



INNOVATIVE COMPOSITIONAL ATTEMPTS IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH MUSIC

THE STICHERARIC MELI IN DIATONIC ECHOS VARYS

NIKOS ANDRIKOS

nikoandr@uoi.gr

STAVROS SARANTIDIS

stavrantidis@hotmail.com

This article presents a compositional corpus of the nineteenth-century sticheraric meli¹ that follow the mild diatonic version of echos (mode) Varys. These compositions can be characterized as innovative not only on account of their modal substance but also because of the use of numerous stylistic elements that refer to urban music in the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, the progressive masters of the Ottoman periphery, in contrast to the established practice of composing sticheraric melodies of the echos Varys on the base note ΓΑ (*ga*), attempted to use the mild diatonic version of the same mode based on the note ΖΩ (*zo*, a fifth lower), while utilizing melodic phenomena and modal behaviours that were present in the wider urban Ottoman music culture of the nineteenth century. Apart from the structural, modal, phraseological and stylistic presentation-analysis of this individual repertoire, the historical background of the nineteenth century is briefly outlined here.

This article attempts to shed light on the extended innovative attitudes that are detected in the field of nineteenth-century church music through the approach to and comprehension of the wider historical context. Thus,

¹ Meli (μέλη) is the plural form of the term melos (μέλος) that in the Greek Orthodox church music corresponds to the contemporary concept of composition.

the methodological model that is followed combines the use or “exploitation” of both musical (printed music editions) and historical sources. The aim of the detailed analysis of the repertoire is the delineation of the creative “discourse” between church and secular urban music in the field of original composition.

The approach and scientific management of the innovative material of the sticheraric meli in Varys diatonic give rise to an important issue that concerns the relation between modality and form. Indeed, in church music, modality generally serves the form’s structural principles, following specific rules. The aim of this practice is connected with the necessity of delineating the form’s individual features. Until now, there has been no scientific essay that deals with the dynamic relation between modality and form in nineteenth-century church music. This article attempts to launch a discussion about the borders between modality and form in the compositional material of this era, and therefore aspires to answer a scientific question regarding the structural as well as stylistic relation between the concepts of modality and form, simultaneously clarifying several aspects of this interactive coexistence.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND IN THE LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY²

The invention as well as the establishment of the New Method by the Three Teachers (Chrysanthos of Madytos, Gregorios Protopsaltes, Chourmouzos Chartofylax) in 1814 must be considered as a turning point for the historical development of church music. A number of tools that were offered through the Chrysanthine system pushed the psaltic world towards original composition. Indeed, the analytical structure of the *New Parasimantiki*³ became the vehicle for the expression of new compositional ideas that drastically influenced the entire aesthetic profile of nineteenth century church music. Therefore, the invention of music typography and the massive printed output that followed contributed to the establishment and dissemination of a variety of radical and progressive compositional approaches.

Undoubtedly, the whole reformative attitude in the field of church music must be understood as an inseparable part of the wider procedure of the Westernization/modernization of the Ottoman Empire. Thus, the renewal as well as the reconstruction of the Empire was located in the core of nineteenth-century Ottoman policy. The main goal of the whole process was the qualitative upgrade of state organizations such as the bureaucracy,

2 In this paper, the established concept in historical studies of the long nineteenth century has been preferred in order to embrace events that took place from the last decades of the eighteenth century until the second decade of the twentieth century. In addition, for the needs of this research, the historical edge of this period has been extended according to the methodological model of Turkish studies, within the frame of which the population exchange as well as the establishment of the Turkish Republic are incorporated into this period. Hence, the historical approach to nineteenth-century church music requires the examination of cases that do not belong chronologically to the nineteenth century. Thus, events of the last decades of the eighteenth century that play a catalytic role in the physiognomy of the next century must also be presented. In church music one can feel the resonance of the aesthetic profile of the long nineteenth century even until the mid-1930s. Because of this obvious stylistic reference to models of the nineteenth century, the incorporation of cases from the 1920s and 1930s into this paper is justified as scientifically necessary.

3 The *New Parasimantiki* was established after the 1814 Reform, as the result of a long-lasting procedure regarding the simplification of the notation system of Greek Orthodox church music. The term Chrysanthine system is also often used for the new notation.

the army, the educational system, etc. The aforementioned reforms – widely known as *Tanzimat* – affected social life as well as the wider inter-communal relationships of the Ottoman territory. Hence, one of the most fundamental principles of *Tanzimat* related to the isonomy of the Ottoman citizens independently of their religion and ethnicity.⁴

The reformative process regarding the state's administration and social life initially detected in the period of Sultan Selim III influenced aesthetically the overall production and expression of art. The openness of the Ottoman court towards Western culture contributed to shaping the character of urban music in the fields of performance practices, the educational procedure as well as compositional output. In particular, after the abolishment of the Janissary Order in 1826 by Mahmut II and the establishment of *Muzikâ-i Hümayun* according to the educational system of Western Conservatories, the entire environment in the field of Ottoman music was obviously transformed.⁵

Moreover, if one approached this issue historically one would highlight attempts at the invention and use of a variety of notation systems, the wide establishment of modern educational models, the use of Western instruments, etc. In the field of composition, short vocal forms such as *Şarkı* obtained wide popularity, simultaneously displacing previous extensive⁶ melismatic genres such as *Kâr*, *Beste*, *Ağır Semâi*, etc. As for modality, new *makams* (Ottoman musical modes) were invented at the same time, expanding the expressive boundaries of the urban music of Istanbul. Therefore, nineteenth century composers stylistically preferred the frequent use of the phenomenon of modulation (*geçki*), the analytical management of micro-structural melodic motifs, and incorporated into their compositions numerous melodic and rhythmic themes originating from idiomatic rural folk genres of the Ottoman Empire as well as from Western music culture.⁷

