Contents

Editors' Note

This issue contains two substantial peer-reviewed articles. The first is a profound and original investigation into the role of psalmody (or ecclesiastical music more generally) as related to the role of members of the Church in the twenty-four catechetical homilies traditionally ascribed to Cyril of Jerusalem by Harri Huovinen. The second, by Nina-Maria Wanek, deals with hagiosophitikon settings of Psalms 1, 2 and 3 (that is, a rare term meaning psalms in the style of or originating at Hagia Sophia), one of a number of geographical ascriptions found in manuscripts from the fourteenth century onwards. The author attempts to isolate and define the characteristics of this body of chant, hitherto shrouded in ambiguity.

The three non-refereed articles included cover very different territory. Vassileios Varelas covers the appearance of nonsense syllables in Byzantine chant, so well-known but little understood. Pavlos Kordis discusses the idea of sacred music as a sacred space, with particular reference to the work of Tavener, and Jenni-Tuuli Hakkarainen initiates a fascinating study of the texts of the Orthodox communal songbooks originating during the period of the establishment of the Orthodox Church in Finland.

There are also two reviews, of Silvia Tessari's study of Cardinal Bessarion and music, and of Haig Utidjian's monograph on Tntesean and his contribution to the sacred music of Armenia.

As always, 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.

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Participation in Psalmody and Church Membership in Cyril of Jerusalem

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The 24 catechetical homilies attributed to Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (c. 315–87),[1] are among the primary sources of mid-to-late fourth century liturgy and theology of initiation.[2] Given the central status which the Hagiopolite church of this period enjoyed as the model of liturgical creativity,[3] it seems surprising that the Cyrilline view on ecclesiastical music

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1   The 19 pre-baptismal *Lenten Catecheses* (*Procatech.*; *Catech.* 1–18) likely originate from 351, see Alexis James Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue: The Authorship of Mystagogic Catecheses* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 44. Earlier datings have been suggested, see e.g. Sebastià Janeras, "Novament sobre la Catequesi XIV de Ciril de Jerusalem," *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 21/2 (1996), 338–41. The five post-baptismal *Mystagogical catecheses* (*Catech. myst.* 1–5), probably authentic, were delivered in the 380s. For discussion on the authorship of *Catech. myst.*, see Donna R. Hawk-Reinhard, *Christian Identity Formation according to Cyril of Jerusalem: Sacramental* Theōsis *as a Means of Constructing Relational Identity* (Louvain: Peeters Publishers, 2020), 47–131; Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem*. Cf. Juliette Day, *The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem: Fourth- and Fifth-Century Evidence from Palestine, Syria and Egypt* (Aldershot; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 12–23. In the present article, *Procatech.* and *Catech.* have been examined using the editions widely accepted by contemporary Cyrilline scholars, *Cyrilli Hierosolymarum archiepiscopi opera quae supersunt omnia*, eds. W. C. Reischl and J. Rupp, vols I and II (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1967), henceforth referred to as 1 and 2. *Catech. myst.* have been studied using Cyrille de Jérusalem, *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, eds. Auguste Piédagnel and Pierre Paris, Sources Chrétiennes 126 bis (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2004), hereinafter SC 126.

2   See e.g. Lucien Deiss, *Springtime of the Liturgy: Liturgical Texts of the First Four Centuries*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville, MI: The Liturgical Press, 1979), 270. For recent research on the Hagiopolite liturgy, see Aziz Halaweh, *The Church of Jerusalem and Its Liturgy in the First Five Centuries: A Historical, Theological and Liturgical Research* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2020); *Daniel Galadza, Liturgy and Byzantinization in Jerusalem* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2018). Recent studies on the Cyrilline theology of initiation include the abovementioned monographs by Doval, Day, and Hawk-Reinhard, as well as Kristian Akselberg, *Greeks, Jews, heretics, and the Church of God: Ecclesiology in the catechetical lectures of St Cyril, Archbishop of Jerusalem* (PhD Diss., University of Oxford, 2017), Oxford University Research Archive, accessed December 14, 2021, http://ora.ox.ac.uk/.

3   Charles Renoux, "Liturgical Ministers at Jerusalem in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries," in *Roles in the Liturgical Assembly: the twenty-third Liturgical Conference, Saint Serge*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, Inc., 1981), 221.

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and praise remains relatively unexplored[4]. This paucity of attention appears all the more striking considering that "the ancient liturgy of Jerusalem is still rather poorly known."[5]

The present article constitutes an attempt to fill this lacuna. It also seeks to shed light upon a question that arises from the music-related statements of the catechist: In Cyril, is there a relationship between the catechetical audiences' current stage in the initiatory process and their supposed role in congregational singing? Before embarking on a systematic study of the pertinent passages, however, it is necessary to make a few general observations on Cyril's music-related vocabulary.

Music-related vocabulary in the Cyrilline corpus

Cyril's view on church music must be reconstructed from brief statements dispersed throughout his corpus. Of the ten Greek word groups which have a correlation with praising God in general, eight can be interpreted as being particularly used in relation to ecclesiastical music.

Table 1

	Word group	Number of instances
1	αἰν-	11
2	ἀνυμν-	5
3	ἀσ-	10
4	δοξ-	65
5	ὑμν-	5
6	χορ-	3 or 5 depending on interpretation, cf. n. 66 below.
7	ψαλ-	42
8	ᾠδ-	1

Notably, in some instances, such as in the final doxologies of the Cyrilline works, the noun δόξα (*doxa*) has no direct relation to the author's view of psalmody.[6] In addition to the above eight word groups, Cyril also employs μεγαλυν- (1) or ὑψ- (1) verbs. However, it is somewhat unclear whether these are used specifically in reference to music making.[7] Furthermore,

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4   Undoubtedly, this is partly due to the fact that the earliest description of the ancient liturgy of Jerusalem is found only later in the itinerarium of Egeria, who stayed in Jerusalem in 381–4, see Sebastià Janeras, "Les lectionnaires de l'ancienne liturgie de Jérusalem." *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 2, 2005, 71. Nonetheless, as the present article may indicate, Cyril's works provide more evidence on his view on psalmody than most scholars give him credit for.

5   Stig Simeon R. Frøyshov, "The Georgian Witness to the Jerusalem Liturgy: New Sources and Studies," in *Inquiries Into Eastern Christian Worship: Selected Papers of the Second International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy, Rome, 17-21 September 2008,* eds. Bert Groen, Steven Hawkes-Teeples, and Stefanos Alexopoulos (Leuven; Paris; Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2012), 228.

6   See the last paragraphs of *Catech.*, *Catech. myst.*, *Hom. paral.* 20 (RR 2:426), and *Ep. Const.* 8 (RR 2:440).

7   For further discussion, see n. 29 below.

there is one occasion of μουσική (*mousike*), but—as could be expected from an ancient Greek Christian author—Cyril does not employ this noun in relation to ecclesiastical music. Instead, the word is used in reference to the singing of birds.[8]

Ever the Scriptural homilist, Cyril follows the Pauline approach to ecclesiastical singing. For instance, he produces a verbatim quotation of Eph 5:18–19a, where the apostle mentions psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs (ἐν ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς).[9] Similarly to Paul, there is no point at which Cyril uses these nouns explicitly to denote different genres of ecclesiastical music.[10] He also refrains from revealing the provenance of such songs[11], or their liturgical context. His chief interest lies rather in the general role of hymnody in the pursuit of Christian virtue by his catechetical audiences.[12] One wonders whether such an unsystematic approach to the characterization of church music may have influenced Egeria's failure to make a clear distinction between terms such as hymns or psalms[13] in her description of the Hagiopolite liturgy of Cyril's late bishopric.

Similarly, in the Cyrilline texts, the more general[14] expression ψαλμῳδοί (*psalmōdoi*)[15] and the title ψάλλοντος (*psallontos*)[16] are employed interchangeably in reference to the designated cantor(s)[17]. Notably, titles such as ψάλτης (*psaltes*) or ὁ ψάλλων (*ho psallōn*), commonly utilized in coeval and later Patristic sources, are absent.[18]

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8   See *Catech*. 9.12 (1:252). Cf. Basil of Caesarea, who describes bird vocalization using ᾠδικός, ᾠδή and μελῳδία (*Hex*. 8.3, 7 [SC 26:446, 464]). See also Egeria's *cant-* vocabulary in reference to rooster calls (*It. Eger*. 24.8–9 [SC 296:242]).

9   *Catech*. 17.33 (2:292). For an overview of the early Christian and Byzantine differentiation between the Pauline concepts of psalmody, hymns, and spiritual songs, see Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 33–42, 127.

10   A similar approach is also adopted by John Chrysostom, In *Eph. hom*. 19.2 (PG 62:129). It has been suggested that in Paul, "there might be no clear distinction between the three nouns for Christian song", see Thomas M. Winger, *Ephesians* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2015), 586, see also 588, 591. Based upon the Cyrilline catecheses alone, one can only adopt an approach similar to that expressed by John G. Landels in reference to ancient Athenian songs and hymns: "The nature of the music which was played and sung can be guessed." See *Music in ancient Greece and Rome* (London; New York: Routledge, 2002), 3.

11   It has been assumed that Cyril himself "probably wrote liturgical hymns", see Stig Simeon R. Frøyshov, "The Early Development of the Liturgical Eight-mode System in Jerusalem," *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 51:2–3 (2007), 166. However, in the catechist's own writings there is no evidence of such compositional work.

12   Cf. Chrysostom who, in connection with the Eph 5 passage (In *Eph. hom*. 19.2 [PG 62:129]), "makes it clear that he does not mean singing for pleasure, but as the expression of a virtuous state of mind." See Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 33.

13   So Halaweh, *The Church of Jerusalem*, 169.

14   James McKinnon, ed., *Music in early Christian literature* (Cambridge; New York; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 76.

15   *Catech*. 13.26 (2:86). Cyril most frequently uses the singular form of this noun (ὁ ψαλμῳδός) in reference to the inspired author(s) of the Psalms, see e.g. *Procatech.* 6 (RR 1:10); Catech. 7.10, 10.19, 11.16 (1:218, 286, 310); *ibidem*, 13.16, 18.24, 25 (2:72, 326).

16   *Catech. myst*. 5.20 (SC 126:168). Cf. *Const. ap*. 8.14.1 (SC 336:210).

17   Cf. Halaweh, who unequivocally identifies the Cyrilline ψαλμῳδοί and ψάλλοντος with "the Cantors". See *The Church of Jerusalem*, 182 (emphasis original). See also *ibidem*, 299.

18   For instance, in fourth- and fifth-century documents, the title ψάλτης is used in the canons of the Synod of Laodicea (*Laod*. 15, 23–24 [PG 137:1360, 13729]) and by Sozomen (*Hist*. 4.3 [PG 67:1113]). Later, the plural form of the title (ψαλταί) is employed by Maximus the Confessor in reference to OT musicians (*Qu*. 55.20 [PG 90:549]). In the same passage, Maximus distinguishes ψαλταί from ψαλτῳδοί, a term used earlier by Eusebius to describe Levitical leaders of song (*In ps*. [PG 23:72–73]). The appellation ὁ ψάλλων is found e.g. in Chrysostom (*In 1 Cor. hom*. 36.6 [PG 61:315]). Like these titles, the term ἱεροψάλτης, used in the canon 33 of the Quinisext Council (*Trull*. 33 [PG 137:625]), is also non-existent in Cyril's vocabulary.

On account of such variability in Cyril's approach to music-related vocabulary, a detailed exegetical study of the pertinent word groups would not constitute the best method of revealing his views in regard to psalmody or participation in it. Therefore, in what follows, the relevant passages will be arranged and studied according to a thematic approach. However, prior to tackling the research question, it is essential briefly to consider the starting point of the author's theology of ecclesiastical song: his general view of human capabilities in relation to God.

The starting point: praising the inexplicable

The notion of Christian praise presupposes some degree of cognizance of God. In Cyril's view, all humans are fundamentally in a state of ignorance (ἀγνωσία) with regard to precise knowledge about God. Despite their inability to explain the essence of the Divine, humans can, however, —and should—praise and glorify Him.[19] For the catechist, exalting God's name is a corporate act which requires the participation of all Christians[20]. That being said, even if all members of the universal church gathered together, they would be incapable of singing such praises in a worthy fashion.[21] Indeed, no creature, whether celestial or earthly, can worthily sing God's praise.[22] Nonetheless, for Cyril, even an attempt to glorify God is a work of piety.[23] This raises the question: who can participate in this activity, and to what extent?

Baptismal candidates as "students" of psalmody

To appreciate Cyril's view of the relationship between participation in psalmody and church membership, it is helpful to start by examining his account of the musical activities of those who have yet to be fully initiated. Here, it bears noting that unlike the other prominent fourth century catechists, who refer to all potential members of the church as catechumens[24], Cyril divides the participants in the pre-baptismal process of initiation into two groups. The first one is the initial order of *catechumens* (κατηχούμενοι, *katekhoumenoi*). While Cyril does not clearly reveal the extent to which these inquirers into church membership were allowed to participate in the liturgical life of the congregation, it is clear that their access to ecclesiastical

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19   *Catech.* 6.2, 9.3, 14 (RR 1:156, 242 254). Cf. Chrysostom, *Exh. in ps.* 9.2 (PG 55:124).
20   For discussion on both the private and corporate psalmody in fourth century ecclesiastical life, see James W. McKinnon, "Desert Monasticism and the Later Fourth-century Psalmodic Movement," *Music & Letters* 75/4 (1994), 505–12.
21   *Catech.* 6.2 (1:156).
22   *Catech.* 6.3 (1:158).
23   *Catech.* 6.5 (1:160). A similar approach has been adopted by later ecclesiastical authors as well, see e.g. Silouan the Athonite: "The Lord gave us as feeble children sung church services – we do not yet know how to pray properly but singing helps everyone when it is done in humility." See Archimandrite Sophrony, *Saint Silouan the Athonite,* trans. Rosemary Edmonds (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1999), 97.
24   For pre-baptismal titles in John Chrysostom, see Philippe de Roten, *Baptême et mystagogie: Enquête sur l'initiation chrétienne selon s. Jean Chrysostome* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag GmbH & Co. KG, 2005), 137. For the same in Ambrose, see *Myst*. 4.20 (SC 25 bis:166).

instruction was rather limited. The second group is the intermediate rank of *baptismal candidates* (φωτιζόμενοι, *fōtizomenoi*) who participated in the Lenten period of intensive catechesis that precedes the Easter vigil baptismal rites.[25]

According to Egeria's witness of the early 380s Hagiopolite liturgy of hours, not only the baptized faithful (*fideles*), but "everyone" (*omnes*) including baptismal candidates (*competentes*)[26] and catechumens took part in the singing of hymns.[27] This activity—apparently commonplace— seems to have had a pedagogical function.[28] Curiously, in Cyril's *Procatech.* and *Catech.*, which originate from around three decades before Egeria's itinerary, there is no evidence of participation in psalmody by *the early- stage catechumens*. Of course, this may be due to the fact that in these particular homilies, Cyril's chief purpose is not to document the actions of the catechumens who occupied this earlier stage of the initiatory process, but rather to instruct the more advanced baptismal candidates. That said, Cyril's silence about any musical activity on the part of the catechumens may also indicate that in this initial stage, they as yet had no significant role in the church. Be that as it may, Cyril—like Egeria—clearly regards *the baptismal candidates* as participants in praise and psalmody. Thus, proceeding from the initial stage of the catechumenate to the intermediary position of baptismal candidacy appears to have allowed the hearers also to participate in the musical life of the congregation in a more profound way.

Three passages discuss the participation in psalmody by the baptismal candidates. In the first one, Cyril exhorts his candidates to magnify the Lord. While the Septuagint imperative μεγαλύνατε (*megalynate*, cf. Ps. 33:4 LXX) itself has no musical connotation, the catechist would employ it in connection with another verb that pointed precisely to *singing* praises (ὑμνῆσαι, *hymnesai*). Conscious of the fact that his hearers are yet to be

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25   *Procatech.* 6, 12 (1:10, 16); *Catech.* 5.12 (1:148). See also *ibidem*, 1.4 (1:32), and the Προςλόγιον of *Procatech.* (1:26). While this classification of pre-baptismal phases is widely recognized, opinions vary as to whether the group of baptismal candidates should be regarded as a special ecclesiastical order. Hawk-Reinhard would answer in the negative, see *Christian Identity Formation*, 244. Others, however, explicitly describe the candidates as a τάξη, see *ΚΑΤΗΧΗΣΕΙΣ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΩΝ: Εἰσαγωγή– Μετάφραση–Σχόλια–Πίνακες–Επιμέλεια Ἐκδόσεως ὑπό τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γέροντος τῆς Ἀδελφότητος ΙΜΑΙΠΚ, Ἀρχιμ. Ἀντωνίου Ρωμαίου καί τῶν Ἀδελφῶν τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Προδρόμου Καρέα* (ΚΑΡΕΑΣ: ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ «ΕΤΟΙΜΑΣΙΑ» ΙΕΡΑΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΤΙΜΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΥ, 1999), 36. For a detailed examination of the ecclesial status of baptismal candidates, see Harri Huovinen, "Familial Terminology and the Progressive Nature of Church Membership in Cyril of Jerusalem," *Review of Ecumenical Studies* 13 (3/2021), 400–18. In fact, despite some terminological opacity (see n. 24 above), Chrysostom also distinguishes between two groups of catechumens, see Josef Knupp, *Das Mystagogieverständnis des Johannes Chrysostomus* (München: Don Bosco Verlag, 1995), 74–75. Even as the baptismal candidates received Christian instruction previously unknown to them, the ecclesiastical *disciplina arcani* still denied them full access to knowledge of the mysteries of the church. For further discussion on the Hagiopolite *disciplina*, see Akselberg, *Greeks, Jews, heretics*, 169–94; Jonathan Malesic, *Secret Faith in the Public Square: An Argument for the Concealment of Christian Identity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos Press, 2009), 21–42.

26   Cf. *It. Eger.* 44.1–2, 45.1–2 (SC 296:304, 306).

27   See e.g. *It. Eger.* 24.2–7; 25.7; 27.5–6, 46.4 (SC 296:236, 238, 240, 250, 262, 296, 310).

28   Cf. *It. Eger.* 37.6 (SC 296:288): "semper sic leguntur lectiones aut dicuntur ymni, ut ostendatur omni populo, quia, quicquid dixerunt prophetae futurum de passione Domini, ostendatur tam per euangelia quam etiam per apostolorum scripturas factum esse."

received into full membership of the church, the homilist still invites them to join himself and the rest of the church in magnifying the Lord in this way.[29] His expression "you who are present" (παρόντας ὑμᾶς) indicates that he expects this doxology to take place in the very location in which the candidates are gathered to hear the catechetical homilies. This is an apparent reference to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[30]

In the other two instances, Cyril is more explicit as to the candidates' participation in psalmody. Nevertheless, it is slightly unclear whether by the noun ψαλμῳδία (*psalmōdia*) the author is referring to ecclesiastical singing in general, or to the chanting of the Psalms in particular, or to both.[31] While it has been suggested that "psalms were prominent as musical texts" in the liturgical life of Jerusalem[32], Cyril provides no information on any kind of Psalm lectionary, or on the exact liturgical contexts of these texts[33]. Nonetheless, he does reveal his view that *night* is the ideal time for psalmody and prayer[34]. From this we can assume that some of the corporate singing took place in a nocturnal context. Indeed, Cyril makes a passing reference to vigils (τῆς ἀγρυπνίας), in which he expected his candidates to participate,[35] and the observance of which is later confirmed by Egeria.[36] However, unlike some other patristic authors, Cyril is silent about the Biblical roots or other origins of this practice.[37] Likewise, he provides no evidence as to whether nocturnal psalmody was also encouraged as a means of private devotion.

What then were the functions of psalmody in the life of Cyril's baptismal candidates? In light of the educational nature of his catechetical programme[38], one might expect that in the homilist's mind, participation in psalmody and praise would serve as a pedagogical tool in the Christian formation of the candidates. After all, such a function was to be given to psalmody by both Egeria[39] and Chrysostom[40]. One might also assume that

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29   *Catech.* 6.2 (1:156).
30   P. W. L. Walker suggests that Cyril may have delivered some of his catecheses if not all of them in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, see *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 254. G. Delacroix, on his part, is certain that all of the homilies were delivered in this location, see *Saint Cyrille de Jérusalem: Sa vie et ses œuvres* (Paris, 1865), 102.
31   Cf. Hilkka Seppälä, who associates the noun ψαλμῳδία with church chanting in general, see *Sanasta säveleen: Ortodoksisen kirkkolaulun kysymyksiä* (Joensuu: Joensuun yliopisto, 1996), 57.
32   Lester Ruth, Carrie Steenwyk and John D. Witvliet, *Walking Where Jesus Walked: Worship in Fourth-Century Jerusalem* (Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge, U.K.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 2010), 15.
33   For extant information on the Hagiopolite lectionary, see Galadza, *Liturgy and Byzantinization*, 300–49.
34   *Catech.* 9.7 (1:246). See also *Procatech.* 16 (1:22). Cf. Evagrius, according to whom staying awake and praying helps to focus wandering minds, see *Prakt.* 15 (SC 171:536, 538).
35   *Catech.* 18.17 (2:320).
36   *It. Eger.* 25.5, 27.7–8, 33.1–34, 35.3–4, 43.7–8. Cf. Jan Willem Drijvers's overview of the services celebrated by the late fourth century bishop of Jerusalem, which includes (almost?) no information on nocturnal services, see *Cyril of Jerusalem: Bishop and City* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), 187–90.
37   Cf. Basil, for whom the Biblical foundation for nightly psalmody is found in Ps 118:62, 148 (LXX) and Acts 16:25, see *Reg. fus.* 37.3–5 (PG 31:1013, 1016). Chrysostom, in turn, bases his view on passages like Ps 6:7 and 133:2 (LXX), see *In 1 Tim. hom.* 14.4 (PG 62:576). For further references to nightly psalmody, see e.g. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 8.14 (PG 35:805); Gregory of Nyssa, *Macr.* (PG 46:961, 964).
38   See e.g. *Procatech.* 10 (1:14).
39   See n. 28 above.
40   *Exp. in ps.* 134.1 (PG 55:388).

Cyril would regard psalmody as spiritually transforming, as Chrysostom would later suggest[41]. However, while nothing in Cyril's works contradicts these views, he never explicitly mentions them as such.

Whatever the case may be, corporate chanting was considered to be more than a cognitive enterprise. Cyril regards praise and singing as holistic activities that occupy the entire human being. Even during the initiatory process, the baptismal candidates were implicitly taught to view the human body as the only musical instrument acceptable for the edification of the soul. In this sense, Cyril's teaching echoes that of Greco-Roman philosophers and earlier Patristic authors alike.[42] For instance, even though the catechist recommends that the virgins among his candidates sing (ψάλλων) or read inaudibly, he still presupposes a corporeal action, in this case, the moving of the lips[43]. Considering that in a Byzantine congregation, not only public prayer but also private prayer and reading was vocalized audibly, Cyril's words may be taken as an attempt to ensure that singing and prayer were performed in good order (cf. 1 Cor 14:40), thereby avoiding "a ruckus and disturbing others" in the church.[44] Furthermore, Cyril also exhorts his candidates to praise (ἀνυμνῇς, ἀνυμνήσωμεν) aloud, with lips full of purity, and "with a grateful and holy tongue". Nonetheless, it is not only the lips that should praise incessantly, but the heart as well.[45]

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41   *Exp. in ps.* 140.1 (PG 55:427). See also *ibidem*, 134.1, 144.1 (PG 55:388, 465). For further discussion on the functions of "Christian song" in Chrysostom, see Giovanni Nigro, "Musica e canto come fattori d'identità: giudei, pagani e cristiani nell'Antiochia di Giovanni Crisostomo," *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi* 23/2 (2006), 475–77. Later, Maximus the Confessor touches upon the spiritual functions of ecclesiastical chanting in *Mystag.* 24 (PG 91:704, 708).

42   In Aristotle, instrumental music is already considered to promote barbarous dispositions, see *Pol.* 8.6, 1341b, Perseus Digital Library, accessed December 28, 2021, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/. Cicero, on his part, regards the orator's body as a musical instrument, see *Orat.* 3.216, Perseus Digital Library, accessed December 28, 2021, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/. For the same theme in Philo, see Everett Ferguson, "The Art of Praise: Philo and Philodemus on Music," in *Early Christianity and Classical Culture: Comparative Studies in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe*, eds. John T. Fitzgerald, Thomas H. Olbricht and L. Michael White (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003), 394, 412–14, 424. One of the first Christian authors to liken the believer to an instrument is Ignatius of Antioch, see Ign. *Phil.* 1.2 (SC 10:140). The preference of the human body over other musical instruments is evident in Eusebius, *In ps.* (PG 23:683). For the recurring theme of the body as the only acceptable instrument, see e.g. Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* 2.4 [PG 8:441]), Athanasius (*Ep. Marc.* 28 [PG 27:40]), Gregory of Nyssa (*Op. hom.* 9 [PG 44:149, 152]; Inscr. 1.3 [PG 44:441–44]), and Chrysostom, (e.g. *Exp. in ps.* 4.4, 143.4 [PG 55:45–46, 462–63]; *In Matt. hom.* 68.4 [PG 58:645]). For further occurrences of this theme in Chrysostom, see Thomas E. Ameringer, *A Study in Greek Rhetoric: The Stylistic Influence of the Second Sophistic on the Panegyrical Sermons of St. John Chrysostom* (PhD Diss., Catholic University of America, 1921), 75–76. Cf. also Basil, *Hom. in ps.* 29.1 (PG 29:305). O. M. Bakke observes that early Christian authors associated instruments with secular music, and emphasized that instead of worldly songs, children "must learn to esteem 'the sweetness of the psalms' while their tongues are 'still tender.'" See *When Children Became People: The Birth of Childhood in Early Christianity*, trans. Brian McNeil (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2005), 184. For discussion on the stance of ecclesiastical authors on secular music in the Byzantine era, see Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 79–85, 91–97.

