[245] His works survive in MSS Athens 2406 ('1453') and Vatopaidi 1528 (15th c.) and, aside from his *Anoixantaria* verse, two of his settings for the first kathisma are included in Iviron 1120. We can be sure that he was one of the 'new' fifteenth century composers included by Chrysaphes in his assortment of *Anoixantaria* based on the relative position of his setting of verse 20a (for which he only sets the second part of the psalm verse, 'Καὶ ἐγένετο νὺξ'), which is preceded by alternate settings, in the following order: Korones, Kladas, Chrysaphes, Domestikou Kassianou. The chronology of this lineage is firmly established and thus we should assume that Kassianou came after Korones and Kladas and was contemporary with Chrysaphes. Ioakeim includes a rather standard but extensive triadic refrain, 'Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός, δόξα σοι, παντοκράτορ, βασιλεῦ ἅγιε, λέγε, δόξα σοι δεδοξασμένε Κύριε, Παράκλητε ἀγαθέ, Τριάς ἁγία, δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός'.

Nikon Monachos was a composer and monk who mostly likely lived during the fifteenth century. He is sparsely encountered in the MSS. Among his few compositions transmitted include a verse from the *Anoixantaria* (in Iviron 1120 it is attached to the second part of v. 24a: 'τὰ ἔργα σου, Κύριε'; it is encountered in later MSS,[246] and a *polyeleos* verse (Οἶκος Ἀαρὼν).[247] His troped refrain in Iviron 1120 is rather unique, 'Ἄναρχε Πάτερ, Υἱέ συνάναρχε, καὶ Πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον καὶ σύνθρονον, σὲ προσκυνοῦμεν καὶ δοξάζομεν, μία θεότητι βοῶντες δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός'.

Agathonos was a monk and brother of Xenos Korones whose works are found in MS EBE 899, EBE 2458, Iviron 1120, and sixteenth century anthologies such as Panteleimonos 1017 and Patmos 819.[248] He is the possible author of two non-musical manuscripts dated 1337 and 1345.[249] His works include various *eklogai* ('selections' of psalm verses) for Vigil services (included in Iviron 1120) and an *Anoixantaria* setting attached to v. 33b, which is well transmitted in later sources. He is also the author of a Cherubic Hymn in the plagal second mode found on f. 505r of Iviron 1120.[250]

The Invitatorium and Opening Verses of Psalm 103

We begin our musical analysis by returning to the *Invitatorium* to show how it is musically unified to the first verses of Psalm 103, sharing melodic ideas and structure both with respect

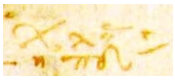
[244] Miloš Velimirović, 'Ἰωακεὶμ μοναχὸς τοῦ Χαρσιανίτου καὶ δομέστικος Σερβίας', *Receuil des travaux de l' institute d' études byzantines*, 8/ii, *Mélanges G. Ostrogorsky* (Belgrade, 1964), 451-59.
[245] Dimitri Conomos has identified a Greek original which corresponds to a Sunday Koinonikon in Slavonic from the sixteenth century in MS Jasi I. 26, fols. 95v-96v ('The Monastery of Putna and the Musical Tradition of Moldavia in the Sixteenth Century' (*DOP*, 36, 1982: 15-28)).
[246] See for example the fifteenth century MS Konstamonitou 86, the eighteenth century MS Docheiariou 337, the nineteenth century MS Xeropotamou 305, where the verse is confused with that of a certain monk Arkadios (Stathes, *Τα Χειρόγραφα I*, 658, 399, 95, respectively).
[247] MS Xeropotamou 273 (second half of sixteenth c.), f. 44v, as well as Konstamonitou 86, f. 175r (Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα I*, 33, 663).
[248] An ascription of a Cherubic Hymn composed by Agathon on f. 74 of MS Patmos 819 reads: 'κὺρ Ἀγάθωνος μοναχοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Κορώνη' (Giannopoulos, *Η Ἀνθηση*, 490).
[249] MS Vat. Reg. 22 from 1337 and Iviron 374 from 1345 (Conomos, *Communion Cycle*, 78).
[250] Transmitted in later sources, e.g., MS Panteleimonos 1017, fol. 4v (Stathis, *Τα Χειρόγραφα II*, 446).

to its opening, unfolding, and cadence. This confirms the idea that these two parts were to be conceived of as one cohesive unit and thus performed in succession without a break. This relationship was first observed by Williams, who concluded that 'the chant which serves the three Δεῦτε exclamations appears also as the melodic scaffolding which supported the chanted performance for the greater portion of the prooemiac psalm and linked the *Invitatorium* with the psalmody that followed.'[251]

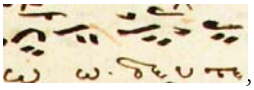
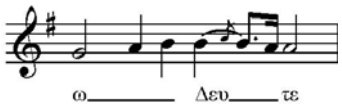
The *Invitatorium*: Transcription Issues

Figure 5.16 is a transcription of the three *Δεῦτε* exclamations from the *Invitatorium*. Slight melodic differences notwithstanding, this is unequivocally the same melody as found in virtually all fourteenth and fifteenth century Akolouthiai.[252] The first point that must be made concerning the *Invitatorium* is related to the transcription issues, which are 'explained' by the rather unusual instructions found at the beginning of EBE 2401 and other Akolouthiai (Greek text given above on pp. 176-177):

> [We begin this service therefore quiet and slowly, with all reverence, attention, and piety, as instructed by the Jerusalemite (order). This is called double-choir. The first domestikos of the right choir with his people (i.e., singers) begins the 'Come let us worship', saying this three times, **first low, second higher, and the third time middle-voiced, in the plagal fourth mode**.[253]

Williams spends a significant amount of time discussing the problematic terms 'low' (χαμιλὰ), 'higher' (ὑψηλότερα), and 'middle-voiced' (μέση φωνὴν) and the more problematic transcriptions that follow (based on the intervals prescribed and the *martyriai* which follow).[254] For our purposes, the following explanation suffices to summarise the issues at hand. The opening line of the *Invitatorium* is preceded by a modal signature indicating plagal fourth mode, followed by an *oxeia*:  . This signals a mode with a base on g and a diatonic tetrachord with the following intervallic arrangement: tone-tone-semitone-tone (g-a-b-c′-d′). The *oxeia*, a melodic neume indicating an ascent of one, tells the singer to start on the second scale degree of plagal fourth mode, i.e., the note 'a'. A transcription using this as a starting point yields satisfactory results until the melodic bridge which connects verse 1 of the

[251] Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 120.
[252] The *Invitatorium* is on fol. 10v of Iviron 1120, which I have seen on the microfilm reader in the Bodleian library. However, as I do not have access to a digital copy, I am using my most reliable copy (from EBE 2401) for the transcription of the *Invitatorium*.
[253] The beginning of MS Sinai 1529 is: 'Ἀρχὴ συν Θεῷ ἁγίῳ, τοῦ μεγάλου ἐσπερινοῦ. Ἄρχεται δε ἡ τοιαύτη ἀκολούθη (sic?), ἀργὰ καὶ ἔσωφωνη, διὰ τὰ διπλάσματα ποιήματα διαφόρων ποιητῶν παλαιῶν τε κὰι νέων' (Lingas, personal notes, May 2013).
[254] Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 111-15.

Invitatorium to verse 2, seen here,  , and transcribed thus: 

The beginning of verse 2 (at 'Δεῦτε') begins on the pitch 'b', whereas verse 1 began on 'a'. The melodic shape of verse 2 is nearly identical to verse 1, but if sung as written, it will sound drastically different on account of the different starting pitches and the resultant intervallic relationships. Thus, the singer is obliged to make a decision here: either follow the transcription as written and continue to use the intervals of plagal fourth mode from 'g', or effect a transposition (i.e., a 'key change'), and treat the new starting pitch of verse 2, 'b', as a virtual 'a' in plagal fourth mode from virtual 'g' (actually 'a'). The latter choice would result in virtually the same melody in verse 2 as just sung in verse 1. The same phenomenon occurs in the transition from verse 2 to verse 3, demanding the same performance choice.

It is tempting to assume that transposing right in the middle of a chant was both difficult and also undesirable and thus the common practice was for singers to sing the verses as written, thus yielding melodies with the same shape and rhythmic patterns but an overall different result based on the new intervallic relationships. Williams doubted that singers would have been able to 'transpose' each subsequent verse of the *Invitatorium* up one pitch,[255] and thus, he concludes that 'until more substantial evidence... appears... the terms "low", "high", and "half-voice" must be read as prescriptions for the level of volume in the singers' performance of the *Invitatorium* and not as a rising pitch level of its melodic line.'[256]

One problem with this assumption is that the last verse of the *Invitatorium* is followed by the same modal signature that precedes the entire chant,[257] indicating to the singer that the last verse should end in the plagal fourth mode, on its natural base of 'g', and that the material which follows (Psalm 103, verse 1) is to begin in plagal fourth mode with this pitch as its reference point.[258] A literal realisation of verses 1-3 without any intervallic adjustments would lead to a final pitch of 'b' at the end of the *Invitatorium*, creating a contradiction with the pitch given for the beginning of Psalm 103. Either a transposition was executed to keep the melody in the plagal fourth mode, yielding a melodically and intervallically identical cadence at the

[255] A solution that I, however, accept, as seen in the transcription below in Fig. 5.16.
[256] Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 115.
[257] In this case, without the *oxeia* sign.
[258] On the 'forward-' and 'backward-looking' potential of medial signatures in Medieval Byzantine chant, see Raasted, *Intonation Formulas*, 72-73.

end of each verse, as we propose below, or the notation was followed literally, with no adjustment, resulting in similar melodies with different intervals, and requiring, before Psalm 103, a re-adjustment – perhaps a new intonation chanted by the *domestikos*. We cannot rule out the possibility of an intonation and resetting of plagal fourth mode before Ps. 103.1, but the manuscripts suggest that the *Invitatorium* transitioned straight into the first verse of Psalm 103 (refer to Fig. 5.1 above), which makes the idea of a pause followed by an intonation, less likely.

FIGURE 5.16: THE INVITATORIUM (MS EBE 2401, F. 47R)

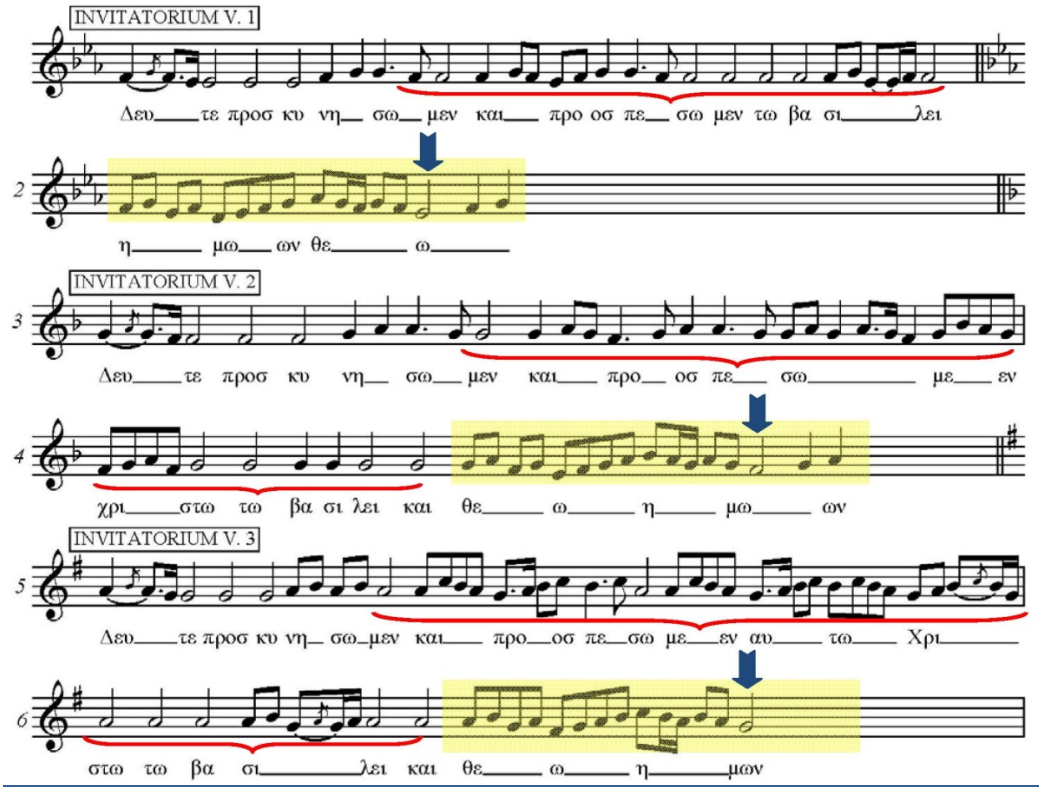
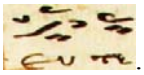
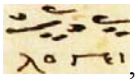


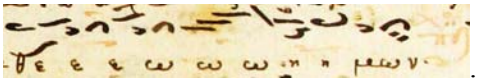
Figure 5.16 above shows the proposed solution (also suggested by Arvanitis and Lingas). It assumes intervallic identity among the three verses of the *Invitatorium* which thus requires a transposition after each melodic bridge. The solution above places the first verse in a diatonic key starting on e♭ so that the *Invitatorium* can end with g as its base, leading directly into Psalm 103, in plagal fourth mode, after which no further transpositions are required. This, I believe, is the best solution, but is not without some degree of awkwardness. For example, the A♮ which appears in line 3 is a 'major' third in the new key of F major for verse 2 of the *Invitatorium*, but in reference to the base pitch of the first verse – which would not have yet dissipated from aural memory – it is a rather undesirable tritone. Nevertheless, I believe this is

the most probable transcription solution, especially on account of the shared cadence patterns, to which we will turn, shortly.

