

Aspects of the Eastern and
Oriental Orthodox Traditions
of Sacred Music, I

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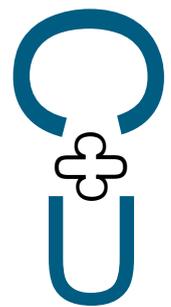
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Aspects of the Eastern and Oriental Orthodox Traditions of Sacred Music, I

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Edited by / K vydání připravili

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In memory of Evžen (Eugene) Kindler
(† 31. VIII. 2018)

This paper seeks to describe one way in which a typical 'Latin' cultural person can penetrate into the world of mediaeval Byzantine melodies, using his own experiences of the melodies of one or more liturgical chants from neighbouring liturgy traditions. This way transcends the limits posed by the romantic enchantment associated with the East-Slavonic baroque music composed for the Byzantine-Slavonic rite, which is frequently experienced by many in Central Europe with an interest in church music.

Personal experience

For one deeply interested in Gregorian chant, it is sometimes difficult to reconcile the aesthetics of singing with the instructions formulated by the mediaeval scholars in manuscripts. From the age of six, I served as an acolyte during the Latin liturgy, and was able to observe Gregorian chant performed by different priests and choral groups of laymen in Roman Catholic churches. Concurrently, I began to play the violin, the piano and organ, and was led to respect such laws of music as seemed to hold universally. After the age of eight, I began to perform Gregorian chant, for which at the time there were opportunities for seeking good advice.

Soon I read texts written by mediaeval scholars, among which there were those related to the performance of Gregorian chant; and they frequently seemed me to be in contradiction to the 'universal' laws of aesthetic singing. Concerning the contradictions, I could not get any good answer from those who were more familiar with Gregorian chant. The only possible avenue was thus to neglect the advice formulated by the mediaeval scholars.

Many years later, in the sixties, I was present at the solemn liturgy on the feast of the Assumption at the church in Nesebar (a peninsula on the Bulgarian shores of Black Sea). Although the liturgical language of the liturgy was Old Slavonic, the music was different – and quite distant from that composed by authors such as Bortniansky, Berezovsky and Vedel. One could observe that all sang the same melody in unison, excepting those with *ison*, yet very differently from Gregorian chant.

During that liturgy, many new aspects of that practice became apparent to me, and the experience served as an illustration as to how one can perform things such as 'repercussions', 'quilismata' and other 'unaesthetic' details such that they appear aesthetic, but within a somewhat different 'musical world'.

Egon Wellesz and his school

Many months later I discovered that the melodies sung in Nesebar originated in books written according to the principles of the Chrysanthine reform, but endowed with Old Slavonic translations of the sung texts. Nevertheless, immediately after my return home, I sought out any information that I could. My teacher of violin performance, Otto Bartoš, teaching at the Paedagogical Faculty of Charles University, advised me to contact Eduard Herzog, who taught at the same Faculty, and who was known as a good specialist.

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Prague

Byzantine chant among other mediaeval liturgical compositions

Abstract

Discoveries in the history of liturgy and progress in music beginning at the end of the nineteenth century offered a plenitude of stimuli to dig out analogies between melodies found in the traditional chants applied in old liturgies. While the theological point of view yielded more discoveries at the level of (musical) forms and other, larger-scale structures, the experience of practical performance helped expose smaller-scale analogies – in particular, those in melodic motifs.

In general, there are fewer stimuli leading to discoveries on this smaller scale; but the author led a group of singers (of mixed voices) that engaged in singing traditional chants in a liturgical context in the Latin, Greek, Old-Slavonic and Armenian rites. The main motivation was thus to popularise the chants amongst music lovers; the first opportunity arose at the International Courses in the Interpretation of Early Music (organised by the Czech Society for Early Music in 1985), but, as further opportunities arose, the group actively took part in the liturgies of the above traditions. In rehearsal (with a high level of concentration on the execution of details) numerous analogies emerged, which are hidden within the structures of modes and rhythm of the music and of the words. The results then led the author to extend the process to pre-Christian melodies. Although their number is relatively small, analogies with Christian chants appeared in each of six chants conserved in such a state that it can be presented to audiences as a 'habitual' chant.

Key words: mediaeval chant; liturgy; Latin rite; Greek rite; Armenian rite; Old-Slavonic rite

Number of characters / words: 15 425 / 2 475

Number of music examples: 8

Secondary language(s): Greek, Latin, Armenian

Revised and updated version of a paper originally presented on 6 July 2017 in the section 'Aspects of the Eastern and Oriental Orthodox Traditions of Sacred Music, II' at the 45th Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference, Prague, 4–8 July 2017.

Dr. Herzog directed me to study the books and papers written by Egon Wellesz, and by the members of the so called Copenhagen school that Wellesz had co-founded (namely, Dimitri Conomos, Oliver Strunk, Carstens Höeg et al.). The works of this school had opened up a lot of knowledge. One of the most important aspects was the relatively large number of motifs used by both Gregorian chant and Byzantine chant, transcribed by the scholars active in the Copenhagen school.

A very instructive example was presented by Egon Wellesz in his book *Eastern Elements in Western Chant* (*Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae. Subsidia*, Oxford – Boston, 1946); it concerns two Christmas chants: a Byzantine *idiomelon* and a Gregorian antiphon. Their respective openings are shown in Fig. 1; to make the example clearer, the Gregorian melody is transposed up a tone.



Fig. 1

A further example was presented by Dimitri Conomos in his book *Byzantine Hymnography and Byzantine Chant* (Hellenic College Press, Brooklyn, 1984). The melodies carry Greek words, which the Byzantine liturgy uses in almost every celebration of the liturgy, whereas the Latin counterpart (and therefore its Gregorian version) are chanted only once a year, at the special liturgy on Good Friday. In Fig. 2, one can observe the two exclamatory openings of the chants under comparison.

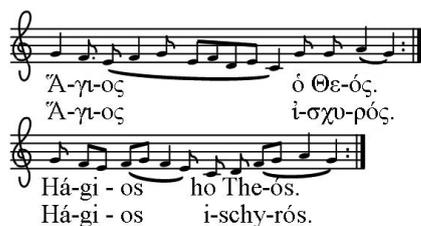


Fig. 2

There are other examples referred to in the literature. I collected them and was able to present them in my paper *Analogies in Melodies of Early Christian Liturgical Chant Originated from Different Cultural Domains*.¹

Nevertheless, anyone practising Gregorian chant 'daily' during the Latin liturgy and familiar with the transcriptions of Byzantine chants by the Copenhagen school, has the opportunity to collect further such examples. I too did so, drawing on my day-to-day experiences of chanting, and proceeded to include many further such analogies in the aforementioned paper. Let us consider some interesting cases.



Fig. 3

Unlike common practice in baroque, classical and romantic Western music, where grief is expressed by long notes, in Gregorian chant grief is expressed by means of short ascending legato semitones, typically expressing sobbing and lamentation. A good example of this is the antiphon for Communion composed for the Tuesday after Palm Sunday, the first part of which

¹ Eugene KINDLER, 'Analogies in melodies of early Christian liturgical chant originated from different cultural domains', in *Recent advances in acoustics & music: theory & applications. Proceedings of the 10th WSEAS International Conference on Acoustics & Music: Theory & Applications (AMTA '09)*, Prague, Czech Republic, March 23–25, 2009, ed. by Nikos E. MASTORAKIS et al. (Stevens Point, WI: WSEAS Press, 2009), pp. 45–52.

is shown in Fig. 3. An English translation is “They that sit in the gate talked against me, and they that drank wine sang against me.” The upward intervals of seconds, representing sobs, are marked by asterisks. Other similar examples of sobs occur among the chants of late Lent, but also in the liturgy commemorating the murder ordered by Herod of the Bethlehem innocents. Fig. 4 shows the first part of the antiphon for Communion. Its translation is “In Rama a voice is heard, lamentation and ululation.”



Fig. 4

Notice the melody carrying the word *ululatus*: its original Latin onomatopoeia is emphasized and exalted by the small ascending seconds carrying both central syllables – both simple, and based on the consonant *l*.

In Byzantine chant the same image of sobbing occurs frequently. One excellent analogy is presented on p. 395 of *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* by Egon Wellesz.² It is a chant composed for the Wednesday of Holy week, presenting the converted woman sinner (Luke 7:37–38, and identified with Mary Magdalene in the Latin tradition). In the chant, its author, the nun Kasia, developed the psychology of the converted person in a profound and detailed manner: the acceptance of repentance alternates with the fear of former sins and of future disability. The chant, which may be presented in modern Western notation in a mere 19 short lines, contains no fewer than 36 ascending legato minor seconds. An excerpt may be found in Fig. 5.



Fig. 5

Speculation regarding affinities between Byzantine chant and the Gregorian versions of the *Kyrie eleison* (a chant occurring at almost every traditional Latin Eucharist Liturgy celebration), was supported by many particular instances of similarity (presented in the *AMTA '09* paper above).³ Particularly interesting are instances where relations to Byzantine chant may help clarify ‘errors’ against Gregorian modality or aesthetics. Three Gregorian compositions officially included in the ‘Vatican edition’ of liturgical chant, represent ‘errors’ against the system of authentic Dorian tonality: namely, the hymn *Iesu dulcis memoriae*, the fourth version of *Kyrie eleison*, and the second version of *Kyrie eleison ad libitum*: although they are classified as being in the above mode (and although they really do follow motifs exhibited in many of the other chants so classified), they contravene a fundamental rule for modes: instead of concluding on the legal *finalis* of their mode, namely on a *D* (*re*), they end on a higher note, namely an *A* (*la*). The answer is that these chants follow Byzantine aesthetics of *heirmoi* of the first authentic Dorian *echos* (mode). The conclusion on an *A* (*la*) is characteristic of that *echos* in the case of *heirmoi*. Note that these three compositions also contain motifs of the Byzantine *heirmoi* of the authentic Dorian *echos*. In the first line of Fig. 6 we can see the concluding melody of the aforementioned fourth Gregorian *Kyrie eleison*, whilst the second line of the same figure shows the opening phrase of the last Ode of the Golden Canon by St. John the Damascene, following the melody recorded by means of the musical signs found in the Codex Iviron 470 of the twelfth century. Incidentally, seven of the eight *heirmoi* presented there for the Golden Canon are concluded with the note *A* (*la*), even though all eight *heirmoi* are (legally – according to the rules for the form of Canon) in the same Dorian authentic *echos*.

² Second, revised and enlarged edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961).

³ See footnote 1.



Fig. 6

The third line of Fig. 6 contains the concluding phrase of the last Ode of the Golden Canon. Note the concluding tones A, G, E, F, G, A (*la, sol, mi, fa, sol, la*) forming the ascending arch of the melody, leading to the final *la*. It can be observed at the end of any of the three Gregorian compositions and in all seven *heirmoi* of the Golden Canon mentioned above.

First summary

One can formulate an interim summary, based on the following observations.

In the present epoch, any view which has as its object the traditional melodies of liturgical chant is bound somehow to be 'influenced'; the influence consists of a limitation or even a distortion in our understanding, and is caused by the 'direction' from which this object is observed. A frequent (and, it may be said, natural) case is the tendency to view along time. Simply said, the object is thus viewed from the present day, that is from a position 'upstream' along the time flow. Interpreting Gregorian chant, such a view qualifies the chant as a predecessor to Gothic music, and eventually (for many ecclesiastic viewers, discerning as they do only major steps within history) to classical vocal polyphony.

Let us call this view an *historical* one. It carries some obstacles in understanding the object so viewed: in the case of liturgical chant, obstacles to performing, and possibly to the integration into the liturgical reunion. Some of these have been touched upon in the first part of this article. Let us note that in many cases the historical view leads to the opinion that what is exhorted by early scholars, and formulated in preserved manuscripts, goes against 'universal' musical aesthetics.

Nevertheless, other views are possible. The experiences referred to and the analogies mentioned above lend support to the idea that if two different views are combined, the aforementioned contradictions disappear or are at least greatly diminished. But the directions in which the views are taken have to differ from each other. This is possible when one view leads us along the time axis (albeit in a backwards direction), whilst the other view proceeds in a cartographical, geographical sort of way. Thus, viewing Gregorian chant from the direction of the Byzantine tradition is one example of this way of observing. And combining it with the historical approach has been of help to me.

However, combining views in this manner can lead us further still.

Armenian chant

Combining views is worthwhile only if the objects viewed are equals. Theoretically, one can invert the view from Byzantine liturgical music towards Gregorian chant. The result would be to view Byzantine music from the perspective of Gregorian chant. Now this is indeed possible, but let us omit such speculation, as there exist other, more fruitful possible combinations.



Fig. 7

Armenian traditional liturgical chant offers possibilities for drawing analogies of its own with both early Latin and Byzantine liturgical chant. Let us consider some of them. First, we present a set of three chants – one Byzantine chant, one Gregorian and one Armenian – see Fig. 7 (where all of them have been transposed to render them more readily comparable). In the first line a Byzantine *hypakoé* is presented. (Incidentally, as Constantin Floros has shown

in his paper *Die Entzifferung der Kondakarien-Notation*,⁴ the melody exactly coincides with that of its Slavonic counterpart, preserved in Russian Kondakaria of the twelfth century.) The second line gives an illustration of a Gregorian psalmodic formula, here taken from the Introit *Tenuisti manum dextram*, sung at the feast of St. John the Damascene on March 27 (according to the traditional Latin calendar). On the third line, we present the opening of the Armenian *taf* (or ode), *Hawik mi payca' tesi* ("I saw a brilliant bird"), composed almost a millenium ago, possibly by Aristakēs of Xarberd.

Ex-sul-tet iam an-ge-li-ca tur-ba cae-lo-rum

Εκ τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον ἁγίου εὐ-αγγελί- - ου το ἁ-νά-γνω - σμα

Hawatamk' ew i mi miayn əndhanrakan ew a'arak' elakan Surb Ekelec'i'

Fig. 8

Another interesting case entails certain recitation formulae (ecphonic chant), used in the Latin, Byzantine as well as Armenian liturgies. On the first line of Fig. 8, the opening phrase of the panegyric hymn *Exsultet*, sung in the Roman liturgy on Easter Eve, is presented. The second line contains a Paschal (solemn) formula for announcing the Gospel. On the third line we can see part of the Creed ("We also believe in the one and only Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church") – although very similar melodies can be found throughout the Armenian creed, as well as various deacons' chants, litanies from the Morning Office, and so on. The similarity of the three chants is striking.

Second summary

The highly similar melodies within corpora of Byzantine and Armenian traditional liturgical chants can serve as a 'bridge' through which a person of Latin European heritage can come to a better understanding of Armenian liturgical chant; but, moreover, viewing Byzantine liturgical chant from the angle of the Armenian tradition can provide us with another valuable perspective from which to view the Byzantine tradition – a perspective different from that of Gregorian chant.

But in this paper we have discussed three different ways of viewing Gregorian chant: the historical way, that from the perspective of Byzantine traditional liturgical chant, and that from the perspective of the Armenian tradition. Symmetrically, one can appreciate three ways of approaching the traditional Byzantine chant – that historical way, and the perspectives of Gregorian chant and Armenian chant. The synthesis of the above ways may offer new and unexpected stimuli towards an enriched understanding of Byzantine chant and of traditional Christian liturgical chant more generally. It represents a challenge well worth taking up.

⁴ Constantin FLOROS, 'Die Entzifferung der Kondakarien-Notation', in *Musik des Ostens*, vol. 3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), pp. 7-71 (Part I) and vol. 4 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1967), pp. 12-44 (Part II).

Introduction

As one might expect of a book important to both Jews and Christians alike, the Book of Psalms and its individual chapters have been the subject of studies almost too numerous to catalogue. Ironically, though, the very first psalm, 'Blessed is the man' (Μακάριος ἀνὴρ – *Makarios anēr* / *Beatus vir* / האִישׁ הַיָּשֵׁר – 'ašrê hā-īš) has never been dealt with in an exclusive study in Byzantine musicology before. So far, only Edward Williams has briefly discussed the musicological aspects of Psalm 1, together with Psalms 2 and 3, in his book on Ioannes Koukouzeles (c. 1280 – c. 1360).¹ Why the Byzantine melodic settings of this psalm have not been analysed until now remains a mystery: Psalm 1 is claimed to have been performed in the same festive manner as the *Anoixantarion* (the so-called prooemiac Psalm 103).² It can be found in all the relevant manuscripts from the beginning of the fourteenth century onwards, and it clearly shows melismatic and kalophonic re-workings by all the famous composers of this era. Furthermore, the rubrics accompanying Psalm 1, as well as its structure and variety of melodic settings, are of special interest for the study of Byzantine chant: Psalm 1 still seems to contain traces of the ancient oral tradition and can thus provide us with valuable information about the development of psalmodic singing in Byzantium (see below 'Melodies').

¹ Cf. Arsinoi IOANNIDOU, *The Kalophonic Settings of the Second Psalm in the Byzantine Chant Tradition of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, Diss., City University of New York 2014 [= CUNY Academic Works, 10-2014], https://academicworks.cuny.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1432&context=gc_etds, p. 7 and n. 17: "[...] the Makarios Aner unit to which the second Psalm belongs was named after the opening verse 'Μακάριος Ανὴρ' of the first Psalm."

² Edward V. WILLIAMS, *John Koukouzeles' Reform of Byzantine Chanting for Great Vespers in the Fourteenth Century*

Abstract

Psalm 1 (*Makarios aner* / *Blessed is the man*), the first antiphon of the first section (*kathisma*) of the psalter, constitutes a fixed element of the evening office (*Hesperinos*) in the Greek Orthodox Church. All its verses are chanted in the fourth plagal mode, with the alleluia attached as the standard refrain. We find notated compositions of *Makarios aner* in *akolouthiai* manuscripts containing the order of the services from the early 14th century onwards (such as GR-An 2458, GR-An 2622, A-Wn Theol. gr. 185). Although Psalm 1 is claimed to have been performed in as festive a manner as the *Anoixantarion* (Psalm 103, the so-called prooemiac psalm), so far no studies have been exclusively devoted to it. However, the rubrics accompanying Psalm 1 as well as the psalm's (melodic) structure are of special interest for the study of Byzantine chant in general and psalmody in particular, as they might give insights into the old, anonymous syllabic settings that had been part of the oral tradition until the 14th century.

The article therefore aims to give a detailed description of the peculiarities of Psalm 1, based on sixteen representative manuscripts from the 14th and 15th centuries. What was the performance like when, for instance, the

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*Blessed is the man ... who knows how to chant this psalm: Byzantine compositions of Psalm 1 in manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries**

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first two verses always bear the instruction to be sung *eis diplasmon* (i.e., an octave apart), and the repetition of verse 1 is even called a 'study in the lower octave' (μελέτη εἰς τὸν ἔσω διπλασμόν)? We look into the structure of Psalm 1 and its great variety of melodies for its verses, by many different composers of the 13th to 15th centuries. What are the characteristics of the melodies which are referred to as being in the *palaion* (old) style? What does the inscription *hagiosophitikon* (in the Hagia Sophia style) convey beyond that which has been explained hitherto? Some verses are more melismatic than others with an overall simple and syllabic outline. Is it possible to trace features of the early simple psalmody and its psalm tones in these syllabic compositions? By tackling these questions with the support of exhaustive melodic analyses, the article will provide detailed insights on the distinctive features of this little-known and intriguing psalm.

Keywords: Byzantine chant; sacred music; liturgy; psalmody; kalophony; Psalm 1

Number of characters / words: 59 788 / 9 674

Number of figures: 54

Number of tables: 5

Secondary language(s): Old Greek

Text and place in the Office

	GREEK	ENGLISH ³
1a	Μακάριος ἀνὴρ, ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλῇ ἀσεβῶν	Blessed is the man who walks not in the counsel of the ungodly,
1b	καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ ἀμαρτωλῶν οὐκ ἔσται	nor stands in the path of sinners,
1c	καὶ ἐπὶ καθέδρᾳ λοιμῶν οὐκ ἐκάθισεν.	nor sits in the seat of the scornful.
2a	ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Κυρίου τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ,	But his delight is in the law of the lord,
2b	καὶ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ μελετήσῃ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός.	and in his law he meditates day and night.
3a	καὶ ἔσται ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων,	He shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of water,
3b	ὃ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ,	that brings forth its fruit in its season,
3c	καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπορῥύησεται·	whose leaf also shall not wither;
3d	καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἂν ποιῇ, κατευοδωθήσεται.	and whatever he does shall prosper.
4a	οὐχ οὕτως οἱ ἀσεβεῖς, οὐχ οὕτως,	The ungodly are not so,
4b	ἀλλ' ἢ ὡσεὶ χνοῦς, ὃν ἐκρίπτει ὁ ἄνεμος ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς.	but are like the chaff which the wind drives away.
5a	διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀναστήσονται ἀσεβεῖς ἐν κρίσει,	Therefore the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment,
5b	οὐδὲ ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἐν βουλῇ δικαίων·	nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous.
6a	ὅτι γινώσκει Κύριος ὁδὸν δικαίων,	For the lord knows the way of the righteous,
6b	καὶ ὁδὸς ἀσεβῶν ἀπολεῖται.	but the way of the ungodly shall perish.

Table 1:
Text of Psalm 1;
marked in bold are
those parts that are
contained in the oldest
available source
ET-MSsc 1256

Kemper Fullerton⁴ states that Psalms 1 and 2 do not belong to the Davidic psalms and goes on to explain

“[...] that in some Hebrew manuscripts Ps. 2 is united with Ps. 1 and in others Ps. 2 is counted as Ps. 1 [...], probably also implying that it was regarded as a part of Ps. 1, or else that Ps. 1, as an introductory psalm, was not counted. The contents of the two psalms (Ps. 1 in praise of the law, Ps. 2 a great prophecy) suggest that both were placed here as the introduction not only to the first Davidic collection, but to the entire Psalter. Their position would then be the result of the latest stage of the redaction.”

It is commonly agreed today that Psalm 1 was intended to function as the introduction to the whole psalter, an assumption that already goes back to Origen (c. 184–254 CE)⁵ and in the fourth century to Jerome, who points out in his *Exegetica in Psalmos* that the psalm's lack of a title indicates its role as a preface.⁶

(New Haven 1968), p. 211f.: “In the fourteenth century, according to evidence in the Akolouthiai, the entire first Stasis (Psalms 1, 2, and 3) received a musical performance similar to that prescribed for the Prooemiac Psalm.”

³ The Greek text is taken from the Septuagint psalms, see the *Greek Old Testament* online, <https://bit.ly/3127KFN>, the English text from the *New King James Version* online, <https://bit.ly/2SHrjGy>.

⁴ Kemper FULLERTON, ‘Studies in the Psalter’, *The Biblical World* 36/5 (1910), pp. 323–328, here p. 323, <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/pdf/10.1086/474394>. For a detailed analysis of the text and content of Psalm 1 see also Phil J. BOTHER, ‘Intertextuality and the Interpretation of Psalm 1’, *Old Testament Essays* 18/3 (2005), pp. 503–520, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228724588_Intertextuality_and_the_Interpretation_of_Psalm_1.

⁵ ORIGEN, *Exegetica in Psalmos* [= *Patrologia Graeca*, 12], col. 1099f. See also Stanley N. HELTON, ‘Origen and the First or Second Psalm’, *Stan's Scholia*, August 19, 2014, <https://stansscholia.wordpress.com/2014/08/19/origen-and-the-first-or-second-psalm/>: “In commenting on Acts 13:33, Origen notes that Acts attributes Psa 2:7 to the first psalm (ὡς γὰρ γέγραπται φήσιν ἐν πρώτῳ ψαλμῷ) as does Codex Bezae (D), however, all other extant MSS of Acts refer to the second psalm (καὶ ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται τῷ δευτέρῳ).”

⁶ JEROME, *Breviarium in Psalmos* [= *Patrologia Latina*, 26], col. 823: “Quidam dicunt hunc psalmum

Psalm 1⁷ is generally interpreted as picturing a dual path, upon which the righteous, the blessed ones, are saved, while the unrighteous or ungodly face damnation and will be blown away by the wind.⁸ Thus, the godly person will withstand difficulties helped by God's protection, whereas the wicked one will be prone to misfortune and disaster. In common with other parts of the psalter and the bible in general, the psalm uses allegorical speech to compare the good and the bad. In his homily on Psalm 1 St. Basil⁹ accordingly describes a psalm as

“[...] a city of refuge from the demons; a means of inducing help from the angels, a weapon in fears by night, a rest from the toils by day, a safeguard for infants, an adornment for those at the height of their vigour, a consolation for the elders, a most fitting ornament for women.”

In the Byzantine rite, Psalm 1 is a fixed part of every vespers service (*hesperinos*): at first Psalm 103 (Εὐλόγει, ἡ ψυχὴ μου, τὸν Κύριον / 'Bless the Lord, O my soul') is chanted, followed by the priest reciting the Great Collect (μεγάλῃ συναπτῇ), a litany with a series of petitions with the concluding phrase τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν ('let us pray to the Lord'). If it is the *hesperinos* for Sun- or Feastsdays, then the *domestikos* (the leader of the right-hand choir) begins chanting Psalm 1, followed by Psalms 2 and 3 (Ἰνατί ἐφρούραξαν ἔθνη / 'Wherefore did the heathen rage' and Κύριε, τί ἐπληθύνθησαν οἱ θλιβόντές με / 'O Lord, why are they that afflict me multiplied?') to make up the first section or *kathisma* of the psalter.¹⁰

Quite often in the literature, the incipit *Makarios anēr* is used not just for Psalm 1, but for Psalm 103 together with Psalms 1–3 which are also chanted in the fourth plagal mode.¹¹

Manuscript sources and composers

As is the case with the Byzantine melodies of most psalms, no notated records have come down to us before the fourteenth century, presumably because they were transmitted orally: the Anastasis *typikon* from the year 1122 (IL-Jgp Hagios Stauros gr. 43) gives a clear indication that Psalm 1 was chanted during the monastic *hesperinos*, stating that “the zealous monks come [...] and chant the Makarios Aner”.¹² Similarly, the Savas *typikon* (ET-MSsc 1097) from the year 1214 writes (➤ Fig. 1): “And the Makarios Aner begins, loud and slow.”¹³

quasi praefationem esse Spiritus sancti, et ideo titulum non habere.” See a.o. BOTHA, ‘Intertextuality’ (↪ footnote 4), p. 503 and n. 2 and 3; Jerome F. D. CREAM, ‘Like a Tree Planted by the Temple Stream: The Portrait of the Righteous in Psalm 1:3’, *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 61/1 (1999), pp. 34–46, here p. 34f. and n. 2 (with further literature), www.jstor.org/stable/43723477; Lee Roy MARTIN, ‘Delighting in the Torah: The Affective Dimension of Psalm 1’, *Old Testament Essays* 23/3 (2010), pp. 708–727, especially n. 2 and n. 3 (also with further theological literature on Psalm 1), www.scielo.org.za/pdf/ote/v23n3/12.pdf.

⁷ The psalm numbering follows that of the Septuagint.

⁸ See St. Basil's interpretation of Psalm 1 (10th homily) in SAINT BASIL, *Exegetic Homilies*, transl. by Sister Agnes Clare WAY [= The Fathers of the Church, 46] (Washington 1981), pp. 151–164, [file:///d:/_SYSTEM/tempus/AppData/Local/Temp/Saint%20Basil%20Exegetic%20Homilies%20by%20St.%20Basil,%20Sister%20Agnes%20Clare%20Way%20\(Translator\)%20\(z-lib.org\).pdf](file:///d:/_SYSTEM/tempus/AppData/Local/Temp/Saint%20Basil%20Exegetic%20Homilies%20by%20St.%20Basil,%20Sister%20Agnes%20Clare%20Way%20(Translator)%20(z-lib.org).pdf), and a.o. Manfred OEMING, *Contemporary Biblical Hermeneutics: An Introduction*, transl. by Joachim VETTE (Aldershot 2006), p. 68.

⁹ SAINT BASIL, *Exegetic Homilies* (↪ footnote 8), p. 152f.

¹⁰ WILLIAMS, *John Koukouzeles' Reform* (↪ footnote 2), pp. 211 and 43: “On Saturday evening and on the eves of great feasts, the first Stasis of the first Kathisma (Psalms 1, 2, and 3) received a musical performance”; see also IOANNIDOU, *The Kalophonic Settings of the Second Psalm* (↪ footnote 1), p. 89; Edward V. WILLIAMS, ‘The Treatment of Text in the Kalophonic Chanting of Psalm 2’, in Miloš VELIMIROVIĆ (ed.), *Studies in Eastern Chant 2* (London 1971), pp. 173–193, here p. 174. IOANNIDOU, *The Kalophonic Settings of the Second Psalm* (↪ footnote 1), p. 51 n. 115: “In Byzantine liturgical usage, the word ‘antiphon’ means a selection from the Psalter, followed by a doxology. Such a selection may consist of several psalms, not necessarily consecutive, it may consist of one psalm only, it may even consist of single verses.”

¹¹ Panagiotēs Ch. PANAGIOTIDES, ‘The Musical Use of the Psalter in the 14th and 15th Centuries’, in Christian TROELSGÅRD (ed.), *Byzantine Chant: Tradition and Reform. Acts of a Meeting Held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 1993* [= Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens, 2] (Athens 1997), pp. 159–171, here p. 161.

¹² Online scans: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279395724-jo/?sp=1>: “Ἐρχονται οἱ μοναχοὶ Σπουδαῖοι [...] καὶ στιχολογοῦσι τὸ Μακάριος ἀνὴρ.” (“The zealous ones come [...] and chant the Makarios Anir.”) Cited according to Evangelia SPYRAKOU, *Οἱ χοροὶ ψαλτῶν κατὰ τὴν Βυζαντινὴ παράδοση* (Athens 2008), p. 274f.

¹³ Online scans: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00271076393-ms/?sp=13&r=0.229,0.164,0.889,0.629,0>: “Καὶ ἄρχεται τὸ Μακάριος ἀνὴρ, μεγάλα καὶ ἄργα.” See Aleksej A.

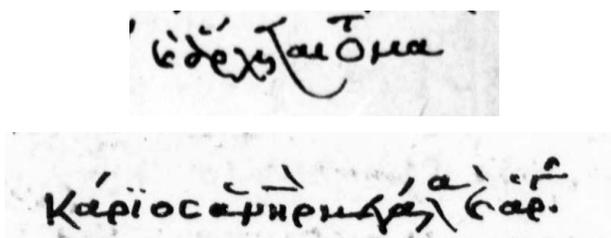


Fig. 1:
ET-MSsc 1097,
fol. 11^{r-v} naming
Psalm 1 to be sung
during the monastic
*hesperinos*¹⁴

Taking into account the mentions of the chanting of Psalm 1 in the above-named *typika*, it is reasonable to assume that there existed a (simple) melody at least two hundred years before the first notated sources appeared. But knowing that psalms belong to the oldest chanted repertory in Byzantium, melodies for *Μακάριος ἀνὴρ* (and other psalms) most probably go even further back in time.

So far, however, the earliest known source containing notated settings of Psalm 1 is the manuscript ET-MSsc 1256 from the year 1309.¹⁵ On fol. 212^{r-v} the beginning of Psalm 1 (*Μακάριος ἀνὴρ*) and then the first half-verse (*Μακάριος ἀνὴρ, ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλῇ ἀσεβῶν*) are notated with alleluia as refrain. The latter indicates clearly that this setting is of the monastic tradition¹⁶; otherwise, in the urban cathedral rite, it would have said *Δόξα σοι ὁ θεός* ('Glory to God').¹⁷

Still, one can already identify a certain urban influence on the monastic rite, as Dimitrios Balageorgos points out: the way in which the singing of *Μακάριος ἀνὴρ* is begun, Balageorgos explains, as well as the formal instructions that define the chanting first by the *domestikos* and then by the choir, reveal a secular influence on the monastic chant. The rubric in GR-An 2458, Balageorgos goes on to show, reminds one of the inscription in GR-An 2061, containing the urban cathedral repertory, according to which the *domestikos* recited the refrain or half verse of the first psalm verse in order to demonstrate the mode to the choir, which then started to chant the antiphon.¹⁸

In addition to ET-MSsc 1256, fifteen codices dating from the fourteenth until the late fifteenth century have been selected for the present article, with ten composers from primarily the fourteenth century represented (➤ Table 2).¹⁹

DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie liturgitseskich rukopisej*, 3: *Typika* (St. Petersburg 1917), p. 399 and SPYRAKOU, *Oi χοροὶ ψαλτῶν* (↖ footnote 12), p. 275. On these *typika* see also among others Daniel GALADZA, 'Greek Liturgy in Crusader Jerusalem: Witnesses of Liturgical Life at the Holy Sepulchre and St. Sabas Lavra', *Journal of Medieval History* 43/4 (2017), pp. 421–437, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03044181.2017.1346935>.

¹⁴ The copyrights for the individual manuscripts are as follows: Sinai: © Library of Congress Collection of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai; Athens: © National Library of Greece; Vienna: © Austrian National Library; Vatican: © Vatican Library.

¹⁵ Fol. 183^v has a fascinating note about the scribe of the manuscript, a certain Irene, the daughter of the Byzantine scribe and illuminator Theodore Hagiopetrites who copied it from an autograph by Koukouzeles; see among others Christiana I. DEMETRIOU, *Spätbyzantinische Kirchenmusik im Spiegel der zypriotischen Handschriftentradition. Studien zum Machairas Kalophonon Sticherarion A4* [= Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik, 7] (Frankfurt/Main 2007), p. 198f. Cf. WILLIAMS, *John Koukouzeles' Reform* (↖ footnote 2), p. 212: "The earliest known source to transmit the repertory of the first Stasis is in Sinai Heirmologion 1256 (1309 A.D.) whose settings belong to the anonymous 'quasi-traditional' layer of chant [...]."

¹⁶ See also SPYRAKOU, *Oi χοροὶ ψαλτῶν* (↖ footnote 12), pp. 272–275, who in her analysis of Byzantine *typika* cites *Μακάριος ἀνὴρ* only for the monastic *hesperinos*.

¹⁷ Cf. Christian TROELSGARD, 'III. Byzantine Psalmody, 1. The Byzantine Psalter and its liturgical use', in *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.48161>.

¹⁸ Dimitrios K. BALAGEORGOS, 'Ο κοσμικὸς καὶ μοναχικὸς τύπος στὴν ψαλτὴ λατρεία κατὰ τὸν ΙΔ' αἰ.', *Parnassos* 42 (2000), pp. 249–260, <https://drive.google.com/file/d/19bvrGoPV2ei3T0hrQoYga8Y4e7fWREbm/view>, here p. 258: "Ο ἐναρκτήριος τρόπος ψαλμῳδῆσεως τοῦ ψαλμοῦ *Μακάριος ἀνὴρ, ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη*, καθὼς ἐπίσης καὶ οἱ τυπικὲς ὁδηγίες ποὺ ὀρίζουν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ δομεστικῶν πρῶτα καὶ στὴ συνέχεια τὴν παρὰ τοῦ χοροῦ ψαλμῳδῆσή του, φανερόνουν τὴν κοσμικὴ ἐπίδραση ἐπὶ τῆς μοναστηριακῆς ψαλτικῆς πράξεως. Ἡ καταγεγραμμένη στὸν κώδικα EBE 2458 ἐνδειξὴ «*πληρωθέντος τούτου ὁ ψάλτης γεροντέρα λέγει φωνῇ [ἤχος] πλ. δ' Μακάριος ἀνὴρ – Ἀπὸ χοροῦ, ἀλλαγία: πλ. δ' Μακάριος ἀνὴρ*», μᾶς θυμίζει τὴν ἀναγραφὴς τοῦ ἐνοριακοῦ ψαλτικοῦ κώδικος, τοῦ EBE 2061, συμφώνως πρὸς τὴς ὁποῖες ὁ δομεστικὸς προέψαλλε τὸ ἐφύμνιο ἢ ἡμιστίχιο τοῦ α' ψαλμικοῦ στίχου γιὰ νὰ προῖδεάσει τὸν χορὸ στὸ μέλος καὶ ἀκολούθως ὁ χορὸς ψαλτῶν ἄρχιζε τὴν ψαλμῳδῆση τοῦ ἀντιφώνου."

