TRADITION AND INNOVATION IN LATE- AND POSTBYZANTINE LITURGICAL CHANT

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Throughout a millennium of psaltic (i.e. chanting) art, innumerable distinctive musicians contributed to the establishment and development of chant as the fundamental component of Orthodox worship. Mostly, these charismatic artists worked in the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, Constantinople, while Mount Athos always remained the second most important place for the creation of ecclesiastical music. These two centres of the Orthodox world gave rise to culture and expressions of ecclesiastical life at all levels. In the field of psaltic art, this becomes clear when studying the aesthetic quality of the work that the artists in the aforementioned areas produced for God's glory and bequeathed to future generations.

The value of their melodic, and sometimes also of their poetic creation, becomes obvious from the fact that numerous restless scholars from the surrounding Orthodox areas and countries were rushing in to learn music, either from the various maistores of Constantinople or from the monks of Mount Athos.

Nevertheless, the opposite happened too: for various reasons, celebrated artists used to move to areas far away from Constantinople and, through their teaching, spread the expres-
sive achievements of ecclesiastical art. For psaltic art, this was crucial; the ecclesiastical melodies that were being chanted in the Patriarchate’s church and at the main monastic centre were later taught, copied, disseminated and chanted in other metropolises and church communities.

During the last years of the Byzantine Empire, the pressure of the Ottomans was intolerable and hope of survival was every day even more scant. Immediately after the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, psaltic artists were forced to abandon the city and thus psaltic art managed to survive and flourish elsewhere. The great majority of those musicians preferred to move either to the West, or to the areas along the Danube river, or, finally, to the areas held by the Venetians. The island of Crete was undoubtedly one of those areas.

In Crete a strong psaltic tradition had existed for ages, due to direct contact with the Ecumenical Patriarchate during the previous centuries. However, it was the creative work of some exceptional musicians from Constantinople, such as Ioannes Laskaris, Ioannes Fokas, Manouel Gazes, and, after 1453, the outstanding maïstor, Manouel Doukas Chrysaphes, that established the Constantinopolitan style of chanting on the island in the 15th century. As a result, able and prolific Cretan poets, chancers and scribes emerged.

The development and flourishing of psaltic art in Crete during the 16th and 17th centuries, as well as the leading figures and their work was the subject-matter of a recent book of mine.¹

¹ Ε. Μαννόπουλος, Ανθηση. In this book one can find all the details concerning the Cretan musicians, their work, their manuscripts (with analytical description of each one), all the prototype compositions and hymnographic creation
In this paper, following a brief introduction, I would like to present the results of additional researches I have undertaken. I will combine information deriving from the handwritten tradition, theoretical texts, liturgical rites (Typika) and, above all, the chant melodies. This topic becomes even more interesting, due to an ongoing discussion regarding the nature and style of psaltic art and the alleged incorporation of polyphony in the areas that were under Venetian occupation.\(^2\)

**Introduction**

With the work of the aforementioned musicians, chanting on the island of Crete gained momentum in the 15th century and individuals from this island began instituting their musical expression in chanting, composing and code-writing. In the following years, there are references in music manuscripts for by these artists, together with morphological analysis and comparison of many melodies.

\(^2\) I will not deal with this last subject in this paper. I have given many answers based on researches in the handwritten tradition in the above mentioned book (Γιαννόπουλος, Ανθηση) concerning Cretan psaltic art (see pp. 62-3, 78, 85-6, 390-413). The insistence of some musicologists who speak about 'polyphony in Byzantine music' is most surprising, since it is only based on the existence of very few cases in which somebody wrote a melody "κατὰ τὴν τῶν Λατινῶν ψαλτικῆν" (according to the Latins' ecclesiastical music), as the inscriptions in the handwritten tradition lucidly declare. These four or five attempts, which occurred in the areas under Venetian occupation in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, were quite normal and nobody can support the idea that psaltic art consists of these exceptions, thus discounting the vast majority of testimonies in thousands of compositions, preserved in almost 7500 manuscripts. Finally, it is impressive that none of those four or five cases are included in the Cretan manuscripts of the period 1566-1669, when there was an amazing new flourishing of psaltic art on the island.
compositions "ὡς ψάλλεται ὑπὸ τῶν νέων διδασκάλων" (as it is chanted according to the new masters) referring to these new individuals. But who are they?

