



LITTLE-KNOWN INDICATIONS OF MUSICAL PERFORMANCE FROM THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY AND THEIR HISTORICAL CONTEXT

SVETLANA KUJUMDZIEVA

svetk90@hotmail.com

The period of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is characterized by a renewal in the development of Eastern chant in the Balkans. It is not by chance that this epoch is discussed as an “Ars nova.”¹ The new revised liturgical ordo of Jerusalem was established along with the revival of hesychasm, a movement for spiritual renewal. The hesychasts believed that God could be reached through pure devotion. They paid special attention to the word, which became a means of expression to reach God. Its “divine beauty” had been sought out. A style of “weaving of words” (in Slavonic “плетение словес”) was developed. The aim was first, the accommodation of the sacred texts to the revised liturgical ordo, and second, the reestablishment of the authenticity of the sacred texts of the Holy Fathers, which was lost in the preceding century during the Latin occupation of Byzantium. That is why work focused on “the correction of books” (in Slavonic “исправление книг”). Also, the aim was the unity of the Orthodoxy to be fostered at a time when the common fear of Islamic invasion increased.

Hesychast ideas and style are revealed in the music of that time. Features of the hesychast style are displayed in the new class of musical books that were compiled by the end of the thirteenth century, the Akolouthiai, the orders of services. For the first time musical theories, the so-called *papadiki*, are included at the beginning of these books. An extremely careful attitude to the musical “word” is revealed in these theories. The musical “word” is compared with a grammar. “As in grammar,” wrote the fifteenth-century theoretician Manuel Chrysaphes, “the union of 24 letters forms words in syllables, in the same way the signs of the sounds are united scientifically and form the melody.”² Knowledge of the signs of *cheironomia* or the great neumatic signs became very important. The great signs represented the

1 Edward Williams, *John Koukouzeles' Reform of Byzantine Chanting for Great Vespers in the Fourteenth Century*. Ph. D. (Yale University, 1968); Alexander Lingas, “Hesychasm and Psalmody” in *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, eds. Anthony Bryer, Mary Cunningham (Variorum, 1996), 155-168; Ivan Moody, “Ars Nova. New Art and Renewed Art,” in *Journal of the International Society of Orthodox Church Music*, eds. Ivan Moody, Maria Takala-Roszczenko. Vol. 3 (2018): 230-235.

2 According to Dimitri Conomos, “The treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes, the Lampadarios,” in *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae. Corpus scriptorum de re musica*. Vol. II (Wien, 1985), 39.

stenographic symbols of musical formulas, called *theseis*, of which the chants were composed. They constituted the musical vocabulary.

In the fourteenth century these signs are presented in the so-called didactic poems included at the end of musical theories. Through the centuries the most popular such poem remains one by St John Koukouzeles. It is composed of about 60 formulas; its text is made up of the names of the great neumatic signs and its melody of their music. According to Manuel Chrysaphes, the poem was composed “as a rule and norm,”³ that is, it had to keep the purity of what had been established, to preserve the music from any distortion. The poem appeared to be a kind of “intonational Dictionary” of musical “words” at the time. The meaning of the *theseis* representing the musical words is commented on further in the three famous musical treatises of the fifteenth century by Manuel Chrysaphes, Hieromonk Gabriel of Xantopoulos and John Laskaris.⁴ Manuel Chrysaphes distinguishes in his treatise “singing according to *paralage*” (a kind of solfeggio, tone by tone) from “singing according to *theseis*” (melodic formulas). He stresses that the singing according to *theseis* is more important than that of *paralage*. Hieromonk Gabriel noted that “the *cheironomia*i discern whether they (the *theseis*) are correct or not.”⁵

The hesychast style is revealed also in the highly melismatic repertory called “kalophonic” meaning “beautiful-sounding”. The kalophonic style could be considered as analogous to the ornamental style of “weaving of words” in literature. Rubrics above many chants say that they were “*kalopismos*”, that is, they were embellished or beautified. For some of them is specified that they are to be chanted “*leptótaton*”, a direct analogy of the designation “*no lenome*” in Slavonic meaning “according to beauty” or “very fine”. In many cases the embellishment represents an elaboration of traditional originals. The function of this elaboration and, respectively, of the most “beautified” settings, was to cover the liturgical actions which had been augmented according to the new liturgical ordo of Jerusalem. It is at this point where the intersection between the revised Jerusalem ordo and hesychasm may be seen to a very great degree. Many highly melismatic compositions based on meaningless syllables, such as “te-ri-re, te-ru-re, a-na-ne, a-nu-na-ne,” etc., called *teretismata* or *kratemata* were created and inserted into the services. These pieces in their turn speak about the special attention which was paid to the musical “word”. The explanation of their appearance is in the light of hesychasm: according to the seventeenth-century monk Gerasimos of Cyprus “te-re-re” was angelic singing symbolizing Christ’s Resurrection and mankind’s salvation. Recall here that the hesychasts considered themselves as an antitype of the angels on the earth.