¹⁹ These manuscripts were chosen on the basis of their date and their online availability.

Table 2:
Manuscripts contain-
ing Psalm 1 chosen
for the present article

Shelf mark	Folio	Date	Type	Provenance
ET-MSsc 1256 ²⁰	212 ^r	1309	<i>heirmologion</i> (anthology)	St. Catherine Monastery on Mt. Sinai
ET-MSsc 1257 ²¹	170 ^v	1332	<i>heirmologion</i> (anthology)	St. Catherine Monastery on Mt. Sinai
GR-An 2458 ²²	13 ^v	1336	<i>papadike</i>	Monastery of the Forerunner in Serres
GR-An 2622	8 ^v	c. 1341–1360	<i>papadike</i>	Monastery of the Forerunner in Serres
GR-An 2444	25 ^v	mid 14 th -c.	<i>papadike</i>	Monastery of the Forerunner in Serres
GR-An 899	46 ^r	c. 1390–1410	<i>papadike</i>	?
GR-An 905	6 ^r	late 14 th c.	<i>akolouthia</i>	?
GR-An 2600	10 ^r	(late) 14 th c.	<i>papadike</i>	Monastery of the Forerunner in Serres (?)
A-Wn Theol. gr. 185	9 ^r	1380–1391 ²³	anthology	Salonica (?)
GR-An 904	22 ^r	14 th –15 th c.	<i>akolouthia</i>	?
GR-An 906	25 ^r	14 th –15 th c.	<i>akolouthia</i>	?
GR-An 2456	5 ^r	late 14 th / early 15 th c.	<i>papadike</i>	Monastery of the Forerunner in Serres
GR-An 2401	58 ^v	15 th c.	<i>papadike</i>	Monastery of the Forerunner in Serres (?)
V-CVbav Barb. gr. 304 ²⁴	7 ^v	15 th c.	anthology?	?
GR-An 2406 ²⁵	33 ^v	1453	<i>papadike</i>	Monastery of the Forerunner in Serres
GR-An 928	31 ^v	late 15 th c.	<i>akolouthia</i>	Matejče Monastery in Skopska Crna Gora (Macedonia)

In the two earliest manuscripts containing Psalm 1 – ET-MSsc 1256 and ET-MSsc 1257 – the rubrics do not disclose any composer, meaning that the settings still derive from the old traditional, anonymous compositions that must have been orally transmitted before. Jørgen Raasted explains that

“in Late- and Postbyzantine tradition we find a number of settings by named composers; the earlier, anonymous, settings are best viewed as ‘traditional’ melodies, different realizations on a common base.”²⁶

Composers’ names attached to the various verses of Psalm 1 can be found for the first time in GR-An 2458, the earliest *akolouthia*- (or Order of the Service) manuscript, from the

²⁰ Dimitrios K. BALAGEORGOS and Flora KRITIKOU, *Ta χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινής μουσικής – Σινά*, 1 (Athens 2008), pp. 210–216; online scans: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00271075972-ms/?st=gallery>.

²¹ BALAGEORGOS and KRITIKOU, *Ta χειρόγραφα* (↪ footnote 20), p. 216ff.; online scans: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00271075984-ms/?st=gallery>.

²² Regarding the manuscripts of the National Library of Greece, the information has been taken from the relevant entries in Diane H. TOULIATOS-MILES, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Musical Manuscript Collection of the National Library of Greece: Byzantine Chant and Other Music Repertory Recovered* (Farnham 2010). The manuscripts cited here are available online on the homepage of the National Library of Greece: <https://digitalcollections.nlg.gr/index.html>.

²³ Christian HANNICK, ‘Étude sur l’*ἀκολούθια ἁσματικὴ*’, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 19 (1970), pp. 243–260; Herbert HUNGER, Otto KRESTEN and Christian HANNICK, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 3/2: *Codices theologici 101–200* (Vienna 1984), p. 374.

²⁴ Online scans: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.gr.304.

²⁵ See the description by Miloš VELIMIROVIĆ, ‘Byzantine Composers in Ms. Athens 2406’, in Jack WESTRUP (ed.), *Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz* (London 1966), pp. 7–18.

²⁶ Jørgen RAASTED, ‘Compositional Devices in Byzantine Chant’, *Cahiers de l’Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin* 59 (1989), pp. 247–270, here p. 250, <https://cimagl.saxo.ku.dk/download/59/59Raasted247-270.pdf>.

year 1336: here the names of the composers Ioannes Koukouzeles, Georgios Panaretos, Xenos Korones, Manuel Agallianos and Georgios Kontopetres are stated in the rubrics beside the verses. Regarding Koukouzeles himself, Williams²⁷ informs us that the manuscript ET-MSsc 1256 contains the oldest known rubric for a 'newly-composed' setting of a verse by Ioannes Koukouzeles, not for Psalm 1 though but for Psalm 3 (verse 8c2):

"This rubric not only records the oldest known example of a 'newly-composed' setting of Psalm text for Great Vespers but also implies with the adjective 'new' (νέον) that the composition by Koukouzeles, appearing at the beginning of the fourteenth century, marked a significant departure from the archaic performance practice."

Regarding the composers, I come to a slightly different chronology from those of Williams and Arsinoi Ioannidou,²⁸ based on the occurrence of composer attributions in the manuscripts with Psalm 1 (➤ Table 3).

Time	Composers	Manuscripts					
Early 14 th c.	Ioannes Koukouzeles (c. 1280 – c. 1360)	GR-An 2458	GR-An 2622	GR-An 2444		GR-An 905	
	Xenos Korones (flourished c. 1320 – 1350)	GR-An 2458	GR-An 2622	GR-An 2444	GR-An 899	GR-An 905	
	Georgios Panaretos (1336 or before) ²⁹	GR-An 2458	GR-An 2622				
	Manuel Agallianos (before 1336) ³⁰	GR-An 2458	GR-An 2622		GR-An 899		
	Georgios Kontopetres (flourished c. 1336 – 1349) ³¹	GR-An 2458	GR-An 2622	GR-An 2444		GR-An 905	
Mid 14 th c.	Demetrios Dokeianos ³²		GR-An 2622				
	Chaliboures (1 st half 14 th c.) ³³				GR-An 899		
	Ioannes Kladas (2 nd half 14 th / early 15 th c.)				GR-An 899		
Late 14 th c.	Makropoulos (before/around 1400) ³⁴				Gr-An 899		
	Ioannes Xeros (?)						GR-An 904

Table 3:
Composer attributions
in fourteenth-century
manuscripts

²⁷ WILLIAMS, *John Koukouzeles' Reform* (↵ footnote 2), p. 212.

²⁸ WILLIAMS, *John Koukouzeles' Reform* (↵ footnote 2), p. 215, sorts the composers as follows: early 14th c.: Ioannes Koukouzeles, Xenos Korones; early mid-14th c.: Panaretos, Georgios Kontopetres, Xeros; later mid-14th c.: Chaliboures, Demetrios Dokeianos, Manuel Agallianos; end of 14th c. / beginning of 15th c.: Makropoulos (Ioannes Kladas is not mentioned). IOANNIDOU, *The Kalophonic Settings of the Second Psalm* (↵ footnote 1), p. 233f.

²⁹ ERICH TRAPP et al. (eds.), *PLP – Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (online edition), 9, <https://www.austriaca.at/3310-3inhalt?frames=yes>, no. 21636.

³⁰ TRAPP et al. (eds.), *PLP* (↵ footnote 29), 1, no. 97. WILLIAMS, *John Koukouzeles' Reform* (↵ footnote 2), p. 215; later mid-14th c. IOANNIDOU, *The Kalophonic Settings of the Second Psalm* (↵ footnote 1), p. 233; end of 13th c.

³¹ TRAPP et al. (eds.), *PLP* (↵ footnote 29), 6, no. 13078. HILMAR SCHMUCK (ed.), *Griechischer Biographischer Index, 1: A-G* (Munich 2003), p. 570.

³² IOANNIDOU, *The Kalophonic Settings of the Second Psalm* (↵ footnote 1), p. 233; early 14th c.; WILLIAMS, *John Koukouzeles' Reform* (↵ footnote 2), p. 215; later mid-14th c. He is assumed to have been a pupil of Koukouzeles: see VELIMIROVIĆ, 'Byzantine Composers' (↵ footnote 25), p. 12 n. 4.

³³ TRAPP et al. (eds.), *PLP* (↵ footnote 29), 12, no. 30396.

³⁴ TRAPP et al. (eds.), *PLP* (↵ footnote 29), 7, no. 16404.

Structure / performance

The number of verses, as well as the verses themselves, which were set to music appear to have been rather randomly selected: all the manuscripts apparently vary in length. When drawing up a chart, though, showing the verses that are included in the majority of manuscripts, a pattern emerges that concurs with the one drawn up by Williams in his study (➤ Table 4).³⁵

Table 4:
Verses of Psalm 1 set
to music in the ma-
jority of the chosen
manuscripts

Verses in the majority of mss	Verses in the minority of mss
Prologue (Μακάριος ἀνὴρ)	
1a* (Μακάριος ἀνὴρ)	1b (καὶ ἐν ὁδοῦ ἀμαρτωλῶν οὐκ ἔστι)
1c (only in 15 th c. mss) (καὶ ἐπὶ καθέδρα λοιμῶν οὐκ ἐκάθισεν)	
2b* (καὶ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ μελετήσῃ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός)	2a (ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Κυρίου τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ)
3b (ὁ τὸν καρπὸν αὐτοῦ δώσει ἐν καιρῷ αὐτοῦ)	3a (καὶ ἔσται ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων)
3d* (καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἂν ποιῇ, κατευοδωθήσεται)	
4b (ἀλλ' ἢ ὡσεὶ χνοῦς, ὃν ἐκρίπτει ὁ ἄνεμος ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς)	4a (οὐχ οὕτως οἱ ἀσεβεῖς, οὐχ οὕτως)
5b* (οὐδὲ ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἐν βουλή δικαίων)	5a (διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀναστήσονται ἀσεβεῖς ἐν κρίσει)
6b καὶ ὁδὸς ἀσεβῶν ἀπολεῖται	6a (ὅτι γινώσκει Κύριος ὁδὸν δικαίων)

Table 4 shows that roughly only every second (half)verse was set to music. Williams therefore assumes some kind of antiphonal singing, whereby one choir chants the verses notated in the manuscripts and the other choir then takes up the melody for the next verse that is not notated. As proof, Williams cites the fourteenth/fifteenth-century manuscript ET-MSsc 1462, which transmits the seldomly composed verses and where on fol. 11^r the rubric after verse 1a reads εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ μέλος ('to the same melody').³⁶ It is not clear, however, if this instruction refers to the next verse of the psalm. Furthermore, no such rubric can be found in an earlier codex, thus this theory is not completely convincing.

Picking up the same melody for a completely different text would constitute quite a challenge for any choir. Christian Trøelsgård comments that

“it is not known why only a selection of the verses are notated in the akolouthiai manuscripts. In some cases, the manuscripts provide rubrics (usually next to the simpler settings) concerning the performance of the chants: for example, ‘the same melody [is sung] till the end of the psalm’, indicating that the melody type should be adapted to all the following verses, although each would have different numbers of syllables and accentuation patterns. Other possible interpretations are that the fixed psalms were stylized and only selected notated verses were sung, or that perhaps the missing verses were performed in simple psalmodic style according to the principles of oral tradition.”³⁷

Probably the psalm was simply not meant to be sung as a whole. Furthermore, some manuscripts such as e.g., A-Wn Theol. gr. 185 provide melodies for almost all verses of Psalm 1, meaning that a complete set of melodies must have existed (➤ Fig. 2):

³⁵ As the lines regularly composed, WILLIAMS, *John Koukouzeles' Reform* (↵ footnote 2), p. 217, also cites 1a (twice), 1c, 2b, 3b, 3d, 4b, 5b, 6b.

³⁶ Online scans: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00279382870-ms/?sp=15&r=0.106,0.018,0.962,0.68,0>. WILLIAMS, *John Koukouzeles' Reform* (↵ footnote 2), p. 218.

³⁷ TRØELSGÅRD, 'III. Byzantine Psalmody' (↵ footnote 17).

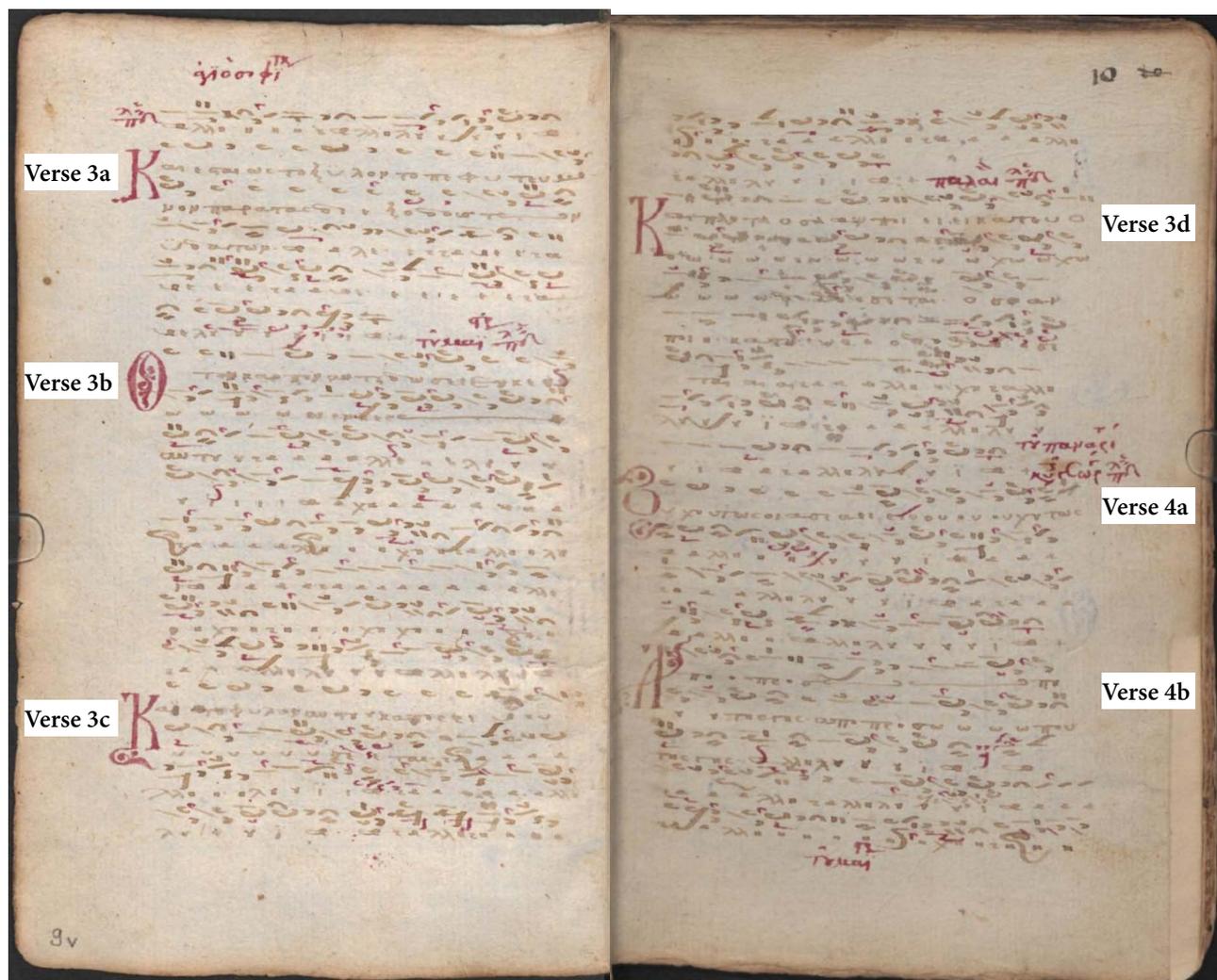


Fig. 2:
A-Wn Theol. gr. 185,
fol. 9^v-10^r displaying
melodies for almost
all verses of Psalm 1

Table 5 shows that the verses (1a, 2b, 3d, and 5b) set to music in the earliest source, ET-MSsc 1256 (from 1309) are also for the most part the ones that received musical settings in the manuscripts during the next 150 years. The next oldest codex, ET-MSsc 1257, already includes two more verses, namely 3b and 4b; this became the 'standard version' for the later codices. There are some manuscripts, however, which differ from this pattern, most obviously A-Wn Theol. gr. 185 from around 1400, which sets all verses after 2b to music (< Fig. 2). Unfortunately, this codex does not provide any information regarding which verse is sung by which choir and whether there was really antiphonal singing involved, as suggested by Williams (see above). GR-An 2622 and GR-An 2444 also provide all verses with music from 3b onwards. Can we therefore assume that from the middle of the fourteenth century onwards, more verses tended to be composed? The other manuscripts (GR-An 899, GR-An 904, GR-An 906, GR-An 2456, GR-An 2401 and V-CVbav Barb. gr. 304) speak against such an assumption. Perhaps it was simply up to the scribe (and the tradition he adhered to) to decide which verses to copy in his manuscript and which not. But it remains a fact that the majority of the codices contain melodies only for every second verse.

Those verses included are then usually found in several settings by various composers. Thus, the scribes probably provided a number of melodies from which the chanters could choose one and probably vary the length of the chanting according to the occasion. Ioannidou³⁸ confirms this when she writes:

"Curiously enough, in the vast majority of the sources, simple settings of the same verses by different composers are copied consecutively in the same manuscript. A plausible explanation for such a phenomenon is that the scribe intentionally provided the performers with the option of selecting the composition of their liking, rather than singing them all one after the other. Besides, the relatively small-sized Akolouthia book where these com-

³⁸ IOANNIDOU, *The Kalophonia Settings of the Second Psalm* (< footnote 1), p. 89f.

	1256	1257	2458	2622	2444	899	905	2600	185	904	906	2456	2401	304	2406
Prologue	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
1a	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
1b															x
1c												x	x		x
2a															
2b	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
3a									x						
3b		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
3c				x	x				x						x
3d	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
4a				x	x		x	x	x						
4b		x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
5a			x	x	x			x	x						x
5b	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
6a			x	x	x				x						x
6b			x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Table 5:
Detailed overview
of the verses set to
music in the chosen
manuscripts

positions are gathered is practically an anthology, with the purpose of reference, and not performance per se. In other words, the cantors knew the repertory by memory and thus they referred to the book to choose specific pieces to chant during the services according to local customs and need. More specifically, the choice from the selector's standpoint was based on modal or/and melodic preference, performers' skill and availability, and the local liturgical occasion."

Rubrics

The rubrics preceding the melodic settings of Psalm 1 are of special interest: from ET-MSc 1256 onwards they give the instruction that the *domestikos* has to intone the first two words of the first verse ('Makarios anēr' – called 'Prologue' in Table 5) plus the refrain alleluia ἀπ' ἔξω (*apexo*), which can be roughly translated as 'apart from'. From GR-An 899 onwards, i.e. from approximately the turn of the 14th/15th century, the rubric not only instructs the *domestikos* to sing *apexo*, but also states that this happens εἰς διπλάσιμον (*eis diplasmon*). The following first verse of the psalm, which the *domestikos* is to sing ἔσω (*eso* – meaning 'inside'/'together'), is even called Μελέτη εἰς τὸν ἔσω διπλάσιμον (i.e., 'Study in the *eso diplasmos*') in some manuscripts.

Both terms, *apexo* as well as *eis diplasmon*, have led to some wild speculations. In her catalogue, Diane Touliatos-Miles goes so far as to suggest that *eis diplasmon* "refers to [...] double melodies" where the chants should be sung in a kind of primitive polyphony.³⁹ Neither Psalm 1, though, nor the Polyeleos (Psalms 134–136),⁴⁰ where the term *diplosmos* is also used, are examples of Byzantine polyphony.⁴¹

³⁹ TOULIATOS-MILES, *A Descriptive Catalogue* (↪ footnote 22), p. 317.

⁴⁰ See the online scans of the manuscript under the following link: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00271076186-ms/?sp=9&r=0.38,0.13,0.547,0.387,0>.

⁴¹ On Byzantine polyphony see among others Michael ADAMIS, 'An Example of Polyphony in Byzantine Music of the Late Middle Ages', in Henrik GLAHN, Søren SØRENSEN and Peter RYOM (eds.), *Report of the Eleventh International Musicological Society Congress, 2* (Copenhagen 1972), pp. 737–747; Dimitri CONOMOS, 'Experimental Polyphony, "According to the ... Latins"', *Early Music History* 2 (1982), pp. 1–16, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261127900002060>, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/853760>; Gregorios STATHIS, '«Διπλοῦν Μέλος.» Μια παρουσίαση τῶν περιπτώσεων «Λατινικῆς Μουσικῆς» στὰ χειρόγραφα βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς', in Achilleus CHALDAIAKES (ed.), *Τιμὴ πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον. Ἐκφραση ἀγάπης στὸ πρόσωπο τοῦ καθηγητοῦ Γρηγορίου Θ. Στάθη. Αφιέρωμα στὰ ἐξηντάχρονα τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ στὰ τριαντάχρονα τῆς ἐπιστημονικῆς καὶ καλλιτεχνικῆς προσφορᾶς του* (Athens 2001), pp. 656–674; Nicolae

Williams defines *apexo* according to its translation as ‘apart from’, meaning the *domestikos* takes on the role as a soloist and sings apart from the choir. In the case of Psalm 1 the *domestikos* thus introduces the first two words ‘Makarios anēr’ plus the refrain alleluia. This is followed by the choir chanting verse 1a, in which the *domestikos* joins in together with the choir (*eso*).⁴²

The term *eis diplasmon*, though, has nothing to do with any ‘double’ melody or singing, but refers to the octave sung above or below, which can also be denoted by the words *exo* (above) and *eso* (below). Perhaps at the end of the fourteenth century the scribes already deemed it necessary to provide an additional explanation and thus added *eis diplasmon* to the rubric.⁴³ Balageorgos explains in his article⁴⁴ that in such an instance, the *domestikos* is required first to sing the incipit of a given psalm in order to let the choir know the melos of the chant, which then follows – in the case of Psalm 1 – an octave lower. Even if *eis diplasmon* was meant to denote that there were two voices required, it did not refer to two simultaneous voices, but rather to the fact that the melodies were sung one after another an octave apart, as is confirmed by Evangelia Spyraou’s article.⁴⁵

GHEORGHITĂ, ‘Between the Greek East and the Latin West. Prolegomenon to the Study of Byzantine Polyphony’, in Olgața LUPU, Isaac Alonso de MOLINA and Nicolae GHEORGHITĂ (eds.), *Curriculum Design & Development Handbook: Joint Master Programme on Early Music Small Vocal Ensembles* (Bucharest 2018), pp. 303–365, https://www.academia.edu/38531112/BETWEEN_THE_GREEK_EAST_AND_THE_LATIN_WEST_Prolegomenon_to_the_Study_of_Byzantine_Polyphony?source=swp_share; Nina-Maria WANEK, ‘Byzantine “Polyphony” in Bessarion’s Time’, in Silvia TESSARI (ed.), *Bessarione e la musica. Concezione, fonti teoriche e stili. Acts of the Congress held in Venice 2018* (Venice 2021), pp. 95–130 (in print).

⁴² WILLIAMS, *John Koukouzeles’ Reform* (↪ footnote 2), p. 216: “Other sources further specify that in this chant the role of the *domestikos* is that of a soloist, that is, he sings ἀπέξω or ‘apart from’ the choir. The other choir then follows the abbreviated chant text of the *domestikos* with all of verse 1a, a chant in which the *domestikos* performs as a member ‘within’ (ἔσω) the ensemble. Thereafter the two choirs alternate in distributing the lines of the Psalm.” And on p. 257 n. 8 Williams writes: “The terms ἀπέξω and ἔσω (‘apart’ and ‘within’) refer to the role of the *domestikos* as a soloist who functions both ‘outside’ and ‘inside’ the choir. The rubrics in Athens 899, f. 60^v for the performance of the Polyeleos ‘Latrinus as sung in Constantinople’, are much clearer on this point of performance practice than any directions for the execution of Psalm 1. The first chant is to be sung by ‘the *domestikos* apart from the choir’ (ὁ δομέστικος ἀπέξω ἀπὸ χοροῦ). The next chant is prescribed to be sung ‘inside together’ (ἔσω ὁμοῦ).”

⁴³ The theorist Gabriel Hieromonachos (flourished c. 1450) likewise used the word *diplosmos* to denote the octave. See Christian HANNICK and Gerda WOLFRAM, *Gabriel Hieromonachos. Abhandlung über den Kirchengesang* (Vienna 1985), pp. 50, 62, 64, 84; WILLIAMS, *John Koukouzeles’ Reform* (↪ footnote 2), p. 257f. n. 12: “Almost all fifteenth century Akolouthiai direct that Psalm 1 be performed ‘εις διπλασμόν’ or, as in the instance of Sinai 1529, ‘εις δύο πλασμόν’. This rubric apparently indicated that some kind of musical doubling took place during the performance of the first Stasis. In the musical treatise Ἐρμηνεία τῆς παραλλαγῆς, alleged to be by Koukouzeles, an explanation appears for the term *diplosmos*. The treatise is preserved in an eighteenth-century Jerusalem manuscript, IL-Jr Naos Abraam 129, f. 7^v which is published by Emmanuel VAMVOUDAKIS, Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν σπουδὴν τῆς παρασημαντικῆς τῶν βυζαντινῶν μουσικῶν (Samos 1938, p. 54).” Cited according to the translation in WILLIAMS, *John Koukouzeles’ Reform* (↪ footnote 2), p. 258: “Doubling is effected as follows: rising one [step] if you wish to sing 7 steps higher, that is again rising you sing an octave with that one; on the second [step] you sing a 9th; on the third [step] you sing a 10th [...]. If you chant a unison, that is, as many as happen to be, and you restore doubling (διπλασμός), you sing 7 steps. If you sing the melody in a way flowing below, again you sing 7. As soon as you begin the doubling (διπλοφωνία) you sing a unison, then [as soon as you begin] doubling (διπλασμός) 7 steps become an octave.”

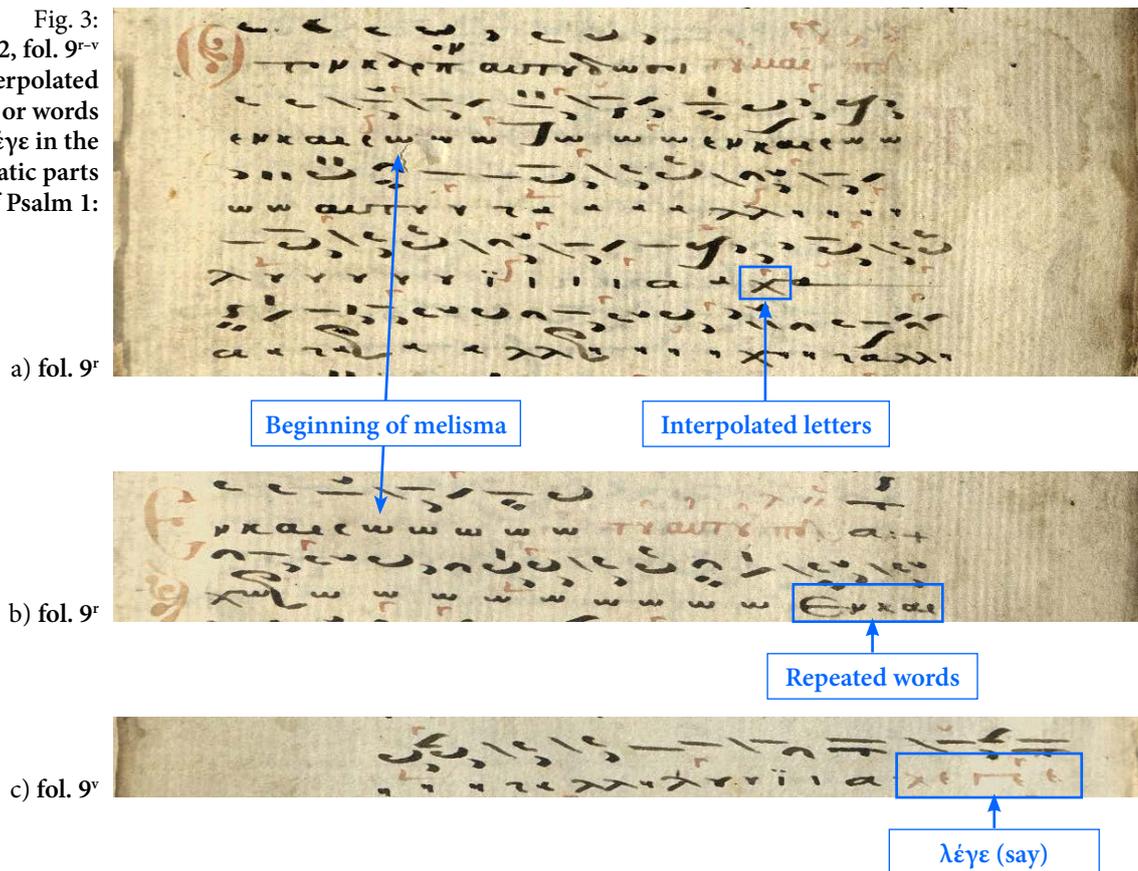
⁴⁴ BALAGEORGOS, ‘Ο κοσμικὸς καὶ μοναχικὸς τύπος’ (↪ footnote 18), p. 258: “Ἡ καταγεγραμμένη στον κώδικα EBE 2458 ἐνδειξὴ «πληρωθέντος τούτου ὁ ψάλτης γεγονωτέρα λέγει φωνῇ [ἦχος] πλ. δ’ Μακάριος ἀνήρ – Ἀπο χοροῦ, ἄλλαγμα· πλ. δ’ Μακάριος ἀνήρ», μᾶς θυμίζει τὶς ἀναγραφὲς τοῦ ἐνοριακοῦ ψαλτικοῦ κώδικος, τοῦ EBE 2061, συμφώνως πρὸς τὶς ὁποῖες ὁ δομέστικος προέψαλλε τὸ ἐφύμνιο ἢ ἡμιστίχιο τοῦ α’ ψαλμικοῦ στίχου γὰρ νὰ προῖδεάσει τὸν χορὸ στο μέλος καὶ ἀκολούθως ὁ χορὸς ψαλτῶν ἄρχιζε τὴν ψαλμῳδία τοῦ ἀντιφώνου.”

⁴⁵ Evangelia SPYRAKOU, ‘Ἡ ηχοχρωματικὴ ποικιλία στὴν Βυζαντινὴ χορωδιακὴ πράξη’, in *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference of the American Society of Byzantine Music and Hymnology (ASBMH)* (Athens 2007), pp. 144–156, <http://www.asbmh.pitt.edu/page12/Spyrakou.pdf>, here p. 145: “Στὴν μουσικὴ ἐκτέλεση ἡ εφαρμογὴ τῆς προαναφερθείσας θεωρίας εἶναι συνήθης στὶς υστεροβυζαντινὲς Παπαδικὲς καὶ Ανθολογίες ὅπου διασώζονται με μεγάλη συχνότητα οἱ ὅροι ἔσω καὶ ἔξω διπλασμός. Επιπλέον, τὸ ἰσοκράτημα σε δύο διαπασῶν κάτω ἀπὸ τὸ ἴσον τοῦ ἤχου υπονοεῖται στο τυπικὸ Ἱεροσολύμων τοῦ 1122, ὅταν γιὰ τὴν ψαλμῳδία τοῦ στιχηροῦ Φοβερὸν τὸ ἐμπεσεῖν σε τρίτο ἦχο, ορίζεται ὅτι «ὀφειλομέν κρατεῖν ἀπὸ ἐκ βάθους». (“In the music performance the use of the aforementioned theory

Melodies

All parts of Psalm 1 are in the fourth plagal mode and do not name any composer in the oldest available source (ET-MSsc 1256). The verses always begin with a syllabic incipit (probably going back to an archaic melody) which is then melismatically developed with interpolated letters such as -χ-, -γγ- etc. and other meaningless syllables (e.g., on -ου-) typical for the kalophonic, i.e., the embellished late-Byzantine chant (➤ Fig. 3).⁴⁶ The text of the verses is often expanded by the repetition of certain words. The alleluia-refrains, too, are treated melismatically, with sometimes up to three repetitions, where the word *πάλιν* (*palin*: again) is inserted to indicate shorter textual and melodic repetitions of the previous section. The word *λέγε* (*lege*: say) is used, as Spyridon Antonopoulos explains,⁴⁷ “to bridge two distinct sections within a (usually) kalophonic composition”, e.g., to link the end of the psalm to the alleluia-refrain (➤ Fig. 3).

Fig. 3:
GR-An 2622, fol. 9^{r-v}
showing interpolated
letters or words
such as λέγε in the
melismatic parts
of Psalm 1:



Williams states⁴⁸ that “the chanted repertories for the first Stasis in ET-MSsc 1256 and ET-MSsc 1257 disclose that a shift had begun in the chanted performance of Great Vespers at the very

is common to the late Byzantine *papadike* manuscripts and to the anthologies where the terms *eso* and *exo diplasmos* are often found. In addition, the *isokratima* two octaves below the *ison* is referred to in the Jerusalem *typikon* of 1122, where for the chanting of the *sticheron* Φοβερόν τὸ ἐμπροσθεῖν in the third mode, it says that ‘We must hold from below.’”

⁴⁶ Cf. Clara ADSUARA, ‘On the Structure of Kalophonic Stichera: Working Hypotheses’, in László DOBSZAY (ed.), *Papers Read at the IMS Intercongressional Symposium and the 7th Meeting of the Cantus Planus, Sopron 1995* (Budapest 1998), pp. 1–16. https://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/papers/1995.pdf#page=1, here p. 2: “In these pieces [i.e. real kalophonic stichera] we find typical melismatic features like the sign which stands for ου (υ) and the double gamma (-ΓΓ-) plus the vowel of the context in a cadential position. In addition, there are characteristic kalophonic devices like the interpolation of non-sense passages with a structural function [...]. Finally [...] we find the χ- plus the vowel of the context, the words *πάλιν* and *λέγε* and the melismatic music. All this would imply, in my opinion, a mix of the old melismatic style of the Psaltikon and Asmatikon, and the new one of the kalophonia.”

⁴⁷ Spyridon ANTONOPOULOS, *The Life and Works of Manuel Chrysaphes the Lampadarios, and the Figure of Composer in Late Byzantium*, PhD Thesis, City University of London 2013, City Research Online: <https://openaccess.city.ac.uk/id/eprint/17439>, p. 218 n. 112.

