

## 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-îš) 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).<sup>1</sup> 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).<sup>2</sup> 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').

<sup>1</sup> 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](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."

<sup>2</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup> century.

The article therefore aims to give a detailed description of the peculiarities of Psalm 1, based on sixteen representative manuscripts from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> 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 13<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> 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

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## Text and place in the Office

	GREEK	ENGLISH <sup>3</sup>
1a	<b>Μακάριος ἀνὴρ, ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλῇ ἀσεβῶν</b>	<b>Blessed is the man who walks not in the counsel of the ungodly,</b>
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 <b>ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός.</b>	and in his law he meditates <b>day and night.</b>
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 ἀπορῥύσεται·	whose leaf also shall not wither;
3d	καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἂν ποιῇ, <b>κατευοδωθήσεται.</b>	and whatever he does <b>shall prosper.</b>
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 <b>in the congregation of the righteous.</b>
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 Fullerton<sup>4</sup> 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)<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

(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.”

<sup>3</sup> 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>.

<sup>4</sup> 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](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228724588_Intertextuality_and_the_Interpretation_of_Psalm_1).

<sup>5</sup> 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).”

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

Psalm 1<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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. Basil<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup>

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.<sup>11</sup>

### 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”.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, the Savas *typikon* (ET-MSsc 1097) from the year 1214 writes (➤ Fig. 1): “And the Makarios Aner begins, loud and slow.”<sup>13</sup>

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](http://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](http://www.scielo.org.za/pdf/ote/v23n3/12.pdf).

<sup>7</sup> The psalm numbering follows that of the Septuagint.

<sup>8</sup> See St. Basil's interpretation of Psalm 1 (10<sup>th</sup> 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.

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

<sup>10</sup> 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.”

<sup>11</sup> Panagiotēs Ch. PANAGIOTIDES, ‘The Musical Use of the Psalter in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> 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.

<sup>12</sup> 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.

<sup>13</sup> 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.

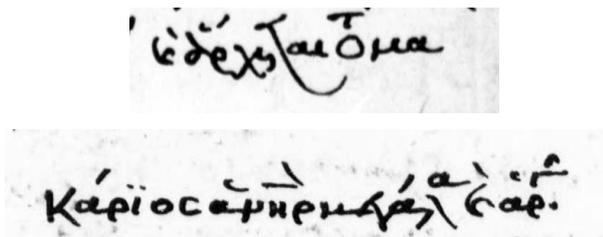


Fig. 1:  
ET-MSsc 1097,  
fol. 11<sup>r-v</sup> naming  
Psalm 1 to be sung  
during the monastic  
*hesperinos*<sup>14</sup>

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 ἀνήρ* (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.<sup>15</sup> On fol. 212<sup>r-v</sup> the beginning of Psalm 1 (*Μακάριος ἀνήρ*) and then the first half-verse (*Μακάριος ἀνήρ, ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλή ἄσεβδων*) are notated with alleluia as refrain. The latter indicates clearly that this setting is of the monastic tradition<sup>16</sup>; otherwise, in the urban cathedral rite, it would have said Δόξα σοι ὁ θεός ('Glory to God').<sup>17</sup>

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 ἀνήρ* 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.<sup>18</sup>

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).<sup>19</sup>

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>.

<sup>14</sup> 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.

<sup>15</sup> Fol. 183<sup>v</sup> 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 [...]."

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

<sup>17</sup> 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>.

<sup>18</sup> Dimitrios K. BALAGEORGOS, 'Ο κοσμικός και μοναχικός τύπος στην ψαλτή λατρεία κατά 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 ἀνήρ, 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 φωνῆ· [ἦχος] πλ. δ' Μακάριος ἀνήρ – Ἀπὸ χοροῦ, ἀλλαγία· πλ. δ' Μακάριος ἀνήρ*», 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."

<sup>19</sup> 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 <sup>20</sup>	212 <sup>r</sup>	1309	<i>heirmologion</i> (anthology)	St. Catherine Monastery on Mt. Sinai
ET-MSsc 1257 <sup>21</sup>	170 <sup>v</sup>	1332	<i>heirmologion</i> (anthology)	St. Catherine Monastery on Mt. Sinai
GR-An 2458 <sup>22</sup>	13 <sup>v</sup>	1336	<i>papadike</i>	Monastery of the Forerunner in Serres
GR-An 2622	8 <sup>v</sup>	c. 1341–1360	<i>papadike</i>	Monastery of the Forerunner in Serres
GR-An 2444	25 <sup>v</sup>	mid 14 <sup>th</sup> -c.	<i>papadike</i>	Monastery of the Forerunner in Serres
GR-An 899	46 <sup>r</sup>	c. 1390–1410	<i>papadike</i>	?
GR-An 905	6 <sup>r</sup>	late 14 <sup>th</sup> c.	<i>akolouthia</i>	?
GR-An 2600	10 <sup>r</sup>	(late) 14 <sup>th</sup> c.	<i>papadike</i>	Monastery of the Forerunner in Serres (?)
A-Wn Theol. gr. 185	9 <sup>r</sup>	1380–1391 <sup>23</sup>	anthology	Salonica (?)
GR-An 904	22 <sup>r</sup>	14 <sup>th</sup> –15 <sup>th</sup> c.	<i>akolouthia</i>	?
GR-An 906	25 <sup>r</sup>	14 <sup>th</sup> –15 <sup>th</sup> c.	<i>akolouthia</i>	?
GR-An 2456	5 <sup>r</sup>	late 14 <sup>th</sup> / early 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	<i>papadike</i>	Monastery of the Forerunner in Serres
GR-An 2401	58 <sup>v</sup>	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	<i>papadike</i>	Monastery of the Forerunner in Serres (?)
V-CVbav Barb. gr. 304 <sup>24</sup>	7 <sup>v</sup>	15 <sup>th</sup> c.	anthology?	?
GR-An 2406 <sup>25</sup>	33 <sup>v</sup>	1453	<i>papadike</i>	Monastery of the Forerunner in Serres
GR-An 928	31 <sup>v</sup>	late 15 <sup>th</sup> 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.”<sup>26</sup>

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

<sup>20</sup> 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>.

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

<sup>22</sup> 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>.

<sup>23</sup> Christian HANNICK, ‘Étude sur l’*akolouthia* *ἁσματική*’, *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.

<sup>24</sup> Online scans: [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Barb.gr.304](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Barb.gr.304).

<sup>25</sup> 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.

<sup>26</sup> 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, Williams<sup>27</sup> 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,<sup>28</sup> based on the occurrence of composer attributions in the manuscripts with Psalm 1 (➤ Table 3).

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

Table 3:  
Composer attributions  
in fourteenth-century  
manuscripts

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>34</sup> 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).<sup>35</sup>

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 <sup>th</sup> 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 βουλῇ 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<sup>r</sup> the rubric after verse 1a reads εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ μέλος ('to the same melody').<sup>36</sup> 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 Tøroelsgård 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.”<sup>37</sup>

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):

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

<sup>36</sup> 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.

<sup>37</sup> TROELSGÅRD, 'III. Byzantine Psalmody' (↵ footnote 17).

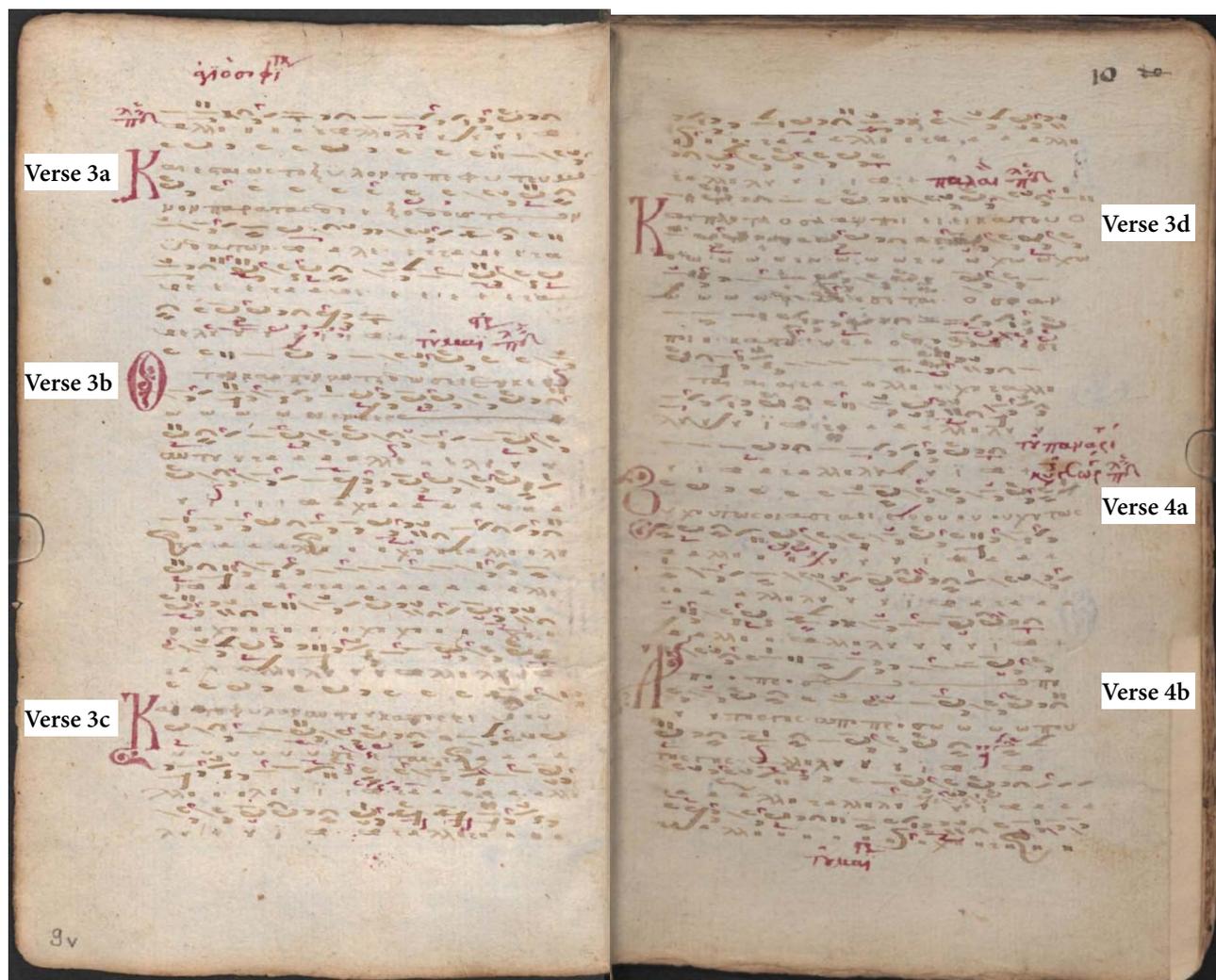


Fig. 2:  
A-Wn Theol. gr. 185,  
fol. 9<sup>v</sup>-10<sup>r</sup> displaying  
melodies for almost  
all verses of Psalm 1

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. Ioannidou<sup>38</sup> 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-

<sup>38</sup> 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 14<sup>th</sup>/15<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>39</sup> Neither Psalm 1, though, nor the Polyeleos (Psalms 134–136),<sup>40</sup> where the term *diplosmos* is also used, are examples of Byzantine polyphony.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>39</sup> TOULIATOS-MILES, *A Descriptive Catalogue* (↵ footnote 22), p. 317.

