

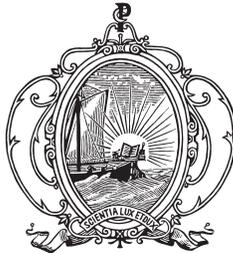
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IN LATE- AND POSTBYZANTINE  
LITURGICAL CHANT

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**THE STORY OF A COMPOSITION  
OR ‘ADVENTURES’ OF WRITTEN MELODIES DURING THE  
BYZANTINE AND POST-BYZANTINE ERA**

**ACHILLEAS G. CHALDAIAKIS**

Undoubtedly, the story of any composition whatsoever, constitutes an extremely interesting ‘adventure’. After having been conceived by its composer, it is written down either by the composer himself or by his disciples. Then it is copied in its original form or partially adapted onto various manuscript musical codices. Subsequently it is diffused in broader circles, sometimes centuries after its conception, thus attracting the interest of other, more or less well-known music masters, who undertake to process, embellish, reform and broaden it, while, at the same time, it is transcribed according to various and different systems of musical notation.

In this paper, I will try to present some aspects and stages of this ‘adventure’, focusing on the case of a protopsaltes, the so-called Eunuch the Philanthropinos, to whom is attributed only one composition, which I will deal with below.

### **1. Eunuch Protopsaltes Philanthropinos**

The enigmatic figure of a protopsaltes, bearing the moniker ‘Philanthropinos’ and referred to as the ‘eunuch’, is sporadically attested to in various handwritten *Mathemataria*, dating from the 14th to the 16th century<sup>1</sup>. He is even mentioned in an 18th-century catalogue of ‘all outstanding masters of ecclesiastic chant’, compiled by Cyrillos Marmarinos, bishop of Tenos, ‘in the time of Ioannes Protopsaltes’, i.e. during the period 1734/36-1770<sup>2</sup>. This catalogue, which is included by Chrysanthos in his handwritten

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. Χαλδαϊκίς, ‘Евнух Филантропинский’, *Πравославная энциклопедия*, 17 (Μόσκη, 2008), pp. 184-185. The genre ‘*Mathematarion*’ is often referred to as ‘kalophonic *Sticherarion*’.

<sup>2</sup> See Gertsman, *Theoreticon*, pp. 780-834; Καρακατσάνη, *Θεωρητικὸν Κυρίλλου τοῦ Μαρμαρινοῦ*, pp. 169-170; cf. Μανόλης Κ. Χατζηγιακουμῆς, “Αὐτόγραφο (1816) τοῦ ‘Μεγάλου Θεωρητικοῦ’ τοῦ Χρυσάνθου”, *Ὁ Ἐρασιστῆς*, 11 (1974), pp. 311-322, pp. 321-322.

Theoretikon<sup>3</sup>, and subsequently published in his printed book<sup>4</sup>, is very probably identical to that referred to as ‘The catalogue of those who flourished, at various times, in ecclesiastic music’; this is also registered for example in codex 318, f. 140r onwards of the Monastery Xeropotamou on Mount Athos, written by the Archdeacon Nikephoros Kantouniaris of Chios himself, at the beginning of the 19th century<sup>5</sup>. In all the above mentioned sources, our figure is described in the same way: ‘Eunuch Protopsaltes the Philanthropinos’. His figure is enigmatic, because we only know his office, Propopsaltes, *i.e.* first chanter<sup>6</sup>, and not his real name. He is referred to by means of his quality, as a ‘eunuch’, which places him in the ranks of the eunuchs, whose presence in the Byzantine Empire is well documented<sup>7</sup>. In addition to their other occupations, eunuchs were well versed in music, with considerable success, as recent research has convincingly proved<sup>8</sup>. The additional mention

<sup>3</sup> See Χρύσανθος, *Τὸ ἀνέκδοτο ἀυτόγραφο τοῦ 1816*, pp. 100-123.

<sup>4</sup> See Χρύσανθος, *Θεωρητικόν*, pp. XXXIII-XLIII, §§ 51-64; Chrysanthos, *Great Theory of Music*, pp. 233-239, §§ 51-64.

<sup>5</sup> See Στάθης, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα*, I, pp. 146-150; cf. codex 1427 of the Monastery Vatopediou on Mount Athos (also written by Archdeacon Nikephoros Kantouniaries of Chios himself, in AD 1810), pp. 659-664.

<sup>6</sup> On protopsaltes in general, see K.M. Ράλλης, “Περὶ τοῦ ἀξιώματος τοῦ πρωτοψάλτου”, *Πρακτικὰ Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, 11 (1936), pp. 66-69; Εὐαγγελία Σπυράκου, “Τὰ Ὀφίκια τοῦ Πρωτοψάλτου καὶ τοῦ Δομεστικῶ μετὰ ἀπὸ τοὺς χειρόγραφους κώδικες τοῦ Παπαδικῶ γένους”, *Θεωρία καὶ Πράξις τῆς Ψαλτικῆς Τέχνης: Τὰ Γένη καὶ Εἶδη τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Ψαλτικῆς Μελοδοποιίας, Πρακτικὰ Β΄ Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου, Μουσικολογικοῦ καὶ Ψαλτικοῦ, Ἀθήνα, 15-19 Ὀκτωβρίου 2003* (Athens, 2006), pp. 195-210, pp. 195-198, 201-209; Εὐαγγελία Χ. Σπυράκου, *Οἱ χοροὶ ψαλτῶν κατὰ τὴν βυζαντινὴ παράδοση* (Athens, 2008), *passim*.

<sup>7</sup> On eunuchs in general, see the recent book of Τζούντιο Χέριν, *Τί εἶναι τὸ Βυζάντιο*, trans. Χριστιάννα Σαμαρᾶ (Athens, 2008), pp. 315-332, 639 (bibliography).

<sup>8</sup> See Neil Moran, ‘Byzantine Castrati’, *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 11,2 (2002), pp. 99-112; cf. Εὐαγγελία Σπυράκου, “Ἡ βυζαντινὴ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ μουσικὴ στὸ 20ὸ διεθνὲς συνέδριο βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν: Παρίσι 2001”, *Παρνασσός*, 44 (2002), pp. 506-507; eadem, “Ἡ ἡχοχρωματικὴ ποικιλία στὴν βυζαντινὴ χορωδιακὴ πράξις”, *Byzantine Musical Culture: First International Conference - Greece 2007* (Paeanea, 2009), pp. 144-156 (found at <http://www.asbmh.pitt.edu/page12/Spyrakou.pdf>), pp. 151-156; eadem, *Οἱ χοροὶ ψαλτῶν* (see n. 6), pp. 502-515 (with further relevant bibliography).

of the moniker ‘Philanthropinos’, by means of which he is characterized in all extant sources, rather complicates the issue, as it raises yet another question: does this mean that the aforementioned eunuch protopsaltes belonged to the illustrious Byzantine family of the Philanthropinoi<sup>9</sup>? Or was he a member – indeed the protopsaltes – of the monastic community of a monastery with the same name? For the time being, neither of these two interpretations can be excluded.

## 2. Interpolations in the original composition by Xenos Korones and Ioannes Koukouzeles

The Eunuch Protopsaltes Philanthropinos is known as the composer of a mathema, pertaining to the celebration of the Birth of Jesus Christ. This composition of his is the one I mentioned before, which is anthologized every so often in various *Mathemataria* from the 14th to the 16th century<sup>10</sup>. Fortunately, the

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<sup>9</sup> See Αθηναγόρα, μητροπολίτου Παραμυθίας και Φιλιατών, “Συμβολαι εις την ιστοριαν του βυζαντινου οικου των Φιλανθρωπινων”, *Δελτίον της Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος*, new series, 1st vol., no. 4 (Athens, 1929), pp. 61-74 (cf. also the relevant review by V. Laurent, in *Echos d’Orient*, 29 (1930), pp. 495-497); in addition cf. *Ιστορία του Έλληνικου Έθνους*, IX (Athens 1980), pp. 218, 242, 285, 290.

