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The Amomos in the Byzantine chant: a diachronical approach with emphasis on musical settings of the 19th and 20th centuries

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Abstract: The book of the Psalms constitutes the main source from where the Offices of the Orthodox church draw their stable parts. It has been diachronically one of the most used liturgical books of the cathedral and the monastic rite. In this paper we focus on the Psalm 118, which is well known under the designation "Amomos". In the first part of our study we look for the origin of the book of the Psalms generally. Afterwards we present the Offices in which the Amomos is included, starting from the Byzantine era and the use of the Amomos in the cathedral and the monastic services. Then, we negotiate the question of its use in the post-Byzantine era. In the next section we quote the most important settings of the Byzantine, post-Byzantine and new-Byzantine composers in Constantinople, Smyrna and Thessaloniki, as well as some evidence of their lives and their musical works. In the next section we introduce some polyprismatic analyses for the verses of the first stanza of the Amomos, which are set to music in 19th and 20th centuries. After some comparative musicological analyses of the microform of the compositions or interpretations, we comment on the music structure of the settings of Amomos in their liturgical context. Our study concludes with some main observations, as well as a list of the basic sources used to write this paper.

Keywords: amomos, chant, funeral, interpretation, analysis.

1. Introduction

The Psalm 118 is known under the title Amomos and it is included in the book of *Psalms*, which belongs to the so called *Kanon* of The Old Testament. Its name "Amomos" comes from the introduction of the psalm $(\pi\rho\delta\psi\alpha\lambda\mu\alpha)$ $\ddot{A}\mu\omega\mu$ 0 $\dot{\epsilon}v$ $\dot{\delta}\delta\tilde{\varphi}$ $\dot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda$ 0 $\dot{\omega}$ 0 according to the *Septuagint*, the translation of the Hebrew text into the Greek language. The word's origin indicates the pure, faultless person, the one who is not spiritually or morally corrupted. The whole meaning of the psalm can be summarized in the praise of the perfection of the Divine Law by the poet and the need that this Law shall be observed by the people (Trembelas, 1970, p. 399) (Theodorou, 1990, p. 37).

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There is no incontestable theory as far as the origin of the book of *Psalms* is concerned. The problem of its exact dating is related to the fact that the Jewish people preserved the psalms through the oral tradition until the moment they realized the need to preserve it in writing (Kaimakis, 2010, p. 17). This is, certainly, not strange to the Greek tradition, since it is commonly accepted that Homer's epics as a whole survived through the narratives of the epic poets who recited them with the accompaniment of the lyre.

The book of *Psalms* is dated just in the second century BC in the form that we know today: that is of a body of fifty psalms divided in five books. The division is probably according to another book of the Old Testament, namely the *Pentateuch* (*Tora* in Hebrew). Earlier segments of the Psalms though, which precede its final form, are found in the *Hymn of Marriam*, included in the book of *Exodus* (15:21) written in about 1200 BC, or, as a more complete sample, in the *Hymn of Deborah*, in the book of *Judges* (5), which is written in a bit later, in 1150 BC (Touliatos, 1984, p. 14).

Another problem lies in the authorship of the psalms. Nowadays, the book that contains the psalms is predominantly called *David's Psalter*. However, this is in no case absolutely accurate, since only seventy-three, or eighty-four-according to the *Septuagint* translation- out of the hundred fifty psalms are certainly composed by King David, while there are others which are clearly not his works (Kaimakis, 2010, 18). This conclusion is drawn either by the content (they refer to facts subsequent to his time, e.g. the *captivity* by the Babylonians) or by the fact that a different writer is mentioned in the title of the psalm (e.g. Ps. 48, the sons of Kore, or Ps. 49, by Asaph). Conventionally, however, its more common to attribute to David the whole book of the *Psalms* (Touliatos, 1984, p. 15).

It is worthwhile to mention that the psalms were composed as an expression of the need of the Israelite people to worship God. Rather than the product of any sophisticated elaboration, they represent a genuine expression of religiousness of Israel (Kaimakis, 2010, p. 17).

The Amomos is the main topic in this article. A starting point for this research was initially a phrase in the ending part of the introduction in the doctoral dissertation by Diane H. Touliatos-Banker, *The Byzantine Amomos Chant of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Thessaloniki: The Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies, 1984); the author mentions the following: "It is hoped that this investigation will open the pathway for examination of this frequently chanted psalm of the Eastern rite and perhaps lead to even further explorations of the many much similar chants of the Byzantine services, which are still waiting to exam" (Touliatos, 1984, p. 18).

In the relevant bibliography and the musicological research, we couldn't trace any contemporary, specialized work about the Amomos. However, the poetic material, that is the actual text of the psalm, as well as the numerous

manuscripts of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine compositions along with the modern printed books that contain compositions of the Amomos, determined us to attempt a close research of the sources. The special issue of this paper is about the use of the Amomos chant in the modern liturgical *ordo*, as defined by the publication of the *Typikon* of the offices of the Greek Orthodox Church, and as expressed musically in various settings by composers from Constantinople and Thessaloniki, during the 19th and 20th centuries. Emphasis will be laid on the interpretational approaches by leading chanters in the 20th century, but this will be only a preliminary part of a greater research which is going to be published in the future.

2. The Psalter and the Byzantine rite

The whole book of the Psalms is about man's basic concerns connected with his relation to God. The content of Amomos is clearly didactic, as it praises the perfection of the Divine Law and the need to be loyally observed by man (Touliatos, 1984, p. 17).

The exact dating of the Psalm 118 represents an open question (Trembelas, 1970, p. 401) (Kaimakis, 2010, p. 19). There are three predominant theories about the period of its composure as summarized by Touliatos (1984, pp. 19-20). According to them, we have the following possible dates:

- 1. The psalm is written during the Babylonian capture, between 606-536 BC.
- 2. According to another theory, supported by E. Leslie, the text belongs to the post capture era, between the 4th and 3rd century BC.
- 3. M. Buttenweiser asserts that the Psalm was definitely composed after 312 and between the years 300-250 BC, taking into consideration philological criteria as to the style and the vocabulary of the psalm, since as he states, it represents the decay of the Jewish language and literature that took place in this period.

The modern liturgical practice that relates to the night-and-day services in the Orthodox Church is based on the liturgical book called Horologion. We do not know when its content was collected to take the layout that we find nowadays. However, it is known that this book was exclusively used in the monastic rite at least until the final decline of the Byzantine cathedral rite in the beginning of the 13th century in Constantinople (conquest by the Westerns in 1204 during the fourth Crusade), or the 15th century in Thessaloniki (conquest of the city by the Ottomans in 1430), and contained the standardized parts of the daily and the festal services. It was named after its content, as it includes, among the rest, the services of The Hours, that is of the specific times during the day, when monks gather and pray together to the Lord (Balageorgos, 2012, p. 14). It is not certain when and by whom it was introduced in the worship, but

it is true that by the ninth century it is testified as one of the basic liturgical books in the Byzantine monastic rite (Touliatos, 1984, p. 29). The oldest preserved manuscript of the Horologion is the codex Sinai 863, dated in the ninth century. The first printed edition of the Horologion was issued in Venice, in 1509, and it is the one which is most similar to the modern edition of this liturgical book (Balageorgos, 2012, p. 15).

At this point we need to shortly clarify the term Byzantine cathedral or secular and monastic rite, so that we can better understand the widespread of the Amomos and its use in the services by all the ranks of the faithful. Therefore, we succinctly mention that it is about two different liturgical traditions with common roots to a great extent, but following a different course through time. As far as the Byzantine cathedral rite is concerned, its origins are found in the rite of the cathedral of the Resurrection (the Holy Sepulcher) in Jerusalem. We find credible evidence in the so-called The Pilgrimage of Egeria, who recorded as an eye witness the basic layout of the services, as they were performed there, by the end of the 4th century. Those notes are of utmost importance, since they are the only source that enables us to compare this "Typikon" [order] with the rite of the more recent (6th century) Byzantine cathedral rite in Constantinople (Taft, 1996, p. 17). The monastic rite, on the other hand, is based on the way according to which services took place in the St Saba's monastery, which is close to Jerusalem and constituted an important monastic center from the 5th century onwards (Sabaitic Typikon). When by the 10th century the period of Iconoclasm had already been left in the past for the Byzantine Empire and the renowned monastery of Studion (the monastery of the Forerunner) was fully restored, its rite, based to a great extent on that of the monastery of St Sabas, was the one functioning as a model for the recently established monasteries of Mount Athos (Touliatos, 1984, p. 51).

2.1 The Cathedral matins (Asmatic orthros)

Starting from the oldest testimonies concerning the use of the Amomos in the liturgical practices, we should talk about the matins in the cathedral rite and mainly about the matins of Holy Saturday, which is essentially the Burial of the Lord. This service is considered to be the model for the subsequent use of the psalm in the matins, but also for the origin and development of the burial service which we will examine in particular below (Christodoulou, 2005, pp. 50-51, 155-157).

It is necessary to mention some main traits concerning the use of the Psalter in the Asmatic office ("Sung Office"). According to this type of office, there were two choirs of chanters, singing antiphonically the chants prescribed for the feasts. The psalmodic repertory comprised hundred and forty psalms, divided into sixty-eight antiphons (Balageorgos, 2001, p. 78). During the chanting, each verse was followed by a refrain, that is a short phrase which was

used as a conclusion, such as "alleluia', "Lord, have mercy", "Lord, help me", "Glory to You, O Lor" etc. The responses varied in size; they could include one to six psalms. Amomos, obviously because of its size, was chanted separately as a distinct response in the Saturday and Sunday cathedral matins (Touliatos, 1984, p. 54).

The cathedral matins was divided into three parts. The first, which was related to the part of the service that started long before the sunrise, was performed in the narthex. In this part, Amomos was chanted. The service started with the chanting of Hypakoe. Following that, the "great litany" was recited and the first prayer of the matins was read. Then, there was the first antiphon (on Sundays the Psalms 3, 62, 133) and after that the "small litany" was recited. After reading the prayer there was the chant of the Amomos, divided into three parts, staseis or stanzas (I:1-72, II:73-131, III:132-176), with litanies and prayers coming in between at the end of each stanza. After the third stanza of the Amomos, the whole body of priests moved in the main part of the church (naos) for the second part of the service (Lingas, 1996, pp. 68, 77-78. Touliatos, 1984, p. 58).

2.2 The *Epitaphios* service

The more recent tradition of the chanting of the lamentations (*makaristaria*, or *megalynaria*)² in the service of the Lord's Burial, or the Dormition of the Theotokos, and in some of the services of the most known saints in the Orthodox Church (John the Forerunner, St Demetrios the Myrrhstreamer etc.) needs to be placed in the context of the cathedral matins and in the ritual regarding the Lord's Burial. The codex 533 of the National Library of Greece (NLG), dating back to the middle of the 13th century, includes hymns of lamentations for the feast of the Dormition of the Theotokos, attributed to the Bishop of Bulgaria Iakovos and is regarded as the oldest source concerning the composition of such kind of troparia, which flourished during the reign of the Palaiologan dynasty, known as "Palaiologan Renaissance" (Detorakis, 2004,

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¹ The typical arrangement concerning the chanting of Amomos is presented in detail in the manuscript codices NLG 2061 and 2062, written between the years 1410-1425 and 1355-1385 respectively, which describe provisions of the cathedral rite, concerning the performance of services in the cathedral of Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki, as it was testified by St Symeon, Bishop of the above-mentioned city (Lingas, 1996, pp. 222-223).

