“TRADITIONAL INNOVATION” IN BYZANTINE CHANT:  
THE CASE OF KALOPHONIA  

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During the last two centuries of the Eastern Roman Empire, liturgical chant reached its point  
of highest development, producing an impressive wealth of compositions which are both  
grounded in the past classical style of the 10th-13th centuries and bringing a new, theretofore  
unknown flowering in the realm of the musical life of Byzantium – the so-called kalophonia.  

After a brief introduction, we will focus on some fragments from the oeuvre of three coryphées  
of the kalophonic style, namely Ioannis Glykys, St John Koukouzelis and Xenos Koronis. The  
presentation will end with some preliminary conclusions concerning the way in which old and  
new elements intermingled in the creation of the kalophonic style.  

1. INTRODUCTION: ECCLESIASTICAL ARTS DURING THE PALAEOLOGAN PERIOD  

The Palaeologan Renaissance period spans from 1261, the year in which Michael VIII Palaeologos  
recaptured Constantinople from the Latins, to the conquest of Constantinople by Muhammad II  
the Conqueror in 1453. This period is characterized by the intellectual and spiritual movement  
of hesychasm and a general flourishing of literature, arts and sciences. Art in general underwent  
a period of refined expression and in some cases shows particular sensitivity, yet it is consistent  
with the classical tradition in referring back to the past. This leads to a unity in Byzantine art  
not only until the end of the Empire, but also beyond.  

Among the best-known achievements of the Palaeologan renaissance are the wonderful  
mosaics in different churches and monasteries of Constantinople, such as Hagia Sophia,  
Pammakaristos and Chora. (Plate 1).  

1 The text of this paper was written by Maria Alexandru, in collaboration with Athanasios Delios (Introduction),  
Apostolia Gorgolitsa (plates 10-11 and thoughts on Glykys), Symeon Kanakis (plate 12 and thoughts on modal structure in  
the Old System), Dimosthenis Spanoudakis (plate 19 and thoughts on melisma in the kalophonic style), Dimos Papatzalakis  
(plates 20-21 and thoughts on Chrysaphis the New), and Maria Chaleplidou (thoughts on the Old Sticherarion).  
period as the “twilight” of the Byzantine Empire.  
vol. 9, 423.  
In religious architecture, a return to early Christian types can be observed. The use of the covered portico with arches or domes, which is constructed in both new and old temples, is very common.\(^7\)

Plate 2. The church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki, a cruciform building with covered portico, built c.1310.\(^8\)

In the field of monumental painting, magnificent mosaics gradually gave way to the wall paintings, in which new aesthetic forms were presented (less severe human figures, expression of emotions with dramatic elements, realism in the execution of movements and scenes).\(^9\) There were two leading schools of painting: the Macedonian (see plate 3) and the Cretan (see plate 4).\(^10\)

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\(^6\) Plate 1. Pantocrator, Mosaic from the Deesis in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (A.D. 1261?).\(^6\)

\(^7\) Delvoye, *Byzantine Art*, 501-503. Adding buildings of different size and style comes about not only due to limited financial resources, but also because of a new aesthetic perception that matures in the 13th century and reviews the older concept of the architectural project as an integral, independent and robust artwork: cf. Chatzidakis, “Late Byzantine Art”, 425. Furthermore, great importance is given to the decoration of façades. The type of the subscribed equilateral cross is kept in the provinces and in the countries of Orthodox faith surrounding the Byzantine Empire. The octagonal type survives in only a few buildings, while various types of the Basilica are used for the construction of the metropolitan churches: cf. Delvoye, *Byzantine Art*, 503-508.


During the Palaeologan Renaissance, the art of icons reaches its zenith. The quality is unmatched and the output is very high. The colours used in previous periods are enriched to yield the emotions of the persons depicted (see Plate 5). The years before the Fall are characterized by a return to the traditional linear designs of the past.

