



“Χριστοῦ τὸν ἱεράρχην”: THE COURSE OF THE STICHERON FROM THE OLD (NON-KALOPHONIC) TO THE KALOPHONIC MELOS

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to present the way in which the *sticheron* «Χριστοῦ τὸν ἱεράρχην», written in honour of St Athanasius the Great, in the plagal of the second mode, is set to music firstly according to the old (non-kalophonic) compositional style and secondly according to the kalophonic one. I shall then try to present the two compositions by contrasting and comparing the two melodies, examining the main notes on which each melody (*melos*) is constructed. To make this comparison more comprehensive I refer to the work of Chourmouziou¹ and to the way in which these compositions are conveyed from the old notation system to that of the New Method (*exegesis*).² Musicological analyses of various types follow this comparison, helping the attempt to suggest an answer to the question as to whether we can refer to the kalophonic compositional style and its practices by using a term such as *ars nova* or not.

INTRODUCTION: ARS NOVA IN THE EAST AND WEST

Kalophonia is the main compositional style that characterizes church music during the last period of the Byzantine Empire, known as the Palaeologan renaissance (1261-1453).³ This period spans from 1261, the year in which Latin rule ended with the recapture of Constantinople by the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos, until 1453, the year of the abolition of the Byzantine Empire by the Ottoman Turks, who, headed by Muhammad II the conqueror, occupied Constantinople. This period coincides partially with the famous *ars nova* of the West (c. 1315 - c. 1375)⁴ and is

1 Chourmouziou the Chartophylax of the Great Church (fl. c. 1770-1840) was one of the three creators of the so-called *New Method*, which was implemented during the years 1814-1815, see: Γρηγόριος Στάθης, *Τὰ πρωτόγραφα τῆς ἐξηγήσεως εἰς τὴν Νέαν Μέθοδον τῆς Σημειογραφίας, Α' τόμος, Τὰ προλεγόμενα*, Ἴδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, Athens 2016.

2 On the term *exegesis* and its meaning, see Μαρία Ἀλεξάνδρου, *Ἐξηγήσεις καὶ μεταγραφές τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς, σύντομη εἰσαγωγή στὸν προβληματισμὸ τους*, University Studio Press, Thessaloniki 2010, as well as Γρ. Θ. Στάθης, *Ἡ ἐξήγησις τῆς παλαιᾶς βυζαντινῆς σημειογραφίας*, Ἴδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, Μελέται 2, Athens 1978.

3 More information on this period and its achievements can be found in the following sources: Charles Delvoye, *Βυζαντινὴ τέχνη*, ἐκδόσεις Δημ. Παπαδήμα, Athens 1991, 481-590. Ἰωάννης Καραγιαννόπουλος, *Τὸ Βυζαντινὸ κράτος*, ἐκδόσεις Βάνιας, Thessaloniki 2001, 238-277. Steven Runciman, *Βυζαντινὸς Πολιτισμὸς*, ἐκδόσεις Γαλαξίας – Ερμείας, 1969. *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἔθνους*, τόμος Θ', Ἐκδοτικὴ Αθηνῶν, Athens 1980, 116-213, 354-371, 390-393, 423-458.

4 Alison Bullock, “Ars Nova”, *The Oxford Companion to Music*, Ed. Alison Latham, *Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press. Web. 2 Oct. 2014. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/>

especially characterized by modern scholars such as Edward Williams and Gregorios Stathes as a similar Byzantine *ars nova*.⁵ But what are the changes happening that introduce a new form of art (at least in the field of music)?

In the West, and especially in France, musical life and creation was dominated by the figure of the French theorist and composer Philippe de Vitry. It is well known that Vitry wrote in about 1322 a treatise entitled *Ars Nova* (New Art), in which a sophisticated notation system is presented. This system is based on the metric notation of Franco of Cologne; however, it creates additional prerequisites for a more accurate depiction of complex rhythmic patterns, something that was not possible before.⁶ The principles laid down by Vitry found application mostly in the compositional practices of the French composers of the time,⁷ when the isorythmic motet dominated, together with the cantilena forms such as rondo, ballad and virelai. Philippe de Vitry and his contemporary Guillaume de Machaut clearly separate their art and their work in general from the one of the 13th century composers, which they characterize as *ars antiqua* (old art).⁸

In the East, the 14th century is characterized as the golden age of chanting,⁹ as the kalophonic compositional style flourished through the work of enlightened as well as skilful composers, such as St John Koukouzeles and his contemporaries Ioannes Glykys, Nikephoros Ethikos and Xenos Korones, and through the work of subsequent composers such as Ioannes Kladas and Manuel Chrysaphes.¹⁰ What is very interesting with these Eastern composers is that they consider their work as a continuation of that of the past, so they make great efforts to preserve the old and mostly anonymous repertoire. An excellent specimen of this work is the well-known manuscript NLG 2458, the first dated *Papadiki*, a musical collection created by St John Koukouzeles.¹¹

To illustrate this consideration of continuity it is necessary to refer to the theoretical work of Manuel Chrysaphes, “On the theory of the Art of Chanting” (*Περὶ τῶν ἐνθεωρουμένων τῆ Ψαλτικῆ Τέχνης*), whose critical edition was published by Dimitri Conomos.¹² In this work, Chrysaphes stresses repeatedly the element of imitation (*mimesis*) of the older by the younger composers. We should bear in mind that the term “imitation” does not describe a sterile copying process that excludes personal creativity, but rather a productive process in which the new is mixed in a creative way with the old. Especially for Koukouzeles, Chrysaphes says that despite the fact he was a great teacher, he “did not depart from the science of his predecessors. Therefore, he followed in their footsteps and decided not to change anything which they had considered and proved sound. Thus he made **no** innovations”.¹³ About Ioannes Kladas, Chrysaphes tells us

subscriber/article/opr/t114/e415>.