<sup>40</sup> 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>.

<sup>41</sup> 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*).<sup>42</sup>

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.<sup>43</sup> Balageorgos explains in his article<sup>44</sup> 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.<sup>45</sup>

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](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).

<sup>42</sup> 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<sup>v</sup> 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).”

<sup>43</sup> The theorist Gabriel Hieromonachos (flourished c. 1450) likewise used the word *diplasmos* 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 *diplasmos*. The treatise is preserved in an eighteenth-century Jerusalem manuscript, IL-Jr Naos Abraam 129, f. 7<sup>v</sup> 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 9<sup>th</sup>; on the third [step] you sing a 10<sup>th</sup> [...]. 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.”

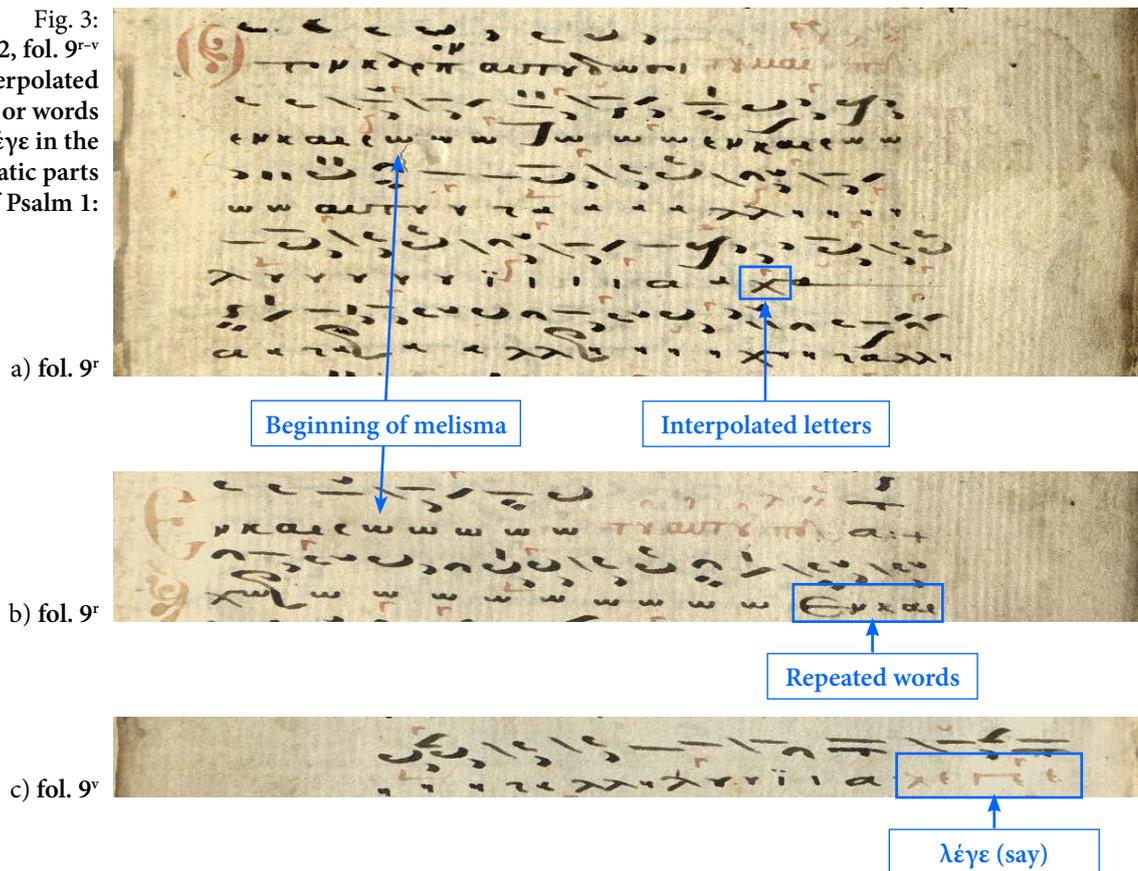
<sup>44</sup> BALAGEORGOS, ‘Ο κοσμικὸς καὶ μοναχικὸς τύπος’ (↪ footnote 18), p. 258: “Ἡ καταγεγραμμένη στον κώδικα EBE 2458 ἐνδειξὴ «πληρωθέντος τούτου ὁ ψάλτης γεγονωτέρα λέγει φωνῇ [ἦχος] πλ. δ’ Μακάριος ἀνὴρ – Ἀπο χοροῦ, ἄλλαγμα· πλ. δ’ Μακάριος ἀνὴρ», μᾶς θυμίζει τὶς ἀναγραφὲς τοῦ ἐνοριακοῦ ψαλτικοῦ 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.”

<sup>45</sup> Evangelia SPYRAKOU, ‘Ἡ ηχοχρωματικὴ ποικιλία στὴν Βυζαντινὴ χορωδιακὴ πράξη’, in *Proceedings of the 1<sup>st</sup> 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, το 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 «ὀφειλομένον 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).<sup>46</sup> 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,<sup>47</sup> “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<sup>r-v</sup>  
showing interpolated  
letters or words  
such as λέγε in the  
melismatic parts  
of Psalm 1:



Williams states<sup>48</sup> 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* Φοβερὸν τὸ ἐμπροσθεῖν in the third mode, it says that “We must hold from below.”)

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Clara ADSUARA, ‘On the Structure of Kalophonic Sticheria: Working Hypotheses’, in László DOBSZAY (ed.), *Papers Read at the IMS Intercongressional Symposium and the 7<sup>th</sup> 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](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 sticheria] 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.”

<sup>47</sup> 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.

<sup>48</sup> 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).

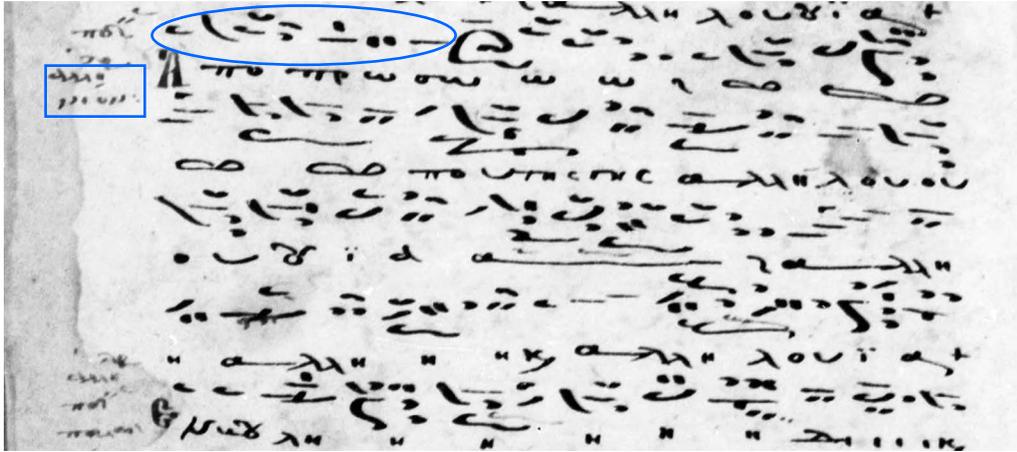


Fig. 4:  
ET-MSsc 1257,  
fol. 171<sup>v</sup> with the  
rubric *alle<luia> neon*  
in the left margin (see  
the blue rectangle)

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<sup>v</sup>, 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<sup>v</sup> (◄ 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).

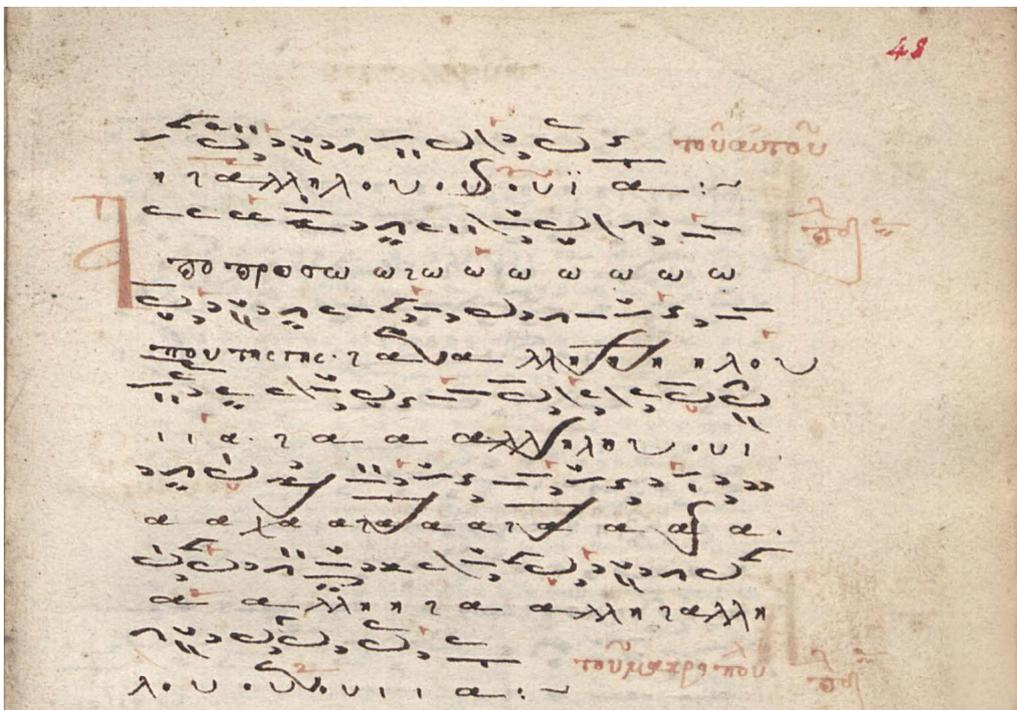
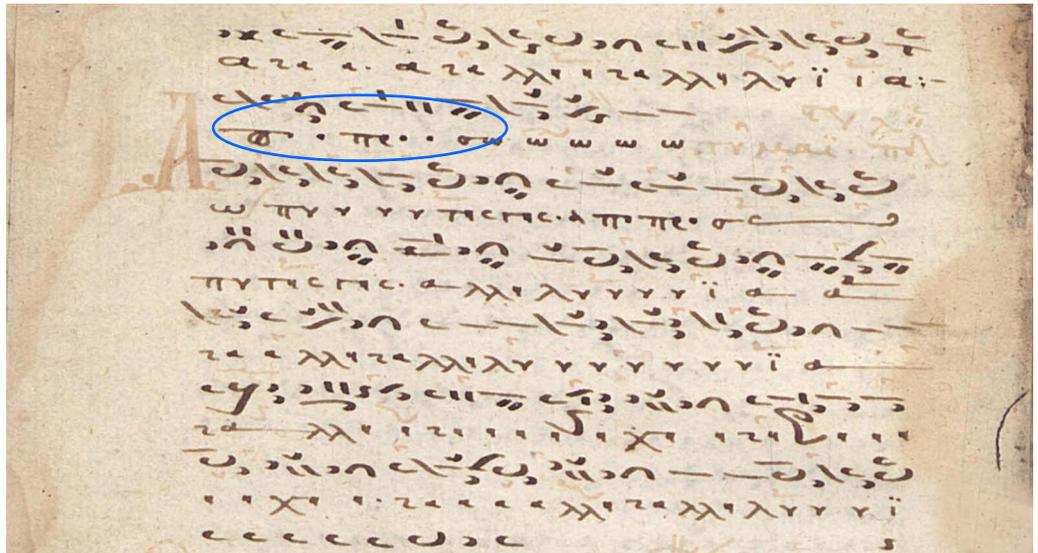


