

Psaltike

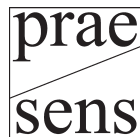
# SONDERDRUCK



# Psaltike

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Festschrift für Gerda Wolfram

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*Achilleus G. Chaldaeakes*  
(Athen)

## The “woman figure” in Byzantine Melopoeia

The question is: Has there ever been a case in Byzantine melopoeia where a specific form of “female aesthetics” has been reflected in the construction of any chant? The question is straightforward; the answer, however, cannot be but implicit.

The term “Byzantine melopoeia” should be broadly understood as defining musical experience; the ability to invent and record a melody based on a poetical-hymnographical text and destined to be heard (in the frame of Orthodox ritual) inside the church, as an auxiliary means of communication between the faithful and God.<sup>1</sup> In Byzantine melopoeia thus defined “female aesthetics” would be a substantiated reality if a woman had invented a melody whatsoever.

Given the fact that the major part, or rather, for all purposes, the whole of Byzantine and post-Byzantine melopoeia known to us has been created by men, both known and unknown, the answer to the initial question turns out to be extremely difficult. The presence of women in Orthodox ecclesiastical music is, generally speaking, circumstantial but discernible.<sup>2</sup> The subject has already been sufficiently investigated; several women poets, codex composers and chanters have been known through relevant research.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 On Byzantine melopoeia in general, see CHRYSANTHOS from MADYTOS, *Θεωρητικὸν Μέγα τῆς Μουσικῆς*. Trieste 1832, 174–192 (§§ 389–431) (= for the English version see: K. ROMANOU, *Great Theory of Music by Chrysanthos of Madytos*. New Rochelle 2010, 179–191 [§§ 389–431]); cfr. also A. G. CHALDAEAKES, *The figures of composer and chanter in Greek Psaltic Art*, in: *Composing and Chanting in the Orthodox Church*. Proceedings of the second International Conference on Orthodox Church Music. University of Joensuu, Finland 4–10 June 2007 (ed. I. MOODY). Joensuu 2009, 267–301.
- 2 See: P. N. TREMPERAS, *Ἡ Γυνὴ ἐν τῇ ψαλμωδίᾳ*. Athens 1926; PHILOTHEOS, BISHOP OF PROIKONISOS, *Ἡ συμμετοχὴ τῆς γυναικείας φωνῆς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ψαλμωδίᾳ*. Istanbul 1953; G. S. MANIAKES, *Οἱ γυναῖκες στὴ λατρεία*. Ἡ συμμετοχὴ τῶν γυναικῶν στὴ λατρεία καὶ ὕμνογραφία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Athens 1993; A. S. KORAKIDES, *Ἡ μουσικὴ ἀξία τῆς γυναικείας φωνῆς καὶ ἡ συμμετοχὴ τῆς στὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴ μελωδία*. Athens 2004; IDEM, *Ἡ μουσικὴ ἀξία τῆς γυναικείας φωνῆς καὶ ἡ συμμετοχὴ τῆς στὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴ μελωδία*, in: *Κωνσταντίνος Δωρ. Μουρατίδης-Πρόμαχος Ὁρθοδοξίας. Τιμητικὸ ἀφιέρωμα πανελληνίου ἐνώσεως Θεολόγων*. Athens 2003, 921–947; E. CH. SPYRAKU, *Οἱ χοροὶ ψαλτῶν κατὰ τὴν βυζαντινὴ παράδοση*. Athens 2008, 94f., 182–197 (with additional bibliography on the subject).
- 3 On female poets, see E. CATAFYGIOTOU-TOPPING, *Women Hymnographers in Byzantium*, in: *Δίπτυχα* 3 (1982–1983) 98–111; cfr. KORAKIDES, *Ἡ μουσικὴ ἀξία τῆς γυναικείας φωνῆς καὶ ἡ συμμετοχὴ τῆς στὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴ μελωδία* 112–124. On female chanters, see: D. TULIATOS-BANKER, *Medieval Women Composers in Byzantium and the West*, in: *Musica Antiqua. Acta Scientifica* 6 (1982) 687–712; EADEM, *Women Composers of Medieval Byzantine Chant*, *College Music Symposium*, in: *Journal of the College Music Society* 24.1 (1984) 62–80; EADEM, *Ὁ παραδοσιακὸς ρόλος τῶν Ἑλληνίδων γυναικῶν στὴ μουσικὴ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα ἕως τὸ τέλος τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας*, in: *Μουσικὸς Λόγος* 4 (2002) 3–19; EADEM, *The Evolution of Ancient Greek Music in Byzantium: Instruments, Women Musicians, Dance and other sundry matters*, in: *Εὐρωπαϊκὸ Πολιτιστικὸ Κέντρο Δελφῶν. Διεθνὴς Συνάντηση Μουσικῆς. Μουσικὴ καὶ Ἀρχαία Ἑλλάδα*. 5–15 Αὐγούστου



In regard to melopoieia, which is our present topic, our data are scantier. Until recently, we knew only one musical poem, attributed (with some reservation) to the daughter of the famous Byzantine musical composer Ioannes Kladas (beginning of 15<sup>th</sup> century). It happens to be a *koinonikon* (communion hymn) set in the fourth mode of the Byzantine octaechia; it is entitled *Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται δίκαιος* and has been anthologized once, in the codex No. 2406 of the National Library of Greece (from the year 1453), fol. 258<sup>v</sup>, bearing the indication: *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. κύρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κλαδᾶ καὶ λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ εὐαγοῦς βασιλικοῦ κλήρου)· τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἔστιν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ*; this composition has been presented, studied and published by Diane Tuliatos.<sup>4</sup> To this already known composition is added yet another one, which I discovered during a previous research conducted in the frame of the preparation of my doctoral dissertation *The polyeleos in Byzantine and post-Byzantine melopoieia*.<sup>5</sup> This is a very interesting musical composition which forms a part

1996. Πρακτικὰ Συμποσίου. Athens 1999, 87–100. In the extant bibliography (where these two qualities are not always clearly distinguished) there are, of course extended references to the well known hymnographer Cassiane; see: H. J. W. TILLYARD, *A musical study of the Hymns of Casia*, in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 20 (1911) 420–485; S. J. CHATZESOLOSOS, *Τὸ τροπάρι τῆς Κασσιανῆς (9<sup>ος</sup> αἰ.) στὴν ἀρχικὴ τοῦ μουσικῆ σύνθεσι, κατὰ τὸν ὑπ’ ἀρ. 99 βυζαντινὸ μουσικὸ κώδικα τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κύπρου (13<sup>ος</sup> αἰ.)*, in: *Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἑρευνῶν Κύπρου* 13–14.1 (1984–1985) 479–493; D. TULIATOS-BANKER, *Kassia* (ca. 810–between 843 and 867), in: *Women Composers. Music Through the Ages*, vol. 1. *Composers Born Before 1599* (edd. M. FURMAN SCHLEIFER–S. GLICKMAN). New York 1996, 1–24; EADEM (transcr., introd.) *Kassia. Six Stichera*. 1996; EADEM (arr.), *Thirteen Hymns by Kassia*. 2000; A. TH. BURLES, *Ἡ Θεολογία τῶν ὑμνῶν τῆς μελωδοῦ Κασσιανῆς. (Μελέτη Δογματικῆ καὶ Ἠθικῆ)*, in: *Θέματα Ὀρθοδόξου Χριστολογίας* (ed. A. TH. BURLES). Athens 2000, 155–240; N. TSIRONE, *Κασσιανὴ ἡ ὕμνωδός*. Athens 2002; SP. PANAGOPOULOS, *Kassia: A female hymnographer of the 9<sup>th</sup> century*, in: *Byzantine Musical Culture. First International Conference-Greece 2007*. Paeania 2009, 111–123 (with a rich collection of bibliographical references). Finally, on female authors (but also owners) of codices, see: SP. LAMPROS, *Ἑλληνίδες βιβλιογράφοι καὶ κυρίαὶ κωδίκων κατὰ τοὺς μέσους αἰῶνας καὶ ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας. Μετὰ τριῶν πανομοιότυπων*. Athens 1903 (cf. also the other articles by Lampros in the bibliography); N. A. BEES, *Ἑλληνίδες βιβλιογράφοι καὶ κυρίαὶ κωδίκων κατὰ τοὺς μέσους αἰῶνας καὶ ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας*. Athens 1905; A. W. CARR, *Women and Monasticism in Byzantium: Introduction from an Art Historian*, in: *Byzantinische Forschungen* 9 (1985) 1–15.