5 See Edward V. Williams, *John Koukouzeles' reform of Byzantine chanting for Great Vespers in the fourteenth century*, Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University 1968, p. 388, as well as Γρ. Θ. Στάθης, *Οἱ ἀναγραμματισμοὶ καὶ τὰ μαθήματα τῆς βυζαντινῆς μελοποιίας*, Ἴδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, Μελέται 3, Athens 1994, 66.

6 See Δημήτριος Γιάννου, *Ιστορία τῆς Μουσικῆς, Σύντομη Γενικὴ Ἐπισκόπηση, τόμος Α' (Μέχρι τὸν 16^ο αἰῶνα)*, University Studio Press, Thessaloniki 1995, 202-205.

7 David Fallows, “Ars Nova”, *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, Oxford University Press. Web. 2 Oct. 2014. <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/01360>>.

8 Jaques de Liège uses the term *ars antiqua* in his work *Speculum musicae* (1321-1324), in which he defends 13th-century polyphonic music: see Γιάννου, *Ιστορία τῆς Μουσικῆς*, 193.

9 See Γρηγόρης Αναστασίου, *Τὰ κρατήματα στὴν ψαλτικὴ τέχνη*, Ἴδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, Μελέται 12, Athens 2005, 109.

10 For a more detailed chronological order of the aforementioned composers, see Γρ. Θ. Στάθης, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς, Ἅγιον Ὄρος, Τόμος Α'*, Ἴδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, Athens 1975, μθ'.

11 In this *Papadiki* we can see that «αἱ νέαι συνθέσεις εἶναι ἐπάνυμοι καὶ αἱ παλαιαὶ διαστέλλονται διὰ τοῦ χαρακτηρισμοῦ παλαιόν», see Στάθης, *Οἱ ἀναγραμματισμοί*, 64.

12 Dimitri E. Conomos, The treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes, the Lampadarios: *On the Theory of the Art of Chanting and on Certain Erroneous Views That Some Hold About it*, Corpus Scriptorum de Re Musica, Band II, Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Kommission für Byzantinistik, 1985.

13 Conomos 1985, 44.

that “he imitated the earlier composers who excelled in the science”.¹⁴ We see, then, that despite all progress in compositional or even notational level, the great masters of the East feel that they are following a single tradition, which over time is renewed and evolving. So, they do not make any kind of separation, such as that of composers and theorists of the West, mentioned earlier.

HESYCHASM, THE BASIS OF KALOPHONIA

As a purely liturgical form of art, Byzantine church music, and by extension kalophonic compositional style, are inextricably connected to the teachings of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Regarding theological matters, the 13th and 14th centuries constituted a turbulent period because of the heretical beliefs of Barlaam of Calabria, who taught that man cannot know God, and even more, cannot be united with Him. Barlaam’s beliefs questioned the Orthodox practice of *hesychia* (quietude) and brought turmoil to the monastic circles of the time. Monks, as hermits of quietness, professed that a man of pure heart who practices the so-called “καρδιακή προσευχή” (“prayer of the heart”), which uses the words “Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, Ὑιὲ Θεοῦ, ἐλέησόν με” (“Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me”), can come to be united with God himself and to be illuminated, in other words to experience the light of Tabor, regardless of any personal education. Together with the monks was the inspired archbishop of Thessaloniki, St Gregory Palamas (1296-1359). His teachings form the epitome of hesychastic Orthodox tradition, stating that God exists in two ways: by His essence and by His divine and uncreated energies, such as glory, grace, wisdom, peace, beauty (*kallos*) and so on. Man cannot know God in His essence. But he can know Him and can be united to Him through His divine and uncreated energies. Good faith ultimately triumphs.¹⁵ But what is the position of the kalophonic compositional style in pursuit of *hesychia* (quietude)? How is *kalophonia* connected to hesychasm?

Alexander Lingas, in his article “Hesychasm and psalmody,”¹⁶ tries to provide us with the answers to these questions through the teachings of the hesychast Church Fathers. According to Lingas, fathers such as Theoleptos of Philadelphia (1250-1322) and Gregory of Sinai (c. 1265-1346), distinguish two forms in chanting: personal chanting and congregational chanting. The first form is simple and gentle, consistent with personal exercise and quietness, while the second is elaborate and magnificent, fitting lengthy religious services of monasteries (*lauras*) and large city churches, which are established by the spread of the so-called neo-Sabbaitic Typikon. Theoleptos of Philadelphia urges all Christians to participate in all-night vigils in honour of the saints, carefully listening to the chanting, which will lead to the healing of their souls and salvation itself. St. Gregory Palamas, convinced of the healing power of chanting, devotes part of his homilies to the importance and also the necessity of the liturgical *melos* (melody). Kalophonic chanting takes on flesh and blood through the work of another famous hermit and master of the time, St John Koukouzeles (approximately 1270 - before 1341).¹⁷

14 Conomos 1985, 46.

15 For a more detailed presentation of historical events, as well as for an accurate exposition of the teachings of both Barlaam the Calabrian and St Gregory Palamas, see Βενιζέλος Χριστοφορίδης, *Οι ησυχαστικές έριδες κατά το ΙΔ' αιώνα, εκδόσεις Παρατηρητής, Thessaloniki 1993.*

16 Alexander Lingas, “Hesychasm and psalmody”, in A. Bryer, M. Cunningham, eds., *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, London 1996, 155-168. Fr Nektarios Paris speaks extensively about the use and benefits of chanting, according to the teachings of the Church Fathers, in his work *Τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικὸ ἄσμα, Πατερικὲς θέσεις*, 156-159 (Ph.D. dissertation, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 1999).