² In the Iviron codex 1120, an autograph by Manuil Doukas Chrysaphis, the *Lampadarios* of the imperial court, f. 425, we find the rubric: «Ἡ καλοφωνία τοῦ Ἁμώμου· πρόλογος τοῦ Κορώνη· ἦχος β΄ Μακαρίζομέν σε, τοτο...». This rubric gave the opportunity to Gregorios Stathis to name the specific hymns *Makaristaria* (2003, p. 148). However, the term is already found in the codex NLG 837, where similar hymns are under the title of *makaristaria*, while in the NLG 533 we find the term *makaronia* for the same sort of hymns (Detorakis, 1997, p. 211).

pp. 126-130). The verses of the Amomos are placed before the troparia of the lamentations, which are divided in three stanzas. This is a tradition appearing in the codices from the 15th century onwards, but it resounds a much older tradition which links the *Epitaphios* to the matins of the Holy Saturday, which was often performed as a vigil, starting the night of the Holy Friday till the next morning. The structure of this matins is considered to be the source of the burial service, which will be examined in detail below (Touliatos, 1984, pp. 42-43, 108).

2.3 The Midnight service

The *Great Horologion*, as already mentioned above, is the liturgical book which contains the stable parts of the daily services (Balageorgos, 2012, p. 14). It was clearly the book of the monastic rite. Normally the printed *Horologia* used in the modern liturgical practice, start the cycle of the services of the day and night with the so-called *Mesonyktikon* [The Midnight service]. This is a rather short service taking place in the middle of the night. In the cathedral rite, according to St Symeon of Thessaloniki, this service was the equivalent of the first part of matins, that was performed in the Narthex. In the monasteries the Midnight service is performed in this part of the temple even today.

Concerning the use of the Psalter in the monastic rite, we need to mention that it is different: the way the psalms are divided into groups differs from the division that takes place in the cathedral or *asmatic* [sung] rite. Now the Psalter is divided into twenty subsections called *Kathismata*. The Psalm 118 is the only one which constitutes a *Kathisma* by its own, namely the seventeenth.

The manuscript *Horologion* Sinai 864 (ff. 45v-56r), dating to the 9th century, includes the daily Midnight service, with the total sum of the verses of the Amomos divided in two stanzas (I:1-93, II:94-176). The name itself of the Midnight service derives from the verse 62 of the Amomos: "μεσονύκτιον ἐξεγειρόμην τοῦ ἐξομολογεῖσθαί σοι ἐπὶ τὰ κρίματα τῆς δικαιοσύνης σου" (Touliatos, 1984, p. 101).

2.4 The Monastic matins

The monastic matins is one of the oldest services in the Orthodox Church. Its background starts with the vigils of the monks in Sinai and Egypt in the beginning of the 5th century (Touliatos, 1984, p. 103). A. Lingas states that St Basil the Great mentions the chanting of the Psalm 118 as a component of the Sunday vigil performed in Cappadocia already by the 4th century (Lingas, 1996, p. 77). There will be no detailed description of this service, as this is out of the scope of this paper. We will only outline the place of the Amomos in the monastic matins.

The Amomos was chanted only in the Saturday matins, at the second *stichologia* of the *Kathismata*, and on Sunday, as third *stichologia*. On the day of a saint's celebration, the third stichologia contained Psalms 134 and 135,

which were preserved in the ecclesiastical tradition by the name of *Polyeleos* (Haldaiakis, 2003, pp. 159-164). However, Touliatos mentions that in some parts of the Byzantine empire it was common to chant the Amomos even on Sundays including celebrations, along with the *Polyeleos* (Touliatos, 1984, p. 104).

As the third *stichologia* of the *kathismata* on the Sunday matins, the Amomos was chanted in three stanzas, according to the already mentioned division in the asmatic matins. In the Saturday matins however, when it was not a period of lent, when *The Lord is God and has revealed himself to us...* was chanted, then the Amomos was once again divided in three stanzas, according to the advices of the *Typikon*. During periods of lent, though, when *Alleluia* was chanted instead of *The Lord is God...*, then usually the Amomos was chanted in two stanzas, in accordance with the division of the stanzas as mentioned above. In the modern, parochial liturgical practice however, where constitutes a compilation of the cathedral and monastic matins, the Amomos is omitted, since not even the stichologia of the kathismata of the matins is chanted or read, while only the troparia of the Psalter's kathismata, which were inserted (in older times) between every stichologia, remained in use.

2.5 The Great Schema

Another service of the monastic rite in which we find the chanting of the Amomos is that of the 'Great Schema'. Without entering into details, for which the reader can study the special work of M. Wawryk (1968) "Initiatio monastica in Liturgia Byzantina: Officiorum schematis monastici magni et parvi necnon rasophoratus exordia et evolutio" of the series Orientalia Christiana Analecta of the Pontifical Oriental Institute, we will only mention briefly the order of the service of the Great Schema, as it is included in the codices Grottaferrata Γ. β. V (ff.46v-102v), VII (138r-164r), and Vaticanus graecus 1836 (ff. 1v-64r) and as it is presented in the Appendix of the above study. There the chanting of Amomos is testified during the tonsure of the monk who is about to take the Great Schema in the following way: «Kaì λαμβάνει αὐτὸν [the one who is going to receive the tonsure] ὁ ἡγούμενος ἢ άνάδοχος καὶ κουρεύει καὶ εὐθέως ἄρχονται ψάλλειν τὸν ἄμωμον κατὰ στίχους καὶ ψάλλουσιν τα τροπάρια ταῦτα (ἦχ. δ΄) Κύριε, Κύριε, ἐπίβλεψον..., (ἦχ. πλ. β΄) Τῆ ἀφαιρέσει τῶν τριχῶν... Καὶ ὅτε ἀποκαρῆ, εἰσέργονται οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἐν τῆ ἐκκλησία καὶ αὐτὸς ἵσταται ἔξω μόνος, καὶ γίνεται εἴσοδος τῆς θείας λειτουργίας [this is the 'Little entrance']» (Appendix, 31).

Presenting the service at its main points, we could say that it is divided in the following parts. The whole service is performed inside the Divine Liturgy. In the first part, which takes place before the reading of the Epistle, the monk who is about to take the Great Schema is presented in front of the abbot. After the questions and answers between the monk and the abbot to ascertain the monk's voluntary offer to the monastic life and his perfection according to its principles, a brief catechism takes place. Then, in the second part, there is the three-cut tonsure and rassophoria of the monk. During the tonsure of the monk, the Amomos is being chanted by the brothers of the monastery since, as we are informed by St Symeon of Thessaloniki, the three-cut tonsure symbolizes the sacrifice of a part of the monk's body to the Lord, the way Christ himself sacrificed his whole body for the salvation of the humanity. After this, we go back to the liturgy (Touliatos, 1984, p. 101).

Also, in the 'The order of taking the holy pallion' [the outer cassock], that is in the service which is taking place while wearing the pallion, which is the robe of the Schemamonk, according to the above-mentioned codices, we observe the following typical order:

«Μετὰ τὸ πληρῶσαι ἐν τῷ σακκομαχίῳ τὸν ὡρισμένον καιρὸν καὶ μαρτυρηθῆναι παρὰ πάσης τῆς ἀδελφότητος, ὅτι δόκιμός ἐστιν ἐν τῆ ὑπακοῆ καὶ ἐν τῆ πίστει καὶ πᾶσιν οἶς ὁ βίος χαρακτηρίζεται τῆς τῶν μοναχῶν προκοπῆς, φέρουσιν τὸν ἀδελφὸν οἱ μοναχοὶ πρὸς τὸν καθηγούμενον καὶ ποιοῦσι μετάνοιαν, καὶ μαρτυροῦντες τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρετὴν ἐκλιπαροῦσιν αὐτὸν ἀξιῶσαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἀγίου παλλίου τὸ πᾶν δὲ ἐν τῆ κρίσει τῆ τοῦ πνευματικοῦ πατρὸς καὶ καθηγουμένου ἀνορθούμενοι· καὶ εἴ μεν δόξει αὐτῷ καλὸν γενέσθαι τὸ αἴτημα τοῦ τε ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τῶν πατέρων καὶ ἀδελφῶν, γίνεται ἡ τάξις καὶ ἡ ἀκολουθία οὕτως (...) Καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου λαμβάνουσιν αὐτόν τινες ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἔως τοῦ νάρθηκος καὶ κουρεύουσιν αὐτόν, ψάλλοντες τὸν ἄμωμον. Εἶτα φέρουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ βάλλουσι μετ' αὐτοῦ μετάνοιαν σταυροειδῶς, ἔπειτα καὶ τῷ καθηγουμένῳ· ἴστασιν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ χορῷ πλησίον τοῦ βήματος μετὰ καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. Καὶ γίνεται ὁ ἀσπασμός, καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἀσπασμὸν ἀπέρχεται εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν στάσιν, καὶ οὕτω τελείται ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡ ἀκολουθία» (Appendix, 52, p. 60).

2.6 The Funeral service in general

The funeral service is the one in which the chanting of the Amomos survived till today. Besides it is true that in the musical manuscripts there is no setting of the Amomos to music for the Midnight service or the service of the Great Schema. Only in the funeral service for laymen, and for monks, and in the service of the *Epitaphios* of the Theotokos, as well as in the one of the matins we detect musical settings of the Amomos (Touliatos, 1984, p. 113).

The history of the funeral service is connected to the matins of the Holy Saturday, as it is already mentioned, that is to the service of the Lord's funeral. There is no unambiguous evidence as to its structure before the eighth century. Its origins should be traced to the prayers for the dead in the period of the Old and later of the New Testament. Besides it is a fact that there was some relevant ritual for the burial of the dead brothers by the community to which

they belonged. In the apocryphal literature, also, there are accounts about the celebrating of the Holy Eucharist on the graves of the dead on the day in memory of their death (Skaltsis, 2006, p. 542).

Regarding the sources about the funeral services of the Christians before the 5th century the so-called "Euchologion of Serapio of Thmuis" is quite interesting, as well as the texts of the "Apostolic Constitutions", where the first accounts about setting the psalms to music by the faithful during the dead's funeral are preserved (Skaltsis, 2006, p. 542. Touliatos, 1984, p. 109). Essential information is also transmitted by St Gregorios of Nyssa in his encomium to his and St Basil the Great's sister, St Makrina. While he describes what was performed for the burial, Gregorios mentions a chanting of virgins mingled with the lamentation of the crowd that swarmed where the saint's relics were. He also provides information about issues concerning the burial order. He mentions choirs of monks and virgins that took turns in the chanting during the Vigil (Pannychis) in honor of the dead woman (PG 46, 992 C-D).

However, the first text that contains a general diagram giving clearer evidence for a sort of funeral service and the way it was connected to the Eucharist is the «Περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱεραρχίας» (PG 3, 552-584), which is falsely attributed to St Dionysios Areopagitis, since it is a text of the 6th century (Garitsis, 2002, p. 11). The text, though, that sums up the whole preexisting tradition concerning the church's care for the dead and its faith that people progress towards eternal life, is «Περὶ τῶν ἐν πίστει κεκοιμημένων», a work of the 7th or 8th century, written by St John the Damascene (PG 95, p. 248-278). The idiomela of the funeral service chanted even today are his work.