These changes in the music life of the Empire unavoidably influenced the action of the Greek Orthodox community, even in the field of church music. The privileges that were given to non-Muslim citizens created appropriate conditions for intensive action through the constitution of music schools and cultural associations, amongst others. Simultaneously, a wider discourse about the authenticity of church melos brought to the forefront the issue of the concept of *paradosis* (tradition). In fact, a variety of idiomatic or idiosyncratic versions that arose in several urban centres of the Ottoman periphery disputed the one-dimensional perception of the meaning of *paradosis*.⁸ Despite the individual differences that can be detected between these instances, the common feature was an obvious tendency towards

4 Concerning this issue, see Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire 1700-1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Eric Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: I. B Tauris, 1993), Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Vol. II: Reform, Revolution and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

5 Νίκος Ανδρικός, *Η Εκκλησιαστική μουσική της Σμύρνης (1800-1922)* (Αθήνα: Τόπος, 2015), 56-7.

6 The term "extensive" describes here the morphological content of the original slow-melismatic compositions for which there are no corresponding, older (short) compositional archetypes.

7 Ανδρικός, *Η Εκκλησιαστική*, 58-9.

8 Ανδρικός, *Η Εκκλησιαστική*, 62-9.

the creative integration and management of elements detected in the Makam system.

Hence, autonomous modal phenomena as well as melodic movements and behaviours, motifs and themes of Ottoman music were frequently used in the framework of compositional production from provinces such as Smyrna, Eastern Thrace, Bursa, etc. Consequently, important exponents of the nineteenth century's innovative movement who could be characterized as masters originated from or were active in Eastern Thrace (e.g. Georgios of Rhaidestos, Georgios of Saranta Ekklesies, Christodoulos Georgiades of Keşan), Propontis (e.g. Georgios Ryssios, Panagiotis Kiltzanides, Petros Philanthides of Panormos, Kosmas Evmorphopoulos of Madytos), or Smyrna (Nikolaos Georgiou and Misael Misaelides the Protopsaltes of Smyrna). Indeed, the analytical character of the new system must be comprehended as an "ally" in the effort of progressive chanters to employ their radical compositional ideas by means of the musical score. In fact, the Chrysanthine system provides the appropriate tools for the accurate transcription of a variety of melodic-rhythmic nuances and details.⁹

On the other side, the conservative cycles of the Patriarchate attempted to control and prevent this massive peripheral action through the convocation of music committees, whose main mission was the authorization of any new compositional attempt. Thus, these committees had to examine and give approval for the publication of new music books by the printing house of the Patriarchate. The basic criterion regarding the acceptance of new books was their "alignment" with the Patriarchate's perception of the notion of *paradosis*. Therefore, the ultimate target of this procedure had to do with the "purification" (κάθαρσις) of church music of any element that originated from secular (εξωτερική) music.¹⁰ These actions were amplified in Joachim III's time through two circulars which, amongst other things, determined the repertorial corpus that was allowed to be performed in services. By means of these circulars, any compositional attempt which referred aesthetically to Ottoman secular music was prohibited.¹¹ For this reason, music compilations containing solely the authorized repertoire were published in Istanbul by the Patriarchate.

Despite these practices, the innovative wave of progressive compositional production could not be held back. So, in the second half of the nineteenth century a plethora of printed books of church music characterized by the compositional utilization of the modal patterns of Ottoman music were accepted by a wide audience of chanters and music aficionados all over the Empire and the Kingdom of Greece.

9 Ανδρικός, *Η Εκκλησιαστική*, 62-3.

10 Γεώργιος Παπαδόπουλος, *Συμβολαί εις την Ιστορίαν της παρ' ημίν Εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής* (Αθήνα: Κουσουλίνου και Αθανασιάδου, 1890), 380, 397; Ανδρικός, *Η Εκκλησιαστική*, 64-5.

11 Παπαδόπουλος, *Συμβολαί*, 420, 424.

MODALITY AND MUSICAL FORM IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY CHURCH MUSIC

Eastern Orthodox church music, through its use of the Octoechos system, belongs to the major modal cultures of the East structurally as well as aesthetically. It is known that the most characteristic element of Eastern music cultures is the “refined” (intervallic and ornamental) management and attribution of the melodic material.¹² Thus, the melodic theme is monophonically developed on the horizontal axis. Therefore, specific phraseology, melodic behaviours, stereotypical repeated cadences and micro-structural schemes construct the repertoire’s compositional substance. Despite the obvious modal character of church music, its melodic behaviour as a whole, as well as its aesthetic physiognomy do not depend merely on modal criteria. The form a piece follows greatly determines the modal behaviour of the melodic material.

According to this specificity “Octaechia is not strictly a modal system like the case of Arabic and Turkish Makams or Indian Rāgas, but rather a “semi-modal” organization of the repertoire, like the Dastgah system of Persian classical music.”¹³ Hence, the melodic behaviour of a specific echos as well as its individual phraseology can be distinguished according to the form, generally called *eidōs* (genre, kind). So, even if the intervallic material remains the same, not only the modal existence (melodic progression, dominant degrees, phraseological content) but also the sonic result can have a very different aesthetic profile.¹⁴

In the repertoire of the nineteenth century, this direct dependence of modality on form seems to become more “permissive”. In addition, a variety of modal phenomena deriving from Ottoman music are used autonomously.¹⁵ Therefore, modal behaviours and movements that refer to the Makam system are integrated into the main compositional corpus that was produced especially after the Reform of 1814. The genre of the Sticherarion, not only the old extensive melismatic, but also the short version that was delivered through Petros Lampadariōs’s transcription, can be considered as an appropriate instance in order to comprehend the strict relation between form and modality in church music. In fact, within the frame of the Sticherarion, modality is adapted according to the morphological content of this genre, the hymnographical text’s meaning, rhythmic substance, etc. Thus, the basic compositional practice is connected to the utilization of a variety of fixed stereotypical phrases (theseis) which the composer had to compile while simultaneously supporting the melodic-rhythmic coherence of the piece.