<sup>10</sup> See: N.L.G. 2500 (*Mathematarion*, middle of the 14th cent.), ff. 100v-103r: “Ετερον, εξ αυτων· ποιημα του Ευνουχου και πρωτοψαλτου του Φιλανθρωπινου· [ἦχος] γ’ *Nῦν προφητικη πρόρρησις*”; N.L.G. 2411 (*Mathematarion*, 2nd half of the 14th - beginning of the 15th cent.), ff. 116v-119v: “Εις την αυτην εορτην, ποιημα του Ευνουχου και πρωτοψαλτου του Φιλανθρωπινου· [ἦχος] γ’ *Nῦν προφητικη πρόρρησις*”; N.L.G. 885 (*Mathematarion*, 15th cent.), ff. 61r-66r, 401r-402r: “Τῷ αυτῷ μηνί, κε’· ἡ Γέννησις του Κυριου και Θεου και Σωτηρος ημων Ιησου Χριστου. Ποιημα του Ευνουχου και πρωτοψαλτου του Φιλανθρωπινου· [ἦχος] γ’ [μέσος] *Nῦν προφητικη πρόρρησις*”; Sinai 1251 (*Mathematarion*, 2nd half of the 15th cent., written by Ioannes Plousiadenos), ff. 99v-101v: “Στιχηρόν, εις την αυτην εορτην, ποιημα του Ευνουχου και πρωτοψαλτου του Φιλανθρωπινου· [ἦχος] τρίτος *Nῦν προφητικη πρόρρησις*”; Sinai 1234 (*Mathematarion*, A.D. 1469, written by Ioannes Plousiadenos), ff. 162v-165r: “Ετερον, εξ αυτων, ποιημα του Ευνουχου και πρωτοψαλτου του Φιλανθρωπινου· [ἦχος] τρίτος *Nῦν προφητικη πρόρρησις*”; National Library of Russia 126 (*Papadike-Mathematarion*, 2nd half of the 15th cent.), ff. 239v-241r; Monastery Panteleimonos on Mount Athos 938

composition in question has also been explained in accordance with the New Method of analytical notation by Chourmouziou Chartophylax – a phenomenon, by the way, which is indicative of the value of Eunuch Philanthropinos' work. It is recorded in the latter's handwritten codex 729 from the collection of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre, in the National Library of Greece (3rd volume of the *Mathematarion*, dating from the 1st quarter of the 19th century), ff. 254v-264r: “Ἐτερον ἐξ αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν στιχηρῶν τῶν Χριστοῦ Γεννῶν)· Φιλανθρωπίνου τοῦ Εὐνούχου· ἦχος τρίτος (μέσος) *Νῦν προφητικὴ πρόρρησις.*” It is a kalophonic setting to music in the middle third mode of the Byzantine *oktaechia* of the second *sticheron* *idiomelon* of the first hour of Christmas<sup>11</sup>.

The structure of this *mathema*, as recorded in all aforementioned sources, is of particular interest, since the original composition by Eunuch Philanthropinos has been subsequently ‘flanked’ by similar works of two other major Byzantine composers, *Protopsaltes Xenos Korones*<sup>12</sup> and *Maistor Ioannes Koukouzeles*<sup>13</sup>. To Eunuch Philanthropinos is attributed the introduction to the *mathema*, which goes as follows (the transcription is from the codex 729 in the collection of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre, the National Library of Greece, ff. 254v-255v (see *Fig. I*):

Νῦν –τιτιτι... (βραχὺ κράτημα)–

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(*Mathematarion*, end of the 15th - beginning of the 16th cent., written by Alexios the Priest), between ff. 125v-129v.

<sup>11</sup> Here is the entire text of that *sticheron*:

Νῦν προφητικὴ πρόρρησις, πληρωθῆναι ἐπείγεται, μυστικῶς ἢ φάσκουσα·

Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ γῆ Ἰουδα, οὐδαμῶς ὑπάρχεις ἐλαχίστη ἐν τοῖς Ἠγεμόσι, προευτρεπίζουσα τὸ σπήλαιον·

ἐκ σοῦ γάρ μοι ἐξελεύσεται, ἡγούμενος τῶν Ἐθνῶν διὰ σαρκός, ἐκ Παρθένου Κόρης Χριστὸς ὁ Θεός, ὃς ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸν νέον Ἰσραήλ.

Δῶμεν αὐτῷ ἅπαντες μεγαλωσύνην

<sup>12</sup> For a general bibliography on Xenos Korones see Χαλδαιάκης, *Ὁ πολυέλεος*, p. 422; see also the recent dissertation by Demetriou, *Machairas Kalophonon Sticherarion A4*, pp. 202-206.

<sup>13</sup> See also Χαλδαιάκης, *Ὁ πολυέλεος*, pp. 403-405; cf. Demetriou, *ibid.*, pp. 198-201.

Νῦν προφητικὴ πρόρρησις, πληρωθῆναι – πάλιν – πληρωθῆναι  
ἐπέιγεται, μυστικῶς ἢ –κικι...χιχι...(βραχὺ ἤχημα)– ἢ  
φάσκουσα – λέγε –

Νῦν προφητικὴ –κικι...χιχι...(βραχὺ ἤχημα)– πρόρρησις

(For this last segment, which is missing from the  
aforementioned codex, cf. the relevant comments in unit 3.A of the  
present paper.)

This is immediately followed by compositions by Korones and  
Koukouzeles. The melos by Korones runs as follows (the tran-  
scription here is from codex 2500 of the National Library of  
Greece, ff. 100v-101r, where this melos is found under the title:  
*Ἄλλο, τοῦ πρωτοψάλτου κῆρ Ξένου τοῦ Κορώνη· [ἤχος] πλ. α΄*  
*(τριφωνῶν)* (see **Fig. 2**):

Νῦν προφητικὴ –τιτιτι...ριριρι...(βραχὺ κράτημα)–

Νῦν προφητικὴ πρόρρησις·

Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ γῆ Ἰούδα, οὐδαμῶς ὑπάρχεις ἐλαχίστη ἐν τοῖς  
Ἑγεμόσι, προευτρεπίζουσα τὸ σπήλαιον –πάλιν– προ-  
ευτρεπίζουσα τὸ σπήλαιον

Koukouzeles, ‘processes’ the whole mathema more thoroughly.  
First, he composes a twofold melos, a mathema that runs as  
follows (the transcription is again from codex 729 from the  
collection of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre in the National  
Library of Greece, ff. 255v-261r, where it is anthologized under  
the title: “Τοῦ Κουκουζέλου” (see **Fig. 3**):

#### Α΄ ΠΟΥΣ

Νῦν προφητικὴ –τιτιτι...ριριρι...(βραχὺ κράτημα)–

Νῦν προφητικὴ πρόρρησις·

Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ γῆ Ἰούδα –πάλιν–, οὐδαμῶς ὑπάρχεις  
ἐλαχίστη ἐν τοῖς Ἑγεμόσι, προευτρεπίζουσα τὸ σπήλαιον –  
πάλιν– προευτρεπίζουσα τὸ σπήλαιον·

Νῦν προφητικὴ πρόρρησις –τιτιτι...(βραχὺ κράτημα)–

Νῦν προφητικὴ –κικι... (βραχὺ ἤχημα)–, πληρωθῆναι  
ἐπέιγεται, μυστικῶς ἢ φάσκουσα, πρόρρησις

### Β΄ ΠΟΥΣ

Ἐ –τετετε...ριρερε...(βραχὺ κράτημα)– ἐκ σοῦ γάρ μοι  
ἐξελεύσεται, ἡγούμενος –τοτοτο...(βραχὺ κράτημα)–  
ἡγούμενος τῶν Ἐθνῶν διὰ σαρκός, ἐκ Παρθένου Κόρης  
Χριστὸς ὁ Θεός, ἐξελεύσεται, ἡγούμενος –τοτοτο...(βραχὺ  
κράτημα)– τῶν ἐθνῶν διὰ σαρκός –τοτοτο...(βραχὺ κράτημα)–  
ἡγούμενος –τοτοτο...(βραχὺ κράτημα)– ἡγούμενος, Χριστὸς,  
ἐξελεύσεται διὰ σαρκός, ὃς ποιμανεῖ

Then he goes on to construct another anagrammatismos, based on the same sticheron (an anagrammatismos, which, in codex 126 of the National Library of Russia, ff. 240r-241r, is referred to as “ἀναποδισμός: Ἀπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ στιχηρόν, ἀναποδισμός τοῦ μαΐστορος κῦρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κουκουζέλη· [ἦχος] πλ. α΄ Ἐκ παρθένου κόρης”). The text of this anagrammatismos, composed in first plagal mode, is as follows (the transcription is once again from codex 729 in the collection of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre, in the National Library of Greece, ff. 261r-264r, where the anagrammatismos is anthologized under the title: “Ἀναγραμματισμός τοῦ μαΐστορος, ἀπὸ τὸ αὐτὸ στιχηρόν· ἦχος πλ. α΄ Πα” (see *Fig. 4*):

Ἐκ Παρθένου Κόρης, Χριστὸς ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος τῶν  
Ἐθνῶν διὰ σαρκός, Χριστὸς ὁ Θεός, ἐξελεύσεται·  
Πληρωθῆναι ἐπέιγεται, προφητικὴ νῦν πρόρρησις, μυστικῶς ἢ  
φάσκουσα·  
Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ γῆ Ἰούδα, οὐδαμῶς ὑπάρχεις ἐλαχίστη ἐν τοῖς  
Ἠγεμόσι, προευτρεπίζουσα τὸ σπήλαιον·  
Ἐκ σοῦ γάρ μοι ἐξελεύσεται, ἡγούμενος, ὃς ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαὸν  
αὐτοῦ, τὸν νέον Ἰσραήλ –τιτι...τιρι... (ἐκτενὲς κράτημα)–  
Δῶμεν αὐτῷ ἅπαντες μεγαλωσύνην, δῶμεν αὐτῷ

(Although the last repetition of the phrase δῶμεν αὐτῷ is missing from the above mentioned codex, it exists in every other codex of the entire handwritten tradition of the composition.)