17 Στάθης, *Οί ἀναγραμματισμοί*, 126-127.

MANUEL CHRYSAPHEs AND HIS PIECE “ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΙΕΡΑΡΧΗΝ”

As Spyridon Antonopoulos¹⁸ points out, one of the last great musicians of Byzantium and simultaneously an exponent of the kalophonic compositional style was Manuel Dukas Chrysaphes, the so-called Chrysaphes the Old. He was, as we are informed in his autograph manuscript Iviron 975 (f. 173r),¹⁹ Lampadarios of the “charitable royal clergy” and familiar to the last two emperors of Byzantium, John VIII and Constantine XI the Paleologans. After the fall of the Empire he travelled to Mystras and later on to Crete, where he spent his time composing and at the same time teaching the musical tradition of Constantinople. He also made a trip to Serbia, as is evident from his autograph manuscript Iviron 1120 (f. 167v).²⁰

Manuel Chrysaphes’s work falls into three main categories: a) codicographical, from which we are familiar with two autograph manuscripts of his, a *Kalophonic Sticherarion* (Iviron 975) and a *Papadiki* (Iviron 1120), b) compositional: he composed numerous melodies in the papadic genre and in the kalophonic style, among them the famous *Ὁ Θεὸς ἤλθοσαν ἔθνη* in the plagal of the fourth mode, which he composed in commemoration of the Fall of Constantinople (“εἰς τὴν ἀνάλωσιν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως”), as noted in a later manuscript of the 18th century,²¹ and c) theoretical, which was the reference point for subsequent theorists and composers before and after the implementation of the New Method (1814-1815). There is no complete list of Chrysaphes’s works as yet. There have been two major efforts made, however, to catalogue his known works, the first and more detailed in 1975 by Manoles Chatzigiakoumes²² in his work *Musical Manuscripts under the Ottoman rule (1453-1832)*, and a second and briefer one in 1995 by the musicologist Gregory Stathes, as part of a tribute entitled *Cycle of Greek Music, Byzantine Composers*, presented by the Athens Concert Hall in 1994-1995.²³

From the famous compositions of this great musician I have chosen the kalophonic sticheron “Χριστοῦ τὸν ἱεράρχην”, a doxastikon in honour of St Athanasios the Great, belonging to the hymnography for vespers of 2 May. It is a composition in the plagal of the second mode, written on pages 373-374 of manuscript no 7 of the Holy Metropolis of Zakynthos. This manuscript is a Kalophonic Sticherarion “written by master Manuel Chrysaphes” himself (“ποιηθὲν παρὰ τοῦ μαῖστορος τοῦ Χρυσάφου κυρίου Μανουήλ”) as indicated at the beginning of the manuscript.²⁴ In the following table (**Table 1**) may be seen the sticheron’s poetic text and its rendition in English:

18 Spyridon Antonopoulos, “Manuel Chrysaphes and his *Treatise*: Reception History, a Work in Progress”, in Evi Nika-Sampson, Giorgos Sakallieros, Maria Alexandru, Giorgos Kitsios, Emmanouel Giannopoulos, eds., *Proceedings of Crossroads|Greece as an intercultural pole of musical thought and creativity* Conference, Thessaloniki 6-10 June 2011, School of Music Studies, A.U.Th. / I.M.S 2013, 153-155.

19 For the contents of this manuscript and its dating, see Γρ. Θ. Στάθης, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς, Ἅγιον Ὅρος, Τόμος Γ'*, Ἴδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, Athens 1993, 759-778.

20 For the contents of this manuscript and its dating, see Γρ. Θ. Στάθης, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς, Ἅγιον Ὅρος, Τόμος Δ'*, Ἴδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, Athens 2015, 304-334.

21 See Μανόλης Κ. Χατζηγιακουμής, *Μνημεία και Σύμμεικτα Εκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσικῆς. Εκδοτικές Σειρές - Κείμενα και Σχολιασμοί (1999-2010)*, Κέντρον Ερευνῶν και Εκδόσεων, Athens 2011, 367-370.

22 Idem, *Μουσικὰ Χειρόγραφα Τουρκοκρατίας (1453-1832)*, Τόμος πρῶτος, Athens 1975, 392-404.

23 Γρ. Θ. Στάθης, «Μανουήλ Χρυσάφης ὁ Λαμπαδάριος», *Κύκλος Ἑλληνικῆς Μουσικῆς, Βυζαντινοὶ Μελουργοί, Μέγαρο Μουσικῆς Ἀθηνῶν, Περίοδος 1994-1995*, 34-38.