Plate 5. Icon of the Annunciation, Constantinople, early 14th century, Icon Gallery Ochrid.
In manuscript miniatures, a clear rupture with the ancient spirit is observed, which is characterized by a naturalistic trend (cf. plate 6). Linearity returns here with a strong dose of refined elegance in the 15th century. The art of miniature tends to fall into oblivion with the advent of printing and engraving.\textsuperscript{15}

\textbf{Plate 6. Illumination depicting John VI Cantacuzenos (1347-1354) as emperor and as monk Joasaph, in the manuscript of the National Library of France, Parisinus græcus 1242, written at the Hodegon Monastery in Constantinople, between the years 1370-1375.}\textsuperscript{16}

During the Palaeologan times, sculpture in marble is limited, while a form of engraving on stone is widespread.\textsuperscript{17} Classical three-dimensional sculptures are replaced by repoussés, which tend to turn sculpture into a branch of painting.\textsuperscript{18}

In the field of miniaturization, many precious works and objects were lost or disposed of during the dynastic disputes of the 14th and 15th centuries. Ivory was replaced by steatite and ophite, cheaper materials and readily accessible. The art of precious metals and precious stones continued until the fall of the Empire. The art of the ecclesiastical silversmith reached an important peak during Palaeologan times, with the manufacture of various liturgical vessels, and the covering of icons with precious materials.

The textile industry flourished as well: silk interwoven with gold holds a prominent position both in the imperial court and in the ecclesiastical sphere, where uniquely beautiful priestly vestments are manufactured, along with altar covers and epitaphs.\textsuperscript{19} One of the most brilliant works of the time is the embroidered Epitaph from the Church of Panagouda in Thessaloniki, which can be found on display in the Byzantine Museum of Thessaloniki (see plate 7).\textsuperscript{20}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{15} Cf. Delvoye, \textit{Byzantine Art}, 557-561. See also \url{http://www.getty.edu/art/exhibitions/byzantine_illumination/} (29.1.2018).
\item \textsuperscript{17} Cf. Delvoye, \textit{Byzantine Art}, 573. In the more peripheral territories even plaster and wood are used, witnessing the general penury: cf. Hatzidakis, “Late Byzantine Art”, 456-457.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Cf. Runciman, \textit{Byzantine Civilization}, 296-297.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Cf. Delvoye, \textit{Byzantine Art}, 575-581.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Cf. Hatzidakis, 458.
\end{itemize}
Finally, in the art of hymnography, a new genre appears during the Palaeologan period, namely the so-called Enkomia, brief troparia inserted between the verses of the Amomos Psalm (118) on Matins of Good Friday (known as Epitaphia Megalynaria), and on the Dormition of the Theotokos.

A prolific hymnographical production in iambic decapentasyllabic verses is also observed during the last centuries of Byzantium, especially in connection with the new musical style of the period, i.e. kalophonia (etymology: καλός = good, beautiful, and φωνή = sound of the voice, phrase).

2. MELOPOEIA DURING PALAEOLOGAN TIMES

In the field of Byzantine chant, the kalophonic compositional style makes its breakthrough in musical manuscripts by the late 13th/early 14th century. Continuing a long chain of different oral and written melismatic styles, such as those of the Asmatikon, Psaltikon, and Asma, kalophonia is characterized by extended and elaborate melodies, which often appear setting an expanded and/or rearranged poetic text (anaggrammatismoi, anapodismoi), while in the melodic flow the
so-called *kratemata* (passages on syllables such as *terere, tororo, nenena*, etc.) are inserted. A large range, artful cheirony, and a lavish use of modulations and other musical-rhetorical devices compound the virtuosic new repertory, which is written by eponymous composers (*melurgi, maistores*), and is not seldom characterized by descriptions such as “wonderful” (*θαυμάστως*), “very fine” (*λεπτότατον*), “highly artistic and useful” (*πάνυ ἔντεχνος καὶ ὑφέλιμος*), “soundly composed” (*καλοσύνθετον*), “difficult” (*δύσκολον*) and so forth.28 The change from older syllabic settings to the kalophonic repertory has been identified as “le tournant décisif” of Byzantine music, and the kalophonic compositions of the Palaeologan era as the ‘zenith’ of the art of chanting (see plate 8), or as a Byzantine ‘Ars Nova’.29 Kalophonic chant has also been recognized as a genuine expression of Orthodox hesychasm and as a musical *philokalia*.30

The musical heritage of the Palaeologan period is enshrined in a series of new manuscript types, such as the *Papadike* (*Akolouthia*), the *Kalophonic Sticherarion* or *Mathematarion*, the *kalophonic Kondakarion* or *Oikematarion*, the *Kratematarmion* a.o.31 Along with the new kalophonic repertory, the Papadike comprises also older chant layers, some of them noted for the first time in this period, e.g. the *Kekragaria*32 (see also plate 9).

