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BYZANTINE MUSICAL TRADITION IN CYPRUS AND CRETE AFTER THE FALL OF COSTANTINOPLE

DIMITRIOS K. BALAGEORGOS

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece

balageorgos@yahoo.gr

INTRODUCTION

The Fall of Constantinople in 1453 was an event of paramount importance for Hellenism and its subsequent evolution, and certainly a critical moment in the history of the Greeks, since it marked the beginning of a period of major hardship in which their forces, both politically and economically, were seriously diminished. Nevertheless, they never lost their spiritual identity, and despite the difficult circumstances they had to face, were able to regroup and survive by means of their education and their civilization. Their culture, which continued to flourish even shortly before the Fall of the City, continued to provide them with models that inspired respect and noble competition¹. The Byzantine way of thinking and organizing ideas survived on a less impressive level, but in an equally strong and creative manner. Constantinople was conquered, but its cultural attraction was only partially reduced by the new order of things. This new reality is also expressed in the evolution of artistic creation. The spiritual and behavioural models inherited by Byzantium remained in many ways stable and unaltered in the post-1453 Byzantine world.

A similar pattern can be discerned in the evolution of church music, with the adoption of Byzantine musical models which are reflected in the various musical books of that time. The Byzantine musical tradition survived under the new historical circumstances, offering to the Greeks, through its functionality, a constant re-immersion in that tradition. This survival was guaranteed by one of the most eminent figures in the entire history of church music, Manuel Chrysaphis, whose work influenced all post-Byzantine musical composition. The spirit of his compositions permeated the musical traditions of the countries that belonged to Byzantium's sphere of influence (Serbia, Romania, Wallachia)² and his musical thinking provided fuel for the musical activities of the Greek Orthodox community of Crete and, through the latter, also of Cyprus.

It is the tradition of these two important centres of musical creation, Crete and Cyprus, during the century that followed the Fall of Constantinople, that I shall investigate, employing

1 On the various aspects of Byzantine civilization and their survival after the imposition of Ottoman rule, see Yiannias, John J., ed., *Η βυζαντινή παράδοση μετά την άλωση της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, Cultural Foundation of the National Bank of Greece, Athens 1994. See also the older work of Runciman, Steven, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance*, Cambridge 1970.

2 Hadjigiakoumis, Manolis K., *Η εκκλησιαστική μουσική παράδοση του έλληνισμού μετά την άλωση (1453-1820)*, Athens 1999, 19, 24.

older witnesses, but also newer elements which have resulted from my recent research at the Library of Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai. My study of psaltic art in these two islands is conducted within the limits of one century, more or less, with a view to offering a preliminary survey of the history and survival of church music, outlining the guiding principle that prepared the important period of flourishing of psaltic art in Crete³ and discussing the intense musical activity in Cyprus prior to its conquest by the Ottomans in 1570-71.

THE MUSICAL TRADITION OF CRETE

The Fall of Constantinople in 1453, the loss of freedom, the horror of the city's sack, the collapse of its social and economic structures and the adaptation – in various degrees – of the urban centres to the new rhythms of social and cultural life imposed by the conquerors⁴ forced many inhabitants of the Byzantine capital to emigrate to provincial or foreign centres in order to seek employment and better living conditions, or even to carry on their activities in those centres that still remained free from the Turkish yoke. Most of them sought refuge in Crete, where there was an important Greek Orthodox community. The presence of Venetians in the island since 1204 had secured peace and tranquility in the 15th century, but also a background of prosperity and freedom that played an important part in the flourishing of letters and fine arts, since artists were allowed to express themselves without restrictions. In the middle of the 15th century, Chandakas was the place of residence of many Byzantine scholars and teachers of the various arts (music, architecture, painting)⁵ making up a school for anyone who wished to study them.

During the years after the Fall, Crete became the principal centre of the practice of psaltic art⁶. This state of affairs is also confirmed by Chrysanthos of Madytos, who notes that “ὅταν ἐξέλιπεν ἀπὸ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἡ ἔμμουσος ψαλμωδία, ἐσώζετο ἐν ταῖς Ἐκκλησίαις τοῖς κατὰ Πελοπόννησον καὶ Κρήτην”⁷. Many important composers and musical teachers took refuge in Venetian-ruled Crete and in certain areas of the Peloponnese, where they contributed, by means of their knowledge and experience, to the survival and evolution of psaltic art.

One of the most renowned ecclesiastical composers and musical teachers who came at that time to Crete was the last *lampadari* of the illustrious royal clergy, Manuel Chrysaphis. This famous composer arrived on the island at a time when chanting activity was flourishing, mainly as a result of the foundation, between 1411 and 1418, of a Byzantine Musical School by the renowned composer and teacher Ioannes Laskaris the Cretan, who had come from Constantinople⁸. Chrysaphis's presence on the island was probably due to his friendship with the Cretan composer Ioannes Plousiadenos⁹ who had spent his youth years in Constantinople. Having completed his studies, Plousiadenos remained in the Byzantine capital, and after the

3 For a systematic approach on the subject of musical production and tradition of Crete, see the doctoral dissertation by Emmanouil St. Giannopoulos, *Ἡ ἀνθιση τῆς Ψαλτικῆς Τέχνης στὴν Κρήτη (1566-1669)*, Foundation of Byzantine Musicology, Studies 11, Athens 2004.