These ‘interpolations’, mainly by Koukouzeles, in the original composition by the Eunuch – which are even qualified as ‘embellishing’ in codex 938 of the Monastery Panteleimonos on Mount Athos –, help us, to a certain extent, to place the latter’s actions in the second half of the 13th century. Moreover, the –

albeit limited – distribution of this unique musical work in the broader area of Constantinople, where both Koukouzeles and Korones, and, later on, Chourmouzius Chartophylax, flourished, probably helps us to pinpoint a more specific geographical location for the activities of the Protopsaltes Philanthropinos. Therefore, if one is to identify the monastery where he lived and served, one must reasonably assume that this was the very well-known one of Christ the Saviour Philanthropos in Constantinople<sup>14</sup>, and not one of the other monasteries of the same name that existed in different locations<sup>15</sup>.

## 2. The four parts of the composition

The composition by Eunuch Philanthropinos is anthologized according to the aforementioned scheme in all the musical sources so far identified. Aiming at a more thorough examination of this composition, I will – for the purposes of the present paper – subsequently use the following musical manuscripts:

∄ Three Mathemataria in the National Library of Greece (= N.L.G.), written by unknown codicographers, between the mid-14th and the mid-15th century:

1. N.L.G. 2500, Mathematariion, middle of the 14th century, ff. 100v-103r: “Ἐτερον, ἐξ αὐτῶν· ποίημα τοῦ Εὐνούχου καὶ

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<sup>14</sup> See Ξενοφῶν Σιδερίδου, “Περὶ τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει μονῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος τοῦ Φιλανθρώπου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀγιάσματος καὶ ἀγίων λειψάνων”, *Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, 17 (1897), pp. 234-236, 250-251, 257-259, 267-268, 276-279, 291-293, 309-310, 316-319, 323-325, 341-343; and 18 (1898), pp. 4-6, 10-11; R. Janin, ‘Les Monastères du Christ Philanthrope à Constantinople’, *Revue des Études Byzantines*, 4 (1946), pp. 135-162; idem, R. Janin, *La Géographie Ecclésiastique de l’Empire Byzantin*, III, *Les Églises et les Monastères* (Paris, 1953), pp. 539-544; R.H. Trone, ‘A Constantinopolitan Double Monastery of the Fourteenth Century: The Philanthropic Savior’, *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines*, 10 (1983), pp. 81-87; cf. Κωνσταντίνου Ἀ. Μανάφη, *Μοναστηριακὰ Τοπικὰ-Διαθῆκαι*, Μελέτη Φιλολογική (Athens, 1970), pp. 29, 86, 99, 100, 110.

<sup>15</sup> For example, in the Greek city of Ioannina; see Μυρτάλη Αχειμάστου-Ποταμιάνου, *Ἡ μονὴ τῶν Φιλανθρωπῶν καὶ ἡ πρώτη φάση τῆς μεταβυζαντινῆς ζωγραφικῆς* (Athens, 1983), pp. 21-34.

πρωτοψάλτου τοῦ Φιλανθρωπηνοῦ· [ἤχος] γ' *Nῶν προφητικῆ πρόρρησις.*"

2. N.L.G. 2411, Mathematariion, second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, ff. 116v-119v: "Εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἑορτὴν, ποίημα τοῦ Εὐνούχου καὶ πρωτοψάλτου τοῦ Φιλανθρωπηνοῦ· [ἤχος] γ' *Nῶν προφητικῆ πρόρρησις.*"
3. N.L.G. 885, Mathematariion, 15<sup>th</sup> century, ff. 61r-66r, 401r-402r: "Τῷ αὐτῷ μηνί, κε' ἡ Γέννησις τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ποίημα τοῦ Εὐνούχου καὶ πρωτοψάλτου τοῦ Φιλανθρωπηνοῦ· [ἤχος] γ' [μέσος] *Nῶν προφητικῆ πρόρρησις.*"

≠ Two Mathemataria, kept in the Library of Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai, written by the priest Ioannes Plousiadenos, the first one in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and the second in 1469 in Venice:

4. Sinai 1251, Mathematariion, second half of 15<sup>th</sup> century, written by Ioannes Plousiadenos, ff. 99v-101v: "Στιχηρόν, εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἑορτὴν, ποίημα τοῦ Εὐνούχου καὶ πρωτοψάλτου τοῦ Φιλανθρωπηνοῦ· [ἤχος] τρίτος *Nῶν προφητικῆ πρόρρησις.*"
5. Sinai 1234, Mathematariion, A.D. 1469, written by Ioannes Plousiadenos, ff. 162v-165r: "Ἐτερον, ἐξ αὐτῶν, ποίημα τοῦ Εὐνούχου καὶ πρωτοψάλτου τοῦ Φιλανθρωπηνοῦ· [ἤχος] τρίτος *Nῶν προφητικῆ πρόρρησις.*"

≠ And, of course, the handwritten Mathematariion of Chourmouzios Chartophylax (from the collection of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre (=M.H.S.), in the National Library of Greece), written in the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, where the exegeses of said mathema is included:

6. M.H.S. 729, 3rd vol. of the Mathematariion, 1st quarter of 19<sup>th</sup> century, written by Chourmouzios Chartophylax, ff. 254v-264r: "Ἐτερον ἐξ αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν στιχηρῶν τῶν Χριστοῦ Γεννῶν)· Φιλανθρωπίου τοῦ Εὐνούχου· ἤχος τρίτος (μέσος) *Nῶν προφητικῆ πρόρρησις.*"

From the aforementioned observations, the composition consists of four, clearly defined parts:

A = the part attributed to Eunuch Protopsaltes Philanthropinos;

B = the part attributed to Protopsaltes Xenos Korones;

C = the part attributed to Maistor Ioannes Koukouzeles;  
 D = the anagram of said mathema by Maistor Ioannes Koukouzeles.

The last part, D, is, of course, a stand-alone musical composition, a separate mathema, an anagrammatismos or ἀναποδισμός, as referred to in the relevant sources, which, furthermore, is composed in the first plagal mode, whilst the rest of the composition follows the third mode. Its starting point may well be the mathema by the Eunuch we are examining, but it is anthologized independently, albeit in connection to the ‘primordial’ composition. This is, in fact, the way that it is anthologized in all musical sources, examined in the frame of the present research (1-6); nevertheless, a completely independent anthologisation is also found – e.g. in codex EBE 885, f. 401r-v: “Ἐτερος, τοῦ αὐτοῦ· ἀναγραμματισμὸς τοῦ μαίστορος· [ἦχος] πλ. α΄ Ἐκ παρθένου κόρης” (see **Fig. 5**), which confirms the autonomous character of this mathema.

The *stricto sensu* composition by the Eunuch, which we examine here, consisting of the three remaining parts (A+B+C), is always anthologized in that order in all manuscripts (1-5), with the exception of manuscript 6, where Chourmouziou omits the interpretation of Korones’ part, part B. I would like to examine that composition in its entirety, but, as far as is permitted by the limitations of the present paper, I will only focus on its first part, part A, which is unreservedly attributed to Eunuch Protopsaltes Philanthropinos. I will present some conclusions of the research I have carried out so far or, to be more precise, I will communicate some of my thoughts on the composition in question.

The manuscript sources taken into consideration in the framework of the present research seem to be divided into two groups, since the whole structure of this part of the mathema appears in two forms, one concise and the other analytical. It must be noted that I evaluate the structure of this chant, but also of the whole kalophonic composition, on the basis of the interesting and characteristic ‘morphological punctuation’ which is marked on the manuscripts, in the place where the poetic text of the composition is written in the form of dots between the parts of the melody,

which are musically differentiated (see, for example, *Figs 6 and 7*), taken from codex N.L.G. 885, f. 61r-v)<sup>16</sup>.

