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Singing with the Angels: Foundation Documents as Evidence for Musical Life in Monasteries of the Byzantine Empire

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Music historians who study the sacred chant of the Byzantine Empire draw primarily from manuscripts containing the liturgical texts and melodies, of which more than a thousand survive for the period of the tenth to the fifteenth century.¹ In copies of books such as the sticherarion, heirmologion, evangelion, and octoechos, the substance of the daily round of psalms, hymns, and scriptural cantillation has been preserved. From some of these sources, tunes of the more elaborate hymns may be revived, and even subjected to analysis for what they reveal about the methods by which Byzantine composers created the enormous musical repertory.² There are no surviving manuals that lay out the “rules” of musical composition, if indeed these ever existed, but a handful of extant theoretical treatises on music focus on details of the unique system of Byzantine musical notation and the intricacies of the church modes.³ These treatises were not in general use for the practical

I thank Alice-Mary Talbot for inviting me to prepare a study of references to music in the *ktetorika typika* for the Dumbarton Oaks colloquium on 3–4 March 2000 in celebration of the publication of *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, ed. J. Thomas and A. C. Hero, 6 vols. (Washington, D.C., 2000). All references in this paper to the *ktetorika typika* refer to this translation, and the Greek editions consulted are those referenced in the translation for each typikon; references to typika in square brackets (e.g., Mamas [16]) are to chapter numbers. A version of this paper was read at the annual conference of the American Musicological Society in Toronto on 3 November 2000. I thank Kenneth Levy and Matthew Shaftel for their comments and suggestions about many aspects of this study.

¹ Kenneth Levy estimates the number of manuscripts with musical notation at 1,200–1,500, excluding those with ekphonic notation, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), s.v. “Byzantine Rite, music of the.”

² Analytical studies of compositional methods are too numerous to provide an exhaustive list here. For outstanding examples, see J. Raasted, “Compositional Devices in Byzantine Chant,” *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin* 59 (1989): 247–69; C. Thodberg, *Der byzantinische Alleluiarionzyklus: Studien im kurzen Psaltikonstil*, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, subsidia 8 (Copenhagen, 1966); N. Schiødt, “The 741 Final Cadences from the Hymns of the Twelve Months Compared with Other Cadences in the Byzantine Sticherarion Coislin 42 from Paris,” *International Musicological Society Study Group “Cantus Planus”: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 1990*, ed. L. Dobszay (Budapest, 1992), 267–81; and G. Amargianakis, “An Analysis of Stichera in the Deuterios Modes: The Stichera Idiomela for the Month of September in the Modes Deuterios, Plagal Deuterios, and Nenano (Transcribed from the MS Sinai 1230, A.D. 1365),” *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin* 22/23 (1977).

³ See the following editions: D. Conomos, ed., *The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes, the Lampadarios*, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae Corpus Scriptorum de Re Musica 2 (Vienna, 1985); C. Hannick and G. Wolfram, eds.,

training of church musicians;⁴ instead, for this purpose, we find, at the beginning of some manuscripts of music, brief primers for learning to read musical notation.⁵ As for other sources, although much is surely to be gained from study of comments about music in Byzantine letters, saints' lives, histories, and travelers' accounts, these have not yet been collected and subjected to contextual examination, a project that more than one musicologist has described as necessary, but none has yet tackled.⁶

Among these resources, only the theoretical treatises can be said to constitute a systematic commentary on music.⁷ However, with the increased accessibility made possible by the collection and translation of the monastic *ktetorika typika* under the auspices of Dumbarton Oaks, music historians have another body of literature to consider, one that addresses the social, spiritual, aesthetic, and practical aspects of chanting the liturgy. Of the sixty-one documents in the edition, approximately half contain information that is of interest to the music historian (see Table 1). In general, the documents that comment on music are those that regulate daily life, rather than juridical documents or the type that function as will-and-testament. The importance of the *ktetorika typika* lies in the fact that they do not contain incidental remarks made by casual observers, but comments that were meant to be prescriptive, in some cases even being read aloud to the monks and nuns at regular intervals.⁸ Individually and collectively, they reveal the concerns of the monastic

Gabriel Hieromonachos: Abhandlung über den Kirchengesang, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae Corpus Scriptorum de Re Musica 1 (Vienna, 1985); B. Schartau, *Hieronymos Tragodistes: Über das Erfordernis von Schriftzeichen für die Musik der Griechen*, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae Corpus Scriptorum de Re Musica 3 (Vienna, 1990); B. Schartau, ed., *Anonymous: Questions and Answers on the Interval Signs*, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae Corpus Scriptorum de Re Musica 4 (Vienna, 1998); C. Hannick and G. Wolfram, eds., *Die Erotapokriseis des Pseudo-Johannes Damaskenos zum Kirchengesang*, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae Corpus Scriptorum de Re Musica 5 (Vienna, 1997); and C. J. Bantas, "The Treatise on Music by John Laskaris," *Studies in Eastern Chant* 2 (1971): 21–27. The theoretical works by Manuel Bryennios, George Pachymeres, Nikephoros Gregoras, and most of the treatise known as the Hagiopolites belong to a Byzantine tradition of transmitting ancient Greek theory. See C. Troelsgard, "Ancient Musical Theory in Byzantine Environments," *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin* 58 (1988): 228–59.

⁴ Manuel Chrysaphes appears to criticize musicians for not caring about music theory when he writes, in the introduction to his treatise: "Those who pride themselves on knowing how to chant and on being experts in chanting do not understand the matters on which they pride themselves; and they mislead anyone who wishes to pay attention to them because they have not embarked upon this art with exact and unerring knowledge": Conomos, *The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes*, 37.

⁵ These elementary teaching devices take two forms. Examples of brief treatises of the type called *papadike* may be found in Mount Athos, Lavra E. 148 and Lavra E. 174. Sources that contain versions of the "Ison Poem," a mnemonic device for learning to sing from musical notation, include Athens, National Library 2458 and 897.

⁶ See J. Raasted, "Byzantine Liturgical Music and Its Meaning for the Byzantine Worshipper," in *Church and People in Byzantium*, ed. R. Morris (Birmingham, 1986), 53–54; and B. Schartau, "On Collecting 'Testimonia' of Byzantine Musical Practice," *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Age Grec et Latin* 57 (1988): 159–66. Some early references occur in the collection for the early Christian period by J. McKinnon, *Music in Early Christian Literature*, Cambridge Readings in the Literature of Music (London, 1987).

⁷ Very little information about Byzantine sacred music can be deduced from iconography. There does not appear to be a tradition of depicting angels playing instruments in Byzantium, as there is in the medieval Latin West (see K. Meyer-Baer, *Music of the Spheres and the Dance of Death: Studies in Musical Iconology* [Princeton, 1970]). However, see N. Moran, *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting* (Leiden, 1986) for a significant treatment of late Byzantine iconography of church singers.

⁸ For example, Mamas [16], Lips [8], Neophytos [11], and Bebaia Elpis [120].

TABLE 1. ΚΤΕΤΟΡΙΚΑ ΤΥΠΙΚΑ THAT REFER TO MUSIC

Document name and number	Date, author, and foundation for which typikon was written
I. Traditional Private Religious Foundations	
2. Pantelleria	Late 8th century, by the monk John, for St. John the Forerunner on the island of Pantelleria (southwest of Sicily and due east of Tunisia)
3. Theodore Stoudites	Early 9th century, by Theodore the Stoudite, for St. John Stoudios in Constantinople
4. Stoudios	Early 9th century, by an anonymous author in the Stoudite tradition. Two versions exist: "A" from a 13th–14th-century ms. at Vatopedi on Mount Athos, and "B" from a late 9th- or early 10th-century Italo-Greek ms.
7. Latros	955, by Paul the Younger, for Theotokos tou Stylou on Mount Latros
9. Galesios	1053, by Lazaros of Mount Galesios
10. Eleousa	1085–1106, by Manuel, bishop of Stroumitza, for Theotokos Eleousa in Palaiokastron
II. Athonite Monasteries	
11. Athonite Rule	963, by Athanasios, for the Great Lavra on Mount Athos; perhaps revised ca. 1020
III. The Protectorate	
19. Attaleiates	1077, by Michael Attaleiates, for his almshouse in Rhaidestos and monastery of Christ Panoiktirmon in Constantinople
20. Black Mountain	1055–60, by Nikon of the Black Mountain
IV. Early Reform Monasteries of the Eleventh Century	
22. Evergetis	1054–70, primarily by Timothy Evergetinos, for Theotokos Evergetis
23. Pakourianos	1083, by Gregory Pakourianos, for Theotokos Petritzonitissa in Bačkovo in Bulgaria
24. Christodoulos	1091, by St. Christodoulos, for St. John the Theologian on the island of Patmos
V. Imperial and Royal Monasteries of the Twelfth Century	
26. Luke of Messina	1131–31, by Luke of Messina, for San Salvatore in Messina
27. Kecharitomene	1110–16, by Irene Doukaina Komnene, for the convent of Theotokos Kecharitomene in Constantinople, jointly founded with a male monastery (Christ Philanthropos)
28. Pantokrator	1136, by Emperor John II Komnenos, for Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople
29. Kosmosoteira	1152, by the Sebastokrator Isaac Komnenos, for Theotokos Kosmosoteira in Thrace
VI. Early Reform Monasteries of the Twelfth Century	
30. Phoberos	1113, by the monk John for St. John the Forerunner of Phoberos; he died before revisions in 1144
31. Areia	1143 by Leo, bishop of Nauplia, for Theotokos in Areia, near Nauplia in the Argolid
32. Mamas	1158, by Athanasios Philanthropenos, for St. Mamas in Constantinople
33. Heliou Bomon	1162, by Nikephoros Mystikos, for Theotokos tou Heliou Bomon or Elegmon