Except for all those already known, like Ioannes Fokas, Ioannes Plousiadenos (who, I believe, was a student of the protopsaltes – i.e. first chanter – of Candia, Manouel Savios), Manouel Gazes or Ioannes Vatatzes, there are also some others – not yet so widely known – such as Angelos Gregorios (some autographs of whom I have found) and Ioannes Rossos (who has been identified as the author of the manuscript Sinai 1312).\(^3\)

Systematic activity of the Cretans in the field of psaltic art, continued uninterruptedly throughout the 16th century and, just before the dawn of the following century, a new renaissance started. This was connected to the general flourishing in literature known as the ‘Cretan Renaissance’.

Thus, there is a first reference that, around 1566, the widely known scholar, Antonios Episkopopoulos, composed an ecclesiastical work in Kydonies (Chania).\(^4\) When he was not in Venice or elsewhere in Europe, commissioned to copy manuscripts of varying content, Antonios was a protopsaltes and choir leader (*chorarches*) in Kydonies. His music and psaltic work that is preserved in various manuscripts is of great importance.

One of his students, also a scholar and an even greater composer, is his son, Venediktos Episkopopoulos, who served as a prime priest (*protopapas*) in the neighbouring city of Re-

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\(^3\) For others’ names see Γιαννόπουλος, Ανθηση, pp. 55-100, chapter "Εισαγωγή".

\(^4\) MS Udine 265, f. 86r. For all the details concerning Antonios’ life and work, see Γιαννόπουλος, Ανθηση, pp. 143-60.
thymno. One of Venediktos' students was Demetrios Tamias, who was protopsaltes of Candia (today's Heraklion) from 1610 to 1660, that is for approximately half a century.

These three leading musicians of ecclesiastical music—many of whose handwritten books have been discovered—educated a new generation of Cretan musicians and presented a large volume of work. This can be classified in two categories: a. their original work and b. the copying and performing, according to their own aesthetic perception, of works by other, older great musicians, such as Ioannes Koukouzeles, Ioannes Kladas, Xenos Korones, Manouel Chrysaphes and many others. Whenever recording a composition of the second category, the following heading was offered: 'the certain hymn of the certain old composer as it is written and chanted by the one or other Cretan musician.'

This magnificent awakening of chant on the island was part of many other developments, but forcibly came to an end in 1669 when the Ottomans gained total control of Crete, following the capture of Candia. As a matter of fact, the manuscripts preserving the Cretan psaltic tradition can be found almost entirely in libraries outside the island, mainly in other areas of Greece, Sinai, Italy and Russia. Moreover, while producing a systematic descriptive catalogue in order to record all the psaltic manuscripts preserved in various libraries in the United Kingdom, I discovered that out of 89 codices, very many of them originate from Crete.5

5 This catalogue is ready for publication. Its title is Τά χειρόγραφα Ψαλτικής Τέχνης τῶν βιβλιοθηκῶν τῆς Μεγάλης Βρετανίας. During the Sixth International Symposium of Hellenic Palaeography (Drama 21-27/9/2003) I gave a paper
Tradition and innovation in Cretan psaltic art

I would like to build the main part of this presentation around two main axes: first, the evidence that derives from the study of the manuscripts and second, the comparative study of compositions by Anastasimatarion, Mathematarion and Heirmologion.

The researcher who approaches Cretan music manuscripts soon realizes that, beyond any doubt, these merely follow the traditional style of psaltic art; the compositions included, the way in which they are classified, the music protheoriai contained, the theoretical texts and many other elements presented, mainly follow the prevailing Constantinopolitan and Athonite style in music. However, this does not necessarily mean that innovative elements are totally absent from these works.

Thus, the well known types of manuscripts, such as Sticherarion, Anastasimatarion, Anthologia, Triodion, Pentekostarion, etc., also remain unchanged in the Cretan tradition. The content of all these manuscripts follows the usual layout of music manuscripts. In all these books, there are listed compositions by Cretans, alongside the compositions of the old Byzantine composers, with no fundamental morphological differences of notation or traditional use of hymnography from the ecclesiastical composers being pointed out.

