



**JOURNAL  
OF THE INTERNATIONAL  
SOCIETY FOR  
ORTHODOX CHURCH MUSIC**

**VOLUME 6, ISSUE 1**

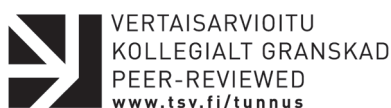
**ISOCM 2022**

**JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR ORTHODOX CHURCH MUSIC**

**VOL. 6, ISSUE 1**

<https://journal.fi/jisocm>

ISSN 2342-1258



**EDITORS**

Ivan Moody (Editor-in-chief), Maria Takala-Roszczenko (Co-editor)

Yulia Artamonova, Margaret Haig, Andrew Mellas, Nina-Maria Wanek

**LAYOUT**

Maria Takala-Roszczenko

**PUBLISHER**

The International Society for Orthodox Church Music

2022

# CONTENTS

EDITORS' NOTE.....	iv
--------------------	----

## I PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES

Bissera Pentcheva



<i>Eternal Victory: Byzantine Territorial Expansion and Constantinopolitan Liturgical Splendour at Hosios Loukas (Steiris, Greece).....</i>	1-70
---	------

Serafim Seppälä



<i>“The Midst of the Earth”: Ps. 73:12b (LXX) in Patristic and Liturgical Understanding.....</i>	71–90
--	-------

Nataša Marjanović



<i>Recordings of Twentieth Century Serbian Church Chant: Material Evidence of Intangible Cultural Heritage.....</i>	91–106
---	--------

Ekaterina Pletneva & Nadezhda Shchepkina



<i>Theta Combinations in the Stichera of the Transfiguration: Case Study of 10th-13th Century Greek and Russian Manuscripts.....</i>	107–123
--	---------

Svetlana Zvereva & George Lapshynov



<i>Valaam and the Singing Tradition of the Russian Church in Paris.....</i>	124–148
---	---------

## II NON-REFEREED ARTICLES

Elena Chernova

<i>The All-Night Vigil in Early Russian Demestvoenny Polyphony (Add. MS 30063 of the British Library): Presentation of the Critical Edition.....</i>	149–160
--	---------

Margaret Haig

<i>The sacred encampment: the experiences of young people learning musical tradition.....</i>	161–166
---	---------

Chad Houk

<i>Towards an Understanding of the Role of Digital Technology in Orthodox Life and Practice...167–176</i>	
---	--

Flora Kritikou

<i>Cretan idiosyncrasies in the liturgical chant of the Ionian Islands: Tradition, transmission and adaptation .....</i>	177–187
--	---------

Oleh Harkavyy

<i>The Liturgy of St John Chrysostom: a work of ecclesiastical or concert character?.....</i>	188–204
---	---------

### III REVIEWS

Nina-Maria Wanek

*Manuscripts of Psaltic Art, Chios. Part 1: Analytical Descriptive Catalogue of the  
Manuscripts of Psaltic Art in the "Koraes" Chios Central Public Library*

By Michael Stroumpakis.....205–207

### IV OBITUARIES

Ivan Moody

*Archpriest Michael Fortounatto (1931–2002).....208–209*

## EDITORS' NOTE

The current issue of the Journal of the International Society for Orthodox Church Music contains five peer-reviewed articles covering a wide range of topics, five non-refereed articles, displaying a similar breadth of interests, a review and an obituary.

The first of the peer-reviewed articles, by Bissera Pentcheva, is a substantial, innovative and wide-ranging discussion of the architecture of Hosios Loukas and its connection with broader ideas of sacred space as reflecting the triumphant glory of Byzantium. Iconography and liturgical music are fundamental aspects of this programme. This is followed by an examination by Fr Serafim Seppälä of the notion of "the midst of the earth" as understood by the Fathers of the Church and in liturgical contexts, also connecting it to its Jewish background and its specific link to Jerusalem. Nataša Marjanović provides a survey of the extant recordings of Serbian chant in the 20th century and their value not only to scholars working in this field, but, in a wider sense, as part of Serbia's intangible cultural heritage.

The study of notation has always been a significant part of the research interests of ISOCM members, and the article by Ekaterina Pletneva and Nadezhda Shchepkina is a detailed discussion of a highly specific area of repertoire featuring combinations in theta notation in both Greek and Russian mediaeval sources for the Feast of the Transfiguration. Svetlana Zvereva and George Lapshynov discuss practical matters in their analysis of the musical traditions of the Russian Church in Paris and its use of Valaam chant.

Non-refereed articles include a discussion of the critical edition Demestvenny version of the All-Night Vigil from BL Add. Ms 30063 by Elena Chernova, Flora Kritikou on the fascinating ways in which Cretan characteristics may be identified in Byzantine chant sources from the Ionian Islands, a reflection by Margaret Haig on what young people may absorb in musical terms from Orthodox youth camps, a discussion by Chad Houk of the place of digital technology in Orthodox liturgical life, and a presentation by composer Oleh Harkavyy of the challenges of writing a musical setting of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom.

Nina-Maria Wanek reviews Michael Stroumpakis's important contribution to the cataloguing of the heritage of Byzantine chant sources, those of Chios, and the life and work of the late Fr Michael Fortounatto are commemorated in an obituary by Fr Ivan Moody.

The Editors encourage the submission of further materials for review, including books, scores and recordings, as well as articles related to the field of Orthodox church music across the world.

Very Rev. Dr Ivan Moody  
Editor-in-Chief

Dr Maria Takala-Roszczenko  
Co-editor



## ETERNAL VICTORY: BYZANTINE TERRITORIAL EXPANSION AND CONSTANTINOPOLITAN LITURGICAL SPLENDOUR AT HOSIOS LOUKAS (STEIRIS, GREECE)

BISSERA V. PENTCHEVA

Stanford University

bissera@stanford.edu

This article explores the art and architecture of Hosios Loukas through liturgical music, revealing how chants amplify the messages of the mosaics, poetry, and public ceremonies. The katholikon's large marble-revetted space modeled after Hagia Sophia transmits a vision of Byzantium's greatness and triumphalism. Music makes clear the way the sacred and ideological aspects are bound together at Hosios Loukas. The mosaic programme has never been recognized as connected to the late tenth-century imperial triumphalism, a time of Byzantium's great military successes in the Eastern Mediterranean, which ensured the economic stability of the empire and financed buildings full of splendour. An aggressive military overtone colors the mosaics and the music designed for this space, but it has not been recognized heretofore. To produce the sound of triumph, one must have domed spaces and gold mosaics, and having them, in turn, infuses even a pacific, healer saint like Hosios Loukas with triumphalism.

Hagia Sophia with its mesmerizing Justinianic interior uplifted the Constantinopolitan liturgy to a *metaxu* (a space between heaven and earth), offering a luminous interior unsurpassed in its immense volume, marble and mosaic décor, and towering dome (Fig. 1). The reverberant acoustics of the space coupled with the cathedral chant that uses intercalations of non-semantic vocables and melismas further transformed the singing human voice



Figure 1. Hagia Sophia, 532-37 and 562, interior (© Erich Lessing/Art Resource, NY)

into emanation, giving prominence to prosody sometimes at the expense of semantics. The riches of the empire funded the celebration of the liturgy in the Great Church, sustaining a staff of five hundred people among whom were choirs of twenty-five elite singers and one hundred and sixty readers.<sup>1</sup> For all its impressive decor, the opulent display in the Justinianic interior lacked a monumental figural programme.<sup>2</sup> It was not until after Iconoclasm (843) that mosaic images of the Virgin and Child were placed in the apse,

1 Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Hagia Sophia: Sound, Space and Spirit in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017).

2 Pentcheva, *Hagia Sophia*, 76–98; Natalia Teteriatnikov, *Justinianic Mosaics of Hagia Sophia and Their Aftermath* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2017); Natalia Teteriatnikov, *Mosaics of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul: The Fossati Restoration and the Work of the Byzantine Institute* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998); Cyril A. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1962).

Christ in the dome, and a series of narrative scenes in the vaults of the galleries.<sup>3</sup> Yet these anthropomorphic representations appear dwarfed by the great distance from the floor, on account of to the unprecedented height of the superstructure.

In the course of time, Hagia Sophia's architectural model of a domed central-plan building gave rise to smaller-scale interiors with cupolae, which became more conducive to figural decoration.<sup>4</sup> Yet the current poor state of preservation of the mosaic programmes of Middle Byzantine churches in Constantinople necessitates a turn to the study of buildings outside the capital such as Hosios Loukas in Steiris (Greece), inaugurated in 1011.<sup>5</sup> It has one of the most prominent extant figural mosaics. The construction and décor at Hosios Loukas, likely sponsored by a series of *strategoï* (generals) and a *katepano* (military commander and civic administrator) of Italy embodies the spirit of the Byzantine territorial expansion in the Eastern Mediterranean in the tenth and early eleventh centuries.<sup>6</sup> Elements in the décor such as the pseudo-Kufic inscriptions and imagery that draws on Constantinopolitan models makes the case for the cosmopolitanism of this site and the empire.<sup>7</sup> This is a period of great mobility and upheaval, when generals and emperors of Georgian and Armenian descent led the Byzantine armies against the Arabs in the East and secured great triumphs, reconquering Crete and Antioch, and revitalizing trade in the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>8</sup> Hosios Loukas thrived as a station on the now secure commercial and pilgrimage routes connecting Rome to Corinth and from there to the ships sailing to the capital, to Antioch, or Jerusalem. The architectural form and the figural mosaics reflect the splendour of the Constantinopolitan liturgy and also voice pride in the Byzantine victories over the Arabs in the East.

3 Teteriatnikov, *Mosaics of Hagia Sophia*; Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia*.

4 Jelena Bogdanović, "Framing Glorious Spaces in the Monastery of Hosios Loukas" in *Perceptions of the Body and Sacred Space in Late Antiquity and Byzantium*, ed. Jelena Bogdanović (New York: Routledge, 2018), 166–89; Vasileios Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople, Ninth to the Fifteenth Centuries* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Robert Ousterhout, "The Architecture of Iconoclasm: Buildings," in *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca. 680-859): The Sources*, eds. Leslie Brubaker and John Haldon (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 3–20.

5 Manolis Chatzidakis, "A propos de la date et du fondateur de Saint Luc," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 19 (1969): 127-50; Carolyn L. Connor, *Saints and Spectacle: Byzantine Mosaics in Their Cultural Setting* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016); Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* (Boston: Boston & Art Shop, 1955).

6 Eric McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth: Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995); *History of Leo the Deacon: Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century*, trans. Alice-Mary Talbot, Dennis Sullivan, Stamatina McGrath (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2005); John Skylitzes, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811-1057*, trans. John Wortley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

7 On the pseudo-Kufic inscriptions, see Alicia Walker, "Pseudo-Arabic Inscriptions and the Pilgrim's Path at Hosios Loukas" in *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World*, ed. Anthony Eastmond (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 99–123; Alicia Walker, "Globalism," *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 183–96.

8 Alan Harvey, "Economy," in *Palgrave Advances in Byzantine History*, ed. Jonathan Harris (New York: Palgrave, 2005), 83–99; Alan Harvey, *Economic Expansion of the Byzantine Empire, 900-1200* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Koray Durak, "Commerce and Networks of Exchange between the Byzantine Empire and the Islamic Near East from the Early Ninth Century to the Arrival of the Crusaders," Ph.D., Harvard University 2008.



This essay argues two main points: that the choice of images in Hosios Loukas is determined by the liturgy composed for the feast of the saint (7 February) and that the programme draws on the liturgical and imperial ceremonies and processions in Constantinople, which extoll the Virgin Mary as the protectress of the city and as the victorious general of the empire.



*Figure 2. Hagia Sophia, 532–37 and 562, interior, view of the dome and semi-domes (Photo: Author)*

## **HAGIA SOPHIA AND THE EVOLUTION OF IMPERIAL VICTORY IN CHANTS AND IMAGES AFTER ICONOCLASM**

Music opens the path to the ritual enactment of imperial power and triumph. The ceremonies are continuously evolving, pulling together the sonic and visual. This section draws on the chants composed for the Great Church when the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross was inaugurated in Constantinople in 628. The triumphalism in these chants unfolds as an acoustic phenomenon in Hagia Sophia: a sonic “golden rain” pouring down from the dome. In the period after Iconoclasm, chants continued to function as a medium articulating the empire’s confidence in its military power and in its possibility to reclaim its territories in the Eastern Mediterranean. But together with the chants, certain visual expressions develop that express directly the empire’s ambitions for conquest. The analysis reveals how this consonance between chant and images sharpens the message of both.

Hagia Sophia overpowers its audience with its unprecedented and inimitable scale of a dome raised over fifty-six metres above the floor and with a diameter over thirty metres and an interior volume of over two hundred

and fifty-five thousand cubic metres (Figs. 1, 2).<sup>9</sup> The Great Church could gather up to sixteen thousand people inside. It mesmerizes all with its gold mosaics, marble revetments, and the flood of natural light pouring in from its glass-filled walls. The architecture skilfully stages the movement of the sun. The orientation coincides with the solstice, which makes for a spectacular sunrise in the winter season on the day of inauguration on 23 December followed by the Christmas feasts.<sup>10</sup> During the winter solstice (marked with a red contour on the image) the first rays of the sun penetrate the central windows of the apse and perfectly align with the E-W axis of the building.<sup>11</sup> As the morning progresses, the beams of light gradually descend from the dome and semi-dome and slide across the floor (Fig. 3). In the afternoon they continue to illuminate the floor and then rise and glide up the north wall, until they disappear on the northeast corner at sunset.<sup>12</sup>

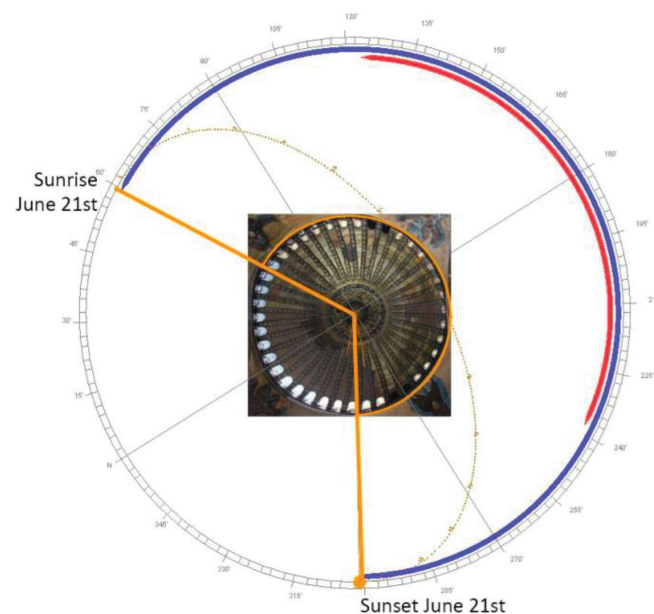


Figure 3. The rise and diurnal movement of the sun at the winter (red) and summer (blue) solstice in Hagia Sophia after Melika Inanici, "Lighting Analysis of Hagia Sophia," *Ayasofya Müzesi Yillığı* 14 (2014): 166–202, fig. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Pentcheva, *Hagia Sophia*; Nadine Schibille, *Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Aesthetic Experience* (Farham: Ashgate, 2014); Rowland Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985).

<sup>10</sup> Nadine Schibille, "Astronomical and Optical Principles in the Architecture of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople," *Science in Context* 22 (2009): 27–46; Iakovos Potamianos and Wassim Jabi, "Geometry, Light, and Cosmology in the Church of Hagia Sophia," *International Journal of Architectural Computing* 5/2 (2007): 305–19.

<sup>11</sup> Ever since the conversion of the church into a mosque in 1453, the experience of the interior is compromised. The mihrab, which must face Mecca, stands to the south of the main E-W axis of the Byzantine building. The shift is further emphasized by the two platforms built on the East to raise the floor and to accommodate the approach to the mihrab and minbar. They cross the main axis on a diagonal, thus, disrupting the original rectilinear logic. As a result, any viewer entering the nave would perceive the new focal point (the mihrab) as bending off to the main axis of the building, giving the impression that the interior is askew. Only in moments like sunrise on the solstice, the early sun beams piercing directly through the central windows of the sanctuary coincide perfectly with the E-W axis of the building and restore the original alignment and harmony.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas Whittemore, "Study of Light, 1945" unpublished notes, Dumbarton Oaks Photography and Image Archive, MS BZ 004; Melika Inanici, "Lighting Analysis of Hagia Sophia," *Ayasofya Müzesi Yillığı* 14 (2014): 166–202.

Light touching the marble floors and walls produces a liquescent effect, where the solidity of stone perceptually transmutes into the appearance of quivering water. Gold further enhances this aesthetic of liquidity as light transforms metal and glass tesserae and polished Proconnesian marble into incandescence of molten metal or the opalescence of mother of pearl.<sup>13</sup> The acoustics of the space amplify this sense of water; the large interior volume and polished reflective surfaces of stone produce a reverberation of over ten seconds for frequencies in the range of the human voice.<sup>14</sup> The dome contributes to an extraordinary aural experience: an acoustic waterfall as high frequency sound reflects from the curved surfaces and rains down on the nave.<sup>15</sup>

The “wet” acoustics of the space liquify sound.<sup>16</sup> The music composed for Hagia Sophia amplifies these aural effects with the use of melismas (singing many notes to a syllable) and intercalations of non-semantic vocables; both devices stretch the semantic chains, making meaning dissolve into prosody. And while ornament can push the chant beyond the register of human language, the same melismas and intercalation combined with the highest pitches in the composition trigger the phenomenon of “golden” aural “waterfall” raining from dome.<sup>17</sup> The signature chants for the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, such as the troparion *Sōson Kyrie* and the kontakion *Ho hypsōtheis en tō Staurō*, produce these aural effects with particular words such as *eulogēson* (“bless!”) or *echoien* (“may we have”) that draw attention to the invisible divine, which acquires an acousmètre (bodiless voice) aural manifestation in the space.<sup>18</sup>

Both chants were written when in 628 the emperor Herakleios brought the relics of the True Cross to the Byzantine capital and inaugurated the Constantinopolitan phase of this feast.<sup>19</sup> Herakleios was remembered for his wars against the Persian Empire and as the last emperor to extend Christian power over Jerusalem. The Arab conquest in 638 eliminated Byzantine authority in the Holy Land. The rise of the Macedonian dynasty (867-1056) articulated an aggressive foreign policy and charted the possibility of reconquest.<sup>20</sup> Significant advances were accomplished with the accession of the usurper emperor-generals Phokas (963-969) and Tzimiskes (969-976) to the throne. 961 marked the reconquest of Crete, which freed the Aegean

13 Bissera V. Pentcheva, “Hagia Sophia and Multisensory Aesthetics,” *Gesta* 50/2 (2011): 93–111; Pentcheva, *Hagia Sophia*, 121–49.

14 Pentcheva, “Hagia Sophia and Multisensory Aesthetics,” 101–116; Pentcheva, *Hagia Sophia*, 99–120.

15 Bissera V. Pentcheva, “The Glittering Sound of Hagia Sophia and the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross in Constantinople” in *Icons of Sound: Voice, Architecture, and Imagination in Medieval Art*, ed. Bissera V. Pentcheva (New York: Routledge, 2020), 52–100.

16 Pentcheva, *Hagia Sophia*, 65–75, 93–98, 104, 119, 122, 148–49; Alexander Lingas, “From Earth to Heaven: The Changing Musical Soundscape of Byzantine Liturgy,” in *Experiencing Byzantium*, eds. C. Nesbitt and M. Jackson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 311–58, esp. 319–34;

17 Pentcheva, “The Glittering Sound of Hagia Sophia,” 60–70.

18 Pentcheva, “The Glittering Sound of Hagia Sophia,” 52–100.

19 Pentcheva, “The Glittering Sound of Hagia Sophia,” 52, 60.

20 Eric McGeer, “Two Military Orations of Constantine VII,” in *Byzantine Authors: Literary Activities and Preoccupations*, ed. John W. Nesbitt (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003), 111–35.

and the Eastern Mediterranean from Arab pirates and opened the seas for trade. Antioch was recaptured in 969. And in 972-975 the Byzantine army led by emperor John Tzimiskes pushed into Syria and Palestine holding Homs, Sidon and Byblos.<sup>21</sup>

The return of territories in Syria and Holy Land is anticipated in chants, ceremonies, and the visual arts. A unique work expresses this Byzantine imperial agenda in the figural arts: the Joshua roll (Vatican City, BAV, MS Pal. Gr. 431); it visualizes the Byzantines as the new Israelites, divinely commissioned to reconquer the promised land. The manuscript resurrects an antiquated format: the scroll.<sup>22</sup> The form and content come together to render powerfully the idea of triumph. Like the historiated column, the scroll offers a continuously extending strip for narrative images; its rolling tracks the successful march of the army and its ever-expanding conquest of land. The Joshua Roll echoes the Late Antique imperial honorific columns in Constantinople decorated with figural reliefs, which captured the successes of the emperor in military campaigns. The imperial city, modelled after Old Rome, had five fora decorated with honorific columns, one of which had a continuous narrative relief: the column of Arcadius, 401.<sup>23</sup> The Joshua Roll engages with this tradition of urban monuments marking the stage of imperial triumph, but it also gives a strong Christian message as its narrative depicts the story of Joshua conquering Holy Land.

The exact identity of the patron is still a subject of debate ranging from the emperor Constantine VII and Basil the *parakoimomenos* (illegitimate son of Romanos Lekapenos) to the soldier-emperors Phokas and Tzimiskes.<sup>24</sup> The intention behind bringing up the Joshua Roll here does not stem from a desire to resolve the identity of the patron, but to recognize how its images communicate a current and mainstream imperial message that the Byzantines are the chosen people who are given the divine directive to reclaim the promised land. The scroll shows the revitalization of the Byzantine reconquest of Syria and Palestine in the second half of the tenth century. Just like the Israelites, the Byzantines saw themselves as exiles coming back to reclaim their possessions from the Arabs in the

21 Skylitzes, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History*, 250–97.

22 Vasiliki Tsamakda, "The Joshua Roll," in *A Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts*, ed. Vasiliki Tsamakda, (Brill, 2017), 207–13; Steven Wander, *The Joshua Roll* (Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2012), 93–138. Wander attributes the scroll to Basil the Parakoimomenos and his victory at Samosata 958; Meyer Shapiro, "The Place of the Joshua Roll in Byzantine History," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 35/6 (1949): 161–76; Kurt Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), 100–14.

23 Pelin Arslan, "Towards a New Honorific Column: The Column of Constantine in the Early Byzantine Urban Landscape," *METU JFA* 33/1 (2016): 121–45; Jonathan Bardill, *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Franz Alto Bauer, "Urban Space and Ritual: Constantinople in Late Antiquity," in *Imperial Art as Christian Art, Christian Art as Imperial Art: Expression and Meaning in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Justinian Bardi*, ed. Johannes Brandt (Rome: Erasmus, 2001), 27–62; Sarah Bassett, *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Bente Kiilerich, *Late Fourth-Century Classicism in Plastic Arts: Studies in the So-Called Theodosian Renaissance* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1993); Christoph Konrad, "Beobachtungen zur Architektur und Stellung des Säulenmonumentes in Istanbul-Cerrapasa-Arkadiossäule," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 51 (2001): 319–401; Cornelius Gurlitt, *Antike Denkmalsäulen in Konstantinopel* (Munich: Callwey, 1909).

24 Wander, *The Joshua Roll*, 93–138; Shapiro, "The Place of the Joshua Roll in Byzantine History," 161–76; Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll*, 100–14.



Copyright © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana  
[http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Pal.gr.431.pt.B/0007](http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Pal.gr.431.pt.B/0007)  
 powered by AMLAD-NTT DATA



Figure 4. The Archangel Michael appearing before Joshua, Joshua Roll, Vatican City, BAV, MS Pal. Gr. 431, fol. IVr, mid-tenth century. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, with all rights reserved. (Photo © 2022 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

East. And they saw their mission as divinely sanctioned. This message is communicated by the image of the Archangel Michael appearing before Joshua giving him a mandate to conquer Holy Land (Fig. 4). In Joshua 5:13-15, the general sees standing in front of him a military commander holding a naked sword. He asks him: “Are you one of us or one of the enemies?” The Archangel responds that he is the leader of the celestial armies. Then Joshua falls to the ground in deep *proskynesis*, asking what his orders are and receives the response to do obeisance. Joshua is shown to the right; he appears twice in this continuous narrative, first standing and then, a moment later, on his knees in prayer. The power and shock of being in the presence of the metaphysical is rendered in the abrupt change in the dominant reading direction of the scroll from left to right to right to left at this scene. The reversal captures the dramatic moment of turning to recognize the divine and accept the order of the Lord. The narrative images also capture how ambiguous a theophany can be. Joshua is confused at the beginning and seeing the general in a provocative gesture of attack with a raised sword, he feels impelled to ask him to reveal himself.

Two imperial speeches by Constantine VII recited before the Byzantine armies repeat the motif of the Lord sending his archangel to the Christian troops:

May He [Christ] prepare your route before you; He Himself will send His angel and He will guide your journey and may He help to surround you with host of angels to keep you safe from harm in the hands of the enemy, so that through His power and might you may have upon your return to us in victory and triumph praise everlasting in memory of men.<sup>25</sup>

The emperor hopes for victory and assures his troops that they will be protected by the archangel.

The vision of the celestial guard from the Joshua story holds a special place in imperial imagery. It is represented in the Çavuşin church in Göreme valley in Cappadocia, the home base of the Phokas family and a region deeply loyal to the clan.<sup>26</sup> The imperial family portrait is depicted in a niche left of the apse (**Fig. 5a-b**). The emperor is flanked on the right by his father, the Caesar Bardas, and by his brother, the curopalates Leo. His wife Theophano and his sister-in-law are on his left. This group portrait appears right underneath the scene of Joshua and the Archangel. The vertical alignment of the two frescoes show how the divine mandate once given to Joshua is now offered to the Byzantine emperor Phokas. The dream of reclaiming the Holy Land began to be fulfilled with the victories of Phokas. If Constantine VII evoked the archangel to lead the armies, he himself never joined the campaigns. By contrast, as general and later emperor, Phokas truly embodied the Old Testament Joshua; he led the Christian armies in battle and triumphs. And it is this pride that is expressed in the frescoes, reclaiming the Joshua narrative for the glory of the Phokas.

A majestic victory is celebrated at the end of the Joshua Roll and it too channels elements of triumphal ceremonies celebrated by the emperor in Constantinople. The scene stretches to a panoramic length. And just like the encounter with the Archangel which stops the progression of the narrative from left to right and reverses, so too here Joshua's great triumph turns the direction from right to left (**Fig. 6**). He has fulfilled the divine order and now he has taken the position of the Archangel. Seated on a throne, he receives the captured enemies. The five kings of Judea are brought for a ritual trampling (*calcatio*). The *calcatio* represented here recalls an extraordinary imperial triumph performed in 956, when Constantine VII Porphyrogennētos had the captive Abu'l 'Ašā'ir (cousin of Sayf al-Dawla, the Amir of Aleppo and major threat to Byzantium) ritually trampled and a spear brought to his neck.<sup>27</sup>

25 Κατασκευάσει τὴν ὁδὸν ὑμῶν ἔμπροσθεν ὑμῶν· αὐτὸς ἐξαποστελεῖ τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ κατευθυνεῖ τὴν ὁδὸν ὑμῶν, αὐτὸς ἀγγελικαῖς παρεμβολαῖς περικυκλῶσαι ὑμᾶς καὶ ἀντιλάβοιτο καὶ ἀναλωτοὺς τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βλάβης διατηρῆσαι ὡς ἂν ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ καὶ κράτει μετὰ νίκης καὶ τροπαίων ἐπανακάμπτοντες πρὸς ἡμᾶς, σχοίητε μὲν τὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἔπαινον ἀειμνηστον, R. Vári, "Zum historischen Exzerptenwerke des Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 17/1 (1908): 75–85, esp. 83–84; English trans. McGeer, "Two Military Orations of Constantine VII," 134.

26 Lyn Rodley, "The Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 33 (1983): 301–39. For images, see <http://monuments.hist.auth.gr/index.php/en/2019/02/07/ekklisia-nikiforou-foka-cavusin-en/>. Accessed December 21, 2021.

27 De Cer. II.19, for a discussion, see Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 160–62, 166.



Figure 5a-b. Church of Nikephoros II Phokas (963-969), Çavuşin kilise, Göreme valley, Kappadokia, Turkey (Photo: Elie Nicolas Akiki)



Figure 6. Joshua celebrating the final triumph over the five kings of Judea, Joshua Roll, Vatican City, BAV, MS Pal. Gr. 431, fols. XIVr, XVr, mid-tenth century. Reproduced with the kind permission of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, with all rights reserved. (Photo © 2022 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

The Joshua Roll and the Çavuşin frescoes reveal how war and victory are understood in specifically Christian terms: the angel of Christ leads the armies of the faithful to triumph. Similarly, the imperial speeches of Constantine VII present the Byzantine wars as waged specifically against the infidel. In the emperor's orations, the Christian armies carry the Cross as weapon and protection:



[Christ] will stretch His hand to those girded in battle against His foes [...] And so let us put all our hope in Him, and instead of our whole panoply, let us arm ourselves with His Cross, equipped with which you have lately made the fierce soldiers of the Hamdanid (Sayf al-Dawla) the victims of your swords.<sup>28</sup>

Constantine calls to arms the Christians, asks them to take the Cross as weapon and use it to inflict defeat on the infidel. In a second speech, he even distributes a *hagiasma* (oil aspersion produced by contact with the relics of the True Cross and other Passion relics of Christ): “[after drawing *hagiasma* (in this context, myron or holy oil)], we have sent this *hagiasma* to be sprinkled upon you, for you to be anointed by it and garb yourselves with the divine power from on high.”<sup>29</sup> Relics of the True Cross and the Passion become the shield of the Christian armies.

Constantine VII’s vision of the Cross as weapon is embodied in an important imperial heirloom: the Limburg Staurothēkē. Constantine VII and his son Romanos II likely commissioned the precious frame for these seven pieces of the True Cross and inscribed the imperial triumphalist message at the back (**Fig. 7**). The relics are encased in gold and decorated on the front and centre with rubies and emeralds and gold beads, while sapphires frame the edges. The imperial epigram unfolds in embossed letters in the gold on the reverse. Here the words descend from the top; there are two horizontal crossbars following the shape of the patriarchal cross, but the rest of the text drips down forming the edge of a spear that is ready to pierce the enemy:

God stretched out his hands upon the wood of the Cross  
gushing forth through it the energies of life.  
Constantine and Romanos the emperors  
with a frame (synthesis) of radiant stones and pearls  
have displayed it full of wonder.  
Upon it Christ formerly smashed the gates of Hell,  
giving new life to the dead.  
and the crowned ones who have now adorned it,  
crush with it the temerities of the barbarians.<sup>30</sup>

28 McGeer, “Two Military Orations of Constantine VII,” 118;

29 ἀπομυρίσαντες ἔξαπεστείλαμεν ὑμῖν ἀγάσμα τοῦ ῥαντισθῆναι ἐφ’ ὑμῖν καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ περιχρισθῆναι καὶ θεῖαν ἐξ ὕψους ἐπενδύσασθαι δύναμιν, Vári, “Zum historischen Exzerptenwerke des Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos,” 83. English trans. Geer, “Two Military Orations of Constantine VII,” 133.

30 + Θεὸς μὲν ἐξέτεινε χεῖρας ἐν ξύλῳ

ζωῆς δι’ αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐνεργείας βρῦων·

Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ καὶ Ῥωμανὸς δεσπότηται

λίθων διαυγῶν συνθέσει καὶ μαργάρων

ἔδειξαν αὐτὸ θαύματος πεπλησμένον.

Καὶ πρὶν μὲν Αἰδοῦ Χριστὸς ἐν τούτῳ πύλας

θραύσας ἀνεζώωσε τοὺς τεθνηκότας

κοσμήτορες τούτου δὲ νῦν στεφηφόροι

θράση δι’ αὐτοῦ συντριβουσι βαρβάρων,

Bissera V. Pentcheva, “Containers of Power: Eunuchs and Reliquaries in Byzantium,” *Res. Journal of Anthropology and Aesthetics* 51 (2007): 109–20.



*Figure 7a.* Relics of the True Cross, Limburg Staurothekē, 958-963, wood, gems, gold.  
Reproduced with Permission of the Domschatz und Diözesanmuseum Limburg  
(Photo: Michael Benecke)

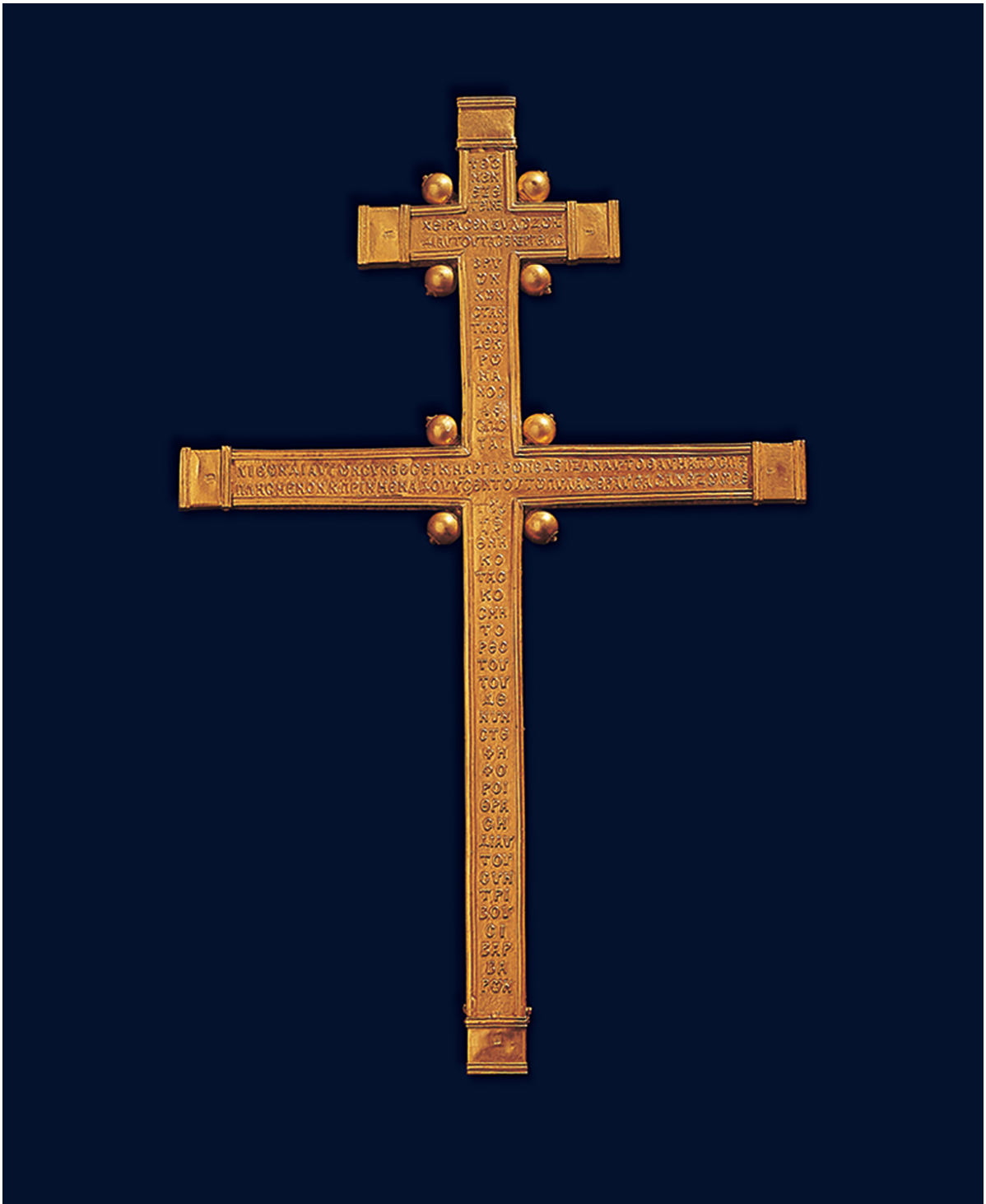


Figure 7b. Relics of the True Cross, Limburg Staurothēkē, 958-963, wood, gems, gold.  
Reproduced with Permission of the Domschatz und Diözesanmuseum Limburg  
(Photo: Michael Benecke)

+ Θεός  
 μὲν  
 ἐξέτεινε  
 χεῖρας ἐν ξύλῳ ζωῆς  
 δι' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐνεργείας  
 βρύων·  
 Κων-  
 σταν-  
 τῖνος  
 δὲ καὶ  
 Ρω-  
 μα-  
 νός  
 δεσ-  
 πό-  
 ται  
 λίθων διαγῶν συνθέσει καὶ μαργάρων ἔδειξαν αὐτὸ θαύματος πε-  
 πλησμένον καὶ πρὶν μὲν Αἰῶνος Χριστὸς ἐν τούτῳ πύλας θραύσας ἀνεζώωσε  
 τοὺς  
 τε-  
 θνη-  
 κό-  
 τας  
 κο-  
 σμή-  
 το-  
 ρες  
 τού-  
 του  
 δὲ  
 νῦν  
 στε-  
 φη-  
 φό-  
 ροι  
 θρά-  
 ση  
 δι' αὐ-  
 τοῦ  
 συν-  
 τρί-  
 βου-  
 σι-  
 βαρ-  
 βά-  
 ρων.

Figure 7c. The imperial epigram on the reverse of the relics of the True Cross, Limburg Staurothēkē, 958-963.

The epigram both acknowledges the beautiful new gold and gem-frame encasing the relics of the True Cross, but it also transforms the object into a weapon with which to kill the barbarians. It directly brings up the Anastasis (Resurrection) and reveals how Christ's victory over Death defines the imperial triumph. The Limburg Cross clearly sees the conflict as that between Christianity and Islam, transforming the Cross into a spear, raised to pierce the infidel. The power of the cross as weapon is a hallmark of the Macedonian dynasty. We see the same message in the processional cross given by the emperor Phokas to Mount Athos. It quotes a verse from

Ps 43(44):5. The inscription runs first down the vertical axis and then across the horizontal bar: “In Thee we will gore our enemies and in thy name/ we will bring to naught those who rise against us.”<sup>31</sup> Phokas’s Cross uses the psalm verse to equate the Cross with the spear/horn. The Limburg draws on the Descent of Christ in Hades and the descent of the words in the epigram to shape the Stauros as weapon and imagine how it plunges into the enemy’s side.

The epigram on the Limburg Staurothēkē also equates the triumph of Christ’s victory over Death at the Anastasis with imperial victory. What has not been recognized heretofore is that the iconography of the Anastasis undergoes a significant change in this exact period (second half of the tenth century); it introduces the Cross as an instrument and weapon wielded by Christ. The Cross does not appear in scenes of the Anastasis immediately after Iconoclasm. The Khludov psalter (Moscow, State Historical Museum, MS Gr. 129d, fols. 63rv, dated to the mid-ninth century) just shows Christ pulling up Adam by the hand, illustrating Ps. 67(68):1, 6 (**Fig. 8**).<sup>32</sup>

By contrast, the mosaic in the narthex of Hosios Loukas attests to a dramatic change in iconography (**Fig. 9**). Christ, triumphant, strides over the abyss of death, the broken gates of Hades, and strewn locks. His vigour manifests itself in the fluttering white cloth of his chiton, caught flying in the air like a wing. The large victorious Cross that Christ holds in his right hand counterbalances the fluttering drapery wing, anchoring the triumph over Death. Salvation has been planted in the middle of the Earth. The victory is final and channelled through the Cross.

The visual evidence as gleaned from the Joshua Roll, the Çavuşin frescoes, the Limburg Staurothēkē, and the Anastasis mosaics at Hosios Loukas reveal a consistent evolution of Christian imagery of triumph, which developed in the course of the tenth century, embedded in the Cross as weapon. And it is these same ideas that are amplified in the chants written by the elite, even by the emperor himself.

A tenth-century piece composed (text and music) by the emperor Leo VI (886-912) extolls the Cross in exactly these terms.<sup>33</sup> It is a *stichēron*, sung at

31 ἐν σοὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν κερατιοῦμεν καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐξουθενώσομεν τοὺς ἐπανισταμένους ἡμῖν, Ps 43(44):5, for the cross, see Robert Nelson, “And So With the Help of God: The Byzantine Art of War in the Tenth Century,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 65/66 (2011-2012): 169–92.

32 Maria Evangelatrou, “Liturgy and the Illustration of the Ninth-Century Marginal Psalters,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 63 (2009): 59–116. There is one more miniature of the Anastasis, fol. 82 Ps 81:7.

33 Enrica Follieri, *Initia hymnorum ecclesiae graecae*, vol. 1 in the series *Studi e testi*, 211–15 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1960), 293. On the hymnography of Emperor Leo VI, see Antōnios Alygizakēs, “He basilikē hymnografia (6.–11. aiōna)” [Imperial Hymnography (6th–10th Centuries)], in *Christianike Thessalonike: apo tes Ioustinianeiou epoches heos kai tes Makedonikes Dynasteias [Christian Thessaloniki from the Era of Justinian to the Macedonian Dynasty, Thessaloniki History Centre, Municipality of Thessaloniki, complete edition no. 6, 24th Demetria, 3rd Academic Symposium]* (Thessaloniki: Kentro Historias Thessalonikes tou Demou Thessalonikes, 1991), 187–261, esp. 216–20, I thank Alexander Lingas for this reference; H. J. M. Tillyard, “Ἐώθινα Ἀναστάσιμα: The Morning Hymns of the Emperor Leo,” *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 30 (January 1928): 86–108; and 31 (January 1930): 115–47; Casimir Emereau, “Hymnographi byzantini: Quorum nomina in litteras digessit notulisque adornavit (Continuatur),” *Échos d’Orient* 23, no. 135 (1924): 275–85, esp. 285; Theocharis Detorakis, “Agnōstōi hymnoi Leontos VI tou Sophou” [Unknown hymns of Leo VI the Wise], in *Myriobiblos. Essay on Byzantine Literature and Culture*, in the series *Byzantinisches Archiv* 29, ed. Theodora Antonopoulou, Sofia Kotzabassi, and Marina Loukaki (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015), 131–41.



Figure 8. Christ pulling up Adam by the hand, Ps. 67(68):1, Khudov Psalter, Moscow, State Historical Museum, MS Gr. 129d, fols. 63r, mid-ninth century. Photo after Marfa V. Shchepkina, *Miniatiury Khludovskoi Psaltyri: Grecheskii Illiustrirovannyi Kodeks IX Veka* (Moscow: Isskustvo, 1977), fig. 63r.



Figure 9. Anastasis with Christ holding the victorious Cross, mosaic in the narthex of Hosios Loukas, 1011 (Photo: Boris Missirkov)

orthros (*lauds*) intercalated in the canticles for the Feast Day of 14 September, the Exaltation of the Cross (Vienna, Austrian National Library, Theol. MS Gr. 181, fols. 209rv).<sup>34</sup> The poetry drips with triumphalist language:

Come, believers, let us worship the life-giving Wood of the Cross on which Christ, the King of Glory willingly stretching his arms raised us up to our ancient blessedness,  
out of which the enemy of old had defrauded us through pleasure, making us exiles from God!

Come, believers, let us worship the wood of the Cross through which we became worthy to crush the skulls of invisible foes  
Come, all families of nations, let us honour in hymns the Cross of the Lord!

Hail, O Cross, the complete redemption of Fallen Adam,  
In you our faithful Emperors boast for through your power they mightily subdue the people of Ismael [the Arabs]!

We, Christians, now kiss you with fear and glorify the God who was nailed on you, saying:  
“Lord, you who have been nailed to it [the Cross] have mercy on us because you are good and a lover of mankind!”<sup>35</sup>

The first stanza states how the Wood of the Cross has saved humanity, but then the devil defrauded mankind, who is now exiled from paradise. The next stanza celebrates the Cross as a weapon wielded against the enemies, crushing their skulls. And these victories are celebrated with liturgical chants. The Cross is then directly addressed and it is praised because thanks to it the Byzantine emperors receive great glory, winning victories over the Arabs. The last stanza turns back to the faithful who kiss the Cross and adore Christ, asking Him to have mercy on account of his love, shown in his willing sacrifice.

The music sharpens the meaning of the poem. It signals a parallel between the great glory of Christ, the *Basileus tēs doxēs* and that of the victories which the pious Byzantine emperors achieve through the Cross (*hoi pistotatoi basileis hymōn kauchōntai*) (**Fig. 10**). The shared melody sung at these two phrases draws a parallel between Christ and the emperors: the former winning victory over death [Christ], the latter—over the Arabs. War is defined by religion: Christianity versus Islam. In this Holy War,

34 Alexander Lingas has transcribed the music from the MS. Cappella Romana recorded this chant in their album *The Lost Voices of Hagia Sophia*, CD, 2019 made in collaboration with “Icons of Sound.”

35 Δεῦτε πιστοὶ τὸ ζωοποιὸν Ἑῦλον προσκυνήσωμεν ἐν ᾧ Χριστὸς ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῆς Δόξης ἔκουσίως χεῖρας ἀπλώσας ὑψώσεν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν μακαριότητα οὓς πρὶν ὁ ἐχθρὸς, δι’ ἠδονῆς συλήσας ἐξορίστους Θεοῦ πεποίηκε.

Δεῦτε πιστοὶ Ἑῦλον προσκυνήσωμεν δι’ οὗ ἠξιώθημεν τῶν ἀοράτων ἐχθρῶν συντριβεῖν τὰς κάρας. Δεῦτε πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν τὸν Σταυρὸν τοῦ Κυρίου ὑμνοῖς τιμήσωμεν.

Χαίροις Σταυρὸ ἐ τοῦ πεσόντος Ἀδάμ ἡ τελεία λύτρωσις, ἐν σοὶ οἱ πιστότατοι Βασιλεῖς ἡμῶν καυχῶνται ὡς τῇ σῆ δυνάμει Ἰσμηλίτην λαὸν κραταιῶς ὑποτάττοντες.

Σὲ νῦν μετὰ φόβου Χριστιανοὶ ἀσπαζόμενοι καὶ ἐν σοὶ προσπαγέντι Θεῷ δοξάζομεν λέγοντες·

Κύριε ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ σταυρωθεὶς ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλόανθρωπος.

English translation by Alexander Lingas.

the Romans [Byzantines] are the exiles, who now seek to return to their homeland, recapturing it from the usurper Hagarenes [Arabs].<sup>36</sup> Once again this idea is expressed through the melodic structure of the *stichēron*. The same melody of *Basileus tēs doxēs* and *hoi pistitatoi basileis hymōn kauchōntai* (marked in purple) is also used earlier to contrast paradise and expulsion. The glory of Christ had originally given humanity bliss in the gardens of delight. But then the same melodic motif on which the “King of Glory” had been sung is now used for the opposite, the defrauding humanity of their inheritance— *di’hēdonēs sylēsas*—perpetrated by Satan. The cadence, marked in grey, repeats the melodic motif previously sung about paradise, but now it signals the opposite — humanity’s status as exiles from God. This notion of exiles is important for it also sets the political rhetoric of the Macedonian dynasty of return to Holy Land and of the recapture of former Byzantine territories, which gained momentum in the second half of the tenth century.<sup>37</sup> One other prominent melodic motif is sung on “you raised us” *hypsōsen hymas* (marked in green). And then again at the very end with the phrase “have mercy on us,” *eleēson hymas*.

This *stichēron* is but a small sample of how imperial ideology of victory continuously re-invents itself in Constantinopolitan ceremonies. Here an emperor of the Macedonian dynasty uses words and music to magnify the legitimacy of imperial power secured through victories in battle. Unlike the troparion and kontakion for the same liturgical feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, Leo VI’s creation strives to express the meaning of the poetry through the melodic form (“word-painting,” is a term describing the practice when the melody of a song reflects the meaning of the words), concatenating ideas by setting them to the shared musical phrases. It is likely that this liturgical poetry stems from the music sung at the imperial chapels, but Hagia Sophia was its most glorious stage for performance.<sup>38</sup> The optical brightness and liquescent sound of the Great Church amplified the idea of divinely-sanctioned imperial might.

36 An akolouthia (memorial) service for soldiers fallen in battle or captivity composed in the tenth century attests to the rise of the idea of Holy War, promoted by the general-emperors Phokas and Tzimiskes, see Theocharis Détorakis and Justin Mossay, “Un office byzantin inédit pour ceux qui sont morts à la guerre, dans le cod. sin. gr. 734-735,” *Le Muséon* 101/1-2 (1988): 183-211. See also Meredith Riedel, “Nikephoros II Phokas and the Orthodox Military Martyrs,” *Journal of Medieval Religious Culture* 41/2 (2015): 121-47; Nelson, “And So With the Help of God”; Bissera V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 60-103; Nicholas Oikonomides, “The Concept of Holy War and Two Tenth-Century Byzantine Ivories,” in *Peace and War in Byzantium: Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis, S.J.*, eds. Timothy Miller and John Nesbitt (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1995), 62-86; George Dennis, “Religious Services in the Byzantine Army,” in *Eulogema. Studies in Honor of Robert Taft, S. J.*, eds. E. Carr, Stefano Parenti, A. Thiermeyer, Elena Velkovska (Studia Anselmiana, 110, Analecta liturgica 17) (Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1993), 107-17.

37 *History of Leo the Deacon*, bk. I.2-9; bk. II.1.

38 Leo VI’s poetry and music is representative of the Jerusalem liturgy and its strive to create a closer semantic bond between the poetry sung and the east celebrated. The development of poetry and music for the Kanon exemplifies this development and the ecclesiastical and court elite in Constantinople was invested in this process, see Stig Frøyshov, “Early History of the Hagiopolitan Daily Office in Constantinople,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 74 (2020): 351-82, esp. 362-65; Bissera V. Pentcheva, “Transcendent Visions: Voice and Icon in the Byzantine Imperial Chapels” in *Icons of Sound: Voice, Architecture, and Imagination in Medieval Art*, ed. Bissera V. Pentcheva (New York: Routledge, 2020), 101-115.



Emperor Leo VI the Wise (c.886-912) *Sticheron for the Veneration of the Precious Cross* MS Vienna Theol. gr. 181  
 'Come Believers, Let US Worship the Life-Giving Cross' f 209r-209v

Mode 2: Δεῦτε Πιστοὶ

1 Δεῦ-τε πι-στοὶ τὸ ζω-ο-ποι-ὸν Ξύ-λον προσ-κυ-νή-σω-μεν,  
 Deu-te pi-stoi to zo-o-pi-on Xy-lon pros-ky-ni-so-men,

2 ἐν ᾧ Χρι-στὸς, ὁ βα-σι-λεὺς τῆς δό-ξης ἔ-κου-σί-ως  
 en o Chri-stos o Va-si-lefs tis do-xis e-ku-si-os

3 χεῖ-ρας ἀ-πλώ-σας ὑ-ψω-σεν ἡ μᾶς  
 chi-ras a-plo-sas y-psi-sen i-mas  
 [ἔ-κει-νας] [e-kti-nas]

4 (as) εἰς τὴν ἀρ-χαί-αν μα-κα-ρι-ό-τη-τα,  
 (as) is tin ar-che-an ma-ka-ri-o-ti-ta

5 οὐς πρὶν ὁ ἔ-χθρός, δι' ἡ-δο-νῆς συ-λή-σας,  
 us prin e e-chthros, di' i-do-nis sy-li-sas,

Performing Edition by Alexander Lingas 2016

Figure 10. Sticheron Δεῦτε πιστοὶ τὸ ζωοποιὸν Ξύλον προσκυνήσομεν of emperor Leo VI (886-912), music transcribed by Alexander Lingas for the “Icons of Sound” concert, Bing Hall, Stanford University, 2016; color coding of melodic motifs by author

6

ἔ-ξο-ρί-σους Θε-οῦ πε-πί-η-κε, ἡ-κε. (με 2α 2ω)  
 e-xo-ri-stus The-u pe-pí-i-ke

7

Δεῦ-τε πί-στοί- μου ἔ-λ-θ-ε-τε ἑ-ξ-ού-λου προσ-κυ-νή-σω-μεν,  
 Def-te pi-stí- mou Xý-lon pros-ky-ní-so-men,

Mobis

8

δι' οὗ ἡ-ξι-ώ-θη-μεν τῶν ἀ-ο-ρά-των ἐ-χθρῶν,  
 di' u-i-xi-ó-thi-men, ton a-o-rá-ton e-chthron

9

οὐ-ἐπί-βειν τὰς κά-ρας. ἡ-κε. Δεῦ-τε πά-σαι αἱ  
 syn-trí-ivin tas ka-ras. Def-te pá-sa e

10

πα-τρι-ᾶ τῶν ἐ-θῶν τῶν Σταυ-ροῦ τοῦ Κυ-ρί-ου ἡ-μῶν,  
 pa-trí-e ton e-thnon ton Stav-ron tu Ky-rí-u ḡ-mnís

11

τι-μῆ-σω-μεν. Χαί-ρος Σταυ-πέ-  
 ti-mí-so-men. Ché-ris, Stav-ré-

12  
 τῶν πε-σό-ν - τος Ἁ-δάμ- ἢ τε-λεί-α λύ-τρο-σις  
 tu pe-son - tos A-dam - i te-li-a ly-tro-sis

13  
 ἐν σοὶ ὁ πι-στό-τα-τοι βα-σι-λεὺς ἡ - μῶν καὶ -  
 en si i pi-sto-ta-ti va-si-lis (u e i a w) ἡ - mon kaf -

14  
 χῶν - ται ὡς ἐπὶ σὴ δυ-νά-μει, Ἰ-σμα-ῆ-λι-ου  
 chon - te os ti si dy-na-mi, I-sma-i-li-tin

15  
 λα-οὶ, κρα-ταί-ως ὑ-πο-τατ-τῶν-τες. u e a w  
 la-on, kra-te-os y-po-tat-ton-tes.

16  
 Ἰὲ νῦν με-τὰ φό-βου, Χρι-στὸ-α-νοὶ ἀ-σπα-ζό-με-νοι  
 Se nyn me-ta fo-vu, Chri-sto-a-noi a-spa-zo-me-ni,  
 ἀ-σπα-ζο-με-θα  
 a-spa-zo-me-tha

17  
 τῶ ἐν σοὶ προ-σπα-γέν-τι Θε-οῦ  
 to en si pro-spa-gen-ti The - o

18  
 δο-ξά-ζο-μεν λέ-γον-τες· Κύ-ρι-ε ὁ ἐν αὐ-τῷ σταυ-ρω-θεὶς,  
 do-xa-zo-men le-gon-tes: Ky-ri-e o en af-to stav-ro-this  
 προ-σπα-γέν-τι  
 pro-spa-gen-ti

19  
 ἐ-λέ-η-σον ἡ - μᾶς ὡς ἀ-γα-θός  
 e-le-i-son i - mas os a-ga-thos

20  
 καὶ φι-λάν-θρω-πος.  
 ke fi-lan-thro-pos.

## THE VIRGIN MARY AND IMPERIAL VICTORY IN THE CONSTANTINOPOLITAN LITURGY

Triumph manifested in images and chant is also channelled through the figure of the Theotokos, and here too the ideas evolve during the course of the tenth century. The emperor-generals Phokas and Tzimiskes promoted specifically the Theometer because of her role as general of the Christian armies and protectress of the city. Her glory was anchored in the memory of the Avar (621) and Arab (717-718) sieges of Constantinople. By the Middle Byzantine period special liturgical ceremonies gradually developed mobilizing the urban topography through processions and liturgies celebrated at the most important sanctuaries of Mary in Constantinople.<sup>39</sup> Eventually one icon synthesized this legacy: the Hodegetria and it appears to have been promoted by the emperor Phokas. It is this image-type that features in Hosios Loukas.

A special hymn, the Akathistos ('not-seated,' because when it is performed all participants remain standing) offers the foundation for the public ritual celebrating Mary as general and protector. The hymn was written in the fifth or sixth centuries and performed on the feast of the Annunciation, 25 March (a practice attested in the tenth century). The kontakion consists of a prologue and twenty-four oikoi (stanzas). It acquires a second prooimion (prologue) sometime after the Avar or the Arab sieges. A new commemorative service—Ἀκολουθία τοῦ Ἀκαθίστου—was established for the Fifth Saturday of Lent, and its main motivation was to express thanksgiving to Mary for her role in protecting the city.<sup>40</sup> This theme derives from the second *prooimion*, which reads as follows:<sup>41</sup>

To you invincible general, I dedicate hymns of victory,  
I, your city, saved from disasters,  
offer thanksgiving to you, Theotoke  
But since you possess unassailable might,  
deliver me now from all kinds of dangers,  
So that I may cry out to you, 'Hail, Bride unwedded!<sup>42</sup>

39 Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 36–59.

40 The typikon of Hagia Sophia from the second half of the eleventh century (Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MS Gr. A 104) gives more detail for the celebration of this feast at the Blachernai than the tenth-century typikon (Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Cross, MS Gr. 40), see K. K. Акентьев, *Типикон Великой Церкви, Cod. Dresden A 104. Реконструкция текста по материалам архива А. А. Дмитриевского* [Reconstruction of the Text based on the Archives of A. A. Dmitrievsky] (St. Petersburg: Vizantinorossika, 2009), sect. 35, pp. 74–75, see also Wellesz, *The Akathistos Hymn* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1957), xiii–xvi. By the eleventh-century the typikon (Athens, MS GR. 788, 12th century) of the Evergetis monastery in Constantinople (founded 1054) attests also to the singing of the Akathistos at orthros after the sixth ode, *The Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis. March-August. The Moveable Cycle*, text and trans. Robert Jordan (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2005), 438–441.

41 Leena Mari Peltomaa, *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn* (Leiden: Brill, 2001); Vasiliki Limberis, *Divine Heiress. The Virgin Mary and the Creation of Christian Constantinople* (London, New York: Routledge, 1994); Egon Wellesz, *The Akathistos Hymn*.

42 Τῇ ὑπερμάχῳ στρατηγῷ τὰ υικητήρια,  
ὡς λυτρωθεῖσα τῶν δεινῶν, εὐχαριστήρια,  
ἀναγράφω σοι ἡ Πόλις σου, Θεοτόκε,  
ἀλλ' ὡς ἔχουσα τὸ κράτος ἀπροσμάχητον,  
ἐκ παντοίων με κινδύνων ἐλευθέρωσον,  
ἵνα κράζω σοι, Χαίρε, Νύμφη ἀνύμφευτε,

The words that mark the military might of Mary are *stratēgos* and then the complex adjectives all generated from *machē* battle: *hypermachos* (invincible in battle), unassailable *aprosmachētos*, and she is praised in victory and thanksgiving chants: *nikētēria* (victory) and *eucharistēria*. The Middle Byzantine melody is written in mode four plagal (G plagal), and two versions survive. The first is an elaborate melismatic melody (which was likely the one sung at the Akolouthia at the Blachernai). It is recorded in the Psaltikon (MS with music for the soloist) Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, MS Gr. Ashburnhamensis 64, fols. 108-112, originally from the monastery of Grottaferrata, dated to 1289.<sup>43</sup> The second Middle Byzantine melody is a syllabic version (St Petersburg, MS Gr. 674, fol. 15v, ca. 1270).<sup>44</sup> My analysis focuses on the syllabic melody because it was used later on as a model for the new kontakion composed for Hosios Loukas.<sup>45</sup> The chant uses a repeated melodic motif that focuses attention on Mary's military power: the words "victory", "thanksgiving," "you, Theotokos", "invincible", "free us" are all sung to the same melodic phrase (**Fig. 11**).<sup>46</sup>

---

from *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica*, ed. Constantine Trypanis (Vienna: Becvar, 1968), 17–39.

43 The melismatic music of the Akathistos is recorded in a MS from the monastery of Grottaferrata dated to 1289, today in Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, MS Ashburnhamensis 64, fols. 1–44, published in the facsimile *Contacarium Ashburnhamense. Codex Bibl. Laurentianae Ashburnhamensis 64. Phototypice Depictus*, ed. Carsten Høeg (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1956). The two prooimia and the first stanza are missing at the beginning of this MS, but this music appears again for the feast of St. Symeon the Stylite, Sept.1, fols. 108–12, see Wellesz, *The Akathistos Hymn*, xiii–xiv, 3–87. I hope to return to it in a future study.

44 Jørgen Raasted, "Zur Melodie des Kontakions 'Ἡ παρθένος σήμερον'," *Cahiers de L'Institut du Moyen-âge Grec et Latin* 59 (1989): 233–46; Jørgen Raasted, "An Old Melody for Tē hypermachō stratēgō'," in *Studi di musica bizantina in onore de Giovanni Marzi*, ed. Alberto Doda (Cremona: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1995), 3–14.

45 On *proshomoia* (*contrafacta*) melodies derived from model examples (*idiomela* or *automela*), see Christian Troelsgård, "The Repertories of Model Melodies (Automela) in Byzantine Musical Manuscripts," *Cahiers de L'Institut du Moyen-âge Grec et Latin* 71 (2000): 3–27.

46 I thank Alexander Lingas for sharing his transcription from St. Petersburg MS Gr. 647, fol. 15v.

Τῆ ὄ - περ - μά - χῶ στρα - τη - γῶ τὰ νι - κῆ τή - - ρι - α,  
 ὡς λυτ - ρω - θεῖ - σα τῶν δε ι νῶν εὐ χα - ρι - στή - - ρι - α,  
 ἄ - να - γρά φω σοι ἡ Πό - λις σου Θε - ο - τό - - κε,  
 ἀλλ' ὡς ἔ - - χου - σα τὸ κρᾶ - τος ἄ - προσ μά - - χη - τον  
 ἐκ παν - τοί - - ων με - κιν - δύ - νων ἐ - λευ - θέ - - ρω - σον,  
 ἴ - να κρᾶ ζω σοι, Χαῖ - ρε, Νύ - μφη ἄ - φευ τε  
 α - - γι - ε

Figure 11. Music of the Akathistos, based on Alexander Lingas's transcription, St. Petersburg, MS Gr. 674, fol. 15v. (Image: Laura Steenberge)

A leap of a fourth (*G* to *c*) marks the beginning of the phrase, it continues climbing to *d* and even higher, reaching *e* as a grace note (*e* is the upper limit of mode four plagal). The refrain “bride unwedded” is an amplification of the same melodic motif with further melismas. The leap at the beginning (*G* to *c*) creates a sonic attack, which can bring out the brilliance of sound in a marble-revetted domed interior. The effect was further amplified because the soloist, recognized for this ceremony as the *archōn tōn kontakīōn*, sang from the ambo of the Blachernai, thus lifting his bright voice over the heads of the gathered multitude.<sup>47</sup>



Figure 12. Map of Constantinople developed by C. Plakidas after R. Janin, Constantinople Byzantine. Développement urbain et repertoire topographique (Paris: Institut français d'études byzantines, 1964). (Image: Cplakidas, CC BY-SA 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons)

The Akolouthia of the Akathistos starts after the completion of the evening liturgy at Hagia Sophia with a procession that first stops at the Forum of Constantine and then proceeds up the right colonnaded thoroughfare to arrive at the church of the Blachernai in the northwest (Fig. 12). The

47 Акентьев, Титикон Великой Церкви, 75.

patriarch burns incense around the ambo, then the *archōn tōn kontakiōn* ascends the platform, makes three prostrations and begins singing the kontakion. After the *prooimion* and the first three stanzas, the rest of the choir and the congregation take over and sing the remaining twenty-one stanzas.<sup>48</sup> The Blachernai carries the memory of past sieges, specifically the one in 626 and celebrates Mary's unfaltering protection. Singing in thanksgiving to her lodges this memory even deeper in its roots, tying the location with sensorial experience. And as the text of the kontakion unfolds, the Theotokos's invincible power is recognized to flow from her supernatural virginal motherhood. The Akathistos is anchored in the Blachernai, making this monastery synonymous with the unbreachable land walls of Constantinople.<sup>49</sup>

A separate feast celebrated on August 16 is set for the commemoration of the Arab siege of 717-718 of Constantinople.<sup>50</sup> The ritual unfolds in the southwestern corner of the land walls at the Golden Gate: the magnificent and imposing starting point for triumphal processions.<sup>51</sup> Thus this second ritual becomes firmly attached to the memory of imperial triumphal processions and victory ideology.<sup>52</sup> The Typikon of the Great Church prescribes a procession that starts at Hagia Sophia. The psaltai sing from the ambo the troparion "Blessed are you, Christ our God, for your mercy caused amazement to all in the city of your unblemished Mother; for through her prayers, you have with your arm redeemed your people from the expectation of the enemies, giving might to our emperors, as you are the lover of mankind!"<sup>53</sup> This troparion celebrates Constantinople as the city of Mary, protected by her intercession and kept safe in the embrace of Christ. The chant also solicits might for the emperors. Sung in Hagia Sophia, this troparion would have brought all the splendour into the space, showing how divine favour rains on the emperors and people of Constantinople. A procession then unfolds; it first stops at the Forum of Constantine and then wends its way to the Golden Gate. Here chants such as the Magnificat (Lk1:46-48) Μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν Κύριον and troparia of thanksgiving for protection and victory are sung. The chant "Invincible wall," performed on that occasion appropriately matches the content of the song with the site where it is sung: the walls of Constantinople and the majestic, triumphal gate. The poem states: "You are the invincible wall of Christians, Virgin Theotokos, for when we turn to you we remain unharmed, and when we

48 Акентьев, *Типикон Великой Церкви*, 74–75.

49 Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 37–59. For the Late and Post-Byzantine memory of the Akathistos, see, Ioannis Spatharakis, *The Pictorial Cycles of the Akathistos Hymn for the Virgin* (Leiden: Alexandros Press, 2005); Alice Sullivan, "Visions of Byzantium: The Siege of Constantinople in Sixteenth-Century Moldavia," *Art Bulletin* 99/4 (2017): 31–68.

50 Le *Typicon de la Grande Église*. Ms. Saint-Croix n. 40, Xe siècle. *Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes*, ed. Juan Mateos, 2 vols. (Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1963), I, 372–77.

51 Cyril Mango, "The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 173–88, esp. 175–76.

52 McCormick, *Eternal Victory*.

53 Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν, ὅτι ἐθανμάστωσας τὸ ἔλεός ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς ἀχράντου σου Μητρὸς· ταῖς γὰρ αὐτῆς ἱκεσίαις, ἐλυτρώσω ἐν βραχίονί σου τὸν λαόν σου τῆς προσδοκίας τῶν ἐχθρῶν, διδοὺς ἰσχύν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὑμῶν, ὡς φιλόνητος, *Typikon CP*, I, 372.



fall into sin, we have you as intercessor. So, in thanksgiving we now cry out to you, 'Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with you'.<sup>54</sup> The supernatural virginal motherhood is the unassailable wall against all enemies. The listener will subconsciously link Mary's power in war with the impregnable land walls of Constantinople. In addition to her invincibility in battle, the Virgin generously pours out her love for humanity in her unfaltering intercession. The troparion sung at the Golden Gate in commemoration of the Arab siege of 717-718 strengthens the belief in Mary as the *victrix* and protectress of the city: the *poliouchos*.



Figure 13. Nomisma histamenon of emperor Nikephoros II Phokas (963-969). The Theotokos is on the reverse, holding the scepter together with the emperor. Dumbarton Oaks Coin and Seal Collection, BZC.1957.4.82. (Image: Dumbarton Oaks Collection)

Not by chance, Nikephoros Phokas selected this day—16 August 963—for his coronation.<sup>55</sup> He was the *domestikos of the Scholai* of the East (supreme commander of the imperial armies);<sup>56</sup> he was renowned for his conquest of Crete (961) and numerous victories against the Arabs, and a recent success at Aleppo.<sup>57</sup> His achievements against the Arabs legitimized his usurpation of imperial power. By entering Constantinople on 16 August, he presented the Virgin Mary as the invisible and invincible force guiding his successes at the battlefield. He entwined his victories over the Arabs with Mary's power as *poliouchos*, showing the citizens of Constantinople that he was rightfully the chosen one, who deserved the imperial crown. His gold coins soon gave a visual expression of this politico-religious idea; for the first time, the emperor shares the obverse with the Virgin and together they hold the imperial sceptre (Fig. 13). The multitude met Phokas, who

54 Τείχος ἀκαταμάχητον ἡμῶν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ὑπάρχεις, Θεοτόκε Παρθένε, προς σε γὰρ καταφεύγοντες ἄτρωτοι διαμένομεν, καὶ πάλιν ἁμαρτάνοντες ἔχομεν σε πρεσβεύουσαν. Διὸ εὐχαριστοῦντες βοᾶμέν σοι Χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ Κύριος μετὰ σοῦ, *Typikon CP*, I, 374–75.

55 De Cer. Bk. I, ch. 96, Constantine Prophyrogenetos, *The Book of Ceremonies*, trans. by Ann Moffatt and Maxeme Toll (Canberra: Austrian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2012), I, 433–40.

56 On the power vested in this office, see McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth*, 199.

57 On Phokas's victories in the East, see the summary in the *PmbZ*, no. 25535.

had just disembarked at the Golden Gate and proceeded to acclaim him as the victor against the Arabs and the force through which the sceptres of the emperors were strengthened.<sup>58</sup> And while the Book of Ceremonies does not mention Mary, it is the chosen date of 16 August that shows the complete reversal in Byzantine history, from the terror of the Arab siege of Constantinople of 717-718 to the return of the Christian empire's offensive, triumphantly reclaiming its territories in Cilicia. Phokas was the force that changed the tide, transforming Byzantine policy from defensive to offensive war and crowning this turn with victory.<sup>59</sup> In celebrating his coronation on the day commemorating the Arab siege, he proclaimed himself as the bringer of victory (*Nikē-phoros*) supported by the Theotokos. Mary became synonymous with imperial victory and by extension—with political legitimacy.