In the following sections of this paper we will try to present some characteristic cases of the interaction between the old and the kalophonic style in the sticheraric genre, seen through the prism of music theory, as expressed in Byzantine didactic poems. This will help to analyse the connection between Byzantine *ars antiqua* and *ars nova* and to assess the dynamics of development in Byzantine melopoeia in the sense of ‘traditional innovation’.26

Cf. Γρηγόριος Στάθης, Οἱ αναγραμματισμοὶ καὶ τὰ μαθήματα τῆς βυζαντινῆς μελοποιίας, Τῦρμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, Μελέται 3, εκδ. Μητροπολίτης Κοζάνης Διονύσιος καὶ Γ. Στάθης, β’ εκδ., Αθήνα, 1992, 68-71 and passim.


Lists of composers of the kalophonic era can be found in: Γρηγόριος Στάθης, Τὰ χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς, Ἀγγον Ὄρος, Τρίκαλα Σύνοδος τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ελλάδος, Τῦρμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, τ. Α’, Αθήνα, 1975, μθ’.


Plate 8. Periods in the development of Byzantine melopoia, having the kalophonic era as its zenith.\textsuperscript{35}

Plate 9. Branches and categories of the papadic genre, which comprises the kalophonic repertory and older layers of psalmody and melismatic chants.\textsuperscript{36}

\textsuperscript{35} Translated and revised after: Μαρία Αλεξάνδρου, Εισαγωγή στη Βυζαντινή Μουσική, Βιβλιοθήκη Μουσικολογίας, 5, διεύθ. Δημήτριος Γιάννου, Θεσσαλονίκη: University Studio Press, 2016, 83. The estimation of the number of extant manuscripts of Byzantine chant (around 10.000) stems from professor Grigorios Stathis, from his speech at the award of the title \textit{Doctor honoris causa} at the University of Arts “George Enescu” in Iași, 28.09.2017, with the title «Τὰ ὀχτὼ-ἐννιὰ Ὁρόσημα τῆς Ψαλτικῆς μας Τέχνης, ποὺ πρέπει νὰ γνωρίζουμε σ’ Ἀνατολὴ καὶ Δύση», 25-26 (more than 7.500 in Greece, and about 2.000-2.500 in other countries such as Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Russia and elsewhere).

\textsuperscript{36} Based on Στάθης, Αναγραμματισμοί, 45-46 and passim.
2.1. Ioannis Glykys

The precentor Ioannis Glykys (2nd half of the 13th century-1st quarter of the 14th century), one of the leading figures of the early kalophonic style, is connected not only to the beginnings of the kalophonic stream, but also to the old, non-kalophonic melodies of the eleven heothina. In the first heothinon (first authentic mode), one can already observe a very large range and extensive use of the system of the wheel (conjoint fifths), which represents the leading modal paradigm for the kalophonic repertory: cf. plates 10-12.

Plate 10. The beginning of the first heothinon in a collation of sources in palaeobyzantine and middle Byzantine notation, with the slow exegesis by Chourmouzios Chartophylax, accompanied by transnotation and schematic transcription into staff notation.

37 Cf. Καραγκούνης, Παράδοση, 179-193. See also Αποστολία Γοργολίτσα, Ιωάννης ο Γλυκύς και η μελοποίηση του πρώτου Εωθινού: συγκριτική παλαιογραφική μελέτη, Διπλωματική εργασία, 2 τ., Θεσσαλονίκη: Τμήμα Μουσικών Σπουδών του Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης 2017.
39 Plates 10-11 were prepared by Apostolia Gorgolitsa. For the entire collation of the first heothinon in the old and the new embellished styles, the composition by Iakovos Protopsaltis and the new brief (syntomon) style by Petros Peloponnisios, together with their exegesis and supplied with transnotations and transcriptions into staff notation, cf. Γοργολίτσα, Ιωάννης ο Γλυκύς, vol. II, passim.
Plate 11. The end of the first heothinon in Middle Byzantine notation (mss Sinai 1218, A.D. 1177, and Ambrosianum A 139, A.D. 1341, MMB XI) together with its slow exegesis in the analytical notation of the New Method, by Chourmouzios Chartophylax (Metochion Panagiou Taphou 704, around 1827).\footnote{Cf. an analytical description of MPT 704 in Γρηγόριος Στάθης, Τὰ χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς. Τὰ πρωτόγραφα τῆς ἐξηγήσεως εἰς τὴν Νέαν Μέθοδον σημειογραφίας, β’ τόμος, Ο Κατάλογος, Αθήνα: Ἰδρυμα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας, 2016, 41-53.}