Concerning the manuscript evidence of the liturgical books about the performance of the funeral service, we find our first source in the codex Barberinus graecus 336, the earliest preserved Euchologion of the Byzantine cathedral rite, dating back to the middle-end of the 8th century or the beginning of the 9th century (Christodoulou, 2005, p. 434). There we spot whole prayers «εἰς ψυχήν κρινομένην» (f. 418r-v), or a prayer «ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντας» (418v), «εὐχὴ ἐπιτάφιος καθολική» (507r), other «εὐχὴ ἐπιτάφιος καθολική» (507v), «εὐχὴ ἐπιτάφιος εἰς ἐπίσκοπον» (507v-508r), «εἰς κοιμηθέντα μοναχόν» (508r). The fact that there is a division in the burial prayers into "catholic", "for bishops", "for monks" leads us to the assumption that already from this period there are separate kind of funeral services for laymen, monks and priests, as it is clearly testified in more recent manuscripts.

The first integral funeral service is found in the codex Γ . β . X of the Grottaferatta monastery, an Euchologion dated back to the 10th century. It is an Italian-Byzantine manuscript that resounds the liturgical tradition of the monastery of St John the Forerunner, known as monastery Stoudios. It includes elements of the monastic rite (e.g. the *canon*) blended with that of the cathedral or asmatic ("Sung") rite (e.g. kontakion). The service is under the title

«Ἀκολουθία εἰς κοιμηθέντας» ("Service for those who departed"). In this manuscript the Amomos is testified for the first time and it is chanted "for laymen and monks who passed away" (Alexopoulos, 2009, p. 408).

In the 11th century, the funeral service is completely dissociated from the Holy Eucharist. This is also the time when the Amomos is firmly consolidated as one of its integral parts, in this period the funeral service takes its final form which is like the contemporary one, in its full composition, as it is usually celebrated in the monasteries, namely those of the Mount Athos.

In the various versions of the funeral service there are two ways of chanting the Amomos, in two or three stanzas. The earliest division is into three stanzas, while in the funeral services for the monks there is the division in two stanzas. Rev. Alexopoulos also, in his article about the funeral services for priests notes that in the division in two stanzas there is a variety of refrains, while in the division in three stanzas, *Alleluia* remains invariably as refrains for the first and the third stanzas, while *Have mercy upon me*, *o Lord* forms the refrain of the second stanza (Alexopoulos, 2009, p. 412).

In the 12th century there are no special alterations in the way the funeral service was celebrated. The development of the service is important during the following centuries, reaching a peak in the 14th and 15th when many musical compositions of the verses of the Amomos emerge in the manuscripts till the 16th century.

Regarding the performance of the Amomos, the observation by Touliatos claiming that, although it was chanted in full, all the verses of the psalm have never been set to music, is very important (Touliatos, 1984, p. 118). The author cites lists with the numerous manuscripts of the 14th and 15th century, in which she has underlined the verses that had been set to music and in any case, they vary.

2.6.1 The funeral service for laymen

In the Great Euchologion published by the printing house of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople in 1809 there is the following formal arrangement concerning the funeral service "for laymen":

"... When they come to the Temple, the relic is deposited in the narthex, and they begin:"

«Ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθεία τοῦ Ύψίστου...» (the whole Psalm 90).

"Then, with louder voice:"

«Ἄμωμοι ἐν ὁδῷ Ἀλληλούια. Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε..., Ἐπεπόθησεν ἡ ψυχή μου..., Ἐνύσταξεν ἡ ψυχή μου..., Κλίνον τὴν καρδίαν μου..., Ἀθυμία κατέσχε με..., Μέτοχος ἐγώ εἰμι..., Δόξα...Καὶ νῦν.... Ἀλληλούια».

The Deacon: «Έτι καὶ ἔτι...» [Have mercy upon us, o God...] (The small litany)

«Τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθώμεν» [Let us pray unto the Lord].

The Priest: «Ότι σὰ εἶ ἡ ἀνάστασις...» [For Thou art the resurrection...] "After this, we start chanting the second stanza, plagal of the first mode.

At the end of each verse, we say: 'Have mercy upon me, O Lord'."

«Αἱ χεῖρες σου ἐποίησάν με..., Ὅτι ἐγεννήθην ὡς ἀσκὸς..., Σός εἰμι ἐγώ..., Ἀπὸ τῶν κριμάτων σου..., Ἔκλινα τὴν καρδίαν μου..., Καιρὸς τοῦ ποιῆσαι..., Δόξα...Καὶ νῦν... Ἐλέησόν με Κύριε».

"Then, we read the small litany as mentioned: and so, we start chanting the third stanza, in the plagal of the fourth mode."

«Καὶ ἐλέησόν με Άλληλούια. Ἐπίβλεψον ἐπ' ἐμέ..., Νεώτερος ἐγώ εἰμι..., Τῆς φωνῆς μου..., Ἄρχοντες κατεδίωξάν με..., Ζήσεται ἡ ψυχή μου..., Ἐπλανήθην ὡς πρόβατον...».

"And straightway: «Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε...» [Blessed art Thou, O Lord, teach me Thy statutes] (the 'eulogetaria' follow)".

We will not cite the whole diagram of the service. We will only mention that, after the eulogetaria, it includes the hymns «Ἀνάπαυσον Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν ζωοδότα» [O Savior and Life-giver, to those You transferred from this fleeting life, grant rest...] etc., a canon at the plagal of the second mode, kontakion and oikos after the sixth ode, then the idiomela of St John the Damascene in the eight modes, the beatitudes along with troparia in the plagal of the second mode, the readings of the Epistle and the Gospel, as foreseen for the burial, and the hymns of the parting farewell in the second mode, «Δεῦτε τελευταῖον ἀσπασμόν...», Δόξα... «Ἡρεσβείαις τῆς τεκούσης σε...» and the end of the service by the priest.

This is in general the order of the funeral service for the dead that belonged to the laymen, as it was performed during the nineteenth century. In the contemporary Euchologia several parts of this service are omitted, as no canon, kontakion and oikos is expected, while the idiomela are less than those listed in this edition of the Euchologion, as it is also the case with the hymns of the parting farewell. The beatitudes became optional.

The order described by the above Great Euchologion is in general the one observed since the sixteenth century onwards. This is the time when the funeral service for laymen takes the form we described, and the music manuscripts testify constantly the aforementioned verses of the Amomos. Previously, in the 14th and 15th centuries there is a bigger diversity in setting the verses of the Amomos to music, since the manuscripts hand over various traditions concerning the music, such as «παλαιόν» [old], «ἀρχαῖον» [ancient], «πολίτικον» [Constantinopolitan], «Θεσσαλονικαῖον» [Thessalonian], while the last two are the most prevalent characterizations. The post-Byzantine era does not seem to have preserved the previous existing diversity, since we assume that the need to preserve the tradition of the music of the Amomos was entrusted to the Great Church. Therefore, its focus was to preserve the

Constantinopolitan way of chanting, at the expense of the rest which in any case rather reflected local traditions.

Regarding the music manuscripts, the Amomos as a part of the Psalter, appears in the book of the *Akolouthiai*, the one later called *Papadike* and not in the *Sticherarion* or *Heirmologion*. The first manuscript in which we find the Amomos chant is NLG 2458, a collection of chants attributed to St John Koukouzelis written in 1336 A.D. Usually in the *Akolouthiai* manuscripts Amomos is placed among the chants for matins, after the *polyeleos*. Though it is placed there it is not chanted only in the matins, as it was already mentioned, but in many more services among others at funeral.

Important musicians of the end of the 13th-14th century are:

Nikiforos Ethikos,

Theodoros Manougras,

Xenos Koronis (Precentor of the Great Church),

Georgios Panaretos,

Fardivoukis (head priest of the church of St Apostles in Constantinople),

Ioannis Kladas.

Christophoros Patrikios.

The 15^{th} century is the time when setting the Psalm 118 to music reaches its peak (Touliatos, 1984, 93). The numerous copies of Amomos in the music codices prove its widespread in this period. Some of the composers who engaged themselves with setting the Amomos to music during this period are: Konstantinos Moschianos, Manuil Chrysaphis, the Byzantine Empire's last lampadarios c. 1415 to c. 1480 according to Antonopoulos (2013, p. 20), (Stathis, 1975, $\mu\theta'$ - ν').

2.6.2 The funeral service for monks

The funeral service for monks is included in the Euchologia already by the 12th century (Euchologion 963, Dmitrievsky, II, 135-139). It follows after the funeral service for laymen. In the printed Euchologion of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, in the edition of 1803, p. 279, we read³ (Table 1):

And after this the brethren lift the body and they bring it to the church; and if the reposed be a priest, his body is placed in the middle of the Nave, but if a layman, in the Narthex. And when the time comes for the exit hymn to be sung for the reposed, the lamplighter leaves and strikes the gong on the iron bells, making three stanzas, and thus all the brethren gather together. And

«Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἄραντες οἱ ἀδελφοὶ τὸ λείψανον, ἀποκομίζουσιν εἰς τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν καὶ εἰ μὲν ἱερεύς ἐστιν ὁ ἐκδημήσας ἀδελφὸς τίθεται τὸ τοῦτου λείψανον ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τοῦ Ναοῦ, εἰ δὲ ἰδιώτης, ἐν τῷ Νάρθηκι. Ὅταν δὲ ἔλθη ὁ καιρὸς τοῦ ἄσαι τὸν ἐξόδιον ὕμνον ἐπὶ τὸν κείμενον, ἀπέρχεται ὁ κανδηλάπτης καὶ κρούει τὰς βαρέας ἐπὶ τὸν σιδηροῦν, ποιῶν

³ For the translation of the following quotations we would like to thank Dr. Spyridon Antonopoulos.

the "skeuophylax" passes out candles to them, and they light them, and after the Deacon exclaims, "Bless Master", the priest gives the blessing.

And we begin with, "He that dwelleth in the help of the Most High. Alleluia..." (then follow the familiar troparia of the Saturday matins); and straightway: "Blessed art Thou O Lord, teach me Thy statutes. Blessed are the blameless [who walk] in the way. Blessed art Thou, O Lord. And the first stanza of the Amomos (Psalm 118) is recited, up to "I am Thine". We do this here for two stanzas (of the Amomos), and at the end of every verse of the first stanza we say the refrain "Blessed art Thou O Lord". And when they arrive at the last verse, that is the, "I shall not forget Thy statutes unto the ages", they chant this three times. And thus (follows), the Petition by the Deacon, the secret prayer by the priest, and the exclamation (by the priest). And following the exclamation, we begin the second stasis, thus: "I have searched out Thy statutes. I am Thine, save me." And at the end of each verse, the "I am Thine, save me".

And when we begin the, "Look down upon me," we chant the same Psalm in the third mode; and at the end of each verse we say: "In Thy Kingdom O Lord, remember Thy servant". And the last stanza, that is the: "My soul shall live", three. And right away [we begin] the *eulogetaria*...