The *Invitatorium*: Opening, Melodic Line and Cadences

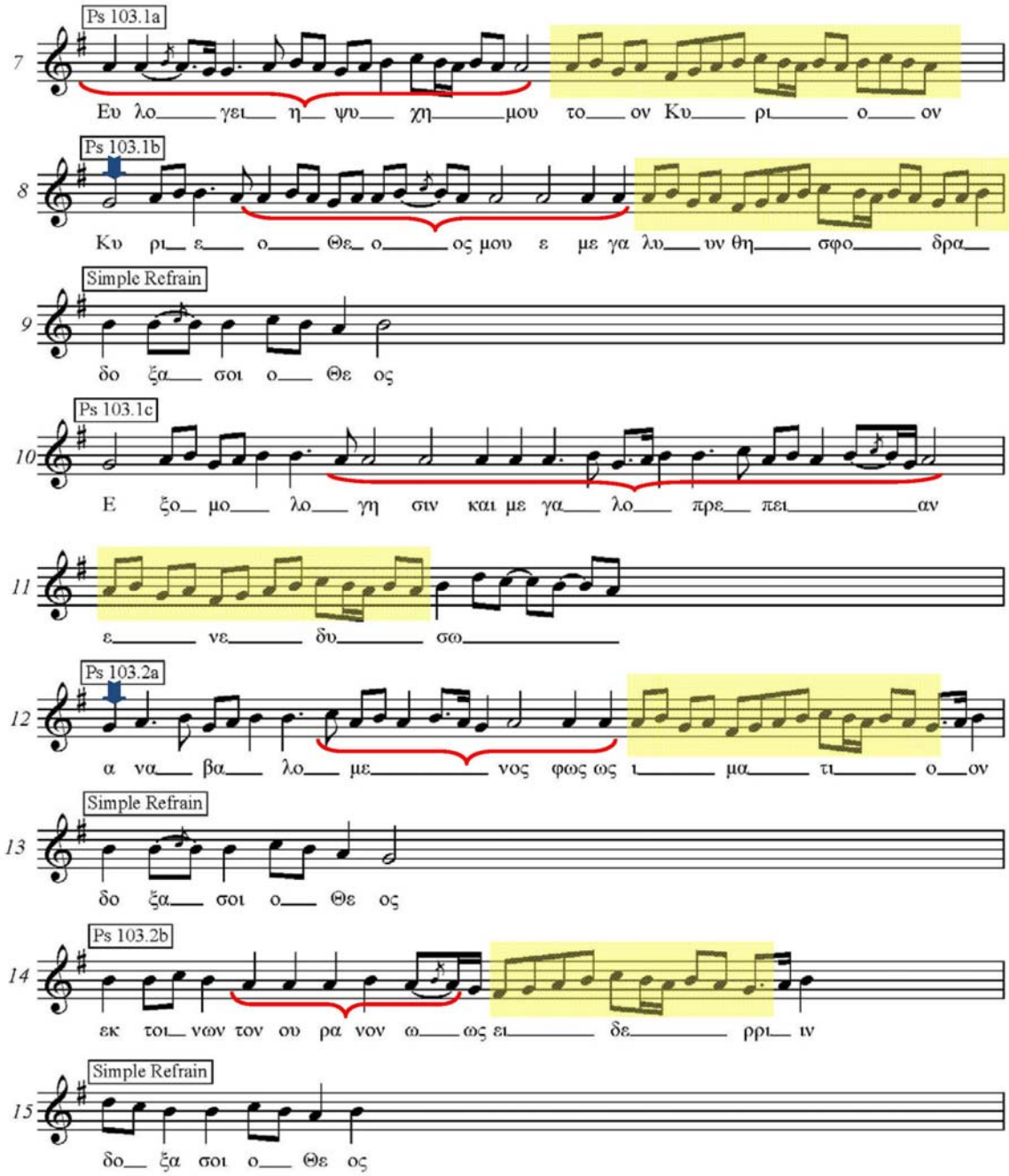
The transcription above reveals three important characteristics of the melodic line. The first concerns its opening, which employs the neume combination of *oxeia-apostrophos* underneath *ison*, supported by *klasma* and *diple*, followed by *ison* and *diple*:  . In EBE 2401, this neume combination is identical for the beginning of all *Invitatorium* verses (EBE 2458 and Sinai 1257 are virtually identical but utilise the *vareia* in place of the *oxeia* for accentuation purposes; in both cases the intervallic energy of these two signs has been negated by virtue of being subordinated to an *ison*, and thus the resulting transcriptions are the same). Second, the transcription highlights the melody's emphasis on the second scale degree of the mode, a tone above the base of plagal fourth mode, Δι ('g', or 'virtual-g' in the first two verses). The melody stubbornly persists around the second scale degree in each verse (underlined by red) before finally cadencing on the 'virtual g', the base of plagal fourth mode, indicated by the blue arrow at the end of each verse. The entire melody of the *Invitatorium* is simply an elaboration of the dyad g-a-g. Third, and perhaps most strikingly, the cadential figure, highlighted in yellow, is identical for all three verses.

These three attributes are also observed in the opening verses of Psalm 103, as shown in the transcriptions in Figure 5.17. The opening motif uses the same exact neume group as used in the *Invitatorium*'s opening statement. Verse 1a,  , is identical neumatically and melodically to the opening of each *Invitatorium* verse, except for the first syllable of the word Εὐλόγει, which necessitates a pickup that is not shown above (the last two syllables of Εὐλόγει match the accentuation pattern of the first word of the *Invitatorium*, Δεῦτε, i.e., strong-weak). Second, the persistence around the second scale degree of plagal fourth mode ('a') observed above, is also a characteristic feature of the melodic movement of the opening psalm verses of the *prooemiakos*, as shown below (underlined in red). Even those verses which hover around the pitch b seem to be perpetually drawn down to 'a' (e.g., Fig. 5.17, line 10). Finally, the cadential figure which consistently closes each of the three verses of the *Invitatorium* also closes each half-verse of the psalm verses below (highlighted in yellow, below). The cadential figure employs the same neumatic structure in virtually every case: *elaphron* followed by three *oliga* (transcribed as four quavers due to the *gorgon*), and a *vareia* preceding an *oligon*-

klasma-hyporrhoe figure:  . Almost the same exact series of neumes is seen in the same spot in MS EBE 2458 (f. 11v), written a century prior to MSS EBE 2401 and Iviron 1120:  . In every case the final movement of the cadential figure is a quick stepwise ascent to the b, the *mesos* of plagal fourth mode, either introducing a new half verse or bridging the verse to the refrain, as in Psalm 103:1b. The cadence for the Δεῦτε (*Invitatorium*) verses differ only slightly, ending with an *apoderma*, a neume doubling the time value of the final note, b, and creating a solemn point of rest, before the subsequent exclamation (the psalm verses end with *diple*, which is also a neume of lengthening). Some other variations are observed between Psalm 103 and *Invitatorium*. For example, the four-note quaver 'tail' at the end of v. 1a is an elaboration on the standard cadence, of which its simplest form is observed in v. 2b.

One final observation concerns the refrains. As we noted above, singing psalms all the way through with refrains was an archaic practice hearkening back to Stoudite times. It is possible that the refrains for verses 1-28a had dropped out by the fifteenth century. In EBE 2401, however, three are preserved. These three follow the same, simple melodic pattern, but vary in terms of starting and ending pitch, generally serving to accommodate the melody of the psalm verses to which they were attached. It is interesting to note that these refrains in EBE 2401 come after full verses (i.e., 2 Palestinian half-verses), as in the Constantinopolitan Psalter, thus reflecting the practice of the Cathedral Rite in Constantinople, where antiphons were supplied with refrains following the same versification of the Psalter. The *Anoixantaria* tradition, on the other hand (starting at verse 28b), had refrains after each half verse (i.e., the Palestinian division of the Psalter). At all events, the observations above highlight the unity between *Invitatorium* and the first 28 verses of Psalm 103, both of which were sung in a style that, while not syllabic, was nevertheless simple with respect to its melodic range and the predictable melodic direction and cadential patterns it followed.

FIGURE 5.17: PSALM 103, OPENING VERSES (MS EBE 2401, F. 47R-V)



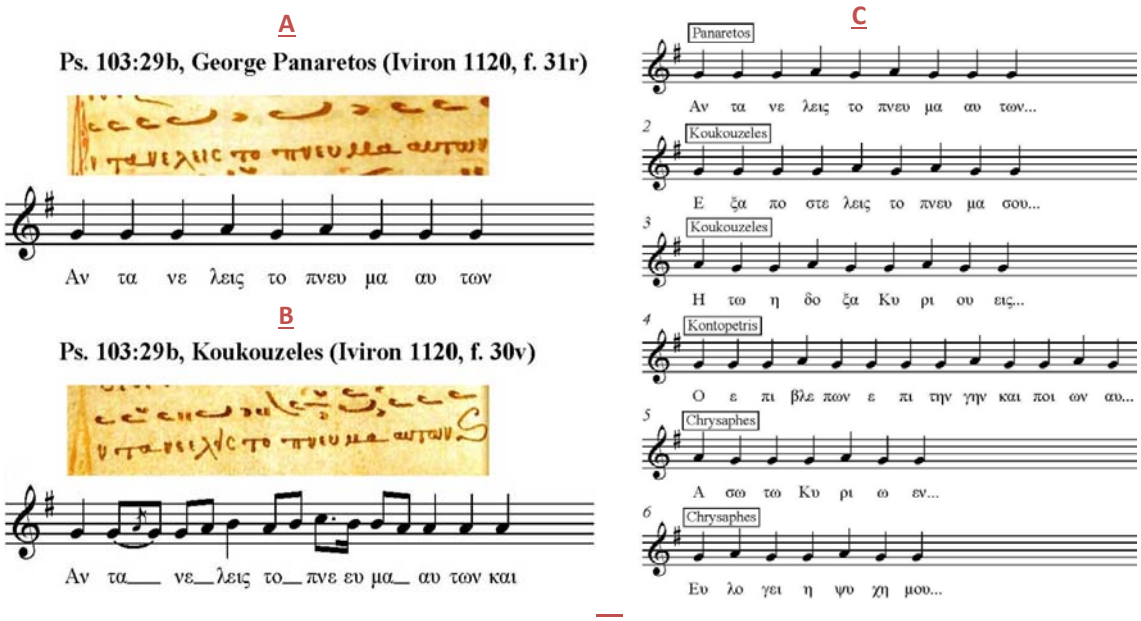
The Anoixantaria: Melodic Treatment of the Psalm Verse

Psalm Tone Recitation

The first stylistic observation I would like to point out concerning the *Anoixantaria* is the stability in composers' handling of the first half of the psalm verse, a stability that is seen from the earliest fourteenth century copies all the way through Chrysaphes' autograph written in 1458. The majority of settings of the first part of the psalm verse throughout the Akolouthiai of

the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries feature psalm-tone recitation that follows the accentuation of the text very closely, with an ambitus of only one tone. This technique can be observed in the setting of v. 29b by George Panaretos, from Iviron 1120, shown in Figure 5.18a below. The recitation begins on the tonic of plagal fourth mode, g, and features repetition of unaccented pitches on 'g' indicated by the neume 'ison'. The accented syllables of the psalm text, ἀντανελ**εῖς** τὸ **πνεῦ**μα αὐτῶν (bold & underline), are followed in the music by a neume that indicates a rising second, the *petaste*. The didactic treatises tell us that the petaste had an extra qualitative component to it, that is, the addition of a 'tossing' or 'flying' of the voice along with the intervallic ascent. In other words, it was a little bit more accented than a regular rising second (which was more typically written as a horizontal line, a neume called an *oligon*). The schematic shown in Figure 5.18c highlights the application of this technique quite clearly across a number of verses.[259] Following this model, if the first syllable of the psalm phrase is accented, as in the third line of Figure 5.18c, the starting pitch of the verse will be a, one tone above the tonic of plagal fourth mode.

FIGURE 5.18: PSALM TONE RECITATION IN THE ANOIXANTARIA

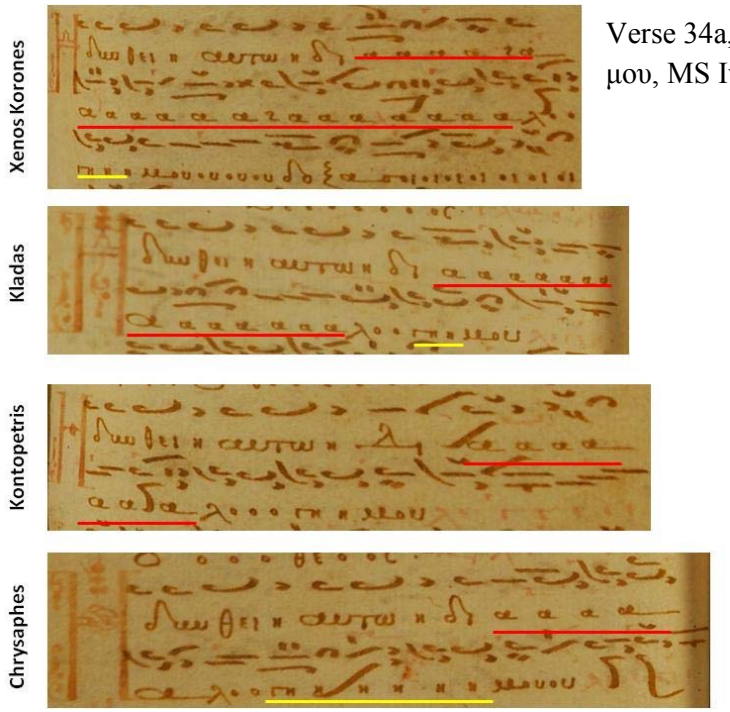


One of a few notable exceptions to this practice is Koukouzeles' setting of v. 29b, in which the first half of the psalm verse does not feature psalm tone recitation at all, but rather immediately embarks on an interesting melodic path, rising to the c′ above the mode's tonic, g, and cadencing on a momentarily before continuing to the end of the psalm verse (see above, Fig. 5.18b). Interestingly, the verses which do not follow the model of simple, psalm tone recitation

[259] Psalm tone recitation in the *Anoixantaria* is also described in Velimirović, 'Prooemiac', 326-27.

are v. 28b, v. 29a, v. 29b, and v. 24a, those for which 'archaic', anonymous settings survive. This observation seems consistent with the general shift in textual and melodic interest from psalm verse to refrain, a trend that is observed starting from the fourteenth century. It is likely the case that, as the troped refrains became the musical focal point, no effort whatsoever was expended on creating interesting melodies for the psalm verses, and thus psalm tone recitation was deemed a suitable way to 'get through' the text until arriving at the climactic refrain. Once the troped refrains became the focal point of composers' creative energies, the psalm tone recitation of the first half of the psalm verse remained very conservative and consistent throughout the Late Byzantine period. Figure 5.18c above shows additional examples of psalm-tone recitation treatment of the psalm verse by fourteenth and fifteenth century composers as written in Iviron 1120.

FIGURE 5.19A: MELISMA AND ACCENTUATION OF PSALM VERSE (BYZANTINE NOTATION)



Verse 34a, Ἠδυνθείη αὐτῷ ἡ διαλογὴ μου, MS Iviron 1120, f. 35r-36r

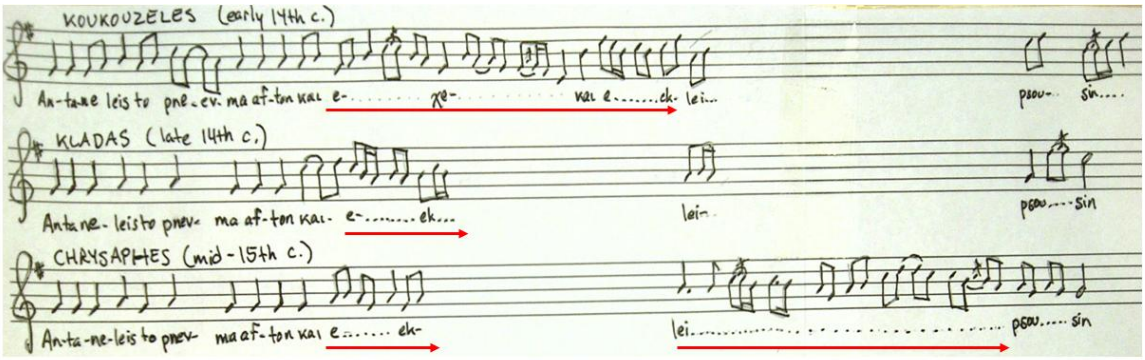
Formulaic Cadences

A second stylistic observation concerns the treatment of the latter part of the psalm verses. In contrast to the majority of the first half of the verses, which are syllabic and which directly adhere to text accentuation, the second half almost always receives a melismatic treatment. Within this melismatic cadence, it seems that there was a preference for a melisma on the fourth syllable from the end, regardless of the syllabic pattern of accentuation. The first example shown in Figure 5.19a illustrates this quite clearly. The accented syllable at the end of v. 34a is the penultimate (highlighted) Ἠδυνθείη αὐτῷ ἡ διαλογ**ή** μου, yet it is the fourth from

the end (δι**α**λογή) that is elaborated in the first three examples in Figure 5.19a (the melisma over this syllable is underlined in red, whereas the accented syllable is underlined in yellow). Writing an extensive melisma on the fourth to last syllable seems to have been a standard convention followed by fourteenth and fifteenth century composers in virtually all cases in the *Anoixantaria*.

The exception to this rule is the setting of Chrysaphes, who breaks this trend in almost all his settings, preferring to provide the accentuated syllable of the psalm verse with its most melismatic treatment. In Figure 5.19a (v. 34a), while he still retains some melismatic movement over the fourth syllable from the end, Chrysaphes uniquely writes treats the accented syllable of διαλο**γή** with a melisma, showing deference to text stress and, more generally, to intelligibility of the music. Figure 5.19b aligns the syllables of the words from v. 29a in order to provide an alternate illustration of the same phenomenon. Here, Koukouzeles and Kladas provide the standard melismatic elaboration on the fourth syllable from the end (Ἀντανελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμα αυτὸν καὶ **ἐκ**λείψουσι) even though it is unaccented, while Chrysaphes chooses to extend the melody on the accented syllable of verse 29a (ἐκ**λεί**ψουσι).