- 4 See: TULIATOS-BANKER, *Medieval Women Composers 693–695 and 704* (notes 20–23) and 709 (example 1); EADEM, *Women Composers of Medieval Byzantine Chant 63–65*; EADEM, *The Traditional Role of Greek Women in Music from Antiquity to the End of the Byzantine Empire*, in: *Rediscovering the Muses. Women’s Musical Traditions* (ed. K. MARSHALL). Boston 1993, 122 and 253 (notes 54–57) (= EADEM, *Ὁ παραδοσιακὸς ρόλος 14 and 19* [notes 54–57]). For other occasional references to the aforementioned composer and her work, see: M. VELIMIROVIĆ, *Byzantine Composers in Ms. Athens 2406*, in: *Essays presented to Egon Wellesz* (ed. J. WESTRUP). Oxford 1966, 12; GR. TH. STATHES, *Ἡ Δεκαπεντασύλλαβος Ὑμνογραφία ἐν τῇ Βυζαντινῇ Μελοποιᾷ καὶ ἔκδοσις τῶν κειμένων εἰς ἓν Corpus*. Athens 1977, 104; A. JAKOVLEVIĆ, *Δίγλωσση παλαιογραφία καὶ μελωδοὶ-ὑμνογράφοι τοῦ κώδικα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν 928*. Nicosia 1988, 71f.; L. POLITES, *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων τῆς Ἑθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀρ. 1857–2500*. Athens 1991, 401; GR. TH. STATHES, *Ἰωάννης Κλαδᾶς ὁ λαμπαδάριος (γύρω στὸ 1400)*, in: *Βυζαντινοὶ Μελουργοί. Μανουὴλ Χρυσάφης ὁ λαμπαδάριος. Ἰωάννης Κλαδᾶς ὁ λαμπαδάριος. Ἰωάννης Κουκουζέλης ὁ βυζαντινὸς μαΐστωρ*. Athens 1994–1995, 48; K. CH. KARANGUNES, *Ἡ παράδοση καὶ ἐξήγηση τοῦ μέλους τῶν χειρουβικῶν τῆς βυζαντινῆς καὶ μεταβυζαντινῆς μελοποιίας*. Athens 2003, 219; KORAKIDES, *Ἡ μουσικὴ ἀξία τῆς γυναικειᾶς φωνῆς* 129; G. G. ANASTASIU, *Τὰ Κρατήματα στὴν Ψαλτικὴ Τέχνη*. Athens 2005, 30; GR. TH. STATHES, *“Σήμερον ἡ κτίσις φαίνεται.” Ἡ γοητεία τῆς βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς τέχνης τότε καὶ τώρα*. Athens 2005, 44.
- 5 See A. CHALDAEAKES, *Ὁ πολυέλεος στὴν βυζαντινὴ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὴ μελοποιία*. Athens 2003, 415, 710, 716. However, the existence of this composition had already been recorded by GR. TH. STATHES, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς – Ἅγιον Ὅρος. Κατάλογος περιγραφικῶς τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων βυζαντινῆς*





In the present paper, I will focus on these two female composers, who wrote music during the Byzantine times in the Mediterranean area, comparing their respective figures, and on the study, description and analysis of their compositions known to us. My endeavour is to provide an answer, albeit sketchy, to the initial question: Is there in Byzantine music a documented specific “female way” of composing?

## 1. The composers

The two aforementioned female composers are separated by approx. one century. The chronological data transmitted to us are not perfectly clear; nevertheless, the so-called Nun must be the older of the two. The only mention of her is to be found, as we have already mentioned, in the codex No. 399 of the Kutlumusiu monastery on Mount Athos<sup>7</sup>, dating from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>8</sup>, a milestone that should be considered as the only safe terminus ante quem for determining the chronological frame of her activity. Her flourishing may well be placed in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps, more accurately, in its second quarter, but one obviously cannot exclude an earlier date.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, chronological evidence for Kladas’ daughter is more concrete. Her composition, which is also the only reference to her, is anthologized, as we have already noted, in the codex No. 2406 of the National Library of Greece<sup>10</sup>, written by the

female first chanter). Nevertheless, neither her name nor any mention of some musical composition attributed to her are found (at least up to the present day) in the strictly musical sources (or, for that matter, in any source whatsoever). Given, therefore, the additional dimensions of her two titles cited above, the probability of her having been a composer, or even a female first chanter, should be considered with extreme caution. It would be safer to assume that she was a woman who served at the palace (in the Kubukleion, i.e. the royal apartments) and at the same time participated in the palatial women’s choir, perhaps as a director (cfr. the relevant primary evidence on the palatial choir cited by SPYRAKU, *Οἱ χοροὶ ψαλτῶν* 155f., note 31).

7 For a complete description of the manuscript, see STATHES, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς* 233–241.

8 See STATHES, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς* 233, 241.

9 It has also to be noted that, due to the lack of more specific primary testimonies, one cannot formulate but conjectures about the monastery where the Nun in question might have lived. On women’s monasteries and female monasticism in the Byzantine era, see: D. DE F. ABRAHAMSE, *Women’s Monasticism in the middle Byzantine period: Problems and Prospects*, in: *Byzantinische Forschungen* 9 (1985) 35–58; M. LOUKAKI, *Monastères de femmes à Byzance du XIIe siècle jusqu’ à 1453*, in: *Women and Byzantine Monasticism. Proceedings of the Athens Symposium 1988* (ed. J. Y. PERREAULT). Athens 1991, 33–42; E. C. KOUBENA, *A survey of aristocratic women founders of monasteries in Constantinople between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries*, in: *Women and Byzantine Monasticism. Proceedings of the Athens Symposium 1988* (ed. J. Y. PERREAULT). Athens 1991, 99–110; A.-M. TALBOT, *Women and Religious Life in Byzantium*. USA 2001: XI 229–241, XII 1–20, XIII 119–129, XV 113–127, XVII 103–117, XVIII 604–618 (with relevant bibliographical references).

10 For a complete description of the manuscript, see POLITES, *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων* 398–405.



monk Matthaïos Domestikos in 1453.<sup>11</sup> This fact, combined with the activities of her father<sup>12</sup>, who is known to have flourished around 1400<sup>13</sup>, allows us to safely infer that her creations date from the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Nevertheless, the way in which she is mentioned in the manuscript (“[...] τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἔστιν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ [...]”), combined with the fact that this is a unique testimony, allows for the plausible assumption that the author of the codex might have been the receiver of an oral tradition in regard to her, approx. at the time when he wrote the manuscript, which, of course, would be chronologically incorrect; if such is the case, her flourishing should be placed in the second quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Both female composers are referred to in a vague and general fashion, with no indication of their respective names. This is quite usual in medieval times and is generally observed in all manifestations of Byzantine life where women are involved, and therefore mentioned.<sup>14</sup> At any rate, the mere indication that the composers are women seems here to be sufficient to establish their identity, in connection to the fact that the existence of women composing ecclesiastical chants was a rare occurrence. The first one is referred to merely as a nun and her name’s omission might also be justified by the propensity of members of the Orthodox monastic communities, both men and women, to remain anonymous. The second one is the daughter of the famous lampadarios Ioannes Kladas; beyond the obvious weight of the paternal name<sup>15</sup>, her anonymity might be due to some uncertainty about the

- 11 See POLITES, *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων* 398, 404. The relevant bibliographical note is recorded with red ink on fol. 291r: “Τέλος τῆς ἀκολουθείας τοῦ μ(ε)γ(ά)λου ἑσπερινοῦ, χειρὶ γραφέντος ἐκ Ματθαίου τοῦ τάλ(α) // δομεστικ(ου) τάχα τέ και ρακενδύτου. Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἐγράφη παρ’ ἐμοῦ Ματθαίου και παρ’ ἀξίαν μοναχοῦ, ἐντὸς τῆς μονῆς τοῦ τιμίου ἐνδόξου προφήτου Προδρόμου και Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰω(άννου) τῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦ Μενοικ(έ)ως διακειμένης, μη(ν)ῖ ἰουλ(ίω) α’ τοῦ ς’λξ(α) (6961=1453) ἔτους, ἰνδ. α’” (see POLITES, *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων* 404f., with a mention of the other publications of the same note).
- 12 On the composer Ioannes Kladas in general, see STATHES, Ἰωάννης Κλαδάς ὁ λαμπαδάριος. The most recent special reference to him, with a collection of relevant bibliography, is in CHR. I. DEMETRIU, *Spätbyzantinische Kirchenmusik im Spiegel der zypriotischen Handschriftentradition. Studien zum Machairas Kalophonon Sticherarion A4*. Frankfurt/Main 2007, 213–216.
- 13 See STATHES, Ἰωάννης Κλαδάς ὁ λαμπαδάριος 48.
- 14 For women’s position in Byzantium, see: R. IMBRIOTE, *Ἡ γυναίκα στὸ Βυζάντιο*. Athens 1923; SP. LAMPROS, *Ἡ γυνὴ παρὰ τοῖς Βυζαντινοῖς*, in: *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 17 (1923) 258–285; PH. KUKULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος και Πολιτισμός*, vol. 2. Athens 1955, 163–218; A. E. LAIOU, *The role of women in Byzantine Society*, in: *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31/1 (1981) 233–260; IDEM, *Addendum to the report on the role of women in Byzantine Society*, in: *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/1 (1982) 198–204; IDEM, *Observations on the life and ideology of Byzantine women*, in: *Byzantinische Forschungen* 9 (1985) 59–102; K. NIKOLAÏ, *Ἡ θέση τῆς γυναίκας στὴ βυζαντινὴ κοινωνία*. Athens 1993; MARGARU, *Τίτλοι* 3–15, 261–274; TALBOT, *Women and Religious Life*, vol. 1, 117–143, vol. 2, 105–122 (with extended relevant bibliography). Cfr. also TSIRONE, *Κασσιανὴ ἡ ὑμνωδὸς* 7–10; M. TSIKRITSES–K. ZORBAS, *Ἡ κοινωνικὴ θέση τῆς γυναίκας μέσα ἀπὸ τὴν ἀνάλυση περιεχομένου τῶν θεολογικῶν δημοσιευμάτων τῆς περιόδου 1910–1960*, in: *Θεολογία* 78 (2007) 765–792, 774f.
- 15 Cfr. also TULIATOS–BANKER, *Women Composers of Medieval Byzantine Chant* 63: “It is not uncommon in Byzantine musical manuscripts to identify a composer by profession or place of origin. In several instances composers have even been identified by a family name which has a long standing tradition of musicians. It is in this fashion that one of our women composers is identified. The one and only musical composition and inscription in reference to this composer appears in Athens MS. 2406, folio 258<sup>v</sup>. The composer is identified by the family name and the relationship of the composer to the patriarch of the family. The inscription reads: ‘It

authorship of the composition in question, a reserve that is discretely yet clearly voiced in the manuscript.<sup>16</sup>