The concise version of this structure (transmitted by sources 1, 2 and 4) is arranged in a configuration of the 3+3+1 type, as follows:

1. Νῦν –τιτι–
2. –τιτιτι... κικι...–
3. νῦν προφητικὴ –χη– πρόρρησις
  
4. πληρωθῆναι –πάλιν– πληρωθῆναι ἐπείγεται
5. –αι –χαι– μυστικῶς
6. ἢ –κικι...– ἢ φάσκουσα –λέγε–
  
7. Νῦν προφητικὴ –κικι...–χη– πρόρρησις

The analytical version of this structure (transmitted by sources 3 and 5) is arranged in a configuration of the 5+5+1 type, as follows:

1. Νῦν –τιτι–
2. –τιτιτι...–
3. –τι...κικι...–
4. –κικι...–
5. νῦν προφητικὴ –χη– πρόρρησις
  
6. πληρωθῆναι –πάλιν– πληρωθῆναι
7. ἐπείγεται
8. –αι –χαι– μυστικῶς
9. ἢ –κικι...–
10. –κι...– ἢ φάσκουσα –λέγε–
  
11. Νῦν προφητικὴ –κικι...–χη– πρόρρησις

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<sup>16</sup> For the general phenomenon of the ‘morphological punctuation’ mentioned, see: Jørgen Raasted, ‘Some Observations on the Structure of the Stichera in Byzantine Rite’, *Byzantion*, 28 (1958), pp. 529-541; idem, *Intonation Formulas*, pp. 55-76; cf. Troelsgård, ‘Musical Notation and Oral Transmission’; Κρητικοῦ, *Ακάθιστος*, p. 287; Maria Alexandru, “Αναλυτικὲς προσεγγίσεις καὶ ἰχνηλασία τοῦ κάλλους στὴ Βυζαντινὴ Μουσικὴ: Ὁ εὐχαριστήριος ὕμνος Σὲ Ὑμνοῦμεν”, *Μουσικὴ Θεωρία καὶ Ἀνάλυση – Μεθοδολογία καὶ Πράξη: Πρακτικὰ Συμποσίου* (Thessaloniki, 2006), pp. 317-329, p. 321, n. 41.

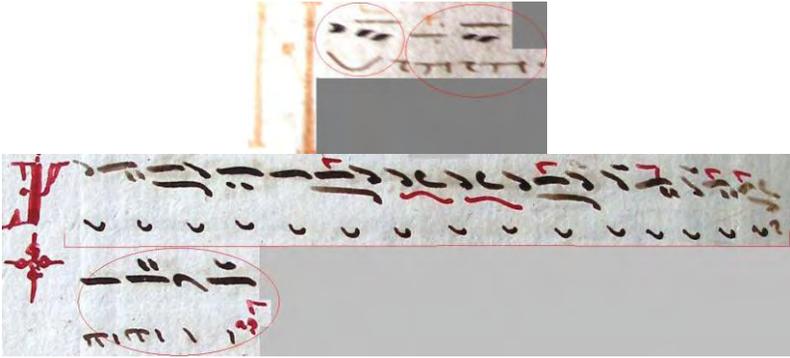
According to the chronological data of our sources, the first version is also the earlier one, developed in the course of the 14th century, whilst the second version is a later evolution of the former, modelled in the 15th century. Nevertheless, the first version also continues to be diffused during the 15th century. In any case, the mode of marking the composition's structure – concise or analytical – do not alter or change its melos, which always remains identical. However, it raises questions about two things: first, the composer's mode of thinking, and therefore the procedure that he followed in constructing the melos in question; and second, the approach to the composition by both the chanter-performer and the scholar-researcher, and therefore the reception and aesthetic evaluation of the said melos.

For instance, in the first concise version of the composition's structure, the processing of the melos seems to unfold by phrase, whilst in the second analytical version it seems to follow a pattern based on the words of the poetic text.

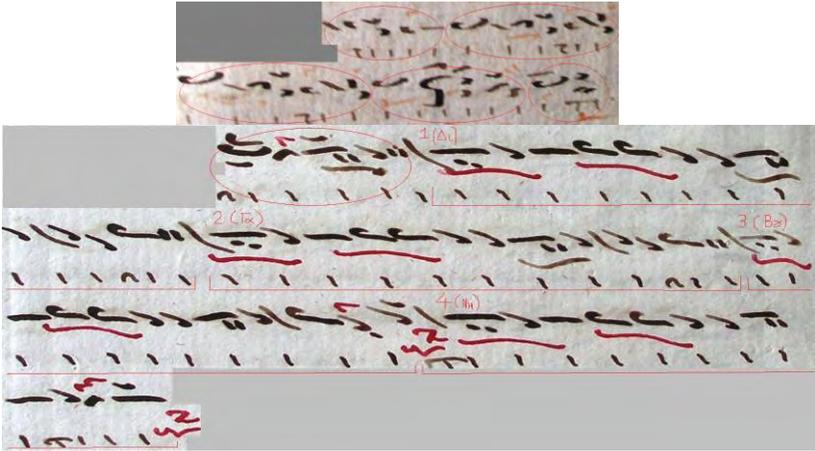
The last segment of this part of the composition (see *Fig. 8*, taken from codex N.L.G. 885, f. 61v) is omitted in source 2, which belongs to the group of the 'older' sources, dating from the 14th century. The same segment is also missing from source 6, i.e. the exegeses by Chourmouzios. From this point of view, source 2 seems to be closer to the latter, yet in no case can it be related to Chourmouzios' original. The codex on which Chourmouzios based his exegesis is undoubtedly still unknown, which is confirmed by the fact that Chourmouzios' exegesis clearly appears to be more compatible with the analytical version of the poem's structure.

See, for example, the said composition by Eunuch Protopsaltes Philanthropinos, section by section (codices N.L.G. 885, f. 61r-v, and M.H.S. 729, ff. 254v-255v):