FIGURE 5.19B: MELISMA AND ACCENTUATION OF PSALM VERSE (BASED ON IVIRON 1120)



Verse 29b: Αντανελείς το πνεύμα αυτών και εκλείψουσι
(Thou wilt take their spirit and they shall cease to be)

It should be stressed that this is a tendency and not a rule. For example, in v. 33a, ἌΙσω τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου, Chrysaphes follows the 'standard' practice and provides an extensive melisma on the fourth to last syllable, **τῇ**, which is certainly less important from an accentuation standpoint than the last (accented) syllable of the word ζω**ῇ**, which he treats with only one note (although he underlines the descending neume *apostrophes* with *petaste* in order to remind the singer of the text accent). Nevertheless, in most settings, Chrysaphes demonstrates that for him accentuation of the text plays a bigger role and merits consideration in the melodic line he composes, whereas with Koukouzeles, Kladas, and Korones, melismatic,

cadences very frequently occur on the fourth syllable from the end, regardless of text accent, reflecting an older system in which stock musical patterns trump textual concerns. Much more work needs to be done analysing cadences and musical phrases in general across repertories to be able to come to definitive conclusions, but on the basis of these preliminary observations, it seems that Chrysaphes was the first, or one of the first, composers in the late Byzantine period who accorded a degree of primacy to textual accentuation and thus, perhaps, also to textual intelligibility.

Migrating Melodies

My analysis of the contents of Iviron 1120 supports Velimirović's assertion that 'identical doxology (refrain) texts always had the same melodies, regardless of manuscript… and the doxologies used by one composer always remained attributed to the same composer, although the psalm text may have changed and the melody become associated with a different half-verse as compared to the earlier version.'[260] A great deal of editing by scribes and later composers resulted in a mingling of refrains with psalm verses they were not originally attached to, while melodic motifs from certain psalm verses were applied freely to others. Based on identifying these concordances, Velimirović was able to reduce over 200 settings in the manuscripts he surveyed to some 50 actual compositions. Nevertheless, the phenomenon Velimirović attributes to the works of Kladas – that there was 'no meddling' by scribes with his compositions given his established reputation – seems all the more true for the works of Chrysaphes.[261] Chrysaphes' 13 unique settings in Iviron 1120 are faithfully transmitted in EBE 2401, with psalm verse and refrain matching 100%. However, this is not the case for melodies that were composed in the fourteenth century and transmitted in Akolouthiai through the fifteenth century and later. As Williams shows through his exhaustive compilation of concordances of melodies and texts across a number of Late Byzantine sources, 'by the mid-fifteenth century, each of Koukouzeles' five melodies for Psalm 103, first transmitted in EBE 2458, had carried many more lines of text than the line in the oldest Akolouthiai. What appears to be many new Koukouzeles chant melodies in later sources is only the application and adaptation of his five melodies in EBE 2458 to different Psalm texts in other manuscripts.'[262] As a result of this flexibility, the key to identifying migrating melodies lies in the text and melody of the troped refrain, although concordances can also be found in the melodies of the

[260] Velimirović, 'Prooemiac', 325.
[261] Velimirović, 'Prooemiac', 326.
[262] Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 168.

psalm verses. In his role as scribe and music editor, Chrysaphes participated in this tendency to adapt existing melodies to different psalm texts.

The following comparison of the second Koukouzeles melody set to two different psalm verses, first in an early source, EBE 2458, and later, in Iviron 1120, highlights this phenomenon of *migrating melodies* as well as shedding light on Manuel Chrysaphes' activity as an editorial scribe. Figure 5.19b is a transcription of Koukouzeles' second melody,[263] which is set to verse 31a, Ἥτω ἡ δόξα Κυρίου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, in two of the earliest manuscripts, EBE 2458 (f. 12r) and Sinai 1257 (f. 169v).[264] In Iviron 1120, Chrysaphes takes 'Koukouzeles #2' and applies it to verse 32a, Ὁ ἐπιβλέπων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ποιῶν αὐτὴν τρέμειν, while he uses the 'fifth' Koukouzeles melody for v. 31a! An analysis of this melody across these sources must first take into account the differences in length and accentuation between the respective psalm verses, differences that would have presented an editor with a problem of melody adaptation.

Verse 31a (Koukouzeles #2 in EBE 2458) is 14 syllables and follows the pattern 1001001000010,[265] whereas verse 32a (Koukouzeles #2 in Iviron 1120) is 16 syllables and follows the pattern 0001000010010010, as shown in Figure 5.20a below. On the basis of this alone, it would be rather difficult for the melodies to be identical, especially given the more or less syllabic nature of the opening melodic motifs.

FIGURE 5.20A: ACCENTUATION PATTERN DIFFERENCES IN VERSES OF PS 103

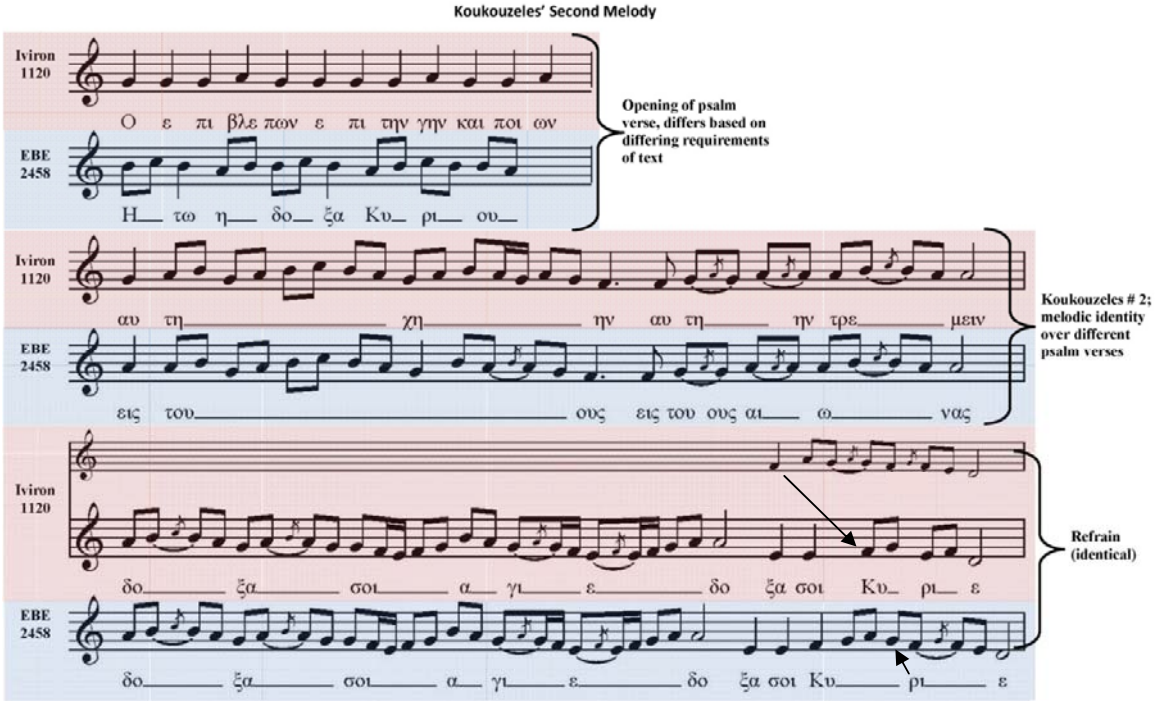
Verse 31a				**1**	0	0	**1**	0	0	**1**	0	0	0	0	**1**	0
				Ἥ	τω	ἡ	**δό**	ξα	Κυ	**ρί**	ου	εἰς	τοῦς	αἰ	**ώ**	νας
Verse 32a	0	0	0	**1**	0	0	0	0	**1**	0	0	**1**	0	X	**1**	0
	Ὁ	ἐ	πι	**βλέ**	πων	ἐ	πὶ	τὴν	**γῆν**	καὶ	ποι	**ῶν**	αὐ	τὴν	**τρέ**	μειν

The opening of the psalm verse in EBE 2458 (highlighted in blue in Figure 5.20b, below) is a quasi-psalm tone recitation, uniquely from the *mesos* (3rd scale degree) of plagal fourth mode, 'b'.[266] The opening motif features accented syllables that rise to c′ while unaccented syllables lilt between a-b quaver dyads and b. The psalm verse then launches into a melisma at the word τοὺς (the fourth syllable from the end of the psalm verse), cadencing first on f#, the *mesos* of the plagal fourth mode in the *trochos* systembefore coming to rest on the 2nd scale degree of

[263] The identification of this melody as 'second' is based on Williams' and Velimirović's numbering.
[264] The melody from Sinai 1257, which slightly differs from that in EBE 2458, is not shown in my transcription.
[265] An unaccented syllable is indicated by 0, an accented by 1, and a partially accented by X.
[266] Of all the settings included by Chrysaphes in Iviron 1120, only verse 29a begins on B (both the traditional and Chrysaphes'). Above, we have discussed the fact that the earlier anonymous melodies and some of Koukouzeles' were unique in that the opening psalm did not follow psalm tone recitation conventions strictly, possibly because, before the tropes expanded, the psalm text was the focus and thus demanded a more interesting melody.

plagal fourth mode, 'a', a pitch that has a special importance throughout the opening complex of Great Vespers, as we have seen above.[267] This opening is then followed by the refrain, Δόξα σοι ἅγιε, δόξα σοι Κύριε..., of which just the first part is included in the transcription below.

FIGURE 5.20B: 'MIGRATING MELODIES' IN IVIRON 1120



Chrysaphes, in Iviron 1120 (highlighted in red), opens verse 32a with standard psalm tone recitation that bears very little resemblance to the opening of verse 31a in EBE 2458. Obviously, the concordance we are describing is not based on the opening of the psalm verse (Fig. 5.20b lines 1-2). After Chrysaphes makes his way through the majority of the hemi-stich by means of the flexible psalm tone recitation formula, he then appropriates Koukouzeles' 'second melody', treating the word αὐτὴν with an elaborate melisma that is virtually identical to the melisma above τοὺς in EBE 2458: what we have in lines 3-4 of Fig. 5.20b is the same melody applied to a different text. In Iviron 1120, the two cadence points are identical (f# and a) after which the troped refrain (*the* refrain of Koukouzeles #2) commences. Chrysaphes even accomplishes his goal of elaborating on the accented syllable of the psalm verse (αυ**τὴν**), in contrast to the melisma on the pro-antepenultimate syllable in EBE 2458, without doing violence to the original melody. From the opening recitation, he seamlessly moves into the characteristic phrase of Koukouzeles' second melody, and from there transitions into the Trinitarian refrain, thus rendering the concordance unmistakeable (notwithstanding slight

[267] *Trochos* (lit: 'wheel') is the name given to describe the tetra- or penta-chordal system of tuning (in contrast to the system of the octave). In this case, d becomes the base of plagal fourth mode transposed down a fourth from its usual tonic.

differences in the manuscripts, rendered in my transcription as filled in thirds vs. thirds, semiquavers vs. quavers, etc.).

The refrains in both versions of 'Koukouzeles #2' bear the same exact text: Δόξα σοι ἅγιε δόξα σοι Κύριε, δόξα σοι βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε, δόξα σοι δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός, and, as shown in the transcription of the first half of the refrain above, the melodies are likewise the same (see Appendix for full transcription of this melody in Iviron 1120). A minor deviation between the two settings is the simplification of the melody by Chrysaphes at the word Κύριε. Where the earlier source has a decorative flourish of neumes that descend to d (third 'blue' system in Fig. 5.20b), Chrysaphes writes a shorter figure (transcribed above as 4 beats vs. 6 beats in EBE 2458) outlining essentially the same melody, but more concisely (f#-g-e-f#-d). Interestingly, in Iviron 1120, there is an alternate line written in a red ink that is similar in colour to the original red ink of the manuscript (as opposed to a brighter, red ink in Iviron 1120 that is obviously from a later hand), which corresponds exactly to the line on the word Κύριε from Sinai 1257 and almost exactly to that in EBE 2458 (transcribed in the *ossia* line of the third system, highlighted in red).[268] This alternate line written above the main neumes was Chrysaphes' or another scribe's attempt to present the singer with an alternate way of singing essentially the same melody, in a slightly more elaborate fashion.[269]

This example sheds some light on the phenomenon of migrating melodies but also on the editorial processes of scribes like Chrysaphes.[270] It is clear that scribes, even those evidently much less learned than Chrysaphes, did not simply slavishly copy from originals in the authoring of new manuscripts. That they operated creatively within a common framework – employing standard techniques for handling opening phrases, accentuation, and cadential figures particular to each mode – is exemplified in the chants of the *Anoixantaria*, where a single melody can be found adapted to a number of different psalm verses. We may never be able to determine with certainty whether this fluidity of melodies and psalm verses was motivated by the activity and preferences of the scribes, but it seems likely that notable performers and performances would have also played a significant role in influencing what

[268] Further on in the refrain, Chrysaphes shows a propensity to present 'Koukouzeles #2' in a less embellished fashion, as can be seen by the descending thirds on the final exclamation of the word δόξα. The scribe of Sinai 1257 writes a quick, descending scalar figure from B-E, whereas Chrysaphes (and the scribe of EBE 2458) writes descending thirds (which, in performance, could have been easily filled in). Incidentally, these marginal lines are very frequent in medieval Byzantine MSS and simply represented alternate – often more elaborate – realisations of a given melody. They were more often than not added by later hands. They have often been confused by (especially Western) scholars as representing 'double melodies' (i.e., polyphony).

[269] This is not the first case in which a version of a composition in Iviron 1120 is written less analytically than its counterparts in other (earlier or later) sources. This may speak to Chrysaphes' manner of writing music and his conception of the relationship of notation to performance, a study that must be undertaken elsewhere.

[270] Williams is likewise unable to provide a conclusion to this vexing question (*Koukouzeles*, 169).

was eventually documented for excavation and interpretation centuries later. It is possible that, to Chrysaphes and musicians of the fifteenth century, the marriage of existing melodies to multiple psalm verses was the norm – a way of preserving favourite tunes – much in the way, in earlier periods, new texts – *prosomoia* – were adapted to originals – *idiomela* – the former composed with the same textual structure (syllabic count and stress) as their models, enabling the new text to fit the model melody seamlessly. And indeed, there is evidence of sophisticated experiments with contrafacta in Iviron 1120. On folio 393r, for example, Chrysaphes adapts the melody of one of his most well-known and well-transmitted compositions, the imperially commissioned Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε, to a new text, the Πᾶσα πνοὴ of the Matinal Gospel.[271] Thus, we should view the adaptation of popular melodies to new texts as a common phenomenon – one at which Chrysaphes' excelled – and, more generally, we ought to read the contents of Iviron 1120 as the product of a series of informed editorial choices by of the most important musicians of the fifteenth century.