12 Nikos Andrikos, “Towards a Re-approach of Makam Theory Based on Practice and Performance: The Case of the Segah Phenomena,” *Etnomüzikoloji Dergisi/Ethnomusicology Journal* 3, No. 2 (2020): 227.

13 Markos Skoulios, “Modern Theory and Notation of Byzantine Chanting Tradition: A Near Eastern Musicological Perspective,” *Near Eastern Musicology Online* 1 (2012): 24.

14 For example, in the short syllabic meli of the first echos, the fourth degree (ΔΙ) is used as the dominant. On the other hand, in the short sticheraric genre, the modal behaviour of the first echos is definitely different on account of the use of ΓΑ as the degree of reference. So, although the intervallic material is the same, the way the degrees are used as well as the individual phraseology of each genre contribute drastically to the structure of different sonic environments.

15 Ανδρικός, *Η Εκκλησιαστική*, 168-239.

In addition, there are a number of specific phrases for each echos that are used in the Sticherarion in order to maintain the required structural unity and “flow”. In the nineteenth century, especially in the context of the compositional work of Konstantinos Protopsaltes, Nikolaos Protopsaltes of Smyrna and Petros Philanthides, this notion of structural unity seems to be “sacrificed on the altar” in favour of melodic enrichment. Therefore, the common element of all these attempts was the extended use of rhetorical schemes for the sonic expression of the meaning of the text.¹⁶ So, modulations, changes of tonal centre, melodic extensions in the higher or lower regions, use of micro-structural analytical patterns, phenomena such as parachordi or trohos, etc, are frequently used in the context of compositional techniques that refer to the practice of word painting, i.e. the construction of individual soundscapes. The example of the Stichera of the Varys Diatonic echos that will be presented below must be considered as an extreme phenomenon in the compositional practices of the long nineteenth century. In this case, apart from the established practice of composing sticheraric meli of Varys on ΓΑ, a new compositional approach arose. A variety of modal phenomena that belong to the wider category of Varys’s diatonic version (produced from the degree of ΖΩ) are utilized in the composition of Varys pieces of the sticheraric genre.

THE HISTORICAL TRAJECTORY OF THE VARYS DIATONIC ECHOS IN CHURCH MUSIC

The use of the Varys diatonic echos in church music essentially concerns the wide melismatic compositions of papadiki. Hence, genres such as cherouvika, koinonika and several compositions of the *mathematarion* – mathemata and kratemata – follow the modal phenomenon of Varys on ΖΩ. Examining the structural and modal content of the aforementioned material, one can easily see the intensive interaction between Varys and the first echos on ΠΑ.¹⁷ Actually, the biggest part of these compositions relates more to the first echos than to Varys. So, extensive melodic phraseology that refers to mild diatonic phenomena that are produced on ΠΑ, is elaborated, creating specific environments around the degrees of ΓΑ and ΔΙ through a number of appropriate phrases and cadences. Therefore, the overall sonic result that is produced creates a mild diatonic atmosphere in the main region that could be characterized as first echos since only the final cadences are performed on ΖΩ.¹⁸

However, the structure as well as the aesthetic profile of Varys seems to change in the seventeenth century, when modal behaviours that refer to the phenomenon of *Evc*¹⁹ are incorporated especially into melismatic genres such as kalophonic heirmoi, kratemata, doxologies, etc. Although the older

16 Ανδρικός, *Η Εκκλησιαστική*, 199-201.

17 Concerning this issue, see Ιωάννης Αρβανίτης, “Το παρελθόν και το παρόν του Βαρέος διατονικού ήχου”, *Η Οκταηχία*, «Θεωρία και πράξη της Ψαλτικής τέχνης», Γ' Διεθνές Συνέδριο Μουσικολογικό και Ψαλτικό (2010): 335-342.

18 Final cadences can be detected on ΠΑ and even on ΓΑ.

19 See Table 1.

compositional practice coexists with the new until the last decades of the eighteenth century, the compositional management of Varys seems to change radically in the nineteenth, when the “*Evc*-orientated” version undoubtedly became the dominant tendency. Therefore, apart from autonomous compositions that refer to *Evc*, the aforementioned modal phenomenon is integrated in the main corpus of *cherouvika* and *koinonika* in specific themes such as “*Triadi*” and “*ek ton ouranon*”, which are emphatically highlighted. Indeed, in the frame of the *meli* of the *papadiki*, the phenomenon of *Evc*, also known as *Varys eptafonos*, is utilized through extensive phraseology when emphasis is required.

After the establishment of *Varys eptafonos* in the compositional corpus of church music,²⁰ elements of another modal phenomenon of Ottoman urban music were also utilized by composers of the nineteenth century. Specifically, several compositions based on the makam *Bestenigâr*²¹ appeared in this period, while its elements can also be detected in a plethora of the *meli* of *Varys* interacting with the corresponding phenomenon of *Evc*. In fact, if one attempted to recognize and annotate the phenomena that were used in *Varys* echos during the nineteenth century, one would methodologically match them with their parallel modal phenomena in Ottoman music. Of course, this reference cannot be understood as an absolute identification because of the morphological and aesthetic adaptation in the church repertoire. Thus, the makams that are used may not strictly follow the melodic progression (*seyir*) or individual phraseology found in Ottoman secular repertoire. In fact, these instances could be characterized as phenomena of syncretism, because of the amalgamation of different elements originating from different but without doubt morphologically, historically and aesthetically relevant and related modal systems and cultures.