43   *Procatech.* 14 (1:18). Cf. McKinnon, *Music in early Christian literature*, 15: "The verb ψάλλειν originally meant 'to pluck a string instrument', but by New Testament times it came to mean simply 'to sing', with or without an instrument." According to Hilkka Seppälä, during the Christian era, the verb came to be used solely in reference to ecclesiastical singing, see *Ortodoksisen kirkkolaulun teologia*, ed. Seija Lappalainen (Joensuu: Suomen bysanttilaisen musiikin seura ry, 2018), 26.

44   See Robert F. Taft, *Through Their Own Eyes: Liturgy as the Byzantines Saw It*, Patriarch Athenagoras Orthodox Institute, The Paul G. Manolis Distinguished Lectures 2005 (Berkeley, CA: InterOrthodox Press, 2006), 100–1. Cf. Chrysostom, who demands noisy congregants to exit the building and emphasizes the unity of the ecclesial voice, whether the question is about reading, singing, or responding, see *In 1 Cor. hom.* 36.6 (PG 61:315).

45   *Catech.* 9.16 (1:258); *ibidem*, 12.1 (2:2).

Ultimately, Cyril refers to the eternal consequences of psalmody in the lives of the candidates: Their singing is "recorded", i.e., written down.[46] Apparently, Cyril means to say that he expects the ecclesiastical song to be recognized in the divine realm as well. The purpose of such a statement is to encourage the candidates to persist in their pursuit of piety.

This is all Cyril says about the participation in psalmody of the yet-to-be-baptized candidates. To understand his view of the relationship between the catechetical audiences' current stage in the initiatory process and their role in congregational singing completely, we must compare the above to what he states about participation in psalmody by the fully initiated members of the church. This will be discussed in the following section.

INITIATED MEMBERS AND FULL PARTICIPATION IN ECCLESIASTICAL CHANT

Despite the fact that Cyril's *Lenten Catecheses* are addressed to baptismal candidates, the majority of music-related evidence in this set of homilies indicates singing as being an action carried out by fully initiated Christians. In fact, for Cyril, baptism appears to constitute an important turning point not only in the process of initiation, but also in one's ability to participate in the psalmody of the church. Cyril states:

> You that are clothed with the rough garment of your errors, who are *bound tightly with the cords of your own sins*, hear the voice of the Prophet saying, *Be washed, become clean, put away your vices from your souls, and from before my eyes*, that the choir of Angels may chant over you, *Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered*. You who have just lighted the torches of faith, guard them carefully in your hands unquenched, so that he who once on this all-holy Golgotha opened the paradise to the robber on account of his faith, may grant to you to sing the bridal song.[47]

While some of the images in this passage apparently depict the future blessed state of the hearers as members of the church, some of them may also refer to perceptible liturgical customs. For instance, if washing is taken as a reference to the tangible rite of baptismal ablution, "the torches of faith" may also allude to the concrete tapers which the candidates held in their hands during the ceremonies on the first day of Lent[48]. Similarly, the references to the angelic chanting of Ps. 31:1 (LXX) as well as to the "bridal song" could be interpreted as descriptions of actual liturgical songs sung at baptism. Indeed, later in the eighth century euchologion *Barberini gr.* 336, "[t]he first and oldest written witness we have to the rites of Christian initiation in Byzantium,"

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46   *Catech.* 15.23 (2:186): Ἀνάγραπτός ἐστί σου πᾶσα […] ψαλμῳδία.
47   *Catech.* 1.1 (1:28, 30): Οἱ τὸ χαλεπὸν τῶν πταισμάτων ἠμφιεσμένοι, καὶ σειραῖς τῶν οἰκείων ἁμαρτιῶν ἐσφιγμένοι [cf. Prov 5:22b], τῆς προφητικῆς φωνῆς ἀκούσατε λεγούσης· Λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γίνεσθε· ἀφέλετε τὰς πονηρίας ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου· [Isa 1:16a] ἵνα ἀγγελικὸς ὑμῖν ἐπιφωνήσῃ χορός· Μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι, καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. [Ps. 31:1 LXX] Οἱ τὰς τῆς πίστεως λαμπάδας ἐξάψαντες ἀρτίως, ἀσβέστους ἐν χερσὶ διατηρήσατε ταύτας· ἵν᾽ ὁ τῷ λῃστῇ τότε τὸν παράδεισον ἐν τῷ παναγίῳ τούτῳ Γολγοθᾷ διὰ τὴν πίστιν ἀνοίξας, τὸ νυμφικὸν ὑμῖν ᾆσαι παράσχοι μέλος. The English is my revision of the Edwin Hamilton Gifford translation.
48   So John F. Baldovin, *Liturgy in Ancient Jerusalem* (Bramcote: Grove Books Limited, 1989), 14. Cf. also Gregory of Nazianzus's account of the baptismal lighting of lamps, *Or.* 40.46 (PG 36:425).

Ps. 31:1 is sung by the cantor after the baptism of the candidates.[49] According to Cyril, not only does the choir of angels sing in this ceremony, but also the newly baptized, who have now been granted participation in the song of the holy choir that is the Church.[50] In other words, baptism constitutes the culmination of the initiatory transformation of the candidates into full members of the Church, i.e., into the congregation of saints that sings the new song to its Lord.[51] In fact, as Cyril suggests elsewhere, praising the Lord is possible only for the just, namely, for those who have repented and received pardon during their earthly life.[52] It is the baptized faithful (πιστοί, *pistoi*) who offer praise to the Lord for the goodness and philanthropy he has shown in saving them[53]. Irrespective of their age or gender, all Christians praise the one name of Christ[54].

Granted, it is not always clear whether Cyril employs the verb αἰνέω (*aineō*) as a general reference to praise, or more specifically in a music-related sense, as in *singing* praises. However, considering that in two instances the verb is used interchangeably with ὑμνέω (*ymneō*)[55], it may be safe to suggest that the latter is the case.

The question then is, how was this singing organized? While Cyril gives no detailed explanation of who sung what and when in the liturgical services, his use of the titles ψαλμῳδοί and ψάλλοντος seems to indicate that in his church(es), the ecclesiastical chant was led by authorized singers.[56] Obviously, this would imply that musical leadership was not open to everyone.[57] Admittedly, Cyril neither refers to a canonical status of singers nor to any sort of instructions given to them; these were both to be mentioned around a decade later by the synod of Laodicea[58]. Even so, Cyril's statement that these singers had been "deemed worthy to chant psalms in this Golgotha"[59] appears to presuppose some sort of a qualification. Whether this meant examination of the spiritual and/or professional qualities of the chanters, it is impossible to tell.[60] In any case,

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49 Stefano Parenti, "Christian initiation in the East," in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies, Volume IV: Sacraments and Sacramentals*, ed. Anscar J. Chupungco (Collegeville, MI: The Liturgical Press, 2000), 34, 38. See also McKinnon, *Music in early Christian literature*, 76.

50 *Catech.* 18.25 (2:328). Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus who explicitly discusses psalmody in the baptismal context, *Or.* 40.46 (PG 36:425).

51 For Cyril's views on the transformative role of each objective rite of initiation, see discussion in Huovinen, "Familial Terminology and the Progressive Nature of Church Membership," 411–15.

52 *Catech.* 18.14 (2:314).

53 *Catech*. 18.35 (2:340).

54 *Catech.* 12.34 (2:46).

55 *Catech.* 6.3 (1:158); *ibidem*, 12.32 (2:44).

56 Also Ruth, Steenwyk and Witvliet, *Walking Where Jesus Walked,* 15: "A choir or soloist assisted congregational singing, which was done without instruments […] the congregation often had a simple, memorable line to sing in response to longer verses sung by practiced voices." However, unlike other ecclesiastical authors, Cyril does not mention responsorial singing, cf. e.g. Eusebius, *HE* 2.17.22 (SC 31:77); Basil, *Ep.* 207.3 (PG 32:764); Chrysostom, *Ex. in ps.* 117.1 (PG 55:328).

57 Cf. G. Delacroix's interpretation, according to which there were catechumens among the chanters, see *Saint Cyrille de Jerusalem*, 221. However, based on the sources, such a claim is difficult to sustain.

58 *Laod.* 15, 23–24 (PG 137:1360, 1372). Cf. also the canons of the Quinisext Council of 692, *Trull.* 33, 75 (PG 137:625, 769).

59 *Catech.* 13.26 (2:86).

60 In fact, it may be that in the Hagiopolite church(es), "there were none of those specially trained, professional singers who now perform this 'duty'." See Alexander Elchaninov, *The Diary of a Russian Priest*,

Cyril suggests that diligence was required of them, for their task included nothing less than imitating the angelic hosts and continually singing praise to God.[61] While the song of the chanters was directed to the Divinity, it had communal significance as well. In what may be "the earliest extant reference to psalmody at the distribution of communion"[62], the author of the *Mystagogical Catecheses* suggests that one of the functions of the chanter's "divine melody" was to invite the congregation to the eucharist, and to prepare their inner disposition in the face of this mystery.[63]

JERUSALEMITE PARTICIPANTS OF THE ANGELIC LITURGY

As we have seen, for Cyril, psalmody and praise receive their fullest realization in the liturgical services of the Jerusalem congregation of baptized believers. At the same time, in Cyril's view, the liturgy of this local congregation included a celestial dimension as well. As the angelic host sang praises and hymns at the nativity of Christ[64], so the choirs of angels are considered to be present in the baptismal liturgy, exclaiming their joy over the neophytes[65].

Obviously, the use of the noun "choir" (χορός) raises a question about the liturgical activity of the heavenly host. In some instances, Cyril appears to use this word simply in reference to the angelic group itself.[66] In

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trans. Helen Iswolsky, ed. Kallistos Timothy Ware (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), 164.

61 *Catech.* 13.26 (2:86). It would be interesting to locate the liturgical context of Ps. 21:19 (LXX) quoted in the present passage. However, while Janeras is correct in stating that in the pre-baptismal catecheses there are allusions to certain readings, the Cyrilline corpus includes no conclusive evidence of any sort of lectionary. See "Les lectionnaires," 72. Of course, according to Egeria, in the later service of the commemoration of the sufferings and death of Christ which started at the sixth hour of the Great Friday "before the Cross", "whichever Psalms speak of the Passion are read", see *It. Eger.* 37.4–5 (SC 296:286). This would perhaps indicate the use of Ps. 21 in the said service—an assumption which is confirmed by the later *Armenian lectionary* of Jerusalem, see Halaweh, *The Church of Jerusalem*, 258–59. While Cyril is silent about the number of singers, Halaweh suggests that in this particular service, the psalms were "sung in *solo* with refrains performed in unison by all the Assembly." See *ibidem*, 259. The scholar also adds that Ps. 21:18 was used in the service of the Commemoration of the Burial that directly followed, see *ibidem*, 260.

62 McKinnon, *Music in early Christian literature*, 76.

63 *Catech. myst.* 5.20 (2:392): Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀκούετε τοῦ ψάλλοντος μετὰ μέλους θείου προτρεπρομένου ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων καὶ λέγοντος· γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ Κύριος. Due to a typographical error in SC 126:168, the RR edition is used here. Juliette Day seems to be correct in explaining that the cantor "sang the communion psalm for, rather than with, the congregation." See "The Eucharist in Jerusalem: A Brief Survey of Some Problems and Content of the Eucharistic Prayers of the Mystagogical Catecheses," in *The Eucharist – Its Origins and Contexts: Sacred Meal, Communal Meal, Table Fellowship in Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity. Volume II, Patristic Traditions, Iconography*, eds. David Hellholm and Dieter Sänger (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 1146.

64 *Catech.* 12.32 (2:44): ποιμένες μαρτυρήσουσιν οἱ τότε εὐαγγελισθέντες καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν αἰνούντων καὶ ὑμνούντων καὶ εἰπόντων· Here, Cyril interprets the Lukan account of the angelic praise (αἰνούντων) in musical terms, adding the word ὑμνούντων. Cf. Lk 2:13: καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἐγένετο σὺν τῷ ἀγγέλῳ πλῆθος στρατιᾶς οὐρανίου αἰνούντων τὸν θεὸν καὶ λεγόντων· So also Chrysostom, *Exp. in ps.* 8.1 (PG 55:106).

65 *Procatech.* 15 (1:20, 22). The baptismal presence of angels is a recurring theme in *Catech.*—see e.g. 1.6, 3.16 (1:36, 84)—as well as in later Patristic authors, see e.g. Chrysostom, *Cat.* 2.20 (SC 50:145). Cf. *ibidem*, 8.5 (SC 50:250). In Cyril, the same theme is implied also in *Catech.* 1.1 (1:28); *ibidem*, 18.34 (2:338).

66 See also *Catech.* 6.2 and 9.8 (1:156, 248), where Cyril mentions the choir(s) of the stars without an explicit reference to musical activities. Similarly, Hesychius of Jerusalem, *Hom. pasc.* 1.1 (SC 187:62): Φαιδρὸς ὁ οὐρανὸς τῇ τῶν ἄστρων χορείᾳ καταλαμπόμενος, … Cf. Chrysostom, who uses the noun χορός in his discussion "the diverse choir of stars" (τῶν ἄστρων χορὸς) and other celestial bodies. Notably, according to Chrysostom, all of these proclaim their creator. See *Exp. in ps.* 144.1 (PG 55:463). Cf. also the Greek "Hymn to the Sun", in which the chorus of stars was depicted as both dancing and singing, see Landels, *Music in ancient Greece and Rome*, 256.

others, the word denotes the joyful dance around (περὶ) the newly baptized performed by the angels. Furthermore, based upon the fact that in Ancient Greek literature, the noun χορός is often employed in reference not only to dancing but to singing as well[67], its Cyrilline use may also imply the angels' activity as both choral singers and dancers. Indeed, in connection with the angels as a choir, the catechist refers to their message which they probably addressed to humans by singing (χορεύσουσι περὶ ὑμῶν ἄγγελοι, καὶ ἐροῦσι).[68] Unfortunately, the sources lack sufficient evidence for a final conclusion on this matter.

What is more important for Cyril, as well as for our study, is that in his mind, participation in the baptismal liturgy equals participation in the celestial liturgy in the presence of the heavenly host. At baptism, the door is opened for the candidates to nothing less than one form of paradise which, before the eschatological entry into the eternal kingdom of God, is manifested in the church.[69] In other words, the church and its liturgical life provide—or, properly speaking, *are*—the presence of the celestial and salvific reality in the temporality and locality of the immanent world. This liturgical confluence of the heavenly and the earthly is a fundamental factor for Cyril. He emphasizes:

> What has the sanctity of the Church to do with the abomination of the Manichees? Here is order, here is knowledge, here is sanctity, here is purity: here even *to look upon a woman to lust after her* is condemnation. Here is sacred marriage, here steadfast continence, here the angelic honor of virginity: here partaking of food with thanksgiving, here gratitude to the creator of everything. Here the Father of Christ is worshipped: here are taught fear and trembling before Him who sends the rain: here we ascribe glory to Him who makes the thunder and the lightning.[70]

Apparently, the adverb "here" (ὧδε)—repeated no less than 13 times in the present passage—denotes an ideological distinction between the church and the sect of the Manichees. Simultaneously, the word can hardly be divorced from the actualization of the sanctified life in the local congregation. In the Jerusalem church and as its baptized members, Cyril's audience would

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67 See Anton Bierl, *Ritual and Performativity: The Chorus in Old Comedy* (Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2009), "Introduction", *passim*, Harvard University Center for Hellenic Studies, accessed December 14, 2021, https://archive.chs.harvard.edu/.

68 *Catech*. 3.16 (1:84). Cf. *Catech*. 12.5 (RR 2:8), Cyril mentions that "this the greatest of the works of creation was disporting (χορεῦον) himself in Paradise"—an apparent reference to delightful dancing and perhaps to singing as well. The translation is by Edwin Hamilton Gifford.

69 *Procatech*. 15–16 (1:20, 22). In his catechetical rhetoric, Cyril depicts paradisiacal existence on four levels: 1) The primordial paradise, 2) the gardens of Gethsemane and Golgotha, 3) the Church as paradise, and 4) the celestial paradise. For Cyril, these paradisiacal realities form historical and typological continuum, and represent individual phases of a single narration of salvation history. For a closer examination of this topic in Finnish, see Harri Huovinen, "Paratiisin neljä tasoa Kyrillos Jerusalemilaisen katekeettisessa retoriikassa," in *Varhaiskirkon Jerusalem*, ed. Serafim Seppälä, Studia Patristica Fennica 19 (Helsinki: Societas Patristica Fennica, 2023).

70 *Catech*. 6.35 (1:204, 206): τί τὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας σεμνὸν, πρὸς τὸ [τῶν] Μανιχαίων μυσαρόν; Ὧδε τάξις, ὧδε ἐπιστήμη, ὧδε σεμνότης, ὧδε ἁγνεία· ὧδε καὶ τὸ ἐμβλέψαι γυναικὶ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν [Mt 5:28], κατάγνωσις. Ὧδε γάμος σεμνότητος, ὧδε ἐγκρατείας ὑπομονὴ, ὧδε παρθενίας ἰσάγγελον ἀξίωμα· ὧδε βρωμάτων μετοχὴ μετὰ εὐχαριστίας· ὧδε εὐγνωμοσύνη πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὅλων δημιουργόν. Ὧδε ὁ Πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσκυνεῖται· ὧδε φόβος καὶ τρόμος διδάσκεται τοῦ βρέχοντος· ὧδε τῷ βροντῶτι καὶ ἀστράπτοντι δοξολογίαν ἀναπέμπομεν. The English is my revision of the Gifford translation.

have ascribed glory to God. By this doxology, the catechist most likely means the *Sanctus*, which later in the Cyrilline corpus is introduced as a part of the eucharistic liturgy. According to the author of the *Catech. myst.*, the recitation (λέγομεν, *legomen*) of the words of the seraphic *Sanctus* manifests the Christians as partakers of the hymnody of the supermundane hosts.[71] Echoing the words of Paul (Eph 5:19a) already quoted in the pre-baptismal *Catech.* 17.33, the mystagogue states that these spiritual hymns have a sanctifying effect on the Christians in his church[72]. In this way, for Cyril, the Hagiopolite church with its liturgy and hymnody constitutes the "living icon"[73] and the bridgehead of the heavenly Jerusalem and its eternal liturgy.[74] It is the very *topos* where heaven is revealed on earth, and at its very centre[75]. Thus, in the liturgy, the fully initiated members of the church—both neophytes and authorized singers alike—are granted participation in celestial doxology in the presence of angels.[76]

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This article has sought to provide an unprecedented systematization of Cyril of Jerusalem's views on ecclesiastical music and praise. At the same time, the aim has been to answer the question of whether, in Cyril's oeuvre, there is a relationship between the catechetical audiences' current stage in the initiatory process and their supposed role in congregational singing.

As can be expected from a fourth-century author, Cyril provided no systematic exposition of church music. Even so, most of his music-related vocabulary was utilized precisely in reference to this theme. For Cyril, the bishop-catechist, psalmody was exclusively vocal, and served mainly as a medium for doxology. It may also have had a role in the instruction and spiritual edification of its participants. Ecclesiastical singing was depicted as a corporate affair involving designated cantors as well as the whole congregation. Information on the participants of this activity can be summarized in three points:

1. Cyril did not refer to the early-stage *catechumens* as participants in psalmody or praise. It is unknown whether or not they actually sung in the Hagiopolite services. In any case, they seem to have lacked any significant role in the making of church music.
2. Participation in psalmody and praise of the more advanced rank of *baptismal candidates* was mentioned in three instances. At this pre-

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71   *Catech. myst.* 5.6 (SC 126:154).
72   *Catech. myst.* 5.7 (SC 126:154).
73   Taft, *Through Their Own Eyes*, 145.
74   Cf. *Catech.* 18.26 (2:330).
75   Cyril follows the Jewish idea of Jerusalem as the centre of the earth, see *Catech.* 13.28 (RR 2:86). Cf. e.g. Hes 38:12; Josephus, *Bell.* 3.3.5. For discussion, see Robert L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 120.
76   Other patristic authors of the late 380s would agree: Basil (*Ep.* 2.2 [PG 32:225–28]) and Chrysostom (*Vid. dom. hom.* 1.1 [PG 56:97]) discuss ecclesial imitation of the chorus of angels. Chrysostom also maintains that the church is full of angels (*In ascen.* [PG 50:443]), whom the choirs of believers join to raise their chant (*Exp. in ps.* 109.5 [PG 55:273]; see also *Comm. in Is.* 4.3 [PG 56:71]). Chrysostom even states that it is necessary to become an angel and give praise in this way (*Exp. in ps.* 112.1 [PG 55:300]).

baptismal stage, participation in ecclesiastical song seemed to lack the fullness which is apparent in Cyril's descriptions of the liturgy of the faithful. Thus, the candidates appear to have been considered mainly as "students" of psalmody.

3. The majority of Cyril's music-related statements depicted the liturgical life of the *baptized assembly*. This appears to indicate his view that while the baptismal candidates enjoyed a partial participation in the membership of the church and psalmody, only in the post-baptismal life did they have the ability to enjoy these gifts in full measure. Indeed, through the rites of baptism, the candidates were transformed into full members of the church, i.e., into the holy assembly that sung a new song to the Lord. Further, in the baptismal and eucharistic liturgies, these fully initiated members of the church were granted participation in celestial doxology in the presence of angels.

In this way, the Cyrilline gradation between the ecclesial statuses of (1) initial-stage catechumens, (2) baptismal candidates, and (3) baptized Christians was reflected in the way the author discusses the ability of each group to participate in psalmody. Briefly, over the course of the initiatory process, Cyril's audience was gradually transformed from simple listeners into participants in the fullness of the church and its singing. These observations constitute a novel contribution, however small, to the study of fourth-century theologies of psalmody and Christian initiation.

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— *Procatech.* = *Procatechesis.* RR 1.

— "The Catechetical Lectures of S. Cyril, Archbishop of Jerusalem, with a Revised Translation, Introduction, Notes, and Indices, by Edwin Hamilton Gifford, D.D." *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series, vol. VII, S. Cyril of Jerusalem, S. Gregory of Nazianzen.* Eds. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Egeria. *It. Eger.* = *Itinerarivm.* Journal de Voyage (Itinéraire) et Lettre Sur la Bse Égérie. SC 296.

Eusebius. *HE* = *Historia ecclesiastica.* Histoire ecclésiastique, tome I. Livres I-IV. SC 31.

— *In ps.* = *In psalmos.* PG 23.

Evagrius. *Prakt.* = *Praktikos.* Le Pratique. SC 171.

Gregory of Nazianzus. *Or.* = *Oratio.* PG 35.

Gregory of Nyssa. *Inscr.* = *In inscriptiones Psalmorum.* PG 44.

— *Macr.* = *Vita s. Macrinae.* PG 46.

— *Op. hom.* = *De hominis opificio.* PG 44.

Hesychius of Jerusalem. *Hom. pasc.* = Pâque (Homélie sur la sainte). Homélies pascales. SC 187.

Ignatius of Antioch. Ign. *Phil.* = *Epistola ad Philadelphenses.* Lettres. SC 10.

John Chrysostom. *Cat.* = Huit catéchèses baptismales. SC 50.

— *Comm. in Is.* = *In Isaiam.* PG 56.

— *Exp. in ps.* = *Expositiones in Psalmos.* PG 55.

— *In ascen.* = *In ascensionem d. n. Iesu Christi.* PG 50.

— *In Eph. hom.* = *In epistolam ad Ephesios commentarius.* PG 62.

— *In 1 Cor. hom.* = *In epistulam I ad Corinthios hom.* PG 61.

— *In 1 Tim. hom.* = *In epistulam I ad Timotheum hom.* PG 62.

— *Vid. dom. hom.* = *In illud, Vidi dominum homil.* PG 56.

Josephus. *Bell.* = *Bellum Judaicum.* The Jewish War. Books I–III. Josephus II. The Loeb Classical Library.

Maximus the Conferssor. *Mystag.* = *Mystagogi*a. PG 91.

— *Qu.* = *Quaestiones ad Thalassium.* PG 90.

Sozomen. *Hist.* = *Historia ecclesiastica.* PG 67.

Theodorus Balsamon. *Laod.* = *Canones synodi Laodicenae.* PG 137.

— *Trull.* = *Canones synodi in Trullo.* PG 137.

