



BYZANTINE COMPOSITIONS ENTITLED “DYSIKON” (WESTERN) AND “FRAGIKON” (FRANKISH): A WORKING HYPOTHESIS ON POTENTIAL CONVERGENCE POINTS OF TWO DIFFERENT TRADITIONS

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INTRODUCTION

In Byzantine musical manuscripts a number of compositions entitled *thetalikon*, *politikon* or *persikon* are regularly found. As is generally accepted, titles as *thetalikon* or *politikon* indicate an analogous origin for these chants, while, respectively, in the case of *persikon* an influence from a so-called “external chant” is suggested. In the same way, other titles as *dysikon* and *fragikon*, meaning “Frankish” and “Western”, are also detected; these, according to the practice of Byzantines scribes and composers, denote a western or Frankish origin and/or a certain influence of western music and liturgical practice, respectively. These eponymous and anonymous works may be found amongst compositions dating from between the second half of the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century, and in works composed in the second half of the 15th century, the 16th and the 17th. The settings of the first category, as also their composers, can be located in Constantinople after the fall of the City to the Crusaders at the beginning of the 13th century and the period of the Frankish occupation. The compositions of the second category clearly belong to the musical output of Venetian-ruled Crete. Their common trait is that their composers are related in some way to the Frankish or Venetian occupation.

The purpose of this study is to identify the morphological or other traits of these compositions considered by their composers or scribes as denoting a certain western influence, which is apparently expressed in the above-mentioned titles.

THE FIRST CATEGORY: COMPOSITIONS DATED BETWEEN THE 13TH AND THE 14TH CENTURIES

The settings entitled *dysikon* and *fragikon* of the first group may be dated between the second half of the 13th century and the first half of the 14th, based on the period during which the composers flourished or, in the case of the anonymous compositions, the date of the manuscripts in which they are recorded.¹ In this group the following eponymous settings are included:

1 See Gr. Stathis, *Οί Αναγραμματατισμοί και τὰ Μαθήματα τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Μελοδοσίας*, Institute of Byzantine Musicology, Studies 3, Athens 1977, 26-27: “[...] Σπανιώτερον ἀπαντᾷ μέλος δυτικὸν ἢ φραγκικὸν καὶ ὁπωσδήποτε τοῦτο γίνεται μετὰ τὴν φραγγικὴν κατοχὴν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως”.

- A cherubic hymn in the second plagal mode by Ioannes Glykys entitled *dysikon*.²
- Another cherubic hymn by Agathon Korones the monk in second or first plagal mode, also entitled *dysikon*.³
- The verse *Σὺ δὲ Κύριε ἀντιλήπτωρ μου εἶ* from the third psalm, *Κύριε, τὶ ἐπληθύνθησαν οἱ θλιβόντες με*, a work of Ioannes Koukouzeles with the indication *fragikon*.⁴
- The verse *Πληρώσαι Κύριος πάντα τὰ αἰτήματά σου* from the psalm *Ἐπακούσαι σου Κύριος*, also a work of Ioannes Koukouzeles, again with the indication *fragikon*.⁵
- A *kratema* of Xenos Korones in fourth plagal mode, entitled *fragikon*.⁶

An anonymous composition *Εὐλογήσω τὸν Κύριον ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ* in fourth plagal mode entitled *dysikon* in the manuscripts NLG 2458 (1332) Sinai 1311 (14th century, 2nd half)⁷ and *Καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ* in first mode from the Polyeleos *Λόγον αγαθόν*, entitled “λεγόμενον φράγκικον” – “the so-called *fragikon*”, recorded in the manuscript Iviron 973 (beginning of the 15th century)⁸ are also included in the same group. Also, two verses of the Polyeleos of Koukoumas *Ἐξομολογήσθε*

2 The manuscripts including this setting have been listed by K. Karagounis in: *Ἡ Παράδοση καὶ Ἐξήγηση τοῦ μέλους τῶν χερουβικῶν τῆς Βυζαντινῆς καὶ Μεταβυζαντινῆς Μελοδοσίας*, Institute of Byzantine Musicology, Studies 7, Athens 2003, 191-192. See also the manuscripts Iviron 1250, Papadiki, second half of 17th century, f. 249r; Iviron 1298, Anthology, beginning of 17th century, between ff. 124r-145v without mention of the composer; [Gr. Th. Stathis, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς. Ἅγιον Ὅρος IV*, Institute of Byzantine Musicology, Athens 2015, 699 and 810]. Sinai 1299, Papadiki, 18th century (1715), f. 248r; [D. Balageorgos-F. Kritikou, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς, Σινᾶ I*, Athens 2008, 419]. Sinai 1551, Papadiki, second half of 18th century, f. 351r; Sinai 1581, Papadiki, first quarter of the 18th century, f. 255r; [both contained in the third volume of the Sinai Catalogue]. Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, Collection of the Holy Sepulchre 538, Papadiki, first half of 18th century, between ff. 254v-255v; Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, Collection of the Holy Sepulchre 550, Papadiki, first quarter of 18th century, f. 309r; [D. Balageorgos-F. Kritikou, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς, Τεροσόλυμα I-II* (forthcoming). Library of K. A. Psachos 45/195 Papadiki, end of 18th century, f. 244v; Library of K. A. Psachos, Gregorios Protopsaltes Archive 6/140, Anthology, beginning of 19th century, f. 30r.