Chrysaphes' Alternate Settings of the 'Archaic' Verses

The next musical aspect of Chrysaphes' *Anoixantaria* that we shall analyse is his treatment of the 'archaic' verses, for which, as we have stated earlier, he was the first composer to provide alternate settings.[272] This analysis shall highlight Chrysaphes' conservative mentality with respect to actual re-composition of traditional pieces but also his forward-thinking mindset with respect to variety in composition and musical choices. Figure 5.21a shows the traditional settings for verses 28b and 29a, found universally in Akolouthiai of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[273] In both verses, the vocal ambitus is a narrow sixth, from the 'e' below the tonic of plagal fourth mode 'g') to the c′ above. The text to melody relationship is not quite syllabic, but certainly not melismatic, except for a flourish on the fourth to last syllable of the psalm text, 'χρη' of χρηστότητος in verse 28b, and 'ρα' of ταραχθήσονται in verse 29a. Verse 29a differs in that it begins on b, the *mesos* of plagal fourth mode, on which the opening of the psalm verse hinges, until it reaches its first resting point on 'a', as does the verse 28b, before the cadence on 'g' prior to the refrain. The refrains (underlined in red), which are identical except for the extra flourish in 'Θε' of Θεός for verse 29, are simple in range and almost

[271] Iviron 1120, f. 393r: *Πᾶσα πνοή*, plagal fourth mode, Manuel Chrysaphes the lampadarios, ἕτερον πρὸς τὸν *Ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.* This is an impressive case of the application of an existing melody to a new text simply on account of the fact that the original is a melismatic, kalophonic composition. This is discussed above in Chapter 2 in the context of Chrysaphes' and Constantine XI Palaiologos' coronation in 1448.

[272] Verse 24a, one of the traditional verses that Chrysaphes also set, is not analysed in the present study.

[273] The first note of the transcription in Fig. 5.20a should be thought of as a 'pick-up' even though the transcription is notated without barlines. The first strong beat in the phrase is without a doubt (on the basis of, at the very least, neume groupings) the dotted crotchet above 'νοι' of Ἀνοίξαντός.

syllabic, reflecting in many ways the refrains of the first verses of Psalm 103 found in EBE 2401 (given in Fig. 5.17 above).

FIGURE 5.21A: TRADITIONAL ('ARCHAIC') SETTINGS OF V. 28B AND 29A

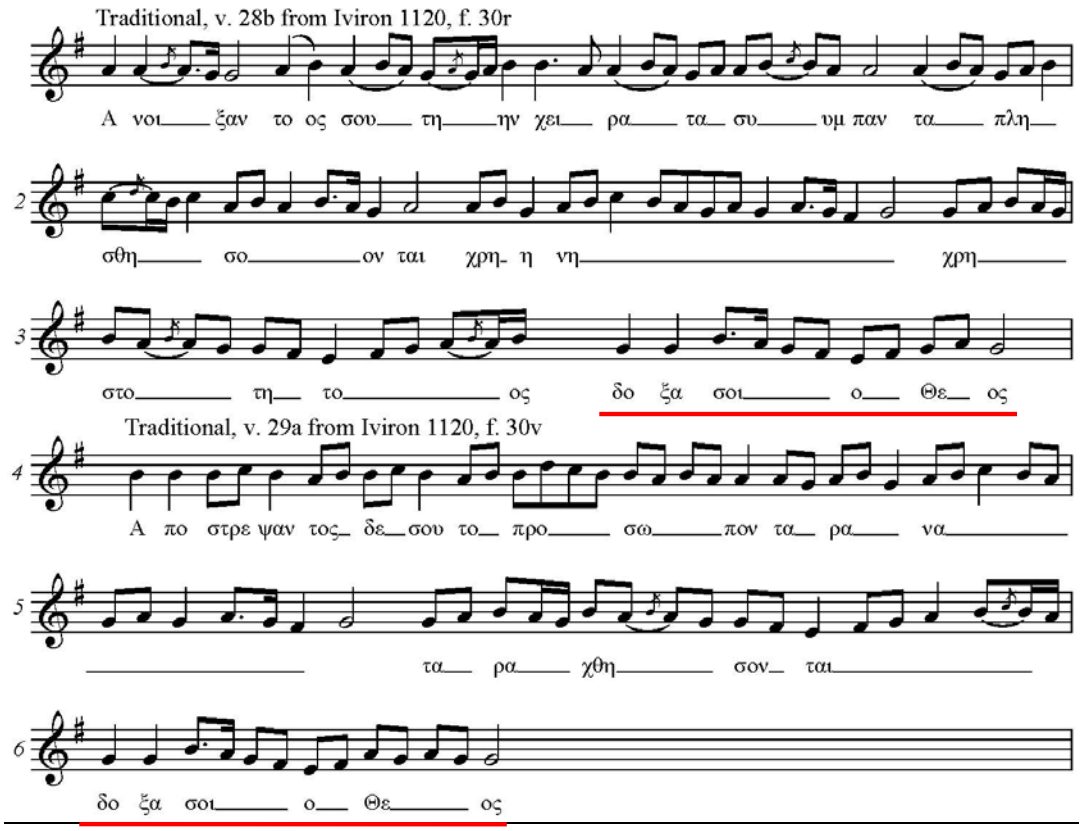


Figure 5.21b is a transcription of Chrysaphes' recasting of the two archaic verses. We alluded above to the fact that these two settings are more elaborate than the traditional settings: the vocal ambitus is now an octave (vs. a sixth), more classic 'kalophonic' sequences are evident (e.g., Fig. 5.20b, the descending 7th motive that begins from c′ at the end of line 2 with a sequence of descending quavers), and the proportion of psalm verse to refrain has changed. The table below shows the shift of weight from psalm verse to refrain observed in Chrysaphes settings vs. the traditional ones. Interestingly, the overall length of the settings does not increase much at all in Chrysaphes' settings: it is simply a matter of the emphasis being placed on the refrain vs. the psalm verse. Finally, Chrysaphes setting also differs in that it features melisma where there is text stress, i.e., the accented syllables of χρη**στό**τητος and ταρα**χθή**σονται receive elaborate melismatic treatment.

FIGURE 5.21B: CHRYSAPHES' ALTERNATE SETTINGS OF THE 'ARCHAIC' VERSES

What is perhaps more interesting is that Chrysaphes' settings are his most conservative, by far, with respect to vocal range, modal variety, sequencing, and overall length. Moreover, they resemble the traditional settings with respect to the opening rhythmic figures of each verse (Fig. 5.21a & b, line 1), the starting pitch of verse 29a (Fig. 5.21a, line 4, Fig. 5.21b, line 5), and the overall melodic direction of each verse. Clearly, Chrysaphes respected the sanctity of these traditional verses and wished to set them somewhat conservatively, maintaining the character and overall ethos of the archaic settings which were apparently widely known and sung. At the same time, the very fact that Chrysaphes sets these verses to new music is a commentary on his self-consciously perceived authority within the tradition, which he felt empowered to assert according to his aesthetic predilections.

FIGURE 5.22: PROPORTION OF PSALM VERSE AND REFRAIN, PS 103.28B & 29A[274]

Verse 28b	*Verse*	*Refrain*	Verse 29a	*Verse*	*Refrain*
Traditional	52	8	**Traditional**	34	9
Chrysaphes	38	18	**Chrysaphes**	30	16

Chrysaphes' Use of Kalophonic Devices in the Anoixantaria

Chrysaphes' Setting of Ἄσω τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου (v. 31a)

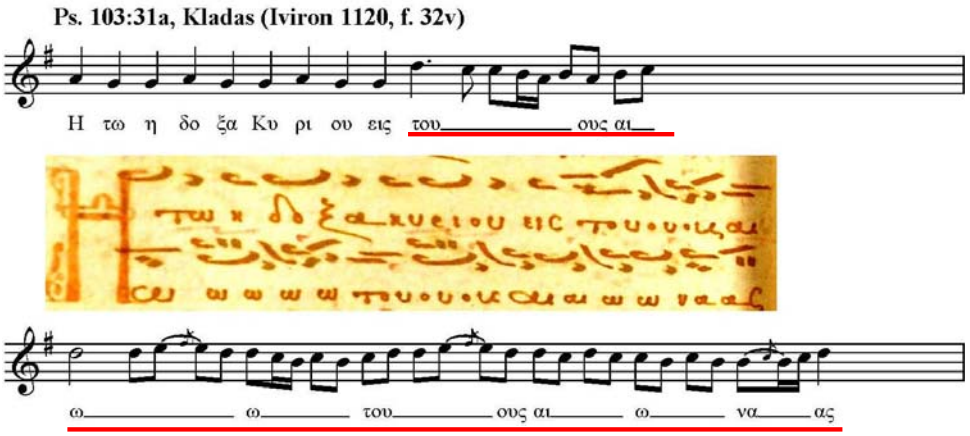
A detailed analysis of aspects of especially two of Chrysaphes' more elaborate settings of the *Anoixantaria*, specifically focusing on his use of various kalophonic devices, sheds light into his behaviour as composer. The first setting that will be analysed is found on f. 34v of Iviron 1120, the full text of which is as follows (psalm verse based on v. 33a):

> Ἄσω τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου. Λέγε:
> δόξα σοι, τρισυπόστατε Θεότης, Πάτερ, Υἱέ, και Πνεῦμα,
> σὲ προσκυνοῦμεν καὶ δοξάζομεν
> δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
>
> I will sing to the Lord throughout my life. Say:
> Glory to Thee, thrice-hypostatic Godhead, Father, Son and Spirit
> We worship you and glorify you
> Glory to Thee, O God

Verse 33a is one of the shortest hemi-stichs of Psalm 103. Thus, the opening psalm-tone recitation is very short, consisting of just 7 notes (Fig. 5.25, line 1) before ascending a fifth and beginning a florid melisma for the next two lines that completes the psalm verse. This technique – an ascending fifth functioning as a 'signal' for the beginning of an elaborate, cadential melisma – is a convention that preceded Chrysaphes. For example, this technique is employed frequently by Kladas, as in the opening of his setting of verse 31a, Ἤτω ἡ δόξα Κυρίου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, from Iviron 1120, f. 32v, shown here (the elaborate melisma is underlined red):

[274] Figure 5.21 units are represented in 'beats' where 1 beat = a crotchet (based on my transcriptions).

FIGURE 5.23: KLADAS' DEPLOYMENT OF 'ASCENDING 5TH BEFORE MELISMATIC CADENCE' FIGURE



Turning to Chrysaphes' setting (Fig. 5.25 below), the neume group above the word τοὺς that initiates this melismatic figure features the neume *hypsele* which, when coupled with the horizontal *oligon*, indicated an ascent of a fifth). Aside from the obviously elaborate nature of this melisma, it is also interesting to note that this is one of the few instances in which Chrysaphes does not attempt to provide a melisma over the accented word, but instead, follows the more archaic tradition of elaborating on the fourth-to-last syllable from the end, **τῇ** rather than **ῇ** of the phrase ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου.

After a brief flourish around the tonic on the final word of the psalm verse, μοῦ, Chrysaphes uses a bridge on the word λέγε ('say') to begin the refrain which starts a fifth higher than the tonic of plagal fourth mode. Two aspects of this bridge (bracketed in red in line two of Fig. 5.25, below) are notable. First, the bridge outlines a smooth melodic pathway of ascending seconds to the upper tetrachord, and in doing so provides the singers with the starting pitch of the refrain, d′. Second, the bridge is written in red ink in Iviron 1120, a common convention for 'λέγε' and other similar interjections in the kalophonic idiom. Byzantine scribes of the kalophonic period commonly wrote in red ink words such as λέγε and πάλιν, or long intonation formulas, in order to set them apart for solo performance. In this case, Chrysaphes connects the psalm verse, which ends on f# below the tonic, to the refrain, by means of the following figure, which ascends rapidly from g to d′:

FIGURE 5.24: 'LEGE' BRIDGE IN CHRYSAPHES' SETTING OF PS 103:31A

Sung in this manner by one singer, this motif must have achieved a dramatic effect, functioning as a sort of clarion call for both singers and listeners to pay attention to the extensive troping that was to follow.

While the transcription of v. 31a below speaks for itself, I will call out three aspects of the troped refrain in particular: the virtuosic vocal writing, the use of sequences, and the use of phthorai. Chrysaphes' refrain is a virtuosic piece of vocal writing by any standard. While most of Chrysaphes' settings feature his characteristic descent to d below the tonic g in plagal fourth mode followed by (often) an ascent of a seventh to c′ to begin the next phrase, this particular composition barely travels below the tonic of the mode. Its upper limit, on the other hand, is veritably stratospheric. The first, broad statement of the refrain, δόξα σοι τρισυπόστατε θεότης, is centred on the d′ a fifth above the tonic: it opens with a stock, four-note phrase that rises to an f♯′ (see end of line 2), and then, after falling all the way down to the tonic, it arches back up an octave, to high g′, before cadencing on d′ (beginning of line 4). It is at this point that Chrysaphes departs from earlier settings by writing an extremely demanding, extended series of phrases that range from d′-b♭′, more than an 11th above the tonic of the mode. The trope concludes with a series of phrases that, in a very short span of time (12 beats in my transcription), sequence down to the tonic of the mode (end of line 6) only to jump up an octave for the beginning the final cadential flourish, another rapidly descending octave.

Second, Chrysaphes, like many composers of the kalophonic period, utilised sequences as a means of melodic expansion, and it is worth illustrating his sophisticated manner of employing these devices. The use of sequences is judged rather harshly by Williams in his conclusions on the 'style' and 'trademarks' of Kladas, Korones, and Koukouzeles, the three most represented composers in his 1968 study. He concludes that the compositions of Kladas are 'pedestrian', and, speaking more specifically of Kladas' settings of the Μακάριος ἀνὴρ (Ps. 1-3), concludes that:

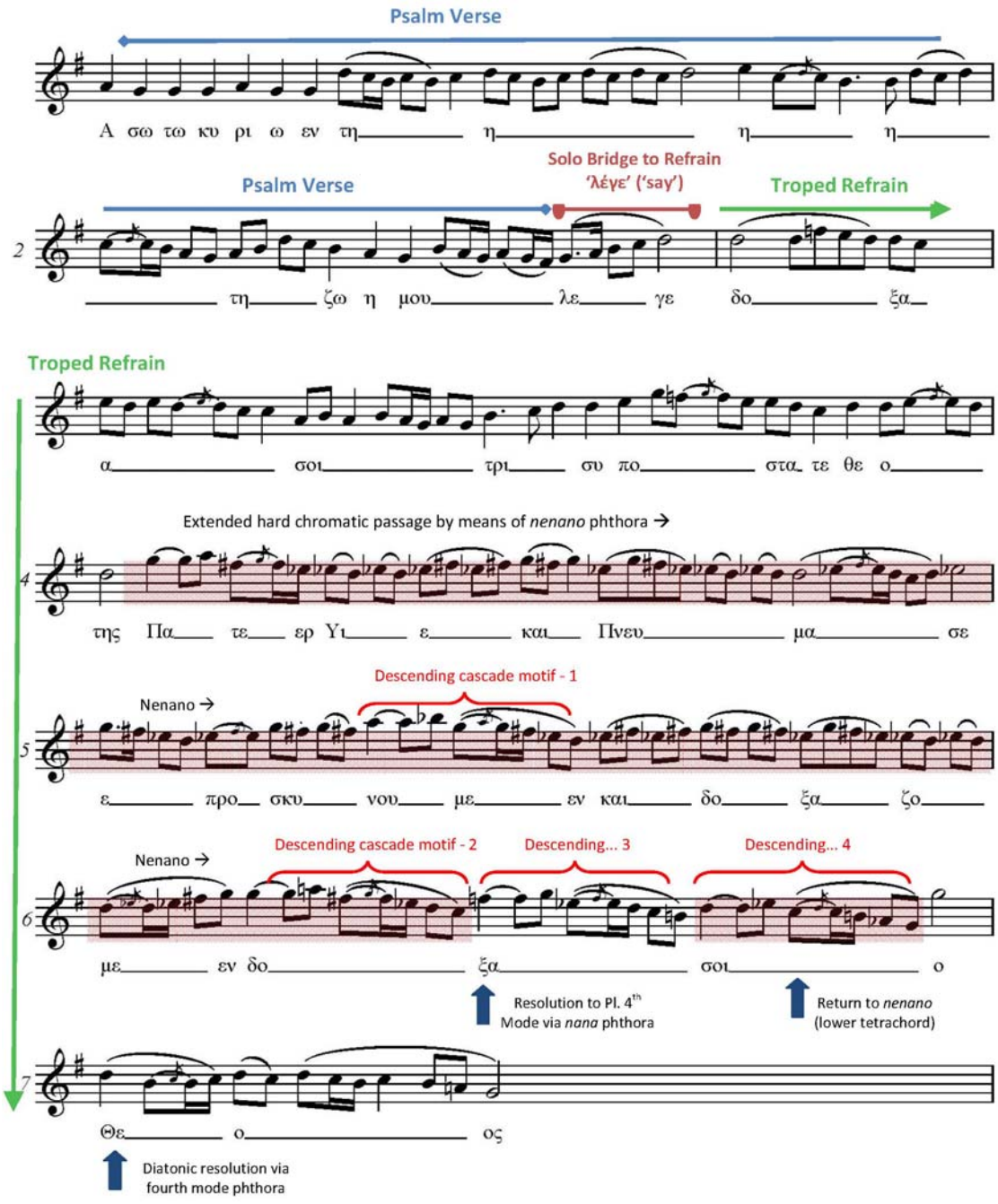
> When [Kladas] inserts these cells among chains of formulaic sequences, the line assumes the appearance of a mosaic... His vocal line relies heavily upon successions of a stock double-note figure... which, upon closer inspection... shows that the chains of two-note formulas function as 'vocal mortar' for a limited number of melodic cells on various tonal levels... His artless approach is manifested in vocal lines which are both diffuse and monotonous.[275]

Of course, Williams did not analyse any settings of Manuel Chrysaphes, but what follows below should nevertheless contribute to a rehabilitation of the reputation of sequences as

[275] Williams, *Koukouzeles*, 245-46.

sophisticated, versus monotonous, methods of melodic expansion. A full study of the comparison of Kladas' method of sequencing vs. that of Chrysaphes cannot be undertaken here, but the following excerpts from his setting of v. 33a suffice to highlight the point that his use of sequences is deft, restrained, balanced, and indeed, artful.[276]

FIGURE 5.25: CHRYSAPHES' SETTING OF PS 103.33A AND TRIADIC TROPE

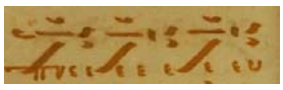


[276] I thank my supervisor, Dr Lingas, for pointing out the fact that one of the problems for Williams seems to be that he assumed an equalist rendering of the neumes, à la Solesmes, in which case the two-note descending ornaments beloved of Kladas (illustrated plainly in Fig. 5.26) would be really tedious, especially, I should add, if performed as structural notes vs. as ornaments!