Fig. 5:  
GR-An 899, fol. 48<sup>r</sup>  
showing Korones'  
melody for the second  
part of verse 4b (ἀπὸ  
προσώπου τῆς γῆς),  
which differs  
significantly from  
the anonymous one  
in Fig. 4

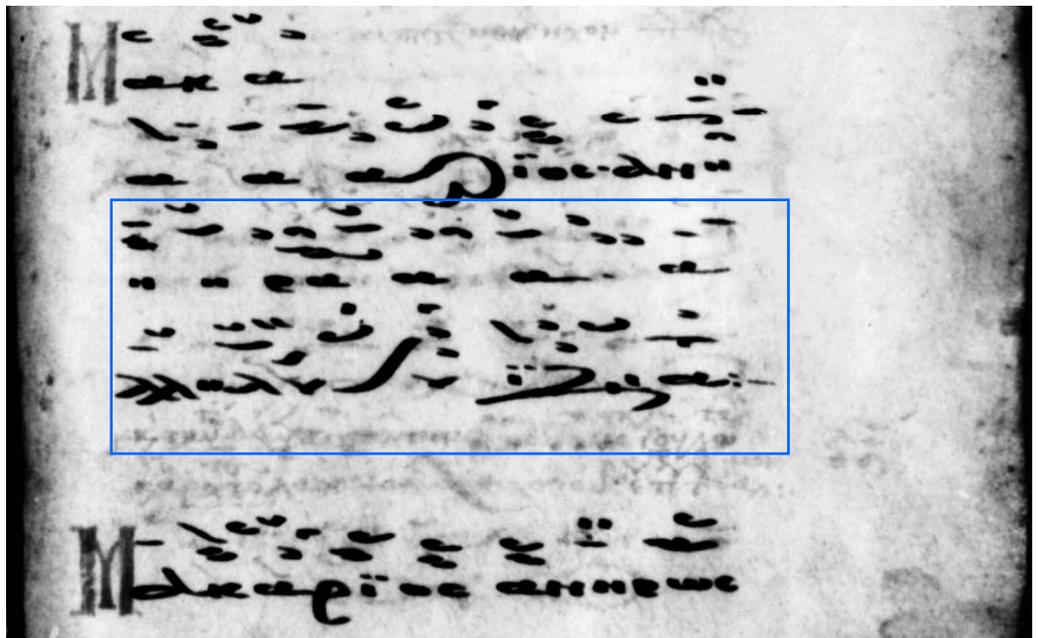
Nevertheless, a shift in the melodies due to their melismatic reworking during the next decades is apparent in all the manuscripts from ET-MSsc 1257 onwards.

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



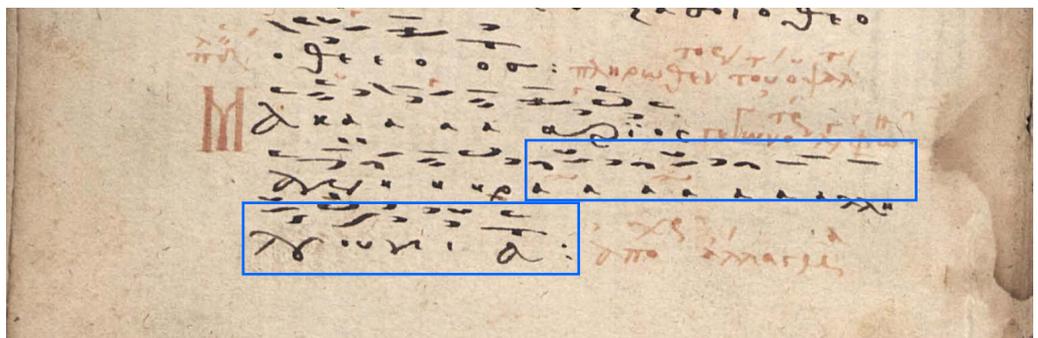
The melody of the Prologue (the very first chanting of the words Μακάριος ἀνὴρ ἀλληλούϊα) in ET-MSsc 1256, fol. 212<sup>r</sup> is basically preserved in the younger manuscripts (➤ Fig. 7).

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



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

Fig. 8:  
GR-An 2458, fol. 13<sup>v</sup> 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<sup>v</sup> 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)

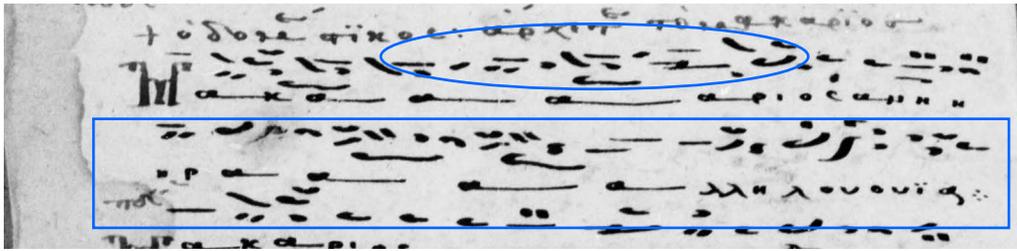


Fig. 9:  
ET-MSsc 1257,  
fol. 170<sup>r</sup> showing an  
extra formula on  
the syllables Maka-  
and Makari-  
(see the blue oval and  
the blue rectangle)

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

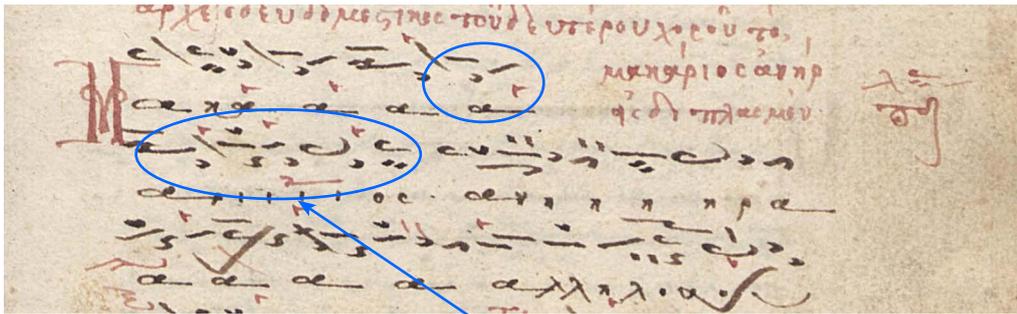
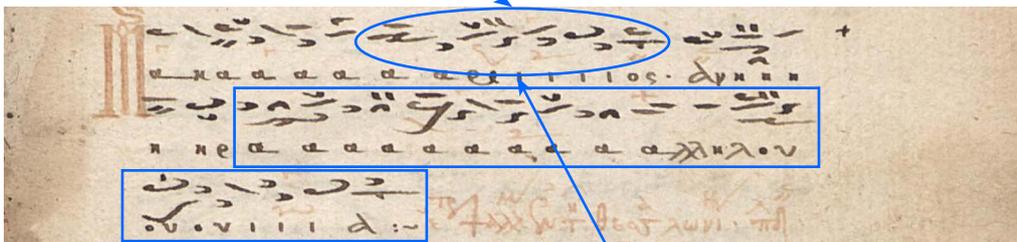
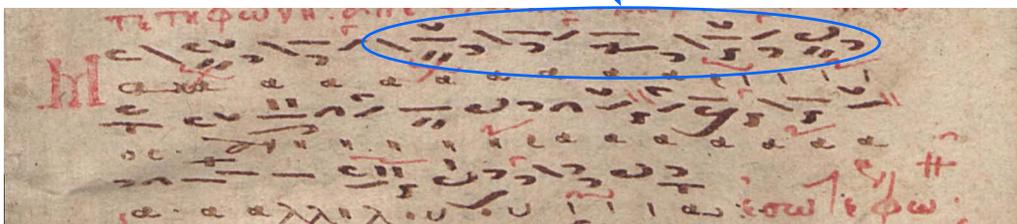


Fig. 10:  
Additional formula  
in GR-An 899 taken  
up in the other  
manuscripts  
(see the blue ovals):

a) GR-An 899, fol. 46<sup>r</sup>



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



c) GR-An 904, fol. 22<sup>r</sup>

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).

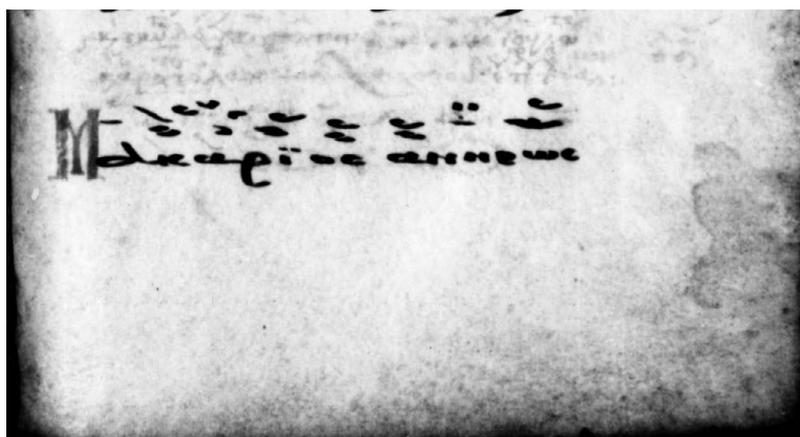
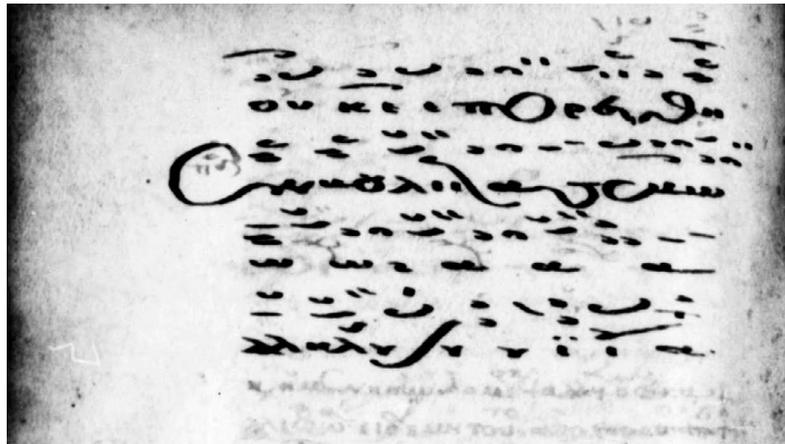
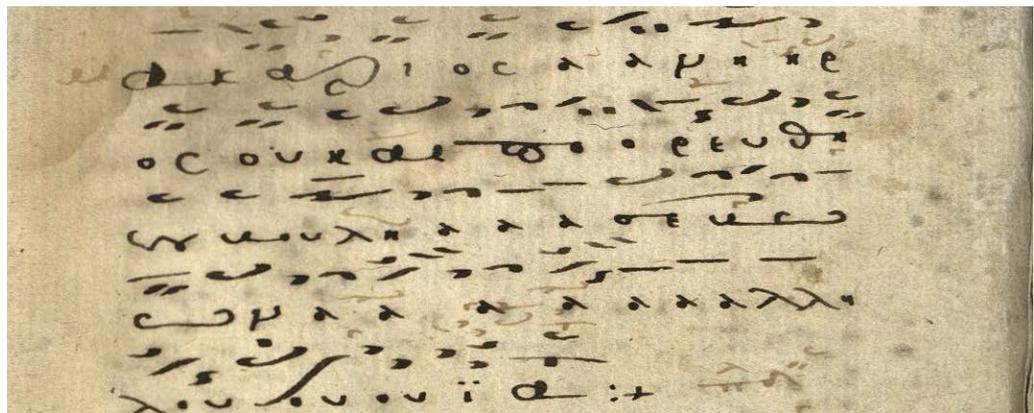


Fig. 11:  
Verse 1a is the most  
stable of all verses of  
Psalm 1:

a) ET-MSsc 1256,  
fol. 212<sup>r</sup>

b) ET-MSsc 1256,  
fol. 212<sup>v</sup>c) GR-An 2600,  
fol. 10<sup>r</sup>

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)<sup>49</sup> 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 ἁμαρτωλοὶ 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).