στάσεις τρεῖς, καὶ οὕτω συνάγονται πάντες οἱ ἀδελφοί. Καὶ διανέμει τούτοις κηρία ὁ Σκευοφύλαξ, καὶ ἄψαντες, καὶ τοῦ Διακόνου τὸ Εὐλόγησον Δέσποτα, ἐκφωνήσαντος, εὐλογεῖ ὁ ἱερεύς.

Καὶ ἀρχόμεθα τὸ, Ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν βοηθεία τοῦ ὑψίστου. Άλληλούια... [ακολουθούν τα τροπάρια του όρθρου γνωστά Σαββάτου] Καὶ εὐθύς: Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε, δίδαζόν με τὰ δικαιώματά σου. Άμωμοι έν Εύλογητὸς εĩ $\delta\delta \tilde{\omega}$. Κύριε. στιχολογεῖται ἡ πρώτη στάσις τοῦ Άμώμου, ἕως τοῦ Σὸς εἰμί. Εἰς δύο στάσεις ποιούμεν τούτον ένταύθα, έν έκάστω δὲ τέλει στίχου πρώτης στάσεως τῆς έπιλέγομεν τὸ Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε. Όταν δὲ έλθωσιν είς τὸν τελευταῖον στίχον, ἤγουν τὸ, Είς τὸν αίῶνα οὐ μὴ ἐπιλάθωμαι τῶν δικαιωμάτων σου, ψάλλουσιν αὐτὸν ἐκ γ΄. Καὶ οὕτως ἡ Αἴτησις παρὰ τοῦ Διακόνου, ή εὐχὴ μυστικῶς παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως, καὶ ἡ έκφώνησι. Καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐκφώνησιν, άργόμεθα τῆς δευτέρας στάσεως, οὕτω. Τὰ δικαιώματά σου έξεζήτησα. Σός είμι έγώ, σῷσόν με. Σός εἰμι έγώ, σῷσόν με. Καὶ ἐν ἕκάστῳ τέλει στίχου. Σός εἰμὶ ἐγώ, σῷσόν με.

Όταν δὲ ἀρχόμεθα τὸ Ἐπίβλεψον ἐπ' ἐμέ, ψάλλομεν τὸν Ψαλμὸν τοῦτον εἰς ἦχον γ΄ εἰς δὲ τὸ τέλος ἐκάστου στίχου ἐπιλέγομεν Εν τῆ Βασιλεία σου Κύριε, μνήσθητι τοῦ δούλου σου. Καὶ τὸν τελευταῖον στίχον, ἤγουν τό Ζήσεται ἡ ψυχή μου, ἐκ τρίτου. Καὶ εὐθὺς τὰ εὐλογητάρια...».

Table 2 A fragment from the Euchologion of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, printed in 1803, concerning the order of the funeral service for monks

We can see there is a different order of the funeral service for monks. The chanting of the Amomos is in two stanzas. This practice is already testified by the 12th century in the Euchologia (Alexopoulos, 2007, p. 412). The service is grounded on the monastic matins.

The music manuscripts testify for the first time the funeral service for monks, as it was the case with the previous for laymen, in NLG 2458. The same combination is traced in NLG 2406. Here the Amomos is also divided in three stanzas, while only the first verse of each stanza appears to be set in music. However, the most common type in the funeral services for monks during the fourteenth and fifteenth century is the one divided in two stanzas.

This is how it appears in most music manuscripts of the time. In NLG 2401 there is also an Amomos divided in three stanzas, all three of them in the plagal of the first mode, having as a refrain the *alleluia* (Touliatos, 1984, p. 177). NLG 2622 is the earliest manuscript including the Amomos divided in two stanzas. Important composers who set verses of the Amomos to music regarding the funeral service for monks during this period (14th-15th century) are the following: Theodoros Mystakon, Amarianos, Xenos Koronis, St John Koukouzelis, Panaretos (Georgios or Manouil), St Mark of Ephesus.

Contrary to the funeral service for laymen, setting this service to music seems not to take place any more from the 16th century onwards, when there is a common way of setting the verses of the Amomos to music for all kinds of funeral services (Touliatos, 1984, p. 177).

2.6.3 The funeral service for priests

The funeral service for priests is by far different from the previous two, since, according to the way it is found in the printed Euchologion that was mentioned earlier, it includes, apart from the common chanting of the Amomos, six *antiphons*, the beatitudes, a canon, full kontakion after the sixth *ode* of the canon, *exaposteilaria*, Lauds, while the idiomela of St John the Damascene are chanted instead of the *aposticha* of the Lauds. Among the chanted parts five pericopes from the Epistles and the Gospels are intercalated together with their corresponding prayers for the eternal rest of the souls of those who departed.

The funeral service for the priests actually constitutes a mixture of the Byzantine cathedral and the monastic matins. Both the structure of the three antiphons and the kontakion, and that of the canon, support our claim (Alexopoulos, 2005, p. 417). It appears as an independent service in the 15th century manuscripts. According to Bruni (1972, pp. 129-130) it is essentially a variation of the funeral service for monks. However, in its core it preserves the structure of the service that was formed in the previous centuries.

3. The historical evolution of the Amomos chant in the post-Byzantine era

The 16th century seems to be a period of preservation regarding the evolution of *melopoeia* in general, and more specifically the chant of the Amomos (Chatzigiakoumis, 1980, 26). The breakthrough, though, takes place somewhat later, in the 17th century. This is also, probably due to the fact that the handwritten liturgical tradition is already settled to a great extent to a common order for all kinds of funeral services (Christodoulou, 2005, p. 154).

The first post-Byzantine composition of the Amomos chant appears in the music codices by the middle of the 17th century and it is signed by the precentor (*protopsaltis*) of the Great Church **Panagiotis Chrysaphis the Younger** (fl. 1650-1685). Chrysaphis clears the chanting from the numerous

ornaments of the kalophonic period⁴ and presents a new composition according to the new style of his era, namely "new embellishment" ($v\acute{e}o\varsigma \, \kappa \alpha\lambda\lambda\omega\pi\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$).⁵ This composition will be extremely widespread and will prevail in the handwritten tradition for over a century, while it resonates the way that the Amomos was chanted in the Great Church, or in more general terms in **Constantinople**. This is testified by many rubrics found in manuscripts contemporary to Chrysaphis the Younger, or belonging to later scribes⁶.

In a manuscript in the Monastery of the Transfiguration of Christ (Metamorphosis) in Meteora, Greece, written in about 1730-1735 another composition of the Amomos appears along with the one by Panagiotis Chrysaphis. It is by the **priest Michael from Chios** (Met. 416, 66r). Michael (turn of the 18th century-the 3rd quarter) (Anastassiou, 2005, 365) was a student of **Ioakim Salabassis** or Alabassis, Bishop of Vizii (middle of the 17th century-15/08/1730) (Papatzalakis, 2011, p. 79), as he himself testifies in the peak of his handwritten code of the Monastery Gregoriou, Mount Athos, number 4, a Papadike written around 1744 on f. 781r the author provides particularly important information: «Εἴληφε τέλος, ἤ παροῦσα ἀσματομελιβρυτόφθογγος βίβλος...έγράφη δὲ καὶ παρ' έμοῦ τοῦ εὐτελοῦς...Μιχαὴλ ἱερέως ἐκ τῆς νήσου Χίου οὖ μέντοι κατὰ τὸ κείμενον τῶν παλαιῶν, καὶ νέων ἐκτονισθείσα, ἀλλ' ἐν καινῶ τινὶ καλλωπισμῶ καὶ μελιρρυτοφθόγγοις νεοφανέσι θέσεσι, καθάπερ τὰ νῦν ἀσματολογεῖται τοῖς μελωδοῦσιν ἐν Κωνσταντίνου πόλει. Τοῦτο τοίνυν, όσον τὸ κατ' έμὲ ἐφικτὸν παρ' έμαυτοῦ γέγονε κατὰ τὴν ἣν παρέλαβον εἰσήγησιν, παρὰ τοῦ ἑμοῦ διδασκάλου, κυρίου Ἰωακεῖμ ἱερομονάχου, Λινδίου έκτεθηκῶς καὶ τονίσας...».

This composition by Michael probably was not widespread among his contemporaries and later on, since there are very few copies in the music codices⁸. Speculating we might say that it was overshadowed by the

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⁴ The specific title that Panagiotis Chrysaphis uses for his composition of the Amomos chant is the following: «Ἄμωμος ψαλλόμενος εἰς κοιμηθέντας, σμικρυνθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ παλαιοῦ παρὰ κυρίου Χρυσάφου [τοῦ νέου] ». Cf. e.g.: Xer. 276, 151v. Doch. 321, 276v. Doch. 380, 190r. Sinai 1299, 482r. Pantok. 901, 205r. Leimonos (Lesvos) 238, 219r.

⁵ Cf. e.g.: Xer. 291, 152v. Xer. 307, 544r. Xer. 313, 480v. Xer. 320, 202r. Xer. 373, 272v. Doch. 310, 211r. Pantok. 927, 202v. Iv. 1082, 422v. Elias the Prophet (Hydra) 597, 510r. Met. 60, 122r. St Stephanos (Meteora) 60, 131r. Leimonos (Lesvos) 230, 353r.

⁶ E.g.: Xer. 323, 481r. Sinai 1305, 282v.: «Ἄμωμος, καθὼς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ψάλλεται...».

⁷ Stathis describes this chanting of the Amomos as '...σύντομον, προδρομικὸν τοῦ μέλους τοῦ Πέτρου Βυζαντίου' [short, a precursor of the composition of Petros Byzantios] (Stathis, 2006, 180). The same kind of the Amomos was traced in a manuscript in the National Library of Greece (NLG 2575, 283r).

⁸ It appears in Koutloumoussiou 454, 341r, whose writer is once again Michael, as well as in Iviron 1082, probably by the same writer (Stathis, 1993, pp. 340-342. 2015, 216-218). The characterization 'shorter' by which Michael entitles his own composition of the Amomos in f. 341r of Iviron 1082 is particularly important for our research. Other codices that contain the

particularly popular composition of Panagiotis Chrysaphis the Younger. However, besides that, something very important is perceivable in the codex Gregoriou 4 as a whole, that Michael was a transcriber as well. His transcriptions (*exegeseis*) refer to old compositions, a distinct example being that of his transcription is on the old *Anoixantaria*, in the folios 32v-75v. He appears to continue the tradition of the great musicians of the end of the previous century, as it was passed onto him by his teacher Ioakim, who in his turn was a student of the most important transcriber of the period of the new embellishment, priest and *Nomofylax* [law keeper] Balasios (Papatzalakis, 2011, pp. 79-80).

In the codex 1082 of the Iviron Monastery, which is a Mathematarion-Kalophonic Heirmologion from the first half of the 18^{th} century (probably written around 1725 by Michael from Chios the priest) there is another composition of the Amomos, by the teacher of the priest Michael, **Ioakim Bishop of Vizii** (f. 425r), entitled: «Έτερος [Ἄμωμος] σύντομος· κὺρ Ἰωακεὶμ [Βιζύης]". In the same folio there is the indication: "Ἄμωμος σύντομος· σύνθεσις **Μιχαὴλ ἱερέως Χίου**· ἦχος β΄ διὰ τῶν ἐρυθρῶν φωνῶν». Stathis while cataloguing this specific manuscript informs us that the red characters mark the variants suggested by Michael concerning the Amomos of Ioakim (Stathis, 2015, p. 217).