On the contrary, in their worship tradition, the Cretans preserve ancient hymns that are found in Typika (Rites) of the 12th and 13th centuries. It is worth mentioning that finding similar

with the title: "Μεταβυζαντινά χειρόγραφα Ψαλτικής Τέχνης έκτος τοῦ Ελλαδικοῦ χώρου. Βιβλιοθήκης Μεγάλης Βρετανίας" which will be published very soon in the Proceedings.
hymns within music manuscripts from other areas than Crete is quite unlikely. Further, dogmatic hymns, usually approached as more recent creations, can be found in Cretan manuscripts. Examples of these two cases are the following: first, the hymn chanted while receiving Holy Communion during the Easter Period, according to the Typikon of the Church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem Ἅγγελοι σκιρτῆσατε, ἀγαλλιάσθε γηγένεις... (Rejoice angels, humans rejoice...) and second, the dogmatic idiomelon Βασιλεὺς οὐράνιο... (Heavenly King ...) which was discovered in two music versions, one composed by Venediktos Episkopopoulos and another by his student Demetrios Tamias. The text of this idiomelon is attributed to the first Patriarch after the Fall of Constantinople, Gennadios Scholarios.

The phenomena of kalophonic compositions, the anagrammatismoi, the existence of hymns called ἀγιομείτικα (i.e. compositions of the Holy Mountain) and others, for which the Cretan musicians openly admitted that they had imitated the old music teachers, as well as the naming of Venediktos Episkopopoulos as a musician who composed in a Greek way, provide more evidence to prove that the Cretans followed nothing but Byzantine tradition.

Moreover, some of these compositions survived in later years as well and the more recent musicians were aware that ‘when Constantinople stopped producing new psaltic materials, psaltic art was preserved in the churches of Peloponnesos and Crete’ as is clearly stated by Chrysanthos of Madytos,\(^6\) who

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\(^6\) Χρυσάνθου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Δωραχίου (sic), Θεωρητικόν Μέγα τῆς μουσικῆς (Τεχνώση, 1832), σ. ΧΛΙΙ ("... ὅταν ἔξελιπεν ἀπὸ
wrote the first theory Book of the New Method of Music in 1814-15, which was published in Trieste in 1832.

There is also no difference in the function of the notation or of the eight modes in the Cretan compositions. The notation characters (signs of quantity and the great hypostaseis of gesture), the martyrhai and phthorai of the modes and pitches of the musical scale, the intonations before the compositions, all these and other elements are the same as those that exist in traditional psaltic art.

In the field of protheoriai that are found in Cretan music manuscripts, of the brief instructions that are written before some melodies or, finally, of the theoretical treatises by Cretan authors that were discovered, there is not only no contradiction to the older tradition of psaltic art but there is also the open admittance that they made use of the theory of the Byzantine period as the basis for their work.

To illustrate this, we can record two characteristic examples. The first comes from a theoretical text which was only recently discovered in the last folios of a Cretan manuscript in Venice (Marciana gr. 156). It was written according to the question and answer (Ερωταπόκρισις) method, addressing itself to a beginner student who wants to learn the basics of psaltic art notation.\(^7\)

It was revealed that this paper is based on the older protheoria of the Papadike, but gives more systematic examples of the functions of signs and offers better explanations for the

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\(^7\) This text is published in Γιαννόπουλος, Ανθηγή, pp. 741-50.
quantity value of their different combinations. Towards the end of this theoretical text it is openly stated that the *great hypostaseis* “ἐἶναι διὰ μέλος καὶ γλυκύτιτα τῆς φωνῆς” (are for melody and for making the voice sweeter).

The second example regards an instruction for chanting the cherubic hymn in the plagal of the second mode, which can be found in four Cretan manuscripts. The composer and copyist emphatically warn: “πρόσεχε δὲ, ὥ μουσική, ἵνα ποίης τὴν ἀλλοίωσιν τῶν φθορῶν, ἔγινεν τὸ μέλος, καὶ φθείροντας τὰς φωνὰς ἀνέρχεσαι πάλιν εἰς τὸ ἰδιὸν μέλος τοῦ προφαλλομένου ἥχου, ἵνα μὴ λαθαστῆτε” (musician, be careful to apply the changes of the *phthorai*, that means the changes of the melody, and after you do that, be sure to find the appropriate melody of the prior mode being chanted. Do that in order not to be wrong”).

This is an almost exact copy from the chapter of Manouel Chrysaphes’ treatise regarding the *phthorai* that reads

δὲτε οὖν μέλλεις ὁ τεχνίτης ποιήσειν ἐναλλαγὴν τοῦ μέλους μετὰ φθορᾶς, τότε τίθησον τὴν φθοράν εἰς τὸν πρέποντα τόπον ὥσπερ σύμβολον τι προσημαίνον τὴν ἐναλλαγὴν τοῦ ἥχου καὶ τοῦ μέλους· καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν φθείρομένου τοῦ μέλους λεπτομερῶς, ποιεῖ ἰδιὸν μέλος ἢ φθορά, μέχρις ὅτου ἐφική τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν αὐτῆς, ἦτοι τὴν κατάληψιν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἀνέρχεσαι τὸ μέλος τοῦ προφαλλομένου ἥχου εἰς τὴν ἴδεαν καὶ φύσιν αὐτοῦ, λυομένης τῆς φθορᾶς