With the aim of accommodation of the new liturgical and stylistic demands at the time, the role of professional singers increased greatly.⁶ From the fourteenth century onwards singers started to be painted on church walls. They were placed next to high church dignitaries and almost always in the first line. Singers are depicted wearing special hats on their heads and showing different signs with their fingers (ill. 1). It could be said that these are the great cheironomic signs. The singers were considered as a sort of “guard” of tradition keeping its intonation purity.

3 Ibidem, p. 52.

4 Respectively “On the theory of the art of chanting and on certain erroneous views that some hold about it”, “On the signs of chant and other useful matters”, “Herminia and Parallage of Mousikis Technis”.

5 Christian Hannick, Gerda Wolfram, eds., “Gabriel Hieromonachos,” in *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae: Corpus scriptorum de re musica*. Vol. I (Wien, 1985), 73.

6 Concerning the singers see Neil Moran, *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting* (Leiden, 1986); Елка Бакалова, “Образите на Йоан Кукузел и византийската традиция за представяне на певци,” in *Музикални хоризонти 18-19* (1981), 69-243.

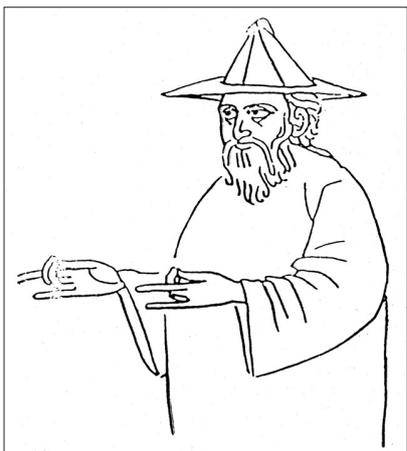


Illustration 1. Icon from Kostur, 15th century (detail). A singer showing great cheironomic signs with his fingers.

The new revised ordo, together with hesychast ideas, spread to all Balkan Orthodox countries. The extant sources testify that Bulgaria was one of the first to accept them. The school of Tirnovo (the town of Tirnovo was the capital of Bulgaria at that time) was the main centre where the new ideas reached their peak. The activity of the Tirnovo school regarding “исправление книг” is projected in the field of hymnography and music. The work of the this school became a model for the other Slavic Orthodox countries. Many books which were written in Tirnovo spread to Serbia, Walachia and Moldova, Russia and Ukraine. This is the so-called “Second South Slavic Influence” that went out from Bulgaria and spread to the west and to the north of her lands.⁷