TABLE I *CONTINUED*. ΚΤΕΤΟΡΙΚΑ ΤΥΠΙΚΑ THAT REFER TO MUSIC

Document name and number	Date, author, and foundation for which typikon was written
VII. Independent and Self-Governing Monasteries of the Thirteenth Century	
34. Machairas	1210 by Neilos, bishop of Tamasia, for Theotokos of Machairas in Cyprus
35. Skoteine	1247, by the monk Maximos, for the monastery of Theotokos at Skoteine
36. Blemmydes	1267, by Nikephoros Blemmydes, for Lord Christ-Who-Is at Ematha near Ephesos
37. Auxentios	1261–80, by Michael VIII Palaiologos, for Michael Archangel on Mount Auxentios
38. Kellibara I	1282, by Michael VIII Palaiologos, for St. Demetrios of the Palaiologoi Kellibara in Constantinople
39. Lips	1294–1301, by Theodora Palaiologina, for the convent of Lips in Constantinople
40. Anargyroi	1294–1301, by Theodora Palaiologina, for the convent of Sts. Kosmas and Damian (the Anargyroi) in Constantinople; cross-referenced to Lips
VIII. Later Private Religious Foundations	
45. Neophytos	1214, by the monk Neophytos, for hermitage of the Holy Cross near Ktima, Cyprus
46. Akropolites	1295–1324, by Constantine Akropolites, for the Anastasis in Constantinople
51. Koutloumousi	1370s, by the superior Chariton, for the monastery of Koutloumousi, Mount Athos
52. Choumnos	ca. 1374, by Makarios Choumnos, for Nea Mone in Thessalonike
54. Neilos Damilas	ca. 1400, by Neilos Damilas, for the convent of Theotokos Pantanassa at Baionaia, Crete
IX. Independent and Self-Governing Monasteries of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries	
55. Athanasios I	1303–5, by Patriarch Athanasios I, in an attempt to issue general legislation binding on the empire's monasteries
57. Bebaia Elpis	ca. 1330, by Theodora Synadene (niece of Michael VIII Palaiologos), for the convent of Theotokos Bebaia Elpis (Sure Hope) in Constantinople
58. Menoikeion	1332, by Joachim, metropolitan of Zichna, for St. John the Forerunner on Mount Menoikeion, near Serres
60. Charsianeites	1407, by Patriarch Matthew I, for Charsianeites (Theotokos Nea Peribleptos) in Constantinople
61. Eleousa Inventory	1449, by an anonymous author for Theotokos Eleousa in Stroumitza

founders, and while it is not possible to generalize from these documents, given the independence of monastic institutions in Byzantium and the lack of uniformity among the typika themselves, we can look at them as a source of information about what the parameters were. Just how large or small might a “normal” choir be? Who might be put in charge of the music? How might singers be rewarded after the extra effort required by an all-night vigil? This study presents an overview of the concerns about music to which the monastic founders gave voice and examines their significance in the broader context of Byzantine music history.

ATTITUDES TOWARD MUSIC

As recently as 1986, the late Jørgen Raasted suggested that all that was necessary to understand “the effect of Byzantine religious music on the mind of worshippers” would be to read Byzantine literature from one end to the other for relevant excerpts.⁹ However, in the *ktetorika typika* there are numerous comments about the meaning of music, not just for a handful of Byzantine writers, but intended for the enlightenment of the monks and nuns to whom they were addressed. The most striking image, which recurs in several of the *typika*,¹⁰ is that of the angelic choir singing continuously in heaven above, accompanied by (or alternating with) the human choir below.¹¹ Through this act of singing with the angels, humankind is brought closer to heaven itself. This image, derived from scripture,¹² and perpetuated in the writings of the church fathers (most notably, St. Basil)¹³ and the hymnody of the church,¹⁴ is used by St. Christodoulos of Patmos:

Before all else, it is . . . fitting to speak of our true employment . . . the doxology of praise to God. For it is in view of this one thing that . . . we have been brought into being and adorned with reason, in order to honor the Creator with uninterrupted hymn-singing. Besides everything else, the fact that the character and pursuit of the monastic life is called angelic leads to this conclusion. Hence it is that God’s creature, man, is shown to be, in the words of [Gregory] the Theologian, “the angels’ descant [ἀντίφωνον],” repeating what they do as closely as his nature will allow. Then let this hymn be uninterrupted and unlimited.¹⁵

Christodoulos refers to music here both in its literal sense and as a metaphor for the strivings of monastic life, illustrating how, in the life of monastics assigned to perform the liturgy, performance and meaning were fused. Ideally, the act of singing became a spiritual path, a form of nourishment for the soul and enlightenment for the mind, just as food, clothing, and sleep were necessary to satisfy the body.¹⁶ This dichotomy between the body and soul was extended beyond the individual monk to the whole monastery. In the words of Timothy Evergetinos: “For as we are made up of two parts, I mean body and soul, so also are the activities of the monastery. The whole daily divine office expressed in the singing of psalms could reasonably be thought of as the soul of the monastery, whereas the monastery itself and all the things that benefit our bodies could be considered its body.”¹⁷

For Gregory Pakourianos, again echoing St. Basil, singing psalms was “a mystical in-

⁹ Raasted, “Byzantine Liturgical Music and Its Meaning,” 54.

¹⁰ See Christodoulos [A17], Lips [28], and Choumnos [B24].

¹¹ Christodoulos [A17] uses the image of humans answering the angels, in a kind of antiphonal praise. In other sources, such as Lips [28], the image is one of both angels and humans singing continuously: “[The] nuns who are involved with the holy sanctuary and the divine hymnody . . . have received a pure angelic model. For the angels above sing in an inspired fashion, while the human choirs below sing in a more solemn manner, and the former sing without pause, the latter continuously, the former serenely, the latter purely.”

¹² See Isaiah 6:2–3, Luke 2:14, and Revelation 4:8–9.

¹³ See, for example, Basil’s Homily on Psalm One, in *Exegetic Homilies*, trans. Sr. Agnes Clare Way, *The Fathers of the Church*, vol. 46 (Washington, D.C., 1963), 152–53.

¹⁴ See, for example, the text of the Cherubic Hymn, in which the choir sings: “We who mystically represent the Cherubim sing the Thrice-Holy Hymn to the Life-Giving Trinity. Let us put away all worldly care so that we may receive the king of all, invisibly attended by the angelic hosts.”

¹⁵ Christodoulos [A17].

¹⁶ Menoikeion [8], Mamas [17], and Phoberos [4].

¹⁷ Evergetis [9], recopied by the authors of Kosmosoteira [20], Machairas [61], and Phoberos [20].

cense-offering,” wafting its way heavenward to join the angelic throngs, where it could be “a very swift summoner of angelic help.”¹⁸ Several founders comment on the power of psalm-singing to keep the mind focused on spiritual matters and away from more dangerous thoughts,¹⁹ and Lazaros of Mount Galesios even goes so far as to recommend four specific psalm verses to be sung by a monk in the throes of the temptations of lust.²⁰

The notion of singing with the angels, as defense against evil or a way of transcending the human condition, is fundamental to Byzantine musical thinking. It not only forms the rationale for the monastic act of virtually continuous singing, but, as Dimitri Conomos has pointed out, it is the foundation of the entire musical tradition: for the practice of singing traditional chants; for the practice of making many chants out of the same formulaic, authoritative bits of melody; and even for the anonymity of composers until the fourteenth century.²¹ If the inspiration for the chants is angelic or divine, then they must not be altered. For many monastic founders, the importance of singing as a spiritual exercise seems to be the basis of a marked concern with getting the chants right, that is, performing them properly; and it is the resulting need for organization and discipline in the choir that gives music its place in these regulatory documents.