4 Vryonis, Spyridon, “Ἡ βυζαντινὴ κληρονομία στὸν ἐπίσημο καὶ ἔντεχνο πολιτισμὸ τῶν Βαλκανικῶν λαῶν”, Yiannias 1994, 39.

5 Gouma-Peterson, Theodoros, “Ἡ εἰκόνα ὡς πολιτισμικὴ παρουσία μετὰ τὸ 1453”, in Yiannias 1994, 194-195. Konstantoudaki-Kitromilidou, M., “Οἱ κρητικὸι ζωγράφοι καὶ τὸ κοινὸ τους: ἡ ἀντιμετώπιση τῆς τέχνης τους στὴ Βενετοκρατία”, *Κρητικὰ Χρονικὰ* 26. 1986, 246-261.

6 Dragoumis, Markos Ph., “Ἡ δυτικίζουσα ἐκκλησιαστικὴ μουσικὴ μας στὴν Κρήτη καὶ στὰ Ἐπτάνησα”, *Λαογραφία* 31. 1976-1978, 272.

7 Chrysanthos of Madytos, Archbishop of Durrës, *Θεωρητικὸν Μέγα τῆς Μουσικῆς*, Trieste 1832, XLII.

8 See Amargianakis, Georgos, “Κρητικὴ Βυζαντινὴ καὶ παραδοσιακὴ μουσικὴ”, *Κρήτη, Ἱστορία καὶ Πολιτισμὸς*, vol. II, Heraklion 1988, 319. Panagiotakis, Nikolaos, “Μαρτυρίες γιὰ τὴ μουσικὴ στὴν Κρήτη κατὰ τὴν Βενετοκρατία”, *Θησαυρίσματα* 20. 1990, 18, 42. Giannopoulos 2004, 56-58.

9 The friendship between the two musicians and Plousiadenos's probable apprenticeship with Chrysaphis during his stay in Constantinople are evident through the codification of Manuel's compositions by Ioannes in beautifully written manuscripts now preserved in the Sinai Library (Sinaiticus 1251, fol. 280a-378a, Sinaiticus 1253 and Sinaiticus 1255). For a thorough description of these codices, see Balageorgos, Dimitrios K. – Kritikou, Flora N., *Τὰ χειρόγραφα βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς-Σινᾶ*, vol. I, Athens 2008, 130-167 and 183-206.

latter's fall he returned to Venetian-ruled Crete¹⁰. We do not know exactly how many years he spent there. We can, nevertheless, ascertain that his stay in Crete, even for a short period of time, influenced local musicians and was in general beneficial to the evolution of psaltic art in Crete.

Some time later, at the end of the 1460s, another Byzantine composer, the *lampadarios* Manuel Gazes¹¹, came to Crete at an advanced age and died on the island. The scholar Michael Apostolis wrote about Gazes that he was "a decent man, a lover of virtue and the greatest musician among all our contemporary composers"¹². In codex 1566 of Mount Sinai, written by Gazes's disciple Angelos Gregoriou, there is the only extant indication concerning the teacher of Gazes: this was the hieromonk Markos, from the Monastery of Xanthopouloi, who later became metropolitan of Corinth¹³. Beside his known musical compositions, which are frequently anthologized in manuscript sources – such as the embellishment of a previous setting, by Konstantinos Magoulas, of the verse *Ἀστραπὰς εἰς ὑετὸν* from the polyeleos *Δοῦλοι, Κύριον*, the setting of a pasapnoarion from Matins in fourth plagal mode, of the mathema *Ἄσατε λαοὶ* and of the Nicene Creed – his compositional activity is represented by the prokeimenon *Μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν Κύριον*¹⁴, some verses from Great Doxology in the first mode¹⁵, the Trisagion from Great Doxology in the fourth plagal mode¹⁶, the koinonikon *Σῶμα Χριστοῦ* in the first plagal mode¹⁷, the verse *Ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος Κυρίου συγκατέβη* from the seventh ode of the Service of the Three Youths in the Fiery Furnace¹⁸, the mathema *Ὁ ταξιάρχης τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεων*¹⁹, the hymns *Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον ἐστι* and *Ὁ ἑωρακῶς ἐμὲ*²⁰ from the Divine Liturgy, and, finally, an embellished Alleluarion²¹.

A few years after the Fall, Ioannes Vatatzes was protopsaltis in Chandakas²². A Venetian document of 21 May 1465, referring to the ecclesiastical history of Crete, reports Vatatzes's election as protopsaltis, ratified by the Doge of Venice Cristoforo Moro²³. We do not now exactly how many years he held this office; it is, however, documented that in 1487 the protopsaltis of Chandakas was Ioannes Kostomiris, who "retained the office of protopsaltis until his death, which occurred after 1500"²⁴. As a composer, Vatatzes was not particularly influential. Only three extant compositions are attributed to him: a setting of the verses *Λαοὶ ὑποκάτω σου πεσοῦνται*²⁵ and *Παρέστη ἡ βασίλισσα ἐκ δεξιῶν σου*,²⁶ from the antiphon *Λόγον, ἀγαθόν*, and a kalophonic version of the hemistich *Οἱ κρίνοντες τὴν γῆν*, from the second psalm of the

10 Politis, L., "Eine Schreiberschule im Kloster τῶν Ὁδηγῶν", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 51. 1958, 272. Touliatos, D., "Ioannes Plousiadenos: The man, his music, and his musical treatise", *Θησαυρισματα* 28. 1998, 80.

11 Metamorphoseos 295, p. 233: *Τὸ ἅγιον Σύμβολον· κύρ Μανουήλ τοῦ Γαζῆ καὶ λαμπαδαρίου. Sinaiticus 1527, fol. 220b: ἔτερον εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἑορτήν, ποιήμα λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Γαζῆ.*

12 From a letter sent by Michael Apostolis to the well known codicographer and scholar Michael Lygizos. Panagiotakis 1990, 56-57.