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ΚΑΤΗΧΗΣΕΙΣ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΩΝ: Εἰσαγωγή–Μετάφραση–Σχόλια–Πίνακες–Ἐπιμέλεια Ἐκδόσεως ὑπό τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γέροντος τῆς Ἀδελφότητος ΙΜΑΙΠΚ, Ἀρχιμ. Ἀντωνίου Ρωμαίου καί τῶν Ἀδελφῶν τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Προδρόμου Καρέα. ΚΑΡΕΑΣ: ΕΚΔΟΣΕΙΣ «ΕΤΟΙΜΑΣΙΑ» ΙΕΡΑΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΤΙΜΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΥ, 1999.

Geography in Psalms: Hagiosophitikon Settings of Psalms 1, 2 and 3

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Definition and dating

The term *hagiosophitikon* – which can be roughly translated as "in the style of the Hagia Sophia" or "from the Hagia Sophia" – belongs to several geographical denominations found frequently in Byzantine musical manuscripts from the early fourteenth century onwards. Maria Alexandru and Christian Troelsgård state in their article on the *Papadike*[1]: "Sometimes, local attributions can be found, either for the compendium as a whole, or for various elements, revealing Constantinople, Thessaloniki and the Holy Mountain as important centres for the development of the Psaltike."

Figure 1: **Rubric displaying the term *hagiosophitikon*.**
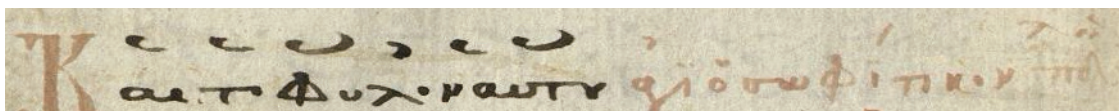
GR-An 2622, fol. 9v (© Athens National Library)

Some other designations inserted in the rubrics are e.g., *boulgarikon* ("Bulgarian"), *dysikon* ("Western"), *frangikon* ("Frankish"), *persikon* ("Persian"), *hagioreitikon* (from Mount Athos), *thessalonikaion* (from Thessaloniki) etc.[2],

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1   "The Development of a Didactic Tradition. The Elements of the Papadike," in *Tradition and Innovation in Late- and Postbyzantine Liturgical Chant 2: Proceedings of the congress held at Hernen Castle, the Netherlands, 30 October–3 November 2008*, eds. G. Wolfram–Chr. Troelsgård (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 18f.

2   See also the list in the index in Diane H. Touliatos-Miles, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Musical Manuscript Collection of the National Library of Greece. Byzantine Chant and Other Music Repertory Recovered*

which – as Flora Kritikou has already shown – either point to the origin of the chant or indicate a certain influence from the geographical locations mentioned.[3] These geographical designations seem to go hand in hand with another development in fourteenth-century codices, namely, the inclusion in the rubrics for a given chant of the name of the composer to whom that chant is attributed.[4]

Hagiosophitikon is also one of those terms that is mentioned only cursorily in footnotes and margins of studies in Byzantine chant. Neither has its exact meaning ever been clearly determined, nor have the settings carrying the designation been melodically analysed. Therefore, we cannot tell for sure if this geographical designation simply points to the origin of a chant or also to a certain way of chanting it.

To make things even more complicated, it is not clear – either from the manuscripts themselves or in the secondary literature – which Hagia Sophia-church is indicated by *hagiosophitikon*. In her catalogue of music manuscripts in the National Library of Greece, Diane Touliatos claims in one instance that *hagiosophitikon* chants are associated with the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and in another with the Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki respectively.[5] Edward Williams is careful not to commit himself, when he writes in his book on Ioannes Koukouzeles about the first three psalms: "Present for the first time among the anonymous works in Athens 2458 are several settings accompanied by the rubric 'Hagiosophitikon', which may represent chants associated with services in the Great Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople."[6] The question of the precise referent of the *hagiosophitikon* chants has for some time been unanswerable; unless other sources turn up, providing more clues, it can only remain guesswork as to which Hagia Sophia was meant. We shall return to this question below.

Manuscript sources and chants

Chants called *hagiosophitikon* cannot be found in a great number of codices. After carefully studying all well-known relevant and accessible manuscript collections, we can compile a list of approximately thirteen manuscripts from the early fourteenth until the late fifteenth centuries which I have chosen as the deadline for the present article.[7] GR-An 2458, the earliest

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(Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 631f.

3   Cf. Flora N. Kritikou, "Byzantine Compositions entitled 'Dysikon' (Western) and 'Fragikon' (Frankish): A Working Hypothesis on Potential Convergence Points of two Different Traditions," *Journal of the International Society for Orthodox Church Music* 3 (2018): 191: "In Byzantine musical manuscripts a number of compositions entitled thetalikon, politikon or persikon are regularly found. As is generally accepted, titles as thetalikon or politikon indicate an analogous origin for these chants, while, respectively, in the case of persikon an influence from a so-called 'external chant' is suggested. In the same way, other titles as dysikon and fragikon, meaning 'Frankish' and 'Western', are also detected; these, according to the practice of Byzantines scribes and composers, denote a western or Frankish origin and/or a certain influence of western music and liturgical practice, respectively."

4   Cf. Edward V. Williams, "John Koukouzeles' Reform of Byzantine Chanting for Great Vespers in the Fourteenth Century" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1968), 214.

5   Touliatos-Miles, *Catalogue*, 474 and 395.

6   Williams, "John Koukouzeles'", 214.

7   Of course, other codices similar to those included in the list also contain *hagiosophitikon* settings.

manuscript of the *Akolouthiai-* (or Order of Service), is also the earliest codex to include an *hagiosophitikon* setting. Older manuscripts, such as the *heirmologia* ET-MSsc 1256 and 1257, from 1309 and 1332[8] respectively, already display psalm compositions but do not contain chants with the designation *hagiosophitikon*. This might be due to the fact that these early codices do not attribute any psalm settings to composers, but contain only anonymous compositions.

TABLE 1. Manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries containing *hagiosophitikon* settings

MSS	Date	fol.	Psalm
GR-An 2458[9]	1336	14v, 15v, 19v, 20v	1 and 3
GR-An 2622[10]	c. 1341–1360	9v, 12v	1
GR-An 2444[11]	mid 14th-c.	26v, 28r, 31v, 32r[12]	1 and 2
GR-An 899[13]	c. 1390–1410	48v	1
GR-An 905[14]	late 14th c.	10r, 12v	2 and 3
A-Wn Theol. gr. 185[15]	1380–1391	9v, 10v, 16r, 223v, 6r	1 and 2 Καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα Κύριε ἐλέησον 103,29 103,35
GR-An 904[16]	14th–15th c.	23v, 32v	1 and 2
GR-An 906[17]	14th–15th c.	27r, 32v	1 and 2ʹΙ
GR-An 2456[18]	late 14th/early 15th c.	8r	1
GR-An 2401[19]	15th c.	63r, 135r	1 and a Teretismos
V-CVBav Barb. gr. 304[20]	15th c.	11r	1
GR-An 2406[21]	1453	35v, 37v, 38r, 42r, 43r, 233v	1 and 2 and and Alleluia
ET-MSsc 1293[22]	2nd half 15th c.	11r	1

See e.g., GR-An 2837, GR-An 2600, I-Ma L36, I-Ma Q11, GR-AOpk, GR-AOi 1120 (1458, autograph Manuel Chrysaphes) or GR-AOi 986. These manuscripts are excluded from the present article, as they are not available online.

8   Dimitrios K. Balageorgos–Flora N. Kritikou, *Τὰ Χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς Σινᾶ* 1 (Athens: Institut de Musicologie Byzantine, 2008), 210–218. Online scans of both manuscripts can be found here: https://bit.ly/37c5fW2 and https://bit.ly/2V7oTNd.

9   Online scans: https://bit.ly/3DpqkKB.

10   No online scans available.

11   Online scans: https://bit.ly/3dq294k.

12   The *hagiosophitikon* chant cannot be found among the kratemata settings from fol. 35r onwards as claimed by Touliatos, *Catalogue*, 377.

13   Online scans: https://bit.ly/3GeGIPW.

14   Online scans: https://bit.ly/3EoW4AS.

15   Online scans: https://bit.ly/3dosOyh.

16   Online scans: https://bit.ly/3ptUcRg.

17   Online scans: https://bit.ly/3dph4M2.

18   Online scans: https://bit.ly/31vyXpM.

19   Online scans: https://bit.ly/3EybOBF.

20   Online scans: https://bit.ly/3Gfj8Te.

21   Online scans: https://bit.ly/3pv1GDr.

22   Online scans: https://bit.ly/2ZYvEqN.

The term *hagiosophitikon* seems to be applied almost exclusively to verses of Psalm 1 (Μακάριος ἀνήρ) and to a lesser degree to those of Psalms 2 (Ἵνα τί ἐφρύαξαν ἔθνη) and 3 (Κύριε, τί ἐπληθύνθησαν οἱ θλίβοντές με). So far, I have only found one other psalm and three non-psalmic chants that are called *hagiosophitikon*:

TABLE 2. *Hagiosophitikon* **settings found in other chants, namely Καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα (And the Holy Spirit), verses 29 and 35 of Psalm 103, a** *Teretismos* **(a chant with meaningless syllables) and an Alleluia**

MSS	fol.	Chant
A-Wn Theol. gr. 185	223v	Καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα Κύριε ἐλέησον (at the end of the Small Doxology/Δόξα Πατρί);
	6r	Ps. 103,29 (καὶ εἰς τὸν χοῦν αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέψουσιν)[23]
	6r	103,35: καὶ ἄνομοι, ὥστε μὴ ὑπάρχειν αὐτούς, δόξα σοι ὁ θεός
GR-An 2401	135r	Νεανες, τερετε … εἰς τέλος πολυχρόνιον ποιῇ (at the end of a Μὴ ἐπιλάθῃ τῶν πενήτων, a setting of Psalm 9,33 by Xenos Korones;
GR-An 2406	233v	Alleluia chant

These settings differ radically from melodies of psalms 1–3 termed *hagiosophitikon*. In these cases the denomination *hagiosophitikon* is definitely faulty and seems to have been caused by errors on the part of the copyists (please see part "Wrong/incorrect attributions" for detailed analyses).

STRUCTURAL AND STYLISTIC ANALYSIS

Looking at the compositional style of the chants in question puts one on more stable ground than mere assumptions as to the meaning of the term *hagiosophitikon* itself. Edward Williams[24] offers an interesting hint when he calls the *hagiosophitikon* settings "conservative". He claims that the "[…] relatively conservative 'Hagiosophitikon' chants have lost this near balance between length of Psalm text and length of Alleluia, for the music of the refrain is more than twice the length of the Psalm text." Williams goes on to show[25] that the *hagiosophitikon* chants comprise an average of 35 notes for the psalm text and 76 for the Alleluia, thus doubling the notes for the refrain.

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23   Alexander Lingas, "From Earth to Heaven: The Changing Musical Soundscape of Byzantine Liturgy," in *Experiencing Byzantium: Papers from the 44th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Newcastle and Durham, April 2011*, eds. Claire Nesbitt and Mark Jackson (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2013), 348, also states that *hagiosophitikon* settings can be found among the verses of Psalm 103, the so-called Anoixantarion psalm: "[… the] composers transformed the concluding section of Psalm 103 – the Anoixantaria […] and Stasis One of the First Kathisma of the Psalter (= Psalms 1–3) into sprawling and stylistically heterogeneous suites of traditional and innovative music. Their traditional elements consist of anonymous verse settings that are sometimes labelled 'old' or supplied with such titles indicating geographic provenance as Hagiosophitikon or Thessalonikaion. Most verses, however, are attributed individually to Koukouzeles, his contemporary Xenos Korones and other late Byzantine composers. Almost all settings begin with a traditional psalm-tone that soon dissolves into original and often virtuosic music."
24   Williams, "John Koukouzeles'", 234.
25   Williams, "John Koukouzeles'", 233.

Unfortunately, Williams does not disclose the way in which he counted the neumes: It is not clear, for instance, if he counts two combined neumes such as *Apostrophos+Elaphron* ( ) as two notes or just as one. Therefore, I come to a different ratio regarding the length of the verse and the refrain in *hagiosophitikon* settings: Based on my own transcriptions (see below), the Alleluia refrain usually exceeds the psalm verses by approximately ten notes (I count neume combinations that are sung as one note only as one and not as two).

Contrary to the psalm verses, the Alleluia refrains are freely composed settings that do not follow any discernible pattern. Here, the composers seem to have been "allowed" to use their own creativity more than when dealing with the psalm-verses themselves where – apparently – they had to adhere to older, traditional formulas, handed down from generation to generation. The present article will therefore concentrate on the melodic analysis of the verses themselves and not on the Alleluia refrains. On account of the very different style of the refrains, they still await detailed analysis to explore the possibility that they too might manifest a different, though still distinct, *hagiosophitikon* compositional style.[26]

The highly formulaic verses, on the contrary, will provide more insights into the oral past of psalm-verses and thus also possible connections to the so-called "simple" psalmody. The term "simple psalmody" was coined by Christian Troelsgård who describes it is "flexible and orally administered type chanting" which "seems to be quite stable and firmly linked to the eight-modes-system" which "formed the musical 'backbone' of the Byzantine office".[27]

Taking a close look at the structure of the verses themselves it becomes apparent that they consist of two parts:

a) Incipit:

A strictly syllabic beginning which resembles a kind of recitation, rather than a proper melody, and which in its basic outline is common to Psalms 1, 2 and 3. This recitation is made up of tone repetitions (*isa*) and no intervals larger than an ascending or descending second for which only *petasthai* ( ) and *apostrophoi* ( ) are used, thus making it easy to determine where the melisma starts:

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26   The lively responses to my latest papers on various aspects of Byzantine music has shown that interest is especially high regarding chants with geographical designations. The present article can therefore be regarded as the starting point for further research. Among others, the author of this article will examine chants termed *thettalikon/thessalonikaion* in a paper to be presented at the 8th International Conference of the RASMB-IMS Musical Cultures and Diasporas in the Balkans (Aug/Sept 2023 in Thessaloniki). Concerning the complex questions of the Alleluia refrains, the author will submit a paper dedicated exclusively to this topic at Leeds International Medieval Congress in July 2023. Furthermore, the definite aim of this article is to inspire future studies on both Alleluia refrains of various Byzantine chants as well as on other chants with geographic denominations which have hitherto remained unexamined.

27   On the concept of "simple psalmody" see above all: Christian Troelsgård, "Simple Psalmody in Byzantine Chant," in *Papers read at the 12th Meeting of the IMS Study Group Cantus Planus, Lillafüred/Hungary, 23–28 August 2004*, ed. László Dobszay (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2006), 83–92; Christian Troelsgård, *Byzantine Neumes. A New Introduction to the Middle Byzantine Musical Notation* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2011), 31. Oliver Strunk, "The Antiphons of the Oktoechos," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 13 (1960): 50–67.

Figure 2: **Syllabic beginning of the incipit**
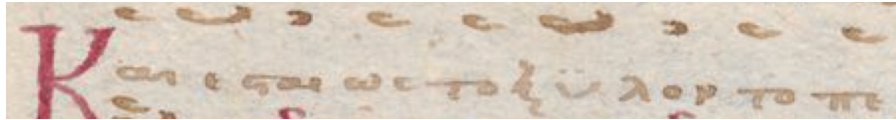
A-Wn Theol. gr. 185, fol. 9v (Psalm 1, verse 3a: Καὶ ἔσται ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον)
(© Austrian National Library)
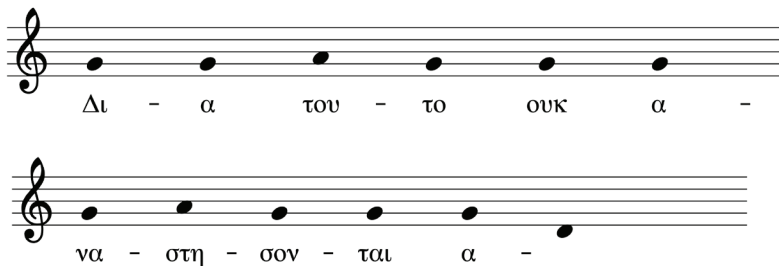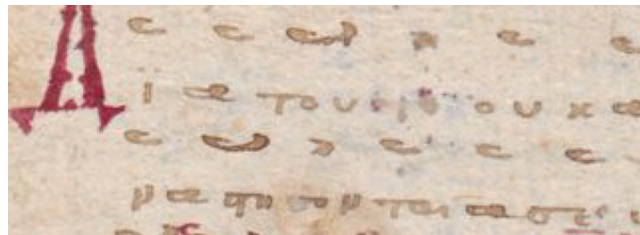
A-Wn Theol. gr. 185, fol. 10v (Psalm 1, verse 5a: Διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀναστήσονται ἀσεβεῖς ἐν κρίσει) (© Athens National Library)

This simple recitation is thus highly adaptable to the different length and syllable counts of the various verses as well as to the text accents. As becomes apparent when comparing the incipit of the *hagiosophitikon* chants, the melodic line on an accented syllable always goes up a second, usually using a *petasthe*.[28] This type of incipit, however, is not unique to *hagiosophitikon* settings, as it is also used by composers in chants termed *palaion* and anonymous ones (see e.g. A-Wn Theol. gr. 185, fol. 9v for the anonymous setting of Psalm 1, verse 3c καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ or fol. 10r, Psalm 1, 5b οὐδὲ ἁμαρτωλοί).

Thus, the incipit gives us an idea of how psalms might have been sung before they started to be embellished: They probably consisted only of these syllabic recitations with a short formula at the end. This is what the so-called "simple" psalmody must have looked like (see also Figure 4 for simple psalmody).

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[28] My thanks go to Charles M. Atkinson for pointing out this feature, which is an important characteristic of Western psalm-tones, whose cadences are expanded or contracted to reflect accented syllables.

b) Melodic part:

The melodic part starts right after the shorter or longer syllabic incipit and consists strictly speaking of a melisma on a chosen syllable, usually the fourth syllable from the end of the verse. Comparing the chosen verses of Psalms 1 to 3 it becomes apparent that there are two distinct melodies for these melismata (I call them A and B) plus one variant (A' and B') each. These melodies are quite easy to recognize, making the *hagiosophitikon* chants clearly discernable for the listener and probably making them easy to remember for the singers.

TABLE 3. Verses using Melody A (the syllable with the melisma is underlined)

Ps.	Text	Manuscript
1	καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀποῤῥυήσεται (3c)	GR-An 2622, fol. 9v
		GR-An 2444, fol. 26v
		GR-An 2406, fol. 35v
1	ὁ ἄνεμος ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς (4b²)	GR-An 2458, fol. 14v
1	διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀναστήσονται ἀσεβεῖς ἐν κρίσει (5a)	A-Wn Theol. gr. 185, fol. 10v
3	ἐγὼ ἐκοιμήθην καὶ ὕπνωσα (6a)	GR-An 905, fol. 12v

The red rectangle in Figure 3 shows the syllabic incipit discussed above. The blue circles contain melody A with the transcription into Western staff notation. This melody is used for all the verses shown in Table 3:

Figure 3: **Outline of Melody A**
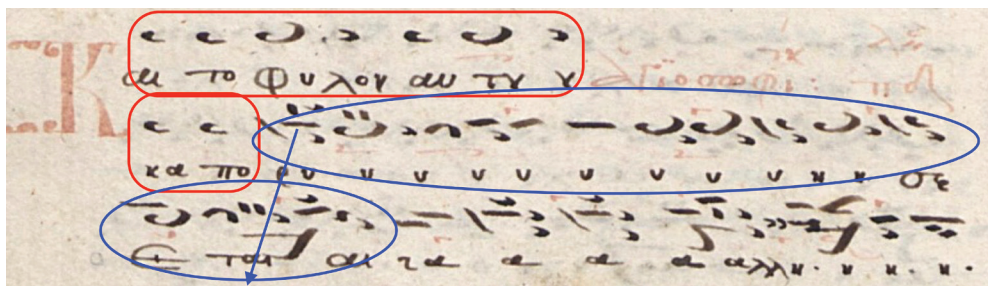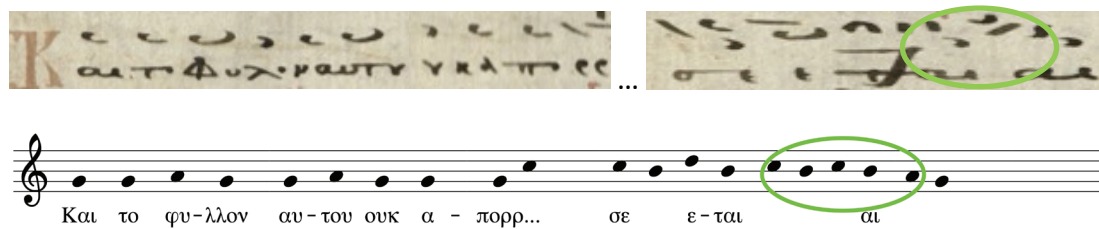

GR-An 2444, fol. 26v (Psalm 1, verse 3c: Καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀποῤῥυήσεται)
(© Athens National Library)

As one can see in Figure 3, the biggest interval here is an ascending fourth at the beginning of the melisma; otherwise there are only ascending or descending seconds and thirds; the ambitus covers a sixth. The melisma always appears on the fourth syllable from the end of the verse, except for verse 6 of Psalm 3 (ἐγὼ ἐκοιμήθην καὶ ὕπνωσα), where it is on the third syllable form the end. Usually, the melody starts on the syllable before the melisma. Melody A also has a short melisma on the final syllable of each verse in a distinct cadential formula (see the green oval in Figure 3).

If, for experimental reasons, we take away the melisma on ἀποῤῥυήσεται (i.e. Melody A) we probably obtain the old syllabic (simple) version:

Figure 4: **Reconstruction of a possible simple psalmody setting**

GR-An 2622, fol. 9v (Psalm 1, verse 3c: Καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀποῤῥυήσεται without the melisma) (© Athens National Library)

TABLE 4. Verses using Melody A′

Ps.	Text	Manuscript
1	καὶ ἔσται ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων (3a)	A-Wn Theol. gr. 185, fol. 9v
1	καὶ ὁδὸς ἀσεβῶν ἀπολεῖται (6b)	GR-An 2458, fol. 15v
		GR-An 2456, fol. 8r
		GR-An 906, fol. 27r
		V-CVBav Barb. gr. 304, fol. 11r
		GR-An 2406, fol. 37v
		ET-MSsc 1293, fol. 11r
1	ἀπολεῖται (6b²)	GR-An 899, fol. 48v
		GR-An 2401, fol. 63r
2	μακάριοι πάντες οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ᾿ αὐτῷ (13b)	GR-An 2444, fol. 31v
		GR-An 904, fol. 32v

Melody A′ is a kind of shorter variant of Melody A; regarding for instance verse 6b of Psalm 1 (καὶ ὁδὸς ἀσεβῶν ἀπολεῖται) in Figure 5, this appears as follows: the red box exhibits the common syllabic beginning, the blue circles the melody for the small melisma on τῶν which is a shortened version of Melody A (the transcription into Western staff notation in Figure 5 below gives an idea of the melodic outline of the melisma).

Figure 5: **Outline of Melody A′ (above) in comparison to Melody A (below)**
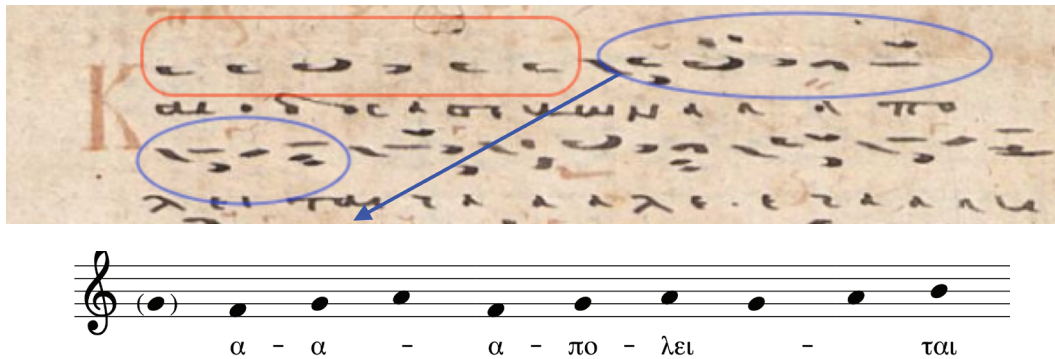
GR-An 2458, fol. 15v (Psalm 1, verse 6b: Καὶ ὁδὸς ἀσεβῶν ἀπολεῖται) (© Athens National Library)
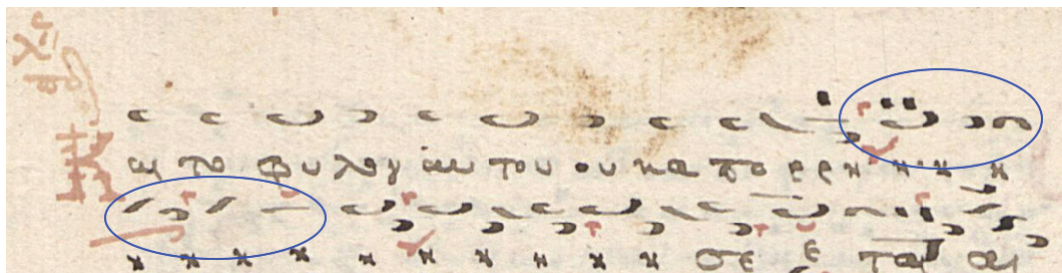
GR-An 2444, fol. 26v (Psalm 1, verse 3c: Καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀποῤῥυήσεται)
(© Athens National Library)

The melody shown in the blue oval in the first example of Figure 5 (taken from GR-An 2458, fol. 15v) corresponds with that in the blue oval of Gr-An 2444, fol. 26v. It is a shortened version of the melisma that starts with an ascending fourth ( ) in Gr-An 2444 – a leap that is omitted in the shortened version.

