



GEOGRAPHY IN PSALMS: HAGIOSOPHITIKON SETTINGS OF PSALMS 1, 2 AND 3

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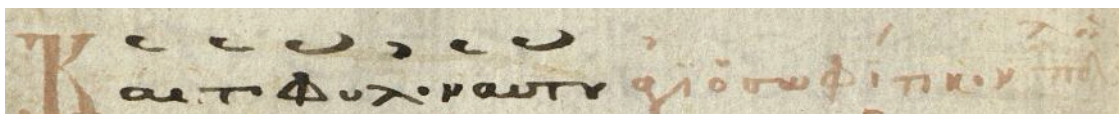
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DEFINITION AND DATING

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,

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

(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 1332⁸ 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 14 th -c.	26v, 28r, 31v, 32r ¹²	1 and 2
GR-An 899 ¹³	c. 1390–1410	48v	1
GR-An 905 ¹⁴	late 14 th 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	14 th –15 th c.	23v, 32v	1 and 2
GR-An 906 ¹⁷	14 th –15 th c.	27r, 32v	1 and 2'1
GR-An 2456 ¹⁸	late 14 th /early 15 th c.	8r	1
GR-An 2401 ¹⁹	15 th c.	63r, 135r	1 and a Teretismos
V-CVBav Barb. gr. 304 ²⁰	15 th c.	11r	1
GR-An 2406 ²¹	1453	35v, 37v, 38r, 42r, 43r, 233v	1 and 2 and and Alleluia
ET-MSsc 1293 ²²	2 nd half 15 th 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 ἀνὴρ) and to a lesser degree to those of Psalms 2 (Ἰνα τί ἐφρούραξαν 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 Πατρὶ);
	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 ποιῆ (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 Williams²⁴ 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 show²⁵ 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.

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 Anoxiantaria psalm: “[...] the] composers transformed the concluding section of Psalm 103 – the Anoxiantaria [...] 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 as “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:

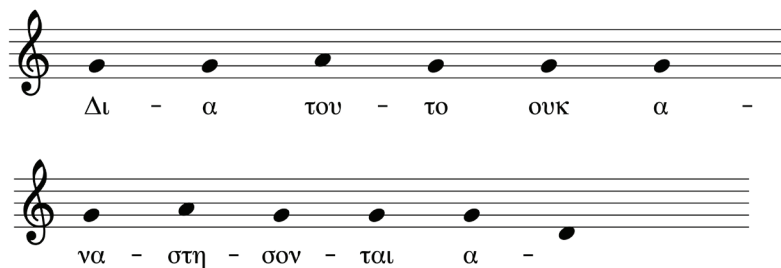
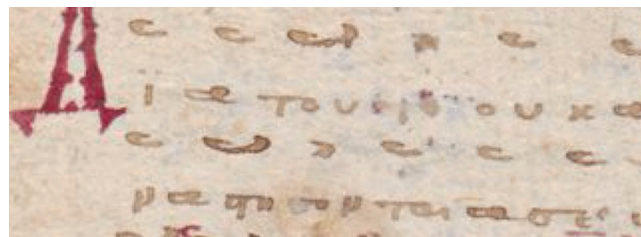
26 The lively responses to my latest papers on various aspects of Byzantine music has shown that interest is especially high regarding chants with geographical designations. The present article can therefore be regarded as the starting point for further research. Among others, the author of this article 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 Tusulanum 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 πεφτυεμένον)
(© 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 ἀμαρτωλοί).

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).

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.