3 As will be discussed below, this setting is given sometimes in the first plagal mode and other times (more often) in the second plagal, with or without the mention “*dysikon*”. Some of the manuscripts are referred in Karagounis, *Χερουβικά*, 208-210. See also, National Library of Greece 2454, Papadiki, first half of 14th century, f. 49v; National Library of Greece 2406, Papadiki, 15th century (1453), f. 245v. L. Politis, *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀρ. 1857-2500*, Athens 1991, 454, 401 respectively. Library of Iviron Monastery 1120, Papadiki, (1458, scribe Manuel Chrysaphes) f. 512r; [Stathis, *Ἅγιον Ὅρος IV*, 304-334]. Sinai 1312, Papadiki-Mathematariion, 15th century (scribe Ioannes Plousiadenos?), f. 114v; Balageorgos-Kritikou, *Σινᾶ A'*, 525. See also the re-treatment of Dimitrios Tamias in Liverpool, Sidney Jones Library, Mayer Collection 12053 Anthology (1662, scribe Gerasimos Yalinas), f. 123r. E. Giannopoulos, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς, Ἀγγλία*, Institute of Byzantine Musicology, Athens 2008, 417.

4 National Library of Greece 2062, Papadiki, end of 14th century, f. 179; National Library of Greece 2406, Papadiki, (1453), f. 21r; [Politis, *Κατάλογος ΕΒΕ*, 101-102 respectively]. Library of Filotheou Monastery 122, Papadiki, first half of 15th century. 57r; Library of Iviron Monastery 973, Papadiki, beginning of 15th century, f. 47r; Library of Iviron Monastery 985, Papadiki, 15th century (1425), scribe Manuel Vlateros, f. 15v; Library of Iviron Monastery 1120, Papadiki, 1458, scribe Manuel Chrysaphes, f. 60; [Stathis, *Ἅγιον Ὅρος III*, 491, and *Ἅγιον Ὅρος IV*, 308, respectively]. Meteora, Library of Agia Triada Monastery 113, Papadiki, end of 15th century, f. 29v; Meteora, Library of Agios Stephanos Monastery 52, 18th century (1743), f. 49v [Stathis, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς, Μετέωρα*, Institute of Byzantine Musicology, Athens 2006, 517 and 357, respectively]. Sinai 1463, Papadiki, end of 15th century-beginning of 16th century, f. 66v; Sinai 1507, Anthology, end of 17th century, f. 32r; [Balageorgos-Kritikou, *Σινᾶ II*, (forthcoming)]; Sinai 1529, Papadiki, first half of 15th century, scribe Gregorios Bounes Alyates, f. 32v; Sinai 1552, Anastasimatarion-Anthology, end of 15th century, scribe Theodoros Rodakinos, f. 62v; Sinai 1581, Papadiki, first quarter of 18th century, f. 46r. [Σινᾶ III] Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, Collection of the Holy Sepulchre 538, Papadiki, first half of 18th century, f. 44v; [Balageorgos-Kritikou, *Τεροσόλυμα* (forthcoming)]. Library of K. A. Psachos 72/222, Papadiki, 18th century (1766) scribe Ioannes Trapezountios; Library of K. A. Psachos 74/223a, Papadiki, end of 18th century, scribe Petros Byzantios.

5 Library of Koutloumouision Monastery 399, Papadiki, mid-14th century, f. 69v: Ἐτερα ἀντίφωνα, τοῦ Κορώνη ἤχος α' Ἐπακούσαι σου Κύριος. [...] φράγκικον τοῦ μαῖστορος [Ἰωάννου Κουκουζέλη] Πληρώσαι Κύριος πάντα τὰ αἰτήματά σου. [Stathis, *Ἅγιον Ὅρος III*, 237]. The manuscript was not available to the present author.

6 See the manuscripts containing this setting in Gr. Anastasiou, *Τὰ Κρατήματα στὴν Ψαλτικὴ Τέχνη*, Institute of Byzantine Musicology, Studies 12, Athens 292. The manuscripts were not available for the present study.

7 NLG 2458 (1336) f. 176r. Gr. Stathis, “Ἡ ἄσματικὴ διαφοροποίηση ὅπως καταγράφεται στὸν κώδικα ΕΒΕ 2458 τοῦ ἔτους 1336”, *ΚΒ Δημήτρια - Ἐπιστημονικὸ Συμπόσιο Χριστιανικὴ Θεσσαλονικὴ-Παλαιολόγειος Ἐποχὴ*, Thessaloniki 1989, 185. Sinai 1311, f. 107r Ἐτερον δυσικόν· ἤχος πλ. δ'· νανα Εὐλογήσω τὸν Κύριον. Balageorgos-Kritikou, *Σινᾶ I*, 507.

8 Library of the Iviron Monastery 973, f. 157r; [Stathis, *Ἅγιον Ὅρος III*, 745]. The present author has not had access to this manuscript.

