



Verses of the Eight Modes

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“Barren and uninspired” or “empty and tasteless”¹; this is how the verses dedicated to the eight echoi, found in the Greek printings of *The Great Octoechos* or *Paraklitiki* starting with the Venetian editions from the first half of the nineteenth century,² were defined upon their first publication in an actual scientific work, almost a century and a half ago. Although characterized in such derogatory terms, these verses that claim to portray, in a naïve and obsolete metaphor, the character of each echos in turn are still able to transmit the message of the theological concept regarding the role of music in the spiritual development within Christianity, as passed down from the writings of the first Fathers of the

¹ *Anthologia graeca carminum christianorum*. Adornaverunt W. Christ et M. Paranikas, Lipsiae, 1871, *De octo tonis (HXOIC)* musicis, p. CXXII: “Veteres philosophos suam cuique harmoniae vim ad animos hominum commovendos tribuisse constat. Ridicule autem recentiores scriptores, cum vetera harmoniarum nomina ad octo tonos ecclesiasticos falso translata esse non perspexissent, Platonis Aristotelis Plutarchi dicta ad res diversissimas trahunt. Omnino tot et tantas vices singuli ἦχοι subierunt, ut certam quandam indolem cuique tono tribuere difficillimum sit. Equidem satis habeo versus Octoechi, satis illos quidem inanes et inficetos, hoc loco apponere”, after which they are reproduced (p. CXXII-CXXIV) the 8 dodecasyllabic hexastichs. Wilhelm von Christ (1831-1906) is the author of the introduction (*Prolegomena*. pp. IX-CXLIV) of the anthology.

² For example *Παρακλητική ἦτοι ἡ μεγάλη ὀκτώηχος*, Venice, Ἐκ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Τυπογραφίας Φραγκίσκου Ἀνδρεώλα, διὰ δαπάνης Γεωργίου Διαμαντίδου, 1837, p. 59, 110, 162, 216, 269, 319, 368, 424. An earlier edition is from 1819 (*Παρά Νικολάω Γλυκεῖ τῷ ἕξ Ἰωαννίνων*) and it does not contain the stanzas for the echoi. Not even in the other editions I consulted, going backwards chronologically (1810, 1804, 1798, 1793, 1776, 1771 etc., up to the one in 1669, the oldest one in the collections of the Romanian Academy), can one find these verses. They can be found, however, in the 1793 Vienna edition (*Παρά Μαρτίδου Πούλιου*), on pages 29, 52, 75, 101, 127, 153, 177 and 203, as well as in the Venetian edition from 1812 (*Παρά Νικολάω Γλυκεῖ τῷ ἕξ Ἰωαννίνων*), on pages 30, 50, 71, 93, 116, 136, 160, 183. The Bucharest edition of Hristidis and Eliad (1836), which seems to follow the mentioned Viennese and Venetian editions, but with a more elegant pattern, did not also add the verses. I do not know until when this tradition of printing the verses for the eight echoi was perpetuated, but one could still read them in the Venetian editions of 1864 and 1883. The verses also appear in the more recent Roman and Athenian editions. In *Octoihul ce să zice elinește paraclitichi* [*The Octoechoi Called in Greek Paraklitiki*], Neamț, 1836, with *Precuvântarea* (*Înainte cuvântare către cetitori*) [*Foreword (Foreword for the Readers)*] of Veniamin Costachi, the verses for the eight echoi are missing. It seems that none of the Slavic or Romanian translations contain these extra-liturgical texts.

Church. The eight dodecasyllabic hexastichs concerned³ can be found in manuscripts, in various versions, since the eleventh century. About these verses wrote in the early nineteenth century Guillaume André Villoteau (1759-1839) in *De l'état actuel de l'art musical en Égypte*⁴. Translating into French the text of the papadiki, which he had bought from Abbot “Guébraïl”, i.e. Gabriel, the musicograph on scientific mission in the Egypt conquered by Napoleon transcribed and translated in Latin⁵ the eight *couplets* dedicated to the *echoi*, a version other than that known from prints. Those papadiki, copied by one Emanuel Kalos in 1695,⁶ finally ended up in the collection of the Greek supplement of the National Library of Paris (Suppl. gr. 1302). *The Theoritikon* of Chrysanthos also transcribes the verses as known from the published octoechoi.⁷ Lorenzo Tardo, who published them in his treatise of 1938⁸, adds in a note that “in alcuni codici vengono attribuite a Teodoro di Cizico”⁹. Indeed, ever since 1900, Leo Sternbach¹⁰, who found them in