⁴⁸ WILLIAMS, *John Koukouzeles' Reform* (↵ footnote 2), p. 213.

beginning of the fourteenth century and that this action, apparently initiated by John Koukouzeles, was soon imitated by his contemporary, Xenos Koronis." He reaches this conclusion by attributing to Korones the anonymous end of verse 4b (ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς) from ET-MSsc 1257, which bears the rubric *alle<luia> neon* (► Fig. 4).

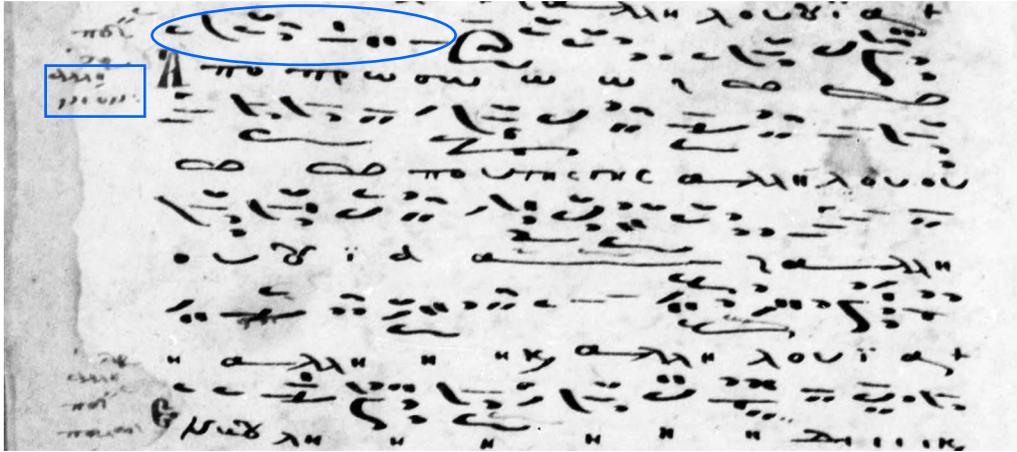


Fig. 4:
ET-MSsc 1257,
fol. 171^v with the
rubric *alle<luia> neon*
in the left margin (see
the blue rectangle)

Concerning the part of verse 4b ostensibly set by Korones, I come to a conclusion different from Williams though:

- 1) in the margin of ET-MSsc 1257, fol. 171^v, as one can see in Fig. 4, it reads *alle<luia> neon*, thus referring to a newly composed melody for the alleluia-refrain and not to the whole verse;
- 2) if one compares the neumes over the words Ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς ἀλληλού-, the first two lines in Fig. 4, with those over the same words in the first two lines of Fig. 5, written by Korones, one sees that they are completely different;
- 3) the incipit of the melody in ET-MSsc 1257, fol. 171^v (◄ Fig. 4) resembles the one by Koukouzeles found e.g., in GR-An 906 (► Fig. 5), although the long melisma on προσω- develops differently in both manuscripts (see the blue ovals in Figs. 4 and 6).

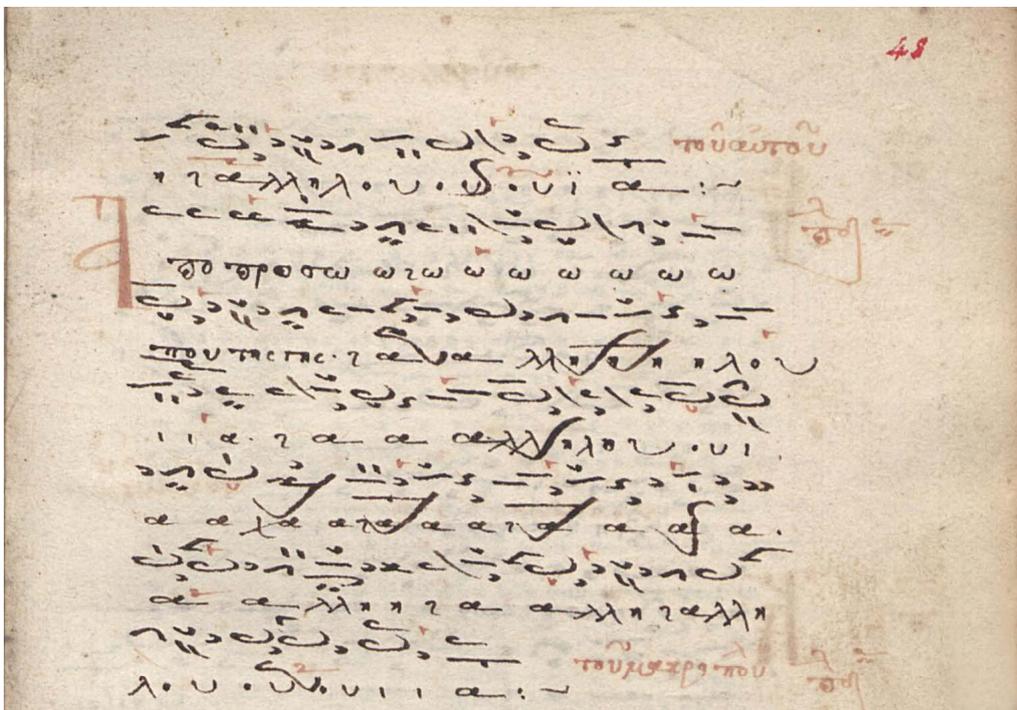
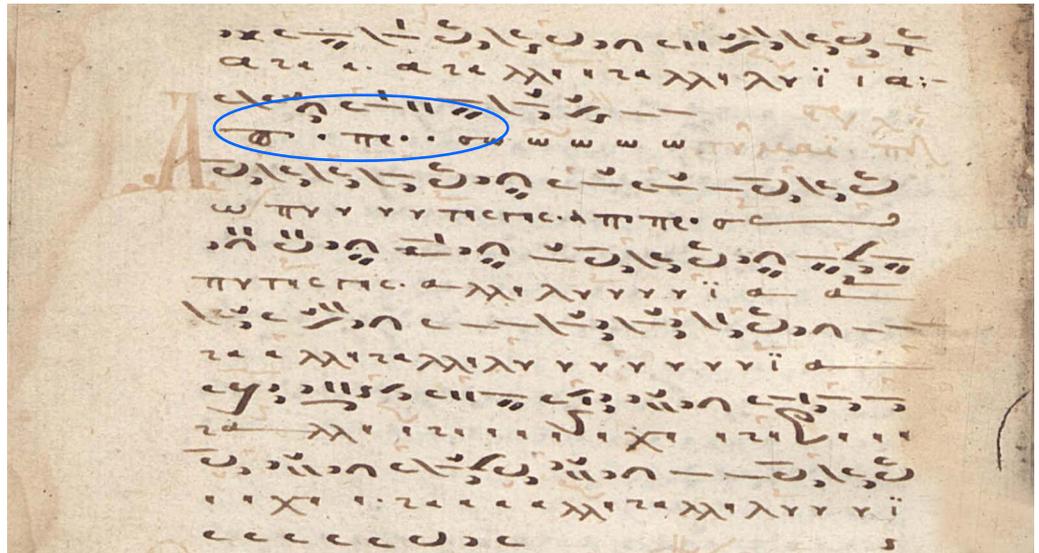


Fig. 5:
GR-An 899, fol. 48^r
showing Korones'
melody for the second
part of verse 4b (ἀπὸ
προσώπου τῆς γῆς),
which differs
significantly from
the anonymous one
in Fig. 4

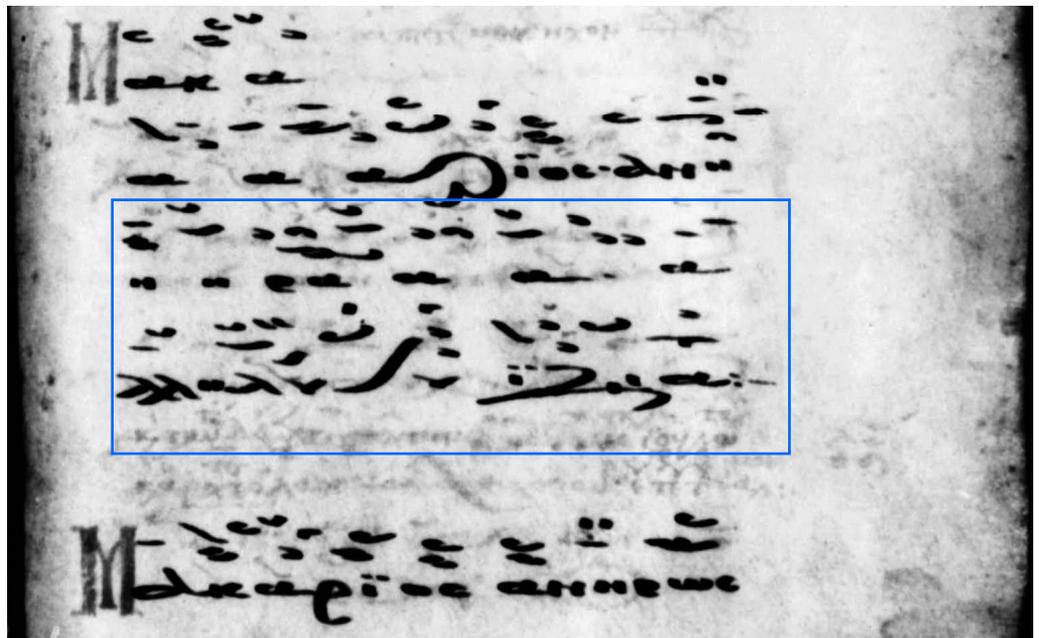
Nevertheless, a shift in the melodies due to their melismatic reworking during the next decades is apparent in all the manuscripts from ET-MSsc 1257 onwards.

Fig. 6:
The incipit of Koukouzeles' setting of the second part of verse 4b in GR-An 906, fol. 6^v which resembles the one in ET-MSsc 1257, fol. 171^v (← Fig. 4), although the long melisma on *προσώ-* develops differently in both manuscripts (see the blue ovals in Figs. 4 and 6)



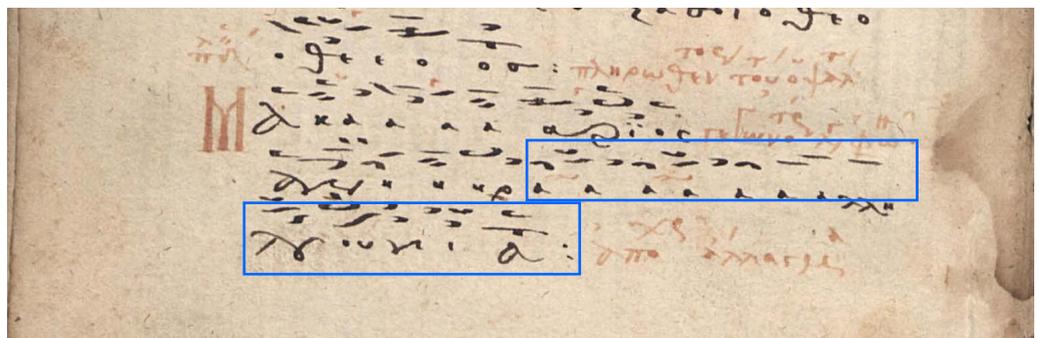
The melody of the Prologue (the very first chanting of the words Μακάριος ἀνὴρ ἀλλη- λούϊα) in ET-MSsc 1256, fol. 212^r is basically preserved in the younger manuscripts (➤ Fig. 7).

Fig. 7:
ET-MSsc 1256, fol. 212^r shows the melody of the Prologue; the setting of the alleluia is indicated with the blue rectangles



GR-An 2458, fol. 13^v still shows the same melody as ET-MSsc 1256 with only very slight alterations (➤ Fig. 8).

Fig. 8:
GR-An 2458, fol. 13^v displays the setting of the alleluia in the blue rectangles



The first word Makarios, though, usually gets new formulas inserted on the syllables *Maka-* and *Makari-*: ET-MSsc 1257, fol. 170^v in Fig. 9 – although older than GR-An 2458 – already puts an extra formula on *Maka-*, which is then taken up in many manuscripts (e.g., GR-An 2600, GR-An 2622, GR-An 2444, GR-An 905, A-Wn Theol. gr. 185, GR-An 928)

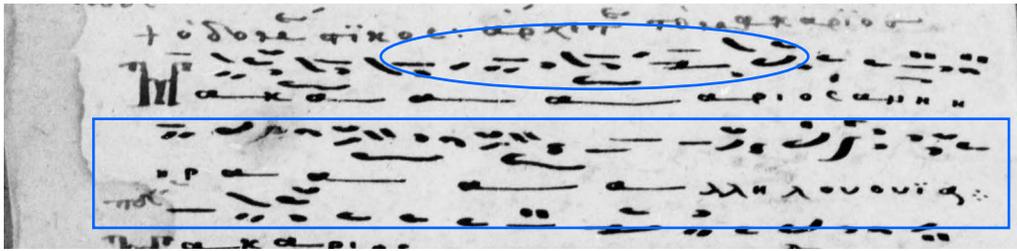


Fig. 9:
ET-MSsc 1257,
fol. 170^r showing an
extra formula on
the syllables Maka-
and Makari-
(see the blue oval and
the blue rectangle)

GR-An 899 inserts an additional formula on Makari-, the second part of this formula is taken up in GR-An 2456. Both extra formulas are inserted in GR-An 904 for the first time, followed up by GR-An 906, 2401, V-CVbav Barb. gr. 304 and GR-An 2406

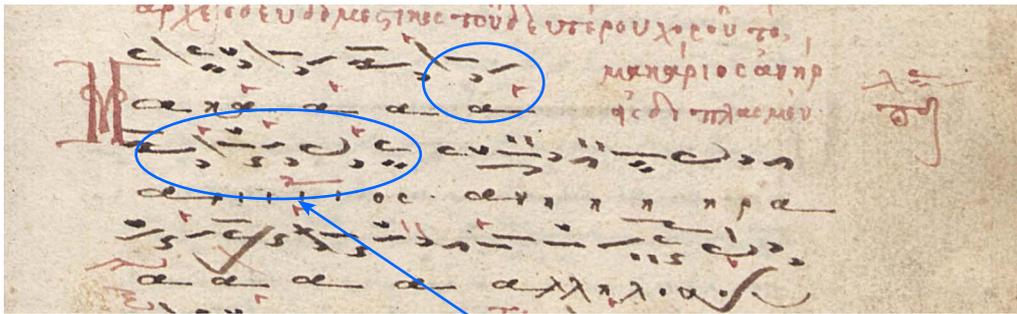
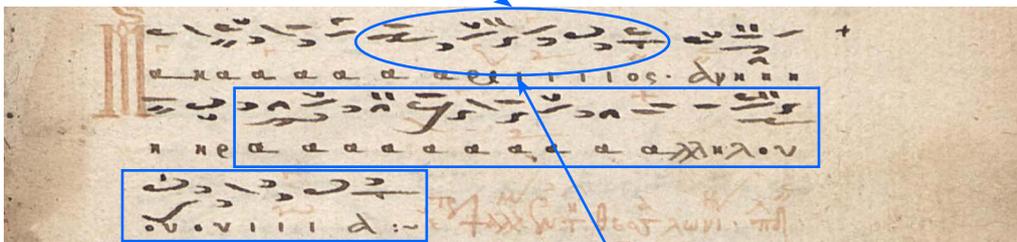
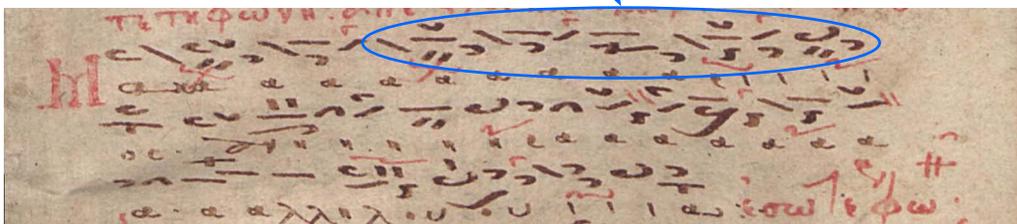


Fig. 10:
Additional formula
in GR-An 899 taken
up in the other
manuscripts
(see the blue ovals):

a) GR-An 899, fol. 46^r



b) GR-An 2456, fol. 5^r
(the blue rectangle
shows the stable
alleluia-refrain –
see also Figs. 7–9)



c) GR-An 904, fol. 22^r

The alleluia-refrain of the Prologue, however, remains fairly stable from ET-MSsc 1256 onwards with only slight differences where e.g., an *oligon* (—) is replaced by *dyo kentemata* (==) etc. (see the blue rectangles in Figs. 7–10).

As can be gathered by comparing its settings in ET-MSsc 1256 (1309) and GR-An 2600 in Fig. 11, the melody of verse 1a, (Μακάριος ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλή ἄσεβων) is the most stable of all and is used with slight variants in all the younger codices (e.g., GR-An 2600).

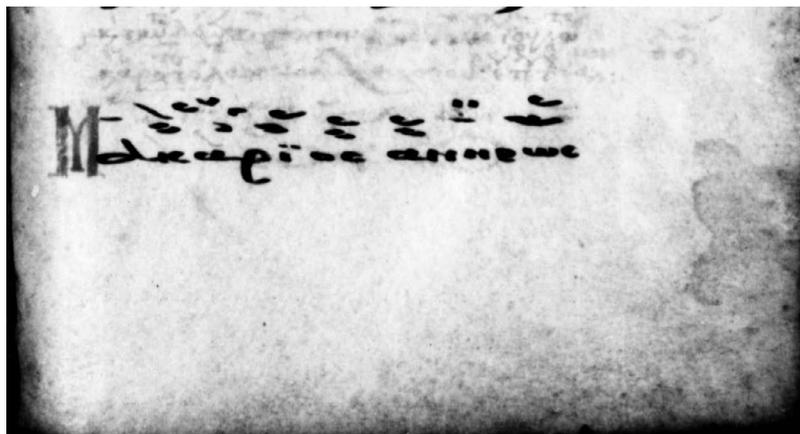
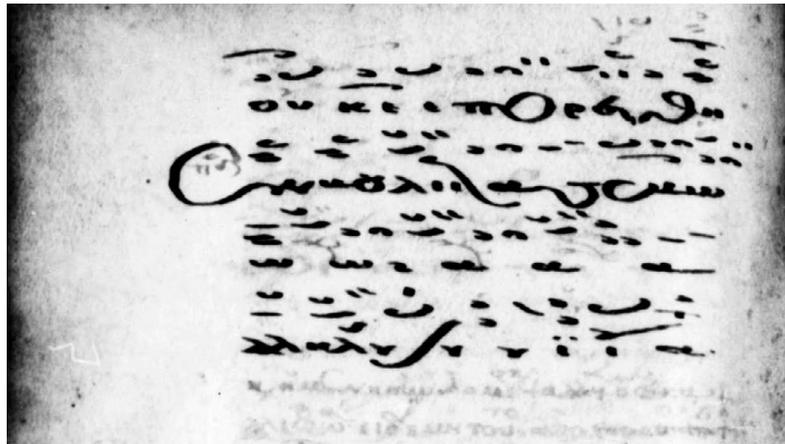
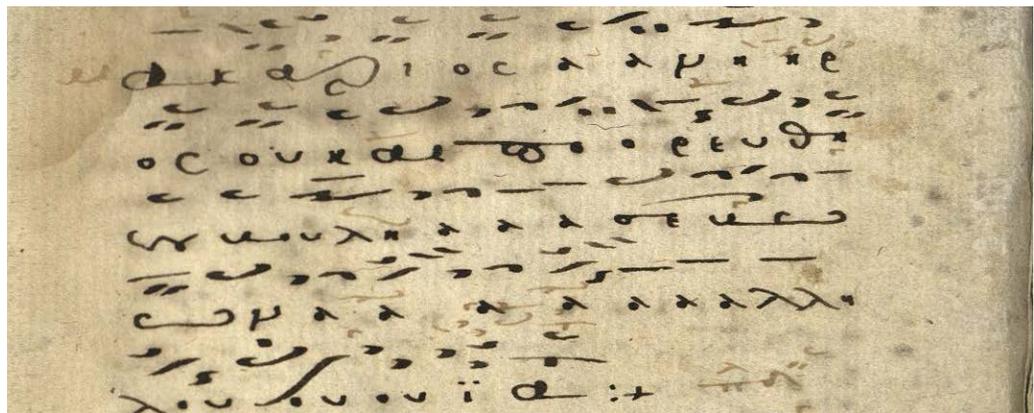


Fig. 11:
Verse 1a is the most
stable of all verses of
Psalm 1:

a) ET-MSsc 1256,
fol. 212^r

b) ET-MSsc 1256,
fol. 212^vc) GR-An 2600,
fol. 10^r

It is especially interesting to compare the anonymous melodies contained in our oldest source ET-MSsc 1256 with those called *παλαιόν* (*palaion*: old) or *ἀλλαγία* (*allagma*: change)⁴⁹ in the younger manuscripts:

- 2b: ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός (ET-MSsc 1257, GR-An 2458, GR-An 2622, GR-An 905, GR-An 2600, A-Wn Theol. gr. 185, GR-An 905),
- 3d: κατευοδωθήσεται (ET-MSsc 1257, GR-An 2458, GR-An 2600),
- 5b: οὐδὲ ἀμαρτωλοὶ ἐν βουλή δικαίων (ET-MSsc 1257).

Looking at these verses, as we shall see in Figs. 12–14, the following characteristics appear when compared with ET-MSsc 1256.

Verse 2b (ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός) shows remarkable stability except for one instance: the incipit with the three *isa* (— — —) is only kept in ET-MSsc 1257 (in blue oval in Fig. 12). Already GR-An 2458 substitutes the repeated *isa* with a leap of a fourth down- and upwards, signalled in the notation by an *elaphron* + *apostrophos* (↗ ↘), followed by an *oligon* + *kentema* (—). The rest of the old melody however is still in use in the younger manuscripts, which name the chant in their rubrics either *palaion* or *allagma* (► Fig. 12).

⁴⁹ Concerning the so-called *allagma*, PANAGIOTIDES, 'The Musical Use of the Psalter', p. 161, writes: "[...] we have the occurrence of ἀλλάγματα which denotes sections where the Psalms are chanted either by a soloist or by the choir, or in some cases, even by both choirs [...]." Gerda WOLFRAM, 'The Anthologion Athos Lavra E-108: A Greek-Slavonic Liturgical Manuscript', *Музикологија / Musicology* 11 (2011), pp. 25–38, http://doiserbia.nb.rs/Article.aspx?id=1450-98141111025W#_YFh_YZuLrCN, here p. 32: "How were these stichoi of the Polyeleos Psalm performed? There is only one notice on f. 33v, at the beginning of the fourth mode: Ἀλλαγία (change). This means that the psalmic verses were performed antiphonally either by two choirs or by two soloists. We can suppose that the right side chanted the psalmic verse, the left side sang the Alleluia, the right side responded with the poetic refrain and the left side answered with the Alleluia." See also Gregorios STATHIS, *Introduction to Kalophony, the Byzantine 'Ars Nova'. The 'Anagrammatismoi' and 'Mathēmata' of Byzantine Chant*, transl. and rev. Konstantinos TERZOPOULOS [= *Studies in Eastern Orthodoxy*, 1] (Bern 2014), p. 250: "[...] allagma is the term used to declare a change of melos, either within the same mode or through a modulation to another mode. This practice is clearly declared as noted above, melos heteron. The allagmata are found in the verses of the anoixantaria, the Makarios anēr, the Polyeleoi, the antiphons and the Amōmos, only they are not always specifically indicated in the manuscripts"; and p. 285 n. 66: "In the Papadikē Athens, Nat. Libr. 2458 from the year AD 1336 one often finds the term allagma, sometimes with the complementary palaion."

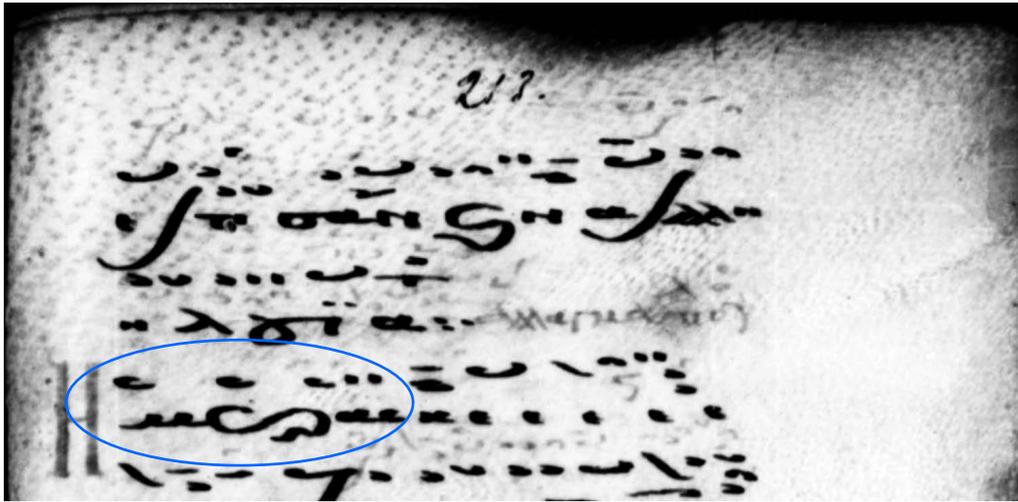
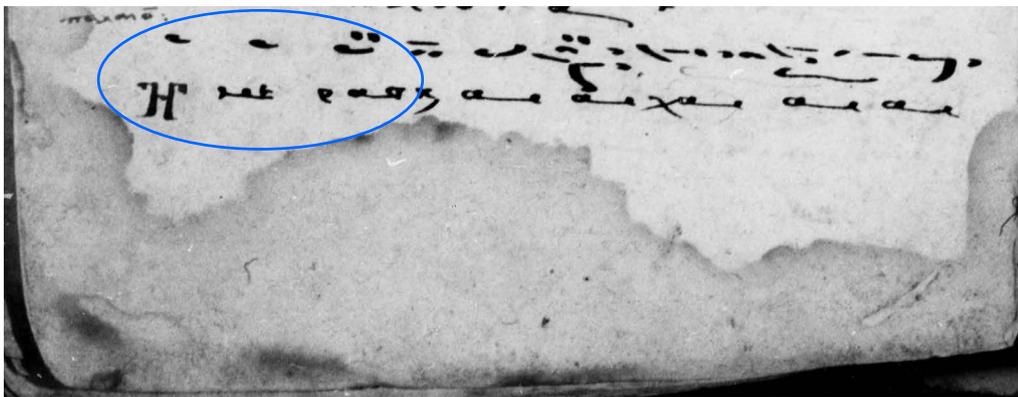
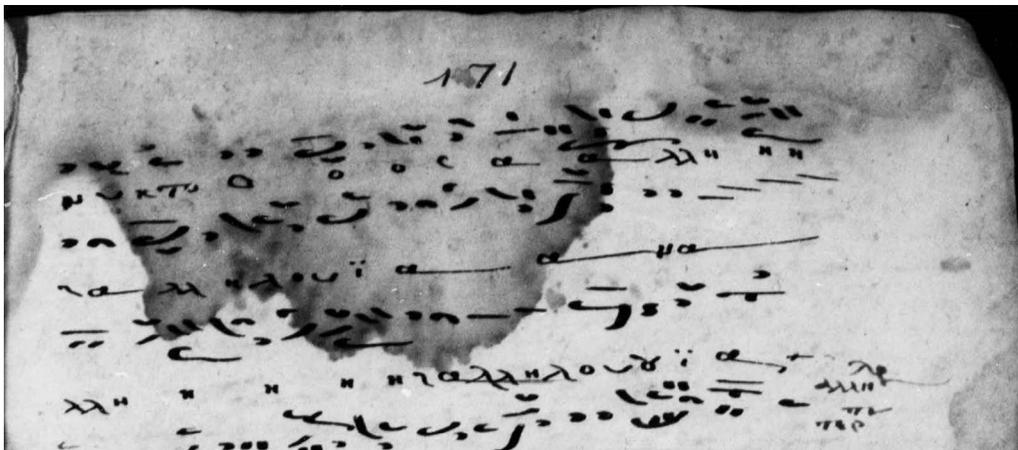


Fig. 12:
The incipit with three *isa* (see the blue ovals) in ET-MSsc 1256 is kept in ET-MSsc 1257 but already substituted in GR-An 2458 with a leap of a fourth down- and upwards:

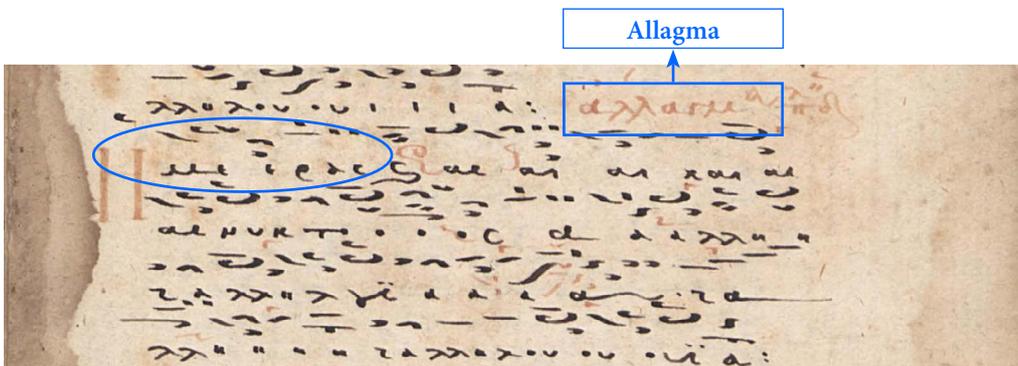
a) ET-MSsc 1256, fol. 213^r



b) ET-MSsc 1257, fol. 170^v



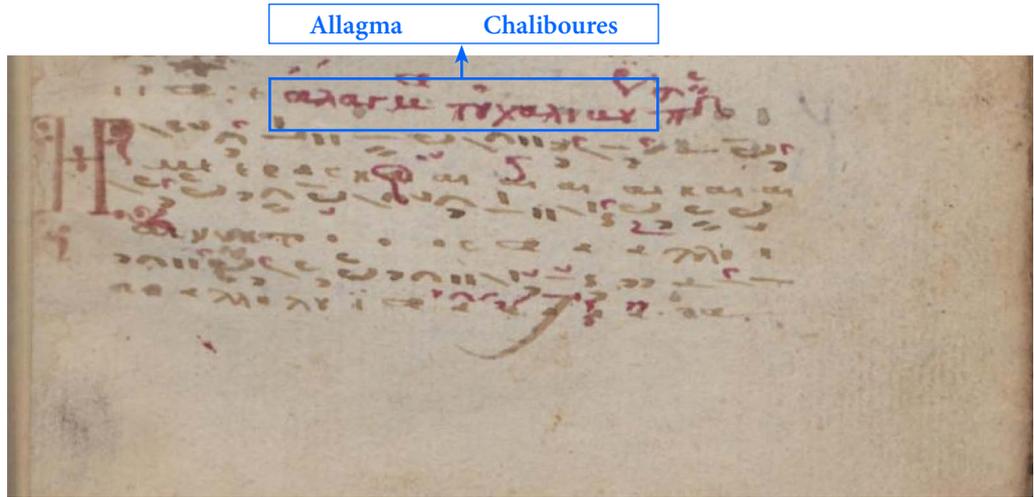
c) ET-MSsc 1257, fol. 171^r



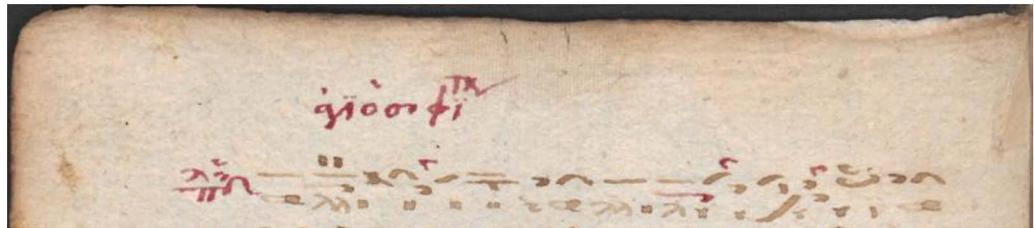
d) GR-An 2458, fol. 14^r (the blue rectangle shows that the verse here is called *allagma* in the rubric)

As can be seen in Fig. 13, A-Wn Theol. gr. 185 names Chaliboures as the composer of verse 2b (ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός): comparing it with the melody named *palaion* or *allagma* in Fig. 12, however, makes it clear that we are dealing here with the same melody, thus it must have been wrongly attributed to Chaliboures:

Fig. 13:
A-Wn Theol. gr. 185,
fol. 9^{r-v} ascribes the
melody of verse 2b to
Chaliboures, which,
however, is the same
as the anonymous
melody shown
in Fig. 12:



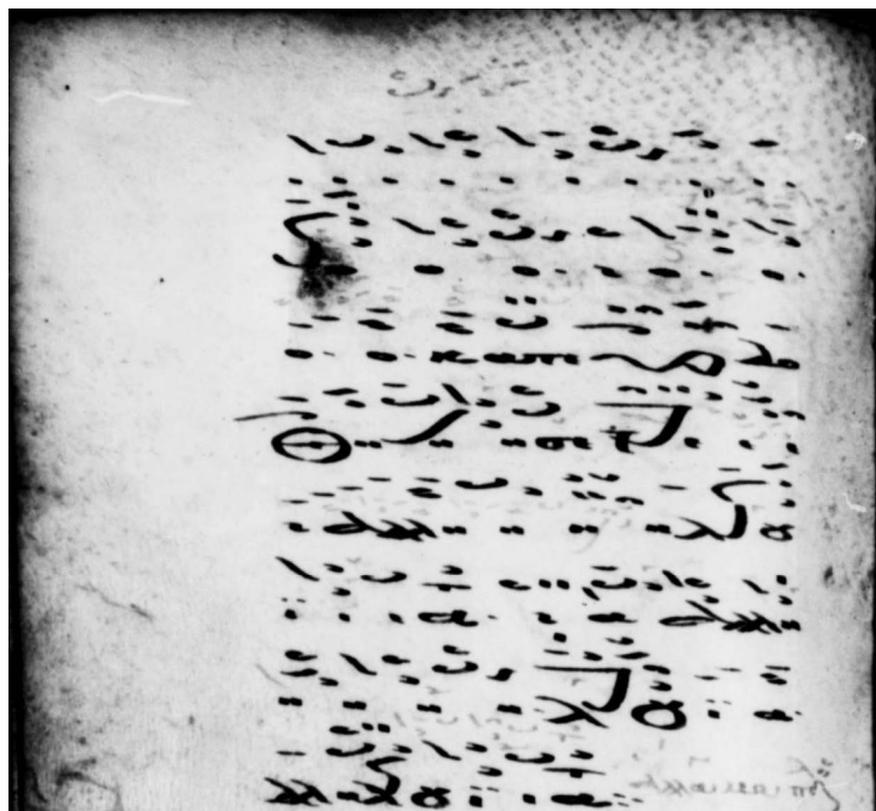
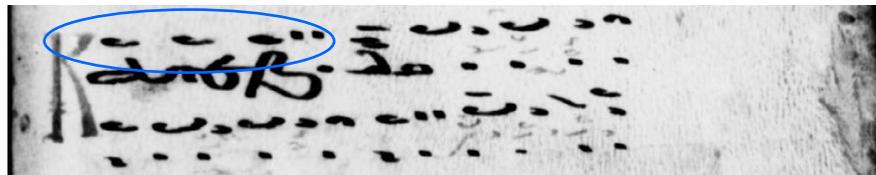
a) A-Wn
Theol. gr. 185, fol. 9^r



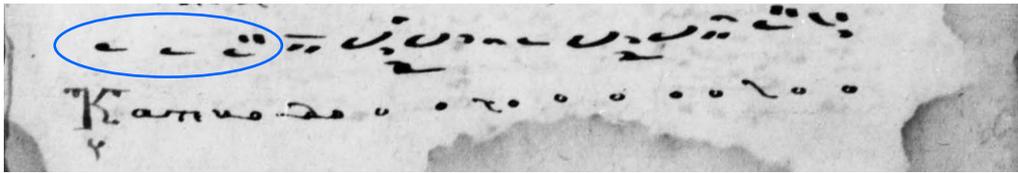
b) A-Wn
Theol. gr. 185, fol. 9^v

Verse 3d (κατευδοθήσεται) shows a similar picture: the incipit of ET-MSsc 1256 (again with three *isa*) is once more replaced with a fourth down- and upwards – again with *elaphron* + *apostrophos* (⚡) followed by *oligon* + *kentema* (—) – from GR-An 2458 onwards if the chant is called *palaion* or *allagma*, while ET-MSsc 1257 keeps the old simple incipit (➤ Fig. 14).