GR-An 2401 and GR-An 899 also label their settings of the last word of verse 6b (ἀπολεῖται) *hagiosophitikon* (see Figure 6 below): GR-An 2401 might provide a glimpse into the syllabic setting of this verse because it uses one formula from Melody A shown in Figure 3 above without the short melisma on ἀπο<u>λεῖται</u>, employing the four neumes found on ἀπο<u>λεῖται</u> for the whole word, which is a very common simple cadence.

Figure 6: **Formula from Melody A used for the last word of verse 6b of Psalm 1**
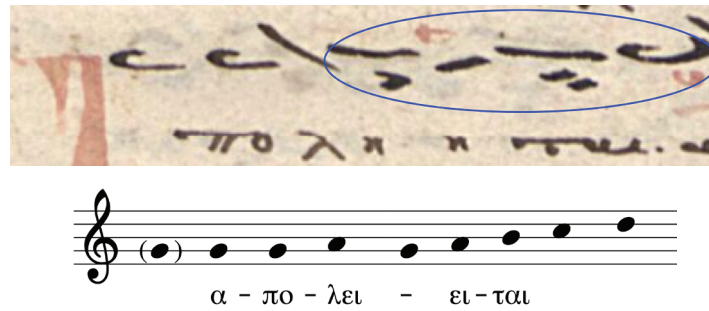
GR-An 2401, fol. 63r (Psalm 1, verse 6b²: ἀπολεῖται) (© Athens National Library)
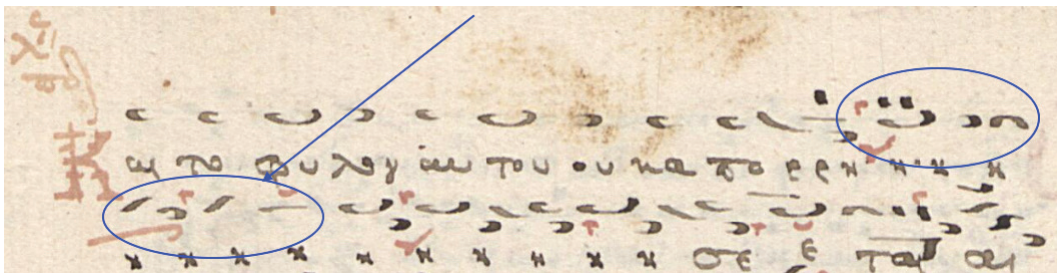
GR-An 2444, fol. 26v (Psalm 1, verse 3c: Καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀποῤῥυήσεται)
(© Athens National Library)

TABLE 5. Verses employing Melody B

Ps.	Text	Manuscript
1	καὶ ὁδὸς ἀσεβῶν ἀπολεῖται (6b)	GR-An 2622, fol. 12v
		GR-An 2444, fol. 28r
		GR-An 904, fol. 23v
		GR-An 2406, fol. 38r
2	ἐκγελάσεται αὐτούς (4a²)	GR-An 905, fol. 10r
2	δουλεύσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ (11a)	A-Wn Theol. gr. 185, fol. 16r
3	τῶν κύκλῳ συνεπιτιθεμένων μοι (7b)	GR-An 2458, fol. 20v

Table 5 makes it clear that Melody B is the prime melody for Psalm 2, and four manuscripts (GR-An 2622, GR-An 2444, GR-An 904 and GR-2406, 38r) employ it for verse 6b of Psalm 1 (καὶ ὁδὸς ἀσεβῶν ἀπολεῖται). The transcription in Figure 7 shows again the melody of the melisma in blue circles:

Figure 7: **Outline of Melody B**

GR-An 2622, fol. 12v (Psalm 1, verse 6b: καὶ ὁδὸς ἀσεβῶν ἀπολεῖται) (© Athens National Library)

Like Melody A, Melody B also employs a fourth (descending this time) as the largest interval, but otherwise it consists again of ascending and descending seconds and thirds. The ambitus of Melody B is an octave, and thus slightly larger than the range of Melody A. I could not find any proof for Williams's claim[29] that "[…] the total spectrum of range reveals that the 10th is by far the most popular vocal ambitus for the 'Hagiosophitikon' […] chants of the first Stasis[30] […]."

Contrary to Melody A, Melody B has no common final formula; all the melismata end differently here before the Alleluia refrain begins.

TABLE 6. One verse using Melody B'

Ps.	Text	Manuscript
2	οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ (13b²)	GR-An 906, 32v

A variant of Melody B appears at the end of verse of 13b² of Psalm 2 (οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ), taking as its melodic substance only parts of melody B, as indicated by the blue circles in Figure 8 below.

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29 Williams, "John Koukouzeles'", 235.
30 A stasis is one of three sections of each *kathisma*, i.e. the twentieth part of the Psalter.

Figure 8: **Variant of Melody B for Psalm 2, verse 13b²**

GR-An 906, fol. 32v (Psalm 2, verse: 13b²: οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ) (© Athens National Library)

Although Melody A is the predominant one for Psalm 1 and Melody B for Psalm 2 (one cannot point to a characteristic melody for Psalm 3 because only very few *hagiosophitikon* chants can be found for this text), it becomes apparent that these melodies can be "borrowed" by any of the other psalms: Melody A, for instance, is also taken over for one verse of Psalm 3 and Melody A' for Psalm 2. Melody B can be found for a verse of Psalm 1 as well as for Psalm 3. Therefore, I cannot concur with Williams, "John Koukouzeles'",[31] who claims that "inter-psalm" migration, where "melodies might wander from one psalm to another or appear in all three psalms of the first Stasis […] does not occur in any of the anonymous settings, i.e. the quasi-traditional or *Hagiosophitikon*, but is only a feature of certain newly-composed melodies." As shown above, the two main Melodies A and B do occur in all three psalms of the first *kathisma*.

Wrong/incorrect attributions

Occasionally, settings are designated *hagiosophitikon* in the rubrics of manuscripts, although they do not seem to belong to this type:

Table 7. Wrong/Incorrect designations

Ps.	Text	Manuscript
2	οἱ κρίνοντες τὴν γῆν (10b)	GR-An 2406, fol. 42r: Incorrect designation: chant does not begin with the characteristic incipit but with a fifth upwards.
2	καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε αὐτῷ ἐν τρόμῳ (11b)	GR-An 2406, fol. 43r: Incorrect designation.
2	οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ (13b²)	GR-An 2444, fol. 32r: Incorrect designation
3	ἐξηγέρθην, ὅτι Κύριος ἀντιλήψεταί μου (6b)	GR-An 2458, fol. 19v: Incorrect designation

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31   Williams, "John Koukouzeles'", 243.

These seemingly incorrect designations are spotted quite easily, once one knows the incipit and the melodies typical for *hagiosophitikon* chants (see the Figures above): The chants so designated either contain longer melismata with unusually high pitches and/or larger intervals or use a different incipit and a melody that is different from the standard ones for *hagiosophitikon* settings. However, one must be aware of the possibility that the application of the term *hagiosophitikon* to chants other than the verses of Psalm 1–3 could mean something else stylistically, or simply be a non-stylistic term or use or origin: Musicians of this period might have used this term in a broader sense to denote a chant somehow related to the usages of one or more churches called Hagia Sophia.

Bearing this in mind, I found three verses of Psalm 2 and one of Psalm 3 (see Table 7 above) which show uncharacteristic features for *hagiosophitikon* chants:

- GR-An 2406, fol. 42r, for instance, does not begin with the characteristic incipit but with a fifth upwards. The short melody displayed afterwards does not match the typical *hagiosophitikon* melodies either. That verse 11b of Psalm 2 (καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε αὐτῷ ἐν τρόμῳ) is termed an *hagiosophitikon* in GR-An 2406 (see Figure 9 below) is due to a scribal error: 1) because while the verse starts with the common incipit, the melisma on αὐτῷ is much longer with unusual high pitches and large intervals (fourths and fifths) than *hagiosophitikon* chant; 2) this is confirmed by a comparison with a setting found in A-Wn Theol. gr. 185: On fol. 16v of this manuscript it can be seen that the chant found in GR-An 2406, fol. 43r is a kalophonic composition attributed to Christophoros Mystakon(os) (mid-fourteenth century[32]) and not a *hagiosophitikon* (see Figure 9 below):

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32   Erich Trapp (ed.), PLP – *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit 8, entry no 19900* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976–1995), https://bit.ly/2ZWRlr5, dates Mystakonos on the basis of the appearance of his compositions in GR-An 2458 from the year 1336. He is sometimes confused with Michael Mystakon(os) who lived approximately one hundred years later (around 1430).

Figure 9: **Comparison of Psalm 2, verse 11b**
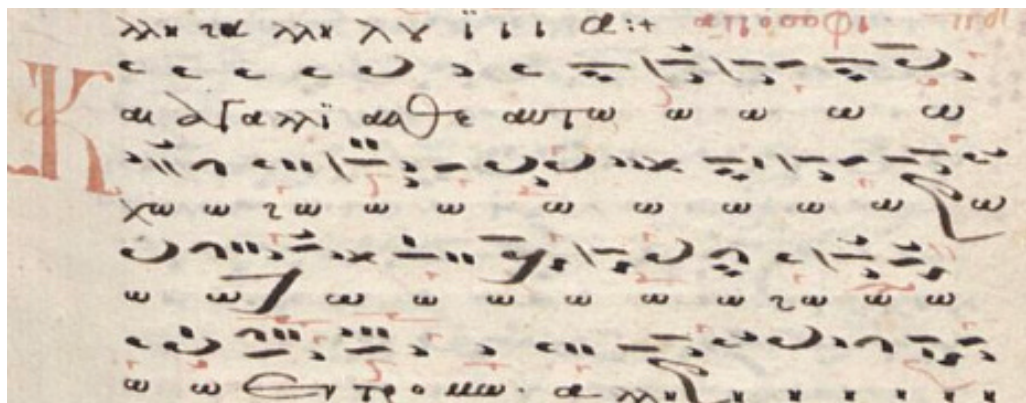
GR-An 2406, fol. 43r (Psalm 2, verse 11b: καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε αὐτῷ ἐν τρόμῳ)
(© Athens National Library)
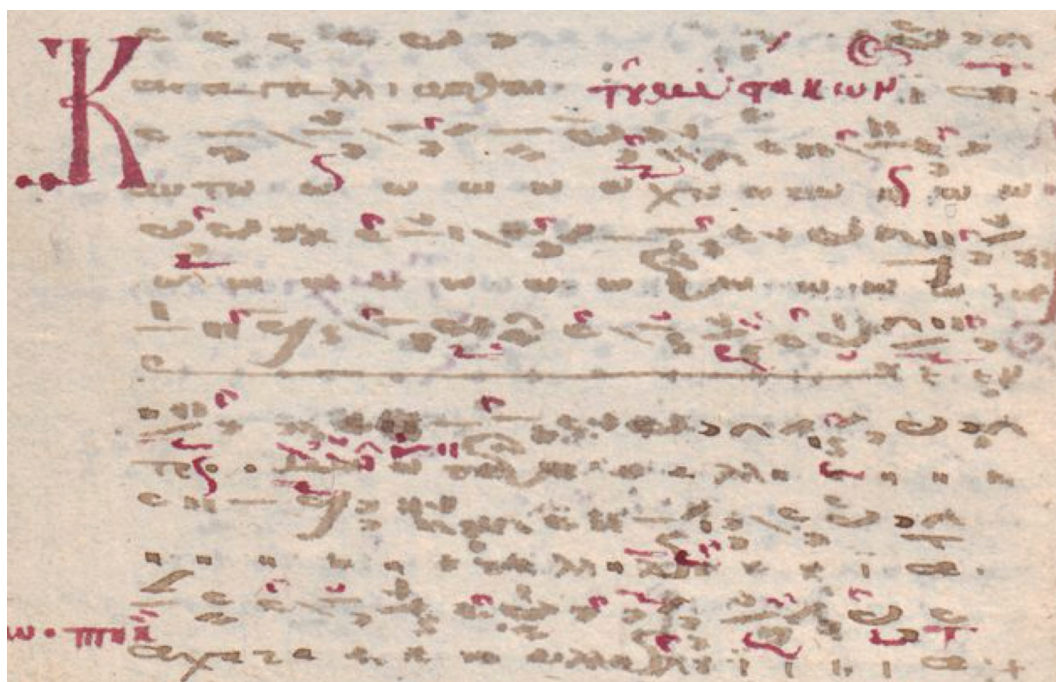
A-Wn Theol. gr. 185, fol. 16v (Psalm 2, verse 11b: καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε αὐτῷ ἐν τρόμῳ; setting with
attribution to Mystakonos – see the transcription above) (© Austrian National Library)

- In GR-An 2444, fol. 32r (Psalm 2, verse 13b[2]: οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ) the incorrect designation also seems to be due to a scribal error: As the ending of this half-verse is preceded by the whole verse itself (μακάριοι πάντες οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ), which constitutes a *hagiosophitikon* setting (see Table 4), the scribe probably thought the following repetition of the words οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ was also a *hagiosophitikon*. Furthermore, the setting on fol. 32r does not begin with the characteristic incipit, but only with pitch repetitions and its melisma is much longer, containing ascending and descending fifths.
- In GR-An 2458, fol. 19v, verse 6b of Psalm 3 (ἐξηγέρθην, ὅτι Κύριος ἀντιλήψεταί μου) is named an *hagiosophitikon* in the rubric. The verse does start with the common incipit, but follows with an unusual melody and a melisma much too long for a *hagiosophitikon* chant. That the *hagiosophitikon* incipit is used here is not uncommon, as it is also taken up frequently by composers for their own settings of psalm verses (see e.g., the melody by Xenos Korones of verse 6b of Psalm 3 in GR-An 2444, fol. 33r).

CONCLUSION

To sum up the findings regarding the chants called *hagiosophitikon*: In most cases by a wide margin the term *hagiosophitikon* is ascribed to settings of Psalms 1, 2 and 3. Such geographical attributions seem to be much less random than has heretofore been assumed, and they are attached to specific psalms/hymns (e.g., in the *hesperinos* prokeimena in A-Wn Theol. gr. 185 from fol. 66r onwards, many instances of *politikon* and *thettalikon/thessalonikaion* appear). Svetlana Kujumdzieva[33] also states for the *kekragaria* that "some sources add the designations 'politikon' […] and 'Thessaloniki' to it."

What prompted the wish to ascribe psalm-settings to special areas or to remember where they came from? In addressing this question I can concur with Dimitris Balageorgos[34] who states that there were probably two different chant traditions in existence during the fourteenth century, a situation that created the necessity of reforming the terminology so as to provide not only composers' names and specific attributions regarding the age of individual chants (i.e. *palaion*/old and *neon*/new), but also their style (e.g. *organikon*/instrumental) and their geographic connections, as cited at the beginning of this article. Another reason can be found in the extensive production of new

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33   Svetlana Kujumdzieva, "The 'Kekragaria' in the Sources from the 14th to the Beginning of the 19th Century", in *Papers read at the 6th Meeting of the IMS Study Group Cantus Planus, Éger/Hungary, 29 August–4 September 1993*, ed. László Dobszay (Budapest: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1995), 455.

34   Dimitrios K. Balageorgos, "Ὁ Κοσμικὸς καὶ ὁ Μοναχικὸς Τύπος στὴν Ψαλτὴ Λατρεία κατὰ τὸν ΙΔ᾽ Αἰ.," *Parnassos* 42 (2000): 259: "Ἡ ἐπικράτηση τοῦ μοναχικοῦ Τυπικοῦ δημιούργησε μιὰ νέα ἀσματικὴ πραγματικότητα ποὺ ἐπέφερε διαφοροποίηση στὴν ὑπάρχουσα ψαλτικὴ κατάσταση. Καὶ πρῶτα-πρῶτα στὴν ὁρολογία. Ἡ ὕπαρξη ἀφ᾽ ἑνὸς μὲν ὅρων ὅπως «παλαιὸν», 'ἁγιοσοφίτικον', 'πολίτικον', 'θεσσαλονικαία', 'καλογερικὸ' καὶ ἀφ᾽ ἑτέρου τῶν ὅρων 'νέον', 'καλοφωνικὴ', 'καλλωπισμένη', φανερώνει τὴ συνύπαρξη δύο διαφορετικῶν ἀσματικῶν παραδόσεων." ["The predominance of the monastic Typikon created a new reality that brought about a differentiation in the existing chanting situation, and first of all in the terminology. The existence of terms such as 'old', 'agiosophitikon', 'politikon', 'thessalonikaion', 'kalogeriko' and on the other hand the terms 'neon', 'kalophonic', 'embellished', reveals the coexistence of two different chant traditions"].

chants that reached an unprecedented and unheard-of peak in fourteenth century-Byzantium, which might have caused the scribes/singers to feel it necessary to facilitate a differentiation between the compositions.

Regarding melodic style and range, the *hagiosophitikon* chants can be said to preserve an older tradition, probably even older than the settings called *palaion* (old), which tend to be longer and more embellished. The *hagiosophitikon* chants are shorter in both their verses and their Alleluia refrains than are the *palaion* settings and those attributed to specific composers. Thus, Williams is definitely right when he calls the *hagiosophitikon* settings "conservative" in outline.

This article has shown that the *hagiosophitikon* chants provide hitherto unknown clues for traces of the so-called simple psalmody: As Psalms 1 to 3 show, the melodic formulas employed for *hagiosophitikon* chants were easy for singers to remember and could also be adapted to various verses regardless of their length and syllable count.

Regarding the uncertainty as to which church could have been meant by "in the style of the Hagia Sophia", it seems safe to assume that the one in Constantinople was the intended referent. The *hagiosophitikon* chants are quite widely spread and appear in a greater number of manuscripts than has hitherto been assumed, which makes it plausible that they were developed in the great church of the capital, rather than in the smaller one in Thessaloniki, which is itself an emulation of the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. From there, these easily recognized, remembered, and chanted settings started their "journey" through the realm of Byzantium and their inclusion in many of the fourteenth/fifteenth-century manuscripts. This assumption is also confirmed by settings in the Polyeleos (Psalms 134, 135, 136) called "Voulgara" or "Voulgarikon," where the melodies making up the melismata shown above were reminiscent of a melodic practice at the Hagia Sophia.[35] Furthermore, there exists the geographic denomination *thessalonikaion*/ Thessalonian or "in the style of Thessaloniki" which points to chants from that city, so that we can safely assume that *hagiosophitikon* was attributed to settings from the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

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35   It was Miloš Velimirović, "The Bulgarian Musical Pieces in Byzantine Manuscripts" in *Report of the Eleventh International Musicological Society Congress 2*, eds. Henrik Glahn–Søren Sørensen–Peter Ryom (Copenhagen: Hansen, 1972), 790–796, who discovered three melodies in the Polyeleos, connected with Bulgaria, of which one is called "The Bulgarian Woman". Originally, this melody was ascribed to Ioannes Glykys (late 13th/early 14th centuries), and from late sixteenth century onwards to Ioannes Koukouzeles, who is said to have been of Bulgarian descent. It is assumed that the name "Bulgara" goes back to a melodic formula in the chant that seems to imitate a kind of "Bulgarian lament" (see also the description and analysis in Elena Toncheva, "Български полиелейни мелодии в късновизантийските извори от XIV–XV век" ("Bulgarian Polyeleos Settings in Late Byzantine Sources from the 14th–15th Centuries"), *Българско музикознание* 3–4 (2007): 58–88 and Kritikou, "Byzantine Compositions," 193f. For an extensive bibliography on the subject see Achilleas G. Chaldaiakes, *Ὁ Πολυέλεος στὴν Βυζαντινὴ καὶ Μεταβυζαντινὴ Μελοποιία* (Athens: Institut de Musicologie Byzantine, 2003), 134–140.

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Existing Hypotheses about the Emergence of Nonsense Syllables in the Chant Tradition of Teretismata and Kratēmata in Byzantine Music

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In the present essay, I review and evaluate the three main hypotheses about the historical background and emergence of nonsense syllables in the chant tradition of *teretismata* and *kratēmata* in Byzantine music. The different historical hypotheses as to the historical roots and development of this singing practice, namely those of Gregorios Stathis (1979, 2014)[1], Diane Touliatos (1989)[2], and Grigorios Anastasiou (2005)[3] are examined and analysed thoroughly.

The aim of the analysis is to summarize and discuss the contribution of up-to-date historical hypotheses to theoretical approaches of the topic, including the identification of potential flaws, lacunae and inadequacies of their explanatory power.

Touliatos takes antiquity as a starting point for her hypothesis and posits the roots of nonsense syllables in the music of Ancient Greece. After a historical gap of several centuries, those syllables reappear in the Byzantine music during the 14th century.[4] Stathis and Anastasiou examine

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1   Grigorios Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί Και Τα Μαθήματα Της Βυζαντινής Μελοποιίας: και πανομοιότυπος έκδοσις του καλοφωνικού στιχηρού της Μεταμορφώσεως "Προτύπων την ανάστασιν", μεθ' όλων των ποδών και αναγραμματισμών αυτού, εκ του Μαθηματαρίου του Χουρμουζίου Χαρτοφύλακος* (Athens: Institute of Byzantine Musicology, 1979); Grigorios Stathis, *Introduction to Kalophony, the Byzantine 'Ars Nova': The Anagrammatismoi and Mathēmata of Byzantine Chant* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2014).

2   Diane Touliatos, "Nonsense Syllables in the Music of the Ancient Greek and Byzantine Traditions," *The Journal of Musicology*, 7, no. 2 (1989): 231–243.

3   Grigorios Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη* (Athens: Institute of Byzantine Musicology, 2005). PhD dissertation defended at the University of Athens in 2004 and published by the Institute of Byzantine Musicology in Athens in 2005.

4   Touliatos, "Nonsense Syllables in the Music of the Ancient Greek and Byzantine Traditions."

the phenomenon exclusively within the boundaries of Byzantine music.[5] Before reviewing the three hypotheses, we must consider the sources on which the theories are postulated.

Nonsense syllables in music: a historical survey from Ancient Greece to Byzantium

The origins of nonsense syllables in vocal music are ambiguous and their use is not a phenomenon exclusive to the Greek alphabet and music. The practice of nonsense syllables is already mentioned in the second century A.D. in the treatise of Nichomachus of Gerasa, although it is believed that they were in use before this documentation.[6]

Their practice is found to be a common tradition later, and continuing to the present day, in Byzantine music performance. The nonsense syllables *te, re, to, ro, ti, ri,* reappear first during the 14th century in musical compositions in Byzantine music of the Byzantine empire, called *teretismata*. Those obviously derive from *teretismos*, a term sufficiently described by Manuel Bryennios in his treatise the *Harmonics*, written in the 13th century A.D.[7]

Bryennios refers to *teretismos* as the simultaneous instrumental playing by plucking an instrument with the plectrum and vocal singing by the same person, mimicking in this way what the cicada appears to do – thus its trilling sounds.

> It is necessary to know that the combined form which occurs when *Melismos* and *Kompismos* are joined, is called by some *Teretismos*[8] […] *Teretismos* being used to both, namely when a person, in singing a melody plucks the strings at the same time with his fingers or with a plectrum in accordance with the melody […] for this is what the cicada distinctly appears to do.[9]

In Byzantine Orthodox church music, the melodies of *teretismata* were transformed into *kratēmata*, which were found in the concluding sections in 14th-century Akolouthiai.[10] Both *teretismata* and *kratēmata* were interpolated musical parts whose soloistic technical features, along with *anagrammatismoi*, (a complete rearrangement of the word syntax, "anagrammatismoi", signifying vocalizations that are αγράμματοι "agrammatoi", which means senseless) constituted the ornamental basis of kalophonic compositions.[11]

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5 Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί Και Τα Μαθήματα Της Βυζαντινής Μελοποιίας*; Stathis, *The Anagrammatismoi and Mathēmata of Byzantine Chant*; Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη*.

6 Touliatos, "Nonsense Syllables," 231.

7 Touliatos, "Nonsense Syllables," 239; Manuel Bryennios, *The Harmonics*, transl. and ed. Goverdus Henricus Jonker (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff Publishing, 1970).

8 Bryennios, *The Harmonics*, 313. The original text in Greek in Jonker's book, p. 312: "Εἰδέναι μέντοι χρή, ὅτι τὸν κοινὸν σχηματισμὸν ἐκ τῆς συνθέσεως τοῦ μελισμοῦ καὶ τοῦ κομπισμοῦ ἔνιοι καλοῦσι τερετισμόν".