(Thus, whenever the artist intends to transpose the melody by

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8 Ibid., pp. 404-5, and note 842.
means of a *phthora*, he then 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 gradually being transformed, the *phthora* creates its own melody until it finds its rest, that is, its resolution. 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.\(^9\)

Moreover, even the sub-categorization of the modes in authentics, μέσους, παράμεσους, plagals, διφωνοὺς, τριφωνοὺς, τετράφωνους, etc. can be found in Cretan ecclesiastical music and in tables sketched in the manuscripts, as they exist in other Byzantine manuscripts. As an example of this, the detailed table, drawn in the very important Cretan Anthology, Sinai 1440 (f. 179r), by the scribe Gerasimos Yalinas. Yalinas follows the theoretical texts of the older Byzantine musicians and especially Ioannes Laskares’s table of modes as designed in MS Sinai 1764 f. 52v (see *Plates I and II*).

All the above elements, as well as other indications not men-

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\(^9\) Conomos, *Manuel Chrysaphes*, pp. 50-1, 237-45. In the MSS Andros Island-Monastery of St. Nikolaos 18, Psachou 188a, Mount Athos-Great Lavra (not catalogued) 169 and Library Lilian Voudouri (The Athens Concert Hall) 18, I discovered another theoretical text which is attributed to Demetrios Tamias, but I soon realized that it was an older text by Ioannes Plousiadenos, originating from the great maistor Ioannes Koukouzeles. See Γιαννόπουλος, Ανθηση, pp. 195-6, 522-7. For the music manuscripts preserved in Andros Island, see the analytical catalogue Γιαννόπουλος, Τὰ χειρόγραφα ψαλτικῆς (see n. 5), and for the 26 music manuscripts of the Lilian Voudouri Library see my paper ‘An Unknown Collection of Manuscripts of Psaltic Art in the Lilian Voudouri Library in the Athens Concert Hall’, *Sixth Meeting of Byzantologists from Greece and Cyprus-Athens* 22-25/9/2005, which will be published very soon.
tioned here,\textsuperscript{10} prove that Cretan musicians followed the older psaltic tradition of the Byzantine Empire. They preserved, chanted, taught and sometimes elaborated this tradition. A last characteristic example is a composition by the priest, Marinos Kometas, a very well-known scholar from Rethymno. He lived at the beginning of the 17th century and was recently acknowledged as an important musician\textsuperscript{11}. In the famous MS Sinai 1764, that contains the essay by Hieronymos Tragoudistes of Cyprus, there are some folios that I identified as being written in Crete. One of them (78a and 78b) contains the poetic text of the Cherubic Hymn, in which there is an indication of the mode and phthorai that were placed on every phrase by the Byzantine composer from whom the specific melodic formulae derive. The inscription above this chart ('of the wise priest Marinos Kometas') can barely be read because of the way the pages were cut when the book was bound. The composers that appear in the chart are Manouel Chrysaphes, Xenos Korones, Ioannes Koukouzeles and Ioannes Plousiadenos (see \textit{Plate III}).

It can therefore be inferred that the Cretan, Marinos Kometas, prepared an anthology of theseis (musical formulas) by older Byzantine composers, thus composing a Cherubic Hymn. Why he did so becomes apparent from the inscription that accompanies the full version of this Cherubic Hymn. I discovered it in the Cretan MMS Sinai 1440 (81v) and Liverpool-Mayer collection 12053\textsuperscript{12} (198v): 'because I was asked by one of my be-

\textsuperscript{10} For other examples see Γιάννης Παπακωνσταντίνος, Ανάθεση, pp. 387-413.

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid, pp. 270-2.

\textsuperscript{12} Up till now, we had no information about Greek manuscripts in Liverpool. I discovered this very important and unique book in the summer of 2004 in the
loved ones to offer this that is chanted in the mixed-Lydian tone (μικρολύδιον) in all the musical genders'. So Kometas wanted to compose a Cherubic Hymn, using all the musical genders and this is obvious from the melody structure he follows. Despite the fact that it starts in the fourth plagal mode, it later makes use of almost all the modes and, throughout the course of the melody, lengthy chromatic theseis interfere with signs which have the function of a phthora, such as the hemifthoron and hemiphonon.