The above-mentioned composers, as it is obvious by their connection and by studying their compositions, reflect the chanting tradition of the Constantinopolitan version of the Amomos during the 17th and 18th centuries. However, another important center that now emerges is that of **Smyrna**. Distinct personalities of music work there, always in interaction and in communication with the center of the Great Church, Constantinople, yet forming an individual music tradition, with its own special features.

In the codex Panteleimonos 910, written by the end of the 18th, f. 147v, we find another composition of the Amomos, by **Theodosios the hieodeacon from Chios**, *protopsaltis* of the church of Smyrna (Stathis, 1976, p. 199). In another codex, written at about 1800-1815, of the St Paul Monastery 39, on mount Athos, f. 180, there is another composition for it (Stathis, 1993, p. 64). The life and work of Theodosios are dated in around the middle of the 18th century (Chatzigiakoumis, 1975, p. 296)⁹. There is no information about his

Amomos of Michael are: Doch. 341, f. 428 (a manuscript of Nikolaos the Dochiaritan, dated in 1822), Doch. 356, f. 499v (manuscript of hieromonk Anthimos in the beginning of the ninteenth century) (Stathis, 1975, pp. 434, 465).

⁹ The hand manuscripts of Hagios Pavlos 128 (*Mathematarion*), written between 1755-1765 and Hagios Pavlos 146 (*Oikimatarion* written by Ionnes Kladas), dated in 1758, as well as the ms Dochiariou 338 by Demetrios Lotos, where there is reference that Petros from Peloponnese studied under Theodosios during his early youth, before studying under the *Protopsaltis* of the

life apart from some allusions scattered in manuscripts of his pupil Demetrios Lotos. From one of these, namely Dochiariou 338, we learn that the person who was later Lampadarios of the Great Church, Petros from Peloponnese, was a pupil of Theodosios (Andrikos, 2015, p. 77)¹⁰.

Demetrios Lotos, who was a student of Theodosios, delivers to us another composition of the Amomos «κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Σμύρνης» [According to the chanting tradition of the church of Smyrna]¹¹. We do not have enough evidence to be able to define accurately Lotos' date of birth. Through his correspondence with his friend Adamantios Korais we can estimate his date of birth between the years 1730-1745, while his death must be dated a little after 1810 (Andrikos, 2015, p. 74). He was the protopsaltis of the cathedral of St Fotini in Smyrna during 1768-1788 (Anastassiou, 2005, p. 378). In 1788 he was dismissed by the Bishop of Smyrna Gregorios, who also took action in order to remove from him the office (honorific title) of the 'Protopsaltis' (Andrikos, 2015, p. 75). He was a great musician, since his production of compositions covers all kinds of melopoeia. He was also a famous copyist, as he delivers in total fourteen musical manuscripts, during 1763-1805, which is the period of his flourishing¹². Another important aspect of his work that should not be omitted was that of his transcriptions of older compositions, such as the chanting parts of the liturgy of St Basil the Great and of the "Alleluia" of the Holy Week in the plagal of the fourth mode. Furthermore, we learn again through his correspondence that he had founded a kind of music school in Smyrna, probably following the pattern of the Patriarchate Music Schools, where he taught the psaltic art (Korais, 1878, 2nd epistle).

A composition of the Amomos is transmitted to us, as mentioned above, in one of his manuscripts, included in the collection of Melpo Merlier 7 (NLG 3469), f. 400v. He himself describes there the Amomos he has composed by the name "synoptic". We, therefore, see that Lotos follows a tradition of making Amomos more concise, which had already started during the years of

Great Church Ioannis Trapezountios, offer the timeline of Theodosios' peak, which should be defined between the years 1750-1765.

¹⁰ Doch. 338, f. 224r: 'Πέτρου Μπαρδάκι [sic] ἐκ Μορέως [sic], μαθητοῦ τοῦ κὺρ Θεοδοσίου, τὰ νῦν δὲ χρηματισθέντος [sic] δομέστικος τῆς Μεγ. Ἐκκλησίας ἦχος πλ. α΄, Σιγησάτω» (Stathis, 1975, p. 413).

¹¹ NLG 3469, handwritten Anthology of Demetrios Lotos written in 1805. In f. 400v there is the following indication: «Ἄμωμος συνοπτικός, ψαλλόμενος είς κοιμηθέντας, κατὰ τὸ ἔθος τῆς ἐκκλησίας Σμύρνης, σύνθεσις ἡμετέρα, στάσις α΄, ἦχος β΄...».

¹² We have a first presentation of the work of Lotos ας as a copyist by Pinelopi Gr. Stathi in her article 'Korai's friend Demetrios Lotos and his musical manuscripts', Ο Ερανιστής Ι΄ (1972-73), 59, pp. 157-186. Thirteen of his handwritten works are listed. Chatzigiakoumis traced another one in the Gennadios Library in Athens with the number 25 (Chadjigiakoumis, 1975, p. 206).

his teacher Theodosios the hierodeacon, as we find this characterization for the first time in his own compositions. Another feature that should be underlined is about the dating of the composition of the Amomos by Lotos, which is definitely after 1767, since in earlier manuscripts he includes either the composition of his teacher Theodosios or that of Panagiotis Chrysaphis the Younger. In a codex of the Xeropotamou monastery 330, which is a Papadike written in 1781-1782 by himself, there is his own composition, on f. 433v, reflecting again the two features presented above: "synoptic" and "κατὰ τὴν τὰξιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας Σμύρνης" [according to the order of the church of Smyrna].

Petros Byzantios, *Protopsaltis* of the Great Church, composes the Amomos according to the short *papadic* genre of melopoeia. His music is the one prevalent even today, with small variations, like that of **Ioannis** *Protopsaltis*, or that of **Panagiotis Kiltzanidis** and other contemporary chanters who worked on the specific composition. From Petros Byzantios onwards there are essentially two different suggestions of interpreting the specific structure of the melody, without any new compositions. As it will become obvious in the next chapter of our study, these variations are caused by the different viewpoints adopted by distinguished composers of the 19th and 20th centuries as to the poetic text and the metrical structure of the Amomos.

Petros Byzantios was born in Neochori of Bosporus. He was a domestikos in the Great Church since 1771, during the period that Daniel was a precentor (Chatzigiakoumis, 1980, p. 47). On 23 December 1789 he got the title of the Lampadarios of the Great Church, having Iakovos as protopsaltis (Stathis, 1971, p. 229), whom he succeeded in 1800, right after his death, on 23 April of the same year. He kept this post until 1805, when he was discharged by the Ecumenical Patriarch Kallinikos, due to his second marriage, which was forbidden to the cantors, as they are included in the inferior clergy of the church, according to saint Nicodimos' interpretation of the Pedalion, a book that contains the canons of the church (Plemmenos, 2003, pp. 133-134. Economou, 2001, p. 132). He died in Yassy of Moldavia in 1808 (Papadopoulos, 1890, p. 325).

The composition of the Amomos by Petros Byzantios was widespread and largely accepted due to the music printing which gradually replaced the use of manuscript codices, from 1820 and on, a date when the *Anastasimatarion* was published in Bucharest, Romania, by Petros Efessios. Besides, the publication of the *Brief Heirmologion* by Petros Byzantios in Constantinople in 1825, interpreted in the *New Method* by Hourmouzios the Archivarian, contributed greatly to the dissemination of the Amomos by Petros Efessios (Chatzitheodorou, 1998, p. 64).

Konstantinos Byzantios, who was the *Archon Protopsaltis* of the Great Church from 24 December 1822 to 1855 (Economou, 2001, p. 133), transmits

an interpretation of the Amomos by Petros Byzantios in his *Anastasimatarion*, published in Constantinople in 1865, transcribed by Stefanos the *Lampadarios* of the Great Church (1856-1862) (Stefanos *Lampadarios*, 1865, pp. 657-664).

Ioannis *Lampadarios* (1831-1855) and later on the precentor of the Great Church (1856-20 July 1866) presents in his *Synopsis of the Kalophonic Heirmoi*, published in Constantinople in 1842, another interpretation of the Amomos by Petros Byzantios, which was very close to the original composition (Ioannis, 1842, pp. 220-226).

4. The Amomos chant in musical settings of the 20th century

In this part of our research we will focus on the interpretation and performance of the Amomos in the contemporary music practice, as it was formed in the second half of the 20th century. This study will examine closely the prevalent music and chanting personalities in two powerful poles of preserving and forming the chanting tradition: Constantinople and Thessaloniki. The reason we focus on those two centers is the strong historical link between the two cities, which is valid till the present. It is an undeniable truth that the contemporary chanting in Thessaloniki was deeply affected by the musicians and cantors of Constantinople, who moved into the city because of the persecution they suffered during the 20th century, due to the well-known political developments and events from the breaking down of the Ottoman Empire and the following wars, to the last wave of deportations after the Turkish invasion on Cyprus, in 1974.

4.1. Constantinople

The first modern interpretation of the Amomos, found in collation of sources which presented in our study (source in the plate Nr. 3), after the two 19th century compositions, by Petros Byzantios and Ioannis *Protopsaltis*, is that by Thrasivoulos Stanitsas, *Archon Lampadarios* (1 March 1939-1961) and *Protopsaltis* (1961 – Sunday of the Adoration of the Holy Cross) (Tsiounis, 2000, pp. 23-58).

Thrasivoulos Stanitsas was born in Psomathia of Constantinople in 1910. He was initiated into music firstly by his uncle Dimitrios Therapianos and then by the famous chanters of Constantinople: Michael Chatziathanasiou, Dimitrios Voutsinas, Giagkos Vasiliadis, Ioannis Palasis (Farasoglou, 1996, p. 79). He chanted in various churches of Constantinople: in St Menas, in the Ascension of Christ, in St Constantine and in St Nicholas, as *lampadarios* of his teacher Ioannis Palasis. He was called to take over the left analogion of the Patriarchal Church despite the canon order that appointed the *domestikos* of the patriarchal choirs to fill the posts of the *precentor* and *lampadarios*, when they were vacant. However, due to the shrinking of the Greek community (*Romioi*) in Constantinople and the lack of competent successors, many times during

mainly the 20th century "external" chanters were called to fill the posts in the patriarchal choirs, helped by the existing servants of the choirs of the Great Church to conform to the special way of performing the chants, which is characterized by its simplicity and magnificence (Farasoglou, 1988, pp. 45-46).

Stanitsas chanted as *Lampadarios* in the Patriarchal Church during the period when Konstantinos Pringos was a precentor (1939-1959) and later on, when Pringos was replaced by Nikolaos Daniilidis as a warden of the precentor's post. On 1 March 1961 he took over the first analogion of the Great Church. However, he remained in that post only for a short time, since he was dismissed by the Turkish political authorities in 1964, due to the widely known political issues of the time between Turkey and Greece that were mentioned above. After a short period during which Archon Stanitsas wandered around in various cities of Greece and abroad (Beirut) he settled in Athens in 1966 and continued his chanting career as a precentor of the church St Demetrios in Ampelokipi, Athens, till 1981. He died in Athens on 18 August 1987 (Economou, 2001, p. 144).