13 Sinaiticus 1566, fol. 80b: *Ἐκαλλωπίσθη παρὰ κύρ Μάρκου ἱερομονάχου καὶ παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φοιτητοῦ κύρ Μανουήλ τοῦ Γαζῆ [ἦχος πλ. β'] Τῶν ἀνδραγαθημάτων σου.*

14 Barlaam 208, fol. 98b. Sinaiticus 1463, fol. 98.

15 Sinaiticus 1463, fol. 103b. Olympiotissas 204, fol. 148a.

16 Barlaam 208, fol. 122a.

17 Sinaiticus 1463, fol. 255b.

18 Sinaiticus 1527, fol. 220b.

19 Barlaam 208, fol. 246a.

20 Barlaam 210, fol. 41b.

21 Adamis, Michael G., "Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς βιβλιοθήκης Παναγιώτου Γριτσάνη ἀποκειμένης νῦν ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ μητροπόλει Ζακύνθου", *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 35. 1966-67, 319.

22 On Ioannes Vatatzes, see Velimirovic, Milos M., "Two composers of Byzantine music: John Vatatzes and John Laskaris", *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music. A Birthday offering to Gustave Reese*, New York 1966, 818-831. Eustratiadou, Sofr., "Θρακὲς μουσικοί", *ΕΕΒΣ* 12. 1936, 47-48.

23 Sathas, Konstantinos, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη*, vol. VI, Paris 1877, 676-677. Manoussakas, M. I., "Βενετικά ἔγγραφα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Κρήτης τοῦ 14ου-16ου αἰῶνος", *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 15. 1961, 195-196.

24 Manoussakas 1961, 196.

25 Iviron 973, fol. 151a. Philotheou 122, fol. 110a.

26 NLG 2406, fol. 152a. Sinaiticus 1293, fol. 113a. Sinaiticus 1311, fol. 49b. Sinaiticus 1527, fol. 111b. NLG 899, fol. 81a. Ag. Stephanou 52, fol. 144b.

first kathisma of the Psalter, *Ἰνατὶ ἐφρύαξαν ἔθνη*²⁷.

The composer whose works have been the object of many more studies and commentaries than those of any other Cretan musician is, however, Ioannes Plousiadenos (1429?-1500). Born in the city of Chandakas, he played an important part in the ecclesiastical matters of Venetian-ruled Crete during the second half of the 15th century. In the field of music he distinguished himself both as a teacher and as a composer. He was a very competent musical theorician, a fact confirmed by the methods of learning psaltic art that he developed and which are codifications of the psaltic art of his time²⁸. His work as a composer is very important. His extant musical creations include settings of verses from the Great Doxology, the Amomos, the polyeleos *Δοῦλοι, Κύριον*, the oikoi of the Akathist²⁹, chants from the Sticherarion and the Mathematarion, theotokia of the Octoechos, stavrotheotokia, four cheroubika in the third mode, fourth mode, first plagal mode and third plagal mode respectively³⁰, theotokia chanted “*εἰς τὸ ἐξαιρέτως*” and accompanying the distribution of the blessed bread (antidoron), and the koinonika *Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον* and *Ὁ ἑωρακῶς ἐμέ*, written using double chant. An extremely important aspect of Ioannes Plousiadenos’s presence in the ecclesiastical realm is his hymnographical work³¹. He also developed a sustained codicographical activity as a part of his endeavour to divulge and impose in Crete the chanting tradition expressed through the Byzantine kalophony of the 14th century³².

Simultaneously, by means of his autograph codices, Plousiadenos transmitted the works of less known musicians of his time, whose works, albeit limited in extent, contributed decisively to the cultivation and renewal of the church music of their time. A telling example is his own father, Georgios Plousiadenos, who was active in Crete in the years after the Fall of Constantinople. In three of his autograph codices (Sinaiticus 1234, 1312 and 1584), Ioannes included works by his father, namely the hymn *Ἄλλ’ ἡμῖν τοῖς ποθοῦσί σε τὸν Χριστοῦ φίλον*, chanted on the occasion of the feast of St. Dimitrios³³, the prologue to the kalophonic sticheron *Ἡρώδης ὁ παράνομος* by Karvounariotes³⁴, the kalophonic stichera *Δεῦτε τῶν ὀρθοδόξων τὸ σύστημα*, chanted on 20 July³⁵, and *Πρόδρομε τοῦ Σωτήρος*, chanted on 29 August³⁶, and, finally, the Sunday koinonikon *Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον*, in tetraphonic first mode³⁷.

Protopresbyter Georgios Falieros is another Cretan musician contemporary of Ioannes Plousiadenos. His small output as a composer is preserved in the autograph codex Sinaiticus 1463 by musician and codicographer Theodoros Rodakinos, whereas Cretan musicians Akakios Chalkeopoulos and Benedictos Episkopopoulos anthologize one of his compositions each, in their autograph manuscripts NLG 917 and Codex Koutloumousiou 448 respectively. To this

27 Philotheou 122, fol. 57a. Koutloumousiou 457, fol. 13a.

28 Apart from the well known “very wise variant”, the following methods are also recorded: *Ἐνταῦθα ἀρχόμεθα διδάξαι ὑμᾶς...*, known as “*νουθεσία πρὸς μαθητάς*” (Xeropotamou 307, fol. 19a), *Μία καὶ μία καὶ ἄλλως μία καὶ μία...*, qualified as “*πάνν ὠφέλιμος*” (Xeropotamou 307, fol. 19b), the eight-mode method of the theseis *Τὸν πρῶτον τὸν λεγόμενον Κοκουμῶν οὕτως ψάλλειν...* (Xeropotamou 307, fol. 21b) and the interpretation of the parallage of main and plagal modes *Μετὰ ταῦτα, ἔδοξέ μοι καὶ κανόνιόν τε μικρόν...* (Dionysiou 570, fol. 119a). On this topic see also Alygizakis, Antonios E., *Ἡ ὀκταηχία στὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴ λειτουργικὴ ὑμνογραφία*, Thessaloniki 1985, 157-158, 161-163, 235-239, 266-267.