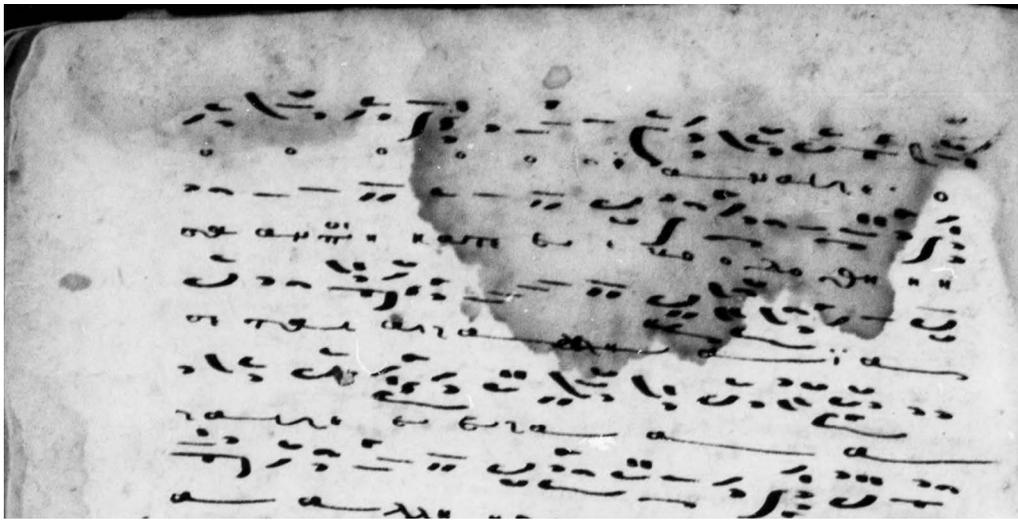
Fig. 14:
The incipit in
ET-MSsc 1256 (three
isa in the blue oval)
is still kept in
ET-MSsc 1257, but
replaced with a fourth
down- and upwards
from GR-An 2458
onwards:
a) ET-MSsc 1256,
fol. 213^r



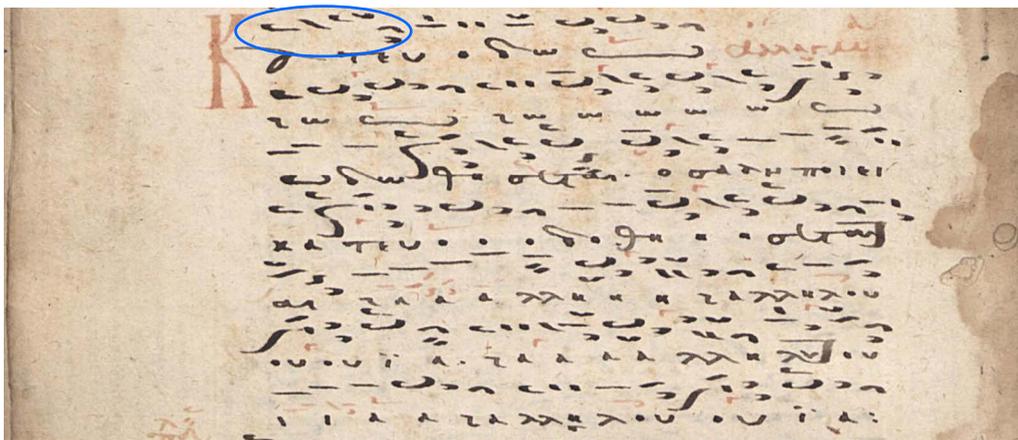
b) ET-MSsc 1256,
fol. 213^v



c) ET-MSSc 1257, fol. 171^r



d) ET-MSSc 1257, fol. 171^v



e) GR-An 2458, fol. 14^v

The manuscripts, however, elaborate the old melody in their melismata, so that we find more significant changes here than in the two verses discussed above. There is also a setting by Ioannes Kladas that is substantially different from the old traditional melody (► Fig. 15).

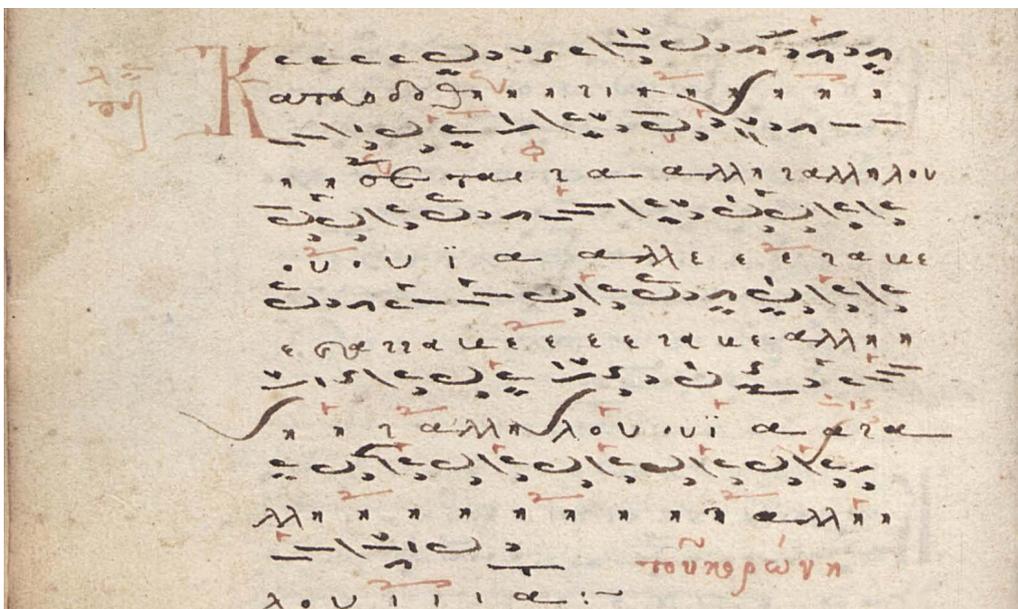
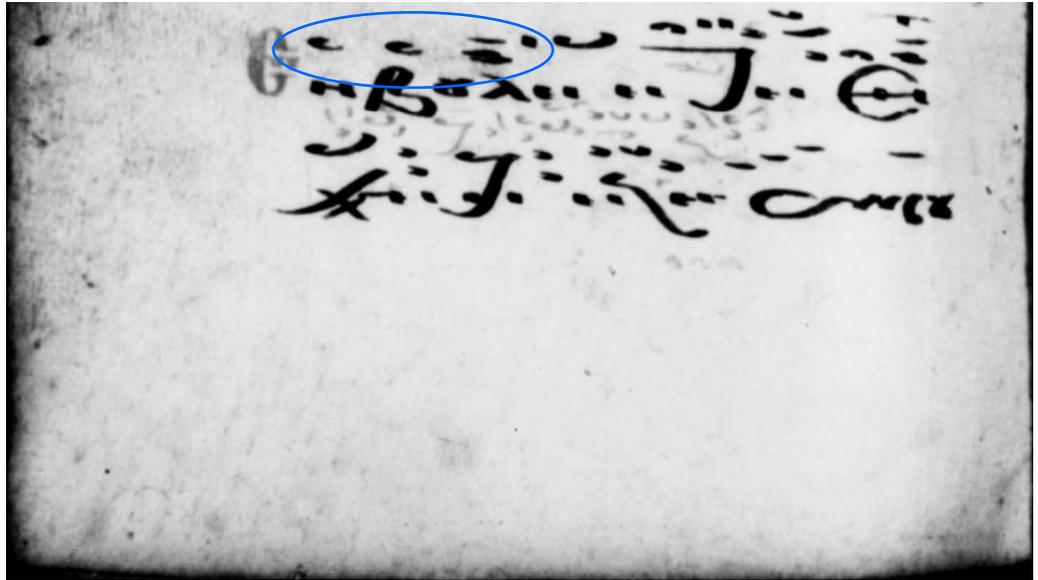


Fig. 15:
Verse 3d is already significantly altered in younger manuscripts by composers such as Ioannes Kladas: GR-An 899, fol. 47^v

The last verse, 5d (ἐν βουλή δικαίων) is the odd one out: as one will see in Fig. 16, here the old melody from ET-MSsc 1256 is not preserved in any of the younger codices. Already ET-MSsc 1257 introduces a new incipit with an upward fourth (*oligon + kentema*: ) which is taken over by most of the composers, but the following melismata on βουλή are all different (> Fig. 16).

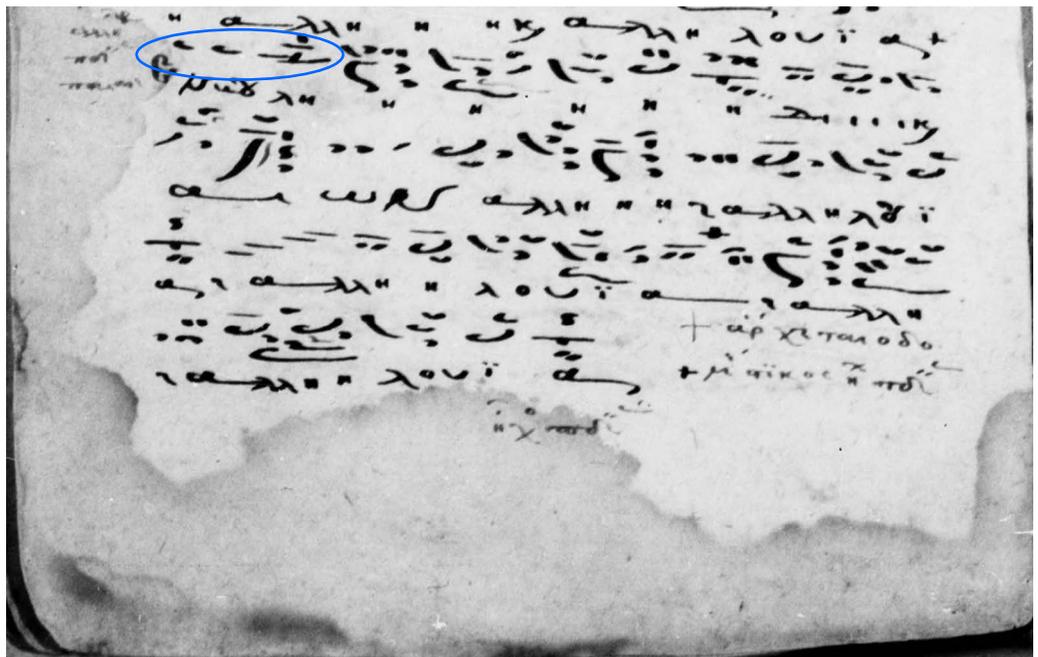
Fig. 16:
The old incipit from ET-MSsc 1256 is already replaced with an upward fourth in ET-MSsc 1257 (see the blue ovals):



a) ET-MSsc 1256, fol. 213^v



b) ET-MSsc 1256, fol. 214^v



c) ET-MSsc 1257, fol. 171^v

Interestingly, verse 5d is one of the most disparate verses of the whole psalm, where we find e.g., three different settings by Korones alone (> Fig. 17).

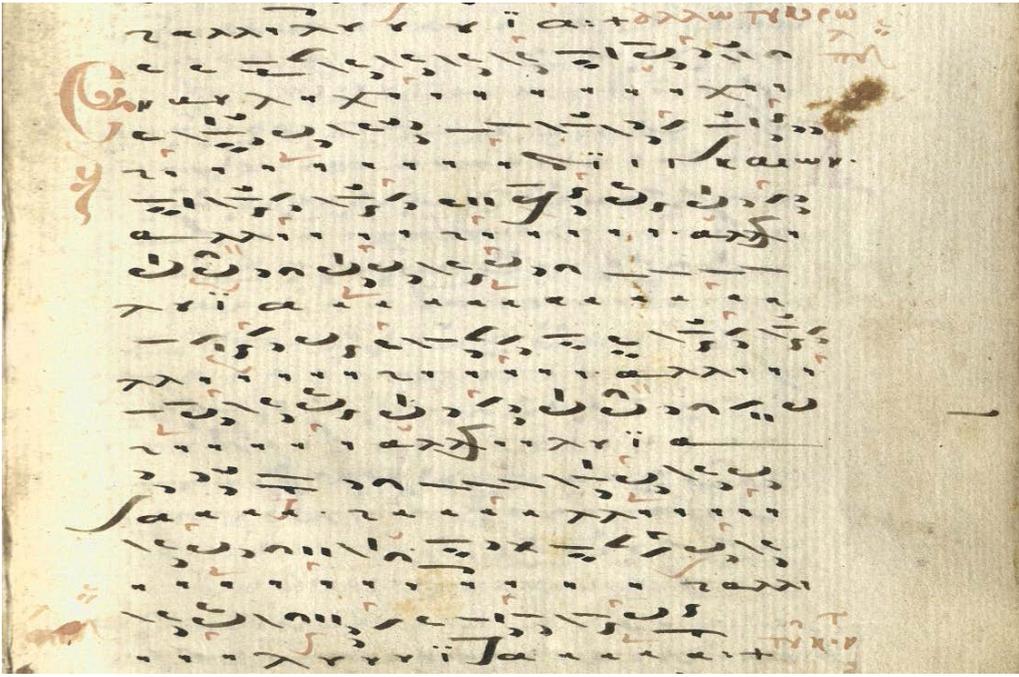
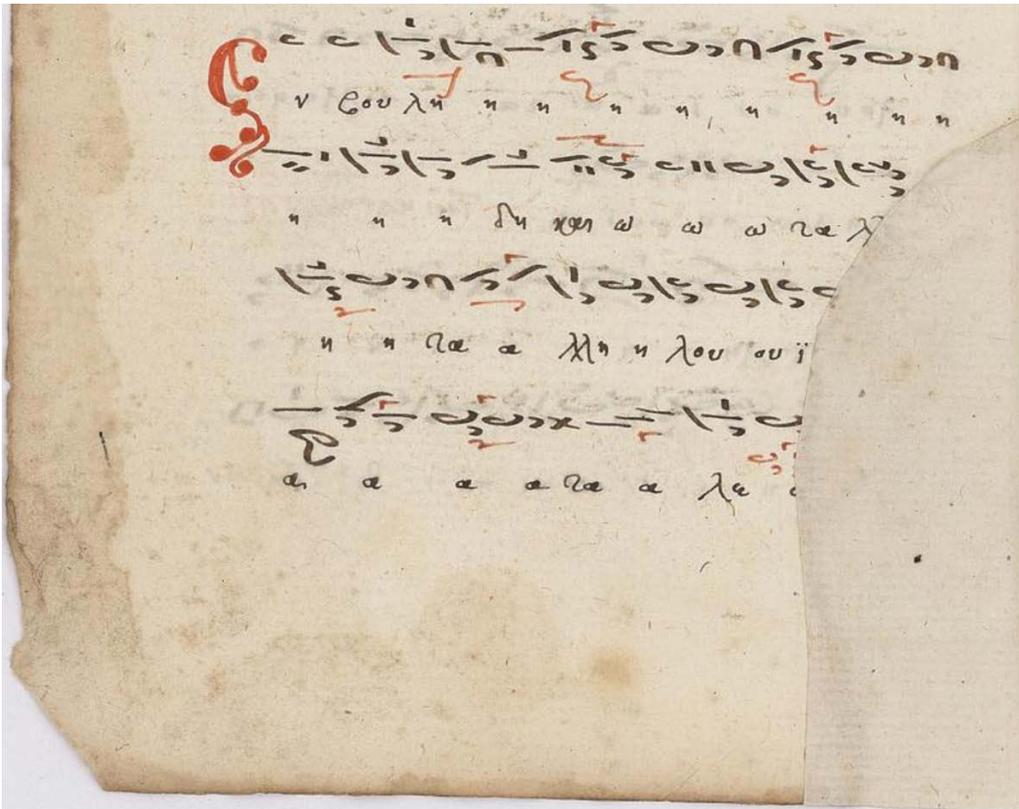
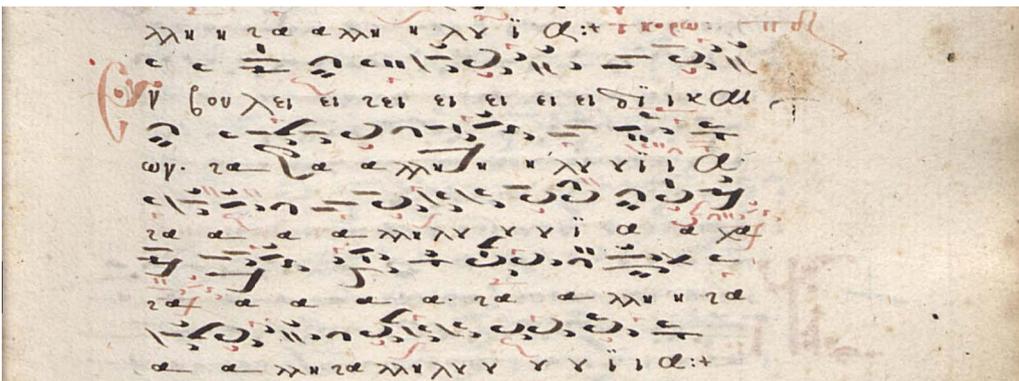


Fig. 17:
Three different
settings by Korones
for verse 5d:

a) GR-An 2622, fol. 12^r
(Xenos Korones)



b) V-CVbav Barb.
gr. 304, fol. 10^v
(Xenos Korones)



c) GR-An 2406, fol. 37^r
(Xenos Korones)

Thus, we can say with certainty that Psalm 1 has already been melismatically reworked by the various composers.⁵⁰ But already ET-MSSc 1256 includes melismata, which goes to show that this was probably not the oldest layer of the psalm. Presumably, syllabic melodies of the psalm were either only transmitted orally or the manuscripts preceding ET-MSSc 1256 are lost. Thus, it was perhaps the more embellished melodies that made it necessary to write down the psalm in the first place.

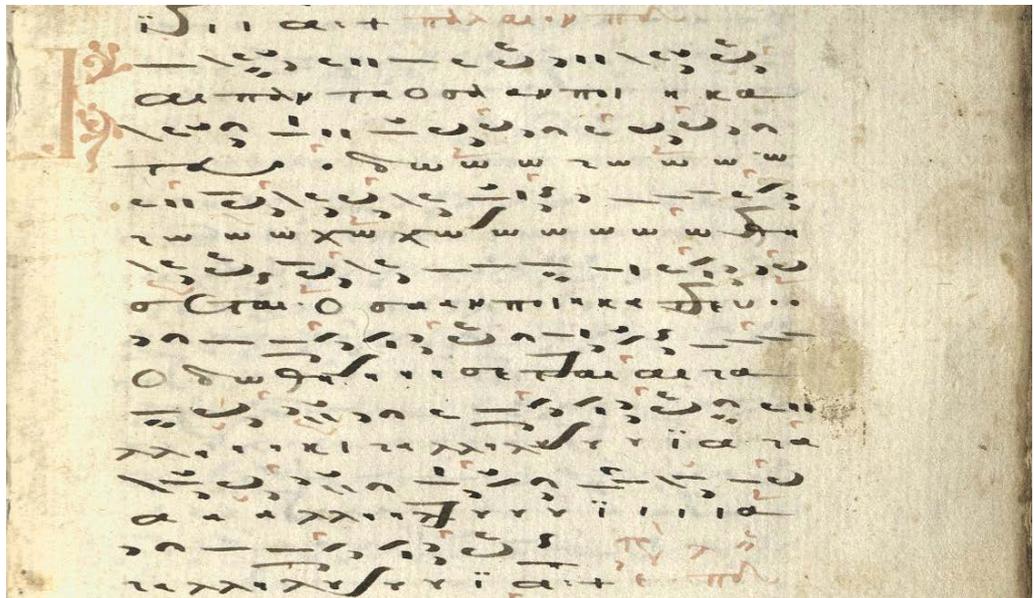
Another problem regarding the development of the melodies for Psalm 1 is caused by the fact that – as shown in Figs. 11–16 above – ET-MSSc 1256 transmits only parts of four verses. Three other verses, however, are also called *palaion* in some of the later manuscripts:

- 3d: καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἂν ποιῆ, κατευοδωθήσεται (GR-An 2622, GR-An 2444, A-Wn Theol. gr. 185);
- 4a: οὐχ οὕτως οἱ ἄσεβεις (GR-An 905);
- 5b: οὐδὲ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐν βουλῇ δικαίων (GR-An 2458, GR-An 2444, GR-An 905, A-Wn Theol. gr. 185, GR-An 2406, GR-An 928).

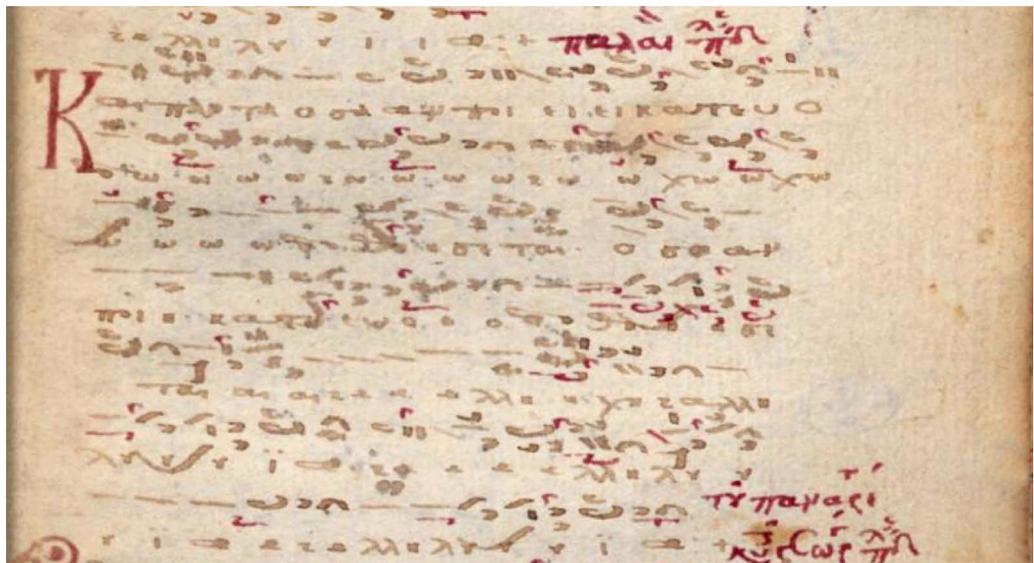
Either these *palaion* verses contain material that had been orally transmitted before or other sources – approximately contemporary to ET-MSSc 1256 – existed which are lost today that had contained more verses set to music.

The first part of verse 3d (καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἂν ποιῆ) is called *palaion* in GR-An 2622 and A-Wn Theol. gr. 185 (GR-An 2444 names it *allagma*), but it is not included in ET-MSSc 1257 (➤ Fig. 18).

Fig. 18:
Verse 3d, called *palaion* in GR-An 2622 and A-Wn Theol. gr. 185. GR-An 2444 names it *allagma*:

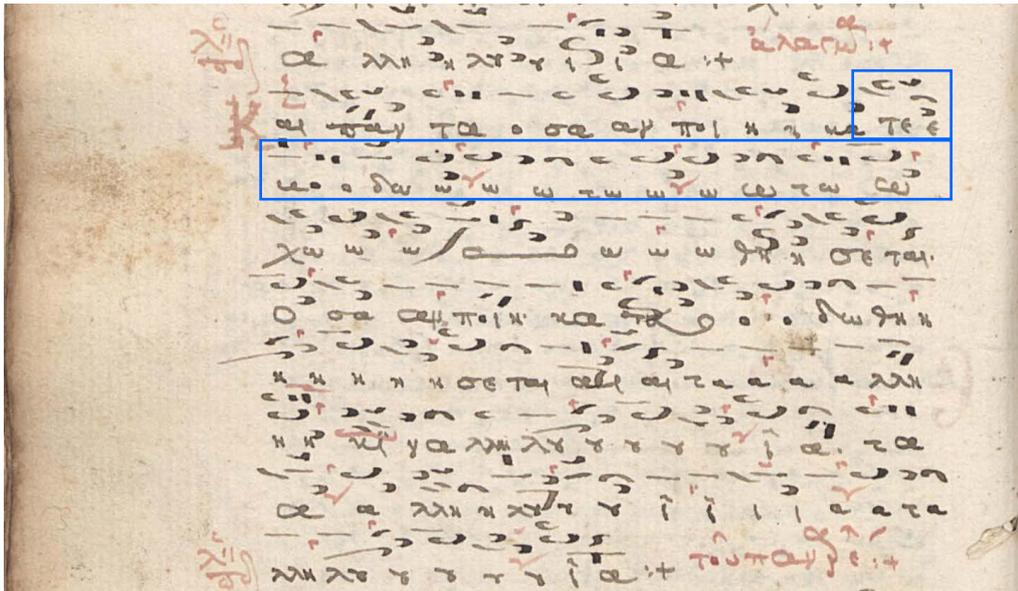


a) GR-An 2622, fol. 10r

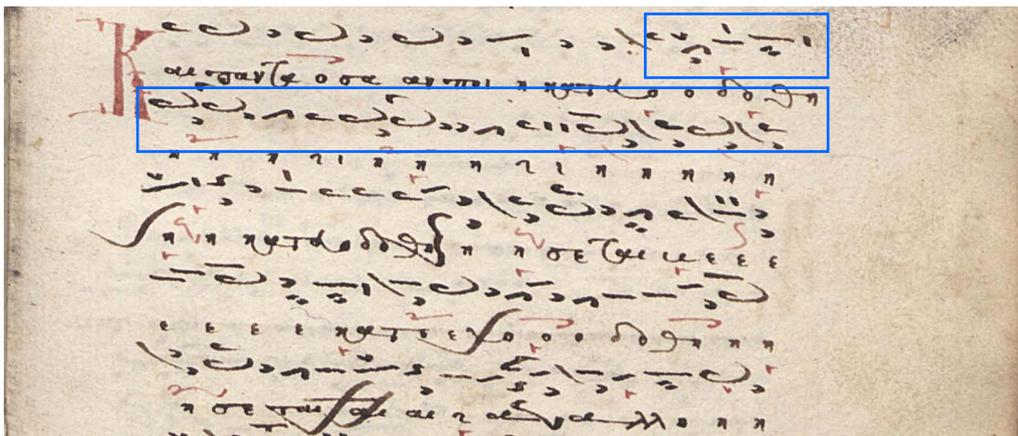


b) A-Wn Theol. gr. 185, fol. 10r

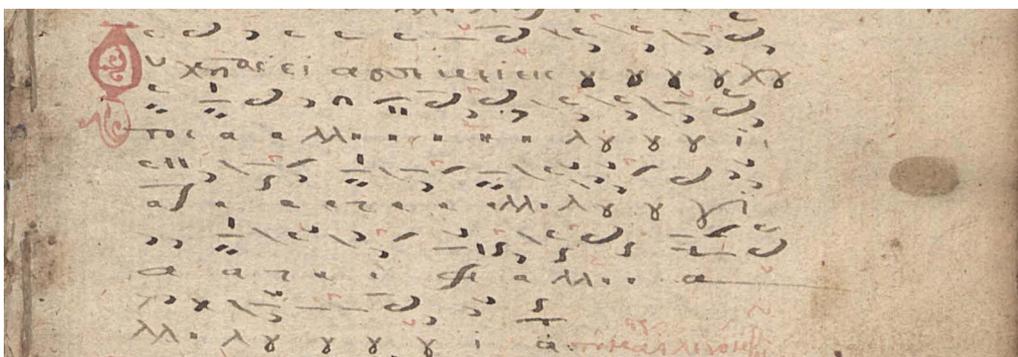
⁵⁰ Edward V. WILLIAMS, rev. by Christian TROELSGÅRD, 'Hesperinos', in *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.12931>, states that "a number of traditional anonymous and

c) GR-An 2444,
fol. 26^r

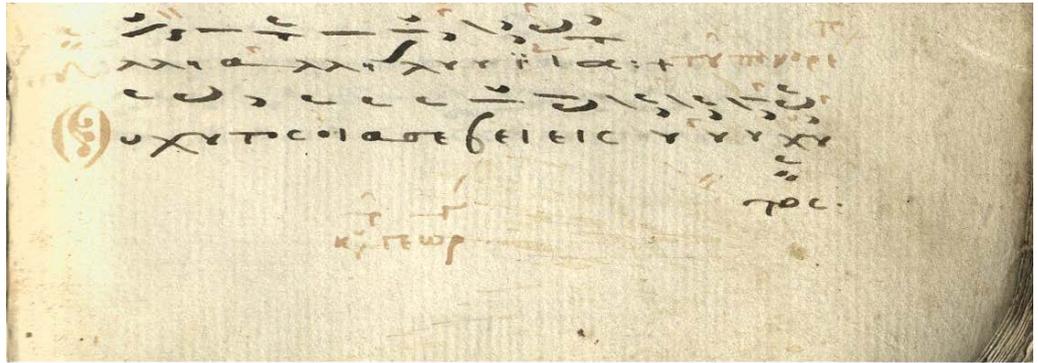
When comparing the melodies of this verse it is interesting to see that Chaliboures, for instance, clearly uses the old anonymous melody in order to rework it in the manuscripts GR-An 899, GR-An 904, GR-An 906, GR-An 2456, GR-An 2401 and GR-An 2406. He did not keep the incipit though: rather parts in the middle of the verse tend to refer back to the old melody; see the blue rectangles in Fig. 18 (GR-An 2444) and Fig. 19 (GR-An 899).

Fig. 19:
Chaliboures uses parts in the middle of verse 3d, but does not keep the incipit; cf. the blue rectangles in Fig. 18 (GR-An 2444) and Fig. 19 (GR-An 899); GR-An 899, fol. 47^r (Chaliboures)

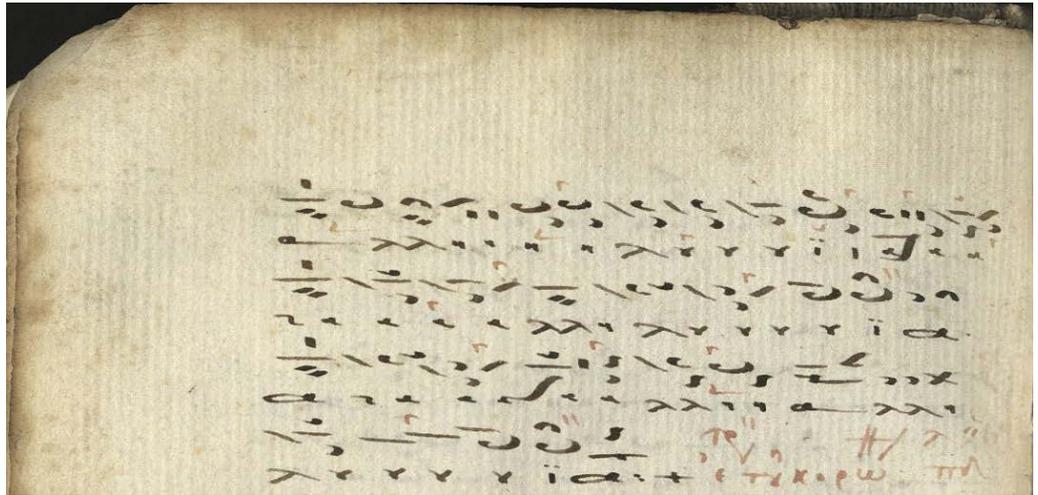
Verse 4a (οὐχ οὕτως οἱ ἀσεβεῖς) is called *palaion* only in GR-An 905, whereas all the other manuscripts (GR-An 2622, GR-An 2444, A-Wn Theol. gr. 185) ascribe the same melody to Georgios Panaretos. Thus, we cannot be sure if GR-An 905 simply has a false rubric or if the scribes of the other codices did indeed know the melody to be by Panaretos (► Fig. 20).

Fig. 20:
The melody of verse 4a called *palaion* in GR-An 905, but attributed to Georgios Panaretos in the other manuscripts:a) GR-An 905, fol. 8^r
(*palaion*)

local melodies are preserved together with 'quasi-traditional' settings ascribed to named composers. Most akolouthiai manuscripts also contain an additional repertory of kalophonic ('beautified') verses for Psalm 2. Compared with the simple psalm settings, the kalophonic chants are extensive, melismatic works with a rhapsodic vocal style."