24 For a general description of the manuscript see Μιχαήλ Ἀδάμης, «Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Παναγιώτου Γριτσάνη ἀποκειμένης νῦν ἐν τῇ Ἱερᾷ Μητροπόλει Ζακύνθου», *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 35, 1966, 324-325, where the manuscript is dated between 16th - 17th centuries. Maria Alexandru is of the opinion that Zakynthos 7 is a manuscript of the second half of the 15th century. From her point of view this dating is justified firstly by the very high quality of the manuscript (highly calligraphic with decoration in golden ink) and secondly by the list of names of composers, in which all generations of kalophonic composers from the second half of the 13th century to the second half of the 15th century are represented: see Μαρία Αλεξάνδρου, *Παλαιογραφία Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς, Μουσικολογικὲς και καλλιτεχνικὲς ἀναζητήσεις*, Ἑλληνικὰ Ἀκαδημαϊκὰ Ἡλεκτρονικὰ Συγγράμματα και Βοηθήματα, <https://repository.kallipos.gr/handle/11419/6487>, image 11.44, 645 and idem, “Τὸν στρατιώτην τὸν καλόν”, ἓνα καλοφωνικὸ ἀριστοῦρημα μέσα ἀπὸ τὸ μουσικολογικὸ φακὸ, in Κωνσταντῖνος Σκαρμούτσος, ed., *Μαθηματάριον: Ἐρμηνευτικὴ και Μουσικολογικὴ Σπουδὴ*, Ἱερά Μονὴ Ὁροπού, Athens 2017 (forthcoming).

Table 1. The poetic text of the sticheron²⁵ and its rendition in English.

Greek text	English rendition	
<p>“Χριστοῦ τὸν Ἱεράρχην, ὑμνήσωμεν ἅπαντες Ἀθανάσιον· ὅτι Ἀρείου τὰ διδάγματα πάντα κατήργησε, καὶ τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος τὸ κράτος, εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον τρανώς καταγγέλλει, ἓνα Θεὸν ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις ἀμέριστον, ᾧ καὶ πρεσβεύει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, τῶν ἐν πίστει τελούντων τὴν μνήμην αὐτοῦ”</p>	<p>“Let us all praise hierarch of Christ Athanasius, for he abolished all of Areios’ teachings, and he strongly preached the might of the Holy Trinity through the whole universe, one God in three persons undivided, to whom he intercedes in favour of all of us who faithfully celebrate his memory”</p>	<p>This text appears both in the May Menaion and in the manuscript Ambrosianus A139,²⁶ as shown in the left column of Table 2, the latter being of the major sources of the Old Sticherion written in middle Byzantine notation and provides us with the non-</p>

kalophonic setting of the sticheron “Χριστοῦ τὸν Ἱεράρχην”. At a glance we can easily observe that the same text slightly increases in length in the kalophonic composition of Manuel Chrysaphes, as shown in the central column of **Table 2** and then it increases further in the New Method transcription of Chourmouziou, as shown in the right column of the same table. This happens by: a) repeating certain syllables, b) creating pseudo-syllables by adding the letter n²⁷ to some vowels of certain words, and c) repeating whole words or phrases, and thus creating anagrams. What is extremely interesting is that in Chrysaphes’s setting, the last phrase of the text is left out,²⁸ probably because it was intended to be supplied by the choir according to the old style of sticheraric composition. This same phrase is also absent in Chourmouziou’s transcription.²⁹

COMPARING THE SETTINGS OF THE STICHERON

A comparison between the old non-kalophonic and the kalophonic setting of the sticheron, as they appear in the middle Byzantine notation manuscripts under consideration and also in Chourmouziou’s transcriptions, requires the use of the following sources/manuscripts: a) for the old non-kalophonic setting: i) *Sticherarium Ambrosianum* A139 and ii) MPT 709,³⁰ the third tome of Chourmouziou’s four-volume *Palaion Sticherion*, in which the *exegesis* of the non-kalophonic melody can be found (f. 61r-v); b) for the kalophonic *melos*: i) Ms Zakyntos 7, a Kalophonic *Sticherion*, and ii) MPT 730,³¹ the fourth tome of the Chourmouziou’s seven-volume *Mathematarion*, in which the *exegesis* of the kalophonic melody is written (f. 334r - 338v).

25 See *Μηναῖον Μαΐου, περιέχον ἅπασαν τὴν ἀνήκουσαν αὐτῷ Ἀκολουθίαν, διορθωθὲν τὸ πρὶν ὑπὸ Βαρθολομαίου Κουτλουμουσιανοῦ τοῦ Ἰμβρίου καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἀνέξηθεν τῆ τοῦ τυπικοῦ προσθήκη κατὰ τὴν διάταξιν τῆς Ἁγίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας, ἣς τῆ ἐγγράφῳ ἀδεία ἀναθεωρηθὲν καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἐπιδιορθωθὲν ἐκδίδεται νῦν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀποστολικῆς Διακονίας, Ἐκδοσις Ἀποστολικῆς Διακονίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens 1992, 16.*

26 Lidia Perria and Jørgen Raasted, eds., *Sticherarium Ambrosianum*, MMB 11, Pars Principalis, Munksgaard, Copenhagen 1992, f. 107r-v.

27 The symbols \mathfrak{u} and \mathfrak{v} are commonly used to mean the letter n in creating pseudo-syllables. Other letters used in creating pseudo-syllables are \mathfrak{t} (τ) and \mathfrak{h} (χ).