³ Ioannis Vassis, *Initia carminum byzantinorum*, Berlin-New York, 2005 [Supplementa byzantina. Texte und Untersuchungen, Band 8], p. 726, 395, 182, 593, 350, 214, 538, 326. The sources cited are *Anthologia graeca carminum christianorum* and the study of Leo Sternbach.

⁴ *Description de l'Égypte ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française*, seconde édition publiée par C. L. F. Panckoucke, tome quatorzième, État moderne, Paris, 1826, p. 426.

⁵ The Latin translation is by “M. Achaintre”.

⁶ Charles Astruc, Marie-Louise Concasty, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs. Troisième partie, Le supplément grec*, tome III, Paris, 1960, p. 572: from page 13^v to page 14^r there is a chapter on the origin and characteristics of the eight modes; each paragraph ends with a couplet dedicated to the voice under study. At the beginning of the manuscript, there was attached a note signed by Amédée Gastoué, who found that the volume is «celui qui fut donné par l'higoumène Guébraïl à Villoteau, au moment de l'expédition d'Égypte». The manuscript was donated to the Library of Paris by Pierre Aubry in 1903 (p. 578).

⁷ Θεωρητικὸν μέγα τῆς μουσικῆς Χρυσάνθου τοῦ ἐκ Μαδύτων, Triest, 1832. Τὸ ἀνέκδοτο αὐτόγραφο τοῦ 1816. Τὸ ἔντυπο τοῦ 1832. Κριτικὴ ἔκδοσις ὑπὸ Γεωργίου Ν. Κωνσταντίνου, Holy Great Monastery of Vatopedi, 2007. Verses on pp. 402-405, 410 ff., 416 ff., 422 ff., 428 ff., 434 ff., 440 ff., 448 ff.

⁸ Leonardo Tardo, *L'Antica Melurgia Bizantina nell'interpretazione della Scuola Monastica di Grottaferrata* (Collezione Meridionale diretta da U. Zanotti-Bianco, Serie III), Grottaferrata, 1938. The scholar hieromonk fully reproduced these verses after the Heirmologion dated Cryptoferr. E.γ.II. Cf. p. 67: «Tra i mss. neobizantini di Grottaferrata [...], notiamo qui come i più completi: il ms. E.γ.II del 1281, che ha oltre 1917 tipi di strofe-irmi» [but v. p. 333, note 1: «1934 irmi»]. The verses are on pages: 363, 367, 370, 373, 375, 377, 379, 382. Cf. L. Tardo, *L'Ottoeco nei mss. melurgici (I)*, in: Bollettino di Grottaferrata, a. II., fasc. I.

⁹ Tardo, *L'antica melurgia bizantina*, p. 363.

¹⁰ Leo Sternbach, *Analecta Byzantina*, [V.], in: České museum filologické 6, 1900, pp. 304-308. Review by K. Krumbacher in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 10, 1901, p. 315: “5. Des Theodoros von Kyzikos Gedicht auf den Oktoechos, das ohne Autornamen schon

the rich Greek anthology kept at the National Library of France (Parisinus suppl. gr. 690),¹¹ a manuscript from which the philologist from the Jagielloński University extracted and edited numerous other precious texts, also revealed these verses of Metropolitan Theodore of Cyzicus, panegyrist, encomiast, friend and correspondent of emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (945-959).¹² Leo Sternbach returned the verses to the Metropolitan, interspersed with other 8 couplets for each echos, attributed in the manuscript to Metropolitan Leon of Sardis, known as epistolograph,¹³ and to one Parthenios¹⁴.

One of the 14 manuscripts collated by the team from Copenhagen in order to develop the critical edition of the Heirmologion, partially completed at the beginning of the fifth decade of the last century,¹⁵ the

bei Christ-Paranikas, *Anthologia graeca carm. christ. S. cxxii ff.*, gedruckt worden ist; [...] Den Theodoros von Kyzikos hält St. für identisch mit dem Bischof Theodoros von Kyzikos, der im 10. Jahrh. ein im Cod. Vatic. gr. 1246 erhaltenes Enkomion auf den hl. Blasios verfasst hat”.