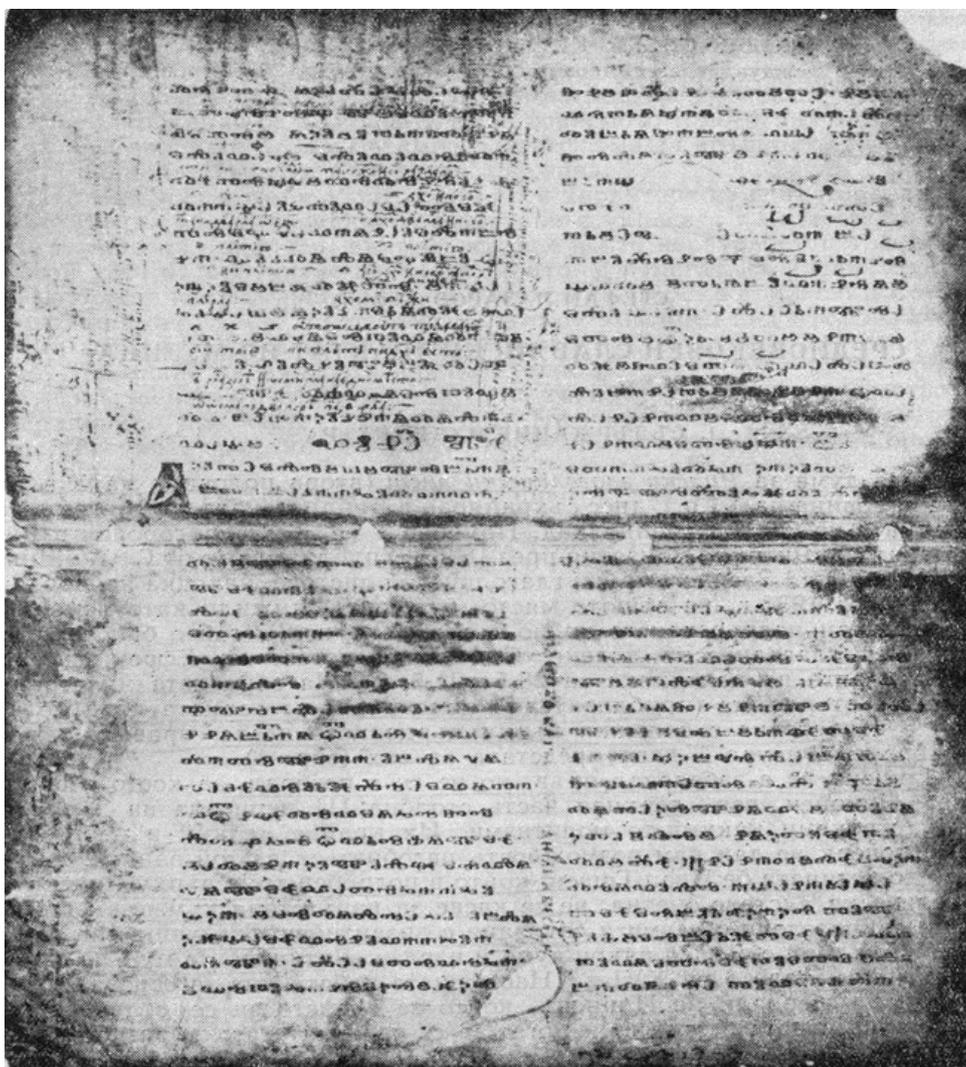


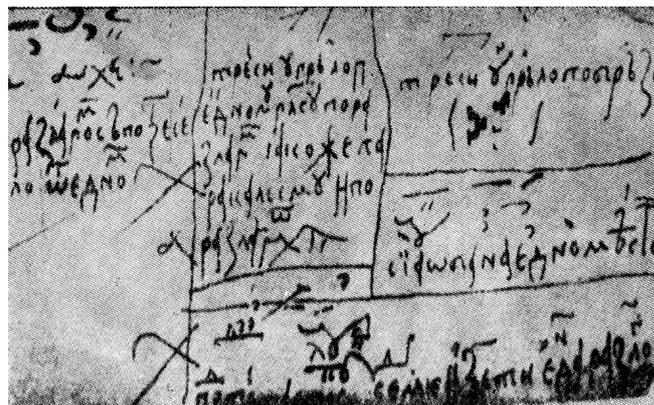
Illustration 2. Rila Glagolitic sheet – verso with the musical notes.

⁷ During the fifteenth century the Serbian Resava school arose as a continuation of the Tirnovo school in terms of the new liturgical and stylistic parameters. During the 16th and 17th centuries the Resava spelling became the norm for the Bulgarian man of letters in western and central Bulgarian lands.

One of the most valuable Bulgarian musical sources of the fifteenth century, which mirrors the tendencies mentioned above from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the field of Balkan Orthodox music, is an old Glagolitic fragment containing a kind of musical theory. The fragment is found in the library of the largest Bulgarian monastery and one of the largest in the Balkans, the Monastery of Rila (ill. 2).⁸ It consists of one parchment sheet from the eleventh century with sermons by Ephrem the Syrian. On its reverse side are written musical notes by a late hand, referring to the late-Byzantine musical system which had entered the musical books by the beginning of the fourteenth century. We shall call them the Rila musical notes. More than 20 neumatic signs together with some of their combinations are discussed. Very great attention is paid to their performance. From this point of view the source is a unique document of musical performance of the late-Byzantine period.

In addition, some very interesting terms are used. The most basic among them is “тресене в гърло” (“quiver in the throat”): “quiver slowly in the throat,” “quiver faster in the throat,” “with quiver,” etc. (ill. 3). This term refers to melodic movement in seconds. The writer explains that the combinations with the great cheironomic signs *parakalesma* and *heteron parakalesma*, the meaning of which is “I implore”, “I cry”, require a “throaty” sound performance. Special attention is paid to the combination of these signs with the sign *piasma*, a combination that is encountered very often in chants notated in the Akolouthiai. We read that these signs have one “razlag”. The latter term and also “according to razlagom”, refers probably to a kind of melodic articulation of a given *thesis* or melodic formula. We learn also that the singing of the signs *elaphron* (descending third) and *aporrhoe* (two consecutive descending seconds) is connected with the effect of “nasal” performance. The signs of the consecutive descending and ascending intervals designated in Greek as “somata” (“bodies”), are translated in Bulgarian with the word “пльт” (“flash”); the signs for intervallic leaps, “pneumata” (“spirits”), are translated as “дух” (“spirit”).

Illustration 3. Indications for performance: “quiver in the throat” and “razlag”.



8 The musical notes are written on the so-called Macedonian Glagolitic folio, a parchment fragment found in the cover of the fifteenth-century Cyrillic manuscript kept in the library of Rila monastery. They were found by the Russian Slavist Vasilii Grigorovich-Barsky in 1845 who took the fragment to Russia. It is now kept in the library of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg under the number 24.4.15. Concerning this, see: Григорий. А. Ильинский, “Македонски глаголический листок. Отрывок глаголического текста Ефрема Сирина XI века” in *Памятники старославянского письма*, Т. 1, вып. 6 (Санкт Петербург, 1909), 16-17; Иван Гошев, *Рилски глаголически листовци* (София, 1956), 121-122; Стефан Лазаров, “Средновековен славянски трактат по музика” in *Търновска книжовна школа*. Т. 2 (София, 1980), 555-572; Stefan Lazarov, “A Medieval Slavonic Treatise on Music” in *Studies in Eastern Chant*. Vol. V, ed. Dimitri Conomos (Crestwood, 1990), 153-186; Елена Тончева & Елена Коцева, “Рилски музикални приписки от XV,” in *Българско музикознание*, 2 (1983): 3-44; Светлана Куюмджиева, “За българската музика през XV,” in *Palaeobulgarica*, 2 (1983): 14-38.