Both women, however, do not seem to occupy a minor place in the esteem of their coeval fellow composers. In the case of the Nun's composition, which is anthologized in the unit of the first stasis of the so-called polyeleos of Kukumas (setting of the verses of Psalm 134)<sup>17</sup>, it is interesting to remark that, apart from the compositions of Nikolaos Kukumas himself, who, as one might naturally expect, composed the major part of the polyeleos<sup>18</sup>, the Nun is one of the three composers

is said that this [composition] is [written] by the daughter of Ioannes Kladas'. It is interesting that in the single reference to this woman composer, no given or Christian name is indicated. In instances where male members of a family are cited, a given name as well as a family relationship is usually included. From this reference it appears that the daughter of Ioannes Kladas was probably known as a singer and composer. Her fame is not as renowned as that of her father who was a leading composer of Byzantine chant of the late fourteenth century as well the 'Lampadarios' or maistor of the Hagia Sophia of Constantinople<sup>19</sup>.

- 16 The formulation of the introduction to the composition (in fol. 258<sup>v</sup>) is particularly eloquent; I repeat it here: "Τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. κύρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κλαδᾶ καὶ λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ εὐαγοῦς βασιλικοῦ κλήρου)· τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἔστιν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ· ἦχος δ'· Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται δίκαιος."
- 17 For the polyeleos of Nikolaos Kukumas in general, see CHALDAEAKES, 'Ο πολυέλεος 702–747. In its present anthologation (fol. 54<sup>v</sup>–62<sup>v</sup> of codex No. 399 of the Kutlumusiu monastery on Mount Athos) the polyeleos consists of 26 verses (namely: Δούλοι, Κύριον / Ὅτι τὸν Τακῶβ / Ὅτι ἐγὼ ἔγνωκα / Ὅτι μέγας ὁ Κύριος / Πάντα ὅσα ἠθέλησεν ἐποίησεν / Ἐν ταῖς θαλάσσαις καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἀβύσσουσι / Ἀστραπᾶς εἰς ὑετὸν ἐποίησεν / Ὅς ἐπάταξε τὰ πρωτότοκα Αἰγύπτου / Ἐξαπέστειλε σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα / Ὅς ἐπάταξεν ἔθνη πολλὰ / Τὸν Σηὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀμορραίων / Καὶ τὸν Ὠγ βασιλέα τῆς Βασάν / Καὶ πάσας τὰς βασιλείας Χαναάν / Κληρονομίαν Ἰσραὴλ λαφ' αὐτοῦ / Ὅτι κρινεῖ Κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ / Στόμα ἔχουσι καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσι / Στόμα ἔχουσι καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσι / Ὁφθαλμοὺς ἔχουσι καὶ οὐκ ὄφονται / Ὡτα ἔχουσι καὶ οὐκ ἐνωπισθήσονται / Οἱ ποιοῦντες αὐτὰ / Καὶ πάντες οἱ πεποθήτες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς / Οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ, εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον / Οἶκος Ἀαρών, εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον / Εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον / Εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον / Ὁ κατοικῶν Ἱερουσαλήμ.
- 18 The totality of the verses of this polyeleos, on the basis not only of its label (polyeleos of Kukumas), but also of its initial inscription ("Ἐτερος πολυέλεος, λεγόμενος Κουκουμᾶς, ἦχος α' Δούλοι, Κύριον" [see codex No. 399 of the Kutlumusiu monastery on Mount Athos, fol. 54<sup>v</sup>]), is, of course, attributed to Nikolaos Kukumas (cfr. CHALDAEAKES, 'Ο πολυέλεος 702–711); in its present anthologation, the following 23 verses of the polyeleos are referred to as written by Kukumas: Δούλοι, Κύριον (fol. 54<sup>v</sup>) / Ὅτι τὸν Τακῶβ (fol. 54<sup>v</sup>–55<sup>v</sup>) / Ὅτι ἐγὼ ἔγνωκα (fol. 55<sup>v</sup>) / Ὅτι μέγας ὁ Κύριος (fol. 55<sup>v</sup>) / Πάντα ὅσα ἠθέλησεν ἐποίησεν (fol. 55<sup>v</sup>) / Ἐν ταῖς θαλάσσαις καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἀβύσσουσι (fol. 55<sup>v</sup>) / Ἀστραπᾶς εἰς ὑετὸν ἐποίησεν (fol. 55<sup>v</sup>–56<sup>v</sup>) / Ὅς ἐπάταξε τὰ πρωτότοκα Αἰγύπτου (fol. 56<sup>v</sup>) / Ἐξαπέστειλε σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα (fol. 56<sup>v</sup>) / Ὅς ἐπάταξεν ἔθνη πολλὰ (fol. 56<sup>v</sup>) / Τὸν Σηὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀμορραίων (fol. 56<sup>v</sup>–57<sup>v</sup>) / Καὶ τὸν Ὠγ βασιλέα τῆς Βασάν (fol. 57<sup>v</sup>) / Καὶ πάσας τὰς βασιλείας Χαναάν (fol. 57<sup>v</sup>) / Κληρονομίαν Ἰσραὴλ λαφ' αὐτοῦ (fol. 57<sup>v</sup>–58<sup>v</sup>) / Ὅτι κρινεῖ Κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ (fol. 58<sup>v</sup>) / Στόμα ἔχουσι καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσι (fol. 58<sup>v</sup>–59<sup>v</sup>) / Ὁφθαλμοὺς ἔχουσι καὶ οὐκ ὄφονται (fol. 59<sup>v</sup>–60<sup>v</sup>) / Ὡτα ἔχουσι καὶ οὐκ ἐνωπισθήσονται (fol. 60<sup>v</sup>) / Οἱ ποιοῦντες αὐτὰ (fol. 60<sup>v</sup>) / Οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ, εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον (fol. 60<sup>v</sup>) / Οἶκος Ἀαρών, εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον (fol. 61<sup>v</sup>) / Εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον (fol. 61<sup>v</sup>) / Ὁ κατοικῶν Ἱερουσαλήμ (fol. 61<sup>v</sup>–62<sup>v</sup>). It has to be noted that three of the aforementioned verses (namely: Στόμα ἔχουσι καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσι [fol. 58<sup>v</sup>–59<sup>v</sup>] / Ὁφθαλμοὺς ἔχουσι καὶ οὐκ ὄφονται [fol. 59<sup>v</sup>–60<sup>v</sup>] / Ὡτα ἔχουσι καὶ οὐκ ἐνωπισθήσονται [fol. 60<sup>v</sup>]) are examples of the so-called kalophonic verses of the polyeleos (on this phenomenon, see CHALDAEAKES, 'Ο πολυέλεος 648–676); furthermore, in the three last verses of the polyeleos (Οἶκος Ἀαρών, εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον [fol. 61<sup>v</sup>] / Εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον [fol. 61<sup>v</sup>] / Ὁ κατοικῶν Ἱερουσαλήμ [fol. 61<sup>v</sup>–62<sup>v</sup>]) occurs the well known phenomenon (see CHALDAEAKES, 'Ο πολυέλεος 553–627 and IDEM Ἀπὸ τὸ Τυπικὸ τῆς ἀκολουθίας τοῦ Ὁρθρου: Ἡ ἐπιβολὴ ἐξωψαλμικῶν ποιητικῶν κειμένων στὸν ψαλμὸ τοῦ πολυελέου, in: Πολυφωνία 11 [2007] 66–88) of the imposition of a non-psalmic poetic text (namely, in the verse Οἶκος Ἀαρών the following text is inserted: ὑμνήσατε, εὐλογήσατε, δοξάσατε τὸν Κύριον; the verse Εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον is composed by imposing a respective text, namely: Εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον, ἄσατε τῆ

who are additionally mentioned here<sup>19</sup>, the other two being priest Manuel Plagites<sup>20</sup> and Christophoros Mystakon<sup>21</sup>, both very well known in their time. The composition of Kladas’ daughter, anthologized in the unit of the *koïnonika* (communion hymns) written in all the eight modes (“poems by various poets, both old and new”, according to the manuscript<sup>22</sup>), is counted among the most familiar and widely spread compositions<sup>23</sup> of the most famous Byzantine composers<sup>24</sup>, all of them

πανάνγρη/ βοήσωμεν συμφώνως/ φωνήν τήν τοῦ ἀγγέλου χαῖρε εὐλογημένη καὶ μόνη χαῖρε χαρᾶς ἢ πρόξενος; finally, in the verse Ὁ κατοικῶν Ἱερουσαλήμ the following, very interesting (and unmentioned in the relevant bibliography [see STATHEIS, *Ἡ Δεκαπεντασύλλαβος Ὑμνογραφία* 175–263; CHALDAEAKES, Ὁ πολυέλεος 553–627] poem is imposed, composed in 15-syllable verses: Δεῦρο, Δαυὶδ πανθαύμαστε, λάβε σου τήν κιθάραν, // λάβε σου τὸ ψαλτήριον, λάβε σου τήν κινύραν, // καὶ ψάλε μοι τὰ πρόσφορα, Χριστῷ τῷ βαπτισθέντι.