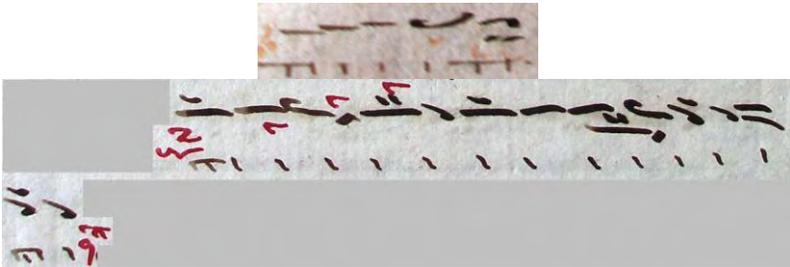
A.1



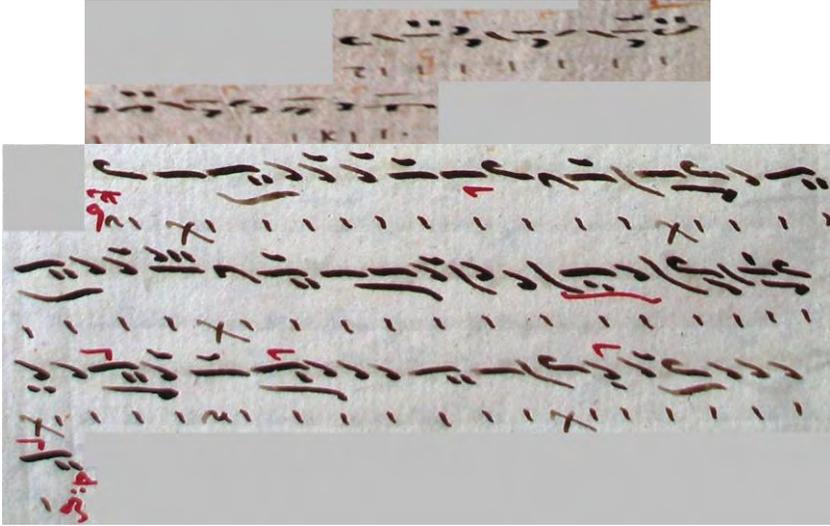
A.2



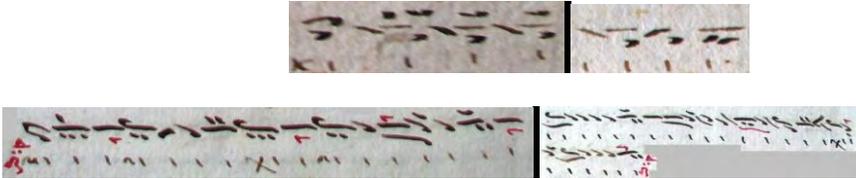
A.3



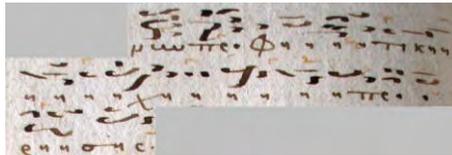
A.4

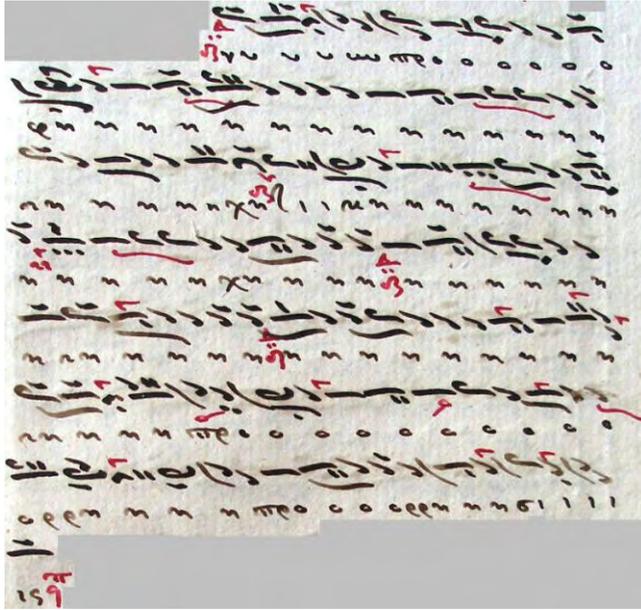


A.5

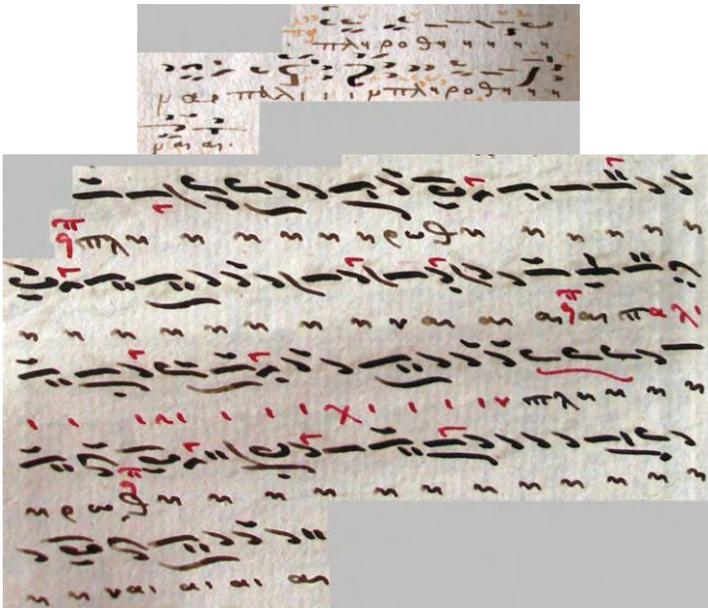


A.6

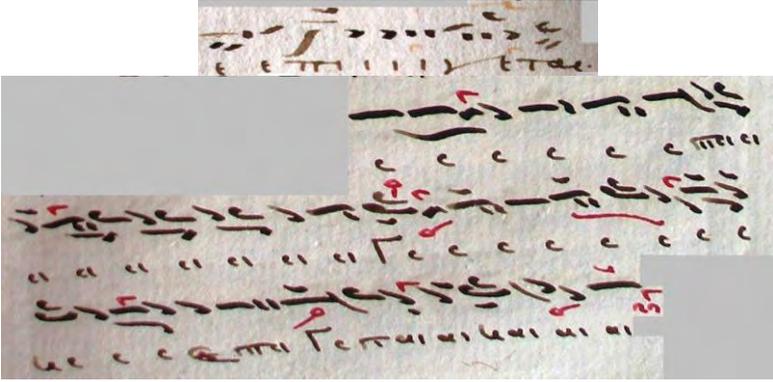




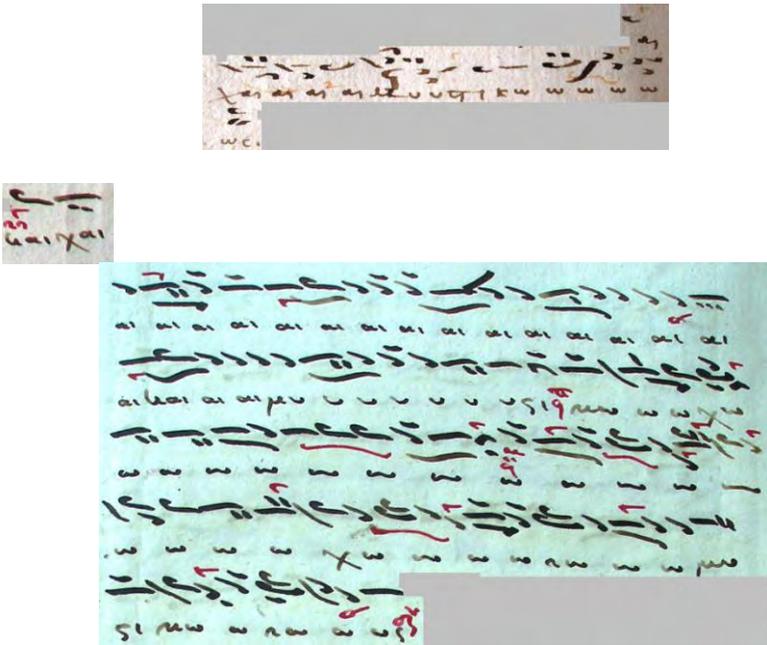
A.7



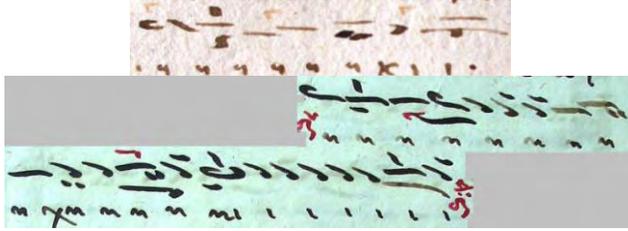
A.8



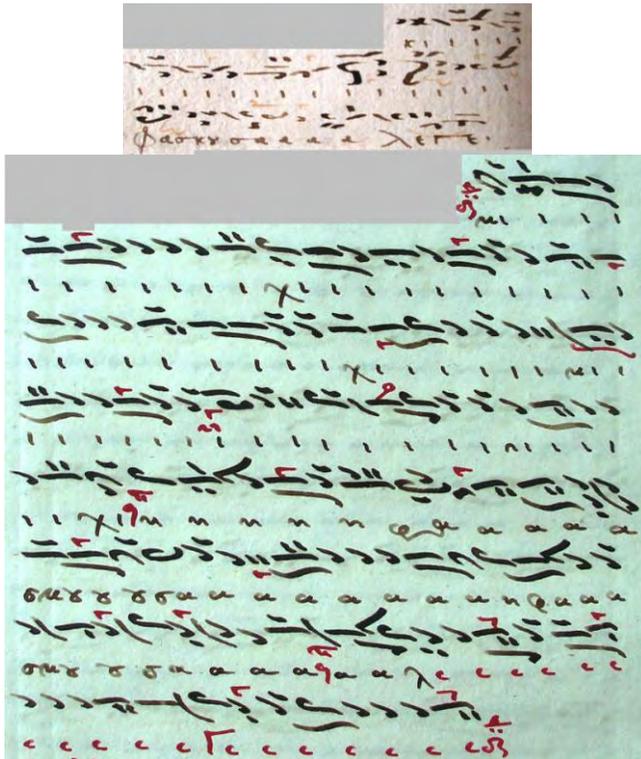
A.9



## A.10

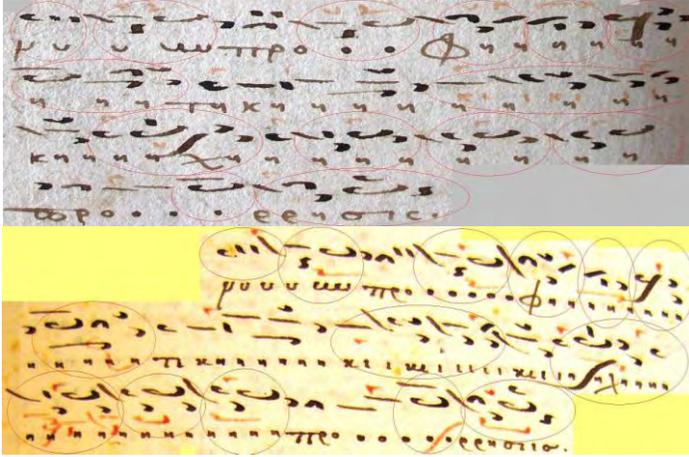


## A.11



The writing down of the melos in question, both in the version which follows the old and concise notation, as well as in the version of the New Method, certainly presents us with some more or less important differences. See here, for example, a comparison between the codices EBE 885, f. 61v, and Sinai 1234, f. 163r, upon the last segment of the said composition by Eunuch Protopsaltes