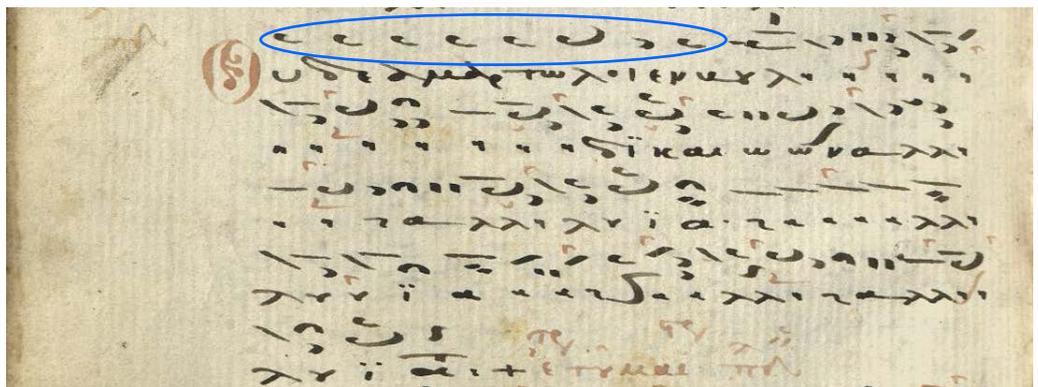
b) GR-An 2622, fol. 10^r
(Georgios Panaretos)



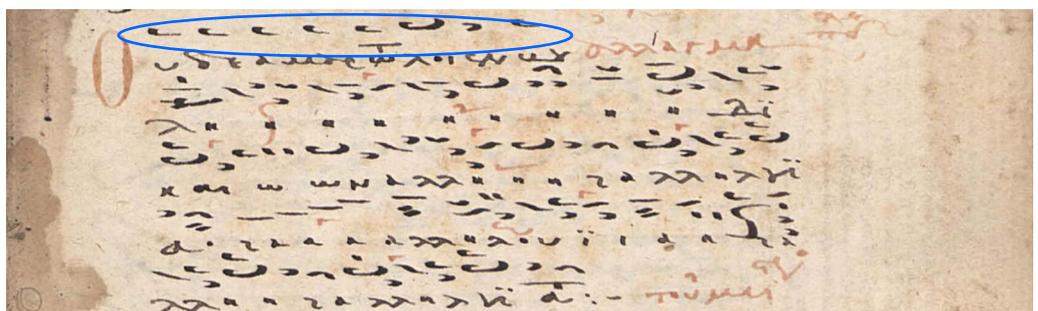
c) GR-An 2622, fol. 10^v
(Georgios Panaretos)

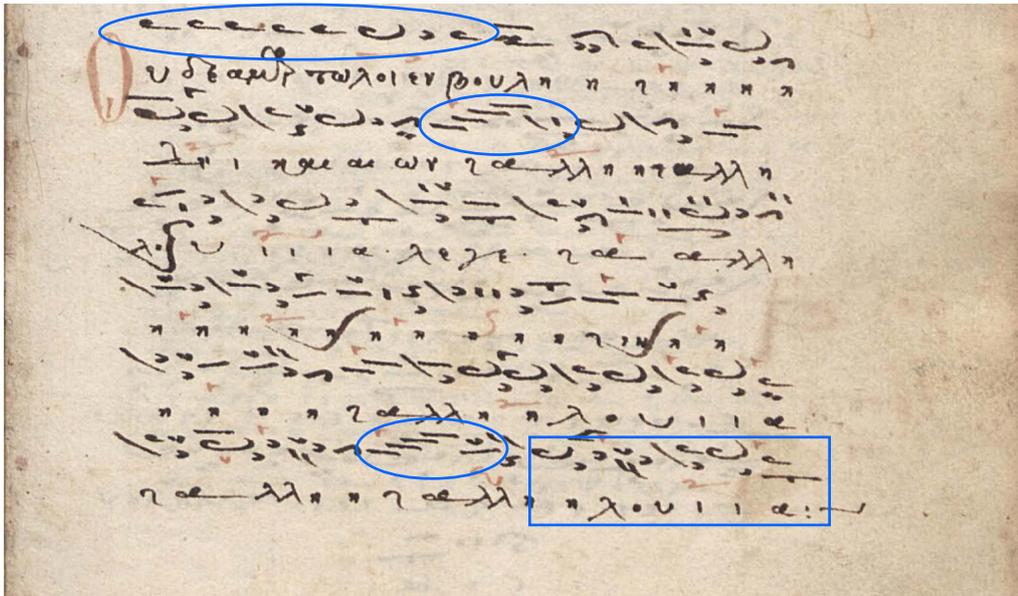
Verse 5b (οὐδὲ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐν βουλή δικαίων) is interesting, insofar as all the composers who set this text to music (GR-An 899: Makropoulos, GR-An 904, GR-An 906, GR-An 2401: Korones and GR-An 2456: Panaretos) take over the incipit of the melody labelled *palaion/allagma* in GR-An 2458, GR-An 2622, GR-An 905, A-Wn Theol. gr. 185, GR-An 2406 and GR-An 928 (see the blue ovals in Fig. 21). Moreover, the melodies by Makropoulos and Korones seem to be related: for instance, where Makropoulos uses *oliga* (≡) for a stepwise upwards movement of a fifth, Korones takes an *hypsele* (≡) in order to leap up a fifth (see the blue ovals in Fig. 20). There are also common melodic features in Makropoulos' and Korones' composition, such as the ending of the alleluia (see the blue rectangles in Fig. 21).

Fig. 21:
The incipit of the melody labelled *palaion/allagma*, taken over by Makropoulos, Korones and Panaretos (see the blue ovals). The blue rectangles mark common melodic features in Makropoulos' and Korones' composition:
a) GR-An 2622, fol. 11^v (*palaion*)

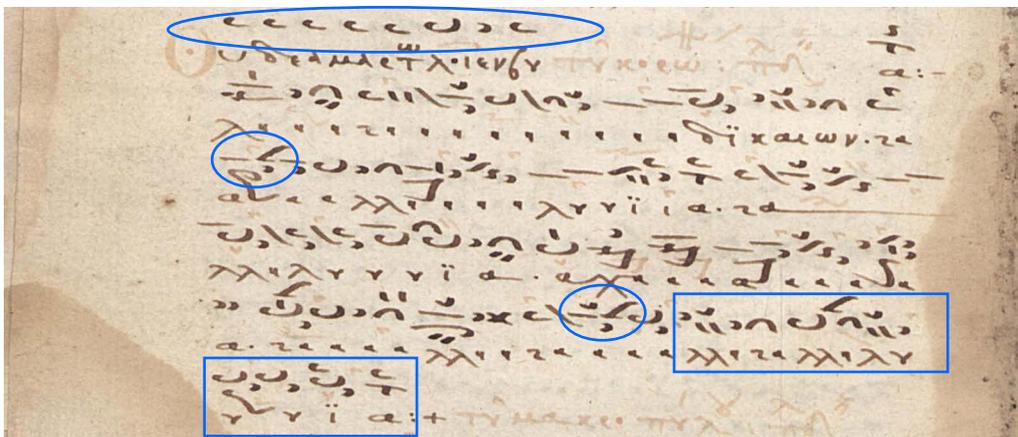


b) GR-An 2458, fol. 15^r (*allagma*)





c) GR-An 899, fol. 48^r
(Makropoulos)



d) GR-An 906, fol. 26^v
(Korones)

Verse 5b is also a good example of the techniques by which the melodies were developed and expanded: whereas Korones seems to take the old anonymous version found in GR-An 2622 and GR-An 2458 as his starting point, Makropoulos provides his very own version.

After the common beginning, Korones uses the melody underlying the word *βουλή*, replacing the stepwise downward movement with the leap of a third (the *elaphron* $\text{ϰ\text{3}}$) (see the green ovals in Fig. 22). Already the anonymous version inserts a longish melisma on the last syllable of *βουλή*; interestingly, Korones' melisma – although related to the old version – is shorter and simpler; perhaps he worked from an even earlier example he might have known by heart (see the blue rectangles in Fig. 22).

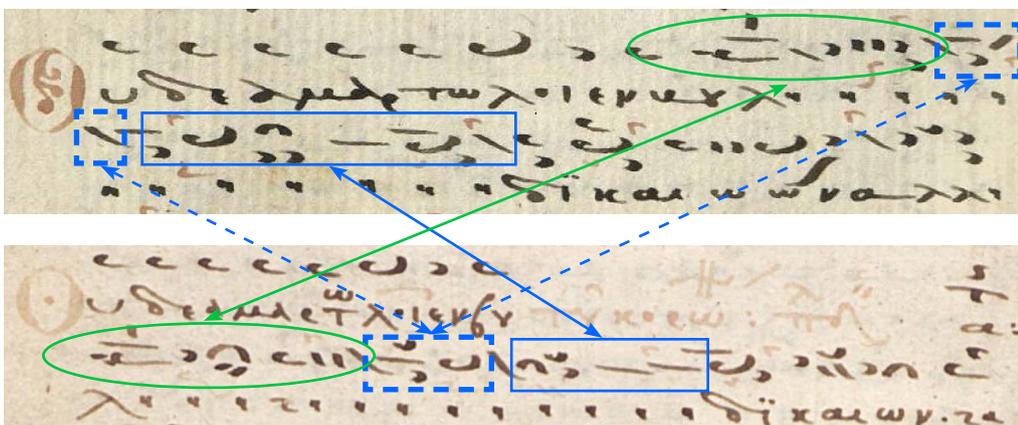


Fig. 22:
Changes undertaken by Korones using the *palaion* incipit (see the green ovals); the blue rectangles show that Korones' melisma is shorter/simpler than the *palaion* version:
a) GR-An 2622, fol. 11^v (*palaion*): *βουλή*
b) GR-An 906, fol. 26^v (Korones): *βουλή*

Looking at the melisma in Fig. 22 again, one can imagine what the (hypothetical) old syllabic version might have looked like: there probably existed only the leap of a fourth upwards

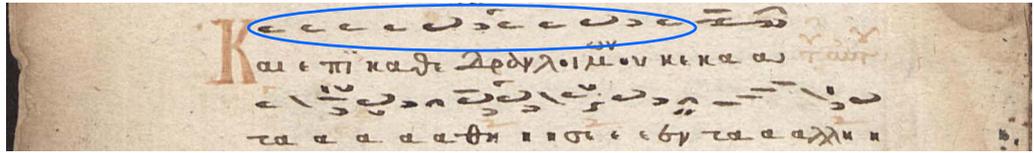
and the downward movement of a third (either stepwise or as a leap). This would have corresponded exactly to the two syllables of βουλῆ (see again the green ovals in Fig. 22). The rest of the melody on -λῆ was then simply added as an embellishment.

Thus, the only way to recover the old, syllabic layer of Psalm 1 might indeed be to examine the simple syllabic incipit (and parts) of the various verses. For the present article I compared more than half of the incipits; as a result, the hypothesis outlined in the discussion of Fig. 21 becomes even more plausible: the verses not included in ET-MSsc 1256 often have a common incipit of a very simple melody. This incipit was taken up as a starting point by the majority of the composers for many of the verses (see some examples in Fig. 23) and it is indeed the very one also used for verse 5b (see above Fig. 21).

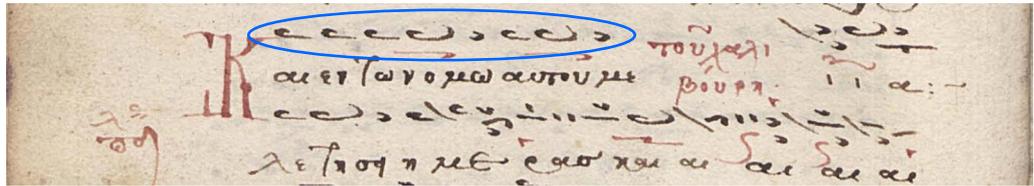
Fig. 23:

The common incipit is enclosed in the blue ovals:

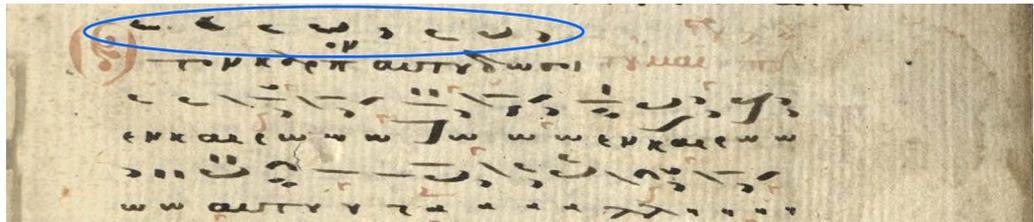
a) GR-An 2456, fol. 5^v (Chaliboures)



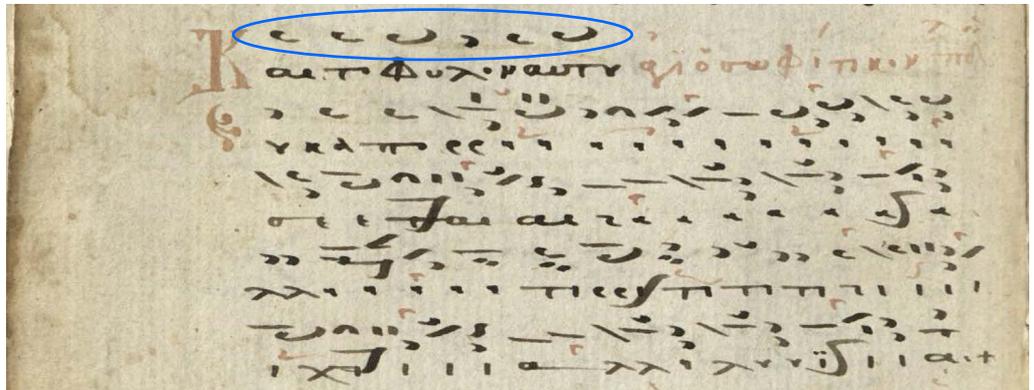
b) GR-An 899, fol. 46^v (Chaliboures)



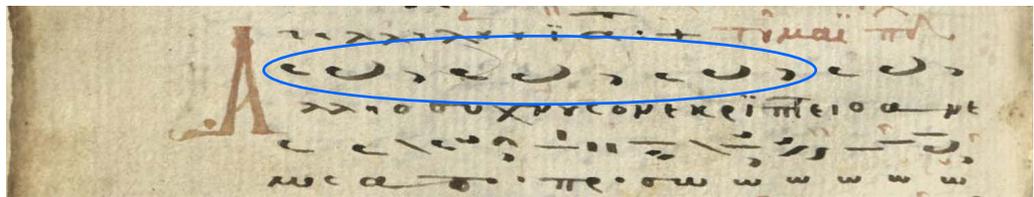
c) GR-An 2622, fol. 9^r (Koukouzeles)



d) GR-An 2622, fol. 9^v (*hagiosophitikon*)⁵¹



e) GR-An 2622, fol. 10^v (Koukouzeles)



⁵¹ The melodic settings bearing the rubric *hagiosophitikon* are thought to represent chants associated with services in the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and are sometimes described as to be quite conservative in outline; see WILLIAMS, *John Koukouzeles' Reform* (↪ footnote 2), pp. 214, 234; Alexander LINGAS, 'From Earth to Heaven: The Changing Musical Soundscape of Byzantine Liturgy', in Claire NESBITT and Mark JACKSON (eds.), *Experiencing Byzantium: Papers from the 44th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Newcastle and Durham, April 2011* (Abingdon 2013), pp. 311-358, <https://openaccess.city.ac.uk/id/eprint/16596/>, here p. 348. Gerda WOLFRAM, '14.1. Liturgische Musik und Traditionen des liturgischen Gesangs', in Falko DAIM (ed.), *Byzanz. Historisch-kulturwissenschaftliches Handbuch* [= *Der Neue Pauly, Supplemente*, 11] (Stuttgart 2016), p. 1057, informs us that denominations such as e.g., *hagiosophitikon*, *hagioreitikon* or *thessalonikaion* were used to describe chants composed in a very local style.

This goes to show that the melody of this incipit is not only very simple, but also highly adaptable to the length of any text of the various verses: the composers had only to add or leave out some of the *isa* in order to adapt it to the text at hand. Moreover, the up- and downward movement consisting of *petasthai* () and *apostrophoi* () is both very common to Byzantine melodic formulas and easy to adjust again to the syllables of whichever word had to be set to music.

As long as no older examples of the so-called 'simple psalmody' for Psalm 1 are found, the assumption that the incipit in this style might point to the way old, simple psalm settings were composed, must remain hypothetical. Nevertheless, such syllabic, step by step movements are so easy to sing that this might give weight to such an assumption. The fact that many different verses of Psalm 1 start with the same incipit also points in this direction: it would suggest that there was earlier a common repertory for certain psalms and/or certain modes which the singers/composers knew by heart, and from which the other lines of the verses and the melismata subsequently evolved.

Conclusion

Thus, it seems valid to conclude that Psalm 1 still shows traces of old syllabic melodies that were probably transmitted only orally before the early fourteenth century. Of course, this also serves to reveal the material we lack: the earliest source, ET-MSsc 1256, already exhibits melodically developed melodies. So far, no manuscript has been found to show an intermediate state of development of the syllabic verses before the highly melismatic versions appear, from the mid-fourteenth century onwards.

In addition to the question about stylistic layers, that concerning the structure and performance of Psalm 1 still cannot be answered conclusively. As stated above, I do not agree with Williams' suggestion that those verses of the psalm not set to music were sung to the same melody as the notated ones. But what about those verses for which only the final words were composed but not the beginning, thus truncating even short half-verses? What happened to the rest of these verses? If – as Williams assumes – the missing verses used the melodies of the composed verses, was only the second part of this verse sung given that no melody was attached to the beginning? This seems rather implausible, especially as ET-MSsc 1256 never sets to music a half-verse, but always only the last words of a verse. Therefore, it appears rather doubtful that the singing of complete verses – let alone the singing of the complete psalm – was ever envisaged at all, but rather only parts of it. Perhaps the singers could even select which verses they wanted to perform on a given occasion. Still, many open questions remain, which might be answered by comparing and analyzing still more psalms. Until then, we must conclude that the man who knew how to sing this psalm was indeed blessed...

Historical background

When the Albanians arrived in Sicily and Calabria in the fifteenth century, they were Orthodox – under the Archbishopric of Ohrid at the time of the *diaspora*, and since the Church of Rome welcomed them, they afterwards adhered to the authority of the Pope.¹ The Arbëreshe² ethno-linguistic minority, by keeping an independent cultural identity over the centuries including adherence to the Greek-Byzantine rite, Albanian language and folklore, came to be recognised as a church *sui iuris* (in one's own right), as it is defined today.³

Some time after their foundation, the colonies of Calabria and Sicily were allowed by the Holy See to establish their own seminaries,⁴ conceived at that time

¹ That is, as Orthodox united with Rome in the Council of Florence (1439), and submitted to Roman-Latin bishops after the Council of Trent (1563), cf. Attilio VACCARO, *Italo-Albanensia. Repertorio bibliografico sulla storia religiosa, sociale, economica e culturale degli Arbëreshë dal sec. XVI ai nostri giorni* [= Associazione Culturale Italo-Greco-Albanese: Quaderni, 1] (Cosenza: Editoriale Bios, 1994), p. 6. The Italo-Albanian communities, at the time of the *Concilium Tridentinum*, were incorporated into the Roman-Latin dioceses under the denomination of *parrocchie di rito greco*. Cf. Stefano PARENTI, 'Il Monastero Esarchico di Grottaferrata e la Chiesa Italo-Albanese', in *Mille anni di «rito greco» alle porte di Roma. Raccolta di saggi sulla tradizione liturgica del Monastero italo-bizantino di Grottaferrata*, ed. by Stefano PARENTI and Elena VELKOVSKA [= Ανάλεκτα Κρητοφέρρης, 4] (Grottaferrata, Rome: Monastero esarchico di S. Maria, 2004), chap. XVI, pp. 325–365, here p. 327.

² In studying the history of Arbëreshë people, one could find different names or titles referring to such ethno-linguistic minority spread throughout Italy. For instance, *Italo-Albanesi* denotes the specific identity of Albanian communities established in Italy, as well as *Siculo-Albanesi*, which refers mostly to the Sicilian ones. Conversely, *Italo-Greci* or *Italo-Bizantini* are compound nouns indicating those people either of Greek origin, or practising the Greek-Byzantine rite, who moved to or were resident in Italy already before the Albanian *diaspora*. Moreover, in the Sicilian literature one might also find nouns such as *Greco-Albanesi* – cf. Francesco GIUNTA, *Albanesi in Sicilia* (Palermo: Tipolito Bellanca, 1984), p. 18 –, or *Greco-Siculi* – cf. Francesco FALSONE, *I canti ecclesiastici greco-siculi* (Padova: Casa Editrice dott. Antonio Milani [CEDAM], 1936). For the sake of clarity, I have given preference to the term 'Sicilian-Albanian', instead of the very rare but perhaps more specialised compound variant 'Siculo-Albanian', as it is found in the Oxford English Dictionary.

³ Term found in the Catholic Code of Canons of the Oriental Churches (promulgated by Pope John Paul II in 1990) to define the autonomous churches in the Catholic communion.

⁴ The Calabrian Collegio Corsini, founded in 1732 in San Benedetto Ullano (later moved to the Collegio Sant'Adriano in San Demetrio Corone, in 1794, at the wealthy Abbey of Basilian monks, in the same province of Cosenza), and the Sicilian Seminario greco-albanese in Palermo, by P. Giorgio Guzzetta C.O., in 1734, cf. VACCARO, *Italo-Albanensia* (< footnote 1), p. 8. The seminary of Palermo moved to Piana degli Albanesi in 1950 'but the Siculo-Albanese seminarists continued to attend also the Pontificio Seminario Italo-Albanese 'Benedetto XV' at Grottaferrata [1918] and the Pontificio Collegio Greco di Sant'Atanasio in Rome [active since 1577]', cf. Bartolomeo DI

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Chants of the Byzantine rite in Sicily: Historical transcriptions and contemporary studies

To the memory of His Excellency Sotir Ferrara, Bishop Emeritus of Piana degli Albanesi of blessed memory (5 December 1937 – 25 November 2017)

Abstract

The publication of Fr. Bartolomeo Di Salvo's *Chants of the Byzantine Rite* as a *Subsidium* of the Danish editorial series *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* (2016) is an outstanding piece of evidence for the presence, survival, and development of Byzantine chant on the fringes of the Byzantine Empire. For the first time, this volume offers transcriptions of the full repertoire of orally transmitted hymns for the celebration of the Byzantine rite in Sicily.

This chant tradition has been cultivated by the Albanian-speaking minority in Sicily since their ancestors arrived as refugees from the Balkans in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Hence, chanting was performed without musical notation until around 1900, when local connoisseurs of the tradition started to write down a selection of the melodies in staff notation.

Bearing such a background in mind, this paper offers an introductory description of the melodic and modal organisation of the repertoire, as well as a discussion of some of the challenges entailed in the analysis of an oral liturgical chant tradition developed and handed down to the present day.

Keywords: Byzantine chant; Sicily; Arbëresh; oral liturgical chant; ethnomusicology; comparative analysis; historical transcriptions

Number of characters / words: 63 589 / 9 639

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also as significant cultural centres. After the introduction of the Ordinariate of Sicily (on 6 February 1784), bishops were created to ordain Arbëresh clergy⁵ for these communities, which eventually became organised into two dioceses: the Eparchy of Lungro (Calabria, Basilicata, Abruzzo and Puglia), officially created on 13 February 1919 by Pope Benedict XV, and the Eparchy of Piana degli Albanesi (originally Piana dei Greci), established on 26 October 1937 by Pope Pius XI, and renamed on 25 October 1941 with its current denomination. The Eparchy of Piana today includes the communes of Piana degli Albanesi, Contessa Entellina, Mezzojuso, Palazzo Adriano, Santa Cristina Gela,⁶ and the Parish of San Nicolò dei Greci (*la Martorana*) in Palermo.⁷

Twentieth-century scholarship on the Sicilian-Albanian liturgical chants

The Arbëreshe communities settled in Sicily cultivated a vast musical heritage, which was transmitted exclusively orally for the greater part of the period in question. This repertoire consists of chants in ecclesiastical Greek, performed during the celebration of daily and yearly services, and feasts of the Byzantine rite. In their flight from the Ottoman Turks, the diverse groups of Albanian refugees that reached the Sicilian coasts, either laypeople or *papàs*,⁸ might not have brought any musical manuscript to support the oral memory.⁹ In fact, we do not know exactly when Byzantine musical literacy was lost; either it could have lasted only one generation, or Greek monks visiting or abiding in the Basilian monastery in Mezzojuso, in the seventeenth century, might have reintroduced it. In any case, today there is no proof of Byzantine musical manuscripts preserved in the libraries of the diocese of Piana degli Albanesi. Only by the very end of the nineteenth century did the first examples of transcriptions of this repertoire in modern staff notation begin to appear.

The twentieth century marked a fairly increased interest in the field of study now called 'Byzantine musicology'. Several scholars have studied the various Byzantine chant traditions, and diverse approaches have been used; they have mainly focused on historical-musicological and (only recently) ethno-musicological, as well as palaeographical, historical, and liturgiological perspectives. Since the 1930s, Copenhagen has been a centre of research in Byzantine chant – in particular with the establishment of the editorial programme of the *Monumenta*

SALVO (hieromonk), *Chants of the Byzantine Rite: the Italo-Albanian Tradition in Sicily / Canti Ecclesiastici della Tradizione Italo-Albanese in Sicilia*, ed. by Girolamo GAROFALO and Christian TROELSGARD with the assistance of Giuseppe SANFRATELLO [= *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae. Subsidia, V/1*] (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2016), p. XIII. For a more in-depth study on the figure of P. Guzzetta C.O. and his tireless dedication to the foundation of the seminary of Palermo, see Rosario CARUSO (Gjergji, *papàs*), *Padre Giorgio Guzzetta C.O. e la fondazione del seminario greco albanese di Palermo (1734-1764)*, unpublished PhD dissertation, Facoltà di Storia e Beni Culturali della Chiesa, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Rome 2016.

⁵ So-called *Vescovi ordinanti*, cf. VACCARO, *Italo-Albanensia* (↪ footnote 1), p. 5. The first bishop *ordinante* for the Arbëreshe communities of Sicily was Giorgio Stassi from Piana dei Greci, Titular of Lampsacus, from 1784 to 1801. Moreover, with regard to the juridical aspects, in 1742 Pope Benedict XIV promulgated the Apostolic constitution *Etsi Pastoralis*, serving as a kind of short Code of Canon Law for Italo-Albanians. For a detailed history of the Italo-Albanian church and its relationship with the Exarchial Monastery of St. Mary of Grottaferrata (Rome), see PARENTI, 'Il Monastero Esarchico di Grottaferrata e la Chiesa Italo-Albanese' (↪ footnote 1), pp. 325–365.

⁶ The colony (today of Roman-Latin rite) was founded in 1691 by a group of farmers from Piana, which obtained to take over the neighboring fief of Santa Cristina, by means of emphyteutic lease.

⁷ The Eparchy of Piana degli Albanesi today comprises about 20,000–23,000 faithful distributed in the aforementioned five villages, and in Palermo (i.e. the community of Martorana). In total, the Eparchy includes 15 parishes: 10 of the Byzantine rite and 5 of Roman-Latin. Particularly, in Piana there are about 6,000–6,500 people, in Santa Cristina 800, in Mezzojuso 2,000–2,200, in Contessa 1,400, in Palazzo 1,700–2,000, and the community of Palermo embraces about 10,000 faithful. These numbers were calculated in a census made in 2013, in accordance with the results of official statistics transmitted to the *Curia Vescovile* of Piana degli Albanesi, to the then vicar general, today parish priest at the Cathedral of San Demetrio in Piana, *papàs* Jani Pecoraro, who kindly informed me about this data in a private conversation (9 August 2017).

⁸ This is the Italo-Albanian expression for priests of the Byzantine rite.

⁹ Actually, Bartolomeo Di Salvo wrote about historical sources that the Arbëreshë could use in order to maintain the tradition, cf. Bartolomeo DI SALVO (hieromonk), 'La tradizione musicale bizantina delle colonie italo-albanesi di Sicilia e quella manoscritta dei codici antichi', *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* (nuova serie) 6 (1952), pp. 3–26, here p. 7. However, there is no trace of the sources he mentioned, which is why it could be understood that he referred merely to textual liturgical books.

Musicae Byzantinae (MMB).¹⁰ Despite the attention devoted to 'Byzantine musicology' in the past, more still remains to be investigated. This is particularly true for the study of the 'living' oral traditions as a means to shed new light on our understanding and interpretation of the Byzantine written sources. Comparison between the two can provide essential information for the study of the history and development of Byzantine chant.

Here I shall briefly delineate the state of the art of Byzantine musicological and ethnomusicological studies of the Sicilian-Albanian oral liturgical chant tradition.¹¹ In order to provide a clear report of all the scholars who have studied this repertoire, I divide their contributions into three phases: before the 1950s; from the 1950s to the 1990s; and from the 1990s to the present.

Before the 1950s

The first scholarly essay on the subject was provided by Dom Hugo-Athanasius Gäisser (1853–1919), a German Benedictine, whose biographical information was provided for the first time in an entry in the *Neue Deutsche Biographie* by Bruno Stäblein,¹² and later in an article by *papàs* Jani Pecoraro.¹³ In 1903, at the Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche (of which the proceedings were published in 1905) in Rome, Dom Gäisser defines the Sicilian-Albanian tradition as a *vero e ignoto tesoro* ("genuine and unknown treasure"),¹⁴ and draws special attention to its historical value for the interpretation of 'ancient' music. When Gäisser says *antica* he refers either to Ancient Greek music or to the mediaeval Byzantine tradition; such an approach, sustained by a 'theory of fossilisation', has been considered obsolete in recent scholarship, however. Conversely, in the beginning of 1900, scholars such as Gäisser were deeply convinced of the survival of the ancient Greek modal system in the mediaeval Byzantine one; according to these speculative theories, the 'preserved' music of the Sicilian-Albanian communities was not 'contaminated' by the influences of the Ottoman or Arabic music. On the basis of this 'pure' musical tradition, Gäisser proposed to make a reconstruction (lit. *l'oeuvre de restauration*) of mediaeval Byzantine chant, by comparing the Sicilian repertoire with that transmitted in late- and post-Byzantine musical manuscripts.¹⁵

This view of the Sicilian-Albanian tradition as a key to deciphering the 'ancient' reported in manuscript sources, was supported also by the hieromonk from Contessa Entellina, Fr. Lorenzo Tardo (1883–1967), founder of the choir Schola Melurgica della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata. Tardo was among the first 'modern' Italian scholars to study the written sources of the mediaeval Byzantine chant tradition. He developed his own system to interpret the rhythm of melodies while transnotating¹⁶ the Byzantine neumes into staff notation. Tardo had strong

¹⁰ Carsten Høeg (1896–1961), Henry J. W. Tillyard (1881–1968) and Egon J. Wellesz (1885–1974) founded the institution, in Copenhagen in 1931.

¹¹ I provided an abridged version of this more thorough examination of the state of the art, in the course of the presentation of the volume by Bartolomeo DI SALVO (*Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*. Subsidia, V/1, < footnote 4), which took place on 21 April 2017, in Piana degli Albanesi, with a paper entitled *Storia degli studi sul canto liturgico degli Albanesi di Sicilia: da Hugue-Atanaise Gäisser fino ad oggi*. At the event were present the two co-editors of the volume, Christian Troelsgård and Girolamo Garofalo, the Emeritus professor of musicology (University of Palermo) Paolo Emilio Carapezza, the current bishop of Piana degli Albanesi Giorgio Demetrio Gallaro, and a large group of people from the Arbëreshe communities.

¹² Bruno STÄBLEIN, 'Gäisser, Hugo', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, 6 (1964), pp. 40–41. Cf. <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd130590460.html#ndbcontent>. See also the entry given in *Grove Music Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.10500>.

¹³ Giovanni PECORARO (Jani, *papàs*), 'Melurgia bizantina dei Siculo-Albanesi. Un contributo alla ricerca', *Oriente Cristiano. Rivista trimestrale della Associazione Culturale Italiana per l'Oriente Cristiano* 26 (1986), no. 4 (Ottobre-Dicembre), pp. 51–57, here p. 51.

¹⁴ Hugo-Athanasius GAISSER (O.S.B., Dom), 'I Canti Ecclesiastici Italo-Greci', in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche (Roma, 1-9 aprile 1903)*, VIII: *Atti della Sezione IV: Storia dell'Arte Musicale e Drammatica* (Roma: Tipografia dell'Accademia dei Lincei, Proprietà del Cav. Vincenzo Salviucci, 1905), pp. 107–123, here p. 107. See also *Rassegna Gregoriana* 4 (1905), Sett.-Ott., fasc. 9–10.

¹⁵ Hugo-Athanasius GAISSER (O.S.B., Dom), *Les "Heirmoi" de Pâques dans l'Office grec. Étude rythmique et musicale* (Rome: Imprimerie de la Propagande, 1905), p. III.

¹⁶ The transnotation is different from simple transcription, inasmuch as 'transnotation' means in fact a "transference of notation revised from one form to another", cf. Avigdor HERZOG, 'Transcription and Transnotation in Ethnomusicology', *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* 16 (1964), pp. 100–101, here p. 100. Regarding the cases of musical transliteration, transorthography, or transnotation, see also

confidence in the 'purity' of the Sicilian-Albanian liturgical chants, since – according to him – it was not influenced neither by post-Byzantine or modern Greek church music, which were 'contaminated' by the 'exotic infiltrations' of the Arabic musical system.¹⁷

Be that as it may, we should at least give credit to Güsser for being a pioneer in the field of Byzantine musicology, especially with regard to the study of the Sicilian-Albanian liturgical chants. In the appendix to Güsser's article of 1905, there are some musical transcriptions comparable to a few made by a *giovane musico* from Palazzo Adriano, as mentioned in the same essay.¹⁸ The 'young musician' is presented by Güsser as the scribe who notated the chants as sung by the "arciprete di Palazzo Adriano, p. Francesco Alessi". The name of this *musico* might be the same as that reported on the cover of a notebook found by *papàs* Jani Pecoraro in 1980s, at the Collegio Greco di Sant'Atanasio in Rome, on which we find as title: "Canti greci, fermati [i.e. notated] dal mo. [i.e. maestro] Fr. [i.e. friar?] Parrisio Chiovu [?]. Sett. [September] 1899. Matrice Chiesa di Palazzo Adriano".¹⁹ It has not yet been possible to identify who *Parrisio Chiovu* was, but further research might reveal something more about his identity. However, we might at least notice that the transcription made by Güsser corresponds to a great extent to *Chiovu's*, who could have allegedly been the main source for Güsser's studies on the chants from Palazzo Adriano. The latter pieces of historical evidence lead us to observe that the oldest dated copy of Sicilian-Albanian musical transcriptions is from 1899.

In about 1910, the hieromonk Gregorio Stassi (1870–1949), a *papàs* from Piana degli Albanesi living at the Abbey of Grottaferrata, completed a first comprehensive collection of Sicilian-Albanian liturgical chants, basing the handwritten transcriptions either on his personal experience or some melodies sung by local 'informants', mentioned in his manuscript from time to time.²⁰ In addition, Stassi's collection was very well-known in the United States, to which it was brought and used by *papàs* Ciro Pinnola (1867–1946). In 1904 he moved from Mezzojuso to New York, gathered the Italo-Greek Catholics living there, and established a small church in Little Italy, which was dedicated to Our Lady of Grace, namely Santa Maria delle Grazie, the same as the name of the Basilian Monastery of Mezzojuso. According to the scarce historical information that we can find, as first priest of the "Italo-Albanian Byzantine Rite Society of Our Lady of Grace based in Staten Island, New York",²¹ *papàs* Pinnola sang the chants of the Byzantine Mass in Greek by using *papàs* Stassi's transcriptions, of which he also promoted a printed edition in 1924, presenting a harmonised version of melodies for *organo od armonium* provided by a certain "Carlo Rossini".²² It is perhaps worthwhile to mention that a thorough sociological investigation of the relationship between the Italo-Albanese community in New York and the Sicilian-Albanian one is still needed.²³

Another remarkable collection of musical transcriptions was produced by *papàs* Lorenzo Perniciario (1899–1975), who in 1927–1932 collected a corpus including a great number of chants,²⁴

Ter ELLINGSON, 'Transcription', in *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction*, ed. by Helen MYERS [= The Norton/Grove Handbooks in Music] (New York/London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992), pp. 110–152, here p. 111.

¹⁷ Cf. Lorenzo TARDO (hieromonk), *L'antica melurgia bizantina nella interpretazione della scuola monastica di Grottaferrata* (Grottaferrata [Rome]: Scuola Tipografica Italo-Orientale «S. Nilo», 1938), p. 93.

¹⁸ GAÜSSER, 'I Canti Ecclesiastici Italo-Greci' (< footnote 14), p. 114.

¹⁹ PECORARO, 'Melurgia bizantina dei Siculo-Albanesi' (< footnote 13), p. 53.