The writer had probably studied church singing according to particular melodic idioms because he gives a particular Cherubic Hymn (ill. 4) in first plagal mode as an example, commenting how to perform its opening. The author of this hymn is identified as Ksenos Koronis. The writer further knew very well both the system of the intonation formulas or *echemata* introducing the modes and modulations. He says that in order to move from one mode to another, one should descend or ascend by means of some particular sounds – “flash” or “spirit;” and also that the “second mode below and the eighth mode are in the same place”, etc. He uses two indications for the modes – the plagal-authentic distinction and the numerical one from 1 to 8. The latter indication is considered more archaic, going back to Jerusalem, and is what is still used by Orthodox Slavs down to the present today. The term used, “полуглас” (“with half a tone”) also speaks to more archaic practice because the same term is known from the *Hagiopolites* treatise where, under the name *hemitona*, it refers to one of the four classes of neumatic signs discussed there. It is established that the *Hagiopolites* treatise presents the late stage in the development of the palaeobyzantine musical system that was in use in the Holy City and is encountered in manuscripts up to the end of the twelfth century⁹.

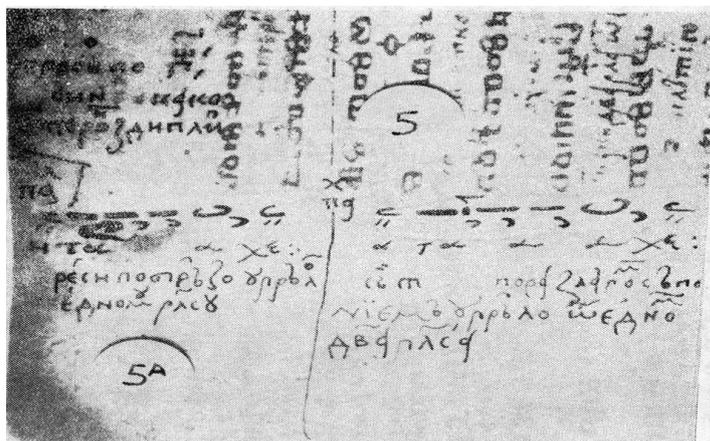


Illustration 4. Indication for performance of the Cherubic Hymn, mode plagal 1.

Who was the writer of the Rila musical notes? The Bulgarian theologian Ivan Goshev suggests that he was “a monastic psaltis skilled in writing and singing.”¹⁰ It is very likely that the writer was indeed a *psaltis* or singer because, on the one hand, without doubt the performance practice at the time was very well known to him, and on the other, he paid very great attention to musical performance. The folio on which the musical notes were written down was found in the inside cover of the book *Andrianti*, written in 1473 by one of the most talented writers of the fifteenth century, Vladislav the Grammarian. Hence, it is very likely that Vladislav was the writer of the musical notes. Who else would have written on a sheet placed in his own manuscript? Vladislav was a monk with the rank of *djak*, which means grammarian (reader and writer) but also an experienced church singer. He was born in ca. 1420 in Novo Bardo, which is today in Kosovo. Vladislav was an

⁹ The *Hagiopolites* treatise is known according to various manuscripts from the fourteenth century on. One of the most famous of them is Parisinus gr. 360 from the 14th century. See Jorgen Raasted, “The Hagiopolites: A Byzantine Treatise on Musical Theory,” *Cahiers de l’Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin*, 45 (1983); Constantin Floros, *Einführung in die Neumenkunde* (Heinrichshofen, 1980), 45.

¹⁰ Иван Гощев, op. cit., p. 121-122.

adherent of the traditions of the Tirnovo literary and hymnographic school. Most of his life was spent in the monastery of Zhegligovo, dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin Mary, and known also as “Matejče,” in the region of Black Mountain near Kumanovo not far away from Skopje. Vladislav spent his last years in the Monastery of Rila but we do not know when exactly he moved there.