The Hodegetria icon of Mary eventually becomes inserted in the same context of 16 August and then it is also implanted in the memory of the Avar siege as celebrated by the Akathistos. Through indirect evidence, it appears that Phokas had a hand in this development. The *lectio Triodii* (BHG 1063), an edifying text summarizing the divine intervention during the Avar 626 and Arab 717-718 sieges of Constantinople, likely read in the liturgy, specifically credits this icon with the breaking of the attacks against the Arabs: "And the holy people of the city carrying the sacred wood of the precious and life-giving Cross and the venerable icon of the Theometor Hodegetria, circled the walls [of the city], imploring God with tears."<sup>60</sup> The *lectio Triodii* names the Hodegetria and the Cross as the two palladia carried in procession on the walls of Constantinople that brought about the miraculous rescue of the city from the Arabs. The text is not dated precisely; it was written sometime in the late tenth century.<sup>61</sup>

But the emergence of this text coincides with the appearance and spread of the Hodegetria iconographic type.<sup>62</sup> While the monastery of the Hodegoi is first mentioned in the early ninth century, it is not until the late eleventh century that texts attest to the miraculous icon of the Hodegetria and its Tuesday processions.<sup>63</sup> Yet, evidence from outside Constantinople suggests that the icon type of the Hodegetria was already linked to supernatural protection and Mary's invincible virginal motherhood in battle. Several processional crosses from Georgia commissioned by the Bagratid prince, David III of Tao (930-1000) attest to the political prestige

58 De Cer. I, 96.

59 McGeer, *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth*, 201-2.

60 ὁ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἱερός λαός τὸ σεπτὸν ξύλον τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τὴν σεβάσμιαν εἰκόνα τῆς Θεομήτορος ὁδηγητρίας ἐπαγόμενοι τὸ τεῖχος περιεκύκλουν σὺν δάκρυσιν τὸν Θεὸν ἰλεούμενοι, PG 92, col. 1352D; Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 50-52, 58.

61 Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 50-52, 58.

62 Mostly ivories, see Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 90-91.

63 Among the earliest witnesses of the Hodegetria icon and the Hodegōn monastery is a Latin pilgrim's account of Constantinople dated to the late eleventh century before the First Crusade, see Krijnie Ciggaar, "Une description de Constantinople dans le Tarragonensis 55," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 53 (1995): 117-40, esp. 127-28. See also the account of the English pilgrim of the late eleventh century, Krijnie Ciggaar, "Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 24 (1976): 211-67, esp. 249.

and spiritual appeal of the Hodegetria.<sup>64</sup> Tao or Tayk (Tao-Klarjeti) was a march land between Georgia and Armenia and from the early ninth century an ally of Byzantium; its rulers often carried the high Byzantine courtly title of *curopalates*.<sup>65</sup> David, the prince of Tao, was close to Bardas Phokas the Younger, a nephew of emperor Nikephoros Phokas. David at first supported the prophyrogennētoi Basil II and Constantine against the rebellion of Bardas Skleros in 976-979.<sup>66</sup> And because of his loyalty to the emperors, David of Tao was given the title of *curopalates* in 979.<sup>67</sup> Yet David later sided against Basil II in a new revolt of Bardas Phokas the Younger in 988-989.<sup>68</sup> David's allegiance betrays the close bond between the Phokas family and rulers of Tao; most likely developed earlier on when Bardas the Younger was the duke of Chaldia, in charge of with the elite Byzantine frontier army stationed at the border with Tao Klarjeti.<sup>69</sup> When Basil II quenched the revolt in 979, he made David bequeath his territories to the Byzantine empire after his death as a punishment. When David passed away in the year 1000, Basil II marched in and annexed his lands.<sup>70</sup>

Both the *curopalates* title that opened connections with the imperial capital and the allegiance with the Phokas family explain how new Constantinopolitan iconographic formulae of the late tenth century flowed into Tao. And it is this link that reveals the prominence of the Hodegetria-type on liturgical objects commissioned by David of Tao. Two crosses—the Brillī one and the large processional one from Lahil—feature two versions of the Hodegetria-type: a standing and a bust versions.<sup>71</sup> The Tsilkani icon offers another prominent example from the late tenth century (with additions in the twelfth).<sup>72</sup> What this concentration of Hodegetria-type images suggests is that under the inspiration of the Phokas family, the Hodegetria icon and image-type came to be identified as the *poliouchos* of Constantinople, the victorious standard against the Arabs, and an imperial palladium. The prestige of this icon fostered the spread of its iconographic formula in the court of David of Tao. The Georgian evidence attests to how the Hodegetria became synonymous with political power and invincible strength in battle. And it is this image-type that appears in Hosios Loukas in two key locations of the mosaic programme.

64 On David of Tao, see *PmbZ* no. 21432.

65 Sandro Nikolaishvili, *Byzantium and the Georgian World c. 900-1210. Ideology of Kingship and Rhetoric in the Byzantine Periphery* (Ph.D. dissertation, Central European University, Budapest, 2019), 49–92. I thank Eka Gedevanishvili for sharing this reference with me.

66 Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ch. 16, sections. 1–11. On Bardas Phokas the Younger, see *PmbZ*, no. 20784.

67 Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ch. 16, sect. 9; Nikolaishvili, *Byzantium and the Georgian World c. 900-1210*, 60–67.

68 Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ch. 16, sections 16–20.

69 Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ch. 15, sect. 1; ch. 16, sect. 9.

70 Skylitzes, *Synopsis*, ch. 16, sect. 20; Nikolaishvili, *Byzantium and the Georgian World c. 900-1210*, 60–67.

71 Nikolaishvili, *Byzantium and the Georgian World c. 900-1210*, 20–21 (establishment of Iviron monastery at Mt. Athos with the spoils of the revolt suppression of 979), 32–91; Pentcheva, *Icons and Power*, 70–74. On David III of Tao's patronage, see also Zaza Shirtladze, "The Oldest Murals at Oshki Church: Byzantine Church Decoration and Georgian Art," *Eastern Christian Art* 7 (2010): 97–134; Zaza Shirtladze, *The Frescoes of Otkhta Eklesia* (Tbilisi: 2009), 348–52. On the establishment of Iviron monastery at Athos with the spoils of 979, see Giorgi Tcheishvili, "Georgian Perceptions of Byzantium in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium*, edited by Anthony Eastmond (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 199–210.

72 L. Khuskivadze, "Un monument géorgienne de peinture encaustique," in *Atti del primo simposio internazionale sull'arte georgiana* (Milan: 1977), 149–58.

## HOSIOS LOUKAS

So far, the analysis of Constantinopolitan music, liturgy, and art reveals how Byzantine imperial ideology developed the rhetoric of victory against the Arabs and by the middle of the tenth-century, it put words into action. The *stichēron* of Leo VI for the Feast of the Exaltation offers an early example of this trend in foreign policy. But starting with Constantine VII (Leo VI's son) (944-959 as sole ruler) who placed members of the Phokas family in leading positions to operate the military theatre in the East, the empire saw a new turn of fortune. As a result, during the second half of the tenth century defensive wars became offensive, victories followed, and large swaths of land and cities in Cilicia were reclaimed by Byzantium. Nikephoros Phokas's conquest of Crete in 961 is especially meaningful in this respect, as it secured the Byzantine maritime control of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The Phokas benefited from changes in the organization of the military. The elite cavalry formerly residing in Constantinople could now be stationed at the borders of the empire (especially in the Cilician frontier) and held ready for attack. Border regions, called *kleisourai* (or marches) or *ta akritika thēmata* or *ta armeniaka*, because the Armenians formed the largest contingent of these soldiers-colonizers, had their armies held at the ready for attacks. The new position of *katepano* (dux, duke) was created especially for the leaders of these border armies and more authority and resources concentrated in their hands. As a result, these commanders were in position at moments of political insecurity of the throne to lay claims to imperial power (Phokas and Tzimiskes being two successful examples).<sup>73</sup> But they were also in possession of enormous resources to sponsor art.

The construction and decoration of Hosios Loukas shows the power of one such *katepano* and several *stratēgoi*. The katholikon church of Hosios Loukas and its mosaic decoration also attest to the great significance of the conquest of Crete and the pride in the Byzantine victories over the Arabs.<sup>74</sup> While this monument is situated in the Byzantine West (as Greece is part of the sphere of control of the *domestikos* of the West), the monumental mosaic program cherishes and celebrates the great conquests of the East: Crete and Cilicia. Its saint, Hosios Loukas, led a peaceful life, dying in 953. Yet the mosaics in the second church, completed in 1011 demonstrate a triumphalist message aligned with imperial ideology. It is precisely in the interval between Hosios Loukas's death and the building of the mosaic-decorated katholikon that these changes in the perception of the saint occur and he becomes infused with the victorious rhetoric of the resurgent empire.

<sup>73</sup> McGeer, *Sowing the Dragons Teeth*, 199–22.

<sup>74</sup> Carolyn L. Connor, "Hosios Loukas as a Victory Church," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 33/3 (1992): 293–308.

## SITE, SAINT, PATRONS

Hosios Loukas (b. before 900–d. Feb. 7, 953) was a native of the village of Kastorion in Phocis, Greece.<sup>75</sup> He excelled in ascesis; from early childhood he abstained from cheese and even fruit and subsisted mostly on water, vegetables and some bread. He acquired fame with his prayer, by means of which he brought about healings and prophecies (for instance, he predicted the conquest of Crete). During his charismatic prayer, he appeared uplifted and levitating inches from the ground.<sup>76</sup> His feast day is 7 February. He was almost immediately included in the Metaphrastian synaxarion of Constantinople, which speaks to the saint's and his followers' good connections in the imperial capital.<sup>77</sup>

Who are the patrons of Hosios Loukas? The *Vita* of the saint (BHG 994) gives evidence only for the first church at the site and the oratory.<sup>78</sup> Hosios Loukas kept contacts with several influential people, connected with the court of Constantinople. Pothos Argyros, the *stratēgos* of Hellas, for instance sought the prophetic powers of the saint.<sup>79</sup> Another general of Hellas, Krinitēs, sponsored the construction of the first church at the site in 946, dedicated to St. Barbara.<sup>80</sup> Six months after the saint's death in 953, a eunuch-monk from Constantinople arrived at the site. He embellished the oratory (cell/tomb), which was now a site of veneration.<sup>81</sup> Two years later in 955, the church of St Barbara was completed by the efforts of the monks; it enclosed the cell and oratory of Hosios Loukas in a tower at the SW corner (Fig. 14).<sup>82</sup>

It is this church that was graced with a fresco depicting Joshua addressing the Archangel Michael (Fig. 15). The scene communicates the growing religious fervour in the Byzantine wars against the Arabs: pitching Christians versus Muslims. The fresco confronts the complexity of otherness. The headcloth and helmet of Joshua carry Kufic inscription.<sup>83</sup> This detail purposely destabilizes Joshua's own identity. Yet, his Christianity is reconfirmed by the question he poses to the Archangel both by his raised

75 PmbZ no. 24762.

76 *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris. Text, Translation and Commentary*, by Carolyn Connor and W. Robert Connor (Brookline: Hellenic College Press, 1994), chs. 3 (food), 7, 20, 23 (prayer), 45 (healing through prayer), 60 (prediction about the Byzantine conquest of Crete) 68–85 (posthumous miracles).

77 *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi*, ed. Hypolite Delehayet et al. (*Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum*, 63) (Brussels: Apud socios Bollandianos, 1902), 450.

78 Ὅσιος Λουκάς, ὁ βίος τοῦ ὁσίου Λουκᾶ τοῦ Στειριώτη, ed. Dimitris Sofianos (Athens: Akritas, 1986); English trans. *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris*.

79 *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris*, ch. 58.

80 *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris*, ch. 59; Connor, "Hosios Loukas as a Victory Church," 295; Carolyn L. Connor, *Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium: The Crypt at Hosios Loukas and Its Frescoes* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991), 108.

81 *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris*, ch. 64 (Hosios Loukas gives instructions to the priest Grigorios how to set up the tomb), ch. 66 (the posthumous embellishment); Dimitra Koutoula, "The Tomb of the Founder-Saint," in *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, ed. Margaret Mullett (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007), 210–33, esp. 220–34.

82 *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris*, ch. 67; Bogdanović, "Framing Glorious Spaces in the Monastery of Hosios Loukas," 168–70; Eustatios Stikas, *Τὸ οἰκοδομικὸν χρονικὸν τῆς Μονῆς Ὁσίου Λουκᾶ Φωκίδου* (Athens: Athēnais Archaialogikēs Hetaireias, 1970), 114–27; Slobodan Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans: From Diocletian to Süleyman the Magnificent* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 297–300.

83 So far, the scholarship on the Kufic inscriptions have argued that they do not form actual words, Walker, "Pseudo-Arabic Inscriptions and the Pilgrim's Path at Hosios Loukas," 99–123.

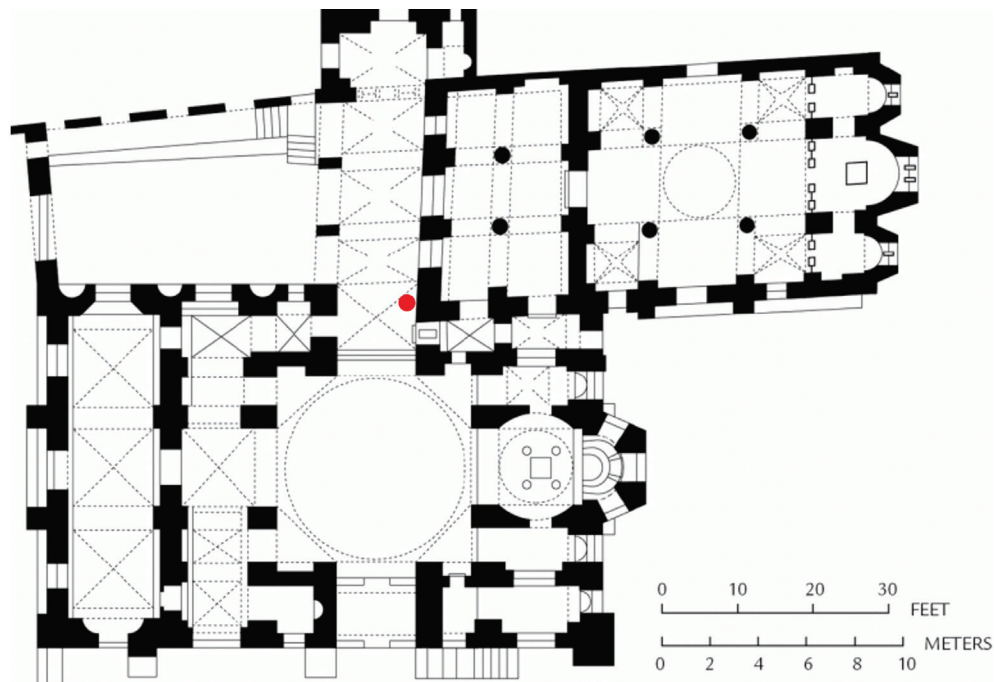


Figure 14. Plan of Hosios Loukas, drawn by Fred C. Kleiner and Christin J. Mamiya in *Gardner's Art Through the Ages: The Western Perspective* (Boston: Cengage Learning, 2005), ch. 9, fig. 0919

hand in a gesture of speech and the actual words written above: ἡμέτερος εἶ ἢ τῶν ὑπεναντίων; “Are you one of us or of the enemies? (Joshua 5:13-15). The ambiguity of Joshua’s headgear is resolved in the clarity of his interpellation of the unknown commander. This image of Joshua at the church of St Barbara attests to how the Joshua story epitomizes the Byzantine offensive against the Arabs. The war is defined as the Christians’ return to their homeland: the exiles reclaiming their possessions. Already this message is invested in the poetry and melodic structure of the *stichēron* of the emperor Leo VI (Fig. 10), and then repeated visually in the Joshua roll (a scroll whose format of unrolling symbolized the victorious march of the Byzantine forces in the East) and in the frescoes of the emperor Phokas in Cappadocia (964-965) (Figs. 4, 5). The choice of Joshua for the fresco along with the dedication of this first church to St Barbara—the protectress of soldiers and weapons—reveals the pride of the Byzantine *stratēgos* of Hellas, Krinites. He was a scion of the Armenian aristocracy of Taron and held leading positions in the Byzantine army.<sup>84</sup>

But even more powerful was the third patron—Theodore/Theodosios—who initiated the construction of the *katholikon*, and as argued here, decorated it with mosaics. The surviving evidence includes the liturgy of the *anakomidē* (transference of the relics of the saint to the *katholikon*) for 3 May and a funerary stele. The celebration of the *anakomidē* coincided that year with the Feast of the Ascension. In the eleventh century such occurrence happened only three times, in 1011, 1022 and 1095. Since the same text

84 *PmbZ* no. 24202 other possibilities include nos. 24194, or 2401. On the Krinites, see also N. Adontz, “Le Taronites en Arménie et a Byzance,” *Byzantion* 10/2 (1935): 531–51, esp., 535–40.



Figure 15. Fragment of the scene of Joshua speaking to the Archangel Michael, SW corner of the First Church of St. Barbara, fresco, late tenth century. (Photos: Boris Missirkov, author)

also mentions incursions of the “Scythians” (Bulgarians), and Byzantium managed to subdue the Bulgarian state only in 1018, these two facts make the earliest date—1011—the most plausible.<sup>85</sup>

The next piece of evidence is the funerary stele of a certain Theodore/Theodosios (Fig. 16). It reads as follows:

God endowed me with many honours,  
 those coming from ancestry as well as those coming from the emperors,  
 but as I strive to attain salvation, the names changed as follows:  
 Theodore became Theodosios.  
 the untouchable *anthypatos* himself became a monk;  
 the *patrikos* shrank to a [spiritual] father;  
 the *katepano* submitted to the haughty;  
 the *vestes* became a mystic in hairy garb.  
 He did not take with him any part of his fortune,  
 except for this coffin that covers the dead;  
 this is the only earthly gain.<sup>86</sup>

85 Chatzidakis, “A propos de la date et du fondateur de Saint Luc,” 127–50. Chatzidakis’s 1011 is accepted by the architectural historians, Ćurčić, *Architecture in the Balkans*, 383–87 and Jelena Bogdanović, *The Framing of Sacred Space: The Canopy and the Byzantine Church* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 195–206, esp. 197–98.

86 † τὰς κλήσεις πᾶσας φερωνοίμως πλουτήσας  
 τὰς τε γενηκᾶς καὶ τὰς ἐκ βασιλέων  
 ἐν τῷ ἔράν με τεύξασθαι σωτηρίας  
 αἱ κλήσεις πάλιν μετημείφθησαν οὕτως  
 Θεόδωρος πρὶν Θεοδοσίος αὐθης  
 ἀνθύπατος δ’ ἄψαυστος, αὐτὸς μονάζων

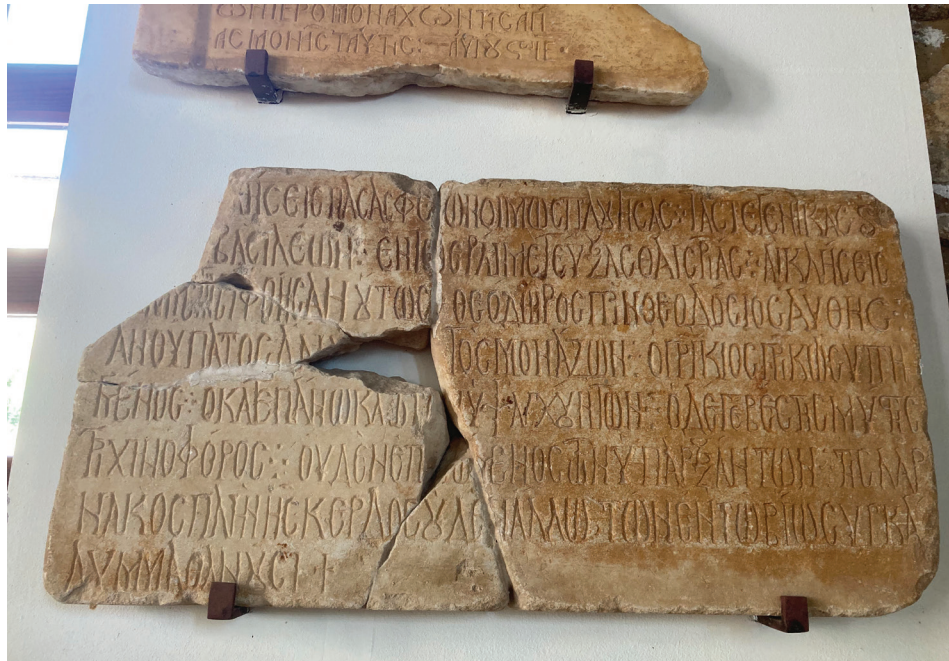


Figure 16. Funerary stele of Theodore/Theodosios, katepano and later hegoumenos of Hosios Loukas, late tenth/early eleventh century. (Photo: author)

Already in the first line Theodore/Theodosios states that he has aristocratic ancestry (*kleos* or illustrious reputation coming from birth and enriched by titles and offices bestowed on him by the emperors. The plural for the rulers suggests the time of Basil II and Constantine VIII (976-1025). Theodore/Theodosios then proceeds to enumerate the honours received from the emperors: *anthypathos*, *patrikios*, *katepano*, and *vestēs* and how he cast all of them off for the monastic habit.<sup>87</sup> He became a *hegoumenos*: “the *patrikios* shrank to a [spiritual] father.” He renounced all his honours and riches, his only passion being the tomb. The inscription clearly states the high status of Theodore and his possession of enormous means as a *katepano*. A seal of a hitherto unknown *katepano* of Italy possibly identifies the same person (Fig. 17). It dates from the late tenth and early eleventh century.<sup>88</sup> The seal helps us abandon the earlier hypothesis of

ὁ πατρίκιος πατρικῶς ὑπηγμένος  
ὁ κατεπάνω κάτω τῶν ὑψαυχούντων  
ὁ δε γε βέστη μύστης τριχηνοφόρος  
οὐδὲν ἐπαγόμενος τῶν ὑπαρξάντων  
τῆς λάρνακος πλήν ἧς κέρδος οὐδὲν ἄλλω  
τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ συγκάλυμμα θανοῦσι †

Greek and English trans. by Nicholas Oikonomides, “The First Century of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992): 245–255, esp. 246.

<sup>87</sup> *Anthypatos* and *vestes* clearly mark the high social status; *anthypatos* is the sixth dignity in the hierarchical order and *vestes* is right next to it, and both are in the highest category of superior dignitaries, see Nicolas Oikonomides, *Les listes des préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris: CNRS, 1972), 49, 137, 245, 287, 292, esp. 294. *Katepano* or duke is ninth on the list, Oikonomides, *Les listes des préséance byzantines*, 263, 303, 344, 354.

<sup>88</sup> ΑΙΘΕΙΟΔΙΟΙΘ: Ὁ ἅγιος Θεόδωρος  
[Θ]εόδ[ω]ρος (?) πατρίκι(ος) [(καί)] [κ]ατεπάν(ω) [Τ]αλίας

from *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art*, vol. I. *Italy, North of the Balkans, North of the Black Sea*, eds. N. Oikonomides and J. Nesbitt (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1991), I, no. 2.6 (BZS.1955.1.2715), <https://www.doaks.org/resources/seals/byzantine-seals/>





Figure 17. Seal of Theodore, katepano of Italy, second half of the tenth century, Dumbarton Oaks Coin and Seal Collection, BZS.1955.1.2715 (Image: Dumbarton Oaks Collection)

Oikonomides, who claimed that while 1011 was the date of the completion of the architecture, the mosaics were only done in the early 1040s and their patron was Theodore Leobachos.<sup>89</sup>

Oikonomides identified the Theodore/Theodosios of the stele with the late abbot Theodosios Leobachos mentioned in the list of the religious confraternity of the icon of the Virgin Naupaktissa at Thebes from 1048 (surviving in a copy from the 1090s).<sup>90</sup> The Leobachoi were an important landowning family in Thebes, but despite the honours they carried, none of their members seems to have been a military leader (a *stratēgos* or a *katepano*).<sup>91</sup> The seal, by contrast, suggests that the Theodore/Theodosios of the inscription is a different individual, whose life likely did not stretch to the 1040s and who clearly held a commanding position in the Byzantine army prior to becoming a monk and then hegoumenos of Hosios Loukas. This would also explain the wealth he could offer for the construction and decoration of the katholikon. In splendour and beauty, this interior matches what elite Constantinopolitan foundations would have displayed.

The crypt was also completed in 1011 and has frescoes dated between 1011 and 1028.<sup>92</sup> It has images that reveal the early leadership of the

BZS.1955.1.2715.

<sup>89</sup> Oikonomides, "The First Century of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas," 245–55. Theodore Leobachos does not have an entry in *PmbZ*. This dating hypothesis was recycled most recently by Robin Cormack, "Viewing the Mosaics of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas, Daphni, and the Church of Santa Maria Assunta, Torcello," in *New Light on Old Glass: Recent Research on Byzantine Mosaics and Glass*, eds. Christ Entwistle and Liz James (London: British Museum, 2013), 242–53.

<sup>90</sup> John Nesbitt and John Wita, "A Confraternity of the Comnenian Era," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 68 (1975): 360–84.

<sup>91</sup> Nikolas Svoronos, "Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XIe et XIIe siècles: le cadastre de Thèbes," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 83/1 (1959): 1–145, esp. 40–43, 46, 48, 50–53, 73–75; Oikonomides, "The First Century of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas," 249. *PmbZ* has no entry for the Leobachoi.

<sup>92</sup> Chatzidakis proposes that frescoes in the chapels in the katholikon date to 1011, while the frescoes in the crypt between 1011–1030s, Chatzidakis, "A propos de la date et du fondateur de Saint Luc," 150. Connor suggests a date before 1028, see Connor, *Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium*, 65. By contrast, Theano Chatzidakis-Barchas has proposed a much later date between 1035–1055, see Chatzidakis-Barchas, *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas. Les chapelles occidentales* (Athens: Christianikē archaiologikē hetaireia,

monastic community. The abbot Theodosios appears here twice: first on the left wall of the entrance, leading the row of three *hegoumenoi* (likely Theodosios, Athanasios, Philotheos) (**Fig. 18**) and a second time in the southeastern domical vault. At the entrance, the figures of the fathers raise their hands in prayer before Christ and also communicating across the physical space with the fresco of Hosios Loukas, who also beseeches the Pantokrator on the behalf of his monastery. The composition has an eschatological meaning, visualizing the scenario of the Last Judgment and hope for Salvation. The same three *hegoumenoi* together with Hosios Loukas appear again in medallions in the southeastern domical vault (**Fig. 19**).<sup>93</sup>



*Figure 18.* Fresco of the Hosios Loukas Monastic community led by the hegoumenoi Theodosios, Athanasios, and Philotheos praying before Christ; Hosios Loukas holding a scroll and interceding is shown on the wall across from the monks.  
(Photo: Boris Missirkov)

1982), 183–88.

<sup>93</sup> Chatzidakis, “A propos de la date et du fondateur de Saint Luc,” 140–44; Connor, *Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium*, 30–32, 40–42. I do not agree with Carolyn Connor’s identifications of the *hegoumenoi* Athanasios and Loukas in the medallions as outsiders. Given the resemblance between these portraits and the figures at the entrance fresco, it clear that these are the same individuals and local leaders of the monastic community at Hosios Loukas. A second image of the abbot Philotheos appears in the NE chapel right before the diakonikon, see Nano Chatzidakis, “The Abbot Philotheos, Founder of the Katholikon of Hosios Loukas. Old and New Observations,” in *New Light on Old Glass: Recent Research on Byzantine Mosaics and Glass*, 254–59.



Figure 19. Portraits of the hegoumenoi Loukas, Theodosios, Athanasios, and Philotheos in the SE domical vault of the crypt at Hosios Loukas, 1011-1028 (Photo: Boris Missirkov)

In addition to the frescoes, the *anakomidē* office firmly attests that both the architecture and the mosaics were completed at the same time and that the *hegoumenos* Philotheos (the same individual represented in the frescoes) presided over the ceremony. Ode six for the Kanon written for orthros for the Feast on 3 May 1011 states:

You made yourself the holy church of the Trinity and the Panaghia, o Loukas, all blessed; Philotheos [the current abbot] transferred you augustly to the new katholikon, which he raised piously in your honour.

Now you amaze those who translated your relics in this [naos], overwhelming in its large scale, as you appear shiftingly vibrant [*poikilos*] and resplendent in gold and silver, like a flower/colour and light. You emerge as the one channelling [the divine/Holy Spirit].<sup>94</sup>

The two stanzas not only credit the abbot Philotheos with the construction, but they clearly state how amazing the new interior was with its glass, silver, and gold mosaics. It produced *poikilia* or glittering spectacle of light and colour.

The mosaics of the katholikon offer additional evidence that the images channel the triumphalist language of the later tenth century. The use of Arabic script define the enemy as the infidel. The shields of Sts

94 Ναόν σε γεγονότα, τριάδος ἱερόν, τῆς παναγίας, Λουκᾶ παμμακάριστε, μετέθετο ὁ Φιλόθεος ναῶν σεπτῶς ἐν καινῷ, ὄν ἠγειραν εἰς σὸν ὄνομα πιστῶς. Μεγίστῳ τερασίῳ ἐξέπληξας, τοὺς σὲ μετατιθέντας ποικίλος φαινόμενος, ὡς ἄργυρος, ὡς χρυσὸς διαυγῆς, ὡς ἄνθος, ὡς φῶς· ἐφαίνου γὰρ ὦν τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁ αὐτός, Kremos, Προσκνητάριον τῆς ἐν τῇ Φοκίδι Μονῆς τοῦ Ὁσίου Λουκᾶ τοῦπύκλην Στειριώτου (Athens: Ephēmeridos tōn syzētēseōn, 1874), I, 100.

Prokopios and Demetrios and the ciborium of the Hypapantē carry the same Arabic letters (Figs. 20-22). In the past these written characters have been viewed as Pseudo-Kufic, not forming actual words.<sup>95</sup> Yet, the inscriptions on the shields and the ciborium form the same combination of letters, which can be read as a very stylized version of the Arabic word **الله** or “God.” The Arabic script seals the victory; it takes the language of the other, of the enemy, to write out the name of God. And now the soldiers of Christ and his Temple carry this word. It is significant that these Kufic inscriptions are concentrated on and around the scene of the Hypapantē (Fig. 23). The Kufic script continues a trend manifested earlier in the fresco of Joshua in the tenth-century church of St Barbara, which was likely built by a stratēgos (Fig. 15). In a similar way, the Arabic letters on the Old Testament warrior form the word “victor” **غالب** written on the rim of his helmet and headcloth. The Kufic again takes the language of the enemy to proclaim victory over the infidel. The prominence of military saints in the mosaic programme of the katholikon, placed in the grand arches and the use of Kufic script in their shields suggests a specific war theatre set between Christians and Muslims (Fig. 23). The mosaic even has elements that recall the decisive Byzantine conquest of Crete in 961, which freed the Eastern Mediterranean from Arab raids and brought prosperity directly to this part of Greece. The portrait of St Nikon *Metanoeitai* in the nave (West wall of naos) bears evidence (Fig. 24). This local saint went to Crete immediately after the conquest and spent seven years proselytizing the Cretan population and converting it back to Christianity.<sup>96</sup> The power and resources poured into the hands of military commanders in the second half of the tenth century, especially those of high rank such as a katepano and generals, could explain how this magnificent architecture and mosaic decoration appeared at Steiris and how they celebrate the great victories over the Arabs.

### ICONOGRAPHIC PROGRAMME AND THE LITURGY FOR 7 FEBRUARY

Despite being one of the most displayed churches of Byzantium, no significant study has been published on the programme of the mosaics with the aim of explaining the specific iconographic choices.<sup>97</sup> It is this lacuna I address and at the same time I offer a methodology that tightly interconnects the images with the liturgy, its poetry and music. Georgios Kremos published in 1874 the liturgical texts performed for the feast of Hosios Loukas, gathering this information from the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century sources.<sup>98</sup>

95 Walker, “Pseudo-Arabic Inscriptions and the Pilgrim’s Path at Hosios Loukas” 99–123.

96 *The Life of Saint Nikon*, ed. and trans. by Denis Sullivan (Brookline: Hellenic Press, 1987), ch. 20–21; Connor, “Hosios Loukas as a Victory Church,” 306–8.

97 While Liz James has raised this issue, she has not offered a solution, Liz James, “Monks, Monastic Art, the Sanctoral Cycle and the Middle Byzantine Church,” in *The Theotokos Evergetis and Eleventh-Century Monasticism*, eds. Margaret Mullett and Andrew Kirby (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1994), 162–75. The scholarly focus has remained on the general principles rather than the specificities, see Connor, *Saints and Spectacle*, 51–72; Ernst Kitzinger, “Reflections on the Feast Cycle in Byzantine Art,” *Cahiers archéologiques* 36 (1988): 51–73; Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*; Ernst Diez and Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece Hosios Loukas and Daphni* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1931).

98 Kremos, *Προσκυνητάριον τῆς ἐν τῇ Φοκίδι Μονῆς τοῦ Ὁσίου*, viii–xii.



Figure 20. Sts. Christophoros, Merkourios and Prokopios. St. Merkourios has Arabic letters on his shin-guards, while St. Prokopios—on his shield, mosaic, Hosios Loukas, 1011. (Photo: Boris Missirkov)



Figure 21. St. Demetrios with Arabic letters on his shield, mosaic, Hosios Loukas, 1011. (Photo: Boris Missirkov)



Figure 22. Hypapantē, mosaic, Hosios Loukas, 1011. (Photo: Boris Missirkov)



Figure 23. View of the squinches, dome, and apse in Hosios Loukas, marble revetments and mosaics, Hosios Loukas, 1011. (Photo: Boris Missirkov)



Figure 24. St. Nikōn Metanoeitai, S tympanum, W wall of naos. (Photo: CC-PD-Mark: Wikipedia user Shakko)

Perhaps because of this late date, many of these sources have not been tapped into by art historians (beyond resolving questions about dating) in order to explore the relationship between the liturgy and mosaic programme. I have been able to find good correspondences between the material gathered by Kremos and the liturgy for 7 February recorded in Middle and Late Byzantine *mēnaia*. I have also traced the excerpts quoted in the feast for Hosios Loukas that stem from the services for 2 and 3 February (Hypapantē and the Prophet Symeon). These texts feature prominently in the Middle Byzantine typika of the Great Church and the Evergetis. The overlap between the medieval and modern liturgies confirms the relevance of Kremos's collection for this on-going study exploring the synergies between image and liturgy.

The narrative programme in the naos of Hosios Loukas has only four scenes: Annunciation (now lost), Nativity, Hypapantē, and Baptism (Fig. 23). A Pentecost is set in domical vault of the bema, while the enthroned Virgin and Child appear in the apse. None of the scenes relating to the Passion cycle make an appearance in the naos but are instead relegated to the narthex. If we look at the other two roughly contemporary programmes at Nea Moni and Daphni, we can see that each one of them is idiosyncratic. So, what determines the choice at Hosios Loukas?



The monastery has two main feasts: the *koimēsis* (falling asleep of the saint) on 7 February and the translation of the relics or *anakomidē* commemorating the inauguration of the new *katholikon* and its mosaics on 3 May 1011, which in that particular year coincided with the feast of the Ascension. The 7 February feast is very close to the *Hypapantē* (2 February) and relatively close to the Christmas season. Furthermore, 3 February is the feast of the Prophet Symeon. 8 February commemorates the military saint Theodore Stratelates, while 17 February is Theodore Tyron. These coincidences are significant because they relate both to the Theotokos in her role as the *hypermachos stratēgos* (a nuance given sharper relief by the military saints) and to her motherhood as a receptacle of Christ. Her act of receiving and carrying the Child are emulated by two other figures: the Prophet Symeon and Hosios Loukas, both defined as containers (*docheia*).

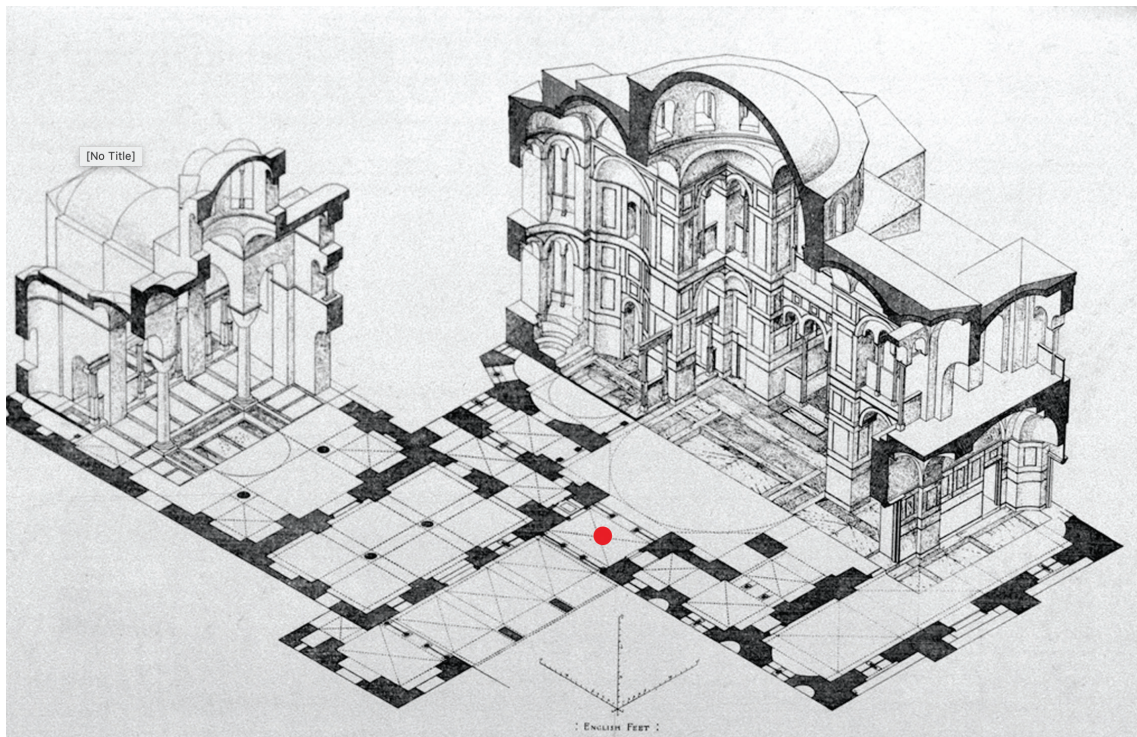


Figure 25. Axonometric drawing of the complex of the two churches at Hosios Loukas: St. Barbara (Theotokos) and the *katholikon*, after Robert Weir Schultz and Sidney Howard Barnsley, *Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris, in Phocis and the Dependent Monastery of St. Nicolas in the Fields, Near Skripou, in Boeotia* (London: McMillan for the British School at Athens, 1901), plate 4

But this parallel between Hosios Loukas and Mary emerges most powerfully in the oratory of the saint, set on the ground level of the Northern cross arm (Figs. 25–27). The *soros* with the body of the saint is displayed for veneration in the eastern wall; a ciborium marks this hallowed ground.<sup>99</sup>

99 Bogdanović, *The Framing of Sacred Space*, 195–206; Paul Mylonas, “Nouvelles remarques sur le complexe de Saint-Luc en Phocide,” *Cahiers archéologiques* 40 (1992): 115–22; Paul Mylonas, “Gavits arméniens et Litae byzantines. Observations Nouvelles sur le complexe de Saint-Luc en Phocide,” *Cahiers archéologiques* 38 (1990): 99–122.



Figure 26. View of the N wall with the chapel of Hosios Loukas at the ground level, Hosios Loukas 1011. (Photo: Boris Missirkov)



Figure 27. Mosaics in the groin vault of the chapel of Hosios Loukas, 1011.  
(Photo: Boris Missirkov)

The tympanum above the ciborium shows a Hodegetria type Virgin (Figs. 15, 28). Hosios Loukas stands opposite her in the tympanum of the West wall; his arms lifted in prayer (Fig. 27, 29). As the Hodegetria was gaining ground in Constantinople in the second half of the tenth century and being absorbed in the memory of the Akathistos and the breaking of the Avar and Arab siege of Constantinople, the copying of the iconography of the miraculous icon at Hosios Loukas evokes the military power of Mary, her invincible virginal motherhood. At the same time, the local saint, set in a mirroring position across the East-West axis of the Northern chapel, becomes subsumed in this Marian vision of triumph (Fig. 27). The linkage becomes clearer in the liturgy. A kontakion for Hosios Loukas, composed sometime in the Middle Byzantine period, uses the Akathistos as a model for both the text and the melody (Fig. 30).<sup>100</sup> In a way similar to the Marian hymn, it employs a series of *chairetismoi* to define the powers of the saint. And the poetry is sung to the melody of the Akathistos as the title clearly records: mode 4, plagal (final G) according to the *Hypermachō*.<sup>101</sup>

100 The earliest extant example of the kontakion to Hosios Loukas is Bucharest, National Library, MS Gr. 257, 14th -15th cent., fols. 62r-v.

101 Title in red: κοντάκιον τοῦ ὁσίου Λουκά ἤχος πλ. δ' τῆ ὑπερμάχῳ. On the use of model melodies, see Troelsgård, "The Repertories of Model Melodies," 3-27. Kontakia continued to be written well into the tenth century even after the kontakarion content was established in the ninth, see Derek Krueger, "The Ninth-Century Kontakarion as Evidence for Festive Practice and Liturgical Calendar in Sixth- and Seventh-Century Constantinople," In *Towards the Prehistory of the Byzantine Liturgical Year: Festal Homilies and Festal Liturgies in Late Antique Constantinople*, eds. Stefanos Alexopoulos and Harald Buchinger (Louvain: Peeters, 2022) in press.



Figure 28. Theotokos and Child represented according to the Hodegetria iconographic type, E tympanum of the chapel of Hosios Loukas, mosaics, Hosios Loukas, 1011. (Photo: Boris Missirkov)



Figure 29. Hosios Loukas, W tympanum in the chapel of the eponymous saint, mosaic, Hosios Loukas, 1011. (Photo: Boris Missirkov)

Hosios Loukas's kontakion reads as follows:

God, who had chosen you before you were moulded as he was pleased, by judgments known to himself, having received you from the womb, sanctifies and acknowledges you as his own personal servant, directing your steps, Loukas, [He] the lover of mankind, by whom you now stand rejoicing.

O most beautiful and reverend among Fathers, the adornment of all ascetics, having fulfilled the commandments of Christ, how am I to praise your earthly life, o glorious one, as I do not have the gift of eloquence; yet taking courage I will cry out to you:

Hail, bright glory of the monks; hail, leader of the faithful and lamp.

Hail delightful green shoot of the desert; hail most brilliant lantern of the *oikoumenē*.

Hail, for you looked down upon the flowing and perishable; hail, for you dwell heaven together with the angels.

Hail, swift intercessor of the despondent; hail desirable supporter of those in danger.

Hail, sacred receptacle of the Spirit; hail, renowned abode of Christ.

Hail you, through whom every gift shone forth; hail you, through whom God was glorified,

The lover of mankind, by whom you now stand rejoicing.<sup>102</sup>

The *prooimion* shows Hosios Loukas as the one Christ selected while still in the womb as his faithful servant. The *chairetismoi* celebrate him through a series of metaphors as the lamp and light of monks, the green shoot in the desert, the dweller of heaven, who has joined the ranks of angels, and the unfailing intercessor on behalf of the faithful. When we compare the *chairetismoi* of Hosios Loukas to those of the Theotokos, we see that both start with light. Later the Saint is called a *docheion*, receptacle of the Spirit, which mirrors Mary's incarnating the Logos. The shared content and music emphasize Hosios Loukas as the *thēkē* of the holy, modelled after Mary as the container of the uncontainable. And this emphasis on vessels emerging from the kontakion and the mosaics further shapes the meaning of the space: it contains the *soros* of the saint and thus is the material *docheion* of the Spirit, through whom healing comes. Both the Vita of the saint and the liturgy feature the same metaphor of the receptacle, thus amplifying the message and promoting the miraculous powers of the saint.<sup>103</sup> As Hosios Loukas himself stated, healing is a grace flowing from God, working through his

102 Ὁ ἐκλεξάμενος Θεὸς πρὸ τοῦ πλασθῆναί σε, εἰς εὐαρέστησιν αὐτοῦ, οἷς οἶδε κρίμασι, προσλαβόμενος ἐκ μήτρας καθαγιαζέει, καὶ οἰκείον ἑαυτοῦ δούλον δεικνύει σε, κατευθύνων σου Λουκᾶ τὰ διαβήματα, ὁ φιλόανθρωπος, ᾧ νῦν χαίρων παρίστασαι.

Ὁ Οἶκος

Ἦ πατέρων ἀρίστη καλλονὴ καὶ σεμνότης, ᾧ πάντων ἀσκητῶν κοσμιότης· Χριστοῦ τὰς ἐντολάς γὰρ πληρώσαντος, πῶς ὑμνήσω τὴν σὴν βιοτήν ἔνδοξε, μὴ ἔχων λόγων δύναμιν; ἀλλ' ὅμως σοι θαρρῶν βοήσω.

Χαῖρε, λαμπρὸν μοναζόντων κλέος, χαῖρε, πιστῶν ὁδηγὲ καὶ λύχνε.

Χαῖρε, τῆς ἐρήμου τερπνότατον βλάστημα· χαῖρε, οἰκουμένης λαμπτήρ φαεινότητε.

Χαῖρε, ὅτι κατεφρόνησας τῶν ῥεόντων καὶ φθαρτῶν· χαῖρε, ὅτι τὰ οὐράνια σὺν ἀγγέλοις κατοικεῖς.

Χαῖρε, τῶν ἀθυμούντων ταχινὲ παρακλητοῦ· χαῖρε, τῶν ἐν κινδύνοις ποθεινὲ παραστάτα.

Χαῖρε, σεπτὸν δοχεῖον τοῦ Πνεύματος· χαῖρε, κλεινὸν Χριστοῦ οἰκητήριον.

Χαῖρε, δι' οὗ δόσις πᾶσα ἠγάσθη; χαῖρε, δι' οὗ ὁ Θεὸς ἔδοξάσθη.

ᾧ νῦν χαίρων παρίστασαι,

from Kremos, *Προσκυνητᾶριον τῆς ἐν τῇ Φοκίδι Μονῆς τοῦ Ὁσίου*, 24; the *anakomidē* also has its own kontakion similarly set to the melody of the *hypermachō stratēgō*, 101–2.

103 This is not an exhaustive list, *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris*, chs. 4, 21, 30 and Kremos, *Προσκυνητᾶριον τῆς ἐν τῇ Φοκίδι Μονῆς τοῦ Ὁσίου*, 18, 87, 93 (*theophoros*), 88 (*oikētērion*), 105.

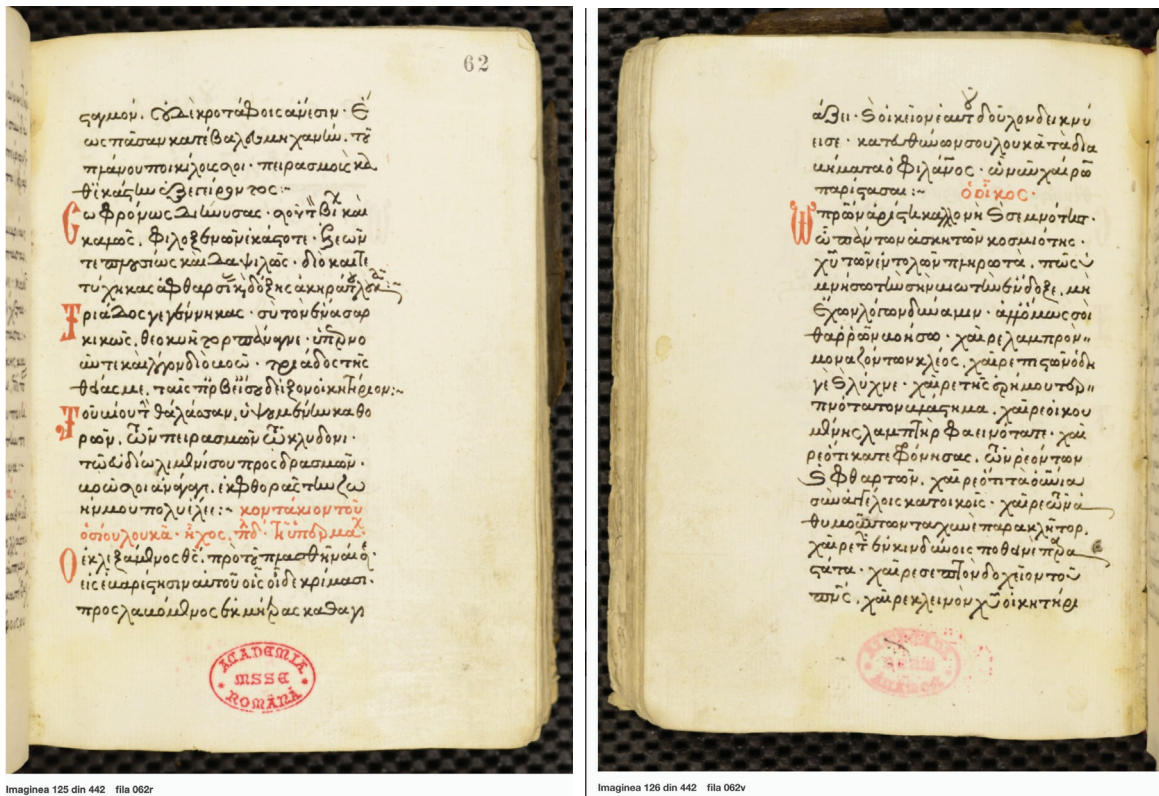


Figure 30. Kontakion of Hosios Loukas, Bucharest, National Library, MS Gr. 257, 14th -15th cent., fols. 62rv. (Photo: Bucharest National Library)

loyal servants channelling the Holy Spirit.<sup>104</sup> Hosios Loukas's prayer activates the flow of grace and thus his arms are lifted to the divine (Figs. 27–29). The efficacy of his intercession is given sharper relief in comparison with the S oratory, dedicated to the healer-saint Panteleimon, who holds medical instruments, featuring his skill and knowledge (set in the same position, tympanum of West wall) (Fig. 25).<sup>105</sup> The empty hands of Hosios Loukas speak to the power of his voice raised in prayer which supersedes medical knowledge. He also becomes a model for intercession shown to the faithful, who come to seek his help. As the Vita ascertains, the saint's prayer, abundant tears, and strenuous fasting resulted in the great divine gift of healing and prophecy.<sup>106</sup>

Divine grace reifies in the effusion of holy oil from the *soros* and marks triumph, which can be understood both as healing and as victory. The use of the Akathistos melodic form for the kontakion of Hosios Loukas and the Hodegetria type Virgin further draw into focus the concept of triumph (Figs. 15, 28). The Vita bears witness to this perception of prayer as battle and victory: "And struggling for three days by prayer and by

104 "Curing the sick is the privilege of God alone and of those who are worthy of His grace and who have enough reason and intelligence to console the dispirited," και τὸ ἰᾶσθαι, φησί, τοὺς νοσοῦντας Θεοῦ μόνου και τῶν ἀξίων τῆς αὐτοῦ χάριτος ἴδιον και τὸ τοὺς ἀθυμοῦντας παρακαλεῖν τῶν λόγου και φρονήσεως ἱκανῶς ἐχόντων, *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris*, ch. 30.

105 On this contrast between St. Panteleimon and Hosios Loukas, see Alexander Kazhdan and Henry Maguire, "Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): 1–22, esp. 15–17.

106 *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris*, ch. 23.

storm clouds of tears, he extinguished the fire of desire and was rescued unharmed from the war."<sup>107</sup> Hosios Loukas who unlike the military saint does not enter actual battles, but his piety is styled as a victory in war with verbs of boxing and fighting. And this larger concept of victory resonates with the time and the patrons: Byzantine territorial expansion and the financial endowment of the site by *stratēgoi* and a *katepano*.



Figure 31. Mosaics in the groin vault of the chapel of St. Pantaleimon. The saint is in the W tympanum, holding a box with his medical instruments, Hosios Loukas, 1011. (Photo: Author)

107 Καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις πυκτεύσας εὐχή καὶ δακρῶν ὄμβροισι τὸ πῦρ σβέννυσι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ πολέμου καθαρῶς ὄυεται, *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris*, ch. 29.



Figure 32. A cross section revealing the E walls of chapels of Hosios Loukas and St. Pantaleimon after Robert Weir Schultz and Sidney Howard Barnsley, *Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris, in Phocis and the Dependent Monastery of St. Nicolas in the Fields, Near Skripou, in Boeotia* (London: McMillan for the British School at Athens, 1901), plate 39.

### Ps 92 (93): HOLINESS BECOMETH YOUR HOUSE: POURING STREAMS OF WATER AND LIGHT

The North-South axis of healing (**Fig. 32**) intersects with East-West one featuring the Virgin and Child in the apse and Pentecost in the *bēma* vault (**Fig. 33**). The enthroned Mother is flanked by the Annunciation (mosaic now lost in the North-East squinch) and Nativity (South-East squinch), communicating the emptying of the Logos in finite and mortal form (**Fig. 23**). The image of the Virgin holding the Christ Child on her lap in the apse gives the faithful a vision of what the Magi intuited in their encounter with Christ, recognizing his divine powers. Moreover, by pairing the Theotokos with the Pentecost, a unique choice at Hosios Loukas, the  $\text{A}$  and  $\text{\Omega}$  are inscribed: Christ's *kenōsis* in the Incarnation and Birth and the release of the Holy Spirit after his Death and Resurrection to bridge the time between the Ascension and the Second Coming of Christ.

Moreover, the inscription surrounding the Mother and Child in the apse comes from Ps. 92:5 "holiness becometh your house, O Lord, for ever," τῷ οἴκῳ σου πρόπει ἁγίασμα, Κύριε, εἰς μακρότητα ἡμερῶν directly evokes the church consecration ceremony where this passage is chanted at the vesting of the altar in the consecration ceremony.<sup>108</sup> The *kathierōsis* is a ritual that is in its core an inspiriting—the Descent of the Holy Spirit over the new altar—a process similar to Pentecost and the Eucharist.<sup>109</sup> But it is also used in the commemoration of the inauguration of Hagia Sophia on 23 December.<sup>110</sup> Then it is chanted again at vespers on 24 and 25 December,

108 Vitalij Permjakovs, "Make This Place Where Your Glory Dwells:" *Origins and Evolution of the Byzantine Rite for the Consecration of a Church* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 2012), 186–200 (CP enkainia rite), 8, 194, 201, 626 (specific reference to Ps 92 in CP rite).

109 Pentcheva, *Hagia Sophia*, 45–75.

110 Akentiev, *TypikonCP*, 112–13; Mateos, *TypikonCP*, I, 147.





Figure 33. The Theotokos and Child in the apse and the Pentecost in domical vault, mosaics, Hosios Loukas, 1011. (Photo: Boris Missirkov)



Figure 34. Nativity in the SE squinch, mosaic, Hosios Loukas, 1011. (Photo: Boris Missirkov)



Figure 35. Baptism in the NW squinch, mosaic, Hosios Loukas, 1011. (Photo: Boris Missirkov)

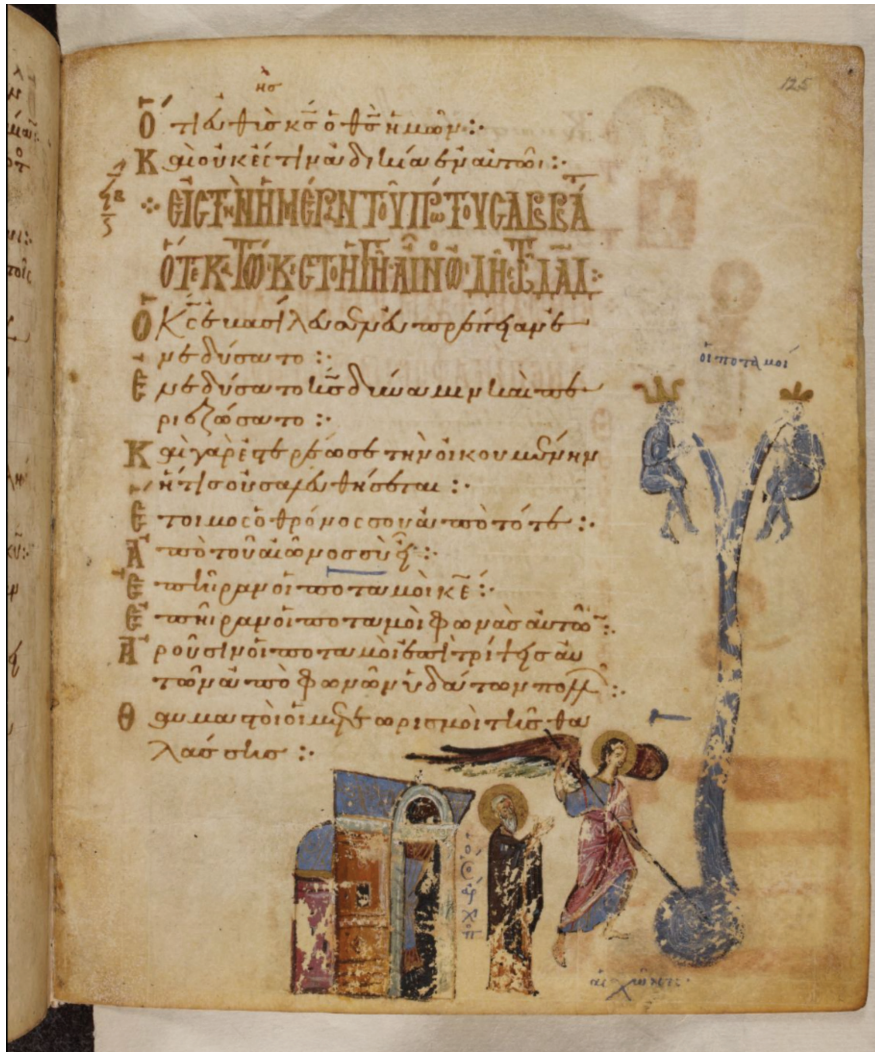


Figure 36. Psalm 92(93):5 illustrated with the miracle at Chonai in the Theodore Psalter, London, BL, Add. 19352, Feb. 1066, fol. 125r

intercalated with *stichēra*.<sup>111</sup> The same Ps. 92 is also recited at vespers for 6 January (Baptism).<sup>112</sup> The two feasts—Nativity and Baptism—set on the diagonal axis in the squinches share the visual depiction of a ray of light (Fig. 23). While the beam of the star identifies the *kenōsis* of the Logos in a mortal body in the Nativity (Fig. 34), at the Baptism, it does the opposite, recognizing the divinity of Christ as a stream of light channelling the resonant voice of the Father identifying his Son (Fig. 35).

The flow of light is related to the flow of water and both capture the brilliant and powerful voice of the divine.<sup>113</sup> Ps. 92:3-4 is visualized in the Theodore Psalter with the miracle at Chonai of the rising river (Fig. 36): “The rivers have lifted up, O Lord, the rivers have lifted up their voices, at the voices of many waters: the billows of the sea are wonderful: the Lord is wonderful in high places.”<sup>114</sup> Not only do these lines connect the divine

111 Mateos, *TypikonCP*, I, 150–51. For Dec. 25, Evergetis *Typikon*, I, 331.

112 Evergetis *Typikon*, I, 413.

113 Pentcheva, *Hagia Sophia*, 30–35, 73–74, 141–49.

114 ἐπήραν οἱ ποταμοί, Κύριε, ἐπήραν οἱ ποταμοί φωνὰς αὐτῶν· ἄρουσιν οἱ ποταμοί ἐπιτρέψεις αὐτῶν. 4 ἀπὸ φωνῶν ὑδάτων πολλῶν θαυμαστοὶ οἱ μετεωρισμοὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, θαυμαστός ἐν

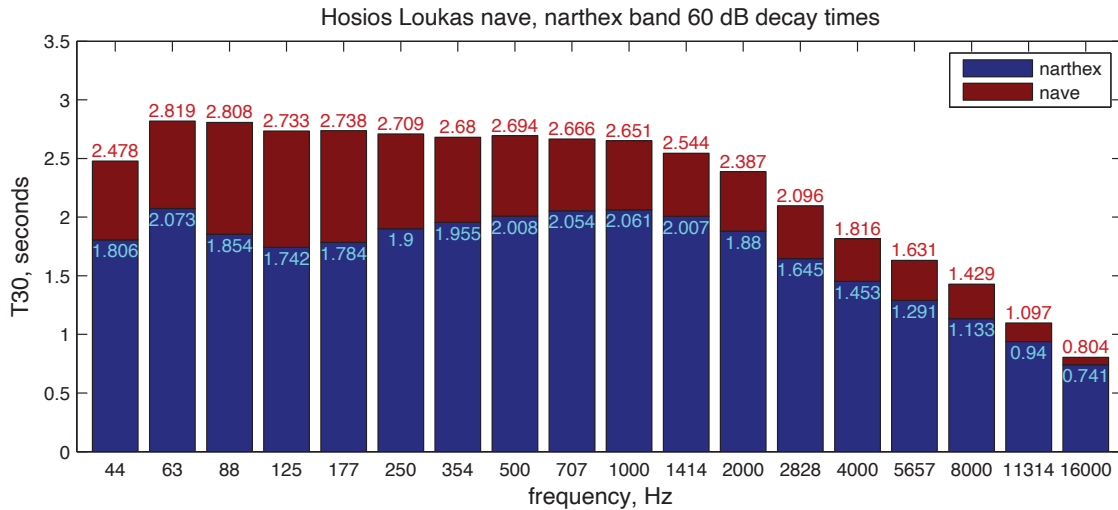


Figure 37. RT30 measured in the nave and narthex of Hosios Loukas by popping balloons. (Drawing: Jonathan Abel)

energy as torrential waters, but they insist on the power of the metaphysical in the resonant voice like the thundering of vast masses of uncontainable waters. This energy produces miracles. The domed interior of Hosios Loukas with its reflective surfaces and substantial interior volume can produce acoustics that amplify the human voice. But in comparison with Hagia Sophia, Hosios Loukas has  $RT_{60}$  in the range of the singing voice of a little under 3 seconds (Fig. 37). It can give fullness to the voice, but it is mostly the visual—the marble and alabaster—that convey the “voice of many waters.”

Moreover, Ps. 92:5 also features the word *hagiasma*, meaning both “holiness” and “holy spring;” the latter alluding to the flow of water (Fig. 33). The conjured streaming water elicited in the imagination is paired with the rays of light depicted in the mosaics: Nativity, Baptism, but also Pentecost (Figs. 23, 33). And water turns the attention back to the vision of Mary and the Incarnation. Already the marginal psalters of the mid-ninth century envision the Conception as the flow of light and water, dew drops on a fleece (Ps. 71(72): 6): “He shall come down as rain upon a fleece; and as drops falling upon the earth here.”<sup>115</sup> The phrase communicates the Incarnation as the descent, pouring down of water and light (Fig. 38). The miniature picks up the same idea as blue shafts of light/water frame the descent of the Holy Spirit. The incarnation is further specified with precision in the little phrases identifying Mary and the scene: ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ παρθένου and Θεοτόκος.

ὑψηλοῖς ὁ Κύριος, Ps 92 (93): 3-4. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du moyen âge, II. Londres Add. 19.352* (Bibliothèque des cahiers archéologiques, 5) (Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1970); Charles Barber, *The Theodore Psalter: Electronic Facsimile* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press in association with the British Library, 2000).

115 καταβήσεται ὡς ὑέτος ἐπὶ πόκον καὶ ὡσεὶ σταγῶν ἢ στάζουσα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, Ps 71(72):6. For the Khudov, see Maria Evangelatrou, “Liturgy and the Illustration of the Ninth-Century Marginal Psalters,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 63 (2009): 59–116, esp. 65–70, 97–98; K. Corrigan, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 104–34.



Figure 38. Psalm 71(72):6 showing the Incarnation as a flow of light and water, Athos, Pantokrator MS gr. 61, fol. 93v (Reproduced with the kind permission of the Pantokratoros Monastery on Mount Athos)

Outpouring of water, divine might flowing, the thundering voice of many waters all these metaphors of liquescence of the divine become a powerful mirror for the *soros* of Hosios Loukas in the Northern oratory. Just like the descent of the life-giving energy of the Spirit in Pentecost, or the radiant rays of the Incarnation, or the divine voice in Baptism, the *thēkē* of the saint produces a similar flow. It is the lamp over the tomb that overflows with oil (*elaion*) and heals. *Elaion* (pronounced as *eleon*) is homophonic with “mercy” (*eleos*), thus connecting the flow of oil/light to the pouring of divine mercy unleashed by the faithful’s tears of repentance.<sup>116</sup> The *soros* is described as drenched in seeping moisture, expressive of the flow of divine grace, now made accessible to the faithful.<sup>117</sup>

116 Bissera V. Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 21, 38.

117 *The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris*, chs. 68–69, 71–73, 75–77.

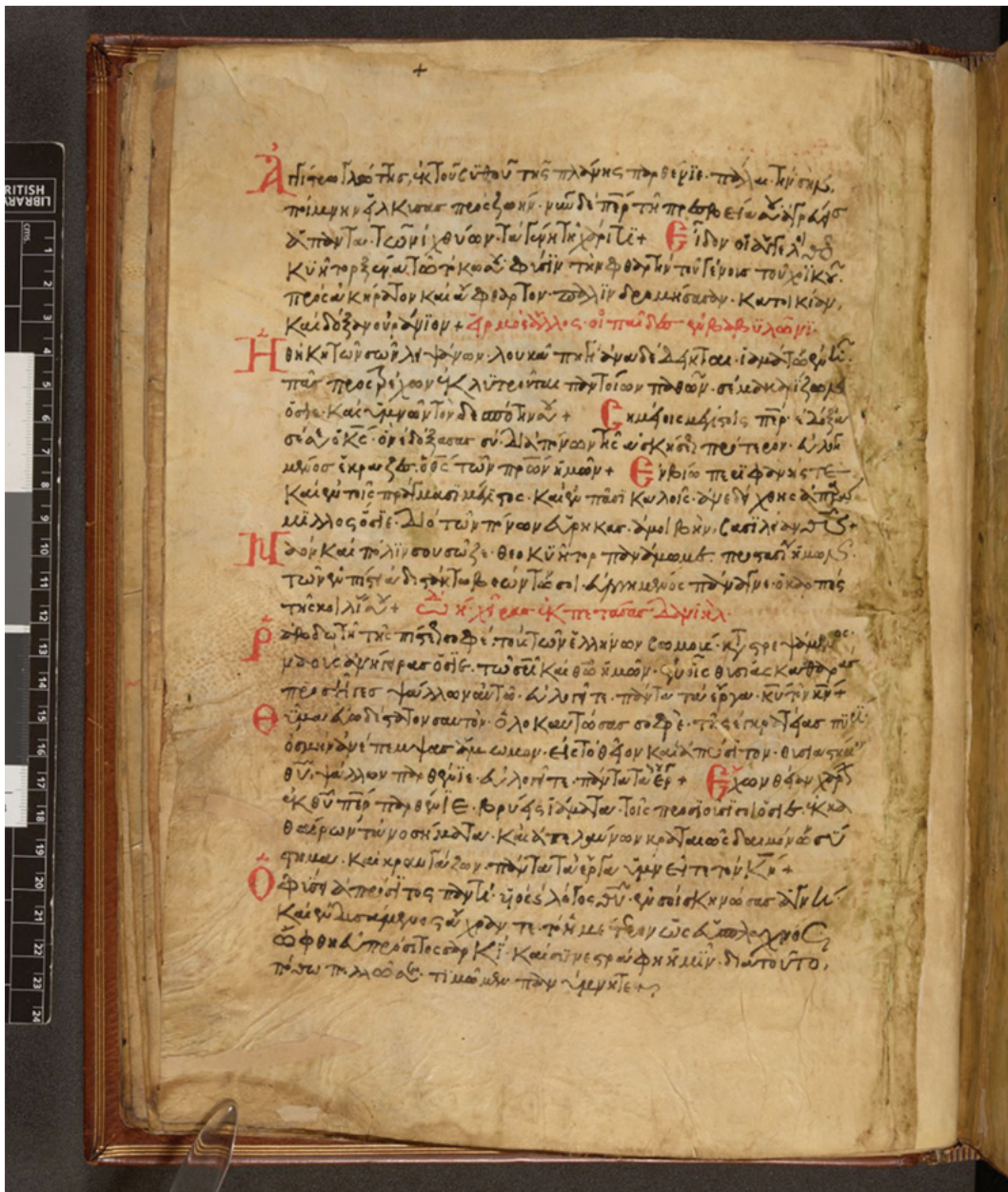


Figure 39. Liturgy for Feb. 7, Hosios Loukas and St. Parthenios, bishop of Lampsakos, Menaion, BL, Add 31919, fol. 28v, 1431.

Liquidity of grace flowing from the *soros* is also featured in the liturgy for the feast of Hosios Loukas as recorded in the Byzantine *mēnaion* (London, BL MS Gr. Add. 31919, fol. 28v, 15<sup>th</sup> cent.) (Fig. 22, 30).<sup>118</sup> The seventh Ode of the Kanon for orthros for 7 February states: “The *thēkē* of your *leipsana*, Loukas, becomes manifest as a spring of healings, in which all those who hasten to come are redeemed from all kinds of suffering, offering their gratitude to you, holy one, and to our Lord Christ.”<sup>119</sup> The flow of oil from the *soros*

118 [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add\\_MS\\_31919](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_31919). I have done an extensive study of Byzantine *mēnaia* and encountered the service of Hosios Loukas in only two MSS: London, BL MS Gr. Add. 31919 and Paris, BnF MS Gr. 255 of the 15th cent. For the database of MSS I searched, <https://library.princeton.edu/byzantine/subject-theme/menaion?page=1>, last visited December 31, 2021.