If one attempts to approach the innovative *Varys* repertoire of the nineteenth century, one must take into account at least the three makams analysed below (*Table 1*). At this point, all the characteristic elements (intervallic content, melodic progression – *Seyir*, melodic attraction phenomena, stereotypical phraseology, intermediate suspended and final cadences, probable modulations, general flavour – *Çeşni*, etc) that make up these makams will not be analytically presented. Only the necessary features of makam *Irak*, *Bestenigâr* and *Evc* that will facilitate their comprehension in the nineteenth-century sticheraric *meli* of *Varys* are briefly presented.²²

20 Concerning this issue, see Γιάννης Πλεμμένος, *Το μουσικό πορτρέτο του Νεοελληνικού Διαφωτισμού* (Αθήνα: Ψηφίδα, 2003), 5-35 and Ανδρικός, *Η Εκκλησιαστική*, 192.

21 See *Table 1*.

22 For an analytical presentation of these phenomena see İsmail Hakkı Özkan, *Türk Müsîkîsi Nazariyatı ve Usûlleri, Kudüm Velvelleri* (Ankara: Ötüken, 2006), 473-485.

TABLE 1

Makam	Genre of Varys	Main structure
<i>Irak</i>	<i>Protovarys</i> or <i>Pentafonos</i>	First echos with final cadences on ZΩ (<i>mesos Protos echos</i>) $\begin{matrix} \pi & \Delta \\ \alpha & \delta \end{matrix}$ Tetrachord of <i>Uşşak</i> , lowered ZΩ (ρ), $\begin{matrix} \pi & \zeta \\ \alpha & \nu \end{matrix}$ Trichord of <i>Segah</i>
<i>Bestenigâr</i>	<i>Tetrafonos</i>	<i>Sabâ</i> (First or plagal of First <i>difonos</i>) with final cadences on ZΩ $\begin{matrix} \pi & \Gamma \\ \alpha & \alpha \end{matrix}$ mild diatonic Trichord, mild chromatic progression on ΓA θ , $\begin{matrix} \pi & \zeta \\ \alpha & \nu \end{matrix}$ Trichord of <i>Segah</i>)
<i>Evc</i>	<i>Eptafonos</i>	descending melodic progression, melodic entrance (<i>Giriş</i>) on ZΩ', <i>Segah</i> on $\begin{matrix} \zeta' \\ \lambda \end{matrix}$, sharpened KE and ΓA around $\begin{matrix} \zeta' \\ \lambda \end{matrix}$ and $\begin{matrix} \Delta \\ \delta \end{matrix}$ respectively, $\begin{matrix} \Delta & \pi \\ \delta & \alpha \end{matrix}$ Tetrachord of <i>Uşşak</i> , $\begin{matrix} \pi & \zeta \\ \alpha & \nu \end{matrix}$ Trichord of <i>Segah</i>

The most characteristic feature of the Varys repertoire in the nineteenth century is the frequent coexistence of all the above makams that are produced from the *perde* of *Irak*.²³ Thus, the combination of various phenomena that belong to this category is a common practice in the frame of a specific composition. For example, one piece may begin with phrases that refer to *Irak* and then utilize melodic material that is part of the modal environments of *Evc* or *Bestenigâr*. Numerous melodic attractions according to the phenomenon of “Degrees’ Ranking-Hierarchy” can be required, then, especially in the field of performance.²⁴ Finally, as stressed above, instances of deviation from the general rules of makams can be detected on account of the adaptation to church music forms and hymnographical texts.

23 In fact, from the last decades of the eighteenth century several versions that belong to the wider phenomenon of Varys diatonic were compositionally applied in non-extensive genres. Thus, one can stress the existence of compositions in Varys diatonic in genres such as the 50th Psalm and its Pentecostaria of Orthros, Ταῖς τῶν Αποστόλων, and, correspondingly, in Orthros in the period of the Tridion, Τῆς μετανοίας, apolytikia, short-syllabic doxologies, typika, makarismoi, timotaires (short and slow), anastasima stichera (esperia, Aposticha and the stichera on the Praises), as well as in melismatic genres such as polyeleoi, the dynamis of the Trisagion, megalynarion, anavathmoi, slow katavasies, etc.

24 In the performance of church music, the use of a sharpened ΓΑ can be detected even in phrases of a descending character between ΔΙ-ΠΑ. In addition, in the upper region the phenomenon of diatoniki symperifora – widely known as an Âcemli movement – may be detected. In this case, in descending movements towards ΔΙ, the pitch of ZΩ is executed lower than its natural position through an emphatic glissando while KE is executed without the sharp.

THE STICHERARIC MELI OF VARYS DIATONIC ECHOS

In the nineteenth century's radical environment of secular as well as church music, the stichera idiomela in Varys diatonic possess a dominant position. The composers of these pieces employ a variety of makam phenomena that belong to the wider category of *Irak Perdesi* in order to construct a modern form of the sticherarikon genre. The extended, alternative attribution of modal behaviours originating from the Makam system combined with the integration of numerous idiomatic or idiosyncratic elements creates individual sonic environments that highlight the meanings of the texts. In addition, another important feature of this repertoire has to do with the use of the new notation. Nineteenth-century chanters preferred to use notation in an extremely analytical way in order to depict details and nuances in a variety of interpretative practices in performance.