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 ὑπνώσα), where it is on the third syllable from 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 ἀπορροήσεται (i.e. Melody A) we probably obtain the old syllabic (simple) version:

Figure 4: Reconstruction of a possible simple psalmody setting

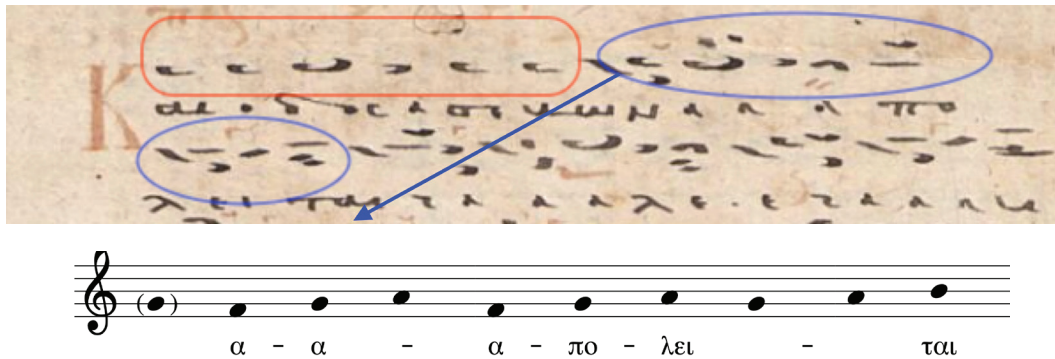
GR-An 2622, fol. 9v (Psalm 1, verse 3c: Καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπορροήσεται without the melisma) (© Athens National Library)

TABLE 4. Verses using Melody A'

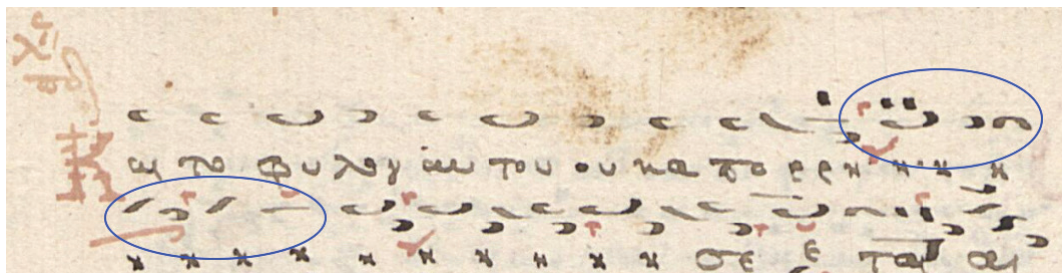
Ps.	Text	Manuscript
1	καὶ ἔσται ὡς τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτευμένον παρὰ τὰς διεξόδους τῶν ὑδάτων (3a)	A-Wn Theol. gr. 185, fol. 9v
1	καὶ ὁδὸς ἀσεβῶν ἀπολείται (6b)	GR-An 2458, fol. 15v
		GR-An 2456, fol. 8r
		GR-An 906, fol. 27r
		V-CVBav Barb. gr. 304, fol. 11r
		GR-An 2406, fol. 37v
	ET-MSsc 1293, fol. 11r	
1	ἀπολείται (6b ²)	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 ἀπολείται) 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)

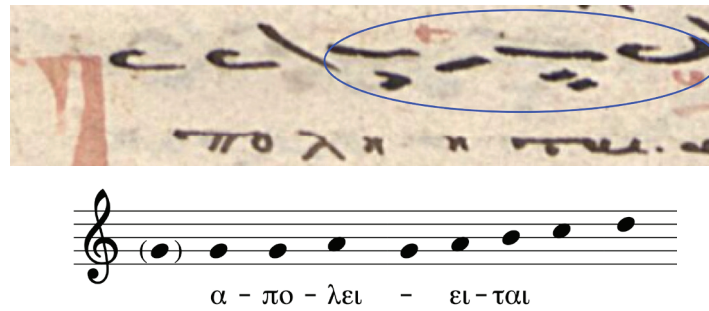


GR-An 2444, fol. 26v (Psalm 1, verse 3c: Καὶ τὸ φύλλον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἀπορόγησεται) (© Athens National Library)