¹¹ G. Rochefort, *Une anthologie grecque du XI^e s.*, in: *Scriptorium*, vol. 4, 1950, pp. 3-17. The manuscript is dated „au siècle des Comnènes, entre 1075 et 1085 plus exactement”. The verses are on pages 108^v-109.

¹² Sternbach, p. 308: „versuum auctor ex mea quidem sententia non diversus est a Theodoro, Cyzici episcopo”. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur*, München, 2¹⁸⁹⁷, p. 169 (Theodoros, Metropolit von Kzyikos, Panegyriker), p. 390 (Theodoros, Bischof von Kzyikos, 13. Jahrh. [sic]; but v. Sternbach, *ibid.*: „floruit hic quidem saeculo decimo” and note 62: „ad saeculum XIII alius Theodorus (Scutariotes) Cyzicenus pertinet, de quo cf. Krumbacher p. 390”); Hans-Georg Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im Byzantinischen Reich*, München, 1959, p. 570 (mentioned only as the author of the Encomium dedicated to St. Blasius). *Épistoliers byzantins du X^e siècle* édités par Jean Darrouzès, Paris, 1960 [Archives de l’Orient chrétien, 6], p. 26 (33 letters from the correspondence with Constantine, out of which, 8 of the emperor). Ilias Anagnostakis, *Οὐκ εἶσιν ἐμὰ τὰ γράμματα. Ιστορία και ιστορίες στον Προφουρογέννητο*, in: *Symmeikta*, vol. 13, 1999, pp. 97-139.

¹³ See for example W. Hörandner, *Leon Metropolit von Sardes und die Briefsammlung im Neap. III A 6*, in: *Byzantinische Forschungen*, vol. 2, 1967, pp. 227-237 [Polychordia. Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 75. Geburtstag]. A letter addressed to Leon of Sardis by the Metropolitan Alexander of Nicaea in Patmiacus 706, f. 90^v (Jean Darrouzès, *Un recueil épistolaire byzantin: le manuscrit Patmos 706*, in: *Revue des études byzantines* 14 [1956] 92). It is about the arrest and exile of the Metropolitan who had accused the Patriarch Theophylact (933-956) of despotism, that is, during the reign of Romanos I Lekapenos (920-944).

¹⁴ Sternbach, p. 305. Rochefort, p. 10: „groupement par ton des vers de chacun d’eux (un distique pour Léon et Parthénios, un sixain pour Théodore), fondant les personnalités diverses en un poème de 80 vers sur les 8 tons musicaux”. Cf. I. Vassis, *Initia carminum byzantinorum*, p. 595 (Πάντας ὑπερσχῶν τοῦ μέλους τῆ ἀξία Leo ep. Sardensis, In tonum primum), p. 300, 397, 712 etc.

¹⁵ *The Hymns of the Heirmologion*, Part I, Transcribed by Aglaïa Ayoutanti and Maria Stöhr, revised and annotated by Carsten Høeg with the assistance of Jørgen Raasted, Copenhagen, 1952 [Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, vol. VI]. Laur. F 9, parchment, ff. 5-89, dated “early XIIth cent. or perhaps even late XIth cent”. (*The Hymns of the*

codex preserved in the library of the Great Athonite Lavra contains a version of the cycle of the 8 short poems dedicated to the Byzantine echoi. This version of “the epigrams” was published by Antonios A. Alyghizakis in his thesis from 1985¹⁶ because “they are quite old and they are significantly different from those in the printed books”¹⁷. A different version of several verses dedicated to the eight echoi was published in 1960 by Silvio Giuseppe Mercati (1877-1963), after an Athonite manuscript dating from the fifteenth century.¹⁸ Between pages 64–65^v of this codex, the anonymous scribe noted 32 στίχοι ιαμβικοί εις τοὺς ὀκτὼ ἤχους, respectively 8 τετράστιχα ιαμβικά, preceded by a πρόλογος διὰ στίχων (5 + 2 iambi), in which one can identify another type of exposition than the descriptive one of the hexastichs of Theodore, expressed in the ethical vocabulary of the modes. Here can be found a sort of theological interpretation of the significance of each echos and the name of John of Damascus is mentioned everywhere: Ἰωάννης φέριστος ἐκ Δαμασκόθεν (“the best, excellent”; to the authentic echos 1), μέλισμα τερπνόν Ἰωάννης ἐννέπει (“delightful, charming, cheerful”; to the authentic echos 4), ὁ γλυκὺς Ἰωάννης (to the plagal echos 1), πᾶσι προφαίνων Δαμασκῶν Ἰωάννου (to the plagal echos 4).