The selection of the stichera, amongst others, that will be analysed aims to highlight a variety of idiomatic as well as individual versions that can be detected in nineteenth-century compositions²⁵. The idiomela and doxastika that will be presented can be understood as the most indicative instances of the issue dealt with in this paper. The stichera that will be analysed are the following: The doxasticon theotokion *Μήτηρ μεν εγνώσθης* by Georgios of Crete, the eighth eothinon *Ίδου σκοτία και πρωϊ* of Nikolaos Protopsaltes of Smyrna, Georgios Rhaidestinos, Dimitrios Koutsardakis and Stylianos Rigopoulos, the idiomelon *Εξεπλήττετο ο Ηρώδης* from the Royal Hours of Christmas (Ninth Hour) of Alexandros Byzantios and the doxasticon of the Sunday of the Forefathers Sunday, *Δεύτε άπαντες πιστώς πανηγυρίσωμεν* by Charalampos Papanikolaou. These pieces can be found in several printed books, usually as an alternative version of the prototype composition on ΓΑ, with descriptive titles: *“έτερον παρά του εκδότη”* (“another version composed by the editor”), *“τό αυτό κατά το Διατονικόν Γένος”* (“the same in

25 Other compositions in Varys diatonic of the sticherarikon genre contained in printed books and not analytically presented in this paper are, in chronological order: Γρηγόριος Πρωτοψάλτης, *Αναστασιματάριον σύντομον* (Κωνσταντινούπολη: Αδελφοί Ιγνατιάδη, 1839), 67-8, (*Μήτηρ μεν εγνώσθης*), 69-70 (doxastikon of the aposticha), Θεόδωρος Φωκαεύς, *Μουσική Μέλισσα, περιέχουσα το αργόν και σύντομον Αναστασιματάριον*, Τόμ. Α' (Κωνσταντινούπολη: Τυπογραφία Κάστρου, 1847), 255-6, (*Μήτηρ μεν εγνώσθης*, Phokaeus's composition), 256-8 (*Μήτηρ μεν εγνώσθης*, Georgios Ryssios's composition), 260-1 (doxastikon of the aposticha, Georgios Ryssios's composition), Ζαφείριος Ζαφειρόπουλος, *Αναστασιματάριον Νέον* (Αθήνα: Χ. Ν. Φιλαδελφέως, 1853), 387-396 (stichera of vespers and aposticha), 404-410 (praises, compositions of Georgios of Crete – exegesis by Zafeiropoulos), Κωνσταντίνος Πρωτοψάλτης, *Αναστασιματάριον αργόν και σύντομον* (Κωνσταντινούπολη: Πατριαρχικό Τυπογραφείο, 1863), 632-641 (the whole corpus of the anastasima stichera for vespers and orthros), Μελέτιος Μητροπολίτης Σισανίου, *Μουσικόν εγχειρίδιον* (Κωνσταντινούπολη: Μουσική Ανθολογία «Ευτέρπη», 1864), 48-9 (*Ίδου σκοτία και πρωϊ*), Αλέξανδρος Βυζάντιος, *Μουσικόν Δωδεκαήμερον* (Κωνσταντινούπολη: Ανατολικός Αστήρ, 1884), 21-2 (*Εξεπλήττετο ο Ηρώδης*), 112-13 (*Θάμβος ην κατιδείν*), Αλέξανδρος Βυζάντιος, *Τα ένδεκα Εωθινά* (Κωνσταντινούπολη: Ι.Σ Βουτυράς, 1886), 29-32 (*Ίδου σκοτία και πρωϊ*), Νικόλαος Πρωτοψάλτης Σμύρνης, *Νεότατον Αναστασιματάριον, σύντομον* (Σμύρνη: Αμάλθεια, 1899), 69-70 (*Μήτηρ μεν εγνώσθης*), 71 (doxastikon of the aposticha compositions by Georgios of Crete), Χαράλαμπος Παπανικολάου, *Ανθοδέσμη Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής* (Αθήνα: 1905), 17-19 (*Ίδου σκοτία και πρωϊ*), Στυλιανός Ρηγόπουλος, *Νέον Αναστασιματάριον αργόν και σύντομον* (Κωνσταντινούπολη: Υιοί Οδυσσέως Θεοδωρίδου, 1933), 189-214 (the whole corpus of the anastasima stichera for vespers and orthros), Στυλιανός Χουρμούζιος, *Εκκλησιαστική Σάλπιγξ*, Τόμ. Α', *Αναστασιματάριον* (Λευκωσία: Θεσσαλονίκη, 1923), 249-50 (*Ίδου σκοτία και πρωϊ*). The presentation of handwritten collections and manuscripts, even if they have been published, is beyond the scope of this paper.

diatonic genus”), “κατά το Διαπασών Σύστημα” (“according to diapason systema”), etc.

Μήτηρ μεν εγνώσθης BY GEORGIOS OF CRETE²⁶

The doxasticon theotokion from Saturday Vespers in Varys, Μήτηρ μεν εγνώσθης became the reason for the first attempts at composing stichera in Varys diatonic on ΖΩ. In the *Anastasimatarion* of Petros Peloponnesios that was published by Zafeirios Zafeiropoulos²⁷ in Athens in 1853, an alternative version of Varys diatonic is included under the title “ο αὐτός βαρὺς ἤχος κατὰ το πεντάφωνον, μελοποιηθεὶς παρὰ Γεωργίου τοῦ Κρητός, [...] μεταφρασθεὶς δε και συμπληρωθεὶς εἰς το ενεστώς Νέον Σύστημα παρὰ Ζ. Α. ΖΑΦΕΙΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ ” (“the same Varys echos according to the pentaphonic system composed by Georgios of Crete, [...] transcribed and completed in the contemporary system by Z. A. ZAFEIROPOYLOS”)²⁸. This doxastikon is the oldest composition in Varys diatonic contained in the printed editions of the nineteenth century. The transcription in the *New Parasimantiki* by the editor highlights an obvious tendency towards the analytical use of the Chrysanthine system that characterizes editions originating from environments without any direct connection to the Patriarchate (See *Example 1*).