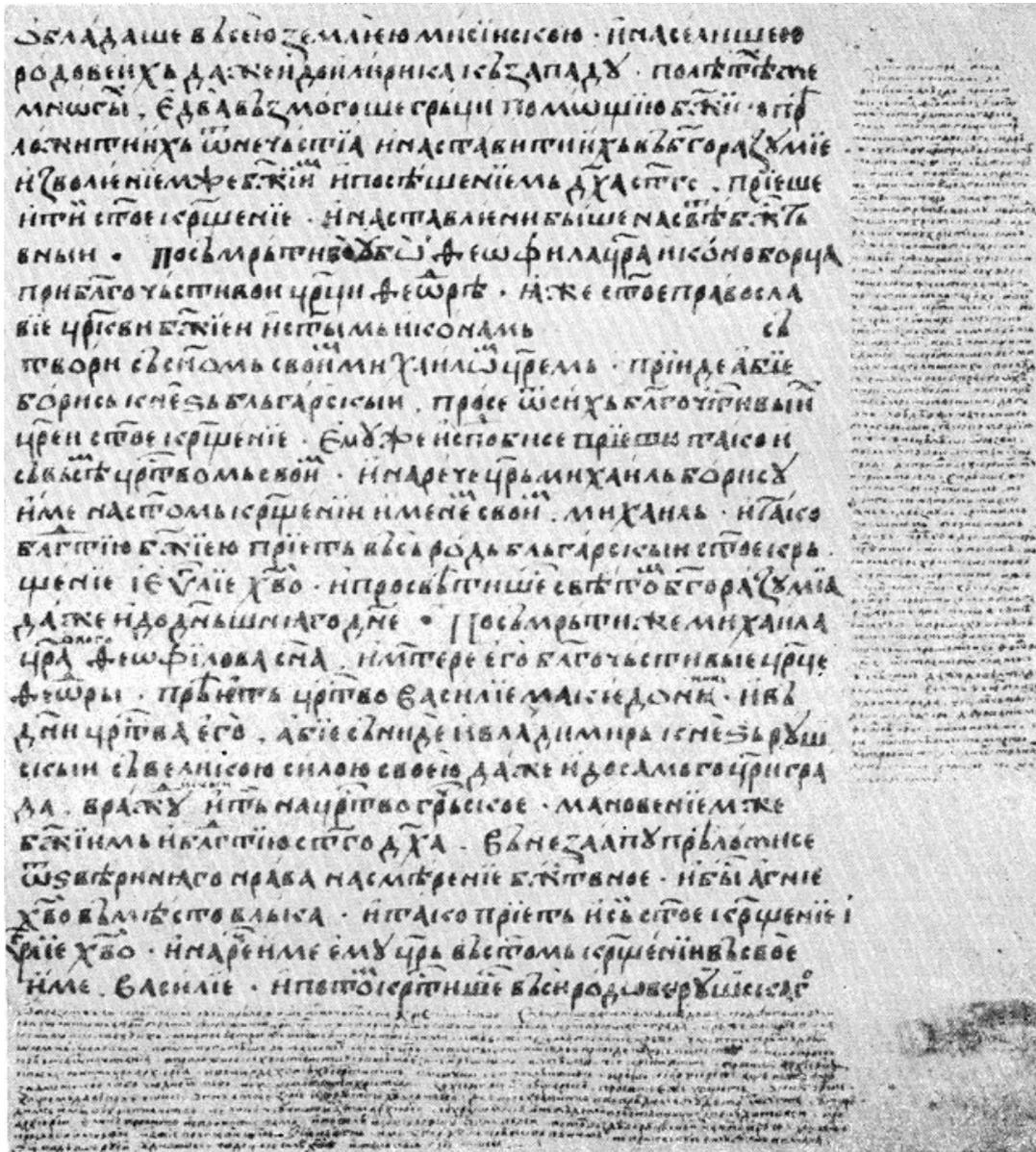


Illustration 5. Manuscript Rila 1/112, written by Vladislav the Grammarian with his own notes in the margins.

The handwriting with which the musical notes are written is very close to Vladislav’s handwriting. Also, he obviously had the habit of writing notes in the margins in his manuscripts: the latter contain various explanations, additions and corrections of some passages written in his hand (ill. 5). If Vladislav was the writer of the musical notes, the question arises as to where they were written – in the Monastery of Zhegligovo where he spent some time or in the Monastery of Rila when he moved there? He would have been in Rila in 1469 when the relics of St John of Rila were transferred there from Tirnovo (ill. 6). The transfer

of the relics of St John of Rila was permitted by the Sultan and became a huge popular spectacle, with the participation of many people who had crossed half the Bulgarian territory to see it. This was the occasion when the third date of commemoration of St John of Rila entered the Bulgarian Church calendar – 1 July (the other two are 18 August, his falling asleep, and 19 October, the transfer of his relics from the Monastery of Rila, where he died, to the capital, Tirmovo). Vladislav would have been a witness to the return of the relics from Tirmovo to Rila in 1469 because he described it very vividly and in detail in a lengthy poem.



Illustration 6. Fresco in the church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul in the convent of Orlitza, near Rila monastery. The transfer of the relics of St John of Rila in 1469. Painter: Nikola Obrazopisov, 1863.

It is established that when Vladislav came to Rila he brought almost all of his books that he had written up to that time. A substantial hymnographic school existed at the monastery. Certainly the church singing was maintained at a very high level there. A unique cycle of canons devoted to the memory of St John of Rila was composed in all eight modes. Study of musical sources of the fifteenth century shows that Rila musical practice was very close to that of the Monastery of Zhegligovo and it is not by chance that Vladislav moved from Zhegligovo to Rila. Both monasteries maintained close relationships. Such relationships were also established between these two monasteries and the two monasteries along the Mesta and Struma rivers, those of St John the Foreunner near Serres and of The Virgin Mary Kossinitza near Drama. Bulgarian cultural traditions in all these monasteries were very strong. There are many manuscripts written in these monasteries from the fourteenth century onwards containing various chants in the genres of polieleoi, kratemata and communion hymns designated as “Bulgarian” or “Bulgarian Woman” (ill. 7).

In 1345 the region of Serres was conquered by the Serbian Tsar Stefan Dušan. A compact Bulgarian population, however, remained living there. After Dušan’s death in 1355 the region passed into the possession of his wife Elena, the sister of the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Alexander. Elena reigned to 1365. After that she gave the

region to her son Ivan Ugleš; Elena is among the most famous *ktitors* (founders) of the monastery of Zhegligovo.