Albeit partially and only in the form of decapentasyllabic couplets, the verses of the echoi were translated into Romanian, in a synthetically reshaped form, by Anton Pann. Each of the eight modes after which the songs of the “translated” Anastasimatarion were ordered according to the “old system” of cavalry commander Dionysios Photeinos¹⁹ begins

Heirmologion, Part I, pp. XIV-XV). In the Spyridonos-Eustratiades catalogue, under no. 249 (p. 32). Alyghizakis dates it as from the Xth century (p. 119).

¹⁶ Antonios E. Alighizakis, *H οκταηχία στην ελληνική λειτουργική υμνογραφία*, Salonic, 1985, pp. 119-121.

¹⁷ Alyghizakis, p. 120, note 20. The author calls them *επιγράμματα* and compares them with those, largely identical, in another old manuscript, namely Leimonos 295 (f. 205 et seq.) See also page 52, note 157, where it is quoted the essay of Const. Sathas, *Ἱστορικὸν δοκίμιον περὶ θεάτρου καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν Βυζαντινῶν*, Venice, 1878. Between pages 151-152 (ρνα'-ρνβ') of the *Introduction*, the Greek scholar reproduces the epithets attached to the echoi, quoting Chrysanthos (first edition of 1832, pp. 142-168).

¹⁸ S. G. Mercati, *Intorno ai versi sugli otto echi e sui quattro evangelisti contenuti nel codice del Monte Athos 4279 (Iviron 159) del secolo XV*, in: *Byzantion* no. 29-30 (1959–1960; Brussels, 1960), pp. 175-186. Summary described by Sp. Lambros, *Catalogue of Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, II, Cambridge, 1890, p. 38, N^o 4279.

¹⁹ *Nuoul Anastasimatar. Tradus și compus după sistema cea veche a serdarului Dionisie Fotino și dedicat Prea Sfințitului și de Dumnezeu alesului Episcop D. D. Filotei Buzăul. De Anton Pann, București, 1854. În Tipografia lui Anton Pann [The New Anastasimatar. Translated and composed according to the old system of cavalry commander Dionysius Fotino and dedicated to His Grace and God's Chosen Bishop D.D. Filotei Buzăul. By Anton Pann. Bucharest 1854. In the printing of Anton Pann].* The couplets are on pages 1, 36, 72, 106, 144, 182, 215, 249.

with such a couplet inspired by the Greek verses: “The first echos begins by bringing to the front, | The Tones producing sweet Melodies,” “The second echos follows, passing to the half-note, | With its fond Melody overwhelming the first,” “The third echos begins simply, rather hollow, | However, it is heroic and sweetly harmonious,” “The fourth echos starts by giving lively and bright Tone | Then continues more panegyrically, combined with sweetness,” “The first Bar follows progressing sweetly calming, | And more in prayers and laments makes it exceedingly humiliating,” “The sixth echos follows with micturition and chromatically, | Producing a song of sorrow and joy,” “The heavy echos having a low Tone, it was called heavy and simple, | But even the melody declines differently,” and finally “The fourth Bar is in the major Tone, | As it is its merit, it follows all the other”²⁰.

As Wilhelm von Christ critically noted in the prologue of his anthology, “more recent writers, striving in the most risible (*ridicule*) way to assimilate the echoi of church music with the harmonies of the old ones, had not noticed that in fact the latter, that is, Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, referred to entirely different things.” The finding of this discrepancy generated, as of the second half of the nineteenth century and especially around 1900, a rather heated polemic involving the voices of the most important musicologists and theorists of the time. However, few were those who denied completely the ethical dimension, the musical ethos, the differentiated reflection of each modal structure in the human emotional and spiritual component, the cathartic role of music, as Aristotle claimed.²¹ This parallelism between “the movement of sounds” and the movements of the soul²² has an old history and its tradition is common both in the East and West. “The Byzantines wanted,

²⁰ The verses reproduced and translated into Latin by Villoteau are (dodecasyllabic) couplets and their content summarily expresses the same characteristics attributed to the modal ethos.