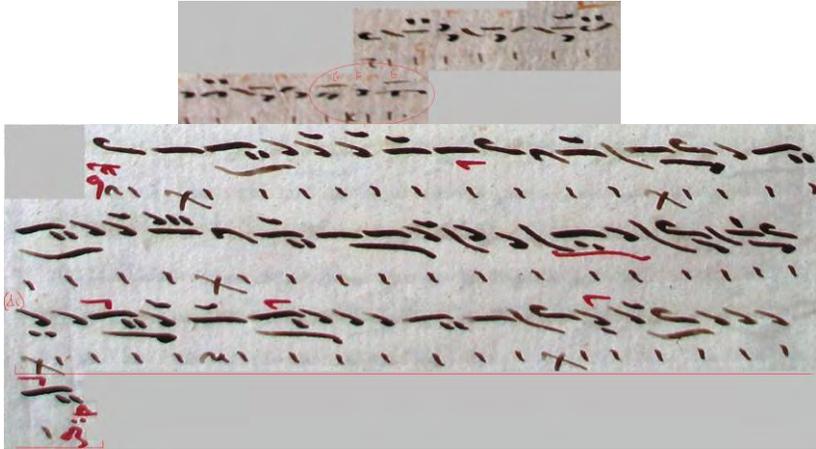
Philanthropinos, where you can see a lot of small but noticeable differences, concerning the *megala semadia*:



Here, I will particularly focus on some deviations by Chourmouzos, in relation to the data of the original notation. See, for example, in the section *A. 10*, the melos on the word *λέγε*. In the old notation we have a melody of *GaFG*, with the big sign *epegerma*; Chourmouzos' exegesis goes as follows:



Chourmouzos used the same melos in the cadence of the *A. 4* section, but – in this case – based on a different prototype melody (of *GFG*) without the said sign *epegerma*:



These deviations may be due to an altered original, unknown to us, which Chourmouzos might have taken into account, but most of all they testify to his intention to shape the mathema in a new, autonomous, cohesive and integrated manner interpreted by himself. In other words, they reveal a measured artistic initiative of his. This conclusion is reinforced by other observed deviations from the original mathema by Chourmouzos, e.g. the aforementioned omission of the full segment of Korones (i.e. *part B* of the composition).

#### 4. Conclusion

I conclude with some preliminary remarks on the whole of the present mathema. As can be understood, the most interesting feature of the composition in question is that it is always presented as an indivisible unit, despite the obvious reality of its division into three clearly distinct parts,  $A+B+C$ . Some manuscripts, e.g. those of Plousiadenos, which are also the latest, do not even mention the changes between the various parts, whilst in others these changes are usually noted in the margin of the codex, as explanatory notes.

Look, for example, at the whole composition by the Eunuch, how it is written in three different codices:

- a. In codex N.L.G. 2411, ff. 116v-118v, where we just have some symbols, in the places where the parts by Korones and Koukouzeles start (see *Fig. 9*).
- b. In Plousiadenos' codex Sinai 1251, ff. 99v-100v, where, as an explanatory note in the margin of the codex, we have the inscription Κορώνη in the places where the part by Korones starts, while, in the place where Koukouzeles' part starts, there is no specific inscription (we have only a note that the second section of this part starts) (see *Figs 10 and 11*).
- c. In Plousiadenos' codex Sinai 1234, ff. 162v-164v, where we have only a ρ, as an inscription where Korones' part starts; in the place where Koukouzeles' part starts, we again have no specific inscription (only the note that the composition's second section begins) (see *Figs 12 and 13*).

It is therefore clear that the composition as a whole can only nominally be attributed to the Eunuch, since its major and, in terms of musical quality, most interesting part is a creation by the duo Korones-Koukouzeles. In other words, we deal here with a unique composition attributed to an unknown composer, i.e. not mentioned in other sources – whose figure is, at any rate, mysterious – and musically commented on by two fellow students and first-class composers. This fact initially generated suspicions: has a composer Eunuch Protopsaltes Philanthropinos ever existed? Or is he a mere invention of those two musicians – whose collaboration is known to us from other compositions – as an artifice for creating yet another composition, the present one? To this conjecture one might plausibly object that musicians of such a high level could not possibly have resorted to that kind of travesty in order to support their creations, all the more so since their artistic achievements and their legacy to us testify to the contrary. Furthermore, the practice of expanding and commenting upon a pre-existing composition is not unusual in the Byzantine musical tradition of their time and of later periods as well<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> Let me note here that, according to data conveniently found in codices 727 to 734 in the collection of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre in the National Library of Greece, 8 vols of the *Mathematarion* written and transcribed by Chourmouziou Chartophylax (cf. Στάθης, *Αναγραμμα-*

If such is the case, the composition in question is an illustrious example of how an unknown and obscure composer can enter History's hall of fame, receiving all the credit for a composition which is only partially his<sup>18</sup>, thanks to the endeavours of his distinguished successors.

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*τισμοί*, pp. 167-199), Koukouzeles and Korones, specifically, seem to use the practice of expanding and commenting upon pre-existing compositions in many cases. More precisely, Koukouzeles embellished pre-existing compositions, composed by the following composers: Ioannes maistor Kallistos (727, f. 9v/ 729, f. 103r/ 730, ff. 222r, 229v ('epivoli')/ 731, ff. 322v, 330v), Avasiotes (727, f. 94v), Germanos the monk (727, f. 115v/ 731, f. 19r ('epivoli')), Phokas metropolitan of Philadelphieia (728, f. 164r), Klovias (729, f. 116v/ 732, f. 105v), Nikolaos Kampanes (729, ff. 172v, 282r ('parekvoli')/ 730, ff. 188v, 190v ('epivoli')/ 731, ff. 373v, 375r ('parekvoli')/ 732, ff. 17v, 154r), Michael Patzados (731, f. 247v/ 732, ff. 353r, 296r, 298r ('epivoli')/ 733, f. 120v), Theodoros Manougras (729, ff. 289v, 304r ('parekvoli')/ 732, f. 237r), Symeon Psiritzes (732, f. 303v), Karvounariotes (730, f. 318v ('epivoli')/ 732, f. 362v/ 733, ff. 58r, 290r), Nikeforos Ethikos (733, f. 125r), Nikolaos Kallistos (733, f. 314v), Ioannes Glykys (732, ff. 175r ('epivoli'), 179r/ 734, f. 156r ('parekvoli')); he also constructed anagrams, based on compositions composed by the following composers: Ioannes Glykys (727, f. 192r/ 730, ff. 25v, 264v/ 732, f. 103r/ 733, f. 223v), Germanos the monk (731, f. 23v), Michael Patzados (731, f. 255r/ 732, f. 300v), Nikolaos Kampanes (729, ff. 38v, 145v, 176r/ 730, f. 191v/ 731, f. 380v/ 732, f. 23r), Markos metropolitan of Korinthos (732, f. 247v), Symeon Psiritzes (732, f. 314v), Karvounariotes (732, f. 368v/ 733, f. 61v), Avasiotes (727, f. 102v), Thalassinos (727, f. 204v), Phokas Protopsaltes (728, f. 150r), Kornelios the monk (729, f. 125v), Theodoros Manougras (729, f. 312r/ 730, f. 210r/ 733, f. 232v), Leon Almyriotes (729, f. 334v), Anapardas (730, f. 141r), Xenos Korones (733, f. 67v), Nikephoros Ethikos (733, f. 130r), Nikolaos Kallistos (733, f. 320r), Bartholomaios the monk (732, f. 30v ('anapodismos')). On the other hand, Korones embellished pre-existing compositions by the following composers: Germanos the monk (727, f. 119v), Nikolaos Kampanes (728, f. 130v/ 729, ff. 31v, 139r, 279v), Ioannes Glykys (730, f. 13v), Theodoros Manougras (732, f. 234r/ 733, f. 225r), Symeon Psiritzes (732, f. 307r), Nikolaos Kallistos (733, f. 314v); while he also constructed an anagram, based on a composition by Michael Patzados (732, f. 359r).