Plate 12. Modern kanonia (small wheel-diagrams), with the old signatures and the names of the tones according to the new system of parallagi (solmization), showing the transpositions of the melody of the first heothinon according to the tetraphonic system: $D\ E\ F\ g\ b\ -\ a\ b\ c\ d\ e\ a\ b\ c\ d\ e\ f\ g\ a\ b\ c\ d\ e\ f\ g\ a\ b\ c\ d\ e\ f\ g\ a\ b\ c\ d\ e\ f\ g\ a\ b\ c\ d\ e\ f\ g\ a\ b\ c\ d\ e\ f\ g\ a\ b\ c\ d\ e\ f\ g\ a\ b\ c\ d\ e\ f\ g\ a\ b\ c\ d\ e\ f\ g\ a\ b\ c\ d\ e\ f\ g\ a\ b\ c\ d\ e\ f\ g\ a\ b\ c\ d\ e\ f\ g\ a\ b\ c\ d\ e\ f\ g\ a\ b\ c\ d\ e\ f\ g\ a\ b\ c\ d\ e\ f\ g\ a\ b\ c\ d\ e\ f\ g\ a\ b\ c\ d\ e\ f\ g\ a\ b\ c$.

\footnote{Plate 12 was prepared by Symeon Kanakis.}
2.2. Xenos Koronis and the Sticheraric Phrase Συμεὼν τὸν ἰσάγγελον

One of the most influential pupils of Ioannis Glykys was the precentor Xenos Koronis (last quarter of the 13th century - 1st half of the 14th century). His well-known Method of the Sticherarion displays to a great extent formulas of the old, non-kalophonic sticheraric repertory. In order to show the process of melodic elaboration proposed by Koronis in his didactic poem, we have chosen the phrase «Συμεὼν τὸν ἰσάγγελον» (“Symeon, equal to the angels”) from the sticheron Επέστη ἡ εἰσόδος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, the first piece which opens the old Sticherarion (SAV 1), in honour of St Symeon the Stylite and other saints (see plates 13-14).

Plate 13. St Symeon the Stylite (390?-459), a champion of spiritual purity (symbolized by the shell above his head) in the middle of tribulations. Repoussé work of the 6th cent., Louvre.

Plate 14. The phrase «Συμεὼν τὸν ἰσάγγελον» from the sticheron «Επέστη ἡ εἰσόδος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ», in the first authentic mode (protos exo), in the old, non-kalophonic style, from the ms Ambrosianus A 139 sup., f. 1r, A.D. 1341, MMB XI, together with its slow exegesis by Chourmouzios Chartophylax, from the ms Metochion Panagiou Taphou 707, f. 2r, first half of the 19th century.

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42 Cf. Καραγκούνης, Παράδοση, 201-206. See also Άννα Καρανικόλα, Ξένος ο Κορώνης. Βιοεργογραφία και ανάλυση αντιπροσωπευτικών έργων, Διπλωματική εργασία, Θεσσαλονίκη: Τμήμα Μουσικών Σπουδών του Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, 2007.


In Koronis’s *Method of the Sticherarion*, which draws on the old sticheron Ἐπέστη ἡ εἴσοδος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, there are 23 kola in which the master of kalophonia displays several ways of setting the words «Συμεὼν τὸν ἰσάγγελον» to classical *theseis* (formulas) of the old sticheraric style, both oligotonic and melismatic\(^\text{47}\) in the Middle Byzantine notation. He starts with a faithful quotation from the Old Sticherarion (compare plate 14 with kolon 1 in the next plate). The more melismatic formulas (cf. kola 6-7, 12-18) could also be used for kalophonic textures: see plate 15.