²¹ *Polit.*, VIII, 7.

²² Evangelos A. Moutsopoulos, *Modal „Ethos” in Byzantine Music. Ethical Tradition and Aesthetical Problematic*, in: XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Viena, 4–9 octombrie 1981. Akten, II. Teil, 7. Teilband: Symposion für Musikologie [...], Vienna, 1982. Published in *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/7 (1982) 3. K. Φιλοξένης, *Λεξιχόν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς*, Constantinople, 1869, p. 102. C. Sathas, *Ἱστορικόν δοκίμιον*, p. ρνα': «Ἐν τέλει ἐκάστου ἤχου τῆς προσημειωθείσης λειτουργικῆς βίβλου εὐρηται ἐξάστιχον ἐπίγραμμα ἐρμηνεῦον σαφῶς τὸ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ διεγερόμενον αἴσθημα ἢ ἦθος ὑφ' ἐκάστης τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τούτων ἁρμονιῶν» (my emphasis). For the ancient doctrine of *ethos*, among the old, but now classical works: Fr. Aug. Gevaert, *Histoire et théorie de la musique de l'antiquité*, I, Gand, 1875, livre II, chap. II, § III, pp. 178-207. More recently, Andrew Barker, *Greek Musical Writings*, vol. I *The Musician and his Art*, Cambridge University Press, 1984, cf. Index (*sub*: ethos, character, *mimēsis*, soul).

imitating the ancient Greeks, to apply *ethos* (ἦθος) to their own music systems. In *The Octoechoi* attributed to John of Damascus, after kathismata and canons of each echos, authentic or plagal, there are those iambic sextines in which that mode is praised. These epithets are in turn a common, Eastern and Western tradition. Indeed, Latin scholars of the Middle Ages use, in order to characterize their modes, similar expressions to the Byzantine characteristics.” I quoted from the old thesis of Edmond Bouvy,²³ who in turn refers to Cardinal Jean-Baptiste Pitra’s *Prolegomena* that prefaces the first volume, published just ten years earlier, of the *Analecta sacra*.²⁴ The Benedictine bishop scientist recomposes a table²⁵ after those found in a dusty Latin manuscript, in which Notker Balbulus “candidly”²⁶ noted the following equivalences:

²³ Edmond Bouvy, *Poètes et mélodes. Étude sur les origines du rythme tonique dans l’hymnographie de l’Église grecque*, Nîmes, 1886, p. 251.

²⁴ Joannes Baptista Pitra, *Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, I, Parisiis, 1876.

²⁵ J. B. Thibaut (*Assimilation des «êchoi» byzantins et des modes latins*, in: Congrès international d’histoire de la musique, Paris, 23-29 juillet 1900, Solesmes, 1901, p. 79) makes this rather sarcastic remark (and it is only 1900!): «A vrai dire, on s’est généralement trop contenté d’afficher sur des tableaux synoptiques le soi-disant dissentiment des auteurs grecs & latins». The author of this statement further presents a picture of the parallel nomenclatures (the Byzantine echoi, Manuel Bryennios, Notker, Hucbald and the Latins, the Byzantines and the modern Greeks). Such an “image” was recently portrayed by Peter Jeffery in his study *The Earliest Oktōēchoi. The Role of Jerusalem and Palestine in the Beginnings of Modal Ordering*, in: *The Study of Medieval Chant, Paths and Bridges, East and West*. In Honor of Kenneth Levy (ed. P. Jeffery), Woodbridge, 2001, p. 153, Table 6.1. The author used as sources: (1) O. Strunk, *Intonations and Signatures of the Byzantine Modes*, in: *Musical Quarterly* 31, 1945, pp. 339-355 [repr. in *Essays*, New York, 1977, pp. 19-36]; (2) Terence Bailey, *The Intonation Formulas of Western Chant*. [Studies and Texts 28], Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1974, pp. 18-19; (3) Jørgen Raasted, *The Hagiopolites. A Byzantine Treatise on Music Theory*, CIMAGL 45 (1983) 13 [for *Hagiopolitēs*]; (4) Vat. Barb. 300, *apud* Tardo, p. 151–163 [for *Papadikē*]. It would have been interesting to also add in the table Gevaert, vol. I, pp. 198-199. Vincent Hunink, *Apuleius of Madauros, Florida*, edited by..., Amsterdam, 2001, [IV] [Ⓜ]Tibicen quidam fuit Antigenidas, omnis uoculae melleus modulator et idem omnimodis peritus modificator, seu tu uelles Aeolion simplex siue <I>asti<um> uarium seu Ludium querulum seu Phrygium religiosum seu Dorium bellicosum. (my emphases).