THE BYZANTINE MONASTIC CHOIR

Considerable resources were devoted to the performance of the liturgy in most monasteries. Many of the *ktetorika typika* indicate that the monks or nuns were divided into two groups. The first, called church monks (*ekklesiastikoi*), were generally literate and devoted much of their time to chanting the liturgy. The others (*diakonetai*), often not literate, were responsible for manual labor and waiting on the choir monastics. The singing of hymnody was to have benefits for all, however, literate or not. Bebaia Elpis states that the nuns who do manual work should hurry to the church when they hear the singing “like thirsty harts towards pure and fresh flowing streams,” singing psalm verses on their way. If they are literate, they are to join in the liturgy.²² Lazaros of Mount Galesios compared the choir monks to reapers in the field, and the manual monks, who cannot read and do not know

¹⁸ Pakourianos [14]. In his homily on Psalm 1, St. Basil describes the psalms as “a city of refuge from the demons, a means of inducing help from the angels,” and “the work of angels, a heavenly institution, the spiritual incense.” St. Basil, *Exegetic Homilies*, 152–53.

¹⁹ See, for example, Phoberos [4]: “But here in the spiritual struggle a very important weapon that brings death and destruction to the one who makes war on us, namely mortal-slaying Satan, is the power that comes from the singing of psalms itself and from prayer.” See also Bebaia Elpis [27]: “Make this your most important task, smiting these unseen and dangerous enemies as with arrows shot from the hand of a mighty man [Ps. 126:4], through psalmody, prayer, vigil, abstinence, contrition, tears, all the other weapons of the Holy Spirit. Thus you will defeat the enemy with all your strength and utterly vanquish them.” The same kind of thinking is evident in other monastic writings, for example in the treatise *On Prayer* by John the Solitary: “For God is silence, and in silence is he sung by means of that psalmody which is worthy of him. I am not speaking of silence of the tongue, for if someone merely keeps his tongue silent, without knowing how to sing in mind and spirit, then he is simply unoccupied and becomes filled with evil thoughts. . . . There is a silence of the tongue, there is a silence of the whole body, there is a silence of the soul, there is the silence of the mind, and there is the silence of the spirit.” Translation from the Internet Medieval Sourcebook, by Paul Halsall at <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook1c.html>.

²⁰ Galesios [196].

²¹ D. Conomos, “Change in Early Christian and Byzantine Liturgical Chant,” *Studies in Music from the University of Western Ontario* 5 (1980): 49–51 and 61.

²² Bebaia Elpis [61–62].

TABLE 2 THE NUMBER OF CHOIR MONKS/NUNS

Typikon	Total number	“Choir”	“Manual”
Pakourianos	50 + superior	27 (54%)	[23]
Kecharitomene	30 + superior	24 (77%)	6
Pantokrator	not less than 80	50 (63%)	[30]
<i>at Eleousa</i>	50	[24] (48%)	[26]
Kosmosoteira	74	50 (68%)	24
Auxentios	40	16 (40%)	24
Kellibara I	36	15 (42%)	21
<i>Dependency of Lykos</i>	24	17 (71%)	[7]
Lips	50	30 (60%)	20
Anargyroi	30	18 (60%)	12

how to sing, to “those who follow behind the reapers and pick up the ears that fall or are overlooked.” Although it is through the choir monks that the liturgy is celebrated, they may sometimes be careless and introduce impurities; whereas the illiterate who stand and pay close attention hold what they manage to collect safe in their minds.²³ Choumnos is unusual in recommending ten years of manual labor for monks who should then “rest from bodily toil and take up spiritual labors, singing continually to God and praying and reading, with occasional manual labor breaks.”²⁴ Christodoulos and Neophytos make it clear that *kelliotai* were expected to sing some psalmody,²⁵ but Charsianeites seems to imply only a minimal amount of singing for idiorhythmic monks: “If one of [the regular monks] should ever be ridiculed by the superior, or ordered to perform a difficult task, he will immediately look to the idiorhythmic monk as a model. With the devil as his advocate, he will say, ‘Why would God not support me like this monk, who has no one to order him about and lives a trouble-free life, without singing many psalms.’”²⁶

The proportions of the groups range from 40 percent choir monks and 60 percent manual monks at Mount Auxentios, to 77 percent choir and 23 percent manual in the typikon for the convent of the Theotokos Kecharitomene. Table 2 provides the relevant statistics.²⁷ Thus, according to the evidence of the *ktetorika typika*, anywhere from fifteen to fifty monks or nuns formed a choir, depending on the size of the monastery and the degree of dedication to liturgy.²⁸ However, in some monastic churches, such as Eleousa at Pantokrator (which had twenty-four choir members), it seems that only half of the choir monks sang each week; and in some small dependencies, hospitals, and cemetery chapels a single priest, or two or three monks, sang the necessary hymns.²⁹

²³ Galesios [182].

²⁴ Choumnos [B18].

²⁵ Christodoulos [A24] and Neophytos [15].

²⁶ Charsianeites [B18].

²⁷ Additional typika that indicate a division, but for which numbers are not specified: Galesios, Evergetis, Mamas, Neophytos, and Bebaia Elpis. Typika of institutions in which all monks may have participated in singing include Attaleiates, Luke of Messina, and Areia.

²⁸ This kind of information is rare. Scholarly literature has hitherto cited only the size of the choir at Hagia Sophia and adjoining churches, set at twenty-five by Justinian in his law code in 535.

²⁹ For example, at the St. Lazaros Chapel, Akropolites [6] specifies “a precentor who is a priest,” and two other clergy members, to do the singing. Although the size of the church is clearly relevant to the number of

The Byzantine church choir was often divided into left-hand and right-hand halves, as evidenced by several of the *ktetorika typika*.³⁰ By alternating verses of the psalms or longer hymns,³¹ each half of the choir would actually sing only half of the music, with pauses to rest their voices and, perhaps, to reflect on the meaning of the text. We know, too, that the two choirs were physically separated in at least some monastic churches, since the typikon of Stoudios specifies that during the vigil of Palm Sunday at the “O Lord, I have cried,” the choir changes places, those on the right crossing over to the left side and those on the left to the right side.³²

Leadership of the monastic choir seems to have been assigned to a variety of officials, as demonstrated in Table 3. In a study of music manuscripts of the Palaiologan period, Dimitri Conomos cites numerous references to the official called the *domestikos* (usually translated as choir leader).³³ There were normally two of these, one for each side of the choir. Their duties included singing the intonations (*echemata*) of the chants; interjections such as δύνουμι; and the *kratemata*, elaborate units of *teretismata* (wordless syllables such as te, re, ti, ri, to, ro) inserted in or after the late Byzantine chants. However, if the *domestikos* performed these significant musical functions in the monastic choir, there is surprisingly little evidence in the *ktetorika typika*. The only specific reference is in Menoikeion, where the *domestikos* leads an acclamation to the emperor.

There are a surprising number of references in the *ktetorika typika* to musical responsibilities being assigned to the ecclesiarch, one of the highest officials in the monastery³⁴ who was chosen for his knowledge of the church rituals and whose duties included care of the books, documents, and sacred objects.³⁵ Musicologists have not previously considered the

singers for the divine liturgy, orthros, or vespers, other offices could be held in even smaller spaces, such as the narthex of the church (e.g., Kecharitomene [38], Mamas [31], and Heliou Bomon [32]); the exonarthex (e.g., Kecharitomene [33]); or even in individual cells (e.g., Phoberos [12], Black Mountain [24], and Areia [1]). The practice was clearly not uniform.

³⁰ As described in Machairas [114]: “[the disciplinary official] at every service ought to post in the left choir those who are going to start the singing . . .” [and persuade a monk who is sleeping] “to rise and make in the middle of the holy church three prostrations and one each to the two choirs.”

³¹ Pakourianos [12] specifies that the alternating choirs should not “snatch up [psalm] verses hastily from each other . . . so the singing should take place in a pious and reverent manner.” According to O. Strunk, “The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia,” *DOP* 9/10 (1956): 175–202, repr. in idem, *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York, 1977): 130, the chanted office alternated whole verses, the monastic half-verses.

³² Athonite Rule [17] mentions one disciplinarian in each choir, as does Stoudios [18], without actually saying that they both served at once. Evergetis [9] mentions only one disciplinarian. Lips [4] may imply that the entire choir sang together (“30 of the 50 nuns should concern themselves with the divine sanctuary, all of them together unceasingly rendering up to God the divine hymns and holy doxologies prescribed for monastic life”).