τῶ Κυρίῳ, Εἰς διαίρεσεις in the fourth mode,⁹ και Κληρονομίαν in the second plagal mode,¹⁰ recorded in manuscripts of the same period, are entitled *dysikon* but also *voulgarikon*.

It is noteworthy that the cherubic hymn of Ioannes Glykys, the second of Agathon Korones and the verse of the third psalm of Ioannes Koukouzeles are the most current in the manuscripts from the 14th and until the 18th century and, consequently, they could be considered as the most widely accepted. But before discussing the cherubic hymn of Ionanes Glykys and Agathon Korones, a brief mention to the so-called *asmatikon* cherubic hymn, also entitled *dysikon* in some manuscripts, is necessary.¹¹ The *asmatikon* cherouvikon is generally considered as a joining together of the parts chanted by the soloist (*monophonares*) and the parts chanted by the choir, respectively contained in the *Psaltikon* and *Asmatikon* manuscripts. After the creation of the *Akolouthiai* or *Papadike* manuscript these parts have been joined and the *asmatikon* cherouvikon was born.¹² Later, mainly during the second half of the 14th century, some parts of the *asmatikon* cherouvikon appear in the manuscripts as “embellished” or reworked sometimes by Ioannes Glykys and others by Michael Aneotes, who, in all probability, also contributed to the joining together of the different parts of the soloist and the choir.¹³ There may be two reasons for the rare indication *dysikon* for the *asmatikon*: either a scribal error, the scribe probably confusing the *asmatikon* setting attributed to Glykys and the *dysikon* of Glykys, or a separation of the setting into two parts and its consequent performance by a soloist (or eventually two, when the *monophonaris* and the *domestikos* are mentioned) and the choir, which reminded the scribe of the analogous common practice in the West and led to the consideration of this setting as *dysikon*.¹⁴

Concerning now the cherouvikon by Ioannes Glykys in the second plagal mode, it is noteworthy that it may be distinguished from others of the same type and period, given that it mainly consists of some extended series of *theseis*, which are regularly repeated without development of other musical phrases. Thus, the composition is rather simpler than others of the same kind, as *kratemata* or repetitions of words and phrases have been avoided. Another difference in this composition, more precisely defined as a divergence, is the ending on *nenano* and not on *neheanes*.¹⁵ However, as the composition does not really diverge from the classical compositions of the period, the reason it has been characterized as “composed in a western way” is not clear. The study of some other compositions will help to shed light on this issue.

The verses of the Koukoumas Polyeleos *Εἰς διαίρεσεις* in the fourth mode and *Κληρονομίαν* in the second plagal mode are referred in some manuscripts as *dysikon*, but also as *voulgarikon*, an indication leading to the verse *Τὸν Σηῶν βασιλέα τῶν Αμορραίων* of the Polyeleos *Δοῦλοι, Κύριον* designated as the “Voulgara of Glykeotes Dysikos” in manuscripts NLG 928 and NLG

9 See the manuscripts National Library of Greece 2406 f. 197v and Library of Koutloumouision Monastery 457 f. 182r; [Politis, *Κατάλογος ΕΒΕ*, 399 and Stathis, *Άγιον Όρος III*, 360, respectively].

10 A. Chaldeaes, *Ο Πολυέλεος στην Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Μελοποιία*, Institute of Byzantine Musicology, Studies 5, Athens 2003, 279. Concerning the first verse, see, NLG 2406, f. 197v and Library of Koutloumouision Monastery 457, f. 182r: *Έτερον λεγόμενον δυσικόν, λέγεται και βουλγάρικον· [ήχος] δ' Εἰς διαίρεσεις*; [Politis, *Κατάλογος ΕΒΕ*, 399 and Stathis, *Άγιον Όρος III*, 361]. Concerning the second case, see the manuscripts, NLG 2458, f. 108v and Library of Koutloumouision Monastery 457, f. 183r: *Έτερον λεγόμενον βουλγάρικον και δυσικόν· [ήχος] πλ. β' Κληρονομίαν*. [Politis, *Κατάλογος ΕΒΕ*, 458] See also, Library of Iviron Monastery 974, f. 141r: *Έτερον τοῦ Γλυκέος, λεγόμενον βουλγάρικον [...]* and Library of Iviron Monastery 1120, f. 278v: *Η βουλγάρα· ήχος πλ. β' Και δόντι την γήν αυτών κληρονομίαν*; [Stathis, *Άγιον Όρος III*, 753-754 and *Άγιον Όρος IV*, 315].

11 Concerning the *asmatikon* cherouvikon and related manuscripts, see Karagounis, *Χερουβικά*, 182-190. D. Conomos, *Byzantine Trisagia and Cherouika of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth centuries*, Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, Thessaloniki 1974, 123-145.

12 See for instance the manuscripts Sinai 1257 (1332), f. 125v and National Library of Greece 2458 (1336), f. 161v; Balageorgos-Kritikou, *Σινά I*, 217 and Politis, *Κατάλογος ΕΒΕ*, 458, respectively.