<sup>49</sup> 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](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."

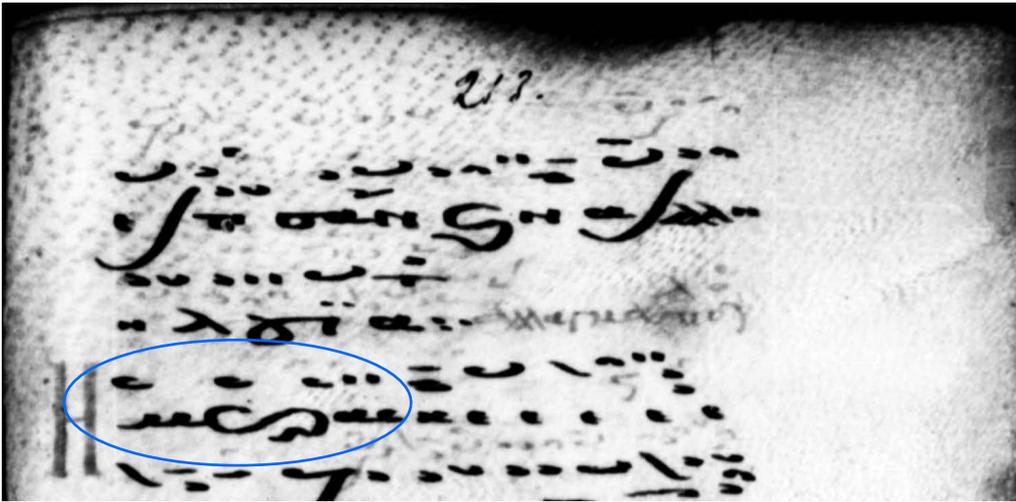
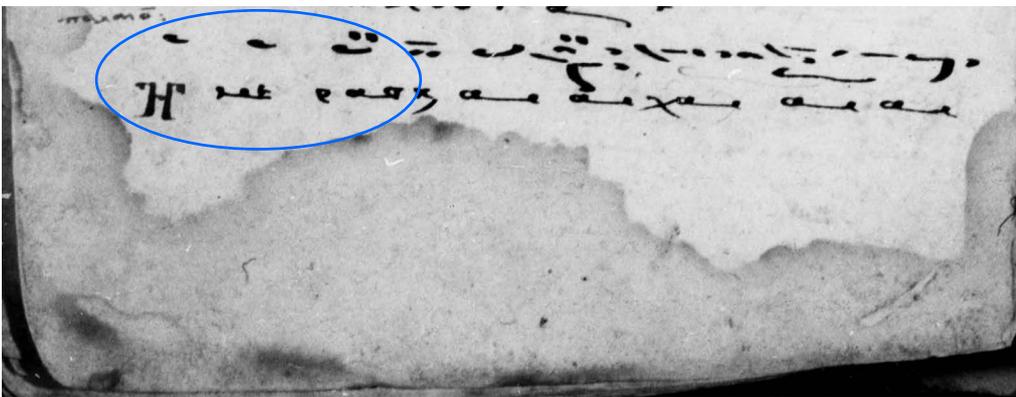
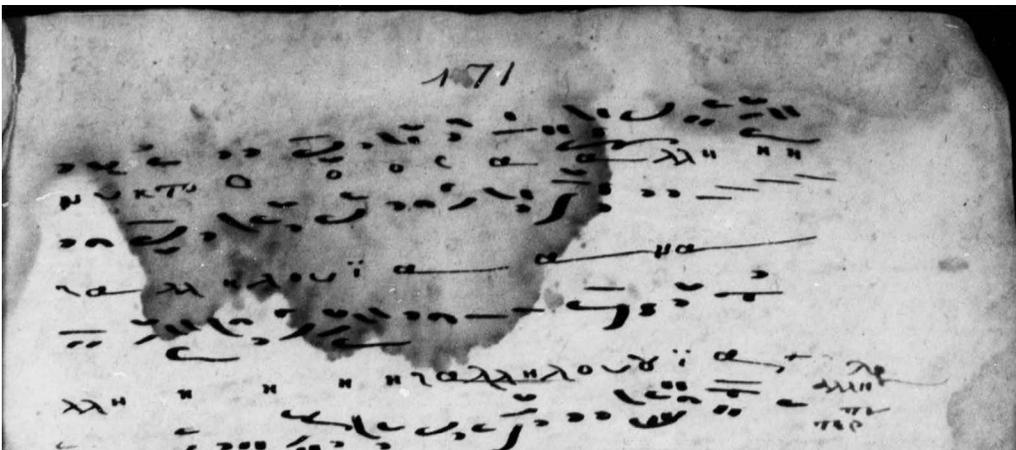


Fig. 12:  
The incipit with three *isa* (see the blue ovals) in ET-MSsc 1256 is kept in ET-MSsc 1257 but already substituted in GR-An 2458 with a leap of a fourth down- and upwards:

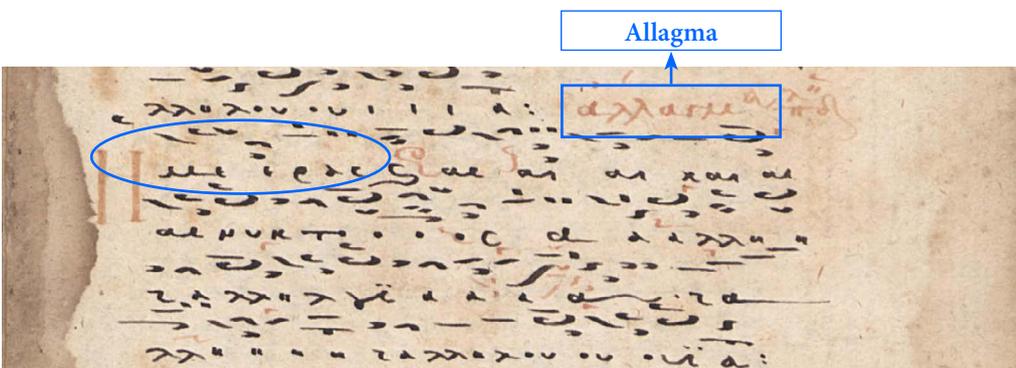
a) ET-MSsc 1256, fol. 213<sup>r</sup>



b) ET-MSsc 1257, fol. 170<sup>v</sup>



c) ET-MSsc 1257, fol. 171<sup>r</sup>



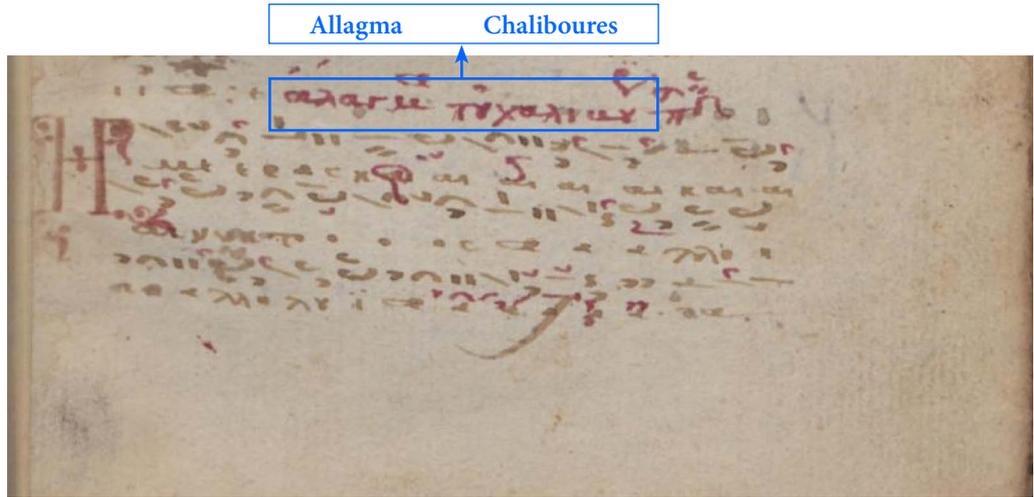
Allagma

αλλαγμα

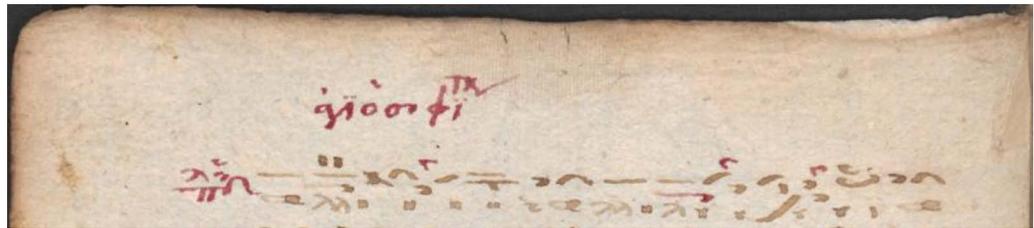
d) GR-An 2458, fol. 14<sup>r</sup> (the blue rectangle shows that the verse here is called *allagma* in the rubric)

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<sup>r-v</sup> ascribes the  
melody of verse 2b to  
Chaliboures, which,  
however, is the same  
as the anonymous  
melody shown  
in Fig. 12:



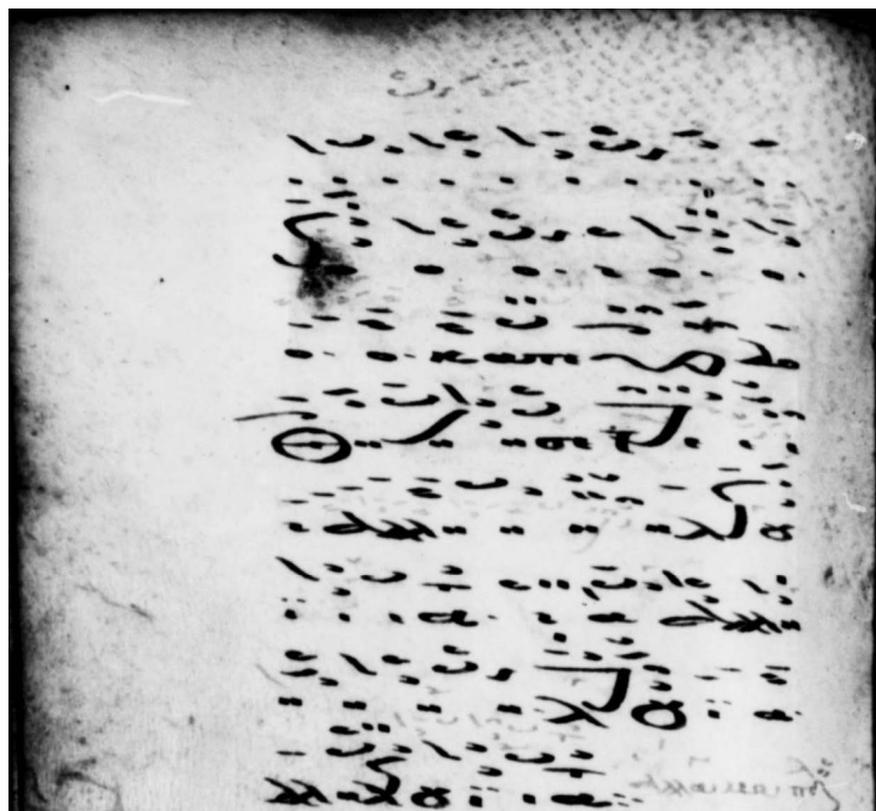
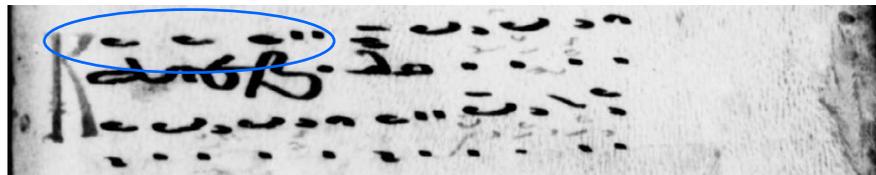
a) A-Wn  
Theol. gr. 185, fol. 9<sup>r</sup>



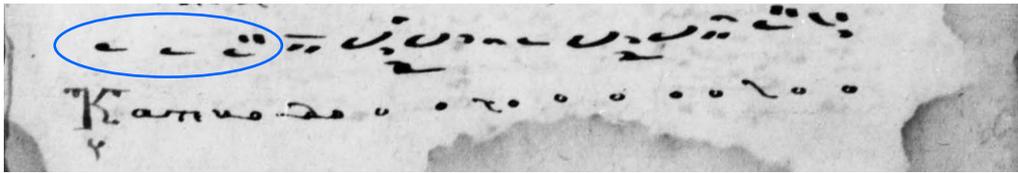
b) A-Wn  
Theol. gr. 185, fol. 9<sup>v</sup>

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).

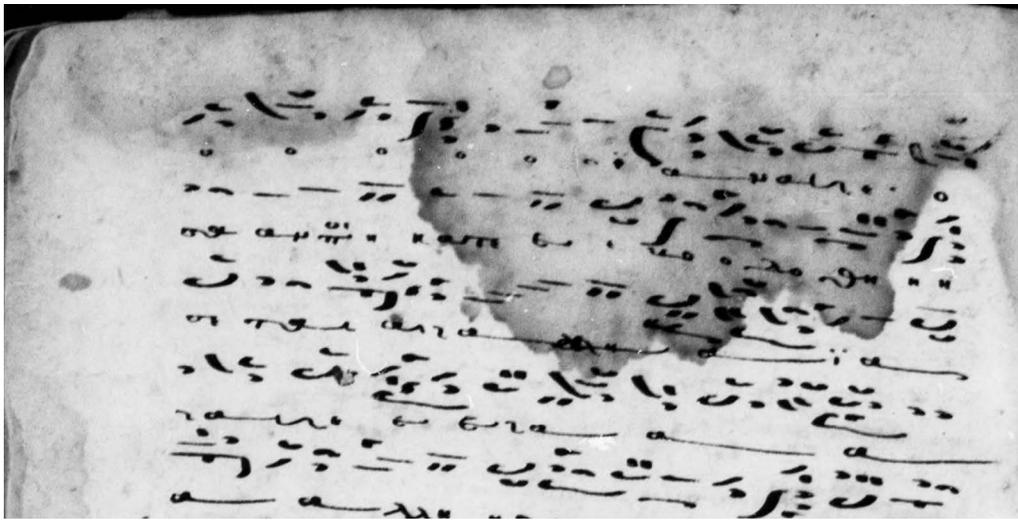
Fig. 14:  
The incipit in  
ET-MSsc 1256 (three  
*isa* in the blue oval)  
is still kept in  
ET-MSsc 1257, but  
replaced with a fourth  
down- and upwards  
from GR-An 2458  
onwards:  
a) ET-MSsc 1256,  
fol. 213<sup>r</sup>



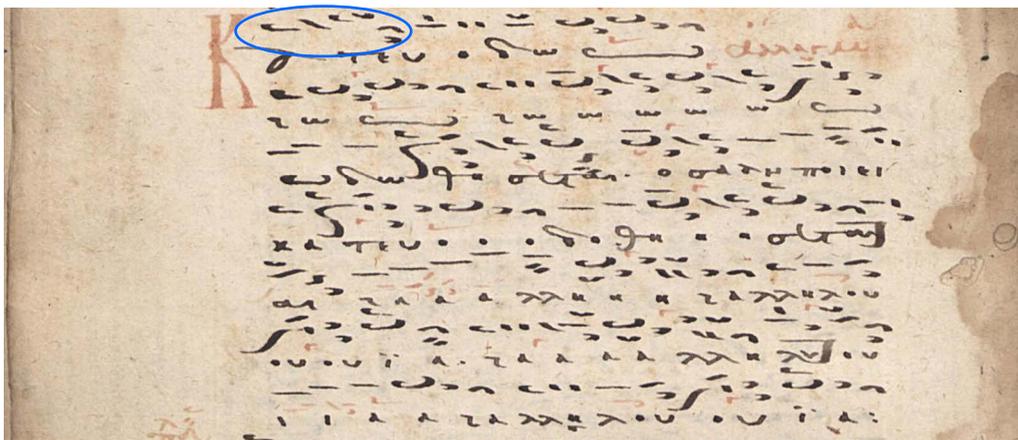
b) ET-MSsc 1256,  
fol. 213<sup>v</sup>



c) ET-MSSc 1257, fol. 171<sup>r</sup>



d) ET-MSSc 1257, fol. 171<sup>v</sup>



e) GR-An 2458, fol. 14<sup>v</sup>

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).

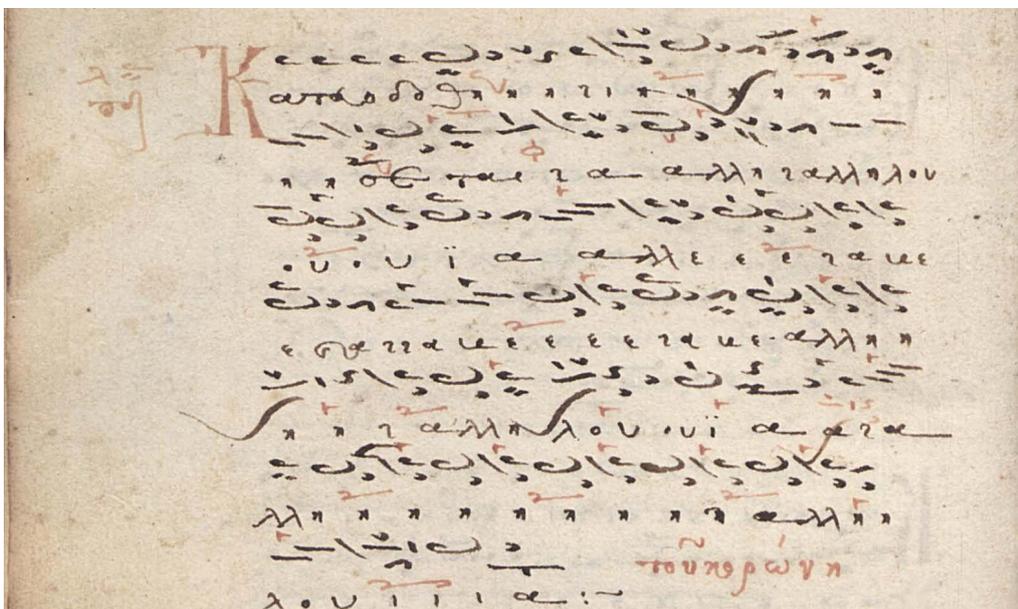
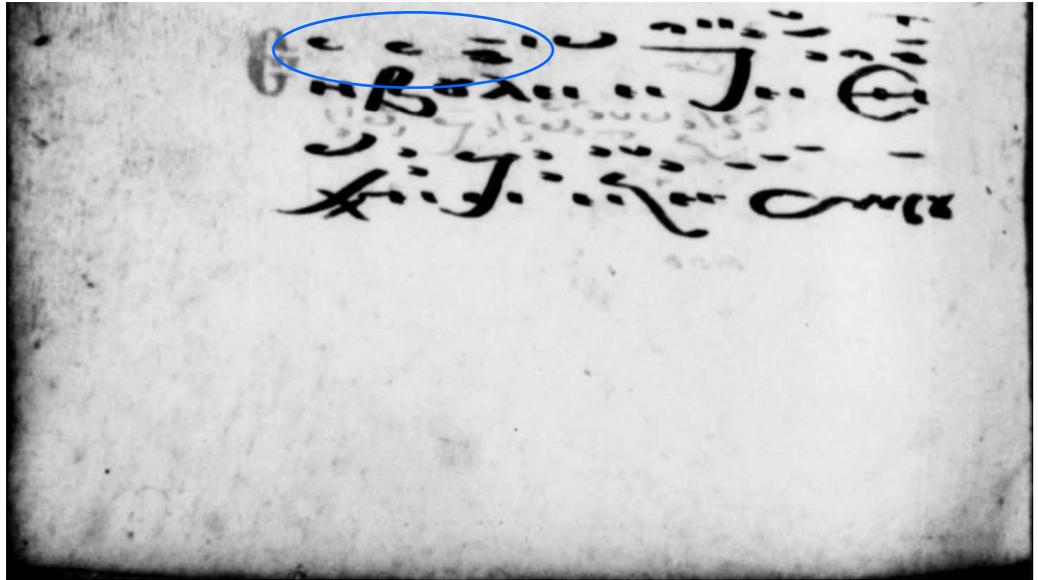


Fig. 15:  
Verse 3d is already significantly altered in younger manuscripts by composers such as Ioannes Kladas: GR-An 899, fol. 47<sup>v</sup>

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).