³³ D. Conomos, *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: A Study of Late Byzantine Liturgical Chant* (Thessalonike, 1974), 45, 64, 68, 78, 94, 100, 116, 141–42, 150, 262, 296–300, 308–13, and 321–24. Moran, *Singers*, 16 cites John, bishop of Kitros, who in the 13th century stated that the *domestikos* is the prefect in charge of chants and that he is the leader of acclamations to the patriarch or celebrant.

³⁴ According to Attaleiates [33], monks receive allowances, but the amounts are not specified and distinctions among choir and manual monks are not made. Pakourianos [9] states that the monks are to receive allowances to buy necessities, with some distinctions made according to rank: the superior received 36 nomismata; fifteen top officials get 20 (including the ecclesiarch); fifteen men get 15; and the remaining twenty get 10.

³⁵ For duties of the ecclesiarch/issa see Christodoulos [A21], Kecharitomene [20], Mamas [8], Heliou Bomon [8], Menoikeion [para. no. missing], Skoteine [12] and [22], Lips [24], and Bebaia Elpis [48–53].

TABLE 3 TERMS FOR MUSICIANS AND CHOIR OFFICIALS

Title	Duties according to ktetorika typika
Psaltēs: singer**	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not specified in Phoberos, Mamas, or Heliou Bomon. • In Lips, refers to professional musicians (<i>kalliphonoi</i>) from outside of the convent. • In Kecharitomene, refers to male chanters who are not to enter the convent.
Ekklesiastikoi: choir monastics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perform offices and liturgy; contrasted with manual laborers (Galesios, Kellibara I, Lips, Bebaia Elpis, <i>et al.</i>).
Domestikos: choir leader*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lead singing of a toast (acclamation) to emperor on Sundays (Menoikeion). • Not specified in Pantokrator, which also names Paradomestikoi (assistant choir leaders).*
Ecclesiarch/issa: church steward	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Main church official. Sometimes (e.g., Menoikeion) there was also an assistant. • Direct liturgy (Tzimiskes, Athonite Testament, Attaleiates, Heliou Bomon, Menoikeion, Bebaia Elpis; at Skoteine he was to consult the typikon). • Care for items (e.g., candles, oil, books, decorations) used in church (Pakourianos, Christodoulos, Areia, Mamas, Lips), and for title deeds (Christodoulos). • Sound signal at dawn (Stoudios); decide when <i>semantron</i> is to be struck (Auxentios). • Begin Six Psalms (Kecharitomene); lead Six Psalms from center of church (Pantokrator). • With the priest, begin singing offices on time (Mamas). • Assign places in church (Pantokrator, Bebaia Elpis). • Discipline choir sisters, and set a good example (Bebaia Elpis). • Regulate the “measure of the voices” for services (Auxentios). • Control the tempo of the singing (Auxentios).
Kanonarchēs: precentor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sound the <i>semantron</i> (Stoudios A). • Read the sermon from the ambo (Stoudios A). • Read in the refectory (Black Mountain). • Lead the choir (Pakourianos, which specifies a subdeacon). • Read out correct texts before they are sung (Pantelleria). • Reside at chapel and conduct offices with 2 other clergy at same time as they are sung in the main church (S. Lazaros chapel, Akropolites). The <i>kanonarchēs</i> must be a priest. • Not specified in Pantokrator (there are 4), Mamas. • Stoudios version B omits all references to the precentor found in Stoudios A.
Anagnostēs: lector	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not specified in Pakourianos (specifies a subdeacon) or Phoberos.
Aphygnistēs: waker	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wake everyone for <i>orthros</i> (Stoudios); sound the <i>semantron</i> (Pantokrator). • Wake those who sleep during the readings at <i>orthros</i> (Athonite Rule).
Horologos: clock-monitor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Summon monks to church (Pantokrator); sound the <i>semantron</i> (Evergetis).

TABLE 3 *CONTINUED* TERMS FOR MUSICIANS AND CHOIR OFFICIALS

Title	Duties according to ktetorika typika
Laosynaktes: people-caller*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not specified in Pantokrator; elsewhere*** summoned clergy, called absentees.
Taxiarches: choir monitor*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintain order (Stoudios).
Epistemonarches: disciplinarian*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urge slow monks to run to services after <i>semantron</i> sounds (Athonite Rule). • Stand in the choir; remind monks to stand in an orderly manner (Athonite rule). • Watch monks as they enter for services and meals (Evergetis, Machairas). • Wake monks for <i>mesonyktikon</i> and during other services (Machairas). • Post monks who are going to begin the singing in the left choir (Machairas). • Discourage nuns from talking (Kecharitomene). • Not specified in Stoudios.
Kandelaptes: candle lighter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sound the <i>semantron</i> for <i>mesonyktikon</i> (Machairas).

*Some sources specify two.

**In Auxentios, the term used is Hieropsaltes.

***See. J. Darrouzès and B. Outtier, "Notice arménienne sur les dignités de l'Église," *REB* 40 (1982): 204.

ecclesiarch a musical official, but the typikon for Mount Auxentios states that the ecclesiarch shall regulate "the measures of the voices" for the liturgical services; at Pantokrator the ecclesiarch is to stand in the middle of the church and lead the monks in chanting. More extensive specifications are given in Bebaia Elpis, where the *ecclesiarchissa*³⁶

will assume responsibility and leadership in all the holy church services. . . . [She] should be a nun who is able to sing and chant in tune and with skill, and is much more familiar than the others with the ecclesiastical office and rite . . . spiritually passionate and zealous with regard to the holy hymns and doxologies. . . . [She] should encourage the other choir sisters . . . and be able to persuade them of her own accord not to succumb to laziness or . . . any carelessness with regard to the hymns which should be offered up daily to God . . . she should be well qualified lest on account of some inexperience and ignorance some part be omitted of the prayers and psalms ordained from above, or some mode of the doxology be removed and inserted in the wrong place, which I personally consider just as serious as omitting it, since confusion is called "a vehicle of the devils." . . . She is to assign the proper place and position to each of the choir sisters. . . . The young nuns who devote all their efforts and zeal exclusively to chanting and to learning their letters will be under her authority and will be assigned to obey her, so that these [offices] may thus be performed in good order, gracefully and without any omissions, and so that the duty of directing the choir offices may be performed with all elegance and good order.³⁷

³⁶ It is possible that the role of the *ecclesiarchissa* was enhanced to compensate for the absence of male officials, since it is clearly stated in Bebaia Elpis [113] that the nuns were not able to participate in the liturgy in all of the same ways as monks: "the prayer and supplication on their behalf should be made by the priests alone, but not by you—for it is not permitted for you to sing and stand together with the priests."

³⁷ Bebaia Elpis [49–53].

Another official with musical duties was the *kanonarches*, or precentor, traditionally a member of the choir who read aloud the lines of the texts of the canons before they were sung.³⁸ However, his authority appears to have been more extensive in some monasteries, and the suitability of giving him the preeminent role in the context of monastic services is made clear in this passage from Pantelleria, regarding what to do when mistakes are made.

When you are standing in the church for song, listen to what the precentor says and sing exactly as he is prescribing. Let no one have the power to change any word or to sing a different troparion. Even if you become aware that the precentor is mistaken, only those who are in the front shall have the right either to change any of the words or to begin a different song. All others of you keep observing the proper order. Should anyone dare to break the present rule, let him be liable to the punishment of lying face downward.³⁹

In most monasteries, the tasks of waking the monks for offices and maintaining discipline in the choir were given to minor officials, as outlined in Table 3. With the exception of the typika of Kosmosoteira and Bebaia Elpis, which mention bells, most typika indicate that the *semantron* was used to call the monks or nuns for services and meals.⁴⁰

There is very little information in the *ktetorika typika* or elsewhere about the kind of musical training available for Byzantine monastic singers,⁴¹ but Luke of Messina makes it clear that some specialization was recognized: “We were eager to assemble God-loving men . . . who have some experience of sacred things, are initiated in the inspired scripture, and

³⁸ The musical rank of the *kanonarches* seems to have been among the lowest. When money was paid, as at the Eleousa church of Pantokrator monastery (see Pantokrator [32]), the two leading priests received 15 hyperpyra nomismata and 25 maritime *modioi* of grain each; deacons and *domestikoi* were given 13 hyperpyra nomismata and 24 maritime *modioi* of grain each; the 2 *laosynaktai* and 16 chanters (*psaltai*) somewhat less (12 hyperpyra nomismata and 20 maritime *modioi* of grain each); and the lowest paid were the four precentors (*kanonarchai*), who were given 6 hyperpyra nomismata and 15 maritime *modioi* of grain each. Orphan lamp-lighters received 4 hyperpyra nomismata and 12 maritime *modioi* of grain each. It is of interest to note that Lazaros of Mount Galesios served as kanonarch at the monastery of St. Sabas. See R. P. H. Greenfield, *The Life of Lazaros of Mount Galesios: An Eleventh-Century Pillar Saint* (Washington, D.C., 2000), 96.