119 Η θήκη τῶν σῶν λειψάνων, Λουκά πηγὴ ἀναδέδεικται, ἰαμάτων ἐν ἣ πᾶς προστρέχων, ἐκλυτροῦται παντοίων παθῶν, σὲ μακαρίζων, ὅσιε, καὶ ἡμῶν τὸν Δεσπότην Χριστόν, Κρεμος, Προσκυνητάριον τῆς ἐν τῇ Φοκίδι Μονῆς τοῦ Ὁσίου, 64; other reference to the same concept, 4; 72, 79, 99

(the lamp in the ciborium) allows humanity to come closer, to touch divine grace as opposed to the great distance between the pious and the *hagiasma* shown in the apse and domical vault (Fig. 33). The *thēkē* like a magnet pulls down what is high and distant and makes it close and approachable.

### ASCENSION AND IMPERIAL VICTORY

The *hagiasma* as flow of water and light brings about healing, but it also raises to prominence and sanctifies. The dome of Hosios Loukas originally had a programme that evoked the Ascension, and this feast played an important role both in the Constantinopolitan imperial liturgy and in the establishment of the *katholikon* of Hosios Loukas, as the inauguration was celebrated on that feast back in 1011.<sup>120</sup> In the Byzantine capital, the Ascension gave occasion to celebrate the Theotokos as the commander of the armies and bestow acclaim on the Byzantine emperors. The emperor disembarked from the imperial ship at the Golden Gate, where he received the crown, then proceeded to the Selymbria gate (Silivri) where he was greeted by the people and the *strategoī*, and then together they entered the Church of the Theotokos Pēgē nearby (Fig. 12). This entire area functioned as the Byzantine military camp-grounds, thus the concepts of imperial power, victory, and troops were brought together. The acclamations recognize the flow of divine grace as water and light over the emperor:

Having found in you [Theotokos] alone a *holy spring*, an *ever-living stream*, all-holy Mother of God, we Christians entreat you as Theotokos and appeal to you with unceasing voice: protect N. and N. with the wings of your intercession until the end.

We, the people, fittingly praise you, the bridal-chamber of Christ, through whom Christ *shone forth* in the flesh for mortals. Theotokos, save the rulers as *stars* for the exaltation of the world and of the Blues who always have you as their strength and help.

Virgin, Mother of God the Word, the *spring of life* for the Romans, *fight alone* alongside the rulers in the purple, who received their crown from you, since those in the purple have in you an invincible *shield* against all.

We, Christians, having you, the all-holy, as our hope of *refuge* and *salvation* and *promise of support*, appeal to you as our shelter: favour [the rulers] with the *wings* of your intercession; for they have in you the strength that brings victory against enemies.<sup>121</sup>

(from *anakomidē*); 116, 120 (from the *paraklētikē kanones*); 131 (*agrypnia*).

120 De Cer. I, chs 8, 18, pp. 54–58, 108–14, English trans. Moffatt.

121 ὡς ἀειζῶον ῥείθρον, πηγὴν ἁγίαν Χριστιανοὶ εὐρηκότες μόνην σὲ, τὴν πανάγιον τοῦ Θεοῦ μητέρα, δυσωποῦμεν ὡς Θεοτόκον, καὶ ἐξαιτοῦμεν στόματι ἀσιγήτῳ· πτέρυξι τῆς σῆς πρεσβείας ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ὁ δεῖνα περιφύλαττε μέχρι τέλος.

Σὲ, παστάδα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' ἧς ἔλαμψε Χριστὸς κατὰ σάρκα τοῖς βροτοῖς, αἰνοῦμεν λαοὶ ἐπάξιως· Θεοτόκε, τοὺς δεσπότας ὡς φωστῆρας περίσωζε εἰς ἀνέγερσιν τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ Βενέτων αἰεὶ σε κекτημένων κραταίωμα βοηθείας.

Ἡ πηγὴ τῆς ζωῆς Ῥωμαίων, παρθένε, μήτηρ Θεοῦ τοῦ λόγου, συστρατήγησαν μόνη τοῖς δεσπότης ἐν τῇ πορφύρᾳ, τοῖς λαβοῦσιν ἐκ σοῦ τὸ στέφος, ὅτι αὐτοὶ σε κέκτηνται κατὰ πάντα θυρεὸν ἀπροσμάχητον ἐν τῇ πορφύρᾳ.



Figure 40. Enkolpion cross of the late eighth or early ninth centuries from Pliska (Bulgaria). Silver, gold, niello. (Photo: Krassimir Georgiev)

The acclamations of the imperial ceremony of the Ascension celebrated at the church of the Virgin at Pēgē address Mary as the stream of light and the flow of living waters. She is asked to spread her wings. The mosaics in the dome of Hosios Loukas were lost in an earthquake in the seventeenth century, but the restored frescoes reproduce faithfully the Middle Byzantine original (**Fig. 23**). The composition –Christ in the apex, the orant Mary in the E, surrounded by archangels– elicits three different scenes: Deesis, Ascension, and Assumption.<sup>122</sup> The programme bears an uncanny resemblance to an enkolpion cross of the late eighth or early ninth-centuries

Καταφυγῆς ἐλπίδα καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ ἀντιλήψεως κλέος σὲ τὴν πάναγνον Χριστιανοὶ κεκτημένοι, ἐξαιτοῦμεν ὡς σκέπην, πρεσβευτικαῖς περιέπε πτέρυξι· σὲ γὰρ κέκτηνται ἰσχύν κατ' ἐχθρῶν τροπαιοφόρον, from *De Cer.* I, ch. 8, p. 55, English trans. Moffatt. Italics, emphasized added.

122 The orant Virgin read as an Assumption scene is present in art already in the late sixth to seventh centuries (Merovingian silk, treasury, cathedral of Sens) and is prominently displayed in papal commissions of the eighth and ninth centuries (oratories of pope John VII and of Paschal I), see Francesca dell'Acqua, *Iconophilia. Politics, Religion, Preaching and the Use of Images in Rome, c. 680-880* (London: Routledge, 2020), 241–68, 289–304.



from Pliska (Bulgaria) (**Fig. 40**).<sup>123</sup> Not only does the Pliska cross show the Deesis at the centre (on the reverse of the main container, on the photo this side appears upside down), flanked by four narrative scenes that exactly reproduce the scenes in the squinches of Hosios Loukas, but the obverse of the cross further places the Ascension at the core, again evocative of the composition at Hosios Loukas. It is this connection to Ascension and Deesis that conjures the Constantinopolitan imperial ceremony, celebrating victory as divine grace flowing from heaven. The frescoes at Hosios Loukas (which restore the Middle Byzantine mosaic composition) play with and amplify these ideas (**Fig. 23**). The physical light streaming from the drum of the dome enacts the flow of luminescence in the chanted acclamations. At the same time, the raised arms of Mary and the open wings of the archangels surrounding her perform the desired divine protection. The *kallichoros* (nave) transforms into the divine bridal chamber, filled with light. The enfleshed logos reifies both in the Child on the lap of Mary in the apse and the baby in the crib at Bethlehem (**Figs. 23, 33, 34**). And the stars (*phōstēres*) to which the emperors are compared find their visual expression in the star of the Genesis. Water, in the acclamation, evocative both of the Church of the Theotokos at the Pēgē and the miraculous life-giving spring is then entwined with victory; Mary is lauded as the commander who leads the fight, battling along the side of the emperor. She crowns the rulers and doubles as their invincible shield. The fourth chant repeats many of the same ideas of Mary's intercession as refuge and wings.

After the reception and acclamations and the liturgy at the Pēgē, the imperial procession re-enters Constantinople and progresses along the Northern colonnaded street, celebrating stations with acclamations along the way until it reaches the Great Palace near Hagia Sophia. Here, at the Chalke Gate a new set of acclamations is performed. The first and last read as follows:

Divinely crowned benefactors, having the Virgin as unassailable protection and shelter, and glorying in her immaculate intercession, you are invincible to opposing nations. On the day of battle, she shields your heads and shows you crowned with victories, for the good fortune and glory of the Romans.

A wondrous sight, like *rain on a woollen fleece*, the Word of the Father. Now, behold, *he who took on flesh is ascending into heaven*, since he has fulfilled the will of the Father, having invited all the nations to serve the truth, and from there, having fulfilled the dispensation as regards us, he sat on the right hand of the Lord of might. May he guard you, benefactors, for the good fortune of the Romans.<sup>124</sup>

123 Although Kitzinger never made this connection, he used the Pliska cross to define the canonical twelve feasts, Kitzinger, "Reflections on the Feast Cycle in Byzantine Art," 62–65. On the Pliska cross, see Liliana Dontcheva-Petkova, "Une croix pectoral en or récemment trouvée à Pliska," *Cahiers archéologiques* 25 (1976): 59–66 and Dell'Acqua, *Iconophilia*, 141–43, 206–10, 237–39.

124 Προστασίν ἀκαθαίρετον καὶ σκέπην τὴν ἀνύμφετον λαβόντες, θεόσπεπτο εὐεργέται, καὶ ταῖς αὐτῆς ἐγκραυχόμενοι παναχράντοις πρεσβείας ἀκαταμάχητοι ὄντες ἔθνεσιν ὑπεναντίοις. Αὐτὴ γὰρ ἐπισκιάζει ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πολέμου ταῖς κορυφαῖς ὑμῶν, καὶ ταῖς νίκαις ὑμᾶς δεικνύει στεφανίτας εἰς εὐτυχίαν καὶ δόξαν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, from De Cer. I, ch. 8, p. 57, English trans. Moffatt.

The words *anympheuton* (unwedded) and *akatamachētoi* (invincible, this time referring to the emperors) are evocative of the *hypermachō* proomion of the Akathistos and thus bring to bear the powerful memory of Mary's unflinching protection of Constantinople. She is the shield and crown of the emperors, pouring out victories. The last acclamation starts with the flow of light and water, metaphors for the incarnation of the Logos. It finishes with the triumphant sight of Christ seated on the Lord's right side and receiving the respect and obeisance of all nations. The Ascension transforms into the culmination of the triumphal ceremony at the feet of the emperor. If the terrestrial ceremony unfolds on a horizontal axis towards the emperor, Christ in the dome of Hosios Loukas switches and raises the horizontal into a vertical axis, where humanity looks up towards the Ruler of All. Divine grace flows as light from the dome, and when the space becomes filled with chant, the dome also reflects sound, raining a glittering aural energy.

### CONTAINING THE DIVINE: MARY, SYMEON AND HOSIOS LOUKAS

Paradoxically the outflow of grace is possible through the opposite: the capacity to reside in Christ as a vessel. Hosios Loukas does it kenotically by opening his arms in prayer (**Fig. 29**). Mary, by contrast, has her arms full, carrying the Child, but both Hosios Loukas and the Theotokos are *docheia* of the Spirit (**Figs. 27–29**). The residing of the divine in a vessel is a major concept celebrated during Hypapantē and the Feast of the Prophet Symeon. The feast of Hosios Loukas on 7 February falls close to Hypapantē, 2 February, and the feast of the Prophet Symeon is 3 February; it also borrows troparia and *stichēra* from these two earlier and more prominent feasts. And this embeddedness of the poetry of Hypapantē in the feast of Hosios Loukas explains the choice to include the Hypapantē in the very limited narrative mosaic programme of the nave, giving it prominence in the SW squinch (**Figs. 22–23**).

The troparion for the feasts of 2 and 3 February (Hypapantē and Prophet Symeon) announces: "Hail, full of grace, Virgin Theotokos, from you the Sun of justice arises, Christ our God, irradiating those in darkness. Rejoice also you, old man, having received in your arms the one who would save our souls, bestowing his Anastasis as blessing for us."<sup>125</sup> The troparion is the identifying chant of the Feast and it ingathers Annunciation with Hypapantē with its call Χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη. But then as the Sun

Ξένον θαῦμα! ὡς γὰρ ὑετὸς ἐπὶ πόκον, λόγος τοῦ Πατρὸς· καὶ νῦν ὁρᾶτε, εἰς οὐρανούς ἀνιῶν σαρκοφόρος, ὅτι ἐπλήρωσε τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρὸς, συγκαλέσας τὰ ἔθνη πάντα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ λατρεῦειν, ὅθεν καὶ πληρώσας τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκονομίαν, ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐκάθισε τῆς δυνάμεως Κυρίου. Αὐτὸς ὑμᾶς φυλάξει, εὐεργέται, εἰς εὐτυχίαν Ῥωμαίων from De Cer. I, ch. 8, p. 58, English trans. Moffatt. Italics, emphasized added.

125 Χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη Θεοτόκε Παρθένη· ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος τῆς δικαιοσύνης, Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, φωτίζων τοὺς ἐν σκότει. Εὐφραίνου καὶ σὺ Πρεσβύτα δίκαιε, δεξάμενος ἐν ἀγκάλαις τὸν ἐλευθερωτὴν τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, χαριζόμενον ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν Ἀνάστασιν, TypikonCP, 222–23; Evergetis Typikon, 504–5, 508–9. This chant is sung on orthros in the modern office of Hosios Loukas, <https://glt.goarch.org/texts/Feb/Feb07.html>

that illuminates those in darkness, it introduces notes of the Passion by proleptically envisioning Christ's sacrifice. Only through his outpouring of blood is human salvation purchased.



Figure 41. Stichera from Hypapantē used for Feb. 7, Menaion, British Library, Add.31919, fol. 29v, 1431.

Mary's and Symeon's model of containing the divine as in a vessel (sung on 2 and 3 February) is picked up in the chants for the feast of Hosios Loukas as recorded in London, BL MS Gr. Add 31919 (Fig. 41):

The pure and immaculate Virgin, carrying the Creator and Lord as a Child in her arms enters into the Temple.<sup>126</sup>

Receive o Symeon, the Lord of Glory [already with this epithet Christ's Passion is elicited], you are given a sign from the Holy Spirit, you are in his [Christ] presence.<sup>127</sup>

126 Φέρουσα ἡ Ἀγνή, καὶ ἄχραντος Παρθένος, τὸν Πλάστην καὶ Δεσπότην, ὡς βρέφος ἐν ἀγκάλαις, ἐν τῷ ναῷ εἰσέρχεται, Menaion, BL Add 31919, fol. 29v, which is part of the modern office of orthros, <https://glt.goarch.org/texts/Feb/Feb07.html>

127 Δέχου ὦ Συμεῶν, τὸν Κύριον τῆς δόξης, καθὼς ἐχηματίσθης, ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου· ἰδοὺ γὰρ παραγέγον, BL Add 31919, fol. 29v and <https://glt.goarch.org/texts/Feb/Feb07.html>

Now my eyes having seen your good announcement, you the Good One, release from [life] your servant [Symeon], you, lover of humanity.<sup>128</sup>

Mary and Symeon are models for Hosios Loukas, *docheia* filled with the Logos.

But along with the idea of the vessel, the feast of Hypapantē is also tied to imperial victory and thus amplifies triumphalist ideas already channeled by the Ascension in the dome. The clearest evidence for the victorious language of the Presentation comes from the second and third *prooimia* of the kontakion for this feast by Romanos Melodos. It is likely that these two introductory verses were composed in the later period, probably in the tenth century. Hypapantē inaugurates Christ's return to Jerusalem, a vision that resounds with the imperial aspirations for reconquest of Holy land in the second half of the tenth century. The contrast between Romanos's *prooimion* and the latter two is dramatic. The sixth-century poet celebrates the feast, while the tenth-century additions voice current imperial triumphalism:

I.

Angelic choirs, be amazed at the miracle,  
Mortals, let us sing a hymn with our voices  
Seeing the unspeakable condensation of God  
at which the celestial powers tremble.  
Now aged arms are embracing  
the One and only Lover of Humanity.

II.

Having taken flesh from a virgin for our sake  
and been carried as child in the arms of an aged man,  
Lift the horn of glory (*keras*) [i.e., the Cross] of our pious emperors  
Strengthen them through your power, O Logos,  
Gladden their pious empire  
[For You are] the One and only Lover of Humanity

III.

Having sanctified the virginal womb with your birth  
Having blessed the arms of Symeon as it is fitting  
Having already arrived, you have saved us, Christ, our God,  
But give peace to the empire in war,  
And strengthen the emperors, whom you love,  
[For You are] the One and only Lover of Humanity.<sup>129</sup>

128 Nῦν εἶδον ἀγαθέ, Θεὲ οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου, τὴν σὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, ἀπόλυσόν με τάχος, τὸν δούλόν σου φιλάνθρωπε, BL Add 31919, fol. 29v and <https://glt.goarch.org/texts/feb/feb07.html>

129 Χορὸς ἀγγελικὸς ἐκπληττέσθω τὸ θαῦμα, (1)

—βροτοὶ δὲ ταῖς φωναῖς ἀνακράξωμεν ὕμνον,  
—ὄρῳντες τὴν ἄφατον τοῦ Θεοῦ συγκατάβασιν·  
ὄν γὰρ τρέμουσι τῶν οὐρανῶν αἱ δυνάμεις,  
—νῦν γηράλαι ἐναγκαλίζονται χεῖρες (5)  
—τὸν μόνον φιλάνθρωπον.

While Romanos engages the story of the Presentation, extolling the prophet Symeon, the later second and third *prooimia* speak of victory achieved through the Cross as weapon and beseech Christ to give triumphs to the emperors, strengthen their power, and protect their security. The added poetry of this kontakion colours the feast with imperial ideology of victory. The added poetry of this kontakion colours the feast with imperial ideology of victory. Moreover, the New Testament story also resonates with current tenth-century ideology, which views the conquest of Cilicia and Holy Land as the rightful restoration of territory that belongs to the Byzantines-New Israelites. And just like Christ comes back to Jerusalem, so too the Byzantine exiles return home, conquering through the power of the Cross. We can detect the message of triumphalism in the Hypapantē at Hosios Loukas. The Cross as *keras*/weapon is prominent on the altar cloth; it gleams when the summer afternoon sun shines directly at it. The Arabic letters on the ciborium identify the vanquishing of the infidel.

## CONCLUSION

Hosios Loukas emerged as a site developed by powerful Byzantine generals and a military commander *katapeno* of Italy. And for these patrons, some of whom became the early abbots at the monastery, the idea of military victory and the opulent ceremonies of Constantinople served as a model to be emulated in the new foundation. The glittering gold mosaics at Hosios Loukas with a narrative spanning the early life of Christ focus on the triumphal message of incarnation of the Logos and the divine power as the awesome and deafening bright sound of falling water and effusion of light. Two of the mosaics (the two oratories) feature the Hodegetria-type iconography which emulate the Constantinopolitan feasts of the Akathistos and the memory of the Arab siege (16 August). Mary as general and protector of the city was an idea promoted by the emperor-generals of the second half of the tenth century. The music and poetic form of the Akathistos was mirrored at Hosios Loukas in the new kontakion composed for the saint and set to the melody of the *Hypermachō*. Ideas of victory shaped by the Constantinopolitan imperial ceremonies permeate the images in dome, eliciting both Deesis and Ascension. In this way, the composition evokes the

(pro 2) Προοίμιον Β

Ὁ σάκρα δι' ἡμᾶς ἐκ παρθένου φορέσας (1)  
 \_καὶ βρέφος βασταχθεὶς ἐν ἀγκάλαις πρεσβύτου,  
 \_τὸ κέρας ἀνύψωσον τῶν πιστῶν βασιλέων ἡμῶν·  
 τούτους κράτυνον ἐν τῇ δυνάμει σου, Λόγε,  
 \_τούτων εὐφρανὸν τὴν εὐσεβῆ βασιλείαν, (5)  
 \_ ὁ μόνος φιλόανθρωπος.

(pro 3) Προοίμιον Γ

Ὁ μήτραν παρθενικὴν ἀγίας τῷ τόκῳ σου (1)  
 \_καὶ χεῖρας τοῦ Συμεῶν εὐλόγησας, ὡς ἔπρεπε,  
 \_προφθάσας καὶ νῦν ἔσωσας ἡμᾶς, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεός·  
 ἀλλ' εἰρήνευσον ἐν πολέμοις τὸ πολίτευμα  
 \_καὶ κραταίωσον βασιλείας οὐς ἠγάπησας, (5)  
 \_ ὁ μόνος φιλόανθρωπος, from Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica. Cantica Genuina, ed. Paul Maas (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963, rpt. 1997), 26–34, esp. 26–27.

acclamation performed for the emperor at the Church of the Theotokos of the Pēgē and at the Chalke Gate on the feast of the Ascension. These chants celebrate Mary as the invincible general and protector of the empire; she is the shield and the crown, subduing the enemies. Mary's power comes from her virginal motherhood: a container of the uncontainable. The proximity of the Feast of Hosios Loukas (7 February) to that of the Hypapantē (2 February) and of the Prophet Symeon (3 February) offer the model of the saint as a *docheion*, containing the divine and liquifying this grace as a flow of oil oozing from the *soros* in the Northern oratory. But the same feast of the Presentation also channels the late tenth-century Byzantine imperial aspirations to recapture the Holy Land and these ideas are manifested in the two new *prooimia* for the kontakion of Hypapantē. The great victories against the Arabs in the second half of the tenth century resurrected the hope of the Byzantine return to Jerusalem, of the exiles coming back to reclaim the "promised land." Echoes of these ideas are present in the choice to represent the Hypapantē and also in the use of Arabic inscriptions on the ciborium and the shields of Sts. Demetrios and Prokopios flanking the Presentation. The military successes brought enormous wealth to the empire, sites such as Hosios Loukas shared these riches with the people, making the divine grace pour onto the needy and dejected. The enveloping sound of the interior was evocative of the din of "many waters;" vision further amplified by the glitter of the gold mosaics, the gleam of the marble, and the translucency of the alabaster. The church interior thus became an icon of sound and light that embraced the congregation as a *docheion*, making them live ephemerally inside the icon of God.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adontz, N. "Le Taronites en Arménie et a Byzance." *Byzantion* 10/2 (1935): 531–51.

Акентьев, К. К. Типикон Великой Церкви, *Cod. Dresden A 104*. Реконструкция текста по материалам архива А. А. Дмитриевского [Reconstruction of the Text based on the Archives of A. A. Dmitrievsky]. St. Petersburg: Vizantinorossika, 2009.

Alygizakēs, Antōnios. "He basilikē hymnografia (6.–11.aiōna)" [Imperial Hymnography (6th–10th Centuries)]. In *Christianike Thessalonike: apo tes Ioustinianeiou epoches heos kai tes Makedonikes Dynasteias* [Christian Thessaloniki from the Era of Justinian to the Macedonian Dynasty, Thessaloniki History Centre, Municipality of Thessaloniki, complete edition no. 6, 24th Demetria, 3rd Academic Symposium] (Thessaloniki: Kentro Historias Thessalonikes tou Demou Thessalonikes, 1991), 187–261.

Arslan, Pelin. "Towards a New Honorific Column: The Column of Constantine in the Early Byzantine Urban Landscape." *METU JFA* 33/1 (2016): 121–45. <https://doi.org/10.4305/metu.jfa.2016.1.5>.

Barber, Charles. *The Theodore Psalter: Electronic Facsimile*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press in association with the British Library, 2000.

Bardill, Jonathan. *Constantine, Divine Emperor of the Christian Golden Age*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Bassett, Sarah. *The Urban Image of Late Antique Constantinople*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Bauer, Franz Alto. "Urban Space and Ritual: Constantinople in Late Antiquity." In *Imperial Art as Christian Art, Christian Art as Imperial Art: Expression and Meaning in Art and Architecture from Constantine to Justinian Bardi*, edited by Johannes Brandt, 27–62. Rome: Erasmus, 2001. <https://doi.org/10.5617/acta.5664>.

Bogdanović, Jelena. "Framing Glorious Spaces in the Monastery of Hosios Loukas." In *Perceptions of the Body and Sacred Space in Late Antiquity and Byzantium*, edited by Jelena Bogdanović, 166–89. New York: Routledge, 2018.

Bogdanović, Jelena. *The Framing of Sacred Space: The Canopy and the Byzantine Church*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190465186.001.0001>.

Cappella Romana. *The Lost Voices of Hagia Sophia*. CD, 2019.

*Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art, vol. I. Italy, North of the Balkans, North of the Black Sea*, edited by N. Oikonomides and J. Nesbitt. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1991.

Chatzidakis-Barchas, Theano. *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas. Les chapelles occidentales*. Athens: Christianikē archaiologikē hetaireia, 1982.

Chatzidakis, Manolis. "A propos de la date et du fondateur de Saint Luc." *Cahiers Archéologiques* 19 (1969): 127–50.

Chatzidakis, Nano. "The Abbot Philotheos, Founder of the Katholikon of Hosios Loukas. Old and New Observations." In *New Light on Old Glass: Recent Research on Byzantine Mosaics and Glass*, edited by Christ Entwistle and Liz James, 254–59. London: British Museum, 2013.

Ciggaar, Krijnie. "Une description de Constantinople dans le Tarragonensis 55." *Revue des Études Byzantines* 53 (1995): 117–40.

Ciggaar, Krijnie. "Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais." *Revue des Études Byzantines* 24 (1976): 211–67.

Connor, Carolyn L. *Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium: The Crypt at Hosios Loukas and Its Frescoes*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Connor, Carolyn L. "Hosios Loukas as a Victory Church." *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 33/3 (1992): 293–308.

Connor, Carolyn L. *Saints and Spectacle: Byzantine Mosaics in Their Cultural Setting*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.

*Constantine Prophyrogenetos, The Book of Ceremonies*, translated by Ann Moffatt and Maxeme Toll. Canberra: Austrian Association for Byzantine Studies, 2012.

*Contacarium Ashburnhamense. Codex Bibl. Laurentianae Ashburnhamensis 64. Phototypice Depictus*, edited by Carsten Høeg. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1956.

Cormack, Robin. "Viewing the Mosaics of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas, Daphni, and the Church of Santa Maria Assunta, Torcello." In *New Light on Old Glass: Recent Research on Byzantine Mosaics and Glass*, edited by Christ Entwistle and Liz James, 242–53. London: British Museum, 2013.

Corrigan, Kathleen. *Visual Polemics in the Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Ćurčić, Slobodan. *Architecture in the Balkans: From Diocletian to Süleyman the Magnificent*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010.

dell'Acqua, Francesca. *Iconophilia. Politics, Religion, Preaching and the Use of Images in Rome, c. 680-880*. London: Routledge, 2020.

Demus, Otto. *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*. Boston: Boston & Art Shop, 1955.

Dennis, George. "Religious Services in the Byzantine Army." In *Eulogema. Studies in Honor of Robert*

- Taft, S. J., edited by E. Carr, Stefano Parenti, A. Thiermeyer, and Elena Velkovska, 107–17. *Studia Anselmiana*, 110, *Analecta liturgica* 17. Rome: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1993.
- Der Nersessian, Sirarpie. *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du moyen âge, II. Londres Add. 19.352*. Bibliothèque des cahiers archéologiques, 5. Paris: Libraire C. Klincksieck, 1970.
- Detorakis, Theocharis. "Agnōstoi hymnoi Leontos VI tou Sophou" [Unknown hymns of Leo VI the Wise]. In *Myriobiblos. Essay on Byzantine Literature and Culture*, in the series *Byzantinisches Archiv* 29, edited by Theodora Antonopoulou, Sofia Kotzabassi, and Marina Loukaki, 131–41. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015.
- Détorakis, Theocharis, and Justin Mossay. "Un office byzantin inédit pour ceux qui sont morts à la guerre, dans le cod. sin. gr. 734-735." *Le Muséon* 101/1-2 (1988): 183–211.
- Diez, Ernst, and Otto Demus. *Byzantine Mosaics in Greece Hosios Loukas and Daphni*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1931.
- "Digitised Manuscripts. Add MS 31919." British Library. [https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add\\_MS\\_31919](https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_31919).
- Dontcheva-Petkova, Liliana. "Une croix pectoral en or récemment trouvée a Pliska." *Cahiers archéologiques* 25 (1976): 59–66.
- Durak, Koray. "Commerce and Networks of Exchange between the Byzantine Empire and the Islamic Near East from the Early Ninth Century to the Arrival of the Crusaders." Ph.D., Harvard University 2008.
- Emereau, Casimir. "Hymnographi byzantini: Quorum nomina in litteras digessit notulisque adornavit (Continuatur)." *Échos d'Orient* 23, no. 135 (1924): 275–85.
- Evangelatou, Maria. "Liturgy and the Illustration of the Ninth-Century Marginal Psalters." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 63 (2009): 59–116.
- Follieri, Enrica. *Initia hymnorum ecclesiae graecae*, vol. 1 in the series *Studi e testi*, 211–15. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1960.
- Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica*, edited by Constantine Trypanis. Vienna: Becvar, 1968.
- Frøyshov, Stig. "Early History of the Hagiopolitan Daily Office in Constantinople." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 74 (2020): 351–82.
- Gurlitt, Cornelius. *Antike Denkmalsäulen in Konstantinopel*. Munich: Callwey, 1909.
- Harvey, Alan. *Economic Expansion of the Byzantine Empire, 900-1200*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Harvey, Alan. "Economy." In *Palgrave Advances in Byzantine History*, edited by Jonathan Harris, 83–99. New York: Palgrave, 2005.
- History of Leo the Deacon: Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century*, translated by Alice-Mary Talbot, Dennis Sullivan, Stamatina McGrath. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2005.
- Inanici, Melika. "Lighting Analysis of Hagia Sophia." *Ayasofya Müzesi Yillığı* 14 (2014): 166–202.
- James, Liz. "Monks, Monastic Art, the Sanctoral Cycle and the Middle Byzantine Church." In *The Theotokos Evergetis and Eleventh-Century Monasticism*, edited by Margaret Mullett and Andrew Kirby, 162–75. Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1994.
- Kazhdan, Alexander, and Henry Maguire. "Byzantine Hagiographical Texts as Sources on Art." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): 1–22.
- Khuskivadze, L. "Un monument géorgienne de peinture encaustique." In *Atti del primo simposio internazionale sull'arte georgiana*, 149–58. Milan: 1977.
- Kiilerich, Bente. *Late Fourth-Century Classicism in Plastic Arts: Studies in the So-Called Theodosian Renaissance*. Odense: Odense University Press, 1993.



- Kitzinger, Ernst. "Reflections on the Feast Cycle in Byzantine Art." *Cahiers archéologiques* 36 (1988): 51–73.
- Konrad, Christoph. "Beobachtungen zur Architektur und Stellung des Säulenmonumentes in Istanbul-Cerrapasa–'Arkadiossäule.'" *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 51 (2001): 319–401.
- Koutoula, Dimitra "The Tomb of the Founder-Saint." In *Founders and Refounders of Byzantine Monasteries*, edited by Margaret Mullett, 210–33. Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2007.
- Kremos, Προσκυνητάριον τῆς ἐν τῇ Φοκίδι Μονῆς τοῦ Ὁσίου Λουκᾶ τοῦ πικλήν Σπειριώτου. Athens: Ephēmeridos tōn syzētēsēōn, 1874.
- Krueger, Derek. "The Ninth-Century Kontakarion as Evidence for Festive Practice and Liturgical Calendar in Sixth- and Seventh-Century Constantinople," In *Towards the Prehistory of the Byzantine Liturgical Year: Festal Homilies and Festal Liturgies in Late Antique Constantinople*, edited by Stefanos Alexopoulos and Harald Buchinger, in press. Louven: Peeters, 2022.
- Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Saint-Croix n. 40, X<sup>e</sup> siècle. Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes*, edited by Juan Mateos, 2 vols. Rome: Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1963.
- The Life and Miracles of Saint Luke of Steiris. Text, Translation and Commentary*, by Carolyn Connor and W. Robert Connor. Brookline: Hellenic College Press, 1994.
- The Life of Saint Nikon*, edited and translated by Denis Sullivan. Brookline: Hellenic Press, 1987.
- Limberis, Vasiliki. *Divine Heiress. The Virgin Mary and the Creation of Christian Constantinople*. London, New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Lingas, Alexander. "From Earth to Heaven: The Changing Musical Soundscape of Byzantine Liturgy." In *Experiencing Byzantium*, edited by C. Nesbitt and M. Jackson, 311–58. Farnham: Ashgate, 2013.
- Mainstone, Rowland. *Hagia Sophia*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1985.
- Mango, Cyril A. *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1962.
- Mango, Cyril. "The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000): 173–88.
- Marinis, Vasileios. *Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople, Ninth to the Fifteenth Centuries*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- McCormick, Michael. *Eternal Victory Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- McGeer, Eric. *Sowing the Dragon's Teeth: Byzantine Warfare in the Tenth Century*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995.
- McGeer, Eric. "Two Military Orations of Constantine VII." In *Byzantine Authors: Literary Activities and Preoccupations*, edited by John W. Nesbitt, 111–35. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003. [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047402015\\_009](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047402015_009).
- "Monuments." Accessed 21 December, 2021. <http://monuments.hist.auth.gr/index.php/en/2019/02/07/ekklisia-nikiforou-foka-cavusin-en/>.
- "Modern Language Translations of Byzantine Sources. Digitized Greek Manuscripts." Princeton University Library. <https://library.princeton.edu/byzantine/subject-theme/menaion?page=1>.
- Mylonas, Paul. "Gavits arméniens et Litae byzantines. Observations Nouvelles sur le complexe de Saint-Luc en Phocide." *Cahiers archéologiques* 38 (1990): 99–122.
- Mylonas, Paul. "Nouvelles remarques sur le complexe de Saint-Luc en Phocide." *Cahiers archéologiques* 40 (1992): 115–22.
- Nelson, Robert. "And So With the Help of God: The Byzantine Art of War in the Tenth Century." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 65/66 (2011–2012): 169–92.

- Nesbitt, John, and John Wita. "A Confraternity of the Comnenian Era." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 68 (1975): 360–84.
- Nikolaishvili, Sandro. *Byzantium and the Georgian World c. 900-1210. Ideology of Kingship and Rhetoric in the Byzantine Periphery*. Ph.D. dissertation, Central European University, Budapest, 2019.
- Oikonomides, Nicholas. "The Concept of Holy War and Two Tenth-Century Byzantine Ivories." In *Peace and War in Byzantium: Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis, S.J.*, edited by Timothy Miller and John Nesbitt, 62–86. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1995.
- Oikonomides, Nicholas. "The First Century of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992): 245–255.
- Oikonomides, Nicolas. *Les listes des préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles*. Paris: CNRS, 1972.
- Ὅσιος Λουκᾶς, ὁ βίος τοῦ ὁσίου Λουκᾶ τοῦ Στειριώτη, edited by Dimitris Sofianos. Athens: Akritas, 1986.
- Ousterhout, Robert. "The Architecture of Iconoclasm: Buildings." In *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca. 680-859): The Sources*, edited by Leslie Brubaker and John Haldon, 3–20. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.
- Peltomaa, Leena Mari. *The Image of the Virgin Mary in the Akathistos Hymn*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Pentcheva, Bissera V. "Containers of Power: Eunuchs and Reliquaries in Byzantium." *Res. Journal of Anthropology and Aesthetics* 51 (2007): 109–20. <https://doi.org/10.1086/RESv51n1ms20167719>.
- Pentcheva, Bissera V. "Hagia Sophia and Multisensory Aesthetics." *Gesta* 50/2 (2011): 93–111. <https://doi.org/10.2307/41550552>.
- Pentcheva, Bissera V. *Hagia Sophia: Sound, Space and Spirit in Byzantium*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2017.
- Pentcheva, Bissera V. *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006.
- Pentcheva, Bissera V. "The Glittering Sound of Hagia Sophia and the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross in Constantinople." In *Icons of Sound: Voice, Architecture, and Imagination in Medieval Art*, edited by Bissera V. Pentcheva, 52–100. New York: Routledge, 2020.
- Pentcheva, Bissera V. *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010.
- Pentcheva, Bissera V. "Transcendent Visions: Voice and Icon in the Byzantine Imperial Chapels." In *Icons of Sound: Voice, Architecture, and Imagination in Medieval Art*, edited by Bissera V. Pentcheva, 101–115. New York: Routledge, 2020.
- Permjakovs, Vitalij. "Make This Place Where Your Glory Dwells:" *Origins and Evolution of the Byzantine Rite for the Consecration of a Church*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 2012.
- Potamianos, Iakovos, and Wassim Jabi. "Geometry, Light, and Cosmology in the Church of Hagia Sophia." *International Journal of Architectural Computing* 5/2 (2007): 305–19. <https://doi.org/10.1260/1478-0771.5.2.304>.
- Raasted, Jørgen. "An Old Melody for Tē hypermachō stratēgō'." In *Studi di musica bizantina in onore de Giovanni Marzi*, ed. Alberto Doda, 3–14. Cremona: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1995.
- Raasted, Jørgen. "Zur Melodie des Kontakions 'Η παρθένος σήμερον.'" *Cahiers de L'Institute du Moyen-age Grec et Latin* 59 (1989): 233–46.
- Riedel, Meredith. "Nikephoros II Phokas and the Orthodox Military Martyrs." *Journal of Medieval Religious Culture* 41/2 (2015): 121–47. <https://doi.org/10.5325/jmedirelicult.41.2.0121>.
- Rodley, Lyn. "The Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin." *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 33 (1983): 301–39. *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica. Cantica Genuina*, edited by Paul Maas. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963, rpt. 1997.
- Schibille, Nadine. "Astronomical and Optical Principles in the Architecture of Hagia Sophia in

- Constantinople." *Science in Context* 22 (2009): 27–46. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0269889708002068>.
- Schibille, Nadine. *Hagia Sophia and the Byzantine Aesthetic Experience*. Farham: Ashgate, 2014.
- Shapiro, Meyer. "The Place of the Joshua Roll in Byzantine History." *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 35/6 (1949): 161–76.
- Skhirtladze, Zaza. *The Frescoes of Otkhta Eklesia*. Tbilisi: 2009.
- Skhirtladze, Zaza. "The Oldest Murals at Oshki Church: Byzantine Church Decoration and Georgian Art." *Eastern Christian Art* 7 (2010): 97–134. <https://doi.org/10.2143/ECA.7.0.2136908>.
- Skylitzes, John. *A Synopsis of Byzantine History, 811-1057*, translated by John Wortley. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Spatharakis, Ioannis. *The Pictorial Cycles of the Akathistos Hymn for the Virgin*. Leiden: Alexandros Press, 2005.
- Stikas, Eustathios. *Τὸ οἰκοδομικὸν χρονικὸν τῆς Μονῆς Ὁσίου Λουκᾶ Φωκίδου*. Athens: Athēnais Archaïologikēs Hetaireias, 1970.
- Sullivan, Alice. "Visions of Byzantium: The Siege of Constantinople in Sixteenth-Century Moldavia." *Art Bulletin* 99/4 (2017): 31–68. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00043079.2017.1327772>.
- Svoronos, Nikolas. "Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XIe et XIIe siècles: le cadastre de Thèbes." *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 83/1 (1959): 1–145.
- The Synaxarion of the Monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis. March-August. The Moveable Cycle*, text and trans. by Robert Jordan. Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 2005.
- Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi*, ed. Hypolite Delehaye et al. *Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum*, 63. Brussels: Apud socios Bollandianos, 1902.
- Tcheishvili, Giorgi. "Georgian Perceptions of Byzantium in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." In *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium*, edited by Anthony Eastmond, 199–210. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315257136>.
- Teteriatnikov, Natalia. *Justinianic Mosaics of Hagia Sophia and Their Aftermath*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2017.
- Teteriatnikov, Natalia. *Mosaics of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul: The Fossati Restoration and the Work of the Byzantine Institute*. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998.
- Tillyard, H. J. M. "Ἐώθινα Ἀναστάσιμα: The Morning Hymns of the Emperor Leo." *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 30 (January 1928): 86–108; 31 (January 1930): 115–47.
- Troelsgård, Christian. "The Repertories of Model Melodies (Automela) in Byzantine Musical Manuscripts." *Cahiers de L'Institute du Moyen-age Grec et Latin* 71 (2000): 3–27.
- Tsamakda, Vasiliki. "The Joshua Roll." In *A Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts*, edited by Vasiliki Tsamakda, 207–13. Brill, 2017. [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004346239\\_013](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004346239_013).
- Vári, R. "Zum historischen Exzerptenwerke des Konstantinos Porphyrogenetos." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 17/1 (1908): 75–85.
- Walker, Alicia. "Globalism." *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 183–96.
- Walker, Alicia. "Pseudo-Arabic Inscriptions and the Pilgrim's Path at Hosios Loukas." In *Viewing Inscriptions in the Late Antique and Medieval World*, edited by Anthony Eastmond, 99–123. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781316136034.006>.
- Wander, Steven. *The Joshua Roll*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2012.
- Weitzmann, Kurt. *The Joshua Roll*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948.
- Wellesz, Egon. *The Akathistos Hymn*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1957.
- Whittemore, Thomas. "Study of Light, 1945." Unpublished notes, Dumbarton Oaks Photography and Image Archive, MS BZ 004.



**JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY  
FOR ORTHODOX CHURCH MUSIC**

Vol. 6 (1), Section I: Peer-reviewed Articles, pp. 71–90

ISSN 2342-1258

<https://doi.org/10.57050/jisocm.113081>

## **“THE MIDST OF THE EARTH”:**

### **PS. 73:12B (LXX) IN PATRISTIC AND LITURGICAL UNDERSTANDING**

**SERAFIM SEPPÄLÄ**

University of Eastern Finland  
[serafim.seppala@uef.fi](mailto:serafim.seppala@uef.fi)

The verse “You have wrought salvation in the midst of the earth” (Ps. 74/73:12) occurs in numerous liturgical texts of the Orthodox Church. In current practice, it appears in Triodion (prayer of the sixth hour; Wednesday of the first week, Ode 4, heirmos), Octoechos (Wednesday and Friday Matins, tone 2), canons of Sunday matins (Fourth plagal echos, Troparion after the seventh ode, second canon), and the Feast of the Cross on Aug 1 (verse for stichera aposticha in vespers). The verse is used also in matins for the third Sunday of Lent (Veneration of the Cross), in the Aposticha (idiomelon, second echos). Finally, and most remarkably, the verse appears just before the twelfth Gospel reading in the evening service on Great Thursday (i.e., Friday matins).

In historical terms, the principal usages are those that are mentioned in (the oldest printed versions of) the Typikon of Mar Saba. The verse occurs in the Feast of the Cross (14 September) among the verses sung between the second and third antiphons of the liturgy, as well as on the third Sunday of Great Lent (Sunday of the Cross) at the end of the canon (before the repetition of the first stichira) in matins, and again in the liturgy, as the Alleluia verse before the Gospel reading, in addition to Great Thursday (i.e. Friday matins).<sup>1</sup> That is to say, the verse occurs in contexts that are directly or indirectly related to the Cross.

<sup>1</sup> See the tremendous translation and commentary of the Typikon of St Sabbas by Damaskinos (Olkinuora) of Xenophontos, *Sabbas Pyhitetyin Typikon* (Joensuu: Ortodoksinen seminaari, 2021), 159, 387, 419.

This article aims to outline the patristic understanding of this verse and the cosmological visions related to it, with some remarks on the Jewish background of the idea. The analysis is based on a wide variety of Greek (Origen, Eusebius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Pseudo-Athanasius, John Chrysostom, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Pseudo-Methodius), Syriac (Ephrem the Syrian, Book of the Cave of Treasures, Jacob of Sarug) and some Latin sources (Augustine, Cassiodorus). The subject opens in various directions from creation to eschatology, but the present discussion is focused on this particular biblical and liturgical verse which is both thematically and historically at the heart of these wider issues.

### THE BIBLICAL VERSE

Initially, the biblical Psalm was voiced in the Babylonian captivity, where the Jewish community implored God to remember Sion and sought inspiration from recalling the ancient salvific acts of God. The Hebrew reading itself appears rather straightforward, but it does offer some nuances for varying interpretations, some of which are not present in the Septuagint.

וַאלֹהִים מֶלֶךְ מִקֶּדֶם פֶּעַל יְשׁוּעוֹת, בְּקֶרֶב הָאָרֶץ  
 “Yet God is my King of old,  
 working salvation<sup>2</sup> in the midst of the earth.”  
 Ps 74:12.

ὁ δὲ θεὸς βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν πρὸ αἰῶνος  
 εἰργάσατο σωτηρίαν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς  
 “God is our King forever:  
 You have wrought salvation in the midst of the earth.”  
 Ps. 73:12 LXX.

The significant difference between the two texts is that in Hebrew, “salvation” is in plural (יְשׁוּעוֹת), referring to salvific acts, such as crushing the sea monsters in the following verses, but the Greek σωτηρίαν is singular (accusative), which favours a more focused understanding: if an entity is one, then it is situated in one position, in one way or another.

In Hebrew, the key expression בְּקֶרֶב הָאָרֶץ offers various possibilities, for the actual usages of the phrase are rather far from the etymological starting point. Specifically, the word *qerev* comes from the root QRB, indicating nearness and vicinity, but this particular word customarily refers either to interiority (“inside”) or being in the middle of something. For *b<sup>e</sup>-qerev*, the basic translation is “in the middle of”, in the wider sense of being among something, but without excluding the idea of being in the centre. The English “midst of” is an excellent equivalent. In Judaism, the expression has typically been understood in the wider sense: God is able to commit salvific acts anywhere on earth. Perhaps surprisingly, the Rabbinic expositions of this verse do not connect it with the Temple and its sacrifices, even though the

2 Literally, “a worker of salvific acts”.

beginning of the Psalm would fit with such an interpretation.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly, the Syriac Psalter has “who decrees salvation for Jacob (*purqāneh d-ya‘qob*)”, which appears to be based on a Jewish interpretative rendering.

In the Septuagint, ἐν μέσῳ (corresponding to Latin *medius*) may indicate a sense of being among something or between something, the basic translations being “in the middle of”, “in the midst of”. Therefore, the Greek is more apt to be read in the sense of referring to the central point, which would be a somewhat artificial reading for the Hebrew original. This is one of the many instances where the Septuagint happens to offer better opportunities for Christian interpretations than the Hebrew text.

Accordingly, the alternative nuances are present in the ways in which the patristic authors understand the basic meaning of the verse. At times, ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς is taken in the sense of “in the centre of the earth”, while some fathers read it in a wider sense, “among the [areas of the] earth”, and thus “in the sight of the whole world” (examples below).

Nevertheless, the meaning of the verse cannot be completely defined on the linguistic level, but one must enter the world of theological ideas. It seems that the verse is surprisingly seldom discussed or even mentioned in patristic studies,<sup>4</sup> even though it connects with various important topics. There are at least two reasons for this. First, there is the unfortunate coincidence that the sections dealing with this very Psalm are more or less lacking in the partially surviving commentaries or homilies on Psalms by John Chrysostom, Jerome<sup>5</sup>, and Diodore of Tarsus<sup>6</sup>. Secondly, when this verse is commented on in patristic works, it happens that some of the most important sources have not been available in English translations, with the result that these works have left fewer traces in theological scholarship. This applies to the relevant writings by Eusebius, Pseudo-Athanasius, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (until 2001).

When we turn from this particular verse into wider discussions on the idea of the centre of the earth, *omphalos mundi*, there is no lack of material. In addition to the Greek works, relevant material can be found from the Syriac texts and early Jewish sources, in addition to archaeology and cartography. I concentrate on discussing the aspects related to this

3 David Kimhi (Qimḥi, 1160–1235, known as Radak) and Meir Leibush ben Yehiel Michel Wisser (1809–1879, known as Malbim) see in the expression a reference to God’s exceptional, miraculous interventions in order to save the Jewish people in the middle of nations. In the Aramaic Targums, the verse reads עֲבִיד פּוֹרְקָנָא בְּגוֹ אֶרְעָא , “making redemptive acts in the midst (or even, “inside”) of the land”. The mikraot gedolot version of the Aramaic text is available in [https://www.sefaria.org/Aramaic\\_Targum\\_to\\_Psalms](https://www.sefaria.org/Aramaic_Targum_to_Psalms).

4 One of the exceptions is Grypeou & Spurling, who somewhat surprisingly lay so much stress on this particular verse that they see the whole idea of Golgotha as the centre of the earth as being “based on exegetical speculations on Ps. 74:12 (LXX 73:12).” However, it is more reasonable to maintain that because of much wider theological concerns, the idea was finally connected with this verse. See Emmanouela Grypeou & Helen Spurling, *The Book of Genesis in Late Antiquity: Encounters between Jewish and Christian Exegesis* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 74.

5 Jerome in his excerpts on Psalms (CCSL 72, 247–361) did not comment on the verse.

6 The manuscript tradition of Diodore’s commentary has caused much confusion, as some manuscripts have been preserved under the name of Anastasios of Nicea and others with no name at all. Jean-Marie Olivier’s critical edition (*Diodori Tarsensis commentarii in psalmos*, CCG 6, Turnhout, 1980), and the subsequent translation by Robert Hill (Diodore of Tarsus, *Commentary on Psalms 1–51*, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), covers Psalms 1–51.

verse that are (1) related to the idea of the place of the Cross as the centre of the earth, (2) early enough to be historically related to the emergence of the idea, and (3) may have some kind of relation with the Jewish background of the idea.

### BACKGROUND: THE FIRST CHRISTIANS AND THE CENTRE OF THE EARTH

To find the Jewish and Christian meanings of the verse, one has to go to Jerusalem. In Judaism, all aspects of religion are directed towards one central point; spirituality, thought and praxis are geographically focused in a unique way. According to the classical Rabbinic definition, the centre of world is Jerusalem, the centre of Jerusalem is the Temple Mount, the centre of the Mount is the Temple, the centre of which is the Holy of Holies.<sup>7</sup> These all function as zones of sanctity defining the levels of sacredness, meticulously analysed in the Rabbinic sources. It was self-evident in late antiquity Judaism that there was one – and one only – focus for the pilgrimages, prayers, biblical interpretations, cosmic speculations and other fields of spirituality from storytelling to *halacha*.

In early Christian thinking, the idea must have been known in general terms, but there are also some surviving textual links with the Jewish idea of Jerusalem as the centre of the earth, which appears already in Ezekiel.<sup>8</sup> Of the Jewish sources, Christian authors were well familiar with Josephus, who called Jerusalem the “navel of the country” (ὀμφαλός τῆς χώρας).<sup>9</sup> Likewise, in the *Book of Jubilees* Mount Zion is “the centre of the navel of the earth”.<sup>10</sup> This text was known to early Church fathers such as Justin the Martyr, Theophilus of Antioch, Epiphanius, and Jerome, for whom Jerusalem was the geographical centre of the world.<sup>11</sup> In the Eastern Church, at least some ideas of the *Book of Jubilees* were known still in Middle Byzantine times.<sup>12</sup>

Even regardless of specific texts, Jerusalem had in any case a unique function for Christians, for the most central events of Christian faith and liturgy had taken place in Jerusalem: Palm Sunday, Last Supper, Crucifixion, and Resurrection were Jerusalemite events. In that sense, Jerusalem did remain at the focus of Christian faith, even when this was not expressed in any explicit *axis mundi* terminology.

7 According to the famous Talmudic verse (Tanhuma to Leviticus, Qedoshim 10), “As the navel is in the middle of the person, so is Eretz Israel the navel of the world, as it is written, ‘That dwell in the navel of the earth’ (Eze 38:12). Eretz Israel is located in the centre of the world, Jerusalem in the centre of Eretz Israel, the Temple in the centre of Jerusalem, the *heikhal* in the centre of the Temple, the ark in the centre of the *heikhal*, and in front of the *heikhal* is the even *shetiyyah* from which the world was founded.”

8 Eze 38:12.

9 Josephus, *Jewish Wars* 3.52. For more discussion on the idea of Jerusalem as the navel of the earth, see Philip S. Alexander, “Jerusalem as the *Omphalos of the World*: On the History of a Geographical Concept,” in *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality*, ed. Lee Levine (New York: Continuum, 1999), 104–119. Alexander suggests that Jubilees is the first source where Jerusalem is explicitly the navel (omphalos) of the earth, and that this was inspired by the Greek idea of Delphi as the omphalos of the world.

10 Jubilees 8:30 (8:19).

11 There is some discussion in James M. Scott, *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity: The Book of Jubilees* (Society for New Testament Monograph Series 113, Cambridge University Press, 2002), 23–43, 126–34, 164.

12 E.g. Georgios Synkellos (ninth century); Eutychius of Alexandria (tenth century), Georgios Kedrenos (eleventh century).

The early Christians inherited from Judaism the idea that the cosmos does have a centre which is defined in religious terms. In the first centuries, the belief was typically manifested through an antithetical counterreaction: our Jerusalem is in heaven,<sup>13</sup> our religion is not limited by geographic entities such as the Holy Land. However, this did not abolish the specific character of Jerusalem as the place of central events in salvation history.

Perhaps the most urgent application of these views was the direction of prayer. The first Christians of Jerusalem faced a dilemma: in Judaism, the prayers were directed towards the Temple and its cult, but these started to lose their significance in Christian eyes. In Judaism, even the destruction of the Temple did not challenge the focus, but the Christians had to find a new direction for their prayer, perhaps already during the heyday of the Temple. In any case, the East became the direction of prayer at an early date, for the custom was already widespread in the second century. If it is true that this custom was adopted from Essenes and perhaps other Jewish ascetic groups such as Therapeutae, as one reading in Josephus may suggest, it would in fact indicate that the first Christians, or their leaders at least, largely came from an Essene background.<sup>14</sup>

However, there seems to have been also another early solution. An architectural detail preserved in Jerusalem may tell of the change of direction of prayer among the first Christians. On Mount Sion, there are remains of what is supposed to be an early – even first century – Jewish Christian synagogue with a prayer niche directed not towards the Temple but towards Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre. The synagogue building probably stands on a place where the first Christians used to meet; centuries later in the Christian Jerusalem, it was preserved as a chapel next to the altar of a huge Byzantine basilica, which indicates that it was considered a distinctive holy place.<sup>15</sup> Nowadays the remains belong to the complex known of the so-called Tomb of David, although the connection to David emerged only in the late Middle Ages.

The small niche hints that in the eyes of the early (Jewish) Christians of Jerusalem, the centre of the world literally shifted from the Temple Mount to Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre. It seems rather obvious that the early Christians of Jerusalem used to visit the Sepulchre and gather there for prayers, even though the textual witnesses are either indirect<sup>16</sup> or late. Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem, a fifth century Coptic text, may still hit the mark

13 An illuminating, detailed discussion is found in Robert L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (Yale University Press, 1992), 46–72.

14 The key evidence is in Josephus, *Jewish Wars* 2.8.5, mentioning that “before the rising of the sun” the Essenes “direct certain ancestral prayers towards it (εἰς αὐτόν)”. The verse, however, is open to various readings, even sun-worship (!), and it has been translated also: “before sun-rising they [...] put up certain prayers which they have received from their forefathers, as if they made a supplication for its rising”. For discussion, see Todd S. Beall, *Josephus’ Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 52–53; Paul F. Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer in the Early Church: A Study of the Origin and Early Development of the Divine Office* (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2008), 11, 38, 58.

15 For more discussion, see Oskar Skarsaune, *In the Shadow of the Temple: Jewish Influences on Early Christianity* (Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2002), 185–190.

16 It has been suggested that the Gospel of Mark is structured for readings on the Tomb of Christ. See Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: from the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 9–10.



in stating that “the disciples used to go into the tomb daily, and they prayed there by night secretly”.<sup>17</sup>

In spite of the scantiness of early sources, the first Christians obviously based their faith on the fact that what had happened at Golgotha and Holy Sepulchre was more significant than the entire sacred history of the Temple.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, it was only logical to think about Golgotha as the centre of the earth, even though the significance of this view could be debated or applied in varying ways. Now we may proceed to ask: how did this idea relate to the discussions on Ps. 74/73:12?

### THE EARLIEST PATRISTIC INTERPRETATIONS

As for the pre-Nicene material, we may first note that, perhaps surprisingly, the verse is not discussed in the dialogues of Justin Martyr and his Jewish opponent Trypho. However, we are fortunate enough to have access to the collection of Origen’s 29 homilies on Psalms, which has recently been discovered, with a discussion on Ps. 74/73:12. Origen is known to represent the extreme antithesis of Jerusalem-centred spirituality: for him, all references to “inheriting the land” in the sacred scriptures refer to spiritual realities. Therefore, it is not surprising that, for him, the expression “the midst of the earth” does not mean a particular place on earth. In Origen’s paradigm, it was somewhat extraordinary to consider the idea that God does operate not only in transcendence but also in time and space, in this world, while we are in the body. Therefore, Origen reads the verse as a reference to spirituality in universal terms, and in a temporal rather than a spatial sense: God is bringing salvation in the midst of the earth “whenever he works out the salvation of souls.”<sup>19</sup>

However, the understanding of the verse became more focalized immediately after the Holy Sepulchre was rediscovered in Jerusalem. Already Eusebius (d. 339) in his post-Nicene commentary on Psalms seems to have hinted at this idea by referring, though somewhat opaquely, to the fact that salvation has been realized “according to a manifest place” (κατὰ τοῦ δηλωθέντος τόπου).<sup>20</sup> At the time when he was writing, the place was manifest indeed but the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had not yet been completed. It was there that the verse was given its crucial meaning.

### CYRIL OF JERUSALEM AND THE CENTRE OF THE EARTH

It is fitting that the Orthodox understanding of the verse seems to have manifested, perhaps even originated, literally on the spot – in the very centre

17 Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic texts in the dialect of Upper Egypt* (London: Oxford University Press, 1915), 782.

18 Of course, the process was slow. For years, the apostles continued to visit the Temple, honouring its sacred history. However, it seems probable that the early Christians started to distance themselves from the Temple cult already before the destruction of Jerusalem, and in any case during the Jewish Wars.

19 Origen, *Homilies on the Psalms: Codex Monacensis Graecus 314* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2021), 198.

20 Eusebius, *Commentaria in Psalmos* (PG 23:31). The word δηλωθέντος, a passive participle from δηλόω (“to show”), could also mean “revealed”, “disclosed”.

of the earth. The idea may have been in the air for a long time, but in the field of surviving texts, it is Cyril of Jerusalem who, circa 350, explicitly used this very verse to argue that Golgotha is the solemn centre of the earth, and he did this while teaching in the very place.

He stretched out His hands on the Cross, that He might embrace the ends of the world; for this Golgotha is the very centre of the earth (τῆς γὰρ γῆς τὸ μεσώτατον ὁ Γολγοθᾶς). It is not my word, but it is a prophet who has said, *You have brought salvation in the midst of the earth* (εἰργάσω σωτηρίαν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς).<sup>21</sup> He stretched forth human hands, He who by His spiritual hands had established the heaven; and they were fastened with nails, that sin might die with His manhood, which bore the sins of men, having been nailed to the tree and died, so that we might rise again in righteousness.<sup>22</sup>

For Cyril, Golgotha was indeed the centre of the earth, a truth confirmed by the prophetic scriptures and by the place itself.

In Cyril's time, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre had been standing for a few decades around the tomb and the rock of Golgotha, and he could address his flock in the very place where God had wrought salvation. The crucifixion, burial and resurrection, all focalized events, had been at the heart of Christian thinking for three centuries, but after the consecration of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (13 September 335) the same realities became also the centre of Christian pilgrimage and spirituality in practical terms. Therefore, it was reasonable to view the place as the centre of the (Christian) world. Consequently, it was easy to see this truth reflected in this particular Psalm verse, as the Greek wording admitted such a reading.

There was no any obvious reason to challenge this charming idea, and hence the verse was to be utilised in the liturgical tradition particularly in contexts related to the Cross and crucifixion in the emerging praxis in Jerusalem. However, I leave it to scholars of liturgical manuscripts to consider in detail how this process developed in the liturgical texts of later eras.

In addition, it may be of interest to note here that the verse had liturgical usages also in the Jewish tradition. In the synagogue worship, the use was related to Passover and New Year, the function being to recall salvific events of the past. Curiously, the latter feast happens to fall very close to the Feast of the Cross (Sept 14) in which the same verse was recited with another function.<sup>23</sup>

21 Cyril has here εἰργάσω (2nd sg), as the prevalent biblical reading is εἰργάσατο (3rd sg). In both cases, the verb is aorist indicative medio-passive.

22 Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catech.* 13:28 (PG 33: 805b). The classical translation of 1839 slightly amended. Some discussion in Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, 2005), 60.

23 First, Psalm 74 is recited on the second day of Passover in certain traditions. See *Tehillim: A New Translation with a Commentary anthologized from Talmudic, Midrashic and Rabbinic Sources* [Psalms 73–150] (Artscroll Tanach Series, Mesorah Publications, 1969), 329. Secondly, verse 12 has a solemn function on the second day of the New year (*Rōš ha-šānā*) when it is recited just before the Jewish credo (*Shema Israel*). See *The Complete Artscroll Machzor for Rosh Hashanah* (New York: Mesorah Publications, 1985), 271. It may be noted that, perhaps surprisingly, Rashi's commentary, which is the prime Jewish commentary on Psalms, leaves the line 12b ("worker of salvations in the midst of the earth") uncommented on. See *Tehillim with Rashi's Commentary 2* (Feldheim Publishers, 2009), 506.

## OTHER PATRISTIC INTERPRETATIONS

Among the early fathers, it was Ephrem the Syrian who gave the most magnificent expression to the idea of Golgotha as *axis mundi*. In his mid-fourth century *Commentary on the Diatessaron* – the only patristic commentary of Gospel text other than the four standard ones – he explicitly defined Golgotha as the central point of the world:

[...] when he was crucified, he was standing erect in the centre of the Cross, like the stone on the high priest's breast. Jerusalem is the centre of the earth (*meṣ'at ar'ā*). because of the Just one who put His Law there so that His rays might go forth to all the ends [of the earth]. Because, in the very same place. Grace fixed his Cross so that he might extend its arms to every side, and lift up souls from every part [of the world].<sup>24</sup>

The vision is a solemn one, albeit somewhat imprecise. As Ephrem was far from Jerusalem, he did not emphasise the difference between the places inside the Holy City (Temple Mount and Golgotha). On the contrary, he stressed the continuity of the old and new covenants in their being centred to Jerusalem.

The bloom of Christian literature in the fourth century generated plenty of works commenting on Ps. 74/73:12b. Antiochians such as John Chrysostom employed the verse in more universal contexts, omitting the strictly focused and topographical aspect of the salvation appearing in the midst of the world.<sup>25</sup> Likewise, Theodoret of Cyrrhus in his *Commentary on Psalms* defined the key expression “in the midst of the earth” to mean “with everyone looking on”. Theodore’s interpretation focuses on the universalist aspect: what Christ has done for men is visible to all those who see.<sup>26</sup> The Antiochian readings seem to be a kind of compromise between the Jewish basic understanding of the verse and its Christian Christ-centred interpretation.

Among the early Church fathers, the most peculiar, and at the same time perhaps the most profound, exposition is that of Epiphanius of Salamis in his *Homily on the burial of the Divine Body*. Starting with the Psalm verse, he takes ἐν μέσῳ in the sense of “between”, and connects it with Golgotha, making a series of sublime proclamations on how “Jesus the Child of God” has become known in the midst of two lives (“life from the life”), midst of Father and the Spirit, angels and humans, law and prophets, present life and eternal one, and so forth.<sup>27</sup> This interpretation is like a multifaceted exposition of Cyril’s idea of Golgotha as cosmic centre, covering all levels of existence.

It seems that the more an author was connected with Jerusalem (Cyril, Eusebius) or the Holy Land (Epiphanius), the more explicitly he connected this verse with the event and place of the Cross. Therefore, it is interesting to note that this “Jerusalemite” interpretation occurs also in a few texts of

24 Ephrem the Syrian, *Comm. Diat.* 21:14. Cf. Ex 28:15–30. The Syriac text is in Louis Leloir, *Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, texte syriaque (Manuscrit Chester Beatty 709)*, Chester Beatty Monographs 8 (Dublin: Hodges Figgis & Co 1963), 218. Translated in Carmel McCarthy, *Saint Ephrem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 324.

25 John Chrysostom, *Expositiones in Psalmos* (PG 55:394); *In adorationem venerandae crucis* (PG 62:748).

26 Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Interpretatio in Psalmos* (PG 80:1460, cf. 1464). Robert C. Hill, trans. *Commentary on the Psalms* (Washington: Catholic University of America, 2001), 14.

27 Epiphanius, *In sabbato magno* (PG 43:441).

disputed origin. *Responsa of Athanasios the Great to Antiochus* is a famous text that patristic authors from John Damascene onwards have taken as a genuine work of Athanasios the Great, though nowadays it is widely considered unauthentic. The author used the verse in connection with the crucifixion, arguing that Christ was to be crucified in the midst of the earth.<sup>28</sup> Likewise, in another dubious work preserved in the name of Athanasios, “Expositions of Psalms”, the verse is explained by noting that Jerusalem is the navel (*omphalos*) of the earth.<sup>29</sup> However, it seems that the dating of this work cannot be earlier than the late fifth century, so most likely it is influenced by a couple of centuries of pilgrimage to Jerusalem. However that may be, both of these works witness to the idea of Jerusalem and Golgotha being the centre of the world, the Psalm verse being a banner of this belief. And as we have seen, the idea itself seems to be Jerusalemite by origin.

As for the later Byzantine texts, the most noteworthy case one is Euthymios Zigabenos’ twelfth century *Interpretation of Psalms*, which is widely considered as the most important Middle Byzantine commentary of the Psalter. However, the work comments on this particular verse only briefly, the idea of Golgotha being omitted altogether, as the author concentrates on the historical meaning in rather laconic terms: “*In the midst of the earth*, meaning, ‘in the midst of people’, ‘openly’. *Salvation* is what (David) calls the redemption of the Jews from slavery in Egypt.”<sup>30</sup>

## THE PLACE OF ADAM

What, then, does it mean and imply that the world has a central point? The idea of the centre of the earth is not only about geography, not even about the salvific act of Christ, but it opens new ways of viewing the whole theological tradition. Logically speaking, a central point functions as a kernel which connects all the outlying and tangential areas, thus creating connection and unity among them. Therefore, the idea affects areas of theological thought from creation to eschatology, in addition to biblical instances.

In Judaism, the navel of the earth was, to begin with, the place of the creation of man. Accordingly, it was coherent and relevant for the early Christians to consider the possibility of Adam having been created on the spot on which the Cross was later erected. The creation of man and the new creation in Christ were parallel in any case, and so were Adam’s fall and redemption in Christ; therefore, it was only a matter of time when they

28 Ὅτι δὲ ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς ἔμελλεν ὁ Χριστὸς σταυροῦσθαι, ἐν οἷ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται· Ὁ δὲ Θεὸς βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν πρὸ αἰῶνων εἰργάσατο σωτηρίαν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς. Athanasios, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum* (PG 28:696). The origin of the responsa letter is spurious, but there are more than 200 manuscripts from the tenth to the sixteenth century (seven listed in [https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/work\\_718](https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/work_718)). For a discussion, see Caroline Macé & Ilse de Vos, “Pseudo-Athanasius, Quaestiones ad Antiochum 136”, in Markus Vincent (ed.), *Studia patristica* 66:14 (Leuven: Peeters, 2013). There is also an Arabic version: MS. Greaves 30, ff. 1v-59v (Bodleian Library, Oxford University).

29 Εἰργάσατο σωτηρίαν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς. Ἐντεῦθεν λαβόντες τινὲς ἀπεφῆναντο τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα ὀφθαλμὸν εἶναι τῆς γῆς. Athanasios, *Expositiones in Psalmos* (PG 27:336). For discussion on this writing, see G. S. Stead, “St. Athanasius on the Psalms”, *Vigiliae Christianae* 39 (1985), 65–78; Gilles Dorival, “Athanasie ou Pseudo-Athanasie,” *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 16 (1980), 80–89.

30 My own translation. Euthymios Zigabenos, *Comm. Ps.* 73:12.



Figure 1. The altar at the traditional site of Golgotha.  
(Photo: Иерей Максим Массалитин, Wikimedia Commons)<sup>31</sup>

would be connected concretely. These ideas became prevalent after the construction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, but there are textual hints suggesting that the idea was known already in the earlier period.

Moreover, there were early Jewish traditions and beliefs about Adam being not only created but also buried in Jerusalem.<sup>32</sup> From Julianus

31 <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Calvary#/media/File:Голгофа.jpg>.

32 According to another Jewish tradition, Adam was buried in the cave of patriarchs at Hebron. This seems to be built on a curious reading of *ha-adam ha-gadol* in Joshua 14:14-15, reflected in Jerome's Vulgata. For a discussion, see Pieter Van der Horst, "The Site of Adam's Tomb", in *Studies in Hebrew Literature and Jewish Culture*, ed. Martin F. J. Baasten & Reinier Munk (Dordrecht: Springer, 2007), 251-255.

Africanus we know that the Christians knew about these traditions in circa 220, and in all likelihood the first generations of (Jewish) Christians had been familiar with them. In the words of Julianus, “It is said that he (Adam) was the first to be buried in the earth, from which he had been taken, and a certain Hebrew tradition narrates that his tomb is in the land of Jerusalem.”<sup>33</sup> The first Christian author who identified the burial place of Adam explicitly with Golgotha was from the same period. Origen seems to have obtained the tradition from the Jewish Christians, so it probably has deep roots.

[Information] has reached me about the place of the Skull, that the Hebrews have a tradition that the body of Adam has been buried there, so that, ‘since we all die in Adam, and Adam has risen, we all may be made alive in Christ’ (1 Cor 15:22).<sup>34</sup>

What does this imply for the story of Adam as a whole? This was discussed in detail in *Book of the Cave of Treasures*, a Syriac collection of apparently early traditions preserved in a circa fifth century recension. In this text, Golgotha is the place in which God created Adam into His own image and likeness with His own hands, the angels being deeply moved when seeing his beauty. The glorious first man was set into his place as the sovereign ruler of the creation on the hill of Golgotha. When the newly created Adam stood up, his face was shining like the sphere of Sun, his eyes like two suns, his body brilliant as crystal.