28 Ms Zakyntos 7, 374.

29 Ms 730 of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre (MPT), f. 338v. Perhaps Chourmouziou had this specific manuscript at his disposal when transcribing the kalophonic melodies from the old notation system to that of the New Method. This hypothesis seems justifiable, especially if we take into account the brief note on the inner cover of the manuscript stating that it belonged to Daniel the Precentor and after his death in 1789 to Iakovos the Precentor.

30 For the contents of this manuscript and its dating, see Γρηγόριος Στάθης, *Τὰ πρωτόγραφα τῆς ἐξηγήσεως εἰς τὴν Νέαν Μέθοδον τῆς Σημειογραφίας, Β' τόμος, Ὁ κατάλογος, Ἰδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, Athens 2016, 261-290.*

31 For the contents of this manuscript and its dating, see Γρηγόριος Στάθης, *Τὰ πρωτόγραφα τῆς ἐξηγήσεως εἰς τὴν Νέαν Μέθοδον τῆς Σημειογραφίας, Β' τόμος, Ὁ κατάλογος, Ἰδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, Athens 2016, 152-159.*

Table 2. The poetic text of the sticheron as it appears in the sources studied.

Menaion / A139 (f. 107r-v) Old Sticherion	ms Zakynthos 7 (pp. 373 - 374) Manuel Chrysaphes	ms MPT 730 (f. 334r - 338v) Chourmouzos' transcription (<i>exegesis</i>)
<p>Χριστοῦ τὸν Ἱεράρχην, ὕμνησωμεν</p> <p>ἅπαντες Ἀθανάσιον· ὅτι Ἀρείου τὰ διδάγματα πάντα κατήργησε,</p> <p>καὶ τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος τὸ κράτος, εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον τρανώς καταγέλλει, ἕνα Θεὸν ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις ἀμέριστον,</p> <p>ὦ καὶ προφθεύει ὑπέθ ἡμῶν, τῶν ἐν πίστει τελούντων τὴν μνήμην αὐτοῦ.</p>	<p>-Introduction- Χρι-τι/τι*Χρι/Χρι-στοῦ τὸν Ἱεράρχην, ὕμνη-χι/ὕμνη-σωμεν πάλιν</p> <p>ἅπαντες Ἀθανάσιον· ὅτι Ἀρεί-Ἀρείου τὰ διδάγματα πάντα κατῆ-κατῆ-ργησε, πάλιν κατῆ-κατῆ-ργησε, καὶ τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος τὸ κράτος, εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον τρανώς καταγέ-καταγέ/χε-λλει, ἕνα Θεὸν ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις ἀμέριστον, πάλιν ἕνα Θεὸν ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις ἀμέριστον, -kratema (το-το, τερριεμ)- ἕνα Θεὸν ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις ἀμέριστον.</p> <p>* This pseudo-syllable τι is repeated 40 times in total.</p>	<p>-Introduction- Χρι-τι/τι/τι/Χρι/τι/Χρι/τι/Χρι/Χρι-στοῦ/ιου τὸν Ἱεράρχην, ὕμνη-μη/μη/μη/Χρι/Χρι/Χρι/Χρι/Χρι/Χρι-σωμε/ὕμνη-σω-μεν πάλιν</p> <p>ἅπα-ηαι/χα-ντες Ἀ-η-θα-χα-νάσι-Ἀθανάσι-ον· ὅτι Ἀρεί-ει/Ἀρεί/ει-ου τὰ διδά-ηαι-γμα-ηαι-τα πά-ηαι/χα/χα-ντα/ηαι κατῆ-μη/μη/κατῆ-ργησε, πάλιν κατῆ-χη/χη/κατῆ-ργησε/ει/χει/ει/κατῆργησε, καὶ τῆς Ἀγι-η-ας Τριά-ηαι-δος τὸ κρά-το/χο-ς, εἰς πάντα τὸν κό-χο-σμον τρανώς καταγέ-χε/καταγέ/χε-λλει/ηαι, ἕ-χε-να Θεὸν ἐν τρι-ἐν τρι-σὶ προσώ-χω-ποις ἀμέρι-ἀμέρι-στον, πάλιν ἕνα-ἕ/ει/ηαι/ηαι/ηαι/χα/ηαι Θε-ει-ὸ/χο-ν ἐν τρισὶ προ-ηαι-σώ-ποει-ηαι-ς ἀ-ηαι-μέρι-ἀμέρι-στον, -kratema (το-το, τερριεμ)- ἕνα Θεὸν ἐν τρι-ἐν τρι-σὶ προσώποις ἀμέ-ει-ρι-ἀμέρι-στον.</p> <p>* This pseudo-syllable τι (combined with <i>η</i> and <i>χι</i>) is repeated 47 times in total.</p>

Merely by looking at the two manuscripts in middle Byzantine notation, one can tell the difference in the size of the two melodies. The non-kalophonic *melos* is shorter by far than the kalophonic one. But this is not the only difference between the two melodies. If one takes a closer look and follows the way each melody unfolds, one discovers quite a number of differences in both structure and modality (Table 3). However, in order to obtain a clearer image of the differences between these two styles one has to consult Chourmouziou's transcriptions in the New Method.