### Method of the Sticherarion by Xenos Koronis, kola on the text «Συμεὼν τὸν ἰσάγγελον», after the ms Athens NLG 2406, f. 8v-9r, with transnotation and microsyntactical analysis

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<th>Kola</th>
<th>Modal Analysis</th>
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<td>1.</td>
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<td>2.</td>
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<td>3.</td>
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| δαρτά, πεταστή δαρμός, παρακλητική θές καὶ ἀπόθες |  
|---|---|
| [Musical notation image] | plagal of the 1st mode |

| πεταστή δαρμός, παρακάλεσμα, θέμα ἁπλοῦν ὀάπισμα παρακλητική |  
|---|---|
| [Musical notation image] | → plagal of the 2nd mode |

| χαιρετισμός ἢτοι θέμα ἁπλοῦν |  
|---|---|
| [Musical notation image] | 2nd mode |

| δαρτά, ἀπέσω ἔξω ὀάπισμα, παρακλητική βαρεῖα μετὰ διπλῆς βαρεῖα καταβατή |  
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| [Musical notation image] | 2nd mode |

<p>| θεματισμός ἔσω |<br />
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| [Musical notation image] | 2nd mode |</p>
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plagal of the 2nd mode, triphonic structure

2nd mode

→ plagal of the 2nd mode
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<td>θεματισμὸς ἔσω</td>
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| [Image] |
In the kola 19-21 one can observe a modulation from the first to the fourth authentic mode, through the intermediation of nana on G, which requires F# in the transnotation, a case handled with the so-called *diploparallage*: see plate 16.

### 2.3. St John Koukouzeles and the formula θεματισμός

In Koronis’s *Method of the Sticherarion* one may observe thrice the use of the formula *thematismos eso* (see kola 9, 18 and 20 in plate 15). The same formula occurs also in St John Koukouzeles’s *Mega Ison*. Like the *Method of the Sticherarion*, the *Mega Ison* was provided with slow exegesis both by Petros Peloponnisios and by Chourmouzios (cf. plate 17a). However, since in the Koukouzelian method the formula of the *thematismos eso* occurs in the second mode, the slow exegesis differs from what could be applied to Koronis’s *thematismos eso* in the first mode. The suitable exegesis for Koronis’s *thematismos* can be found for instance via another didactic poem occurring in

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the propedeutic material of the Papadike manuscripts, namely Χορὸς τετραδεκαπύρσευτος, which relies on the homonymous sticheron of the Old Sticherarion in honour of the Holy Forty Martyrs of Sebastea (SAV 542). In plate 17b we use the redaction of St John Koukouzeles for this old sticheron (ms Athens NLG 884).

Plate 16. The signatures according to the system of the Wheel (conjoint fifths – parallage), and according to the triphonic system (conjoint fourths – diploparallage).

Plate 17a. The formula “thematismos” in the second mode, from the Koukouzelian Ison poem, in late Middle Byzantine notation (Athens NLG 2458, f. 3r, A.D. 1336), together with its slow exegesis by Chournouzios Chartophylax (Xenophontos 120, f. 9r, A.D. 1818-1825). The old notation is supplied with transnotation, the new one with schematic transcription. The exegesis is accompanied by a generative analysis, including: total number of beats, structural notes (in white rhombuses), melodic movement (boundaries in black rhombuses, stepwise movement indicated by oblique lines) and prolongation of the structural notes (dotted legato), as well as the range of the formula (indicated in number of ‘voices’ i.e. intervals of seconds).

50 Cf. Troelsgård, List of Sticheron Call-Numbers, 15.
51 For this example and further explanations, cf. ibid., 460-461.
Plate 17b. The formula “thematismos eso” in the first mode, from the sticheron «Χορῶς τετραδεκαπύρσευτος», together with its slow exegesis by Chourmouzios Chartophylax. Fully developed Middle Byzantine notation after the ms Athens NLG 884 (the so-called Sticherarion of Koukouzeles), f. 155v, A.D. 1430/1. New Byzantine notation after Metochion Panagiou Taphou 709, f. 104r, first half of 19th century.53

The highly refined technique and art of the slow exegesis is impressive in the examples above, displaying both unity and variation. Both theseis count the same total of beats (42) and the same range (E-d). Although in different modes (2nd authentic versus 1st authentic), the two slow interpretations start in the same manner, with a cadence on G (argon). The subsequent melodic development differs, since the melodic lines are determined by the distinct dominant tones of each mode, around which the other tones gravitate.