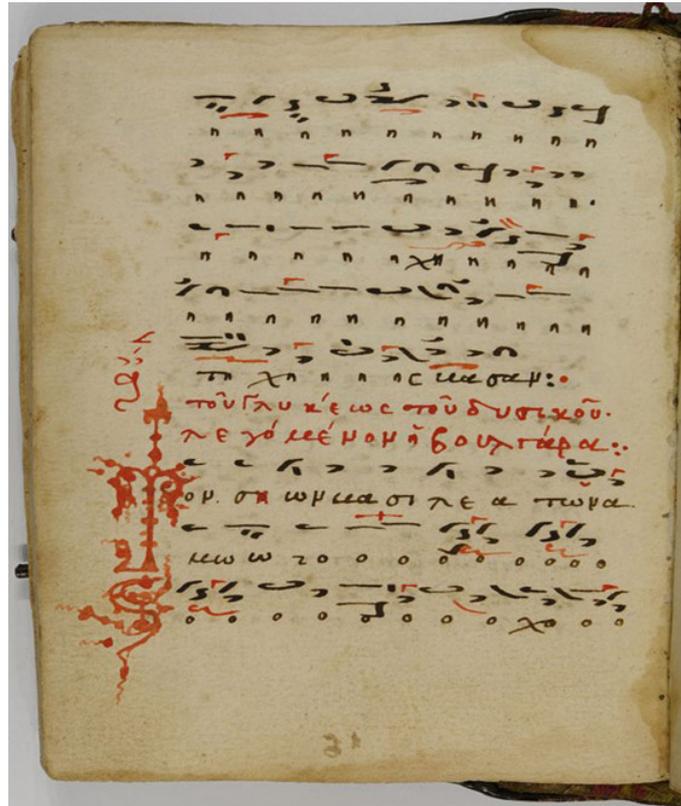


Illustration 7. Manuscript Dujchev Gr. 9, 16th century, f. 84v: polyeleos, psalm 135:19a, mode 1. The rubric reads: "By Glykys the Western, called Bulgarian Woman". The origin of the manuscript is connected with the monastery of the Virgin Mary Kosinitza, near Drama.

During the fifteenth century two composers worked in the latter monastery: Nikola and Isaiah with the nickname the "Serb."¹¹ Vladislav the Grammarian was in the monastery when they were there and probably knew both of them. An argument for that is found in his manuscript of 1456 where one reads, "This book was copied in Mlado Nagorichino, in the house of Nikola Spanchevich...". The latter is identified with the composer Nikola the Serb. The other composer, Isaiah, is designated in manuscripts as a *domestikos* (probably a conductor). He was a very good acquaintance of another famous man of letters from the fifteenth century, Dimitar Kantakuzin with whom Vladislav had a close relationship. Evidence of this is Kantakuzin's *Message* written to Isaiah after 1469. In this *Message* Kantakuzin discusses the state of the Orthodox Church in the Balkans. He is indignant at the "real mess" in worship after the fall of the Balkan Orthodox countries to the Ottomans. Kantakuzin discusses also the question of church singing. He writes that in one place things are served and

11 Further on these, see Димитрије Стефановић, *Стара српска музика* (Београд, 1975). The question about the nickname the "Serb" of Isaiah and Nikola is very interesting. Without doubt it refers to Serbian ethnicity. In all probability it was given because the two authors worked in a foreign milieu, not Serbian (like, for instance, Theophanes the Greek who was Greek by origin, born in Constantinople, but moved to Russia and worked there). The region of the Zhegligovo monastery where Isaiah and Nikola worked is located in the southwestern Bulgarian lands, where a compact Bulgarian population lived.

sung in one way, and in another in a different way, and that the ministers are ignorant and do not know what to sing in the church – neither in the Liturgy, nor in Vespers nor in Orthros¹².

The study of the Rila musical notes shows a great palaeographic closeness to two manuscripts of the fifteenth century of the Akolouthiai type. It is very likely that both of them were written either in the monastery of Zhegligovo or somewhere nearby.¹³ Both are bilingual. Their texts are written in Greek and in Slavonic in the following way: the Greek and the Slavonic texts are written below the same melody; the same melody is notated twice – first in Greek and then in Slavonic.

One of the two manuscripts is now kept at the Athens National Library under the catalogue number 928¹⁴. It was compiled either by Isaiah the Serb or by Nikola the Serb. One finds in it some of the same terms that are encountered in the Rila musical notes. For instance, the two instructive formulas of the kind of *da capo* that usually were sung either by the *domestikos* or by some of the soloists, “lege” and “palin”, meaning “say” or “sing” and “repeat,” are given in Slavonic in the same translation in both sources: “глаголюще” and “пакыже,” in the Athens manuscript the Old Bulgarian, and respectively, the Old Church Slavonic musical term “искръ”, which means plagal mode, is recovered from the early Slavonic terminology of the eleventh century: for the first time this term in Slavonic is encountered in the famous Glagolitic Euchologion from the Monastery of St Catherin on Mount Sinai. In the Athens manuscript one also finds the earliest known notated chant in the Orthodox Balkans in praise of the popular Bulgarian and South Slavic saints John of Rila (commemorated three times during the year), Prohor of Pčinja and Joachim of Osogovo (both are commemorated on 15 January). Their names are put next to the names of some of the most distinguished Christian saints – Basil the Great (1 January 1), Gregory the Theologian (25 January) and John Chrysostom (13 November). The chant is a refrain to the polyeleos in mode 1, “Прийдете вси земленородни” (“Come, all ye born on the earth”).¹⁵ It is attributed to Isaja the Serb and is in a strophic form: the same neumated melody is sung with different texts written below it according to the compositional technique of *contrafactum*.¹⁶