Table 3. Structural and modal course of the kalophonic and non-kalophonic versions of the sticheron

A139, f.107 (Old Sticherarion)		ms Zakynthos 7, f.373-374 (Kalophony)	
Kolon No	Poetic text	Kolon No	Poetic text
1	Χριστοῦ τὸν Ἱεράρχην, ὑμνήσωμεν	1-9	Introduction (Χρι-τι-τι) ἡβ
2	ἅπαντες Ἀθανάσιον·	10-14	Χριστοῦ τὸν Ἱεράρχην, ὑμνή-χι/ὑμνήσωμεν πάλιν
3	ὅτι Ἀρείου	15-17	ἅπαντες Ἀθανάσιον·
4	τὰ διδάγματα πάντα κατήργησε,	18-19	ὅτι Ἀρεί-Ἀρείου
5	καὶ τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος τὸ κράτος.	20-22	τὰ διδάγματα πάντα κατήργησε, πάλιν κατήργησε,
6	εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον	23-24	καὶ τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος τὸ κράτος,
7	τρανώς καταγγέλλει,	25	εἰς πάντα τὸν κόσμον
8	ἓνα Θεὸν ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις ἀμέριστον,	26	τρανώς καταγγέ-καταγγέλλει, $\frac{1}{n}$
9	ὦ καὶ προσβεῦει	27-28	ἓνα Θεὸν ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις ἀμέριστον, πάλιν
10	ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν,	29-31	ἓνα Θεὸν ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις ἀμέριστον,
11	τῶν ἐν πίστει τελούντων τὴν μνήμην αὐτοῦ.	32-48	kratema toto, τερριεμ, ανε, τερριεμ, toto, τερριεμ, κεανε τερριεμ
		49	ἓνα Θεὸν ἐν τρισὶ προσώποις ἀμέριστον.

By comparing Chourmouziou's transcriptions one obtains the following data, which are displayed in Table 4:

a) On the duration: in the case of the non-kalophonic melody, when the poetic text is set to music, the ratio of 8 beats per syllable is the most commonly used. Another usual ratio is also 4 or 16 beats per syllable. Of course, there are other ratios ranging from 1 beat minimum up to 48 beats maximum for one syllable of the poetic text. In the case of the kalophonic melody the ratio 8 beats per syllable is still the most commonly used, together with the ratio 4 or 16 beats per syllable. Syllables extending to more than 20 or even 30 beats greatly increase, while the range of ratios fluctuates from 1 beat minimum to 638 beats maximum (this number refers to the opening syllable, which has a melodic procedure similar to a *kratema*). A common point in both melodies is that the syllables with the largest proportion in beats are the accented syllables, the closing syllables of the various *kola* and the syllables where the melody and the poetic text at the same time meet their peak. The total duration of the non-kalophonic melody is 798 beats, while the kalophonic melody extends to 3446 beats.

b) On the ambitus: apart from the beats used by each melody per syllable, an important role in devising the melody is played by the range of tones used per syllable. In the Old Sticherarion the melody moves generally within the limits of a third or a fourth within a *kolon*; less often does it move within larger intervals (from a fifth to a seventh). The total range of the melody reaches the interval of a tenth. In the kalophonic style the intervals of the fifth and the sixth

predominate within a *kolon*, while the total range of the melody reaches the interval of a fifteenth (two octaves).

c) On modality: in terms of modality one can observe that the non-kalophonic melody, other than the plagal of the second mode, uses the authentic second mode, as well as a mixed scale that combines the plagal of the second mode with the authentic fourth mode (*hagia*). In the kalophonic melody we can see more modal changes (modulations). There, apart from the plagal of the second mode, the authentic second mode and the mixed scale mentioned above, a great part of the melody is set in the diatonic genre, mostly in the plagal of the fourth mode, together with some phrases set in *legetos* and some others set in the authentic first mode. The following palette will help elucidate the way in which different colours are used in **Table 5** to describe the modal changes of the two melodies, kalophonic and non-kalophonic.

Table 4. Colour palette, defining the colours used to describe modal changes in Table 5.

Plagal of the 2 nd mode	
2 nd authentic mode	
Mixed scale	
Plagal of the 4 th mode	

Table 5. Data collected according to Chourmouziou's transcriptions

Poetic text	Χρι-	στοῦ	τὸν	ἰ-	ε-	ράρ-	χην,	ὕ-	μνή-	σω-	μεν	πάλι
Kolon 1												
beats/ambitus/mode												
MPT 709	4/3 rd	8/3 rd	8/4 th	8/4 th	4/3 rd	22/4 th	4/3 rd	8/5 th	8/4 th	16/4 th	2/-	-
MPT 730	638/11 th	10/4 th	15/5 th	27/5 th	2/-	26/7 th	3/2 nd	1/-	170/8 ^{va}	8/3 rd	37/7 th	34/6 th
Kolon 2												
Poetic text	ἄ-	πα-	ντες	ἄ-	θα-	νά-	σι-	ον				
beats/ambitus/mode												
MPT 709	8/4 th	24/6 th	4/2 nd	4/4 th	8/4 th	14/5 th	10/4 th	4/2 nd				
MPT 730	8/3 rd	30/6 th	6/5 th	19/4 th	14/5 th	33/5 th	24/5 th	6/2 nd				
Kolon 3												
Poetic text	ὄ-	τι	ἄ-	ρεί-	ου							
beats/ambitus/mode												
MPT 709	8/3 rd	8/4 th	2/-	12/5 th	8/4 th							
MPT 730	24/6 th	20/4 th	20/5 th	54/7 th	20/5 th							
Kolon 4												
Poetic text	τὰ	δι-	δάγ-	μα-	τα	πά-	ντα	κα-	τήρ-	γη-	σε	πάλι
beats/ambitus/mode												
MPT 709	2/-	4/3 rd	8/4 th	8/4 th	4/3 rd	22/4 th	4/3 rd	8/5 th	8/4 th	16/4 th	16/7 th	-
MPT 730	14/4 th	6/2	24/5 th	25/5 th	30/7 th	48/6	10/5 th	16/8 ^{va}	58/7 th	8/3 rd	20/6 th	25/8 ^{va}
Repeat												
Poetic text	κα-	τήρ-	γη-	σε								
beats/ambitus/mode												
MPT 709	-	-	-	-								
MPT 730	16/5 th	67/7 th	8/3 rd	68/6 th								