9 Bryennios (Eng. transl. and ed. Jonker, G.H. 1970), p. 313. The original text in Greek in Jonker's book, p. 312: "[…] ὁ δὲ τερετισμὸς κοινὸς τοῦ τε μουσικοῦ και ὀργανικοῦ· καὶ γὰρ ὅταν τις τῷ μὲν στόματι ᾄδη, τοῖς δὲ δακτύλοις ἢ τῷ πλήκτρῳ τὰς χορδὰς κατὰ τὸ μέλος κρούη, τότε τερετίζειν λέγεται· […] οὕτω καὶ γὰρ ἐναργῶς τερετίζειν οἱ τέττιγες φαίνονται".

10 Oliver Gerlach, *The Oktoechos Hymnography and the Asmatic Rite of Constantinople (Early Byzantine Period)* (Berlin: Humboldt-University, 2018), 35; Touliatos, "Nonsense Syllables," 239.

11 Achilleas Chaldaeakes, "Review of *Introduction to Kalophony, the Byzantine Ars Nova; The Anagrammatismoi and Mathēmata of Byzantine Chant*, by Grigorios Stathis," *Byzantina Symmeikta*, 26, no. 2 (2016): 416, https://doi.org/10.12681/byzsym.10777; Williams, "Review of *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika*

The latter characterized the Byzantine Ars Nova and the new musical style appeared in the 14th century, the melismatic *Kalophonic* or "Beautified style" of Byzantine music. Kalophony in the golden age of Byzantine chant arose after Constantinople's recovery from the Latin occupation of Byzantium (AD 1204-1261), and reached its final form in the first half of the fourteenth century.[12] In this style, musical compositions present extended melismatic ornamentation with prolonged interpolated musical passages of soloistic coloraturas called *teretismata* and *kratēmata*, based on nonsense syllables.[13] The rhapsodic melodies of the new kalophonic chants of the concluding parts of the Akolouthia manuscript, were sang upon the same liturgical texts as the older Asmatikon *and* Psaltikon, but they were more florid and embellished.[14] The word *kratēmata*, meaning "holdings", is derived from the verb "κρατῶ" which means "to hold" or "to sustain", thus to prolong a music passage (similar comparable use in the Western Church tradition of "tenor", from "tenere"= to hold).

Just like *kratēmata*, *teretismata* evolved to become independent musical compositions of the repertoire of Byzantine music.[15] The 14th century is characterized by the appearance of revered individual composers in Byzantine music. According to John Plemmenos, during this period, the *kratēmata* reached their artistic peak, but after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, the musical production of *kratēmata* stagnated until the late 16th century when it was revived again.[16] The use of nonsense syllables in Byzantine chant is not limited to *teretismata* and *kratēmata*. Before starting to sing in each mode, the *domestikos* (precentor) gets properly "tuned", so to speak, in order to introduce the *ēchos* (mode) by singing a melodic intonation formula consisting of nonsense words. This intonation formula is called *ēchēma*, *epēchēma*, or *apihima* and each *ēchos* is allocated a name of the mode (see Table 1).

According to Werner, the well-known formulae from the Byzantine theory and from the writings of Aurelian of Réômen in the medieval Western church, *neannoe, noeagis, noeagis*, etc., have caused many speculations about their origin and their appearance in Latin psalms.[17] Recently, and according to Dimitri E. Conomos, the earliest Greek nonsense syllables of the eight Byzantine *ēchēmata* have been traced and identified back to the Aurelian of Réôme, in his treatise *Musica disciplina* (?c840–50). The Byzantine *ēchēmata* subsequently appeared in almost all tonaries until the 12th century.[18]

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of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: A Study of Late Byzantine Liturgical Chant by Dimitri E. Conomos," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 30, no. 1 (1977): 149, https://doi.org/10.2307/831137.

12   Stathis, *The Anagrammatismoi and Mathēmata of Byzantine Chant*.

13   Arsinoi Ioannidou, "The Kalophonic Settings of the Second Psalm in the Byzantine Chant Tradition of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," PhD diss. (University of New York, 2014), 45.

14   Touliatos, "Nonsense Syllables," 33.

15   Ioannidou, "The Kalophonic Settings of The Second Psalm," 10; Touliatos, "Nonsense Syllables," 239.

16   John Plemmenos, "The Rosary and the Rose: Clergymen as Creators of Secular Poetry and Music in Early-modern Balkans," *Musicological Annual*, 50, no. 2 (2013): 78, https://doi.org/10.4312/mz.50.2.77-91.

17   Eric Werner, "The Psalmodic Formula "Neannoe" and Its Origin," *The Musical Quarterly*, 28, no. 1 (1942): 93.

18   Dimitri Conomos, "Ēchēma", *Grove Music Online*, accessed January 06, 2021; Werner, "The

According to Conomos, although the Western formulae were imported from the Byzantine East, they differ from them in that context, textually and functionally.[19]

Touliatos's hypothesis: incantate, solmization and glossolalia function of the teretismata and kratēmata

Diane Touliatos published in 1989 probably the most detailed review article about nonsense syllables in the music of Ancient Greek and Byzantium.[20] Touliatos points out that the appearance of nonsense syllables in the music of ancient Greece and Byzantium can be traced to the use of the seven Greek vowels in gnostic music. The nonsense syllables in Ancient Greek music functioned as incantations and were linked to the seven vowels *α, ε, ι, η, ο, υ, ω* of the Greek alphabet in gnostic music, something that, according to Touliatos, is well documented in many historical works and treatises:

> The appearance of nonsense syllables in the music of ancient Greece and Byzantium can be traced to the use of the seven Greek vowels in gnostic music. From antiquity through the medieval period, the vowels α, ε, η, ο, ω, are discussed in many historical works and treatises for their function as incantations. It is certain that these gnostic formulae were in existence long before they were documented.[21]

One of the first treatises referring to the aforementioned role of nonsense syllables is the *Handbook of Harmonics* written by Nichomachus of Gerasa in 2nd century A.D. Touliatos anchors her interpretation of the role of the seven vowels of the alphabet, the incantantory function of nonsense syllables, and the number seven by referring to the Pythagorean treatise of Nichomachus. According to him, as Touliatos mentions, seven was considered to be a magical number, as each one of the seven spheres produced a sound corresponding to each one of the seven Ionian vowels. A for the Moon, E for Mercury, H for Venus, I for the Sun, O for Mars, U for Jupiter, and Ω for Saturn. The same claim about the mystic affiliation of the seven vowels with the seven planets, is also found in another treatise, *The Elocution*, written by a contemporary of Nichomachus, Demetrius Phalereus. There, it is documented that the Egyptian priests "worshipped their gods by chanting the seven vowels which designated sounds or pitches and which were substituted for the performance of the aulos or kithara".[22]

According to Touliatos, the gnostic formulae of the seven vowels corresponded to the musical notes of a heptachord, and thus a new musical system was created.[23] These gnostic formulae of the seven vowels functioned as invocations sung totally as nonsense, with rapid movement of the notes that caused a trembling of the voice. According to Touliatos, the definition

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Psalmodic Formula "Neannoe" and Its Origin".
19   Conomos, "Ēchēma".
20   Touliatos, "Nonsense Syllables," 231–243.
21   Touliatos, "Nonsense Syllables," 231.
22   Touliatos, "Nonsense Syllables," 232.
23   Touliatos, "Nonsense Syllables," 233.

of this coloratura-like type of trill singing by the term *teretism* (multiple repetitions of same pitch-note corresponding to a certain vowel), first appears to the treatise *On Music*, written by an anonymous Hellenistic author.[24]

For the explanation and documentation of the addition of consonants together with vowels during the evolution of the nonsense syllables, Touliatos refers to two theoretical treatises from antiquity, *About Music* by Aristides Quintilianus (written between the first and fourth century A.D.) and Bellermann's *Anonymous* (of uncertain date, first published by Fr Bellermann in 1841 in Berlin).[25] Quintilianus, who has had a wide reception in the study of music and rhetoric in Europe, talks about the seven vowels although he maintains (still according to Touliatos), that only four of them, corresponding to the musical notes of a tetrachord, had the desired sound qualities and were appropriate for solmization: *alpha* (A), *epsilon* (E), *eta* (H), and *omega* (Ω). The same author reports that the most appropriate consonant to juxtapose with the vowels was *tau* (T), the consonant that sounds like a string instrument and precedes the vowels in all Greek articles. The selection of the consonant *tau* created the combinations of syllables *τα, τε, τη*, and *τω*. The latter were used in solmization practice in Ancient Greek music and assigned to the different pitches of the tetrachords. Touliatos mentions that the *Anonymous* treatise presents - with few differences - the same facts about the solmization music system in Ancient Greece which was based on the four vowels and the consonant *tau* used for singing the musical intervals. Bellermann points out that this type of solmization system created three types of articulation, *kompismos*, *melismos* and *teretismos*.[26]

Touliatos indicates that, between the period of antiquity and the 14th century, there is a theoretical gap owing to the lack of treatises. These nonsense syllables are discussed again in the treatise of Manuel Bryennios, the *Harmonics*, written in about 1300 A.D., which is influenced by Quintilianus, something that is obvious from the many affinities between the two treatises.

The tradition of nonsense syllables reappears in the Kalophonic melodic style of Byzantine chant during the 14th century and is called *teretismata*. These begin with the consonant *tau* or *rau* and their function is to erase the gaping sound caused by the prolonged vowels. *Teretismata* were developed to the new kalophonic chant evolved further to independent and freely composed melismatic compositions based on nonsense syllables, mainly *τε, ρε, ρο, τι, ρι*, etc. The *teretismata*, when found in the concluding sections of the Akolouthia manuscripts, were called *kratēmata*

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24   In Touliatos, "Nonsense Syllables," 234: "The treatise was published by A.-J.-H. Vincent, "Notices sur trois manuscrits grecs relatif a la musique," *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliotheque du Roi, XVI*, 2nd part (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1847), 53, 223".

25   Anonymi Bellermann, *Ανωνύμου Σύγγραμμα Περί Μουσικής, Βάκχειου του Γέροντος, Εισαγωγή Τέχνης Μουσικής*, transl. Fridericus Bellermann (Italy: Berolini, 1841); Aristides Quintilianus, *Peri Musikēs (On Music: In Three Books)*, transl. Thomas J. Mathiesen (Yale University, 1983).

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and/or *anagrammatismoi* (anagrams), arranged according to the modes. Apart from the consonant *tau* and *rau*, other letters such as χ, $ου$, and $\gamma\gamma$ were in use. Although Touliatos supports the evolution of the *kratēmata* from the *teretismata*, she does not offer a convincing theory or hypothesis about how this transformation took place.[27]

In many liturgical texts from 14th, 15th and 16th centuries and even from the neo-Byzantine era, interpolated sections with compositions based exclusively on nonsense syllables were written by composers as a way for chanters to express themselves and show their mastery and ability. Touliatos evokes the hypothesis in the *Exēgēsis* of Gerasimos, a seventeenth century Cretan monk, concerning *glossolalia*, (the "wordless jubilation", thus the attempt to mimic the singing of the angels). According to Touliatos, the *glossolalia* is a possible explanation for the allowance and evolution of this type of singing in the strictly religious Byzantine empire, despite its roots back in the magic papyri and pagan rituals of antiquity.[28] Gerasimos explains how the *teretismata* compare to the running of rivers, the singing of birds and the trilling of cicadas, while the *kratēmata* are described as river and nightingale, or musical instruments as trumpet and bell. For the latter explanation, Touliatos refers to the kratēma entitled "A Bell", written by Gregoritze Domestikos in 1453 for the fall of Byzantine empire. In this kratēma, the vocalization of the nonsense syllables imitates, by the use of intervals of fifths, the chiming of a bell.[29]

Touliatos concludes that this solmization practice, both in antiquity and Byzantine traditions, has in common syllables articulated as *tereritism*, a type of vocal ornament. Touliatos ends by claiming that this solmization system functioned as a mnemonic technique, which was further developed into the *noeane formulae* of the Western mediaeval music theory:

> It is not accidental that this solmization practice was found in both traditions but is evidence of Greek theory influencing Byzantine theory and practice. This ancient system of solmization not only influenced the Byzantine tradition but also provided a link to the mnemonic solmization practices which developed in the West, for it is probably from similar syllables that the noeane formulae of Western medieval theory were derived.[30]

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27 Touliatos, "Nonsense Syllables," 239–240.
28 Touliatos, "Nonsense Syllables," 240–241.
29 Touliatos, "Nonsense Syllables," 241.
30 Touliatos, "Nonsense Syllables," 243.

Hypothesis by Touliatos

Antiquity: teretismata

Incantate, solmization: combination of vowels *α, ε, η* and *ω* with consonant tau produced the syllables *τα, τε, τω, τη* corresponding the four pitches of the tetrachord

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Byzantium: teretismata evolved into kratēmata

- Distinctive features of the Kalophonic melodic style of Byzantine chant
- Interpolating ornamentation parts and autonomous eponymous melismatic compositions
- *Glossolalia* function
- Based on nonsense syllables *terere, tiriri, tototo*, etc.

Figure 1. Historical hypothesis by Touliatos (1989)

Stathis's hypothesis: affiliation of teretismata and kratēmata with ēchēmata in ecclesiastical music/the origin of the kratēmata by the ēchēmata

A different theory about the history of Byzantine nonsense syllables has been proposed by Grigorios Stathis.[31] The *ēchēmata* as melodic intonation formulas constitute a distinct chapter in the theory of the Papadikai or other various theoretical books dealing with the theory of the ecclesiastical Byzantine music.

The words of the intonation formula of each *ēchēma* corresponding to each *ēchos* (mode) of the Octoēchos, are presented in the following Table 1:

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31   Primarily, the book used for research about the formulation of Stathis's approach is the English translation (see Stathis, *The Anagrammatismoi and Mathēmata of Byzantine Chant*) of the original book in Greek written by him in 1979: *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί Και Τα Μαθήματα Της Βυζαντινής Μελοποιίας*.

TABLE 1. The *ēchēma* of each *ēchos* in Byzantine music

Ēchos	ēchēma
First	Ananes or Ananeanes
Second	Neanes
Third	Nana or Aneeanes
Fourth	Hagia
First plagal	Aneanes
Second plagal	Ne(h)eanes
Third plagal	Aanes
Fourth plagal	Ne(h)agie

Apart from *Hagia* and *Ne(h)agie* (meaning *Holy/Saint* and *yes-holy/saint*), the *ēchēmata* lack conceptual context and appear to be totally nonsensical. It is generally believed that they made as little sense to a Greek speaker in Byzantium. For some conservative Byzantine scholars, the fact that music genre aiming to serve God lacks real linguistic meaning, is a scandal.[32] The *ēchēmata* are found in manuscripts dated to the tenth century AD, although scattered testimonials about the use of *ēchēmata* in secular and ecclesiastical ceremonies are found the *Book of Ceremonies* written by the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos (b. 905-d. 959 AD).[33] If we take into account recent findings about the relation of *ēchēmata* and the intonation psaltic formulae *neannoe,* then the appearance of the former can be testified even earlier, almost simultaneously with the birth of the Octoēchos.[34] The *ēchēma* is recited by the domestikos in order to introduce the choir to the *ēchos* and its sound. Apart from this intonation's practical significance, the *ēchēmata* gradually developed into distinct ornamentation element, or kallōpismos, of the structure of kalophonic melismatic compositions.[35]

Stathis states that the three main features of kallōpismos (ornamentation in kalophōnia are a) the kalophonic melos, which is more elaborate and eloquent compared to the papadic melos, b) the anagrammatismoi of the poetic text, and c) the *ēchēmata* or kratēmata.[36] The same scholar claims that the kratēmata originate from the *ēchēmata* and he uses the terms *nenanismata*, *teretismata* and *teretismos* as synonyms of the *kratēmata*. The kratēmata are mainly based on the nonsense syllables *Tititi*, *Tiriri*, *Terere*, *Tetete* and *Terirem*, while the *ēchēmata* on the nonsense syllables *Anane*, *Anena* and *Tenena*. The nonsense syllables of the *ēchēmata* establish the genesis of the *kratēmata:*

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32 Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη*, 91–2.
33 Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *The Book of Ceremonies*, trans. Ann Moffatt and Maxeme Tall, ed. Ken Parry, Amelia Brown, Meaghan McEvoy, Eva Anagnostou-Laoutides, Danijel Dzino, Wendy Mayer and Roger Scott, Byzantina Australiensia, vol. 18, no. 1–2, Australian Association for Byzantine Studies (Leiden: Brill, 2017).
34 Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη*, 92.
35 Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη*, 93.
36 Stathis, *The Anagrammatismoi and Mathēmata of Byzantine Chant*, 58–60.

The designation *ēchēmata,* which was originally used for all the kratēmata, refers specifically to the kratēmata using the syllables *Anane, Anena* and *Tenena.* This particular instance is interesting because we can acurratelly establish the genesis of the kratēmata through these very syllables.[37]

Although this affiliation seems to be valid, the hypothesis proposed by Stathis needs further confirmative investigation in order to explain sufficiently the transition from the syllables of the *ēchēmata* to those of the kratēmata. The nonsense syllables in the kratēmata are mainly linked to the consonants *tau* and *rau,* and thus consonants very different from the syllables of the *ēchēmata.* Here, a comparative and statistical text analysis of the linguistic construction of the kratēmata would shed further light on such theoretical considerations.

Also, the hypothesis accepts *a priori* the synonymity of kratēmata with teretismos without taking into consideration the theory of the function of teretismos by Bryennios. This synonymity seems to arise from the use of the syllables *te* and *re* and the ancient verb τερετίζω (mimic the sound of cicada and birds) and the derivation of the word τερετισμός (teretismos) as the object of the verb.[38] This is a very common practice found generally in Greek traditional music and not only in ecclesiastical music, i.e., the χελιδονίσματα ('helidonismata', from the word χελιδόνι meaning swallow), a tradition originating from antiquity in ancient Greece. These were the songs of the New Year's eve of the spring, namely the first of March according to the Orthodox liturgical calendar at the time. These songs had clear references to the coming of Spring and the swallows. The custom is later found in Byzantium and transmitted orally under the year of the occupation by the Ottomans. The song was recorded in notation much later by Cl. Fauriel (1772-1884) in his famous collection, "Greek Folk Songs".[39]

Moreover, the origin of the *ēchēmata* has not been totally clarified apart from their appearance in the palace ceremonies with the use of the nonsense words, *nana, hagia,* and *ananes,* whose syllables, however, are not the dominant and most frequently appeared nonsense syllables in the kratēmata. The Byzantine scholar Christian Troelsgård has argued that the evolution of kalophōnia can be traced even earlier, to the early kalophonic tradition in 1300 AD, and this earlier melismatic tradition appears to have no less a melismatic character than the later. By analysing the kratēmata-like passages in the Grottaferrata manuscript (G), Troelsgård mentions that the kratēmata are regularly sung upon the nonsense syllables τερερε, τορορο, and in a few cases upon the nonsense syllables νε να as reminiscent of the intonation formulas. As an exception to this rule, in this old kalophonic composition, the vowels of the nonsense syllables are used in an even more expanded way than usual. Based on this observation, Troelsgård introduces the term *meloform tropes* for the kratēmata in order to support his hypothesis about the kratēmata as melodic expansions which gradually

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37   Stathis, *The Anagrammatismoi and Mathēmata of Byzantine Chant*, 58–60.
38   Touliatos, "Nonsense Syllables".
39   Claude Fauriel, Ελληνικά δημοτικά τραγούδια, Vol. 1 (Crete: Crete University Press, 1999).

evolved to autonomous additions, i.e. "the addition of new melodic material to a text already in existence, and this would in fact imply an organic development from moderate to long additions, that, in the mature phase of the kalophonic style, apparently first emancipated from the basic text and acquired, so to speak, a life of their own."[40]
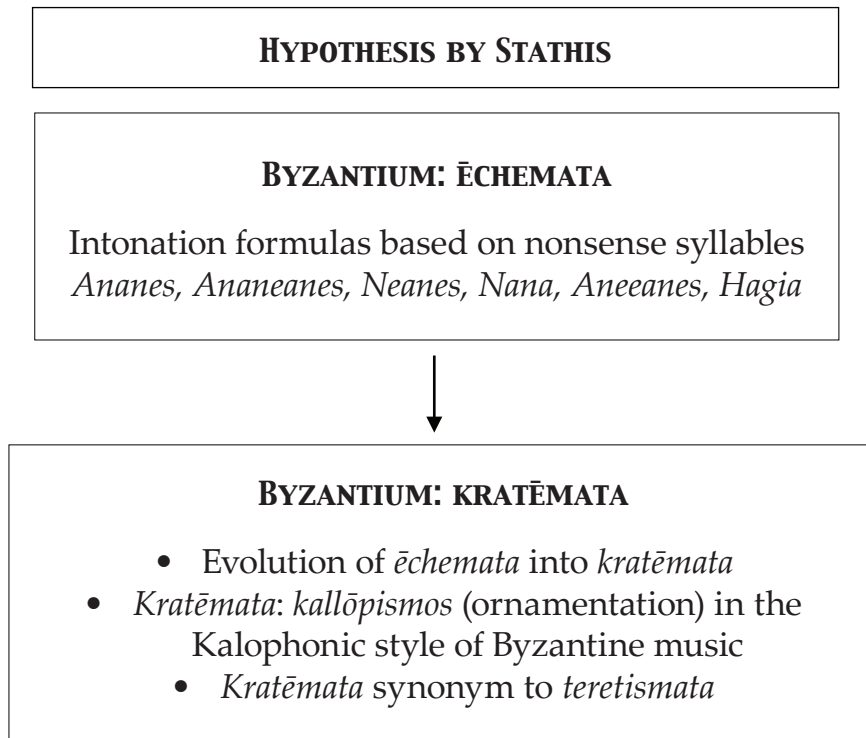
Figure 2. Historical hypothesis by Stathis (2014)

Anastasiou's hypothesis: Kratēmata in ecclesiastical music as melismatic interpolations and autonomous melismatic compositions/Kratēma in ecclesiastical music as neuma

In 2004, Grigorios Anastatiou, student of Stathis at the department of Musicology at the University of Athens, defended the most comprehensive work so far on the topic of kratēmata in Byzantine ecclesiastical music. This dissertation was published in 2005 by the Foundation of Byzantine Musicology in Athens as number 12 in a series of publications under the title *Μελέται* (studies), edited by Stathis.[41]

Anastastiou refers to the double explanation of the term *kratēma* (singular of kratēmata). First, as neumatic mark used during the early and middle period of the neumatic notation of Byzantine music. The kratēma belongs to the *άφωνα (speechless)* neumes and more specifically

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40   Christian Troelsgård, "Thirteenth Century Byzantine Melismatic Chant and the Development of the Kalophonic Style", *PaleoByzantine Notations III: Acta of the Congress held at Hermen Castle, the Netherlands in March 2001,* ed. Gerda Wolfram (Hermen: A.A. Bredius Foundation, 2004), 77.
41   Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη.*

to the *μεγάλες ἀργίες* or *μεγάλες ὑποστάσεις*.[42] Second, as a specific melismatic composition compiled of nonsense syllables, it appeared for the first time in the codex EBE 2458 dated in 1336 (page 201v: *Κράτημα Κυρ Ξένου καί λαμπαδάριου τοῦ Κορώνη, ἦχος πλ. ά, Τοτοτο* and page 203v: *Κρατήματα κατ› ἦχον, ἦχος ά, Ερερετερερε*)[43], and is then found in the majority of Byzantine liturgical manuscripts between 14th and 19th century AD.[44] Regarding the appearance of kratēma as neumatic sign, this is very well established by its use in thousands of known ecclesiastical music manuscripts, in Papadikai and other codices[45], but regarding its function, Anastasiou mentions that the two types of kratēma (as sign and melic type belonging to kratēmata), do not correlate directly to each other. Rather, they are analogous because both constitute elements of prolongation, the former of a phonetic sign, the latter of the psaltic worship.[46] According to Wellesz, the sign kratēma "means a doubling of the rhythmical lengthening of the note under which it is placed, but it has a special cheironomic significance. It means a note produced with great emphasis."[47] Floros also talks about the "*mega kratēma*, a combination of *diplē* and *petastē* – the most important lengthening sign in Byzantine semiography".[48]

Anastasiou indicates that the etymology of the word "kratēma" suggests the kratēmata as melismatic type intended exclusively for prolongation of the psaltic worship and melismatic ornamentation, a fact very often evident in indications in manuscripts for optional chanting of kratēmata. In fewer cases, the term *kratēma* is attributed to kalophonic composition because the kratēmata are structural elements almost of each and every kalophonic composition.[49]

Anastasiou claims that the term *kratēma* is the predominant one but often is replaced – in order of frequency of occurrence in handwritten texts – by equivalent terms with the same meaning as, *ēhēma, teretismos, nenanismos, nai, prologos, logos, apologitari, apolytarisma, isophonia, katavasia, omonia* (see also Table 2). Anastasiou mentions that the term *teretismos* (or terirem) indicate kratēmata whose text is based upon the nonsense syllables *terere, tototo, tititi*, etc. Because almost all the kratēmata contain those syllables, the term *teretismos* can be considered as identical to kratēma. Anastasiou mentions that the word *teretismos* was not established in the ecclesiastical psaltic art but was already in use from antiquity, there meaning mimesis of the song of cicada or swallow, the song or the playing of the "kithara", or generally a type of trill. He continues by claiming that the term has a similar meaning (apart from this of the kratēma), of the mimesis of a bird, during

42   Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη*, 67.
43   National Library of Athens, Codex EBE 2458.
44   Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη*, 67–68.
45   Stathis, *Οι Αναγραμματισμοί Και Τα Μαθήματα Της Βυζαντινής Μελοποιίας*.
46   Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη*, 68.
47   Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 2nd edition (Oxford University Press, 1961), 294.
48   Constantin Floros, *The Origins of Western Notation*, rev. and transl. Neil Moran with a report on "The reception of the Universale Neumenkunde, 1970-2010" (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2011), 43.
49   Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη*, 68–69.

the Byzantine and post-Byzantine era.[50] Here, the scholar does not take into equal consideration the theoretical considerations of Bryennios about the musical function of the term, but he mainly keeps the linguistic part of the term *teretismos* (which coincides with the word's nonsense syllable *te* and *re*), in order to justify the argument about the identical terms *kratēma* and *teretismos*. His general claim, however, about the function of teretismos as mimesis of the voice of the cicada or the birds, offers some consideration of its role in the melismatic compositions, similar to Bryennios. For the latter consideration, he refers to sources from codices with texts and inscriptions mentioning that the swan "τερετίζει" or that the "τερετίσματα" are the song of cicada and swallow.[51]

The notion of the secular origin of the kratēmata is not supported by him in the introduction of his thesis:

> Even if we accept the synchronicity of the *psaltes* (church singers of Byzantine music) with music instruments at ceremonies taking place out of the church, the completion of ecclesiastical compositions with instrumental melodies would presuppose the imperfection or incompleteness of the former. In a different case, such technical additions would be expelled from the ecclesiastical music when it would be found again to its physical place, the church. Or in any case, some melic compositions with their earlier form (without *kratēma*) and the later one (with *kratēma*), would have been delivered by the eponymous melodists.[52]

Later in his dissertation, the author supports the impact of "θύραθεν" (secular) music on the kratēmata. According to this argument, the proofs of this affiliation are the national names of various kratēmata (e.g., *Βουλγάρικον, Ἰσμαηλιτικόν, Περσικόν, Τατάρικον, Ροδαῖον,* etc.), secular music terminology mainly in the post-Byzantine era (names of maqams in *kratēmata,* e.g., *Segiah, Evitz, Atzem, etc.*), and names of musical instruments for kratēmata which are considered "instrumental" or evoke the name of instruments (*viola, nai, trumpet,* etc.). Anastasiou rejects the fact that the "instrumental" kratēmata suppose the use of instruments or that the psaltes could mimic the sound and timbre of the instruments by performing the nonsense syllables of the kratēmata. Here, a degree of controversy concerning scholar's arguments relating to the "secular" origin of the kratēmata occurs as, initially, he rejects categorically this hypothesis and then "leaves the door open" for the impact of secular music on the kratēmata.