²⁰ Numerous copies of Stassi's collection still exist, produced by his pupils, or students who later studied at the Pontificio Seminario Italo-Albanese 'Benedetto XV', in Grottaferrata; in fact, the one that I could consult belongs to the Bishop Emeritus of Piana degli Albanesi, His Excellency Sotir Ferrara of blessed memory (5 December 1937 – 25 November 2017). For further information on the activity of Stassi, and on the importance of his transcriptions as a source for later transcribers, see DI SALVO, *Chants of the Byzantine Rite* (< footnote 4), p. XIII.

²¹ See https://www.facebook.com/pg/Our-Lady-of-Grace-Italo-Greek-Catholic-Mission-and-Society-102368633164767/about/?ref=page_internal.

²² Cf. *La S. Liturgia Greca di S. Giovanni Crisostomo. Canti tradizionali delle Colonie italo-greco-albanesi, armonizzati per organo od armonium dal Sac. Carlo Rossini* (New York: J. Fischer & Bro., 1924), 45 pp.

²³ For a general introduction to the subject, see Richard RENOFF and Joseph A. VARACALLI, 'The Italo-Albanian-American Experience: A Bibliographic Survey', in *The Melting Pot and Beyond: Italian Americans in the Year 2000. Proceedings of the XVIII Annual Conference of the American Italian Historical Association held at the Biltmore Plaza Hotel, Providence, Rhode Island, November 7–9, 1985*, ed. by Jerome KRASE and William EGELMAN (N.Y. Island: The American Italian Historical Association, 1987), pp. 73–90.

²⁴ According to the critical edition of Perniciario's transcriptions by Girolamo Garofalo, 193 chants are represented in the collection.

when as archpriest he served the church of San Nicolò di Mira in Mezzojuso (1926–1975), and accomplished the singular activity of safeguarding the oral liturgical chant tradition.

A pupil of Güsser, Francesco Falsone (1896–?) from Piana degli Albanesi, studied at the Collegio Greco in Rome, where he met his teacher. As a layman and teacher of Greek and Latin, Falsone compiled the first almost complete collection of Sicilian-Albanian liturgical chants, represented in 350 lithographed pages, of which 240 were with staff notation obtained from a handwritten matrix.²⁵ In the introductory essay to his *I canti ecclesiastici greco-siculi* – entitled *La musica greca antica nei canti ecclesiastici siculo albanesi*²⁶ – Falsone attempted to demonstrate the ‘Greekness’ of the Albanians of Albania and of the Arbëreshe communities living in Sicily, by talking at length and in great detail about poetry and music in ancient Greece, and following the theories on the continuity of the Ancient Greek music into the Byzantine era as already proposed by Güsser. However, the collection by Falsone is still greatly valuable, because it offers a picture of the Arbëresh liturgical repertoire in 1930s Sicily.

Among the scholars dealing with the study of Byzantine chant, towards the end of 1930s, we also find the Sicilian ethnomusicologist, Ottavio Tiby (1891–1955). He is considered, together with his father-in-law Alberto Favara (1863–1923), one of the pioneers of the scholarly study of Sicilian folk music. In 1938, Tiby published a book entitled *La musica bizantina. Teoria e Storia*, in which in a passage – while objecting to the theories reported by Falsone but at the same time quoting Güsser – he supported the idea of the ‘purity’ of the Sicilian-Albanian

liturgical chants, as they were the ‘surviving and unaltered relic’ of the late-medieval repertoire, serving as a key to the ‘restoration’ of Byzantine ecclesiastical chant.²⁷ In the same year, Tardo published his *L’antica melurgia bizantina*, in which we also find eleven transcriptions of Sicilian-Albanian liturgical chants, and one reporting a famous nostalgic Arbëreshe folk song, entitled *O e bukura More* (Oh my beautiful Morea).²⁸ In this volume, Tardo describes the chant tradition of the Sicilian-Albanian colonies as an ‘authentic’ and ‘uncontaminated’ repertoire, of which he makes a list of structural and performative features, to prove that it is very “precious to the reconstruction of the Byzantine *melurgia*”.²⁹ Again, the aim of this scholarship was to look at the Sicilian-Albanian tradition as to a ‘model’ and employ it as a tool for a right interpretation of the medieval Byzantine chant, and the ‘restoration’ of the ‘polluted’ modern Greek church music.

Despite all these ‘good’ premises, and except for the attempts made by Güsser, no systematic comparative analysis was undertaken at that time: for this we had to wait for Bartolomeo Di Salvo’s work, or rather what he promised to achieve.

From the 1950s to 1990s

The second phase is inaugurated by the hieromonk Bartolomeo Di Salvo (1916–1986) (➤ Fig. 1) and his research concerning both the medieval, late- and post-Byzantine chant, and the Sicilian-Albanian, of which he was, like Stassi, Perniciaro, Falsone and Tardo, an ‘insider’, since he hailed from Piana degli Albanesi. Di Salvo studied at the Abbey of Grottaferrata, became the most talented pupil of Lorenzo Tardo, took over the direction of the Schola Melurgica after his teacher retired towards the end of the 1950s (c. 1956),



Fig. 1:
Bartolomeo Di Salvo
(1916–1986)

²⁵ Cf. Girolamo GAROFALO, ‘Ugo Güsser e Francesco Falsone: due pionieri della ricerca sulla musica bizantina degli Albanesi di Sicilia’, in *Figure dell’etnografia musicale europea. Materiali – Persistenze – Trasformazioni. Studi e ricerche per il 150° anniversario della nascita di Alberto Favara (1863-2013)*, Palermo, 13-15 febbraio 2014, ed. by Sergio BONANZINGA and Giuseppe GIORDANO [= Gli archivi di Morgana. Suoni e culture, 1] (Palermo: Associazione per la conservazione delle tradizioni popolari, 2016), pp. 134–166.

²⁶ “The Ancient Greek music in the Greco-Sicilian ecclesiastical chants”, see FALSONE, *I canti ecclesiastici greco-siculi* (↵ footnote 2), pp. 5–96.

²⁷ Ottavio TIBY, *La musica bizantina. Teoria e storia* (Milano: Fratelli Bocca Editori, 1938), p. 169. Tiby probably knew Güsser by means of his father-in-law Alberto Favara. On this relationship between these scholars, see GAROFALO, ‘Ugo Güsser e Francesco Falsone’ (↵ footnote 25).

²⁸ The text of this song actually reflects a nostalgic and mythologised idea of the Arbëreshe diaspora, an interpretation developed over the nineteenth century in accordance with certain Romantic processes of historical reconstruction. Cf. Matteo MANDALÀ, *Mundus vult decipi. I miti della storiografia arbëreshe* (Cosenza: Università della Calabria, 2009).

²⁹ TARDO, *L’antica melurgia bizantina* (↵ footnote 17), p. 112.

and performed with the choir both in Italy and abroad.³⁰ In addition, Di Salvo was a very well-known scholar in the field of Byzantine musicology, not only in Italy but also internationally. His earliest scholarly work dates back to 1950, when he participated in the Congresso Internazionale di Musica Sacra in Rome and gave two papers, the first one on the transcription of the Palaeobyzantine notation, the second on the possibility of comparing the Sicilian-Albanian liturgical repertoire with the medieval Byzantine tradition.³¹ Afterwards, Di Salvo presented further works, in which he dealt primarily with the study of the Italo-Albanian traditions of Sicily and Calabria.³² With special regard to the Sicilian one, Di Salvo made every effort to present it worldwide as one of the Byzantine musical traditions. Hence he developed a strong interest in the comparative study of medieval musical manuscripts, to prove or to define more clearly the origins of the Sicilian tradition.

In 1958, Di Salvo started to collaborate with *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae* on the editorial project of the Sicilian-Albanian chant tradition, of which – between 1950–1960 – he gathered the most complete collection of musical transcriptions of the whole repertoire yet. The book, containing 259 pages with transcriptions of 484 items (i.e. whole chants, variants, and analysis of melodic schemes), after a delay of about 60 years, was finally published in 2016, under the title *Chants of the Byzantine Rite. The Italo-Albanian Tradition in Sicily / Canti Ecclesiastici della Tradizione Italo-Albanese in Sicilia*.³³

Another monumental work of transcriptions, believed to contain 450 pages but unfortunately still unpublished,³⁴ was prepared by *papàs* Matteo Sciambra (1914–1967) from Contessa

³⁰ For more biographical information, cf. DI SALVO, *Chants of the Byzantine Rite* (↵ footnote 4), pp. XV–XVI.

³¹ Bartolomeo DI SALVO (hieromonk), 'La tradizione orale dei canti liturgici delle colonie Italo-Albanesi di Sicilia comparata con quella dei codici antichi bizantini', in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Musica Sacra (Roma, 25-30 maggio 1950)*, ed. by Higinio ANGLÈS (Tournai: Desclée & Cie, 1952), pp. 129–130.

³² On the oral liturgical chant tradition of the Arbëreshe communities of Calabria, Nicola Scaldaferrì observed that little is left of the 'original' repertoire due to the introduction of modern melodies 'creatively' transcribed and/or re-composed – to be adapted onto Arbëreshe translations – by *papàs* Emanuele Giordano (1920–2015), hailed from the village of Frascineto (province of Cosenza), who – together with his scholarly involvement in the preservation of the Arbëresh dialect – conducted extensive research on the living chant tradition of his region and made fieldwork audio recordings from the 1950s onwards. In addition, he translated the liturgical hymns from Greek into Arbëresh and published them with Chrysanthine notation: *Himne Liturgjike Bizantino-Arbëreshe* (Eianina: Biblioteka e 'Jetës Arbëreshe', 2005), and published a handbook in Arbëresh to teach the Byzantine neumes to Calabrian seminarists. Cf. Nicola SCALDAFERRI, 'Percorsi tra oralità e scrittura nella tradizione liturgica bizantina in Italia meridionale', in *Il canto «patriarchino» di tradizione orale in area istriana e veneto-friulana*, ed. by Paola BARZAN and Anna VILDERA (Vicenza: Neri Pozza Editore, 2000), pp. 291–310; Nicola SCALDAFERRI, 'Multipart Singing, Multilingualism and Mediatization: Identity Issues of the Arbëresh Minority of Southern Italy at the Beginning of a New Century', in *Local and Global Understandings of Creativities: Multipart Music Making and the Construction of Ideas, Contexts and Contents*, ed. by Ardian AHMEDAJA (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), pp. 89–100; and Nicola SCALDAFERRI, 'Percorsi sulla musica arbëreshe: studi, tradizione, contemporaneità', *Hylli i dritës. E përkohshme kulturele-letrare* [Shkodër (Albania)] 35 (2015), nos. 1–2 (283–284, January–June), pp. 496–509.

At the same time, it is possible to trace the presence of melodies taken from the repertoire of today's Greek church music, as from time to time occurs also in the diocese of Piana degli Albanesi. Conversely, recent studies conducted since 2006 by Oliver Gerlach – to whom I am indebted for having shared information on the current state of the Calabro-Albanian chant tradition – provide evidence of the presence of a 'surviving' oral transmission in some villages of Calabria (mostly in the northern area of the province of Cosenza) found together with other melodic elements influenced by current Orthodox monody in the Balkans, encompassing either liturgical or paraliturgical chant repertoires, cf. Oliver GERLACH, 'Subalterne Orthodoxie in Südtalien: Über die Feldforschung in den Gemeinden der Italoalbaner (Arbëresh) und Italogriechen (Griko)', in *Geschichte und Theorie der Monodie. Bericht der Internationalen Tagung Wien (2014)*, ed. by Martin CZERNIN and Maria PISCHLÖGER (Brno: Tribun EU, 2016), pp. 85–129 and 131–172.

In addition, DI SALVO, *Chants of the Byzantine Rite* (↵ footnote 4), p. XI, had actually envisaged publishing a volume dealing with the tradition of Calabria, which, however, was never carried through..

³³ See DI SALVO, *Chants of the Byzantine Rite* (↵ footnote 4). The several reasons that brought the project to a halt are described in the same volume, in the introduction by Christian TROELSGARD, pp. XXXIII–XXXII. In addition, see Giuseppe SANFRATELLO, 'A Byzantine Chant Collection from Sicily: A Collaboration between Copenhagen and Piana degli Albanesi (Palermo)', in *Kulturstudier*, 2016, no. 1, pp. 80–92, <https://tidsskrift.dk/fn/article/view/24055/21115>, on the 'restored' collaboration between Denmark and Sicily.

³⁴ The manuscript compiled by Sciambra – with the title: *Canti Tradizionali Liturgici delle Comunità Greco-Albanesi di Sicilia. Quaresima, Settimana Santa, Pasqua, Pentecostario, Pentecoste* – was actually

Entellina, best known for his albanological studies and historical investigations on the Sicilian-Albanian communities.³⁵ In 1952–1953, the aforementioned Sicilian ethnomusicologist Ottavio Tiby conducted research in Piana degli Albanesi (i.e. the so-called ‘Raccolta 20’ of the Centro Nazionale Studi di Musica Popolare), introduced in § 4 (*Historical ethnomusicological approach & Comparative analysis*).

Before proceeding to the last phase, it is worthwhile to mention the work by His Excellency Sotir Ferrara, Bishop Emeritus of Piana degli Albanesi, who personally knew Bartolomeo Di Salvo and Matteo Sciambra, and conducted the choir of the Cathedral of San Demetrio in Piana in the 1980s, supporting his study of the chant repertoire either through access to a few twentieth century sources (e.g. his own copy of Stassi’s manuscript, Falsone and/or Sciambra collections), or on the basis of his individual musical transcriptions, most of which are unpublished.³⁶

From 1990s to the present

In the last thirty years, Girolamo Garofalo, Sicilian ethnomusicologist and senior researcher at the University of Palermo, has dedicated his principal investigation to the study of the oral liturgical and ‘paraliturgical’ musical repertoire of the Sicilian-Albanian community. Among his relevant achievements are: the compilation of an inventory (with critical notes) of the historical fieldwork recordings made by Tiby in 1952–1953 (still unpublished); a large corpus of his own audio and video recordings of the whole liturgical repertoire, produced from Piana degli Albanesi and the other villages of the diocese in the early 1990s; the critical edition of *papàs* Lorenzo Perniciaro’s manuscripts;³⁷ the organisation of academic and cultural events in order to disseminate knowledge of the Sicilian-Albanian chant tradition;³⁸ the publication of CDs containing audio recordings of the liturgical chant tradition as transmitted in the Arbëreshe colonies of Sicily;³⁹ and last but not least, the co-edition of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae. Subsidia*, vol. V/1 by Di Salvo, together with Christian Troelsgård.

Garofalo’s most important contribution to the description of the Sicilian-Albanian liturgical chant tradition is certainly an essay published in 2006, in which the author offers a general historical introduction to the repertoire of the diocese of Piana degli Albanesi, a discussion on the performative aspects and the modal system, a report on the written sources found in Piana, and a thorough description of the ‘Raccolta 20’ – its informants, contents, as well as a

already submitted to Rome for publication in c. 1961–1962 to the then director of the Centro Nazionale Studi di Musica Popolare (CNSMP), today Archivi di Etnomusicologia – at the Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia in Rome – Giorgio Nataletti (1907–1972), by means of the contacts established by the albanologist Giuseppe Valentini S.J., cf. Matteo SCIAMBRA (*papàs*), ‘Caratteristiche strutturali dei canti liturgici tradizionali degli albanesi di Sicilia’, *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neellenici*, nuova serie 2–3 [= XII–XIII] (1965–66) [= Atti del I° Congresso Nazionale (Ravenna, 23–25 maggio 1965)], pp. 309–320, here p. 310. In addition, I have compiled a general index of Sciambra’s still unpublished manuscript with some references and critical notes.

³⁵ Cf. Matteo SCIAMBRA (*papàs*), *Indagini storiche sulla comunità greco-albanese di Palermo* (Grottaferrata [Rome]: Tipografia italo-orientale «S. Nilo», 1963).

³⁶ However, Ferrara has produced a few papers on the history and morphology of the oral liturgical chant tradition of Piana degli Albanesi. See Salvatore FERRARA, ‘Musica dell’Ufficiatura di S. Nicola’, in *Testi liturgici dell’Oriente Cristiano* (Palermo: Associazione de «Gli Italo-Albanesi di Sicilia», 1979), pp. 185–213; Salvatore FERRARA, ‘La musica bizantina nella tradizione popolare delle comunità Italo-Albanesi’, in *P. Lorenzo Tardo e la musica bizantina. Atti Giornata culturale, Contessa Entellina (PA), 25 Agosto 1985* (Contessa Entellina: Associazione culturale Nicolò Chetta, 1985), pp. 20–29; Salvatore FERRARA, ‘Rassegna internazionale di cori bizantini’, *Oriente Cristiano* [Palermo] 26 (1986), no. 4 (Ottobre-Dicembre), pp. 44–50; Salvatore FERRARA (ed., unpublished), *Canti tradizionali Liturgici (05/88)*, Piana degli Albanesi, 1988, 44 pp.

³⁷ Girolamo GAROFALO (ed.), *Canti Bizantini di Mezzojuso*, 2 vols. (vol. 1: *I manoscritti di Papàs Lorenzo Perniciaro*; vol. 2: *Rielaborazioni per voci liriche e banda di Salvatore Di Grigofì*), with CD RSC00001 enclosed (Palermo: Regione Siciliana, Assessorato dei beni culturali e ambientali e della pubblica istruzione, 2001).

³⁸ For instance, *Musica e Paraliturgia degli Albanesi di Sicilia. Giornata di Studi* (Mezzojuso, 28 April 2002); *Παραδόσεις* [Paradhosis]. *La musica bizantina fra tradizione scritta e orale* (Piana degli Albanesi, 2–7 May 2006); *Convegno Internazionale di Studi “Padre Lorenzo Tardo, la musica bizantina e gli Albanesi di Sicilia”* (Palermo – Contessa Entellina – Piana degli Albanesi – Santa Cristina Gela, 7–9 March 2008).

³⁹ See *La Divina Liturgia di San Giovanni Crisòstomo*, Coro Padre Lorenzo Tardo di Contessa Entellina, 2001; *Christòs ghennate: Natale: Vespro, Ora IX, Mattutino*, Coro dei Papàs di Piana degli Albanesi, 2002; *Theotòkos to ònoma afti (Madre di Dio è il suo nome)*, Coro dei Papàs di Piana degli Albanesi, 2005 (CD 1), and *Canti bizantini di Sicilia, Rielaborazioni per voci liriche e banda di Salvatore Di Grigofì*, 2005 (CD 2).

preliminary comparison with the current performance practice.⁴⁰ To this publication a DVD is attached, which presents five extracts from the Tiby recordings, and six recordings made by Garofalo himself.

Finally, since 2009 – as a former student of Garofalo – I have myself started to delve into the subject concerning the historical development of the Sicilian-Albanian repertoire. In order to do so, I needed to find – indeed to establish, an appropriate theoretical and methodological framework, taking into account the diverse disciplines involved in the study of an orally transmitted Byzantine chant tradition.

Melodic and modal organization of the chant repertoire

There is no evidence to date of Byzantine musical manuscripts preserved in the libraries of the diocese of Piana degli Albanesi. Thence, cantors and priests eventually established a particular system to solve the loss of ‘individual’ melodies for a certain group of chants.

The Sicilian-Albanian *oktōēchos* (i.e. eight-mode system) is organised, as in the case of the ‘classical’ Byzantine musical system, in eight modes, consisting each of a certain group of melodic formulae. In the same way as in the Slavonic system, in Piana the plagal modes are counted right after the four authentic ones as *Tono quinto* (5th), *Tono sesto* (6th), *Tono settimo* (7th), *Tono ottavo* (8th). In order to delineate the melodic and modal organisation of the chant repertoire, it is first necessary to explain what is most likely to have happened in the development of this oral chant tradition regarding its rhythmical styles.

The repertoire is in fact characterized by three rhythmical genres:

- *Forma mista*
(‘mixed form’, partly *recitativo* and partly with melodic phrases, mostly in the hymns of the sticheraric genre – as a sort of ‘melodic script’);
- *Forma ritmica*
(‘rhythmical form’, symmetric rhythm, mostly in the hymns of the *heirmologic* genre);
- *Forma melismatica*
(melismatic, mostly in the chants or ‘great melodies’ of the Divine Liturgy).

Forma mista

The term *forma mista* (i.e. ‘mixed form’) was introduced for the first time in an article written by *papàs* Matteo Sciambra in 1965, in which he describes two main rhythmical styles (lit. *andamenti*) that characterise the repertoire of the Sicilian-Albanian tradition. The author introduces the theme of his paper by emphasising the connection between the organisation of chant styles given in the Greek ‘New Method’ and the Sicilian-Albanian one, according to three genres: (1) sticheraric, (2) heirmologic, and (3) melismatic (also ‘papadic’).

Such a connection between the two traditions made up for the first time by Sciambra might be understood as the result of a long-standing ideological process of ‘Byzantinisation’ of the history of the Arbëreshe communities in Southern Italy, in order to legitimate the Greek origins of the chant repertoire.

In the *Kekragrarion* of Piana degli Albanesi (i.e. chant tradition of the Evening Psalm at Great Vespers, *Kyrie ekekraxa*, cf. *Ps* 140:1 sqq.: ‘Lord, I have cried unto Thee’; ➤ Music example 1 and Video recording 1), we find a pool of so-called *formule comuni*, ‘model melodies’, or – as I named them in my doctoral dissertation – ‘melodic scripts’, given for each mode, and serving as a practical solution to the lack of individual melodies, and depicted as a sort of free-rhythmical style, literally a ‘mixed form’, consisting of partially syllabic and partially melismatic melodic phrases. The *stichēra idiomela* are strictly connected to such *formule comuni*, especially regarding the adaptation of melodic formulae of the cycle of eight modes onto diverse texts of *stichēra* that have lost their original melody – whether sung in liturgical Greek or, as in the last century, in versions translated into Arbëresh.

Sciambra stresses the importance of the occurrence of melodic formulae together with the use of short ‘connective’ recitatives, which enable the cantor to link the formulae according to the metrical structure of the text:

“La forma mista della tradizione siciliana [...] è costituita da alcune formule melodiche legate fra loro da frequenti recitativi, la cui lunghezza è lasciata all’arbitrio del cantore, il quale in tanto sarà abile in quanto, conoscendo la lingua greca, sa adattare le formule

⁴⁰ Cf. Girolamo GAROFALO, ‘I canti bizantini degli arbëreshë di Sicilia. Le registrazioni di Ottavio Tiby (Piana degli Albanesi 1952-’53) e l’odierna tradizione’, in *Musica e religione* [= *EM. Rivista degli Archivi di Etnomusicologia dell’Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia*, nuova serie 2/2] (Roma: Squilibri, 2006), pp. 11–65.

Music example 1:
1st authentic mode –
exo prōtos
(model melody –
sticheraric style)

Video recording 1:
Kyrie ekekraxa, Holy
and Great Saturday,
Piana degli Albanesi,
4 April 2015
(recorded and edited
by G. Sanfratello)



Ambitus

melodiche con il recitativo al significato del testo. [...] Con questa forma mista: melodica e recitativa, noi troviamo per ogni Ἦχος delle melodie che possiamo definire formole comuni dell'ὀκτώηχος; e quando nelle altre diverse ufficiature, la tradizione non ha tramandato il canto proprio dell'ιδιόμελον queste forme miste del comune ὀκτώηχος, vengono applicate con estrema facilità.⁴¹

According to Sciambra, this particular system of 'creative performance',⁴² and often improvisation, has been developed over the centuries by the priests of the Sicilian-Albanian colonies, to overcome the lack of musical manuscripts and, as a consequence, to meet the needs both of the word and the music within the liturgy.

In fact, Sciambra underlines that this special *forma mista*, since it is not constrained by the poetic rhythm, may be applied to any liturgical text, even to those of considerable length.⁴³ Therefore, the issue of melodic adaptation is treated thoroughly in the last section of the paper, dealing specifically with the *stichēra idiomela* of Piana.

It is evident that the division established by Sciambra as the customary one, which deals with the rhythmical styles of every kind of Byzantine music, relates to a great extent to the theories systematised by the 'Three Teachers': Chrysanthos of Madytos (c. 1770–1846), Gregory the Prōtopsaltēs (c. 1778 – c. 1821), and Chourmouziōs the Archivist († 1840), the reformers of the Greek ecclesiastical musical system. Among such three genres, the sticheraric one needs particular description, as a result of Sciambra's statements:

"La definizione di questo genere da molti autori viene data subordinatamente al genere irmologico. Comunque così viene definita dal Tardo: «I canti sticherarici hanno maggior

⁴¹ SCIAMBRA, 'Caratteristiche strutturali dei canti liturgici tradizionali degli albanesi di Sicilia' (↪ footnote 34), p. 314: "The mixed form of the Sicilian tradition [...] is made up of some melodic formulae tied up by frequent recitatives, whose length is freely decided by the cantor, who, depending on his degree of skill, and knowledge of the Greek language, will be able to adapt such melodic formulae along with the recitative according to the meaning of the text. [...] With this *forma mista*, with melodic and recitative passages, we find melodies for each of the modes that might be defined as *formole comuni* [i.e. common formulae] of the *oktōēchos*. When in the different offices the tradition has not handed down the individual melody of an *idiomelon*, these formulae of the mixed form of the common *oktōēchos* are easily applied to the poetic text." Translation by Giuseppe Sanfratello.

⁴² See Giuseppe SANFRATELLO, 'Creative Performance in the Liturgy: A Formulaic Melodic Language in the Sicilian-Albanian Chant Tradition', in *Creating Liturgically: Hymnography and Music. Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference on Orthodox Church Music, University of Eastern Finland Joensuu, Finland, 8–14 June 2015*, ed. by Fr. Ivan MOODY and Maria TAKALA-ROSZCZENKO (Joensuu: International Society for Orthodox Church Music, 2017), pp. 312–323.

⁴³ This alternation of recitative and melodic phrases could be also found in the classification of the rhythm of folk music proposed by the Hungarian composer and ethnomusicologist Béla Bartók. In fact, by counterposing it to what he called *tempo giusto* while addressing a more stable and symmetrical rhythm, Bartók refers to this sort of "music declamation approximating to the rhythm of speech" by coining the term *parlando-rubato*. See Csilla Mária PINTÉR and Boldizsár FEJÉRVÁRI, 'The Significance of the Varieties of Parlando-Rubato in the Rhythmic Language of "Bluebeard's Castle"', *Studia Musicologica* [Budapest] 49 (2008), no. 3/4, pp. 369–382.

sviluppo melodico (dei canti irmologici) e più abbondanza di note di abbellimento». Appartengono a questo genere tutti gli *ιδιόμελα αὐτόμελα* [*sic!*]. Ma nella tradizione siciliana questo genere ha un duplice andamento tutto proprio e particolare: *andamento a forma ritmica*; *andamento a forma mista*.⁴⁴

In this way, Sciambra gives an explanation of the rhythmical styles in the Sicilian-Albanian tradition – by specifying that the *andamento a forma ritmica* is strictly connected to the rhythm of the poetic texts and well represented by the *stichēra automela* – and, generally speaking, by the heirmologic style, whereas the *andamento a forma mista* is presented as a sort of free-rhythmical style (literally, a ‘mixed form’), consisting of partly syllabic and partly melismatic melodic phrases – a distinct feature of the *Kekragarion* and, accordingly, of the *stichēra idiomela* and the melodies of the *oktōēchos*.

Forma ritmica

A good example of chant rhythmically represented by the *andamento a forma ritmica* is found in the group of hymns called *kathismata apolytikia*, for instance the *apolytikion* for St. Nikolaos (interchangeably chanted for other bishops or confessors of the faith), *Κανόνα πίστεως*, i.e. Model of faith (➤ Music example 2 and Audio recording 2), in the fourth authentic mode.⁴⁵ This

♩ = 104

ἦχος δ' Κα - νό - να πί - στε - ως και εἰ - κό - να
πρα - ό - τη - τος, ἐγ - κρα - τεί - ας δι -
δά - σκα - λον ἀ - νέ - δει - ξέ - σε τῆ ποί - μνη
σου ἢ τῶν πραγ - μά - των ἀ - λή - θει - α· δι - ἃ
τοῦ - το ἐ - κτή - σω τῆ τα - πει - νώ -
σει τὰ ὑ - ψι - λά, τῆ πτω - χεί - α τὰ πλού -
- σι - α, Πά - τερ Ἰ - ε - ράρ - χα Νι - κό - λα - ε· πρέ - σβευ -
ε Χρι - στῶ τῶ θε - ῶ σω - θῆ - ναι τὰς ψυ - χὰς ἡ - μῶν.

Music example 2:
Κανόνα πίστεως,
4th authentic mode
(after DI SALVO, no. 84)

Audio recording 2:
Κανόνα πίστεως
(recorded by O. Tiby
in 1953)



⁴⁴ SCIAMBRA, ‘Caratteristiche strutturali dei canti liturgici tradizionali degli albanesi di Sicilia’ (↵ footnote 34), p. 313: “The definition of this genre is given by many authors as complementary to the heirmologic one. In any case, Tardo gives the following definition: ‘The sticheraric chants have greater melodic development (than heirmologic ones) and plenty of embellished notes.’ To this genre belong all the *ιδιόμελα αὐτόμελα* [*sic!*]. Nevertheless, in the Sicilian tradition this genre has its own double *andamento* [i.e. rhythmical style]: *andamento a forma ritmica* [i.e. symmetrical structure of the rhythm] and *andamento a forma mista* [i.e. partly syllabic and partly melismatic].” Translation by Giuseppe Sanfratello.

⁴⁵ Here I provide a possible translation from the Byzantine Greek liturgical text: “The truth of your actions proclaimed you to your flock as a model of faith, an image of meekness and a master of

ēchos in the heirmologic style of the Sicilian-Albanian repertoire seems to have been most influenced by the post-Byzantine and today's Greek ecclesiastical musical traditions – and more so than the chants represented in other modes. In fact, the *automela* repertoire of Piana degli Albanesi is very close to a great extent to the Greek *legetos* (λέγετος), having **E** as its basis note and *finalis*, **E** and **G** as tonal centres, and **C#** as melodic attraction (έλξη).

Furthermore, Sciambra reports that sometimes the *forma mista* style is also employed in some cases of *automela* in which some recitative passages are included (often in cadential or semi-cadential formulae); for instance, in the *heirmoi* of the Office of the *Paraklēsis*, apart from finding the expected syllabic rhythm that most of the time characterises this chant genre in Piana, Sciambra says “the interpolated recitative, as in the *forma mista*, can get into a specific *andamento ritmico* ‘sui generis’ clearly perceptible by listening, especially if the cantor knows the melody very well and is able to perform it properly”.⁴⁶

In addition, Sciambra underlines that, at the same time, there are several chants of the heirmologic genre – as in the example of *Κανόνα πίστεως* here provided – strictly following a more regular and symmetrical form of the rhythm. This is indeed the case also of the *troparia* of the *makarismo*i (i.e. Beatitudes).

Forma melismatica

The last example, presented in this section, belongs to the so-called ‘melismatic’ repertoire, mostly represented in the chants or ‘great melodies’ of the Divine Liturgy as transmitted in the Diocese of Piana degli Albanesi.

The adjective ‘great’ associated with the noun ‘melodies’ appears for the first time in Fr. Bartolomeo Di Salvo’s collection⁴⁷ on page 42, on which he suggested *ΜΕΓΑΛΑ ΚΕΚΡΑΓΑΡΙΑ* as the title of the final part of the appendix to the *Kekragarion*. More precisely, Di Salvo added a few melodic variants to the text of *Psalms* 140:1–2 in the form in which he had gathered them from a manuscript (*da un manoscritto*), as stated in the title of this section, of which however he did not provide any further information. The melodies included in this final section of the first part of Di Salvo’s book are in fact more melismatic than the ones previously presented through the eight modes, and this is the apparent reason why he named these as ‘great’. In the quotation above, he specifically mentions ‘chants with Chironomia’, and although he addresses exclusively the *Kyrie ekekraxa* while speaking of such melodies, in my doctoral study the adjective ‘great’ has been extended to some chants of the Divine Liturgy, showing a similar melismatic feature in their melodic development.

The melismatic repertoire of the Mass in the Sicilian-Albanian communities embraces primarily the following chants, here arranged according to their liturgical order:

- *Trishagia*
- *Alleluias*
- *Cheroubika* (Cherubic hymns, i.e. offertory chant)
- *Hagios* (i.e. Sanctus), *Σὲ ὑμνοῦμεν*, and *Megalynaria*
- *Koinōnika* (i.e. Communion chants) and Communion of the faithful.

My investigation of the ‘great melodies’ was preceded by a study of the accessible literature on melismatic chant in late- and post-Byzantine sources.

The rhythmical profile of the melismatic, or ‘kalophonic’ style (from the Greek expression *kalophonia*, i.e. composing in a beautiful manner, chanting with a beautiful, sweet voice) in Piana degli Albanesi may also be called *forma melismatica*, in accordance with the tripartite subdivision into rhythmical styles as already described.

In my doctoral investigation, ‘great melodies’ were described as a generative system of melodic composition that often recurs, as a sort of mechanism whereby the melody moves upwards or downwards through the repetition of short sequenced patterns that here I have called ‘upward-phrasing pattern’ (**UPP**), or in the case of the descending one a ‘downward-phrasing pattern’ (**DPP**), that seem to be a characteristic of the so-called ‘kalophonic’ style. In fact, although written in a very simple style, similar recurring melodic figures have been traced in MS Athos Iberon 1203 and described by Dimitri Conomos, as a customary “feature of fourteenth and fifteenth century Byzantine chants”, and “common both to the sacred and

temperance; and so you gained through humility the gifts from on high and riches through poverty. O Father and High Priest Nicolas; intercede with Christ our God that our souls may be saved.”

⁴⁶ SCIAMBRA, ‘Caratteristiche strutturali dei canti liturgici tradizionali degli albanesi di Sicilia’ (↪ footnote 34), p. 312.

⁴⁷ DI SALVO, *Chants of the Byzantine Rite* (↪ footnote 4).

the secular musical traditions".⁴⁸ In fact these elements can also be observed in the material studied by Conomos in his work on Byzantine *trishagia* and *cheroubika* of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,⁴⁹ often accompanied by ornaments depicted by recurring phrasing signs, such as the so-called *paraklētikē*, the *parakálesma*, or the *tromikón* (also *streptón*).⁵⁰

The generative repetition of melodic and rhythmical cells in the Sicilian-Albanian tradition (**UPP** and **DPP**) are often represented in transcriptions by a few quaver triplets or quadruplets, or a group made by a dotted crotchet (or quaver) plus two semiquavers, as well as by a group with a quaver plus a demisemiquaver quadruplet. Conversely, the material of the thirteen *Ivion Folk-songs* analysed by Conomos is much simpler, mostly characterised by the occurrence of subsequent repetitions of downward quaver couplets (e.g. **ba aG GF FE**, in song no. 6, and further examples on different pitches in each of the remaining twelve melodies).⁵¹ The example here given to elucidate the structure and some features of the *forma melismatica* is the *koinōnikon* (i.e. Communion chant) Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον,⁵² as attested in one of the transcriptions made by Fr. Di Salvo (no. 332), assigned to the fourth plagal mode. Unlike the melody reported in Di Salvo's collection on no. 331 traditionally conceived as that for Ποτήριον (i.e. *Potērion*, another text of this repertoire based on psalm verses applied to the feast of the day), the melody given on no. 332 seems to be an individual one for the text of Αἰνεῖτε only. This might be explained by the fact that the melody of no. 331 is 'ferial' one, used on many liturgical occasions, or even to be sung on those Sundays in which there are few faithful receiving the eucharist, whereas no. 332 is a 'solemn' version, exclusively sung on the text of Αἰνεῖτε in Piana degli Albanesi; it seems that in the other villages of the diocese (i.e. Contessa Entellina, Mezzojuso, and Palazzo Adriano) the melody no. 331 is only used for this purpose.