13 See for instance, Library of Koutloumouision Monastery 399, Papadiki, mid-14th century, f. 104r: *Χερουβικόν ασματικόν ποιήμα τοῦ πρωτοψάλτου κυροῦ Ιωάννου τοῦ Γλυκέως· ήχος β' νεανες Οἱ τὰ χερουβίμ μυστικῶς· Ο δομέστικός απ' ἔξω· ήχος β' νεανες Οτοτο περιρεμ· Οἱ ὅλοι ἀπό χοροῦ· [ήχος] πλ. β' Εἰκονίζοντες· Εἶτα ἀρχεται ὁ μονοφωνάρης τουτί, ἀργά και μετά μέλους και φόβου Θεοῦ· [ήχος] πλ. β' Και τῇ ζωοπιῶ Τριάδι [...] Ἀλληλούια*. Stathis, *Άγιον Όρος Γ'*, 238.

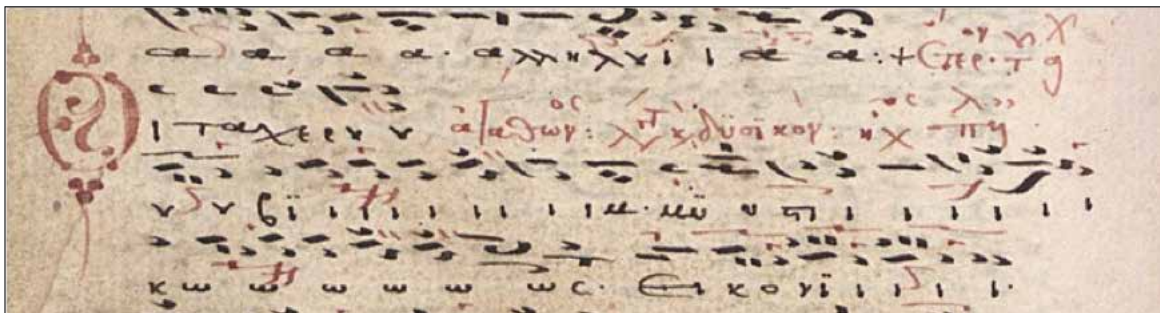
14 J. Dyer, “Offertory”, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 18, Oxford 2001, 353-357. D. Hiley, *Western Plainchant. A handbook*, New York 1997, 121-130, with bibliography.

15 Karagounes, *Χερουβικά*, 191-192.

2622.¹⁶ In addition, Manuel Chrysaphes in his autograph codex of the Iviron Monastery Library 1120 attributes the verse *Καὶ τὸ μνημόσυνόν σου* to Glykys Dysikos, with the title “Τοῦ Γλυκέος τοῦ Δυσικοῦ ἢ βουλγάρα”, “Voulgara of Glykys Dysikos”.¹⁷ As both these verses are usually attributed in the manuscripts to Ioannes Glykys, in all probability, Glykeotes Dysikos and Ioannes Glykys are the same person. If this is true, the indication *dysikon* in these settings, and also in the cherouvikon of Glykys, could mean “a work of Dysikos” and not western origin or influence. Consequently, in these cases the settings could bear the name of their composer.

The analogous setting of Agathon Korones, equally widespread in the musical manuscripts, is recorded in the first or the second plagal mode but without any notational differentiation between the two versions. It has not been clarified until now whether the recording of this setting in two different modes is the result of a scribal fault which was reproduced during the course of centuries, or whether his setting could be chanted in two modes.¹⁸ The peculiar endings on D of this composition, which would be normal for the first plagal mode but not for second plagal, could be the reason for the confusion of the scribes. Otherwise, the composition seems to be as Byzantine as the rest of this type and period, without apparent western elements. The only variation in the Agathon *dysikon* setting is that the last part, *τῶν ὄλων ὑποδεξόμενοι, ταῖς ἀγγελικαῖς ἀοράτως δορυφορούμενον τάξεσιν· Ἀλληλούια*, is missing and the composition is supposed to be completed by the last part of another setting. The separation into two parts might have suggested the corresponding Western compositional and performing practice, and thus justify its title.

Illustration 1. National Library of Greece 2401 f. 245v



Furthermore, the issue of the *dysikon* setting of Agathon Korones became more complicated when, one-and-a-half centuries later, Akakios Chalkeopoulos chose it in order to embellish and recompose it in a more analytical way. On f. 135r of his autograph manuscript NLG 917 Akakios notes,¹⁹ “Cherouvikon, work of Agathon the monk, the brother of Korones, so-called *dysikon*, chanted by two choirs by the younger. It has been embellished by me, Akakios the so-called Chalkeopoulos, changed from the perfect *schema* to the text, in order that all music teachers know to chant it. And its text asks for the *schema*, as it is seen here.” It is noteworthy that already at the end of the 15th century this setting was reworked by Cretan composers, referred as “the younger” by Akakios, and separated into parts in order to be chanted by two

16 The case of the Voulgara is still the subject of extensive discussion today. Concerning this, see Chaldeakes, *Πολυέλεος*, 401-402, 682, with extended bibliography.