³⁹ Pantelleria [10]. The “front” was presumably occupied by monks of highest rank, perhaps the “elders,” since the author of this typikon is especially concerned [1–2] with the monks standing and moving according to rank.

⁴⁰ The *semantron* is mentioned frequently in many of the typika. See, e.g., Pantelleria [1] and [15], Stoudios [18] and [26], Athonite Rule [1], [8], and [17], Black Mountain [9], [12], [15], and [17], Evergetis [6], Kecharitomenē [35–40], and Pantokrator [1] and [11]. Normally, monks were summoned by the *semantron*, although in two typika there are references to bell towers. Bebaia Elpis [158] states that Xene Philanthropene paid for the restoration and repair of the church and bell tower, which were in danger of collapsing; and Kosmosoteira [9] states: “I wish the monks to get ready to ring the two bells quite loudly with [their] hands before the hymnody—I mean the two bells which I hung high up in the tower, in place of *semantra* . . . [later] . . . the two bells hanging quite high up in the tower to be rung loudly, as long as necessary—these being the very bells I had hung up in fervent faith and in my reverence toward the Theotokos.” For more on the *semantron* and the use of bells in Byzantium, see E. Williams, *The Bells of Russia: History and Technology* (Princeton, N.J., 1985), 10–17 and 21–24. At the Dumbarton Oaks colloquium, Prof. Slobodan Ćurčić of Princeton University reported that he has found extensive evidence for bells before 1204–60, contrary to the situation described by Williams. The reference in Kosmosoteira, which dates from 1152, also predates the Latin occupation.

⁴¹ In general, musical skills were probably not taught theoretically, but were developed over many years of singing the liturgy. According to Machairas [115]: “Nor may lay boys be accepted for study of the sacred scriptures, only those who . . . have the first growth of beard on their cheeks. In order to understand the [liturgical] office of the church, let the boys who wish to become monks be placed in a special cell of the monastery and taught the sacred psalter and all the rest of the office, and thus let them enter and be accepted.”

have been trained in the discipline of church melodies.”⁴² As stated above, the *ecclesiarchissa* at Bebaia Elpis should be able to “chant in tune and with skill.” The *typikon* of Mount Auxentios states that monks should not use “their excellence in singing psalms” as an excuse to avoid other work,⁴³ suggesting that some may have been recognized for exceptional skill or talent; and Pantokrator states that when the *hypakoe* is sung, the “specialist chanters” should stand in front of the sanctuary and sing this in “a fitting and orderly way.”⁴⁴ The ability to read and recite the psalms was a skill taught at some monasteries. Stoudios specifies that: “It should be known that after we have recited the psalter the one in charge of the canon signals three times at the third doxology so that those who are still learning the psalter can be assembled so we can sing the canon together. For these [brothers] go out after the Six Psalms and study up until this time.”⁴⁵

Whatever the training of monastic singers, professional singers were barred from at least some monasteries.⁴⁶ At the convent of Lips, “chanters (*psaltai*) who are called *kalliphonoi*” are not to attend feasts; only the nuns and their priests are to sing the hymns.⁴⁷ An exception is made when the emperor attends the feast of the Nativity of the Theotokos, on which occasion “the *kalliphonoi* who have been chosen by lot are to precede him unhindered, and when the emperor departs they are to leave without any delay whatsoever.” Equally strong is the prohibition by Constantine Akropolites, concerning the feast of St. Lazaros: “*Kraktai* (to whom most people give the more euphonious name of *kalliphonoi*, “singers with beautiful voices”) should not be invited, nor should they come and enter uninvited; for when there is a congregation of people, it is intended that they should sing, but only monks should perform the hymns of the vigil.”⁴⁸ The concern, in each case, seems to be that the monastics themselves chant, rather than relying on professional singers, which is consistent with the attitude that singing is a spiritual exercise. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos provides evidence that in the tenth century the *kraktai* were court singers, that is, court officials and other laymen, who led the people in singing acclamations to the emperor at the coronation and at secular ceremonies.⁴⁹ The term *kalliphonoi* is generally understood to mean church singers who performed the kalophonic chants, the very elaborate melodies of the *maistores* of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but Akropolites’

⁴² Luke of Messina [4].

⁴³ Auxentios [6].

⁴⁴ Pantokrator [5].

⁴⁵ Stoudios [36].

⁴⁶ The role of eunuchs and boys in the choirs of Byzantium is a subject that calls for further investigation. Eunuchs and young boys were banned in many *typika*, including Pakourianos [17], Christodoulos [A10], and Kosmosoteira [3]. Machairas [115] banned young boys, while Attaleiates [30] encouraged eunuchs but not boys. Kecharitomene [14–15] had eunuchs as stewards and priests. Evidence cited in Moran, *Singers*, 1, 24–26 suggests that outside the monastic environment the vocal qualities of both eunuchs and boys were valued and they were included in choirs. See Richard Witt, “The Other Castrati,” in *Eunuchs in Antiquity and Beyond*, ed. S. Tougher (London–Swansea, 2002), 235–60.

⁴⁷ A similar prohibition occurs in Kecharitomene [75], but the term used is simply *ψάλτας*. While this probably indicates a professional singer, in light of the date (1110–16) it was not one who sings kalophonic chant.

⁴⁸ Akropolites [7].

⁴⁹ Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, *Le Livre des Cérémonies*, ed. and trans. A. Vogt (Paris, 1935). References are scattered throughout, including vol. 1:29–45, 56; vol. 2:3–15, 24–25, 29–30, 70–73, 88–93, 103–4, 121–36, 149–59, 167–69, 173, and 179–80.

assertion that the *kraktai* were also called *kalliphonoi* obviously calls for a reassessment, perhaps a broadening, of this terminology. A possible connection of the *kalliphonoi* and kalophonic style of chanting with secular music will be discussed further below.

VIRTUES AND VICES OF MONASTIC SINGERS

The typikon of Bebaia Elpis lays out the virtues to which monastics assigned to sing the liturgy and offices were to aspire:

[the choir nuns] should . . . show themselves as first in zeal and eagerness through the sobriety of their soul in the divine singing of hymns of the holy gatherings. They should disregard every bodily pain and every physical weakness through the courage and nobility of their soul, standing before God and serving him with great fear, and praising him with love, and worshiping him, trembling with boundless joy of heart. Moreover, when their mind is for the most part distracted and dispersed to external matters, they should make it concentrate once more, and attend to the meaning alone of what is sung and chanted; for thus it can beautifully ascend to a conception of God and be brightened and illuminated and sweetened and made pleasant by the brilliant light which shines therefrom.⁵⁰

But for those who found the daily routine of offices somewhat grueling and were tempted to stray, the expected demeanor is defined by many prohibitions, which include, first and foremost, not missing services. Neophytos exempts monks who feel too tired from half of the midnight service in the summer, when nights are short;⁵¹ but at all other times, he considers oversleeping and missing offices an offense deserving excommunication.⁵² Neilos Damilas specifies that those who miss services will receive only bread and water. In the rather more colorful language of Lazaros of Mount Galesion: “If any monk, except from compelling necessity, takes food before singing his hours, God will reckon it as if he has skinned seven dead donkeys and eaten with unwashed hands.”⁵³

Among other prohibitions, we find the following: do not stand as if lifeless and indolent;⁵⁴ do not sit, except during the readings;⁵⁵ do not walk around the church during services;⁵⁶ do not fall asleep;⁵⁷ do not laugh, not even with “the merest smile,” as Pakourianos states;⁵⁸ do not lean against the wall⁵⁹ or bring a staff to lean on;⁶⁰ do not shuffle feet;⁶¹ genuflect to the floor, not to a footstool;⁶² do not do handiwork in church;⁶³ and do not chatter, because, according to the typikon for Mount Latros, this might “arouse the Divinity’s

⁵⁰ Bebaia Elpis [56].

⁵¹ Neophytos [C2]. However, they must be present for half, “for the half-withered is preferable to the completely dried-up, and the one-eyed is better than the entirely blind.”

⁵² Neophytos [CB7]. He does not specify how long the excommunication lasts.

⁵³ Galesios [184].

⁵⁴ Eleousa [8].

⁵⁵ Blemmydes [13].

⁵⁶ Blemmydes [13].

⁵⁷ Stoudios [18].

⁵⁸ Pakourianos [12].

⁵⁹ Athanasios I [4].

⁶⁰ Athonite Rule [20].

⁶¹ Pakourianos [12].

⁶² Athonite Rule [20].