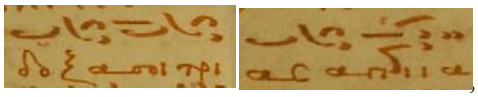
We can point to one more setting by Chrysaphes to emphasise the point that his sequences were sophisticated compositional devices rather than artless, monotonous drivel. On f. 32v of Iviron 1120 we find Chrysaphes' setting of verse 31a, the full text of which is:

> Ἴτω ἡ δόξα Κυρίου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας
> Δόξα σοι Πάτερ, Υἱέ, καὶ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον,
> Δόξα σοι Τριὰς ἁγία,
> Δόξα σοι ὁ Θεός
>
> Let the glory of the Lord be unto the ages
> Glory to Thee, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit
> Glory to Thee, Holy Trinity
> Glory to Thee, O God

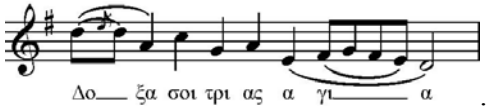
We immediately proceed to the troped refrain in order to point one of the most remarkable assemblies of sequenced melodic motifs found in this entire repertory. First, Chrysaphes' use of a series of cascading two-note motifs, those utilised so often by Kladas, merit our attention. In this context, the two-note sequences most frequently appear as an *ison* followed by an *apostrophos*, , or as a *petaste* followed by *apostrophos*: . This motif appears 12 times (!) in less than two lines of folio 32v and its sophisticated deployment is shown in the transcription. It is important to point out that Chrysaphes avoids monotonous symmetry: each time he utilises a series of these two-note motifs, they are buttressed by completely different, varied melodic ideas on both sides, as in the treatment of the phrase δόξα σοι in line two, which is preceded by an ascending neume group: and followed by a descending motif (which will appear later in the setting), , which, instead of descending directly to the D below the tonic G, is delayed by Chrysaphes' characteristic four note phrase that precedes such a cadence: . The full elaboration by means of the two note sequence begins at the end of the second system, shown in Figure 5.26 below.

The most impressive series of sequence occurs further along in the trope. The two melodic motifs that are sequenced are, first, one that is very closely related to the group just detailed above in v. 31a, , a phrase that is spun out three times in quick succession:  As the image to the left shows, the sequential nature of this figure is evident simply on the basis of its graphical representation in the manuscript. Second, Chrysaphes sequences another exceedingly unique melodic motif to descend an octave over the

words δόξα σοι τριὰς ἁγία, a motif that consists of ascents of a second or third immediately followed by descents of a fourth. This sequence of intervals is atypical: rarely in medieval Byzantine chant would a non-stepwise ascent or descent be followed by another non-stepwise movement in the opposite direction.[277] In this case, Chrysaphes is obligated to violate this 'rule' once in order to descend smoothly to the low d (probably in order to avoid a direct fourth between b and f#, an unusual interval rarely seen in plagal fourth mode). Of course, the effect of the non-stepwise motion could have also been minimised by the filling in of intervals (partially employed in the transcription given in Fig. 5.26), but nevertheless the neumes indicate a unique progression not observed in the works of Koukouzeles, Korones, or Kladas:



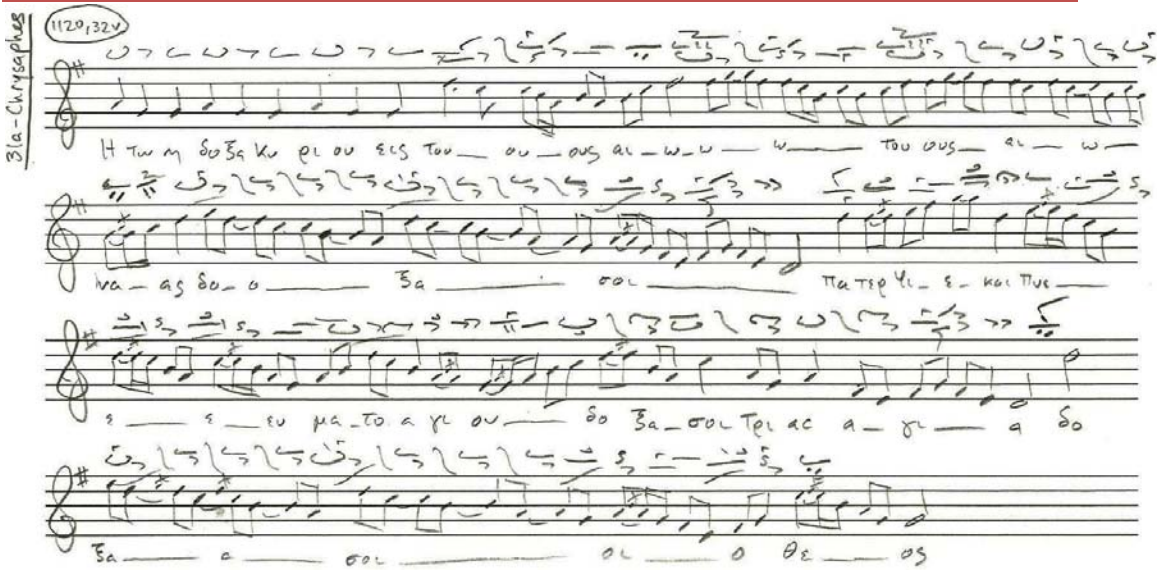
, transcribed as:



.

The entire setting closes with a return of the two-note descending motif observed earlier, accompanied by the 'descending cascade motif' from v. 31a, which appears twice before the final cadence. Finally, it is interesting to note another rather unique ('Chrysaphean') aspect of this setting: two ascending octaves after cadences on low d (Fig. 5.26, end of lines 2 & 3).

FIGURE 5.26: USE OF MELODIC SEQUENCES: CHRYSAPHES' SETTING OF V. 31A FROM IVIRON 1120



[277] On f. 139v of Iviron 1120, in the middle of Chrysaphes' setting of Psalm 2:7-8 (commissioned by Constantine XI Palaiologos), Chrysaphes' deploys a very similar non-scalar descending sequence. Further along in the composition, he includes a phrase with the following intervals in succession: descending fourth, ascending fourth, descending fourth, ascending fifth. Such figurations are encountered in the *kratema* genre, but rarely outside. Broadly speaking, this seems to be an identifying characteristic of Chrysaphes.

Chrysaphes on the Phthorai

The modulations employed by Chrysaphes, alluded to above, are yet another kalophonic device at the composer's disposal which serve to add flavour to this trope and affirm its characterisation as 'kalophonic' even though from a non-kalophonic repertory. Prior to delving into an analysis of this particular setting, it is necessary to provide a brief background into the general function of the phthorai based on Chrysaphes' treatise. While Chrysaphes' treatise does not tell us everything we would like to know concerning performance practice, musical writing, and singing technique in the fifteenth century, its section on the phthorai – the modulatory signs of Byzantine chant notation, all originally derived from the Greek letter φ – is the most extensive. At over 300 lines in Iviron 1120, it comprises well over half of the treatise. It is rich with vital information concerning compositional techniques for modal changes, leading Raasted to conclude that Chrysaphes' *Treatise* is 'the best starting-point for understanding modulation in Byzantine ecclesiastical music.'[278]

In his introduction to this section on the phthorai, Chrysaphes describes the two types of modulation that occurred regularly in Byzantine chant. The first, *apo parallagon*, or 'by step', was evidently a type of modulation in which the value of the intervallic relationships in a given melody were not altered, but the migration of a melody from one dominant tone to another (or the use of melodic phrases characteristic of one particular mode or another) may have affected a change in sound or character. According to Chrysaphes, a modulation by step (ἀπὸ παραλλαγῶν) does not require the use of a phthora. Specifically:

> If, to start off, you sing in the first mode, and then you change to the second mode, or to the third mode, or to the fourth mode and so on, I do not say that this is a phthora, since it is brought about by complete (φωνὰς τελείας) tones.[279] For if you ascend one tone from the first (mode), you find the second (mode), always. And if you ascend two tones, you will find the third (mode); if three, fourth (mode), and so on, and this is *by parallage*, thus, how therefore is it the truth to call this (type of modulation) phthora?[280]

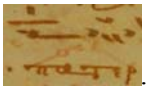
The second type of modulation, called a phthora, which literally means 'corruption' or 'destruction' of the melody (from the verb φθείρω: to destroy, corrupt, or ruin), is described by Chrysaphes thus:

> A phthora is the unexpected destruction of the melody of the mode being chanted and the creation of another melody together with a brief, partial modulation (ἐναλλαγὴν) from the mode being chanted to another; then, with the cancellation (λυομένης) of the phthora, the

[278] Raasted, *Intonation Formulas*, 44. This point was also cited above in Chapter 4.
[279] Chrysaphes use of the term φωνὰς τελείας (lit: 'perfect voices', or 'complete tones', 'whole tones') is not to be understood here as a distinction between whole steps and half steps.
[280] Conomos, *Treatise*, 48-51.

> previous mode is sung in the form that it had beforehand… thus, whenever the artist wishes to transpose the melody by means of a phthora, then he places the phthora in the appropriate position as a sign to indicate the transposition of the mode and the melody… from that point, as the melody is being gradually transformed… the phthora creates its own melody until it finds its rest (ἀνάπαυσιν), that is, resolution (κατάληξιν)… after this, by cancelling the phthora in the manner we described previously, the melody of the mode that was being used before returns once more to its form and nature (τὴν ἰδέαν καὶ φύσιν αὐτοῦ).[281]

The rest of the treatise proceeds to describe the six phthores, corresponding to each mode.[282]

The first phthoric modulation enacted by Chrysaphes in his setting of v. 33a (refer back to Fig. 5.25 above) appears at the beginning of line 4 in the transcription, at the exclamation beginning with the word Πάτερ ('Father'). The phthora employed is the *nenano* phthora, which Chrysaphes calls ἡ γλυκυτάτη φθορᾶ ('the sweetest phthora'). It is placed on the pitch g′, an octave above the tonic. The *nenano* phthora is written in red, shown in the middle of the following image, a circle flanked by two 45º lines that ascend from left to right:  . Scholarly consensus holds that the placement of the *nenano* phthora resulted in a chromatic tetrachord, usually descending from the note on which the phthora was placed.[283] As Chrysaphes himself writes, 'when it is placed in the melody of another mode, it makes its own unique melody, something that the other phthorai are not able to do.'[284] In this case, the resulting tetrachord would be: g′-f#′-e♭′-d′,[285] indeed constituting a 'unique melody', one that features the distinct augmented second interval. The *nenano* phthora persists in 'binding' (δεσμοῦσι is Chrysaphes' term) the melody for two and a half lines of the transcription, a chromatic tour-de-force that includes several deft melodic twists and turns, not the least of which is the momentary cadence on e♭′ (end of line 4). Chrysaphes' skill in vocal writing lies in part in his ability to suspend the tension, extending the melodic line indefinitely, without falling into repetition or clichés, before achieving rest at some or another cadence point.

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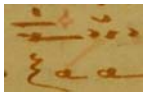
[281] Conomos, *Treatise*, 50-51.
[282] Chrysaphes informs his readers that the first mode phthora accomplishes modulation for the plagal first and grave (plagal third) modes and thus another sign is not needed, hence, there are six phthorai for eight modes.
[283] This is validated by the viewpoint of the fifteenth century treatise by Ioannes Plousiadenos, in which the author, in attempting to describe the 'force' and 'energy' of the plagal modes, says, '...καί ὁ μέν πλάγιος τοῦ δευτέρου τρίφωνον ἔχει τόν πρῶτον, ὅς φθοριζόμενος, ἀποτελεῖ τόν νενανῶ...' ('...and the *triphonos* of plagal second mode is first mode, which, when phthoricized, becomes *nenano*). This treatise, from Dionysiou 570 (f. 119-123), is published in Alygizakes, *H Οκταηχία*, 235-39. See also the opinion of Tillyard, Handbook 35, agreeing with this line of thinking, and a more updated version (focused on second mode), Eustathios Makris, 'The Chromatic Scales of the Deuteros Modes in Theory and Practice', *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 14, no. 1 (2005): 2, and for his interpretation of the treatise by Gabriel Hieromonachos concerning *nenano*, 3-4.
[284] Conomos, *Treatise*, 64-65.
[285] The precise measurement of these specific intervals cannot be undertaken in this study.

The resolution (λύση is Chrysaphes' term) of the *nenano* phthora finally occurs in the middle of the final δόξα exclamation, on f′ above the tonic g. Chrysaphes uses the diatonic third mode phthora – utilised conventionally to modulate out of *nenano*[286] – to effect the resolution, thus:  The phthora of the third mode, written in red ink as a circle with two vertical lines at its top and bottom, is a fleeting diatonic resolution. At the end of line 6 of the transcription (Fig. 5.25), the fourth 'descending cascade motif' is bound by the *nenano* phthora, creating a chromatic tetrachord, but this time starting on c′ above the tonic g. The whole complex finally returns to the plagal fourth mode by means of the fourth mode phthora, which according to Chrysaphes, 'cannot be used without first modulating by means of the *nenano*...'[287] This is precisely the sequence followed here by Chrysaphes, and the modulation to fourth mode, which is really a resolution of the *nenano*, is enacted thus:  This phthora 'resolves' all the intervals and enables the melody to descend to its final cadential point, g, following the conventional (diatonic) intervals of the plagal fourth tetrachord.[288]

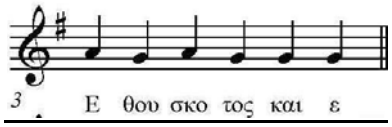
Chrysaphes' Setting of Ἔθου σκότος καὶ ἐγένετο νὺξ (v. 20a)

An analysis of Chrysaphes' setting of verse 20a, included in Iviron 1120, folios 40r-40v, especially in light of the same author's theoretical treatise, will reveal further insights into his application of phthorai. In Iviron 1120, Chrysaphes includes five different settings of this verse, the oldest being that of Xenos Korones. Chrysaphes' composition is remarkable in that it modulates through all eight modes in the short span of the verse and its troped, Trinitarian refrain. As is the case with many 'innovations' popularised by Chrysaphes, it was Ioannes Kladas, Chrysaphes predecessor by a generation or more, who first writes an *oktaechal* version of his own on the same verse, which must have inspired Chrysaphes to do the same.[289] For the purposes of this analysis, we will analyse only Chrysaphes' setting.