When Adam stretched out, he was standing in the centre of the earth (*m<sup>e</sup>ša’tā d-ar’ā*). His both feet were on the same spot in which the Cross of our Saviour was erected. There he was clothed with the robe of kingdom, there the crown of glory was set on his head, and there he was made king, priest and prophet. There God let him sit on the throne of his kingdom.<sup>35</sup>

As the central event of history had taken place on Golgotha, it was inevitable that it became the focus of Christian cosmology, and therefore it was logical to view it as the symbol of the beginning of man and his sacred history. Once the creation of man was connected with Golgotha, it was not surprising that the idea of its being his burial place emerged as well. What we have in textual sources, however, is only a few crumbs of discussions

33 Julius Africanus, *Chronographiae*, ed. M. Wallraff (GCS NF 15, Berlin & New York: De Gruyter, 2007), 42–43. See also Nikolai Lipatov-Chicherin, “Early Christian Tradition about Adam’s Burial on Golgotha and Origen”, in *Origeniana Duodecima: Origen’s Legacy in the Holy Land – A Tale of Three Cities: Jerusalem, Caesarea and Bethlehem*, ed. Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony et al (Leuven: Peeters, 2019), 155–156. For the early Jewish belief that Cain was not buried before Adam, see *Jubilees* 4:29; *Apocalypse of Moses* 40:3–7.

34 Περί τοῦ Κρανίου τόπου ἦλθεν εἰς ἐμέ, ὅτι Ἑβραῖοι παραδίδοσι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἀδάμ ἐκεῖ τετάφθαι, ἵν’ ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀδάμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκομεν, ἀναστῆ μὲν ὁ Ἀδάμ, ἐν Χριστῷ δὲ πάντες ζωοποιηθῶμεν. The text has been preserved in three different versions, two Greek ones and a Latin translation; the section given above is a common element between all three. Shorter Greek version in *Matthäuserklärung* II, ed. E. Klostermann (GCS 38; Origenes Werke 11, Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1933), 265, 1–8. See also Fragmentum in catenis 551.II (Mt 27:33) in *Matthäuserklärung* III, ed. E. Hälfte (GCS 41; Origenes Werke 12, Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1941), 225. Longer Greek version in Origenes, *Fragmentum in catenis* 551.III (Mt 27:33), GCS 41, 225–226. For the Latin version, see *Matthäuserklärung* II (GCS 38), 264–265. English translation adopted from Lipatov-Chicherin, “Early Christian Tradition”, 159.

35 *Cave of Treasures* 2:15–19, ed. Su-Min Ri, *Le Caverne des Trésors: les deux recensions syriaques* (CSCO 486, Louvain: Peeters, 1987), 18–19. My translation follows the so-called western manuscript (Ms. Oc.) tradition. The eastern one (Ms. Or.) is here shorter but ends solemnly: “There God gave him power over all the created.” Cf. E. A. Wallis Budge, *Book of the Cave of Treasures* (London, The Religious Tract Society, 1927), 52–53.

and speculations from various eras. The idea seems to have spread slowly and tentatively. Eusebius of Caesarea, who was familiar with Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre, did not mention it at all (to my knowledge),<sup>36</sup> and the same applies to the surviving works of Cyril of Jerusalem.

In Antioch, circa 390, John Chrysostom formulated it carefully: "Some say that there Adam had died and lay buried, and that Jesus set up His trophy over death in the place where death had begun its rule."<sup>37</sup> Chrysostom clearly did not want to confirm the belief or to declare it historically valid, but he also did not want to renounce or deny it, because it was thematically delicious and, in its own way, theologically coherent.

Moreover, there is the tradition reported in the *Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah* attributed to Basil the Great. There are some doubts concerning the authenticity of this work, which casts a shadow on its dating. Be that as it may, the text reflects earlier traditions in explaining the name "Place of the skull" by referring to the burial of Adam. This may also be the earliest text that explicitly mentions Adam's skull beneath the Cross, the other early witnesses being Epiphanius of Salamis and Jerome,<sup>38</sup> both from the late fourth century.

The following story has been preserved in the Church in an unwritten tradition, claiming that Judaea had Adam as its first inhabitant, and that after being expelled from Paradise he was settled in it as a consolation for what he had lost. Thus it was first to receive a dead man too, since Adam completed his condemnation there. The sight of the bone of the head, as the flesh fell away on all sides, seemed to be novel to the men of that time, and after depositing the skull in that place they named it Place of the Skull.

It is probable that Noah, the ancestor of all men, was not unaware of the burial, so that after the flood the story was passed on by him. For this reason, the Lord having fathomed the source of human death accepted death "in the place called the Place of the Skull" (John 19:17) in order that the life of the kingdom of heaven should originate from the same place in which the corruption of men took its origin, and just as death gained its strength in Adam, so it became powerless in the death of Christ.<sup>39</sup>

In a symbolical sense, the belief hits at the kernel of Christian faith, and this is why it is shown in the Orthodox Golgotha icon. However, it did become a part of tradition in concrete terms as well. Still today one may see the burial cave of Adam under the chapel of Golgotha in the Church of Holy Sepulchre.

36 As the bishop of Caesarea, Eusebius had his own ecclesiastical reasons to downplay the significance of Jerusalem and especially Golgotha. See the analysis in Ze'ev Rubin, "The Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Conflict between the sees of Caesarea and Jerusalem," in *The Jerusalem Cathedral. Studies in the History, Archaeology, Geography and Ethnography of the Land of Israel* 2, ed. Lee I. Levine (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1982), 87–91. See also P. W. L. Walker, *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

37 John Chrysostom, *In Ioannem*. 85, trans. Sister Thomas Aquinas Goggin (FC 41, 428).

38 Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion* 46.5.1–6. Jerome, *Ep.* 46:3. The epistle is dated to 386. However, twelve years later Jerome clarified his position, arguing that the tradition was "attractive and soothing to the ear of the people" but "not true". Jerome, *Comm. Matt.* 27:33. For discussion, see Grypeou & Spurling, *Book of Genesis*, 77.

39 Basil the Great, *Commentarius in Isaiam* V, 141 (PG 30:348c–349a). Translation of this passage in Lipatov-Chicherin, "Early Christian tradition", 162–163. See Grypeou & Spurling, *Book of Genesis*, 75–76.



Figure 2. The rock under Golgotha in the Chapel of Adam.  
(Photo: Fallaner, Wikimedia Commons)<sup>40</sup>

## THE PLACE OF ABRAHAM AND ISAAC

In Judaism, the Temple Mount was understood as the same place as Mount Moriah in the *aqedah* episode of Abraham and Isaac. For Christians, however, Moriah was profoundly related to Golgotha. In terms of meaning, this was obvious, due to the rich thematic parallelism, developed by various Church fathers and customarily utilized in Church art. From the theological and artistic parallels there was only a short step to identify Moriah and Golgotha as one and the same place in concrete terms. But who would dare to take that step?

The idea appears first, somewhat opaquely, in the fragments attributed to Eusebios of Emesa (d. 360) and Diodore of Tarsos (d. c. 390) who build on Josephus's identification of Mount Moriah as the site of the Temple area.<sup>41</sup> The earliest well-known Church father who identifies Mount Moriah with Golgotha in a fully surviving work is Theodoret of Cyrrhus (d. 457) in the first half of the fifth century. However, he framed his words carefully: "And they say that the [same] mountain-top was considered worthy for both sacrifices."<sup>42</sup> It is of note that all three authors are from around the Syro-Antiochian area.

40 [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Holy\\_Land\\_2016\\_P0588\\_Adams\\_Chapel\\_Golgotha\\_Stone.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Holy_Land_2016_P0588_Adams_Chapel_Golgotha_Stone.jpg).

41 Josephus, *Antiquities*, 7:13. Discussed in Grypeou & Spurling, *Book of Genesis*, 74–75.

42 Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Eranistes* 3 (PG 83: 252).



The identification of Moriah and Golgotha seems to have been widespread in the Syriac-speaking Middle East. The main witnesses are from the late fifth century. In addition to the *Book of the Cave of treasures* (29:4–9), Jacob of Sarug (d. 521) called Golgotha “the mountain of Isaac”, stating that Isaac was bound at the same spot in which the crucifixion took place. For Jacob, as for many others, the reason why the whole episode had happened in the first place was that Isaac, tied on wood, was a *typos* of Christ who was nailed to the wood at the same spot.<sup>43</sup>

Similarly, the famous fifth century East Syrian poet Narsai (d. 502) wrote that the outward eyes of Abraham were shown a place for the sacrifice of his own son, but at the same time, his inner eyes were provided with a view to the times to come: “On this place, Christ would be sacrificed, too.”<sup>44</sup> In later eras, up to modern times, the tradition has also been kept alive by the Ethiopian monastic community living on the upper outer sections of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

### AN ESCHATOLOGICAL CENTRE

The idea of cosmic centre has eschatological implications as well. In Judaism it goes without saying that Jerusalem and the new temple are the epicentre of messianic times and eschatological events. In Christianity, the connection between Golgotha and eschatology is not as easily backed by biblical argument, but there is a connection. The idea is not very well known in the contemporary Orthodox world, not to mention western Christianity, but it has had considerable relevance and popularity in history.

The main representative of Golgotha-centred eschatology is the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodios*, originally a Syriac work from the 690’s, written as a prophetic and apocalyptic response to the rise of Islamic power. The work was soon translated into Greek and Armenian and consequently into Latin and Slavonic, and it was very widely read throughout mediaeval times, especially in times of turmoil.

The eschatological vision of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodios* was meant for the consolation and hope of medieval Christians under Islamic rule. The main idea is that the “King of the Greeks”, namely the Byzantine Emperor, regains the power in the Middle East,<sup>45</sup> re-establishes the glory of Christianity and returns the Holy Cross to Jerusalem. The world recognizes Christ, and after the last battles the emperor rises to Golgotha with the true Cross, setting it in its original place and leaving his crown on the Cross. Rising his hands towards heaven, the emperor delivers his kingdom to God.<sup>46</sup> When set in its place, it is as if the Cross revives and arises to heaven. Here

43 Jacob of Sarug, *Homiliae Selectae* III, 311.

44 Narsai, *Homiliae et Carmina* I, 20.

45 It is good to keep in mind that the Middle East was still mostly Christian by population around the eighth century AD.

46 Pseudo-Methodius, *Apocalypse* 14:2–6. The Greek text is edited and translated by Benjamin Garstad in *Pseudo-Methodius, Apocalypse, An Alexandrian World Chronicle* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2012). The Syriac text is in G. Reinink, *Die syrische Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius* (CSCO 540–541, Louvain: Peeters, 1993).

the vision connects with biblical evidence: after the very last apocalyptic fight against Antichrist, all nations shall see the sign of the Son of Man (Mt 24:30), which is the original Cross in the sky.<sup>47</sup>

The cosmic elevation of the Cross, in turn, became a famous topic in the imagery of Byzantine and especially Georgian churches; in Georgia, the theme even took the place of Pantokrator in the main dome of some churches.<sup>48</sup>

Regardless of the fantastic details, the vision of Pseudo-Methodios by its mere existence tells a great deal about the significance of Jerusalem, Golgotha, and the Holy Sepulchre as the cosmic centre of the Eastern Christianity. The idea of final restitution seemed to imply that there can be no cosmic fulfilment outside the mystical centre of the Church and the geographical centre of the world. Likewise, the return of the original Cross to its original place was seen as the key to eschatological events. At the time when the vision was written, the wood of the Cross had probably already been cut into pieces and was being distributed around Christendom as relics. Such a vision tells of a certain kind of despair when history appeared to develop in the wrong direction in the Muslim-controlled Christian heartlands.

How is it possible that this kind of messianic utopia was accepted and taken extremely seriously for a millennium? Of course, faith in the victory of Christ is the basis of Christianity, and the same can be said about the belief in the power and cosmic significance of the true Cross. In the Orthodox vision since Paul and Irenaeus, the history of creation was expected to have a glorious ending, and there is no glory without the Cross. However, I dare to suggest that belief in apocalyptic fantasies may also have something to do with the fact from which we started: liturgical celebrations of the Cross. Perhaps the dramatic use of the Psalm verse in liturgical life contributed in its small way to faith in the cosmic power of the Cross, which in pious imagination grew into an eschatological triumph.

### **SOME REMARKS ON THE WESTERN FATHERS**

In the Latin sources, however, the understanding of the verse was blurred to a very general level. The Western traditions from Augustine to modern Bible translations usually take Ps. 74/73:12b in a most general sense, “among all nations”, “in the sight of all nations”.<sup>49</sup> Consequently, there is a considerable difference between the Eastern and Western (Augustine, Cassiodorus) interpretations of this verse. And this despite the fact that the Vulgate reading *Deus autem rex noster ante saecula: operatus est salutem in medio terrae* would allow the reading “centre of the earth”.

47 Pseudo-Methodius, *Apocalypse* 14:13.

48 Perhaps the most famous example is the cathedral of Nikortsminda.

49 For example, “he brings salvation on the earth” (NIV); “bringing salvation to the earth” (NLT); however, KJV has “working salvation in the midst of the earth”. The modern Finnish translation (1992), known for free solutions and blunt expressions that efficiently exclude traditional Christian and Jewish readings, reads “sinä teet suuria tekoja kaikkialla” (“You make great deeds everywhere”).

For Augustine, the verse was indeed Messianic, but only as a general reference to the incarnation, which took place in earthly substance, as he explains in *The City of God*:

But God, our King before the worlds, has wrought salvation *in the midst of the earth*; so that the Lord Jesus may be understood to be our God who is before the worlds, because by Him the worlds were made, working our salvation in the midst of the earth, for the Word was made flesh and dwelt in an earthly body.<sup>50</sup>

Accordingly, when Augustine discussed the verse in relation to man, he focused on the “earth”, ignoring the idea of being “amidst” or in the middle.

[...] *in the midst of the earth* appears to me to be said of the time when every one lives in the body; for in this life every one carries about his own earth, which, on a man’s dying, the common earth takes back, to be surely returned to him on his rising again. Therefore *in the midst of the earth*, that is, while our soul is shut up in this earthly body, judgment and justice are to be done.<sup>51</sup>

After Augustine, Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus (490–c. 585) provided the verse with two possible meanings, both being of rather general nature. First, he offers the possibility of interpreting it “as relating to the miracles he performed, which he is known to have achieved before people’s eyes”. Secondly, and preferably, the verse can be taken to refer to the “salvation of the souls which he achieved by his life-giving preaching.”<sup>52</sup> In other words, the verse is for Cassiodorus an unspecific, vague reference to the words and actions of Christ in general.

The main reason behind the difference, I believe, is that those who never saw Jerusalem, Church of the Holy Sepulchre and other holy places were simply less accustomed to express or define the Christian faith in concrete geographical and topographical terms. This is to some extent true even today.

## CONCLUSION

The idea of Jerusalem as the centre of earth is of Jewish origin, though it seems to have become predominant only in the era of the Second temple. One may suppose that in the Early Church those Christians who were familiar with Jewish ideas took it for granted. For Christians, however, the salvation was brought not in the Temple but in Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, and therefore it was easy to see the verse “You have wrought salvation in the midst of the earth” as having been fulfilled in that place, all the more so when the very same place started to function as the centre of global Christian pilgrimage. Therefore, there is still today a concrete *omphalos mundi* in the Anastasis Church, located between the Holy Sepulchre and Golgotha.

<sup>50</sup> Augustine, *City of God* 17:4.

<sup>51</sup> Augustine, *City of God* 17:4.

<sup>52</sup> Cassiodorus, *Expositions of the Psalms* 73.12. ACW 52, 217.



Figure 3. Omphalos mundi in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem.  
(Photo: Sergey Serous, Wikimedia Commons.)<sup>53</sup>

The expression “midst of the earth” (ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς) is open to two different main readings, a general one (“among all”, “in the sight of all”) and a focused one (“at the centre”). It seems that the latter reading was a natural one in the vicinity of Jerusalem, as the universalist reading could gain hold elsewhere in Christendom. On the other hand, Jerusalemite influences were fast to spread, and this shows in many interpretations (Pseudo-Athanasius, Ephrem, and various Syriac sources from circa fifth century).

As liturgical texts and practices related to the Cross and Great Week evolved in Jerusalem and its immediate surroundings, it is obvious that the liturgical use of the verse follows the Jerusalemite understanding. This is why it is connected with the Cross, which in Jerusalem meant the concrete original wooden Cross. The fact that the liturgical use of the verse was

<sup>53</sup> [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Пуп\\_земли.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Пуп_земли.jpg).

related to the Cross in turn made it the prevalent Orthodox understanding of the verse, even against various patristic interpretations that were more general in character, displaying Christ as the universal redeemer.

The basic idea of the Jerusalemite understanding of the verse is open to many directions such as beliefs on the creation and burial of Adam, the sacrifice of Abraham and Isaac, or eschatological events – all of which are related to the Temple Mount in Judaism. In that sense, the Jewish beliefs were being reflected in the Christian tradition, resulting in distinctive Christian variations on Jewish themes.

The verse itself is apt to give an expression to the very core of Christian faith. On account of its rich history in patristic interpretation, in addition to architectural and archaeological aspects, pious stories and colourful legends, the verse is exceptionally inspiring in many ways. Once one becomes familiar with these dimensions, his/her experience of chanting or listening to this verse in liturgical settings will certainly become more profound and colourful.

This in turn exemplifies a wider phenomenon. Liturgical life largely consists of biblical and other verses following each other, flowing through the liturgical space, gently touching those present, making something significant present for a fleeting moment. Now each of these verses is a semantic microcosm of its own, constituted by centuries of patristic thinking and its ecclesiastical, literary, and cultural applications. However, the subject matter is scattered in endless sources and not easily graspable. Perhaps one day there will be electronic service-books in which one can open each such microcosm with a gentle touch. The line “You have wrought salvation in the midst of the earth” will certainly be an interesting click.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexander, Philip S. “Jerusalem as the *Omphalos of the World*: On the History of a Geographical Concept.” In *Jerusalem: Its Sanctity and Centrality*, edited by Lee Levine, 104–129. New York: Continuum, 1999.

*Aramaic Targum [mikraot gedolot]*. Sefaria. Accessed December 22, 2021. [https://www.sefaria.org/Aramaic\\_Targum\\_to\\_Psalms](https://www.sefaria.org/Aramaic_Targum_to_Psalms).

Athanasios, *Expositiones in Psalmos*. PG 27, 59–590.

— *Quaestiones ad Antiochum*. PG 28, 597–698.

Augustine. *The City of God*. Translated by Henry S. Bettenson. Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1984.

Basil the Great. *Commentarius in Isaiam*. PG 30, 118–169.

Beall, Todd S. *Josephus’ Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Bitton-Ashkelony, Brouria. *Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, 2005.

Bradshaw, Paul F. *Daily Prayer in the Early Church: A Study of the Origin and Early Development of the Divine Office*. Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2008.

Budge, Ernest Alfred Thompson Wallis. *Book of the Cave of Treasures*. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1927.

— *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*. London: Oxford University Press, 1915.

Cassiodorus. *Explanation of the Psalms*. Translated by P. G. Walsh. ACW 52. New York: Paulist Press, 1990.

*The Complete Artscroll Machzor for Rosh Hashanah*. New York: Mesorah Publications, 1985.

Cyril of Jerusalem. *Catecheses*. PG 33, 331–1058.

Damaskinos (Olkinuora) of Xenophontos, *Sabbas Pyhitetyn Typikon*. Joensuu: Ortodoksinen seminaari, 2021.

Dorival, Gilles. "Athanasie ou Pseudo-Athanasie." *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 16 (1980), 80–89.

Ephrem the Syrian. *Commentaire de l'Évangile Concordant: texte syriaque (manuscrit Chester Beatty 709)*. Edited by L. Leloir. Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1963.

Epiphanius of Salamis. *In sabbato magno*. PG 43, 439–464.

— *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis*. Book I (Sects 1–46). Tr. F. Williams. Nag Hammadi Studies 35. E. J. Brill. Leiden 1987.

Eusebius. *Commentaria in Psalmos*. PG 23, 11–1396.

Euthymios Zigabenos. *Psalter Commentary*. Edited by John Raffan. Accessed December 22, 2021. [https://www.academia.edu/25967928/Zigabenus\\_Psalter\\_Commentary\\_Parallel\\_Text](https://www.academia.edu/25967928/Zigabenus_Psalter_Commentary_Parallel_Text) [Published exclusively in academia.edu only.]

— *Psalter Commentary*. Translated by John Raffan. Accessed December 22, 2021. [https://www.academia.edu/25967905/Zigabenus\\_Psalter\\_Commentary\\_English\\_Text](https://www.academia.edu/25967905/Zigabenus_Psalter_Commentary_English_Text) [Published exclusively in academia.edu only.]

Grypeou, Emmanouela & Helen Spurling. *The Book of Genesis in Late Antiquity: Encounters between Jewish and Christian Exegesis*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Jacob of Sarug. *Homiliae Selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis Tomus III*. Edited by Paulus Bedjan. Leipzig & Paris: Otto Harrassowitz, 1907.

Jerome. *Commentary on Matthew*. Translated by Thomas P. Scheck. FC 117. Washington: Catholic University of America, 2008.

— *Epistles*. Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series, Vol. 6. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1893.

John Chrysostom. *Expositiones in Psalmos*. PG 55, 39–498.

— *Commentary on Saint John the Apostle and Evangelist: Homilies 48–88*. Translated by Sister Thomas Aquinas Goggin. FC 41. Washington: Catholic University of America, 1959.

— *In adorationem venerandae crucis*. PG 62, 747–754.

— *In Joannem*. PG 59, 23–482.

Josephus. *The Jewish War Vol. I: Books 1–2*. Loeb Classical Library 203. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1927.

— *The Jewish War Vol. II: Books 3–4*. Loeb Classical Library 487. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1927.

Julius Africanus. *Chronographiae*. Edited by M. Wallraff. GCS NF 15. Berlin & New York: De Gruyter, 2007.

- Leloir, Louis. *Commentaire de l'Évangile concordant, texte syriaque (Manuscrit Chester Beatty 709)*. Chester Beatty Monographs 8. Dublin: Hodges Figgis & Co, 1963.
- Lipatov-Chicherin, Nikolai. "Early Christian Tradition about Adam's Burial on Golgotha and Origen." In *Origeniana Duodecima: Origen's Legacy in the Holy Land – A Tale of Three Cities: Jerusalem, Caesarea and Bethlehem*, edited by Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony. Leuven: Peeters, 2019.
- Macé, Caroline & Ilse de Vos. "Pseudo-Athanasius, Quaestio ad Antiochum 136." *Studia Patristica* 66:14. Edited by Markus Vincent. Leuven: Peeters, 2013.
- McCarthy, Carmel. *Saint Ephrem's Commentary on Tatian's Diatessaron*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Morris, Colin. *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: from the Beginning to 1600*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Narsai. *Homiliae et Carmina*. Edited by Alphonse Mingana. Mosul: Typis Fratrum Praedicatorum, 1905.
- Origen. *Homilies on the Psalms: Codex Monacensis Graecus 314*. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 2021.
- *Matthäuserklärung* II. Edited by E. Klostermann. GCS 38. Origenes Werke 11. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1933.
- *Matthäuserklärung* III. Edited by E. Hälfte. GCS 41. Origenes Werke 12. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1941.
- Pseudo-Methodius. *Apocalypse: An Alexandrian World Chronicle*. Edited and translated by Benjamin Garstad. Dumberton Oaks Medieval Library 14. London: Harvard University Press, 2012.
- Reinink, G. J. *Die syrische Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius*. CSCO 540–541. Louvain: Peeters, 1993.
- Ri, Su-Min. *Le Caverne des Trésors: les deux recensions syriaques*. CSCO 486, Louvain: Peeters, 1987.
- Rubin, Ze'ev. "The Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Conflict between the Sees of Caesarea and Jerusalem." In *The Jerusalem Cathedra. Studies in the History, Archaeology, Geography and Ethnography of the Land of Israel 2*, edited by Lee I. Levine, 79–105. Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi Institute, 1982.
- Scott, James M. *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity: The Book of Jubilees*. Society for New Testament Monograph Series 113. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Skarsaune, Oskar. *In the Shadow of the Temple. Jewish Influences on Early Christianity*. Illinois: InterVarsity Press, 2002.
- Stead, G. S. "St. Athanasius on the Psalms." *Vigiliae Christianae* 39 (1985): 65–78.
- Tehillim: A New Translation with a Commentary anthologized from Talmudic, Midrashic and Rabbinic Sources [Psalms 73–150]*. Artscroll Tanach Series. New York: Mesorah Publications, 1969.
- Tehillim with Rashi's Commentary 2*. Jerusalem: Feldheim Publishers, 2009.
- Theodoret of Cyrrhus. *Eranistes*. PG 83, 27–317.
- *Interpretatio in Psalmos*. PG 80, 857–1998.
- Theodoret of Cyrus. *Commentary on the Psalms: Psalms 73–150*. Translated by Robert C. Hill. FC 102. Washington: Catholic University of America, 2001.
- van der Horst, Pieter. "The Site of Adam's Tomb." In *Studies in Hebrew Literature and Jewish Culture*, edited by Martin F. J. Baasten & Reinier Munk, 251–255. Amsterdam Studies in Jewish Thought 12. Dordrecht: Springer, 2007. [https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004271111\\_002](https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004271111_002).
- Walker, P. W. L. *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Wilken, Robert L. *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.



# **RECORDINGS OF TWENTIETH CENTURY SERBIAN CHURCH CHANT**

## **MATERIAL EVIDENCE OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE**

**NATAŠA MARJANOVIĆ**

Institute for Musicology of Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts  
[natasamarjanovic4@gmail.com](mailto:natasamarjanovic4@gmail.com)

### **INTRODUCTION**

**T**raditional Orthodox Serbian church chant, based on the older Greek, Byzantine and Serbian church chant tradition, was set on its course at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the history of Serbian church music this was a turning point to the new period. After the Great Migrations of the Serbs to the Habsburg monarchy (at the end of the seventeenth century), the musical tradition with Byzantine basis and with the roots in the work of the brothers Cyril and Methodius continued its living and gradually modified in the new cultural space. Serbian, that is, Byzantine musical practice was 'confronted' with the music of Western Europe and Europeanized Russian church music. Among the other influences, the diverse musical life in the new environment encouraged 'adaptation' to the European musical style. Nevertheless, the need for preservation of the national identity and religious affiliation was dominant among Serbs in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.<sup>1</sup>

During the nineteenth century traditional Serbian church chant was cultivated among Serbs living in different geographical and cultural spaces which used to belong to the two empires: Austro-Hungary and the Ottoman

1 Danica Petrović, "Church Elements in Serbian Ritual Songs," *V Grazer Balkanologen Tagung 1973* (Graz: Grazer musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten 1, 1975), 109–125; Danica Petrović, „Српско литургијско појање и јерархија Карловачке митрополије.” In *Три века Карловачке митрополије 1713–2013* (Сремски Карловци 2013), 567–585; Predrag Đoković, „Путеви традиције: од старог ка новијем српском црквеном појању.” *Савремено и традиционално у музичком стваралаштву* (Источно Сарајево: Универзитет у Источном Сарајеву, Музичка академија 2020), 63–86.



Empire (today constituting different national countries). It flourished primarily in the monasteries in Fruška Gora and in the seminaries and secular schools in the territory of the Metropolitanate of Karlovci (Austro-Hungary), but also among the Serbs who lived in the Ottoman Empire. Serbian church chant was part of both the liturgical and the private life of the Serbian people across different cultural and geopolitical frameworks. This is documented in archival documents, as well as in newspapers, correspondences and autobiographical works.<sup>2</sup>

For decades this chant was transmitted exclusively as an oral tradition. It was written down for the first time in the mid-nineteenth century with the encouragement of the Serbian Orthodox Church hierarchy, who recognised the need to have the traditional melodies written down in musical notation in order to ensure their preservation and to facilitate learning for the younger generations. With the significant help of the Metropolitan of Karlovci, later Serbian Patriarch Josif (Rajačić), as well as the Metropolitan of Serbia Mihailo (Jovanović), this work was undertaken by Kornelije Stanković (1831–1865), one of the first educated Serbian musicians. He wrote down, at first place in unison form, the vast repertoire of the annual cycle of liturgical hymns according to the singing of the nest church musicians, singers from the monasteries of Karlovci and Fruška Gora.<sup>3</sup> During the second half of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries important music collections were compiled by Stanković's younger followers, educated composers, theologians, priests and laymen.<sup>4</sup> These collections ensured that the melodies of the Serbian church chant from the two previous centuries were standardized and preserved until the present day.

Audio recordings of traditional (unison) Serbian chant have an especial value as authentic and unique testimony of this segment of the Serbian musical heritage. This paper focuses on representative twentieth century recordings of the Serbian church chant, many of which have been

2 Danica Petrović, „Будим и Пешта у историји српске музике.“ In *Друштвене науке о Србима у Мађарској* (Будимпешта: САНУ, Српска самоуправа у Мађарској 2003), 55–66; Nataša Marjanović, *Музика у животу Срба у 19. веку – из мемоарске ризнице* (Нови Сад – Београд: Матица српска – Музиколошки институт 2019).

3 In further stages of his work, Stanković harmonized greater part of the written melodies for mixed choir. See: Danica Petrović, „Станковић – мелограф српског појања“, „Извори и начела издања,“ In: Корнелије Станковић, *Сабрана дела, Осмогласник* (књ. За, Зб) (Београд, Нови Сад: Музиколошки институт Српске академије наука и уметности, Завод за културу Војводине 2014), 15–18, 19–25; Danica Petrović, „Црквена музика у Сабраним делима Корнелија Станковића: поводом обележавања 150-годишњице смрти,“ *Зборник Матице српске за сценске уметности и музику* 53 (2015): 159–172 ; Nataša Marjanović, „Erhaltene einstimmige Aufzeichnungen des serbischen kirchlichen Volksgesangs aus der Feder des Kornelije Stanković,“ In *Theorie und Geschichte der Monodie*, Band 7/2 (2014): 515–540; Nataša Marjanović, „Gesangweisen des serbischen Kirchengesangs in melographischen Aufzeichnungen und Harmonisierungen von Kornelije Stanković,“ In *Theorie und Geschichte der Monodie*, Band 9/1 (2018): 149–187. A large multi-annual project on the preparation of the complete written music legacy in the *Complete Works of Kornelije Stanković* (project lead and chief editor Prof. Dr. Danica Petrović).

4 Petrović, „Church Elements“; Danica Petrović, „Српска црквена музика као предмет музиколошких истраживања,“ *Зборник Матице српске за сценске уметности и музику* 15 (1995): 31–46. Many of those collections testify to the version of Serbian chant specific to the tradition cherished among the Serbian communities in the area north of the Danube, Sava and Drina rivers. As the term 'Prečani Serbs' (*Prečani*) was used to distinguish Serbs from 'Serbia' and Serbs in the Habsburg/Austro-Hungary monarchy, the term 'prečanski' chant (*prečansko pojanje*) is used to refer to the variant of traditional Serbian chant from that area. Among its main characteristics are richly ornamented melodies and slower singing.

published but that also include one large archival audio collection that has not been known to the public until now. The chosen archival material allows for numerous interpretations (given its varied origin and the circumstances in which it was recorded). It is my choice to present the selected audio recordings as examples of the style of church chant in Serbian churches and monasteries at two points in time – first in the 1930s, and then in the second half of the twentieth century. These material testimonies concerning the living chant tradition allow us today to learn about Serbian church chant and thus to bear witness to its survival as an intangible cultural heritage of our times.

### LAZAR LERA AND HIS CONSERVATORY OF SERBIAN CHURCH CHANT (1933)

The oldest known audio recordings of Serbian church chant were published in 1933, under the title of “Conservatory of Serbian Church Chant” (Раса̀дник српског православног црквеног појања). The key participant in this project was Lazar Lera (1885–1966), teacher and exceptional church chanter, who had studied and practiced church chant at the very source of this tradition, among the well-versed and respected chanters in Sremski Karlovci, in Sombor with Dušan Kotur, and as a student of Radivoje Bikar, who himself has studied with the Karlovci chanter Gerasim Petrović.<sup>5</sup> In the interwar period Lera was an active chanter in several Belgrade churches, and especially noteworthy is his work as a chanter and teacher in Zemun where in addition to his regular duties as the chanter at the Church of the Holy Virgin (from 1933), he taught the basics of church chant to school children. With the agreement of the Synod of the Serbian Orthodox church and under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, she organised and led a private school of Serbian church chant in Zemun.<sup>6</sup>

Together with Čeda Dimitrijević, a well-known merchant from Pest, and with two other chanters from Zemun, Lera worked on a pioneering project to record the large corpus of the most important hymns from the annual cycle of the liturgical repertoire of Serbian chant.<sup>7</sup> The main goal of the project, called “Conservatory of Serbian Church Chant” (Раса̀дник српског православног црквеног појања) was to enable those interested in church chant to learn the basic chanting repertoire, and fundamental chanting skills. Sponsored by Čeda Dimitrijević, this edition was published in Zagreb in 1933 at the *Edison Bell Penkala* publishing house, on 78rpm records.<sup>8</sup> The collection contains 160 set hymns of the General chant, Festal

5 Konstantin Kostić, *Из прошлости Учитељске школе у Сомбору* (Нови Сад, 1938), 134; Dimitrije Stefanović, „Лазар Лера (1885–1966). Прилог историји музичке културе код Срба,“ *Зборник Матице српске за друштвене науке* 50 (1968): 163–165; Predrag Miodrag, „Знаменити професори црквеног појања и литургије у Карловачкој митрополији и Богословији.“ In *Три века Карловачке митрополије 1713–2013* (Сремски Карловци 2013), 587–600.

6 Nataša Marjanović, „Заоставштина Лазара Лере у Музиколошком институту САНУ – грађа за историју српског црквеног појања, музичке културе и просвете,“ *Телишварски зборник* 13 (2021): 30–31.

7 The chanters Dušan Lambrin and Đorđe Parabučki sang several hymns for the edition.

8 The whole Yugoslav record industry in the period, up to the late 1950s, was located in Zagreb. See: Naila Ceribašić, “Music as Recording, Music in Culture, and the Study of Early Recording Industry in Ethnomusicology: A Take on Edison Bell Penkala“, *IRASM* 52 (2021): 323–354.

chant, from the Octoechos and the memorial service.<sup>9</sup> The conception of the collection was based on the basic liturgical units and adapted to the educational purposes of the collection. The first group of hymns, from the Liturgy, selections of hymns from the Vespers and festal troparia, was intended for school children, while the more complex hymns from the second part of the collection – hymns of the so called ‘great chant’ for the Liturgy, matins and vespers, Psalms and Resurrection troparia, festal troparia, megalinaria and festal heirmoi were intended for adults, i.e. for those who were more advanced in chanting skills.<sup>10</sup> Through these recordings, as well as through writing down chant melodies in musical notation, the so called ‘tailoring’ (*krojenje*), setting of the melodies, Lera wanted to contribute to the formation of a correct and “uniform” chant.<sup>11</sup> Alongside numerous examples of the ‘small’ church chant characterized by syllabic melodies, the collection is especially interesting for its examples of the elaborate so-called ‘great’ (richly melismatic) chant, whose preservation was especially close to Lera’s heart.<sup>12</sup>

These recordings, as well as numerous examples of church chant that Lera had written down, are valuable testimonies to the Serbian church chant tradition as it was cultivated in the territory of the former Austro-Hungary (some melodies bear traces of local chant practices: ‘from Novi Sad’, ‘from Sombor’, ‘from Karlovci’). The audio recordings of Lera’s chanting are authentic examples of the so-called ‘prečanska’ tradition of Serbian church chant – the tradition present among the Serbs north (on the other side from Serbia proper) of the Sava and the Danube. Future studies of his interpretations could shed additional light on various aspects of Lera’s personal style of chanting which was marked by notably slow singing, very precise enunciation of text and recognisable metrical-rhythmic frameworks specific to certain hymns, i.e. melodies.

In the interwar period, when the *Conservatory* was published, Serbian church chant had ceased to be an obligatory subject in teacher training colleges and state schools,<sup>13</sup> which led to a significant drop in

9 Future answers to the questions about the flow and the method of work on the recording of the *Conservatory* can certainly be found in Lera’s numerous handwritten music records and the works of his predecessors and contemporaries.

10 Milica Andrejević, “Звучни снимци српског православног црквеног појања,” *Свеске Матице српске* 45 (2006): 78.

11 The term ‘tailoring’ (in Serbian *krojenje*) means setting the melodies of the Modes of the Octoechos, their specific melodic formulas in particular order, to the hymnographical texts. Concerning Lera’s view of the importance of this chanting skill see: Lazar Lera, Писмо митрополиту Митрофану, Земун, 14. децембар 1940, Архив Музиколошког института САНУ (Letter to metropolitan Mitrofan, Zemun, 14 December 1940, Archives of the Institute of Musicology, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts).

12 In the Serbian traditional liturgical music, ‘great chant’ is the term which appeared in the 19th century, implying very melismatic melodies of certain liturgical hymns. Cf. Vesna Peno, “Great Chant in Serbian Tradition – on the Examples of the Melody It is Truly Meet”, *Зборник Матице српске за сценске уметности и музику* 40 (2009): 19–38; Nataša Marjanović, “Great chant in the liturgical practice of the Serbian Orthodox Church”, *Crossroads – Greece as an intercultural pole of musical thought and creativity*, (Thessaloniki: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, School of Music Studies, International Musicological Society (I.M.S.), Regional Association for the Study of Music of the Balkans, 2013), 569–579; Nataša Dimić, *Аспекти великог појања у контексту српске православне црквене музике*, докторска дисертација, Факултет музичке уметности, Београд 2015; Марјановић, “Заоставштина Лазара Лере”.

13 Cf. Petrović 1995; Danica Petrović, “Традиционално српско народно црквено појање у XX веку. Пут неговања, замирања, страдања и обнављања,” *Црква 2000* (Београд: Календар Српске

numbers of skilled teachers and church chanters and made the *Conservatory* an even more valuable instrument for individual study of church chant. The new edition was also widely used for studying church chant in Serbian monasteries, making its way first of all to many monasteries in Fruška Gora and elsewhere in Serbia (at that time part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia). Particular documents testify that the publisher, Čeda Dimitrijević, negotiated distribution of the edition also in Split, Plaško, Sarajevo and Cetinje. The importance of the recorded material was quickly recognised by the teachers of church chant. Bishops Mitrofan Abramov, who himself was an excellent and well-versed church chanter who took great care of the music education of the monks and nuns,<sup>14</sup> bought the *Conservatory* for to the students in the monastic school in Visoki Dečani monastery. At the beginning of the 1940s the monks even acquired a specially selected gramophone to facilitate easier study of the recorded hymns.

Lera's edition attracted attention of the Serbian diaspora in the United States, among whom there was also a significant interest in Serbian church chant. Lera's and Dimitrijević's correspondence with the general secretary of the Serbian Singing Association in Detroit in the 1934 shows that the importance of the new audio edition was fully recognised, especially in the light of the Association's main goals to facilitate preservation of the Serbian language, music and tradition.<sup>15</sup> Dimitrijević emphasised the fact that Serbian choral church music had its roots precisely in the unison tradition of church chant.<sup>16</sup>

### INDIVIDUAL PUBLISHED SERBIAN CHANTERS' RECORDINGS (1974-2013)

The next audio editions of the Serbian chant were published only in the last decades of the twentieth century. Recordings of chanting by Marko Ilić, deacon at the Orthodox Cathedral of the Archangel Michael in Belgrade were published in the late 1970s in Germany.<sup>17</sup> He recorded the Beatitudes and Troparia and Kontakia in all eight Modes. On the occasion of the 770th anniversary of the autocephaly of the Serbian Orthodox Church protodeacons Radomir Perčević and Vlado Mikić recorded most of the hymns from the Octoechos<sup>18</sup> followed by a selection of festal chants, as written down by

---

православне патријаршије, 1999), 104–111.

14 Aleksej Arsenjev, „Руска емиграција и црквено појање у Србији: 1920–1970. године.“ *Зборник Матице српске за сценске уметности и музику* 55 (2016): 132.

15 See: Krinka Vidaković Petrov, „Улога Српске православне цркве у очувању културног наслеђа исељеника у САД,“ In: *Очување и заштита културно-историјског наслеђа Србије у иностранству (IV)*, ур. Видоје Годубовић, Петар Петковић (Београд: Институт за међународну политику и привреду, 2012), 213–231.

16 Čeda Dimitrijević, Letter to V. M. Lugonja, secretary of the Serbian Singing Association, Detroit (Michigan, USA), 9 July 1934, The legacy of Petar Krstić, Archives of the Institute of Musicology, SASA; Serbian Singing Association, Letter to Petar Krstić, Detroit (Michigan, USA), 16 August 1933, The legacy of Petar Krstić, Archives of the Institute of Musicology, SASA.

17 Gesamtausgabe Serbischer Osmoglasnik (Blažena, Kondak, Prokimen) in kirchenslawischer Sprache nach Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac zur Liturgie (Diakon Marko Ilić) Tabor 7155, Ton-Archiv zum Byzantinisch – Ostkirchlichen Ritus, Munich, 1974.

18 St. St. Mokranjac. *Осмогласник. Српско црквено појање. Вечерње, јутрење и литургија* (Београд, Задруга православног свештенства 1987[89]; 2000) (ур. Раде И. Зеленовић).

Stevan Mokranjac.<sup>19</sup> Occasional examples of the unison chant may also be found on recordings of various choirs, together with examples of the medieval church music and choral repertoire.<sup>20</sup>

Special and unique audio examples of the Serbian chant are the recordings made by an exceptional chanter, Sava Vuković, bishop of Šumadija, during the last decades of the twentieth century. Bishop Sava had a depth of knowledge, both practical and historical, about Serbian church chant, and dedicated a great deal of his energy to its cultivation and promotion. He grew up in the surroundings strongly influenced by the rich and vibrant heritage of the Metropolitanate of Karlovci, which was especially felt in the orderly structure of liturgical life and liturgical singing. He learnt church chant from the best Karlovci chanters of that period, among whom were protopresbyter Branko Cvejić, who left one of the largest collections of Serbian church chant written down in musical notation, and Damaskin (Grdanički), Metropolitan of Zagreb, a student of Stevan Mokranjac.<sup>21</sup>

Bishop Sava was dedicated to the study of Serbian church chant, and during his student days and early career as a bishop, he often used to record Metropolitan Damaskin in the Belgrade Cathedral and at the Patriarchate.<sup>22</sup> Although he wholeheartedly supported the publication of church chant in its written form, he taught church chant at the seminary of St Sava in Belgrade without the use of written materials, relying primarily on the audio recordings which he prepared for these lessons. The great importance he attached to the availability and accessibility of the authentic recordings is clearly demonstrated in his endeavour to publish the recordings of the Vespers to St Sava sung by the clergy choir of Šumadija diocese (1980) – the first published complete recording of a church service in Serbia. The same choir later published also a selection of hymns for Christmas and Theophany (1987).<sup>23</sup>

*Serbian Chant in the Twentieth Century – the Chant Treasury of Bishop Dr Sava (Vuković)*, ed. Danica Petrović, published by the Institute of Musicology SASA in 2013 is a collection of recordings made by bishop Sava during the 1980s and 1990s, also for educational purposes – this time for his pupil Nenad Ristović, and for the sisterhood of Grnčarica monastery. The collection contains examples of festal chant, hymns from the Menaion, Triodion and Pentecostarion, as well as a selection of hymns from the Octoechos. The melodies of most of the recorded hymns have not been written down in musical notation before, and even those that exist in written-down form were sung with some alterations to the “standardized” variants available in the notational scripts by famous melographers of the Serbian church chant. In addition to his outstanding knowledge of hymnography and his remarkable

19 For more about the recordings of the Octoechos according to Mokranjac see Romana Ribić, “Audio recordings of hymns from the Octoechos as written down by Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac,” *New Sound – International Magazine for Music* 43, 1 (2014): 22–36.

20 Andrejević, „Звучни снимци“, 76.

21 Nenad Ristović, „Епископ Сава Вуковић и српско црквено појање,“ *Зборник Матице српске за сценске уметности и музику* 48 (2013): 215–230.

22 Ibid, 220.

23 Ibid, 224.

skill in setting melody to text (the so called 'tailoring' - *krojenje*) which always took into account the theological and philological considerations of the text, Nenad Ristović sees the exceptional quality of Bishop Sava's interpretation of the chant in the recognition of phrases, the skilful use of tempo changes, dynamics, and the overall musical expression. He also emphasises the significance of the influence of active choral singing and the experience of a listener of classical music for the formation of a distinctive style of this extraordinary church chanter.<sup>24</sup> The presented edition of the recordings of Bishop Sava's chant provides not only an exceptional example and an important historical resource, but also a model for those who are learning church chant and who see church music as a path for their own personal, spiritual and musical growth.

### ARCHIVE FIELD RECORDINGS (1970s, 1980s)

Extensive, mostly unknown to the public, recordings made as a part of musicological field work represent another group of invaluable audio testimonies of the live and dynamic tradition of Serbian church chant during the twentieth century. During the 1970s and the 1980s, musicologists from the Institute of Musicology, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Dimitrije Stefanović and his colleague Danica Petrović, recorded traditional Serbian church chant in many Serbian monasteries. The recordings are kept in the phonographic archives of the Institute of Musicology SASA. It might be presumed that this collection is testimony to the preservation of the authentic church chant practice in the centres of Serbian spiritual and cultural life over the centuries.

Especially valuable are the recordings from Hungary (Szentendre, Lovra, Eger, Pomaz, Mohacs), which confirm the continuity of the care for church music heritage among the Serbs in the territory of former southern Hungary (the area where the Serbs settled during the migrations in the seventeenth century).<sup>25</sup> Equally important are the recordings from the monasteries in Fruška Gora (St Petka, Ravanica), the spiritual centres of the Serbs and the main dissemination points of knowledge of church chant and practice during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Together with the numerous recordings made in the monasteries of central Serbia (Studena, Žiča, Velučje, Naupara, Nikolje, Đunis, St Petka, Gornjak, Manasija, Blagoveštenje) and Ovčar and Kablar region (Vavedenje, Vaznesenje, Sretenje), the recordings from Bosnia and Herzegovina (monastery Gomionica), Dalmatia, Croatia (Krka monastery) and Slavonia, Croatia (Lepavina monastery), are especially interesting for comparative research.<sup>26</sup>

24 Ibid, 221.

25 An addition to the important testimonies concerning Serbian church chant practice in the territory of Hungary (Battonya and Magyarcsanak) can be found in audio recordings of several church hymns made by composer and ethnomusicologist Tihomir Vujičić in 1958/59: <http://vujičics.zti.hu/sr/zvucni-snimci/crkvene-pesme-srpsko-narodno-crkveno-pojanje/>.

26 Similar recordings made among the Serbs in Romania might also be significant for further comparative research. Valuable archival research conducted by Dejan Popov, engineer and excellent

In most cases the chant was recorded in its authentic context, during church services. The recordings contain festive vigils from monasteries, vespers and matins, liturgies, memorial services (panihida) and commemorations of patron saints, and sometimes include spiritual and other traditional folk songs, which represent a specific form of folk music tradition. All liturgical music is sung in Church Slavonic, the liturgical language of the Serbian Orthodox Church, while a small number of non-liturgical spiritual songs are sung in modern Serbian. In addition to the audio recordings that bring to life the sound of church chant form over 50 years ago, segments of these recordings contain also valuable meta-data: recorded (sometimes also notated) comments of the researchers doing field work (Dimitrije Stefanović, Danica Petrović), information about the recorded material, comments about various oral traditions, and conversations with the singers/chanters and monks.

The most representative examples from the abundance of the recorded material show a high level of chanting skills and musicality of the chanters, many of whom were priests, monks and novices in monasteries.<sup>27</sup> Very noticeable is good intonation (the singing from the monasteries of Vavedenje, Vaznesenje, Nikolje and Naupara, for example), the great care to carefully create a logical melodic phrase during the setting words to melody, as well as the clear enunciation of the text (Ravanica, Vavedenje, Vaznesenje) the correlation of the chosen tempo with the pace of the monastic services (depending on their place in the church services, hymns were faster and more dynamic or slower, etc.). Especially noteworthy and interesting for this analysis are examples of the hymns, sung in two voices, sometimes with the melody of the accompanying voice carefully thought out and defined (the monasteries of Nikolje, Veluće, Gornjak). Equally important are the example of the choral monastic singing as an authentic illustration of the practice of choral chant entirely based on the traditional, unison church chant. At the request of the nuns from the monastery of Nikolje, composer and conductor Vojislav Ilić, former seminary pupil and especially dedicated to the field of Serbian church music, held, on his frequent visits, choir rehearsals with the nuns to practice choral chanting and even wrote simple choral arrangements of the traditional melodies.<sup>28</sup>

---

church chanter and dedicated researcher of Serbian church music and cultural history, especially among the Serbs in Romania, reveals important information about the recordings of Serbian church chant. One of the examples of exceptional importance for the comparative studies are the audio recordings that testify to the preservation and cultivation of the so called 'older melodies' (with a characteristic minor third in the melodies of the second, fourth and sixth tones) among the older Serbian church chanters in Pomorišje (historical area around Mures river, inhabited by Romanians, Serbs and Hungarians) who had learnt church chant at the beginning of the twentieth century. Cf. Dejan Popov, „Особености певничког појања у српским црквама у Поморишју – резултати досадашњих теренских и документарних истраживања,“ In *Арад кроз време*, бр. 17 (2017): 136–148.

For further comparative analyses, more detailed information about the whole collection of the recordings made among Serbs in Romania will be needed.

<sup>27</sup> Unfortunately, there are no detailed written documents about the singers on the recordings; only their names are mentioned.

<sup>28</sup> An exceptionally important source is the unique recording of the chanting of the nuns at Nikolje monastery: *Nikoljski Uskrs* (Jugoton, Jugoslavija 1976).

## POSSIBILITIES THAT OPEN UP THANKS TO RECORDINGS

Detailed examination of the mentioned editions and archival phono collection opens possibilities for research of the Serbian church chant throughout the period in which the recordings were made, and more broadly for a study of the development of the chant tradition among Serbs in the mid to late twentieth century. Recordings of chant in its authentic setting, during church services, will be especially important for future comparative studies, providing the opportunity to focus on detailed analysis of the liturgical repertoire, regional chanting practices, characteristics of local variants of church chant and individual chanters or differences between the monastic and the city practices etc. The characteristics of individual recordings also present us with some questions of aesthetics of musical performance: differences among the material recorded for education purposes, studio recordings vs. field work recordings, facets of concert performance of traditional church chant.<sup>29</sup> Another interesting topic of study would be the study of characteristics of chant in female monasteries in comparison to 'male-led' church chant. Future research questions are also discernible in the phenomenon of chant and migration, more precisely in the role of church chant in shaping, understanding and preserving cultural and spiritual identity.

The already-mentioned audio collections of church chant need to be examined in the context of the socio-political circumstances in the twentieth century, which had a strong influence on the preservation, cultivation and survival of church chant – from the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918) which introduced new education laws and removed church chant from the school curriculum, to the creation of the socialist state and a period unfavourable for the preservation, but especially for the study and performance, of religious musical heritage.<sup>30</sup> The aforementioned archival material collected during field studies, as well as compiling and editing sound publications, also sheds light on the role and the contribution of individual researchers (Dimitrije Stefanović, Danica Petrović) to the history of study of Serbian church music.

Opportunities arising from the use of the mentioned audio recordings are numerous, not only for research, but also in publishing.<sup>31</sup> Audio recordings are inevitably linked to the other types of archival materials (correspondences, notes from field work extremely important to complete the metadata and to arrive at a broader picture of the recorded materials, segments from the inheritance of well-known, but also lesser-known

29 Cf. Jerome F. Weber, "Liturgical reconstruction as reflected in recordings," *Historical Performance* (1991): 29–37.

30 Petrović, „Традиционално српско народно црквено појање у XX веку“.

31 The original 78rpm records, the recording of the Conservatory of the Serbian Church Chant, as well as most of the field work recordings here mentioned – done on magnetophones and tape players, have been digitized as part of individual project of the Institute of Musicology SASA. Cf. Andrejević, „Звучни снимци“; Marija Dumnić, Rastko Jakovljević, „Дигитализација грађе Фоноархива Музиколошког института САНУ,“ In *Фоноархив Музиколошког института САНУ: историјски извори у дигиталној ери* (Београд: Музиколошки институт САНУ, 2014), 13–25; Marjanović, „Заоставштина Лазара Лере“.



church chanters, composers and other individuals who contributed to the preservation of traditional Serbian church chant). Future comparative studies of historical recordings and current chant traditions based on new field work in regions where the same chant tradition is preserved would be of great interest. The information available from the metadata (chanters' names, sometimes a year of birth etc.) could guide new research towards the study of the activities of the "heirs" of the recorded chanters, that would show the characteristics of today's practice, with the goal of gaining a better understanding of the dynamics of the tradition, specific changes in the chanting tradition, repertoire, musical expression etc.

From the analytical, theoretical angle, the more frequent editions of different church music traditions over the last five decades were studied with a focus on the relation between the recording and the actual liturgical musical repertoire.<sup>32</sup> It was noticed that on the one hand the recordings could be seen as a reconstruction of the liturgical musical sequence and a unique display of the liturgical repertoire current at a certain point, while on the other side these recordings have the potential to become a model for an authentic presentation of the liturgical music in different contexts. It was possible to conclude that the revitalization of the older music through audio recordings, i.e. through the process of recording itself, may have influence especially on performing practice itself. As invaluable musical testimonies, the recordings I have presented in this paper also become a key that can unlock the path towards historically informed performance, i.e. historical interpretation.<sup>33</sup>

Last but not least, the publications of the selection of representative archival recordings is the precondition that will enable the wider public to access these examples of church chant, and support the preservation of Serbian church chant as an unique cultural heritage. Considering that teaching of Serbian church chant in our surroundings is still primarily dependent on oral methods and oral traditions, despite a number of valuable, written musical sources, it is certain that wider accessibility of the recordings of the church chant would increase their didactic potential. These recordings open numerous options to become acquainted, study, learn and pass on this oral musical tradition.

## UNESCO POINT OF VIEW

Over the last decade, referring to the UNESCO-defined concept, ethnological and anthropological studies have increased their focus on the importance of music as an intangible cultural heritage. Although the basic characteristics

32 Weber, "Liturgical reconstruction" (1991): 29.

33 This term is used from the end of the 20th century, mostly in the domain of the repertoire of the early music, (considering the music of pre-classical periods) and refers to the idea of 'authenticity', 'authentic' performance, based on study of historical evidence, old manuscripts, treatises, surviving authentic sources, etc. Predrag Đoković, Утицај европског покрета за рану музику на извођачку праксу у Србији, докторска дисертација, рукопис, Факултет музичке уметности, Универзитет у Београду, 2016, 8, 38. See also: Jerome F. Weber, "A Century of Chant Recordings." In *Calculemus et Cantemus, Towards a Reconstruction of Mozarabic Chant*, ed. Geert Maessen, Gregoriana (Amsterdam 2015), 119–136.

of music are deemed intangible phenomena, it is emphasized that music has a concrete role in the description, interpretation and evaluation of different cultures, given that the specific forms of music are considered defining characteristic of the identity of a certain community. Music is defined as an intangible cultural heritage given the crucial role of the experience of the individual, a specific group or a community, as a form of a 'shared experience'.<sup>34</sup>

A fundamental basis for the assessment of the Serbian Church Chant as an intangible cultural heritage is offered by the definitions which recognize intangible cultural heritage in the oral tradition, language, songs, traditional music, and according to which it is 'dynamic and vital heritage, a form of national property',

'(...) a living heritage which is happening in the present (...) It does not just represent inherited traditions, but more importantly their modern manifestations, those that above all play an important role in the everyday or celebratory-religious life of a community that recognizes them as a part of their own cultural identity, traditions that have a living function in the lives of their heirs/guardians'.<sup>35</sup>

Some of the most important stipulations of the UNESCO Convention specify that: certain cultural practices are recognised as intangible cultural heritage by the communities, groups and individuals who practise them; these traditions have been transmitted and at the same time adapted to new cultural, historical and societal changes over several generations; this heritage is an anchor for the identity and the cultural uniqueness of its creators and bearers, and an implicit condition of 'authenticity'.<sup>36</sup> It is emphasised that an important role in preserving intangible cultural heritage is played by the nation state, but also by the community as creator, bearer, promoter and transmitter that recreates, but also shapes a certain heritage. It is also very important to mention that these communities are not necessarily tied to a specific territory, but they have to be 'actively participating in the identification and defining of their own intangible cultural heritage, as well as its direction'.<sup>37</sup> Under 'preservation' UNESCO understands a wider spectrum of practices that ensure the 'usability' of intangible cultural heritage such as: identification, documenting, research, protection, promotion, appraisal, transmission through formal and informal education and revitalisation of various aspects of such heritage (UNESCO 2003 [2010], § 2(3)).

The already-mentioned recordings provide testimony of a live, vibrant tradition of Serbian church chant which has been preserved, mostly

34 Cf. Marija Ristivojević, „Muzika kao nematerijalno kulturno nasleđe,” *Antropologija* 14 (2014): 135–142; Ronald J. Inawat, “Music as Cultural Heritage: Analysis of the Means of Preventing the Exploitation of Intangible Cultural Heritage.” *The John Marshall Review of Intellectual Property Law* 14 (2015): 228–248.

35 Jelena Todorović, „Разумевање нематеријалног културног наслеђа,” *Нематеријално културно наслеђе* 1 (2011): 76–79.

36 Federico Lenzerini, “Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Living Culture of Peoples,” *The European Journal of International Law* 22 (1) (2011): 101–120.

37 Entoni Kraus, „Konvencija o zaštiti nematerijalnog kulturnog nasleđa iz 2003. godine: izazovi i perspektive,” *Nematerijalno kulturno nasleđe* 1 (2011): 10–14.

orally, until the present day in recognizable variants. In reference to the stipulations of the UNESCO convention, they are important as an indicator of the activity and engagement of the individuals (chanters) and groups, as well as (monastic) communities, but also communities of faithful people, laymen who sing together during the services and in their daily practice care for and preserve the Serbian Church Chant as a cultural heritage.

It is precisely this caring attitude towards the heritage that represents one of the more important criteria for the collective understanding and valorization of national identity.<sup>38</sup> Active preservation of the traditional Serbian church chant is a “reflection of the collective identity, based on the common feelings and the perception of continuity between the generations, where cultural meaning circulates through interaction, as a sum of common values and experiences”.<sup>39</sup>

The importance of traditional church chant as a part of Serbian spiritual and cultural identity is reinforced by the fact that it lives in its traditional form in the liturgical practice of the Serbian Orthodox Church both in Serbia, and around the world, wherever the Serbian Church has parishes and holds services, in Europe, North America and Australia.<sup>40</sup> Worth mentioning are the music collections with Serbian church chant hymns, as written down by Serbian musicians, but with the texts translated into English or German language, for the needs to the Serbian diaspora.<sup>41</sup> In order to preserve their cultural, ethnical and national identity, the Serbian diaspora is very active not only in its endeavours to maintain language, traditional customs, songs and dances, but also to learn and preserve traditional church chant through foundation of parish choirs, who primarily sing at the church services, but also give concerts and participate in other cultural programmes.<sup>42</sup>

In addition to its primary, liturgical context, over the last decades the traditional Serbian chant has frequently been found in the repertoire of different ensembles and performed on concerts. Serbian choral church music, based on unison Serbian chant, is also a testimonial regarding specific ways in which this tradition has been maintained.<sup>43</sup> Serbian traditional church chant has been the topic of numerous musicological, theological, sociological, anthropological and culturological studies.

38 Ljiljana Rogač Mijatović, “Национално памћење као нематеријално културно наслеђе,” In *Очување и заштита културно-историјског наслеђа Србије у иностранству* (IV), ур. Видоје Голубовић, Петар Петковић (Београд: Институт за међународну политику и привреду 2012), 168.

39 Antoni Smit, *Национални идентитет* (Београд: Библиотека XX век. 2010); Rogač Mijatović „Национално памћење“, 171.

40 Cf. Marina Mitrić, “Улога и значај културно-уметничких друштава и других сродних удружења у очувању етничког идентитета Срба у иностранству,” In *Очување и заштита културно-историјског наслеђа Србије у иностранству* (IV), ур. Видоје Голубовић, Петар Петковић (Београд: Институт за међународну политику и привреду 2012), 458–474.

41 Nikola Resanović, *Anthology of Serbian Chant (Notni zbornik) – with English text – Based on transcriptions of Mokranjac, Barački, Lastavica, Cvejić, Stanković and Kozobarić* (Serbian Orthodox Church in the USA & Canada, Central Church Liturgical Music Committee 2005).

42 Vidaković Petrov, “Улога Српске православне цркве”, 224, 225.

43 Bogdan Đaković, “Новија звучна издања српске духовне хорске музике,” *Зборник Матице српске за сценске уметности и музику* 26–27 (2000): 217–221; “Појава нових звучних издања православне духовне музике као одраз данашњег станја овог жанра у нас,” In *Muzika i mediji*, ур. Vesna Mikić, Tatjana Marković, (Београд: Signature, Fakultet muzičke umetnosti 2004): 212–231.

## CONCLUSION

Even today the oral tradition has a strong impact on the process of learning traditional music heritage, while on the other hand modern technologies (audio recording, digitized music collections, the possibility of a rapid reproduction of the printed music as well as of the recorded sound) open numerous new opportunities for the advancement of the methods of learning and preserving oral traditions. The increasingly easy ways to distribute audio recordings to the wider public in themselves represent an interesting phenomenon, which merits a separate study with a focus on the already mentioned challenge of conservation and revitalisation, but also the aesthetics of the intangible cultural heritage. New developments in the field of ethnomusicology point out additionally the importance of the preservation of audio and audio-visual materials during the processes of documenting, according to the UNESCO's basic concept, the intangible cultural heritage of Serbia. The high value of archival recordings for research, presentation, study and the revitalization of music traditions considered as intangible cultural heritage has also been emphasized. Noted especially was the importance of published audio material for the perception of the concrete element of the heritage among researchers, performers and the members of local communities.<sup>44</sup>

The archival audio recordings that have been introduced in this paper present a source with large potential. Analysis, and especially the wider accessibility of these audio collections, which would make them available to the general public, would undoubtedly have a positive impact on the assessment and evaluation, promotion and revitalisation of the traditional church chant as one of the pillars of Serbian religious, cultural and national identity, and on its place in the wider context of the cultural and church music history.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

Lazar Lera, Letter to Bishop Mitrofan, Zemun, 14 December 1940; Petar George, Letter to Čeda Dimitrijević, Borovo 19 June 1940; Miloš Dimitrijević, Letter to Lazar Lera, Zemun, 15 August 1934; Archimandrite Petronije Trbojević, Letter to Čeda Dimitrijević, Šišatovac monastery, 23 February 1933. The Papers of Lazar Lera, Archives of the Institute of Musicology, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

Čeda Dimitrijević, Letter to V. M. Lugonja, secretary of the Serbian Singing Association, Detroit Michigan, USA); Serbian Singing Association, Letter to Petar Krstić, Detroit (Michigan, USA), 16 August 1933. The Papers of Petar Krstić, Archives of the Institute of Musicology, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

---

<sup>44</sup> Marija Dumnić Vilotijević, "The Relation of Music Archiving and Intangible Cultural Heritage in Serbia," *Musicologist* 3 (2) 2019: 172.

## LITERATURE

- Andrejević, Milica. "Звучни снимци српског православног црквеног појања." *Свеске Матице српске* 45, Нови Сад 2006: 76–87.
- Arsenjev, Aleksej. "Руска емиграција и црквено појање у Србији: 1920–1970. године." *Зборник Матице српске за сценске уметности и музику* 55 (2016): 129–174.
- Ceribašić, Naila. "Music as Recording, Music in Culture, and the Study of Early Recording Industry in Ethnomusicology: A Take on Edison Bell Penkala." *IRASM* 52 (2021): 323–354.
- Đimić, Nataša. "Аспекти великог појања у контексту српске православне црквене музике, докторска дисертација," Факултет музичке уметности, Београд 2015.
- Dumnić, Marija, and Rastko Jakovljević. "Дигитализација грађе Фоноархива Музиколошког института САНУ." In *Фоноархив Музиколошког института САНУ: историјски извори у дигиталној ери*, 13–25. Београд: Музиколошки институт САНУ, 2014.
- Dumnić Vilotijević, Marija. "The Relation of Music Archiving and Intangible Cultural Heritage in Serbia." *Musicologist* 3 (2) 2019: 165–177. <https://doi.org/10.33906/musicologist.651916>.
- Đaković, Bogdan. "Новија звучна издања српске духовне хорске музике." *Зборник Матице српске за сценске уметности и музику* 26–27 (2000): 217–221.
- Đaković, Bogdan. "Pojava novih zvučnih izdanja pravoslavne duhovne muzike kao odraz današnjeg stanja ovog žanra u nas." In *Muzika i mediji*, ur. Vesna Mikić, Tatjana Marković, 212–231. Београд: Signature, Fakultet muzičke umetnosti 2004.
- Đoković, Predrag. "Утицај европског покрета за рану музику на извођачку праксу у Србији," докторска дисертација, рукопис, Факултет музичке уметности, Универзитет у Београду, 2016.
- Đoković, Predrag. "Путеви традиције: од старог ка новијем српском црквеном појању." In *Савремено и традиционално у музичком стваралаштву, Зборник радова са научног скупа одржаног 13–14. децембра 2019. године*, 63–86. Источно Сарајево: Универзитет у Источном Сарајеву, Музичка академија, 2020.
- Inawat, Ronald J. "Music as Cultural Heritage: Analysis of the Means of Preventing the Exploitation of Intangible Cultural Heritage." *The John Marshall Review of Intellectual Property Law* 14 (2015): 228–248.
- Kostić, Konstantin T. *Из прошлости Учитељске школе у Сомбору*. Нови Сад, 1938.
- Kraus, Entoni. "Konvencija o zaštiti nematerijalnog kulturnog nasleđa iz 2003. godine: izazovi i perspektive." *Nematerijalno kulturno nasleđe* 1 (2011): 10–14.
- Kurin, Richard. "Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage: Key Factors in Implementing the 2003 Convention." *International Journal of Intangible Cultural Heritage* 2 (2007): 10–20. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1350-0775.2004.00459.x>.
- Lenzerini, Federico. "Intangible Cultural Heritage: The Living Culture of Peoples." *The European Journal of International Law* 22 (1) (2011): 101–120. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ejil/chr006>.
- Marjanović, Nataša. "Great chant in the liturgical practice of the Serbian Orthodox Church." In *Crossroads – Greece as an intercultural pole of musical thought and creativity*, 569–579. Thessaloniki: Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, School of Music Studies, International Musicological Society (I.M.S.), Regional Association for the Study of Music of the Balkans, 2013.
- Marjanović, Nataša. "Erhaltene einstimmige Aufzeichnungen des serbischen kirchlichen Volksgesangs aus der Feder des Kornelije Stanković" ("Сачувани једногласни записи српског народног црквеног појања из пера Корнелија Станковића.") In *Theorie und Geschichte der Monodie*, Band 7/2, Bericht der Internationalen Tagung, Wien 2012, red. Martin Czernin, Maria Pischlöger, 515–540. Brno 2014.
- Marjanović, Nataša. "Gesangweisen des serbischen Kirchengesangs in melographischen Aufzeichnungen und Harmonisierungen von Kornelije Stanković." In *Theorie und Geschichte der*

*Monodie*, Band 9/1, 149–187. Brno: Verein zur Erforschung der Monodie, 2018.

Marjanović, Nataša, and Marija Brujić. "Српско народно црквено појање као нематеријално културно наслеђе – прелиминарни поглед из интердисциплинарне перспективе." *Етноантрополошки проблеми*, бр. 4, год. 13 (2018): 927–949. <https://doi.org/10.21301/eap.v13i4.2>.

Marjanović, Nataša. *Музика у животу Срба у 19. веку – из мемоарске ризнице*. Нови Сад – Београд: Матица српска – Музиколошки институт, 2019.

Marjanović, Nataša. "Заоставштина Лазара Лере у Музиколошком институту САНУ – грађа за историју српског црквеног појања, музичке културе и просвете." *Темишварски зборник* 13 (2021): 21–49.

Miodrag, Predrag. "Знаменити професори црквеног појања и литургије у Карловачкој митрополији и Богословији." In *Три века Карловачке митрополије 1713–2013*, 587–600. Сремски Карловци 2013.

Mitrić, Marina. "Улога и значај културно-уметничких друштава и других сродних удружења у очувању етничког идентитета Срба у иностранству." In *Очување и заштита културно-историјског наслеђа Србије у иностранству (IV)*, Зборник радова са Четврте међународне научне конференције, Београд, 18-19. октобар 2012, ур. Видоје Голубовић, Петар Петковић, 458–474. Београд: Институт за међународну политику и привреду, 2012.

Moody, Ivan. "Recordings of non-Western chant and polyphony." *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 9, 1 (2000): 51–58. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0961137100000048>.

Peno, Vesna. "Great Chant in Serbian Tradition – on the Examples of the Melody It is Truly Meet." *Зборник Матице српске за сценске уметности и музику* 40 (2009): 19–38.

Petrović, Danica. "Church Elements in Serbian Ritual Songs." In *V Grazer Balkanologen Tagung 1973*, 109–125. Graz: Grazer musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten 1, 1975.