²⁶ Pitra, *Analecta*, p. LXX: «[...] deduci potest ex quibusdam præconceptis opinionibus de modorum indole, quas candide referre videtur veteris codicis tabella sequens, in quam incidi, dum de Notkero Balbulo schedas pulvereas excuterem meas, quæ procul dubio aliunde notissima sunt». The short paper on music attributed to Notker was edited, after Gerbert, *Scriptores de musica*, t. I, in *Patrologia Latina* of Abbot Migne, vol. CXXXI (Paris, 1853), coll. 1169-1178 (*Notkeri de musica*). The chapter titled *de octo modis* (coll. 1173-1176), in the old German version (textus theotiscus), together with *interpretatio latina*, contains no hint of the modal ethos.

[OCTO TONI] *Modi græci* (I. Doricus; II. Ypodoricus; III. Phrygius; IV. Ypophrygius; V. Lydius; VI. Ypolydius; VII. Mixolydius; VIII. Eolius) corresponding Latin “modes” (*Modi latini*: I. Authenticus; II. Plagius; III. Authenticus II; IV. Plagius II; V. Authenticus III; VI. Plagius III; VII. Authenticus IV; VIII. Plagius). The modes thus assimilated have the following characteristics: I. *Gravis* (ἤχος α’); II. *Mæstus* (πλ. α’); III. *Mysticus* (β’); IV. *Harmonicus* (πλ. β’); V. *Jocundus* (γ’); VI. *Devotus* (βαρύς); VII. *Angelicus* (δ’); VIII. *Perfectus* (πλ. δ’).

Only 9 years later, Bouvy’s conclusion is much more conciliatory than the rather harsh opinion of von Christ: “Certainly these moral characteristics had originally had a real value. In the intention of the Church and of the composers themselves, the sacred songs are only the sensible interpretation of prayer and worship”²⁷.

Therefore, what are the characteristics of these *echoi*, expressed in metaphors that seemed to some of questionable taste? They can be summarized in one concise, synthetic epithet (or rather two), which often, if not always, meets or intersects the ancient definition of ἦθος destined for each ἁρμονία.

To simplify, let me quote the brief enumeration presented by Constantine Sathas in the introduction²⁸ to *Ἱστορικὸν δοξίμιον* –

²⁷ Edm. Bouvy, *Poètes et mélodes*, p. 253: «Ces caractéristiques morales avaient certainement, à l’origine, une valeur réelle. Les mélodies sacrées, dans l’intention de l’Église et des mélodes eux-mêmes, ne sont que l’interprétation sensible de la prière et de l’adoration».