- 19 To the Nun is attributed (as it has already been noted) the verse Εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον, anthologized on fol. 61<sup>r-v</sup> of the codex No. 399 of the Kutlumusiu monastery on Mount Athos, under the inscription Τῆς Καλογραίας.
- 20 To this composer the verse Στόμα ἔχουσι καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσι is attributed, anthologized on fol. 58<sup>r-v</sup> of the codex No. 399 of the Kutlumusiu monastery on Mount Athos, under the inscription “Τοῦ πατῆρ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Πλαγίτου”. This is a kalophonic verse of the polyeleos, whose structure appears as follows:  
Τοῦ πατῆρ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Πλαγίτου. [ἦχος] α'  
Στόμα ἔχουσι καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσι, καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσι, καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσι. / Στόμα ἔχουσιν, ἔχουσι στόμα, ἔχουσι καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσι, τὰ εἶ- τὰ εἶδωλα τῶν ἔθνων, ἀργύριον. / Ἀργύριον / Καὶ χρυσίον, ἔργα / Ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλληλοῦα. / Πάλιν / Ἀλληλοῦα, (ν)ἀλληλοῦα, ἀλληλοῦα / Ἀλληλοῦα / Ἀλληλοῦα, ἀ(να)λληλοῦα, ἀ(να)λληλοῦα.  
The relevant manuscript tradition usually attributes to Manuel Plagites another kalophonic verse: Ὁφθαλμοὺς ἔχουσι (for its structure, see CHALDAEAKES, Ὁ πολυέλεος 660). This verse is sometimes ascribed to a certain Georgios Plagiotes, which has led me in the past to consider these two persons as being one and the same (see CHALDAEAKES, Ὁ πολυέλεος 395–396, with the relevant bibliography on the composer). According to the data of the research conducted up to the present day, the kalophonic verse Στόμα ἔχουσι (referenced to in CHALDAEAKES, Ὁ πολυέλεος 714), is attributed here for the first time to this composer.
- 21 To this composer (see CHALDAEAKES, Ὁ πολυέλεος 430 for the relevant bibliography for him) is attributed the verse Καὶ πάντες οἱ ποιητότες ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, anthologized on fol. 60<sup>r</sup> of the codex No. 399 of the Kutlumusiu monastery on Mount Athos, under the inscription “Τοῦ Χριστοφόρου”; it is one of the current, simple verses of the polyeleos. It has to be particularly noted that we have here in the relevant research the one and only evidence attributing this verse to the aforementioned composer (see CHALDAEAKES, Ὁ πολυέλεος 430–435, where the verse in question is not referenced to). However, the accumulation of so many “unica” in the present “unicum” (cfr. those mentioned in the two previous notes), interesting as it may be for the tradition represented by the specific manuscript, generates nevertheless some suspicions (which cannot be explored here any further) about the accuracy of those unique testimonies.
- 22 See codex No. 2406 of the National Library of Greece, fol. 251<sup>r</sup> (“Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ ἀγία τῶν κατ’ ἤχων κοινωτικῶν, ποιήματα διαφόρων ποιητῶν, παλαιῶν τε καὶ νέων· ἀρχή, ποίημα κύρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κλαδᾶ καὶ λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ εὐαγοῦς βασιλικῆς κλήρου· ἦχος α' τετράφωνος, νόσος Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον”).
- 23 On this particular kind of composition, i.e. the communion hymns, see: S. HARRIS, *The Communion Chants in Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Musical MSS*, in: *Studies in Eastern Chant 2* (1971) 51–67; IDEM, *The Communion Chant of the Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Asmatikon*. Amsterdam 1999; D. E. CONOMOS, *The late Byzantine and Slavonic communion cycle: liturgy and music*. Washington 1985; N. GHEORGHIȚĂ, *The structure of Sunday Koïnonikon in the Postbyzantine era*, in: *Tradition and Innovation in Late- and Postbyzantine Liturgical Chant*. Acta of the Congress held at Hernen Castle in April 2005 (ed. G. WOLFRAM). Leuven 2008, 331–355; IDEM, *Chinonicul Duminical în perioada post-Bizantină (1453–1821)*. Liturgică și Muzică. Bucharest 2007 (with relevant bibliographical references).
- 24 In this particular section of the *koïnonika* in all eight modes, on fol. 251<sup>r</sup>–275<sup>v</sup> of the codex No. 2406 of the National Library of Greece, compositions are anthologized explicitly attributed to the following (26 in total) composers (by alphabetical order of their first name): Agathon Korones, Demetrios Dokeianos, Demetrios



male, from the 13<sup>th</sup> century until the fall of Constantinople, i.e. the period during which the codex was written.<sup>25</sup> It is, maybe, worthwhile to comment upon a surreptitious attempt by the author of the manuscript, who seems to have included in his *koinonika* – in order to preserve them by regrouping them – various compositions attributed to members of “families of chanters”<sup>26</sup>, known from the manuscript tradition of the time<sup>27</sup>, such as the Korones (Xenos Korones, his brother Agathon and his son Manuel)<sup>28</sup>, the Argyropulos (Theophylaktos and Manuel)<sup>29</sup>, the Sguropulos (deacon Ioannes and domestikos Georgios)<sup>30</sup>, and of course the Kladas, represented by Ioannes, the lampadarios of the charitable royal clergy, and by his anonymous daughter.<sup>31</sup>

Moschianos, Demetrios Rhaidestenos, Georgios Domestikos Sguropoulos, Georgios Moschianos, Gerasimos Monk Chalkeopulos, Gregorios Alyates, Ioakeim Monk Charsianites, Ioannes Deacon Sguropulos, Ioannes Domestikos Dukas, Ioannes Kladas, Manuel Argyropulos, Manuel Blateros, Manuel Chrysaphes, Manuel Korones, Manuel Priest Ampelokepiotes, Markos Monk Xanthopulos, Michael Priest Propolas, Nikolaos Asan, Pherentares, Phokas Polites, Theodoros Domestikos of Kallikrateia, Theodoros Katakalon, Theophylaktos Argyropulos, Xenos Korones. For a general survey of these composers, see VELIMIROVIĆ, *Byzantine Composers* 7–18.