Petrović, Danica. "Српска црквена музика као предмет музиколошких истраживања." *Зборник Матице српске за сценске уметности и музику* 15 (1995): 31–46.

Petrović, Danica. "Традиционално српско народно црквено појање у XX веку. Пут неговања, замирања, страдања и обнављања." In *Црква 2000*, 104–111. Београд: Календар Српске православне патријаршије, 1999.

Petrović, Danica. "Будим и Пешта у историји српске музике." In *Друштвене науке о Србима у Мађарској*, 55–66. Будимпешта: САНУ, Српска самоуправа у Мађарској, 2003.

Petrović, Danica. "Српско литургијско појање и јерархија Карловачке митрополије." In *Три века Карловачке митрополије 1713–2013*, 567–585. Сремски Карловци, 2013.

Petrović, Danica. "Станковић – мелограф српског појања", "Извори и начела издања." In *Корнелије Станковић, Сабрана дела, Осмогласник* (књ. 3а, 3б), 15–18, 19–25. Београд, Нови Сад: Музиколошки институт Српске академије наука и уметности, Завод за културу Војводине, 2014.

Petrović, Danica. "Црквена музика у Сабраним делима Корнелија Станковића: поводом обележавања 150-годишњице смрти." *Зборник Матице српске за сценске уметности и музику* 53 (2015): 159–172.

Porov, Dejan. "Особености певничког појања у српским црквама у Поморишју – резултати досадашњих теренских и документарних истраживања." In *Арад кроз време*, бр. 17, 136–148. Савез Срба у Румунији, 2017.

Resanović, Nikola (ed.). *Anthology of Serbian Chant (Notni zbornik) – with English text – Based on transcriptions of Mokranjac, Barački, Lastavica, Cvejić, Stanković and Kozobarić*, adaptation by Nikola Resanović. Serbian Orthodox Church in the USA & Canada, Central Church Liturgical Music Committee, 2005.

Ribić, Romana. "Audio recordings of hymns from the Octoechos as written down by Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac." *New Sound – International Magazine for Music* 43, 1 (2014): 22–36.

Ristivojević, Marija. "Muzika kao nematerijalno kulturno nasleđe." *Antropologija* 14 (2014/3): 135–142.

Ristović, Nenad. "Епископ Сава Вуковић и српско црквено појање." *Зборник Матице српске за сценске уметности и музику* 48 (2013): 215–230.

Rogač Mijatović, Ljiljana. "Национално памћење као нематеријално културно наслеђе." In *Очување и заштита културно-историјског наслеђа Србије у иностранству* (IV), Зборник радова са Четврте међународне научне конференције, Београд, 18-19. октобар 2012, ур. Видоје Голубовић, Петар Петковић, 168–176. Београд: Институт за међународну политику и привреду 2012.

Smit, Antoni. *Национални идентитет*. Београд: Библиотека XX век, 2010.

Stefanović, Dimitrije. "Лазар Лера (1885–1966). Прилог историји музичке културе код Срба." *Зборник Матице српске за друштвене науке* 50 (1968): 163–165.

Todorović, Jelena. "Разумевање нематеријалног културног наслеђа." *Нематеријално културно наслеђе* 1 (2011): 76–79.

Vidaković Petrov, Krinka. "Улога Српске православне цркве у очувању културног наслеђа исељеника у САД." In *Очување и заштита културно-историјског наслеђа Србије у иностранству* (IV), Зборник радова са Четврте међународне научне конференције, Београд, 18-19. октобар 2012, ур. Видоје Голубовић, Петар Петковић, 213–231. Београд: Институт за међународну политику и привреду, 2012.

Weber, Jerome F. "Liturgical reconstruction as reflected in recordings." *Historical Performance* (1991): 29–37.

Weber, Jerome F. "A Century of Chant Recordings." In *Calculamus et Cantemus, Towards a Reconstruction of Mozarabic Chant*, edited by Gregoriana Geert Maessen, 119–136. Amsterdam 2015.

#### AUDIO RECORDINGS (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)

*Расадишник српског православног црквеног појања (Conservatory of Serbian Church Chant...)*. Загреб: Edison Bell Penkala 1933. Digitized by Zoran Jerković 2006, The Phonoarchive of the Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade.

Archival field recordings of the Traditional Serbian Church Chant, The Phonoarchive of the Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade.

*Gesamtausgabe Serbischer Osmoglasnik (Blažena, Kondak, Prokimen) in kirchenslawischer Sprache nach Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac zur Liturgie* (Diakon Marko Plić) Tabor 7155, Ton-Archiv zum Byzantinisch – Ostkirchlichen Ritus, Munich, 1974.

*Никољски Ускрс*, Југотон, Југославија, 1976.

*Вечерње Светом Сави*, Свештенички хор Српске православне епархије Шумадијске „Свети Сава“, Крагујевац, диригент Милош М. Весин, „Каленић“ 1980.

St. St. Mokranjac. *Осмогласник. Српско црквено појање*. Вечерње, јутрење и литургија. Београд, Задруга православног свештенства 1987[89]; 2000 (ур. Раде И. Зеленовић).

St. St. Mokranjac. *Осмогласник*. Појци Братислава и Оливера Барац, манастир Вољавча 2002, 2004.

*Српско појање у 20. веку: појачка ризница др Саве Вуковића*. Даница Петровић (ур.). Београд: Музиколошки институт САНУ 2013.

<http://vujicsics.zti.hu/sr/zvucni-snimci/crkvene-pesme-srpsko-narodno-crkveno-pojanje/>



# THETA COMBINATIONS IN THE STICHERA OF THE TRANSFIGURATION

## CASE STUDY OF 10TH–13TH CENTURY GREEK AND RUSSIAN MANUSCRIPTS

EKATERINA PLETNEVA

[epletnyova2006@mail.ru](mailto:epletnyova2006@mail.ru)

Saint Petersburg Rimsky-Korsakov State Conservatory

NADEZHDA SHCHEPKINA

[nadjach@yandex.ru](mailto:nadjach@yandex.ru)

A.P. Borodin Children's Art School, Saint Petersburg

### INTRODUCTION

Our idea of the 10th–13th century stichera for the Twelve Major Feasts rests upon liturgical manuscripts in which sticheraric melos was recorded with Chartres, Coislin, Middle Byzantine and early Znamenny notations.

Many festive stichera, being the most solemn and joyful hymns contain complex notation fragments that indicate chanting usually called intrasyllabic or melismatic. The main criterion for the melismatics is the theta symbol. “Θῆτα”, “θέμα” or “θέματα” is a neume, expressed by the letter θ found in the Greek and Church Slavonic alphabets. The earliest theoretical treatise on the Chartres notation - Mount Athos Codex Lavra Γ 67<sup>1</sup> and the earliest theoretical treatise on the Coislin notation “The Hagiopolites”<sup>2</sup> refer to this musical phenomenon as “θέμα”. Russian theory of music terms it “theta” from the 15th century<sup>3</sup>. In modern Byzantine studies, this phenomenon is

1 LC Lavra Γ 67, 10th–11th centuries, f. 159.

2 Codex Vaticanus gr. 872 (14th century). Lorenzo Tardo, *L'antica melurgia bizantina nell'interpretazione della scuola monastica di Grottaferrata* (Grottaferrata, 1937), 170–174.

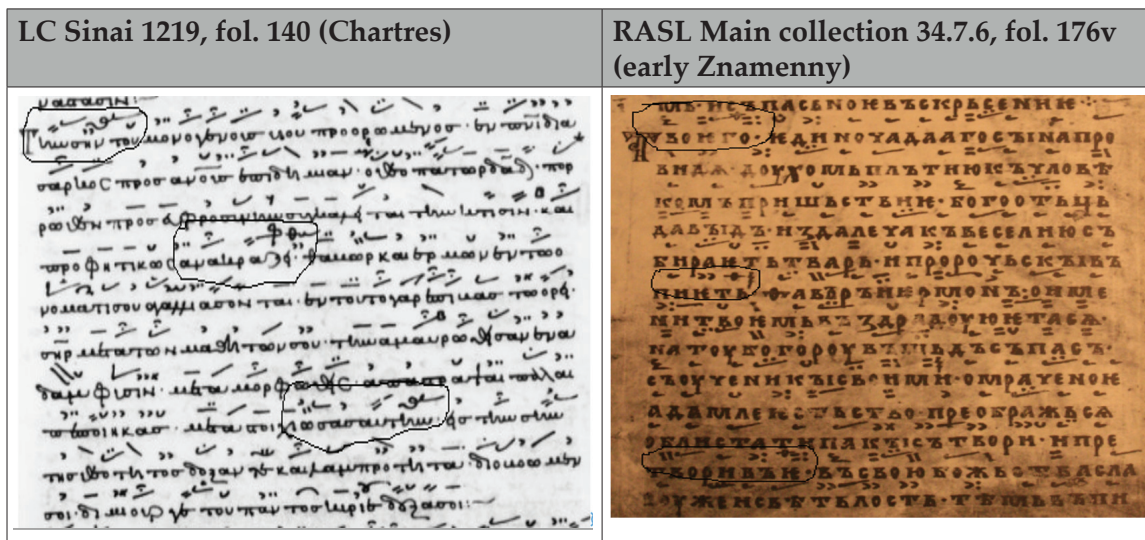
3 Максим Викторович Бражников, *Древнерусская теория музыки: По рукописным материалам XV–XVIII вв.* (Ленинград: Музыка, 1972), 29–30.



termed “theme”<sup>4</sup> or “thematismos”<sup>5</sup>, derived from the Greek verb “θεματίζω” meaning “to establish the original meaning”.

The melodic content of this neume in paleo-notations remains obscure. It is always surrounded by other neumes, together with which it forms a single theta complex. The location of thetas in chants is different. Normally thetas are sporadic in a hymn, they mark variably distanced fragments of the verbal text and form musical-syntactic parallels<sup>6</sup>.

FIGURE 1. SPORADIC APPEARANCE OF THETAS IN HYMNS OF THE TRANSFIGURATION  
 Ἦχος α΄. “Τὴν σὴν τοῦ μονογενοῦς γιου”/ Глас ѿ. “Твоего единочдааго сына”



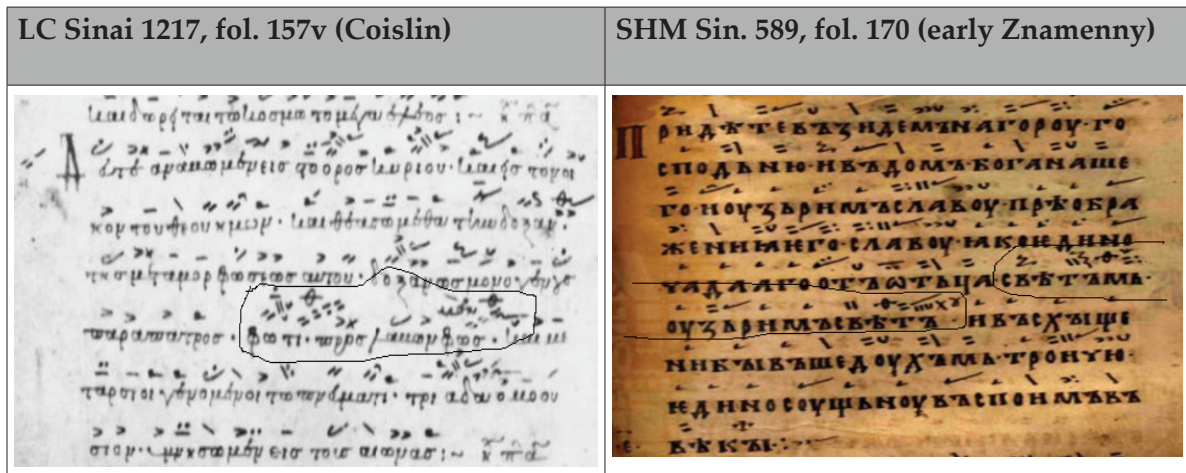
Dense occurrence, that is, an accumulation of melismata in certain fragments of a hymn, happens much more rarely. In this case, theta complexes move smoothly one into another as if joining together. We have termed this phenomenon “φитное соединение”, a “theta combination” in English. The English variant of the term is a working draft. We have not found a concise English translation so far. The possible variants are: theta string, theta compound, theta chain.

4 Constantin Floros, *Einführung in die Neumenkunde* (Wilhelmshaven, 1980), 252-281; Maria Alexandru, “Studie über die ‘Grossen Zeichen’ der byzantinischen musikalischen Notation unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Periode vom Ende des 12. Bis Anfang 19” (PhD diss., Universität Kopenhagen, 2000), 126, 254.

5 Nicolas Schidlovsky, “Medieval Russian Neumatation”, *Palaeobyzantine Notations II* (Hernen, 1999), 73; Gerda Wolfram, *Codex Vindobonensis theol. gr. 136 (Sticherarium antiquum Vindobonense)*, MMB Pars Suppletoria. Vol. X (Vindobonae, 1987), 27-31.

6 Comparative study of separate thetas in Paleobyzantine, Middle Byzantine and Old Russian sources was carried out by different scientists, namely: Constantin Floros, *Universale Neumenkunde. Band 1: Entzifferung der ältesten byzantinischen Neumenschriften und der altslavischen sematischen Notation* (Bärenreiter Kassel, 1970), 252-281; Schidlovsky, “Medieval Russian Neumatation”, 71-79; Annette Jung, “Kolaphismos: A Long Melisma in a Syllabic Genre”, *Palaeobyzantine Notations III* (Leuven-Paris-Dudley, 2004), 49-66; Ирина Владимировна Старикова, “Развитие мелизматики в византийской и древнерусской певческих традициях: опыт компаративного исследования”, *Вестник ПСТГУ. Серия V: Вопросы истории и теории христианского искусства*, вып. 34 (2019): 25-36.

FIGURE 2. THETA COMBINATION IN A HYMN OF THE TRANSFIGURATION  
 Ἦχος πλ. α'. "Δεῦτε ἀναβῶμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος Κυρίου"  
 / Глас ѿ. "Придите въздем на гору Господню"



There are no insertions of syllabic lines and pronounced cadences between such theta complexes. Their melodies move straightaway one into the other to bring about a special sacred sounding space inside the chant – what one can term “hierophony”, which is supposed to concentrate listeners’ attention on the text being chanted<sup>7</sup>. It is a noteworthy and important phenomenon of the intrasyllabic melos, characteristic of different old chant traditions, which deserves attention and can become the subject of special scientific interest.

Last September we reported at the Vienna *Theory and History of Monody* conference and presented the first findings as regards theta combinations in the stichera of nine Major Feasts of the Menaion from the earliest Greek and Russian manuscripts of the 10th-12th centuries with Chartres, Coislin and Early Znamenny notations. It appeared that theta combinations are found in Stichera of most Feasts – the Exaltation of the Holy Cross of Our Lord, the Nativity of Christ, the Baptism of the Lord, Candlemas, the Annunciation, the Transfiguration and the Dormition, but they have not been found in Stichera of the Nativity of the Holy Theotokos or the Entry of the Holy Theotokos into the Temple<sup>8</sup>. We discovered that the occurrence of theta combinations is universal, and they appear in various ancient notations. At the present stage, it appears appropriate to continue and to expand comparative study, changing its perspective and consider this phenomenon within each specific feast cycle. Therefore, in this article we will focus upon the feast of the Lord’s Transfiguration.

7 Екатерина Васильевна Плетнева, “Соединения фит в знаменной монодии (на примере праздничных стихир)”, *Древнерусское песнопение. Пути во времени*, Вып. 8 (Санкт-Петербург, 2020), 421-422.

8 Based on conference report the article was accepted for publication in the collection of scientific papers “Theta Combinations in the Hymns of Menaion Major Feasts: Case Study of the 10th-12th Century Greek and Early Russian Monuments”.

The following tasks have been set:

1. to define the fullest possible body of Transfiguration stichera in early Greek and Russian manuscripts of the 10th-13th centuries, including the forefeast and afterfeast periods<sup>9</sup>;
2. to find theta combinations in the Transfiguration stichera, characterize them and try to trace regularities in their occurrence;
3. to reconstruct hypothetically the meli of the theta combinations based upon 12th-13th century Middle Byzantine manuscripts that spell out the cryptic signs of the combinations with analytical notation.

**THE MANUSCRIPT SOURCES**

The material for the study were the 10th-13th century Menaion Stichera with the Transfiguration hymns from the Greek and Russian traditions. In addition, we resorted to a unique 12th century Russian notated Menaion (the August volume) and Russian archaic 14th-15th century Stichera. We used the representative total of 26 manuscripts including: two Chartres, four Coislin, eight Middle Byzantine and twelve Znamenny copies.

FIGURE 3. SOURCES

Greek manuscripts	Early Russian manuscripts
<i>Chartres</i> – LC Sinai 1219 (10th -11th century) LC Lavra Γ 74 (10th -11th cent.)	SHM Sin. 279 (12th cent.) SHM Sin. 572 (12th cent.) SHM Sin. 589 (12th cent.)
<i>Coislin</i> – LC Sabas 361 (11th cent.) - poor condition LC Sabas 610 (11th cent.) - poor condition LC Sinai 1217 (11th -12th cent.) ANB theol. gr. 136 (first half of the 12th cent.)	RGADA f. 381 No.145 (12th cent.) RNL Sof. 384 (12th cent.) RNL Q. p. I. 15 (12th cent.) RASL Main collection 34.7.6 (12th cent.)
<i>Middle Byzantine</i> – LC Sinai 1218 (1177) LC Sinai 1227 (12th cent.) LC Panagios Taphos 528 (12th-13th) LC Sinai 1231 (1236) LC Sinai 1484 (13th cent.) LC Sinai 1224 (13th cent.) LC Sinai 1220 (13th cent.) LC Sinai 1216 (13th cent.)	<i>Additional sources</i> SHM Sin. 168 (12th cent.) Menaion (August) RSL f. 113 № 3 (14th cent.) RSL f. 304 № 439 (15th cent.) RSL f. 304 № 440 (15th cent.) RNL Pogodin 45 (1422)

In those we have identified 29 different Transfiguration stichera, including pieces for the forefeast and the afterfeast.

<sup>9</sup> According to the Typikon of Patriarch Alexios Stoudites, the Feast of the Transfiguration includes five calendar dates—from 5 to 9 August. See Алексей Мстиславович Пентковский, *Типикон патриарха Алексия Студита в Византии и на Руси* (Москва: Издательство Московской Патриархии, 2001), 357-360.

FIGURE 4. THE TRANSFIGURATION STICHERA

Ἦχος	Greek manuscripts	Глас	Early Russian manuscripts
α'	Ὁ πάλαι τῷ Μωσεῖ συλλαλήσας	ᾠ	Древле съ Мосеомъ глаголавыи
	Τὴν σὴν τοῦ μονογενοῦς γίου		Твоего единочадааго сына
	Τὸ ἄσχετον τῆς σῆς φωτοχυσίας		Безмерное твое светопротития
β'	Ὁ φωτί σου ἄπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην	ᾠ	Светомъ твоимъ всю вселенную*
	Ὁ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Θαβώρ		Иже на горе Фаворстей
	Τὸ προήλιον σέλας Χριστός		(Иже) Преже сълнца светъ Христось*
	Σήμερον ἐν τῷ ὄρει Θαβώρ		
δ'	Πρὸ τοῦ σοῦ σταυροῦ κύριε ὄρος	ᾠ	Преже распятия твоего господи гора
	Πρὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ σου κύριε παραλαβών		Преже распятия твоего господи поять
	Εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν		На горе висоце преображся
	Ὅρος τὸ ποτὲ ζοφῶδες		Гора иногда мрачна
		ᾠ Подоб. "Хотехъ слезами"	Явиль еси господи Потощимъя верьнии оумъмъ *
		ᾠ Подоб. "Даст знамение"	Дньсь показаль еси * Дньсь въсияль еси господи * Дньсь радууются небесьнии ангели *
πλ. α'	Δεῦτε ἀναβῶμεν	ᾠ	Придите възыдемъ
	Νόμου καὶ προφητῶν		Закону и пророкомъ
	Τῆς θεότητός σου		Божества твоего *
πλ. β'	Προτυπῶν τὴν ἀνάστασιν	ᾠ	Прообразуя въскресение
	Πέτρω, καὶ Ἰωάννη καὶ Ἰακώβω		Петру, Иоанну и Иакову
			Преобразися Иисоусе на горе
πλ. δ'	Παρέλαβεν ὁ Χριστός	ᾠ	Поять Христось
		ᾠ	Гора фаворьская освятися спасе *
	Τὸν γνώφον τὸν νομικόν	ᾠ	Мрака законенааго Светъмъ божьствньнимъ Върста пророку
		?	Божьственаго зрака твоего *

Let us specify the differences between the Greek and Russian manuscript sources. They include different numbers of stichera: 18 stichera have been found in the Greek manuscripts and 28 in the Russian. As the result of the comparative sources study, 17 chants appear to be common to both Greek and Russian traditions. These common texts in the table are marked in italics.

The Greek corpus contains one non-canonical sticheron, mode 2 “Σήμερον ἐν τῷ ὄρει Θαβώρ”/“Днесъ на горе Фавор”, which is a prosomoion to the Nativity sticheron “Σήμερον ὁ Χριστός ἐν Βηθλεὲμ”/“Днесъ Христос в Вифлееме”. This sticheron is very rare and was not specially intended for the Transfiguration service. It is a paraphrase of the hymn for the Nativity of Christ.

Early Russian manuscripts contain many more stichera because they record notated stichera prosomoia: two cycles of mode 4 and cycle of mode 8, performed according to the first sticheron model, “Μρακα законенааго”<sup>10</sup>. They also contain a number of stichera ideomela: “Гора фаворская освятися спасе”, “Божьственаго зрака твоего” and “Преобразися Иисоусе на горе», which cannot be found in the Greek sources. The first two stichera are not known in the early Russian manuscripts but were discovered in the 15th century Russian Menaion Sticherarion (RNL Pogodin 45); apparently, they were not found in the Greek monuments for this reason. All the Early Russian manuscripts consistently contain the sticheron “Преобразися Иисоусе на горе”. Its usage is upheld by Alexis the Studite’s Typicon<sup>11</sup>. The question is: why is this sticheron absent in the Greek monuments while being so traditional in Russian ones? We have not so far arrived at an answer.

We admit that the number and the repertoire of the Transfiguration stichera in the Russian manuscript collection exceed the data of Christina Dyablova concerning the chant content of this service based on the material of two Menaion Sticheraria of the 12th and the 15th centuries<sup>12</sup>. In the table given above the texts, which are not marked by the author, are denoted by the sign\*.

## THE THETA COMBINATIONS

The study of all Transfiguration stichera brought the following findings: theta complexes occur in about half of the hymns, to be exact, in fourteen. Theta combinations were found only in five of the stichera. Thus, we can regard this phenomenon as a very rare one.

10 The stichera “Μρακα законенааго”, “Светьмь божьствьнымь” and “Вьрста пророку” were marked in manuscript SHM Sin. 168 as stichera-idiomela. However, according to Alexis the Studite’s Typikon the first sticheron is the model one for two others. See Пентковский, *Типикон*, 359. The data of the Typikon are confirmed by the notation in SHM Sin.168 and in RNL Sof. 384, which shows the orientation to one musical sample.

11 According to the Typikon, the sticheron is performed on the afterfeast Vespers on 9 August. Пентковский, *Типикон*, 360.

12 Кристина Дяблова, “Пути формирования певческого репертуара праздника Преображения в восточнохристианской традиции”, Калюфонія: Науковий збірник з історії церковної музичної та гімнографії, Ч. 8 (2016): 120-121.

FIGURE 5. THE 5 STICHERA WITH THETA COMBINATIONS

№	Ἦχος / Глас	Greek manuscripts	Early Russian manuscripts
1	β' / Β̄	Τὸ προήλιον σέλας Χριστός	Иже прежде солнца свет Христос
2	β' / Β̄	Σήμερον ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Θαβώρ	
3	δ' / Δ̄	Εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν	На горе висоце
4	πλ. α' / ε̄	Δεῦτε ἀναβῶμεν	Приидите взыдем
5	σ̄		Преобразися Иисусе на горе

Let us have a closer look at the five stichera with theta combinations. Only three stichera are common to both the Greek and Russian corpora, namely: “Τὸ προήλιον σέλας Χριστός”/ “Иже прежде солнца свет Христос”, “Εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν μεταμορφωθεὶς ὁ σωτήρ”/ “На горе висоце преображся Спас” and “Δεῦτε ἀναβῶμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος κυρίου”/ “Приидите взыдем на гору Господню”. They can be considered in parallel. One Greek manuscript contains the sticheron prosomoion “Ἐν τῷ ὄρει Φαβὼρ”/ “Σήμερον ἐν τῷ ὄρει Θαβώρ”, and all the early Russian manuscripts consistently contain the sticheron “Преобразися Иисусе на горе”.

Here are the features characteristic for the theta combinations.

1. Each of the stichera contains only one theta combination consisting of two theta complexes.
2. The combinations occur only in the stichera that contain other solitary theta complexes.
3. Theta combinations occur independently of the stichera functions in the service: they appear in ordinary stichera forming micro-cycles and in doxastika, they occur in idiomela but can be found also in prosomoia.
4. The theta combinations are stable – they are consistent in Greek and Russian sources.

This pattern is generally similar to the theta combinations found in other twelve Major Feasts. However, the recording of theta combinations in the Transfiguration stichera has a number of peculiarities, namely:

1. The theta combinations appear only in the second parts of the hymns: one of the stichera, “Δεῦτε ἀναβῶμεν”/ “Приидите взыдем”, has its theta combination in its centre (Figure 2).
2. The theta combinations always form a single semantic syntagma, associated with two contextual spheres.

FIGURE 6. TWO CONTEXTUAL SPHERES

Sticheron and semantic syntagma	Translation
Εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν / На горе висоце “ὦ . καὶ φωνὴ τοῦ πατρὸς”/“емоуже . и гласъ отецъ”	to Him . and the voice of the Father”
Τὸ προήλιον σέλας Χριστός / Иже прежде солнца свет Христос “καὶ φωνὴ . ἄνωθεν”/“и гласъ свыше”	the voice . from above
Σήμερον ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Θαβώρ “ἡμεῖς δὲ . ἀκαταπαύστως βοῶμεν”	and we . continuously exclaim
Δεῦτε ἀναβῶμεν / Приидите въздем “φωτὶ . προσλάβωμεν φῶς”/“светъмъ . оузримъ светъ”	let us receive light . from His Light
Преобразися Иисоусе на горе “с ними же . и мы” (света светом принимающе Христу поем)	We. join them (and receiving light from Light sing to Christ)

One is the sphere of a Sound or a Voice. This can be the divine voice of God the Father witnessing the divinity of Christ and addressing the spectators of the Transfiguration miracle (such are the fragments “to Him and the voice of the Father”, and “the voice from above”). Or this can be a human voice of a solemn collective song glorifying the Saviour (such as “and we continuously exclaim”). The other contextual sphere is associated with the Divine Light at Mount Tabor (such as “let us receive light from His Light”). In a sticheron its theta combination covers the two spheres: (for example, as in the fragment reading: “we join them (and receiving light from Light sing to Christ)”). Possibly, such accenting with theta combinations is no coincidence and reveals the super-topoi of the Transfiguration service<sup>13</sup>.

Next comes the issue of the melos of theta combinations. Judging from the graphics of the four notations, there are ten different theta complexes that participate in the combinations, therefore two different theta complexes meet in each hymn. Unfortunately, neither Chartres, nor Coislin, nor Early Znamenny manuscripts give an opportunity for any reconstruction of melodies for theta complexes: they give no analytical records (Russian manuscripts even all the way down the 16th century), which is why we can discuss the melodic content of the neumes only in the context of the specifics of the component neumes of a theta complex.

There were three stages in our work with the musical materials. First, we deciphered theta combinations in the stichera recorded with Middle Byzantine notation, using the transcription methods of H.J.W. Tillyard<sup>14</sup>, J. v.

13 The given results develop the subject of poetic chant study of the Transfiguration, reflected in the following research: Ольга Владимировна Шангина, “Евангельское чтение и славник Преображению Господню”, *Древнерусское песнопение. Пути во времени*. Вып. 5 (Санкт-Петербург, 2011), 77–93; Кристина Дяблова, “Герменевтические аспекты исследования древнерусского церковного пения (на примере песнопений двенадцатого праздника Преображения Господня)”. *Δόξα / Докса*, Вып. 2 (28) (2017), 174–191; Марина Егорова, “Иеротопические исследования в музыкальной медиевистике: от интонации к сакральному пространству (о проблемах метода)”, *Древнерусское песнопение. Пути во времени*. Вып. 9 (Санкт-Петербург, 2021), 355–371

14 Henry Julius Wetenhall Tillyard, *Handbook of the Middle Byzantine Notation*, MMB Subsidia. Vol. 1 (Copenhagen, 1935).

Biezen<sup>15</sup> and Ch. Troelsgård<sup>16</sup> and our own transcription approach, in which one half-beat was chosen as the *chronos protos* for this purpose<sup>17</sup>. Then, using the method of retrospective transcription we tried to read the Greek palenotated copies. Only after that, we brought in the Russian sources and searched for approaches to their comparative study. We find the retrospective transcription method very valuable for lack of other information and documents, capable of clarifying the melodic content of palenotated sources.

Let us consider the melos of theta combinations in the three stichera common for the Greek and Russian sources.

FIGURE 8. Ἦχος πλ. α' "Δεῦτε ἀναβῶμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος Κυρίου"/  
Глас ѿ. "Придите взыдем на гору Господню"  
Sources of Middle-Byzantine notation

The sticheron "Δεῦτε ἀναβῶμεν" is a multi-echos sticheron and in addition to mode plagal 1 it contains several medial martyrias belonging to mode 1 and mode 3. The theta combination falls on the words "φωτὶ. προσλάβωμεν φῶς"/"светом. узрим свет", which is a paraphrase of verse 9 from psalm 36 "in thy light shall we see light". According to the Middle Byzantine records it has a tetrachord "metabola"<sup>18</sup> or a skip into a higher tetraphony regarded as a sharp deviation into the modality of the related mode 1.

15 Jan van Biezen, "Die Hypothese eines Mensuralisten?", *Die Musikforschung* 35. Heft 2 (1982): 148-154.

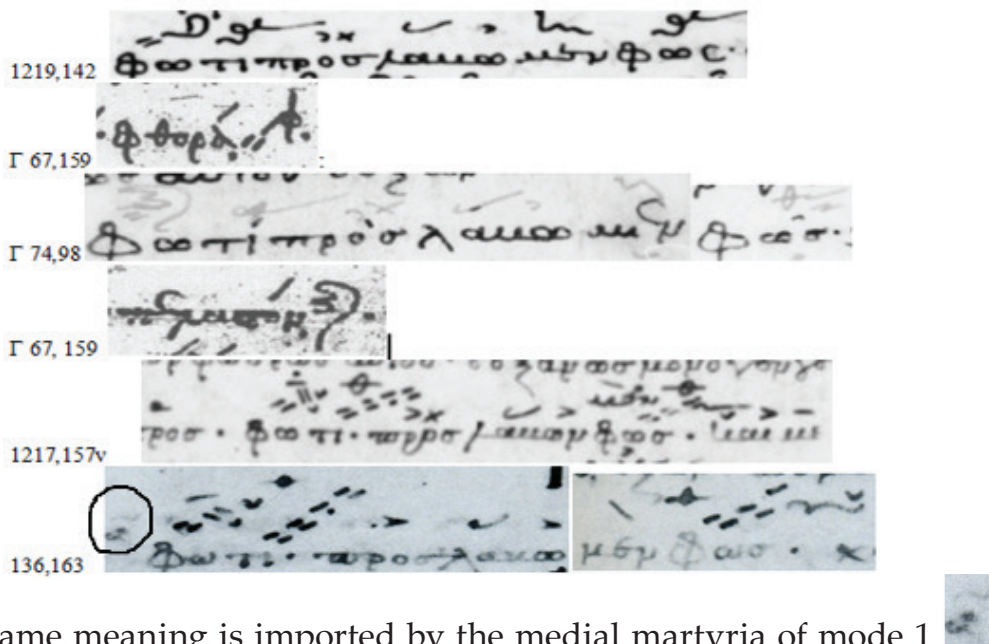
16 Christian Troelsgård, *Byzantine Neumes. A new introduction to the middle byzantine notation*, MMB Subsidia. Vol. 9 (Copenhagen, 2011).

17 Надежда Александровна Щепкина, "Служба Введения во храм Пресвятой Богородицы по греческим певческим рукописям X – начала XIX веков" (PhD diss., Санкт-Петербургский Институт истории искусств, 2017), 26-47.

18 Евгений Владимирович Герцман, *Энциклопедия древнеэллинической и византийской музыки* (Санкт-Петербург: Квадривиум, 2019), Т. 2, 431.



FIGURE 9. Ἦχος πλ. α' "Δεῦτε ἀναβῶμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος Κυρίου"/  
Глас ѿ. "Приидите взыдем на гору Господню"  
Sources of Chartres and Coislin notations



The same meaning is imported by the medial martyria of mode 1 in the Vienna Coislin Code 136. Thus, the first theta complex at the word "φωτί"/"свѣтом" is a skip with respect to the previous and following musical narration and it sounds contrastingly high.

The same fragment in Chartres manuscript Sinai 1219 has a sign resembling 'phthora' from the Chartres abecedary Lavra Γ 67: 'phthora' (destruction or break up) is known to designate a metabola. The graphic image of this 'phthora' in another Chartres record Lavra Γ 74 resembles the ancient 'pelaston' from the same Lavra Γ 67 abecedary. These graphic parallels suggest that the ancient 'pelaston' and 'phthora' had somewhat close functions<sup>19</sup>.

FIGURE 10. Ἦχος πλ. α' "Δεῦτε ἀναβῶμεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος Κυρίου"/  
Глас ѿ. "Приидите взыдем на гору Господню"  
Sources of early Znamenny notation



19 Герцман, Энциклопедия, Т. 2, 887.

Russian records consistently display the ‘enarxis’ sign in the beginning of the first theta complex. Russian theory uses the term ‘paraklit’ for such ‘enarxis’<sup>20</sup>. It is significant to note the unknown sign of ‘kentema’ before the paraklit (line 1,4,5 in figure 10). The entire theta complex sounds high, which is proved by the ‘ypsilon’ sign (‘the magpie’s foot’) in Russian sources.

The second theta complex of this theta combination returns the melos to the low region. This is shown with the ‘apostrophe’ and ‘khamili’, backed up with a medial martyria echos plagal 1. The Russian manuscripts do not contain a special sign to mark the sharp downward movement; however, the ‘ison’ sign (or the ‘stopitsa’) can be interpreted as the return to the initial pitch level or to tmode plagal 1. At the same time the “xy” syllable, which in the late Russian manuscripts is transformed into the ‘khabuva’ theta complex, meaning that the scale shifts downwards.

Therefore, theta complexes in this combination correlate based on contrasting pitch. It should be also noted that these contrasting theta complexes reside on the cognate words “φωτι” (the symbol of the light of Tabor) and “φῶς” (the symbol of Christ), each being emphasized with its special colouring.

In the 2nd mode sticheron “Τὸ προήλιον σέλας Χριστός” its melos moves upwards into the high pitch zone with a skip of a fourth also at the beginning of the theta combination. The first theta complex of the Chartres copy also has the ‘ypsilon’ sign (‘magpie’s foot’) to show its high musical culminating point. The second theta complex in this combination retains the same pitch level. The contrast between the theta complexes in this combination is achieved on account of their different sizes: the second complex is longer than the first and is densely filled with fine melismata. The second theta complex has a glimpse of metabola in one of the Middle Byzantine copies, the Panagios Taphos 528, where several sounds are marked with ‘phthora’. Here we bring to the reader’s attention two variants of transcription for this fragment.

20 Russian theoretical manuals, *Azbuki*, as starting from the 15th century, discuss only the paraklit sign, and do not know the enarxis sign. Christian *Troelsgård* gives general information about the functioning of parakletike, enarxis and rheuma in notations, but the issue of their differentiation has not been finally settled. See Troelsgård, Christian, “The rôle of Paraklitike in Palaeobyzantine Notations”, *Palaeobyzantine Notations I* (A.A. Bredius Foundation, 1995): 81-99. As regards the meaning of enarxis in 13th-14th century Byzantine notations, the following can be said. Codex Barberinus gr. 300 (the above-quoted Tardo, 153 edition) places enarxis among the phthorai. According to the treatise by Gabriel Hieromonachos, the appearance of enarxis marks the beginning of a new melos in a new mode, “as if we begin afresh.” *Abhandlung über den Kirchengesang*, hrsg. Ch. Hannik and G. Wolfram. Corpus scriptorium de re musica I. (Wien, 1985), 36-102. The meaning of the enarxis sign can be found on p. 40 in this publication. It is most likely enarxis that appears in the theta combinations of the Russian manuscripts under discussion. But this is a debatable issue. The two neumes, namely parakletike and enarxis, although featuring similar graphics, could have different functional meanings, which needs further research.

FIGURE 11. Ἦχος β' "Τὸ προήλιον σέλας Χριστός"/  
 Глас ѿ. "Иже прежде солнца свет Христос"  
 Sources of Middle-Byzantine notation

1218,143  
 1218,143  
 1227,142v  
 1231,118  
 1484,140  
 1224,143v  
 1220,132v  
 1216,145v  
 528,128v  
 528,128v  
 528,128v

FIGURE 12. Ἦχος β' "Τὸ προήλιον σέλας Χριστός"/  
 Глас ѿ. "Иже прежде солнца свет Христос"  
 Sources of Chartres, Coislin and early Znamenny notations

1219,141  
 361,149  
 610,143  
 1217,156  
 136,161v  
 113№ 3,206v

The graphics of the Chartres copy also testify in favour of a metabola in the melos of this fragment, since the second theta complex in the theta combination contains the ‘phthora’ sign. However, the Coislin and the only early Russian 14th-century manuscripts do not have graphical prerequisites for a modal change in the said theta combination. Thus, the question of the obligatory character of the metabola remains undecided. It should be noted that the poetic text is in a special relation with the musical text. The theta complexes reside on two non-cognate, but phonetically similar rhyming words. This creates the effect of musical imagery: (καὶ φωνὴ . ἄνωθεν). Thus, it is as though the musical contrast of the two theta complexes contradicts the identity of the two lexemes with which the complexes reside. This situation is similar to what we saw in the previous sticheron.

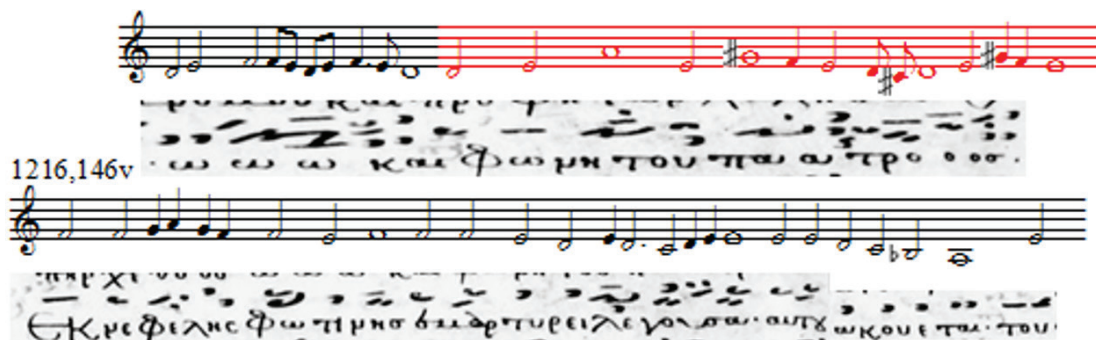
Let us move on to the last of the three stichera.



FIGURE 13. Ἦχος δ' "Εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν"/ Γλας ᾄ "На горе висоце"  
Sources of Middle-Byzantine notation

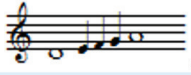
The combination of thetas in the mode 4 stichera “Εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλὸν μεταμορφωθείς ὁ σωτήρ”/“На горе висоце преобразяся спас” falls on the syntagma “ῶ . καὶ φωνὴ τοῦ πατρὸς” / “ему же . и глас отечь”. Three Middle

Byzantine manuscripts contain noteworthy designations – two ‘phthoras’ in the second theta complex and a middle martyria between the theta complexes. In the Panagios Taphos 528, ‘phthora’ indicates the change of mode at the very end of the fragment, at the word “πατρός”/“отець”. In the Sinai 1484, there is a ‘phthora’ appearing earlier, at the word “φωνή”/“глас”. The 14th century Protheory (according to the copy from the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences Gr. 494<sup>21</sup>) terms this type ‘phthora nenano’.

FIGURE 14. Phthora nenano



The modal texture marked with these ‘phthoras’ would be fairly difficult to read, if it were not for the two medial martyrias of mode plagal 1  and mode 2  framing the second theta complex in the theta combination from Sinai 1216. The transcription of this fragment that includes also two syllabic colons after the melismatic combination (before the next medial martyria) evidently implies a metabola and its further cancellation.

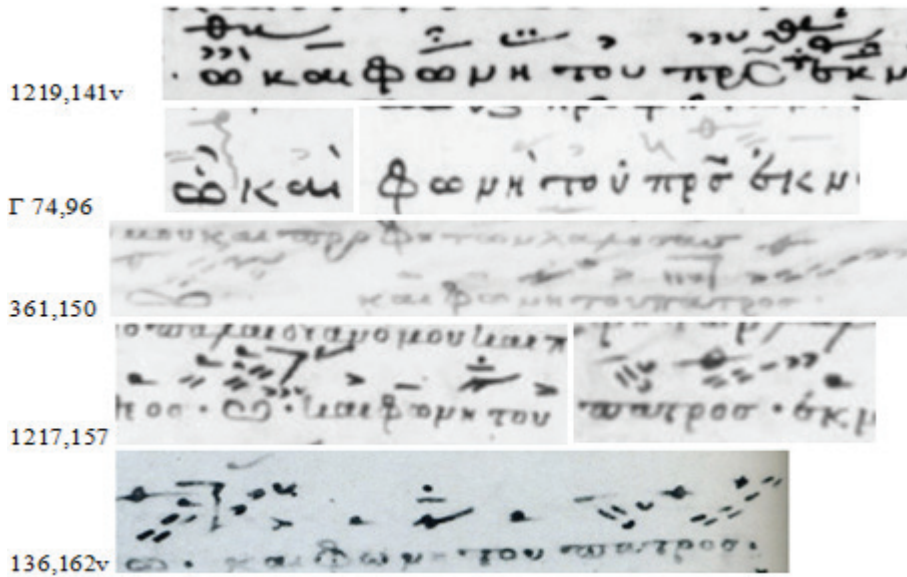
The “εμυ же/ω̄” theta, similar to the preceding syllabic lines, is in the mode pl. I scale: 

The melismatic combination ends with a “connective” and a transition to the chromatic mode II: 

The following syllabic lines are already in the diatonic mode II and end in its lower tetraphony, mode pl. II. Such detailed indications of the middle martyria made it possible to decipher the ‘nenano phthora’.

21 Евгений Владимирович Герцман, *Петербургский Теоретикон* (Одесса: Вариант, 1994), 54-55.

FIGURE 15. Ἦχος δ' "Εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλόν"/ Глас ѿ. "На горе висоце"  
Sources of Chartres and Coislin notations



The Greek palenotated copies, judging from their graphics, give almost no information about the presence or absence of a metabola, in the same manner as they are silent about the ‘nenano phthora’. Only in some degree can we interpret as a phthora the sign at the word “εκ” at the exit from the fragment of combined thetas in the Chartres copy Sinai 1219.

FIGURE 16. Ἦχος δ' "Εἰς ὄρος ὑψηλόν"/ Глас ѿ. "На горе висоце"  
Sources of early Znamenny notation



At the same time, the early Russian copies are, so to say, screaming for the metabola. The ‘enarxis’ sign with an upper ‘kentema’ between the theta complexes in the theta combination, and, further on, the ‘enarxis’ sign with the upper point after the theta complexes in the theta combination. So many enarxes in a row are rare and are very indicative of the metabola presence.

## CONCLUSION

Let us move on to the conclusions based on the material of theta combinations of the stichera of the Transfiguration.

The beginning of a theta combination is an event in monody and can often be emphasized by a transition to another mode or a register contrast.

1. In each theta combination, it is always the second theta complex that is either musically brighter, or more prolonged or contains a metabola. This ensures the energy of movement and the dynamics so that the hymn acquires a vector of development.
2. One of the theta complexes in a theta combination necessarily contains a metabola, confirmed by at least several manuscript sources.

Study of theta combinations will continue with further inquiry into the stichera of the remaining twelve Major Feasts.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexandru, Maria. "Studie über die 'Grossen Zeichen' der byzantinischen musikalischen Notation unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Periode vom Ende des 12. Bis Anfang 19". PhD diss., Universität Kopenhagen, 2000.

Biezen (van), Jan. "Die Hypothese eines Mensuralisten?" *Die Musikforschung* 35. Heft 2 (1982): 148-154.

Floros, Constantin. *Universale Neumenkunde. Band 1: Entzifferung der ältesten byzantinischen Neumenschriften und der altslavischen sematischen Notation*. Bärenreiter Kassel, 1970.

Floros, Constantin. *Einführung in die Neumenkunde*. Wilhelmshaven, 1980.

Hannick, Christian, and Gerda Wolfram, ed. *Abhandlung über den Kirchengesang*. Corpus scriptorium de re musica I. Wien, 1985.

Schidlovsky, Nicolas. "Medieval Russian Neumatation", *Palaeobyzantine Notations II*, 71-80. Hernen, 1999.

Tardo, Lorenzo. *L'antica melurgia bizantina nell'interpretazione della scuola monastica di Grottaferrata*. Grottaferrata, 1937.

Tillyard, Henry Julius Wetenhall. *Handbook of the Middle Byzantine Notation*. MMB Subsidia. Vol. 1. Copenhagen, 1935.

Troelsgård, Christian. *Byzantine Neumes. A new introduction to the middle byzantine notation*. MMB Subsidia. Vol. 9. Copenhagen, 2011.

Troelsgård, Christian. "The rôle of Paraklitike in Palaeobyzantine Notations", *Palaeobyzantine Notations I*, 81-105. Hernen: A.A. Bredius Foundation, 1995.

Wolfram, Gerda. *Codex Vindobonensis theol. gr. 136 (Sticherarium antiquum Vindobonense)*, MMB Pars Suppletoria. Vol. X. Vindobonae, 1987.

Бражников, Максим Викторович. *Древнерусская теория музыки: По рукописным материалам XV-XVIII вв.* Ленинград: Музыка, 1972.

Герцман, Евгений Владимирович. *Энциклопедия древнеэллинской и византийской музыки*. Санкт-Петербург: Квадривиум, 2019.

- Герцман, Евгений Владимирович. *Петербургский Теоретикон*. Одесса: Вариант, 1994.
- Дяблова, Кристина. "Герменевтические аспекты исследования древнерусского церковного пения (на примере песнопений двенадцатого праздника Преображения Господня)". *Δόξα / Докса*, Вып. 2 (28) (2017): 174-191. [https://doi.org/10.18524/2410-2601.2017.2\(28\).142068](https://doi.org/10.18524/2410-2601.2017.2(28).142068).
- Дяблова, Кристина. "Пути формирования певческого репертуара праздника Преображения в восточнохристианской традиции". *Калофонія: Науковий збірник з історії церковної монодії та гимнографії*. Ч. 8., 110-126. Львів, 2016.
- Егорова, Марина Сергеевна. "Иеротопические исследования в музыкальной медиевистике: от интонации к сакральному пространству (о проблемах метода)". *Древнерусское песнопение. Пути во времени*. Вып. 9, 343-371. Санкт-Петербург, 2021.
- Пентковский, Алексей Мстиславович. *Типикон патриарха Алексия Студита в Византии и на Руси*. Москва: Издательство Московской Патриархии, 2001.
- Плетнева, Екатерина Васильевна. "Соединения фит в знаменной монодии (на примере праздничных стихир)". *Древнерусское песнопение. Пути во времени*. Вып. 8, 421-422. Санкт-Петербург, 2020.
- Старикова, Ирина Владимировна. "Развитие мелизматике в византийской и древнерусской певческих традициях: опыт компаративного исследования". *Вестник ПСТГУ. Серия V: Вопросы истории и теории христианского искусства*. Вып. 34. (2019): 25-36. <https://doi.org/10.15382/sturV201934.25-36>.
- Шангина, Ольга Владимировна. "Евангельское чтение и славник Преображению Господню". *Древнерусское песнопение. Пути во времени*. Вып. 5, 77-93. Санкт-Петербург, 2011.
- Щепкина, Надежда Александровна. "Служба Введения во храм Пресвятой Богородицы по греческим певческим рукописям X – начала XIX веков". PhD diss., Санкт-Петербургский Институт истории искусств, 2017.





**JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY  
FOR ORTHODOX CHURCH MUSIC**

Vol. 6 (1), Section I: Peer-reviewed Articles, pp. 124–148

ISSN 2342-1258

<https://doi.org/10.57050/jisocm.113231>

## **VALAAM AND THE SINGING TRADITION OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH IN PARIS<sup>1</sup>**

**SVETLANA ZVEREVA**

[sgzvereva@googlemail.com](mailto:sgzvereva@googlemail.com)

The State Institute for Art Studies, Moscow

**GEORGE LAPSHYNOV**

[george-834@hotmail.com](mailto:george-834@hotmail.com)

University of Glasgow

### **INTRODUCTION**

The topic of the formation and transmission of traditions is one of the most interesting and, at the same time, one of the least studied topics of musicology. The aim of this article is to make a small contribution to this vast topic by clarifying the ways in which the singing tradition of the renowned spiritual centre of the Russian Orthodox “Abroad”, the parish of St Sergius in Paris, was formed.<sup>2</sup> It will in particular seek to attend to the gap between the musical manuals commonly used in the diaspora during the twentieth century and the discrete traditions these manuals relate to, thus shedding new light on which specific elements of the great Russian Orthodox musical tradition were safeguarded and spread to Paris and elsewhere following the Revolution of 1917. To achieve this goal, the article will start by looking into the genesis of the parish’s musical tradition at the hands of Vladyka Benjamin (Fedchenkov) and M. M. Osorgin. It will then consider from where this musical tradition takes its roots, and through which musical books it arrived in Paris. Trying to understand the tradition of the Valaam Obikhod, the article will review the history of music at Valaam through a comparison of primary sources and historically contemporary analyses.

1 The authors thank The Finzi Trust for its grant which allowed us to consult the Alfred Swan Archives at the University of Virginia Library.

2 More information about this can be found in the following book: *Свято-Сергиевские подворье в Париже. К 75-летию со дня основания* (Санкт-Петербург: Алтейя, 1999).

It will then look into the key figures of A. Swan and M. M. Osorgin and their role in the study and preservation of ancient Russian practices in the diaspora. The article concludes by reviewing the contemporary practices of the Parisian church.

The authors make use of a mixture of primary and secondary materials, including published contemporary reports from the early nineteenth to the mid twentieth centuries, never-before published extracts from the archives of Alfred Swan, other archival materials such as periodicals and sheet music but also doctoral theses, academic publications, and conference papers. Materials from recent interviews conducted by the authors are also included in the article.

### **THE GENESIS OF THE MUSICAL TRADITION OF THE PARISH OF ST SERGIUS IN PARIS**

The Parisian church, which at its foundation was conceived as a spiritual embassy (metochion - подворье) of the Holy Trinity St Sergius Lavra near Moscow, was founded in 1924 by refugees from Russia. The origins of the church lie with the well-known Russian bishop Eulogius (Georgiyevsky) (1868-1946). It is necessary to underline immediately that the opinion of the spiritual leadership, be it the local bishop or abbot, in relation to church singing has been since the early days of the Church, if not decisive, then very weighty. Therefore, in this paper we will have to mention more than once the names of famous spiritual leaders who, in one way or another, influenced the church singing tradition. Vladyka Eulogius's personal views on church singing have not come down to us today. It is, however, beyond doubt that he was acutely aware of the main issues it encountered at the time, as he headed the Department on Divine Services and Preaching at the 1917–18 Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church. The duties of his department included the preparation of decrees on church singing and church art. However, in founding the parish in Paris and organizing the activities of the Theological Institute of the same name, Vladyka Eulogius preferred to entrust church singing to specialists. One of the recipients of the archbishop's trust was Bishop Benjamin (Fedchenkov) (1880-1961), who arrived in Paris in the summer of 1925 from the Yugoslav Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes at the invitation of Eulogius.

Vladyka Benjamin had extensive teaching experience in theological educational institutions, including the St Petersburg Theological Academy. He was entrusted with the duties of inspector and teacher at the newly established Orthodox Theological Institute in Paris, which was set up at St Sergius. As A. K. Svetozarsky writes, "he was entrusted with the so-called 'practical' disciplines, namely liturgics, pastoral practice, i.e., canon law and moral theology. He also became the head of church singing together with M. M. Osorgin"<sup>3</sup>. In 1926, Vladyka Benjamin left Paris, returning

<sup>3</sup> Алексей Константинович Светозарский, "Митрополит Вениамин (Федченков) (1880–1961)," in *Преподобный Сергей в Париже. История парижского Свято-Сергиевского православного богословского института* (СПб.: Росток, 2010), 204.

only for a short time in 1930 to teach at St Sergius Theological Institute. It would be accurate to say his work there was short-lived, but very fruitful, as it helped to establish a tradition in the church of St Sergius which lives on to this day, including a specific tradition of church singing.

The care for church singing entrusted to Benjamin was no accident: having a musical gift, the future bishop, while still a student in Kirsanov, in the Tambov province, sang in the church choir of the Assumption Cathedral. Later when studying at the Tambov Theological Seminary, he directed its choir not without pride, recalling later that as a choir director he was in good standing with the ruling bishop.<sup>4</sup> As for the ideals of church singing which Vladyka Benjamin and Mikhail Mikhailovich Osorgin (1887–1950) tried to implement in St Sergius in the 1920s, those might have been shaped by the singing traditions of the Holy Trinity St Sergius Lavra and of the Valaam Monastery. Indeed, it is known that the services at St Sergius were in a characteristically monastic style, which attracted many believers to the services of the Parisian parish.<sup>5</sup>

Vladyka Benjamin visited Valaam on pilgrimage in 1905 and left us vivid memories of his journey to Karelia. In one entry, having joined the monastery's kliros for an all-night vigil, he wrote,

I was immediately fascinated by the singing of the choir – no, “fascinated” is not strong enough a word – I was in a kind of intensely reverent exaltation from it. In essence, Valaam melodies are Great Znamenny chant with a Northern Russian touch. But since it has been sung here for centuries, the monks have adopted it as their own, and the old monks love “their” singing to the point of jealousy. Sometimes, it so happens that on the right or left kliros, the choir sings something in a secular, “worldly way,” – which is what ‘Valaamians’ call the different Bakhmetevs, Lvovs, Arkhangel'skys, etc. The elders immediately revolt with an audible displeased murmur, and whatever was being sung is immediately removed from the repertoire. The current abbot, as I heard, banished all polyphonic original compositions, and ordered the choir to sing only in the Valaam style... Sometimes, the left and right choirs, about fifty people, converge in the middle of the church – all powerful voices, especially the basses – and they raise to the sky the animated, namely living, “solidified”, sound of simple, strict, and powerful chants! They do not observe any piano or forte here, but freely and boldly praise God. To this, one must add also the canonarch: he will first say the beginning of the verse, barely understandable, and then suddenly a mighty choir will pick up where he left, and the idea of the text is drawn as a picture before your eyes.<sup>6</sup>

4 <https://iknigi.net/avtor-rostislav-prosvetov/194956-zhizneopisanie-mitropolita-veniamina-fedchenkova-rostislav-prosvetov/read/page-2.html>

5 Unpublished manuscript by A. Kartashev on the Theological Institute, part IV, section “Teaching. Characteristics of teaching individual disciplines”, 150. Taken from: Александр Семенов-Тянь-Шанский, “Михаил Михайлович Осоргин (старший),” *Преподобный Сергей в Париже. История парижского Свято-Сергиевского православного богословского института* (СПб.: Росток, 2010), 496.

6 Митрополит Вениамин (Федченков), “На северный Афон,” *Записки студента-паломника на Валаам* (Москва, 2003), 112–113. Authors’ translation.

It is therefore possible that, having been inspired by the “Athos of the North”, Vladyka Benjamin wanted to hear not worldly but monastic singing in the Parisian church as well; not musical compositions by authors of recent centuries, but prayer embodied in the concentrated and earnest singing of ancient chants. Perhaps, he dreamed that in addition to simplicity and severity, his choir’s singing in Paris would also have this “powerful peculiar beauty that captivates the soul,” and which led into religious delight all those who, in times of old, heard the singing of Valaam.

Similar views were apparently shared by the pious layman Mikhail Osorgin, who from the mid-1920s to the end of the 1940s was the psalmist (псаломщик – *psalomshchik*) at the St Sergius parish church and directed its choir, where the Institute’s students also sang, thus preparing musically the future pastors of the Orthodox Church for their ministry. At the Institute, his primary duty for almost a quarter of a century was the teaching of the *Typikon* (церковный устав – *ustav*). In the mid-1930s, through his efforts, a course for psalmists was established in Paris at the dormitory of the “Action orthodoxe” (Православное Дѣло), St Maria Skobtsova’s ‘social-missionary association’ where M. M. Osorgin also taught.<sup>7</sup> A Russian aristocrat and a state councillor, Osorgin was by no means a regent by profession, in the sense of a professional precentor/choir director. Before the revolution, he had never conducted large choirs or performed in concerts, having only some limited experience managing singers in the church of the Osorgin estate in the Kaluga region. However, Mikhail Mikhailovich was a born church musician with impeccable instinct, and he studied with dedication the art of canonarchs and psalmists.<sup>8</sup>

#### WHERE THE MUSICAL TRADITION OF ST SERGIUS FINDS ITS ROOTS

The Great Prokeimenon “Let my prayer arise” is a so-called Greek chant that can be found in both the “Valaam Obikhod” of 1909 (page 126)<sup>9</sup> and the “Psalmist’s Companion” of 1916 (page 330)<sup>10</sup> in this exact arrangement. A vinyl recording of M. M. Osorgin singing this prokeimenon with the choir of St Sergius in 1948 attests to the use of this chant in Paris. On the other hand, the “O House of Ephratha” sung by Osorgin and his choir on the same vinyl is found only in the Valaam Obikhod (p. 33). We can also deduce that M. M. Osorgin sang the “O House of Ephratha” for the recording from the Valaam Obikhod and not from any other manual

7 Antoine Nivière, “Осоргины,” *Православная энциклопедия*, Т. 53 (Москва: Церковно-научный центр Православная энциклопедия, 2019), 437.

8 He mastered the art of church reading in the traditional Russian style – a recording can be found here of Ezekiel’s Vision of the Valley of Dry Bones: <https://youtu.be/Bo7k7JV5MYo>. He was also known to copy canonarchs in the traditional monastic style, as can be heard here in a recording from the chant “O House of Ephratha”: <https://youtu.be/YBOOraTbLvo>. There are only two recordings of Osorgin’s voice and the choir of the Theological Institute, which were made in 1948 by “Anthologie Sonore” and to which both of the above belong. In 1956 they were reissued on a single LP.

9 *Обиходъ одногласный церковно-богослужебнаго пѣнія по напѣву Валаамскаго монастыря* (Издание Валаамской обители, 1909), 126.

10 *Спутникъ псаломщика. Пѣснопѣнія годичнаго круга съ требоисправленіями*, издание 3-е (Санктъ-Петербургъ: Синодальная Типографія, 1916), 330.

for several reasons. We know for certain Osorgin had both abovementioned anthologies in his possession, yet the Companion offers no version of this particular hymn. The only other ‘book of common chant’ (i.e., *obikhod*) known to us that offers a set-up for this hymn based on a similar root chant is the *Obikhod* of the Solovetsky Monastery, but the differences are too stark for this version to have been used by Osorgin.<sup>11</sup> The audio recording of “O House of Ephratha” differs from the written music of the Valaam *Obikhod* only in one key way: Osorgin proclaims the verses before the choir sings them, in the style of canonarchs (канонарх), which is proper in a monastic setting, but a highly unusual phenomenon in a standard parochial environment.<sup>12</sup> This clearly sets St Sergius in Paris apart, showing its desire to cultivate a unique monastic style.

**ПОДОБЕНЪ: „ДОМЪ ЕВФРАТОВЪ.“  
ИМѢЕТЪ ПЯТЬ КОЛѢНЪ.**

ДО-МЕ ЕВ-ФРА-ТОВЪ,      ГРА - ДЕ СВА-ТЫИ  
ПРО-РО-КОВЪ СЛА - ВА,      ОУ - КРА - СИ ДОМЪ,  
ВЪНЕМЪ ЖЕ БО - ЖЕ - СТВЕН - НЫИ РО - ЖДА - ЕТ - СЯ.

Illustration 1. “O House of Ephratha” – Podoben in five verses. Valaam *Obikhod* p. 33. 1909.

The Valaam *Obikhod* is a standard book of music, collated under the personal supervision of Hegumen Gabriel (1848-1910), head of the Valaam Monastery between 1891 and 1903.<sup>13</sup> Its *raison d’être*, as written by the monks themselves in the book’s foreword, is the preservation of the monastery’s ancient singing tradition “which unwittingly leads one to prayer and moves one’s heart”<sup>14</sup>. The reasons for the monks’ remarkable efforts to safeguard

11 *Обиходъ нотнаго пѣнія по древнему растрѣву, употребляемому въ первоклассномъ ставропигиальномъ Соловецкомъ монастырѣ. Въ трехъ частяхъ* (Издание Соловецкаго монастыря, 1912), 64. We have exhaustively checked the “Synodal *Obikhod*” and several other widespread *obikhods* and have found no other mention of the hymn except in the Solovetsky *Obikhod*. Their version of the chant, ostensibly based on the same original chant, differs significantly from what Osorgin sang in 1948.

12 Indeed, it was common for monasteries to have a canonarch, whose responsibility it was to ensure that the correct verses were sung by the kliros, at a time when electric light did not exist and service books were hard to find. In today’s practice, it is usually considered the canonarch no longer serves a practical purpose.

13 Наталья Юрьевна Плотникова, “Певческие традиции Валаамскаго монастыря,” in *Валаамский монастырь: духовные традиции, история, культура* (Санкт-Петербург: Сатисъ, Держава, 2004), 320.

14 *Обиходъ одноголосный Валаамскаго монастыря*, vii. The authors’ translation.

their tradition appear to be essentially two in number. There was a widespread tendency for monasteries and communities to record their local singing traditions in an obikhod. More importantly for Valaam, their efforts to record their tradition seem to have been motivated by the fear of losing it, as well as an awareness that it was waning. Indeed, in this very foreword, the monks emphatically express this fear that their ancient traditions might get lost or be altered by the new generation – a fear that sadly proved to be well-founded. To sing all the necessary services by memory required many years of training and dedication; if the new generation lacked the former by definition, they might also have lacked motivation for the latter – although we cannot say for certain, the reason for the disappearance of the oral tradition in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century requires further research. The oft-quoted Dmitriy Solovyov, in his 1889 book, provides evidence of this withering of the tradition through his account of Fr Joel's confession to him.<sup>15</sup> This is further supported by the evidence that certain "podoben" chants recorded in a manuscript from 1821 had fallen out of use by the time the Obikhod was gathered in the 1890s.<sup>16</sup> The foreword further notes that the music was written down "directly from the voice" of the older monks.<sup>17</sup>

The main object of this article is not the analysis of singing tradition at Valaam. It is nonetheless essential that we clarify certain points and raise a few essential key questions before we can move on. Indeed, discussing the passing on of a tradition from Valaam to Paris and the US would be moot if we did not know what that tradition consisted of in the first place.

### THE MUSICAL TRADITION OF THE VALAAM MONASTERY

First, we must discuss whether the melodies recorded in the Obikhod should be called "Valaam chant" or something else. The monks themselves, in the previously mentioned manuscript of 1821 would appear to have notated some of their own chants under the label "Book of common stolpovoy chants" (Обиход столпового пения), which would reflect a certain self-awareness of the fact that their chants were a local rendition of "Stolpovoy".<sup>18</sup> In the foreword of the Obikhod, the monks write that their tradition is born of the "union of the Great and Small 'Znamenny' chants, and of others also".<sup>19</sup> And Bishop Benjamin (Fedchenkov), quoted earlier, described the style as "'Great Znamenny' chant with a Northern Russian touch". There

15 Дмитрий Соловьевъ, *Церковное пѣніе въ Валаамской обители* (Санкт-Петербургъ: Изданіе Санкт-Петербургскаго Епархіальнаго Братства во имя Пресвятыя Богородицы, 1889), 26.

16 Jori Harri, "How were stikhera sung at Valaam?", *Journal of the International Society for Orthodox Church Music* 3 (2018): 154.

17 Плотникова, "Певческие традиции Валаамского монастыря," 319. Johann von Gardner also writes on the topic of monastic singing that it was an oral tradition, usually unrecorded, passed down from one generation of monks to the next. Иванъ Алексеевичъ Гарднеръ, *Богослужбное пѣніе Русской Православной Церкви*. Исторія (Jordanville, NY: Тѣпографіа преп. Іѡва Почаевскаго, 1982).

18 Hierodeacon Roman, "Архив библиотеки и собрание рукописей Валаамского монастыря как источники изучения валаамского богослужбного пения," in *Валаамский монастырь: духовные традиции, история, культура* (Saint-Petersburg: Сатисъ, Держава, 2004), 314. Authors' translation.

19 *Обиходъ одногласный Валаамскаго монастыря*, vii. Authors' translation.

is little doubt therefore that the tradition is essentially “Znamenny”, in the many forms that the Znamenny tradition might have. The chants contained in the Obikhod are, however, more than simply “Znamenny”. Natalya Plotnikova, analysing the traditions of the Obikhod, notes Valaam also borrows from “Greek, Kievan, Bulgarian and Put”<sup>20</sup> (путевой) chants, making the Obikhod fit into the *pan-Russian tradition* that combines many of these common chants.

Yet, we cannot escape the uniqueness of “Valaam chant”. In his “Description of the Valaam Monastery and the turmoil in it” (Описание Валаамскаго монастыря и смуть, бывшихъ въ немъ), St Ignatius (Bryachaninov) (1807-1867), writing in 1838, qualified the singing in the following way:

Their own singing, Valaam chant, is something of their own making, a distortion of Znamenny singing: it is heard in the southern communities of Russia under the name of “samodelshchina”<sup>21</sup>. Whoever should wish to hear this “samodelshchina” can do so in the sketes: there, the zealous upholders of the Valaam Rule [устав—in the sense of monastic rule] preserve this sacred creation in all its inviolability; they give a disgustingly high importance to it without any respect for set practices and rites.<sup>22</sup>

The saint’s sarcasm and obvious dislike for Valaam chant aside, we note that whatever the monks sung on Valaam must indeed have been quite different from the general Russian tradition to warrant such strong feelings. It was clear that despite an adherence to wider practices, the style developed at Valaam was peculiar to them, and not only because of the way in which it was executed. Indeed, in this same report, St Ignatius also notes the great clash of two musical traditions in the monastery: on the one hand, the oral tradition sung by the ‘monks in the sketes’ which was a unique Znamenny-derived tradition proper to the monastery, and on the other the practice of singing mainstream “Znamenny printed church books”<sup>23</sup>, which was being promoted by the hegumen at that time, Fr Benjamin. The tradition that made it into the Obikhod nearly a century later is, in all likelihood, that oral tradition of which St Ignatius wrote.

This then raises the question of where this tradition stems from, something St Ignatius can help us with again. In his “Archaeological description of antiquities found in 1853 in the monasteries of the St Petersburg diocese”, he tells us the monastery, despite having been founded over half a millennium ago, was only re-established in the early eighteenth century after a century of Swedish occupation. After being re-established, it burned down in 1754, and was finally rebuilt in stone at the end of that

20 Плотникова, “Певческие традиции Валаамскаго монастыря,” 320.

21 The word “самодельщина” is difficult to translate but can be interpreted in this context as meaning *amateurish* or *crude DIY music*.

22 Святитель Игнатий (Брянчанинов), “Описание Валаамскаго монастыря и смут, бывшихъ в немъ,” in *Полное собрание творений и писем: в 8 томах*, Том 3 (Москва: Паломник, 2014), Статья 4, 487.

23 *Ibid.*, 487. The printed books of Znamenny referred to by St Ignatius are in all likelihood the books of the Synodal Obikhod in nota quadrata, which after much advertisement and efforts by the Holy Synod, were gaining traction.

same century.<sup>24</sup> At that same time, in 1781, Metropolitan Gabriel of Novgorod sent Fr Nazarius (Kondratiev) to Valaam to renew the monastic life there.<sup>25</sup> Fr Nazarius was a *starets* from the Sarov Pustyn' monastery. It is thus only from the time of Hegumen Nazarius that we can consider the modern monastery of Valaam to be properly established, permanently inhabited, and thriving. It is a known fact that Fr Nazarius brought with him the Sarov Rule, known for its attachment to mediaeval tradition, austere singing of Znamenny chants during all offices, and strict following of the typikon. This will be discussed in more detail below. Whether he also brought with him the music from Sarov is a different question altogether. On the one hand, there is a perfectly reasonable argument saying he did. As A. V. Zagrebina contends, the complete destruction of the mediaeval wooden monastery by the Swedes in the seventeenth century and the fire of 1754 both make it highly implausible that Valaam had any proper tradition worth mentioning in the later eighteenth century. He therefore assumes that the tradition of Valaam must also have come from Sarov.<sup>26</sup>

Yet, the Sarov thesis is not entirely satisfactory. Most of the chants from the Sarov manuscript did not actually make it into the Obikhod a century later, meaning that they might have been briefly introduced in the monastery, but that they did not get assimilated. This would therefore hint at the fact that there was already an extant musical tradition prior to Fr Nazarius's arrival, and that this tradition would have survived despite the dire conditions of the monastery in the eighteenth century.<sup>27</sup> If there was indeed an earlier, more ancient tradition that survived the attempts of the likes of Hegumen Benjamin in the 1830 to make it more regular – in the sense of conforming to the wider practices of the Russian Orthodox Church at that time – that would make the musical tradition of Valaam all the more noteworthy. Where then does this tradition come from, if not from Sarov, an otherwise natural candidate? Indeed, even if the Valaam tradition is not imported from Sarov, some elements of the Sarov practice made it into Valaam chant. It would therefore not be too far a stretch to consider some elements of Synodal practice popular in the early nineteenth century survived into Valaam chant, and that elements from the traditions of many other monasteries and centres of Russian Orthodox singing must have found a way into Valaam chant also, providing thus an explanation for the formation of the Valaam tradition: the progressive layering and assimilation of many Russian styles into the practice of Valaam, producing a unique local blend, the result of which is the tradition of the Obikhod.