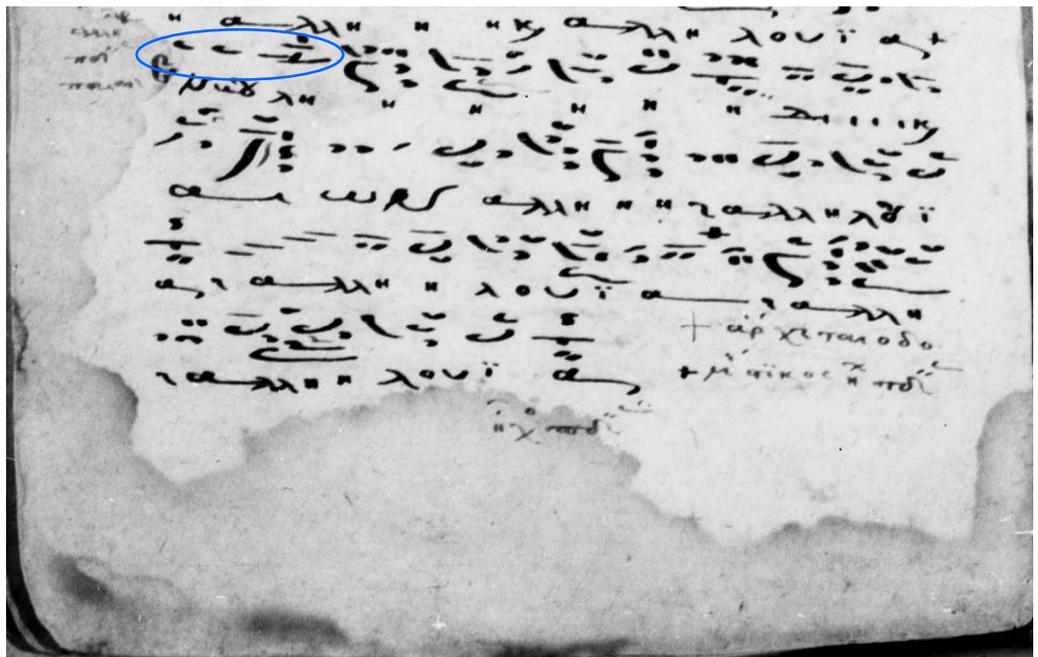
Fig. 16:  
The old incipit from  
ET-MSsc 1256 is  
already replaced with  
an upward fourth  
in ET-MSsc 1257 (see  
the blue ovals):



a) ET-MSsc 1256,  
fol. 213<sup>v</sup>



b) ET-MSsc 1256,  
fol. 214<sup>v</sup>



c) ET-MSsc 1257,  
fol. 171<sup>v</sup>

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).

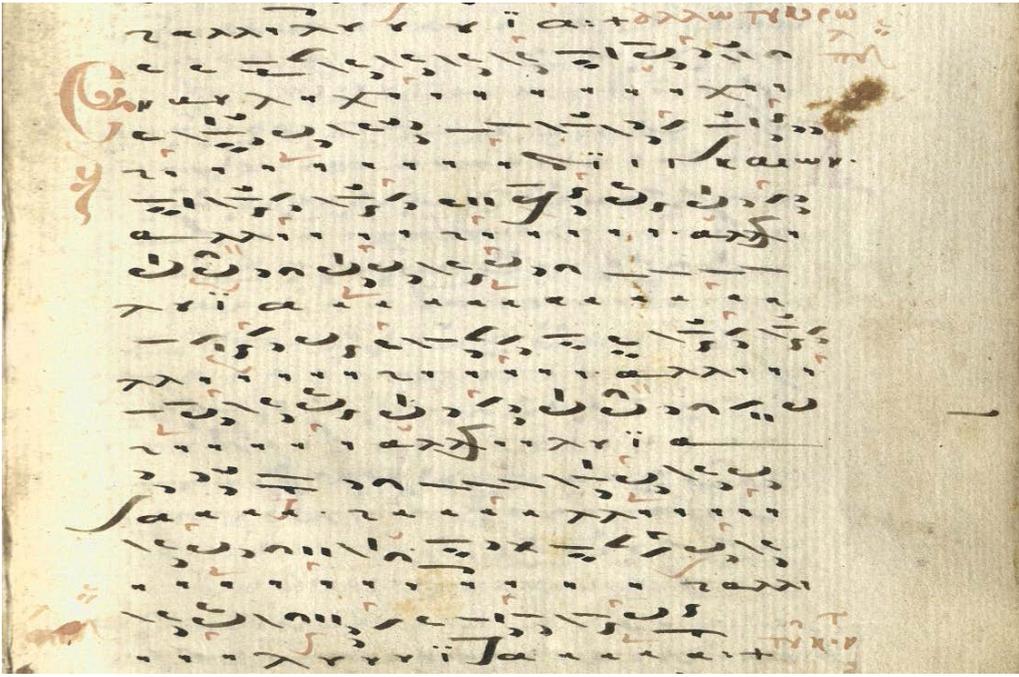
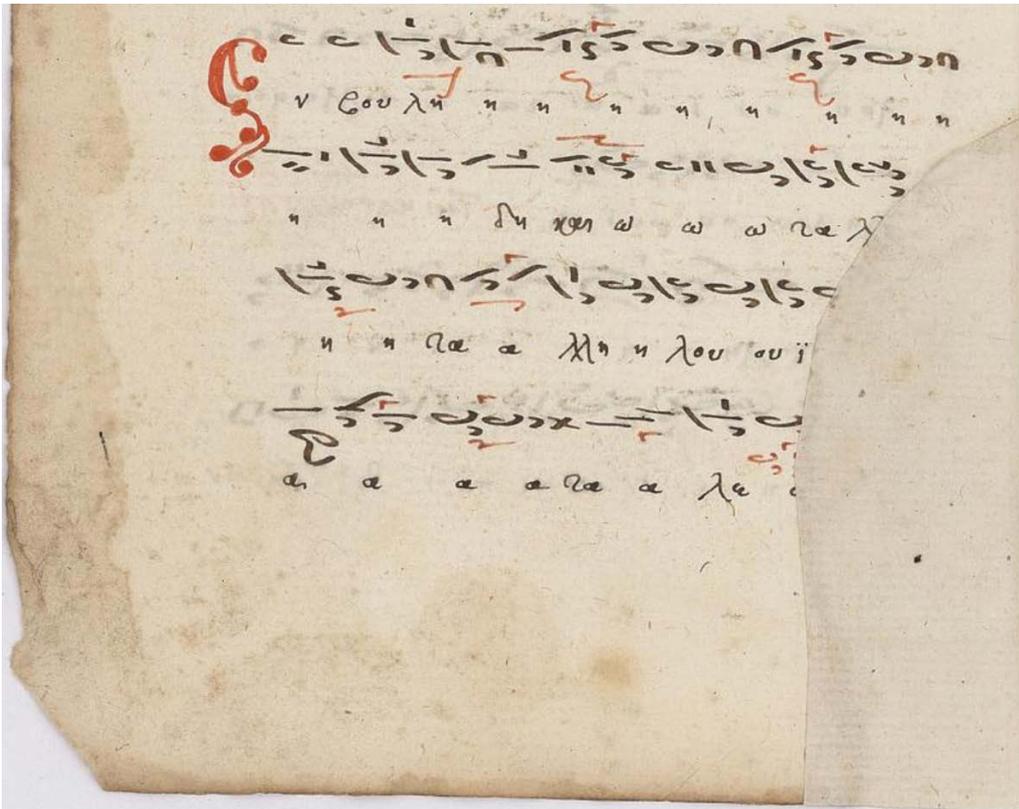
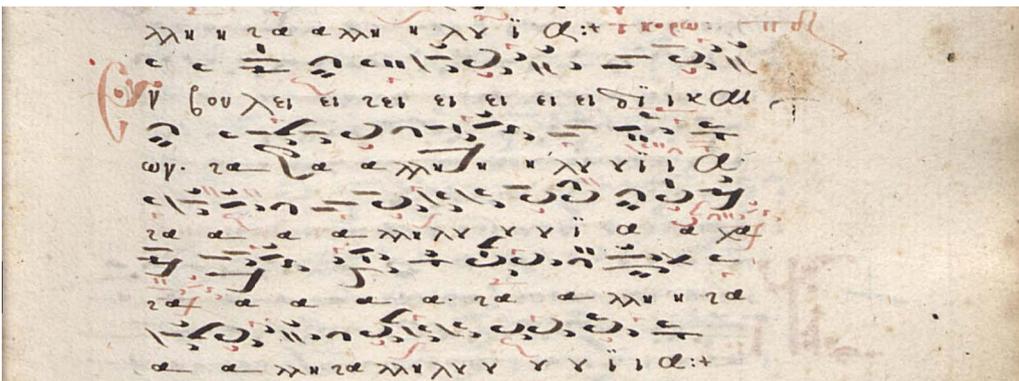


Fig. 17:  
Three different  
settings by Korones  
for verse 5d:

a) GR-An 2622, fol. 12<sup>r</sup>  
(Xenos Korones)



b) V-CVbav Barb.  
gr. 304, fol. 10<sup>v</sup>  
(Xenos Korones)



c) GR-An 2406, fol. 37<sup>r</sup>  
(Xenos Korones)

Thus, we can say with certainty that Psalm 1 has already been melismatically reworked by the various composers.<sup>50</sup> 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.

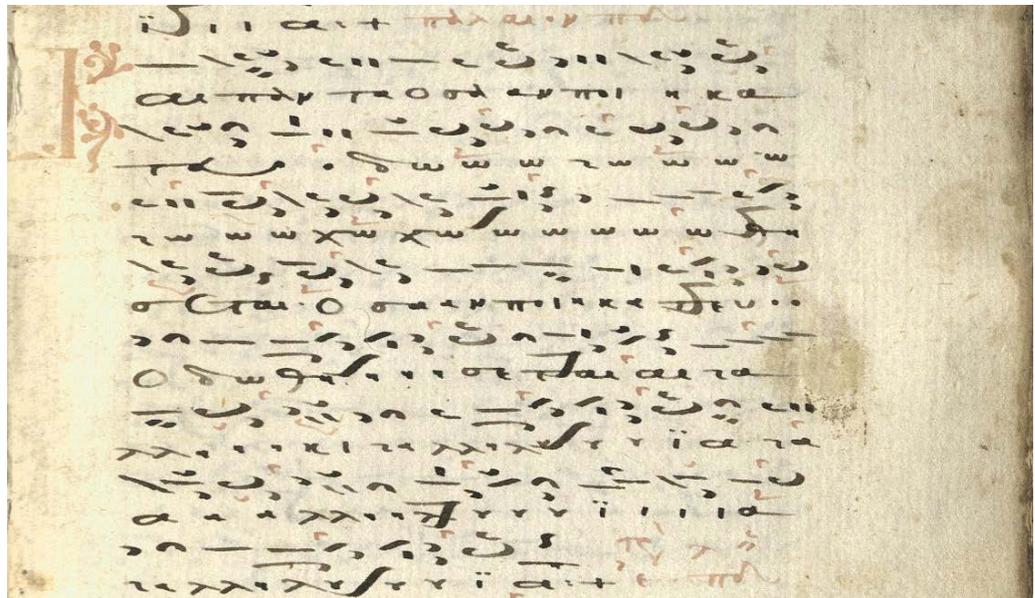
Another problem regarding the development of the melodies for Psalm 1 is caused by the fact that – as shown in Figs. 11–16 above – ET-MSSc 1256 transmits only parts of four verses. Three other verses, however, are also called *palaion* in some of the later manuscripts:

- 3d: καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἂν ποιῆ, κατευοδωθήσεται (GR-An 2622, GR-An 2444, A-Wn Theol. gr. 185);
- 4a: οὐχ οὕτως οἱ ἀσεβεῖς (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).