Another notable personality whose interpretation of the Amomos chant we present is that of the Lampadarios of the Great Church Eleftherios Georgiadis (see plate, source Nr. 4). According to the official documents he was born in Skoutari in the province of Chalkidona, belonging to the wider prefecture of Constantinople, in 22nd December 1920. However, he himself, in a personal interview, testifies that he was born in Silivria in 1916 and his family moved to Skoutari when he was still very young (Pappas, 2017). 13 He started getting involved in the art of chanting next to his father Patroklos Georgiadis at the age of seven, at the church of Elias the Prophet in Skoutari. He chanted with his father till the age of fifteen. According to his own account, he was also taught by the archimandrite Galaktionas Zorbas. From 1936 to 31st March 1969 he chanted in seven different churches in the Archdiocese of Constantinople – Elias the Prophet in Skoutari, Holy Apostles in Ferikioi, St George in Makrichori, St George in Geldeirmen, St Constantine in Stavrodromi, St Nicholas in Galatas, the Holy Trinity Peran – (Farassoglou, 1989, p. 317). Since 1st April 1969 he started his service in the Patriarchal Church of St George in Phanar, at first as a warden, and on the 2nd January 1972, he ordinated Archon Lampadarios of the Great Church. His ordination was done by the Metropolite of Listra Kallinikos, under the blessing of Patriarch Athinagoras. He remained at that post until 1978, when he left Constantinople and moved to Thessaloniki for family reasons. He heard Iakovos Nafpliotis, Efstathios Vingopoulos, Theodosios Georgiadis, Michael Chatziathanasiou and Konstantinos Pringos, which initiated him into the art of

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¹³ Tape-recording of a scientific paper given by Miltiadis Pappas in a ceremony honouring Eleftherios Georgiadis in Kalamaria, Thessaloniki, on 15 October 2017.

chanting, as it was performed in the patriarchal church and in the wider Archdiocese of Constantinople (Pappas, 2017).

He excelled in many fields of the church music: he was a gifted interpreter, a temperate theorist, excellent conductor, a prolific composer. He instructed numerous students in Constantinople, where during his whole chanting career he was the director of choirs of chanters consisting of a large number of members. He did the same in Thessaloniki, in the Church of St Therapon, where he chanted from 1978 until his death, in 25 March 2016 (Pappas, 2017).

In the course of interpretations that we examine in the present study two more chanters of the Ecumenical Patriarchate follow: Archon *Protopsaltis* Leonidas Asteris (1985-2014) and Archon *Lampadarios* Vasilios Emmanouilidis (1979-1996). In this case a tape-recording with an interpretation of the Amomos is cited from the funeral service of the Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios, which took place in the Patriarchal Church of St George in Constantinople, on 8th October 1991.

Leonidas Asteris was born in the community of Galatas, Constantinople, in 1935. As he recounts in an interview for the television 14, at the age of four he was singing in the Church of St John of Chion, next to the pecentor Nikolaos Anastasiadis. After a short period of about a year, he studied next to the precentors of his own parish, St Nicholas: Panagiotis Konstantinidis and Demetrios Magouris. At the age of ten, while he was a kanonarchis in the Church of St Nicholas, he was invited by the precentor Konstantinos Pringos to the Patriarchal Church, where he served as kanonarchis. Two years later he returned to St Nicholas, and later on he went back to Phanar, now as a kanonarchis of the Archon Protopsaltis Thrasivoulos Stanitsas. After his military service he assumed the duties of a precentor in the Church of St Theodor of Vlagka and later he continued his psaltic career in the diocese of Prigkiponnisa. After a short pause in his chanting curriculum, due to the rest of his professional engagements, he was appointed as a precentor in St Demetrios of Tataoula, where he remained for six years. Later, by order of the Ecumenical Patriarch Demetrios, he took over the first analogion of the Patriarchal Church, in 1989. He remained at that post until 2014, when he retired due to health issues.

Vasilios Emmanouilidis was born in Skoutari of Chalkidona in 1932. He was a pupil of *Archon Protopsaltis* Thrasivoulos Stanitsas, while he chanted in various churches of Constantinople – Elias the Prophet in Skoutari, saint Theodor in Vlagka, saint John of Chion in Galata, saint Efimia in Kadikioi, the Cathedral Church of the Entrance of the Theotokos into the Temple in Peran,

¹⁴ Metropolite of Dimitriada Ignatios, tv programme 'Αρχονταρίκι' in the Public Greek Television, 08-12-2013.

the church of Holy Trinity in Peran – (Farassogolou, 1989, p. 334). He was called 'externally' to take over the left analogion in the Patriarchate in April 1979, after the retirement of Eleftherios Georgiadis (Economou, 2001, p. 147). He remained at that post until 2003, when he stepped away moving to Athens and he lives there up to now.

The group of chanters from Constantinople whose interpretations on the Amomos we study, is concluded by the archpresbyter of the Ecumenical Patriarchate **Georgios Tsetsis** (see plates 1-15, source Nr. 6). There has been a recording of a funeral service in 2005 on behalf of the Research and Editions Centre of the musicologist-literature teacher Manolis Chatzigiakoumis, in which father Tsetsis chants "according to the oral tradition of Constantinople"¹⁵.

Fr. Georgios Tsetsis was born in Pikridio (Chaskioi) of Constantinople in 1934. He graduated from the Theological School of Chalki and he holds a PhD from the Department of Theology in the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. He was a *kanonarchis* (1944-1949) and a student (1950-1960) under the precentors Konstantinos Pringos and Thrasivoulos Stanitsas in the patriarchal choirs. He is a permanent delegate of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the World Council of Churches and since 1965 he lives in Geneva, serving in the Holy Church of St Paul there in the Patriarchal Centre of Chambésy (Research and publications centre, 2017).

4.2. Thessaloniki

Athanasios Karamanis is the first one of the chanters from Thessaloniki whose compositions of the Amomos we study (see plates 1-15, source Nr. 7). In a concise presentation of the most important periods of his life concerning his chanting curriculum we need to mention that he was born in Krinida of Serres on the 5th January 1910, while he started getting involved in the art of chanting at the age of 13. His first teacher was the priest in the village where he came from, namely Emmanouil Piperias. Afterwards he was a student of the precentor Athanasios Mpourletsikas in the church of St Athanasios in Alistrati, Serres. Later he was studied with the precentor Christos Paraschidis or Mpekiaris in the church of St Athanasios in Kavala, who in his turn was a student of the precentor Nileus Karamados from Constantinople. His next teacher was the precentor of the church of the Entrance of the Theotokos into the Temple in Drama: Charalampos Anestiadis, who came from Constantinople. The latter was a student of Iakovos Nafpliotis. The young Karamanis benefited very much by the fact that he listened to the precentor Konstantinos Pringos, while the latter chanted in various churches of northern

¹⁵ Commentary of the specific cd in the website of the Research and Publications Centre. Retrieved from http://www.e-kere.gr/βιογραφικά/ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ-ΤΣΕΤΣΗΣ (21-09-2017).

Greece in the cities of Kavala and Thessaloniki (Alexandridis, 2002, pp. 49-54).

Karamanis started his chanting career serving the pulpit (analogion) as a lampadarios in the church of St Paraskevi, in Proti, Serres, in March 1926. We will not refer to his career and its various turning-points throughout Greece in detail, since this subject has already been presented in a special study by the author Dimosthenis Alexandridis, published in Thessaloniki, in 2002. We will only mention three basic points, signalizing the relevant dates. In 1944 Karamanis took over the post of the pecenctor in the church of All Saints, Thessaloniki. The years 1950-1952 and 1952-1983 marked the two periods of his service as protopsaltis in the metropolitan church of St Gregorios Palamas in Thessaloniki. After that he retired getting a pension by the Ministry of Culture. It is also noteworthy to mention that in May 1981 he was awarded the office of the Archon Protopsaltis of the Holy Archdiocese of Constantinople, in acknowledgement of his multifarious activities and his great contribution to the art of chanting (Alexandridis, 2002, pp. 68-69). He died on 12 August 2012 in Thessaloniki.

The other distinguished music personality of the chanters of Thessaloniki in the second half of the twentieth century, **Harilaos Taliadoros**, could not be omitted from the realm of chanters and teachers who were involved in shaping the musical life in Thessaloniki and who contributed to the composition of music the funeral service (see plats 1-15, source Nr. 8). He was born in Thessaloniki in 1926. At the age of 14 he met the precentor Christophoros Koutsouradis in the church of St Eleftherios, in Ntepo, Thessaloniki. The latter had moved to Thessaloniki from Constantinople, where he was born and brought up. Taliadoros started his chanting service in 1942, at the age of 16, as a lampadarios and later as a precentor in the church of St Therapon, in Kato Toumpa, Thessaloniki. In 1944 he was a precentor in the church of St Fanourios and John the Forerunner, while in 1945, at the age of 19, he met the Archon Protopsaltis Konstantinos Pringos 16, something that Pringos himself testifies in a recorded interview¹⁷. From 1952 to the present day he is the precentor of the historical cathedral of Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki (Alexandrou, 2014, p. 15).

The series of comparisons among the diverse compositions of the Amomos comes to a conclusion with the presentation of the interpretation by the *protopsaltis* **Asterios Devrelis** (see plates 1-15, source Nr. 9). He was born in 1933 in Galatista, Chalkidiki. His first teacher in the art of chanting was his

¹⁶ A personal testimony of Harilaos Taliadoros about his experience with the *Archon Protopsaltis* in a presentation of his works' publication by the Apostoliki Diakonia of the Church of Greece in November 2007: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=35RvYfYMSdc (22-08-2107).

¹⁷ http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9hrsJf43vVg (22-08-2017).

father Konstantinos, who was a priest. In 1945 he enrolled in the Pastoral School of the patriarchal monastery of St Anastasia in Vasilika, Thessaloniki. There he studied under the precentors Themistoklis Georgiadis – a precentor from Constantinople and a student of Nileus Karamados – and Konstantinos Mpekiaris, another chanter from Constantinople, who graduated from the Phanar Greek Orthodox College¹⁸. He approached Konstantinos Pringos, whom he listened since 1948. After his graduation in 1952, he moved to Thessaloniki and worked with Athanasios Panagiotidis (*kanonarchis* of Iakovos Nafpliotis in the patriarchal choirs) in the production of radio programmes on behalf of the State Radio Station for about twenty years. At the same time, he taught the art of chanting at the School of Byzantine music of the Society "Hagios Ioannis o Damaskinos", while he served as a precentor in the church of St Fanourios, Kato Toumpa, Thessaloniki, where he remained for more than 20 years.

The detailed account of the most important points concerning the life and work of the above mentioned ecclesiastic musicians was necessary, in order to show the reasons why the specific music material that is examined in our study was selected. However, it should be noted that despite the writer's intention, it was impossible to detect more material, mainly regarding the recordings of the funeral services by precentors and *lampadarioi* of the Great Church, to enable a deeper analysis and a more complete research on the interpretation of the Amomos throughout the 20th century¹⁹.

5. The text of the Amomos

Below we quote the verses used in the modern, abridged service of Amomos, as specified by the *Typikon* of the Great Church (Violakis, 1921, p. 434-440), according to the order of the funeral service. A translation of those verses follows (Table 2).