Kolón 5	Poetic text	καὶ	τῆς	ἀ-	γί-	ας	τρι-	ἀ-	δος	τὸ	κρά-	τος		
	beats/ambitus/mode													
	MPT 709	21/5th	2/-	2/2nd	8/4th	10/5th	2/2nd	8/3rd	4/3rd	8/4th	16/4th	2/-		
	MPT 730	8/6th	2/-	2/2nd	24/5th	2/2nd	2/2nd	54/7th	8/4th	6/3rd	39/6th	31/6th		
Kolón 6	Poetic text	εἰς	πά-	ντα	τόν	κό-	σμον							
	beats/ambitus/mode													
	MPT 709	2/2nd	12/5th	2/-	2/2nd	16/7th	10/6th							
	MPT 730	6/3rd	20/5th	16/4th	4/3rd	32/6th	10/6th							
Kolón 7	Poetic text	τρα-	νώς	κα-	ταγ-	γέλ-	λει							
	Χρόνοι πρῶτοι/ambitus/mode													
	MPT 709	1/-	8/3rd	4/3rd	8/4th	16/4th	2/-							
	MPT 730	2/-	25/7th	7/4th	4/3rd	100/6th	10/3rd							
Kolón 8a	Poetic text	ἔ-	να	θε-	ὄν									
	beats/ambitus/mode													
	MPT 709	2/2nd	2/-	2/2nd	8/3rd									
	MPT 730	24/7th	10/6th	8/4th	22/4th									
Kolón 8b	Poetic text	έν	τρι-	σί	προ-	σώ-	ποις	ἀ-	μέ-	ρι-	στον,	πάλιν		
	beats/ambitus/mode													
	MPT 709	8/4th	4/4th	9/5th	1/-	8/3rd	8/4th	8/5th	16/4th	8/4th	2/-	-		
	MPT 730	2/-	8/4th	8/3rd	16/5th	26/7th	8/4th	8/4th	8/3rd	14/5th	2/-	18/6th		
Repeat	Poetic text	ἔ-	να	θε-	ὄν									
	beats/ambitus/mode													
	MPT 709	-	-	-	-									
	MPT 730	15/4th	88/6th	12/3rd	32/8va									
Repeat	Poetic text	έν	τρι-	σί	προ-	σώ-	ποις	ἀ-	μέ-	ρι-	στον,	kratema		
	beats/ambitus/mode													
	MPT 709	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
	MPT 730	1/-	1/-	14/5th	14/4th	16/6th	16/6th	22/5th	16/5th	16/5th	4/2nd	779/12th		
Repeat II	Poetic text	ἔ-	να	θε-	ὄν									
	beats/ambitus/mode													
	MPT 709	-	-	-	-									
	MPT 730	4/3rd	4/3rd	4/2nd	8/3rd									
Repeat II	Poetic text	έν	τρι-	σί	προ-	σώ-	ποις	ἀ-	μέ-	ρι-	στον,			
	beats/ambitus/mode													
	MPT 709	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
	MPT 730	4/2nd	8/3rd	8/3rd	10/5th	24/6th	6/3rd	2/-	12/4th	14/5th	4/2nd			
Kolón 9	Poetic text	ῶ	καὶ	πρε-	σβεύ-	ει								
	beats/ambitus/mode													
	MPT 709	2/2nd	34/7th	26/5th	10/3rd	34/6th								
	MPT 730	-	-	-	-	-								
Kolón 10	Poetic text	ύ-	περ	ή-	μών,									
	beats/ambitus/mode													
	MPT 709	1/-	1/-	1/-	48/7th									
	MPT 730	-	-	-	-									
Kolón 11	Poetic text	τῶν	έν	πί-	σται	τε-	λού-	ντων	τήν	μνή-	μην	αὐ-	τοῦ.	
	beats/ambitus/mode													
	MPT 709	2/-	2/2nd	8/3rd	8/3rd	4/2nd	8/3rd	8/4th	8/5th	16/4th	8/4th	8/5th	3/-	
	MPT 730	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

On studying the above table carefully, one can observe that modal changes occurring in the course of the kalophonic sticheron in Chourmouziou's transcription have to do on the one hand with modulations from one mode to another, and on the other with the transposition of some of these modes. This happens especially with the plagal of the second mode, that is to say, the original mode in which the sticheron is composed. In the following images, we can see a couple of cases, where the initial mode of the composition is transposed, causing a series of alterations on the original pitches: a) during the *kratema* (kola 32-40) the plagal of the second mode is transposed a fourth higher:

Image 1. Plagal of the second mode transposed a fourth higher.³²

Plagal of the second mode on its theoretical base

Plagal of the second mode transposed a fourth higher

Ni=pseudoDi

b) again during the *kratema* (kola 41-45) the same mode is transposed a second lower:

Image 2. Plagal of the second mode transposed a second lower.