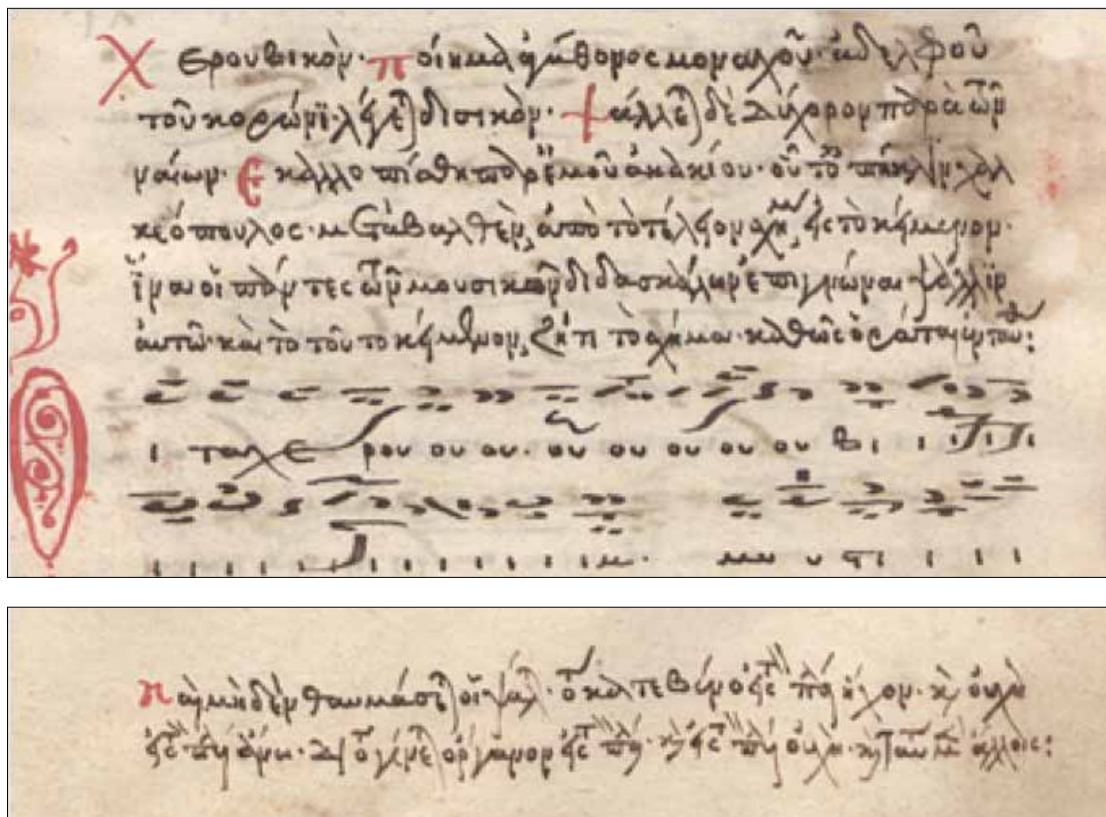
17 See Library of the Iviron Monastery 1120, f. 262r: Τοῦ Γλυκέος τοῦ δυσικοῦ ἢ βουλγάρα· [ἤχος α'] *Καὶ τὸ μνημόσυνόν σου*; [Stathis, *Ἁγιον Ὄρος IV*, 315]. See also Chaldeakes, *Πολυέλεος*, 401. In the manuscripts NLG 928, f. 19v: Ἡ βουλγάρα Δυσικόν· Γλυκεώτου τοῦ Δυσικοῦ and NLG 2622, f. 189r: Γλυκέος τοῦ Δυσικοῦ, λεγόμενον ἢ βουλγάρα· [ἤχος] α' *Τὸν Σηῶν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀμορρῶϊων*. Rarely is this verse attributed to Ioannes Koukouzeles.

18 Karagounes, *Χερουβικά*, 208-209.

19 NLG 917, around the year 1500, f. 135r: Χερουβικόν, ποίημα Ἀγάθωνος μοναχοῦ, ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Κορώνη, λέγεται δυσικόν, ψάλλεται δὲ δίχορον παρὰ τῶν νέων. Ἐκαλλωπίσθη παρ' ἐμοῦ Ἀκακίου οὐ τὸ πίκλην Χαλκεόπουλος, μεταβαλθὲν ἀπὸ τὸ τέλειον σχῆμα εἰς τὸ κείμενον, ἵνα οἱ πάντες τῶν μουσικῶν διδασκάλων ἐπιγνώσῃ ψάλλειν αὐτό. Καὶ τὸ τούτου κείμενον ζητεῖ τὸ σχῆμα, καθὼς ὁρᾶται ἐνταῦθα. Akakios also recorded the last part initially missing from the composition and generally added in the manuscripts by Markos the priest monk of the Monastery of Xanthopoulos. See Karagounes, *Χερουβικά*, 288, 83-84.

choirs, as were many other later settings.²⁰ In addition, the reference to an early exegesis “from the perfect *schema* to the text” according to the terms used in the rest of the manuscript is obvious.²¹ Furthermore, even though the composition is written without a modal signature at the beginning, one could consider that the intended mode is the second plagal, according to Akakios’s note, as follows: “Let the chanters not be that it descends to the first plagal mode and not to the second plagal, because in the first plagal *organon* is made [performed or added?] but not in the second plagal.”²² This indication, clearly referring to the above-mentioned endings on D, remains for the moment rather uncertain, just as the term “organon” is doubtful. A comparative study of the reworking of this setting by Akakios has to be made in order to clarify the meaning of these inscriptions; the possibility of a second voice cannot be excluded.