Anastasiou refers also to the opposite process, the influence of nonsense syllables of ecclesiastical music after the 14th century AD on the nonsense syllables of the *terenum* (a vocal style which appeared in Turkey and North Africa), in addition to the use of Byzantine parasimantikē (notation) in post-Byzantine codices for the notation of secular music.[53]

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50   Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη,* 70–71.
51   Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη,* 70–71.
52   Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη,* 79–¬80 (transl. by the present author from the Greek text).
53   Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη,* 445–455.

The earliest Papadikē from 1336 AD contains kratēmata either as autonomous compositions or as parts of a composition. This date is set by Anastasiou as the *terminus ante quem* of the appearance of the kratēmata.[54] Concerning the origin of the kratēmata, Anastasiou argues that this is obscure and ambiguous. He mentions the spontaneous coming into existence of the kratēmata by pointing that they seem to appear suddenly in ecclesiastical manuscripts, both as autonomous melismatic compositions and as parts of these.[55] However, the explanation of automatic genesis seems not to be adequate. That's why, Anastasiou also proposes that the compelling appearance of the kratēmata should be a result of an evolutionary process, which we have to trace. Concerning this proposal about the origin of the kratēmata, the author does not formulate any new hypothesis but mainly agrees with the hypothesis by Stathis concerning the genesis of the kratēmata. Regarding their generative cause, the scholar claims that this was the inherent melismatic character of kalophonic melos, based on the use of intercalary consonants and the prolonging of the last melismatic syllable upon the use of nonsense syllables.[56] He states in the conclusion of his dissertation that the kratēmata were the result of the development of the melismatic character of the Kalophonic style and constitute an integral structural element of the kalophonic compositions. They appear at the end of the 13th century AD originating from the nonsense and melismatic character of ēchēmata, sung by the domestikos as intonation formulas for each *ēchos* and for artistic ornamentation of the melos:

> They originate from the Kalophonic melos and the role of the domestikos to sing the *ēhēmata* or *enēhēmata* in the various melic compositions, in the beginning for the enforcement of the ēchos, and not much later for artistic ornamentation of those compositions.[57]

Very soon, they are transformed into independent eponymous kalophonic compositions found in ecclesiastical Byzantine books such as *Papadikai*, *Anthologies* and *Oikimataria*, and later at the beginning of the 19th century, in the Kalophoniko Eirmologio, an autonomous collection of kratēmata. Their gradual development and the accumulation of more and more kratēmata gave rise from the middle of the 16th century to a new type of codex, the *Kratēmatario*. The melos of the kratēmata differs from the melos that appears in other types of the Papadiko genus in Byzantine music.[58] The kratēmata appear to be instrumental in character and melismatic freedom is allowed by the absence of the text. The performance and explanation of the *Great*

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54   Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη*, 81–82.
55   Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη*, 77.
56   Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη*, 87.
57   Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη*, 503–504 (transl. by the present author from the Greek text).
58   Maria Alexandrou, *Παλαιογραφία Βυζαντινής Μουσικής* (Athens: Hellenic Academic Ebooks, 2017), 44, e-book, http://hdl.handle.net/11419/6487: "In relation to the various types of discovered music codices and the living practice of chanting of Byzantine music, three genera have been identifiend and categorised: the so-called *Eirmological* genus (from the type of musical manuscript called *Eirmologion*), the *Stichiraric* (from *Stichirario*) and *Papadiko* (from Papadiki)".

*Hypostases a*re simpler, shorter, repetitive, and individual and not in sequence and succession. The nature of kratēmata allows them to be influenced by the *εξωτερικό* (from outside) and mainly the *οργανικό* (instrumental / organic) *μέλος*, something that is reflected in the post-Byzantine kratēmata, the so-called *ἐθνικά* (national). During the transitional explanatory notation (about 1670-1814/15 AD)[59], the *exēgēsis* (explanation) of the kratēmata is not attempted due to the fact that it does not offer practical significance since the chanting of the kratēmata is limited and almost abandoned during the post-Byzantine era, and the synoptic character of the *θέσεις* (positions) of the Great Hypostases of the kratēmata do not require specific interpretation.[60]

HYPOTHESIS BY ANASTASIOU

AMBIGUOUS ORIGIN OF THE KRATĒMATA:

TWO HYPOTHESES

BYZANTIUM FIRST HALF OF 14TH C.: SUDDEN APPEARANCE OF KRATĒMATA

- Specific melismatic composition compiled of nonsense syllables
- Structural elements almost of each kalophonic composition
- Melismatic interpolations and autonomous melismatic compositions
- Kratēma is also neuma
- Hints about echos of the secular music in the kratēmata
- The term kratēma as a synonym for ēchēma, teretismos, nenanismos, etc., (see Table 2)

BYZANTIUM END OF 13TH C.: GENESIS OF KRATĒMATA BY ĒCHĒMATA

- Kratēmata as result of the development of the melismatic character of Kalophonic style
- Integral structural element of kalophonic compositions.
- They originate from the nonsene and melismatic character of ēchēmata
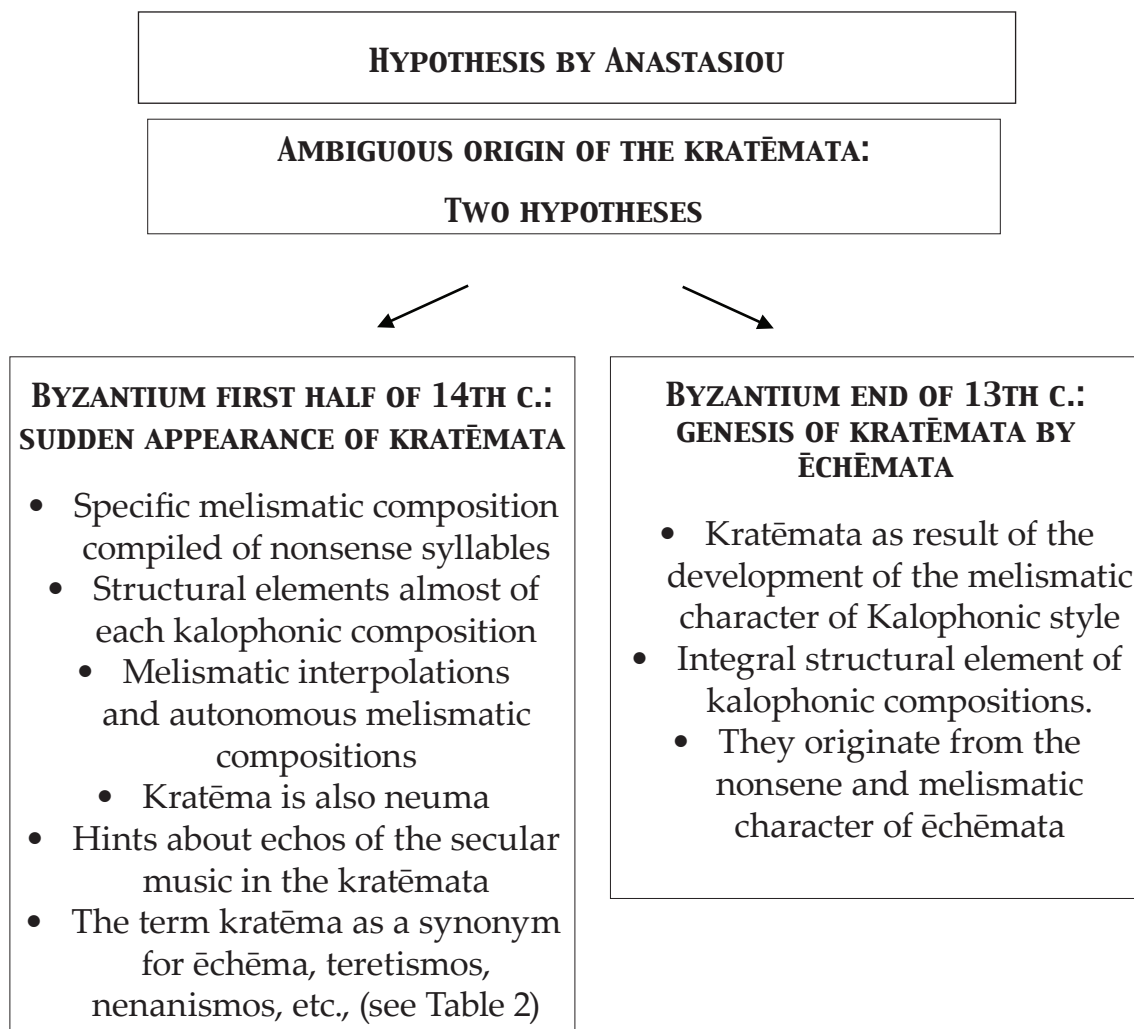
Figure 5. Historical hypothesis by Anastasiou (2005)

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59   Alexandrou, *Παλαιογραφία Βυζαντινής Μουσικής*, 310.
60   Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη*, 501–506

TABLE 2. Synonyms of the terms Teretismos, Teretismata, and Kratēmata according to the scholars Touliatos[61], Stathis[62], and Anastasiou[63]

Term	Synonyms	Author
Teretismos	*Kratēma*	G. Anastasiou
Teretismata	*kratēmata and/or anagrammatismoi*	D. Touliatos
Kratēmata	*Teretismata, teretismos, nenanismata*	G. Stathis
Kratēmata	*Ēhēma, teretismos, nenanismos, nai, prologos, logos, apologitari, apolytarisma, isophonia, katavasia, omonia*	G. Anastasiou

Conclusions

Touliatos constructs her hypothesis about the historical origin and function of the nonsense syllables in teretismata and kratēmata, mainly upon treatises from antiquity and Byzantium, as also upon sporadic other sources describing the historical role of those syllables. Touliatos's theoretical approach seems very solid in the parts dealing with the use of nonsense syllables in the music of ancient Greece and then the appearance of those syllables in the kalophonic style of the Byzantine, although the evolutionary process dealing with the emergence of the kratēmata by the teretismata, as also their distinctive musical features – apart from the ornamentation – is not explained sufficiently.

Stathis bases his results almost exclusively on manuscripts of kalophonic compositions containing kratēmata and *ēchēmata*. He claims that the *kratēmata* originate from the *ēchēmata* and he uses the terms teretismata and teretismos as synonyms of the kratēmata. This hypothesis needs further confirmative investigation as it does not sufficiently explain the transition from the syllables of the *ēchēmata* to those of the kratēmata. Finally, the above hypothesis accepts *a priori* the synonymity of kratēmata with *teretismos* without taking into consideration the theory of the function of teretismos as described by Bryennios.

Anastasiou distinguishes between the kratēma as neumatic sign in paleography and the kratēma as melismatic composition of the kalophonic style. In the second case, the kratēma, although it is the predominant term in use, is identical to the terms *ēchēma, teretismos, nenanismos, nai, prologos, logos, apologitari, apolytarisma, isophonia, katavasia, omonia*, and very often replaced by them. Concerning the origin of kratēmata, Anastasiou proposes their sudden appearance in the Byzantine chant or their genesis from the *ēchēmata*, although he suggests a deeper investigation of the hypothesis about

61   Touliatos, "Nonsense syllables," 239.
62   Stathis, *The Anagrammatismoi and Mathēmata of Byzantine Chant*, 111.
63   Anastasiou, *Τα Κρατήματα στην Ψαλτική Τέχνη*, 67-69.

the origin of the kratēmata as a result of an evolutionary process. Although the scholar openly claims no affiliation whatsoever of the kratēmata with secular Byzantine music, he mentions their 'secular' character, a feature that supposedly gave rise to post-Byzantine autonomous 'secular' kratēmata.

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Sacred Music in a Sacred Space: Performance as Communal Event

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Introduction

The theoretical discussion that arises from a concert-event that took place during the Easter Week of 1999, at the Holy Trinity Greek Orthodox Archdiocesan Cathedral in New York City, is the focal point of this paper. Throughout my analysis, I will attempt to explore the way in which sacred music can interact with sacred space, when performed in such a setting. My aim is to raise questions concerning the audience's experience of the event, while at the same time contemplating the compositional approach towards the notion of sacred.

The programme, consising of music by the composer Sir John Tavener (1944-2013), was directed by the American conductor and educator Dino Anagnost (1944-2011). The audience had the chance to observe the Little Orchestra Society of New York, the composer himself and the celebrity actress Mia Farrow, participating as a narrator in Tavener's work *In the Month of Athyr* (1998). Highlights of the night included the New York premiere of *Svyati* (1995) for cello and chorus[1] and *The Repentant Thief* (1990), for clarinet and orchestra. The Orpheon Chorale also perfomed, a cappella, some of Tavener's most celebrated pieces: *The Song for Athene* (1993), *The Lamb* (1981) and *The Tyger* (1987).[2]

As the idea of performing sacred music in a performance space with specific requirements can be rather vague and approaching sacred music

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1   The Russian-American cellist Borislav Strulev performed the cello solo part.
2   See Allan Kozinn, "MUSIC REVIEW; Spirituality as Composer's Driving Force," *New York Times*, April 6, 1999. Online version access: https://www.nytimes.com/1999/04/06/arts/music-review-spirituality-as-a-composer-s-driving-force.html.

within a strictly musicological spectrum seems precarious, I believe that defining the field of study for this paper is necessary, in order to provoke an original discourse between applied musicology and Christian Orthodox theology. First and foremost, the term *sacred music* can be misleading since the definition of such a term can vary according to the context in which is being used. To clarify, this paper focuses on concert music of the late 20th century, which is influenced by compositional tools borrowed by the Christian Orthodox musical tradition, such as the eight church music tones, Byzantine music and a frequent use of drones (ison). An important distinction that should also be addressed is that of the difference between liturgical and para-liturgical music, as both terms are included when identifying sacred music. The term *liturgical* music covers everything that can be heard during a service, while the term *para-liturgical*, which some may also describe as spiritual music, is used to describe musical compositions which, while heavily influenced by aspects of worship, cannot be used in a service.

Backround

After shocking the experimental scene with his masterpiece *The Whale* (1960), and being heavily influenced by Igor Stravinsky and Olivier Messiaen in his earlier works, John Tavener's compositional style steadily shifted to a unique musical idiom, the so-called holy minimalism. According to the composer, his intention was to form a sound closer to the spiritual idea of monastic *hesychia*; the need to withdraw into isolation in order to experience God [Matthew (6:6)]. As a result, his compositional voice included a significant amount of silence and an abundance of musical elements from Byzantine and other spiritual traditions, combined with a plethora of other contemporary techniques, shaping in this way a unique artistic product.

Tavener enjoyed a major international career, having his music performed by the most prestigious orchestras, conductors, soloists and organizations. Tavener's output includes a large number of musical pieces using various techniques and orchestral forces, with the choral element always being decisively present. Tavener worked extensively with texts by Greek writers such as Seferis, Cavafy, Kalvos, Sikelianos, as well as numerous Orthodox fathers such as St Simeon the New Theologian, St Andrew of Crete and St Gregory Palamas, to name just a few, producing a vast number of musical pieces that negotiate at their core with some of the most profound ideas in Orthodox theology.

Towards the end of his life however, the composer also studied and incorporated other musical and spiritual traditions such as Sufi, Tibetan and Islamic, into his work. As a result, influenced by perennial philosophers such as René Guénon and Frithjof Schuon, he shaped a concrete, holistic spiritual approach, combining sacred texts from different traditins in the same musical work.[3] Ultimately, my objective is to inform the musicological community

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3   Ivan Moody, "Circular Movement: Spiritual Traditions in the Work of John Tavener," *Temenos* 17 (2014): 206-214.

about Tavener's idea of the correlation between music and Logos, under the prism of the sacred in music and life.

Analysis

In the Month of Athyr, Svyati and *The Repentant Thief* share a unique kind of soloistic attribute, in a rather interactive sense. In fact, they all have a common instictive antiphonal quality, which is connected to their structural core, and most importantly to the way they unfold and fulfil their own narrative objective. More specifically: Cavafy, a Greek poet, in this rather unusual piece – Εν τω Μηνί Αθύρ - attempts to recreate an ancient ruined Egyptian sepulchre from the early-Christian period.[4] He focuses on the profile of the departed and the ways that his loved ones might have grieved his death. The poet underlines the protagonist's youth, and the sense of tragedy in his death as an ironic analogy to the beauty and tenderness of that youth. On the other hand, Tavener's *In the Month of Athyr, f*ollows a simple antiphonal structrure.[5] The two parties interact by using a different text, alterating between Greek and English, with the choir insisting on the phrase "Αιωνία η Μνήμη," while the narrator recites Cavafy's fragmentary masterwork, excusively during the choir's pauses. After a couple of recitations, we hear the original Byzantine αιωνία η μνήμη in the third mode, excecuted by the tenors and basses.

Apart from the Byzantine material, the rest of the musical resources and procedures are widely relatable to his works *Nipson* (1998) and *The Hidden Face* (1996), composed also towards the end of the century, where the harmonic language is unarguably tonal without however being always clearly defined as either major or minor. This quality flirts with the Christian Orthodox idea of χαρμολύπη (joyful sorrow), which was greatly attractive to the composer, according to his writings.

It seems that Tavener approaches the text's *general* atmosphere rather than Cavafy's text in detail. He chooses to add material to the work rather than trying to elaborate its meaning using musical material of any kind. Instead, as a compromise, he inserts a good deal of silence, closer to the notion of monastic *hesychia* and, as a result, the complete experience of the work includes a specific kind of narrative space, in which the actor is allowed to perform the essence of the work. Although Cavafy's text only implies a sense of religiousness in a rather secular context, Tavener's musical commentary give a more sacred identity to the work, complicating matters regarding the work's narrative and aesthetic function.

The Repentant Thief, written in 1990, is truly what Tavener could call an icon in sound, trying to encapsulate the persona of the thief who has been

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4   See Philip Sherrard, *Cavafy, C.P. Collected Poems*, Revised Edition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). See also Cavafy, C. P., and Rae Dalven, "In the Month of Athyr." *Poetry* 98, No. 1 (1961): 34, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20588311. See also CAVAFY, C. P., and George Economou, "In the Month of Athyr." *The American Poetry Review* 26, No. 3 (1997): 39–49, http://www.jstor.org/stable/27782436.
5   See Gregory Jusdanis, *The Poetics of Cavafy: Textuality, Eroticism, History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014)

crucified next to Jesus Christ. The composer applies a rondo-like form to the complete material of the total of eleven movenemts, which can be divided into three smaller motivic groups. The main group (A) traces a serene textural profile, where the strings move in their higher register in fragile fashion, as the clarinet fills the narrative gap, adding a sense of steady movement. As opposed to A, group B is constructed from dance-like material, consisting of just a couple of dances. Here, it seems that Tavener uses the clarinet in a rustic way, closer to the sound of the Greek traditional instrument, where the clarinet is always the orchestral protagonist. In the last group, the composer creates a massive representation of a narrative fall. The orchestral forces insist on steep descending motives which create an unstable, fragmentary atmosphere that leads to the recycling of the A and B sections.

Many of Tavener's works are defined by their repetitive quality, which could be linked to the repetiveness in the Byzantine style, such as the canon, where this characteristic becomes crucial to the music's function in the sequence of Orthros. As we see in *Ikon of Light* (1984), Tavener's proclamation of repentance and probably one of his most theologically precise works, the element of descending, of a slow fall, described always by musical procedures, is extremely present. It is obvious that the composer transmits the idea that repentance in Orthodox theology includes a strong sense of humility, which he succesfully depicts with a persistent musical descenr.

In *Svyati*, Tavener stretches the borders of the concerto-like structrure. Instead of using an instrumental ensemble to accompany the solo cello line, the composer explores ways in which a mixed choir can function in this way. At the beginning of the piece the choir interacts with the soloist's part in an antiphonal style, engaging the cello line to move towards a dramatic climax, where both parts blend together, leading to a sudden general pause. The soloist, which according to Tavener represents the Priest or an Icon of Christ, drives the music to a recapitulatory state, in which the cello wanders in both higher and middle registers, provoking the choir to comment on its material. However, as the cello line continues to evolve between the choir's interventions, the choral part seems slowly to taper off, until the end of the work, where the non-ending drone on the note E from the beggining of the work finally stops. The choir finally cadences on G major, using the E drone as a vi chord. The cello interrupts and the choir repeats the relieving cadence twice, allowing the sound essentially to dissapear as a natural fade-out effect.

The interaction between the parties is certainly the most interesting quality of this piece, as the communicative nature of the work requires a specific performative strategy based on the evolution of the interaction between cello and choir. It seems that especially after the first tutti climax, the cello takes a taming role, somewhat like the piano part in the second movement of Beethoven's Fourth Piano Concerto. With the element of struggle being more than present, the solo line seems to attempt to tame, and in this case console, the choir, which represents all humankind, in the fashion of an ancient Greek chorus (χορός), with notable success.

In one of the composer's most celebrated pieces, *Song for Athene*.[6] an unusual juxtaposition of parts of the funeral service, adapted by Mother Thekla, and a couple of lines from *Hamlet*, the composer strives to combine two diametrically opposed texts into one holistic sound world, using exquisite harmonies and, in parallel, keeping a chant-like texture throughout the entire work. The word "alleluia" is sung between each line of text, sounding above the steady drone – the ison, representing the idea of eternity. In parallel, Tavener's settings of the texts *The Lamb* and its sister poem *The Tyger*, both by the poet, engraver and painter, William Blake, survived in time so far also as the composer's most succesfull works, defined by masterful use of resources and a structural clarity of sublime quality. Both pieces share more or less the same compositioanl tools, forming a literary and musical unity. Even though it was completed almost six years later, *The Tyger*, written for Phillip Sherrard's 65th birthday, even recalls some of *The Lamb*'s material. Without using a conventional climactic strategy, the composer truly underlines the text by musical means, always through a completely tonal prism, without excluding certain modal influences from the total harmonic texture, such as a heavy use of functional tritones, always referring to Eastern chant traditions.

Reception and Questions of Function and Texture

Anagnost (1943-2011) claimed the directorship of the Archdiocesan Choir in 1976, succeding Nicholas Iliopoulos. During Anagnost's multi-year term, the choir presented oratorios and special programmes.[7] Additionally, Anagnost conducted the choir in liturgical services and on other occassions, and also composed new works for the Church, building an impressive legacy around his figure. He also conducted an unbelievable number of concerts with the Little Orchestra Society, and established a series of popular concert schemes for targeted audiences, such as the *Happy Concerts for young people* and *Sound Discoveries*. Maestro Anagnost was dedicated to the education of the American audience and was a huge supporter of new music. He became the music director of The Little Orchestra Society of New York in 1979 and he had also been conducting the Metropolitan Chorale in NYC since 1968.[8]

We have no other specific indications or any form of correspondence between Anagnost and Tavener; however, it is safe to assume that it was mostly Anagnost's initiative that brought the British composer to New York City. Anagnost's statement for the event reads as follows:

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6   Things could become even more complicated assuming that the piece was written after the ancient greek godess Athena. To clarify, the work was composed and dedicated to the death of a young person named Athena, a family friend of the composer. John Tavener and Malcolm Crowthers, "All at Sea? On the Eve of the Barbican Festival Devoted to His Music, John Tavener Talks to Malcolm Crowthers about the Sea, Bells, Religion and Life in Greece," *The Musical Times* 135, no. 1811 (1994): 9–14, https://doi.org/10.2307/1002825.