- 25 See the very instructive note added by the copist of the particular codex on fol. 291<sup>r</sup>, immediately after the aforementioned bibliographical notice: “Εἰς αὐτὸ γοῦν τὸ ἔτος καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἴνδικτον ἐπαρέλαβεν ὁ Μαχουμέμπεις τὴν ἐκ Θε(ε)ῦ ὀργισθεῖσαν Κωνσταντινούπολιν, πλὴν μαίω κθ', τῆς ἁγίας ὀσιομάρτυρος Θεοδοσίας, ἡμέρα τρῆτη, ὥρα πρώτη τῆς ἡμέρας. Καὶ ἐγένετο θρήνος καὶ οὐαὶ εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν κόσμον.” See L. POLITES, *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων* 398, 404; cfr. GR. TH. STATHES, “Ἡ ἐξέλιξις τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς στὴ μεταβυζαντινὴ περίοδο, in: *Ἀναφορὰ εἰς μνήμην Μητροπολίτου Σάρδεων Μαξίμου 1914–1986*, vol. 4. Geneva 1989, 432.
- 26 On the phenomenon of families of chanters, cfr. A. CHALDAEAKES, *Ψαλτικὲς “οἰκογένειες”*, part 1: *Οἱ Ραιδεστηνοί*, in: *Byzantine Musical Culture. First International Conference–Greece 2007. Paeania 2009*, 157–209.
- 27 Cfr. VELIMIROVIĆ, *Byzantine Composers* 12f.
- 28 Seven poems by first chanter Xenos Korones are anthologized in this particular section of *koinonika* in all eight modes in the codex No. 2406 of the National Library of Greece: three Sunday *koinonika* (Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον, set respectively in the first plagal mode [fol. 261<sup>v</sup>–262<sup>r</sup>], the second plagal mode [fol. 263<sup>r</sup>] and barys [fol. 265<sup>v</sup>]); two *koinonika* dedicated to the Virgin Mary (Ποτήριον σωτηρίου λήψομαι, set respectively in the second plagal mode nenano [fol. 263<sup>v</sup>] and the fourth plagal mode [fol. 271<sup>r</sup>]); one *koinonikon* chanted in memory of saints (Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον, set in the second plagal mode nenano [fol. 263<sup>r</sup>]); and one *koinonikon* for the Ascension (Ἀνέβη ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἀλαλαγῶ, set in barys [fol. 267<sup>v</sup>]). Together with these a composition by Korones’ son Manuel is anthologized (a *koinonikon* for the Annunciation; see fol. 263<sup>v</sup>: “Τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, κύρ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Κορώνη· [ἦχος] πλ. β' Ἐξελέξατο, Κύριος, τὴν Σιών”), and another one attributed to Korones’ brother Agathon (a Sunday *koinonikon*; see fol. 265<sup>v</sup>–266<sup>r</sup>: “Ποῖημα κύρ Ἀγαθῶνος μοναχοῦ τοῦ Κορώνη· [ἦχος] βαρὺς Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον”).
- 29 To Theophylaktos three *koinonika* are attributed here (in the codex No. 2406 of the National Library of Greece): one Sunday *koinonikon* (see fol. 266<sup>r</sup>: “Ἔτερον, τοῦ Ἀργυροπούλου κύρ Θεοφυλάκτου [ἦχος] βαρὺς Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον”), one chanted in memory of saints (see fol. 269<sup>v</sup>: “Θεοφυλάκτου τοῦ Ἀργυροπούλου· [ἦχος] βαρὺς Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον”) and one dedicated to the Virgin Mary (see fol. 256<sup>r</sup>: “Τοῦ Ἀργυροπούλου κύρ Θεοφυλάκτου, πολιτικῶν· [ἦχος] γ' Ποτήριον σωτηρίου λήψομαι”); to Manuel are attributed two *koinonika*, both of them Sunday *koinonika* (see, respectively: fol. 267<sup>v</sup>–268<sup>r</sup>: “Ἔτερον κοινωνικόν, ποῖημα κύρ Μανουὴλ μαῖστορος τοῦ Ἀργυροπούλου· [ἦχος] βαρὺς Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον”; and fol. 271<sup>v</sup>–272<sup>r</sup>: “Ἔτερον, κύρ Μανουὴλ μαῖστορος τοῦ Ἀργυροπούλου· [ἦχος] πλ. δ' Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον”).
- 30 See, respectively, in the codex No. 2406 of the National Library of Greece: fol. 252<sup>v</sup>–253<sup>r</sup>: “Ἔτερον, ποῖημα κύρ Ἰωάννου διακόνου τοῦ Σγουροπούλου καὶ δομestikou τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας· [ἦχος] α' τετραφώνος Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται δίκαιος”; and fol. 256<sup>v</sup>–257<sup>r</sup>: “Ἔτερον, τοῦ δομestikou κύρ Γεωργίου τοῦ Σγουροπούλου· [ἦχος] γ' Ποτήριον σωτηρίου λήψομαι.”
- 31 The composition of Kladas’ daughter (anthologized on fol. 258<sup>v</sup> of the codex No. 2406 of the National Library

## 2. The compositions

Before proceeding to a detailed analysis of the compositions examined here, I would like to stress, as a preliminary remark, that the aesthetic dimension of any Byzantine or post-Byzantine composition is studied, interpreted and analyzed on three levels<sup>32</sup>; namely:

- The primordial structure of the composition, resulting automatically from the structure of the poetical text on which the composition is based.
- The secondary morphology of its melos. Here remarks are made on the general musical makeup of the composition, consisting of particular sub-unities which the specialized researcher can easily recognize from the way the compositions’ musical phrases are developed one after the other. Besides, this further segmentation of the melos is also noted in a way which is more accessible even to a simple but attentive observer of the compositions’ written form, i.e. by marking a dot where the poetic text of the composition is written to indicate the transition between musically different parts of the melody.<sup>33</sup> In other words, the (usually) extended and melismatically developed papadic compositions offer a peculiar, extremely interesting “morphological punctuation” which, quite understandably, is a very safe guide for the comprehension and exact identification of these secondary structural sub-unities of the composition.
- The particular, subtler and more specific techniques of its setting. Here the musicologist focuses on the analysis, either simple or combined, of the melos that is developed in the aforementioned sub-unities. This “internal melic development” is achieved through specific techniques of melopoeia, such as the “repetition”, the “restatement” (palillogy), the “literal imitation”, the “alteration”, the “restitution” (apodosis)<sup>34</sup>, etc. Identifying of and commenting upon these data further contributes to shedding light on the thought process of the composer, the paths of his musical inspiration and the whole plan of his composition.

of Greece) is discussed here in detail. Her father, the lampadarios Ioannes Kladas, appears in the specific section of the same codex as the composer of 13 communion hymns; of them, nine are Sunday *koinonika* (Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον, set in the following modes: first [fol. 251<sup>r</sup> and 251<sup>v</sup>], two compositions], second [fol. 253<sup>r-v</sup>], third [fol. 255<sup>v</sup>–256<sup>r</sup>], fourth [fol. 257<sup>v</sup>–258<sup>r</sup>], barys [fol. 266<sup>v</sup> and 266<sup>v</sup>–267<sup>r</sup>; two compositions] and fourth plagal [fol. 270<sup>v</sup>–271<sup>r</sup> and 272<sup>v</sup>], two compositions]; other four *koinonika* are dedicated to the Virgin Mary [Ποιτήριον σωτηρίου λήγωμαι, set in the following modes: third [fol. 256<sup>r-v</sup>], fourth [fol. 258<sup>r-v</sup>], first and barys [fol. 267<sup>r</sup>] and fourth plagal [fol. 273<sup>r</sup>].

32 The remarks that follow reflect, in a concise form, my views on the subject which I develop in detail in my (forthcoming) monography entitled *Introduction to the Morphology of Byzantine Music*.

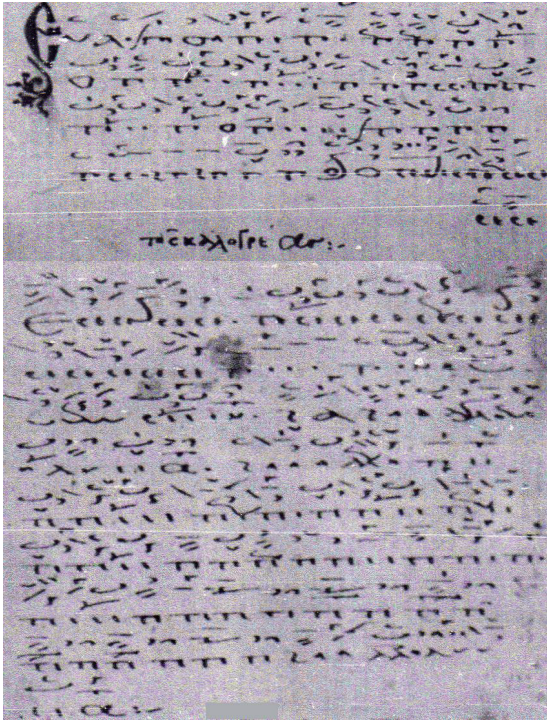
33 See J. RAASTED, *Some observations on the structure of the Stichera in Byzantine Rite*, in: *Byzantion* 28 (1958) 529–541; IDEM, *Intonation Formulas and Modal Signatures in Byzantine Musical Manuscripts*. *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, Subsidia 7. Copenhagen 1966, 55–76; cf. CHR. TROELSGÅRD, *Musical Notation and Oral Transmission of Byzantine Chant*, in: *Classica et Mediaevalia* 50 (1999) 249–257; F. N. KRĒTIKU, Ὁ Ἀκάθιστος Ὑμνος στὴ βυζαντινὴ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὴ μελοποιία. Athens 2004, 287; M. ALEXANDRU, Ἀναλυτικὲς προσεγγίσεις καὶ ἰχνηλασία τοῦ κάλλους στὴ Βυζαντινὴ Μουσικὴ. Ὁ εὐχαριστήριος ὕμνος Σὲ Ὑμνοῦμεν, in: *Μουσικὴ Θεωρία καὶ Ἀνάλυση – Μεθοδολογία καὶ Πράξη*. Πρακτικὰ Συμποσίου (ed. K. TSUGRAS). Salonica 2006, 321 (note 41).

34 These are the techniques mentioned by CHRYSANTHOS, *Θεωρητικὸν Μέγα* 187–188 (ROMANU, *Great Theory of Music* 188–189 [§§ 419–423]).