<sup>18</sup> In a future meticulous study and analysis of the whole composition, which – unfortunately – is impossible in the frame of the present paper, some more questions will be addressed, either directly or indirectly; for

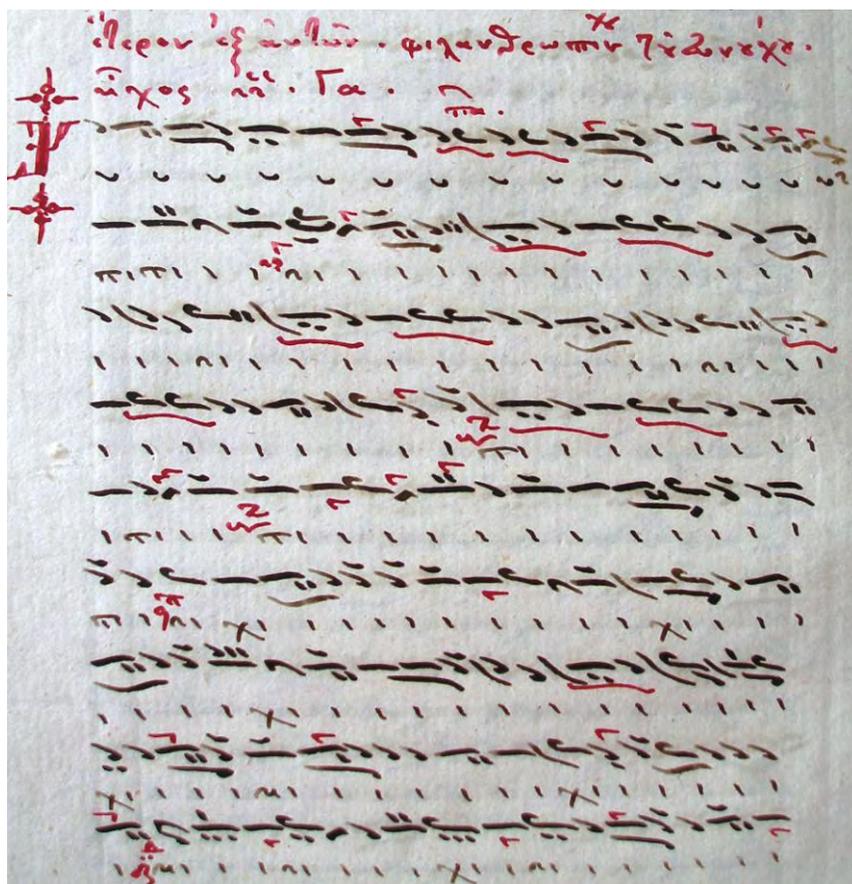


Fig. 1

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example: how did the aforementioned composer incite – albeit indirectly – the two famous men to put their creative ingeniousness to work? How exactly have the two great composers, Korones and Koukouzeles, treated the original composition by the Eunuch? What is the ‘core’ of the Eunuch’s music that Korones and Koukouzeles have expanded? Is there a primordial melodic nucleus, which served as a basis for their musical comments and can be traced in the latter as a repeated underlying pattern?