Illustration 2. National Library of Greece 917 f. 135r



The next composition in this group, very widespread in the manuscripts, is the verse *Σὺ δὲ Κύριε ἀντιλήπτωρ μου εἶ* of the third psalm composed by Ioannes Koukouzeles in the fourth plagal mode, always preserved in the sources with the indication *fragikon*. The *phthora nana* used on the word *ἀντιλήπτωρ* leads to the third mode, which greatly dominates the composition. Several times a fourth ascending and descending from G in the fourth plagal mode is used. The *fragikon* of Ioannes Koukouzeles was rewritten later, in a more analytical way, during the second half of the 18th century by Ioannes Trapezountios and Petros Byzantios, which indicates its general acceptance.²³

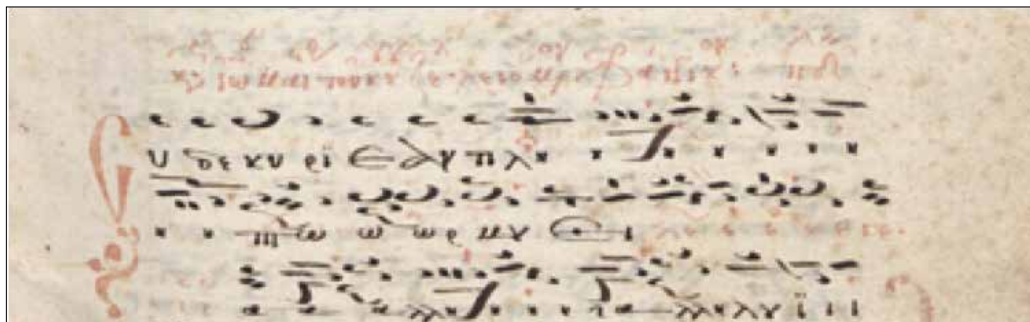
20 E. Giannopoulos, *Ἡ ἀνθιση τῆς Ψαλτικῆς Τέχνης στὴν Κρήτη (1566-1669)*, Institute of Byzantine Musicology, Studies 11, Athens 2004, 357-358.

21 See Gr. Th. Stathis, “Ἡ Ἐξήγηση τῆς Ψαλτικῆς Τέχνης (Οὐάσιγκτον, 5 Αὐγούστου 1986)”, *Θεολογία* 58 (1987), Β', 359-361. Karagounes, *Cherouvika*, 288, 83-84.

22 NLG 917, lower margin of f. 135r: Καὶ μηδὲν θαυμάσετε οἱ ψάλται ὅτι κατεβαίνει εἰς τὸν πλ. α' ἦχον καὶ οὐχὶ εἰς τὸν πλ. β' ἄνω· διότι γίνεται ὄργανον εἰς τὸν πλ. α' καὶ εἰς τὸν πλ. β' οὐχί [...].

23 Another verse, *Πληρώσαι Κύριος πάντα τὰ αἰτήματά σου*, of the psalm *Ἐπακούσαι σου Κύριος*, also composed by Ioannes Koukouzeles and recorded in the manuscript Koutloumousiou 399 with the indication ‘*fragikon*,’ has not been studied, as the manuscript was not available to the present author. [Stathis, *Ἄγιον Ὄρος III*, 237].

Illustration 3. National Library of Greece 2406 f. 45r



In this first category also, an anonymous setting of *Εὐλογήσω τὸν Κύριον ἐν παντὶ καιρῶ* in the fourth plagal mode (*nana*) with the indication *dysikon* is included. The whole composition moves around the third mode with similar phrases, ending in the fourth plagal mode. Although the reason for which this setting is characterized as *dysikon* is not clear, the title is probably also due to the movement around the third mode.

Illustration 4: National Library of Greece 2458 f. 176r



THE SECOND GROUP OF COMPOSITIONS (END OF 15TH CENTURY - SECOND HALF OF 17TH CENTURY)

Towards the end of the 15th century, two settings of the Sunday koinonikon *Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον* with the indication *fragikon* appear in the manuscripts. The first one is a work by Ioannes Plousiadenos the priest, the renowned Cretan composer of the second half of the 15th century, and the second one is a setting by Manuel Chrysaphes.²⁴ A little later, around the beginning of the 16th century, Akakios Chalkeopoulos recorded in his autograph codex 917 of the National Library of Greece another Sunday koinonikon, also entitled *fragikon*. The settings of Ioannes Plousiadenos and Manuel Chrysaphes are written in two Cretan manuscripts of the 17th century, while the Akakios composition is recorded only by himself in his manuscript.