29 The entire composition of Plousiadenos is preserved in codex Sinaiticus 1575. For more information of the subject, see the dissertation of Flora N. Kritikou, *Ὁ Ἀκάθιστος ὕμνος στὴ βυζαντινὴ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὴ μελοποιΐα*, Foundation of Byzantine Musicology, Studies 10, Athens 2004, 176-196, 266-271, 325-328.

30 Sinaiticus 1440, fol. 71a, 73a, 77a. Philotheou 133, fol. 75b and elsewhere.

31 Manoussakas, M., “*Recherches sur la vie de Jean Plousiadenos (Joseph de Methone) (1429?-1500)*”, REB XVII, Paris 1959, 28-51.

32 See Balageorgos, Dimitrios K., “*Οἱ ἀποκείμενοι στὴ βιβλιοθήκη τῆς ἱερᾶς μονῆς τοῦ Σινᾶ αὐτόγραφοι κώδικες τοῦ Ἰωάννου ἱερέως τοῦ Πλουσιαδηνοῦ*”, *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference of the ASBMH*, Athens 2007, 47-86, at <http://www.asbmh.pitt.edu/page12/Balageorgos.pdf>.

33 Sinaiticus 1234, fol. 71a. Sinaiticus 1584, fol. 85b.

34 Sinaiticus 1234, fol. 195b. Sinaiticus 1584, fol. 214a.

35 Sinaiticus 1234, fol. 381a.

36 Sinaiticus 1234, fol. 440b.

37 Sinaiticus 1312, fol. 106a.

composer is attributed a verse from the anoixantaria³⁸, three verses from the Amomos, chanted for deceased monks³⁹, one prokeimenon, and the theotokion mathema *Δέσποινα καὶ μήτηρ τοῦ Λυτρωτοῦ*.

Yet another musician from Crete, Theodoros Rodakinos, was distinguished in the second half of the 15th century. To date there is no concrete evidence for his life and activity. Nevertheless, his rich work reveals a talented theorician and composer, as well as an important musical bibliographer. There are two confirmed autograph manuscripts, (Sinaiticus 1463 and 1552, both of the mixed kind, Anastasimatarion-Anthology) and two more that may easily be ascribed to him (Sinaiticus 1493 – Triodion and 1506 – Mathematarion and Akathistos by Kladas). His two confirmed autograph manuscripts anthologize the major part of his work as a composer, including a setting of verses from the Anoixantaria and another from *Μακάριος ἀνήρ*, a chanted Trisagion in fourth plagal mode, the koinonika *Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον* (one of which is an eight-mode⁴⁰) and *Ποτήριον σωτηρίου λήψομαι* and some kalophonic stichera. He also compiled a method for learning psaltic art.

During the same period (second half of 15th century), another remarkable musician and copyist⁴¹, Angelos Gregoriou, disciple of Manuel Gazis⁴², was active in Crete. He is reported to have set three chants from the Mathematarion anthologized in a codex by Gerasimos Yalinas, Sinaiticus 1438 (year 1660)⁴³, the eirmos of the first ode from the Easter Canon⁴⁴, a series of katanyktika mathemata⁴⁵, the prokeimenon *Ὁ Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν*⁴⁶ and the hymn *Ὡς ἐμνήσθης Χριστέ τοῦ πιστοῦ Ληστοῦ*⁴⁷, chanted on *Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ*. He was not only a composer, however, but also dealt in hymnography⁴⁸. According to testimony by Ioannes Plousiadenos, in a somewhat incoherent (from a syntactical point of view) inscription, Angelos Gregoriou went to Mount Athos, where he established himself for an indeterminate period of time⁴⁹.

Akakios Chalkeopoulos lived later than the aforementioned musicians, and his work is considered important for the study of Cretan musical tradition. His extant autograph codex NLG 917 is valuable in this aspect, since it contains his theoretical treatise, an Anastasimatarion composed by him and several chants from the Sticherarion of the papadic genre, many of which are his own works⁵⁰. In this codex, Akakios attempts to “interpret” some of the more difficult parts of the musical text by using a simpler notation of his own invention. This is the reason why he is considered to be the “forerunner of the master interpreters from ca. 1670 to 1814”⁵¹. Later manuscript production did not anthologize any chant by Akakios among the many compositions it comprised, which obliges me to subscribe to the opinion of Emmanouil Giannopoulos, according to whom “he was very probably a ‘heretical figure’ in the musical

38 Sinaiticus 1463, fol. 54a.

39 Sinaiticus 1463, fol. 342a, 369b, 375b.

40 See Balageorgos, Dim. K., “Τὰ ὀκτάηχα μέλη τῆς ψαλτικῆς στῆ χειρόγραφη παράδοση”, *Θεωρία καὶ Πράξη τῆς Ψαλτικῆς Τέχνης: Ἡ Ὀκταηχία, Πρακτικά Γ' Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου, Μουσικολογικοῦ καὶ Ψαλτικoῦ, Ἀθήνα 17-21 Ὀκτωβρίου 2006*, Athens 2010, 490.