Based, therefore, on the aforementioned plan of analysis, I will subsequently present the works of the two female composers examined here:

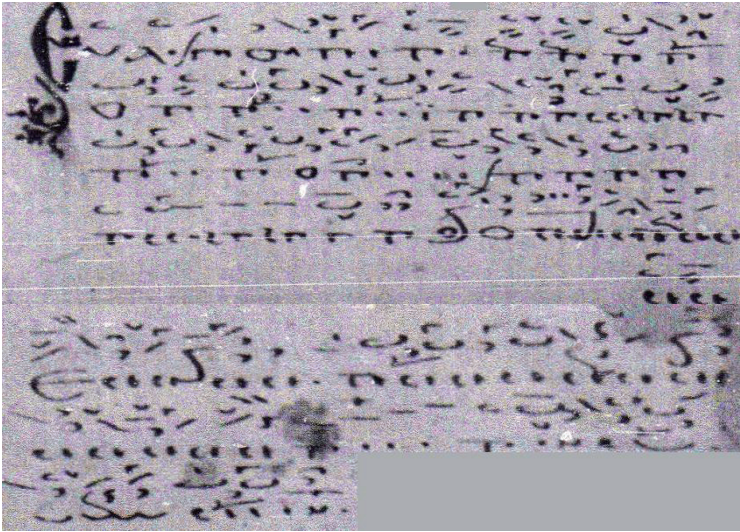
The composition of the Nun is (as it has already been observed above) a verse from the first stasis of Kukumas' polyeleos. This means that it forms part of a broader psalm, viz. the 134<sup>th</sup>, whose structure is already determined by its creator: a psalmic verse (the semi-verse or another, even smaller part of one of the 21 verses comprising the psalm) and a refrain (ephymnion), which, in the psalm in question, is the halleluia<sup>35</sup>:



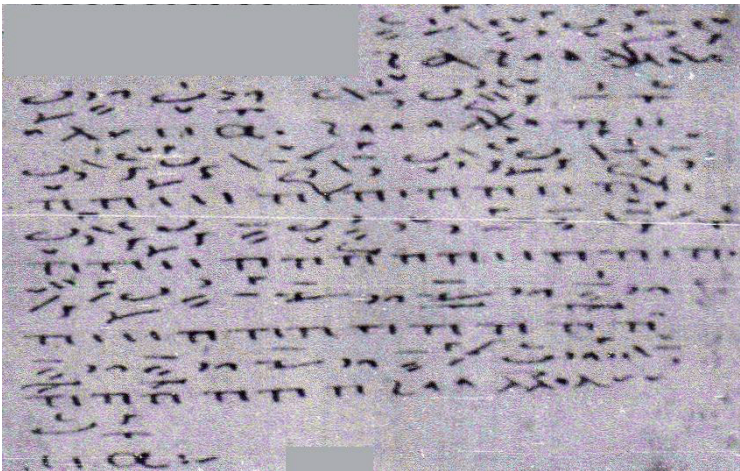
Thus, the composition originally consists of two parts: The first part is defined by the psalmic verse Εὐλόγησατε τὸν Κύριον (or, more accurately, by the second semi-verse of verses 19 and 20 of Psalm 134) and the second part by the refrain halleluia:

35 See CHALDAEAKES, Ὁ πολυέλεος 226–232.

## PART A (Εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον):



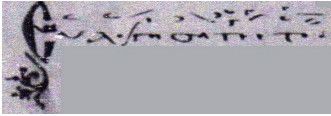
## PART B (ἀλληλούια):



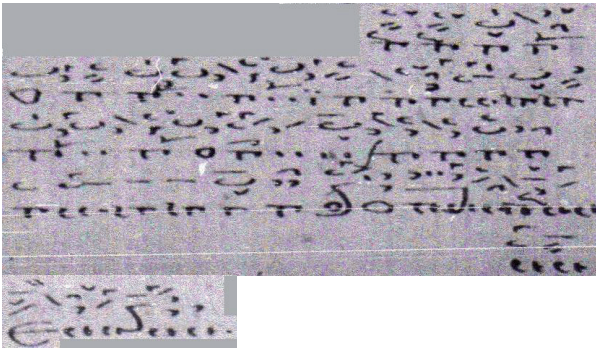
Each of the two parts of the composition is divided into three sub-unities which can be distinguished on the basis of changes in both the poetical text and the melos, but also of the clearly discernible “morphological punctuation”:



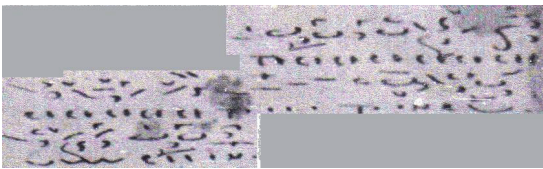
A1 (Εὐλογήσατε τὸ-):



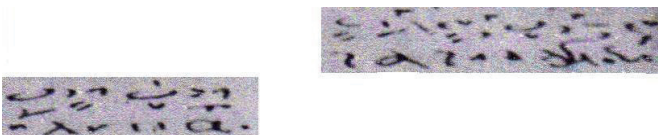
A2 (τοτοτο [...] – τερερε [...]):



A3 (τερερε [...] – τὸν Κύριον):

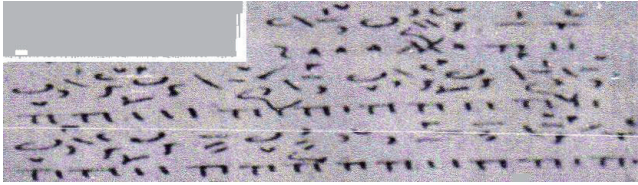


B1 ([v]α – [v]άλληλούια):

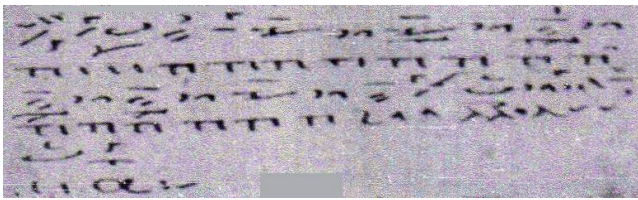




B2 ([v] ἄλλη – τιτι [...]):



B3 (τιτι [...] – [v]ἄλληλούια):



To be more precise, part A1 functions as a kind of “prologue” to the whole composition. Its introductory formula [A.1.a] is the usual initial formula of the majority of the polyeleos verses of this kind.<sup>36</sup> Here, however, this formula is slightly different, with a characteristic melodic cadence on the syllable -τε (of the word εὐλογήσατε) [A.1.b], a cadence that leads immediately to the beginning of the kratema (το) [A.1.c], which continues in part A2.

A.1

In part A2 one can immediately observe the technique of repetition<sup>37</sup>, both in the initial musical phrase, which is repeated twice [A.2.a<sub>1</sub>–a<sub>2</sub>], and in another, more extended formula<sup>38</sup> that follows and which is also repeated twice [A.2.c<sub>1</sub>–c<sub>2</sub>]. Between these two formulas

36 See CHALDAEAKES, ‘Ο πολυέλεος 500–508.

37 Cfr. CHRYSANTHOS, Θεωρητικόν Μέγα 187 (§ 420): “Repetition is to apply twice a thesis or a whole melodic period on the same notes, which is very usual in the old mathemata and kratemata [...]” (see ROMANU, Great Theory of Music 189 [§ 420]).

38 This formula is developed with a diplopetaston and a lygisma in its first part and with a respective motive (with ison and hyporrhoe) in the second one; it is extended upon the spectrum of the descending tetrachord (G–D) of the first mode:



two additional ones [A.2.b<sub>1</sub>–A.2.b<sub>2</sub>] are inserted, according to the technique of restatement (palillogy)<sup>39</sup>, which are not identical, but show evident melic similarities.<sup>40</sup>

A.2

D D G F D E D D G F G F FED E D D  
 TO TO TO TO O TO TO O O TO O O I TO  
 4 2 3 5

D A D E D G F G F FED E D D E D E  
 TO TO PPOI TOI TO TO O O TO O TO O O  
 5 5

G F F E E D D B B C D E G D  
 O O TO TO TO TO TO TO PPOI TOI TO TO TO  
 4 6 7

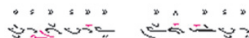
D F E D C D C D B C B C D E F C  
 O O O TE PE PE TE PE PE PE PE E PE  
 8 h j

D E F E D C  
 PE PE PE  
 j

This part of the composition (A2) is faintly linked to the next one (A3) with three musical phrases. These three formations which occur here in a dispersed way [A.2.e/A.2.i/A.2.j] are also used by the composer in part A3 [A.3.b/A.3.c/A.3.d], this time in a continuous form and in reversed order.

39 Cfr. CHRYSANTHOS, *Θεωρητικὸν Μέγα* 187 (§ 419): “Restatement is to do the ascent or the descent of a melody with the same thesis [...]” (see ROMANU, *Great Theory of Music* 188 [§ 419]).

40 In the first formula [A.2.b<sub>1</sub>] a triphonic descent is attempted from the top of the tetrachord (G) and a stasis at the basis of the mode (D), while in the second one [A.2.b<sub>2</sub>] a respective descent is attempted, but this time in the opposite direction, i.e. from the basis of the tetrachord (D to A), with returning and stasis again on the basis of the mode (D):







en) times, is another short formula (consisting of one ascending and two descending voices).<sup>46</sup> The essential difference, however, is that the first formula can be found in the entire composition; the formula in question though is only used in a part of the composition (in B3).

- Other, regularly repeated formations by means of which the composer completes the construction of her composition is a scaled ascent of three of four notes<sup>47</sup>, as well as the known development of tromikon.<sup>48</sup> Both of them occur three times.