The Greek text (Septuagint)	The English translation			
Στάσις α΄,ἦχος πλ. β΄.	First Stanza			
"Άμωμοι ἐν ὁδῷ, ἀλληλούϊα.	Blessed are the undefiled on their way.			
	Alleluia.			
Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε, δίδαξόν με τὰ	Blessed are you, O Lord, teach me your			
δικαιώματά σου. Άλληλούϊα	statutes.			
Έπεπόθησεν ή ψυχή μου τοῦ ἐπιθυμῆσαι	My soul is now burning with a strong desire			
τὰ κρίματά σου ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ.	for ever to obey your truths.			
Ένύσταξεν ή ψυχή μου ἀπὸ ἀκηδίας,	My soul has grown weary because of being			

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¹⁸ The data stem from a paper given by Asterios Devrelis, at the Centre of History in Thessaloniki, on 10 September 1997: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AwR4GMpcCqc (25-08-2017).

¹⁹ Hopefully, there will be the possibility to further develop the topic in a study of a greater extent which will be published in time to come, with a comparative analysis of interpretations and other local or wider traditions of the Greek-speaking or foreign psaltic art.

βεβαίωσόν με έν τοῖς λόγοις σου.

Κλίνον τὴν καρδίαν μου εἰς τὰ μαρτύριά σου, καὶ μὴ εἰς πλεονεξίαν.

Αθυμία κατέσχε με ἀπὸ ἁμαρτωλῶν, τῶν ἐγκαταλιμπανόντων τὸν νόμον σου.

Μέτοχος ἐγώ εἰμι πάντων τῶν φοβουμένων σε, καὶ τῶν φυλασσόντων τὰς ἐντολάς σου.

Στάσις β΄, ἦχος πλ. α'.

Αἱ χεῖρές σου ἐποίησάν με καὶ ἔπλασάν με, συνέτισόν με καὶ μαθήσομαι τὰς ἐντολάς σου. Ἑλέησόν με, Κύριε.

Ότι ἐγενήθην ὡς ἀσκὸς ἐν πάχνῃ, τὰ δικαιώματά σου οὐκ ἐπελαθόμην.

Σός εἰμι ἐγώ, σῶσόν με, ὅτι τὰ δικαιώματά σου ἐξεζήτησα.

Άπὸ τῶν κριμάτων σου οὐκ ἐξέκλινα, ὅτι σὺ ἐνομοθέτησάς με.

Έκλινα τὴν καρδίαν μου, τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὰ δικαιώματά σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα δι' ἀντάμειψιν.

Καιρὸς τοῦ ποιῆσαι τῷ Κυρίῳ, διεσκέδασαν τὸν νόμον σου.

Στάσις γ΄, ἦχος πλ. δ'.

Καὶ ἐλέησόν με. Ἀλληλούϊα

Έπίβλεψον ἐπ' ἐμὲ καὶ ἐλέησόν με, κατὰ τὸ κρῖμα τῶν ἀγαπώντων τὸ ὄνομά σου. Νεώτερος ἐγώ εἰμι, καὶ ἐξουδενωμένος, τὰ δικαιώματά σου οὐκ ἐπελαθόμην.

Τῆς φωνῆς μου ἄκουσον, Κύριε, κατὰ τὸ ἔλεός σου, κατὰ τὸ κρῖμα σου ζῆσόν με. Άρχοντες κατεδίωξάν με δωρεάν, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων σου ἐδειλίασεν ἡ καρδία μου.

Ζήσεται ή ψυχή μου καὶ αἰνέσει σε, καὶ τὰ κρίματά σου βοηθήσει μοι. Έπλανήθην ὡς πρόβατον ἀπολωλός, ζήτησον τὸν δοῦλόν σου, ὅτι τὰς ἐντολάς σου οὐκ ἐπελαθόμην. Αλληλούια.

despondent; strengthen me with your holy words.

Lead on my faithful heart to your testimonies, and ever not to greediness.

Exceedingly distressed I am, because the sinful men forsake and disregard your law.

I am a true companion of all who love and fear you and keep and honor your commandments.

Second Stanza

Your own hands created me and fashioned me; give me understanding that I may learn your commandments. Be merciful to me, O Lord.

Though I have shriveled like a wineskin in the smoke, I have not forgotten your statutes.

I am yours, save me, for your statutes have I always sought.

From all your instructions, Lord, have I never strayed, for you have given me the law.

I have inclined my heart always to follow your statutes as my true reward.

My Lord, for you to act the time is upon us, for they have transgressed your law.

Third Stasis

And have mercy on me. Alleluia.

Look graciously upon me and have mercy on me, as you do for those who love your name.

Small and obscure though I am, and utterly despised, your statutes I have not forgotten. My pleading voice, hear O my Lord, in your

My pleading voice, hear O my Lord, in your great mercy, and in your justice, grant me life.

Rulers unjustly persecuted me, but my heart has always stood in awe of your words.

Let my soul live, and it shall praise you, and your ordinances shall assist me. I wandered as sheep who lost the trodden path; come and seek your servant, Lord, for your commandments I have not forgotten. Alleluia.

Table 2. The verses of the Amomos according to the order of the funeral service

5.1. Musicological analyses

In the table Nr 2 we introduce a structural and metrical analysis of the first stanza of the Amomos (Table 3).

	Structural and Metrical analysis					
Stanza	Verse	Kolon	Text	N r. of		
				sy l.		
	-	1	Άμωμοι ἐν ὁδῷ, ἀλληλούϊα	11		
	A	2	Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε,	8		
		3	δίδαξόν με τὰ δικαιώματά σου.	11		
	В	4	Έπεπόθησεν ή ψυχή μου	9		
		5	τοῦ ἐπιθυμῆσαι τὰ κρίματά σου	11		
		6	έν παντὶ καιρῷ.	5		
	С	7	Ένύσταξεν ή ψυχή μου ἀπὸ ἀκηδίας,	14		
		8	βεβαίωσόν με ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου.	10		
	D	9	Κλῖνον τὴν καρδίαν μου	7		
1 st		10	εἰς τὰ μαρτύριά σου,	7		
1		11	καὶ μὴ εἰς πλεονεξίαν.	8		
	Е	12	Άθυμία κατέσχε με ἀπὸ ἁμαρτωλῶν,	14		
	E 13		τῶν ἐγκαταλιμπανόντων τὸν νόμον σου.	12		
	F	14	Μέτοχος ἐγώ εἰμι	7		
		15	πάντων τῶν φοβουμένων σε,	8		
		16	καὶ τῶν φυλασσόντων τὰς ἐντολάς σου.	11		
	G	17	Δόξα Πατρὶ καὶ Ύιῷ	7		
		18	καὶ Άγίφ Πνεύματι.	7		
	Н	19	Καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεῖ	5		
	11	20	καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, Ἀμήν.	12		
	I	21	Νε ἀλληλούια.	6		

Table 3. The first stanza of the Amomos: Structural and Metrical analysis

In the tables Nr 4a-b we present a comparative modal analysis for the nine compositions of the first stanza of the Amomos.

Structural and metrical analysis				Comparative		
Stanza	Verse	Kolon	Text	Nr. of syllables	Petros Byzantios	Ioannis Protopsaltis
1 ⁸¹		1	Άμωμοι έν όδῷ, ἀλληλούῖα	11	Vou	Vou
	A	2	Εύλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε,	8		
		3	δίδαξόν με τὰ δικαιώματά σου.	11	Di	Di
	В	4	Έπεπόθησεν ή ψυχή μου	9	Vou	Vou
		5	τοῦ έπιθυμήσαι τὰ κρίματά σου	11	Di	+
		6	έν παντί καιρφ.	5	Di	Di
	С	7	Ένύσταξεν ή ψυχή μου άπὸ άκηδίας,	14	- Di	Vou -
		8	βεβαίωσόν με έν τοῖς λόγοις σου.	10	Di	Di
	D	9	Κλίνον τήν καρδίαν μου	7	Vou	Vou
		10	είς τὰ μαρτύριά σου,	7	Di	-
		11	καί μή είς πλεονεξίαν.	8	Di	Di
	Е	12	Αθυμία κατέσχε με άπὸ άμαρτωλών,	14	Vou -	Vou -
		13	τῶν ἐγκαταλιμπανόντων τὸν νόμον σου.	12	Di	Di
	F	14	Μέτοχος έγώ είμι	7	Vou	Vou
		15	πάντων των φοβουμένων σε,	8	Di	
		16	καὶ τῶν φυλασσόντων τὰς ἐντολάς σου.	11	Di	Di
	G	17	Δόξα Πατρί καί Ύιφ	7	Di	
		18	καὶ Αγίφ Πνεύματι.	7	Di	Di
	Н	19	Καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεῖ	5	Di	-
		20	καὶ είς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, Ἀμήν.	12	Di	Di
	I	21	Νε άλληλούια.	6	Di	Di

Table 4a: The first stanza of the Amomos. Structural, metrical and comparative modal analyses.

		modal anal	lysis (based on t	he cadential notes)		
Th. Stanitsas	E. Georgiadis	L. Asteris & V. Emmanouilidis	G. Tsetsis	A. Karamanis	H. Taliadoros	A. Devrelis
Vou	Vou	(Vou) -	Di	Vou	Vou	Vou
Di	Di		Di	Di		
Di	Di	Di	Di	Di	Di	Di
Vou	Vou	Vou	Vou	Vou	Vou	Vou
-			-			-
Di	Di	Di	Di	Di	Di	Di
- Vou	- Ga	- Vou	- Vou	Vou Zo	- Vou	Vou -
Di	Di	Di	Di	Di	Di	Di
-		(Vou) -	Vou	Vou	Vou	Vou
-		-	-			-
Di	Di	Di	Di	Di	Di	Di
- Di	- Zo	(Vou) - Zo	- Zo	- Zo	Vou Zo	Vou Zo
Di	Di	Di	Di	Di	Di	Di
Vou	Vou	Vou	Vou	Vou	Vou	Vou
Ga	Ga	Ga	Ga	Di	Di	Ga
Di	Di	Di	Di	Di	Di	Di
Di					Di	Di
Di	Di	(Di) -	(Di)	Di	Di	
Di	Di	Di	Di	Di	Di	Di
Di	Di	Di	Di	Di	Di	Di
Di	Vou	Vou	Vou	Di	Di	Di

Table 4b: The first stanza of the Amomos. Structural, metrical and comparative model analyses.

The following sources, containing the different settings of the first stanza of the Amomos along with their transcriptions into staff notation, are given in the plates 1 to 15. The citation of the sources appears after taking into consideration some basic criteria.

Firstly, the composition by **Petros Byzantios** (1) is presented, on which all the following compositions were founded and developed. The composition of **Ioannis** *Protopsaltis* (2) is next and this is the final part of the presentation of the two most important, in our opinion, and most well-known compositions of the Amomos in the 19th century. Those were the model for the interpretations of the modern time composers.