24 Святитель Игнатий (Брянчанинов), "Археологическое описание древностей, найденных в 1853 году в монастырях Санкт-Петербургской епархии," in *Полное собрание творений и писем: в 8 томах*, Том 3 (Москва: Паломник, 2014), 391.

25 Игорь Григорьевич Родченко, "Культура Валаамского монастыря в середине XIX века." (PhD diss., Saint-Petersburg State University of Culture and Arts, 2003), 12.

26 А. В. Загребина, "Валаам: Островок русского церковного пения," Ежегодная богословская конференция Православного Свято-Тихоновского Богословского Института 2000 года (Москва: ПСТБИ, 2000).

27 Плотникова, "Певческие традиции Валаамского монастыря," 323.



The progressive layering and formation of a local tradition, albeit with a strong 'Sarov' colour, seems more plausible than the wholesale importation of a musical tradition from somewhere else, as the 'Sarov thesis' would have it.

Lastly, there remains the thorny question of the practice of singing at Valaam, and the question of whether the monks sang polyphonically or monophonically. Although we do not claim to have the answer, it is important that we carefully consider all the evidence available to us.

The primary sources on the question are very scarce, but not non-existent, and tend to support the monophonic side of the debate. One such important primary source is the Rule of the monastery, which Fr Nazarius brought with him from Sarov, and which was established as the sole Rule in perpetuity for the monastery with the blessing of Metropolitan Gabriel in 1784. The Rule, known for its proximity to mediaeval Russian tradition, as well as to the practices of the Transvolga Old Believers, stipulates that:

Article 2: General monastic rules must be observed both during common religious services and during private religious services (келейное правило) performed in church; moreover it is stipulated a) that all singing must be "Stolpovoy"; b) that there must be no diaphonic (в два голоса) reading or singing; c) that during the canons of the Mother of God and of the Saints during the Liturgy and Molebens, and during private prayer (келейное правило), the responses in the canons of the akathist must be sung and not read...<sup>28</sup>

Article 2.b. is of particular interest to us, as the Rule explicitly forbids polyphony or harmony, depending on the interpretation. The extent to which this rule was applied will be discussed below. However, we can say with undeniable certainty that, at a time when Bortnyansky and his confrères' music *a l'italienne* was all the rage, no more than 100 miles from St Petersburg, the Metropolitan of that very city was giving his blessing to a small coenobitic community to live according to a unique monastic Rule, closer in its spirit to the mediaeval Russia of Ivan the Terrible than to the modernity of Catherine the Great. Despite the apparent inflexibility of the Rule, Solovyov – another essential primary source – contends that the reality was quite different and depended specifically on how strongly the hegumen of the time was inclined to enforce monophony, or in fact the Rule more generally. The choir at the time of Solovyov's visit consisted of "basses, tenors, and altos", a construction which he calls "monastic". He reminds his reader that it was previously widespread across monasteries in Russia.<sup>29</sup> Some authors, citing this same passage, conclude that if Valaam was so similar to other monasteries, its performance of liturgical music must have been just as mainstream also, i.e., polyphonic in several parts.<sup>30</sup>

28 Родченко, "Культура Валаамского монастыря в середине XIX века," 12.

29 Соловьевъ, *Церковное пѣніе въ Валаамской обители*, 19.

30 Jori Harri, "On the Polyphonic Chant of Valaam Monastery," in Ivan Moody and Maria Takala Roszczenko, editors, *Church, State and Nation in Orthodox Church Music. Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Orthodox Church Music* (Joensuu: The International Society for Orthodox Church Music, 2010), 205.

On that very same page, Solovyov, however, also writes that

The choir of Valaam did not always use to have this construction. There were some hegumens who, for various reasons, would not permit the presence of altos in the choir, and some even found the division into tenors and basses impermissible; in their opinion, such singing was already too sweet-voiced for a monastic choir.<sup>31</sup>

St Ignatius's account from half a century earlier tells us how a hegumen was removed for his attempt to tweak the Rule and 'synodalize' the singing, precisely because the monks held it in such high esteem. It would then also follow that they must, in all likelihood, have held their monophony in equally high esteem. Yet, to say that the musical tradition of the monks of Valaam was monophonic does not necessarily mean they sang exclusively in unison, or indeed that they never occasionally sang polyphonically. On this topic, the famous musicologist Johann von Gardner writes that from the 1820s onwards, monks in many places began to develop a 'monastic' style of polyphonic arrangements of their traditional chants. The authors of such monastic arrangements include Archimandrite Theophan and Hieromonk Victor.<sup>32</sup> It is therefore possible that some form of typically monastic polyphony – a style which has nothing in common with the 'Italian secular church style' – also made its appearance on Valaam in the course of the nineteenth century, despite Valaam's particular attachment to monophony.<sup>33</sup>

There are additionally some important practical considerations that often escape the attention of most works on the topic. Valaam had (and still has) many sketes, each having potentially up to two kliroi. What is certain is that, given the strong emphasis of the Rule on singing even in private prayer, there must have been a great many number of singers in the monastery in addition to those in the main two choirs of the Transfiguration church. In such conditions, having polyphony, especially of the Western kind, is hard to imagine. These monastics would spend many hours a day in prayer and having to learn several parts would have been very impractical. In all likelihood, due to the smaller number of singers, the sketes sang monodic melodies in unison, in the psalmist style, or alternatively, if the skill and number of monastics permitted, sang in what Gardner called 'monastic polyphony'. Such polyphony is also monodic, with one or two other voices following the melodic line at a third and adding a bass. That way, the monks would not have had to learn any other melodies than that of the chant. To this, one must add the factor of the personal preference of the monks in the different sketes, but also of the clergy, which might have strongly influenced the style of singing in different periods, and in different parts of the monastery.

31 Соловьевъ, *Церковное пѣніе въ Валаамской обители*, 19. The authors' translation.

32 Гарднеръ, *Богослужбное пѣніе Русской Православной Церкви. Исторія*, 299.

33 *Ibid.*, 118.



*Illustration 2.* The skete of St Abraham of Rostov, Valaam Monastery. Suspected author: the monastery's own photography studio. 1900.

It is however very likely that the situation in the main church was different. Solovyov notes that as many as fifty singers would come together for services there<sup>34</sup>, a statistic that is confirmed by Metropolitan Benjamin (Fedchenkov) a decade and a half later. The composition of the choir into several voices/parts would have allowed monophony at the octave, in two or three octaves depending on the range of the singers, and also certain types of polyphony: both harmonized in the *Western* style, but also of a different nature. Here again we must turn to Solovyov who writes:

34 Плотникова, "Певческие традиции Валаамского монастыря," 324.

There is here [at Valaam] a different kind of polyphony, not as much in the sense of their application of the rules of harmony, as in the sense of the contrapuntal character of their diaphony, triphony and other harmonic and melodic movements.<sup>35</sup>

To sum up, the tradition which is contained within the Obikhod and which, despite two world wars, a revolution and the forced exile of many thousands of people from their motherland, and which is perpetuated through it in centres of Russian spiritual culture such as St Sergius in Paris, is essentially three things. First, it is Znamenny, albeit incorporating other Russian chants; the whole rendered with a unique local flavour, and with ornaments and editions of their own making. Second, it is in part from Sarov, but mostly from all over Russia. Valaam is not a place that has produced its own original melodies, but rather it is the product of many traditions meeting at different times. And last, it was in its essence monodic, with a very strong original attachment to mediaeval Russian monastic practices. As the whole of Russian sacred music was assuredly walking towards its current form, the coenobitic community of Valaam conscientiously and deliberately made the choice of a more ascetic style of church singing, centred on traditional chants resulting from their oral tradition. The monks performed these either in unison or accompanied by other voices.

### THE MUSICAL TRADITION OF THE PSALMIST'S COMPANION

In contrast to the Valaam Obikhod, the "Psalmist's Companion", which was also used extensively at St Sergius in Paris, is composed of chants from famous publications such as the Synodal Obikhod written in square notation or the "Annual cycle of 'common chant' chants of the Moscow diocese" (Кругъ церковныхъ пѣснопѣній обычнаго напѣва Московской епархіи<sup>36</sup>). Aside from Muscovite chants, the editors of the *Sputnik* also included in it various regional styles, but with a marked preference for "Great Znamenny" chant. The aim of Archbishop Arseniy (Stadnitsky) of Novgorod (1862-1936), who headed the compilation of the Companion, was to breathe new life into the institution of psalmists. Part of this process is also visible in his organizing pilot psalmist schools first in the Pskov and then in the Novgorod dioceses. Between 1913 and 1916, not only was the *Sputnik* published thrice; it even earned the praise of the Sovereign Emperor.<sup>37</sup>

The Valaam Obikhod and the Psalmist's Companion are very different in nature, despite both capturing aspects of Russia's sacred

35 Соловьевъ, *Церковное пѣніе въ Валаамской обители*, 20. The authors' translation.

36 *The Synodal Obikhod in nota quadrata* was published in 1772 in four books: Obikhod, Irmologion, Octoechos and Dodekaorton.

37 The history of the "Psalmist's Companion" as well as measures to streamline church singing at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, are discussed in great detail in the new book: *Хоровые съезды, общества, курсы. Русская духовная музыка в документах и материалах*, Том VIII. Книга. 2. Научный редактор С. Г. Зверева, подготовка. текстов, вступительные статьи и комментарии С. Г. Зверевой, А. В. Лебедевой-Емелиной. Москва: Издательский Дом "ЯСК", 2021.

musical tradition. The compilers of the Companion aimed to safeguard the oldest chants available – Great Znamenny, Small Znamenny, Kievan, Greek, Abridged Greek, Bulgarian – through a rigorous process of tracing back the old Russian tradition to its oldest still decipherable roots, mainly through the Synodal Obikhod. It is therefore a reflection of a written tradition. The oral traditions which existed everywhere in Russia, Valaam being one such example, were considered by some to be corruptions of the original mediaeval traditions, and thus less worthy. It is therefore interesting to note that after the Revolution, the tradition of Valaam recorded in its Obikhod was received on terms equal to that of the Synodal Obikhod. The spiritual authority of the monastics from Valaam, who dispersed to different countries after the Revolution, also played no small part in the recognition of the melodic heritage of Valaam.

### **KEY FIGURES AND THEIR ROLE IN THE PRESERVATION OF ANCIENT PRACTICES IN THE DIASPORA**

Some information about singing on Valaam and the significance of this centre of church singing for the Russian emigration between the wars can be found in the correspondence of Mikhail Osorgin with Alfred Swan (1890–1970), a Russian-born English American. (The reader will be able to find a few individual letters from this epistolary exchange appended at the end of the article.) After graduating from Oxford and from the Petrograd Conservatoire, Swan moved to the United States where he immersed himself deeply in the study of Russian music.

The correspondence between Swan and Osorgin started after the former wrote to the latter asking him for a copy of the pre-revolutionary “Psalmist’s Companion”; he most probably knew that ancient church chants were sung at St Sergius, using this book. From this same correspondence, we learn that Osorgin had a deep appreciation for the singing tradition of Valaam.

Osorgin also invited his addressee to dive deeper into sacred music and pointed to the Valaam Monastery as a place where the Russian church singing tradition was preserved and where one could learn to perform liturgical singing in the ancient style. The very first time they met, in Paris, in 1933, Osorgin gave Swan a copy of the monodic Valaam Obikhod, and warned him that many chants sung even to that day in the monastery remained unpublished and were still only performed by the monks from memory. However, as he writes, the monastery’s singing tradition was slowly dying and was on the verge of complete disappearance “if the monastery were to close, which is the aim of the Finnish government’s policy”<sup>38</sup>.

Indeed, this primordial Russian monastery ended up on the territory of Finland after the revolution in Russia. Falling historically under the Grand Duchy of Finland, in the Russian Empire, the island of Valaam was naturally integrated into the newly independent Finland in 1917. Several

38 М. М. Осоргин, Письмо к А.А. Свану, 6 (23) сентября 1933 года. Cf. The appendix.

things are known about Valaam in the years immediately following the revolution. It became a refuge for many emigrants fleeing the Bolsheviks and the Civil war and was widely known as such in the Russian diaspora. It also fell under the jurisdiction of the Finnish Orthodox Church, which gained autocephaly between 1921 and 1923. This latter point was especially contentious, as the Finnish Church decided on a number of reforms such as the change of calendar from Julian to Gregorian, and the use of Finnish as the liturgical language. A number of monks, as well as the leadership of the monastery were very unhappy with these changes, leading to over a decade of fighting. The monastery was eventually evacuated in 1940.

What is also noteworthy is the mediatic void surrounding Valaam in the post-revolution years. Whereas in the early twentieth century, Valaam was a bustling centre of missionary activity, pilgrimages, and the headquarters of two Orthodox Brotherhoods<sup>39</sup>, in both the secular and the religious periodicals of the Russian community in Finland in the 1920s, the monastery appears to be dead in comparison.<sup>40</sup> That said, we know that visitors were a common sight on the island at least still until the later 1930s, as some of the letters in our possession that had been sent to Swan testify.

In August 1934, Alfred Swan and his wife, the author Ekaterina Rezvaya, left for Valaam. Both the monastery itself and the surrounding Russian life left a deep and indelible impression on Swan:

This is an entire enchanted world filled with grace. An untouched fragment of old Russia", Swan wrote to Osorgin on 17 August 1934, from Valaam. "Everything is here, as in the old days. I study the details of their church service on the spot, I sit in the library ... I found an Octoechos, a Triodion, an Obikhod (the Irmologion I already received from you), I read melodies, I sing along with them, I find charming transitions in their music.<sup>41</sup>

However, the singing of the monks was no longer what it was before the Revolution. As Swan writes in that same letter, the singers had completely switched over to four-part polyphony, which they found easier to perform than the unison they practiced in the old days. While already disappointed, Swan's impressions of the singing on Valaam darkened even more two weeks later.

With the exception of the wonderful ringing of bells, there is no music on Valaam now. In the absence of Russian singers, everything is creaking at the seams. The choir director waved his hands but could not do anything. True, he could have made the few singers he had sing more enjoyably by not combining a major with a minor, as they alas often do. And there are no ancient chants to speak of, apart from the occasional hint of something good here and there, but for the most part it is an unimaginable mess.<sup>42</sup>

A recording of the singing of the monks of the Valaam monastery made in the 1930s has survived to our time, allowing us to get at least a distant idea

39 *Православный сборник*, 1910, №2, 34; *Православный сборник*, 1910, №3, 33–35.

40 *Листок Русской Колонии*, 1927, апрель 24–№ 12.

41 А. А. Сван, *Письмо к М. М. Осоргину*, 17 августа 1934. Written by Swan in Valaam.

42 А. А. Сван, *Письмо к М. М. Осоргину*, 2 сентября 1934. Written by Swan in Valaam.

of how the Valaam monks sang when the death knell of the Monastery's musical tradition rang.<sup>43</sup>

The study of the manuscripts of the Valaam Monastery, and the ensuing long correspondence with the monastery's librarian, Hierodeacon Jovian (Иувиан) (Krasnoperov) (1880–1957), largely determined the path of Swan not only as a researcher of Russian mediaeval music and as a composer of sacred music, but also as a Christian, who converted to Orthodoxy in the late 1930s. The letters of the humble Fr Jovian, who spent fifty-eight years of his life on Valaam, contain almost no information about singing in the monastery. But the Father Librarian did supply Swan with sheet music of Valaam chants.<sup>44</sup> In an effort to support Swan's scientific endeavours, we learn from their correspondence that he also sent him a number of other publications.<sup>45</sup> Fr Jovian also helped M.M. Osorgin to acquire some of the books he needed for his teaching at St Sergius Institute, and, in addition to this, gave recommendations to Swan about which places in the Russian diaspora he should visit in order to become even more familiar with Orthodox church singing:

Since your work, dear Alfred Alfredovich, on Orthodox church singing is very valuable and important, for the good of this business it is very necessary that you visit the Orthodox monasteries of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and even Poland, where one of the lavras of the former Russian Empire is located, namely Pochaevskaya. A visit to these monasteries will familiarise you with Orthodox church singing. I do not have accurate information about the monasteries in Novi Sad and Skopje, but if you are in Belgrade, you can get comprehensive information about all the monasteries in Serbia there, which in one sense or another are remarkable in terms of church singing. When visiting Czechoslovakia, be sure to visit the Orthodox Mission in the Carpathians, which is near Vladimirov – this is the brainchild of Archbishop Vitaly, who is famous in America, and works a great deal for the Church.<sup>46</sup>

As far as we know, before the outbreak of World War II, Swan made a pilgrimage to the monastery only once more. In June 1936, he visited the Pskovo-Pechersky Dormition Monastery, located in the Pskov province, part of which, together with this monastery, ended up being in Estonia. The Pskovo-Pechersky monastery, which on the eve of the revolution was small in terms of numbers (in 1913 there were 28 monks, 25 novices and 22 workers in the monastery), finding itself on the territory of a foreign state,

43 The link to this video can be found on YouTube and similar platforms online.

44 In the music Fr Jovian gave to Swan, one can find among others the 4-part harmonized "Sbornik" of 1902 mentioned earlier in this article.

45 Here is a non-exhaustive list of books and notes Swan received from Fr Jovian: Потулов Николай Михайлович. *Сборник церковных песнопений*. Вып. 1 и 2 (Москва, 1878/82); *Ектении и некоторые краткие песнопения на Божественной Литургии* (СПб, 1900); Корсаков Дмитрий Александрович. *Из жизни русских деятелей* (Казань, 1891); Шавельский Георгий Иванович. *О Боге и Его Правде* (София, 1938); Мансветов Иван Данилович. *О постах Православной восточной Церкви* (Москва, 1886); Рязский Александр Дмитриевич. *Учебник церковного пения*. 2-е издание (Москва, 1894).

46 Монах Иувиан, *Письмо к А. А. Свану*, 14 (27) июля 1935. University of Virginia, Special Collections Division, A.J. Swan coll., № 10093. Folder: Correspondence. The monk Iuvian (from Valaam monastery).

acquired a special spiritual meaning in the eyes of Russian emigrants. The singing of the monks of the Pskovo-Pechersky Monastery was not as famous as that of their counterparts of the Valaam Monastery. Nevertheless, old manuscripts, the study of which became the purpose of Swan's trip there, were kept in the monastery's archives.



*Illustration 3. Pskovo-Pechersky Monastery.  
Photo taken by Swan himself during his stay. 1936.*



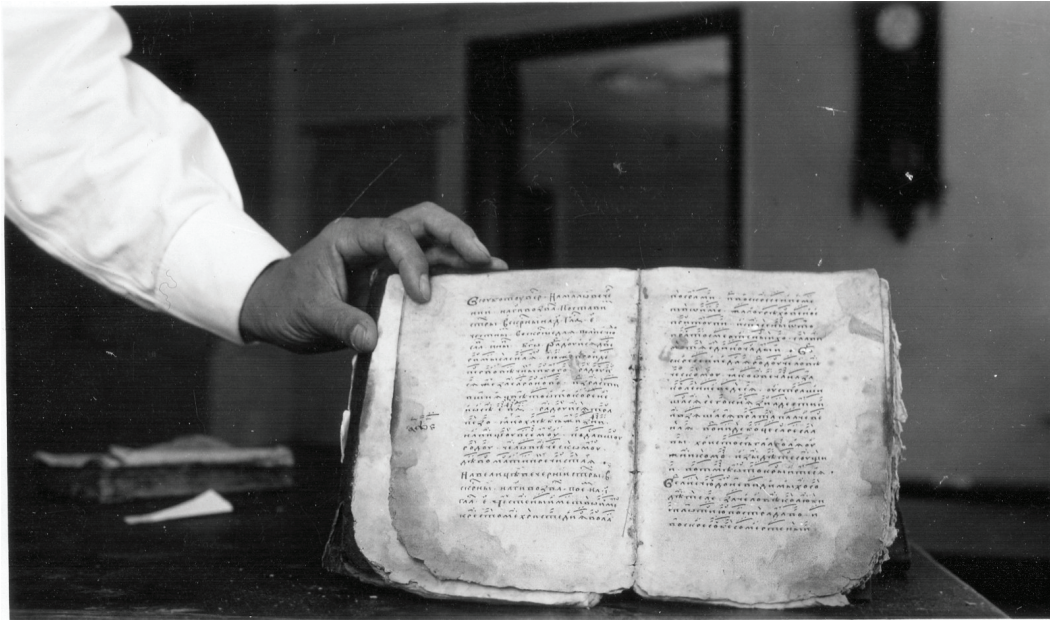


Illustration 4. Pskovo-Pechersky Monastery.  
Photo taken by Swan himself during his stay. 1936.

It should be added that the monastery was a spiritual centre not only for numerous pilgrims from various émigré Russian colonies, but also for the indigenous Russian Orthodox Baltic population. Finding themselves a minority in the newly formed Baltic states, Russians were drawn to Orthodox churches, organised church and secular choirs, orchestras, educational societies, schools, and annual celebrations for the Day of Russian Culture. One such celebration took place in June 1939 at the very walls of the Pskovo-Pechersky Monastery.<sup>47</sup>

Swan and his wife were carried away by the folkloric singing in the region. The result of their interest was Swan's recording on his phonograph of samples of a wedding ceremony in the village of Gorodishchi, the publication of a collection of songs arranged by Swan<sup>48</sup>, and a host of musicological studies.<sup>49</sup> The magnificent stories of E.V. Rezvaya "Pechora Territory" and "Izborsk"<sup>50</sup> also contributed to the list of Russian literature dedicated to these unique Russian reserves in foreign land. In a story about the Pechory, she wrote:

Here there is still a fragment of Russia, of its great spiritual culture. Only by clinging to this spiritual culture, the main foundation of which is Orthodoxy in its high images, can we be saved.<sup>51</sup>

47 *Сборник второго всегосударственного слета русских хоров в Эстонии, 1–2 июля 1939 г. в Петсери (Печеры)*. (Тарту: Изд. ком. 2-го всегос. слета русских хоров в Эстонии, 1939).

48 А. Сван. *Сборник русских народных песен*. [Десять русских народных песен из деревни Городище Печорского уезда б. Псковской губернии. Записал в народной гармонизации (при помощи фонографа) и переложил для одного голоса с сопровождением фортепиано А. Сван летом 1936 года.] (Лейпциг: Изд. М. Беляева, 1939).

49 Including: "The Nature of the Russian Folk-Song," *Musical Quarterly*, xxix (1943): 498-516; *Russian Music and its Sources in Chant and Folk-Song* (London: J. Baker; New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1973).

50 Екатерина Владимировна Сван (Резвая), *Статьи. Рассказы. Описания* (Нью-Йорк: изд. им. А. П. Чехова, 1944).

51 Сван (Резвая), *Статьи. Рассказы. Описания*, 20.

On 17 June 1936, Swan also paid a visit to the Riga Old Believers. He was lucky to be there at a time when the Old Believers performed not only Znamenny chant, but also the rare Demesvenny chant, which struck the researcher with its unusual sounds. He records his impressions, writing that,

It was a strange chant altogether. Could it have been a Kondakarian chant of the kind that had disappeared in the fourteenth century? It was jagged, theatrical, full of chromatic and ultra-chromatic passages, and quite unlike anything else.<sup>52</sup>

In conclusion, it may be added that those Russian church singers who found themselves in the Baltic States in the Novgorod and Pskov provinces continued to use the Sputnik actively and widely in their church services.

### **THE VALAAM OBIKHOD AND PSALMIST'S COMPANION IN PARIS AND JORDANVILLE TODAY**

Fr John Drobot, the protodeacon of St Alexander Nevsky Cathedral in Paris, who sang at the St Sergius church in Paris from 1975 and did so for twenty years, explained the Parisian use of the "Psalmist's Companion" thus. At Vespers, they sang from it the opening psalm, the prokeimena and the "Hail Mary"; on Saturday evening All-Night Vigils, they sang dogmatics from it; at the Pre-Sanctified Liturgy, they sang "Let my prayer arise" (all the rest of the chants of the Pre-Sanctified Liturgy were sung according to the Valaam Obikhod); and they sang from it also for Great Lent Saturday memorial matins. Most of the chants at St Sergius were borrowed from the Companion. Fr John however specifies that "we did not actually use it; we sang from memory".

Information about the widespread use of the "Psalmist's Companion" in parishes of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia was given to us by Archpriest Fr Andrei Papkov, the Chairman of the Church Music Committee of the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia. In addition to the Companion, he also tells us the Valaam Obikhod was not unknown to the choir of the Holy Trinity Monastery in Jordanville. The services were sung there following both anthologies in elementary harmony, which is commonly called "psalmist's harmony" (дьячковская гармония). From an interview with N. M. Osorgin (Osorgin's son and heir to the work of M. M. Osorgin in both the St Sergius parish church and the Theological Institute), we learn however that, sometimes, chants were also sung monophonically.<sup>53</sup> As Fr John Drobot, who sang under Osorgin's baton for a long time, tells us, "we always sang in unison the Znamenny chant Dogmatikoi for the Theotokia on Saturday vespers, all Resurrectional troparia for matins after the Greater Doxology, the stichera for the Forefeast of the Nativity, the podobien "Proceed O Angelic Powers",

52 Swan Альфред. *Пение в Гребеницкой общине в Риге*, University of Virginia, Special Collections Division, A.J.Swan coll., № 10093. Folder: A.J. Swan's notes.

53 Церковное пение зарубежья. Беседа с Николаем Осоргиным. Link: <http://internet sobor.org/index.php/stati/iz-raznykh-istochnikov/tserkovnoe-penie-zarubezhya-beseda-s-nikolaem-osorginym>

the Easter stichera, and occasionally, certain Zadostoyniki and the Greater Doxology. All these were sung using the Synodal Obikhod in nota quadrata. Stichera such as “Proceed O Angelic Power” were sung directly from the Menaion, i.e., without any music in front of us. We also sang the troparion for Mid-Pentecost from the Valaam Obikhod. If we sang in unison, it was always absolute and clean, never at the octave.”

## CONCLUSION

Thus, the spread of the Russian church singing tradition in the twentieth century received a strong impetus after 1917, on account of the formation of numerous Russian Orthodox colonies and the building of many churches outside of the USSR. As for the above-mentioned “Psalmist’s Companion” and “Valaam Obikhod”, they became essential to Alfred Swan’s scholarly work in the United States, but they also formed the basis for the musical tradition of St Sergius in Paris and of the Holy Trinity Monastery in Jordanville, NY. According to the clergymen we interviewed who sang in the choirs there, both these manuals, as well as the Synodal Obikhod in nota quadrata, came to be used extensively in the churches and monasteries of the Russian Church Abroad during services until the very end of the twentieth century. In this way, these models of the great Russian melodic heritage found a new life far beyond the territories in which they were originally born and developed over many centuries.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Harri, Jopi. “How were stikhera sung at Valaam?” In *Journal of the International Society for Orthodox Church Music*, 3 (January), edited by Ivan Moody & Maria Takala-Roszczenko, 151–184. Joensuu: Journal of the International Society for Orthodox Church Music, 2018.

Harri, Jopi. “On the Polyphonic Chant of Valaam Monastery.” In *Church, State and Nation in Orthodox Church Music. Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Orthodox Church Music*, edited by Ivan Moody and Maria Takala-Roszczenko, 203–224. Joensuu: The International Society for Orthodox Church Music, 2010.

Nivière, Antoine. “Осоргины.” In *Православная энциклопедия*, том 53. Москва: Церковно-научный центр “Православная Энциклопедия”, 2019.

Гарднеръ, Иванъ Алексеевичъ. *Богослужбное пѣніе Русской Православной Церкви. Исторія*. Jordanville, NY: Тѣпографіа преп. Їѡва Почаевскаго, 1982.

Загребин, А. В. “Валаам: Островок русского церковного пения.” In *Ежегодная богословская конференция Православного Свято-Тихоновского Богословского Института 2000 года*. Москва: Свято-Тихоновский Богословский Институт, 2000, 538–544.

Игнатий (Брянчанинов), Святитель. “Археологическое описание древностей, найденных в 1853 году в монастырях Санкт-Петербургской епархии.” *Полное собрание творений и писем: в 8 томов*, Том 3. Общ. ред. О. И. Шафранова. Москва: Паломник, 2014.

Игнатий (Брянчанинов), Святитель. “Описание Валаамского монастыря и смут, бывших в нем.” *Полное собрание творений и писем: в 8 томов*, Том 3. Общ. ред. О. И. Шафранова. Москва: Паломник, 2014.

Плотникова, Наталья Юрьевна. “Валаамский распев.” In *Православная Энциклопедия*, том 6, 510–511. Москва: Церковно-научный центр “Православная Энциклопедия”, 2009.

Плотникова, Наталья Юрьевна. “Певческие традиции Валаамского монастыря.” In *Валаамский монастырь: духовные традиции, история, культура. Материалы Второй международной конференции 23 сентября – 1 октября 2003 года*. Санкт-Петербург: Сатисъ, Держава, 2004, 317–331.

Родченко, Игорь Григорьевич. “Культура Валаамского монастыря в середине XIX века.” PhD dissertation, Saint-Petersburg State University of Culture and Arts, 2003.

Роман, Иеродиакон. “Архив библиотеки и собрание рукописей Валаамского монастыря как источники изучения валаамского богослужебного гения.” In *Валаамский монастырь: духовные традиции, история, культура. Материалы Второй международной конференции 23 сентября – 1 октября 2003 года*, 312–316. Санкт-Петербург: Сатисъ, Держава, 2004.

Светозарский, Алексей Константинович. “Митрополит Вениамин (Федченков) (1880–1961).” *Преподобный Сергей в Париже. История парижского Свято-Сергиевского православного богословского института*. Отв. ред. Протопресвитер Б. Бобринский. Санкт-Петербург: Росток, 2010.

Семенов-Тянь-Шанский, Александр. “Михаил Михайлович Осоргин (старший).” *Преподобный Сергей в Париже. История парижского Свято-Сергиевского православного богословского института*. Отв. ред. Протопресвитер Б. Бобринский. Санкт-Петербург: Росток, 2010.

Соловьевъ, Дмитрій Николаевичъ. *Церковное пѣніе въ Валаамской обители*. Санкт-Петербургъ: Изданіе Санкт-Петербургскаго Епархіальнаго Братства во имя Пресвятыя Богородицы, 1889.

Сван, Альфред А. *Сборник русских народных песен*. [Десять русских народных песен из деревни Городище Печорского уезда б. Псковской губернии. Записал в народной гармонизации (при помощи фонографа) и переложил для одного голоса с сопровождением фортепиано А. Сван летом 1936 года.] Лейпциг: Изд. М. Беляева, 1939.

Сван (Резвая), Екатерина Владимировна. *Статьи. Рассказы. Описания*. Нью-Йорк: изд. им. А. П. Чехова, 1944.

## PRIMARY MATERIALS

Иувиан (Красноперов), Монах. *Письмо к А. А. Свану*, 14 (27) июля 1935. University of Virginia, Special Collections Division, A.J. Swan collection, № 10093. Folder: “The monk Iuvian (from Valaam monastery)” in Correspondence.

*Листок Русской Колонии*, 1927, апрель 24–№ 12.

*Обиходъ нотнаго пѣнія по древнему распѣву, употребляемому въ первоклассномъ ставропигіальномъ Соловецкомъ монастырѣ. Въ трехъ частяхъ*. Изданіе Соловетскаго монастыря, 1912.

*Обиходъ одnogолосный церковно-богослужебнаго пѣнія по распѣву Валаамскаго монастыря*. Изданіе Валаамской обители, 1909.

Осоргин, М. М. *Письмо к А. А. Свану*, 6 (23) сентября 1933 года. University of Virginia, Special Collections Division, A.J. Swan collection, № 10093. Folder: Correspondence.

*Православный сборник*, 1910, №2, 34.

*Православный сборник*, 1910, №3, 33–35.

*Сборник второго всегосударственного слета русских хоров в Эстонии, 1–2 июля 1939 г. в Петсери (Печеры)*. Тарту: Издание комитета 2-го всегосударственного слета русских хоров в Эстонии, 1939.

Сван, Альфред А. *Пение в Гребеницковской общине в Риге*. University of Virginia, Special Collections Division, A.J. Swan collection, № 10093. Folder: A.J. Swans notes.

Сван, Альфред А. *Письмо к М. М. Осоргину*. 17 августа 1934. University of Virginia, Special Collections Division, A.J. Swan collection, № 10093. Folder: Correspondence. M. and E. Ossorguine.

Сван, Альфред А. *Письмо к М. М. Осоргину*. 2 сентября 1934. University of Virginia, Special Collections Division, A.J. Swan collection, № 10093. Folder: Correspondence. M. and E. Ossorguine.

*Спутникъ псаломщика. Песнопения годичного круга съ требоисправлениями*, издание 3-е. Санкт-Петербургъ: Свнодальная Типографія, 1916.

## APPENDIX

### APPENDIX 1: LETTER OF MIKHAIL M. OSORGIN TO ALFRED A. SWAN.<sup>54</sup>

6 (23) сентября 1933 года. Париж, Сергиевское подворье.

Дорогой Альфред Альфредович!

Получил Ваше письмо от 14/IX с большим опозданием, так как на несколько дней уезжал отдохнуть в деревню, куда оно мне было переслано, и не застав меня там вновь было переотправлено в Подворье. Несколько дней по его получении я сомневался, стоит ли отвечать на него по существу, так как довольно безнадежно на бумаге дать на все Ваши вопрошения исчерпывающие ответы, которые бы Вас удовлетворили. Одно мне стало ясным: конечно, двух разговоров наших было далеко недостаточно для того, чтобы прийти ко взаимному пониманию и соглашению. Чтобы не огорчать Вас решил все же в конце концов по пунктам ответить на Ваши вопросы; боюсь, что мне не удастся достигнуть тех или других верных результатов, которые имели бы место при непосредственном общении.

1. Относительно записи валаамских и карпаторосских роспевов Вы, конечно, не так меня поняли, но и Денисов<sup>55</sup> также не прав. Что кое-какие роспевы записаны — это факт, тому доказательство хотя бы тот «Валаамский обиход», который я Вам послал на память о нашей первой встрече и который, надеюсь, Вами получен. Кроме этого Обихода есть еще некоторые вещи, записанные из валаамского репертуара, есть даже кое-что переложенное на 4 голоса (очень плохо и неудачно, между прочим).

Из карпаторосских напевов, насколько мне известно, записанного и печатного материала значительно меньше. Но не в этом суть: что почти совсем

54 The letters of M. M. Osorgin to A. A. Swan published in this appendix can be found in the University of Virginia, Special Collections Division, A. J. Swan collection, № 10093. Folder: Correspondence. M. and E. Ossorguine. The complete correspondence between A. A. Swan and M. M. Osorgin as well as selected letters of monk Jovian to A. A. Swan will be published in the 1st book of the 10th volume of the series “Russian Sacred Music in Documents and Materials” (Русская духовная музыка в документах и материалах), which is currently being prepared by the authors of this article.

55 He refers to the famous Parisian singer and regent I. K. Denisov, who on the eve of the Russian revolution was a soloist at the Mariinsky Theatre in St Petersburg. During the émigré period of his life he sang in the famous quartet of N. N. Kedrov and founded his own quartet after the latter's death in 1940. In his younger years, he was an altar boy at the Holy Trinity St Sergius Lavra and also visited other monasteries, including Valaam, where he returned to as a pilgrim even after the revolution. Osorgin and Denisov maintained a close relationship by virtue of the fact that the latter directed the student concert choir of the St Sergius Theological Institute, with which he toured in the 1930s to raise funds for the Institute.

неизвестно у карпатороссов — это их многочисленные подобны, утраченные даже старообрядцами; их следует на месте собирать и даже быть может с трудом разыскивать. Мне недавно под руку попали два таких карпаторосских гласовых подобна, изумительные по красоте и, смею Вас уверить, никому неизвестные, и таких много.

Я считаю, что собирание и исполнение таких подобнов есть одна из прямых целей пропагандирования старого пения. То же касается и Валаама: их подобны и многое другое фигурирующее в Обиходе, то есть, способ их тамошнего исполнения, не изданы. А ведь Валаамский монастырь всегда славился своим пением, и одноголосное передавание мелодии в Обиходе далеко не дает то, что самый монашеский способ исполнения, передаваемый от старых монахов молодым и скоро долженствующий совсем исчезнуть с закрытием монастыря, к чему стремится политика финляндского правительства.

2. О чем Вы хотите, чтобы я сговаривался с Кузьмичем? (Кстати, у меня с ним вполне хорошие отношения.) Прежде всего, в области старой церковной музыки я абсолютно не считаю его за авторитета и совершенного инако с ним мыслю. А затем, мне с ним, как с бывшим артистом Мариинской оперы, считающим себя компетентным, очень трудно, а потому и неприятно разговаривать о любимой мне музыке. Когда он начинает что-нибудь доказывать или утверждать, или, наконец, ссылаться на свою практику, что для меня определенно неверно и не так, я никогда не стану поддерживать с ним спор, предпочту лучше уступить и замолчать, быть может, во вред делу. Кузьмич очень милый человек, голос его хороший, но поймите, что он прежде всего артист, который с таким же азартом и охотой споет подряд какой-нибудь догматик (еще со своими вариациями) и концерт Бортнянского, а для меня это — нож в сердце. Он, кстати, у меня недавно долго сидел, я этот визит оценил, как Ваше влияние. Советовался он со мной, что включить в программу выступлений студенческого хора в Голландии. Я охотно дал ему разные советы, но опять-таки не в этом суть. (См. 3-й пункт.)

3. Как Вы хотите, чтобы студенческий наш хор спел старую музыку без соответствующего воспитания и подготовки? Исполнение этой музыки, постепенно утрачиваемой — вещь настолько трудная и специальная, что вот почему я считаю необходимым организацию небольшого ядра певчих, материально обеспеченных, с которыми следует проделать соответствующее музыкальное обучение и очень трудную работу, скорее даже весьма скучную, которая для некоторых из них в начале была бы, выражаясь Вашими словами, «пением из-под палки» ради только заработка. Только проделав с большим терпением этот скучный и трудный период, можно рассчитывать получить из этих певчих, понявших и полюбивших красоту этой музыки — фанатиков, которые являлись бы благовестителями на весь мир ее красоты и стали бы самоокупающей себя организацией, не имеющей конкуренции. [...]

4. На Ваш четвертый пункт о певчих за плату я, кажется, довольно ясно высказался в предыдущем пункте. Добавлю, что я, конечно, не делаю себе иллюзий, что найти бесплатных любителей для обучения и шлифовки по теперешним трудным материальным временам — вещь невозможная. Подумайте только о том, что профессиональные врачи, генералы, чтобы заработать себе на кусок хлеба должны с утра до вечера не по своему назначению довольствоваться какой-нибудь грязной заводской работой! В таком же положении находятся и любители церковного пения, для которых борьба за существование также остро стоит, как и для других. Потому на

длительный жертвенный порыв с их стороны было бы безумием рассчитывать. Я ведь полагаю, что для успешного результата подготовительного периода следует посвящать пению не меньше 2-х часов ежедневно, и после года, Бог даст, выйдут хорошие результаты. Для всестороннего воспитания этого ядра певчих необходимо, по-моему, организовать для них поездку на Валаам и в Карпатороссию, чтобы им и на чужой практике поучиться. Обучение этого хора должно преследовать две параллельных задачи: знаменное и киевское пение со всей их строгостью, и рядом с этим более современное и простое хорошее обиходное пение в 4-голосном исполнении. Если бы Бог привел когда создание такого хора, он должен был бы и в церкви и в концертах и на лекциях знакомить массы с обеими этими отраслями нашего русского церковного пения.[..]

В заключение выскажу одно свое соображение, которое, быть может, Вам понравится и может Вам пригодиться. Если Вы решите организовать певческое ядро в Париже, мне кажется правильнее всего было бы связаться и войти в соглашение со существующим здесь обществом «Икона». Это общество, организованное несколько лет тому назад фанатиками и любителями старой иконописи, имеет своим представителем очень милого, культурного старообрядца, небезызвестного Вл[адимира] Пав[ловича] Рябушинского. Цель этого общества — всячески поощрять лекциями, выставками, обучением и т.д. хорошую старую иконопись. Уверен, что общество «Икона» с распростертыми объятиями примет под свое покровительство этот организующийся хор, так как Рябушинский неоднократно предлагал и просил меня взять на себя инициативу открытия при их обществе филиального отделения любителей старого пения. Я всегда возражал ему, утверждая, что такое отделение без соответствующих финансов не стоит открывать, ничего не выйдет. По окончании образования хора общество «Икона» могла бы на первых порах лансировать<sup>56</sup> выступления хора в Париже путем устройства лекций с певческими иллюстрациями, церковных выступлений (во всех юрисдикциях) и концертов. Практически же расходование денег, которые Вы могли бы раздобыть от крупных жертвователей на период организации и обучение хора, находилось бы в распоряжении общественной солидной организации и частный характер исключался бы, что крайне важно. Вот кажется и все. На этом кончу свое длинное послание, прося передать мой сердечный привет Вашей супруге, а Вам желаю от души всяческого успеха.

Ваш М. Осоргин.

## APPENDIX 2: LETTER OF ALFRED A. SWAN TO MIKHAIL M. OSORGIN<sup>57</sup>

17 августа 1934. Валаам

Дорогой Михаил Михайлович,

Пишу Вам с Валаама. Это целый зачарованный мир, преисполненный благодати. Нетронутый осколок старой России. Все здесь, как в прежнее время. Изучаю на месте подробности церковной службы, сижу в библиотеке, но в смысле напевов и музыки вообще мне приходится туговато, тем более, что Денисовы так-таки и не приехали. Нашел Октоих, Триодь цветную и постную, Обиход нотного пения (Ирмологий вы мне прислали), читаю

<sup>56</sup> To start/launch (a Gallicism), from the French word 'lancer'.

<sup>57</sup> Copies of the two letters from A. A. Swan to M. M. Osorgin published below are provided by his son, N. M. Osorgin. They were found in the Osorgin family's home archive.

мелодии, подпеваю их, нахожу прелестные переливы. Но без Вас все же не могу справиться ни с гласовыми попевками, ни с общими различиями между знаменным и греческим роспевами.

В соборе в унисон не поют. Нет певчих, боятся трудностей, поэтому поют на 4 голоса. Иногда очень хорошо, иногда же не в моем и не в Вашем духе. В общем же живем прежней русской жизнью. Ездим по скитам, пьем чаек с монахами, едим ягоды во фруктовых садах, катаемся на лодке по чудным озерам и проливам, купаемся в безбрежном Ладожском озере.

Удалось ли Вам уехать на отдых? Уж мы в Париж в этом году не попадем, как я предчувствовал. Слушая пение здесь все более и более убеждаюсь в необходимости воскресить старые напевы и исполнить их надлежащим образом. Об «Иконе» рассказываю здесь, но музыкантов здесь мало.

Вернемся в Лондон 31 числа, наш адрес там 99 Mortlake Road, Kew Gardens, Surrey.

Шлем Вам и семье самый сердечный привет. Как здоровье Миши? Поправился ли он вполне?

Ваш А. Сван.

### APPENDIX 3: LETTER OF ALFRED A. SWAN TO MIKHAIL M. OSORGIN

2 сентября 1934, Лондон

Дорогой Михаил Михайлович!

Уж очень давно сижу без известий от Вас. Мы только что вернулись с Валаама, и я очень надеялся найти по прибытии в Лондоне письмецо от Вас. Как-то Вы устроились и удалось ли семье Вашей отдохнуть у моря и в природе?

У нас лето получилось очень волнительное и закончилось все Валаамом. Впечатлений масса, но отнюдь немзыкальных. За исключением чудного колокольного звона музыки на Валааме сейчас нет. За неимением русских певчих все расплывается по швам. Регент махнул рукой и ничего сделать не может. Правда, он мог бы и что у него есть заставить петь подружнее и не сочетать мажор с минором, как это они, увы, зачастую делают. А уж о древних напевах и говорить не приходится – иногда проскальзывают здесь и там намеки на что-то хорошее, но по большей части это каша невообразимая.

Вскоре после написания Вам открытки мне удалось в библиотеке найти маленькую книжечку Рязского издания 1894 года о церковном пении<sup>58</sup>, и вот она впервые открыла мне глаза на сущность осмогласия. Я уже начинал подозревать, что разница в гласах — это разница в узорах мелодии, и вот Рязский утвердил меня в этом. Он приводит целый ряд гласовых попевок, и вот заучив их я уже совсем иначе смотрю в Ирмологий и т.д. Скоро надеюсь добиться того, что буду распознавать гласы.

Но вот в чем Валаам сослужил мне огромную службу: я теперь уже чувствую себя почти как дома во всех родах служб, разбираюсь в тропарях, стихирах, ирмосах и т.д. Это необходимо, чтобы не сделать грубых ошибок, когда пишешь о музыке. Теперь я стою уже на довольно твердой почве, и в наших беседах с Вами мне не придется задавать элементарных вопросов. Более чем когда-либо мне сейчас нужно к Вам по чисто музыкальным делам, и я по приезде в Англию намерен сейчас же хлопотать себе отпуск на 1935/36

58 А. Д. Рязский, *Учебник церковного пения*, Москва, 1994.



год, чтобы закончить работу о церковной музыке. В Америку мы уезжает 15-го сего месяца. Буду ждать от Вас весточку тут в Лондоне по вышеуказанному адресу. О хоре продолжаю усиленно мечтать и знаю, что придет пора и этому начинанию<sup>59</sup>. Надо лишь терпеливо ждать.

Вообще пребывание на Валааме нам кажется сном из потустороннего мира. Опять побывали в России девяностых годов, и какая это была чудесная Россия!

Шлем Вам и семье самый теплый привет и очень, очень надеемся, что летние Ваши дела сложились благополучно и что Мише и другим детям удалось поправиться и отдохнуть после зимних болезней.

Преданный Вам А. Сван.

#### APPENDIX 4: LETTER OF MIKHAIL M. OSORGIN TO ALFRED A. SWAN

6 сентября 1934. Париж

Дорогой Альфред Альфредович!

Своевременно получил с Валаама Вашу открытку, а сегодня получил пересланное мне в деревню, где нахожусь, Ваше письмо от 2/IX и спешу Вам ответить, чтобы сказать, что на открытке Вами был так неразборчиво написан адрес, что даже один англичанин, которому его показали, не смог его разобрать, вот почему не мог никак реагировать на открытку.

Очень за Вас порадовался и даже грешным делом позавидовал Вам после всех Ваших описаний красот Валаама и тамошнего нетронутого русского быта прежних времен. Очень меня огорчило только Ваше известие об упадке пения церковного на Валааме: мое пророчество сбывается, то есть, если в ближайшее время не удастся кому-либо зафиксировать их четырехголосное исполнение всех подобнов и разных чисто валаамских роспевов, иными словами, переделанный знаменный роспев, очень скоро это станет невозможным, так как все певчие постепенно вымрут и напевы утратятся.

Очень жалко, что мы так и не увидимся этим летом и посему хоть письменно желаем Вашей супруге и Вам счастливого пути и успехов во всех Ваших начинаниях в Америке с надеждой, что в будущем году мы увидимся. [...]

Всей семьей шлем Вашей супруге и Вам наш сердечный и горячий привет и пожелание всего самого лучшего.

Ваш М. Осоргин.

---

<sup>59</sup> Swan managed to assemble a small choir of 14 experienced and motivated singers to perform early Russian music only in 1942. By this time he had already authored a number of works on the subject. The choir rehearsed in New York, but without financial support, the undertaking did not continue.



**JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY  
FOR ORTHODOX CHURCH MUSIC**

Vol. 6 (1), Section II: Non-refereed articles, pp. 149-160

ISSN 2342-1258

<https://doi.org/10.57050/jisocm.113326>

**THE ALL-NIGHT VIGIL  
IN EARLY RUSSIAN DEMESTVENNY POLYPHONY  
(ADD. MS 30063 OF THE BRITISH LIBRARY)**

**PRESENTATION OF THE CRITICAL EDITION**

**ELENA CHERNOVA**

[tschernowa@googlemail.com](mailto:tschernowa@googlemail.com)

University of Heidelberg

In modern musicology, which studies various polyphonic traditions intensively, it would appear that there are no longer any unknown types of polyphony and undiscovered forms of notating music. The most exotic musical phenomena have been researched and transcribed, and a good many of them have been digitized. Still, one must recognize that the focus of these studies up until now has been predominantly on Western and Central European polyphonic schools, while one significant polyphonic tradition, namely, early Russian polyphony, which, moreover, occupied a fairly extensive historical period, is only now beginning to be investigated systematically.

The purpose of this article is to introduce my project involving a critical edition of Russian neumatic polyphony<sup>1</sup>. This edition is the culmination of my work on deciphering neumatic scores of the most festive type of early Russian polyphony—four-part Demestvenny singing (or Demestvo). The object of the present study is the Demestvenny All-Night Vigil recorded in a unique source—a ceremonial illuminated codex belonging to the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Choir of the Tsar's and Patriarchal Singing Clerics, which is now kept in the British Library—Add. MS 30063.

---

1 The edition is planned as part of the dissertation project "The All-Night Vigil in early Russian polyphony," which I am preparing under the guidance of Professor Dr Christoph Flamm at the Musicology Seminar of the University of Heidelberg. Within its scope, the dissertation examines three types of early Russian polyphony using examples from the All-Night Vigil office. A comprehensive analysis of the hymns themselves will be included in the dissertation but remains outside the scope of this publication.

## OLD RUSSIAN POLYPHONY

For more than two centuries, liturgical singing within the Russian state—as practiced by the tsar’s choir (the Tsar’s Singing Clerics), the choir of the Moscow Patriarch (the Patriarchal Singing Clerics and Sub-clerics), and some of the leading choirs of large diocesan cathedrals, consisted of melismatic, predominantly dissonant polyphony of two types: 1) Troestrochny polyphony, or Troestrochie (three-part “linear” polyphony, also known as Strochnoy polyphony, from *stroka*, meaning “line” or “voice”; with the respective voices taking their names from their position in the vocal texture: *Niz*—“bottom,” *Put’*—“path” or “way,” and *Verkh*—“top”); and 2) Demestvenny polyphony, or Demestvo (four-part polyphony, with the voices likewise taking their names from their functional positions: *Niz*, *Put’*, and *Verkh*,<sup>2</sup> plus the more soloistic part—the *Demestvo*<sup>3</sup>). These two types of polyphony were recorded using staffless neumatic notation, which at the apex of the tradition took the form of three- and four-part neumatic scores.<sup>4</sup>

This polyphonic tradition, which throughout its duration remained outside the direct influences of Western European music, reached its culmination in the second half of the seventeenth century, at the same time marking the end point in the development of Russian late-Mediaeval chant.

The dissonant sonority of this polyphony—the result of dissonances arising from clashes between simultaneously sounding voices—is beyond doubt today. This can be unambiguously seen from neumatic sources that, starting from the 1670s, are also supplied with diastematic marks (*stepennye pomety*), and also reflected in the surviving staff notation transcriptions of this early polyphony (for example, the MSS ГИМ Муз. 564, РНБ Q.I.875, ГИМ СИН. певч. 658)<sup>5</sup>. The key to its interpretation and transcription starts with

2 In Demestvenny polyphony, the upper voice *Verkh* is a derivative of the *Put’*. Therefore, it is often missing in incompletely notated three-part scores.

3 The naming of the voices *Put’* and *Demestvo* refers to the function of the voices in the polyphonic texture and not to any pre-existing monodic prototypes. Existing early monodic recordings of the Putevoy chant correspond, on the one hand, to the *Put’* voice of Troestrochie, and on the other, contain some typical features of polyphony, among them the element **ꙗ**.

Because the term “Demestvo” is used both in reference to one of the two types of early Russian polyphony—four-part Demestvo, and also to designate the voice part that is one of the constituent voices in this type of polyphony, within the framework of this publication a distinction will be made in spelling: the designation of the polyphonic voice part will italicized. Likewise the names of all the voices of Demestvenny polyphony will be italicized in order to identify these specialized terms unambiguously.

4 Demestvenny polyphony is mentioned in period documents as the most solemn type of early Russian liturgical singing. In historical sources, the mention of Demestvo is accompanied by such epithets as “*samoe prekrasnoe demestvennoe penie*” (“the most magnificent Demestvenny singing”), “*prekrasnoe demestvennoe penie*” (“beautiful Demestvenny singing”), “*ot musikiiskogo krasnoglasiia*” (“[belonging to] the beautiful sonority of music”), “*izlozhennoe o[t] prekrasna[go] osmo[g]llásiia o[t] drévní[kh] premu[d]ry[kh] rítor*” (“coming from the wonderful Eight-Tone chant [as bequeathed by] venerable and most-wise teachers”). There is still no consensus in the research discourse about the origin of the historical term “Demestvo” (and its derivatives “Demestvenny”, “Demestvenny singing”, “Demestvennik”), but in the end all hypotheses are reduced to a single common root—the Greek *δομέστικός* (Latin *domesticus*).

5 The erroneous view of some researchers up to the 1960s may be attributed, among other things, to a note from Stepan Smolensky in the MS ГИМ СИН. певч. 182, which he named as “*Litorgija trehstrochno-krjukovaja*”, which led to the perception of the consonant three-part polyphony of the late 17th century as “Troestrochie.” On account of researchers’ auditory experience with the consonant music of European and Russian Romanticism at the beginning of the 20th century, they refused to accept the dissonant nature of this polyphony.

the sources written in staff notation. All these sources are in score format, so they were clearly intended to be read as a score. If we look closer, we will find multivoice formulas shared by various hymns in different sources. Moreover, the comparison of these different sources containing one and the same polyphonic hymn shows that they coincide regardless of the form of notation used. A few historical accounts, containing fragmentary descriptions of early polyphony also relate auditory impressions that significantly differ from the consonant qualities of contemporaneous European polyphony.

The origin of Old Russian polyphony goes back to the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The research literature traditionally mentions the first reference to Demestvo, which is contained in the Moscow Grand Ducal Chronicle Codex of 1479. It documents the fact that, shortly before his death, Prince Dimitri the Red (before 1421-1440) “began to sing in Demestvenny style ‘Praise the Lord and highly exalt Him through all the ages,’”<sup>6</sup> which, at the very least, affirms the existence of Demestvenny singing at the time of writing the chronicle, and possibly even before 1440.<sup>7</sup>

Early Russian polyphony arose and continued until the end as not only an elite art, but also as one directly associated with leading figures of state and church. In addition to the Tsar and the Moscow Patriarch, traditional polyphony is documented to have been practiced in the cathedrals of significant episcopal sees—Novgorod, Kholmogory, Vologda, Rostov, and Pskov. The singers who performed this polyphony were nurtured within a professional community, which consisted of “members of the local Russian Orthodox population”<sup>8</sup>, with the training taking place within closely knit guilds.

It is not entirely clear when early Russian polyphony began to be recognized as a distinctly different style or species of liturgical chant. According to available data, hymns composed in Demestvenny polyphony historically predate Troestrochny hymns. My study of the hymn “By the waters of Babylon” (titled *Na retse vavilonstei* in early sources<sup>9</sup>) shows that

It is a known fact that the amateur-musicologist and manuscript collector Vladimir Odoevsky denied the very existence of dissonant polyphony, noting on the title page of the manuscript with Troestrochny Feasts in staff notation that the possibility that these three voices were ever meant to sound together must be excluded.

It is important to note, however, that some researchers, for example, Viktor Belyaev, already in the 1940s transcribed Troestrochie as a dissonant type of polyphony. The situation changed definitively only in the late 1980s, with the discovery of several early 18th-century sources containing transcriptions of dissonant polyphony in staff notation.

6 Полное собрание русских летописей [The complete collected Russian chronicles]. vol. 25 (Moscow–Leningrad, 1949), 261.

7 Based on this account, Johann von Gardner supposed that the prince could have sung one of the voices of a polyphonic hymn, “which, being the fourth voice in a four-part version, later came to be called the ‘demestvo.’” Иванъ А. Гарднеръ, *Богослужбное пѣніе Русской Православной Церкви* [The Liturgical Singing of the Russian Orthodox Church], Vol. 1 (Jordanville: New York, 1978), 432.

8 Евгений Е. Воробьев, “Многогласные идиомы московского патриархата в этносоциальном контексте между 1650 и 1750 гг.” [“Polyphonic idioms of the Moscow Patriarchate in ethnosocial context between 1650 and 1750”]. (Conference paper, *Русское музыкальное барокко: тенденции и перспективы исследования*, Moscow, 19.11.2019). I express my gratitude to the author Evgeny Vorobyov for the opportunity to become acquainted with his research prior to publication.

9 For example, the MS of the State Historical Museum in Moscow, Uvarov collection, ГИМ Увар. 692/904-4 (dated from the 1520s) fol. 426v – 428v, contains a Demestvenny setting of “By the waters of

as early as the 1520s and 1530s, Demestvo was sung in at least two voices, as evidenced by early manuscripts containing this chant with an additional “*Verkh*” part. The notation of this part is not yet amenable to correct transcription.

The first notated examples of individual voice parts date from the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>10</sup>, and only with the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century does one encounter all four voices notated simultaneously in a single manuscript<sup>11</sup>. This fact is connected with the implementation of the new form of neumatic notation that was specially invented for recording polyphony in written form. The new neumatic notation is variously referred to in the sources as “*putnoe znamia*” (“put’ signs”—from “*Put*,” the name of the voice part and the type of chant); “*kliuchevoe znamia*” (“key signs”—from the name of the main sign that characterizes this notation, the “*kliuch*” [key] and its derivatives, “*mechik kliuchevoi*” [little sword key] and “*kriuk kliuchevoi*” [hook key]); and “*kazanskoe znamia*” (“Kazan signs”<sup>12</sup> – presumably named after the most important geopolitical event of the time period when this type of notation arose—the conquest of the city of Kazan).<sup>13</sup>

Throughout the entire period of its existence early Russian polyphony followed the mediaeval principle of “one text—one chant;” that is, it did not allow multiple options for the musical setting of a given liturgical text. Each liturgical office, whether sung in Troestrochie or Demestvo, exists in just one setting in the respective type of polyphony, with different manuscripts containing copies of the same Troestrochny and Demestvenny compositions, except for variants of some particularly significant chants, which appear to the mid-17th century.

According to current research, both types of polyphony initially emerged as polyphonic types: Troestrochie as a functional monophony (with two external voices—*Niz* and *Verkh* subordinated to the primary voice—the

---

Babylon” notated in Znamenny notation. In addition to Psalm 136 and the royal Polychronion, early manuscripts often contain another Demestvenny chant: the hymn “Memory Eternal.” See also: the MSS Кир.-Бел. №652/909 fol. 245r–246r (1557–1558) and Кир.-Бел. №569/826 fol. 295r–296r of the Russian National Library in Saint Petersburg, and the MSS F. 304/1 №415 fol. 181v–182v and F. 304/1 №428 fol. 366r–368r of the Russian State Library in Moscow.

10 MS СоЛ. 690/763 of the Russian National Library in Saint Petersburg (dating from the 1580s) fol. 274v–276r contains this hymn, notated already in three voices *demestvo-Put’-Niz*.

11 Demestvennik of the Russian National Music Museum Moscow F. 283 № 15, dating from the years 1606-1610.

12 In the current discourse, there is no consensus regarding the name of this special type of notation for writing down early Russian polyphony. Thus, one finds various designations, including: “Putny” and “Demestvenny” notation used by those researchers who differentiate between these two subspecies depending on the type of polyphony; “Putno-Demestvenny” notation; and “Kazan” notation. Based on the fact that all three types of early Russian polyphony, at least in the seventeenth century, use the same special type of notation (which is distinct from either Stolp [Znamenny] and square-note staff notation), and are differentiated solely by the dominance of certain signs as opposed to others; the use of some additional signs (such as the *fit* or a special form of the *statia* and some other signs found in Troestrochie but not in Demestvo); or, conversely, by limiting the number of musical symbols used (as in the predominantly consonant polyphonic type), this publication will use the designation “Kazan” notation, as the only historical one still in use today. This terminology, however, is conditional and not directly related to the style of the polyphony itself.

13 This hypothesis was first expressed by Ivan Sakharov (И.П. Сахаров, “Исследования о русском церковном песнопении [Studies on Russian Church Chant],” *Журнал Министерства народного просвещения* 61 (1849): 157; 63 (1849): 9. Afterwards this position was reflected in the works of Dimitry Razumovsky, Vasily Metallov, Stepan Smolensky, and others.

*Put'*), and Demestvo as functional two-voice polyphony<sup>14</sup> (the *Niz* and *Verkh* collectively subordinated to the *Put'* voice plus a contrasting voice, the *Demestvo*), which is opposite to the idea of a pre-existing cantus firmus, typical of early Western polyphony.

Both types of polyphony are constructed on the basis of the formulaic centonic principle, transferred to a polyphonic texture, whereby polyphonic blocks interact with varying degrees of complexity—from simple “stringing together” of extended melismatic melodic formulas of the Octoechos in Troestrochie to multi-layered combinations assembled both horizontally and vertically in Demestvo.

Already by the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the entire liturgical cycle of Russian Orthodox church hymns, starting with the Octoechos, was composed in Troestrochie. This type of polyphony thus has a corresponding range of polyphonic Eight-Tone formulas; certain elements of Troestrochie are notated according to the principle of *tainozamknennost'*—“secret encoding”; Troestrochie contains *fity* and mutations. The Troestrochny repertoire thus practically replicates the repertoire of monophonic Znamenny chant, which continues to exist as the fundamental type of liturgical singing practice in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

Demestvo, on the other hand, is focused on hymns of two main services—the All-Night Vigil and the Divine Liturgy. It does not follow the principle of the Octoechos, and any designations of Tones in manuscripts refer exclusively to the texts of the hymns and not to their musical content, reflecting the practice of Tone designations in certain hymnographic genres. “Secret encoding” and the use of mutation are not characteristic of Demestvo.

Therefore, because of its use of Eight-Tone formulas, the presence of *fity* and mutations, as well as the many genres it embraces, Troestrochie is the more diverse type of early Russian polyphony, while Demestvo, though limited to a rather small inventory of formulas, is structurally more complex.

In the vast corpus of manuscript sources from the “Old Russian era” (up to 1700), which includes many thousands of manuscripts, the percentage of sources containing polyphonic compositions is relatively small: about two hundred manuscripts include polyphony of one or several types, among which the prevailing portion contains Troestrochny hymns and only about forty Demestvo<sup>15</sup>. This circumstance is dictated not only by the complexity of early Russian polyphony and its notation and the length of time needed to train singers to sing it, but also by the elite

14 The term was established by Evgeny V. Gippius and used in music ethnography: Маргарита А. Енговатова & Борислава Б. Ефименкова, “К вопросу типологии песенного многоголосия [On the typology of Russian song polyphony],” in *Мир традиционной культуры*, сост. М.А. Енговатова & Б. Б. Ефименкова, т. 174 (Москва, 2008), 54-57. In relation to Troestrochie and Demestvo, the term first applied by Vorobyov, in Воробьев, “Многоголосные идиомы московского патриархата.”

15 The absolute majority of the Old Russian manuscripts with neumatic polyphony are held in the Russian archives, but three significant manuscripts outside of Russia are known: two in the British Library and one in Bibliothèque nationale de France (plus one more containing selected polyphonic hymns in Wrocław).

status of the tradition itself: the prevailing part of the sources containing Troestrochny and Demestvenny polyphonic hymns are related directly to the choirs of the Tsar and the Patriarch.

### STATE OF RESEARCH

Today, Demestvenny polyphony and Troestrochie, written in Kazan notation with diastematic marks, can be deciphered. To achieve the correct decoding, several manuscript copies of the same hymn must be collated. If only a small number or no additional copies are available, passages of doubtful interpretation can be clarified by finding and collating analogous formulas in other hymns where the reading is unambiguous. Nonetheless, in the case of some rarely occurring hymns with unusual, lengthy melismas, the transcription may remain open to doubt, and will only be resolved when additional copies in other manuscripts are discovered in the future.

Despite the fact that most of the sources of early Russian polyphony from the Russian archives are already known, and some of the hymns therein have been transcribed, there are as yet no detailed scientific editions of these sources; there are no catalogues of musical incipits, or even a systematic list with a universal description of the sources (the descriptions are scattered in different studies by different authors).

### EDITION PROJECT

The present project thus stands to become the first critical facsimile edition with transcriptions of the hymns constituting a single liturgical service—the All-Night Vigil—set forth in the most solemn type of early Russian polyphony—four-part Demestvo.

### MAIN SOURCE

The main source of this edition is Add. MS 30063<sup>16</sup> from the illuminated manuscript collection of the British Museum, currently held in the British Library. This manuscript, as I have determined, originates from the repertoire of the singers at the Uspensky Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin. It is a festive, ceremonial codex, quite magnificent in its quality, which is manifested by its lavish decoration and the correctness and precision of its notation. Four-part Demestvo constitutes about 80% of the source's repertoire; thus the manuscript can be classified as a book of the *Demestvennik* category. In terms of its contents and quality, the source has no parallels among all polyphonic neumatic sources either inside or outside Russia.

The five watermarks<sup>17</sup> do not allow the MS to be clearly dated. There are also no entries in this codex that could help with the dating. Based on

16 The manuscript size is 25.5x19 cm, 4 °, 349 fol. Modern-day binding, smooth blue leather on cardboard.

17 Watermarks: 1. Arms of Amsterdam, Churchill 25 (1690); 2. The same on thinner paper; 3. Arms of Amsterdam, Churchill 13 (1675); 4. Seven Provinces, Churchill 109 (1656); 5. Blurred, possibly another variant of Seven Provinces or Strasbourg Lily.

the state of the notation, characteristics of the text, the graphic specificity of some signs, and other details, we may assume that the main part of the codex was written in the last 10 or the first years of the 18th century.

A significant portion of the manuscript consists of an extensive All-Night Vigil: 110 folios with 37 hymns, not including the magnifications, the endings of troparia and other small changeable elements of the office. The uniqueness of this manuscript lies in the fact that the source quite fully reflects the practice of performing this office in a single type of polyphony—Demestvenny, and comprises all four voices in the form of a score. The source notates various versions of the hymns of the All-Night Vigil: many hymns are given in two, and some even in three different versions. Most of the hymns in the manuscript have no four-part analogues in other sources, and some are not found at all in other manuscripts. Thus, Add. MS 30063 is one of the most significant Demestvenny manuscripts in that it captures the practice of Demestvenny polyphony in unparalleled detail and scope at the point of its highest flowering and contains the most complete Demestvenny All-Night Vigil known to date.

In addition to the All-Night Vigil in Demestvo, the manuscript contains an extensive second section featuring stichera for various feasts and saints, the Liturgy of Presanctified Gifts, the 11 Gospel stichera<sup>18</sup> (all in Demestvo). A third section is devoted to the chants “pro defunctis”<sup>19</sup>: it contains the *Panikhida* in the other polyphonic type, Troestrochie, followed by a three-part “consonant” *Panikhida* with the remark “*grecheskaia* (“Greek”), and some chants for the burial of monastics in Demestvo. At the end of the manuscript, a fragment (two collations) has been added containing four-part consonant chant arrangements based on Znamenny and Demestvenny cantus firmi. This section is written by another hand, on a different paper with a different watermark. The final chants in the manuscript, again written by the first hand, belong to the office of the Divine Liturgy, which is completely missing here, with this single exception.

#### GB-LBL ADD. MS 30063. REPERTOIRE

##### I. Section

- fol. 1r–110v **All-Night Vigil** (Demestvo): Great Vespers fol. 1r–20v; Orthros [Matins] fol. 20v–110v

##### II. Section

- fol. 111r–190r **Stichera** and other chants for feasts and saints (Demestvo)
- fol. 190v–199v **Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts**, incomplete (Demestvo)
- fol. 199v–251v **Stichera** and other chants for feasts and saints (Demestvo)
- fol. 252r–288v **Gospel stichera** (Demestvo)

##### III. Section

- fol. 289r–297 **Panikhida** (Troestrochie)
- fol. 298r–307r **Panikhida** („*grecheskaia*“, three-part, fol. 306v–307r Memory eternal – Demestvo)
- fol. 308r–314r Chants of the monastic burial (Demestvo)

18 The Gospel stichera were not previously known in this style of polyphony.

19 The paleographic analysis shows that this section was created later.



- fol. 314r–324r Chants of the monastic burial (consonant four-part polyphony, another hand)

#### Miscellaneous:

- fol. 324r–332r Stichera of the Paraklesis („*grecheskie*“, another hand)
- fol. 333r–346v *Only begotten Son* (from the Divine liturgy, Demestvo, 3 variants, first hand)
- fol. 337v–346v Makarismoï (from the Divine liturgy, Demestvo, first hand)

Although the Polychronia (fol. 107r – 110v) contain only a place holder (“*imiarek*”–“insert name”) the mention of only the tsar and the patriarch indicates the likely Moscow origin of the manuscript. The presence of the “Eis polla” in the Many years is indicative of a hierarchical service, as is the short hymn “Save, O Christ God,” sung in the presence of the patriarch.