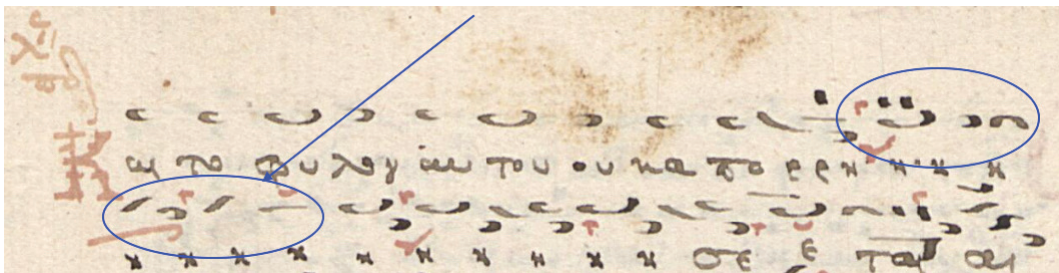
The melody shown in the blue oval in the first example of Figure 5 (taken from GR-An 2458, fol. 15v) corresponds with that in the blue oval of Gr-An 2444, fol. 26v. It is a shortened version of the melisma that starts with an ascending fourth () in Gr-An 2444 – a leap that is omitted in the shortened 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 ἀπολεῖται, employing the four neumes found on ἀπολειται 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: ἀπολείται) (© Athens National Library)



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

TABLE 5. Verses employing Melody B

Ps.	Text	Manuscript
1	καὶ ὁδὸς ἀσεβῶν ἀπολείται (6b)	GR-An 2622, fol. 12v
		GR-An 2444, fol. 28r
		GR-An 904, fol. 23v
		GR-An 2406, fol. 38r
2	ἐκγελάσεται αὐτούς (4a ²)	GR-An 905, fol. 10r
2	δουλεύσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν φόβῳ (11a)	A-Wn Theol. gr. 185, fol. 16r
3	τῶν κύκλω 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 ἀπολείται). 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 ἀπολείται) (© 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 claim²⁹ 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 Stasis³⁰ [...]”

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 (13b ²)	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.

29 Williams, “John Koukouzeles”, 235.

30 A stasis is one of three sections of each *kathisma*, i.e. the twentieth part of the Psalter.

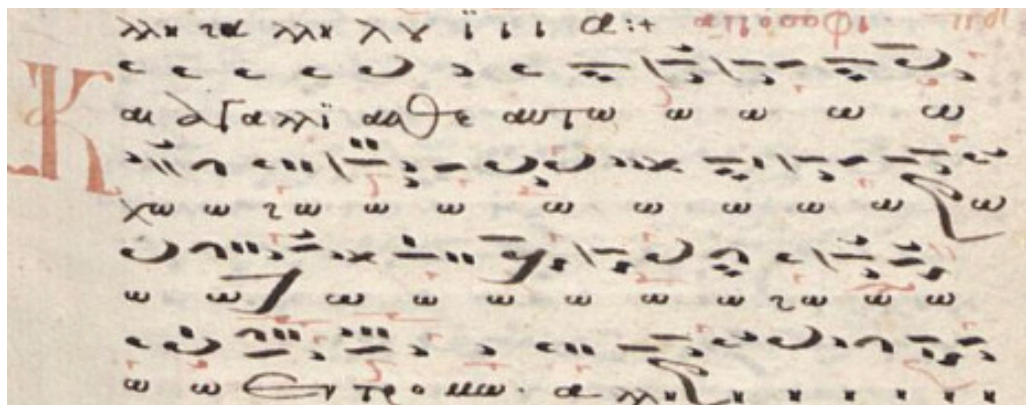
These seemingly incorrect designations are spotted quite easily, once one knows the incipit and the melodies typical for *hagiosophitikon* chants (see the Figures above): The chants so designated either contain longer melismata with unusually high pitches and/or larger intervals or use a different incipit 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 τρώμῳ) 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 century³²) and not a *hagiosophitikon* (see Figure 9 below):