2.4. THE PHRASE Συμεὼν τὸν ἰσάγγελον IN A KALOPHONIC SETTING BY ST JOHN KOUKOUZELES

So far we have examined mainly old sticheraric formulas in connection with three of the most famous exponents of kalophonia: Ioannis Glykys, St John Koukouzeles and Xenos Koronis. In this section we would like to trace the phrase «Συμεὼν τὸν ἰσάγγελον» in its kalophonic version. To that end, the manuscript Zakynthos, Collection Gritsanis 7,54 a complete Kalophonic Sticherarion of highest musical and codicological quality, most probably written in the second half of the 15th century, has been consulted. This manuscript belonged in earlier times to the Constantinopolitan Precentors of the Great Church of Christ, Daniel Protopsaltes (1770-1789) and Konstantinos Protopsaltis (1821-1855),55 and there are strong indications that Chourmouzios


54 Cf. a first description of this ms by Μιχαήλ Αδάμης, «Κατάλογος των χειρογράφων της Βιβλιοθήκης Παναγιώτου Γρισκάνη ἀποκειμένης νὼν ἐν τῇ Ἱερᾶ Μητροπόλει Ζακύνθου», Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν 35 (1966), 311-365: 324-325 (with proposed dating to the 16th-17th centuries.).

55 For the two precentors, cf. Μανόλης Χατζηγιακουμής, Η εκκλησιαστικὴ μουσικὴ τοῦ Ελληνισμοῦ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλωσι (1453-1820). Σχεδίασμα ιστορίας, Ἀθῆναι: Κέντρον Ερευνών καὶ Εκδόσεων, 1999, 70, 96.
Chartophylax made the slow exegeseis of the Byzantine kalophonic stichera by having this very manuscript Zakynthos 7 as one of his models.56

The passage «Συμεὼν τὸν ἰσάγγελον» in its kalophonic transformation, runs as follows:

The title of the manuscript Zakynthos 7, written with golden ink majuscules on p. 1, is hardly readable today. This might be one of the reasons why in Chourmouzios’s autograph Metochion Panagiou Taphou 727, containing the first volume with exegeseis of the Mathematarion (written about A.D. 1830 [Στάθης, Πρωτόγραφα, vol. II, 137]), the upper part of folio 1r, which is supposed to have the title of the collection and the rubrics indicating the feast and the modal indication for the first kalophonic sticheron, remained blank. However, on the inner cover of the manuscript, a later hand (of the Precentor Constantine/of Panagiotis Gritsanis?) proposed the following decipherment in red ink: «Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ ἁγίῳ τῶν στιχηρῶν τῶν καλιφωνικῶν τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ, μετὰ καὶ τῶν αναγραμματισμῶν ποιηθεῖσαν μὲν παρὰ διαφόρων ποιητῶν καὶ παρὰ τοῦ κουκουζέλου καὶ τοῦ κορώνη· ποιηθὲν παρὰ τοῦ μαΐστορος τοῦ χρυσάφου κυρίου μανουήλ· ἀρχὴ τῆς ἱνδίκτου, ἢτο τοῦ νέου ἔτους, καὶ μνήμη τοῦ υἱοῦ πατρός ἡμῶν συμεὼν τοῦ στυλίτου· στιχηρὸν τοῦ κουκουζέλου· ἦχος α’. Below in smaller case letters we read: «Τόσον ἐδυνήθημεν εὑρεῖν, εἰ δέ τις ἄλλα τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀποπληρώσει, ἐπαινετὸς καὶ μακαριστός»· This is followed in black ink by: «πρωτοψάλτης Κωνσταντῖνος τῆς Μ. Ἐκκλησίας· 1821» and below, in indigo ink, «Γραφὴ πρὸ τῆς ἁλώσεως» and with an explanation perhaps by another hand: «εἶναι δηλ. τὸ βιβλίον».