The numerous initials in the manuscript are executed with rich floral designs. The book edge is gilt and stamped. The design of the first sheet has a gold cross-section and an engraved headpiece-frame containing a depiction of the Resurrection: Christ’s Descent into Hades, which by its style can be attributed to the hand of the royal engraver and iconographer of the Silver Chamber, Leonty Bunin<sup>20</sup>. This hypothesis is confirmed by Anatoly Turilov’s remark<sup>21</sup> that this engraver is credited with producing the engraved headpieces portraying the twelve great feasts of the Orthodox church calendar (with the exception of the Nativity of the Virgin), as well as the Mother of God of the Caves, the Maltese cross, and Holy Week, around the year 1677. I found an identical headpiece-frame in the neumatic collection of hymns of the Russian National Museum of Music<sup>22</sup>. All these details, taken together, as well as the well-preserved state of the MS, indicate that we are dealing with a ceremonial manuscript that most likely belonged to the Patriarchal (but possibly also the Tsar’s) Choir.

The manuscript Add. MS 30063 was transferred to the British Library as part of a collection of illuminated manuscripts from the British Museum, which purchased it at Sotheby’s in 1876 as part of an extensive collection of illuminated manuscripts belonging to the British collector William Bragge (as evidenced by the entry on the left flyleaf “Purchased as Sotheby’s. Bragge’s sale. June 7-10, 1876”).<sup>23</sup>

20 As far as it can be determined, the same handwriting is used in two sections of the convolute, frequently mentioned in the research literature, held in the Russian State Library in Moscow, F. 218 No. 343: fol. 467r – 536r, 552r – 588r.

21 Анатолий А. Турилов, “Заметки дилетанта на полях «Словаря русских иконописцев XVI–XVII вв.»,” *Древняя Русь. Вопросы медиевистики* 4(30) (2007): 123.

22 Fol. 144r of the MS listed as № 5 in the book *Духовная среда России: Певческие книги и иконы XVII – начала XX веков*, сост. Марина П. Рахманова (Москва, 1996), 18, 26.

23 William Bragge (1823-1884) was a British railway engineer and passionate collector of illuminated manuscripts and manuscripts of rare calligraphy, which he collected around the world, thanks to the fact that he was sent by British companies to various countries in Europe, Latin and North America, and Russia for the building of railways. Presumably in 1858, upon his return from Latin America, Bragge paid a working visit to Russia, where he acquired this manuscript. Further information may be held in the archives of Sheffield, which contains Bragge’s letters and documents, including a photograph allegedly taken during a trip to Russia. In 1876, shortly before his death, William Bragge sold the manuscript as part of his huge collection of manuscripts (about one and a half thousand items) at a Sotheby’s auction to the British Museum. There were no other Russian music manuscripts in the Bragge’s collection.

Add. MS 30063 was re-discovered by Ivan Alekseevich [Johann von] Gardner in the early 1960s in the course of his source studies carried out in 1956–1978 in the archives of eight countries (Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, Finland, Belgium, Poland, and the USA),<sup>24</sup> and first described in his 1961 article on the Old Russian neumatic manuscripts in the libraries of Belgium and England.<sup>25</sup> Of the 31 manuscripts he found, Add. MS 30063 is undoubtedly the most important source. Furthermore, the manuscript is mentioned in Gardner's dissertation on Demestvenny chant, presented in Munich in 1967.<sup>26</sup> Its paleographic description appears in Ralph Cleminson's catalogue of Cyrillic manuscripts in British and Irish collections.<sup>27</sup>

In an irony of history, what may well be considered the most important source of early Russian polyphony is currently held outside Russia and has not yet been properly investigated.

#### EDITION

The purpose of my edition project is, to present, on the basis of one of the two most important offices in Russian Orthodox divine worship—the All-Night Vigil, a complete picture of how this office was sung in practice, employing the most solemn type of early Russian polyphony, four-part Demestvenny. Furthermore, the publication offers a detailed description of a unique source of paramount importance, which not only contains the most complete Demestvenny All-Night Vigil, but also a number of other four-part Demestvenny hymns, as well as some hymns in Troestrochny and consonant three- and four-part polyphony, many of which appear in already known sources in incomplete form or were previously not known at all, while making the source available in facsimile.

The publication includes an annotated (bilingual Russian/English) edition of the complete facsimile with transcriptions and a comprehensive critical apparatus.

From the main source Add. MS 30063, thirty-seven hymns of the All-Night Vigil in Demestvenny polyphony were transcribed—all significant and independent compositions, not including the magnifications, the endings of troparia, and other small changeable elements of the office.

24 Funded by the Russian Orthodox Theological Fund Inc., New York.

25 Johann von Gardner, "Die altrussischen Neumen-Handschriften in den Bibliotheken von Belgien und England," *Die Welt der Slaven* 6 (1961): 308–311; also mentioned in his monograph, *Иванъ А. Гарднеръ, Богослужбное пѣнiе*, 132.

26 Johann von Gardner, "Das Problem des altrussischen demestischen Kirchengesangs und seiner linienlosen Notation," in *Slavistische Beiträge*, Vol. 25 (Munich: Sagner, 1967). <https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV005643573> (last access 15.12.2021).

27 *A Union Catalogue of Cyrillic Manuscripts in British and Irish Collections: The Anne Pennington catalogue*, comp. by R. Cleminson; gen. ed. V. Du Feu, W. F. Ryan (London: School of Slavonic and East European Studies, Univ. of London, 1988), 92–94.

## Great Vespers

1. Благослови дѣше моѡ гвѡпода
2. Блаженз мѡжз
3. Свѣте тнхнѣ
4. Свѣте тнхнѣ бѡ шѡ
5. Господь воцарнѡ
6. Господь воцарнѡ бѡ шѡ
7. Свѣте тнхнѣ ѡ рѡ пѣвз
8. Богз нашъ на небесн
9. Кто богз велѣн
10. Кто богз велѣн бѡ шѡ рѡ пѣв
11. С нами богз
12. Бѡди нма господне
- \*36. С нами богз Малой Роспѣ<sup>6</sup>
- \*37. Богороднице дѣво радѣнѡ<sup>28</sup>

## Orthros [Matins]

13. Аллѡдѡ, ѣктенѡ
14. Богз господь
15. Богз господь бѡ шѡ рѡ пѣвз
16. Хвалите нма господне
17. На рекахз вавилоникнхз
18. Благословенз ѣн господн
19. Свѣтнѡ свѣтнѡ
20. Свѣтнѡ свѣтнѡ ѡ рѡ
21. Ѡ юности моѡ
22. Ѡ юности моѡ
23. Вѡквѡ днхнѣ
24. Вѡквѡ днхнѣ ѡ рѡ пѣвз
25. Вѡквѡ нѡвѡ втѡ грѡбѡ
26. Величитѡ дѡша моѡ гвѡпода
27. Свѡтѡ господь
28. Свѡтѡ господь бѡ шѡ
29. Прѡблагсловѡна ѣн
30. Слава вьшннхз богѡ
31. Слава вьшннхз бѡгѡ
32. Многа лѣта царю
33. Благовѣрномѡ царю
34. Свѡтѣншемѡ нмрѡ патрѡрѡхѡ
35. Спаси христѡ боже

## OTHER SOURCES USED

In preparing the publication, in addition to the main source, the known copies of Demestvenny hymns of the All-night Vigil from seven manuscripts were collated and a comparative analysis of each hymn was carried out, the results of which are set forth in the Critical Notes.

Only one of the collated sources uses staff notation ГИМ Муз. 564<sup>29</sup>; the other six sources are neumatic manuscripts. One of these—Paris BnF Slave 59<sup>30</sup>—has only one additional voice, the *Verkh* of Demestvenny polyphony; the other five MSS are held in different archives in Moscow and Saint Petersburg:

28 These two hymns are placed outside of the section containing the All-Night Vigil.

29 RUS-Mim [ГИМ] Муз. 564 of the State Historical Museum, Moscow, Museum collection: a collection of liturgical hymns from different services in the two types of early Russian polyphony—Troestrochie and Demestvo, 1696-1723, Vologda diocese; three- and four-part score, square-note “Kievan” staff notation.

30 F-Pn Slave 59 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris: *Demestvennik*, the *Verkh* of four-part Demestvo, dates from the reign of Alexei Mikhailovich, Tsarina Maria II’inchna and the tenure of Patriarch Joseph 1648-1652, (presumed) origin: the Choir of the Tsar or Patriarch, Kazan neumatic notation.

- *Demestvennik* F. 283 № 15 of the Russian National Music Museum Moscow—the earliest known source containing all four parts of Demestvenny polyphony<sup>31</sup>;
- БАН Романч. 18, containing three of the four parts<sup>32</sup>;
- *Demestvennik*, partbook: *Niz* (only the lower voice) with a very extensive corpus of demestvenny chants of various offices recorded with one part of Demestvenny polyphony РГБ F. 37 Nr. 364<sup>33</sup>;
- РГБ F. 379 Nr. 81 with selected hymns of the All-Night Vigil and Polychronia as a three-part score<sup>34</sup>;
- ГИМ Син. певч. 151 with portions of the Demestvenny All-Night Vigil as a three- and four-part score<sup>35</sup>.

Given the absence of similar publications in the field of early Russian polyphony and the fact that by most parameters the present study differed from other publications of Western European and Eastern Christian neumatic sources, the norms and format for this publication had to be developed anew, based on the specific requirements of the research topic and the purpose of the publication. One had to take into account the synchronicity of the two forms used to convey the musical material—staff notation and neumatic notation; two parallel transcriptions of the text—the original, seventeenth-century Church Slavonic text with its idiosyncratic division of syllables and a Latin-alphabet transliteration, inclusive of all the signs used in the original text; and finally, the possibility of including commentary with references within the transcription itself.

Taking into consideration all of the aforementioned factors, the central focus of the edition was to convey the original source as precisely as possible.

The edition includes a comprehensive Critical Report, containing notes accumulated during the transcription process and the analysis of the analogous sources. The Critical Notes contain the following parameters: the title or the incipit of the hymn in the main source in original and in transliteration; additional notes in the main source (if any); liturgical name / category / hymnographic genre; parallel copies in other sources with their main parameters: folio numbers, form of notation, textual form, distinguishing characteristics; notes to the transcription: points of doubt or moments with multiple readings, mistakes or blurring in the MS; corrections

31 RUS-Mcm [PHMM] F. 283 No. 15: *Demestvennik*, 1606-1610, origin (presumably): the Tsar's Choir or the Patriarch's Choir, four voices, notated in alternation (DNVP), Kazan neumatic notation, without diastematic marks.

32 RUS-SPan [БАН] Романч. 18 of the Library of the Russian Academy of Sciences, collection of N. F. Romanchenko: a collection of hymns from the Obikhod in Demestvo and Troestrochie, as well as individual hymns in predominantly consonant polyphony, 1650-1670s, presumably of Muscovite origin, a score predominately in three voices.

33 RUS-Mrg [РГБ] F. 37 № 364 of the Russian State Library, Moscow, the T. F. Bol'shakov collection: *Demestvennik*, the *Niz* of Demestvenny polyphony, dating from 1645-1652.

34 RUS-Mrg [РГБ] F. 379 № 81 of the Russian State Library, Moscow, the Archpriest D. V. Razumovsky collection: a collection of hymns from the Obikhod, the third quarter of the seventeenth century, Kazan and Znamenny notation, two- and three-part scores, Demestvo, Troestrochie.

35 RUS-Mim [ГИМ] Син. певч. 151 of the State Historical Museum, Moscow, Synodal Chant Collection: a collection of polyphonic hymns for different services: Demestvo and Troestrochie, 1691-1700, provenance undeterminable, Kazan notation, two- to four-voice scores partially containing diastematic marks and *priznaki*, repertoire: Troestrochie and Demestvo.

or variants / marginal notes in the manuscript, formula-related neumes or ligatures with an irregular reading, special features in the spelling of this manuscript.

The introduction includes an overview of early Russian polyphony: its three types and notation; characteristics of the Demestvenny type of polyphony; the state of research; a comprehensive description of the main source; descriptions of the other sources used; methodology of transcription; comments to the editing process; analytical paragraphs on special aspects of Demestvenny polyphony: clausulae, initial formulas, middle formulas, the element **Ѧ**, kratime; an index of neumes and ligatures; the texts of the hymns: original, transliteration, translation.

The facsimile part includes color digital copies of the entire main source and examples from the other sources used.

The main source GB-Lbl Add. MS 30063 has been entered in the global catalogue of the Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, with detailed description of all included chants, over 200 in total.

The publication will take place in hybrid form: in open access and as a printed book.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Воробьев, Евгений Е. "Многогласные идиомы московского патриархата в этносоциальном контексте между 1650 и 1750 гг." Conference paper, Русское музыкальное барокко: тенденции и перспективы исследования, Moscow, 19.11.2019.

*Духовная среда России: Певческие книги и иконы XVII – начала XX веков*, сост. Марина П. Рахманова. Москва, 1996.

Енговатова Маргарита А. & Ефименкова, Борислава Б. "К вопросу типологии песенного многоголосия." In *Мир традиционной культуры*, сост. М.А. Енговатова & Б. Б. Ефименкова, т. 174. Москва, 2008.

Гарднеръ, Иванъ А. *Богослужбное пѣніе Русской Православной Церкви*. Vol. 1. Jordanville: New York, 1978.

Сахаровъ Иванъ П. "Изслѣдованія о русскомъ церковномъ пѣснопеніи." *Журналь Министерства народнаго просвѣщенія* 61 и 63 (1849).

*Полное собрание русских летописей*, Vol. 25. Moscow–Leningrad, 1949.

Турилов, Анатолий А. "Заметки дилетанта на полях «Словаря русских иконописцев XVI–XVII вв.»" *Древняя Русь. Вопросы медиевистики* 4(30) (2007): 112-126.

Gardner, Johann von. "Das Problem des altrussischen demestischen Kirchengesangs und seiner linienlosen Notation." In *Slavistische Beiträge*, Vol. 25. Munich: Sagner, 1967. <https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV005643573>.

Gardner, Johann von. "Die altrussischen Neumen-Handschriften in den Bibliotheken von Belgien und England." *Die Welt der Slaven* 6 (1961): 305–320.

*A Union Catalogue of Cyrillic Manuscripts in British and Irish Collections: The Anne Pennington catalogue*, comp. by R. Cleminson; gen. ed. V. Du Feu, W. F. Ryan. London: School of Slavonic and East European Studies, Univ. of London, 1988.



**JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY  
FOR ORTHODOX CHURCH MUSIC**

Vol. 6 (1), Section II: Non-refereed articles, pp. 161-166

ISSN 2342-1258

<https://doi.org/10.57050/jisocm.113278>

**THE SACRED ENCAMPMENT:  
THE EXPERIENCES OF YOUNG PEOPLE LEARNING  
MUSICAL TRADITION**

**MARGARET HAIG**

[margaret\\_haig@yahoo.com](mailto:margaret_haig@yahoo.com)

Orthodox Fellowship of Saint John the Baptist

This paper explores some of the singing and musical experiences which are part of Orthodox youth camps. This is not a report of academic research. It is based on my own experience and reflections, with the addition of a small survey to identify the different uses of music in youth camps in the United Kingdom and further afield.

In this paper, I will cover: the context for Orthodox youth camps in the UK; the experience at the camps; musical practice in relation to young people in Orthodox parishes and communities; and what further developments could be considered in this area.

**THE EXISTENCE OF ORTHODOX YOUTH CAMPS**

Orthodox youth camps in the UK have been taking place for many years; at the present time, there are three regular camps that take place, outside of the current restrictions. They bring together young people usually aged 9-17 for some time in the summer. The children are supervised and safeguarded by a team of leaders over the age of 18, many of whom attended camp as participants. Tents form the main accommodation, usually including the chapel for the duration of camp. The young people often experience things for the first time at camp: hearing the services predominantly in English, being given the opportunity to read prayers, chant and sing, or even attend a service other than the Divine Liturgy.

A camp shares something of the character of a monastery, living and worshipping in a community with a structured schedule and daily services. Nevertheless, a camp is by nature temporary rather than permanent, an encampment reminiscent of the nomadic life of the Israelites in the wilderness.

© Margaret Haig, 2022.

This is an open access article distributed under the terms of the CC BY 4.0 international license.

How lovely are your tents, O Jacob, your encampments, O Israel! Like palm groves that stretch afar, like gardens beside a river, like aloes that the Lord has planted, like cedar trees beside the waters. Water shall flow from his buckets, and his seed shall be in many waters; his king shall be higher than Agag, and his kingdom shall be exalted. (Numbers 24:5-7)

These words from the Book of Numbers bear some consideration. The encampment described was arranged in the shape of a cross. In the words of the prophet, it is akin to nature, organic yet organised, reminiscent of the Garden of Eden. Aloes remind us of the spices brought by Nicodemus to anoint the body of Christ (John 19:39). Cedars are durable and valuable and remind us of the building of the Temple by Solomon (3 Kingdoms 6:13). The waters flow out and remind us of baptism and mission. Within the liturgical year, these words form part of one of the readings for Vespers for the Nativity of Christ.

Orthodox youth camps can be seen in a similar way to this. The camps seek to return participants to a purer spiritual state, preparing them to serve Christ and His Church in different ways – as those who nurture, servants, builders, missionaries – with the aim of exalting the kingdom of God. Of course, I am probably stretching this scriptural analogy too far. Nevertheless, Orthodox youth camps are certainly considered important by the hierarchs of the Church, and by the people involved, having become an established part of the UK Orthodox way of life. They are an opportunity for young people who may be scattered and geographically remote to connect with the Church and other Orthodox young people, live in a supportive Orthodox environment and learn more about the faith. They also provide a musical learning experience.

### **MUSICAL EXPERIENCE AT ORTHODOX YOUTH CAMPS**

“Sing to the Lord a new song; His praise is in the church of the saints.”  
(Psalm 149:1)

In the summer of 1996, I attended my first Orthodox youth camp in the UK, along with my brother. We had been received into the Church as a family the previous December and our embryonic parish had very few young people connected with it. While we each had experience of camps through the Guiding and Scouting movements, this was the first time we would spend so much time with other Orthodox young people.

Our family had always been musical, and we grew up singing at home, at school and at church. In my case, my musical ear, being comfortable with sight singing, eye for detail and burgeoning interest in liturgics meant that I acquired the position of choir leader for our parish at the age of 13. But my experience was limited: I had sung Orthodox music from the Russian tradition during conferences of the Fellowship of St Alban and St Sergius, under the direction of Fr Michael Fortounatto, but in our newly-received status we depended on the supply of music and liturgical books from a variety of sources, as do so many other mission communities. For the first

few months of our Orthodox life we served Great Vespers every Saturday, but every week was sung in the First Tone: imagine my surprise when we received the stichera for Lord I Call and the Aposticha in the other seven tones. The Theotokia for the end of Vespers followed even later. An attempt at a hard-chromatic chant for one of the services in our first Great Lent was rather a failure on account of lack of familiarity. Overall, there was a fair amount of trial and error involved and I had little to compare, not having the opportunity to attend other parishes.

Attending an Orthodox youth camp was a way to understand the services of the Church more deeply, to learn about different singing traditions, to sing alongside a larger group in worship, and to begin to understand what I could offer back to the community.

The music we experienced at camp included singing and chanting at services every day: morning prayers, evening prayers, blessing of the camp, Great Vespers and Divine Liturgy. We sang grace at meals. We sang round the campfire. We sang while on walks or completing activities. We made up songs for tent inspection for extra marks. We sang in talent shows or concerts. Any person leaving the camp was accompanied by everyone singing Kyrie eleison in blessing. In short, singing was all-pervasive and part of camp life.

These experiences were reflected in the responses to the survey I conducted. Some respondents reported the singing of non-liturgical spiritual songs in different contexts in camp, and others added that young people would sing songs based on a theme of the day. Singing in English and other languages was reported as an essential part of camp, often transmitted orally and resulting in enduring memories of song and place. In addition, few young people are aware of the wide variety of folk songs across the cultures of participants, including in English, and these can provide a new way of understanding each other through song.

While camp was an opportunity to embed the musical tradition of that jurisdiction, there was also the possibility of widening the horizons of the young people to sing and hear the traditions of other parts of the Orthodox world. At the same camp, I learned to chant the Apolytikion of the Cross in Greek and English in the Byzantine style, as well as to learn to sing in Slavonic the Troparion of an icon of the Theotokos held at the campsite. Both happen to be in the First Mode/Tone but are completely different in nature, of course. These songs or chants often act as triggers to a memory of a spiritual experience in later life.

There can be a negative side to singing at camp – or rather, not singing. There will always be a proportion of young people who cannot or will not sing. There are children who have not had the opportunity to sing before, those who have been told they cannot sing in tune in the past, the boys who may be concerned about their voices breaking, the girls who may have a fear of embarrassing themselves, or many other reasons for a lack of self-confidence. There may also be issues with reading notation,



whichever method is used in that tradition. In the UK, as in many other western societies, there have been challenges in engaging young people in any musical practice, including singing, once they leave primary education – just the age when they will be attending camp. To get young people to sing may require a much more supportive and non-judgmental approach, allowing them to sing without worrying about the absolute accuracy of every note before building up their confidence, musicality and skill.

Camp may provide a safe space for these young people to try singing for the first time or return to it, particularly in singing outside the services. However, these young people may also be intimidated by the idea of a choir or group of chanters in the services, just as they would be in their home parish where any new member may not be welcome, let alone a young person. Some respondents to the survey said that a choir or group of chanters can become a clique and feel exclusive, and this can be difficult to overcome. Making singing as inclusive as possible should be the aim and teaching simple refrains from services to all young people is one way to get them to engage.

“Behold now, what is so good or so joyous as for brethren to dwell together in unity?” (Psalm 132:1)

The benefits of singing at camp were broadly agreed by respondents to include the experience of a variety of musical traditions; singing or chanting in English; and experiencing a full schedule of services. The encouragement of teamwork was considered an important benefit, a way to bring about unity in a group made up of people from different backgrounds, as was the improvement of musicality in participants. Further, the physical and mental benefits of group singing are well known and can be emphasised to young people, albeit these are outside the scope of this paper. All these benefits apply to all participants, but for those for whom the Church is still new, as was my case, they will potentially benefit even more.

In the survey, I asked for the most memorable moment connected with singing at camp. Some were funny: learning that the tenor part in standard harmonised music was often a filler part and not very interesting; or learning a song around the campfire from someone who is now a Bishop about wanting to be a sheep at the last judgement. Other recollections were far more profound: “When chanting together, it was the most unifying moment.” “Singing under the stars surrounded by friends and knowing it’s a taste of Heaven.”

I loved the musical life of camp, both as participant and leader. I have learned beautiful chants, fun songs, and have even added one song to the campfire canon. Years later, stopping on a mountain by the roadside in Montenegro with a group of friends at sunset to sing together O Joyful Light to the melody learned at camp will always remind me of the importance of my singing experiences there.

## MUSICAL PRACTICE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE IN ORTHODOX PARISHES AND COMMUNITIES

Then children were brought to him that he might lay his hands on them and pray. The disciples rebuked the people, but Jesus said, 'Let the little children come to me and do not hinder them, for to such belongs the kingdom of heaven.' And he laid his hand on them and went away. (Matthew 19: 13-15)

The musical practice at Orthodox youth camps can provide a lasting impact when young people and camp leaders are back in their parishes and communities. The music learned at camp is sometimes incorporated into a community's worship – this was certainly the case for me, where I took the time to write out several chants learned by heart at camp back in the parish for the choir. Sometimes singing from camp will be included in social activities as part of wider Church life, such as pilgrimages and parish meals. Some respondents also reported taking the singing back to their personal lives and prayer routines, using the sung grace from camp for meals at home, for example.

Young people are full participants in the Church and are encouraged to be present at services with their families and godparents. But their opportunity for participation is limited. Singing can be a way of achieving this, even from a very young age.

Unfortunately, very few communities themselves build on the musical practice at youth camps. This may be for a variety of reasons: lack of resources (only one respondent reported financial support for youth music activities in their jurisdiction); lack of confidence in the communities to arrange something appropriate; or perhaps a lack of understanding of some of the benefits. Only two respondents reported that their community has a youth choir and four respondents said that they actively recruit young people into the choir. While most respondents said that anyone can join the choir, the lack of confidence in young people taking that step themselves suggests that targeting them more carefully is necessary.

I do not exclude myself and my community from this reflection. I am the choir director in my parish. Even though I have benefitted from attending camp as a participant and a leader, and there are several young people in our parish who attend camp, we have not built on this foundation musically. We have had some one-off successes, such as the Sunday School children learning the Troparion of the Cross to sing for the beginning of the school year, and young people join in the singing of the symbol of faith and the Lord's Prayer, but we have no other musical activities for the young people. I would welcome more young people to read and sing in the choir, but I have not actively sought them out. As with any community, we have challenges relating to how we are constituted, but we have not necessarily thought enough about how we might engage young people through singing and other musical activities.

## HOW MUSICAL PROVISION FOR YOUNG PEOPLE MIGHT IMPROVE

So that psalmody, bringing about choral singing, a bond, as it were, toward unity, and joining the people into a harmonious union of one choir, produces also the greatest of blessings, charity. A psalm is a city of refuge from the demons; a means of inducing help from the angels, a weapon in fears by night, a rest from toils by day, a safeguard for infants, an adornment for those at the height of their vigour, a consolation for the elders, a most fitting ornament for women.<sup>1</sup>

The question remains of how to make best use of the musical experiences of young people in camp but widening that to all young people in our communities. Camps are necessarily limited in number and can only reach a fraction of the young people in the Church, even if different people attend each year.

Respondents to the survey had ideas of what they would put in place. The themes of the suggestions: to provide youth-specific musical activities; to introduce youth participation in the services; and to consider the music education that is needed to provide well-trained musicians for the future and fill the gaps left by formal education. For example, providing opportunities for young people to sing together, either as a youth choir for singing at services or just boosting confidence by singing together outside of Church. Using simple chants to be more active at different focus points of the service and using methods to teach by heart while they are still developing as people. There were even suggestions of a camp with the sole purpose of training in liturgical music.

We need to find ways to recreate the sacred encampment in our communities as a way to strengthen the Church now and for the future. Different solutions will work better in different communities, but the key will be working with the young people, under the direction of the clergy and the hierarchs, who may have additional criteria to consider.

If one of the reasons for Orthodox youth camps is to gather young people who are geographically scattered and isolated, a regional approach may be necessary, with communities working together. Resources need to be put in place to help parishes and communities achieve this. Small changes may be possible without great cost, but finance, time and expertise should be taken into account and investment made by jurisdictions, where necessary.

Young people have energy and enthusiasm when allowed the opportunity to act. Participants in Orthodox youth camps can transmit their musical learning onwards. Like St Basil the Great, we might say that their psalmody and music-making is truly “an adornment for those at the height of their vigour” and a blessing on the Church.

---

1 St Basil, “HOMILY 10: A Psalm of the Lot of the Just Man,” in *Exegetic Homilies (The Fathers of the Church, Volume 46)*, transl. by Agnes Clare Way, 151–64. Catholic University of America Press, 1963. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt32b0rg.13>.



**JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY  
FOR ORTHODOX CHURCH MUSIC**

Vol. 6 (1), Section II: Conference papers, pp. 167–176

ISSN 2342-1258

<https://doi.org/10.57050/jisocm.113100>

## **TOWARDS AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE ROLE OF DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY IN ORTHODOX LIFE AND PRACTICE**

**CHAD HOUK**

Chad\_Houk1@baylor.edu

Baylor University, USA

Digital technology has come to play a vital role in contemporary religious life, both in the real world and in virtual worlds. Regardless of their comfort with it, whether for facilitating worship or for communicating religious values, all religious traditions have had to face the ubiquity of digital technology and find a place for it in their worldview. While some traditions lean more toward a positive or negative outlook on the use of digital technology, the vast majority find themselves somewhere in the middle. This may mean that they are dedicated to a neutral view on the subject, but in most cases, it simply means that they have not adequately wrestled with the issues involved.

In the case of Orthodoxy, there seems to be a disconnect between private and public use of digital technology. While individuals in the Orthodox community use it in the same way that their non-Orthodox neighbors do, institutional use of digital technology is fraught with contradiction and ambivalence. On the one hand, digital technology is embraced as a way to make Orthodoxy more visible, viable, and more accessible, particularly to its adherents. On the other hand, it is regarded with some suspicion, having limited use for mediating core beliefs, practices, and aesthetics of the Orthodox faith, and potentially serving to disconnect Orthodox faithful from their true community. In the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic, the uncertainty that the Orthodox feel about the appropriateness of digital technology for mediating religious life has become particularly acute, and many issues have arisen which call out for resolution.

© Chad Houk, 2022.

This is an open access article distributed under the terms of the CC BY 4.0 international license.

## THE PRINCIPLE OF MEDIATION

In his book *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, media theorist Marshall McLuhan argues forcefully that technology does more than communicate some neutral message, but, through the characteristics of the medium, fundamentally changes how people understand the nature of reality, leaving them forever changed. His oft-quoted statement puts his ideas in a nutshell: “the medium is the message.”<sup>1</sup> A similar sentiment is echoed by Birgit Meyer in her book *Aesthetic Formations: Media, Religion, and the Senses*: “As content cannot exist without form, a message is always mediated.”<sup>2</sup>

While McLuhan and others following his point of view would locate agency in the medium itself, seeing human beings as essentially victims of their own creations, other scholars would argue that human beings still possess significant agency where technology is concerned. Mark Katz argues:

Although we often respond to technology within a context of limited options not of our own making, we must remember that, in the end, [its] influence manifests itself in *human* actions. Put another way, it is not the technology but the *relationship* between the technology and its users that determines [its] impact.<sup>3</sup>

Nicholas Cook argues similarly:

One important point to make at the outset is that technology does not simply determine what happens in culture...technology may facilitate certain cultural developments while standing in the way of others. The best way to think about this is in terms of the cultural developments that particular technologies afford: this puts the emphasis on the choices that societies make in their use of technology.<sup>4</sup>

Following the ideas of Katz and Cook, then, the use of certain technologies, while not absolutely determinative, is likely to have a marked effect upon their users, so they should not be regarded as neutral carriers of informational content.

Traditionally, religion and media have been regarded as antagonistic to one another; this antagonism is closely related to the supposed divide between religion and science. Within Western Christianity, this divide has been seen most clearly in the opposition of fundamentalist groups to the theory of evolution and scientific systems flowing therefrom; in Eastern Christianity, it has been witnessed most by the hesitance of Orthodox clergy to accept new technologies, being representative of Western cultural hegemony. However resistant the Church—whether in the East or West—may be to digital technology and new media, Birgit Meyer reminds us that all religious systems involve mediation in one form or another, and that new forms of

1 Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*, Critical ed. (Corte Madera, CA: Gingko Press, 2003).

2 Birgit Meyer, *Aesthetic Formations: Media, Religion, and the Senses* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 12.

3 Mark Katz, *Capturing Sound: How Technology Has Changed Music*, Revised edition (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 3.

4 Nicholas Cook, Monique Marie Ingalls, and David Trippett, *The Cambridge Companion to Music in Digital Culture* (Cambridge: University Press, 2019), 7.

media should be analysed in terms of their conflict with older forms, rather than rejected out of hand as modernistic intrusions into ancient traditions. In fact, she would argue that it is precisely the willingness of religious bodies to use new forms of media to their advantage that undergirds their vitality and popular appeal.<sup>5</sup>

### **AN INTRODUCTION TO MEDIA AND THE ORTHODOX FAITH**

Orthodox Christianity has always been mediated through a wide variety of sensory—or as Birgit Meyer would designate them, “sensational”—forms; indeed, the Orthodox faith puts a great deal of stock in materiality as a means of accessing the divine. Seen in early Christological debates, the iconoclast controversies of the eighth and ninth centuries, the official declaration of Mary as the Theotokos (“God-Bearer”), the belief in the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and many other similar cases, Orthodox Christians place much emphasis upon the fact that God has come in the flesh through the person of Jesus Christ and is able to work through material—as well as spiritual—means to accomplish the salvation of the world. Whatever Orthodox Christians may believe about the importance of materiality, however, it is clear that not all forms of materiality, or indeed of mediation, are of equal value or efficacy in the Orthodox mind. The pinnacle of God’s working through material things is to be found in the sacraments of the Church—particularly the sacrament of the Eucharist. Beyond the sacraments, though, material items come to have more or less value as they are useful in directing Orthodox faithful toward their life in Christ.

In his study of digital mediation in the life of Orthodox believers in Thessaloniki, Greece, Jeffers Engelhardt makes a distinction between what he terms “unmarked” and “marked” media. Unmarked media are those forms of mediation which are traditionally associated with the Orthodox Church—e.g., books, icons, bells, and incense. The Eucharist also falls into this category. These types of media have been accepted as essential elements of the Orthodox faith, without which Orthodoxy would be indistinguishable from other forms of Christianity and would lose its spiritual efficacy.

Marked media in the service of Orthodoxy include modern forms of mediation such as digital recordings of sermons and chants; religious broadcasts via television, radio, and the Internet; Internet resources and mobile applications delivering religious content and designed to assist various aspects of Orthodox liturgy; and social networking sites designed to foster Orthodox community online. Put simply, marked media can encompass any form of technology that has potential to assist in the propagation and maintenance of the Orthodox faith but is not an essential part of Orthodox identity. Because of the potential for marked media to be used for both good and evil, much discernment is needed on the part

5 Meyer, *Aesthetic Formations*, 1.

of Orthodox clergy and laity where their use is concerned. Any form of marked media has the potential to be used for edification of the body of Christ, but not all uses of marked media have the official sanction of the Orthodox Church.<sup>6</sup>

Closely following this distinction between unmarked and marked media, Engelhardt also distinguishes between the sacramental life of the Orthodox Church and what he calls “the Christocentric everyday.” The sacramental life refers particularly to Orthodox believers’ participation in liturgy and highlights the importance of the gathered Orthodox community. “The Christocentric everyday,” on the other hand, closely parallels the life of the saints, as Orthodox believers in the world (unlike the saints, many of whom left the world to follow the monastic life) strive to keep their thoughts and affections directed toward God, maintaining their connection with the sacramental life while in the midst of their secular lives.<sup>7</sup>

Among the Orthodox Christians in Thessaloniki, the most attested way to maintain Orthodox identity throughout the week was to watch YouTube videos featuring Orthodox religious content. Another common practice among parishioners with families was to listen to professionally produced recordings of chant and prayer services. Among the younger generation, who frequently used mobile technology, it was common to find a curated and ever-growing collection of digital files containing Orthodox music and religious instruction. In general, the attitude of Orthodox Christians in Thessaloniki toward marked media was ambivalent: “A knife can cut bread or cut a throat, depending on who holds it.”<sup>8</sup>

Engelhardt recalls a conversation with a young Greek Orthodox man, in which three stages of Orthodox life were delineated, and the relation of media to each was explained. The first stage, *catharsis*, is the period during which faithful Orthodox laity are purged from their desires for this world and develop their appetite for spiritual things. Paradoxically, it is this stage during which mediation by physical means is most needed, as lay people, unlike the saints, have less intimate knowledge of God and so need more sensory reinforcement to learn to desire him. It is at this stage that the “Christocentric everyday” is most crucial, for Orthodox faithful must learn how to redeem the time not spent at Liturgy.<sup>9</sup>

The second stage, *illumination*, is the stage to which the church fathers attained as they wrote great works of theology. Even in this stage, the use of media is helpful, but it becomes unnecessary as one approaches *deification*, the final stage of the Orthodox life. *Deification*, or *theosis*, as it is known in the Greek language, is the state to which saints have arrived. It involves *hesychasm*, or ‘inner stillness,’<sup>10</sup> during which the senses are abandoned, and

6 Jeffers Engelhardt, “Listening and the Sacramental Life: Degrees of Mediation in Greek Orthodox Christianity,” in *Praying with the Senses: Contemporary Orthodox Christian Spirituality in Practice* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018), 58-63.

7 Ibid., 58-66.

8 Ibid., 65-6.

9 Ibid., 59.

10 “Hesychasm - OrthodoxWiki,” accessed 2 May 2020, <https://orthodoxwiki.org/Hesychasm>.

a life of constant prayer is in view. While media can be used throughout all three stages, and prayers and hymnody provide certain benefits, during the period of deification, the saints seek to lay aside the use of worldly media and focus exclusively on participation in the sacraments.<sup>11</sup>

## DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY IN ORTHODOX PRACTICE WORLDWIDE

Throughout history, Orthodox Christians living in traditionally Orthodox lands have faced persecution by foreign invaders and hostile political forces—by Catholics, by the Ottoman Turks, by Communist governments, and in the case of present-day Christians living in the Middle East, by their Islamic neighbours. Because of their inability to participate fully in the societies in which they have lived, Orthodox believers have remained largely unaffected by the major cultural changes that have accompanied the rise of modernity in the West. It is not surprising, then, that Orthodoxy has been slow to adopt modern technologies. However, it would be false to say it avoids them. In fact, throughout the “Orthodox world,” digital technology has been put to good use both by ecclesiastical bodies and by scores of the Orthodox faithful.

After the fall of Communism in the 1990s, the Russian Orthodox Church in particular began to rebuild its tarnished image and establish itself as a familiar and trusted presence within Russian society. It accomplished this in part by a sophisticated and calculated use of digital media placed in the hands of sympathetic lay media managers. Understanding the importance of taking control of its media presence, rather than allowing its image to be molded by outside independent and secular media networks, the Russian Orthodox Church stepped boldly into the world of digital media and staked out its territory.<sup>12</sup>

In 2000, an official proclamation proceeding from the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church outlined how the church intended to relate to its secular surroundings and provided guidelines for responsible use of digital media by its adherents. Today, the Russian Orthodox Church hosts its own website and YouTube channel, and it even manages two private television stations, which broadcast religious content. Its individual parishes also manage websites of their own, which are used to disseminate information about and on behalf of religious authorities and can provide a space for interaction between official church leaders and private individuals. In its proactive approach to the use of digital media, the example of the Russian Orthodox Church is being followed by other post-Soviet countries.<sup>13</sup>

The situation in Greece and Cyprus was quite different from that of Eastern Bloc nations during the twentieth century. Unlike those countries, Orthodoxy in Greece enjoyed a certain prestige, owing to its long-time status

11 Engelhardt, “Listening and the Sacramental Life: Degrees of Mediation in Greek Orthodox Christianity,” 59.

12 Jack Turner, “Orthodox Christianity in the Digital Age,” in *Religion Online: How Digital Technology Is Changing the Way We Worship and Pray*, vol. 2 (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2019), 114.

13 Ibid.



as the official religion of the Greek state, and even though its authority was undermined at times by secular rulers, it never experienced the same degree of subjugation. Consequently, whereas the Orthodox Church in post-Soviet nations took hold of the advantages of digital media at the first opportunity and established a secure place for itself within the surrounding secular society, the Greek Church has not been motivated to employ digital media to the same degree and has consequently not enjoyed the same type of media presence.<sup>14</sup>

In the United States, there are seven recognized branches of the Orthodox Church, over which three bodies—the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese, the Antiochian Orthodox Archdiocese, and the Orthodox Church in America—exercise authority.<sup>15</sup> Each these branches of the Orthodox Church has its own website and each maintains an active presence online. In addition to these official diocesan websites, there are other Orthodox websites emanating from the United States, among which two deserve special mention. Ancient Faith Ministries, sponsored by the Antiochian Orthodox Archdiocese, provides twenty-four hour streaming radio, live call-in sessions, blogs, and podcasts on a wide variety of topics relating to Orthodox teaching and practice.<sup>16</sup> OrthodoxWiki, essentially designed to be the Orthodox counterpart to Wikipedia, features articles written from a distinctly Orthodox point of view.<sup>17</sup>

Some of the other uses of digital technology in Orthodox life include virtual candle lighting apps, digital icons (which although not revered as religious objects, can signal Orthodox identity), and virtual pilgrimages to important religious sites in the Orthodox world. In the case of virtual pilgrimages (especially to monasteries), these websites sometimes allow access to certain segments of the Orthodox population—e.g. women—who would not be allowed to make the pilgrimage in real life. In other cases, these websites allow the observer access to materials which would normally only be handled by experts.<sup>18</sup>

### **THE IMPACT OF COVID-19 ON THE ORTHODOX USE OF DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY**

Up until the present time, the use of digital technology in propagating the Orthodox faith and enriching the lives of the faithful has largely been a voluntary decision. In a few cases, though, the use of digital media has become more expedient. For example, in some of the larger parishes in the United States, worship services have been streamed over the past few years as a way to provide worship opportunities for shut-ins.<sup>19</sup> However, in the wake of the outbreak of COVID-19 in the early months of 2020 and the accompanying directives by government officials prohibiting regular

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid., 112.

16 "Welcome | Ancient Faith Ministries," accessed 2 May 2020, <https://www.ancientfaith.com/>.

17 Turner, 119.

18 Ibid., 116-18.

19 Father John Finley, telephone conversation, 28 April 2020.

church services, Orthodox clergy and laity have had to come to grips with any negative feelings about the appropriateness of digital technology for mediating worship and overcome any discomfort they might have with its use.

Father John Finley is the chairman of the Department of Missions and Evangelism for the Antiochian Archdiocese. His work takes him across North America—particularly the West Coast of the United States—so he is in regular contact with many Orthodox churches and knows how they have managed worship in the midst of the pandemic. Concerning the inability of Orthodox laity to participate in live worship services, he describes that state of affairs in terms of a trial which must be endured by the Orthodox faithful, and he points to other moments in Orthodox history in which meeting for worship was impractical, dangerous, or forbidden: “This is in our history. We’ve lived through lots of persecution and lots of hard times over the centuries. We’ve learned how to survive in these kinds of situations, and we’ll survive this.”<sup>20</sup>

Beyond the obvious challenge posed to laity by their being barred from physical participation in worship, the most significant part of that being no access to the sacrament of the Eucharist, the greatest obstacle to Orthodox worship has been the disbanding of choirs. Initially, the provisions of the quarantine order specified that no more than ten persons could assemble, so it was possible to cover all parts adequately. However, when the order was later revised to allow no more than five people to meet, choirs became an impracticality, and most services were conducted by a priest, an assistant or two, a single chanter, and a videographer.<sup>21</sup>

The use of streaming technology has provided unprecedented opportunities for Orthodox visibility and Evangelism, while at the same time presenting significant challenges to authentic Orthodox worship. Some of these challenges arise from the essential nature of the media being used. Like other Orthodox clergy, Father John understands the expediency of broadcasting church services online given the prohibition against live services, but he is concerned that these broadcasts will contribute to a spectator mentality on the part of Orthodox laity.

This is what I encourage people to do—If you’re going to watch the Divine Liturgy livestream, try to translate yourself in your heart and your mind into the nave of the church. Get dressed. Hold your book. Stand when you’re supposed to stand. Cross when you’re supposed to cross yourself. Bow when you’re supposed to bow. And be there...rather than watching it like a TV show.<sup>22</sup>

Notwithstanding his uneasiness about how viewing livestreamed services could encourage apathy on the part of the Orthodox laity, Father John sees the current situation as a temporary setback and is doubtful that worship services will continue to be broadcast once the quarantine is officially over:

---

20      Finley.

21      Ibid.

22      Ibid.

“[Y]ou can’t receive the Holy Communion through a TV screen...You’ve got to go to church to receive [it], and that will bring our people back to church.”<sup>23</sup>

Father David Barr is the archpriest of St Elias parish in Austin, Texas. Unlike priests in many Orthodox churches in the United States, he oversaw the use of digital technology in his parish even before the outbreak of COVID-19. Since July 2015, he has been using GoToMeeting to facilitate parish council meetings and to lead evening religion classes. As he sees it, the use of internet technology has been particularly instrumental in encouraging participation in religious life for his parishioners; he reports seeing the number of participants double and even triple once classes were brought online. From his perspective, then, it was much easier for St Elias to navigate the move toward online streaming of worship services, because the parish was already well-versed in the implementation of internet technology.<sup>24</sup>

While Father David does not feel antipathy toward the use of digital media, and in fact feels that it is playing an important role in negotiating communication between him and his parishioners, he does have some concerns with the role that digital media is playing in mediating worship services. In the first place, he questions the wisdom of recording and archiving a sermon intended for a certain time and place; from his perspective, sermons play a role in the moment that is not easily repeatable. He is also concerned that Orthodox believers will approach worship from the standpoint of consumerism, electing to watch broadcasts that meet their individual needs, rather than maintaining loyalty to their parish. He feels that this trend is even more likely to be seen if churches continue to broadcast their services once the threat of COVID-19 has subsided.<sup>25</sup>

Father David is much more concerned than Father John about the long-term ramifications of using digital technology to mediate worship. He worries that the convenience of observing worship services at home might ultimately dissuade some parishioners from coming to church.

People have to make a sacrifice. That’s part of our worship—showing up! It’s getting out of bed and such things, and that’s a part of the sacrifice of praise. If we don’t have that...[we’ll] just turn the TV on and watch church, and that’s not much sacrifice. Right now, it may be what we can do...It’s later [on] that I’m concerned about.<sup>26</sup>

There are other helpful perspectives on the relationship between digital technology and Orthodox life that Father David provides. For one thing, he worries about the role that digital media is playing by providing religious information outside of a communal context. He stresses that Christianity is a lifestyle, not merely a gathering of religious information. As he sees it, Orthodoxy mediated by digital technology has the same capacity to become an industry as other branches of Christianity. For these reasons, he is skeptical of the essential value of many Orthodox resources found online, and emphasizes the importance of following Christ within a local community:

23 Ibid.

24 Father David Barr, telephone conversation, 30 April 2020.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

It's the human touch that we have forgotten. We need each other. Christianity is a community. You cannot have community online. You can have a little bit as a supplement, but it can't take the place of what you have to have. Online [worship] is not ideal, and ultimately it is probably not healthy, because you can't be part of the church community. The church is the people....<sup>27</sup>

One final point that Father David makes is that the encroachment of technology has removed some of the essential mystery involved in the Orthodox faith. A primitive example that he provides is the use of electric lighting in churches in the West, as opposed to the use of candlelight in the East. A more current example is the placing of video cameras over the altar space, so that worshipers can view what is taking place in the area of the church normally reserved for the priest and his ministers. As Father David sees it, technology can be intrusive and present a sense of immediacy which is not always in keeping with Orthodox aesthetics:

In the Scriptures, there is concealment and revelation. Worship has to have both of these. So we have the curtains that are sometimes shut...so that there can be revelation. There's a drama that goes on in worship. When we take all that away, [we] lose a lot.<sup>28</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Considering the conflicting role that digital technology has played and continues to play in mediating religious life, it is no surprise that it has both its admirers and detractors. In her book *@ Worship: Liturgical Practices in Digital Worlds*, Teresa Berger examines the wide variety of digital media resources available for Catholic worship and concludes that digital technology has a legitimate—even irrefragable place—in religious life.<sup>29</sup> At the opposite end of the spectrum, other media scholars like Paul McClure argue that digital technology, especially Internet technology, poses hidden dangers to established religious traditions, encouraging individuality, moral subjectivity, and even atheism.<sup>30</sup> Both of these authors have compelling arguments, but the extreme views on the influence of digital technology that they present do not seem to be representative of the vast majority of religious traditions, and certainly do not represent the viewpoint of the Orthodox Church, broadly construed.

I say “broadly construed” because there is much research to be done on the use of digital technology in the Orthodox Church, and the subject has become even more fraught in the environment created by the COVID-19 pandemic. However, while digital technology is enjoyed freely by Orthodox Christians in their private lives, Orthodox institutional life seems to call for a different set of values. Returning to Engelhardt’s idea of “marked” and “unmarked” media, it seems unlikely that the use of digital media will ever

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Teresa Berger, *@ Worship: Liturgical Practices in Digital Worlds* (London: Routledge, 2017), x-xiii.

30 Paul Knowlton McClure, “Modding My Religion: Exploring the Effects of Digital Technology on Religion and Spirituality.” (PhD diss., Waco, TX, Baylor University, 2018), 1-2.

become a core component of Orthodox practice. When asked to summarize how the Orthodox view digital technology in terms of its rightness or wrongness to mediate religious life, Father John Finley said: “Just to put it in a nutshell? For education, yes. For church services, no.”<sup>31</sup> It should be interesting, though, to see if this statement aligns with Orthodox practice as we move into a post-COVID-19 world.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Barr, Father David. Phone conversation, April 30, 2020.

Berger, Teresa. @ *Worship: Liturgical Practices in Digital Worlds*. London: Routledge, 2017.

Cook, Nicholas, Monique Marie Ingalls, and David Trippett. *The Cambridge Companion to Music in Digital Culture*. Cambridge: University Press, 2019.

Engelhardt, Jeffers. “Listening and the Sacramental Life: Degrees of Mediation in Greek Orthodox Christianity.” In *Praying with the Senses: Contemporary Orthodox Christian Spirituality in Practice*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018.

Finley, Father John. Phone conversation, April 28, 2020.

“Hesychasm - OrthodoxWiki.” Accessed May 2, 2020. <https://orthodoxwiki.org/Hesychasm>.

Katz, Mark. *Capturing Sound: How Technology Has Changed Music*. Revised edition. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.

McClure, Paul Knowlton. “Modding My Religion: Exploring the Effects of Digital Technology on Religion and Spirituality.” PhD diss., Baylor University, 2018.

McLuhan, Marshall. *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. Critical ed. Corte Madera, CA: Gingko Press, 2003.

Meyer, Birgit. *Aesthetic Formations: Media, Religion, and the Senses*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

“OrthodoxWiki.” Accessed April 29, 2020. [https://orthodoxwiki.org/Main\\_Page](https://orthodoxwiki.org/Main_Page).

Turner, Jack. “Orthodox Christianity in the Digital Age.” In *Religion Online: How Digital Technology Is Changing the Way We Worship and Pray*, Vol. 2. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2019.

“Welcome | Ancient Faith Ministries.” Accessed May 2, 2020. <https://www.ancientfaith.com/>.

---

31 Finley, interview.



## **CRETAN IDIOSYNCRASIES IN THE LITURGICAL CHANT OF THE IONIAN ISLANDS: TRADITION, TRANSMISSION AND ADAPTATION**

**FLORA KRITIKOU**

[fkritikou@music.uoa.gr](mailto:fkritikou@music.uoa.gr)

National and Kapodistrian University of Athens

From the mid-15th century onwards, but especially during the last two centuries of Venetian rule in Crete, a unique repertory was developed probably in order to serve the specific needs of Liturgies and other offices, common to Catholics and Orthodox.<sup>1</sup> The compositions included in this repertory thus merge Byzantine and Western elements, in the image of the meeting between these two cultures playing out in Crete during this period. This Latin influence could be identified on different levels, namely, in the liturgical texts, the morphology of the compositions, the modality and the notation.

After the fall of Candia in 1669, a large number of Cretans took refuge in the Ionian Islands, where it seems that they transmitted this Italo-Cretan culture. The first information concerning the transfer of Cretan liturgical music from Crete to Zakynthos comes from an article by Spyridon de Viazès, published in 1909, aptly titled “Κρητική Ψαλμωδία εν Επτανήσω” [“Cretan psalmody in the Ionian Islands”].<sup>2</sup> The author mentions in his study an archival document from the island of Zakynthos dating from 1671, in which an anecdotal history concerning Cretan cantors has been preserved. According to this document some cantors from Crete arrived in Zakynthos just after 1669 were able to chant a “new music” similar to that

1 The special Cretan repertory was highlighted by my colleague Manolis Giannopoulos in his PhD dissertation *Η Ανθιση της Ψαλμικής Τέχνης στην Κρήτη (1566-1669)*, Institute of Byzantine Musicology, Studies 11 (Athens, 2004), 333-385. The compositions included are studied within the framework of the research project *Le chant ecclésiastique en Crète vénitienne aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles: transferts culturels et façonnement des identités dans l'espace méditerranéen à l'époque moderne* carried out by the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes and the Ecole Française d'Athènes.

2 Spyridon de Viazès, “Κρητική Ψαλμωδία εν Επτανήσω” [“Cretan psalmody in the Ionian Islands”] *Πινακοθήκη [Pinakothiki]* Θ' 98 (April 1909): 24-25; (May 1909): 48-49; (June-July 1909): 76-77; (August 1909): 92-93.

of the Latin church, while other Cretan cantors chanted the “Greek music”. Still according to this document, the commissioners and the people of the church of St John the Forerunner invited the cantors of this “new music” to the Christmas Liturgy. A problem apparently arose when the Cretan cantors accepted the invitation but asked for triple the payment of one of the native singers, while they finally received double.<sup>3</sup> The information preserved in this document is the first evidence of the transfer of liturgical music from Crete to the Ionian Islands, and specifically to Zakynthos, and also of the fact that this musical tradition very quickly began to serve the local churches. Another interesting point, that has probably been overlooked, is the comment of de Viazis about the “new music, as it was called at that time”, which could mean that the “new music”, similar to that of the Latin Church, was unknown at Zakynthos until the time the refugees from Crete arrived and began to spread it.

Much later, almost two centuries after this event, in 1867, Panagiotes Gritsanēs, a knowledgeable musician from Zakynthos, recounted in one of his articles the musical reality of his time in his native island. Panagiotes Gritsanēs had studied music, generally referred to as Byzantine, the liturgical music of the Orthodox Church, in Zakynthos, and European music in Naples between 1865 and 1873, where he worked as a cantor of the local Greek church.<sup>4</sup> In his article titled “Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰονίων Νήσων Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσικῆς” [“About the Church music of the Ionian Islands”] Gritsanēs says that this particular liturgical music in comparison with the traditional one is usually called “Cretan” thanks to its origins, while he rightly relates that this ecclesiastical music was transferred from Crete to the Ionian Islands by refugees in the 17th century.<sup>5</sup> According to him, the traditional performance of liturgical chant at his time is aptly described as performed in four voices, though polyphonic performance remains a possibility, as a monophonic style could be also chosen by the cantors involved.<sup>6</sup>

3 Ibidem, “Κρητικὴ Ψαλμωδία ἐν Ἐπτανήσῳ”, *Πινακοθήκη* Θ' 98 (April 1909): 24: “Τινὲς ἐκ τῶν ἱεροψαλτῶν τούτων ἔψαλλον μίαν ἀρμονικὴν ψαλμωδίαν, ἡ ὁποία ἐνεθουσίασε τοὺς φιλαρμονικοὺς Ζακυνθίους. Λέγομεν Ζακυνθίους διότι ὑπάρχει σύγχρονος μαρτυρία πιστοποιοῦσα ὅτι τῇ 20 Δεκεμβρίου τοῦ 1671 ἔτους, δηλαδὴ τρία ἔτη μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς ἡρωϊκῆς ταύτης νήσου, εἰς δύο-τρεις ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ζακύνθου, Κρήτες ἱεροψάλται ἔψαλλον νέαν μουσικὴν, ὁμοιάζουσαν μὲ τὴν τῶν Λατινικῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ὅτι ἄλλοι ἐπίσης Κρήτες ἔψαλλον ἑλληνικὴν μουσικὴν (musica greca) καὶ ὅτι οἱ ἐνορεῖται τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐπίτροποι ἤθελον κατὰ τὰ Χριστούγεννα τοὺς ψάλτας τῆς νέας μουσικῆς - ὡς τότε τὴν ἐκάλουν - ἀλλ' οἱ ψάλται Κρήτες ἤθελον τριπλασίαν πληρωμὴν, διὸ οἱ σύντικοι ἐμεσολάβησαν ὅπως λάβωσι διπλασίαν πληρωμὴν”.

4 For more biographical information about Panagiotes Gritsanēs, see F. Kritikou, “Παναγιώτης Γριτσάνης. Ἐνας λόγιος μουσικός του 19ου αἰώνα,” in *Ἐθνικὸ καὶ Καποδιστριακὸ Πανεπιστήμιον Ἀθηνῶν, Β' Ἐπιστημονικὸ Συμπόσιον Νεοελληνικῆς Ψαλτικῆς Τέχνης, Βυζαντινὸ καὶ Χριστιανικὸ Μουσεῖο, 26-27 Νοεμβρίου 2010, Πρακτικὰ* (Ἀθήνα, 2012), 799-814, with bibliography.

5 P. Gritsanēs, “Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰονίων Νήσων Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσικῆς” [“About the Church music of the Ionian Islands”], *Ἐθνικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον Σπ. Βρεττοῦ* (Paris, 1868), 325-336, and specifically, 326-331.

6 Ibidem, 333: “Ἡ παρ' ἡμῶν Κρητικὴ μουσικὴ πέφυκε μουσικὴ τις μελωδικὴ καὶ ἀρμονικῆ· μελωδικὴ μὲν ὡς ψαλλομένη μονοφώνως ἦτοι κατὰ μελωδίαν, ὡς ἡ κωνσταντινουπολιτικὴ· ἀρμονικὴ δὲ ὡς ἐκτελουμένη καὶ τετραφώνως ἦτοι κατὰ ἀρμονίαν, ἧτις ἐστὶ τέχνη τοῦ τέρεπιν [...]”. See, also, 333-334: “Τὸ πρῶτον μέρος, ὅπερ καὶ ἀρχικὸν μέρος ὀνομάζεται, εἶναι ἡ βᾶσις τῆς μουσικῆς, ἡ ψαλμωδία δηλαδὴ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ τρία εἶναι τὰ τῆς ἀρμονίας μέρη, ἅτινα συμψαλλόμενα ἀποτελοῦσι τὴν μουσικὴν τετραφώνον, παραλειπομένων δὲ τούτων, καὶ μόνου τοῦ πρῶτου μέρους ψαλλομένου, καθίσταται ἡ μουσικὴ μονότονος καὶ μετρίως εὐάρεστος, ἔνεκα τῆς τοιαύτης ἀπογυμνώσεώς τῆς”.

One piece of information considered decisive is that the four-voice liturgical music in Zakynthos, following its Cretan tradition, is not written in its entirety “because of the inappropriate [Byzantine] notation”. According to that only the voice characterized as “soprano” or “primo” is written, while the unwritten voices are performed “in a traditional way”.<sup>7</sup> Panagiotis Gritsanis presents several pieces of evidence in this article concerning the relation and the difference of this music from the so-called Byzantine, which he qualifies “originating in Constantinople”.

Despite the fact that Gritsanis is not usually considered a reliable source of information and even though it is chronologically distant from the 17th century, his commentary should be taken more seriously as it describes the living reality of his time. Moreover, his music teacher, Theodoros Kourkoumeles-Kothres was a student of Petros Katsaites, who was the scribe of the manuscript 14 of the Gritsanis collection, a *Sticherarion* by Dimitrios Tamias, written in 1776. This relation directly connects Gritsanis with the older tradition of the Cretan repertory. Moreover, always according to Gritsanis, Kothres learned “the Cretan and the Constantinopolitan music according to the old method” but soon after 1814 and the reform of the notation learned also the so-called New Analytical Notation and then started to teach it and to transcribe older Cretan compositions. Consequently, Kothres should be considered as directly related to the musical tradition of the Cretan refugees and his student Panagiotis Gritsanis should be regarded through him as a serious and trustworthy source of information.<sup>8</sup>

Then and until today several researchers have studied the liturgical music of the Ionian Islands and the results of their research have been published in a considerable number of books and articles.<sup>9</sup> However, the

7 Ibidem, 334-335: “Ἄλλ’ ἐπειδὴ δὲν ἐπιτρέπεται ἡμῖν ἐνταῦθα πλατύτερον νὰ διευκρινίσωμεν τίνι τρόπῳ συνδυάζονται αἱ τέσσαρες φωναὶ πρὸς ἐπίτευξιν τῆς τοιαύτης ἁρμονίας, ἀρκείσθω μόνον νὰ εἴπωμεν ὅτι ἡ μουσικὴ αὕτη ὡς πρὸς τὸ θεωρητικὸν αὐτῆς μέρος φαίνεται ἔλλειπής, διότι γράφεται, ἔνεκα τοῦ ἀκαταλλήλου τῆς σημειογραφίας, τὸ ἐν ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων μερῶν αὐτῆς, ἦτοι τὸ ἀρχικὸν μέλος, ἢ Soprano, τὰ δὲ ἕτερα ἐκτελοῦνται κατὰ πρακτικὴν παράδοσιν”.

8 The information comes from a Gritsanis’s study published after his death in *Ἐφημερίς Ζακύνθου Ἑλπίς* between 2/9/1907 and 17/2/1908. On this, see Kritikou, “Παναγιώτης Γριτσάνης,” 806-808.

9 See the following: M. Dragoumes, “Ἡ δυτικίζουσα ἐκκλησιαστικὴ μουσικὴ μας στὴν Κρήτη καὶ στὰ Ἐπτάνησα,” *Λαογραφία* 31 (1976-1978): 272-293. Idem, “Πρόσφατες ἐρευνες στὴ Ζάκυνθο γιὰ τὴν Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ τῆς Μουσικῆς,” in *Δελτίον τῆς Ἰονίου Ἀκαδημίας*, 2 (Corfu, 1986), 270-280. Idem, “Μία περίπτωση ἐπιβίωσης βυζαντινῶν μελωδικῶν στοιχείων σ’ ἓνα πασχαλινὸ τροπάριο ἀπὸ τὴ Ζάκυνθο,” in *Byzantine Chant: Tradition and Reform*, v. 2 (Athens, 1997), 87-95. Idem, *Ἡ μουσικὴ παράδοση τῆς Ζακυνθίνης Ἐκκλησίας* (Athens, 2000). E. G. Kalogeropoulos, *Τὸ περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσικῆς ζήτημα κατὰ τὸν 19ο αἰ. (1844-1900)*, PhD dissertation, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 2000. I. D. Kapandrites, “Περὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς καὶ ἰδίως περὶ ζακυνθίου ὕφους,” *Αἱ Μούσαι* (1913), 480, 2-3, 481-482, 7-9, 483, 4, 484, 6, 485, 4, 486, 6, 487, 4. N. Lountzes, *Ἡ Ζάκυνθος μετὰ μουσικῆς. Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ καὶ Κοσμικὴ Μουσικὴ (Λαϊκὴ)* (Athens, 2003). E. Makris, “Ἡ παραδοσιακὴ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ μουσικὴ τῶν Ἐπτανήσων. Συνολικὴ ἱστορικὴ προσέγγιση,” *Μουσικὸς Λόγος* 8 (Winter 2009): 45-70. Idem, “Ἄγνωστα τεκμήρια τῆς ζακυνθινῆς ψαλτικῆς,” *ΕΚΕΕΛ* 29 (1999-2003): 105-130. Idem, “Ὀκταηχία καὶ πολυφωνία στὴν Κρητοεπτανησιακὴ ψαλτικὴ παράδοση. Ἡ περίπτωση τοῦ ‘Χριστὸς ἀνέστη’,” in *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίδα Ἀνωτάτης Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἡρακλείου Κρήτης*, v. Β’ (Iraklio, 2012), 595-602. Idem, “Ἡ σημειογραφία τῆς Νέας Μεθόδου στὴν Ἐπτανησιακὴ ψαλτικὴ,” in *Πρακτικὰ Συνεδρίου ‘Ἡ Ἐνωσις τῆς Ἐπτανήσου μετὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, 1864-2004*, Βουλὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων - Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν, v. 2 (Athens, 2006), 313-330. S. Motsenigos, “Ἡ βυζαντινὴ προέλευσις τῆς ἐπτανησιακῆς μουσικῆς,” *Πρακτικὰ Τρίτου Πανιωνίου Συνεδρίου (23-29 September 1965)*, v. 2 (Athens, 1969), 304-310. A. Papademetriou, “Περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἐπτανήσῳ ἰδιορρυθμοῦ βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς, τῆς καλουμένης κρητικῆς,” *Πετὰς τῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσικῆς* (Athènes 1930) (Athènes, 1932), 268-269. K. Romanou, “Ἐνα ἀρχεῖο ‘Κρητικῆς μουσικῆς’ στὴ Φιλαρμονικὴ Ἐταιρεία Κερκύρας,” *Μουσικολογία* 12-13 (2000): 175-



main problem that still remains and prevents us from deepening this research and knowing the influence that the Cretan repertory received from the 17th to the 19th century, when Gritsanos wrote his articles, is the absence of related manuscripts. Even though this story is relatively well known, the study of this tradition remains quite difficult on account of the absence of musical sources, very often destroyed by earthquakes or fires which occurred in the Ionian Islands. What remains is the current musical practice or archival documents which, however, are not sufficient sources for this study. The very “special” Cretan tradition when arriving in its new territory was revived by accepting other local influences. What is generally known today as the “special style” of religious music in the Ionian Islands is actually born from the meeting of this Cretan repertory with local musical tendencies.

Indeed, the cases of musical manuscripts of Ionian origin, considered almost as unique cases, are truly rare and valuable, often preserved in libraries outside the Islands. One of these manuscripts, preserved today in the Library of the Monastery of Saint Catherine in Sinai, is the subject of this paper. At first glance, Sinai 2230 gives the impression of being an Anthology of Various Compositions written by several scribes at the beginning of the 19th century in the New Analytical Notation.<sup>10</sup> This manuscript preserves compositions from Zakynthos, which testify to their Cretan origin in many ways. Its rarity and importance lie in the fact of its provenance but also in the compositions included, which, while preserving its essential Cretan characteristics, present new traits of local influence.

The first 26 folios (ff. 1r-26v) contain compositions of the 18th century, fairly well-known, written by two different scribes. Then, on f. 26v, the first composition from Zakynthos is written by a third scribe, named at the end of the composition on f. 27v: *Τὸ ὄπισθεν Μεγαλυνάριον ἐμελοποιήθη παρὰ Χρυσάνθου Μ. Μπαλασκόνῃ Ζακυνθίου* [the previous Megalynarion was composed by Chrysanthos M. Balaskones from Zakynthos].<sup>11</sup> Several pieces from the Eirmologion and a few from the Papadike are written on ff. 28r-38v from the first scribe. Then a part of the Treatise of the New Method is preserved on ff. 39r-43v. The pieces of Zakynthos start again on f. 44r where the chants of the Liturgy begin. Immediately, the origin of the compositions is clearly mentioned, as the Offertories written on ff. 44v-50v bear the title *Χερουβικὸν ψαλλόμενον μὲ τὸ ζακύνθιον ὕφος*; [Offertory sung according to the style of

188. P. Chiotes, *Ιστορικά απομνημονεύματα Επτανήσου*, v. 6, (Zakynthos, 1887), 377-378. K. A. Psachos, “Το δημῶδες ἄσμα ἐν Ζακύνθῳ,” *Μουσικὴ Ζωή*, 6 (1931): 121-123.

10 See, Sinai 2230, Anthology, 19th c. (beginning). For the description of the manuscript, see Flora Kritikou, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς. Σινᾶ III* (forthcoming).

11 Sinai 2230 f. 26v *Εἰς τὴν Κοίμησιν τῆς Θεοτόκου· ἦχος δ' Ἄγγελοι τὴν Κοίμησιν τῆς παρθένου*. The piece presents particularities concerning not the text in this case but rather the notation. The research for the name Χρυσάνθος Μ. Μπαλασκόνῃς led to the finding of the relevant name Χ. Χαϊκάλῃς Μπαλασκόνῃς, who appears as the composer of a Tuesday Communion in Sinai 1420 f. 77v *Κοινωνικὸν Κορητικὸν παρὰ Χ. Χαϊκάλῃς Μπαλασκόνῃς· ἦχος πλ. δ' Νη Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται δίκαιος*. Though the names are not completely identical the relation between them is obvious. Furthermore, the same composition is also written in Sinai 2230 f. 58r, this time anonymous, and it presents all the “particular” characteristics of the settings described in this paper. It is also important that the Communion in Sinai 1420 is untitled as “Κορητικόν”. About the manuscript Sinai 1420, see, F. Kritikou & D. Balageorgos, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς. Σινᾶ II*, Institute of Byzantine Musicology (Athens, 2021), 30-33.

Zakynthos] in first and fourth modes.<sup>12</sup> It is not evident whether the “style of Zakynthos” refers to the morphology of the composition or to a possibility of a four-voice performance, which, however, is not mentioned anywhere. Indeed, the Offertories are divided into parts, as if to be sung alternately by two choirs. This separation of the Offertories into parts is characteristic of the Cretan Offertories, which had probably already begun in Crete towards the end of the 15th century, if a testimony by Akakios Chalkeopoulos is true. Akakios, in a manuscript preserved today in the National Library of Greece under the number 917, in f. 135r, wrote an Offertory arranged by the Cretans giving the following information: “Χερουβικόν, ποίημα Ἀγάθωνος μοναχοῦ, ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Κορώνη, λέγεται δυσικόν, ψάλλεται δὲ δίχορον παρὰ τῶν νέων [...]” [“Offertory composed by Agathon the monk, brother of Korones, which is called dyssikon and is sung as dichoron by the new [composers]”].<sup>13</sup> This quite different morphology from the traditional Byzantine one was found exclusively in Crete until the second half of the 17th century in hundreds of new or older adapted offertories, while in the whole of Byzantine and post-Byzantine tradition the offertories are not separated into parts.<sup>14</sup> The fact that the special morphology of the Cretan Offertories is found in the related compositions of Zakynthos, clearly proves the relationship between the two islands and traditions.