This composition by Kometas was created in praise of a beloved student of his, who, as the author says, had asked for a music exercise on the changes (modification) of genders. In the two manuscripts that contain this composition, there is no reference to the origin of the different theseis by the older Byzantine composers. However, the comparative study of MS Sinai 1764 and the other two codices demonstrates the total equation of this composition (see Plate IV).

The aforementioned example is strong proof of the traditional character of Cretan psaltic art that, together with other incidents that were mentioned above, indirectly but clearly displays two things: firstly, that the Cretan creators continued their musical activity according to the tradition of the Imperial years, in a period during which it was not easy for this to hap-

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Sidney Jones University Library of Liverpool. See Γιαννόπουλος, Ανθήση, p. 118 (especially footnote 245), and the analytical description of this manuscript on pp. 722-40. Facsimiles from this manuscript are also in my book Γιαννόπουλος, Ψαλτική Τέχνη, pp. 185-7, 293. In this last book (pp. 313-35), there is also a preliminary attempt to record all (or at least, the main) published catalogues that contain music manuscripts, classified according to countries, geographical (Greek) areas and cities.
pen in Constantinople. Thus, they became a bridge between Byzantine and Postbyzantine ecclesiastical music. Secondly, that the Cretans did not just repeat the old model but proceeded to new creations, based on the traditional forms.

To a certain degree, these new creations contain an element of novelty in psaltic art, mostly in the sense of a first time effort to compose music for certain texts. Such compositions put quotations from the New Testament to music, especially sections from chapter 10 of Saint John's Gospel, which are chanted instead of the koinonikon when the priest says: 'With fear of God, faith and love let us proceed.' The same way the Koinonikon that is chanted nowadays on the feast day of Mid-Pentecost comes from chapter 14 of the same Gospel, the Cretans set other quotations to music for use on the same occasion, i.e. while receiving Communion.\(^{13}\)

Similar instances exist in the services of vespers and matins, while it is impressive to learn how many dogmatic hymns have been set to music or how extra verses of the same nature have been added to famous hymns, such as the idiomelon, \textit{Βασιλεύ ὄντάνθε \textit{(Heavenly King)}}, which was already mentioned, the text of the Cherubic Hymn, verses from the polyeleos, etc. This fact is connected with the composition and chanting of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in Crete, in the same way as in the Byzantine period. It is obvious that this was part of an effort to teach the Orthodox dogmas to the people, who were under extreme pressure by the Venetian administration and by the Catholic priests.

\(^{13}\) Παννόπουλος, \textit{Ανθηηη}, pp. 372-6.
Before completing my reference to the important elements that we notice when conducting an analytical study of the Cretan manuscripts, let us now examine another three occasions that show a trend for innovation in Cretan music, thus departing from the older established tradition. The first is the composition and chanting of many of the priest’s prayers and also of phrases that the priest reads before starting the Liturgy or during other sacraments, such as wedding and baptism. The second case includes the composition of texts that are found in frescoes in Orthodox churches. The words of Abbot Sisoes in front of the tomb of Alexander the Great that express the tragedy of inescapable death are one of these. Finally, the third case is the presence of prayers or short popular hymns set to music in Cretan manuscripts. Research has shown that these still exist and are chanted on the neighbouring island of Cyprus during litanies or processions of icons outside the church and during similar ceremonies.

At this point I would like to proceed to the second axis of my paper, which aspires to present the traditionalism and the innovative elements in Cretan psaltic art that can be observed in the melodies preserved in the Cretan manuscripts. I will venture to follow the progress of these melodies up to the introduction of the New Method of music notation at the beginning of the 19th century.

Anastasimatarion

It is well known that the great maïstor Manouel Doukas Chrysaphes tried to gather all the major compositions of chants
of his era and write them down in manuscripts. In some of his manuscripts at Mount Athos (Iveron 1120 and 975 and Xeropotamou 270), there are an Anthology of the Papadike, a Mathematarion and a Kratematarion-Theotokarion. In my recent researches in Mount Athos, I noticed that MS 42 of the Skete Saint Annes is another important book, written by the same great musician, in which the Anastasimatarion, a short Anthology and a Prologarion are included. Thus, we have another important music collection, written by the last major Byzantine musician, a fact of extreme importance for the research of the compositions that it contains.