The use of a limited number of musical formulas undoubtedly confers a sense of metre to the present composition. The composition is easy not only to learn but also to remember thanks to the harmonious and calculated assembly of the above-mentioned melodic phrases. Finally, since the whole composition is essentially developed on the basic tetrachord of the mode (D–G), its extremely limited vocal length<sup>49</sup> is not only suited perfectly for the monastic environments (from which, by definition, its composer evolved), but also facilitates its interpretation by female voices in a decisive way.<sup>50</sup>

The composition of Kladas’ daughter is (as has been noted above) a *koinonikon* Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται δίκαιος, which can be considered as a *koinonikon* of the Week (suitable, notably, for Tuesday) or as a *koinonikon* chanted in memory of saints. Its structure (and, more generally, the structure of all communion hymns, whose poetic text is taken from David’s psalms) is similar to the one of the previously analysed composition: it consists of a psalmic verse chosen in such a way as to befit the celebrated feast and the refrain (ephymnion) halleluia, which is very common in the psalms of David:

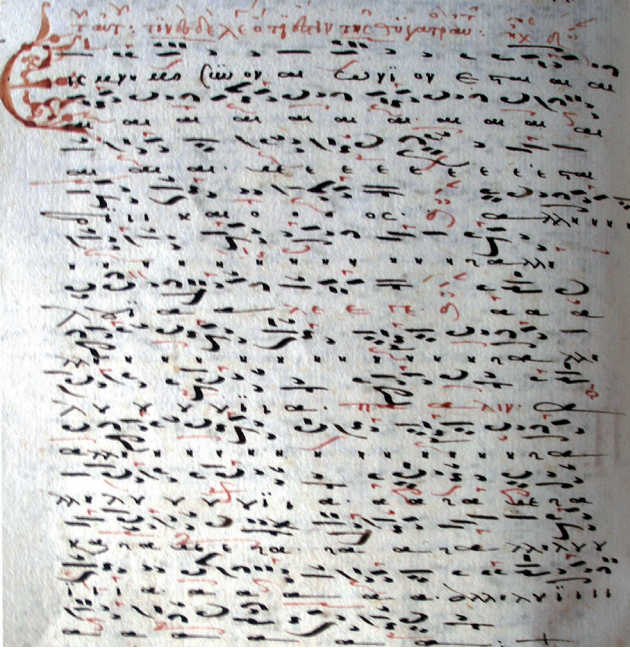
46 See the formations B.3.b<sub>1</sub>–b<sub>6</sub> καὶ B.3.d. (Cfr. supra, notes 42, 44).

47 See the formations A.2.e/A.3.d/B.2.e. Of course, the melos here is developed according to the “straight direction”, as described by CHRYSANTHOS, *Θεωρητικὸν Μέγα* 175 (§ 391): “[...] straight is the direction which ascends in succeeding notes [...]” (see ROMANU, *Great Theory of Music* 179 [§ 391]).

48 See the formations A.2.g/A.2.j/A.3.b.

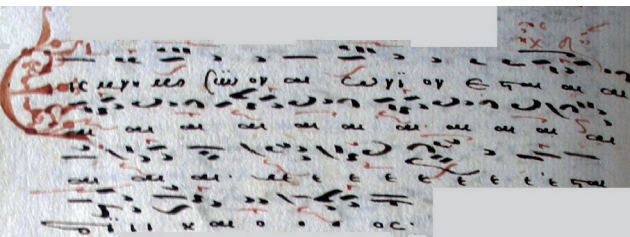
49 Note that on the accented tone, the melos strikes only once the note A of the lower vocal area (see A.2.b<sub>2</sub>), while on the pitched tone it strikes six times the note a of the highest vocal area (see A.3.e/B.2.b/B.2.d<sub>1</sub>/B.3.b<sub>1</sub>/B.3.b<sub>3</sub>/B.3.d), thus forming – visually – a full scale; there are also some instances where the melody falls into the middle mode, at the note B of the lower vocal area (see A.1.b/A.2.d–e/A.2.h–i/A.3.b–c).

50 For more specific remarks on the female voice, see KORAKIDES, *Ἡ μουσικὴ ἀξία τῆς γυναικείας φωνῆς καὶ ἡ συμμετοχὴ τῆς στὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴ μελωδία* 922–926 and IDEM, *Ἡ μουσικὴ ἀξία τῆς γυναικείας φωνῆς καὶ ἡ συμμετοχὴ στὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴ μελωδία* 146–160.

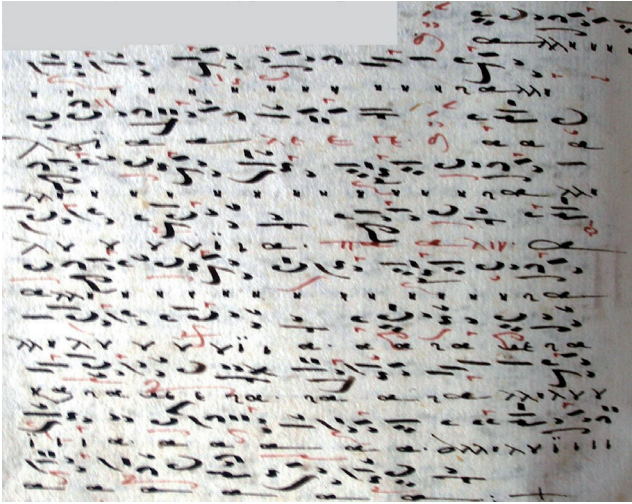


Thus, the composition is originally divided into two parts. The first part is defined by the psalmic verse *Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται δίκαιος* (Psalm 111, 6b) and the second one by the refrain *halleluia*:

PART A (*Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται δίκαιος*):

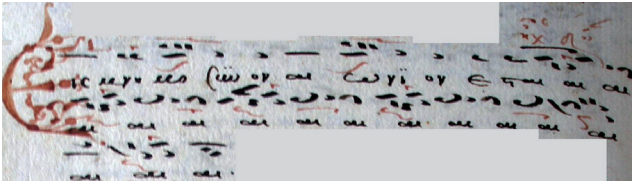


## PART B (ἀλληλοῦα):

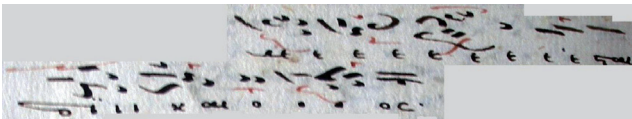


Each of the two parts of the composition is divided again according to the rhythm of the poetic text, the alternations of the melos and the clearly discernible “morphological punctuation”, in several sub-unities: two for the first part and eight for the second one:

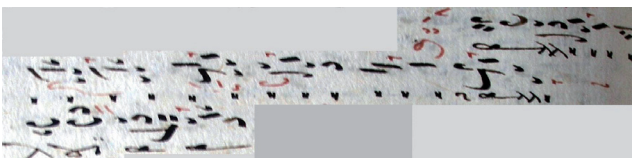
## A1 (Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται):



## A2 ([νε] ἔσται δίκαιος):



## B1 (ἀλλη-[ν]ἀλληλοῦα):

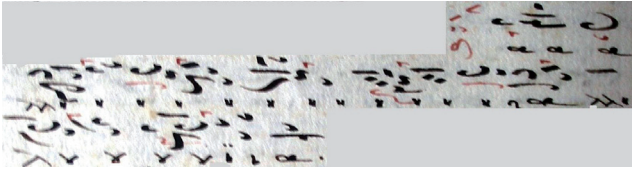




B2 (λέγε):<sup>51</sup>



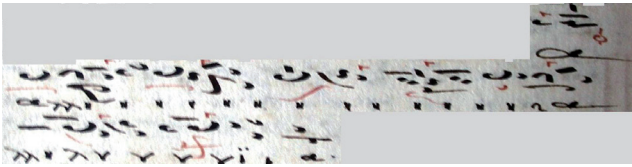
B3 (ἀλλη-[v]ἀλληλούια):



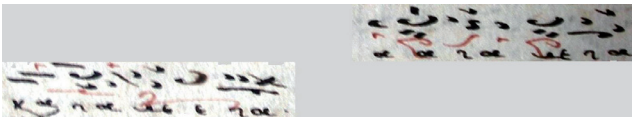
B4 (πάλιν):



B5 (ἀλλη-[v]ἀλληλούια):



B6 (ἄ – νανενα [...]):



51 As one can see in the relevant facsimile, at the end of part B1 the usual final point is not marked, which could mean that the setting of the word λέγε was included in this part; nevertheless I separate it here, as part B2 – λέγε – considering it as a prelude to the next part B3 (halleluia), obviously matching the structure of the two subsequent parts (B4 [πάλιν] and B5 [halleluia]).



B7 ([v]ἀλληλοῦα):



B8 (ἀλληλοῦα):



To be more specific, part A1 begins with a musical motive (a formula of *parakletike*) repeated twice [A.1.a<sub>1</sub>–a<sub>2</sub>]. It continues by using the technique of restatement (*palillogy*), since the same musical phrase is repeated four times [A.1.b<sub>1</sub>–b<sub>4</sub>], and closes with a typical cadence on the basis of the fourth mode [A.1.d].

A.1

With exactly the same cadence also the part A2 [A.2.d] is completed, following the technique of restitution (*apodosis*).<sup>52</sup> At the beginning of this part once more a triple repetition of essentially the same<sup>53</sup> musical motive [A.2.a<sub>1</sub>–a<sub>3</sub>] occurs, while the melody progressively shifts to the fourth plagal mode before the end [A.2.c].

52 Cfr. CHRYSANTHOS, *Θεωρητικὸν Μέγα* 188 (§ 423): “Restitution is to compose for all the endings of the text’s periods one cadence, the melody of which extends to two or three four-beat measures, in the new *sticherarion* and up to several metres in the *papadike* [...]” (see ROMANU, *Great Theory of Music* 189 [§ 423]).