The melody transcribed on no. 332 (> Music example 3 and Audio recording 3) shows a modal alternation between the *nana* – which is the dominant modal aspect in this chant – and the standard fourth plagal mode, as represented in today's Greek church music, albeit to a limited extent. After this, a change to *Do minore* occurs (marked by a red square in the figure), which might be understood as a later development of the chant, since in this specific mode is rather surprising to find such variation from, so to speak, 'major' to 'minor' mode. Thus, it might be possible that in the past the section of the chant in which we find E-flat was transmitted as E-natural. While in no. 331 no **UPP** or **DPP** are represented, in this case we find only a few of them (see phrasing marked by a yellow circle); and they do not seem to exhibit exactly the same features as in the more systematic generative mechanism displayed in the *cheroubika* as also in the '*Hagios melodies*', and in the *megalyrnarion* Ἐπὶ σοὶ χαίρει.

Finally, the scant degree of comparability of some Sicilian-Albanian melodies (e.g. *cheroubika* and *koinōnika*), or the fact that no similarities at all with the late-medieval tradition may be observed, seems to imply that further comparisons with some later sources, perhaps of the eighteenth-nineteenth century, as well as today's Greek ecclesiastical repertoire, are needed in a future investigation into the subject.

Conclusions

The amount of information briefly offered in this written contribution gives evidence of great heterogeneity in the melodic corpus of the chant tradition transmitted in the diocese of Piana degli Albanesi, as a result of musical borrowings and influences.

In fact, even in Fr. Di Salvo's musical collection we find some transcriptions of chants, or 'alternative melodies', that might have no longer been performed at the time of his fieldwork. For

⁴⁸ Dimitri E. CONOMOS, 'The Iviron Folk-songs: A Re-examination', in *Studies in Eastern Chant*, vol. IV, ed. by Miloš VELIMIROVIĆ (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1979), pp. 28–53, here p. 39.

⁴⁹ 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), e.g. pp. 82–84, 106–110, and 127–131, etc.

⁵⁰ For a detailed explanation of such groups and phrasing signs, see Christian TROELSGÅRD, *Byzantine Neumes. A New Introduction to the Middle Byzantine Musical Notation* [= *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae. Subsidia*, IX] (Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press, 2011), pp. 51–55. For some examples of recurring melodic figures in which these signs are involved see also CONOMOS, *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (< footnote 49), e.g. pp. 345–367.

⁵¹ CONOMOS, 'The Iviron Folk-songs' (< footnote 48), pp. 40–53. N.B. Conomos used the 'old MMB' transcription code.

⁵² I provide herewith a translation from the Byzantine Greek liturgical text: "Praise the Lord from the heavens. Praise Him in the highest. Alleluia." I recorded this chant myself 24 December 2014, at Christmas Vespers and Divine Liturgy of St. Basil.

Music example 3:
Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον
(after DI SALVO,
no. 332)

♩ = 84 ἤχος πλ. δ' Αἰ - - - - -

Audio recording 3:
Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον
(recorded by
G. Sanfratello,
24 December 2014)



accel.
- - - - - αἰ - νεῖ -
- - - - - εἰ - τε τὸν Κύ - ριον ἐκ τῶν οὐ - ρα - νῶ -
- - - - - ῶν ἐκ τῶν οὐ - ρα - νῶν
Αἰ - - - - - αἰ - νεῖ - τε αὐ - τὸ -
- - - - - ὄν ἐν τοῖς ὑ - ψί - στοις Ἄλ -
- - - - - λη - λού -
- - - - - α Ἄλ - λη - λού - τι - α -
- - - - - α Ἄλ - - - - - λη - λού - τι - α.

instance, the melody of the *kathisma apolytikion anastasimon* of the *Paraklētikē* Ὅτε κατῆλθες sung in Piana degli Albanesi today is clearly influenced by the Greek ecclesiastical music of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This is also testified in Ottavio Tiby's historical recording, in which a version of today's Greek church music is found, probably 'imported' (and adapted) in Piana degli Albanesi through the compositions of Ioannēs Sakellaridēs (1853–1938), or other modern editions of Greek ecclesiastical chants.⁵³

⁵³ This repertoire of chants thus includes either Fr. Lorenzo Tardo's 'creative' transnotations, or compositions made by monks/musicians/scholars of Grottaferrata, such as Fr. Nilo Somma, who composed a Divine Liturgy in Arbëresh in 1970s, in the full spirit of the great reform promulgated in the antecedent decade (1963) by Pope Paul VI with the emanation of the *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, i.e. the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. In fact, the renewal of the liturgy encouraged the use of vernacular in addition to Latin for the communities using the Roman Rite and Greek. Moreover, *papàs* Jani Pecoraro states that he, together with other seminarists from Piana, learned such *melodie criptensi* when they were seminarists at the Pontificio Seminario Italo-Albanese 'Benedetto XV' at Grottaferrata.

Actually, the melody of Ὅτε κατῆλθες reported by Di Salvo (no. 98) is not sung any more, and apparently was no longer employed by the time of Di Salvo's transcriptions. This could mean that the purpose of Di Salvo's collection was not just to gather the whole repertoire of 'current' liturgical chants, but also to write down a few melodies that were found in local transcriptions (e.g. when he notated *da un manoscritto*, i.e. from a manuscript) and that may have not been used any longer by cantors of the Arbëreshe communities. In addition, Eustathios Makris suggests that Di Salvo's rendition of this chant shows a strong relationship with the melody of the same text as transmitted in the Corfiot ecclesiastical tradition.⁵⁴

According to the following diagram, I offer a 'genetic' model representing the possible roots that may have most likely played a role in the development of intrinsic dynamics producing the different layers stratified in the Sicilian-Albanian chant tradition. One might understand the current state of the oral liturgical repertoire of Piana (P)⁵⁵ as a result of an 'osmotic' process and therefore take into account the oral administration of the repertoire and its internal dynamics of development; the direct or indirect musical influences by late- (fifteenth century: LB) and post- (sixteenth-nineteenth: PB) Byzantine traditions; the inclusion of melodies pertaining to the modern liturgical repertoire as transmitted/composed in Greece (e.g. from the works by *Sakellariδēs* and the Πανδέκτης; MG); and, last but not least, the presence of either *melodie criptensi* from Grottaferrata⁵⁶ or *melodie moderne* of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (C).

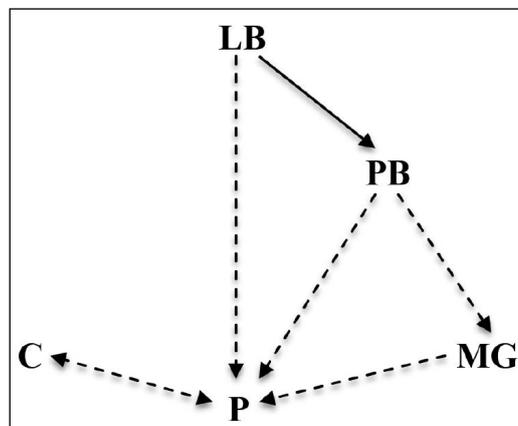


Fig. 2:
Genetic model displaying the possible musical roots

Lastly, quoting Bartolomeo Di Salvo on the issues concerning the *antichità* (i.e. the degree of antiquity) of the Sicilian-Albanian liturgical chant repertoire, a large body of evidence lends support to his hypotheses, according to which:

"Il loro patrimonio artistico musicale consisteva nel deposito tradizionale antico, anteriore a Koukouzeles, aumentato delle nuove produzioni di *Maistores*. Questo lo deduciamo da alcuni canti che possiamo attribuire a quelle epoche e dall'esame di qualche canto della tradizione albanese di Calabria, gemella di quella siciliana. [...] L'esame delle melodie e dei documenti ci dimostra che gli Albanesi non furono lontani né insensibili allo sviluppo e alle novità musicali della Grecia."⁵⁷

As a result of such a 'openness' of the Arbëreshë people to 'new' musical influences, this orally transmitted chant repertoire cannot be described as an inflexible tradition, nor as a static one, but rather a dynamic system that is susceptible to changes and developments, and that after five centuries has not died but is still living,⁵⁸ despite – or maybe thanks to – the lack of 'original' written sources. Perhaps we shall never find any musical manuscript attesting to a sort of 'archetypical' version of the Sicilian-Albanian chant tradition.

Consequently we should look at the actual status of performance practice as the result of a multi-layered musical tradition, transmitted in multiple versions and, accordingly, with missing archetypes.

⁵⁴ Cf. Panagiotis HASAPIANOS (ed.), *Κερκυραϊκή Ψαλτική όπως την έψαλλαν οι παλαιοί κερκυραίοι ψαλτάδες (καταγραφή σε ευρωπαϊκή σημειογραφία)* (Κέρκυρα: Ιερά Μητρόπολη Κερκύρας, Παξών και Διαποντίων Νήσων, 2011), p. 30.

⁵⁵ Namely, the entire liturgical musical *corpus* (including micro-variation and alternative melodies) of the diocese of Piana degli Albanesi.

⁵⁶ The double arrow added in the diagram and linking Grottaferrata (C) with Piana (P) represents graphically the influence either of the Sicilian-Albanian oral tradition on Tardo's 'creative' transcriptions of late-medieval musical manuscripts or the repertoire of *melodie criptensi* – together with the introduction of some more 'modern' melodies – on the one transmitted in the diocese of Piana degli Albanesi.

⁵⁷ DI SALVO, 'La tradizione orale dei canti liturgici delle colonie Italo-Albanesi di Sicilia' (↵ footnote 31), p. 129: "Their musical heritage consisted in an ancient traditional sediment, pre-existing Koukouzeles, enriched by new works by *Maistores*. This can be deduced from a few chants that might be ascribed to those periods and from the examination of some chants of the Albanian tradition in Calabria, constituting a twin to the Sicilian one. [...] The examination of the melodies and the documents shows us that Albanians were not far from, nor indifferent to, the development and the musical novelties of Greece."

⁵⁸ DI SALVO, 'La tradizione musicale bizantina delle colonie italo-albanesi di Sicilia' (↵ footnote 9), p. 14.

Introduction

There are substantial challenges that stand in the way of producing clear analyses of Coptic chant (Arabic: *alḥān*), the liturgical music of the indigenous Oriental Orthodox Church of Egypt. There are linguistic challenges; Bohairic Coptic, the church's liturgical language, has not been used as a common vernacular since at least the 17th century.¹ And there are musical challenges; there is no known notational system for the Coptic Church's extensive hymnody, which is entirely oral, monadic, sung mostly *a capella* by male deacons, and transmitted almost exclusively through rote learning.²

These factors contribute to the paltry attention Coptic chant has received in scholarship. Recent efforts, especially by scholars whose positionality as Coptic contributes to a more incisive reading of Coptic hymnody,³

¹ Hiroko MIYOKAWA, 'The Revival of the Coptic Language and the Formation of Coptic Ethnoreligious Identity in Modern Egypt', in *Copts in Context: Negotiating Identity, Tradition, and Modernity*, ed. by Nelly van DOORN-HARDER (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2017), pp. 151–156, here p. 151.

A quick perfunctory remark on languages used in this chapter: Coptic is the latest development of the Ancient Egyptian language, directly following Demotic, and adopting a Greek script. It was commonly used in Egypt until overtaken by Arabic after the Arab conquest in the 7th century CE. It possesses a number of dialects: the main two are Sahidic (for Upper Egypt) and Bohairic (for Lower Egypt). The latter is the dialect used in all liturgical rites of the Coptic Church. Greek is also used in the Coptic liturgical rite, but transliterated into Coptic – a project undertaken in the mid-19th century at the direction of Pope Cyril IV; cf. Mounir SHOUCRI, 'Cyril IV', in *The Coptic Encyclopedia*, ed. by Aziz SURYAL ATIYA (Macmillan, 1991), pp. 677b–679a, digitally published in *Claremont Coptic Encyclopedia*, <https://cdl.claremont.edu/digital/collection/cce/id/556/rec/1>. For all translations and transliterations of Coptic and Greco-Coptic text used in Coptic hymnody, I have referred to Anthony ABOSIEF, *Coptic Hymns: A Book of Hymns for All Occasions of the Coptic Year* (Hayward, California: Saint Antonius Coptic Orthodox Church, 2000). For Greek transliteration and translation, I have referred to examples in Kenneth LEVY, 'The Trisagion in Byzantium and the West', in *International Musicological Society. Report of the Eleventh Congress. 1972*, ed. by Henrik GLAHN (Copenhagen: William Hansen, 1974), pp. 761–765.

² My forthcoming chapter in *Scriptor, Cantor & Notator: The Materiality of Sound in Chant Manuscripts* (Brepols, forthcoming in 2022) discusses the usage of *hazzāt*, a mnemonic script common in the Coptic church, which gives indications of melodic direction within certain highly melismatic chants. Though not musical notation, modern usage of this mnemonic script, which reminds and guides cantors through melismas, does seem to be indigenous to the Coptic Church.

³ See Nicholas Joseph RAGHEB, *The Transmission of Coptic Orthodox Liturgical Music: Historical and Contemporary Forms of Theorization, Translation, and Identity Construction*, unpublished dissertation for Doctor of Philosophy in Music, Faculty of Music, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2019; Carolyn RAMZY, 'A Musical Inheritance: Coptic Cantors and an Orally Transmitted Tradition', Library of Congress, 2009, <https://www.loc.gov/item/ihms.200155645/>; Carolyn RAMZY, 'Music:

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Ancient or modern? The Coptic Trisagion and its historical antecedents

Abstract

The music of the Coptic Orthodox Church of Egypt has only been studied by a handful of twentieth century scholars, though, more recently, it has started to garner more widespread attention. The music is entirely oral and transmitted through rote learning. However, the author believes that these melodies have proven to be impressively resilient and durable over time, with melodic content that is constant and consistent.

This paper presents the Trisagion (or the "Thrice-Holy" Hymn) of the Coptic Liturgy of the Catechumens, comparing current notational transcriptions of the Coptic Trisagions with those of the Byzantine and Gregorian traditions, with the hope of providing a context of this central and widespread Eastern Ordinary chant.

Keywords: history of music; oral liturgical chant; Coptic hymnody; Byzantine music; Greek hymnody; Trisagion; theory of music

Number of characters / words: 32 612 / 5 103

Number of music examples / tables: 12 / 1

Secondary language(s): Old Greek; Coptic; Arabic

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stand in stark contrast to the few early- to mid-20th century Western scholars who have studied Coptic music as some sort of vestige of pharaonic Egypt. Ernest Newlandsmith, an English musician commissioned by Ragheb Moftah⁴ to transcribe Coptic chant in Western notation in the 1920s and 30s, claimed the music to be “ancient Egyptian” and “buried under an appalling degree of debris of Arabic ornamentation”.⁵ Even more recent scholars, using less prescriptive methodologies, fall prey to Pharaonism⁶ in Coptic music, as Severine Gabry points out:

“Ces idées sont notamment celles de Hans Hickmann, Ilona Borsai et René Ménard. Ils ont tous trois étudié la musique copte en lui conférant une descendance pharaonique indéniable, sous le prétexte discutable que les Coptes seraient les *vrais égyptiens*, purs héritiers des traditions de l’Égypte ancienne. Ce type de discours contribue amplement à développer un sentiment nationaliste très fort chez les Coptes et semble étroitement lié à cette volonté de mettre en valeur la « culture Copte ».”⁷

[These ideas are notably those of Hans Hickmann, Ilona Borsai and René Ménard. All three studied Coptic music as undeniably of Pharaonic descent, though under the questionable pretext that Copts were the true Egyptians and pure heirs to the traditions of ancient Egypt. This type of discourse contributes immensely to the development of a very strong nationalist sentiment among Copts and seems closely linked to a determination to highlight ‘Coptic culture’.] (*Translation by author.*)

Such scholarship lends the Coptic Orthodox Church – and its music – a sense of the obscure and arcane. Some, like David Hiley, conjecture that Coptic chant could be “the nearest analogue to the period in 8th-century Europe immediately before the first ever codification of a musical repertory, that of Frankish Gregorian chant”.⁸ Others, like Papathanasiou and Boukas, maintain that it is “quite probable that in its early stages Coptic chant adopted the Byzantine eight mode system”.⁹ It is what underpins this final claim – a possible linkage between Coptic *alḥān* and Byzantine hymnody – that has drawn my attention.

* * *

In this paper I will discuss the modern Coptic Trisagion (Greek: ‘thrice holy’), which is part of the Liturgy of St. Basil, the Coptic Mass Ordinary. I will analyse my transcriptions of the chant into Western musical notation, discussing the chant’s melodic syntax and its attached Greco-Coptic text. Following this, I will compare my transcriptions of the modern Coptic Trisagion to

Performing Coptic Expressive Culture’, in *The Coptic Christian Heritage: History, Faith, and Culture*, ed. by Lois M. FARAG (Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY: Routledge, 2014), pp. 160–176; Carolyn RAMZY, ‘Modern Singing Sons of the Pharaohs: Transcriptions and Orientalism in a Digital Coptic Music Collection’, *Ethnologies* 37/1 (2015), pp. 65–88, <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1039656ar>; Mena Mark HANNA, *Towards a Structural Theory of Coptic Chant*, unpublished dissertation for Doctor of Philosophy in Music Composition and Critical Writing, Faculty of Music, University of Oxford, 2010; Mena Mark HANNA, ‘How Early Can You Go? Coptic Chant in Western Transcription’, *Journal of the International Society for Orthodox Church Music* 3 (2018), pp. 138–150, <https://journal.fi/jisocm/article/view/88725/47910>.

⁴ Ragheb Moftah was a twentieth-century scholar of Coptic music and is known as the father of modern Coptic musical studies. He was responsible for commissioning multiple transcriptions of Coptic chant into Western musical notation, presented Coptic chant recordings at the 1932 Congress of Arabic Music in Cairo, and established the Music and Hymn Faculty at the Higher Institute of Coptic Studies in 1954. For more details see RAMZY, ‘Modern Singing Sons of the Pharaohs’ (↵ footnote 3) and the web resource curated by Carolyn RAMZY, *Coptic Orthodox Liturgical Chant & Hymnody: The Ragheb Moftah Collection at the Library of Congress* [Special Presentation in the Library of Congress Performing Arts Encyclopedia], <https://www.loc.gov/collections/coptic-orthodox-liturgical-chant/about-this-collection/>.

⁵ Ernest NEWLANDSMITH, ‘The Ancient Music of the Coptic Church: A Lecture Delivered at the University Church, Oxford, on May 21, 1931’, in *Coptic Orthodox Liturgical Chant and Hymnody*, <https://loc.gov/item/ihas.200155827>, p. 5.

⁶ For more on Pharaonism in Coptic music, see RAMZY, ‘Modern Singing Sons of the Pharaohs’ (↵ footnote 3).

⁷ Séverine GABRY, ‘Processus et Enjeux de La Patrimonialisation de La Musique Copte’, *Égypte/Monde Arabe* 2009/5–6 [= *Pratiques du Patrimoine en Égypte et au Soudan*], pp. 133–158, here p. 136, <https://doi.org/10.4000/ema.2896>. Emphasis by Séverine Gabry.

⁸ David HILEY, ‘Review of Studies in Eastern Chant, Vol. IV’, *The Musical Times* 123/1674 (1982), p. 567.

⁹ Ioannis PAPATHANASIOU and Nikolaos BOUKAS, ‘Early Diastematic Notation in Greek Christian Hymnographic Texts of Coptic Origin. A Reconsideration of the Source Material’, in *Palaeobyzantine Notations*, III (Leuven, Paris, Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2004).

its historical antecedents through a study by Kenneth Levy which compares three Byzantine Trisagion sources from the 12th to 14th centuries.

The Trisagion is a central hymn in the eastern Mediterranean (it is far less common in Western tradition). As Levy points out, it is the most widespread of Eastern Ordinary chants¹⁰ which makes it fertile for Coptic-Byzantine comparison. It is a hymn with a proven provenance on the Byzantine side, and a storied history: tradition has it that the chant was transmitted by angels to the youth of Constantinople in the 5th century CE to quell a restive earthquake.¹¹ It is the subject of studies by Kenneth Levy, Sebastià Janeras, and Dimitri Conomos.¹² My hope is to understand this chant both within its contemporary sung tradition and within a larger shared historical context.

My interest in this chant's provenance could be extrapolated to wider studies of provenance in oral chant traditions. Despite its lack of a notational system, Coptic chant has proven to be surprisingly durable. Part of my dissertation was a catalogue raisonné of 20th century efforts of transcribing Coptic chant into Western notation, looking at the various transcriptive adventures of Ernest Newlandsmith, René Ménard, Ilona Borsai, Margit Tóth, and Marian Robertson. What I discovered was a corpus of oral chant that has maintained a melodic consistency over a century of transcription and over vast areas of geographic dispersal. I surmise that this is "an indication that a measure of constancy has indeed been attained in this oral tradition".¹³

Melodic chant structure

Structurally, the music of the liturgy of St. Basil can be divided into three categories:

- 1) Strophic chants, or music based on a repeating verse structure, which can vary in length and complexity but are normally syllabic and straightforward enough to be sung by the congregation. The musical material contained in alternating strophes are often sufficient for the construction of the entire hymn.
- 2) Through-composed chants with a relatively continuous structure featuring various brief phrases (Arabic, *mahāt*) interlocked together to form larger, identifiable sections. Once again, these hymns can vary in length and complexity, but are mostly sung by a choir of cantors standing outside the iconostasis in two lines, facing each other at right angles to the sanctuary. These chants have been termed as "typical"¹⁴ and can be melismatic.
- 3) Intoned recitation, or a cantillation that is simplified to fit the inflection and rhythm of text. Intoned recitation tends to have an ambitus of only two or three tones and are largely syllabic with prescribed cadential formulas. The majority of intoned recitations are either prayers (Arabic: *awshīyah*, pl. *awāshī*) offered during the services sung by the officiant, or the deacon's relaying of the priest's biddings (Arabic: *al-ubrūsāt*, from Greco-Coptic **Προσευχῆ** derived from Greek, *proseukhē*).

The Coptic Trisagion is a strophic hymn. It is one of the most commonly sung hymns in the Coptic corpus. Syllabic and repetitive, it is one of the simplest congregational liturgical chants of the Coptic Church. Finally, it is regularly sung in Greek not Coptic, although the text read is a Coptic transliteration of the original Greek text.

Transcription and analysis of the Coptic Trisagion

The modern Coptic Trisagion is sung during the celebration of the Liturgy of St. Basil, immediately after readings from the Acts of the Apostles and the Synaxarion.¹⁵ In the Coptic

¹⁰ LEVY, 'The Trisagion in Byzantium and the West' (↵ footnote 1), p. 761.

¹¹ Kenneth LEVY and James MCKINNON, 'Trisagion (Gk.: "Thrice Holy")', in *Grove Music Online* (2001), <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.28396>.

¹² Conomos points out that the ease and suitability of transmission of the Trisagion, both in its modern day and historical iterations, is rooted in its founding legend: a simple, syllabic melody universal in its accessibility, coming from the heavens above; cf. Dimitri 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).

¹³ HANNA, 'How Early Can You Go? Coptic Chant in Western Transcription' (↵ footnote 3), p. 138

¹⁴ NEWLANDSMITH, 'The Ancient Music of the Coptic Church' (↵ footnote 5).

¹⁵ The synaxarion (derived from Latin *synaxarium*) is described as having become a "liturgical book" and "is a formal compilation of the lives of the martyrs, saints, and religious heroes of the Coptic church"; see Aziz Suryal ATIYA and René-George COQUIN, 'Synaxarion, Copto-Arabic', in *The Coptic Encyclopedia* (↵ footnote 1), pp. 2171b-2190a, <https://cdl.claremont.edu/digital/collection/cce/id/1792/rec/1>.

tradition, the verses are split into the sides of the church, with opposing rows of cantors denoted as 'northern' (Arabic: *bahrī*) and 'southern' (Arabic: *qibī*); the first and third verses of the hymn are sung by the 'northern' side, and the second and fourth verses by the 'southern' side. This is a common detail in the Coptic liturgical book, *al-khūlāqī* (an Arabic corruption of *Euchologion*), with the rubric of 'B' or 'Q' denoting blocks of Arabic and Coptic text to indicate when and which hymns or parts of the liturgy should be sung in alternation. This is usually applied to strophic hymns.

Music example 1 is my transcription of the Coptic Trisagion into Western musical notation.¹⁶

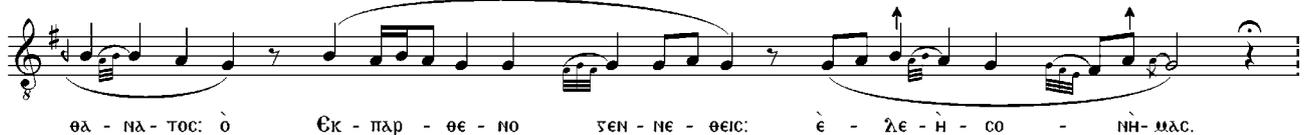
Music example 1:
ΔσΙΟC Ο ΘΕΟC
(*Agius o Theos*),
Coptic Trisagion,
transcribed into
Western musical
notation

♩ ≈ 76

Verse 1
bahrī



Δ - σΙΟC Ο ΘΕ - ο - C: Δ - σΙ - οC Ι - CΧΥ - ΡΟC: Δ - σΙ - οC Δ -



ΘΑ - ΝΑ - ΤΟC: Ο ΕΚ - ΠΑΡ - ΘΕ - ΝΟ ΞΕΝ - ΝΕ - ΘΕΙC: Ε - ΛΕ - Η - CΟ - ΝΗ - ΜΑC.

Verse 2
qibī



Δ - σΙΟC Ο ΘΕ - ο - C: Δ - σΙ - οC Ι - CΧΥ - ΡΟC: Δ - σΙ - οC Δ -



ΘΑ - ΝΑ - ΤΟC: Ο CΤΑΥ - ΡΩ - ΘΕΙC ΔΙΗ - ΜΑC: Ε - ΛΕ - Η - CΟ - ΝΗ - ΜΑC.

Verse 3
bahrī



Δ - σΙΟC Ο ΘΕ - ο - C Δ - σΙ - οC Ι - CΧΥ - ΡΟC: Δ - σΙ - οC Δ - ΘΑ - ΝΑ - ΤΟC: Ο



Α - ΝΑC - ΤΑC ΕΚ - ΤΩΝ ΝΕΚ - ΡΩΝ ΚΕ Α - ΝΕΛ - ΘΩΝ ΙC ΤΟΥC ΟΥ - ΡΑ - ΝΟΥC: Ε - ΛΕ - Η - CΟ - ΝΗ - ΜΑC.

Verse 4
qibī



ΔΟ - ΞΑ Πα - ΤΡΙ ΚΕ ΥΙΟ ΚΕ Δ - σΙ - Ω Π - ΝΕ - ΤΜΑ - ΤΙ: ΚΕ - ΝΥΝ ΚΕ Α - Ι:

♩ ≈ 80 *poco rit.* ♩ ≈ 66



ΚΕ ΙC ΤΟΥC Ε - Ω - ΝΑC ΤΩΝ Ε - Ω - ΝΩΝ: Α - ΜΗΝ: Δ - ΣΙΑ ΤΡΙ - ΑC Ε - ΛΕ - Η - CΟ - ΝΗ - ΜΑC.

¹⁶ This transcription is descriptive: it intends to capture every ornament, degree of micropitch, and

As a syllabic, doxological hymn, an analysis of the Trisagion is highly dependent on the text. For the original Greco-Coptic text, with a translation into English according to Anthony Abosief,¹⁷ see Table 1:

Table 1:
ΑΓΙΟΣ ὁ Θεός
(*Agios o Theos*),
Coptic Trisagion,
Greco-Coptic text
with translation into
English

The first verse:
ΑΓΙΟΣ ὁ Θεός: ΑΓΙΟΣ Ισχυρός: ΑΓΙΟΣ Αθάνατος: ὁ ἐκπαρθένου γεννηθεῖς: ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.
<i>Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, Who was born of the Virgin, have mercy on us.</i>
The second verse:
ΑΓΙΟΣ ὁ Θεός: ΑΓΙΟΣ Ισχυρός: ΑΓΙΟΣ Αθάνατος: ὁ σταυρωθεῖς διημᾶς: ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.
<i>Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, Who was crucified for us, have mercy on us.</i>
The third verse:
ΑΓΙΟΣ ὁ Θεός: ΑΓΙΟΣ Ισχυρός: ΑΓΙΟΣ Αθάνατος: ὁ ἀναστὰς ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς: ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.
<i>Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, Who rose from the dead and ascended into the heavens, have mercy on us.</i>
The fourth verse:
Δόξα Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι: καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ ἐς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων: ἀμήν: Δεῖτε τὴν Τριάδα ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.
<i>Glory be to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, now and forever and unto the ages of ages. Amen, O Holy Trinity have mercy on us.</i>

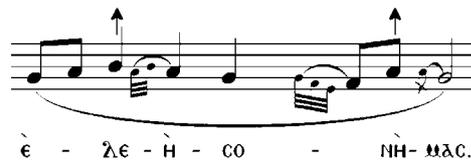
From a cursory glance of the Trisagion transcription in Music example 1, one can see a largely syllabic, diatonic hymn with a repetitive strophic form and an ambitus around a perfect 5th: 'E' (sometimes quarter-tone sharp) to 'B' (quarter-tone flat, though sometimes this note is pushed slightly sharp during cadential phrases).

For the most part, with the exception of an 'E' in some appoggiaturas, the first and second verses have an even smaller ambitus, 'F' sharp to 'B' quarter-tone flat. It is not until the third verse that the 'E' quarter-tone sharp becomes an important structural note. This is due to a textual extension in the third verse. The penultimate phrase before the final cadential phrase [ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς (*eleison eemas*)] of the first and second verse – ἐκ παρθένου γεννηθεῖς (*ek partheno gen ne thees*) and σταυρωθεῖς διημᾶς (*estavroa thees deemas*) – are each six to seven syllables. In the third verse, the corresponding phrase is ἀναστὰς ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ ἀνελθὼν ἐς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς (*anastas ektoan nekroan ke anelthoan ees toos oo ranos*): sixteen syllables. The hymn accommodates these extra syllables by lengthening the phrase considerably, adding an 'E' quarter-tone sharp on the word θῶν (*toan*). The 'E' is reiterated almost immediately in the final fourth verse; the first through third verses are nearly identical with the exception of the added text in the third verse and its corresponding phrases and the cadential phrase of the third verse, which, as one will see, differs quite significantly.

The cadential phrases of the first and second verses (➤ Music example 2) are indistinguishable, starting on a 'G' and rising to a slightly sharp 'B' quarter-tone flat with a notable pause between verses:

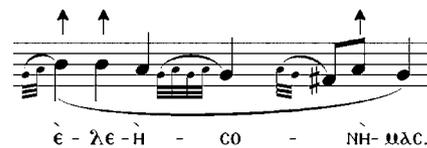
rhythmic and metric gradation of the performer. It is not a rendering of the base melody of the chant. Fashioned after Margit Toth's transcription of the Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil – see Ragheb MOFTAH and John GILLISPIE, *The Complete Liturgy of St. Basil Performed by the Choir of the Institute of Coptic Studies* (Cairo: Higher Institute of Coptic Studies, 1967; republished Sydney: Coptic Orthodox Electronic Publishing, 1998), note heads with flags pointed up signify the main melody (insofar as I could determine this), and smaller note heads with flags pointed down signify ornamentation. The symbol '♯' indicates a quarter-tone sharp and the symbol '♭' indicates a quarter-tone flat. Arrows pointed up indicate a sharp microtonal inflection less than a quarter-tone. This transcription is based on the sound recording of *The Complete Liturgy of St. Basil*, see above.

¹⁷ ABOSIEF, *Coptic Hymns: A Book of Hymns for All Occasions of the Coptic Year* (↵ footnote 1), pp. 84-85. This translation reflects modern Coptic liturgical usage.



Music example 2:
Αγιος ὁ Θεος
 (Agiōs o Theos),
 Coptic Trisagion,
 cadential phrase of the
 first and second verses

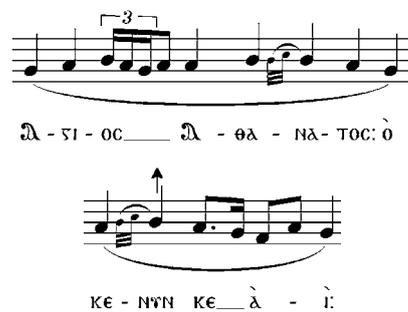
Conversely, the cadential phrase of the third verse starts on a slightly sharp 'B' quarter-tone flat and moves down in stepwise motion to a 'G' (► Music example 3). Instead of a pause at the end of the phrase, the cadence of the third verse acts as an anacrusis into the fourth verse, moving quickly into the only verse that differs in musical and textual material.



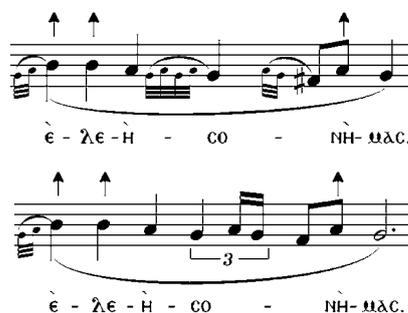
Music example 3:
Αγιος ὁ Θεος
 (Agiōs o Theos),
 Coptic Trisagion,
 cadential phrase
 of the third verse

One can often hear the fourth verse sung by both northern and southern sides of the choir, *bahrī* and *qibḥī*, though in the *Euchologion* it is clearly marked *qibḥī*. I can assume this is for both musical and spiritual reasons: singing the fourth verse in unison furnishes the prayer with a sense of finality. Additionally, the verse differs textually, providing a conclusion to the textually and melodically repetitive meditation of the three previous verses; notice the chant's translation in Table 1.

Unlike the first three verses, the fourth verse moves between 'E' quarter-tone sharp and 'G', but as the three prior verses, it also peaks on a 'B' quarter-tone flat. Although there are phrases in the fourth verse that are reminiscent of the first through third verses (► Music example 4) and the cadential phrases are nearly identical to that of verse three (► Music example 5), the fourth verse is much more centered on 'G' and also includes concluding words sung in quick succession – **Αμην Αγια Τρια** (Ameen Agia Etrias) – before the final iteration of **ελεησον υμας** (*eleison eemas*).



Music example 4:
Αγιος ὁ Θεος
 (Agiōs o Theos),
 Coptic Trisagion.
 Top excerpt is from
 verse 3 and the bottom
 excerpt is from verse 4.
 Both share a similar
 melodic contour: step-
 wise ascent to 'B' and
 stepwise descent to 'G'.



Music example 5:
Αγιος ὁ Θεος
 (Agiōs o Theos),
 Coptic Trisagion.
 Top excerpt is the ca-
 dential phrase from
 verse 3 and the bot-
 tom excerpt is the
 cadential phrase from
 verse 4. The cadential
 phrase remains con-
 sistent.