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 Mystakonon 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



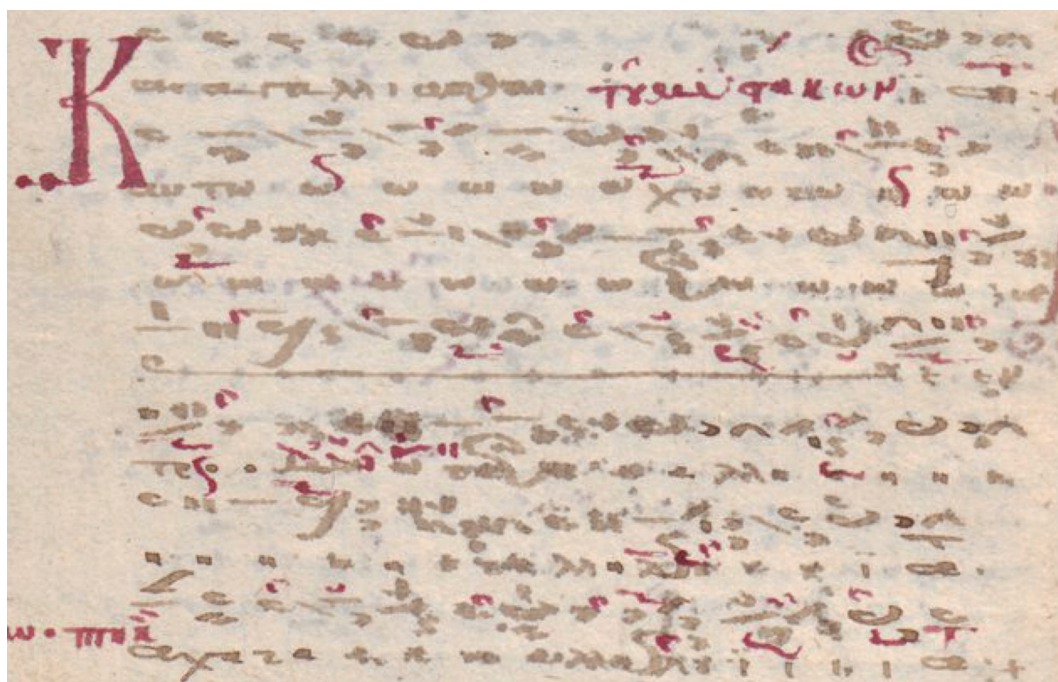
Και α - γα - λλι - ασθ - ε αυ - τω - ω - ω - ω - ω -

χω - ω - ω - ω - ω - ω - ω - ω - ω - ω - ω -

ω - ω - ω - ω - ω - ω - ω - ω - ω - ω -

ω - ω εν τρο - μω

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 Mystakonon – see the transcription above) (© Austrian National Library)

- In GR-An 2444, fol. 32r (Psalm 2, verse 13b²: οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ' αὐτῶ) 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' αὐτῶ), which constitutes a *hagiosophitikon* setting (see Table 4), the scribe probably thought the following repetition of the words οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ' αὐτῶ 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 Kujumdzieva³³ also states for the *kekragaraia* 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 Balageorgos³⁴ 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

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, “Ο Κοσμικός και ὁ Μοναχικός Τύπος στην Ψαλτή 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 ὀρολογία. Ἡ ὑπαρξη ἀφ' ἑνὸς μὲν ὄρων ὅπως «παλαιὸν», ‘ἀγιοσοφίτικον’, ‘πολίτικον’, ‘θессαλονικαία’, ‘καλογερικὸ’ καὶ ἀφ' ἑτέρου τῶν ὄρων ‘νέον’, ‘καλοφωνική’, ‘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’, ‘kalophonik’, ‘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.

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, *Ο Πολυέλεος στην Βυζαντινή και Μεταβυζαντινή Μελοδοιία* (Athens: Institut de Musicologie Byzantine, 2003), 134–140.

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