53 Despite the (in each case) differentiated notation, in all three formations the melodic movement is exactly the same; the only difference is that in the first two (A.2.a<sub>1</sub> and A.2.a<sub>2</sub>) it is developed on a descending tone, inside the di-tone G–E, while in the third one (A.2.a<sub>3</sub>) it is developed within the di-tone F–D.











by their common basic structure (they both consist of two parts, of which the first one sets a psalmic verse and the second one the typical refrain halleluia). Nevertheless, as their respective analysis has clearly showed, their differences are much more remarkable both in their morphological structure and in their whole melodic elaboration:

The composition of the Nun clearly displays an admirable equilibrium between its two parts. In the first part, between the two words of the psalmic hemistich (εὐλογήσατε and κύριον), the composer inserts a kratema consisting of nonsense syllables which are homophonic to the article (τόν) existing between the aforementioned words. Observe the characteristic threefold structure of this first part: in part A1 are deployed the word Εὐλογήσατε and the beginning of the kratema (το) that follows; part A2 is occupied by the kratema, deployed almost entirely upon the syllables τοτοτο (formed, as it has been observed above, in such a manner as to produce homophony with the article τόν) which only at the end of this part are transformed into the corresponding syllables terere; next comes part A3, in which the remaining portion of the psalmic hemistich (τὸν Κύριον) is set, preceded though by the kratema terere, as a prolongation of part A2. Thus the kratema (part A2) is not simply inserted by the composer between the two words of the poetic text, but seems to “penetrate” them harmonically, through both the corresponding preparation (in part A1) and its extension (in part A3). It also needs to be noted that the extension of the first part of that kind of composition (where the psalmic verse is deployed, i.e. a poetic text with a clear meaning which should normally be easily understood by the listener) is not a usual practice. From this point of view, the composer does innovate; however, it is probable that she considered this kind of “innovation” as a necessary means to obtain the overall equilibrium that characterizes her composition. Indeed, close observation shows that the second part of the composition displays a similar makeup concerning both the extent of the melody and the morphological structure. There is an equivalent kratema inserted exactly in the middle of the one and only word that constitutes the poetical text, i.e. the word halleluia. Observe again: in part B1 the entire word halleluia is set; part B1 consists of a kratema, which once again is not developed independently, but on the syllable -λη of the word halleluia (a syllable occupying the exact middle of the word), a homophonic kratema formed by the syllables τιτιτι; finally, in part B3 the entire refrain (the word halleluia) is repeated, immediately after the kratema τιτιτι. In other words, the inserted kratema “penetrates”, as an extension and harmonic connection, not the words of a phrase, but the syllables of a word of the poetical text.

On the contrary, the composition of Εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον Kladas’ daughter follows, in a more conventional way, the traditional melic standards of its time. There is a clearly discernible disequilibrium between its first and its second part regarding both the extent of the melos and the morphological structure. In the first part (based on the psalmic text Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται δίκαιος), the key-word is the verb ἔσται, which, by means of a melic extension, divides the two portions of the first part: A1 (Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται) and A2 (beginning with a repetition of the verb, after an emphatic syllable which does not belong to the traditional poetical text: (νε) ἔσται δίκαιος. Thus, instead of a more conventional division of the poetical text in two equal parts (e.g. Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον // ἔσται δίκαιος),

we have here two unequal parts, with the extensively set verb ἔσται “penetrating” (in a proportional fashion) both of them. The melic center of gravity of the composition is, however, being shifted to its second part, with the exclusive setting of the refrain (halleluia). Essentially, one notes here the usual ecclesiastical practice of repeating this refrain three times: observe the parts B1, B7 and B8, where the halleluia is being set three times in a row. However, this common triple repetition of the refrain is intertwined with a further melic elaboration of the same word, structured according to the then widely diffused practice of twice repeating the halleluia by using the (non related to the poetic text) words λέγε and πάλιν (which are usually referred to as “hortative imperatives”): observe the parts B2–B3 and B4–B5, where we have a double repetition of halleluia (a repetition which is not only verbal but also musical, since the melos in parts B3 and B5 is strictly identical), preceded, respectively, by the two aforementioned words. These words function as a (mental) invitation to the chanter: λέγε (imperative of the verb λέγω = to say) and πάλιν = again (here of course one must infer the previous imperative, i.e. “say [= chant] again”); at the same time, from a melic point of view, they constitute a tangible evidence of the special morphological division of the composition into equal additional parts. This division is discernible not only visually (the two words are marked in red ink, contrary to the rest of the text written in black ink), but also musically, since these words are sung by a soloist, whilst the rest of the composition is chanted by the choir. Finally, this “musical commentary” upon the refrain halleluia is concluded with part B6, a part that duly completes the melic sophistication of the refrain (through the addition of a kratema) and at the same time functions as a harmonious introduction (according to the logic of “preparation”, a popular practice of the composers) to the parts that follow: observe that the kratema here is informed homophonically to the initial letter of the word halleluia (α – νανενα), i.e. the word which the immediately following part (B7) of the composition begins with. Thus, the refrain is repeated five times in all.

#### 4. Conclusion

What is the (obvious or latent) “message” inherent in these two compositions, which are, at least up to the present day, the only musical products of female composers?

The composition of the Nun shows an admirable equilibrium both in its general construction and in its constitutive parts. It looks like a perfectly executed “embroidery”, brocaded with extraordinary diligence and care, which “ornates” the broader composition of the Kukumus’ polyleos. It is characterised by its flawless order, an element which, albeit (partially) present in the respective works of male composers, finds here its most unadulterated expression.

The composition of the Kladas’ daughter, also extremely interesting and finely constructed, does not seem to display any clearly discernible difference from other similar compositions elaborated by male musical creators. This is a conclusion to which we are led by a first glance (superficial) assessment. Nevertheless, its internal division into equal parts, as

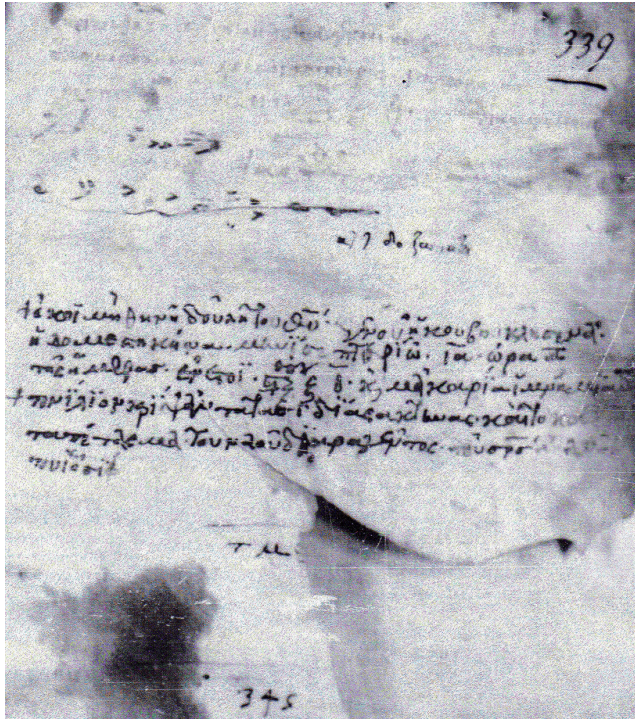


it has been analysed in detail above, marks a sharp contrast to its obvious unequal structure and cannot go uncommented. From it emanates interiority, a secretiveness (whose aim is, of course, symmetry) that can be interpreted as a carefully hidden manifestation of female sensibility.

Using the eye of my imagination, I try to “see” the two women: The first one, dwelling (very probably) in a monastic environment (and therefore enjoying a social and ideological “autonomy”) during the period of the absolute bloom of Byzantine civilization, seems free to express herself according to her nature, to directly and spontaneously manifest her feelings and inspiration, even in the frame of an artistic milieu that was not particularly “favourable” to women. The second one, living under the heavy shadow of a famous father, in a cosmopolitan environment, but in a time of absolute decline and generalized artistic backlash, expresses, through female cunning, a latent reaction, a secret and silent “voice of protest”, a “codified” – impenetrable to the many (but not to the initiated few) – divergence from the musical standards and techniques that were established and widely used by the rest of her (male) colleagues. Both women, however, share a common goal: metre.

And I come to wonder: Could this ordained, well-balanced and moderate spirit that permeates both compositions, either explicitly or implicitly, be the specific contribution of a female composer to Byzantine melopoeia?





Codex No. C 71 of the Great Laura monastery on Mount Athos, fol. 339<sup>r</sup>





Handwritten musical notation on ten staves. The notation includes rhythmic patterns such as eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and various fingerings indicated by numbers 1-5. Some notes are marked with red arrows or brackets, possibly indicating slurs or accents. The staves are arranged vertically, with the first staff at the top and the tenth at the bottom.

Handwritten musical notation on ten staves. The notation includes rhythmic patterns such as eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and various fingerings indicated by numbers 1-5. Some notes are marked with red arrows or brackets, possibly indicating slurs or accents. The staves are arranged vertically, with the first staff at the top and the tenth at the bottom.

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