24 Liverpool, Sidney Jones Library, Mayer Collection 12053, Anthology, 17th century (1662), scribe Gerasimos Yalinas, f. 373r Κοινωνικά κατ' ἦχον, ποίημα Ἰωάννου ἱερέως τοῦ Πλουσιαδηνοῦ καὶ ἄρχοντος τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν τῆς Κρήτης- [ἦχος] α' Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον. (f. 381r) [ἦχος] δ' λεγόμενον φράγκικον. Oxford, Bodleian Library Gr. 22, Anastasimatarion-Anthology-Mathematarion, beginning of 17th century, f. 52r Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ ἀγίῳ τῶν κατ' ἦχον κοινωνικῶν, ποιήματα διαφόρων ποιητῶν παλαιῶν τε καὶ νέων· τοῦτο φράγκικον λέγεται· κὺρ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Χρυσάφη. [ἦχος] α' Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον. [Giannopoulos, *Ἀγγλία*, 427 and 275, respectively].

During the second half of the 17th century, the renowned Cretan composer Dimitrios Tamias composed the idiomelon *Σὺ, ἔπλασάς με Κύριε, καὶ ἔθηκας ἐπ’ ἐμὲ τὴν χεῖρα σου* “in a western style of melody” – “εἰς τρόπον τῆς μελωδίας δυσικόν”, as the scribe of the manuscript Sinai 1440 Gerasimos Yalinas, and also the anonymous scribe of the codex NLG 963, note.²⁵

The *fragikon* Sunday Communion chant by Ioannes Plousiadenos, composed in the fourth mode, mainly moves with similar phrases using ascending and descending fourths and fifths from G or with a simple use of the tetrachord of the fourth plagal mode. A few *theseis* are used, mainly *lygisma*, *omalon* and *anikenoma* and, rarely, *parakletike*, while the great part of the composition is written with interval signs. The unusually simple compositional structure of this setting as regards the modal movement between the fourth mode and its plagal and the few *theseis* used obviously make this setting different from the classical Byzantine versions. It should be mentioned that the later Cretan compositions which have been characterized as “particular” share exactly these features, in particular the modes and the simple compositional structure.²⁶

Following Ioannes Plousiadenos, another Cretan composer, Akakios Chalkeopoulos, wrote in around the year 1500 his autograph codex NLG 917. In this manuscript Akakios includes also a Sunday communion chant in the first mode under the title “Koinonikon from the Polyeleos, the so-called *voulgara*,”²⁷ which refers to the use of the chant of the Polyeleos verse generally known as *voulgara*.²⁸ After the end of this setting, Akakios continues and gives the very well-known but also obscure title

τὸ αὐτὸ κοινωνικὸν ἢ βουλγάρα μετονομασθεῖσα φράγκικον παρὰ τοῦ ποιῶντος τὰ σχήματα· ἐστὶν δὲ καὶ ὀργανικὸν καὶ ἔχον τὸ μέλος ἴδιον ἠνωμένον τὸ κείμενο μὲ τὸ τενόρε νὰ τὸ ψάλλῃ ὁ πρῶτος καὶ μέγας τεχνίτης μόνος του δίχως συντροφία καὶ μόνος του νὰ κάμνῃ καὶ τὸ τενόρε εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅπου τὸ ζητᾶ, ἤγουν νὰ ἀφήνῃ τὸ κείμενον καὶ νὰ κάμνῃ τὸ τενόρε καὶ πάλιν νὰ ἀφήνῃ τὸ τενόρε νὰ ῥηχεται στὸ κείμενον· ἀληθῶς ἔχει πάνυ τὴν ἀκριβείαν ὅστις βρεθῇ τεχνίτης νὰ μπορέσῃ νὰ τὸ ψάλλῃ δίχως σφάλμα

the same *koinonikon voulgara* renamed Frankish by the person who makes the *schemata*; it is also *organikon*, and its music is particular [as] the text is joined to the tenor; the first and principal performer has to chant it alone, unaccompanied, and to chant alone the tenor [part] when it is asked for; in other words, [he has] to leave the text and perform the tenor [parts] and again to leave the tenor [part] and perform the [musical] text; [...].²⁹

This inscription has been discussed many times for many reasons, firstly as far as it relates to the connection between this setting and the previous one in which the chant of the Polyeleos verse named *voulgara* is used³⁰.

Secondly, the title poses considerable questions about the use of the terms “*schemata*”, “tenor” and “text” and the possible chanting of the setting by two performers at the same time.³¹ Nevertheless, the suggestion that the title hides the participation of two different persons in the chanting of the setting has to be excluded given that according to the instructions of Akakios Chalkeopoulos, “the first and principal performer has to chant it alone, unaccompanied, and to chant alone the tenor [parts], when this is asked for”. Here, as far as this paper is concerned, the indication “Frankish” is the most interesting, but in relation to the term “tenor”. Even though in the manuscript the parts of the “text” and the parts of the “tenor” have not been distinguished,

25 NLG 963, Anthology, second half of 17th century, f. 355r Ἐτερον τοῦ αὐτοῦ [Δημητρίου Ταμῖα] εἰς τρόπον μελωδίας δυσικόν. [ἦχος] πλ. α' Σὺ ἔπλασάς με, Κύριε. [Giannopoulos, *Ἀνθήση*, 484-485]. Sinai 1440, Anthology, 17th century, scribe Gerasimos Yalinas, f. 366v Ἐτερον τοῦ αὐτοῦ κύρ Δημητρίου πρωτοψάλτου [Ταμῖα] εἰς τρόπον τῆς μελωδίας δυσικόν ἦχος πλ. α' Σὺ ἔπλασάς με, Κύριε; [Balageorgos-Kritikou, *Σινά II*].