It should be also mentioned that the end of the kalophonic sticheron Ἑπέστη ἡ είσοδος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ in Zakynthos 7, p. 2, stands on the syllable πε, meaning that the rest of the last kolon, namely (πε)ραιῶσαι τὴν τοῦ χρόνου περίοδον, should be supplied orally, quoting the end of the old sticheron with the full choir (ἀπὸ χοροῦ). This coincides with the end of the kalophonic sticheron in Metochion Panagiou Taphou 727, f. 9r, which also terminates on the syllable πε. For the full hymnographic text of this sticheron, cf. Μηναίων τοῦ Σεπτεμβρίου, β’ εκδ. (Αθήνα: Έκδοσις της Αποστολικής Διακονίας της Εκκλησίας της Ελλάδος, 2002), 14-15.
A comparison between plates 14 and 18 reveals the fact that in the chosen passage, *Symeon ton isangelon*, the name of the Saint is kept with the very same formulas as it was in the Old Sticherarion, although transposed in the lower fifth (old setting in the first authentic high mode: structural notes EF abc – kalophonic setting in the first authentic low mode: structural notes A B DEF). The rest of the melodic line, on the words *ton isangelon* is composed in kalophonic manner (tromikon, kylisma, anabasma with stauros, tromikon, parakalesma, ending with the characteristic lege – an exhortation to repeat the previous passage). Chourmouzios’s exegesis follows faithfully the structural notes of the Middle Byzantine notation, embroidering them in a rich, continuous melismatic flow.

The highly melismatic quality of the kalophonic texture can be studied on the makrosyntactical, mediosyntactical and microsyntactical levels, i.e. as concerning the whole piece, the single phrases and each syllable in part. In fact, the entire piece, is imbued with melisma, though its density differs (e.g. some of the monosyllabic words of the text or some unaccented syllables can have a minimum level of melismatic movement or even none). The slow exegesis displays a very smooth melodic flux, built up mainly by stepwise progressions (cf. Plate 19) around the structural

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57 It is noteworthy that the main signature and many of the medial signatures of the kalophonic sticheron in the manuscript Zakynthos 7 were hardly readable already in older times, and thus they have been written over by a later hand in thin black ink. The main signature shows the *protos eso* (ends on D), which is rather rare for the Byzantine sticheraric repertory of the older periods. Faithful to this signature, the exegesis by Chourmouzios starts on Pa, having as a result the overall deep tessitura of the entire kalophonic sticheron. The original main signature might have been on *protos exo* (ends on a).

notes, expanding the range of the metrophonic structure both to the higher and lower registers.\(^{59}\)

### 2.5. Traditional formulas from the Old Sticherarion and the phrase Συμεὼν τὸν ἰσάγγελον in the new embellished style

One of the emblematic musical phrases of the new embellished style (νέος καλλωπισμός) of the 17\(^{th}\) century consists in the combination of the formulas ouranisma and thematismos eso.\(^{60}\) Although it is not unknown in the non-kalophonic Sticherarion, it occurs rather seldom in the old style.\(^{61}\) The combination is included in Koronis’s Method of the Sticherarion shown above (see plate 15, kolon 18). In the new embellished version of the sticheron Επέστη η εἴσοδος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, by Panagiotis Chrysaphis the New (fl. between approximately 1650-1685),\(^{62}\) the ouranisma+thematismos eso occurs on the word «εὐσεβῶς», in the following way (see plate 20):

![Plate 20. The combination of formulas ‘ouranisma’ and ‘thematismos eso’ in the sticheron «Επέστη η εἴσοδος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ», in the first authentic mode, in the new embellished style, by Panagiotis Chrysaphis the New, from the manuscript Athens NLG 910 (end of 17\(^{th}\)-18\(^{th}\) century),\(^{63}\) f. 3v, in late Middle Byzantine notation, together with its exegesis by Chourmouzios Chartophylax, from the autograph manuscript Metochion Panagiou Taphou 761 (around 1830-1835?), f. 8r, in the analytical notation of the New Method.\(^{64}\)](image)

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59 This paragraph and Plate 19 were created by Dimosthenis Spanoudakis. For further thoughts and different analytical approaches to the melismatic textures in Byzantine chant, cf. Σπανουδάκης, Σύγχρονα μοντέλα, especially vol. III, 238-249.