Structurally, the composer applies the modal phenomenon of *Enc* elaborating melodic movements in the upper and lower regions, while simultaneously following the practice of “κατ’ ἐννοίαν μελοποιία” (composition according to the meaning of the text) through, amongst other techniques, the use of the mild chromatic genus. Therefore, melodic movements in the region between ΠΑ-ΔΙ according to the model of Protovarys, phrases built around ΖΩ’, as well as final cadences on ΖΩ constitute the whole compositional corpus of the piece.

26 Georgios of Crete (fl. c. 1790-1815) was a distinguished composer and master of church music. He taught in several regions including Istanbul, Chios and Ayvalik, producing prominent students such as Gregorios Protopsaltes, Chourmouzios Chartofylax, Antonios Lampadarios, Apostolos Konstas, Konstantinos Protopsaltes, Petros Ephesios, Theodoros Phokaeus and Zafeirios Zafeiropoulos. His contribution to the procedure of exegesis and simplification of the notational system is considered as crucial. Concerning Georgios of Crete, see Ιωάννης Καστρινάκης, “Γεώργιος ο Κρής, ο πρόδρομος του νέου γραφικού συστήματος της Ψαλτικής Τέχνης”, *Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα Πατριαρχικής Ανωτάτης Εκκλησιαστικής Ακαδημίας Κρήτης* 3 (2014): 374-89.

27 Zafeirios Zafeiropoulos was a student of Georgios of Crete, serving as first chanter in the Metropolitan Cathedral of Athens and appointed as director of the second Music School by the Greek Government in 1837. Concerning Zafeiropoulos see also Αχιλλεύς Χαλδαιάκης, “Από την ιστορία της νεοελληνικής ψαλτικής τέχνης: Ζαφείριος Ζαφειρόπουλος ο Συμυρναίος”, *Α' Επιστημονικό Συμπόσιο της Νεοελληνικής Εκκλησιαστικής Τέχνης. Πρακτικά, Αθήνα* (2009): 681-718.

28 Ζαφειρόπουλος, *Αναστασιματάριον*, 282. Zafeiropoulos’s exegesis contains important differences in comparison with the version given by Nikolaos as a composition by Georgios of Crete. In addition, Nikolaos’s version is identical with the corresponding anonymous one from Gregorios Protopsaltes’s *Anastasimatarion*.

EXAMPLE 1

ο ξα α Πκ τρι ι ι και Υι ω δ' και α γι ι
 ω ω Πνωμα α τι ι.
 και νυ υ υγ και αι α α ει δ' και εις τους αι
 ω ω να ας τω ω ων αι ω ω ω ω νων α α μη ην.
 η η η η τη τρ με εν ε ε γνω ω ω σθη ης
 υ περ ευ αι ιν θε ο ο το ο ο κε ε η ε ε
 μει ει ει να ας δε Παρ θε ε ε ε νος δ' υ
 περ λο ο ο ο γο ον και ε ε νοι αι α αν η και
 το θα α αυ μα α του ου το ο ο κου
 σου ου λη ερ μη νε ευσαι αι γλω ω ω ωσ σα ου ου
 ευ δυ υ υ γα α τα: αι πα ρα δο σ ξου
 γα αρ ου ου ου ση η η η η ης της ευλ λη
 ψε ε ω ω ωσ α α η η η η κ κα τε λη πτος
 ε ε τρι ι ι ι ιν η η ο τρ ο προς της κυ υ η
 η η σε ε ω ωσ ο ο ο που ου γε αρ
 βου ευ λε ε τετ αι θε ε ος η νι κα ται φυ υ
 σε ως τα α α α ζι ις δ' ο σε πα α α
 αν τες η μη τε ρα α του θε ε ου φυ γι ι νω ω
 σκο ον τε ες η δε ο με θα κ α σου σο ε ε ε
 εκ τε ε ε νω ω ωσ πρε σβε ευ ε ε λη του σω
 θη η η η ναι τας ψυ γα ας η η μω ω ω ω ων.

Opening phrase on ZΩ' and cadence on ΔΙ, structurally referring to the phenomenon of *Evc*

Mild diatonic environment in the region between ΠΙΑ and ΔΙ

Use of tense chromatic genus on ΠΙΑ in order to highlight the word "παραδόξου"

Analytical attribution of specific phrases

Characteristic melodic movement with epicentre on the degree of ZΩ' and descending cadence on ZΩ (a phenomenon of *Evc*)

Ζαφείριος Ζαφειρόπουλος, *Αναστασιματάριον Νέον*, Αθήνα, 1853, 392-3

Rhythmically expanded melodic development

Frequent detailed use of ornaments relating to oral practices

Use of Kliton, facilitating melodic development towards ΖΩ΄

Rhythmically expanded melodic development, extremely detailed depiction of melodic patterns

Final cadence on Ζω΄

Νικόλαος Πρωτοψάλτης, *Δοξαστάριον Τριωδίου-Πεντηκοσταρίου*,
Κωνσταντινούπολη, 1857, 370-1

Ιδού σκοτία και πρωΐ BY GEORGIOS RHAIDESTINOS³⁰

The seventh Eothinon (see *Example 3*) is presented by Rhaidestinos in his Πεντηκοστάριον under the title “Το αυτό Ζ΄ Εωθινόν κατά το Διατονικόν Γένος και κατά το Διαπασών Σύστημα, μελοποιηθέν παρὰ του εκδότη” (“The same seventh eothinon composed by the editor according to the diatonic genus and diapason system”). This doxasticon can be understood as another compositional attempt of the “κατ’ έννοιαν” composition that has as characteristic elements phraseological peaks and falls, intensive modal content, the use of *chromatic* patterns, and rhythmically expanded melodic themes. In this composition his individual approach predominates. Thus, this piece, as also the total original material contained in his printed books that were published after the end of his career at the Patriarchate (1876), could be characterized as innovative. In addition, after the Patriarchate, Rhaidestinos served as first chanter in several parishes such as St Nicholas “ton Chion” in Galata, St Nicholas in Cibali, Holy Trinity in Pera, etc.³¹, whose congregations were familiar with attempts at innovation.