Plagal of the second mode on its theoretical base

Plagal of the second mode transposed a second lower

Ga=pseudoDi

32 For the alteration signs used in images 2-5, see Μαρία Αλεξάνδρου, *Παλαιογραφία Βυζαντινής Μουσικής*, Table Π.3.8, 865.

DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES

Returning to the middle Byzantine notation manuscripts, besides the many differences that one can find between the old non-kalophonic and the kalophonic sticheron “Χριστοῦ τὸν ἱεράρχην”, there are some similarities that can demonstrate further points: the first is that some lines of the Old Sticherarion live on in the Kalophonic Sticherarion. The second is that composers of the kalophonic idiom were familiar with the older non-kalophonic version of the Sticherarion, which they very probably used in non-solemn services. St John Koukouzeles himself was not only a master of the kalophonic style, but a reviewer of the Old Sticherarion at the same time (ms NLG 884).³³ According to Stathes, Manuel Chrysaphes also, worked on the revision and embellishment of old sticheraric melodies,³⁴ about a hundred years later.

To illustrate this point I shall give two examples that demonstrate the connection and simultaneously the difference between the Old Sticherarion and the kalophonic style. The first example comes from the very beginning of the sticheron, where the word “Χριστοῦ” is set to music in a similar way in the middle Byzantine notation manuscripts (A139 & Zakynthos 7). In fact, the only difference between the two manuscripts is the great sign for the *kratema* added in Zakynthos 7. If we collate the manuscripts in the middle Byzantine notation together with their transcriptions in the New Method, it becomes obvious that the procedure of exegesis works somewhat differently, depending on the style (kalophonic or non-kalophonic). Indeed, these two almost identical lines are transcribed in the New Method by the same hand, that of Chourmouziou, in a slightly different way, as is shown in **Image 3**. It is possible that this diversity in transcription echoes different chanting practices that apply to different compositional genres, such as the Old Sticherarion and the kalophonic style of *melopoeia*. Subsequently, different styles generate differently constructed melodies and, contrariwise, differently constructed melodies belong to different compositional styles, which are clearly reflected in the exegetical procedure.

Image 3. Collation of sources on the word “Χριστοῦ”

33 Jørgen Raasted, “Koukouzeles’ Revision of the Sticherarion and Sinai gr. 1230”, in J. Szendrei and D. Hiley, eds., *Laborare fratres in unum. Festschrift László Dobszay zum 60. Geburtstag*, Spolia Berolinensia 7, Hildesheim 1995, 261-277.

34 See Στάθης, “Μανουήλ Χρυσάφης ὁ Λαμπαδάριος”, *Κύκλος Ἑλληνικῆς Μουσικῆς*, 37-38.

The second example can be found in the word “ἅπαντες”, where once more the middle Byzantine notation sources are very close, while Chourmouziou’s transcriptions are again slightly different (Image 4). Of course, this phenomenon has to do with the different way in which the same or similar melodic formulas of the middle Byzantine notation system are transcribed in that of the New Method by Chourmouziou, who, let us not forget, was a master of the old notation system and one of the inventors of the New Method.

Image 4. Collation of sources on the word “ἅπαντες”

CONCLUSION

In closing, I would like to say that indeed the kalophonic compositional style differs from that of the Old Sticherarion. Having its roots deep in the hesychastic theology of St Gregory Palamas, *Kalofonikon melos* leads the chanting art of its era through the work of enlightened as well as skilful composers, such as St John Koukouzeles, Manouel Chrysaphes and others, towards its zenith.³⁵ Its composers produce elaborate and extended melodies, with a festive character, which is borne out by the fact that kalophonic stichera are composed for the most significant feasts of the church calendar.³⁶ This very refined melodic development is achieved by the extensive use of the great signs that characterize kalophonic formulas. The poetic text is extended by using anagrams, in order not to lose its coherence and conceptual continuity. Part of the lengthy melody is covered by one or more *kratemata*, depending on the structure of the piece (*mathema*).

The above characteristics of kalophonia were gradually established in the period following the recovery of Constantinople (1261) from the Franks. I would say once more that it was a period of a general intellectual flowering, during which special impetus was given to the development of church music. The stylistic features of *kalofonikon melos* justify, according to Edward Williams and others, among them myself, its characterization as novel and the characterization of the relevant compositional style as a Byzantine *ars nova*. Finally, I should underline that kalophonia appears as a new form of an already-extant art, not in rupture with the past, but, as shown by the sayings of its creators, as an inseparable continuity with and development of it.

35 See Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 2nd edition revised and enlarged, Oxford: Clarendon Press 1962, vi.

36 See Jørgen Raasted, “Length and festivity, On some prolongation techniques in Byzantine Chant”, in Eva Louise Lillie & Nils Holger Petersen, eds., *Liturgy and the Arts in the Middle Ages, Studies in Honour of C. Clifford Flanigan*, Museum Tusulanum Press, University of Copenhagen 1996, 75-84.