[286] Conomos, *Treatise*, 56-57.
[287] Conomos, *Treatise*, 58-59.
[288] The octave ascent, descent of a fourth and descent of a third that precedes the final ascending-descending flourish, is a rare case of successive intervals of more than a second, in this case, outlining what we read in staff notation at least as an inverted major triad!
[289] Evidently, Chrysaphes also wrote another eight-mode composition, a *doxastikon* for the feast of St Spyridon (12-December), preserved in the late fifteenth century MS Sinai 1249, starting on fol. 202r. The text in this manuscript is not the same as the same popular eight-mode doxastikon sometimes sung for the same feast in contemporary Orthodox worship and modelled after Θεαρχίον νεῦματι ('By divine command') from the feast of Dormition (15-August).

Chrysaphes begins verse 20a in the same, traditional fashion that characterises the beginning of nearly all the verses of *Anoixantaria*, with the first five syllables executed as psalm-tone recitation at the tonic of the mode (G) with stepwise motion for word accents, thus:

FIGURE 5.27: PSALM-TONE RECITATION IN CHRYSAPHES' OKTAECHAL SETTING (PS 103:20A)



The first extensive melisma for Chrysaphes occurs on the accentuated syllable of the verb ἐγένετο ('becomes'). The accented syllable is in fact the fourth syllable from the end of the psalm verse (ἐγ**έ**νετο νὺξ), and thus, it receives a very long melisma (perhaps even longer as a result of the confluence of two melisma-influencing factors).

Plagal fourth to first mode

Most importantly for our discussion is the appearance of the first of Chrysaphes' phthorai on the first note of the same syllable, the phthora of the first mode,  , creating a modulation from plagal fourth to first mode (a diatonic mode with a theoretical base on 'a', and a tetrachordal structure of a-b♮-c′-d′). Chrysaphes explains this phthora in the following manner:

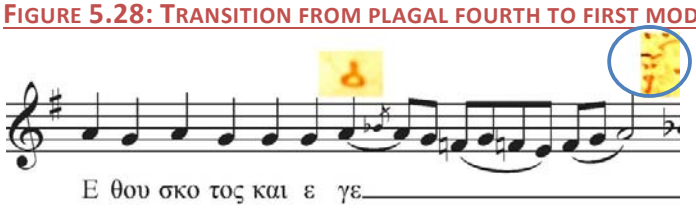
> The first mode phthora prepares the way and resolves (cadences) into the nature of the grave mode as well as into that of the first plagal, which is exactly the same procedure that the experts before us followed… for if someone were to place a phthora of the first mode and resolve it into the nature of another mode of his own choosing, but neither the grave nor the first plagal, as we have just said, this is not artistic, but most inartistic and outside of the truth… even if one finds the phthorai of these modes in some old books, the great teachers before us however did not use them and neither shall we use them…[290]

As usual, Chrysaphes presents himself as an authority, citing several specific kalophonic pieces to bolster his claims concerning proper compositional techniques. Those who did not follow these rules – and we presume there were teachers and singers who had a more liberal, or perhaps less studied, approach to composition – he derides as 'inartistic' (ἄτεχνον) and 'outside of the truth' (ἔξω τῆς ἀληθείας).[291] Thus, in the setting at hand, the addition of the first mode phthora on 'a' indicates a modal shift from a tonic g to a tonic of d below g, though never cadencing on d, but rather, on 'a':

[290] Conomos, *Treatise*, 52-53.

[291] I suspect Andreas Stellon of Cyprus was one of these 'bad' composers, according to Chrysaphes, based on his unconventional use of the *nenano* phthora in his *polyeleos*. For example, in Iviron 975, f. 86r, Chrysaphes writes: 'Ποιηθὲν παρὰ κὺρ Ἀνδρέου τοῦ Στελοῦ καὶ δομεστίκου τῶν Πατρῶν· ἐγράφη παρὰ τοῦ Μανουὴλ Χρυσάφου σαφέστατα' ('composed by Andreas Stellon, domestikos of Patras, written by Manuel Chrysaphes more clearly').

FIGURE 5.28: TRANSITION FROM PLAGAL FOURTH TO FIRST MODE



The key aspects that have changed with respect to *ficta*[292] are the introduction of an f natural and b♭, in essence the result of a transmutation of the first mode down a fifth to the tonic of its plagal (d). As Chrysaphes instructed his readers in the excerpt from his treatise cited above,[293] a phthora can reposition the base of any mode on any scale degree, since the phthora changes the intervallic structure around the scale degree it falls (this is what Chrysaphes' means by 'creating a new melody', i.e., creating new intervals, in contrast to modulation by *parallage*, which does not change any intervals). Moreover, the modal signature Chrysaphes uses at the end of this phrase, that of first mode *tetraphonos*, or, 'four notes above the base of first mode' (circled in blue above), tells us that we are an interval of a fifth above the base of first mode, which is the case if d below g is taken as the new transposed base of first mode. It is a precise indication that the scale of the preceding phase is d-e-f♮-g-a. This modal signature is also used when cadencing a fifth above the natural tonic of plagal first mode (d). This latter reading is consistent with the passage from Chrysaphes' *Treatise*, cited above, that instructs the composer to use the first mode phthora to cadence in either grave mode or plagal first mode. Furthermore, the melodic phrase in question is a common phrase in either of those two aforementioned modes. To summarise, this modal signature is used in the current mode (plagal fourth) in order to ensure a b♭/f♮ relationship, a requirement in order to move into first mode with a transposed tonic of d below 'a'.[294]

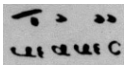
[292] The phrase *musica ficta* (lit: 'false' or 'fabricated music'), used earliest by music theorists in the medieval West to denote a deviation from the natural hexachord (ut-re-mi-fa-sol-la, as described by Guido of Arezzo) with respect to the placement of the semitone (naturally occurring between mi-fa), eventually came to encompass the broader practice of applying accidentals to especially polyphonic music of the late twelfth to the sixteenth centuries (Margaret Bent and Alexander Silbiger, 'Musica Ficta [Musica Falsa],' in *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2007-2013), accessed on 24-September 2013). My use of the term *ficta* is intentionally broad and meant to indicate changes in intervallic relationships between notes from their 'natural' position in a given mode on the basis of alterations demanded by the *phthorai* and or modal signatures. That *musica ficta* was necessary in plainchant is suggested by several medieval theorists, although 'other theorists give strong hints that more *ficta* was needed for polyphony,' as a result of the vertical relationships created through the introduction of one or more contrapuntal lines (Margaret Bent, 'Musica Recta and Musica Ficta,' *Musica Disciplina* 26 (1972): 77-78).

[293] Cf. supra, p. 271-72.

[294] Although Iannis Arvanitis has made the case for an F♮ in plagal fourth mode of the classical *Sticherarion*, he believes (as do I) that the plagal fourth mode of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially in the genre of the *Anoixantaria*, almost exclusively demands an f# for the f below the tonic g.

First mode to second mode

Chrysaphes' foray into first mode is brief. The second modulation of Chrysaphes' *oktaechal* setting occurs above the intercalated letter χ, which serves to re-articulate the extended vowel that carries the melisma on the word ἐγένετο. This is the second mode phthora,  , which immediately 'changes the melody' (i.e., intervals) of first mode by means of raising the 'b' back to its 'natural' position as b♮. This modulation leads us from first mode *tetraphonos* to the second mode, a transition corroborated in Chrysaphes' description of one of the functions of the second mode phthora:

> If this phthora is used in order to bind, it functions as follows: the first mode, frequently *tetraphonos*, becomes the second by the melody – this is effected by the strength of the phthora of the second mode. If a phthora were not placed in the first mode, the melody would enter its mesos, the Barys. So for this reason either the phthora or the mode is used, and instead of the Barys, it binds the melody and becomes the mesos of the second mode, thus:  .[295]

Chrysaphes is explaining the ficta requirements governing the process of exiting first mode *tetraphonos*, which has a b♭, and entering second mode, which evidently had a b♮.[296] A phthora is needed in this context, according to Chrysaphes, in order to avoid entering the Barys (grave) mode. Indeed, if one sings the transcription below from the appearance of the second mode phthora but maintains a b♭, the resulting melody would follow the intervals of grave mode, though, in this case, transposed up a fourth from its (theoretically) natural tonic, f. In order to avoid this mistake, the second mode phthora is employed, signalling to the singer a return to a tuning system consistent with diatonic plagal fourth mode.[297] The resulting mode is *mesos deuteros*, a branch of second mode which cadences on b but has frequent peregrinations down to g, a third below the natural tonic of second mode (hence, the appellation 'mesos'). Finally, the shared tuning of second and plagal fourth modes – in this genre, at least – seems to be one

[295] Conomos, *Treatise*, 54-55.

[296] We know that in the medieval system, this intonation formula of second mode, 'νεανες' (the image of which above) is taken directly from Chrysaphes' treatise, corresponds to approximately a major third outlined by the notes, b-a-g. For the medieval diatonic nature of second mode in the *heirmoi* of the medieval Heirmologion, and also, especially pertinent to the discussion above, the appearance of the *martyriai* of *mesos deuteros* in plagal fourth mode *stichera* and their transcription into the New Method with diatonic intervals as evidence towards the diatonic nature of second mode in these contexts, see Arvanitis, *O Ρυθμός I*, 131-33.

[297] Further evidence of the shared (diatonic) scales of second mode and plagal fourth mode in the medieval system is the *apechema* (intonation) formula found in some sources before the final verse (24a) of the *Anoixantaria*. In Sinai 1257 (f. 168v), for example, the final verse (v. 24a) is preceded by the instruction: ψαλλόμενοι δὲ οἱ δύο χοροὶ γεγονότερα φώνη, ἦχον δεύτερον ἔσω· καὶ γίνεται πλ. δ' (and the two choirs chant this in a greater voice, in second mode eso, which becomes plagal fourth mode).

of the reasons Chrysaphes' stays in *deuteros* for an extended period of time before modulating elsewhere.

Second mode to third mode

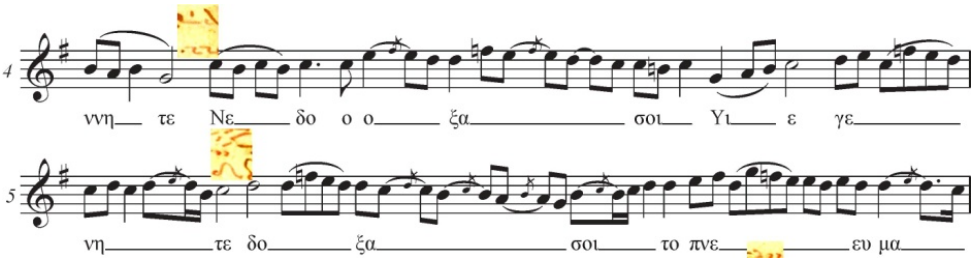
Chrysaphes' transition to third mode is the first type of modulation, *apo parallage*, and thus no phthora is required. The beginning of line 4 in the transcription shows a cadence to g, the *mesos* of second mode, at the end of the word ἀγέννητε ('beginningless'). This provides a natural springboard for a transition into the third mode, by means of the third mode intonation formula, the *nana*, shown here:  . This simple intonation formula[298] consists of three neumes above the consonants that spell out 'nana', an *oligon* + *kentema* which indicate an ascent of a fourth, followed by an *ison*, indicating a repetition. In other words, this intonation formula (which singers had the option to sing) instructed the singer to ascend a fourth and begin the next phrase, in this case, on c′, which conveniently, is the natural tonic of third mode in the medieval system. Thus, no intervallic changes are required and so no phthora is warranted. Chrysaphes details this transition in his explanation of the *nana* phthora:

> If there is a phthora of the second mode, you must move into the related *mesos* and after this dissolve it with the phthora either of the nana or of the fourth mode.[299]

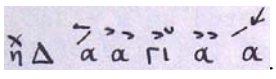
This account is interesting for two reasons. First, Chrysaphes recommends that, if you are in second mode, the cadence preceding your change into third mode should be on the *mesos* of second mode (g). This is precisely the case in this setting of verse 20a. However, Chrysaphes also says that in order to 'dissolve' (λύουσι) the second mode, one ought to use a phthora (either of the third mode, or of the fourth mode). In this case, there is no phthora, but simply the intonation formula of *nana* indicating the change. This does not represent an inconsistency, since the function of the intonation formula is the same as that of the phthora (in this context), but further examples of such transitions are required in order to gain a deeper understanding of Chrysaphes' meaning behind this statement in his treatise. In any case, the third mode section of this setting (stretching from the beginning of line 4 to line 5 in the transcription), outlines a standard third mode melodic progression which starts on c′, ascends a fourth above and descends a fourth below, ending on tonic c′:

[298] For more elaborate third mode intonation formulas, see Raasted, Intonation Formulas passim.
[299] Conomos, *Treatise*, 56-57.

FIGURE 5.29: TRANSITION FROM SECOND TO THIRD MODE



Third mode to fourth mode

Chrysaphes' transition from third to fourth mode is, like the one before it, a modulation *by parallage*, that is, without the use of a phthora.[300] No change in intervals is required to enact a stepwise transition from third mode based on c′ to fourth mode based on d′, but the resulting melodic phrases are, of course, different, focused around their respective tonics. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this transition in Iviron 1120 is Chrysaphes use of the *agia* modal signature,  .[301] Raasted's 1966 study on intonation formulas and modal signatures revealed the fact that these modal signatures were not 'silent signs of control' (which, by the eighteenth century seems to have become their exclusive function), but rather, that they served as shorthand for longer intonation formulas, which were sometimes, but not always, sung in a simple or elaborate form.[302] Chrysaphes' notation suggests that this *agia* modal signature may have been sung, or at least, he explicitly gives singers the option to do so:  . Above the syllable 'δο' (from δόξα), Chrysaphes writes an *oligon* (horizontal line) over a *diple* (a neume of lengthening), which tells the singer to ascend a second from the prior cadence on c′ to d′. However, above this neume, written in a lighter red ink, Chrysaphes writes an *ison*, above a *diple*, obviously an *ossia* for the main line. The ison indicates a repetition: since we know the δόξα phrase of fourth mode to have begun on d′, we must have ended the prior phrase on d′ in this alternate scenario. Since the prior phrase is known to have ended on c′, the only plausible alternative is that this modal signature was sung, probably outlining a stepwise descent and ascent of a fifth, from d′-g-d′, possibly resembling the standard intonation figure for agia, given here from MS Sinai 1218, f. 271r (d. 1177 AD):  .

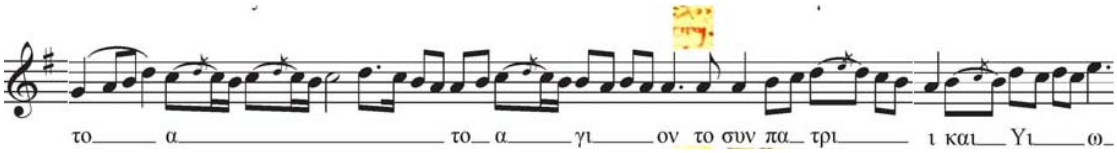
[300] In EBE 2401, this transition is indicated by both agia modal signature and a fourth mode phthora.
[301] *Agia* is the verbal mnemonic associated with the medieval intonation formula of the fourth mode (persisting as the intonation formula for the melismatic, i.e., *papadaic*, branch of fourth mode in the modern repertory).
[302] The conclusions of his research are presented in *Intonation Formulas*, 162-64.