7   Frank Desby, ''The Growth of the Liturgical Music in the Iakovian Era,'' in *Greek Music in America*, ed. Tina Bucuvalas, (Mississippi: University of Mississippi Press, 2019), 53-70.

8   Margalit Fox, Dino Anagnost, "Who Led Little Orchestra Society, Dies at 67," *New York Times*, April 3, 2011. Online version access: https://www.nytimes.com/2011/04/04/arts/music/dino-anagnost-67-dies-led-little-orchestra-society.html. See also Brian Wise, "Dino Anagnost, Little Orchestra Society Conductor Has Died," March 31, 2011. https://www.wqxr.org/story/121352-dino-anagnost-little-orchestra-society-conductor-dies/.

> I am delighted to be part of this unique event and to be able to honor such an important contemporary composer. I have long admired John Tavener's exquisite work and because of its religious inspiration, it is especially meaningful to perform it at the Greek Orthodox Cathedral. Throughout Europe audiences have had the opportunity to hear Tavener's music and it's time that American audiences are given a chance to appreciate his gifts.[9]

Anagnost's comment regarding the performance of these works at the Greek Orthodox Cathedral raises a number of questions concerning the functionality of this event in a church enviroment. Indeed, apart from the given historical importance of this concert, I believe that this event was innovative mainly on account of its functional accuracy regarding its narrative, context and meaning.

Tavener often asked for large resonant spaces for the performance of his works, as opposed to conventional concert halls, and he was really fond of placing musicians in surprising formations; in his early work *Últimos Ritos* (1972), the performers are seated in a specific way that forms the shape of the cross, while the musical material is a reference to Bach's Mass in B minor. In other words, Tavener really cared for his music's function in performance and he dared to attempt things that could suit his aesthetic intuition.[10]

We simply cannot infer that all these different works, written in different periods of his life, using different texts, were supposed to be performed at this time, in this space. However, we need to address the fact that six works of para-liturgical music, by a Christian Orthodox composer, were performed in a Christian Orthodox cathedral, and at this point there are many questions to be asked. How did this music function at this time? What would it mean for the music itself and its function, if a member of the audience was inspired to pray during the performance? And in such a case, would this mean that the music had reached its aesthetic goal?

Tavener makes it clear that art should be charged with a theological reality found within its core. He specifically stated that while "art cannot express a theological truth, a theological truth can surely be found inside the art".[11] In parallel, he adds that the role of any sacred art is to bring the audience closer to praying. To be more specific, he adds:

> The whole purpose of sacred music must be to lead us to the threshold of prayer or to the threshold of a true encounter with the living God. For the sacred is prior — ontologically prior — to art and is totally unaffected by anything art can do, or cannot do, although of course if it does possess a sacred quality, it can certainly help us to renew our awareness of the sacred.[12]

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9   https://www.goarch.org/news/releases/1999/-/asset_publisher/7NCuYdJYMvgG/content/orthodox-composer-john-tavner-s-music-featured-at-holy-trinity-cathedral-on-april-3

10   Paul Griffiths, "Tavener and Ultimos Ritos," *The Musical Times* 115, no. 1576 (1974): 468–71, https://doi.org/10.2307/957951.

11   John Tavener, "Composing Sacred Music," *Temenos* 9 (1998): 32-37.

12   In fact, Tavener, in his interview with Gregory Pysh for the Choral Journal adds: "I would say to work is to pray". Tavener, John. "Composing Sacred Music." p. 33. See also Gregory M. Pysh, and John Tavener, "Icon in Sound: An Interview with Sir John Tavener," *The Choral Journal* 54, no. 10 (2014): 18–23, http://www.jstor.org/stable/43051951.

Again, it would be interesting to explore the aesthetic boundaries of an art form which brings an audience closer to the threshold of praying rather than praying itself, which would be a truly demanding task. However, Tavener's statement reveals the great detail in which he approaches the concept of sacred art and art within the notion of sacred.

Most importantly, the composer also comments that para-liturgical art is the most effective way to communicate a theological reality with an audience. In his words: "Dostoievsky shows us a theological truth inside a novel like *The Brothers Karamazov*, but he does not attempt to write a novel about St John, for instance, chatting with the Virgin Mary! That would be a perversion and an amputation."[13] On the occasion under discussion, all works together compose a musical representation of different views on death; in Tavener's words a musical icon of death, using material from Cavafy to Blake, and from Blake to Shakespeare and the Christian Orthodox funeral service. More specifically, in this event as a whole, we see how the composer realizes the idea of death, based on a different views on death ultimately creating, to be more accurate, a musical "iconscape" of death; a general atmosphere takes on this matter, rather than a specific, discrete artistic product based solely on his own beliefs or emotions.

According to the Greek theologian and philosopher Christos Yannaras:

> At baptism the whole of a man's life becomes an ecclesial event, a fact of communion and relationship. Thus when a man takes his food in accordance with the Church canons on fasting and feasting, this is not a means to individual survival but becomes a way of partaking in a common experience of the use of good things.[14]

We see many similarities between the way that Yannaras defines this idea of the ecclesial event and the way Tavener treats Cavafy's or Shakespeare's texts. I believe that the composer's approach rests on his need to shift the work's main reference; from a private to a public standpoint, placing the work's focus on the receptor, as in Byzantine iconography. As in the work of the Greek iconographer George Kordis, a secular theme can have a sacred quality. Not because of the work's original theme, but only because of the artist's ability or need to add in the work's context a public-sharing quality: a quality of communion and relationship. The artist thrives to achieve that, by applying a number tools in his or her work, which add a religious element, in order to realize the vision through the artist's craft. These tools are in accordance with Church tradition in a wider sense. In Tavener's approach to Cavafy for example, he chooses to insert a religious layer into the given text, changing completely its original texture. As a result, by attaching this kind of identity to a given text, Tavener makes the work public and available to the community of the Church. The audience has the chance to partake of this shared experience of this musical iconscape, which is part of the composer's or the community's own experience of the sacred or, in Yannaras' words, his own ecclesial events.

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13   John Tavener, "Composing Sacred Music", 32-37.
14   Χρήστος Γιανναράς, *Η Ελευθερία του Ήθους* (Αθήνα: ΙΚΑΡΟΣ, 2011), 19.

To summarize, after a brief analysis of the way that the works performed approach the notion of the sacred in their para-liturgical context, I examined how they could potentially function in this specific setting. The above works share a unique antiphonal quality and they are paired through their mutual association with the idea of death. This paper suggests that these musical pieces can be understood as the composer's understanding of the idea of death through a theological prism, as according to the composer himself, art should carry a theological truth. However, the revelation of this very truth happens in an unclear way, as the composer does not comment on the presentational, performative aspect of the music itself at all, thereby meaning that the reader of Tavener's written texts is only left to believe that music owns a transformative power that can move the receiver-audience member closer to the threshold of prayer, rather to prayer itself. An interesting aspect that arises in this context is also the fact that this event's music programme was exclusively made up of strictly para-liturgical works, for which the composer praises their potential theological gravity as a genre.

Ultimately, I attempted to create an analogy between Yannaras's suggestions of a shared experience within the Church community with a shared experience of a concert-event consisting of sacred music performed in a sacred space. On a practical note, the usage of compositional tools and elements borrowed from the Christian Orthodox musical tradition does not only add an extra textural layer to a finished product. Most importantly, on account of the aforementioned, the work moves away from the boundaries of a conventional work of art and becomes a shared experience within the community of the Church, in its para-liturgical or even secular context, especially since the performance of such works takes place in a sacred space. Fundamentally, what defines a work as a shared experience or even as an ecclesial event, is not its original context but the trope (τρόπος) according to which its material has been organized within the work itself; we can see a secular theme presented in the most sacred (sic) way, in, for example, the *Song of Songs*.

Therefore, concerning the concert in the Holy Trinity Cathedral, although it would be safe to imply that this kind of event is not just a usual concert, at the same time, it is rather difficult to specify its aesthetic function. Yannaras's suggestion is dinstictively theological and using it in a musicological context seems irrational at first. On the other hand, traditional music theory's tools seem insufficient in order to approach such works in depth; these works call for an interdisciplinary method of analysis and understanding because of their multi-textural identity. In any case, a theoretical assumption like this can be either readily defended or deconstructed, again on account of the amount of freedom it took for it to grow. However, because of the rarity with which these kinds of events take place and such issues arise, I believe that my musicological responsibility is to raise questions more frequently regarding their functionality and meaning.

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The Localization of Orthodox Spiritual Songs: Finnish Translations of the Lyrics

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There is one simple spiritual song in Finnish that recounts a child's prayer for the family: "O Lord, help and have mercy for my parents, brothers and sisters, and the people close to me."[1] It has the same melody as another, Russian, song, which instead depicts the events of the Resurrection of Christ, starting with "Христос воскрес из мертвых, смертию смерть поправ" ("Christ is risen from the dead, trampling down death by death").[2] The correspondence of the melodies can be explained by the fact that the Russian song has been used as a source for the Finnish song, but the lyrics have been changed from the Resurrection theme to a prayer for the family. In another example, an Estonian Christmas song describes the Nativity with the Theotokos, the angels, the shepherds, the ass and the ox, repeating at the end of each stanza: "Rejoice, O blessed Mary who gave birth to the Saviour of this world."[3] In its Finnish version, the lyrics continue to focus on the birth of Christ, yet the chorus related to Theotokos has been omitted.[4] Why is this so?

Background

After the Russian Revolution and Finland's independence in 1917, the local Orthodox Church lost its connection to its Mother Church in Russia. The

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1   *Vaeltajan lauluja, kokoelma yksiäänisiä hengellisiä lauluja*, toim. Erkki Piiroinen (Kuopio, 1951). Song number 35, "Herra, auta, armahda".

2   *Слово Жизни, В духовныхъ стихахъ избранныхъ и положенныхъ на ноты для простаго Народа* (Санкт-Петербургъ, 1912), 57-60. The songs in this collection are not enumerated, so the reference is to page numbers.

3   *Waimulikud laulud, psalmid ehk waimulikud kantad, wiisidega. Koolis ja kodu*. Kokku korjanud ja wene keele järede kirjutanud Andrei Ramul (Tallinn, 1896), 67-68. Song number 39, "Kuldne telt".

4   *Vaeltajan lauluja*, 41. Song number 49, "Sinun syntymästäs, Kristus Jumala".

status of the Orthodox Church in Finland was confirmed by the Finnish government in 1918, and in the following years, Orthodoxy faced pressure from Finnish society to look and sound "more Finnish." Nationalist tendencies and anti-Russian mentality had already emerged in Finland in the nineteenth century as a part of broader European national movements. The Russian-associated, though ethnically varied Orthodox population faced prejudice and pressure that was channelled through nationalist ideas and the general atmosphere of the young Finnish state.[5] In essence, the effort to make the Orthodox Church look Finnish meant that Orthodoxy should not appear as Russian.[6] According to Miika Tervonen, the idea of a monocultural Finland was a political project strengthened by demographic and institutional changes.[7]

In the 1920s, "Finnish" expression began to be vigorously sought after in the fields of language, concepts, liturgical practices and church music, as well as in the case of ecclesiastical symbols.[8] According to Pekka Metso and Jenni Hakkarainen, the pressure to adjust the Church to resemble Lutheranism was not exaggerated. This can be seen in the speeches presented at the fraternal assemblies of clergy. In the southeastern parts of the country, Karelia, where the Orthodox presence was especially strong, education, healthcare, and economics were less advanced than in the rest of the country. With regard to religion, knowledge of the fundamentals of faith was often poor among the Orthodox, and they were, according to Orthodox clergy, vulnerable to "sectarian preachers."

In this context, the Finnish Orthodox Church developed the genre of spiritual songs especially in the 1920s and 1930s. The first songs were distributed as attachments between the pages of the church periodical *Aamun Koitto*.[9] Maria Takala-Roszczenko estimates that, as a magazine of the official missionary organization of the Church, the Brotherhood off SS Sergius and Herman of Valaam, *Aamun Koitto* most likely communicated views that were also accepted by the official representatives of the Church.[10] As substitutes for Lutheran hymns, commonly sung at Orthodox events, the Orthodox spiritual songs came to be very useful. Also members of the clergy supported singing them.[11]

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5   Pekka Metso and Jenni Hakkarainen, "New Hymns for Ancient Tradition: National, Pedagogical and Apologetic Motivations of the First Finnish Orthodox Spiritual Songbook (1939)," *Acta Musicologica* 92, no. 2 (2020):5.

6   Katariina Husso, *Ikkunoita ikonien ja kirkkoesineiden historiaan; Suomen autonomisen ortodoksisen kirkon esineellinen kulttuuriperintö 1920-1980-luvuilla* (Helsinki: Suomen muinaismuistoyhdistys, 2011), 32–35.

7   Miika Tervonen, "Historiankirjoitus ja myytti yhden kulttuurin Suomesta," in *Kotiseutu ja kansakunta. Miten suomalaista historiaa on rakennettu*. Historiallinen arkisto 142. Eds. Pirjo Markkola, Hanna Snellman & Ann-Catrin Östman. (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2014), 140.

8   Pekka Metso, "Omasanainen ortodoksihenkinen rukouskirja": Kreikkalaiskatolisen koulun hartauskirjan (1938) synty ja sisältö," in *Filosofina historiassa: Juhlakirja professori Matti Kotirannan täyttäessä 60 vuotta 9.11.2018*, toim. Teuvo Teuvo Laitila and Ilkka Huhta. Studia Missiologica et occumenia Fennica. (Tampere, 2018), 187.

9   E.g., *Aamun Koitto* 13-14/1928, the Christmas number of 1930 and the Easter number of 1934.

10   Maria Takala-Roszczenko, "Nationalization of the Orthodox Liturgy in the Orthodox Church of Finland," *Review of Ecumenical Studies* 9, no. 2 (2017): 155.

11   Metso and Hakkarainen, "New hymns," 5.

In 1939, a collection of 200 liturgical songs and 41 spiritual songs called *Kreikkalaiskatolinen hengellinen laulukirja* ("The Greek Catholic [meaning the Orthodox] Spiritual Songbook") was published.[12] In 1941, Archbishop Herman published a collection of 27 songs called *Hengellisiä lauluja* ("Spiritual Songs").[13] Further in 1944, Hieromonk Paul published *Ortodoksinen laulukirja* ("Orthodox Chant Book"), which also included 16 spiritual songs.[14] All of the songs from these earlier collections were later included in the *Vaeltajan lauluja* ("The Pilgrim's Songs") collection and complemented with new songs created in the 1940s. This book, containing one hundred songs, was published for the first time in 1951, and it has appeared in four later editions[15] since then.

In the late twentieth century, the *Vaeltajan lauluja* collection of spiritual songs received criticism that stemmed from the question of whether the songs represented Orthodoxy well enough. The melodies of the songs have been evaluated as sounding quite Lutheran. Most criticism has been aimed at the lyrics of the songs. The lyrics of these spiritual – paraliturgical – songs were freely composed or translated from existing sources by a wide variety of people. This criticism provides even more reason to explore the process of modification that was involved in the making of Finnish spiritual songs.

The aim, the concept and earlier research

The aim of this paper is to clarify the following questions: How werer these songs written or adapted into Finnish? What kind of changes took place in the process of localization? What can be seen behind these changes? What kind of criteria seem to have guided the compilers of the songs?

For exploring localization, I use the definition by Monique M. Ingalls, Muriel Swijghuisen Reigersberg, and Zoe C. Sherinian who suggest musical localization as "the process whereby Christian communities take a variety of musical practices – some considered 'indigenous,' some 'foreign,' some shared across spatial and cultural divides; some linked to past practice, some innovative – and make them locally meaningful and useful in the construction of Christian beliefs, theology, practice and identity."[16] The localization of spiritual songs in Finnish Orthodox practice can be viewed as an example of such process.

How has this research topic been approached in the past? Katariina Husso has analysed the problematic concept of "Finnish Orthodox identity" in her dissertation *Ikkunoita ikonien ja kirkkoesineiden tutkimiseen* concerning Finnish Orthodox material heritage in the 1920s-1980s.[17] Maria Takala-Roszczenko has explored the nationalization of Orthodox Church in

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12   *Kreikkalaiskatolinen hengellinen laulukirja* (Kuopio: STK, 1939). Other editions of this song book were published in 1941 and 1943. See also Metso and Hakkarainen, "New Hymns," 3.
13   *Hengellisiä lauluja, Kokoelma "Aamun Koiton" liitteinä vuosina 1928-1932 julkaistuja lauluja* (Jyväskylä: PSHV, 1941).
14   *Ortodoksinen laulukirja.* toim. pappismunkki Paavali Paavali (Helsinki: Ortodoksinen Veljestö, 1944).
15   *Vaeltajan lauluja.* Other editions were published in 1955, 1959, 1977, and 1995.
16   Monique M. Ingalls, Muriel Swijghuisen Reigsberg & Zoe C. Sherinian, *Making Congregational Music Local in Christian Communities Worldwide* (Abingdon – New York: Routledge, 2018), 3.
17   Husso, *Ikkunoita ikonien ja kirkkoesineiden historiaan*.

Finland, its reflections and effects on Orthodox liturgical culture, especially the discourse promoting the nationalization of the Church.[18] This literature sheds light on the atmosphere and discussion that were prevalent during the first half of the twentieth century in the Finnish Orthodox Church. The context also provides explanations for the changes made in the process of localizing spiritual songs in Finnish practice. Pekka Metso has studied the publication called *Kreikkalaiskatolinen koulun hartauskirja* ("Greek Catholic Devotional Book for Schools") that mainly contained freely composed poetic prayers by various authors. He sees the book of "prayers in one's own words" as a product of the time in which "new expressions" were welcomed in the atmosphere of Finnicization.[19] The processes behind the Orthodox spiritual songs have been explored by Metso together with the present author in the article "New songs for an ancient tradition: National, pedagogical, and apologetic motivations of the first Finnish Orthodox Spiritual Songbook (1939)."[20] However, the lyrics of the songs have not, until now, been the focus of research.

Active modification of the original songs into Finnish

Most of the spiritual songs before the *Vaeltajan lauluja* collection did not have a Finnish origin. Instead, they were adopted and translated from other collections, such as the Russian *Slovo Zhizni* (1912), and the Estonian *Waimulikud laulud* (1896), arranged by Andrei Ramul. The adaptation from foreign collections into Finnish involved both melodies and lyrics. Here, I will focus on songs from the aforementioned Russian and Estonian collections. The relationship between the two collections has not yet been explored. It may be that both derive at least part of their repertory from a Russian collection called *Lepta*.[21] The index of the Finnish *Vaeltajan lauluja* collection mentions the origin of seventeen song melodies and one text as being from the Russian collection *Slovo Zhizni*, and ten song melodies as being from the Estonian collection by Ramul. After comparing the melodies, I was able to verify that there are actually eleven melodies borrowed from the Russian collection, and ten melodies from the Estonian collection.

Yet, when it comes to the themes of the song texts, my analysis revealed many fewer similarities. Only a few songs in *Vaeltajan lauluja* were copied and translated from the original texts without prominent changes: seven songs from the Estonian collection *Waimulikud laulud* and two songs from the Russian collection *Slovo Zhizni*. So what happened when these songs were translated into Finnish? It turns out that in many cases the original content was significantly modified. From the point of view of localization, the way in which the modification were done is most revealing.

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18   Maria Takala-Roszczenko, "The Nationalization of Liturgy in the Orthodox Church of Finland in the 1920s-30s," *Review of Ecumenical Studies* 9, no. 2 (2017): 154-172. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1515/ress-2017-0012.

19   Metso, "Omasanainen ortodoksihenkinen rukouskirja."

20   Metso and Hakkarainen, "New hymns."

21   *Хоровыя духовно-нравтсвенныя песнопения заимствованныя изъ «Лепта» и «Вторая Лепта», изданныхъ Алтайской миссией. Изданія второе.* (Москва, 1899.)

Table 1 shows the comparison between the original Russian or Estonian song themes with the Finnish ones, pointing out where the lyrics have been modified or changed altogether.[22]

TABLE 1: CHANGED SONG THEMES

The song (its theme), original source and song / page number AR= Adrei Ramul's *Waimulikud laulud*, SZh= *Слово жизни*	The song in *Vaeltajan lauluja* (its theme) and song number	Content of modification
1. *Sion makab, kurjus uinub* (The story of the Resurrection) AR 8	*Tornistansa iltakellot* (The bells of Christmas) 47 (& the applied song 48)	Theme changed: Resurrection → Christmas
2. *Kuldne telt* (Christmas, with praise of the Theotokos) AR 39	*Sinun syntymästäs* (Christmas) 49	Reference to Theotokos removed
3. *Rõõmusta end täna* (Request for the intercession of Theotokos AR 4	*Kristus syntyi, kiittäkää* (Christmas) 52	Theme changed: Theotokos → Christmas
4. *Оружие христианина* (The Christian's weapon, the Cross) SZh p. 34	*Jeesus, Sulle kaivatulle* (Sin and grace) 2	New content
5. *Райская птичка* (The story of a young hermit) SZh p. 84	*Murhe raskas peitä* (anxiety, consolation from God) 14	Theme changed: hermit → anxiety and consolation
6. *Спит Сион* (The story of the Resurrection) SZh p. 55	*Kuulen kirkonkellon kumun* (Peace in the afterlife) 30	Theme changed: Resurrection → peace in the afterlife (no reference to the Resurrection)
7. *Христос Воскрес* (Resurrection), SZh p. 57 and with the same melody: *Похвала Богородице* (Praise of the Theotokos), SZh p. 66	*Herra, auta, armahda* 35 (A child's intercession for the family)	Theme changed: Resurrection → family, or: Theotokos → family

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22   The translations from Finnish to English are by the author. Originally, the translations into Finnish have been made by Maria Takala-Roszczenko (from Russian) and Fr Madis Palli (from Estonian).

8. *Желание христианина* SZh p. 11 (Sin, grace)	*Sinun armosi turvissa* 39 (God's grace)	Some new content
9. *Пред иконой родительским благословением* SZh p. 68 (Saint Nicholas)	*Maa lepää rauhaan vaipuneena* 50 (Christmas)	Theme changed: Saint Nicholas → Christmas
10. *Воскресный день* SZh p. 62 (Resurrection)	*On taivas pilven peitossa* 61 (Storm and distress)	Theme changed: Resurrection → storm and distress
11. *Молитвенное чувство христианина* SZh p. 23 (Request for grace)	*Torninsa kirkkomme kunnahalla* 72 (Eternal truth)	Theme changed: Request for grace → eternal truth
12. *Песть Трезвенников* SZh p. 94 (The fight for sobriety)	*Pyhä kirkkomme* 77 (The Holy (Orthodox) Church)	Theme changed: the fight for sobriety → the Holy Church
13. *Давно пора тебе трудиться* SZh p. 29 (Awakening of the soul)	*Valamo, saari ihmehinen* 87 (The history of Valaam monastery)	Theme changed: awakening of the soul → the history of Valaam monastery

As we can see, a few songs with the theme of the Resurrection, both from the Estonian and the Russian collection, were given a new theme in the Finnish adaptation (Table 1, numbers 1, 7 and 10). The Christmas theme could replace the content involving the Theotokos (number 3), or the references to the Theotokos could be removed entirely (number 2). The melody for the Finnish adaptation of song number 7, now relating the child's prayer, may have been taken either from a song dedicated to the Resurrection, or to the Theotokos. One song dedicated to Saint Nicholas was transformed into a Christmas-themed song (number 9).

In song number 12 (Table 1), originally a Russian song promoting sobriety, the theme has been changed to a depiction of the Holy (Orthodox) Church. This can be considered a very innovative choice from Hieromonk Paul (later Archbishop Paul of Finland, 1914–1988), who was its author.

The song number 13 (Table 1), a Finnish song praising the monastery of Valaam, "Valamo, saari ihmehinen," has a compeletely different theme in the Russian collection *Слово жизни*. In the latter, the song focuses on the awakening of the soul. *Vaeltajan lauluja* has retained the melody used in *Слово жизни* while adapting lyrics into Finnish from another source and noting *Слово жизни* as its reference. The Russian original version of the song

on Valaam exists elsewhere – "О дивный остров Валаам" ("O wondrous island of Valaam"), with the lyrics compiled by Monk Peter. Yet this song is not included in *Слово жизни*.

In particular, the song theme changes from the Theotokos or Saint Nicholas to some other theme, such as Christmas, raise the question as to whether mentioning the Theotokos or other saints was considered "too Orthodox" at the time of Finnicization.