The compositions of the modern musicians in the 20th century are next, divided in the following groups: the third is the composition of **Thrasivoulos Stanitsas** (3), while the fourth is the composition by **Eleftherios Georgiadis** (4). The interpretation of **Leonidas Asteris** (5) on the verses of the right choir follows. Then, there is the one by **Vasilios Emmanouilidis** on the verses of the left choir, according to a tape-recording in the funeral service of the Patriarch Dimitrios A', as it was chanted in the patriarchal church of St George in Phanar, Constantinople, in 1991. This last service is the decisive point in the presentation concerning the patriarchal tradition of interpreting the melody of Amomos.

Sixth in this presentation is the Amomos performed by father **Georgios Tsetsis** (6), who resounds with the oral tradition of Constantinople in the second half of the 20th century, since, as it was reported in the previous chapter, he was brought up and taught by famous musicians, either belonging or not to the Patriarchate. In this way he was a bearer of the way of performance in Constantinople, as it was formed throughout this period.

Next, there is the presentation of three of the most important chanters and composers of another center that formed the art of chanting throughout history, Thessaloniki. First there is in line seven, the interpretation by **Athanasios Karamanis** (7), as he recorded it in a special edition of the funeral service published in 1998. Then, in line eight, there is the composition by **Harilaos Taliadoros** (8), which is cited from his own edition of occasional services, edited by his student Paschalis Manos (Giannopoulos, 2016, p. 335). The list is over in line nine with the composition of **Asterios Devrelis** (9).

5.2. Collation of sources



Plate 1 Collation of sources for the first stanza of the Amomos. Kola 1-2.



Plate 2 Collation of sources for the first stanza of the Amomos. Kolon 3.



Plate 3 Collation of sources for the first stanza of the Amomos. Kola 4-5



Plate 4 Collation of sources for the first stanza of the Amomos. Kola 5 (con.)-6



Plate 5 Collation of sources for the first stanza of the Amomos. Kolon 7



Plate 6: Collation of sources for the first stanza of the Amomos. Kolon 8.

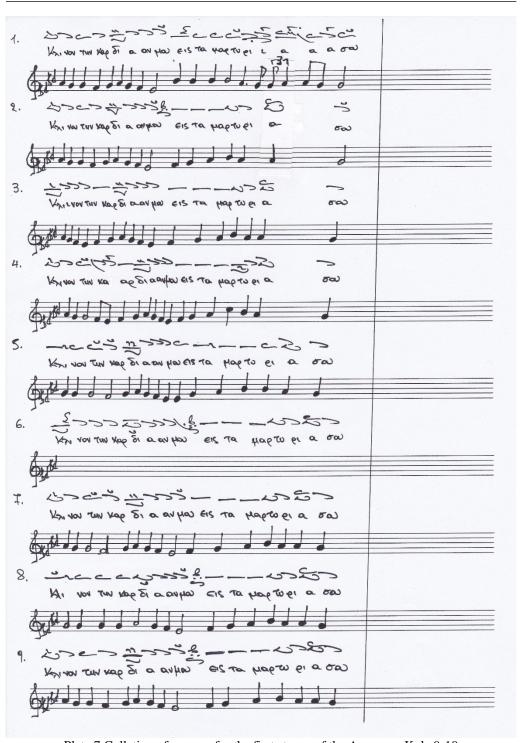


Plate 7 Collation of sources for the first stanza of the Amomos. Kola 9-10



Plate 8 Collation of sources for the first stanza of the Amomos. Kolon 11



Plate 9 Collation of sources for the first stanza of the Amomos. Kolon 12



Plate 10 Collation of sources for the first stanza of the Amomos. Kolon 13



Plate 11 Collation of sources for the first stanza of the Amomos. Kola 14-15



Plate 12 Collation of sources for the first stanza of the Amomos. Kolon 16



Plate 13 Collation of sources for the first stanza of the Amomos. Kola 17-19



Plate 14 Collation of sources for the first stanza of the Amomos. Kolon 20



Plate 15 Collation of sources for the first stanza of the Amomos. Kolon 21

5.3. Comments concerning the musical syntax and the modality of the first stanza of the Amomos

After a careful study of the compositions-interpretations of the selected composers of the 19th and 20th century concerning the first stanza of the Amomos and after examining the table of the comparative analysis cited above, it is necessary to comment on what has been presented in a schematic form. At this point we will succinctly look into the microform of every kolon and into what will be of use for a further study of the performance of the Amomos. The verse referred in capital letters, the kolon in numbers and the specific point of observation in Latin numbering. In this way we try to provide a functional use of the collation given above in connection to our commentary.

The first difficulty was to identify the mode of the first stanza. At this point we should underline that the liturgical texts, as it was already mentioned in a previous chapter of our study, place the first stanza of the Amomos in the plagal of the second mode, with very few differentiations in manuscripts that include the melody in the plagal of the first mode. However, the composers of the post-Byzantine era we examined, do not seem to agree to that. They use the signature of the second authentic mode. In the compositions by Petros Byzantios and Ioannis Protopsaltis the modal signature presented is incomplete, in comparison with what is defined by Chrysanthos of Madyta in his "Great Theoretikon" to be a full main signature. In the modern editions of the Amomos examined here there are also differentiations as to the main signature. The majority of the composers places the melody in the plagal of the second mode, using in the signature of the finalis, including the alteration sign (fthora) of the soft chromatic genre, while Karamanis is the only one who follows the paths traced by the post-Byzantine composers, since he sets the Amomos in the second authentic mode. However, it seems that all the abovementioned composers intended rendition of the piece in the soft chromatic genre.

It is also worth mentioning the final melodic phrase used to complete the first stanza of the Amomos presents two forms. Most of the examined composers use a cadence on the finalis of the second authentic mode (Di-G) with the melodic movement of *neanes* (Vou-E to DI-G), while Georgiadis, Asteris and Tsetsis end up in the median of the second mode, on the tone Vou (E).

Rev. Tsetsis is the only interpreter that uses a completely different introductory phrase in the Amomos (kolon 1) compared to the rest of the composers-interpreters. His interpretation resembles a recitative form. We observe the same thing in the kolon 7. We know that this technique was used by early chanters, as far as the short, syllabic parts are concerned, to offer a better movement in the melody, related to the music of the text that was about to be chanted. Thus, in old recordings we notice the beautiful flow of the

syllabic parts and the undeviating observance of their rhythm, without any breaking into simple meters (binary or ternary), offering to the listener the feeling of a "musical narration", despite the "chanting" in the strict sense of the term.

Also, in the kolon 1 the composers of the 19th century do not use a cadential phrase in the finalis of the second mode (Di-G), while modern interpretations by the composers of the 20th century handle the end of this phrase with different ways: Stanitsas, Georgiadis, Tsetsis and Karamanis make cadence on the finalis, while the rest of the composers connects this kolon to the next without any cadence.

In the second part (second *komma*) of kolon 7, on the word «ἀκηδία», Georgiadis leads the melody to the *hypophonia* (Haldaiakis, 2015, p. 72) of the second mode, that is one tone below the finalis, namely Ga-F), with an imperfect cadence. No one else from the composers investigated so far presented a similar movement in the specific kolon. In this part there is an important differentiation in the composition by Athanasios Karamanis, who leads the melody to the diphony of the second mode (Zo'-b).

In the second part of kolon 12 Stanitsas takes the melody from the tone Ni-C, sung as Pseudo-Pa, that is the finalis of the plagal of the second mode, to Di-G, finalis of the second authentic mode. He is the first to introduce this movement for the word «ἀπὸ ἁμαρτωλῶν» compared to the rest of the compositions. The way he uses the music making technique corresponds to what Chrysanthos of Madyta (1832, p. 187-188) calls "mimesis to the meaning" (word painting). However, this movement has no followers by the rest of the composers that we examined. On the contrary, Georgiadis uses a quite different melodic movement ending in the diphony of the second mode (Zo'-b). All the next composers in Constantinople and Thessaloniki follow the same melodic line. It is worth underlining that Taliadoros emphasizes particularly the preposition «ἀπὸ», using descending and ascending skip of thirds moving from the tone Ni-C (Pseudo-Pa as neheanes) to the finalis of the second authentic mode Di-G (neanes) on the word «άμαρτωλῶν». This movement seems very particular, since there is no similar phrase in any of the verses in the rest of Taliadoros' Amomos.

Devrelis introduces the first part of kolon 12 by making two continuous third skips from Ni-C to Di-G on the word «ἀθυμία». This movement is not attested in any composition of the Amomos so far consulted.

The interpretation of the Amomos by Asteris and Emmanouilidis is similar in many respects to the one by Thrasivoulos Stanitsas. However, the two precentors (Asteris and Emmanouilidis) prefer to create bigger sense units. If one observes the table 4 with the comparative analysis, he will see that there are less cadences. In this way Asteris and Emmanouilidis create more directness in the rendition of the sense units, as well as an easier flow in the

syllabic texture of the melody, by being closer relatedon the very rhythm of the poetic text itself.

In kolon 15 Stanitsas is once more a pioneer, leading the melody to an imperfect cadence on the tone Ga, which is the hypophonic tone to the finalis of the second authentic mode. All the subsequent composers-interpreters of the patriarchal chanting tradition, or the wider one in Constantinople, follow this melodic movement. However, this is not the case for the teachers of Thessaloniki, except for Asterios Devrelis, who uses the same movement in his own music setting.

In the kola 17-18 it seems that Karamanis places « Δ ó $\xi\alpha$...» in a recitation style. This interpretation of the Burial service by the composer himself is earwitnessed²⁰. Something similar is not found in any other source examined so far.

6. Conclusions

In the compositions of the 20th century there is an increase in emphasizing different words of the poetic text, whereas in the older compositions the melodic flow of the phrase is the prevailing element. This distracts the smooth flow of the music phrase, in an attempt to impose a new perception of a more proper impression of the poetic text and a more faithful depiction of its concepts, which is in the end at the expense of the music.

Following the analysis of the above presented compositions we can extract some very important conclusions. At first, it is clearly obvious that all the compositions-interpretations, and versions of the Amomos preserve to a great extent the model of melopoeia by Petros Byzantios, with small variations only. In an attempt to generalize, one could claim that this persistence on the older music forms is a usual practice and testifies a sort of conservatism, which is characteristic to the ecclesiastical chant. If we study the development of the specific melody, we notice the use of melodic phrases which spring from the internal rhythm of the poetic text. In the newer compositions, starting with Ioannis Protopsaltis, we observe a breaking down of the melodic phrase, leading to almost separate emphases of each single word. As far as the microform and the modal behavior are concerned, they are quite stable for at least the last two hundred years. This happens even though this melody has some features that could motivate every composer to present a completely new composition: for instance, the fact that the hymn is syllabic. Also, it is a hymn that is often chanted, since the funeral service is one of the most common and therefore multiple settings for this service could be legitim. Additionally, it is a hymn used in many different contexts, since the order of the funeral service remains the same whether it is carried out in a cathedral, or in a village church

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²⁰ Recording from my personal archive.

and for the people of all social classes. Therefore, one could suppose that a variety of settings could suit to the different performance contexts of the Amomos. If we reflect the possibility provided by the use of the *New Method*, that is the analytic notation, for the exact impression of the various movements and utterances of the voice, then the fact that the melody of the Amomos remains unchanged for the last at least two hundred years -as Petros Byzantios himself obviously reflected in his composition the preexisting oral tradition that was preserved until his time-, this seems to be a strong tendency in many categories of Byzantine melopoeia (Chrysanthos, 1832, §400-413).

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