Chrysaphes' transition to fourth mode is possibly enacted by a sung intonation formula, after which the melody hovers around the tetrachord d′-g′ before descending and cadencing on 'a'.

Fourth mode to plagal first mode

Our explanation of Chrysaphes' transition from fourth to plagal first mode is brief. This is a modulation *apo parallage*, as the last two. In his treatise, Chrysaphes emphasises that the first mode phthora is sufficient to accomplish modulation into the plagal first and grave modes, thus, the phthorai of these modes were redundant and thus obsolete.[303] The transition from fourth to plagal first mode is effected on the basis of a turn of the melodic phrase from one centred on d′ and g, to one with a tendency towards 'a', d′, and e′. At the first occurrence of the word τὸ of 'τὸ ἅγιον', a melodic idea that begins on g, briefly pauses on c′, and cadences on 'a', is developed:

FIGURE 5.30: TRANSITION FROM FOURTH TO PLAGAL FIRST MODE



The modal signature above is both 'backward' and 'forward' looking,[304] meaning that it is indicative of the mode for both the preceding phrase and the phrase which immediately follows. The phrases in question here are in plagal first mode with a tonic 'a', a fifth above the mode's 'natural' tonic (d).

Plagal first to plagal second mode

Chrysaphes transitions to plagal second mode with a phthora, in contrast to the 'stepwise' modulations of the prior four transitions, which did not alter any intervals. To modulate into plagal second mode, Chrysaphes uses his beloved *nenano* phthora placed with the neume group above the syllable συμ of the word συμπροσκυνούμενον ('worshipped together with'), a modulation that creates an augmented second interval between c′ and b, which are now sharped and flatted, respectively. As Chrysaphes notes in his treatise, people might object to the existence of the plagal second phthora, since it accomplishes the same as does the *nenano*. He answers these objections by quoting a number of compositions in which the application of the second mode phthora is different than that of the *nenano* phthora:

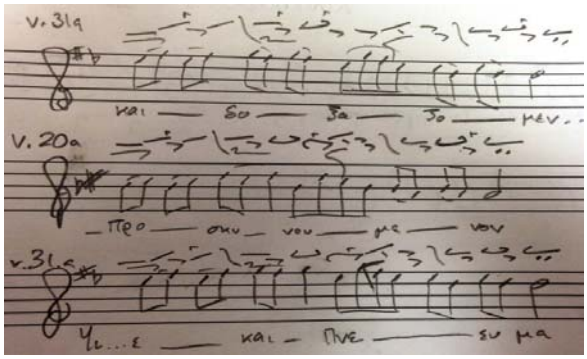
[303] Chrysaphes notes that, while these phthorai may be found in 'certain old books' (ἔν τισι παλαιοῖς βιβλίοις), they are not used by the great teachers of his period, i.e., any of the figures he has named in his treatise as his predecessors, i.e., Aneotes, Glykys, Koukouzeles, etc. See Conomos, *Treatise*, 52-53.

[304] Forward and backward looking modal (medial) signatures are discussed in Raasted, *Intonation Formulas*, 73-74 and passim, and in the context of certain *kalophonic* stichera, in Adsuara, 'Kalophonic Stichera', 210-12. See also Troelsgård, 'Prokeimena', passim.

> The phthora of the second plagal mode, on the other hand, is not like this, but it too creates a brief alteration as do the phthorai of the other modes and it is resolved immediately in haste and without another phthora.[305]

On the other hand, the *nenano* phthora exacts its influence over long stretches, even possessing its own melodies, like a unique mode. In this case, the *nenano* phthora (not the plagal second phthora) is used to move into plagal second mode. Chrysaphes' commentary, however, opens interesting lines of inquiry as to the possible chromatic nature of plagal second mode in the fifteenth century, a study which, due to constraints of the present study, must be undertaken elsewhere. The final point that can be made concerning Chrysaphes' move to plagal second mode concerns an exact concordance with two musical phrases from v. 31a, the latter which we analysed previously. The phrase in this section of v. 20a occurs a fifth lower than the two encountered in v. 31a, but they are identical both with respect to neumes employed as well as intervals. This musical phrase should also be thought of as a Chrysaphes' 'signature' cadential *thesis* in the *nenano* mode. See Figure 5.31 below:

FIGURE 5.31: A SIGNATURE NENANO CADENCE OF CHRYSAPHES



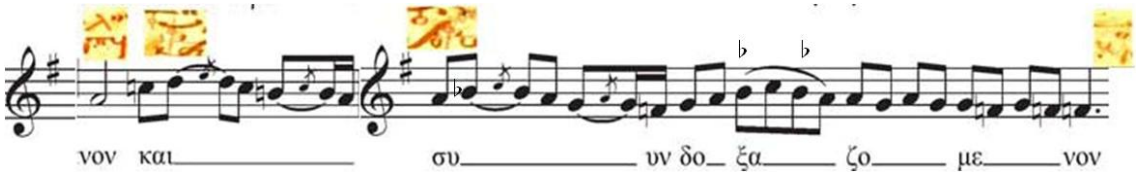
Plagal second to grave mode (barys)

The modulation to grave mode is accomplished by means of a third mode phthora, placed on the c′, a third above the plagal second cadence on 'a' in the prior phrase. The third mode phthora creates a *nana* (a perfect fourth above the tonic of plagal fourth mode) as Chrysaphes states clearly in his thesis (cited above). Thus, it calls for a c♮′. This modulation, which is accompanied by the *hemiphthoron*,[306] seen here to the right of the third mode phthora,  , is quickly refined by means of a first mode phthora placed on the 'a' of the very next musical phrase (accompanied by another *hemiphthoron*):  . The first mode phthora serves to flatten the b and create a proper cadence on f♮ (without the negative melodic influence of a

[305] Conomos, *Treatise*, 62-63.
[306] On the hemiphthorai in Palaeobyzantine notation, see Gerda Wolfram, 'Die Phthorai der Paläobyzantinischen Notationen', *Palaeobyzantine Notations* (1995): 119-29.

tritone) the tonic of grave mode. The correctness of this interpretation seems to be confirmed by the barys (grave) mode signature which Chrysaphes writes at the end of this phrase,[307] and by Chrysaphes' reminder that 'if one places the phthora of the first mode in a lesson chanted in any mode whatsoever, know that it is a preparation for the Barys mode for either a brief or long period, because the phthora of the aforementioned mode only resolves into the Barys.'[308] However, this transcription results in the need for an adjustment in the following section that is not explicitly indicated in the manuscript, and thus, a b♮ / f# relationship in the grave mode section cannot be ruled out. The full sequence is given in Fig. 5.32 below.

FIGURE 5.32: TRANSITION FROM PLAGAL SECOND MODE TO NENANO



Grave mode to plagal fourth mode

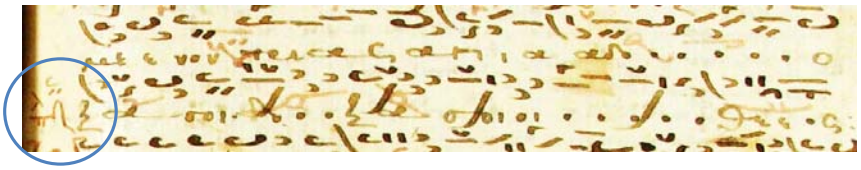
The transition to plagal fourth mode requires an adjustment of the b♭ to its natural position as the third scale degree of plagal fourth mode, i.e., to b♮. This transition is effected by *parallage*, and not by means of a phthora. Whereas the phrase τριὰς ἁγία δο- seems to mark a return to plagal first mode on the basis of its structure (and indeed, grave and plagal first modes are closely related), we have returned to the plagal of fourth mode without any shadow of doubt by the final δόξα σοι ὁ Θεὸς (and probably the phrase immediately prior which is a melodic cell that belongs to the plagal fourth mode). It is interesting to note that it is right at this point where, in another source, MS EBE 2401, there is a modal signature for plagal fourth mode (circled in blue, below), a superfluous marking to Chrysaphes, but for us, an indication that the scribe wanted the singer to be mindful here of the return to plagal fourth mode:[309]

[307] At some point from the 15th to the 18th century, in certain repertories of grave mode, this f# was raised, giving contemporary diatonic grave mode its characteristic 'locrian' flavor. For a discussion on the development of grave mode, see Ioannes Arvanitis, 'Το Παρελθόν και το Παρόν του Βαρέος Διατονικού Ήχου', *Paper presented at the Third International Conference of Musicology and Psaltike: Θεωρία και Πράξη της Ψαλτικής Τέχνης: Οκταηχία held in 2006 in Athens* (Athens: Gr. Th. Stathis, 2010).

[308] Conomos, *Treatise*, 50-51.

[309] One may also note that the scribe of this portion of EBE 2401 has added *nenano* phthora to color the final descent from d′, resolving it with a fourth mode phthora. This is correct according to Chrysaphes' modulation principles, but such a modulation is not indicated in Chrysaphes' autograph.

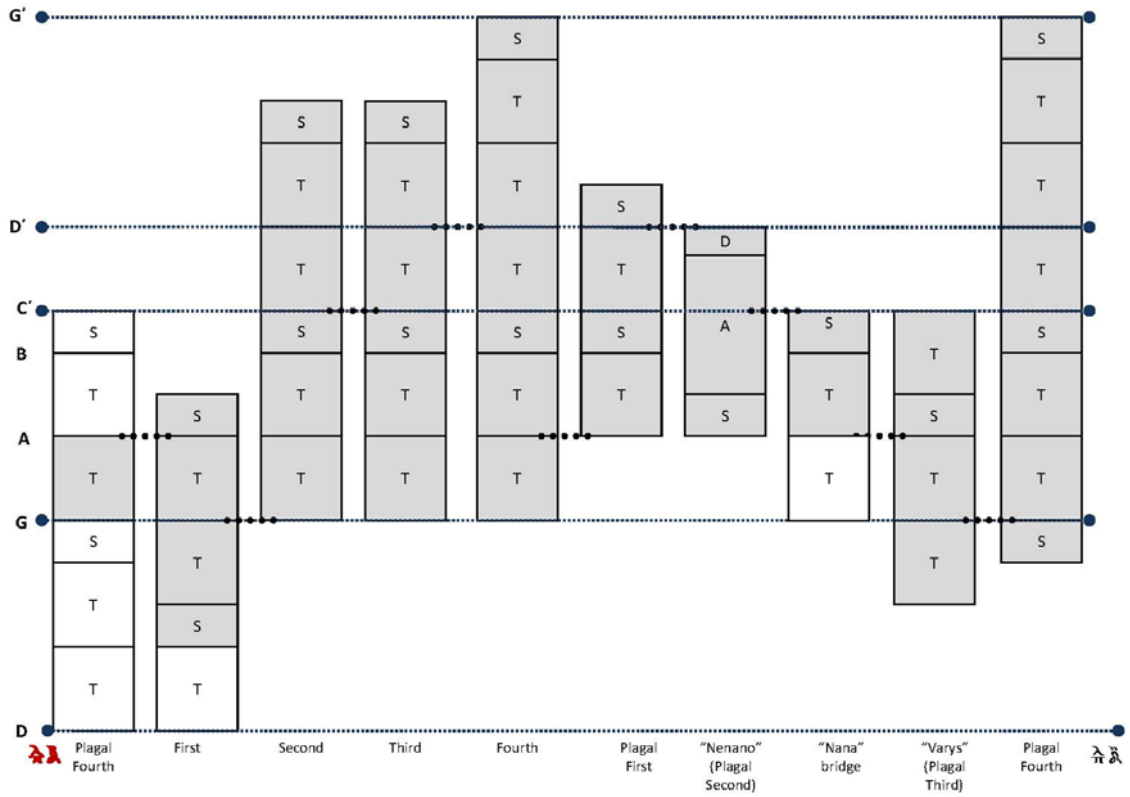
FIGURE 5.33: MS EBE 2401, F. 270R: PLAGAL FOURTH MODE SIGNATURE



The final exclamation of δόξα σοι ὁ Θεὸς outlines the dominant tones of plagal fourth mode g′, d′, c′ (the triphonia of plagal fourth mode, or *nana*), and g. Thus, the return to, and final cadence in, plagal fourth mode to end this eight-mode setting, is unmistakeable.

FIGURE 5.34: PATH OF MODULATION IN CHRYSAPHES' EIGHT-MODE VERSE

Manuel Chrysaphes' Eight-mode verse *Ἔθου σκότος καὶ ἐγένετο νὺξ* (Ps 103, v. 20a); MS Iviron 1120 (f. 40r):

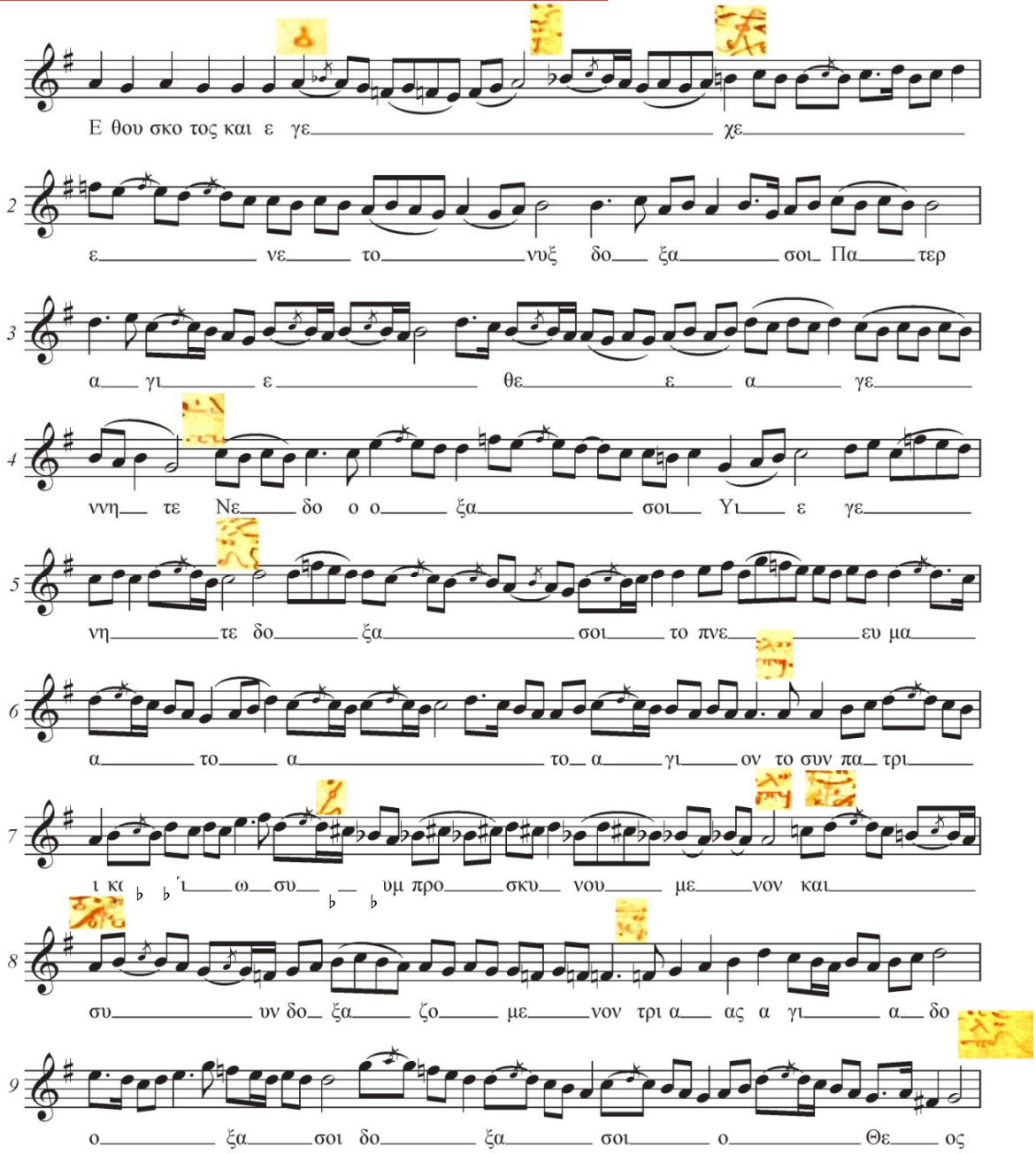


Notes to Figure 5.25:

1. Y-axis represents pitch (range: D - G′, i.e., one octave and a fourth). X-axis represents the melodic progression and labels are modes).
2. T = tone, S = semitone, A = augmented second, D = diminished tone (i.e., equivalent to 2/3 of a semi-tone). Intervals are relative to one another and by no means meant to imply equivalencies to modern (even-tempered) 'half-steps' and 'whole-steps'. Support for chromatic (vs. diatonic) tuning of second and plagal second modes during the medieval period has been given by George Amargianakis, 'The Interpretation of the Old Sticherarion', in *Byzantine Chant: Tradition and Reform, Acts of a Meeting held at the Danish Institute at Athens in 1993* (Danish Institute, Athens, 1997), 24-25, and Makris, 'Deuteros', passim. Figure above assumes a diatonic second mode.
3. Tetra/pentachordal structures represented to show tonic of each given mode. Shading indicates actual melodic progression within a given mode.
4. ••••• represents pivot tone on which a given modulation hinges. In some transitions this tone is more important than in others.