⁶³ Bebaia Elpis [63], Kecharitomene [26].

irritation while we intend to propitiate him.”⁶⁴ At Pantokrator, however, some quiet talking was allowed during the *kathisma* “if someone being uncertain wishes to learn something for his own benefit.”⁶⁵

In addition to this general behavioral code, there are some recommendations directed at the singers. First, the music must be neither too loud nor too soft, or, as Nikon of the Black Mountain writes, “neither in the forbidden full voice nor again hushed, but in medium voice.”⁶⁶ Neilos Damilas recommends that one nun should lead with a loud voice while the others follow her with quieter voices,⁶⁷ and at Pantokrator the ecclesiarch is to recite clearly enough to be heard while the monks follow him in the singing quietly, not in a shrieking or raucous way.⁶⁸ Second, the music should not be rushed. At Mount Auxentios, the ecclesiarch shall “favor the clarity of voice which comes from slowness and he shall reject the confusion which comes from going too fast.”⁶⁹ The singers must try to stay together, according to Timothy Evergetinos;⁷⁰ and Pakourianos specifies that the alternating choirs should not “snatch up [psalm] verses hastily from each other . . . [but] the singing should take place in a pious and reverent manner.”⁷¹

These rules are perhaps not all of great significance in and of themselves,⁷² but certainly it is worth observing that many founders felt it necessary to lay down a code of suitable behavior during church services. Isaac Komnenos comments that “I have seen in various holy monasteries a considerable—and unbecoming—indifference with regard to the hymnody, on the part of the monks.” His own solution was to have the monks roused early, so that they would have plenty of time to complete the offices alertly and vigorously.⁷³

SINGING AS LABOR

There are two aspects of singing as labor, rather than as a purely spiritual exercise, that are addressed by monastic founders. First, beyond the spiritual benefits to be derived from singing, founders often had the more tangible objective of receiving endowments tied to commemorations for which there were payments to the monastery to ensure continuing psalmody for the deceased.⁷⁴ Second, some *ktetorika typika* specify rewards for in-

⁶⁴ Latros [11]. In a similar vein, according to Pakourianos [12], disrupting the holy singing would be “assisting the evil spirits whose job it is to do this and support those doing it.” Blemmydes [13] and Kecharitomene [26] also have bans on talking.

⁶⁵ Pantokrator [5].

⁶⁶ Black Mountain [18].

⁶⁷ Neilos Damilas [12].

⁶⁸ Pantokrator [3].

⁶⁹ Auxentios [7].

⁷⁰ Evergetis [6].

⁷¹ Pakourianos [12].

⁷² Of all the rules for the choir, perhaps the most unusual is given in Kosmosoteira [82], where the monks are instructed to wear special “fresh and spotless” shoes; however, this turns out to be unrelated to music, but to protect the marble floors from scuffs!

⁷³ Kosmosoteira [68]. Punishments for the transgression of rules varied. They range from lying face-down on the floor, to being given solitary confinement with only bread to eat, to paying a fine. Whipping was not a suitable punishment for a monk, although it was considered appropriate outside the monastery.

⁷⁴ For the emperor and empress, benefactors, and family members; for examples, see Kecharitomene [71], Pantokrator [8], or Bebaia Elpis [appendix]. For more on commemorations, see R. Morris, *Monks and Laymen in Byzantium, 843–1118* (Cambridge, 1995), 109.

dividual singers, expressing concern over the strenuousness of singing a long office.⁷⁵ On some occasions, such as the singing of the Akathistos Hymn,⁷⁶ the monks who sang the offices were to receive some extra food or an extra measure of wine.⁷⁷ According to the typikon of Mamas, “if [those who chant] drink water only, they would neither be able to chant more sonorously nor, indeed, perform more easily the continuous bending of the knees.”⁷⁸ At Pantokrator’s Eleousa church, the regular pay for musicians was supplemented on the feast of the Metastasis of the Theotokos, when the clergy received a cash payment for their singing of the vigil;⁷⁹ those who did not participate not only did not get this bonus, but they had to pay a fine out of their own pockets.⁸⁰

THE MUSICAL REPERTORY

Singing went on around the clock in most monastic institutions as the usual round of services took place, and funerals, commemorations, and processions were held. It is not my purpose here to discuss details of the liturgy, since questions concerning what was actually sung are better answered by consulting the liturgical typika and music manuscripts. However, it should be noted that many of the *ktetorika typika* state which liturgical typikon was to be followed,⁸¹ and some have embedded within them significant sections that are essentially liturgical typika and that contain the same kinds of information, including references to the modes in which specific chants were sung, who was to sing them, or where they were sung.⁸² I wish only to highlight three areas for which the comments about the musical repertory in the *ktetorika typika* are of special significance.

The first concerns what to do when conflicts arise over two ways of chanting the liturgy, a subject rarely alluded to in Byzantine writings. On the island of Pantelleria, newcomers were to adapt to the prevailing practice: “we order [you] to sing . . . according to the habit

⁷⁵ Auxentios [8] specifies that there are to be no all-night vigils on Sunday so as not to overburden the monks. A similar concern is expressed in Kosmosoteira [11]: “On other feasts in the year let a vigil be performed with comparable illumination—even if it is not an all-night one, so that the singers are not burdened with too much effort. Wherefore I do not wish to drag them . . . like some wage-earners, [to shoulder] the unbearable load of great efforts on my behalf, or to require them to celebrate the vigil on my behalf every Saturday, as is the custom in most monasteries.”

⁷⁶ Machairas [69].

⁷⁷ According to Evergetis [appendix], the monk lord Antony, “feeling pity for the brothers because of standing throughout the night and the prolonged chanting and sleeplessness,” ordered that they should get extra wine on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays of Lent. At Machairas [69], on Wednesday and Thursday of the Great Canon the monks did not get any supper, but “on Friday a refreshment must be given to the singers on account of the Akathistos hymn.” According to Galesios [161]: “the church [brothers] have a job to do, service in the church, and something should be allowed them, especially since they had received nothing more than was supplied at table. . . . For his instructions to the cellarer were to supply a little more food and drink to those who had services than to the others.” Athonite Rule [30–31] specifies similar rewards of extra wine and bread for muleteers, metalworkers, shipwrights, and carpenters; for bakery workers when they have kneading to do; and for vineyard workers when they are pruning.

⁷⁸ Mamas [18].

⁷⁹ Pantokrator [32]: 14 hyperpyra nomismata.

⁸⁰ Pantokrator [33]: the fine was 2 hyperpyra nomismata.

⁸¹ Generally the Palestinian (Sabas), Stoudite, or a mixture of these.

⁸² For example, Pantokrator [5] specifies that the *hypakoe* was sung by specialist chanters in front of the sanctuary; and Phoberos [19] that *stichera* at vigils after the canons of the night office are sung standing in the middle of the church.

acquired from deacon John. Let all sing in this way. Should any of you be accustomed to sing differently, we request him to relinquish his habit, and adapt to his brothers', so that harmony among the brethren be displayed in this matter."⁸³ However, Neilos Damilas writes to his nuns: "when your priest happens to be present, let him chant according to his order, and you follow him in your chanting, as best you can."⁸⁴ Obedience, for the nuns, may have been ranked higher than their own musical tradition; but whatever the situation, this comment—if it refers to melodies and not simply texts—raises some interesting questions that are not readily answered. How different might one musical practice have been from another in the same region (if we can presume that the priest assigned to Bebaia Elpis was local)? Does the comment refer to the simple singing of psalmody or to the more elaborate melodies of the hymns? At what point would enough variance in the melodies be recognized by Byzantine monastic singers to refer actually to a "different" practice?

Second, the *ktetorika typika* provide rare information about singing at meals.⁸⁵ It was customary at some monasteries to sing psalm verses⁸⁶ on the way from the narthex of the church to the refectory,⁸⁷ and at Pantokrator the refectorian led the chanting of verses during the meal;⁸⁸ "Blessed is God who nourishes us" was sung while the leftovers were collected in a basket;⁸⁹ and at the dismissal the refectorian led the singing of more psalms.⁹⁰ According to Machairas, a monk who talked or did "something that is not pleasing" had to stand and intone "Have mercy on me, O God" and ask for forgiveness,⁹¹ and from Menoikeion we learn that on Sundays the monks were given a treat of an extra glass of wine with which to acclaim the long life, happiness, salvation, and triumph over enemies of the emperors. An acclamation was to be intoned by the priest and sung "slowly and melodiously by the choir leaders [*domestikoi*] in the same fashion."⁹²

A final topic concerns changes in musical style, and here I would like to highlight two significant comments in the *ktetorika typika*. The typikon for Skoteine (or Boreine, cf. Morrison, this volume, p. 267 n. 60), composed by the monk Maximos in 1247, includes lists of books owned by the monastery. From them we learn that the main monastery had a chantbook of the type called the *sticherarion*, with "*neophonon*"; and the dependency of the Saints had the same type of book with "*palaiophonon*." In his edition of 1939, Manuel Gedeon suggested that these terms mean "new notation" and "old notation." This is a reasonable suggestion, since the Byzantine musical notation did undergo a significant change during the 1160s and 1170s. By the time of the Skoteine inventory, two types of old notation (today known as "Chartres" and "Coislin") had been displaced by a "new" Round,

⁸³ Pantelleria [10].