The Coptic Trisagion and its counterparts

The first thing one notices when comparing the Coptic Trisagion with any of its near Eastern or even Western counterparts is the divergence of text. In Eastern and Western ordinary chants, the text is a simpler – thrice holy: *Holy God, Holy and mighty, Holy and undying, Have mercy on us*. The Coptic Trisagion has additional text interpolated after the invocations, creating a more substantial verse structure. Below, you will notice the English translation of the additional text in bold, with the original Coptic sublinear to it:

1)A - gi - os _____ o The - os _____
2)A - gi - os _____ y - schy - ros _____

Music example 8:
Byzantine Psaltai
Trisagion from the
Mass Ordinary
(Kastoria 8, fol. 69,
13th c.)²³

3)A - gi - os A - tha - na - tos 4)E - ley - son _____ i - mas

at the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and its wide distribution in the West are unquestioned, the shared features with the Gregorian Trisagion, including the modal region around low 'G' and the "text determined repetition scheme".²⁴ Also note its similar melismatic nature, again giving it the feel of a liturgical recitative, and the direct melodic parallel existing with the first two invocations. Structurally, this bears a resemblance to the Gregorian Trisagion (➤ Music example 7).

For the purpose of this paper, however, the next two iterations of the Byzantine Trisagion are of primary interest. The first (➤ Music example 9) is simply the priest's Trisagion response to the psaltai of Music example 8. It is not as common as the Trisagion psaltai; as Levy states, it really exists in the "mixed monastic traditions of the 14th and 15th centuries".²⁵

1)A - gi - os _____ o The - os _____ 3)A - gi - os

Music example 9:
Byzantine Priests'
Trisagion from the
Mass Ordinary
(Koutloumoussi 457,
fol. 194^v, 14th c.)²⁶

A - tha - na - tos _____ 4)E - ley - son i - mas _____

The second (➤ Music example 10) is a Trisagion performed during the Epitaphios – the icon procession that takes place on Holy Saturday. Both of these Trisagion examples are sourced from the 14th century. Melodically they are similar; the most notable differences are the Kalophonic melisma colouring at the end of the word 'Agios' in the first two invocations in the Epitaphios Trisagion, and differing textual emphases in the closing cadential melismas.

1)A - gi - os _____ o The - os _____ 3)A - gi - os

Music example 10:
Byzantine Epitaphios
Trisagion (Ambros.
Gr. 476, fol. 238^v,
14th c.)²⁷

2)A - gi - os _____ y - sch - ros _____
4)E - ley - son _____ i - mas

Comparing Music example 6 with Music examples 9 and 10, one can immediately notice common properties between the modern Coptic Trisagion and these 14th-century predecessors. One can see similarities in the melodic construction of the chants (ignoring their respective modalities), similarities in textual emphasis, and in rhythmic construction. Notice the durational and rhythmic patterns on certain words: the initial iteration of 'Agios o Theos' is strikingly similar (➤ Music example 11). The 'A' of 'Agios', acting as an upbeat to a longer '-gios', and the 'o' and 'The-' of 'o Theos' similarly in brief, passing duration to '-os'.

²⁴ LEVY, 'The Trisagion in Byzantium and the West' (↵ footnote 1), p. 762.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 763.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 765.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 765.

Music example 11:
a) The first 'Agiōs'
invocation of the first
verse of Coptic
Trisagion (top);
b) the first 'Agiōs'
invocation of Byzantine
Priests' Trisagions
from the 14th century
(bottom)

As noted above, this is a pattern that persists in the Western trisagion as well. With that in mind, it could be said that this is a natural text setting of the words, which is quite straightforward when comparing syllabic portions of melody using the same text. However, there is further melodic content that bears similarities between Coptic and Byzantine Trisagions. For example, note that the opening 'A' in the Coptic version dipping down to an 'F#' before settling on the tonal centre of 'G', is not dissimilar to the same introductory function of the Byzantine chant (again Music example 11). Moreover, the ambitus of the chants is identical; both chants range from an 'E' to a 'B' with 'G' as the tonal centre. And in both cases, the melodic peak of 'B' occurs in the third iteration of the invocation, on 'Agiōs Athanatos'.

Closing cadential phrases on the words 'Eleyson imas' (ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ ΗΜΑΣ) share little in common, however. In the Coptic Trisagion, the cadential phrase is a syllabic, stepwise motion from 'B' quarter-tone flat, dipping down to 'F' sharp with a passing-note on 'A', before resolving to 'G' (< Music example 3). -CON (i.e. '-son') bears the longest notational emphasis, with the syllable apportioned a two-beat duration. Of course, there is, at the very least, a similar notational emphasis in the Byzantine Psaltai Trisagion of the 12th century (< Music example 8) and the Epitaphios Trisagion of the 14th century (< Music example 10). The cadential phrasing of the Psaltai Trisagion also further curious similarity, with its 'A' to 'F' flourish before 'G' acting as a direct inversion of the Coptic Trisagion cadence.

Brief concluding remarks

Some scholars of Coptic music have been quick to dismiss potential shared melodic characteristics between Coptic and Byzantine chants with the same text. As Robertson, Moftah, and Roy write:

"Although it is obvious that many texts are common to both the Coptic and Greek Churches, it does not necessarily seem to follow that the melodies have been held in common as well. For example, the great hymns *The Only-Begotten* (Greek: *ho monogenes*) and the Trisagion have the same text in both traditions, but the Greek and Coptic melodies for them are entirely different. In view of this fact and other supporting observations, one might tentatively propose that both the melodic style and individual melodies of the Coptic church appear to have remained distinct. However, since the relation of Greek and Coptic music is a study still in its infancy, no comprehensive or definitive statement can be made about this problem at present."²⁸

In citing their different melodies, it is clear that the authors' claim rests upon a comparison to the contemporary Greek Trisagion and not any historical antecedents, such as those examined in the present study. Although the authors mention "many texts" that are "common to both the Coptic and Greek Churches", they neglect to mention that some of these chant texts are properly referred to in Coptic hymnody as Greek hymns, such as the three Greek chants of the Resurrection celebration: the 'First Greek Part' (also called $\Upsilon\text{ON C}\Upsilon\text{N}\Lambda$, *Ton Sina*), the 'Second Greek Part' (also called $\Upsilon\text{OY}\ \lambda\text{I}\theta\text{OY}\text{C}$, *To Lithos*), and the 'Third Greek Part' (also called $\Upsilon\text{HN}\ \Delta\text{N}\alpha\text{C}\tau\alpha\text{C}\text{I}\text{N}$, *Teen Anastaseen*).

Another factor which should be taken into account in any Byzantine and Coptic comparative study is historical evidence. Shams al-Ri'āsah Abū al-Barakāt Ibn Kabar wrote in 1320 CE that the Arabic word *lahn* (the singular form of *alḥān*) is a musical tone or scale that corresponds with liturgical text according to "mood, season, or festivity", classifying eight

²⁸ Marian ROBERTSON, Ragheb MOFTAH, Martha ROY and Margit TOTH, 'Music, Coptic', in *The Coptic Encyclopedia* (< footnote 1), pp. 1715a-1747b, <https://ccdl.claremont.edu/digital/collection/cce/id/1446/rec/1>.

Coptic tones in a manner similar to the *maqam* of Arabic music theory or to the Byzantine *octoechos*.²⁹ Such a connection, apparently, is convincing enough for Papathanasiou and Boukas to draw larger potential linkages between Coptic and Byzantine hymnody circulating around Greek hymns written in Sahidic Coptic, probably from the 7th to 9th centuries, and possibly from Hermoupolis, Egypt.³⁰

The authors are correct, however, in pointing out that “the relation of Greek and Coptic music is a study still in its infancy”.³¹ Although I would readily admit that the present study is cursory, it would be remiss of me not to draw attention to the fact that Coptic chant is an entirely oral tradition. I would not advocate that the current Coptic Trisagion is ancient, despite my purposely provocative title. It is a modern hymn, sung by modern cantors in a living tradition. But for an oral tradition, melodic and structural similarities to Greek chants using the same text that originated in the 12th to 14th centuries is striking enough. There are demonstrable comparative transcriptive studies of Coptic Hymnody that establish a maintained and homogeneous melodic consistency over areas of wide geographical dispersal. Digging back and seeing what fossilised remains exist in this living tradition can only happen through the aid of chant systems that were fortunate enough to have developed systems of notation.

²⁹ RAMZY, ‘Music: Performing Coptic Expressive Culture’ (↵ footnote 3), p. 162.

³⁰ PAPATHANASIOU and BOUKAS, ‘Early Diastematic Notation in Greek Christian Hymnographic Texts of Coptic Origin’ (↵ footnote 9), p. 162.

³¹ Ragheb MOFTAH, Margit TOTH and Martha ROY, *The Coptic Orthodox Liturgy of St. Basil with Complete Musical Transcription* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1998).

This article will convey part of my experience learning Armenian liturgical chant from two of the last major diasporan¹ exponents of the Constantinopolitan tradition of the Armenian Church (Հայաստանեայց Եկեղեցի), Dr. Aram Kerovpyan (K'erovbean) and Mr. Yeprem Yepremian (Ep'remean). In the context of this article, the word *modal* will be used to describe this music: it is a monophonic music, characterised by the intrinsic relationship both between melody and drone, and in the use of unequally-tempered intervals. Another important characteristic which defines a *mode* here is movement according to distinct melodic patterns. The most commonly used modes in the Armenian Church are found in an Octoechos; a system shared (albeit with differing modes) with the Byzantine, Syriac, Georgian, Slavic and Latin churches. I shall briefly analyze a portion of the 'Head of the Canon' or *Kanonaglux* of ԳՁ, the *Third Voice* of the Octoechos found in the Armenian Horologion. This mode is comparable to *Hicaz* in the Ottoman musical system. The text of the *Kanonaglux* is a portion of a Psalm 106 from the Night Office, the first of the cycle of canonical hours (or Offices) of the Armenian Orthodox Church.

My contribution is given as that of a vocalist working in contemporary jazz and song writing, a classically-trained pianist and experimental improviser, and now a student of this traditional music with three years of independent study outside an academic institution. My interest in this music came about from a young age. I had a desire to uncover and understand my voice in relation to my Armenian identity, and later as my musical education continued and developed I wanted to expand my creative vocabulary as a vocalist. The Constantinopolitan tradition, being a lineage of oral transmission in Armenian liturgical music that is still living, offered me a way to learn modes using unequally tempered intervals systematically through the Octoechos system. Additionally, as I began understanding microtonal aspects of Armenian sacred music, I noticed common points with

¹ The issue of the Armenian diaspora is an extensive topic, only to be touched upon here. To give an idea of the journey of these two cantors from Istanbul, I shall give a very brief explanation: although Constantinople was never part of historical Armenia, it was a key cultural centre for Armenians. At the start of the Genocide, key intellectuals and artists within the Armenian community in Constantinople were gathered and massacred. Even so, many escaped towards the city during the Genocide, as the massacres were much worse in the provincial regions. Additionally, both provincial and Constantinopolitan Armenians escaped abroad to the Middle East, Europe and the United States, amongst other areas of the world. Today in Istanbul Armenians are a minority, and live with a social standing which is vastly different from that of the socially and economically successful (although unstably so) lifestyles of the pre-1915 past. The two cantors discussed in this article left Istanbul and became part of the larger Armenian diaspora in Europe and the United States, joining many other Armenians who were survivors and/or are descendants of those massacred in the provinces of Anatolia during 1915-1923.

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An apprenticeship with Constantinopolitan master musicians in exile: The last remnants of a living oral tradition

Abstract

The paper presents, compares and analyses two versions of the 'Head of the Canon' or *Kanonaglux* of ԳՁ, the *Third Voice* of the Octoechos found in the Armenian Horologion, in interpretations by two of the last major exponents of the Constantinopolitan tradition, Aram Kerovpyan and Yeprem Yepremian. Attention is devoted to the documentary sources on which the master musicians based their interpretations, as well as to the stylistic differences between their respective versions. These are of especial interest, in view of the fact that the musicians originated from different lineages within essentially the same tradition. Due emphasis is given to the world of intonational nuances, developing modal structures and the melodic patterns featuring in their interpretations – presenting a far richer picture than more standard versions (influenced as the latter are by Westernisation and thus the use of equal temperament).

Keywords: Armenian chant; Constantinopolitan tradition; Kerovpyan, Aram; Yepremian, Yeprem; oral tradition; comparative analysis; *Kanonaglux*; Armenian Horologion

Number of characters / words: 27 166 / 4 454

Number of figures: 2

Number of music examples / recordings: 3 / 2

Secondary language(s): Armenian

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the modes of Armenian folk music.² At present, however, my studies have led me to develop interests within liturgical music, such as performing the music of the Offices in a liturgical setting accurately (with respect to this particular lineage and the musical flow of the service), learning Classical Armenian (the language of the church rites), learning the order and rotation of the canons, the spiritual content, meaning, and effect of the music upon the body, mind and spirit, as well as methods of teaching modes using unequally-tempered intervals in the most effective way. The ideas presented here should be taken in this light.

It is also important to note that this music – the Constantinopolitan tradition of Armenian Liturgical chant – is endangered and nearly extinct. At present only a handful of individuals are actively chanting the Offices of the church having learned them through the traditional method of oral transmission. In the light of this, the experience of learning with these two master musicians and the content of this article in no sense presents a final conclusion on the performance practices of this music within the context of history, but merely relays experiences of sounds and practices from a small fraction of a living tradition.

In 2015 and 2016, enabled by grants awarded by the Gulbenkian Foundation, I had intensive three-month and two-month independent studies with cantor Dr. Aram Kerovpyan and his wife Virginia Kerovpyan in Paris (➤ Fig. 1). I resided in their home, studied with them on a daily basis and attended church services on Sundays as well as during the week, in accordance with the feasts of the church calendar. As a bit of background: Dr. Kerovpyan was born in 1953 in Istanbul, Turkey. He grew up in the church environment and also studied Ottoman music with a master of the Turkish



Fig. 1:
Aram and Virginia
Kerovpyan

Kanun, Saadeddin Öktenay. With this background, his main studies and devotion to liturgical chant began in his young adulthood under the guidance of the late cantor Aramaneak Arabeian (1898–1990), in Paris, at the Cathedral Saint Jean-Baptiste, where Dr. Kerovpyan served until very recently. Arabeian was a student of Nšan Sergoeyan (1889–1982), student of Grigor Meht'erean (1866–1937), himself a pupil of Nikolayos T'ašćean (1841–1885). Dr. Kerovpyan also leads the professional group, Ensemble Akn, formed in 1990. The main work of Akn is to “revive and develop the tradition of Armenian liturgical chant”.³

As a student of Dr. Kerovpyan, I was taught the modes step by step, through full immersion. A large part of the training entailed adopting natural diatonic and Pythagorean intervals into my musical vocabulary – intervals which are fundamental to the particular style of singing in the Istanbul churches generally. Growing up in an Armenian Evangelical family in Los Angeles, these sounds, although familiar through hearing Armenian folk music, were not dominant in my daily surroundings. I therefore willingly unlearned many of the ways in which I produced sound physically through my voice, in order to access the particular vibrations of these intervals – most slightly larger or slightly smaller than the common tempered intervals of today's orchestras and pianos. This required deep listening, and sensing the pitches from within the body. It resulted in the unearthing of what seemed like a subconscious familiarity of the material. After three months of listening and repetitive experience, with holding a drone and daily intervallic training as the building blocks, I developed a level of comfort with only two or three modes, and an introduction to two others of the Octoechos and its auxiliary modes known as դարձուածք (*darjuack'*).

Upon my return to Los Angeles in 2015, I met Mr. Yeprem Yepremian, a cantor living in Los Angeles since 1985 (➤ Fig. 2). I have been studying with him for two years. Like Dr. Kerovpyan, Mr. Yepremian was also born in Istanbul, but in 1930. He is a student of the late master singer Nersēs Xiwtaverteian (1880–1952), also a student of Grigor Meht'erean (1866–1937). At the age of seventeen Mr. Yepremian began his formal studies with Nersēs Xiwtaverteian, which lasted three years. From then on he quickly advanced into liturgical chant leadership, having his own vocal ensemble at the age of nineteen. He later became cantor at several churches in Istanbul. In 1954, Yepremian moved to Beirut, Lebanon, leading chant in several churches

² The extent to which the liturgical and folk melodies have been transformed independently of one another throughout history is open to discussion. It is fair to note that there is a relationship between the two musics, but not necessarily an exact parallel.

³ Website: <https://akn-chant.org/en/>. Ensemble AKN, 2005.

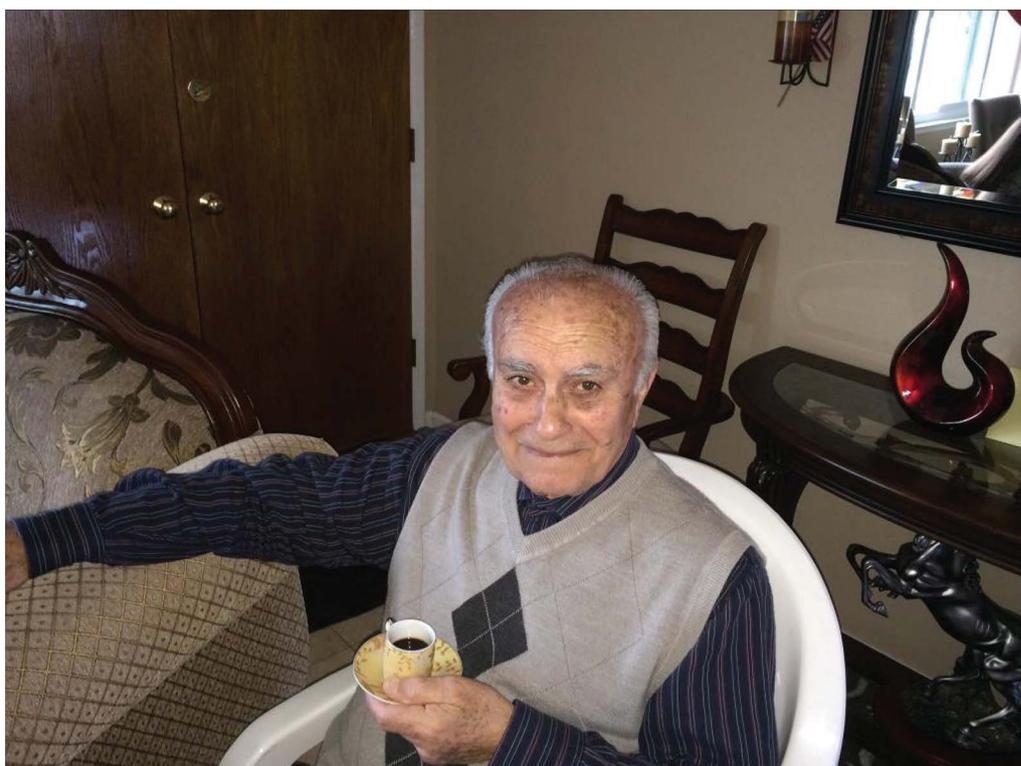


Fig. 2:
Yeprem Yepremian

before emigrating to the United States in 1985. He currently serves at St. Peter's Armenian Apostolic Church in Van Nuys, CA, a neighbourhood of Los Angeles. My educational course with Mr. Yepremian is ongoing to the present day, focusing on the *Kanonaglux* and on the Հայր (Harc' or Patrum hymn)⁴ of each Sunday. Due to the volume of works within the church canon, some of the hymns are only visited once a year or quite infrequently; thus, acquiring mastery of these songs and becoming accustomed to the order of the rituals requires numerous one-year cycles. Attempting to understand the order within these services was like walking in the dark. However, I soon discovered that experiencing the rituals through the body – meaning the physical experience of going through the church service within the shared memory of the participants – was extremely vital. I had to stop myself, being a true 'Westerner', from attempting to understand everything with an analytical mind. Now, having reached a certain level of confidence, I do take additional practice time during the week, and complement my studies by reading musicological sources. However, in the initial stages of learning it was very important to accept that the successful transmission of this repertoire and understanding of the rituals occurs through being consistently steeped in the devotional practice, and doing so with humility.

In my time with both my teachers, I observed that diversity and variation are abundant in this musical tradition. And one may, by studying it, realise how alive and different the chants can be, and must have been, amongst the many different singers. I spent time with both Dr. Kerovpyan and Mr. Yepremian listening to archival recordings, which have given me numerous examples of the creative differences between cantors and church singers from the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. As I understand it, the handwritten notebooks that we have (sources from the older cantors) are documentation of chants sung in these live moments of human expression throughout musical history – from what the singers heard and from what they themselves preferred and deemed it correct to sing thanks to their education and musical environment. As fewer singers are now available, we must use our ears and our education about modal movement to enliven and recreate a pleasurable experience for the ears of the listeners from these written sources and from the information we have.⁵ As Dr. Kerovpyan states in his writings:

⁴ The *Harc' or Patrum* is based on a section of the canticles in the Morning Hour of the Armenian Church, devoted to Երեց մանկանց (Eric'mankanc') – the three Hebrew youths, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego in the book of Daniel.

⁵ After having given this talk in July 2017 at MedRen in Prague, a new written source – Haig UTIDJIAN, *Intesean and the Music of the Armenian Hymnal* (Červený Kostelec: Mervart, 2017) – was brought to

“Approximately a century and a half ago they would try to transcribe modal melodies as best they could; whereas today we attempt to read the notation as best we can.”⁶

The reasons for the rarity of performances of this music are numerous. As a result of the Genocide of 1915–1923, the era of monastic life in the provinces of Armenia came to an end, and with it also the manifold variety in the musical traditions. Moreover, an overall disconnection with ritual time in the world, the westernisation of the music of the Armenian Divine Liturgy and the use of the organ and four-part harmony, have also hindered the flourishing of this style of monophonic music. Fewer practitioners equals less creative activity and less development. This puts the music at the risk of petrification, in the state documented in standardised arrangements in Western staff notation. As mentioned above, the Limōnčean notational system on the other hand is most useful when the performer already has the modes in mind. In and of itself it does not describe the exact frequencies of the pitches to be sung, but gives many clues in its representation of modal degrees as to what the distinct Armenian church modes may have sounded like. Few know this notation system, and even fewer practise it. However, from what remains in handwritten sources from cantors, and what is being transmitted to me by both Dr. Kerovpyan and Mr. Yepremian, we can have a glimpse through a very small window into the past.

Practice

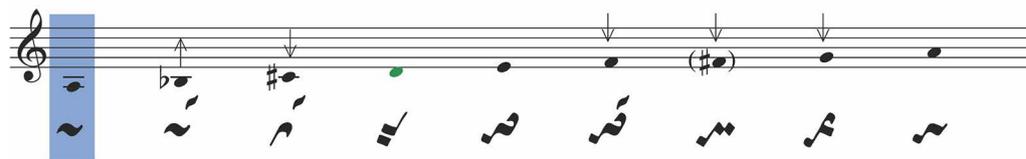
How do I approach the singing of this music? Apart from some technical musical aspects, which I will address later on, for me the most important things have become to observe and to listen. For a long time now, I have gently mumbled alongside my teachers, until I am able to join the chanting. This is due in most part to the complexity of the rhythm and texts, and to the time it takes to develop familiarity with the modal sphere. Another part of the practice of this music which is important is the spiritual mindset, an open heart, and a musically and historically informed imagination: an imagination that will take one back to a time when this music was flourishing – antiphonal choruses, calling and responding to one another; a sense of joy, immersion into the sound, with no distractions, phones, cameras or microphones; a focus of the heart and the mind in reverence, all for the purpose of deep prayer and celebration. But above all, listening. Since the sounds in this music are not as common to the modern ear, listening and absorption are key to the prospect of learning how to chant the texts within the modal patterns and microtonal intervals. One must not be so quick to sing, or to ‘perform’, thereby risking reverting to predisposed musical training and habits.

The mode we will be briefly discussing in this article is the ԳՁ, the *Third Voice* (➤ Fig. 3), which is comparable to and has a close relationship with the Ottoman mode *Hicaz*. Although the mode is transposable in practice, according to the vocal comfort of each singer, a common convention of ‘Eastern’ musicians transcribing into Western notation entails the pitches: *A, B flat, C sharp, D, E, F (F sharp), G, A*. Some of the main features of this mode with regard to pitch are a second degree hovering slightly higher than what is customarily heard on the piano, a slightly lower and richer *C sharp*, a pure fourth emerging from within the sound of the fundamental/drone, a bright fifth, a lighter and slightly lower sixth with a close and

my attention about the Tntesean hymnal (published posthumously in 1934). In this monograph Dr. Haig Utidjian very eloquently and systematically describes his process of establishing how the Limōnčean notational system (developed in the early 19th century) was used by the musicologist and cantor Elia Tntesean (1834–1881) to represent a unique system of modes used in the Armenian Church. In effect, Utidjian states that this system ‘nods and winks’ to the Ottoman system, but does not duplicate it exactly. In his detailed and thorough explanations of the evidence discovered, Utidjian explains some of the notational features deployed by Tntesean to capture aspects of the Armenian system of unfixed, unequally-tempered intervals; their deployment appears to have varied from mode to mode, and possibly from singer to singer. In fact Tntesean’s own chart, presenting ‘Eastern’ and ‘European’ scales alongside each other, makes it apparent that it would not necessarily be possible to determine the pitches of this notation fully without the corroboration provided by the practice of present-day singers, coupled with further, less direct evidence on the Armenian church modes from source material from the 19th century. Utidjian states “a single chart with a single ‘Eastern scale’ alone cannot suffice to define the pitches implied by the symbols” (section 3.1.3 therein). The same notational symbols deployed in different modes most probably implied different pitches and hence intervallic values from one mode to another (and perhaps from singer to singer). Therefore, the sound represented by the notational symbol would have been supported by previous aural familiarity with the mode, in order to sing it appropriately and according to the practice of a particular branch of the tradition.

⁶ Aram KEROVPYAN, *Voice from the Desert* (Paris: AKN Association, 2017), p. 139.

Music example 1:
The ԳՁ modal
structure



dependent relationship to the fifth, and a lower leaning and richer seventh. *A* is the home tone. There is a secondary stable point at *D*.

Yet a mode is never sung as pitches in a row. To achieve the sound of the mode one can think of the modal degrees less in terms of pitch, and more in terms of character and function. Where does each degree lead to? Like the choreography of a dance, each mode has its steps and its arrival points. Each mode tells its own story, and has its own melodic pattern or behaviours. So, one must understand the interdependence of the resonance, pitch and character of each modal degree, in order to create the sound. The sound is based on intention, direction and (of course) vowel formation. For instance, in other modes some of the degrees might be lower or higher, depending on direction (ascent or descent), stasis or movement. This is found more often in the diatonic modes such as the *Second Voice* (or ‘authentic’ mode), ԲՁ, closely related to the Ottoman mode *Hüseyni*, the *Fourth Voice* ԳՁ, closely related to the Ottoman mode *Nevâ*, and the *Fourth Side* (or ‘plagal’ mode), ԳԿ, closely related to the Ottoman mode *Üşhak*. This approach to the voice takes flexibility, and requires relaxation and a speech-like relationship with the words. As an example – once during a lesson I complained to Dr. Kerovpyan of my lack of ability to duplicate the modal intervallic patterns with exact precision at each attempt. He looked at me and said “You are not a piano. You are a voice and a voice has nuance.” Of course, one can also sing according to present-day Ottoman theory, measuring and utilising the ‘commas’⁷ by machine; but this use of machines was implemented in the late 20th century and can be seen as a new contribution.

Sources

The version of the *Kanonaglux* sung to me by Mr. Yepremian was transmitted orally to him by his teacher Nersēs Xiwtavertean (> Fig. 4). The version given to me by Dr. Kerovpyan is a transcription of an older interpretation by Mr. Yovsēp’ Ptalikean (1922–2001), another Constantinopolitan cantor who had many students, at least two of whom are serving in Istanbul currently (> Fig. 5). This version was not orally transmitted by Mr. Arabeian to Dr. Kerovpyan, but was chosen by Dr. Kerovpyan from written sources. At the time he was learning from Mr. Arabeian, the latter was too old and frail to make it to church on time for this part of the Offices, so Dr. Kerovpyan never heard his version. (This was a phenomenon unique to the late 20th century and more recently, and would not have happened at earlier times in the tradition when the music was still flourishing.) Dr. Kerovpyan later told me that years of listening to Mr. Arabeian influenced the way he interpreted this written source.

In this short passage (*Xōstōvan eferuk’ Teān, zi k’alc’r ē, Alēluia*) I have outlined in colour the main tones, the skeleton of the structure of the phrase.⁸ The passage mentioned is the opening of Psalm 106. It translates as “Give thanks to the Lord, for He is Good. Hallelujah!” Both singers have similar ‘landmarks’, but arrive at different points, and with a different timing with respect to the prosody and syllables of text, and entailing slightly different journeys through the mode. The slope of the skeleton of the music, however, is similar, as it progresses through the words. I have marked the journey through the mode and through the words in colour so that the reader may see the similarities and differences between the two versions. In essence, both versions of this *Kanonaglux* exhibit the movements expected of ԳՁ – in particular finding a stable point at the fourth degree and a resting place on the first degree.

⁷ Rauf Yekta (1871–1935) and Hüseyin Saadettin Arel (1880–1955) were two Ottoman music theorists who contributed to the current theory of Ottoman music, according to which the whole step is divided into nine sections or ‘commas’. At present, however, tuning machines which are used to tune the instruments according to these theoretical measurements have created a difference between the ‘schools’ of those who measured by ear (a less precise style, still governed by the comma system but not by tuning machines) and those who measured by machine (deploying more precise and fixed intervals).

⁸ The Limōnčean font in Figs. 4 and 5 is the Aneumatic Font by Vladimír Faltus and Haig Utidjian, and its development was funded by the Charles University Grant GAUK 1746214: *The music of the Armenian Hymnal* held by Principal Investigator Haig Utidjian, January 2013 – June 2016.

Խօս-տո-վան ե-ղե-րուք Տեա-րնն զի
Xös-to-van e-ł-ruk' Tea-fön zi

քա-ղորտ է Ա-
k'a-łc'r ē A-

լէ- լու- իա
lē- lu- ia

Music example 2:
Kanonaglux
from Yepremian

Recording 1:
Kanonaglux
from Yepremian



Therefore, we observe that the differences between these two singers imply that there could be other variants as well. And of course they do exist, although they are not presented in this article. The method of oral transmission itself encompasses ideas of musical evolution from one generation to another. In this living musical language, the tones and vowels are delivered slightly differently by two people within essentially the same musical culture. There lies the essence of the music – it is continually composed, in a sense, by its practitioners throughout time. A brief story from Mr. Yepremian may demonstrate how these differences in versions may have come about: in learning the fast-moving chants in the compilations of Շարակաւք (*Šarakank'* or hymns) known as Քաղուածք (*K'afuack'*), Nersēs Xiwtavertean, his teacher, would teach the students the first two verses alone of the entire string of verses. The students were then expected to bring the rest of the verses (with a variety of words) to him for the next session, based on their familiarity with the features and patterns of that particular mode learned by ear. With practice, guidance, listening and correction, the chants were then moulded according to the tradition and lineage of the cantor.

So we see that orally transmitted music has an 'open door' to change. It is living beyond the confines of the page, and lives within a person. In fact, most cantors will not read items in the Limōnčean notation exactly as written. Learning through this process can be very confusing, until a practitioner realises that it is a common phenomenon. A broad definition of improvisation is a key to learning this music: freedom within a certain limitation or structure. In this case, the modal structure and knowledge of its behaviour and movement poses the

The image displays four systems of musical notation. Each system consists of a staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a line of neumes below it. The lyrics are written in Armenian and Latin script below the neumes. The first system is highlighted in red and orange, the second in yellow and green, the third in green and blue, and the fourth in blue. The lyrics for the first system are: *խոս տո վա ն ե լե ռուք Տեա ռըն* / *Xōs tō va n e le ruk' Tea fōn*. The second system lyrics are: *զի քա ղըր* / *zi k'a itc'r*. The third system lyrics are: *է Ա լե լու* / *ē A- lē- lu-*. The fourth system lyrics are: *իա* / *ia*.

Music example 3:

Kanonaglux
from Kerovpyan

Recording 2:
Kanonaglux
from Kerovpyan



limitations with which one works. I witnessed this phenomenon in the various ways in which Dr. Kerovpyan and Mr. Yepremian dealt with cadences of hymns written out in the Limōnčean notation. A cadence may be written in one way, but there are always several traditionally accepted ways of singing these endings. A certain amount of variation and improvisation is also evident in the speech-like⁹ approach to the chants, while being read from the old neumatic system, the *խազ* (*xaz*), the complete meaning of which is lost. A method of reading from the neumes remains, but it is a remnant of a system. We cannot read or understand the neumes in their entirety at present.

21st-century diasporan influences and modern-day transmission

The assimilation of an Armenian adult into this tradition who has grown up outside it is a different process from the traditional method, specifically in terms of the cultural context. I had learned some standard versions of certain traditional Armenian sacred hymns as a child in the Armenian Evangelical Church, yet I had no long-term exposure to the context of the music within the rituals or to the Octoechos system. In contrast to the training of a young

⁹ The term for chanting in Armenian is *կարդալ* (*kardal*), which means to proclaim, or study and read, in Classical and Modern Armenian, respectively, according to the dictionaries by Չախչախեան, *Բաղզիրք ի բարբառ հայ եւ իտալական* (1837), p. 760 and by ՃԷՐԷՃեան, Տօնիկեան and Խաչատուրեան, *Հայոց լեզուի նոր բարարան* (1992), p. 977.

acolyte from his or her childhood, my own experience with this music came much later in life. How this affects the result of my singing merits a much longer discussion, and is yet to be determined. However, Dr. Kerovpyan's teaching through natural and progressive assimilation by experience within the church rituals and the daily practice of intervals perhaps constituted a condensed version of the tradition, which he succeeded in conveying through his pedagogical method. It is hard to say how I would have absorbed the material taught to me now in Los Angeles by Mr. Yepremian without my initial exposure to natural intervals and Armenian notation from Dr. Kerovpyan.

So if each individual is leaving a mark on this music, what is my mark as a student? Needless to say, how I hear what I am being taught, according to my musical and cultural background and environment, and my ability and the effect that I desire, will also determine the direction of the music. Traditionally, the music would have been taught by one teacher to one student. In my case, after a seventeen-year search for a teacher of Armenian music which is connected to the oral tradition, my studies led me to two teachers in two different locations. How would this manner of research and study, with two main influences, affect the evolution of the music? How do I choose, having heard the common aspects and differences in the music from one cantor to another? How does this affect my interpretation? These questions remain to be addressed as I progress in my studies.

There is much more to be learned, researched, and written, but for the present I merely introduce a very small branch of a very large tree. My purpose in this brief study has been threefold. First, to inform the reader of one of the last preserved living systems of Armenian liturgical chant to have reached us, by presenting the aforementioned cantors; second, to relay my trajectory as a diasporan student integrating this music into my musical practice; and, third, to witness the expansive, creative and improvisational possibilities of this music, exemplified in this article by the two versions of the *Kanonaglux*. My hope is that more people will be creatively involved in continuing the tradition of this exceedingly ecstatic and spiritually healing music.

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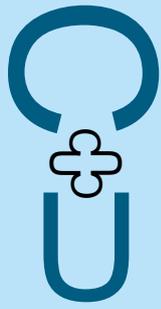
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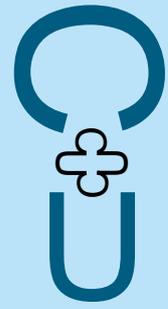
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Clavibus unitis

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Edited by
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