The other manuscript is now in the Belgrade National library under the catalogue number 93. Until 1735 it was housed in the Metropolitan church

12 The text in Slavic reads: „...в истину очи мои видеста... в нове поставлена клирика и невежда що пети в църкви, ниже знающа що ест божественаа литургия, в ниже вечерние пение, ни утреее, обаче в него место бе пое оно, в ового же место друго, и в другаго место ино...”. See Георги Данчев, “Посланията на Димитър Кантакузин” in *Studia Balcanica*, 8 (1974): 45-48.

13 Both manuscripts are evidence for late-Byzantine musical practice. The earliest document of such musical practice in Slavonic is the Palauzov’s copy of the Synodikon of Tsar Boril, written at the end of the fourteenth century in the Tirnovo school probably under the redaction of Patriarch Euthimios. Four musical texts in late-Byzantine notation are included in it. Further on this, see Елена Тончева, “Музикалните текстове в Палаузовия препис на Синодика на цар Борил” in *Известия на Института за музика*, т. XII (1967), 57-161.

14 For this manuscript see Димитрије Стефановић, *Стара српска музика...*, 21-23, 30; Andrija Jakovljević “Hronologija latinskog rukopisa 928 i vizantijski kinonikon kira Stefana” in *Zvuk*, 2 (Beograd, 1973), 165-173; Андрија Яковљевић, “Нова транскрипција двојезичног псаломника са неумама (Атина, Народна библиотека Грчке МС 928, ф. 64р, глас 8)” in *Археографски прилози* 2 (Београд, 1980), 197-200; Елена Тончева, „Полиелейни припели в ръкопис Атина № 928 (Исайева антология) и отношението им към Търновската химнографска традиция” in *Търновска книжовна школа*. Т. 5 (София, 1994), 641-664.

15 It is published in Димитрије Стефановић, *Стара српска...*, 103-107.

16 *Contrafactum* technique is the adaptation of a melody to different texts; the other compositional technique is *contrapositum* – the adaptation of a text to different melodies.

of St John the Forerunner in Skopje and it is not known to have been in any other place. Neither is it known when it was taken to Belgrade. In 1941 the manuscript was destroyed during the bombardment of the city. Only twelve pages survived. The first six contain late-Byzantine musical theory (*papadike*). The theory is written in Slavonic and is the only mediaeval Slavic theory originating from the Orthodox Balkans. It represents a concise variant of the traditional Greek *papadiki* included in Akolouthiai from the fourteenth century onwards. Expressions from the vernacular speech are used, such as: “испред” (in front), “отсрор” (above), “надвор” (outside), “изнадвор” (out of), etc. The Slavonic theory is followed by full theory in Greek. The neumatic signs are listed according to the late-Byzantine classification dividing them into “emphona” (the small signs with an interval meaning), “aphona” (“voiceless”, the great cheironomic signs) and “argie” (“signs for rest”, the rhythmic signs).

The study of the three sources – the Rila musical notes, the Athens and the Belgrade manuscripts – reveals a great closeness between them. First, in their palaeographic aspect, and, second, in terms of their musical indications. In addition to this, the following common indications could be cited. In the Belgrade manuscript we read: “...Блажен муж [this is the incipit of the first psalm of Great Vespers, “Makarior anir” in Greek] пак на други стих спадни три гласа” (“descends with three notes on the other verse”); in the Rila notes is written: “спадни два гласа от едном” (“descend two notes from one”), “спадни апострофи” (“descend with apostrophoi”), etc. The two kinds of the interval signs – for consecutive movement and for leaps – have the same indications in the Rila musical notes and in the Belgrade manuscript: “flash” and “spirit”.

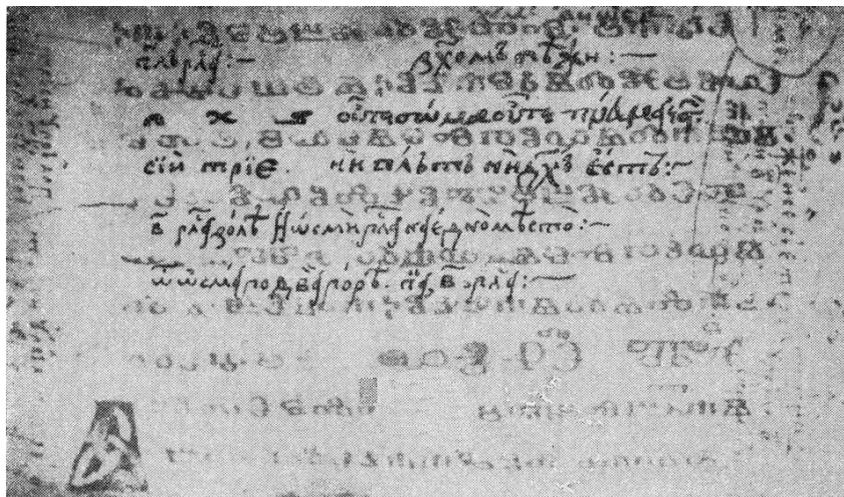


Illustration 8. The three signs elaphron, chamile and apporhoe. Below is written: “These three are neither soma (‘плът’), nor pneuma (‘дух’)”.