The name of the Cretan, Angelos Gregorios, who lived at the end of the 15th century and wrote (among other manuscripts) the codex Sinai 1566 that contains many of his hymns and compositions, has been already mentioned above. I have discovered that an important manuscript, number 45, of the Kenneth Willis Clark collection at the Duke University in the United States, was also written by Angelos Gregorios. This manuscript, in which Gregorios announces indirectly that he was re-named Athanasios the monk, is described analytically in a book of mine which was recently published by the Society for Macedonian Studies. Among other hymns in this manuscript Angelos includes the stichera idiomela for Easter.

Finally, Venediktos Episkopopoulos (MS Padova 1289) and Demetrios Tamias (MS Sinai 2083) set the Anastasimatarion to

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14 Γιαννόπουλος, Άνθηση, p. 66; idem, Ψαλτική Τέχνη, p. 241.
15 Γιαννόπουλος, Ταμείον. On Angelos Gregorios see also idem, Άνθηση, pp. 75-80. Facsimiles from this manuscript can be found also in idem, Ψαλτική Τέχνη, pp. 194-5, 292.
music at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century. It is useful to make some remarks here, regarding the similarities and differences between the melodies of Chrysaphes and those of the three Cretans, which cover a period of approximately 150 years.

By a comparative study of the Easter stichera in the first mode of the Chrysaphes manuscript and those of the Duke codex, it is easy to conclude that the main characteristics of the melodies in the slow sticheraric style of melopoiia (composing) remain the same in most cases. For example, in the vespers sticheron, Τὸν τῶν Πατρι τυνάναρχον, we see the flow of the melody presenting almost the same changes in both manuscripts. The medial cadences occur at the same points and pitches of the scale, while there are only small differences in the signs of quantity.

The same is true of most of the stichera of the two manuscripts, although there are some compositions where the differences are much bigger. An example of a melody with major differences is the more elaborate kalophonic melody by Manouel Chrysaphes, and also the absence of many great hypostaseis in some of Angelos Gregorios' compositions, such as the theotokion Τὴν παγκόσμιον δόξαν.

Some important hymns, that were already included in the Anastasimatarion from the time of the Byzantine period, are the eleven morning (heothina) doxastika, written by Leo the Wise. In one of my as yet unpublished studies – which analyses the different musical versions of these hymns from their first appearance up to the beginning of the 20th century – I came to the conclusion that there are around 50 to 55 different composi-
tions, all deriving from the same source. These hymns also exist in Manouel Chrysaphes' handwritten Anastasimatarion from the Saint Annes Skete (see Plate V), as well as in the National Library of Greece MS 963 in a melody by Demetrios Tamias (see Plate VI), and Padova 1289, composed by Venediktos Episkopopoulos. The similarities of Cretan chant in the 16th and 17th centuries to those of Chrysaphes are impressive.

More specifically, we can see that the basic melody of these hymns remains the same in Chrysaphes, Venediktos and Tamias, while normally, there are particular melodic developments of some theseis, or the choice of different signs of quantity, depending on each composer. Yet the main pitches of the compositions, the medial cadences, the more basic ascents and descents of the melody remain the same. On many occasions within this framework, we notice the use of other great hypostaseis or the insistence of the Cretans on the theseis of nana or of the thematismos. In addition to such occasions, the melodic structure remains almost the same as that of the psaltic tradition of the 15th century. It is thus necessary to assume that Chrysaphes took this fluctuation of the melody for granted, without thinking it necessary to mark the respective signs. The latter can often be seen in music manuscripts of all centuries and is also something that he himself implies in his treatise.16

The study of those melodies proves the steady continuity of the psaltic tradition and its further development within the framework of its living progress and of the aesthetic realities of

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each era that contribute to the best expression of the hymnography.

Kalophonic Sticherarion

In the section of kalophonic compositions, there is also strong evidence suggesting that the tradition of the Byzantine Empire years survives intact in Cretan psalmody, even after the 17th century. Moreover, it continues with the interpretation (exegetis) of music notation in the New Method at the beginning of the 19th century.

I will try to refer to the subject with a representative example. In his famous treatise, Manouel Chrysaphes refers to many of his own kalophonic stichera and to those by the old composers, in which there are certain transpositions in several modes (because of the impact of the phthorai) of the ecclesiastical Oktoechos – the eight modes system. He uses these as examples to demonstrate the use of the Oktoechos by the composers and the placing of transpositions in several compositions that aim to express the poetic text more accurately.