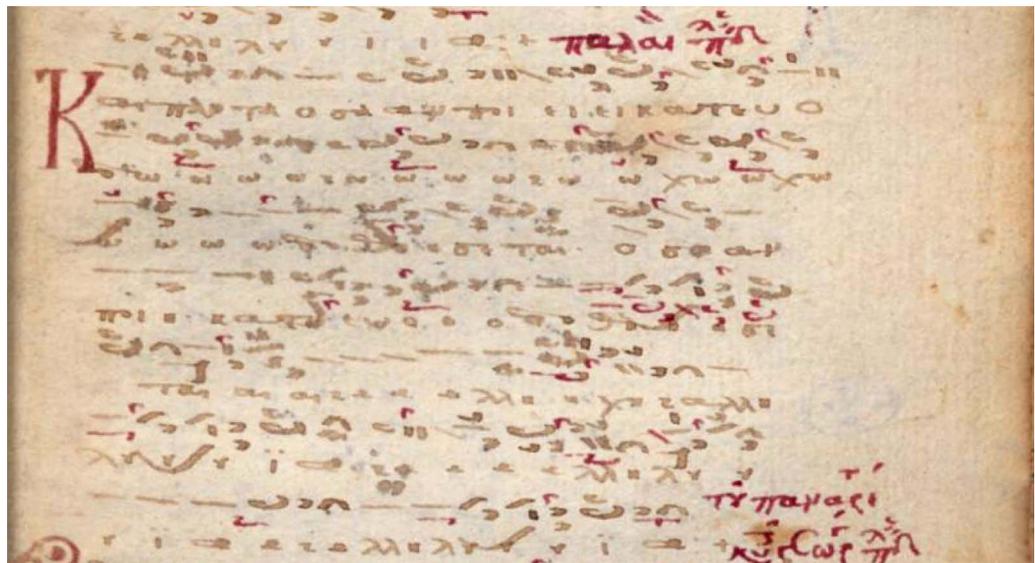
Either these *palaion* verses contain material that had been orally transmitted before or other sources – approximately contemporary to ET-MSSc 1256 – existed which are lost today that had contained more verses set to music.

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*:

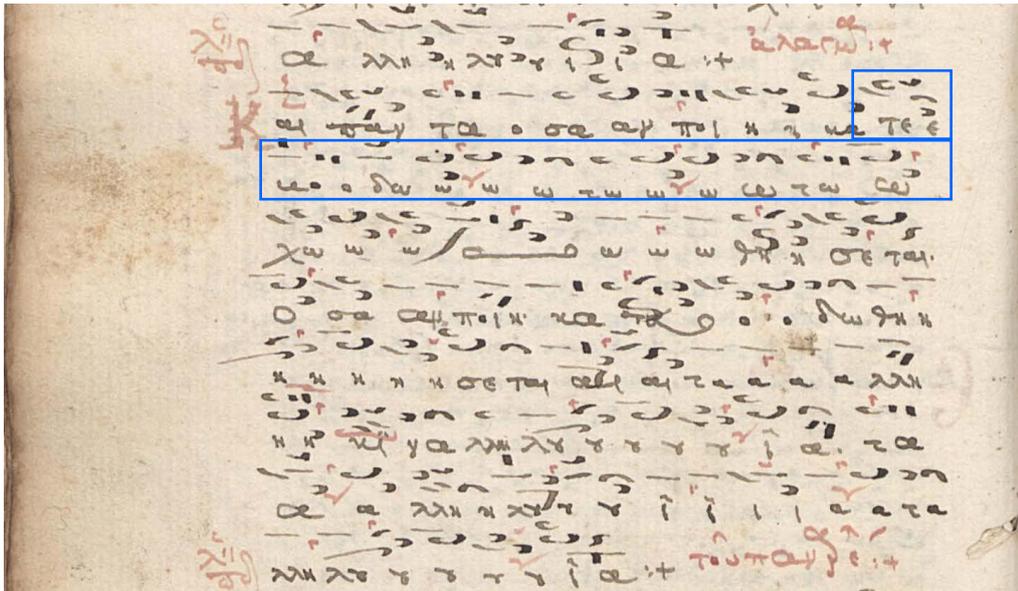


a) GR-An 2622,  
fol. 10<sup>r</sup>



b) A-Wn  
Theol. gr. 185, fol. 10<sup>r</sup>

<sup>50</sup> 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<sup>r</sup>

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).

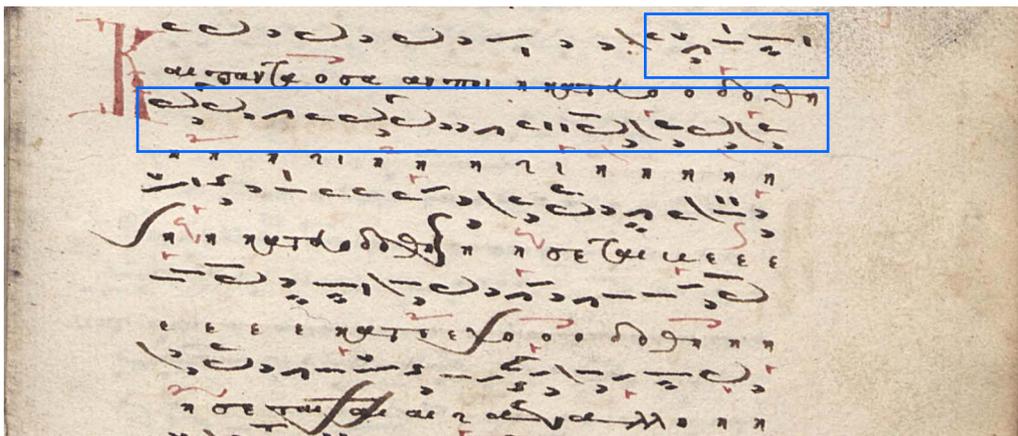


Fig. 19: Chaliboures uses parts in the middle of verse 3d, but does not keep the incipit; cf. the blue rectangles in Fig. 18 (GR-An 2444) and Fig. 19 (GR-An 899): GR-An 899, fol. 47<sup>r</sup> (Chaliboures)

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).

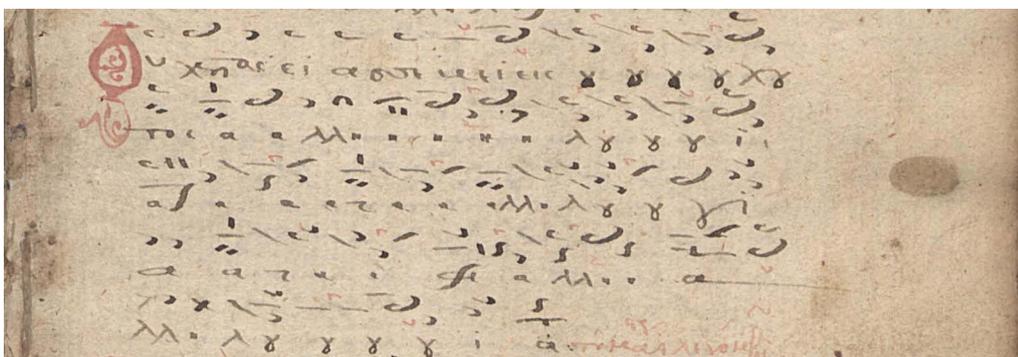
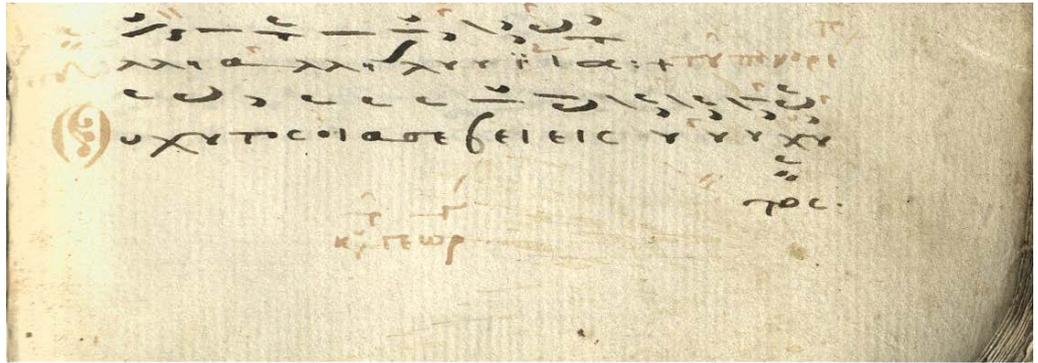


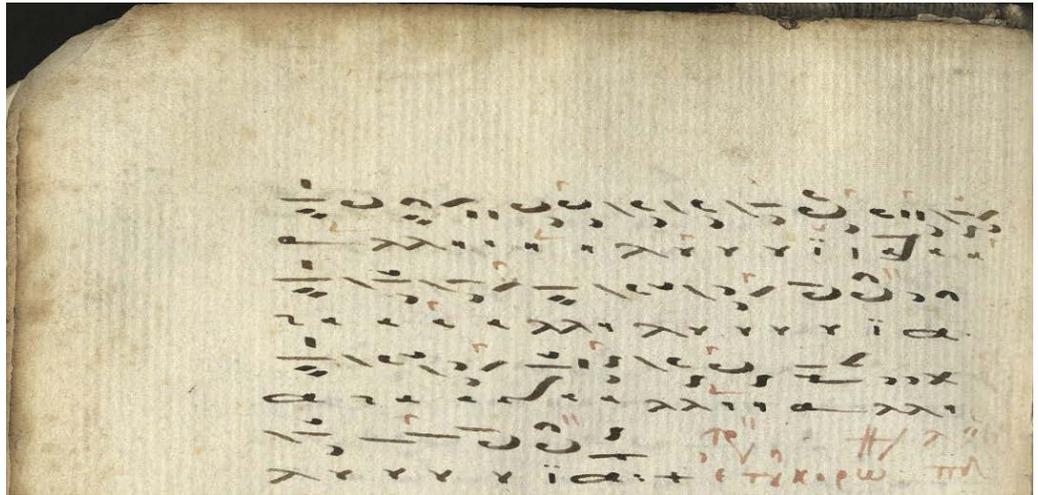
Fig. 20: The melody of verse 4a called *palaion* in GR-An 905, but attributed to Georgios Panaretos in the other manuscripts:

a) GR-An 905, fol. 8<sup>r</sup> (*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.”



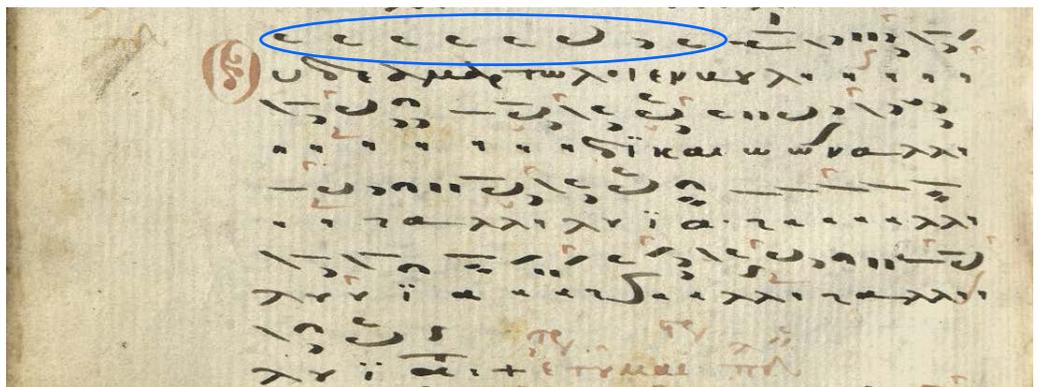
b) GR-An 2622, fol. 10<sup>r</sup>  
(Georgios Panaretos)