Maria Takala-Roszczenko's article reveals critical argumentation regarding the Theotokos and the saints in a discussion about Orthodox worship life in the magazine *Aamun Koitto* in 1918. The contributing writer criticized the "ceremonialism" of the Orthodox Church:

> If there will be only an endless amount of those Old Testament ceremonies, a great number of mechanically read and many times repeated prayer-readings, gospels and epistles made unclear by the half-chanting manner of reading, *unbiblical doctrines on saints, the Virgin Mary,* etc., and if it believes and makes others believe in the prayers for the living as well as for the dead, conducted there for money, then this Church is no longer up to date, and as such it has no future in this Finland that is now being built here on the principles of freedom.[23]

The writer seemed to perceive all such action as "spiritually empty." As Takala-Roszczenko's analysis shows, the argumentation relies on numerous references to the Bible (particularly the New Testament) as the sole authority in the Church, as opposed to Tradition. The cult of the saints, and of the Virgin Mary, are suspicious because they appear as "unbiblical" – it should be Jesus Christ alone on whom the Church bases its existence. Ceremonies and rituals are regarded as remnants of the Old Testament, also judged as obsolete at the dawn of the brave new national order.[24] Although no such arguments were presented when the *Vaeltajan lauluja* collection was compiled, being much later, towards the 1950s, it might be suggested that the changes made to the song texts reflected a similar kind of tendency as was articulated by the critical writer in *Aamun Koitto* in 1918.

The changes in themes are analogous to what the Finnish spiritual songs have been criticized for: *they depart from the themes that are traditionally emphasized in Orthodoxy.* For example, the removal of references to the Resurrection must be seen as indicative of a conscious change of emphasis. The thematic section named "The Cross and Easter" is limited, containing only seven songs. These mainly feature the events of Good Friday, the Passion of Christ, and Golgotha. Resurrection is mentioned in the concluding stanza of four songs.[25] Compared to the liturgical context, in which the Easter troparion, for example, is repeated over and over again, these songs represent a very different picture of Orthodox Easter.

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23   A.N. O:v, "Onko kreik.-katol. kirkolla Suomessa olemassa mitään tulevaisuutta?" *Aamun Koitto* 14 (1918), 113; Takala-Roszczenko, "The Nationalization," 158 (emphasis mine).
24   Maria Takala-Roszczenko, "The Nationalization," 158.
25   *Vaeltajan lauluja*, 46–50.

On the other hand, it could be suggested that by emphasizing the feast of Christmas, and placing a reduced emphasis on the role of the Theotokos, or the saints, the translators or lyricists of these songs intentionally turned away from the characteristic features of the Orthodox faith and embraced Western Christian themes – especially as they created these songs during the time when the Finnish Orthodox Church was expected to look as "Finnish" as possible, while the idea of Finnishness was very much based on the Lutheran church culture. Christmas, for example, has a major role among church feasts in the Finnish Lutheran tradition.

Spiritual songs could be adapted to reflect the local context, because, unlike liturgical chants, they were not controlled by the idea of canonicity. There were attempts to modify the liturgical chant texts, too, during this period. In the early 1920s, Iivo Härkönen, a Karelian novelist, introduced the idea of rewriting the liturgical hymns into "more singable" songs with end-rhymes, not understanding that certain traditions, such as the highly conservative hymnographical legacy of Eastern Christianity, could not be changed as one wished.[26] Among the spiritual songs, in the section of "The Cross and Easter", there are two songs by Iivo Härkönen – one written by him, another translated from Estonian. Neither of the songs mentions the Resurrection, only the Cross.[27]

The songs adopted without changes

Besides the songs whose themes seem to have been modified the better to suit the local context, there are also songs that have preserved the original song lyrics in the translation. In the following table, I have listed the songs that have been adapted from the Estonian or Russian origin without changing the theme.

Table 2: Maintained song themes

The original song and the song / page number AR= Adrei Ramul's *Waimulikud laulud*, SZh= *Слово жизни*	The song in *Vaeltajan lauluja* and the song number	Theme
1. *Коль славен наш Господь в Сионе* AR 38	*Ken kielin voisi kuvaella* 1	Praising the Lord and His glory
2. *О, вечный знак (Крест)* SZh p. 27	*Kuin merkki taivaan voiman rauhan* 60	The power and the importance of the Holy Cross for Christians

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26   Maria Takala-Roszczenko, "Kirjailija Iivo Härkönen ja unelma ortodoksisesta virsilaulusta," Sananjalka 63 (2022): 234–263. https://doi.org/10.30673/sja.103094.

27   *Vaeltajan lauluja* 48–49, songs nos 60 and 61.

3. *Родная Церковь* SZh p. 76	*Oi Isäin Kirkko, pyhä Äiti* 78	The Church, its importance and power for Christians
4. *Kui armas on So hooneb mull'* AR 29	*Oi Herra, huonees kauneus* 24	The beauty of the Lord's room (temple); people's longing for God. The good part of those who live in the Lord's temple.
5. *Kus see kaunis lill on jäenud* AR 22	*Minne kukka kaunis joutui* 65	Depicting the end of temporal life with allegories
6. *So kotta tahan astuda* AR 28	*Sun huoneeseesi, Jumala* 75	God's guidance, avoiding cravings and temptations
7. *Helde, Ema Neitsi* AR 35	*Puhtain Neitsyt* 96	Prayer to the Theotokos
8. *Ma õnnetu ja patu ori* AR 18	*Ma onneton ja synnin orja* 9	Human shortcoming, sin and temptations, the dirt of the heart, the request of becoming cleansed by God; the importance of the Holy Communion ("The table of Grace")
9. *Aeg kätte tulnud tõusta unest* AR 16	*Nyt synninunestasi nouse* 11	The awakening of the soul from the sleep of sin (containing some drastic examples)

The first song in the table, the famous "Kol slaven" ("How great is the Lord in Sion") by Dmitry Bortnyansky, is marked as having been adopted from Andrei Ramul's collection, although its Finnish translation had been published already in 1909[28]. The translator was one of the key figures in the translation of Orthodox liturgical texts into Finnish, Fr Sergei Okulov (1853–1940).

The second and the third song in Table 2 are also of Russian origin, adopted from *Слово жизни*. They stress the importance of the Holy Cross and of Holy Church. The song "О, вечный знак (Крест)," in Finnish, "Kuin merkki taivaan voiman rauhan," depicts human sorrow (in the first and second stanza) and states that the Cross provides safety, a protective wall and a shield against lusts, "suppressing life's pain".[29]

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28   *Kirkkoveisuja rukoushetkissä ja avioliiton vihkimisessä.* Pyh. Sergein ja Hermanin Veljeskunnan toimituksia LXXXIV. Jyväskylä, 1909, back cover. The Finnish translation consists of two first stanzas, whereas the Russian original comprises four stanzas.

29   *Vaeltajan lauluja*, 48–49. V. Verlok is mentioned as the author of the song. The Finnish translator is "I. H.," i.e., Iivo Härkönen.

Example 1

Song 60	English translation
1. Kuin merkki taivaan voiman, rauhan On pyhä risti kuoloton Kuin viitta elon uuden lauhan Se hautakummun päällä on	1. A sign of heaven's power, peace, Is the holy Cross immortal It is like a cloak of new, tranquil life Covering the burial mound.
2. Soi kelle mielen vihaa täyden, Sen heille pilkaks, nurjaks teet, Mut minä elon myrskyn käyden Sun luokses ohjaan askelet.	2. Who has been given a mind full of hatred You make it their mockery, their misery, But I, passing the storms of life Guide my steps towards You.
3. Kuin kilpeä sua, risti kannan, Sä elon tuskan vaimennus; Sä kirkastaja taivaanrannan, Sydämen, sielun virvoitus.	Like a shield I carry You, O Cross, You who suppress life's pain; Brighten the horizon, Revive the heart and the soul.
4. Sä anteeksannon, armon kuva, Sua kiittää sydän värjyvä, Sun lunastuksees alistuva Oon elon viime hetkellä.	4. You are an image of forgiveness, mercy, To You gives thanks the trembling heart, Surrending to Your redemption I will be at the last moment of my life.
5. Oi rauhantuoja, eloon uuteen Kun siirryn illan ruskossa, Suo nukahtaa mun ikuisuuteen Sun pyhän ristin juurella.	5. O bringer of peace, to the new life When I move in the dying of the day, Let me fall asleep in eternity At the foot of Your Holy Cross.

The fourth song in the table, of Estonian origin, "Kui armas on So hooneb mull' ("Oi Herra, huonees kauneus"), paraphrases verses from psalm 84. The Finnish poet Aari Surakka (1909–1990) translated this song from Estonian to Finnish.[30] The psalm describes: "Certainly spending just one day in your temple court is better than spending a thousand elsewhere. I would rather stand at the entrance to the temple of my God than live in the tents of the wicked."[31] The spiritual song (in both languages) adds to the psalm text the mention of the guilty pleasure: "I would not trade for a thousand days / In the craze of the world / And for a moment of sinful joy / In vain lust / The blessing which was brought / By one day in Your temple, / You, Lord of the earth and heaven."[32] The reference to "the wicked" is amplified by describing the sinful joy and lust provided by the wordly world.

The fifth song in the table "Kus see kaunis lill on jäenud," in Finnish, "Minne kukka kaunis joutui," depicts the end of the temporal life (death) with linguistic images.[33] There is some sadness and longing in this song. The sixth song in the table, "So kotta tahan astuda," in Finnish, "Sun huoneeseesi, Jumala," emphasizes the importance of following God's guidance, avoiding passions and temptations.[34] The seventh song, "Helde Ema Neitsi" or "Puhtain Neitsyt", is a prayer for the Theotokos. This time

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30   The Finnish version consists of five stanzas instead of the original four in Ramul's collection.
31   Psalm 84:10, New English Translation, www.biblegateway.com.
32   *Vaeltajan lauluja*, 24. The citation is from the fourth stanza.
33   It seems that the song was literally adapted from Estonian, with five stanzas in both Estonian and Finnish versions.
34   The Finnish version has reduced the number of stanzas from six to five.

the theme of the Theotokos has been retained in the Finnish adaptation.[35] The Theotokos is asked to help the human in their weakness.

The *Vaeltajan lauluja* collection contains altogether one hundred spiritual songs, which may be divided roughly into three main themes: 1) the theme of sorrow (pain), 2) the theme of longing for grace and becoming nearer to God, with God's help, and 3) the awakening of the soul from the sin. The third subject may also be extended to cover repentance and awareness of sin or temptation, i.e., vigilance of the soul. There are 33 songs that fall under the first theme, 27 songs under the second and 39 songs under the third theme.

The songs number 8–9 (Table 2) exemplify these typical themes in the collection: the theme of longing for grace and becoming nearer to God, while the third song also touches upon the awakening of the soul from sin.[36] The eighth song in the table, "Ma õnnetu ja patu ori" ("Ma onneton ja synnin orja"), brings out, on one hand, human sinfulness, impurity, and temptations leading to lust; on the other hand, it emphasizes the importance of Holy Communion for its healing and cleansing effect. The ninth song, "Aeg kätte tulnud tõusta unest" ("Nyt synninunestasi nouse"), emphasizes the importance of the awakening of the soul so that the human being might become clean from sins, evil, lust and temptations. The song contains some rather drastic expressions describing the fate of the human being should he or she remain passive in spiritual life.

EXAMPLE 2

Song number 9[37]	English translation
1. Ma onneton ja synnin orja Nyt seison, Herra, edessäs. On sielun' saastainen ja kurja, Ja sydän täynnä himoja. Mutt' tahtonen myös minäkin Sun Armopöytääs astua.	1. Miserable and a slave of sin I now stand, O Lord, before You. My soul is filthy and wretched, And my heart full of desires. Yet I also want To enter Your Table of Mercy.
2. Sun ruumiis ja Sun veres olkoot Ain elämäni ruokana. Ma tartuin kiinni synnin verkkoon, Mutt' armos tulkoon osaksein. Se syntini pois ottakoon Ja minut luokses kutsukoon.	2. May Your Body and Your Blood Always be the food of my life. I was caught in the web of sin Yet let Your grace be my part. May it take away my sins And call me to You.
3. Ma olen kyllä pahaa tehnyt, Mutt' Jeesus mua paranna. Tee otolliseksi myös minut, Ett' kiitollisin mielin ma Sua, isieni Jumala, Ain uskaltaisin ylistää.	3. I have done bad things, Yet, Jesus, heal me. Make me worthy so that With a grateful heart You, the God of my fathers, I would always dare to praise.

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35   The number of stanzas in the Finnish translation is six, while the original consists of seven stanzas.

36   The Finnish translator has drastically reduced the number of stanzas in both songs into three, while the Estonian original versions contain seven (the eighth song) and nine (the ninth song) stanzas.

37   *Vaeltajan lauluja*, 11–12.

The three stanzas of Finnish song are based on stanzas the first, second and sixth of the original song "Ma õnnetu ja patu ori" in the Estonian origin (Ramul's collection). The original song contains a total of seven verses.[38]

While the topics of repentance, awakening from sin, and the vigilance of the soul lie at the core of Christian life, the manner of depicting the sinful state of man in these songs is specific, emphasizing the slavery of the sin, which directs, without the repentance or conversion, to death.

Example 3

Song no. 11	English translation
1. Nyt synninunestasi nouse ja ollos sielun' valvova. Ah, nopein siivin aika rientää. Niin pian saapuu kuolema.	1. Now arise from your sinful sleep And be awake, O my soul! Ah, with fast wings time flies And so swiftly comes death.
2. "Nyt synninunestasi nouse", Niin enkelisi vaikertaa. On synnin riemu turha haave, Se pian piikit kasvattaa.	2. "Now arise from yout bed of sin," Your angel is crying. The joy of sin is a vain dream, I will soon grow thorns.
3. Pois heitä luotasi jo saasta Ja kuule Isän kutsua! Nöyrille Hällä onpi armo, Hän tahtoo sua valaista.	3. Now throw away the filth And hear the Father's call! He has mercy for the humble, He wants to enlighten you.

In the Estonian origin, "Aeg kätte tõusta unest", the expressions are similar, even stronger:[39]

Example 4

Song 16 (AR) in Estonian	English translation
3rd stanza (i.e. 2nd stanza in Finnish) Sa makab, aga kaitsija Ingel So juures walab pisaraid; Sa uinud hooletuse sängil, Surm ootab nii kui saaki sind	 You sleep, yet your Guardian Angel Sheds tears next to you; You sleep in carelessness, Death is waiting to capture you.
5th stanza (i.e. 3rd stanza in Finnish) Hing, jäta maha patu sõbrus, Patt, nagu madu närib sind; ning waata, kui suur walu põrgus Neid ootab, kes on pattu teind.	 O soul, forsake sin as your friend It bites you like a snake; and see how great is the pain in hell for those who have sinned.

The original Estonian song has a total of nine stanzas. The other stanzas contain the same theme. The recurrence of the theme raises the question why it was so central to Orthodox spiritual songs of Estonian origin and, further, adapted to Finnish.

One possible reason could be suggested in the prominent role of Protestantism in both Estonian and Finnish societies. In their attempts to

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38   *Waimulikud laulud*, 30–31.
39   *Waimulikud*, 27–28. Madis Palli has translated the lyrics from Estonian to Finnish, from which the Finnish translation has been made.

create a characteristically local Orthodox culture, the Orthodox minorities in these two countries may have sought themes and expressions typical of the dominant confession. For example, according to the Finnish researcher Eeva-Liisa Bastman, who has investigated Finnish Lutheran hymn poetry of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the idea of awakening from the state of sin, as if from death, into new life and a living faith, was at the very core of the Lutheran spiritual movement called Pietism.[40] The paralysed and sense-numbing effect of sin is described as a sleeping or death-like condition, to which man falls. A person who has been sleeping in sin is unable to observe invisible, immaterial reality, because he or she is bound into material and transient reality. Sin is not only bad evil deeds, but it is also a passive failure and general indifference for God and spiritual things.[41]

It could be suggested that the frequent emphasis on sin and the generally gloomy tone of the Orthodox spiritual song texts reflects similar ideas that permeated Lutheran spirituality in Finnish society.

Conclusion

When the Estonian or Russian spiritual songs were translated and modified into the Finnish language, certain significant changes took place as the songs were intentionally transformed. The most characteristic changes involved the removal or reduction of the themes concerning the Resurrection, the Theotokos, and certain saints such as Saint Nicholas. It could be suggested that by emphasizing the feast of Christmas and giving less emphasis to the role of the Theotokos or the saints, the translators or lyricists of these songs intentionally turned away from the characteristic features of the Orthodox faith and embraced Western Christian themes – especially as they created these songs during the time when the Finnish Orthodox Church was expected to look as "Finnish" as possible, while the idea of Finnishness was very much based on the Lutheran church culture. Christmas, for example, is a feast very much emphasized in the Lutheran Church.

On the other hand, the songs that remained more or less unchanged in the adaptation process portray themes that could be seen as close to Protestant church culture, especially the spiritual awakening movement known as Pietism. More research is needed as to why the Pietistic influence would be felt in the Orthodox spiritual songs. All in all, the modified content as well as the directly adopted songs may be perceived as indications of the localization of Orthodox spiritual songs in the interwar period during which Orthodox church culture was expected to reflect "Finnish" ideals.

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40   Eeva-Liisa Bastman, *Poetiikka ja pietismi 1700- ja 1800-luvun suomalaisessa virsirunoudessa* (Helsingin yliopisto, 2017), 164.
41   Bastman, *Poetiikka ja pietismi*, 169.

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Bessarion and music
Concepts, theoretical sources and styles
Proceedings of the international meeting Venice, 10-11 November 2018

Edited by Silva Tessari
Antiquae Musicae Libri 2
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xiii + 178 pp.

This collection of edited proceedings springs from a Venetian initiative in 2018 commemorating 550 years since the donation to San Marco of the library of Cardinal Bessarion (1403-72). As Silvia Tessari points out in her Preface, Bessarion's legacy necessarily invites discussion from a number of disciplinary and methodological approaches: "the conference aimed to contemplate the historical period in which Bessarion lived, his biography, his Weltanschaung, and his cultural network from an original perspective: musicology." (p. xi) The essential question has to do with the role that Bessarion played as a link between East and West, between the Greek Byzantine world in which originated and the Latin Catholic world in which he became a humanist and was awarded the title of cardinal.

Accordingly, the first chapter, by Daniel Glowotz, "Born of a Series of Misunderstandings: the Reports about Music at the Council of Florence and the Documents of Cardinal Bessarion's Musical Thought", takes us straight to the heart of the question – "While the reports written down by Byzantines about the music performances of the Florentine Council were based on the
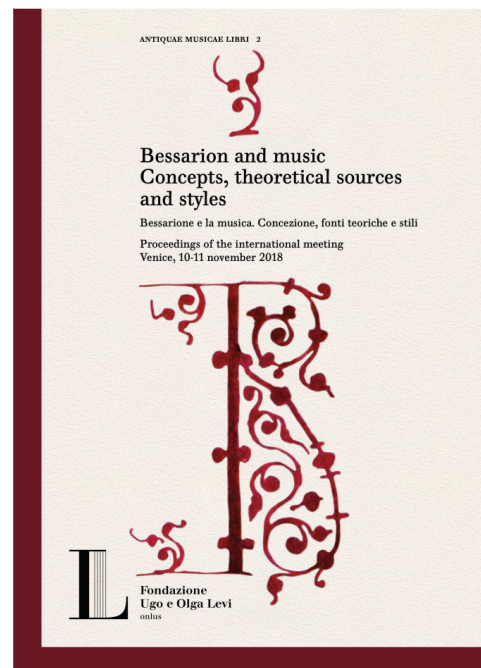
misunderstanding of the sacred music of Western Europe, the documents of Bessarion's musical thought were born from the misunderstanding of Plato's writings by the Byzantine emigré scholar and staunch Aristotelian George of Trebizond." (p. 5) Glowotz gives a survey of the performances at the Council, noting the difficulty of establishing exactly what observers from both sides meant by their written observations, in terms of both performance style and rhetoric, and finishes with a survey of Bessarion's opinions on these matters, his library and his legacy. This must certainly now be considered the definitive introductory discussion of this topic, especially because its wider conclusions are founded on a singular grasp of detail.

Silva Tessari then discusses in detail Bessarion's musical manuscript now held in Venice, through which she aims to arrive at a definition of what Bessarion meant by the term "Byzantine music", and Gerda Wolfram provides a chapter on the art of chanting as found in Byzantine theoretical treatises from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, establishing the link between older Byzantine tradition and the work of composers of the diaspora following the Fall of Constantinople.

An unavoidable name in this context is that of Ioannes Plousiadenos, and Christian Troelsgard's chapter places him in what he describes as the axis of Constantinople – Crete – Venice. After a brief presentation of Plousiadenos's life, and of the manuscripts written by him, the majority of the chapter is dedicated to the *Vademecum*, Ms Athos, Dionysious 570 (GR-AOd 70) and a fascinating overview of its contents. There are four appendices, with summaries of Plousiadenos's life and his manuscripts, and musical examples relevant to the manuscript under discussion. And from Plousiadenos it is natural to jump to a discussion of Byzantine polyphony, and Nina-Maria Wanek examines in detail the notational implications of manuscripts containing such music from the period of Bessarion, including, naturally, Plousiadenos, concluding that their work was very much experimental.

Giuseppe Sanfratello takes the discussion further afield, to the Sicilian-Albanian colonies after Bessarion's time, introducing the topic and presenting the result os his research on the way these traditions relate to the Byzantine, something that has hitherto not immediately apprehensible to those without access to Italian-language research. Maria Alexandru's concluding chapter discusses the work of Byzantine composers in the kalophonic style in terms of their use of the hymnology of St Kassia (Kassiane), and includes a vast number of useful tables, plates and illustrative examples.

In all, this is an immensely valuable collection of essays, providing a great many insights into Bessarion's time, his own activities and his legacy. English-language editing is sometimes not all that it should have been, but that is truly a small price to pay for such an innovative and inspiring volume.

Ivan Moody

Tntesean and the Music of the Armenian Hymnal

By Haig Utidjian
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Haig Utidjian, who is both musicologist and practising liturgical musician, has, over the past decade or so, established himself as probably the leading scholar in Armenian sacred musicology, with an enviable list of publications to his name. He has also published much of his work in English, thereby making accessible an entire world of chant and liturgy which would otherwise have passed under the radar of most Western scholars.
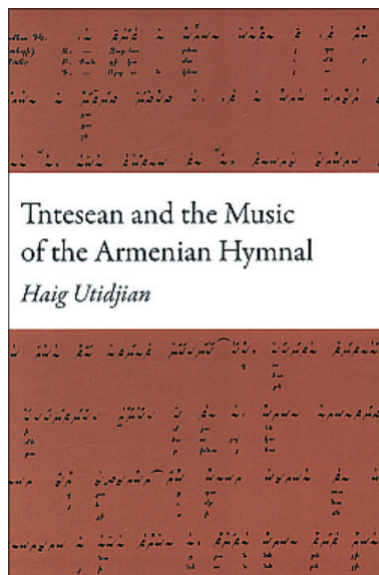
The present book is no exception, and indeed, in the Tntesean Hymnal it discusses something that even Armenian scholars have not examined closely until now. Utidjian's Introduction provides an historical overview of the hymnody of the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church and the problems raised by the increasing inaccessibility of notation to cantors in combination with the reversion to an oral tradition, something that the early nineteenth-century musicians Hambarjum Limōnčean and Fr Minas Bžškean attempted to remedy by recording at least some of the repertoire in print, though (or, rather, because) they were confronted by a bewildering variety of earlier transcriptions, retranscriptions and recompositions.

The Tntesean Hymnal itself is the work of the Constantinopolitan musician Elia Tntesean (1834-1881), and adopts a different approach, in that it looks to the mediaeval repertoire as part of the establishing of Tntesean's own notational system. A useful guide is provided to the background of this work,

and the polemics associated with its publication, before a highly useful list of neumes, essential for understanding the detail of Utidjian's subsequent discussion. Thus there follows a chapter on the characteristics of the hymnal itself as regards notation and pitch, the implications for performance practice and Tntesean's fascinating views on the commonalities between Armenian sacred melodies and the Ottoman *maqams* (something he recognized but which he found to have been used to an exaggerated extent by a number of church musicians), and much detail concerning variants, musical and metrical approaches, verbal underlay, and the exact contents of the hymnal and implications of the choice to leave certain hymns out of notate them incompletely – "But the fact that it is not complete means that it cannot be considered to be self-sufficient from a liturgical point of view. The matter is of sufficient gravity as to warrant special investigation […]" (p. 92)

That special investigation is taken up further on, with discussion of how to complete the hymnal, but only after the author has made an essential and detailed examination, in Sections 5 and 6, Tntesean's practice as regards transcription and the consistency or otherwise of his neumatic practice, by means of analysis of combinations of neumes, the treatment of neumatic sequences and other related questions. As Utidjian notes in his conclusion, "We have seen that Tntesean 'processed' or even 'constructed' melodies in many cases, rather than transcribing whatever he heard; but whilst engaging in such procedures, he was not always entirely consistent in the application of his own principles." (p. 207). That phrase alone should give the reader an idea of the momentous task that has been attempted here; that it manages to be not only a (beautifully presented) detailed musicological monograph but a text of great fascination and suggestiveness is a tribute both to Haig Utidjian's palpable musical enthusiasm and his scholarly rigorousness.

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