It is very interesting for the researcher to try to find out whether these references by the great maistor are also found in the old books, continue to appear in Cretan manuscripts and finally remain in the interpretation of the compositions in the New Method. As an example for such a study I will use the kalophonic sticheron in music by Ioannes Koukouzeles, Μεγαλύνω τὰ Πάθη Σου, which is a verse of the well known idiomelon, Σὲ τὸν ἀναβαλλόμενον τὸ φῶς, that is chanted on Holy Friday. Chrysaphes writes that in this kalophonic compos-
sition, and specifically in the phrase "οἱμοὶ γλυκύτατε Ἡσοῦ", Koukouzeles, while in the fourth mode, inserts the phthora of nana and cancels the phthora of nenano, converting the fourth mode to the third. After that, he descends to the fourth plagal mode without a problem.

The study of this melos in Chrysaphes' handwritten book, Iveron 975 (see Plate VII), as well as in many other manuscripts where it also appears, proves that Chrysaphes was right in his description. I have studied the same composition in the Cretan manuscripts. In manuscript Sinai 1557, f. 276r (Triodion by Demetrios Tamias, which was written in 1658 by the priest-monk, Gerasimos Yalinas), there is an inscription: 'by Mr. Ioannes Koukouzeles the maïstor. It is chanted and written by Demetrios, first chanter in Crete, in plagal mode, second tone.'

It is the same hymn as the one described by Chrysaphes, but, as the inscription reads, it is elaborated by Demetrios Tamias. Minor changes exist in the signs of quantity, in the same way as in the Anastasimatarion, described above. There are also different preferences in specific theseis and some differences in the development of some cadences. However, the basic movement of the melody and the use of the poetic text, with the repetitions of phrases and words (anagrammatismoi), is exactly the same. Apart from these, the most important thing is that the placing of the phthorai in a specific phrase of the text (see Plate VIII), as described by Manouel Chrysaphes, also exists in Tamias' elaborated melody: the phthora of nenano is inserted, followed by the phthora of nana, and gradually the melos descends to the fourth plagal mode.
I have located numerous kalophonic stichera in other old manuscripts which are referred to in Chrysaphes’ treatise regarding the changes of modes and *phthorai* that are inserted in their phrases. Also, I have realized that the same compositions exist in Cretan manuscripts, written in the way they were chanted by the great musicians of the island. The comparisons show that the conclusions regarding the continuity of the Byzantine psaltic tradition are the same as the findings on the study of Koukouzeles’ composition.

It is obvious that the tradition of the Byzantine years remained intact in the manuscripts and psaltic art of the Cretans. With their work, the Cretans became an unquestionable example of the survival of ecclesiastical chant in the later years. Of course, we have already mentioned many of the Cretan innovations, to which we could here add the minor differences in the movement of melody observed in their manuscripts.

A question that could be examined is whether these kalophonic compositions, which appear in unbroken continuity from the Byzantine years up to the 17th century, continued to appear and be chanted in the same way even later, until the 19th century, when Georgios Chourmouzios Chartophylakas interpreted the whole kalophonic Sticherarion or, in one word, the Mathematarion, in the New Method of psaltic notation.

In Chourmouzios’ manuscript, Metochion Panagiou Tafou 733 (320r-323v), in the National Library of Greece, there is an interpreted copy of Koukouzeles’ composition, *Μεγαλύνω τὰ Πάθη Σου*, mentioned above. At first glance, we observe that the structure of the whole composition is the same as its treatment in the old manuscripts. I have specifically studied the
phrase "οἶμοι γλυκύτατε Ἰησοῦ" that is mentioned in Chrysaphes' treatise, the melody of which is the same as the one in his autograph codex Iveron 975 as well as in the Cretan MS Sinai 1557. Chourmouzios places the same phthorai of ne-nano and of nana at the same points and descends to the fourth plagal mode again at the same point (see Plate IX), exactly as described by Chrysaphes almost four centuries earlier.

Kalophonic Heirmologion

After this example, which, I believe, clearly shows the diachronic continuity of the psaltic tradition in the kalophonic Sticherarion, I proceed to the last part of my presentation, in which I approach the tradition and innovations in the melodies of the kalophonic Heirmologion.

As we know, the birth of the kalophonic heirmoi is estimated around the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century. At that time we notice kratemata after the heirmoi in Theophanes Karikes' Heirmologion. A little later, in the work of the priest-monk, Arsenios the younger, and of the great musicians, Panayiotis Chrysaphes, Bishop Germanos of New Patras and Balases the priest, who were all Arsenios' students, we can find kalophonic heirmoi.