26 See F. Kritikou, “The compositions of the ‘Symbolon of Faith’”, *Psaltike, Neue Studien zur Byzantinischen Musik: Festschrift für Gerda Wolfram*, Vienna 2011, 167-186.

27 NLG 917, f. 147v: Κοινωνικὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πολυελέου λεγόμενον βουλγάρα.

28 Concerning *voulgara*, see footnotes 10 and 17.

29 NLG 917 f. 148v

30 Chaldeakes, *Πολυέλεος*, 739-740.

31 Stathis, “Ἐπιπλοῦν μέλος. Μία παρουσίαση τῶν περιπτώσεων Ἑλληνικῆς Μουσικῆς ἐν τῇ χειρόγραφῃ Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς,” *Τόμος ... ἑτιμὴ πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον*, Athens 2001, 656-674.

both composed in the first plagal mode and they share a common introduction on the first word (Σύ). If a second voice is suggested it is not obvious; nevertheless, the second version has a particular use of *phthorai*, such as the constant application of the *nana phthora* on F and C and the *nenano phthora* on A. In addition, a persistent use of modal signatures, probably denoting the height or depth of a tone, and an unusual way of writing the formulas, such as for instance on the last syllable, may be observed. It is noteworthy that these particularities are common in some Cretan compositions but also in the compositions of the manuscript of the Platytera Monastery in Corfu dated to around 1660, probably originating in Crete, in which a particular use of Byzantine notation is observed.³²

CONCLUSIONS

If one tries to sum up the above-mentioned elements after analysing these works, one observes that they could be easily divided in two groups according to the composer or the date of the manuscript. The first group includes the settings entitled *dysikon* or *fragikon* dated to the 13th and 14th centuries, and the second the works with the indication *fragikon* composed between the end of the 15th century and the second half of the 17th century. The common feature is that they are related to Frankish or Venetian-ruled periods and/or areas.

The indications *dysikon* and *fragikon* concerning the compositions included in the first group (13th century- first half of the 15th century) remain rather obscure, as only some morphological traits different from the classical or usual ones might justify these titles. It is noteworthy that most of the compositions of the first group are very widespread in the manuscript tradition, and that they were also transcribed into more analytical notational types, and the so-called New Method, which means that they were quite well accepted despite their 'western' or 'Frankish' indication. However, the clustering of the compositions of the first group may not be so evident, as almost every one of them constitutes a singular case and none of them bears evident western or Frankish elements. The cherouvikon of Agathon Korones might be characterized as *dysikon* probably because of its morphology, as also might the *asmatikon cherouvikon*. This latter could also be considered as *dysikon* because of Ioannes Glykys's involvement in the joining of its parts and the confusion of the scribes between this setting and the *dysikon* of Glykys, which probably bears the name of the composer, Ioannes Glykys or Glykeotes Dysikos. Another case is Ioannes Koukouzeles's *fragikon* Σύ δὲ Κύριε ἀντιλήπτωρ μου εἶ and the anonymous *dysikon* composition *Εὐλόγησω τὸν Κύριον ἐν παντὶ καιρῶ*, both in the third mode, a characteristic which probably led to this indication, given that the compositions do not present other traits that could justify this. Even though the western or Frankish elements of these compositions should be considered somewhat superficial, the fact of their being recorded in the manuscripts proves the relationship of Byzantine composers to Latin musical and liturgical practice during the period of Frankish occupation.³³

On the contrary, the few settings included in the second group (15th-17th centuries) share some traits, mainly structural, which could justify these titles and, possibly, their rare appearance in the sources. They are directly related to Venetian-ruled Crete and present some features, such as the application of *phthorai* in specific notes or the frequent use of ascending and descending intervals of the third and fourth, which distinguish them from others of the same type. The indication *fragikon* given by Akakios Chalkeopoulos himself to his setting could be due to the distinction of two parts from the rest of the setting and the use of the term "tenor".

32 S. Karydes-P. Tzivara, *Τὸ 'τενόρε τῆς ψαλιμουδίας'. Τὸ μουσικὸ χεῖρόγραφο ἀρ. 31 τῆς μονῆς Πλατυτέρας Κέρκυρας*, Athens 2011. S. Makris, "'Musica greca', 'ψαλτική των Λατίνων' και το χειρόγραφο της Πλατυτέρας στην Κέρκυρα", available at ionio.academia.edu/EustathiosMakris.

33 In this context, see also Library of the Agia Triada Monastery (Meteora) 113, Papadiki, end of 15th century, f. 10v: "Τοῦ Κορώνη κατὰ Λατίνων· [ἦχος πλ. δ'] ([Composition] of Korones against the Latins) *Καὶ ποιῶν αὐτὴν τρέμειν· δόξα σοι τὸ πνεῦ[μα]*; [Stathis, *Μετέωρα*, 517].