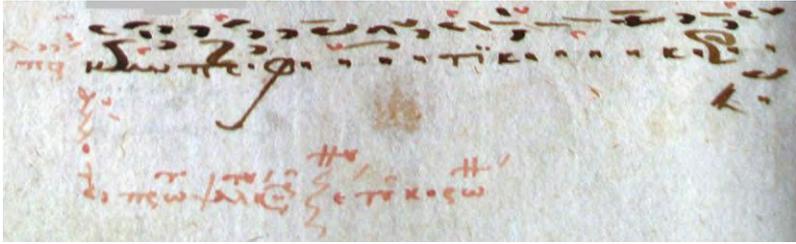


Fig. 2

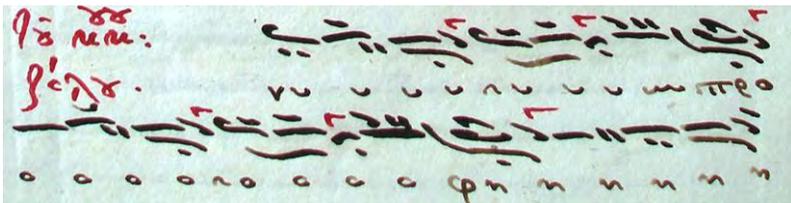


Fig. 3

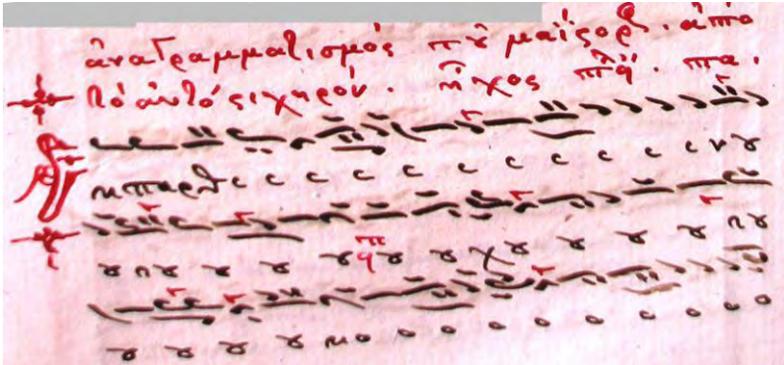


Fig. 4

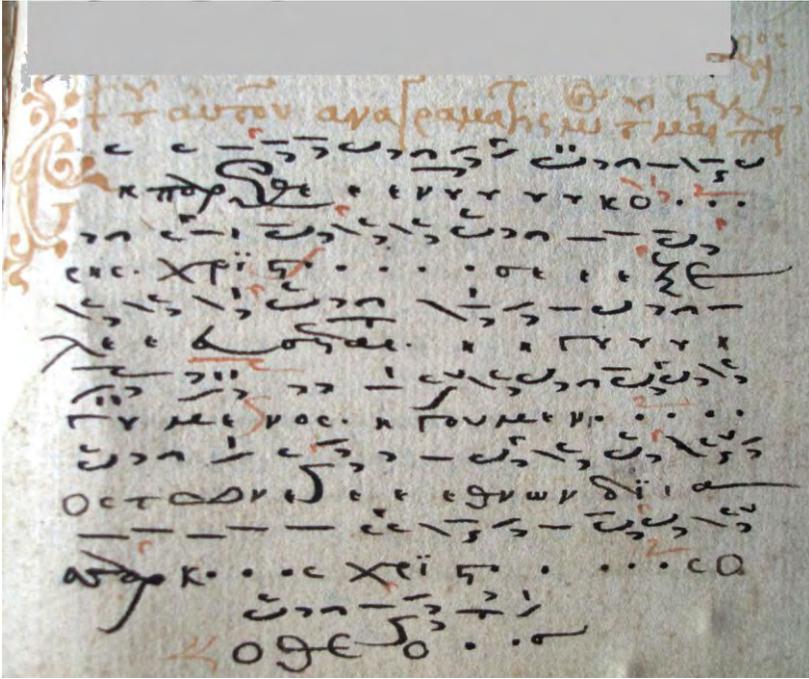


Fig. 5

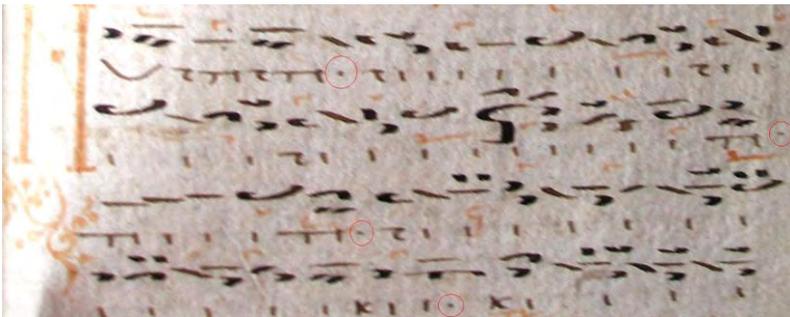


Fig. 6

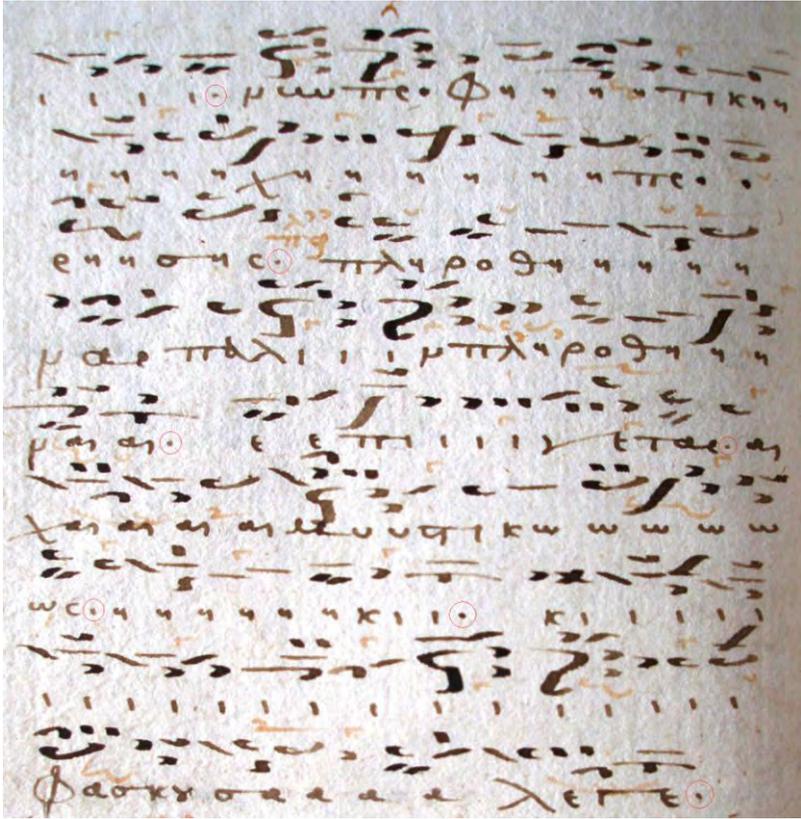


Fig. 7

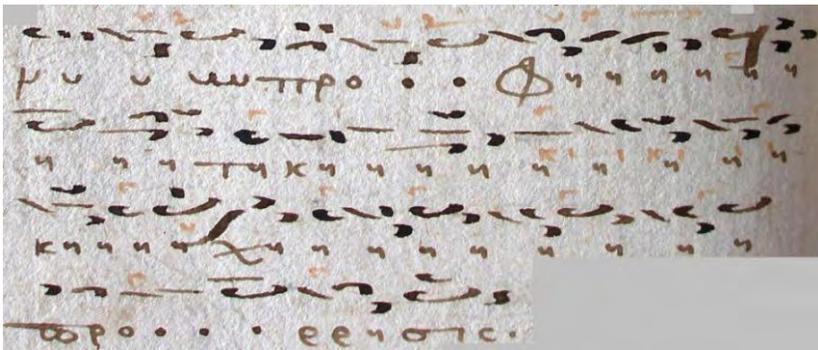


Fig. 8

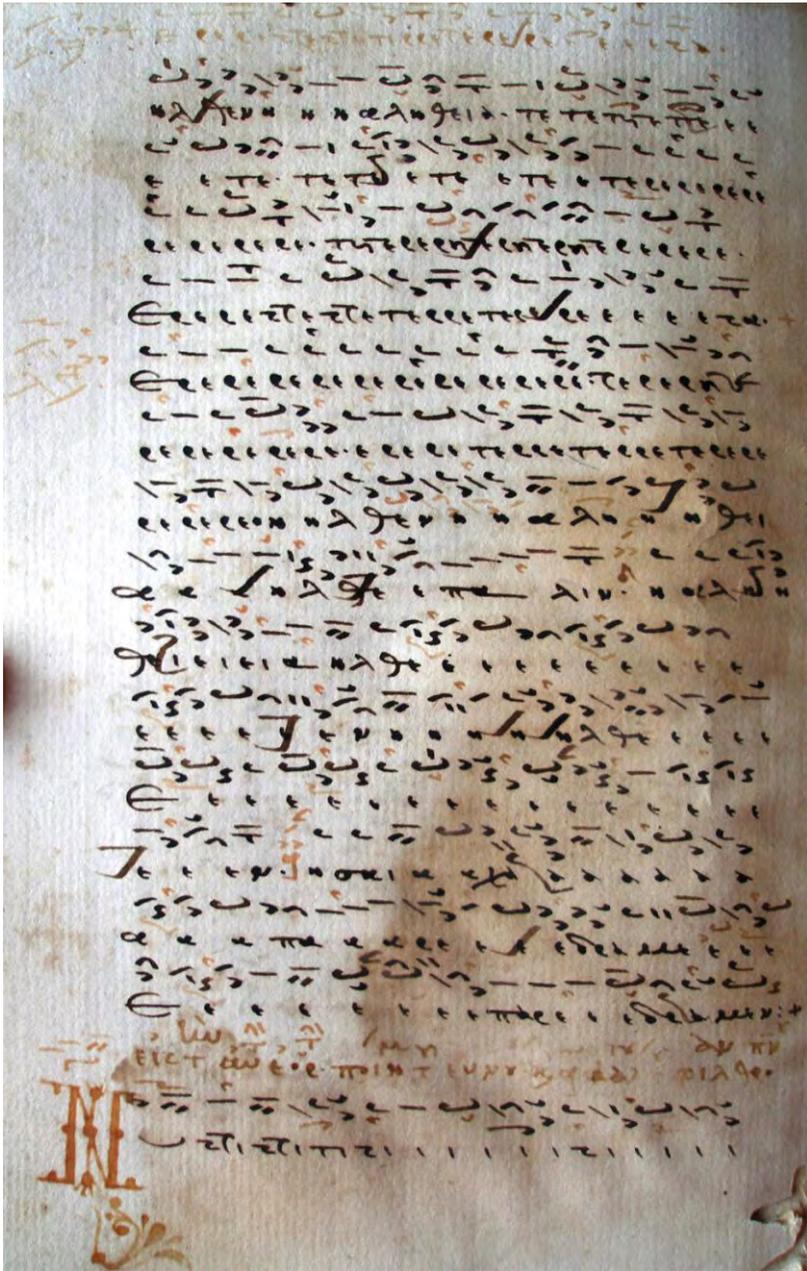


Fig. 9







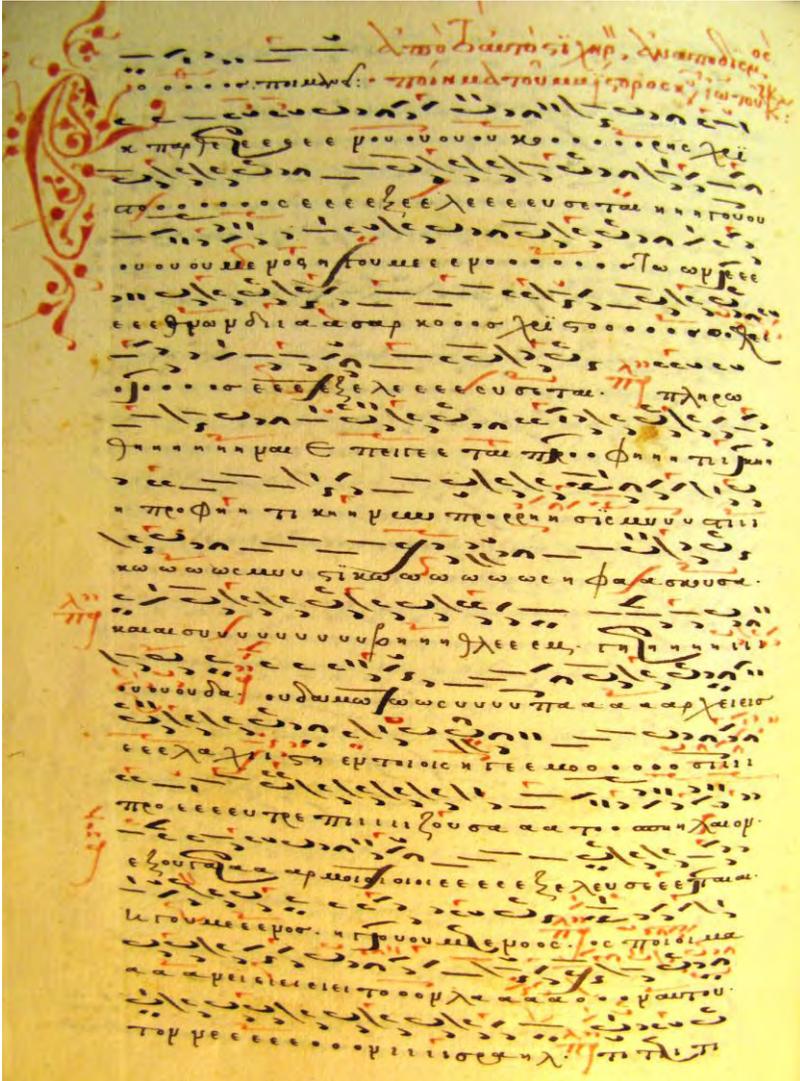


Fig. 13