41 The codex Sinaiticus 1566 is a confirmed autograph by Angelos Gregoriou. In fol. 70b we read: “Στίχοι ποιηθέντες καὶ μελισθέντες παρ’ ἐμοῦ Ἀγγέλου Γρηγορίου”. A similar inscription is to be found in fol. 108a. Emmanouil St. Giannopoulos (2004, 77) believes that Gregoriou was the scribe of the codices Duke MS 45 and British Library Add. 57942.

42 Sinaiticus 1566, fol. 16a, 66b, 86b.

43 Sinaiticus 1438, fol. 313a, 320b, 337b.

44 Sinaiticus 1566, fol. 16b. British Library Add. 57942, fol. 16a.

45 British Library Add. 59492, fol. 59a, 60b, 61a.

46 Koutloumousiou 436, fol. 16a.

47 Iviron 976, fol. 378b.

48 Sinaiticus 1566, fol. 70b, 108a.

49 Sinaiticus 1547, fol. 59a: *Κάθισμα ψαλλόμενον εἰς τὸν Ὁρθρον καθὼς ψάλλεται εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Ὄρος ἤχος πλ. δ' πρὸς τὸ Τὴν Σοφίαν καὶ Λόγον ἔνεγράφη δὲ παρὰ κυροῦ ἀγγέλου Γρηγορίου ὑπὸ μοναχοῦ τινὸς ἐκείσε εἰσιόντος ἐν τῇ σεβασμίᾳ μονῇ ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου, ἧτοι τοῦ ἁγίου Ὄρους.*

50 Hadjigiakoumis, Manolis K., *Χειρόγραφα ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς 1453-1820*, Athens 1980, 113-114.

51 Stathis, Gregorios Th., “Ἡ ἐξέλιξη τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς στῆ μεταβυζαντινὴ περίοδο”, *Ἀναφορὰ εἰς μνήμην Μητροπολίτου Σάρδεων Μαξίμου 1914-1986*, vol. IV, Geneva 1989, 435.

scene of his time, and this is why he did not have any followers"⁵². A unique case of inclusion of Akakios's musical works is the codex Sinaiticus 1247, in the second part of which there are several stichera idiomela composed by Manuel Chrysafis and Akakios Chalkeopoulos⁵³.

Church music continued to be cultivated by Cretan musicians up to the mid-16th century, displaying signs of renewal and development that prepared the next major period of flourishing of psaltic art in the island. The work of the aforementioned Cretan musical composers and teachers who are linked to the psaltic movement from the fall of Constantinople to c. 1550 is found in documents of Cretan sacred music compiled by themselves or by later copyists with a view to preserving Cretan psaltic tradition. There are, however, several reports on the activity of other Cretan musicians and protopsaltes of that time, in various Venetian documents that demonstrate the continuity in the island's psaltic tradition. Angelinos Tutun, protopsaltis of Castelli Pediados (1501)⁵⁴, protopsaltis Nikolaos Kalyvas (1504)⁵⁵, priest and music teacher Ilarion Sotirchos (1544)⁵⁶, Theodoros Louras, protopsaltis of Chandakas, and chanter Ioannes Zacharias (+1578)⁵⁷ are some of the figures mentioned in these documents.

THE MUSICAL TRADITION OF CYPRUS

During the same period, in another traditional regional centre of the Empire, Cyprus, church music was also undergoing productive phase, with the creation of important musical works that went beyond local limits, thus enriching the manuscript treasures of later centuries. This flourishing was a natural development of the earlier musical activity of renowned composers from the mid-14th century onwards. One of the earliest Cypriot musicians is Nikolaos Asanis (end of 14th century)⁵⁸, whose settings of the koinonika *Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον* and *Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον* are frequently included in many later musical codices⁵⁹. Contemporary with or perhaps slightly later than Asanis was priest Manuel Asan, whose only known surviving work is a setting of the verse *Θαυμαστὰ τὰ μαρτύριά σου* from the Amomos, chanted "in memory of departed monks"⁶⁰.

In the first half of the 15th century, protopsaltis Pavlos Kassas⁶¹ was active on the island as a composer, with a limited yet remarkable output, including a setting of the verses *Ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ Κυρίῳ*, from the Polyeleos, in second and first modes⁶².

Two Mathemataria from the first half of the 16th century are ascribed, respectively, to Manuel⁶³ and Ioannis Kassas⁶⁴. Both appear to have composed the same prologue in the fourth mode, so it is safe to assume that in reality they are one and the same person.

In the period covered by this study we encounter several talented musicians whose work confirms my initial remarks. Thomas and Ioannes Kordokotos are among the first renowned representatives of Cypriot musical tradition, though the four Cypriot manuscripts provide us with very little information about their life and work⁶⁵. One of these documents is partially

52 Giannopoulos 2004, 87.

53 Balageorgos – Kritikou 2008, 119.

54 Giannopoulos 2004, 95.

55 Giannopoulos 2004, 95.

56 Panagiotakis, Nikolaos M., "Ἡ μουσικὴ κατὰ τὴν Βενετοκρατίαν", *Κρήτη: I-II*, vol. II (1988), 20, 76-78.

57 Panagiotakis 1990, 19, 95.

58 On Nikolaos Asanis, see Chaldaiakis, Achilleas G., *Ὁ πολυέλεος στὴν βυζαντινὴ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὴ μελοποιΐα*, Foundation of Byzantine Musicology, Studies 5, Athens 2003, 422.

59 See for example the codices: Sinaiticus 1283, fol. 78a. Sinaiticus 1299, fol. 285a. Sinaiticus 1473, fol. 397b. Sinaiticus 1527, 298a. Sourotis 22, fol. 436a. Ag. Stephanou 52, fol. 293b. Koutloumousiou 456, fol. 96a. Philotheou 122, fol. 215a; Iviron 987, fol. 387b, et al.