⁸⁴ Neilos Damilas [12].

⁸⁵ Singing also took place during periods of manual labor, but the psalms are not specified.

⁸⁶ Kasoulon [8] specifies Psalm 144:1 (I will extol you, my God). See also Areia [3] and Evergetis [9]. Pantokrator [11] also specifies Psalm 21:26–27 (The poor shall eat and be satisfied).

⁸⁷ Kasoulon [para. no. missing] has a similar provision, but only on Holy Saturday in the evening after divine liturgy, on the Baptism of Christ, and on Pentecost.

⁸⁸ Pantokrator [11]: Psalm 91:4 (O Lord, thou hast made us glad) and Psalm 4:6–8 (For thou hast caused me to dwell securely).

⁸⁹ Pantokrator [9].

⁹⁰ Pantokrator [11]: Psalms 121 and 83.

⁹¹ Machairas [124].

⁹² Menoikeion [16].

or Middle Byzantine, notation. However, φωνή is not the usual term for musical notation in Byzantine writings. The theorist and composer Manuel Chrysaphes, writing in 1458, makes a distinction between notational signs (σημεῖα) and sounds (φωνῶν),⁹³ and wherever φωνή is used it refers to sounding music rather than notational signs.⁹⁴ Furthermore, in manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we find some chants labeled as *palaiion*, signifying that they belong to an old, traditional layer of chant rather than the new kalophonic compositions, and Manuel Chrysaphes calls the unelaborated *stichera* the παλαιῶν στιχηρῶν.⁹⁵ Could the terms *neophonon* and *palaiophonon* refer to two *styles* of music in the *sticheraria*, one old and one new?

For the answer to this question, it is useful to review the history of the *sticherarion*. Around the year 1050, this book of chants was edited, chants of only local significance were eliminated, and a Standard Abridged Version containing a repertory of simple, traditional, highly formulaic melodies was widely circulated.⁹⁶ Two centuries later, when the Skoteine inventory was written, this could certainly have qualified as “*palaiion*.” What might a “new” style mean in the mid-thirteenth century? Manuel Chrysaphes attributes the “method”⁹⁷ for composing the kalophonic *stichera* to [Xenos] Korones,⁹⁸ who probably belonged to the generation of Koukouzeles, working fifty years or more after the Skoteine inventory; and the earliest extant copies of the kalophonic *sticherarion* date from approximately a century after the Skoteine *typikon*,⁹⁹ too late to be confident that it existed in 1247. The same chronological objections can be offered with regard to significant work on the *sticherarion* attributed to Koukouzeles.¹⁰⁰ Another Byzantine chant repertory, that of the Asmatikon and Psaltikon, lies stylistically between the old *sticheraric* style and the or-

⁹³ Conomos, *The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes*, 40–41.

⁹⁴ Constantine VII uses φωνή to mean “chanting” in his *Book of Ceremonies*, vol. 1, pp. 35ff. We also find it, for example, as part of the term “ekphonesis,” a style of reciting biblical lections; and as part of “kalophonic” in the rubrics of Palaiologan music manuscripts, where it designates chants in a highly ornate style. See Conomos, *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika*, 45. It is even used in this sense in the nickname “angelophonos,” given to John Koukouzeles according to his *Vita*. See E. Williams, “John Koukouzeles’ Reform of Byzantine Chanting for Great Vespers in the Fourteenth Century” (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1968), 493.

⁹⁵ Conomos, *The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes*, 43.

⁹⁶ Standard Abridged Version was the designation of Oliver Strunk. See his “H. J. W. Tillyard and the Recovery of a Lost Fragment,” *Studies in Eastern Chant* 1 (1966): 95–103, repr. in idem, *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World*, 234–35.

⁹⁷ The meaning of Chrysaphes’ expression “method of the *theseis*” is discussed by Conomos in *The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes*, 75–80. *Theseis* bear the same relationship to *parallage* in music as syllables do to individual letters in speech.

⁹⁸ Conomos, *The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes*, 40–41. Xenos Korones, father of Manuel, was a composer and *protopsaltes* at Hagia Sophia. His settings for the prooemiac psalm appear in Athens, National Library 2458, dated 1336. See M. Velimirović, “The Prooemiac Psalm of Byzantine Vespers,” in *Words and Music: The Scholar’s View. Festschrift for A. Tillman Merritt* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 330.

⁹⁹ Sinai, St. Catherine’s Monastery 1311 may be the earliest copy, dated ca. 1356–91 in unpublished notes of Kenneth Lev.

¹⁰⁰ See J. Raasted, “Koukouzeles’ Revision of the *Sticherarion* and Sinai gr. 1230,” in *Laborare fratres in unum: Festschrift Laszlo Dobszay zum 60. Geburtstag*, Spolia Berlinensia 7, ed. J. Szandrei and David Hiley (Hildesheim, 1995), 261–77; and J. Raasted, “Koukouzeles’ *Sticherarion*,” in *Byzantine Chant: Tradition and Reform: Acts of a Meeting Held at the Danish Institute in Athens, 1993*, ed. C. Troelsgård (Athens, 1997), 9–21. On the date of Koukouzeles’ activity, see E. V. Williams, “A Byzantine *Ars Nova*: The Fourteenth-Century Reforms of John Koukouzeles in the Chanting of Great Vespers,” in *Aspects of the Balkans: Continuity and Change: Contributions to the International Balkan Conference held at UCLA, October 23–28, 1969*, ed. H. Birnbaum and S. Vryonis (Paris, 1972), 212.

nate “art-objects”¹⁰¹ of the kalophonic *sticheraria*, still formulaic and anonymous but more florid than the “old”; and the earliest extant manuscripts of Asmatikon-Psaltikon repertory date from the same period as the Skoteine inventory.¹⁰² Ultimately, the historical evidence is too problematic to allow identification of the style of this repertory with the “*neophonon*” of the Skoteine inventory; yet the existence of these sources strengthens the possibility that the Skoteine inventory is documenting a lost notated *sticherarion* in a musical style different from the ones that are extant.¹⁰³ Even without positive identification of a specific “new” style, the Skoteine inventory constitutes a significant landmark in the woefully undocumented road from the simple syllabic “palaiophonic” Standard Abridged Version of the mid-eleventh century to the elaborate, personalized style of the kalophonic *sticherarion* of the fourteenth century. Furthermore, it could be argued that if books of *stichera* in a “new” style existed, the notation of the standard version of the *sticherarion* would not routinely have been treated like a skeleton, to be fleshed out formulaically at sight by the singers.¹⁰⁴ The old, standard *sticherarion* would simply have continued in use for singing the chants in the traditional, syllabic manner, a practice that continued into at least the fifteenth century when Manuel Chrysaphes complained that some singers found this to be adequate.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰¹ On the significance of the development from an anonymous, formulaic style to an awareness of artistry, see K. Levy, “Le ‘tournant décisif’ dans l’histoire de la musique byzantine: 1071–1261,” in *Actes du XV^e Congrès International d’Études Byzantines, Athènes, Septembre 1976* (Athens, 1979), 475–76.

¹⁰² Grottaferrata, Badia graeca Γ.γ.3 dates from 1247, the same year as the Skoteine inventory; Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Ashburnhamensis 64 is from 1289; Grottaferrata E.β.7 is from 1214–30; and Grottaferrata Γ.γ.5 from 1225.

¹⁰³ Although the Asmatika and Psaltika manuscripts preserve chants derived from the Constantinopolitan cathedral rite, they are, with a single exception (Kastoria, Cathedral Library 8), from southern Italy. Furthermore, the Constantinopolitan origin of this repertory has been identified on the basis of melodic features shared with the Slavic *kondakarion* repertory, imported from Byzantium prior to the 11th century, so while it may have been different from the standard sticheraric repertory, the Asmatikon-Psaltikon style was not “new” in the mid-13th century. See K. Levy, “The Earliest Slavic Melismatic Chants,” in *Fundamental Problems of Early Slavic Music and Poetry*, ed. C. Hannick, Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae Subsidia 6 (Copenhagen, 1978), 197–200. A third consideration is that none of the southern Italian sources are *sticheraria*. However, *stichera* included in some manuscripts (notably fragments of two miscellanies, Messina, Universitaria San Salvatore gr. 161, fols. 1–19v and Grottaferrata, E.γ.9, fols. 1–12v and 26v–30v) are labeled “kalophonic.” See A. Rocchi, *Codices Cryptenses seu Abbatiae Cryptae Ferratae* (Abbatiae Cryptae Ferratae, 1883), 430–31; and B. Di Salvo, “Gli asmata nella musica bizantina,” *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, n.s. 13 (1959): 50. The question of how these “kalophonic” *stichera* of the southern Italian sources relate to the repertory of the Standard Abridged Version and to the 14th-century kalophonic repertory that developed in Constantinople and environs is a difficult one that has not been adequately studied (in part due to the poor condition of the sources) but clearly merits investigation.