30 Georgios Protopsaltes (1833-1889) was born in Rhaidestos of Eastern Thrace, where he was taught church music. He settled in Istanbul where he served in several churches until he initially became lambadarios (1863) and then protopsaltes (1871) of the Great Church of Christ.

31 Παπαδόπουλος, *Συμβολαί*, 364-5.

EXAMPLE 4

Detailed transcription of ornaments

Use of *Âcem* on ΓΑ, creating an atmosphere of tense diatonic or even enharmonic genus

Pentachord of *Nikriz* from ΔΙ to ΝΗ

Use of Kliton

Use of Zygos

Detailed transcription of ornaments

Use of Kliton

Δημήτριος Κουτσαρδάκης, *Νέον Αναστασιματάριον*, Πάτρα, 1929, 264-5

Ἰδού σκοτία και πρῶϊ BY DIMITRIOS KOUTSARDAKIS³²

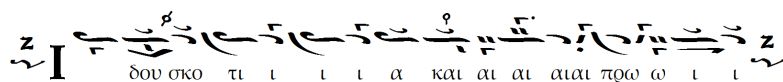
The Koutsardakis case (see *Example 4*) follows the aesthetic model of the previous compositions of this *Eothinon* by Nikolaos and Rhaidestinos. Thus, he frequently uses pthores or chroes such as *Zygos* and *Kliton* in specific

32 Dimitrios Koutsardakis (1880-1950) was a protopsaltes and composer originating from Pontoheraklia (Vithinia) who was taught church music in Chios by Georgios Vinakis. He was active as a performer in several regions such as Samos, Patra, Chios and Athens.

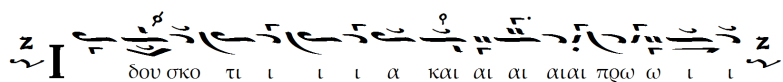
points in order to stress the text’s meaning. The melodic movements around the Eptaphonia as well as the detailed depiction of numerous refined ornaments are the most important characteristics of this composition.

Ἰδού σκοτία και πρωΐ BY STYLIANOS RIGOPOULOS³³

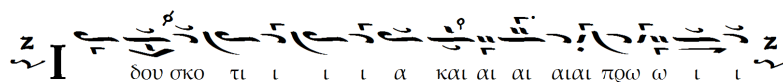
Rigopoulos’s version of this Eothinon (See *Example 5*) can be also considered as an indicative case of the innovative compositional corpus regarding the sticheraric meli of Varys diatonic. In the first phrase of the piece there is a typographical error, for which there are two possible alternatives: according to the first, the combination of the signs of the ascending third must be corrected to show an ascent of a fourth. In this case, a tense chromatic tetrachord is seen, from BOΥ to ΖΩ. Thus, the versions of Rhaidestinos and Papanikolaou³⁴ begin with the same phrase. The other possible correction requires an ascent of a fourth where the melody returns to the diatonic genus through the diatonic pththora of ΠΑ. If this is the case, a descending movement from ΠΑ to low ΚΕ with a tense chromatic content is detected.



Rigopoulos’s version



The first possible correction



The second possible correction

Among the modulations to the chromatic genus the most interesting one is created with the conjunction of two chromatic tetrachords, the first ending on ΔΙ with the second starting on the same degree. In this case, the absolute melodic structure of the tense chromatic genus, through chromatic sub-units and without any diatonic “insertion” is detected. Therefore, melodic movements from *Nikriz* are used between ΠΑ and low ΔΙ as well as high ΠΑ and ΔΙ of the natural region. Finally, an unusual change of tonal centre is detected in the phrase “πού τέθειται ζητείς ο Ιησούς”, where after a cadence on ΖΩ’ the melodic movement of ἰαἰα is elaborated on ΔΙ instead of ΓΑ through its entrance on ΒΟΥ.

33 Stylianos Rigopoulos was born in Istanbul in 1882, where he worked as chanter until he moved to Athens. He published his *Neon Anastasimatarion* in Istanbul in 1933. He was the father of Vasileios Rigopoulos, the prominent publisher of printed books.

34 Παπανικολάου, *Ανθοδέσμη*, 17.

EXAMPLE 6

Ἦχος βαρύς διατονικός $\tilde{\omega}$ Ζω. 01=2

Use of Zygos on ΔΙ that *mutatis mutandis* refers to the modal substance of *Evcara* and *Revnâknümâ*

Use of *Spathi* in order to prepare the tense chromatic progression according to *Zirgûle*

The characteristic movement of *Sabâ*

Use of the tense chromatic pentachord of *Nikriz* through a descending movement from ΔΙ to ΝΗ

The melodic progression refers to *Bestenigâr*

Melodic movement in the region of ΖΩ' according to the *Varys Eptafonos* model

Melodic descent to low ΔΙ before the final cadence on ΖΩ

Ε ζε πλητ τε το ο Η ρω ω ω ω ω
 δης ο ο ρων τωων Μz γων τη η ην ε ευ
 σε βει ει α αν και τω θυ μω νι ι κρ
 με ε νο ος του ου ε ε ε ε του ου ους η κρι
 εο λο ο ο ο ο γει ει το ο δι ι α στη η
 μα α μη τε ρες η κνου ου ουουν το ο
 και η α ω ω ρο ο ο ος η λι κι ι ι
 α α τωων βρε φω ω ω ν πι κρω ως κα α τε θε ε
 μ ι ζι ε πο μα α ζοι οι οι οι ε
 ξη ραι αι νο εν το και αι πο ο ροι οι οι γα
 λα αχ το ο ο ος συ υ υ νε ε στε ε ε ελ λο ο ου
 το ο με ε ε γα α η η ην το ο δι ει νο
 ο ο ον δι ι ο ο ο ε ευ σε ε ε βως πι ι
 στοι οι οι συ υ νε ε ελ θε ο ο ο ον τες
 προ σκυ υ τη η η σω ω με εν του ου ου ου
 Χρι ι στου ου τη ην γε ε ε εν νη η σι ι υ