Figure 5.34 above summarises the modal progression of Chrysaphes' *oktaechal* setting, while Figure 5.35 provides a transcription into staff notation, with references to the modal signatures and phthorai encountered in Iviron 1120:

FIGURE 5.35: CHRYSAPHES' *OKTAECHAL* SETTING OF VERSE 20A



Musical Analysis: Conclusions

The *Anoixantaria* provide an excellent case study for delving into Chrysaphes' activity as composer. It is in a genre like the *Anoixantaria*, one that features both archaic and modern elements – from psalm-tone recitation with stock cadence figures to kalophonic expansion featuring virtuosic vocal writing – where the cooperation and interaction of Chrysaphes' conservative and innovative faces come into relief. His bold re-composition of the traditional verses 28b, 29a, and 24b, and his unprecedented focus on text-accentuation in the cadential figures of the psalm verses reveal Chrysaphes as a self-consciously authoritative figure who had no qualms introducing new elements into a genre that had a long and venerable tradition dating back to Koukouzeles. At the same time, the restrained nature of his re-castings of the 'traditional' verses and his reliance on the stock plagal fourth mode cadence in some of his settings suggest that he was as obsessed with adhering to traditional models as the super-rhetorical voice that comes through in his theoretical treatise.

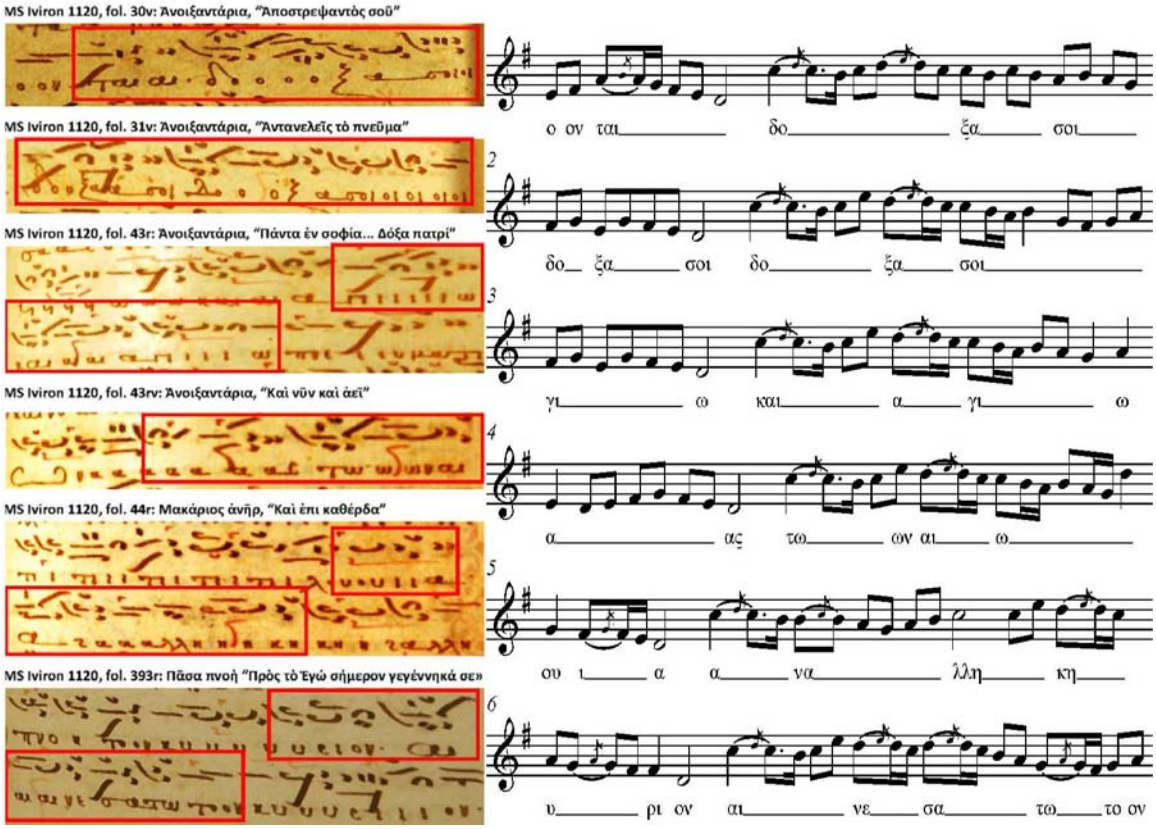
I have highlighted several aspects of the *Anoixantaria* tropes above, especially focusing on Chrysaphes' settings, to demonstrate the veritably kalophonic nature of this genre. The kalophonic elements of the troped refrains were present in the settings of various fourteenth century masters – perhaps not Koukouzeles, but certainly in settings of Korones and Kladas, two of the most important musicians that preceded Chrysaphes in the imperial court. In his treatment of the refrains, Chrysaphes follows directly in the footsteps of the settings of these two masters, picking up a number of specific devices from Kladas (i.e., ascending fifth before an extensive cadential melisma, use of two-note descending figures in sequence, setting of a verse in all eight modes). His compositional techniques – from his sophisticated use of sequences for expansion to his deployment of phthorai for modulation, create a unique whole consisting of beautifully crafted vocal lines that are elaborate without devolving into repetition and clichés.[310]

One of the many motifs that can be justifiably called a trademark of Chrysaphes – perhaps one of his most distinguishing melodic lines in the plagal fourth mode – has not yet been highlighted, but is shown below in Figure 5.36. This is a descending melodic cascade to the d below the tonic g which is followed, after a point of rest, by an ascent of a 7^{th} to the c´ above g before continuing its melismatic path back towards a cadence on g. This general motific idea is actually not invented by Chrysaphes: it is employed by Ioannes Kladas in the short *nenanismo* (a short 'kratema' utilizing the syllables a-na-nes) between the psalm verse and refrain of verse

[310] As a singer, I can also testify to the fact that these are challenging but exceedingly 'singable' vocal lines.

29b (Ἀντανελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμα).[311] Like other elements that seem to be first introduced by Kladas, Chrysaphes borrows it, molds it, and deploys it frequently, with the result that it becomes a Chrysaphes 'trademark' by virtue of its deft application and its preponderance within his larger pallete of musical turns, cadences, and extended phrases. Note below (Fig. 5.36) how Chrysaphes does not deploy this musical idea in precisely the same exact way each time, but varies it based on sensitivity to the musical text, or simply for the sake of musical variety. As the examples below highlight, Chrysaphes' varied use of this sequence of phrases demonstrates that it is not a single melodic cell that distinguishes Chrysaphes' voice here, but rather, it is the totality of his melodic composition, his treatment of text, and his variation on a given structural phrase (or phrases), whether it be simplification or elaboration.

FIGURE 5.36: CHRYSAPHES' 'VOICE': A CHARACTERISTIC MELODIC THESIS IN PL. 4TH MODE



A full analysis of Chrysaphes' compositional trademarks – musical phrases or modulation techniques that are his (either uniquely, or preponderantly) – and the consequent evaluation of the totality of his 'voice' across genres (which would have broad implications for the often thorny issues of attribution that have preoccupied scholars of composers from Hildegard to Josquin) would certainly constitute a separate study – perhaps several, one for each mode, or

[311] MS Iviron 1120, f. 31r. For the transcription of this verse and refrain by Kladas, cf. infra, Appendix I.

chant genre. In short, we can only arrive at secure, broad conclusions when we have amassed more data. Such efforts would require detailed tabulation of melodic formulas by composer across multiple genres, modes, and sources (and of course, these would require contextualisation, since melodic cells or phrases do not alone make the composer, and there is also the question of how the singers were interpreting the scores at a given time!).

What I propose here is a starting point for such an investigation. Even a preliminary analysis of his settings of the *Anoixantaria*, focusing especially on two of his most interesting settings, reveals much about Chrysaphes' voice and style. His treatment of text, melisma and accentuation, especially his unprecedented focus on text-stress, his virtuosic (sometimes stratospheric) vocal writing, his sophisticated troping by means of unique and varied sequences, and his skillful use of phthorai to move from one mode to another and add melodic interest to a given setting, all represent the attributes of a master composer. Moreover, they lead the interpreter of his settings to an understanding of the characteristics of his voice as composer. His *style* demonstrates an immediate connection to the tradition of composition of his predecessors but also reveals a forward thinking, innovative mind. Far from an imposition of modern musicology, the notion of 'compositional voice' was very real to musicians of Chrysaphes' cadre. As he relates in his treatise, Chrysaphes himself considers it vital to possess the ability to recognize the composer of a melody aurally, and without reference to a score, and to be able to discern the quality of the composition.

Conclusions: Manuel Chrysaphes and the Figure of Composer in Late Byzantium

6

The prior chapter focused on the music for the opening of Great Vespers in the neo-Sabaïtic Rite, the dominant liturgical rite of Palaiologan Byzantium, which Chrysaphes inherited, even as the Cathedral Rite of the Great Church was celebrated on selected occasions in a few remaining urban cathedrals throughout the ailing empire.[1] I have shown that the liturgical and musical complex of the *Invitatorium*, Psalm 103:1, 'Bless the Lord, O my soul', and Ps 103:28b – 'When Thou openest Thy hand,' had archaic precedents, and even, by Chrysaphes' time, a long tradition of melodic and textual expansion dating back to Koukouzeles. The expansion of this genre, the *Anoixantaria*, continued in the fifteenth century, first under Ioannes Kladas the *lampadarios*, continuing with Manuel Chrysaphes, who was responsible for documenting nearly fifty settings – more than ever seen before – an effort consistent with his behaviour elsewhere as scribe intent on conserving the musical heritage of Byzantium in the wake of her decline. But more than just an active copyist, Chrysaphes was a creative composer, and an analysis of his settings – indeed, just a small share of his total output – nevertheless provides us with critical insights into his technique of composing and his emergent voice. Of course, future research must build on these conclusions in order to further refine the components of his style and those of his contemporaries and predecessors. This will require an expansion into other genres and modal areas and a comparison across chronological periods. But a baseline from which to launch such studies on composition and composers of late Byzantium has now been established.

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In this study, I have attempted to analyse the behaviour and mindset of one of the most important musicians of Palaiologan Byzantium, one who shared much in common with the musical and intellectual traditions of his Empire's past but who spent his last years living a new reality away from Constantinople. My study has embraced every aspect of Chrysaphes' activity; his ceremonial pursuits in the imperial court; his travels and impact in areas on Byzantium's periphery; and his influence on important figures such as Ioannes Plousiadenos and a whole slew of musicians who followed him in Crete. More directly, I have analysed his activity as scribe through a close reading of his two most important autographs; as theorist by means of an assessment of his treatise and its reception in the post-Byzantine period; and as

[1] As noted above, in Symeon of Thessalonica's cathedral of Hagia Sophia, the 'asmatic offices' (i.e., Cathedral Rite of Constantinople) were practised regularly.

composer, by means of a fastidious assessment of his contribution to one genre in particular, which represents, at the very best, just a sample of his compositional output. Nevertheless, this body of work in combination with Chrysaphes' emphasis on lineage and authority in the act of composition as stated in his treatise sketches a picture of an individual who valued the act of composition and regarded it one of the most central attributes of a leading musician. Skills such as singing were important, but Chrysaphes' seems to have taken these as a given, paying them much less attention in his treatise than the art of composition. In the figure of Chrysaphes, we see the embodiment of the διδάσκαλος τέλειος: the perfect teacher who possessed skills in all areas, as singer, music critic, composer, and theorist. In Chrysaphes, we see the final stage of the fusion of the *musicus* and the *cantor*.

I have also demonstrated above that compositions of Late Byzantium did possess traits that one could characterise as 'style', and that the notion of the 'composition', the ποίημα, as a created work, by an attributed author, that was identifiable, circumscribable, and reproducible, was not foreign to musicians of fourteenth and fifteenth century Byzantium. As he relates in his treatise, Chrysaphes himself considers it vital for musicians to possess the ability to recognise the composer of a melody – aurally, and without reference to a score – and to be able to discern the quality of the composition. That specific techniques with respect to text setting or melodic elaboration and cadences can be identified with individual composers lends credibility to this otherwise lofty statement.

However, we are probably left with more questions as a result of this inquiry than we have answered. While we have pointed to some attributes of Chrysaphes' individual compositional techniques, we have not yet fully defined the boundaries between his style and that of others, such as Kladas and Korones. We have only touched on a definition of the 'composition' as conceived by Byzantine ecclesiastical musicians and its relation to other definitions of composition and work, whether comparing synchronically (e.g., fifteenth century music of the Renaissance West) or diachronically (e.g., modern conceptions of the 'art work'). And finally, the broader trends at play here, with respect to Christian acts of authorship merit further investigation. For example, given that Chrysaphes praised his predecessors as models to be imitated, why should he recompose various works of these same masters? Was he exalting himself above the tradition, or even above the subject of his music's praise? Derek Krueger describes the inherent tension present 'in Christian acts of authorship,' arising from the patristic teaching that 'all virtuous acts ought to be attributed to the work of God.' Yet, for Chrysaphes and his predecessors, such as John Koukouzeles and Xenos Korones, self-assertion

does not appear to have intruded upon piety, but perhaps even enhanced it, judging from their lifelong occupation with ecclesiastical music and in the case of Koukouzeles, solitude and prayer.

This study has made the case for the figure of composer in late Byzantium, an individual who was first and foremost an author of new material, but one who participated in the entire spectrum of musical activity, from performing music in the context of liturgy or ceremonial, to writing music, to theorising, teaching, and even judging the works of other composers. We are left with the impression that this composer, that is, Manuel Chrysaphes, imagined himself as a member of a long, authoritative, and even sacred lineage of musical personalities. In spite of his reverence for the past, my analysis has shown how, in so many ways, Manuel Chrysaphes demonstrates no hesitation when it comes to moving the tradition forward. This *maistor* of Palaiologan Byzantium was without question feverishly documenting his received tradition of Byzantine psalmody, lest it be lost forever like his former imperial city, but he was simultaneously enriching the repertory, elaborating on as yet untouched genres, and in doing so, innovating, without any pangs of conscience that he was departing from the tradition he so greatly revered.