60 Iviron 973, fol. 228a. Iviron 985, fol. 109a.

61 NLG 2406, fol. 333b.

62 Sinaiticus 1313, fol. 88b-93b.

63 Philotheou 135, fol. 195a: *Πρόλογος ψαλλόμενος· κῆρ Μανουήλ τοῦ Κασᾶ· [ἦχος] δ' Ἐρρε ερρε.*

64 Iviron 976, fol. 316a: *Ἰσοφωνία, τοῦ Κασᾶ Ἰωάννου· ἦχος δ' Ἐρεερερε.*

65 Leimonos 240. Leimonos 300. Sinaiticus 1313. Koumbarides Collection 1-6.

written by Ioannes Kordokotos himself, who signs as “εὐδομαδάριος (sic) καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν ρωμαίων λευκωσίας”⁶⁶ (“hebdomadary of the Catholic church of the Greeks in Nicosia”) and refers to priest Thomas Kordokotos as “α' ψάλτου ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς γρεκῶν (sic)”⁶⁷ (“first chanter of the Archbishopric of the Greeks”). The inscription “τοῦ μακαριωτάτου ἱερέως Θωμᾶ Κορδοκοτοῦ” (:by the priest Thomas Kordokotos of most blessed memory”) leads us to assume that Thomas was older than Ioannes. Their musical output was not large; it comprises some kalophonic stichera⁶⁸, two kratemata in the first plagal mode⁶⁹ and fourth plagal mode⁷⁰ respectively, a Trisagion for Sundays in the third mode with kratema bearing the indication “Ἰωάννου ἢ Θωμᾶ Κορδοκοτοῦ”⁷¹ (“by Ioannes or Thomas Kordokotos”), the oikos Ἐχουσα θεοδόχον⁷² from the Akathistos Hymn, and one cherubikon in the third mode⁷³. Thomas Kordokotos was not only a composer, but theorician. His kalophonic method is mentioned only once, in codex 1530 of Vatopedion, an autograph by monk Gregorios from Cyprus with the following remarkable inscription: “Μέθοδος τῶν καλοφώνων τεχνικὴ ποιηθεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ μακαριωτάτου κυροῦ Θωμᾶ οὗ τῶ ἐπίκλην Κορδοκοτὸς καὶ πρωτοψάλτου ἀγίου ἐπισκοπῶν τῶν Γρεκῶν Κύπρου”⁷⁴ (“A method of kalophonic technique composed by Thomas Kordokotos of most blessed memory, a protopsaltis in the holy bishoprics of Cypriot Greeks”). Andreas Kordokotos, who very probably came from the same family, was a copyist of musical manuscripts. His only extant autograph is the codex Iviron 1291, written at the end of the 16th century.

Equally interesting is the case of another Cypriot musician, Andreas Stellon, who was active in Old Patras from the mid-15th century on. The oldest extant mention of this musician is found in codex Iviron 975, an excellent specimen of a Mathematariion written very probably by Manuel Chrysaphis in the mid-15th century. According to this source, Andreas was domestikos of Patras⁷⁵. Two later Kratemataria preserve a kratema named “τρουμπέτα”, which is a poem attributed to “δομεστίκου ἐκ τῆς Κύπρου” (“the domestikos from Cyprus”), probably identical with Andreas Stellon⁷⁶. An important indication, as far as the time of his activity is concerned, is provided by the Athenian codex NLG 2401 (fourth quarter of the 15th century), which informs us that Andreas was promoted from domestikos to protopsaltis of Old Patras: “Πολυέλεος ἀσματικὸς ψαλλόμενος εἰς ἐπισήμους ἑορτάς, ποιηθεὶς παρὰ κυροῦ Ἀνδρέου Στελλῶν τοῦ Κυπρίου ἐν τῇ πόλει Παλαιῶν Πατρῶν καὶ πρωτοψάλτου· ἦχος α' Δοῦλοι, Κύριον” (“Polyeleos chanted at official feasts, composed by sir Andreas Stellon from Cyprus, protopsaltis in the city of Old Patras; First mode: Δοῦλοι, Κύριον”)⁷⁷. This inscription also testifies to his talent as a composer, as is revealed by the extended setting of the polyeleos that comprises 27 verses⁷⁸. Further research resulted in the identification of two more compositions by Andreas: an anagram “εἰς τὸν ἅγιον ἀπόστολον Ἀνδρέαν Πατρῶν”⁷⁹ and a setting of the koinonikon for Sundays *Ἀνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον* in the fourth mode⁸⁰.

66 Leimonos 300, fol. 83a. See Hadjigiakoumis, Manolis K., *Μουσικὰ χειρόγραφα Τουρκοκρατίας (1453-1832)*, Athens 1975, 28.

67 Leimonos 300, fol. 11a.

68 These are recorded in Hadjigiakoumis 1975, 315.

69 Koumbarides Collection 1-6, fol. 3b. See Jakovljevic, Andrija, *Catalogue of Byzantine chant manuscripts in the monastic and episcopal libraries of Cyprus*, Nicosia 1990, 97-98.

70 Sinaiticus 1313, fol. 391a. See Balageorgos – Kritikou 2008, 543.

71 Leimonos 240, fol. 78b-79b. In Sinaiticus 1313, fol. 102b it is precised that it is a poem by Ioannes Kordokotos. See Balageorgos – Kritikou 2008, 534.