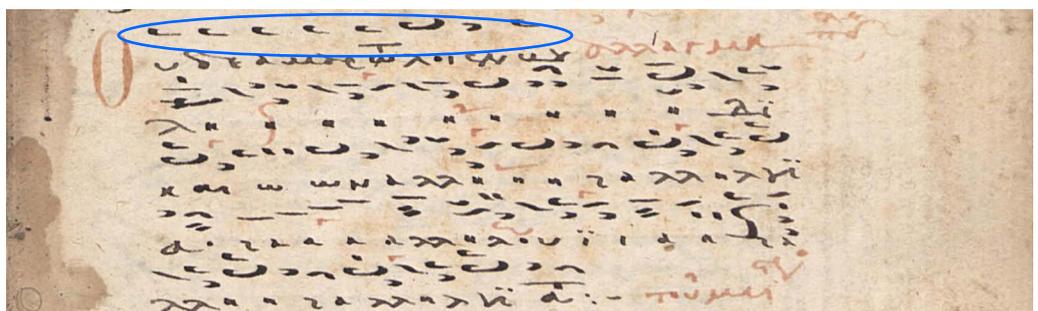
c) GR-An 2622, fol. 10<sup>v</sup>  
(Georgios Panaretos)

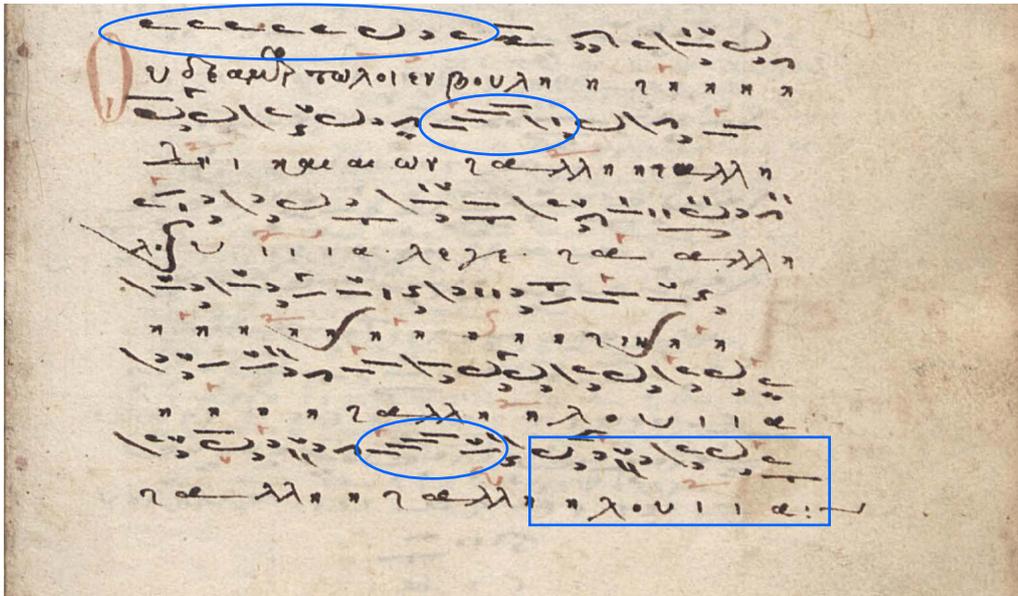
Verse 5b (οὐδὲ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἐν βουλή δικαίων) is interesting, insofar as all the composers who set this text to music (GR-An 899: Makropoulos, GR-An 904, GR-An 906, GR-An 2401: Korones and GR-An 2456: Panaretos) take over the incipit of the melody labelled *palaion/allagma* in GR-An 2458, GR-An 2622, GR-An 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<sup>v</sup> (*palaion*)

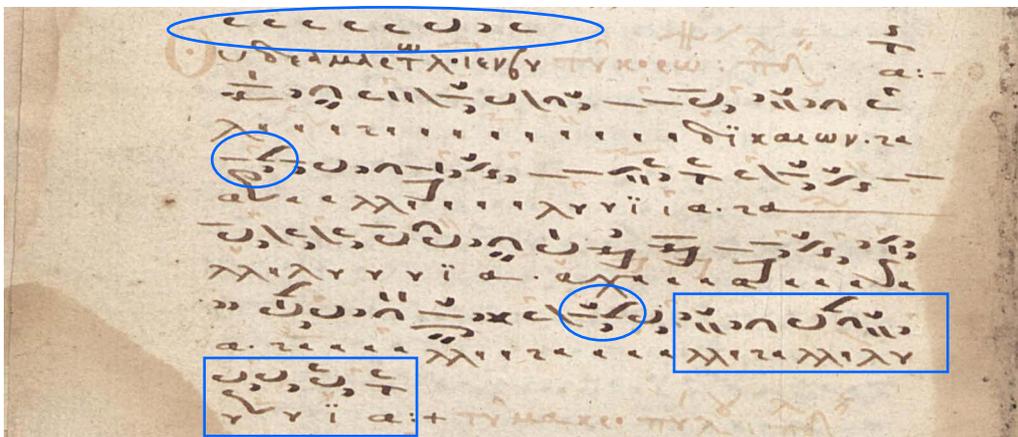


b) GR-An 2458, fol. 15<sup>r</sup> (*allagma*)





c) GR-An 899, fol. 48<sup>r</sup>  
(Makropoulos)



d) GR-An 906, fol. 26<sup>v</sup>  
(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* ) (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).

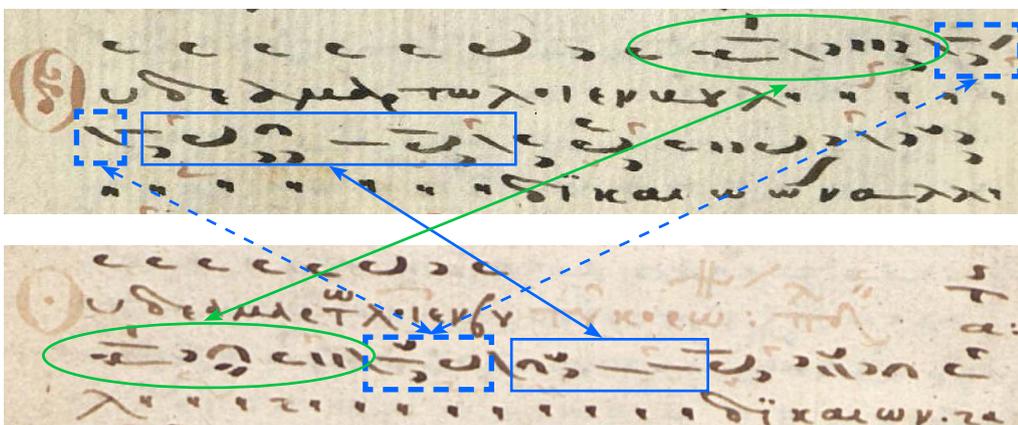


Fig. 22:  
Changes undertaken by Korones using the *palaion* incipit (see the green ovals); the blue rectangles show that Korones' melisma is shorter/simpler than the *palaion* version:  
a) GR-An 2622, fol. 11<sup>v</sup> (*palaion*): *βουλή*  
b) GR-An 906, fol. 26<sup>v</sup> (Korones): *βουλή*

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

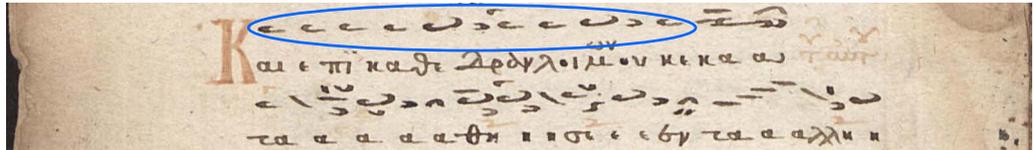
and the downward movement of a third (either stepwise or as a leap). This would have corresponded exactly to the two syllables of βουλῆ (see again the green ovals in Fig. 22). The rest of the melody on -λῆ was then simply added as an embellishment.

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).

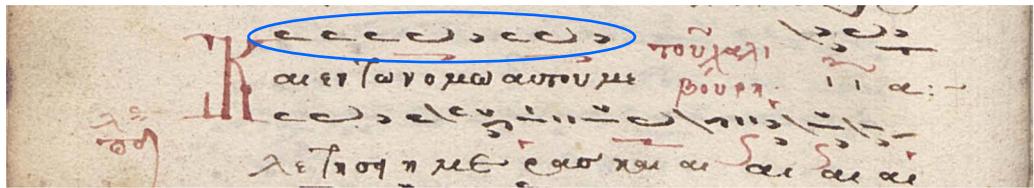
Fig. 23:

The common incipit is enclosed in the blue ovals:

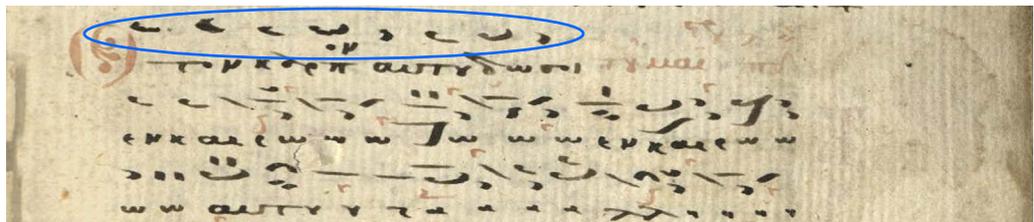
a) GR-An 2456, fol. 5<sup>v</sup> (Chaliboures)



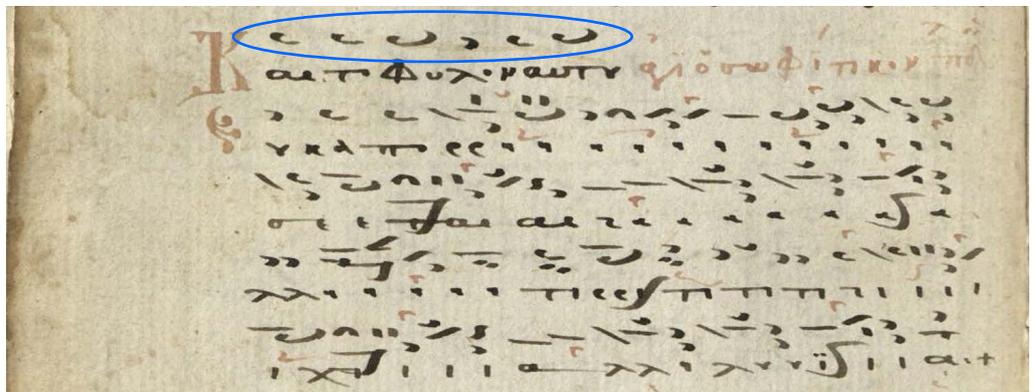
b) GR-An 899, fol. 46<sup>v</sup> (Chaliboures)



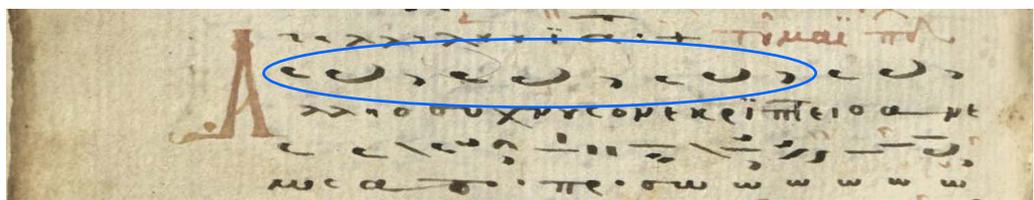
c) GR-An 2622, fol. 9<sup>r</sup> (Koukouzeles)



d) GR-An 2622, fol. 9<sup>v</sup> (*hagiosophitikon*)<sup>51</sup>



e) GR-An 2622, fol. 10<sup>v</sup> (Koukouzeles)



<sup>51</sup> 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 44<sup>th</sup> 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...