Αλέξανδρος Βυζάντιος, *Μουσικόν Δωδεκαήμερον*, Κωνσταντινούπολη, 1884, 21-2

EXAMPLE 7

Ἦχος βαρὺς ᾠδῆς Ζω

Μελοποιήσις τοῦ αὐτοῦ

Use of a mild chromatic phrase

Δ ε ε ε ε ε ηε ε ε ε υ τε ε α α α

α α πα α αν τες πι στω ω ως πα νη η η γυ υ

υ ρι ι σω ω ω μεν η των προ νο ο ο

τω ων συ εν α α τω ᾠ την ε τη η η η η

σι ο ον μνη η η η η η η μη η ην ᾠ του Ι

ου οτ θα α τη ην φυ υ υ λη η ην ηα α ξι

ι ι ως τι ι μη σω ω με εν λ τους εν Βα βυ

λω ω ω νι παι αι αι αι αι αι δας τους σβε

ε σα α αν τας την εν κα μι ι ι νω ω φλο ο

γα ρ ως της τρι α δο ος τυ υ υ πο ον συν τω

Δα α νι ι η η ηλ ευ φη η μη η η η

Use of Kliton, facilitating the melodic progression towards ΖΩ'

Extremely detailed transcription of the phrase towards ΔΙ

Descending-ascending movement through the tense chromatic pentachord of NIKRIZ (NH-ΔΙ)

η η σω ω ω ω μεν γκ των προ φη τω ω ω ω

ω ω ν τας προ ορ ρη η η η η η σει ει ει εις

α σφα λω ως κα α τε ε ε κα τε ε ε ε ε

χο ο ον τε ες με τα του Η σα

ι ι ου ου ου ου δλ με γα λο φω ω νως βο η η

η η η η η σω ω ω βο η η η σω ω με

εν γκ Ι δου ου ου η Πα αρ θε ε ε ε ε

ε ε νο ο ος εν γα α στρι δλ λη η η ψε ε

ε ε ται δλ και τε ξε ε ται αι υι υι ο ον το

ο ο ον Εμ μα α α α νου ου ου ου ηλ δλ ο ο

ε ε ε ε στι ι γκ μεθ η μω ω ω ω ω ω ν

ο ο θε ε ε ο ος

Alternative detailed management of the above phrase

Repetition of the word "βοήσωμεν"

Extensive melodic movement in the upper region of ΖΩ'. Use of established sticheraric phrases around ΔΙ'

Χαράλαμπος Παπανικολάου, *Ανθοδέσμη Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής*, Αθήνα, 1905, 29-30

The original compositions of the sticherarion in Varys diatonic can be considered as a case that highlights the stylistic as well as radical aesthetic changes which occurred in the nineteenth century in the field of church music. Specifically, through the innovative material that was produced, the whole compositional corpus was enriched with new expressive possibilities. Therefore, via the aforementioned compositional attempts a variety of oral (idiomatic/idiosyncratic) approaches was highlighted. In particular, masters originating from the Ottoman periphery utilized the potential of the new *Parasimantiki* regarding the detailed presentation of the melodic material. The popularity of these compositions contributed to the dissemination and wide acceptance of the New Method – amongst others – through the medium of typography. This paper aims to introduce a discussion concerning the relation between form and modality. Until the last decades of the eighteenth-century modality served the needs of form. In other words, in earlier periods modality had to support the form’s structure and substance. In the nineteenth century it could be said that modality obtained its autonomy on

account of its emancipation from the strict structural rules of musical form. Hence, in the compositions analysed above, a few elements originating in the phraseological material of the sticherarion are used, because of the deconstruction of its established form.

As stressed above, the management of melodic material according to the text's meaning was one of the fundamental principles of the progressive composers of the nineteenth century. In the case of the sticherarica meli of Varys, they prefer to utilize the diatonic version of the echos on ZΩ, which, in contrast to the corresponding version on ΓΑ, offers multiple modal alternatives as well as compositional options. In fact, the phraseological material that belongs to Varys on ΓΑ in the sticheraric genre is undoubtedly limited. Thus, nineteenth-century chanters usually attempted to apply modal behaviours and movements that concern the mild diatonic phenomena produced by the degree of ZΩ. Thus, in the repertoire presented, modal instances that refer to makams *Irak*, *Bestenigâr*, *Evc*, etc., provide a wide variety of modal phenomena that can be utilized in order to create individual sonic environments according to the hymnographical text. Moreover, this practice combined with the absence of the stereotypic phraseology of the sticherarion leads to a distancing from the established structure of the genre, simultaneously contributing not only to the transcendence of the form but also to the establishment of a new, alternative, flexible one, going beyond structural restrictions.

Indeed, the sticheraricon meli in Varys diatonic structurally and aesthetically are more closely related to the nineteenth-century genre of the kalophonic heirmoi (even in a short form) than to established versions of the sticherarion. This fact emphatically proves the dominant position that modality possessed in the compositional mentality of the chanters of this period. Thus, corresponding attempts at the reconstruction of the form or its abolishment on account of the primacy of modality can be detected in several compositional instances in the field of church music even until the middle of the twentieth century.

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