¹⁰⁴ For the “exegetical interpretation,” see G. Stathis, “Problems Connected with the Transcription of the Old Byzantine Notation into the Pentagram,” *Proceedings of the International Musicological Society, Copenhagen, 1972* (Copenhagen, 1974), 778–82; idem, “The ‘Abridgements’ of Byzantine and Postbyzantine Compositions,” *Cahiers de l’Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin* 44 (1983): 16–38; and idem, “Ioannes Koukouzeles’ ‘Method of Theseis’ and Its Application,” in *Byzantine Chant* (as above, note 100), 189–203; and for arguments against this position, see Levy, “Le ‘tournant décisif,’” 477–79. See J. Raasted, “Thoughts on a Revision of the Transcription Rules of the Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae,” *Cahiers de l’Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin* 54 (1987): 31–33 for the important bearing this argument has on transcription policies of the Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae.

¹⁰⁵ He writes that “the science of chanting does not consist only of *parallage* as some of the present generation imagine”: Conomos, *The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes*, 38–39.

The second passage occurs in the *typikon* of Neilos Damilas¹⁰⁶ at the turn of the fifteenth century, which incorporates a lengthy quote from the *Σύνταγμα κατὰ στοιχείου* of Matthew Blastares, dated 1335.¹⁰⁷

[Canon 75 of the Council in Trullo¹⁰⁸] enjoins those who pray in church and recite the psalms not to utter undisciplined and high-pitched sounds, but to make their prayers and recitations of the psalms with contrite heart and sedate character and attentive mind. . . . Nor should you make use of undignified tunes, varied in modulation, and excessive variety of hymns and trilling of odes, which are more fitting for actors on a stage than for a church of God. These [practices] have been forbidden many times by many patriarchs with severe penalties, and it has been ordained that one should use simple and unadorned [music] in the singing of psalms for night offices and services for the departed, as was the old custom dear to God. But this does not happen any more,¹⁰⁹ since the desire of the multitude prevails over divine commandments.¹¹⁰

The language is interesting: “excessive variety” is *ποικιλία*, which can be translated as “embroidered,” precisely what the composers of the kalophonic style did, musically, to the old formulas of the chants;¹¹¹ and the “trilling of odes,” or *ὠδῶν τερετίσμασιν*, appears to be a reference to the *teretismata* that were inserted into the kalophonic chants. By contrast, the music that is ordained is *ἀποίκιλον*. Damilas and Blastares, it seems, do not approve of the kalophonic style.

The traditional chant, the inspired “angel’s *antiphonon*,” was clearly being relegated to a lesser position in the early fourteenth century in favor of a musical style that was, if we are to believe Blastares, rooted in secularism. Were Blastares and Damilas alone in their resistance to the new style of Byzantine music, or were their objections more widely shared in the monastic environment? What are we to make of the comment that many patriarchs have forbidden these practices?¹¹² The bans against the *kalliphonoi* in the *typika* of Lips and Akropolites may be telling; and the emphasis on correct performance and chanting as a spiritual exercise in the *ktetorika typika* suggest a leaning toward conservatism. Against this, though, must be weighed hints of a more progressive mind-set in some places, not only the situation that provoked the diatribe by Blastares, echoed by Damilas, but also the in-

¹⁰⁶ I am grateful to Alice-Mary Talbot for providing me with a photocopy of the Greek edition.

¹⁰⁷ G. A. Rhalles and M. Potles, eds., *Matthew Blastares, Σύνταγμα κατὰ στοιχείου* (Athens, 1859), 297–98.

¹⁰⁸ Canon 75 of the Council in Trullo (692) states: “We will that those whose office it is to sing in the churches do not use undisciplined vociferations, nor force nature to shouting, nor adopt any of those modes which are incongruous and unsuitable for the church: but that they offer the psalmody to God, who is the observer of secrets, with great attention and compunction.” Trans. in H. R. Perceval, ed., *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2d series, ed. P. Schaff and H. Wace, vol. 14: *The Seven Ecumenical Councils* (Peabody, Mass., 1994), 398.

¹⁰⁹ End of the quotation from Matthew Blastares.

¹¹⁰ Neilos Damilas [12].

¹¹¹ See Conomos, *The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes*, 41–43: “But, O my friend, do not think that the manner of the whole musical art and its practice is so simple and uniform that the composer of a kalophonic *sticheron* with appropriate *theseis* who does not adhere to the manner of the old *sticheron* can think that he has done well and that which he has written quite good and free from every condemnation—since, if what he has composed does not include the method of the old *sticheron*, it is not correct. . . . Thus even in the kalophonic *stichera* the composers of these do not depart from their original melodies but follow them accurately, step by step, and retain them.”

¹¹² At least one patriarchal prohibition against using secular chanting in church, by Nicholas III Grammatikos (1084–1111), is listed in *Les Regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, fasc. 3: 1043–1206, ed. V. Grumel (Paris, 1932–47), 411.

triguing presence of the two *sticheraria* at Skoteine, one “old” and one “new.” The role of monasteries in stylistic changes of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries is one that is not yet understood, and evidence of the *ktetorika typika* clearly needs to be considered.¹¹³

However, perhaps the ultimate importance of these documents, for music historians, lies in their very existence. They make it clear that many monastic founders cared about music and believed it served an important function in the daily life of the monastery. Luke of Messina wrote of the pleasure of music which, when mixed with the sacred hymns, acts as a palliative in the same way as honey coats a medicinal cup.¹¹⁴ Gregory Pakourianos describes the “harmonious and sweet-sounding chants” which combine with the beauty of the decor and the fragrance of incense to make the church like a divine paradise.¹¹⁵ Ironically, Nikephoros Blemmydes provides, through his prohibitions against music, a strong statement about the pleasure of listening to hymns, in a chapter entitled, “The recitation of prayers to God without sung hymns and the perfect order to be observed in the church”:

Those who have dedicated themselves completely to [God] . . . who have rejected the things of this world . . . are to abandon completely all thought and endeavor for what is pleasurable. . . . In consequence, let them not hanker after the use of hymns and singing for their prayers, with tunes and varieties of tones—not because such singing is always to be rejected . . . but simply because the better is to be preferred to the good, and the more honorable to the honorable. For those who are fervent the most suitable is to strive and struggle with the unadulterated tension of one’s soul toward the Lord, without any distraction of pleasure and relying on spiritual happiness alone.¹¹⁶

In conclusion, here are the words of the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos, in the *typikon* for the monastery of the Theotokos Kosmosoteira: “I enjoin [you] to drink with enjoyment from the soul-benefiting springs of the soul-sustaining hymnodies of the church. . . . Let the hymnody be performed for the Lord’s sake with attention and fear, for even though I myself have wallowed in the slime of sin, my soul has loved it very much since the days of my childhood.”¹¹⁷

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¹¹³ There is little concrete evidence that can place the composers of kalophonic music in a monastic milieu. Some exceptions are David Rhaidestinos, who was a monk at Pantokrator on Mount Athos; Ioakeim Monachos at Charsianeites; and John Koukouzeles, who at the height of his fame went to a cell near the Lavra on Mount Athos. On the problem of the monastic role, see K. Levy, “A Hymn for Thursday in Holy Week,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 16 (1963): 157; and A. Lingas, “Hesychasm and Psalmody,” in *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism: Papers from the 28th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Birmingham, March 1994*, ed. A. Bryer and M. Cunningham (Aldershot, 1996), 155–68.

¹¹⁴ Luke of Messina [4]: “For mixing the pleasure of music with the sacred hymns makes the ascetic more zealous in singing and praying to God. So, too, whenever the experienced among the physicians offer some unpleasant medicines to the sick, at that moment they coat the cup with honey.” See St. Basil’s Homily on Psalm 1: “The delight of melody [the Holy Spirit] mingled with the doctrines so that by the pleasantness and softness of the sound heard we might receive without perceiving it the benefit of the words, just as wise physicians who, when giving the fastidious rather bitter drugs to drink, frequently smear the cup with honey.” Basil, *Exegetic Homilies*, 152.

¹¹⁵ Pakourianos [5].

¹¹⁶ Blemmydes [13].

¹¹⁷ Kosmosoteira [75].