In the Rila musical notes we read for the three signs (ill. 8) – elaphron (descending third), chamile (descending fifth) and apporhoe (two consecutive descending seconds): “Сие трие. Ни плът, ни дух ест” (“These three are neither flash, nor spirit”). This indication actually is wrong according to the *papadiki* in Greek: it refers to last sign only – the apporhoe. We read in the Greek theories that the apporhoe is neither “soma” because it does not indicate a consecutive movement, nor “spirit” – neither does it indicate a leap. The same mistake may be found in the Belgrade manuscript. The resemblance between the three sources

confirms that the musical practice in Rila monastery and the area around Skopje was very close.

It could be concluded that the Rila musical notes were almost certainly written by Vladislav the Grammarian and in all probability when he moved to the Monastery of Rila after 1469. The source contains practical indications for performance and remains a unique document of a “living” musical practice. This practice is fully orientated towards the new trends that were established in the fourteenth century in connection with the new revised ordo of Jerusalem and hesychasm, paying special attention to *theseis*, the musical words. The Rila musical notes remain a document showing efforts to maintain church singing at a high level at a very difficult time when the Balkan Orthodox countries had lost their political freedom.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Conomos, Dimitri. *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubica of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. Thessaloniki, 1974.
- Conomos, Dimitri. “The treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes, the Lampadarios,” in *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae. Corpus scriptorum de re musica*. Vol. II. Wien, 1985.
- Floros, Constantin. *Einführung in die Neumenkunde*. Heinrichshofen, 1980.
- Hannick, Christian, and Gerda Wolfram, eds., “Gabriel Hieromonachos,” in *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae: Corpus scriptorum de re musica*. Vol. I. Wien, 1985.
- Jakovljević, Andrija. “Hronologija atinskog rukopisa 928 i vizantijski kinonikon kira Stefana,” in *Zvuk*, 2. Beograd, 1973, 165-173.
- Lazarov, Stefan. “A Medieval Slavonic Treatise on Music”, in *Studies in Eastern Chant*. Vol. V, ed. Dimitri Conomos, Crestwood, 1990, 153-186.
- Lingas, Alexander. “Hesychasm and Psalmody,” in *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*. Ed. Anthony Bryer, Mary Cunningham. Variorum, 1996, 155-168.
- Ivan Moody, “Ars Nova. New Art and Renewed Art,” *Journal of the International Society of Orthodox Church Music*. Ivan Moody, Maria Takala-Roszczenko, eds. Vol. 3 (2018): 230-235.
- Moran, Neil. *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting*. Leiden, 1986.
- Raasted, Jorgen. “The Hagiopolites: A Byzantine Treatise on Musical Theory”, *Cahiers de l’Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin*, 45, 1983.
- Williams, Edward. *John Koukouzeles’ Reform of Byzantine Chanting for Great Vespers in the Fourteenth Century*. Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1968.
- Бакалова, Елка. “Образите на Йоан Кукузел и византийската традиция за представяне на певци.” In *Музикални хоризонти*, 18-19, 1981, 69-243.
- Гошев, Иван. *Рилски глаголически листовце*. София, 1956.
- Данчев, Георги. “Посланията на Димитър Кантакузин,” in *Studia Balcanica*, 8 (1974): 45-48.
- Ильинский, Григорий. “Македонски глаголический листок. Отрывок глаголического текста Ефрема Сирина XI века,” in *Памятники старославянского письма*. Т. 1, вып. 6. Санкт Петербург, 1909, 16-17.
- Куюмджиева, Светлана. “За българската музика през XV в,” in *Palaeobulgarica*, 2, 1983, 14-38.
- Лазаров, Стефан. “Средновековен славянски трактат по музика,” in *Търновска книжовна школа*. Т. 2. София, 1980, 555-572.
- Стефановић, Димитрије. *Стара српска музика*. Београд, 1975.

Тончева, Елена. "Музикалните текстове в Палаузовия препис на Синодика на цар Борил," in *Известия на Института за музика*, т. XII, 1967, 57-161.

Тончева, Елена. "Полиелейни припели в ръкопис Атина № 928 (Исайева антология) и отношението им към Търновската химнографска традиция," in *Търновска книжовна школа*. Т. 5. София, 1994, 641-664.

Тончева, Елена & Елена Коцева, "Рилски музикални приписки от XV в," in *Българско музикознание*, 2, 1983, 3-44.

Христова, Боряна. *Опис на ръкописите на Владислав Граматик*. Велико Търново, 1996.

Яковљевић, Андрија. "Нова транскрипција двојезичног псаломника са неумама (Атина, Народна библиотека Грчке МС 928, ф. 64р, глас 8)," in *Археографски прилози* 2, Београд, 1980, 197-200.