In one of my recent papers on Arsenios' work,17 and also in my book on Cretan psaltic art,18 I pointed out the fact that this widely held idea of the birth of the kalophonic heirmoi in this

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17 Έμμ. Στ. Γιαννόπουλος, "Ἀρσένιος Βατοπαϊσινός".
18 Γιαννόπουλος, Ανθήηη, pp. 346-51. See also Γιαννόπουλος, Ψαλτική Τέχνη, pp. 74, 232-40.
period as a new manner of composing Byzantine music, needs to be revised.

As we see when studying the Mathemataria of the latter years of the Eastern Empire, slow versions of compositions of the heirmoi by the old composers, Ioannes Glykes, Xenos Korones, Ioannes Kladas, Manouel Chrysaphes and others, were included in this type of manuscript. The headings preceding these compositions in the manuscripts are lucid: “εἰμοι καλοφωνικοὶ ψαλλόμενοι ὅστερον εἰς τὴν καταβασίαν” (kalophonic heirmoi that are chanted afterwards in the katabasia (Iveron 975, f. 387v).

Therefore, it was common for the chanters, even from the Byzantine years, to compose slow (long) versions of the heirmoi for the great feasts (such as the Resurrection, Christmas, etc), and even to call them kalophonic. These compositions were usually included in the kalophonic Sticheraria, precisely because they were kalophonic compositions.

In the Cretan manuscripts, as was normally the case, these melodies were also included, together with the names of their composers, and with other similar compositions that Cretan musicians, like Venediktos Episkopopoulos and Demetrios Tamiás, presented.

Firstly, one must notice that the structure of these Cretan compositions is, in general, similar to the old musicians’ compositions: we notice repetitions of phrases and words (anagrammatismoi), kratemata are inserted and, at the end, the final phrase of the hymn is repeated. In this way, the old tradition, with the use of old melodies in worship, is preserved, together
with the new compositions that imitate the way the older (Byzantine) musicians composed.

However, the Cretan composers did not limit themselves to old models but moved to new creations as well. Specifically, Venediktos Episkopopoulos not only set the heirmoi to music, but he also set the whole Resurrection Canon of Ioannes Damaskenos to music (MSS Sinai 1452 and 1546). This had been done before, but only for the hymns of the ninth ode. It was indeed an innovation for Venediktos' period, which is why the heading preceding these compositions is "νέα ποιήματα κύρ Βενεδίκτου" (new melodic poems by Venediktos). We could claim that the specific compositions, together with parallel compositions by Tamias, in which the practice of anagrammatismoi is used, are a link in the development chain of kalophonic heirmoi from Byzantine times to the form that they assumed in the 18th century.

Moreover, it is easy to ascertain that, for this development and schematization of the kalophonic heirmoi, the composition of many theotokia and troparia in the kalophonic Sticherarion played an important role. Indeed, from the study of the relevant codices, we learn that many of these types of troparia were set to music in the Mathemataria. From there, they were later copied and put at the end of the Papadike in a special section and with new musical elaboration by Petros Bereketes and other musicians at the beginning of the 18th century. The poetic texts and the modes to which they were set to music remained the same. However, the composition now became shorter and included some elements of a more modern aesthetic approach, as well as musical embellishments, more popular at the time.
Moreover, the compositions were adjusted so that they could be chanted by a single chanter or by just a few chanters, in contrast to the old kalophonic compositions that required an organized choir.

When taking these facts into consideration, together with observations that could be mentioned if time allowed, I think we can no longer talk of the birth of a type of kalophonic heir-moi, but of a smooth and gradual progression from the Imperial to the post-Imperial years, as has been the case for the totality of psaltic creation in the Orthodox Church.

Epilogue

I believe that with the examples from the Anastasimatarion, the kalophonic Sticherarion and the kalophonic Heirmologion that were mentioned, and also with the general information that preceded these examples, it becomes obvious that the Cretan musicians formed a bridge in the unbroken continuity of ecclesiastical music of the Eastern Church. These people preserved the older tradition but also created their own work that was based on this tradition, incorporated innovative elements and, in some cases, their innovative elements endured the test of time and guided later generations to newer forms of expression.
PLATE I, Sinai 1440, 179r
PLATE III, Sinai 1764, 78r
PLATE V, Agias Annes 42, 109r
PLATE VII, Iveron 975: The phrase...οίμοι γλυκύτατε...

PLATE VIII, Sinai 1557: The phrase ...οίμοι γλυκύτατε...

PLATE IX, National Libr. MPT 733: The phrase ...οίμοι γλυκύτατε...
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