72 Leimonos 300, fol. 118b.

73 Koutloumousiou 455, fol. 85b.

74 Jakovljevic, Andrija, “Κύπριοι μελωδοί, ὕμνογράφοι καὶ ἀντιγραφεῖς τῶν βυζαντινῶν μουσικῶν χειρογράφων τοῦ 15-17 αἰῶνα”, *Annuary of the Center of Scientific Researches XIII-XVI*, 1. 1988, 473.

75 Iviron 975, fol. 86a.

76 Kykkou 7, fol. 113a (See Jakovljevic 1990, 5) and Panagiotis Gritsanis Library 10, p 116 (See Adamis 1966-67, 346).

77 NLG 2401, fol. 95a.

78 For more details, see Chaldaiakis 2003, 233.

79 Metamorphoseos 192, fol. 300a.

80 Sinaiticus 1527, fol. 292b.

Nikolaos Petropoulos, a musician who flourished between the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, must also be considered as an offspring of Cyprus⁸¹. The Cypriot Anthology, codex Leimonos 240, obviously written in Cyprus and reflecting Cypriot musical tradition, comprises musical compositions by Nikolaos Petropoulos, namely a setting of verses from the second stasis of the Polyeleos of Koukoumas⁸². To him we must also ascribe the setting of the hemistich *Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον*, from the second psalm of the first kathisma *Καὶ νῦν, βασιλεῖς σύνεπε*⁸³, as well as the setting of the theotokia mathemata *Κόρη παρθένοσ ἄσπιλοσ*⁸⁴ and *Ὅτι Σωτῆρα ἔτεκεσ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν*⁸⁵.

One of the most influential Cypriot musical composers was priest Konstantinos Flaghis, whose life and activity is not very well documented. Nevertheless, the scarce evidence that can be garnered about him outline an exceptional musical figure. In one of the most important manuscripts of the Sinai collection, the codex Sinaiticus 1313⁸⁶, that comprises musical compositions from the Papadike and the Mathematarion testifying to the particular musical tradition of Cyprus and its musical contacts with the other major centre of that period, Crete, there is unique information to the effect that Flaghis was the teacher of Ieronymos Tragodistes in psaltic art: *“Τρισάγιον ψαλλόμενον εἰς τὴν θείαν καὶ ἄχραντον Λειτουργίαν, ποιηθὲν παρ’ ἐμοῦ Γερωνύμου Τραγωδιστῆ, μαθητοῦ τοῦ διδασκάλου καὶ μαῖστορος κυροῦ Κωνσταντίνου καὶ ἱερέως Φλαγγῆ ἤχος α' Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός”*⁸⁷. This indicates that Flaghis was older than Tragodistes, which leads us to redefine his floruit, placing it between the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, instead of the end of the 16th century which was the consensus until now. The fact that Ieronymos qualifies Flaghis as a *μαῖστωρ* demonstrates the latter's renown among his peers as the musical teacher *par excellence*. The importance of Flaghis is also due to his work as a composer, which befits the style of Cypriot musical tradition. Original compositions by Flaghis were copied by his disciple Ieronymos in the codex Sinaiticus 1313, including a kratema in the barys first mode⁸⁸, the mathema *Σὲ προκατεῖδε Δανιὴλ*, “chanted during the blessing of the holy bread”⁸⁹, the asmatikon *Κύριε ἐλέησον*, “chanted during the prayers at all feasts”⁹⁰, the sticheron *Τῆσ Θεολογίας τὸν ἀρχηγόν*⁹¹, the triadikon *Τρισσῶσ ὑμνῶ σου τὸ σεπτόν*⁹², the verse *Ὁ ἀπτόμενος τῶν ὀρέων*⁹³, plus two embellishments of older chants⁹⁴. The Cypriot Anthology, in codex Leimonos 240, also contains several works by Flaghis: one alleluarion, verses from the triadika of Vespers, two Trisagia and an embellishment of an older cherubikon⁹⁵. The codex Koutlounousiou 427 contains a series of original and innovative works by Flaghis, testifying to its differentiation from Byzantine tradition and to the search for new forms of musical expression. This is an almost complete Mathematarion embellished by Flaghis. Its main features are that *“οὐδὲν μάθημα φέρει κράτημα”* (“no mathema contains a kratema”) and that *“πρόκειται περὶ κυπριακῆσ παραδόσεωσ μέλουσ ἐνδιαμέσουσ μεταξὺ μέλουσ ἀναγραμματισμοῦ καὶ στιχηροῦ ἀπλοῦ”* (“it is a composition belonging to the Cypriot tradition, an intermediate genre between an anagram and a simple sticheron”)⁹⁶.

The most eminent musical personality for the period under scrutiny in Cyprus is Ieronymos

81 The Cypriot origin of Nikolaos Petropoulos is also supported by Chaldaiakis 2003, 186.

82 Hadjigiakoumis 1975, 43.

83 Koutlounousiou 455, fol. 23b.

84 Sinaiticus 1257, fol. 160b.

85 Sinaiticus 1276, fol. 90a.

86 For a detailed description of this codex, see Balageorgos – Kritikou 2008, 532-549.

87 Sinaiticus 1313, fol. 185a; cf. fol. 405b.

88 Sinaiticus 1313, fol. 49b.

89 Sinaiticus 1313, fol. 52b.

90 Sinaiticus 1313, fol. 188b.

91 Sinaiticus 1313, fol. 405b.

92 Sinaiticus 1313, fol. 463a.

93 Sinaiticus 1313, fol. 463b.

94 Sinaiticus 1313, fol. 183b, 465b.

95 Hadjigiakoumis 1975, 43-44.

96 Stathis, Gregorios Th., *Τὰ χειρόγραφα βυζαντινῆσ μουσικῆσ-Ἅγιον Ὅρος*, vol. III, Athens 1993, 277-281.

Tragodistes, who flourished in the mid-16th century. He was taught psaltic art by Flaghis and studied harmony and composition with Gioseffo Zarlino in Venice⁹⁷. As a collector and a trader of manuscripts, he devoted himself to the copying thereof, thus becoming a very capable copyist of codices, musical and otherwise. His autograph codex Sinaiticus 1313 contains the major part of his musical creations, namely:

the verse *Καθεῖλε δυνάστας* from the 9th ode⁹⁸,

the Trisagion with *Δύναμις* and *kratema*, in the first mode. In the margin of fol. 185a it is noted that “*ψάλλεται χαμηλοτέρῳ φωνῇ*” (“it is chanted in a lower voice”),

a second Trisagion “*ποιηθὲν ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης, καλλωπισθὲν παρ’ αὐτοῦ*” (“composed in Crete and embellished by himself”) (fol. 186b),

two hymns, *Χριστὸς ἐτέχθη ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου* and *Χριστὸς ἐφάνη ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ* chanted respectively at Christmas and Epiphany, in place of *Εἶδομεν τὸ φῶς* and *Εἶη τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου* (fol. 258a),

the embellishment of an older composition by Manuel Chrysaphis, the sticheron *Ὡς ταξιάρχης καὶ πρόμαχος* (fol. 406a),

the sticheron *Τί σε ὀνομάσω ἀπόστολε* (fol. 415b),

the verse *Ἄισω τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου* from the triadika (fol. 464a),

the hymn *Ὁ ἔωρακῶς ἐμέ*, chanted on *Μετὰ φόβον* (fol. 465a),

embellishments of the dismissal hymn *Εἶη τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου* (fol. 466a-b),

and finally, two 15-syllable theotokia – both text and music of his own authorship – and two cheroubika, one of which is a concise form of an older Cypriot setting, complete his extant work as a composer⁹⁹.

Tragodistes’s theoretical treatise *Περὶ χρείας μουσικῆς Γραικῶν χαρακτήρων* (On the need for Greek musical notation signs)¹⁰⁰ shows his inclination towards theoretical matters and reveals his efforts to change musical notation by means of the introduction of some signs aiming at greater accuracy.

In the same area one encounters two more musicians on whom the manuscript tradition is almost silent. The one and only source that contains their works and informs us of their names is the codex Koutloumousiou 427. These are bishop Paulos, linked to Cyprus by his origins or by his activity there, since he composed a sticheron chanted in honor of “the great bishop Epiphanius of Cyprus”¹⁰¹, and Emmanuel, *oikonomos* of Cyprus, whose only extant work is a *Δι’ ἐυχῶν*¹⁰², a sticheraric setting following the compositional technique of Flaghis.

EPILOGUE

All the aforementioned works testify to the survival of Byzantine tradition and the beginning of a renewal of psaltic art in Crete for the period under consideration. The influence of famous musicians who fled Constantinople, the local tradition, the interest in teaching psaltic art¹⁰³ even among the Venetians, the search for competent chanters with beautiful voices, as well as the cultural contacts of Crete with the West during these years and the mutual reception of cultural products, created favourable circumstances for the evolution of this art in the island. Relying on its own chanters, but also on distinguished masters from Constantinople, Crete filled the

97 Agapitos, Panagiotis A., “*Ἱερώνυμος Τραγωδιστῆς ὁ Κύπριος: ἕνας γραφέας καὶ μουσικὸς τῆς ὄψιμης ἀναγέννησης*”, *Ἐθνικὸ Ἰδρυμα Ἑρευνῶν-Ἰνστιτούτο Βυζαντινῶν Ἑρευνῶν - Διεθνὴ Συμπόσια 7. Ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ γραφὴ κατὰ τοὺς 15ο καὶ 16ο αἰῶνες*, Athens 2000, 289.

98 Sinaiticus 1313, fol. 182b: Παλαιόν, καθὼς ψάλλεται παρὰ τῶν νέων· ὅμως ἐκαλλωπίσθη παρ’ ἐμοῦ [Ἱερωνύμου Τραγωδιστῆ] καὶ σχεδὸν εἶπεν ὅτι μετεποιήθη παντελῶς· ἦχος β' *Καθεῖλε δυνάστας*.

99 Hadjigiakoumis 1975, 302.

100 Sinaiticus 1764, fol. 7b-30a. On this codex and on the theoretical treatise, see Agapitos 2000, 289-292.

101 Koutloumousiou 427, fol. 132a. See Stathis 1993, 279.

102 Koutloumousiou 427, fol. 3. See Gregorios Th. Stathis, *ibid.*

103 Panagiotakis 1990, 20.

gap observed in Greece proper after the latter's fall to the Turks. This state of things is also confirmed by documents from the years 1486 and 1492, in which German visitors voice their enthusiasm for the quality of the chanting in Divine Liturgies in the churches of Chandakas.

On the other hand, in Cyprus, which was independent during that period, the ongoing spiritual movement and the close cultural contacts with Crete contributed to the flourishing of an intense musical activity, especially during the 16th century, with an obvious tendency to differentiate itself from classical melody and to create a new tradition incorporating local musical elements. The embellishments of older musical works, which in fact are not mere variations, but altogether new compositions, the expression "as they are chanted by the young" and others similar to it, even the shortening of older works, all bear witness to the new, specific, local musical style. Nevertheless, the strength of Byzantine music, despite the new dimensions it acquired and the local musical colours with which it blended itself, prepared its impressive renewal in the centuries that followed, thanks to the systematic and effective musical education of Orthodox Greeks.

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