The same scribe continues with a section of chants for the Liturgy written on ff. 56r-64v. Another particularity of Cretan origin is to be found in f. 60r, namely the verses to be sung at the beginning of the Liturgy according to the Cretan manuscripts although they remain without title in manuscript Sinai 2230.<sup>15</sup> These verses are set in music by different Cretan composers and they appear in all Cretan Anthologies at the beginning of the section of the Liturgy chants.<sup>16</sup> The texts are *Ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἐστῶτες τῆς δόξης σου ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστᾶναι νομίζομεν· Θεοτόκε, πύλη ἐπουράνιε, ἄνοιξον ἡμῖν τὴν θύραν τοῦ ἐλέους σου, Τότε ἀνοίσουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριόν σου μόσχους, Εὐλόγησον Δέσποτα, Δόξα σοι, Κύριε, δόξα σοι, Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη, Δέσποτα.* Most of them belong to the last section recited by the priest at the end of Orthros and before the beginning of the Liturgy. Additionally, there are two more verses, which come from the “secret” dialogue, not heard by the faithful, that takes place between the priest and the deacon precisely during the chanting of the

12 Sinai 2230 f. 44r Χερουβικόν ψαλλόμενον μετὰ τὸ ζακύνθιον ὕψος· ἦχος α' ἐκ τοῦ Κε Οἱ τὰ χερουβίμ. f. 48r: Χερουβικόν ψαλλόμενον μετὰ τὸ ζακύνθιον ὕψος· ἦχος δ' Δι Οἱ τὰ χερουβίμ.

13 NLG 917 f. 135r.

14 The case of the Asmatikon cheruvikon has to be mentioned here, although it belongs to another tradition.

15 Sinai 2230 f. 60r Ἦχος Δι (sic) ἐκ τοῦ Νη Ἐν τῷ ναῷ ἐστῶτες; f. 61v [Ἦχος] Νη (sic) Τότε ἀνοίσουσιν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριόν σου μόσχους· Εὐλόγησον Δέσποτα.

16 About the texts see, *Ἱερατικόν. Αἱ θείαι Λειτουργίαι Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσσοστόμου, Βασιλείου τοῦ Μεγάλου καὶ τῶν Προηγιασμένων μετὰ τῆς τυπικῆς αὐτῶν διατάξεως καὶ τινῶν ἀπαραιτήτων ἱερῶν ἀκολουθιῶν, τάξεων καὶ εὐχῶν, Ἐκδόσις Ἀποστολικῆς Διακονίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* (Ἀθήναι, 1987), 63. The section of the chants destined to be sung at the beginning of the Liturgy is to be found in almost all the Cretan Anthologies of the 16th and 17th c. The title usually preceding these compositions is: Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ ἀγίῳ τῆς θείας Λειτουργίας τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσσοστόμου, as in Sinai 1442 f. 4r. According to the sources Venediktos Episkopopoulos was the first to compose them, while he was followed by his pupil Dimitrios Tamias, and also Aloissios Vikimanos, Ignatios Frielos, Kosmas Varanes and Andreas Morotzanetos. See Giannopoulos, *Ἄνθηση*, 365-368.

Offertory. The deacon asks the priest to bless him and the priest responds *Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σε, καὶ δύναμις τοῦ Ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει σοι*, while the deacon answers *Αὐτὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα συλλειτουργήσῃ ἡμῖν πᾶσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν*.<sup>17</sup> The section of the chants which are destined to be sung at the beginning of the Cretan Liturgy written in the Sinai manuscript 2230 offers further evidence of the diffusion of the Cretan repertory in the Ionian Islands.

Various chants are written in ff. 65r-74v by different scribes, while the next composition of Cretan origin is to be found in f. 75r. It is one of the verses used as a kind of Communion by the Cretans and usually bearing the title “Εἰς τὸ μετὰ φόβου” [(to be chanted) during the Communion].<sup>18</sup> The verse *Οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς· ἐάν τις φάγη ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἄρτου ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* comes from the Gospel of John 6, 51 and even though its use in the Cretan repertory is known it remained untitled in Sinai 2230.<sup>19</sup> The case is quite complicated as it seems rather unlikely that these verses replaced the usual Communions in Crete, on the one hand because the latter, older and new compositions, are copied in all the relevant manuscripts, and on the other hand because the brevity of the compositions “Εἰς τὸ μετὰ φόβου” does not allow such a hypothesis. Furthermore, these verses are usually written together with traditional Byzantine communions in the Cretan manuscripts. The proof, however, that these sorts of settings do not replace the usual Communions comes again from Akakios Chalkeopoulos, who noted in his manuscript NLG 917 in the lower margin of the f. 149v “Τό, Ὁ ἑωρακῶς ἐμέ, ἐστὶν γεγραμμένον εἰς τὸ τέλος τοῦ τετραδίου, συνοπτικόν· νὰ τὸ ἀρχίξῃς εἰς τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ κοινωνικοῦ”.<sup>20</sup> Through Akakios’s note it becomes clear that these brief settings do not replace the usual Communion chants but follow them, either actually during the Communion or immediately after. It should also be mentioned that Akakios’s note on f. 149v follows the end of his famous “Frankish” and organikon Sunday Communion *Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον*. The note has been written after the end of the Communion for the convenience of the soloist, who seems to have expected to find it written just after, while Akakios wrote it some folios later.

17 Sinai 2230 f. 62r [Ἦχος] γ' [Nη] *Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σοι καὶ δύναμις Ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει σοι - Αὐτὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα συλλειτουργήσῃ σοι πᾶσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς σου*; f. 62v [Ἦχος] Nη (sic) *Δόξα σοι Κύριε, δόξα σοι· Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη, Δέσποτα*. See, *Ἱερατικόν*, 173.

18 Chronologically, Manuel Gazes in the mid-15th century seems to be the first to have set these to music, followed by Angelos Grigorios, Theodoros Rodakinos, Akakios Chalkeopoulos, Antonios and Venediktos Episkopopoulos, Dimitrios Tamias, Kosmas Varanes, Ignatios Frielos, Aloissios Vikimanos, Andreas Morotzanetos and Konstantinos the priest. Concerning the Cretan Communions, see, F. Kritikou, “Les manuscrits musicaux post-byzantins d’origine crétoise comme témoins des échanges culturels entre Vénitiens et Grecs (XVIe-XVIIe s.)”, *Livres et confessions chrétiennes orientales. Une histoire connectée entre l’Empire ottoman, le monde slave et l’Occident (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Rome, Ecole française de Rome, 15-16 Décembre 2016 [forthcoming.]

19 Sinai 2230 f. 75r *Ἐκ τοῦ Nη Οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς· ἐάν τις φάγη ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἄρτου ζήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα*. The verse *Ego sum panis vivus qui de caelo descendi: si quis manducaverit ex hoc pane vivet in aeternum* (John 6, 51) has been testified as an Antiphon in first mode for the feast of the Corporis Christi already in 14th century Latin sources. See more about that in, <https://gregorien.info/chant/id/2805/0/en>, <http://cantusindex.org/id/002594> and <https://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/id/002594>

20 See, NLG 917 f. 149v.

The proof, therefore, of the transition of Cretan liturgical chant to the Ionian Islands, and particularly in Zakynthos, is offered by the chants included in this manuscript. The compositions reflecting this relation either by the texts or by their morphology are the Offertories divided into parts, the verses sung at the beginning of the Liturgy and the Communion verse from the Gospel. In conclusion, it can be seen that all the chants which clearly come from the repertory of the Cretans hardly fit into the known repertory corresponding to the Liturgy and they are precisely the ones which bear witness of the transfer of the particular Cretan liturgical repertory in the Ionian Islands.

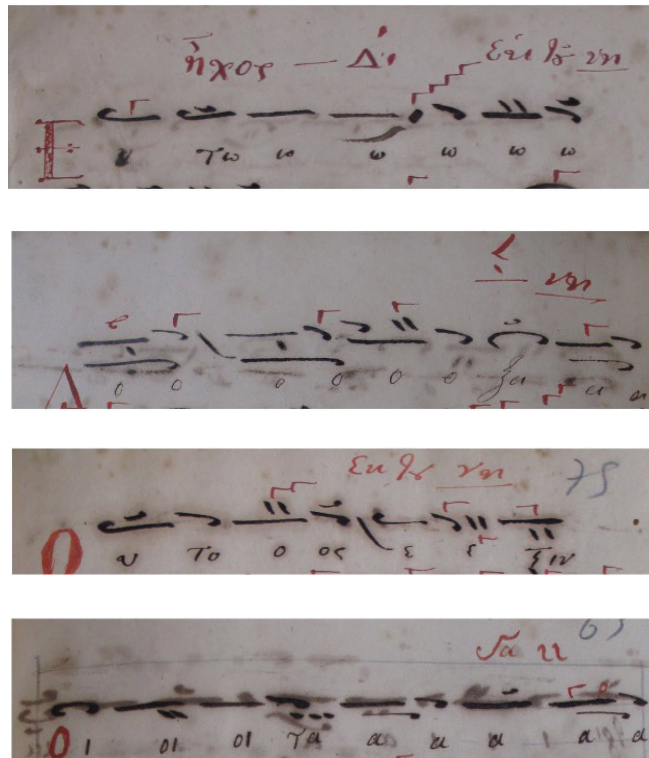
### THE MODAL SIGNATURES

Another aspect which seems to bring the Cretan repertory together with the one of Zakynthos is the question of modality and its function in these specific compositions. The repertory developed in Crete during the last two centuries of the Venetian occupation presents a number of elements quite different from those of known Byzantine modality. A number of indications detected in the Cretan repertory lead to the hypothesis that a variation of the modal system could be possible, even though the subject is really complicated. Given the traditional chanting style in the Ionian Islands, a possible polyphonic performance of the compositions included in manuscript Sinai 2230 should be taken into account, though there is no relevant mention. Some modal particularities identified in Sinai 2230 and related to the indications of the modes at the beginning of the compositions could lead to further study. Thus, in several cases there is no modal signature in the beginning of the compositions, while only an indication of the introductory note is given. Such cases have been identified in f. 60v where the peculiar indication “ἦχος Δι ἐκ τοῦ Νη” is noted, probably replacing the very common “modal” indication in the Cretan manuscripts “ἦχος δ’”. Equally, in f. 61v the indication “Νη” joined to an interval sign of an ascent octave is noted, probably replacing the usual modal signature of the fourth plagal mode. The same indication is identified before *Δόξα σοι, Κύριε, δόξα σοι. Εὐλόγησον Δέσποτα* in f. 62v. An analogous case is to be found on f. 62r before the beginning of the verses *Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σοι* and *Αὐτὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα συλλειτουργήσει σοι* where the modal indication is replaced by the signature of Νη’. Peculiar modal indication precedes also an Offertory in f. 63r where only Γα joined to the signature of the third mode (*νανα*) is mentioned. On f. 75r the verse *Οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς* is preceded by the simple indication “ἐκ τοῦ Νη’”, without further instructions. In several occasions also only the signature Νη (letter ν and signature sign) is given as an initial modal indication.<sup>21</sup>

This particularity in terms of the initial modal indication of the composition consists of an important deviation of the traditional modal concept and it is strongly reminiscent of the “special” Cretan repertory

21 See, Sinai 2230, ff. 65v, 66r-v, 67r-v, 68r.

written in earlier manuscripts. Even though it is difficult to evaluate only on the basis of a single witness, it could indicate a Western influence, in the framework of which the indication of the starting note and not the modal signature, could be considered as functioning as a kind of key and not as the indication of the mode which should be followed.



Figures 1a-d. Sinai 2230 ff. 60r-62v

### AN ADAPTED VERSION OF THE NOTATION

It is clearly seen that the notation used for the Cretan repertory is occasionally adapted in order to write quite different compositions. However, the notation used in manuscript Sinai 2230 is not the one found in Cretan manuscripts but the analytical one of the 19th century, though it is presented quite differently in various aspects. Several misspelled points are detected in Sinai 2230, which are analogous to those found in the Cretan manuscripts. A deviation from the rules of the so called New Method concerns the note values and the use of the tempo signs. It seems that the gorgon can be used in consecutive interval signs and it does not influence two signs, i.e. the interval sign on which it is set and the previous one turning both from quarter to eighths. Similar problems are also created by the signs digorgon and trigorgon. Apart from the fact that the use of these signs is completely misspelled, their use on continuous interval signs creates the impression that they are used in a “more Western” way, meaning that they have probably acquired properties that reflect the influence of staff notation. This means that eventually they could be used in these compositions to

record notes values of less than a quarter without respecting the rules of the Analytical Notation. In this way the gorgon probably describes eighths each time it is used but not necessarily in pairs according to the rule, while the trigorgon seems to describe sixteenths, regardless of the fact that it does not affect more signs. In the same context, one can find a strange sign written in red ink and apparently used as a sign of expression, which, however, cannot be recognized. Its use is probably equivalent to that of the omalon, which is not used elsewhere.

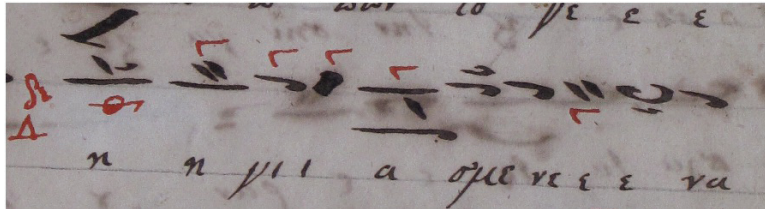


Figure 2. Sinai 2230 f. 53r

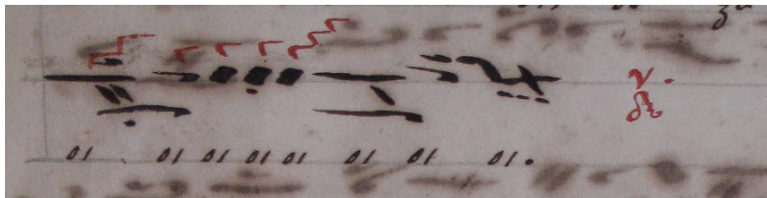


Figure 3. Sinai 2230 f. 54r

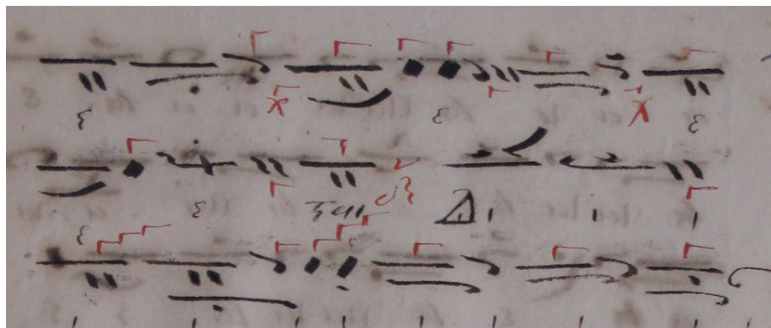


Figure 4. Sinai 2230 f. 59r

## CONCLUSIONS

The study of the so-called Ionian musical style should be based on the few musical manuscripts which have been proven to come from the Ionian Islands, such as manuscript Sinai 2230. The correlation between them, the Cretan repertory and the living tradition could provide the necessary starting point for study and enrichment of the data. The relationship between the two repertories seems to be direct, but the issue of the polyphony of the Ionian Islands, which is considered to be a characteristic local style, and its relationship with the original repertory, is an interesting subject that needs more extensive research and should definitely be combined with the development of the Cretan repertory during the 16th-17th centuries.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Chiotes, P. *Ιστορικά απομνημονεύματα Επτανήσου*, v. 6, 377–378. Zakynthos, 1887.
- Dragoumes, M. "Η δυτικίζουσα εκκλησιαστική μουσική μας στην Κρήτη και στα Επτάνησα." *Λαογραφία* 31 (1976–1978): 272–293.
- Dragoumes, M. *Η μουσική παράδοση της Ζακυνθινής Εκκλησίας*. Athens, 2000.
- Dragoumes, M. "Μια περίπτωση επιβίωσης βυζαντινών μελωδικών στοιχείων σ' ένα πασχαλινό τροπάριο από τη Ζάκυνθο." In *Byzantine Chant: Tradition and Reform*, v. 2, 87–95. Athens, 1997.
- Dragoumes, M. "Πρόσφατες έρευνες στη Ζάκυνθο για την Εκκλησιαστική της Μουσική." In *Δελτίον της Ιονίου Ακαδημίας*, 2, 270–280. Corfu, 1986.
- Giannopoulos, M. *Η Άνθηση τής Ψαλτικῆς Τέχνης στην Κρήτη (1566–1669)*. Institute of Byzantine Musicology, Studies 11. Athens, 2004.
- Gristanes, P. "Περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἰονίων Νήσων Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσικῆς." In *Ἐθνικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον Σπ. Βρεττοῦ*, 325–336. Paris, 1868.
- Τερατικόν. Αἱ θεῖαι Λειτουργίαι Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου, Βασιλείου τοῦ Μεγάλου καὶ τῶν Προηγιασμένων μετὰ τῆς τυπικῆς αὐτῶν διατάξεως καὶ τινων ἀπαραιτήτων ἱερῶν ἀκολουθιῶν, τάξεων καὶ εὐχῶν, Ἐκδοσις Ἀποστολικῆς Διακονίας τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*. Αθήναι, 1987.
- Kalogeropoulos, E. G. *Το περί της Ελληνικῆς Εκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσικῆς ζήτημα κατὰ τον 19ο αἰ. (1844-1900)*. PhD dissertation, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 2000.
- Karandrites, I. D. "Περὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς καὶ ἰδίως περὶ ζακυνθίου ὕφους." *Αἱ Μούσαι*. 1913.
- Kritikou, F. "Les manuscrits musicaux post-byzantins d'origine crétoise comme témoins des échanges culturels entre Vénitiens et Grecs (XVIe-XVIIe s.)." In *Livres et confessions chrétiennes orientales. Une histoire connectée entre l'Empire ottoman, le monde slave et l'Occident (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*, Rome, Ecole française de Rome, 15-16 Décembre 2016 [forthcoming].
- Kritikou, F. "Παναγιώτης Γριτσάνης. Ἐνας λόγιος μουσικός του 19ου αἰώνα." In *Ἐθνικὸ καὶ Καποδιστριακὸ Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνῶν, Β' Επιστημονικὸ Συμπόσιο Νεοελληνικῆς Ψαλτικῆς Τέχνης, Βυζαντινὸ καὶ Χριστιανικὸ Μουσεῖο*, 26-27 Νοεμβρίου 2010, Πρακτικά, 799-814. Αθήνα, 2012.
- Kritikou, F. *Τὰ χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς. Σινᾶ III* (forthcoming).
- Kritikou, F. & Balageorgos, D. *Τὰ χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς. Σινᾶ II*. Institute of Byzantine Musicology. Athens, 2021.
- Lountzes, N. *Η Ζάκυνθος μετὰ μουσικῆς. Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ καὶ Κοσμικὴ Μουσικὴ (Λαϊκῆ)*. Athens, 2003.
- Makris, E. "Ἄγνωστα τεκμήρια τῆς ζακυνθινῆς ψαλτικῆς." *ΕΚΕΕΛ* 29 (1999-2003): 105-130.
- Makris, E. "Ἡ παραδοσιακὴ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ μουσικὴ τῶν Επτανήσων. Συνολικὴ ἱστορικὴ προσέγγιση." *Μουσικὸς Λόγος* 8 (Winter 2009): 45-70.
- Makris, E. "Ἡ σημειογραφία τῆς Νέας Μεθόδου στὴν Επτανησιακὴ ψαλτικὴ." In *Πρακτικά Συνεδρίου Ἡ Ἑνωσις τῆς Επτανήσου μετὴν Ἑλλάδα, 1864–2004*. Βουλὴ τῶν Ἑλλήνων - Ακαδημία Αθηνῶν, v. 2, 313–330. Athens, 2006.
- Makris, E. "Ὀκταηχία καὶ πολυφωνία στὴν Κρητοεπτανησιακὴ ψαλτικὴ παράδοση. Ἡ περίπτωση τοῦ Ἰωάννου ἀνέστη." In *Επιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίδα Ἀνωτάτης Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ακαδημίας Ἡρακλείου Κρήτης*, v. Β', 595–602. Iraklio, 2012.
- Motsenigos, S. "Ἡ βυζαντινὴ προέλευσις τῆς επτανησιακῆς μουσικῆς." In *Πρακτικά Τρίτου Πανιωνίου Συνεδρίου (23-29 September 1965)*, v. 2, 304-310. Athens, 1969.
- Parademetriou, A. "Περὶ τῆς ἐν Επτανήσῳ ἰδιορρυθμοῦ βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς, τῆς καλουμένης κρητικῆς." In *Ille Congres International des Etudes Byzantines (Athènes 1930)*, 268–269. Athènes, 1932.

Psachos, K. A. "Το δημώδες άσμα εν Ζακύνθω." *Μουσική Ζωή*, 6 (1931): 121-123.

Romanou, K. "Ένα αρχείο "Κρητικής μουσικής" στη Φιλαρμονική Εταιρεία Κερκύρας." *Μουσικολογία* 12-13 (2000): 175-188.

de Viazas, Spyridon. "Κρητική Ψαλμωδία εν Επτανήσω." *Πινακοθήκη* 98 (April 1909; May 1909; June-July 1909; August 1909).





## **THE LITURGY OF ST JOHN CHRYSOSTOM: A WORK OF ECCLESIASTICAL OR CONCERT CHARACTER?**

**OLEH VYACHESLAVOVICH HARKAVYY**

[oleh.harkavyy@hotmail.com](mailto:oleh.harkavyy@hotmail.com)

When a composer intends to write a setting of the Liturgy of St John Chrysostom (“Liturgy”, for short), he or she needs to be sure what the *character* of the work to be composed would be: ecclesiastical in character, to be performed in church during a service, or of a concert character to be performed in a concert hall?

What are the differences between the works of ecclesiastical character and works of concert character? To answer the question, we need to compare a performance of a musical work in church during a service and at a concert hall during a concert, i.e., using the method of oppositions. We need to consider the opposition “service/church – concert/concert hall” in the context of a musical performance.

Let us consider the row as follows:

### **SCHEME 1**

Creation	→	performance	→	perception
I		I		I
Composer		performer		listener

Methodologically, before answering questions connected with the *creation* of a musical Liturgy (first link of Scheme 1), one should consider its further supposed performance (second link) and perception (third link) – and then to consider their feed back to the first link: “perception → creation” and “performance → creation”.

As for “performance/performer”, as a rule, a church choir, which participates in services on a regular basis, is a group of musicians of not too high a professional level, especially the choir of a parish church in a small town or a village. Most of the choristers of such a choir not only do not have higher musical education, but generally no musical education at all.

A chamber choir which performs at the concert halls on a regular basis (for example, touring nationally and internationally) is, as a rule, a group of the musicians of high professional level, being a choir of a concert organization (e. g., a philharmonic society). All the musicians of such a choir are well-educated, having not only higher musical education, but also post-graduate (masterclasses, workshops, probation, etc.).

What can be said of the artistic directors/conductors of choirs? Obviously, the professional level of a conductor of a professional chamber choir is higher than that of the director of an amateur parish choir.

As for *quantitative* differences, a chamber choir generally consists of twenty-four musicians (six musicians per part, SATB), while the standard of the Swedish choral conductor Eric Ericson (1918-2013) was thirty-two singers (right musicians per part). A parish choir has usually a modest number, not even half of the personnel of a chamber choir.

One needs to keep in one's mind both the qualitative and quantitative differences between these choirs: a score performable by a professional chamber choir would be not performable by an amateur parish choir.

This means that a musical Liturgy of a primarily ecclesiastical character, intended to be performed in a service by a local church choir, must be composed as simply as possible, with strong self-limitations on the technical and artistical skills of a composer (for example, in vocal ranges and especially the high registers; divisions into two, three or four voices per part; in canonic and other polyphonic techniques; in modulations, etc.) – it must be *suitable* for the intended performer. And, on the contrary, a musical Liturgy of a primarily concert character, intended to be performed in a concert hall by a highly professional chamber choir, can be as inventive as possible in terms of the technical skills of a composer, according to the ability of a professional choir.

Of course, there are exceptions to every rule. There are some church choirs of exceptionally high professional level, directed by outstanding conductors: Patriarchal, Metropolitan choirs, some from the Lavras, Monasteries, Cathedrals, etc. But it would be naive to hope that such a choir could be found at a parish church.

As for the repertoire, a church choir, singing in services at a parish church has a very limited repertoire, which consists of only some settings of the Liturgy, performed. On the other hand, a professional chamber choir has, as a rule, a wide repertoire, which covers the works of different periods and countries from the Middle Ages to the present day.

Of course, there are some chamber choirs, which limit their repertoire thematically (but not quantitatively) to works from only one epoch or only one country. For example, a choir might specialize in works from German Baroque, which would mean that it does not sing the works from French Baroque. Moreover, a choir can be dedicated to the performance of works only by one composer, such as Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (1525-1594). His large output consists only of choral and cappella works, including 102 Latin

Mass settings; which is, of course, more than enough for any chamber choir or ensemble over many years of activity. The same could be said about any composer whose output consists of exclusively or mostly of choral works – for example, Dmitry Bortnyansky (1751-1825): his output includes some 100 choral works with thirty-five sacred choral concertos among them.

In this article, I will concentrate on the common rules, but not on their exceptions.

Returning to Bortnyansky, I quote Tchaikovsky's review with his rather curious evaluation of Bortnyansky's sacred choral concerto no. 32:

Хор Бортиянского обращает на себя внимание хорошей фактурой, но никаких выдающихся качеств не представляет. Заключительная fuga очень длинная и бессодержательная. Еще отмечу одно отрицательное достоинство этого сочинения. В нем нет невыносимо назойливых ходов параллельными терциями и секстами, которые были до того излюблены знаменитым композитором, что без них не обходилась ни одна его страничка. Эти мягкие, но противные требованиям гармонической красоты параллелизмы придают музыке Бортиянского претящую слащавость и монотонность, вызвавшую лет десять тому назад со стороны некоторых любителей церковного пения резкую реакцию, плодом которой явились гармонизации церковных напевов покойного Н. М. Потулова, страдающие недостатками противоположными, чрезмерною сухостью и первобытною грубостью гармонии.<sup>1</sup>

Bortnyansky's choral work attracts attention by its good textures, but it does not contain any outstanding properties. The concluding fugue is too long and empty. I will then note one negative aspect of this work. It has insufferable importunate motions in parallel thirds and sixths, which were so favoured by the famous composer that not one page is without them. These soft, but discordant in relation to the requirements of harmonic beauty; parallelisms impart to Bortnyansky's music an unpleasant sugariness and monotony, which provoked some ten years ago a severe reaction from the side of some lovers of church singing, of which result was the harmonization of church melodies by the late N. M. Potulov,<sup>2</sup> which suffer from quite the opposite problem, of too much dryness and primitive roughness of harmony. (Author's translation)

The Concerto was performed on 15 March 1874 at the Ninth Symphonic Meeting of the Russian Musical Society under the baton of Nikolai Rubinstein (1835-1881). Its motley programme included:

- Overture-Fantasy *Sakuntala* by Karl Goldmark (1830-1915),
- Violin Concerto by Ferdinand Laub (1832-1875),
- Choral Concerto no. 32 by Bortnyansky,
- Symphony in C major by Franz Schubert (1797-1828).

As we can see, Bortnyansky's choral concerto was framed by orchestral works, which were unfavourable for the context of choral music.

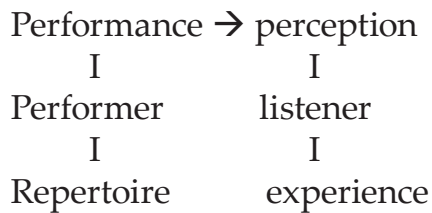
Obviously, a listener's musical experience is formed by the repertoire of the performers. That is why, considering the second and third links "performance/

1 П. И. Чайковский, *Музыкально-критические статьи*, 4-е изд. (Ленинград: Музыка, 1986), 165.

2 Н. Потулов, *Сборник церковных песнопений*, выпуски 1-4 (Москва, 1876-1898).

performer – perception/listener” in Scheme 1, we need to add another couple, “repertoire – experience” to the links:

#### SCHEME 2



Believers participating regularly in services in a parish church, accustom themselves to the quite limited repertoire of their parish choir, which sings the same liturgical works in every service. That is why, having quite limited musical experience, such a listener will note – with extreme conservatism and skepticism – any new musical composition unknown for them, especially if it is not similar to the well-known music to which they are accustomed, which is an indisputable model.

And, on the contrary, choral music lovers, visiting a concert hall regularly and listening to concerts by different professional chamber choirs with their extensive repertoires and thus having a wide musical experience, will be open to listening to a new sacred work that is unknown to them, because they are accustomed to experience something new every time at every concert.

As for the aim, a believer visits a parish church regularly with the aim of participating in a service and of receiving the sacrament of Holy Communion to eternal life, personal salvation. Thus the believer’s aim is to achieve personal salvation at church, but not to listen to music there, though music is an integral part of Divine Worship (all the integral parts of the latter will be considered below).

Of course, there are some exceptions, such as when a person visits a church with the aim of listening to a musical work, which is performed only at that church and nowhere else.

Let me illustrate the exceptions with an example.

At the beginning of the 1990s, being a student at the St Petersburg State Marine Technical University (before going to the Odessa State Music Academy “A. V. Nezhdanova” in Summer 1992), I came to know that the All-Night Vigil (1915) by Sergei Rachmaninov (1873-1943) would be performed at the Cathedral of the Transfiguration during a service, as an integral part, for the first time after the long years of its oblivion in Soviet Union.

I went to the Cathedral, but with the aim of listen to Rachmaninov’s work. The Cathedral was extremely crowded. I was crushed from all the sides, not being able to move backwards or forwards, and it was very stuffy. In addition, I was tormented by my osteochondrosis, which is why I was physically not able to be standing for a long time. So I felt very uncomfortable and unhappy!

Possibly because of the strong discomfort, or possibly because I was not ready to understand the work, having no “key” to it, I was not impressed by Rachmaninov’s work, in the sense that I had not received the impression that I had imagined before the performance. I was really disappointed with the work.

The above-mentioned example is an exception to the rule in the sense that believers visit a church with the aim of participating in a service but not to listen to a musical setting there, which attracts, first of all, musicians, independently from their confession or world view. Thus, though music is used in church during a service, being an integral part of it, it has a subordinate character in the service, not being its principal aim.

One can imagine a service without music. If all the singers, as well as their conductor, fell suddenly sick, and there was no one who could sing, the service – in this extreme case – could be taken without music: all the prayers, sung usually by a choir, would be declaimed by a priest or a deacon – the sacred service would not suffer. In this case, my argument is as follows: if one element of a system can be removed from it without any damage, it means that it is not a principal element of the system. And, vice versa, if an element cannot be removed from a system without damage to it, it is a principal element in the system.

There is a quite different situation in the concert hall. Music lovers visit a concert hall with the principal aim of listening to music – and it is impossible to imagine a musical concert without music! In an extreme case, if an advertised performer falls suddenly sick, the concert will be cancelled or re-scheduled for later, until the performer’s recovery, or the performer will be replaced by another.

Thus, music has different characters depending on the system: it has a subordinate character in a service and a dominant one in a musical concert. A service could take place without music, while a concert could not take place without music.

Let us consider both the auditors (the listeners) of a musical setting of the Liturgy: the believers (at church) and music lovers (at a concert hall).

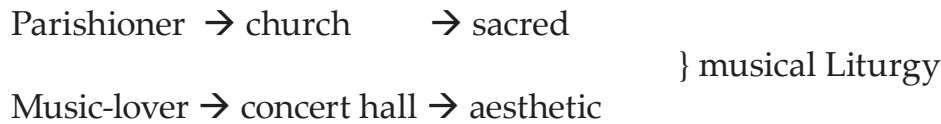
Those who come to a parish church regularly to participate in services there are mostly the believers of a definite confession (Orthodox, Catholic, etc.) from a specific parish. And it is the main criterion for such a category that the listeners to belong to a definite confession and a specific parish. Those who go to a concert hall regularly to attend concerts as listeners may be believers from any Christian confession, any non-Christian religion, as well as non-believers with any world view. It is generally not a criterion for such a category of listeners to belong to any particular confession or religion.

Obviously, there are more believers – who participate in services regularly and thus know well the order of the service, its language (for example, Church Slavonic), the sacred meaning of all the prayers and rites, etc. – among the parishioners of a church than among the visitors to a concert hall. And, correspondingly, there are more music lovers – who have some kind of musical education, as well as enough experience as listeners, and thus

understand music well – among the visitors of a concert hall than among the parishioners of a church.

So, one set of listeners (the parishioners) is better trained to perceive the sacred aspect of a musical setting of the Liturgy, while the auditory (the music-lovers) is better trained to perceive the aesthetic (artistic) aspect:

### SCHEME 3



I am not considering the situation in which a parishioner of is also a music lover and, moreover, when a priest is a professional musician (conductor and /or composer). In such infrequent cases, the listener is well trained to perceive both the sacred and aesthetic aspects of a musical setting of the Liturgy. But such cases are exceptions from the common rule: depending on their aim and training, a parishioner of a church perceives better the sacred element of a musical setting of the Liturgy, while a visitor to a concert hall perceives better its aesthetic aspect.

As mentioned above, music is an integral part of a service. Let us consider its other integral parts.

It needs to begin from the exterior of the church; its interior, richly decorated by icons in golden frames (оклады); dim light, streaming through the small windows; a semi-darkness, which is dispersed by the burning candles and lampadas by the icons; the specific vestments of the clergy, which differ from their everyday dress; the smell of the beeswax candles and smoking incense; the sacred/ritual actions of priest and deacon... all these integral parts of a service could be considered as a synthesis of the interaction of different arts:

- architecture: the exterior and interior of a church,
- painting: the icons, frescos, mosaic,<sup>3</sup>
- sculpture (in Catholic and Lutheran churches),<sup>4</sup>
- drama: the sacred/ritual actions of clergy and laymen, which have their own order (dramaturgy),
- literature: the texts of the prayers,
- lighting (illumination): a light, streaming through the windows, especially the stained glass in Catholic and Lutheran churches; the light of burning candles and lampadas, reflected by the golden frames of the icons, as well as the church vessels,
- vestments: the special clothes of the clergy, embroidered with golden thread, etc.

3 There are unique data about the icons and icon-painting in the novel "Запечатленный ангел" (1873) by the Russian writer Nikolai Leskov (1831-1895): Н. С. Лесков, *Собрание сочинений в двенадцати томах*, Том 1 (Москва: Правда, 1989), 397-456.

4 One can find very interesting and original thinking about the oppositions icon – sculpture and vocal music – instrumental music (in the Russian Orthodox Church and Catholic Church respectively) in: о. В. В. Зеньковский, *История русской философии*, Том 1 (Ленинград: Эго, 1991), 41.

Of course, to the list needs to be added music too. A service uses not only the solo intonations of priest and/or deacon and choral singing, but also metal percussion instruments: a bell (or bells) and the censer. The ringing of the church bell calls believers to the beginning of the service. The bell towers of some cathedrals and lavras have many bells of different sizes, which give an artistic peal (перезвон – трезвон) with different melodies. The censer has its own original sound, caused by shaking it and is like little bells (of silver timbre, in my own perception). All these sounds are integrated into the harmonious sounding “palette” of Divine Worship.

My unpublished poem *Оркестр / An Orchestra* (2002) describes the transfiguration of the occasional chaotic noises of an everyday immanent life into the transcendental orchestra, conducted by the Creator, – which can be interpreted as a reflection of the harmonized sounding world of Divine Worship in the dissonant external world:

Встряхивает кто-то маракасы,  
Треск сухой на улицах стоит –  
С веток падают стручки акаций...  
Я иду, оркестр вокруг шумит:

Колокол протяжно бьет и гулко,  
Набегает с грохотом трамвай,  
И отрывисто из переулка  
Слышится глухой собачий лай.

Дворник вновь метет, немного пьяный,  
Шины мягко об асфальт шуршат...  
Все стихает. И на два пиано  
Листья на деревьях шелестят.

Новый жест: одно движение пальцем –  
И оркестр умолкает Твой.  
Тишина... И лишь стручки акаций  
Падают с желтеющей листвой!

Such characteristics of an interior of a church or a concert hall as its acoustics need to be mentioned particularly, because these are very important both for a performance of a musical work (second link of Scheme 1) and its perception (third link of the Scheme) and thus for its objective evaluation by listeners, including reviewers. A musical work must be performed in a space with suitable acoustics for the specifics of the work. As a rule, a church has excellent acoustics, ideal for a performance of a choral a cappella work, including a setting of the Liturgy. Obviously, it will have more favourable conditions for its performance and perception in a church than in a large

concert hall, suitable only for symphonic concerts. Perhaps this was one of the reasons for Tchaikovsky's negative evaluation of the Bortnyansky's choral concerto – merely the fact of its performance at a large concert hall at a symphonic concert.

Thus, the same musical setting of the Liturgy will be performed *better* (by the same performer) and understood *better* (by the same listener) at a church, than in a concert hall. It seems to be one of the objective reasons why Orthodox church music is still a cappella: the best acoustics of a church make it sound beautiful without any instrumental accompaniment.

Every kind of art has an influence upon a parishioner during a service, but all kinds of art, being integrated with one another, interacting each other, reinforce their total influence – as is described, for example, in the novel *Тысяча душ* (1858) by the Russian writer Alexei Pisemsky (1821-1881). Describing an Easter service at the church of a poor monastery, he writes:

Церковь была довольно большая, но величина ее казалась решительно громадною от слабого освещения: горели только лампадки да тонкие восковые свечи перед местными иконами, которые, вследствие этого, как бы выступали из иконостаса, и тем поразительнее было впечатление, что они ничего не говорили об искусстве, а напоминали мощи...

В углублении правого клироса стояло человек пять певчих монахов. В своих черных клобуках и широких рясах, освещенные сумеречным дневным светом, падавшим на них из узкого, затемненного железною решеткою окна, они были в каком-то полумраке и пели складными, тихими басами, как бы напоминая собой первобытных христиан, таинственно совершавших свое молебствие в мрачных пещерах. Все это не яркое, но полное таинственного смысла благолепие храма охватило моих богомольцев...<sup>5</sup>

The church was rather big, but it seemed really huge because of the faint light: only the lampadas and thin wax candles were burning near the local icons, which seemed therefore to be jutting out from the iconostasis, and the impression was so much the more striking that the icons said nothing about art, but resembled relics...

There were standing about five monk-singers in a niche of the right choir. In their black cowls and wide cassocks, illuminated by the crepuscular light which fell on them through a narrow window, darkened by an iron lattice, they were in semi-darkness, the harmonious quiet basses singing, resembling to a certain degree the earliest Christians, who prayed in secret in dark caves. All this splendour of the church, not bright but full of mysterious sense, has taken ver my prayers..." (Author's translation)

Obviously, Pisemsky emphasizes the interaction of the light of the lampadas and wax candles and icons, where the light becomes a symbol of the transcendent light which transfigures an icon – a work of art (icon painting) – into a relic of a saint. The same can be said about the interaction of the twilight and music, where the latter becomes the Transcendent One.

5 А. Ф. Писемский, *Тысяча душ* (Москва: Художественная литература, 1988), 101–102.



All the above-mentioned kinds of art, interacting with each other, excite, maintain and deepen a religious sense in the believers during the service. One can try to differentiate this sense, enumerating all the emotions which arise in the believers at one or another point in a service according to its dramaturgy. Self-denial, awe, trepidation, repentance, tenderness, reverence, veneration, rapture... The list could be continued with many other generic emotions with their specific nuances. What a richness of emotions at a believer's soul during Divine Worship!

For example, Metropolitan Antony of Sourozh describes the emotions both of a parishioner and a priest at the mystery of Confession:

Каждая исповедь может быть последней исповедью человека; каждую исповедь человек должен приносить Богу, словно настал его предсмертный час; и каждую исповедь должен принимать священник с таким же *благоговением*, с таким же сознанием ответственности, с таким же *трепетным ужасом* и *любовью*, с которыми шел бы на суд Божий вместе с человеком, который у него исповедуется.<sup>6</sup>

Every confession of a man can become his last confession; a man must bring his every confession to God, as if it is his dying hour; and a priest must take every confession with the same *reverence*, with the same understanding of his responsibility, with the same *awe* and *veneration*, with which he would come before the Judgement of God together with a man who is confessed by him. (Author's translation)

Thus, the perception of a musical Liturgy by believers during a service will differ from the perception of the Liturgy by musiclovers at a concert hall: the believers are listening to a musical Liturgy being in special "prepared" state of their mind – in the religious sense. One can say about the situation, that a "seed" (a musical Liturgy) falls on a well-cultivated ground.

That is why a composer, creating his or her musical Liturgy as a primarily ecclesiastical work, intended to be performed in church during a service, can suppose that the religious character, contained in his music objectively, will be deepened subjectively by the religious sense of the believers' perception. This additional subjective factor will be absent from a performance of the Liturgy in a concert hall – even if the Liturgy is performed there by the same performers for the same listeners (the parishioners of the church). Being in a concert hall, the religious sense will not be present.

Of course, in listening to a musical Liturgy in church during a service, one can try to listen only to the music, excluding all the extra-musical factors which influence perception of the music – to obtain an unalloyed/pure perception only of the music, independently from any other influences.

But in what the way could we except the special state of a soul, known to integrate a "religious sense", which arises in the believers during a service? On the one hand, this sense is objectively deepened in a believer's soul by sounding music, but on the other hand, it reinforces subjectively the emotional influence of the music upon him/her. Thanks to the sum of both the objective

6 *Свет и Жизнь* (Брюссель: Жизнь с Богом, 1990), 291.

and subjective factors, which reinforce one another, sacred music has an extremely strong influence upon the believers during the service.

That is why sacred music “fades”, becoming dim, colourless, duller, in a concert performance in a hall – it loses its subjective factor (the religious sense of perception). Is this sense impossible at a concert hall? To answer the question, we need to analyse all the kinds of art which interact during a concert in a hall.

A concert in a hall is also a synthetic action, in which different kinds of art interact, being inseparably linked one with another: the concert hall's exterior and interior are, as a rule, of an interesting architecture (with white marble stairs and massive pillars, etc.); the hall is also decorated with portraits of great musicians (composers) instead of icons; a stage also has its own decoration – a curtain of rich material; the performers have their specific concert dress (a dress suite for a man, an evening dress for a woman), which differ from their everyday clothes; a concert has also its own dramaturgy (the programme, i.e., the order of the pieces performed, with a supposed culmination and an encore at the conclusion); if a lecturer participates in a concert, the musical numbers are changed by his or her words (a lecture), which adds a marked contrast to a concert's dramaturgy; lighting engineering is used too: as a rule, the stage is brightly lit, while the hall is plunged into a semi-darkness (as an exception, some musicians perform by the light of burning candles in darkness). All these factors, being integrated, “alloyed” together, excite some emotional state in the listeners, which differs from their everyday psychological state – although it is not a religious sense.

Some indefinite sensation of a transcendent character can arise during a concert through a performance of some works (not only sacred pieces) – but in such cases, the transcendent character is connected not with the religious sense, but rather with a philosophical perception of a musical process as a temporal continuity, which has neither beginning nor end. What is this “temporal continuity”? The composers of the past, long dead, of the present, living now, and of the future, not yet born yet, are “plunged” into an endless continuity. As a good illustration of the idea, there is a moving French engraving (1774), entitled “Orfeo greets Lully and Rameau at Elysium”.<sup>7</sup>

This indefinite sensation can be to a certain degree described as a “mystical revelation”, with understanding of the “mystics” not in its specifically religious aspect, but in its generic, wider aspect as an intersection of the immanent life and the transcendent life – at one point of time and space.

I have my own experience of such a mystical sensation at a musical concert. There was a recital of the pianist Valery Afanasiev (b. 1947) at the Great Hall of the Odessa Philharmonic Society on 18 May 2007. The programme of the recital consisted of the works by Franz Schubert. The first part of the concert passed without leaving any trace in my memory.

<sup>7</sup> В. Красовская, *Западноевропейский балетный театр: очерки истории / Эпоха Новерра* (Ленинград: Искусство, 1981).

But the second part was quite different, as a compensation for the first. It consisted only of the Sonata in B flat minor (op. post.). Suddenly, I was caught away from the stuffy Philharmonic Hall, crowded by the listeners, and transposed to a homely visiting-room with some close friends by Schubert. And not Valery Afanasiev, but Schubert himself was sitting at a piano. He was playing the Sonata, and at the same time it seemed, that he was speaking – and his every word was understandable for me without a translation from German! During the entire performance I was in temporal continuity and replaced into the stuffy Philharmonic Hall by the applause. It was really a great ovation, well earned by the pianist. It needs to be added, that my wife – the musicologist and poetess Rita (Margarita) Dmitrievna Ocheretnaya (1969-2008) – participated in this remarkable concert as a lecturer (she worked as a lecturer in musicology at the Odessa Philharmonic Society from 1994 until her untimely death in 2008).

Just as a great saint is not higher than an angel, so a great performer is not higher than a composer, whose music s/he plays. But in some very infrequent cases, such as the above-mentioned one, a performer rises to the composer's transcendental level. In these cases, the performer becomes a mediating link between the immanent and the transcendent life – i.e., a point (medium) of intersection of both levels, and thus can be compared with a prophet (in the religious meaning of the word). He becomes a guide to the other world – as Vergil (70-19 b. C.) was a guide for Dante (1265-1321) in his *Divina Commedia*.

Some questions arise in connection with the recital.

- Did all the listeners in the hall have the same sensation of the transcendent level as me, or was I the only one? In other words, did the sensation have an objective character, the pianist exciting the minds/souls of all the listeners, or an extremely subjective character, exciting only my mind? It seems that it had both the subjective-objective character, in the same way that a prophet says to all the people, but only some of them understand him: "He who has ears, let him hear".
- Under what the conditions/circumstances is a performer able to reach the transcendent level through a performance of a composer's work, becoming a mediating link between the immanent level of the listeners and the transcendent level of the composer?

The recital enlightens the problem of extra-musical content of a musical work. It seems that the content of a musical work has a three-level structure, i.e., three different sub-contents of three different levels, which interact in the work. But this topic needs to be scrupulously researched separately.

Returning to the musical Liturgy, as we have seen, a musical Liturgy of a primarily cultic character, intended to be performed in a church during a service, loses something, very important for its perception, through being performed at a concert – it loses the religious sense of its listeners (= parishioners). It needs to emphasize that the religious sense is excited in the believers' souls by an interaction of all the integral parts (all the arts) of a

service, while the above-described indefinite sensation of the transcendent level was excited only by music sounding in the recital.

A musical Liturgy has a subordinate character in a service, being defined by many extra-musical factors (other kinds of art):

- First, the literary texts of the prayers define both its qualitative aspect: the imaginative content and character of a sounding of each movement (different for petitions and glorifying prayers) – and the quantitative aspect: the duration of each movement, as well as a complete musical Liturgy (usually less than 70'), which is limited by the total duration of the ceremony.
- Second, as for the dramaturgy of the ceremony, both the prayers – sung by the choir and read by the priest and/or deacon – change one another. Thus, the movements of a musical Liturgy do not follow in a row but separate one from another and “dissolve” into the complete texture of the service. Such an “insertion” of a musical Liturgy into the wider structure of a service leads to the subordination of musical dramaturgy to the dramaturgy of the service.

By such non-concentrated, dispersed performance of the movements – when they are separate one from another by a declamation (of priest and/or deacon) – an attention of the understanding listener also becomes non-concentrated, dispersed: it follows from the preceding movement (1) first to the declamation (a) and then to the next movement (2), then to the next declamation (b) again, and so on:

Declamation:	-	a	-	b	-	c...
Movements:	1	-	2	-	3...	

Thus, in the structure of a complete service, movements 1, 2, 3... have a non-direct (paradigmatic) connection: movement 2 is not the nearest one to movement 1 (1 → 2), but there is a mediating link (declamation “a”) between them (1 → a → 2); in addition, movement 3 is not the nearest to movement 2 (2 → 3), but there is a mediating link (declamation “b”) between them (2 → b → 3), etc. And while declamation (a) is sounding, the preceding movement (1) becomes somewhat forgotten before the next movement (2) begins.

Furthermore, some movements (of a musical Liturgy) accompany the sacred actions of priest and/or deacon: censing, the kissing of the Cross, reading the Gospel and so on. For example, The Communion Hymn is sung during the communion of both priest and deacon. Such sacred actions distract the attention of the worshipper moving it from the music to the ritual.

Thus, in the structure of a service, a contrast arises not so much between the movements of a musical Liturgy (intra-specific contrast between music and music), as between music and declamation, between music and ritual, i.e., inter-specific contrast – between different kinds of art (music and literature, music and drama). Obviously, the inter-specific contrast is more marked than the intra-specific one. It gives an opportunity for the composer, creating a musical Liturgy of a primarily cultic character, intended to be performed in a service, to use less contrast between the movements, as well

as less development of material inside a movement, as a principal contrast will be reached not in the musical Liturgy (intra-specific contrast), but in the structure of the complete service (inter-specific contrast).

- Third, it needs to be remarked that in listening to the movements of a musical Liturgy in a service, the believers concentrate their attention on text, rather than on music. And even if music is objectively predominant over text in one or another movement, the believer's perception will "correct" this predominance – transferring the most of his or her attention from music to text.

What happens when a musical Liturgy of a cultic character, intended to be performed in a service, is performed at a concert?

By its performance at a concert hall, a musical Liturgy is not yet inserted into the wider structure of a service, but, being extracted from the latter, becomes a purely musical cyclic work, in which all the movements follow in a row directly, without any mediating links between them:

Movements: 1 → 2 → 3 → ...

The movements have direct (syntagmatic) connections: the next movement (2) is the nearest to the preceding movement (1), and the next movement (3) is the nearest to the preceding movement (2), etc.

Besides, the movements do not accompany any sacred actions, which distract the attention of the listeners. That is why an audience listens to music in a more concentrated way, with due attention, and the preceding movement (1) does not become slightly forgotten as the next movement (2) begins. It gives an opportunity to an audience to compare the near movements between them.

And, as noted earlier, an understanding listener (even the believers) does not have his religious sense active in a concert hall. That is why they will not concentrate their attention on text, transferring most of it from music to a text. And, under such conditions of perception, both the features of a musical Liturgy of a cultic character, still hidden, will be discovered: the absence of its own, specifically musical, dramaturgy and not enough contrast in the movements and between them.

Both the features are merits of a musical Liturgy of cultic character, when performed in a service, where the principal contrast was inter-specific (between music and other kinds of art); but when it is performed in a concert hall, where the principal contrast is intra-specific (between music and music), these features become its demerits.

This shows clearly that the perception and evaluation of one and the same musical Liturgy (and wider – a musical work) depends upon the contexts of its performance: its merits in one system become its demerits in another.

A performance of a musical Liturgy of a cult character in a concert hall during a concert is the same that a performance of a musical Liturgy of a concert character in church during a service: both works, being repositioned in systems alien to them, will lose their merits. The perception of the listeners of both systems – church and concert hall – will "correct" the character of the works: a liturgical work will lose its religious character through concert

performance, whilst a concert work will lose its aesthetic (artistic) meaning through its performance in a service.

But if a musical Liturgy of a cultic character, through its performance in a concert, loses its religious character – its main merit at a system of worship, - does it mean that it will obtain an aesthetic meaning – the main merit in the concert? In other words, will it become a work of concert instead of liturgical character?

And vice versa, if a musical Liturgy of concert character, being repositioned from a concert hall into a church, loses its aesthetic meaning – its main merit in the concert system - does it mean that it will obtain a religious character – the main merit in the worship? In other words, will it become a work of a cultic rather than concert character?

In summary, the question could be asked in the words: does the character of a musical Liturgy depend upon the place of its performance because the place defines in this case both the performers (an amateur parish choir in a church and a professional chamber choir in a concert hall) and a listener (the believers in a church and the music lovers in a concert hall)?

The question is somewhat rhetorical. Let us consider Scheme 4:

**SCHEME 4**

Work:	Liturgy	Liturgy
	I	I
Character:	cult	concert
	I	I
Place:	church	concert hall
	I	I
Listeners:	believers	music lovers
	1	2

In Scheme 4, both the sub-systems (1) and (2) are interpreted as vertical rows:

(1) “Liturgy – cult – church – believers” means: a musical Liturgy of a cult character is performed in a church (during a service) and heard by the believers.

(2) “Liturgy – concert – concert hall – music lovers” means: a musical Liturgy of concert character is performed in a concert hall (during a concert) and heard by the music lovers.

Both sub-systems are correct, in the sense that all four of their elements: “work – character – place – listeners” (the left vertical row at the Scheme 4) – correspond to one another.

If a musical Liturgy of liturgical character is performed in a concert hall during a concert and heard by music-lovers, it means that graphically we have a new sub-system [1-2], produced by the intersection of the initial two:

[1-2]: (1) Liturgy – cult – (2) concert hall – music lovers (Scheme 5).

And if a musical Liturgy of concert character is performed in a church during a service and heard by the believers, it means that graphically we

have another new sub-system [2-1], produced also by the intersection of the initial two:

[2-1]: (2) Liturgy – concert – (1) church – believers (Scheme 5):

**SCHEME 5**

Work:	Liturgy	Liturgy
	I	I
Character:	cult	concert
	><	
Place:	church	concert hall
	I	I
Listeners:	believers	music-lovers
	1	2

These “intersecting” sub-systems, produced from the initial two, are not correct, because their four elements: “work – character – place – listeners” – do not correspond to one another: the characters do not correspond with both place and listeners. As for the sub-system [1-2], the character (cult) does not correspond with the place (concert hall) or listeners (music lovers); as for the sub-system [2-1], the character (concert) does not correspond with the place (church) or listeners (believers).

There are two other sub-systems, produced from the initial two sub-systems (1) and (2) by their double intersections (Scheme 6):

**SCHEME 6**

Work:	Liturgy	Liturgy
	I	I
Character:	cult	concert
	><	
Place:	church	concert hall
	><	
Listeners:	believers	music lovers
	1	2

[1-2-1]: “(1) Liturgy – cult – (2) concert hall – (1) believers” means: a Liturgy of a liturgical character is performed in a concert hall and heard by the believers.

[2-1-2]: “(2) Liturgy – concert – (1) church – (2) music lovers” means: a Liturgy of concert character is performed in a church and heard by the music lovers. Such a case was described by Sergei Prokofiev (1891-1953) in his Autobiography – in connection with a performance of Tchaikovsky’s Liturgy of St John Chrysostom (a work of non-liturgical character) at one of the churches of Alexander-Nevisky’s Lavra and heard by musicians from all over St Petersburg.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> С. С. Прокофьев, *Автобиография*, 2-е изд. (Москва: Советский композитор, 1982), 241.

Finally, we have other four sub-systems, based on the Schemes 4 and 5, which differ from them by virtue of a mixed audience, consisting of both believers and music lovers:

- (1) Liturgy – cult – church – believers + (2) music lovers.
- (2) Liturgy – concert – concert hall – music-lovers + (1) believers.
- (1) Liturgy – cult – (2) concert hall – music lovers + (1) believers.
- (2) Liturgy – concert – (1) church – believers + (2) music lovers.

So, all the possible sub-systems, consisting of the four elements: “work – character – place – listeners” – are described.

Thus, in this brief article, I have considered two links of my initial Scheme 1: “performance/performer” (second link) and “perception/listener” (third link) – in connection with a musical Liturgy, which was interpreted by me as a system with two its sub-systems of quite different characters – cult and concert.

All possible cases: of the intra-system approach (Scheme 4) and inter-system approach (the Schemes 5 and 6) to the performance and perception of both sub-systems - were considered.

The approaches were interpreted *graphically*: the intra-system approach was interpreted as vertical rows (Scheme 4), while the inter-system approach was interpreted as intersecting vertical rows – with one intersection of rows (Scheme 5) and their double intersections (Scheme 6).

The question of a musical Liturgy of a probably synthetic character, which would integrate features of both liturgical and concert works, has not yet been asked. But it is a question worthy of an answer.

Having considered the second and third links of Scheme 1, I need to return to its first link – “creation/composer”. Some questions arise in connection with the link:

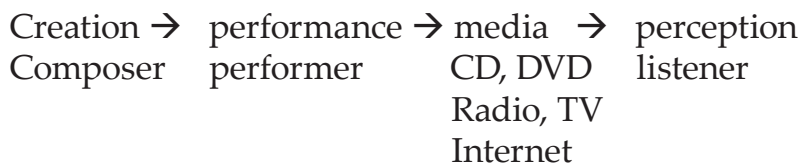
- What is a content merely of music in a musical Liturgy (i.e., only music, without text)? What is the extra-musical content and the purely/directly musical one?
- What character does a connection between text and music in a musical Liturgy have: is it “correspondence of arts”, “synthesis of arts”, “musical ekphrasis”? Is there any argument for consider such a connection as a translation from a literary text into a musical one?

The limited space of this article does not give me the opportunity to consider these and other questions connected with the first link of the Scheme 1.

In addition, another link needs to be added to the Scheme. Not all the potential listeners to a musical Liturgy have an opportunity to visit a concert hall regularly. Most of them listen to music thanks to recordings (CDs, DVDs), radio and tv broadcasts, internet links. This additional link – *media* – needs to be inserted into Scheme 1 between the second link “performance/performer” and third link “perception/listener”:



SCHEME 7



The link needs to be properly considered in connection with a musical setting of the Liturgy.

In the meantime, in conclusion, I would like to express the wish that, independent of the character of the Liturgy – cultic, concert or perhaps synthetic – it will be performed by angelic voices only, without a “hoarse baritone,” as described in my unpublished poem *Видение/A Vision* (2015):

Два Ангела явились вдруг ко мне  
И песнь непостижимую запели:  
Один высоким тенором вступал,  
Другой ему глубоким басом вторил.  
И пели так торжественно-прекрасно!  
И было жутко возле них сидеть:  
Хоть пели и на чуждом языке,  
Но каждое понятно было слово!..

Не в силах удержаться, я решил  
Меж ними встрять скрипучим баритоном –  
И в тот же миг они прервали песнь!  
С укором на меня взглянули молча –  
И вдруг исчезли, словно растворились...  
Видение пропало – но не песня:  
Они по-прежнему ее поют,  
Лишь для меня невидимыми стали!

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- Зеньковский, В. В. *История русской философии*, Том 1. Ленинград: Это, 1991.
- Красовская. В. *Западноевропейский балетный театр: очерки истории / Эпоха Новерра*. Ленинград: Искусство, 1981.
- Лесков, Н. С. *Собрание сочинений в двенадцати томах*. Том 1. Москва: Правда, 1989.
- Писемский, А. Ф. *Тысяча душ*. Москва: Художественная литература, 1988.
- Потулов, Н. *Сборник церковных песнопений*, выпуски 1-4. Москва, 1876-1898.
- Прокофьев, С. С. *Автобиография*, 2-е изд. Москва: Советский композитор, 1982.
- Свет и Жизнь*. Брюссель: Жизнь с Богом, 1990.
- Чайковский, П. И. *Музыкально-критические статьи*, 4-е изд. Ленинград: Музыка, 1986.



JOURNAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY  
FOR ORTHODOX CHURCH MUSIC

Vol. 6 (1), Section III: Reviews, pp. 205–207

ISSN 2342-1258

<https://doi.org/10.57050/jisocm.117023>

**MANUSCRIPTS OF PSALTIC ART. CHIOS.  
PART 1: ANALYTICAL DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE  
OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF PSALTIC ART IN THE  
“KORAES” CHIOS CENTRAL PUBLIC LIBRARY**

**ΧΕΙΡΟΓΡΑΦΑ ΤΗΣ ΨΑΛΤΙΚΗΣ ΤΕΧΝΗΣ. ΧΙΟΣ.  
Α΄. ΑΝΑΛΥΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ  
ΤΩΝ ΧΕΙΡΟΓΡΑΦΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΨΑΛΤΙΚΗΣ ΤΕΧΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ  
ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑΣ ΚΕΝΤΡΙΚΗΣ ΊΣΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΣ  
ΧΙΟΥ «ΚΟΡΑΗΣ»**

Μιχαήλ Στρουμπάκης  
[Michalis Stroumpakis]

Δημόσια Κεντρική Ίστορική Βιβλιοθήκη Χίου «Ο Κοραΐς»  
[“Koraes” Chios Central Public Library]

Alfaprint  
Chios 2020

ISBN 978-960-632-069-9

692 pp., 59 Figures, 13 Tables

With the present catalogue, Michalis Stroumpakis shows the results of eight years of painstaking research on the manuscripts of the “Koraes” Central Public Library on the island of Chios. Between 2013 and 2020 Stroumpakis dedicated himself to the description of the forty-six music-liturgical codices maintained and preserved in the Koraes Library, which was founded in 1792 and constitutes one of the biggest libraries in Greece. His work fills a great gap in Byzantine musicology, where manuscript catalogues are still a scarcity.

The majority of the manuscripts date from the 19th and 20th centuries (29), followed by eleven from the 18th, three from the 17th, two from the 13th and one from the 12th century. They comprise most of the Byzantine manuscript types such as, for example, anthologies, *mathemataria*, *sticheraria*, *heirmologia*, *anastasimataria* as well as theoretical writings.

© Nina-Maria Wanek, 2022.

This is an open access article distributed under the terms of the CC BY 4.0 international license.

At the beginning of his book, Stroumpakis describes the three existing manuscript catalogues for Chios and explains the structure of his own book, in which he basically follows the guidelines as formulated in the first volume of Gregorios Stathes's Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Mount Athos (1975). This central section of the catalogue presents each of the forty-six manuscripts exhaustively:

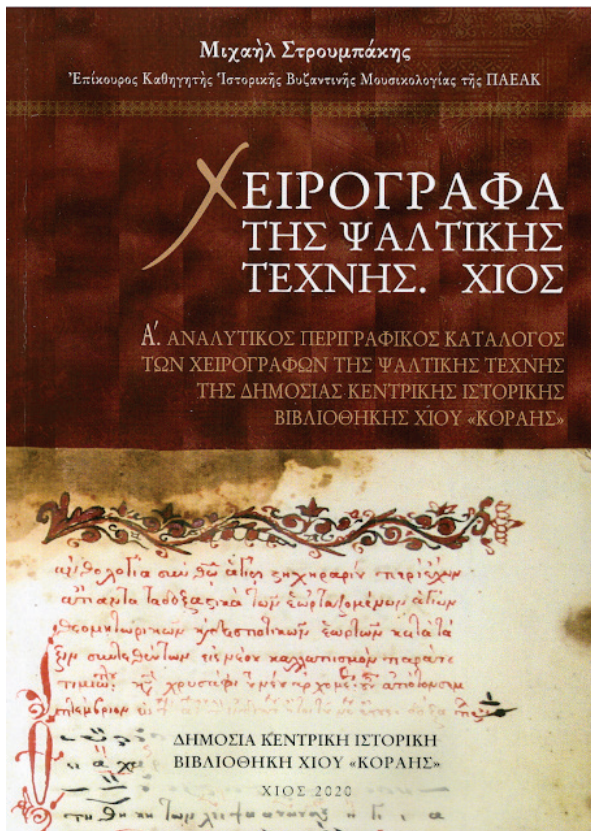
Part a) provides the external features, such as shelf-number, number shown in previous catalogues, dating, material, size, number of folia, and the condition the manuscript is in (complete, truncated etc.). This is followed by the title given in the manuscript (e.g. *mathematarion*), the scribe if known, and the notation used (e.g. New Method).

Part b) deals with the analytical description of the content of the codices: The readers are told the rubric(s) for the given chant, the genre it belongs to as well as its incipit, the composer if known and the mode, thus making it easy to look up specific chants in the Chios manuscripts. This description is often accompanied by images taken from the codex in question, thus also providing the reader with valuable visual impressions.

Part c) sums up the codicological details of each manuscript, providing a general characterisation of its uniqueness, importance, or peculiarity, as well as further information regarding its dating and provenance. This part is again divided into eight subsections dealing with a) the scribe(s) and the notation, b) the size, page layout, and numbering of the folia etc.; c) the material of the manuscript, d) decorations, embellishments and artistic value, e) the binding, f) further notes regarding previous owners, stamps or numberings of the library, g) the overall condition, and h) further bibliography.

What makes the catalogue so valuable is not only the diligent description of the manuscripts themselves but the rich appendices, making up almost one third of the book. At first Stroumpakis presents thirteen tables with writing samples of the secured scribes of the Chios manuscripts in chronological order (from 1704 until 1903). This is a great help for future identification of scribes of manuscripts in other libraries.

The tables are then followed by the description of more than 170 composers and poets in chronological order: The biographical data of each are given based on the relevant primary and secondary literature,



and their compositions/writings found in the Chios manuscripts according to chant genre, verse, incipit, and mode are listed. This index is thus far more than a plain enumeration: It provides the basis for future comparisons of the œuvre of the composers in question and will establish itself as a helpful reference work for biographical and ergographical details.

This part is rounded off by an index of chant denominations found in the manuscripts covering geographic and chronological attributions such as, for example, *hagiosophitikon*, *frangikon*, *thettalikon* as well as *archaion*, *palaion* etc. This is complemented by a list of characteristic terms contained in the chant rubrics, for instance *oraion/oraiotaton*, *synoptikon*, *organikon* or *dichoron*, to name only a few. The greater part of the indices is made up of the list of incipits which will be a great help for anyone looking for specific chants in the Chios manuscripts.

Thus, Michalis Stroumpakis's diligently researched book provides a great wealth of information on the music-liturgical manuscripts of the Koraes Library at the height of the state of art of cataloguing, filling an important gap in Byzantine musicology. Furthermore, he succeeds in placing the manuscripts from Chios at the centre of the canon of Byzantine chant and in laying an important basis for further studies, analyses, and comparisons with the collections of other libraries.

It is to be hoped that the catalogue will also be made available as a digital publication and that – on account of the ever-growing research community of Byzantine musicology – a translation into English might also be forthcoming, something which would enhance the value of the book even more.

Nina-Maria Wanek



**IN MEMORIAM**  
**ARCHPRIEST MICHAEL FORTOUNATTO**  
**(1931–2022)**

**F**ather Michael Fortounatto was born in Paris, the eldest son of Russian émigrés Vsevolod and Evgenia, on 19 May 1931. After 1940 the family moved to Asnières, where the parish of Christ the Saviour was an important centre for Russian spirituality and culture. He spoke only Russian as a small child, and was very attentive to the church choir. At the age of ten he began to frequent the Russian Cadets school in Versailles, and during this period his musical talents became apparent. From the age of fifteen he sang regularly in the choir and conducted a children's group.

Fr Michael began his studies at the Institut de Théologie Orthodoxe Saint-Serge in Paris in 1951, and it was here that he built up the technical and theological knowledge that he would so freely share in later life. He worked on liturgical chant under the direction of Nicolas Ossorgin, and Fr Michael recalled that both the singing and the teaching at the Institute preserved the liturgical *ordo* of the pre-revolutionary Russian church life. After his studies and his military service, Fr Michael married Mariamna Feokritoff in 1961; they moved to England the following year at the invitation of Bishop (later Metropolitan) Anthony Bloom. He succeeded his father-in-law, Mikhail Feokritoff, as choir director in 1965. Mariamna dedicated herself to icon painting, having studied with Leonid Uspensky while in Paris, and later began to lecture on the subject herself.

He was ordained priest on 28 December 1969, and though he maintained an intensive pastoral ministry, he continued to conduct the Cathedral choir. Part of this work was his membership of the translation committee that was established, and the adaptation of Russian chants to the English language. He began to travel regularly to Russia in the 1990s, a frequent guest at conferences and workshops dealing with sacred music, and between 1994 and 2002 organized six seminars on sacred chant for seminary teachers and choir directors at the Moscow Theological Academy, and published on the history and theory of church music and practical questions relating to choir conducting.

In 2005 Fr Michael retired and moved to Chargeraud in France, not far from his brothers Vladimir and André. Fr Michael was transferred into the clergy of the Archdiocese of Russian Orthodox Churches in Western Europe, and in 2009 gave a series of lectures at the St Serge Institute entitled "Liturgical musicology". Though his health worsened from 2014 onwards, he continued to write and to correspond.

My own recollections of Fr Michael date from even before I was received into the Orthodox Church. He invited me to sing in the choir at the Cathedral of the Dormition at Ennismore Gardens, because I could read Cyrillic, as well as pretend to be a tenor, and was received into the Church a little later. I remember Fr Michael's clear direction and his manner of explaining the mysteries of Russian chant, as well as his beautifully crystalline voice.

We also worked together when The Tallis Scholars reissued their disc of Russian Orthodox music, which had astounded me when it first appeared (most of all because of John Tavener's "Great Canon of St Andrew of Crete" and the mediaeval polyphony) so that I could write new booklet notes for the CD, and I became a regular visitor to his house and plunderer of his library. It is difficult to overestimate quite how much I learnt from this experience.

I also had the great joy of having him sing the priest's parts when I recorded John's "Panikhida" for Ikon Records (with the Kastalsky Chamber Choir); in particular, I shall never forget the palpable tension as I waited for him to sing the exclamation at the end of the Lord's Prayer – I wanted him to come in slightly early to as to overlap with the choir, and he was waiting for the choir to stop. I gave him a signal and he came in, and you can hear that extraordinary moment in the recording. We made other recordings in the Cathedral too, and gave some memorable concerts.

When I moved to Portugal, I was a regular telephone correspondent, usually with a doubt regarding some liturgical detail or other, and then, even later, when he moved to France, an electronic correspondent. He was always so generous with his time, and invariably patient. I translated his "Cours de Musicologie," which began to appear in instalments online, from French to English, and e-mailed him to ask for his corrections and approval, and though we did not progress far because of his health, he was certainly approving. I regret that his health problems meant that he was unable to attend any of the ISOCM conferences, but he was very much aware of the Society's activities. I imagine him now directing the heavenly choirs, and leading them with the bell-like clarity of his voice.

The Very Reverend Archpriest Michael Fortounatto fell asleep in the Lord on the evening of 19 February 2022 at the age of 90.

Protopresbyter Ivan Moody