60 Cf. Στάθης, Χειρόγραφα, Λιγνὸν Ὀρος, vol. I, μζ’.

61 Cf. Amargianakis, Analysis, part I (CIMAGL 22), 37.

62 Cf. Χατζηγιακούμης, Εκκλησιαστική μουσική, 41.

63 The title of this manuscript states: «Ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ ἁγίῳ, στιχηραρί(ου) τῶν δώδεκα μηνῶν, τῶν δεσποτικῶν ἑορτῶν, καὶ δοξαζομέν(ων) ἁγίων, μελωδοτονισθέντα παρὰ κύρ χρυσάφου τοῦ νέου: πρωτοψάλτου τῆς τοῦ χριστοῦ μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας:-». For a brief account of the manuscript, cf. also Diane Toullatos-Banker, A descriptive catalogue of the music collection of the National Library of Greece: Byzantine chant and other music repertory recovered, Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007, 92.

64 This plate was conceived by Dimos Papatzalakis. For the dating of MPT 761, cf. Στάθης, Πρωτόγραφα, vol. II, 230, 325.
As to the phrase «Συμεὼν τὸν ἰσάγγελον» in the new embellished style, Chrysaphis’s version does not differ substantially from the old, non-kalophonic setting, either in the old notation or in the exegesis. The many subsidiary signs written in red ink in the manuscript Athens NLG 910 in this phrase are added to an almost unchanged metrophonical structure of the same melodic line (see the interval signs in black ink), which persisted from the Old Sticherarion to the new embellished one. In plates 21a-c, a diachronic view of this passage is displayed (old style-kalophonic style-new embellished style), with the kalophonic part being transposed to the upper fifth, in order to facilitate the comparison.

Plate 21a. The phrase «Συμεὼν τὸν ἰσάγγελον» of the sticheron «Ἐπέστη ἡ εἴσοδος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ» in the first authentic mode, through the ages: a collation of sources with transnotations, transcriptions and micro-syntactical analyses. 1-2: Old style (cf. plate 14). 2-3: Kalophonic style (cf. plate 19). 5-6: New embellished style, composition by Panagiotis Chrysaphis the New, after the manuscripts Athens, National Library of Greece 910 (end of 17th-18th century, late Middle Byzantine notation), and Metochion Panagiou Taphou 761 (approximately 1830-1835 (?)), exegesis by Chourmouzios Chartophylax.65

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65 Plates 21a-c were prepared by Dimos Papatzalakis (copied by M.A.).
Plate 21b. The phrase «Συμεὼν τὸν ἰσάγγελον» in a collation of sources (continuation of the previous example).
3. Conclusions

This short presentation has attempted to place the development of the kalophonic musical style in the broader context of the arts during the Palaeologan Renaissance. It has also aimed to show some dynamics of melodic (r)evolution and persistence of melodic material in the sticheraric style during the second Christian millennium, thus sketching the idea of a perpetual ‘traditional innovation’ in Byzantine ecclesiastical music.

The didactic poems by St John Koukouzelis (Mega Ison) and Xenos Koronis (Method of the Sticherarion) held a central position in Byzantine music education and functioned like a bridge between the old sticheraric and the kalophonic sticheraric style. Byzantine Ars antiqua and Ars nova proved not to be in contradiction to each other, but rather in an uninterrupted chain of smooth organic development and, at the same time, carrying parallel lives during the 14th and 15th centuries and beyond.
The stability of the modal system and the strong persistence of microsyntactic craftsmanship, in addition to the hermeneutic art given by the oral tradition to the old notation (as grasped for instance by Chourmouzios Chartophylax), stand for durable sound-posts through the centuries. Some melodic formulas such as *ouranisma* and *thematismos eso*, or even specific melodic movements on single words such as *Συμεών*, from the phrase *Συμεών τόν ισάγγελον*, in the sticheron *Ἐπέστη ἡ εἴσοδος τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ*, remained unchanged through the whole psaltic tradition, from the Old style of the 10th-13th century to the New Embellishment of the 17th century and beyond, thus moulding the liturgical music experience of the Church through time towards eternity.