²⁸ C. Sathas, *Ἱστορικὸν δοξίμιον*, p. ρνα’. Cf. Alyghizakis, pp. 52-53: ο πρώτος ἦχος εἶναι στη κατάταξη αξιολογικά πρώτος. [...] στον ἦχο αὐτὸ αποδίδονται τα ιδιώματα του αρχαίου δώριου τρόπου. Στη συνέχεια ο δεύτερος ἦχος, ἠδονικός και μελιχρὸς, υπνοεῖ το χαρακτήρα του λυδίου τρόπου· ο τρίτος, ἀκομπος, ἀπλὸς και ἀνδρικός, του φρύγιου· ο τέταρτος, πανηγυρικός, χορευτικός και μεγαλοπρεπής, του μιξολύδιου· ο πλάγιος του πρώτου, φιλοκτίρμων, θρηνώδης και διεγερτικός, του υποδώριου ο πλάγιος του δευτέρου, ἠδονικός και γλυκὺς, του υπολύδιου· ο βαρὺς, ἀπλὸς, ἀνδρώδης και ησυχαστικός, του υποφρύγιου και ο πλάγιος του τετάρτου, θελκτικός και ἐλκυστικός, του υπομιξολύδιου. The same, p. 36 (table of correspondences: Hucbald, Notker, Pachymeres and Bryennios, *Hagiopolites*, Pseudo-Damaskenos). Moutsopoulos, *Modal “Ethos” in Byzantine Music*, pp. 3-4: “In fact, these epigrams are hymns celebrating each one of the eight officially recognized modes of byzantine music, which are thus personified. The similarity of characters existing between the «ethos» which is supposedly proper to each one of them, and that which is respectively attributed to each one of the ancient «harmonies» is more than obvious. The most prominent among these characters are virility in simplicity (first mode), rejoicing in dance (fourth and first plagal mode), complaining in sorrow (first plagal mode, again, with probable allusion to its double scale), and military courage («barys» mode, with evident allusion to its name).”

authentic echos 1: μεγαλοπρεπής (glorious, magnificent²⁹) καὶ σεμνός (venerable, august, holy [> σέβομαι]); authentic echos 2: μελιχρὸς (sweet as honey) καὶ γλυκύτατος (and the sweetest [*dulcissimus*]); authentic echos 3: ἀνδρικός (manly, virile, brave³⁰); authentic echos 4: πανηγυρικός (*in connection with a national holiday*: festive, solemn, pompous) καὶ χορευτικός (*in connection with the chorus of dancers or singers*: χορεύω = to rejoice, to celebrate through dance); plagal echos 1: θρηνωδός (which sings a lament³¹) καὶ φιλοικτίρων (merciful, compassionate); plagal echos 2: ἐπικήδειος (funeral³²) καὶ ἐν ταύτῳ ἡδονικός (and at the same time pleasant, voluptuous); plagal echos 3: ἡσυχαστικός (suitable to soothe the soul³³); plagal echos 4: θελκτικός (which enchants, appeases, calms down³⁴).

²⁹ K. Φιλοξένης, *Λεξικόν*, p. 146: (ἴδε Ἄξιωματικόν). Apuleius, *Florida*: «bellicosum» (cf. Gevaert, I, pp. 198-199). Vincent Hunink, *Apuleius of Madauros*, IV, 1 (*vide supra*).

³⁰ Apuleius, *Florida*: «religiosum» (cf. Gevaert, I, pp. 198-199).

³¹ K. Φιλοξένης, *Λεξικόν*, p. 114 (θρηνωδία): Μελωδία τις θλιθερά καὶ ὀδυρτική, ἥτις κατὰ τοὺς χυδαίους, καλεῖται «Μοιρολόγι» οὗ τὸ λυπηρὸν καὶ θρηνωδὸς ἦθος γίνεται φυσικῶς ἀπὸ τὸν Ὑποδώριον ἢ Πλάγιον τοῦ Α'. ἤχον, ὡς εἶναι καὶ τὸ Ἄργον Στιχηραρικὸν μέλος αὐτοῦ πλ. Α'. ὅπερ χαρακτηρίζει τὸ Θρηνωδὸς ἦθος· «Θρηνωδὸς εἶ σὺ, καὶ φιλοικτίρων ἄγαν». Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαμασκηνός. (Ἴδε Ἐπιτάφιος Θρήνος).

³² De la ἐπι + κῆδος = care, solicitude, sorrow, grief, mourning. K. Φιλοξένης, *Λεξικόν*, pp. 87-88 (Ἐπικήδειον καὶ Ἐπικήδειος). (6) Ὁ θρηνωδὸς στίχος, ὅστις χαρακτηρίζει τὸ λυπηρὸν ἦθος « Ὅτε ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου Σε νεκρὸν » ἢ καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Προσομοίῳ τούτῳ « Δεῦτε τελευταῖον [*sic*] ἀσπασμόν». Apuleius, *Florida*: «simplex» (cf. Gevaert, I, pp. 198-199). Vincent Hunink, *Apuleius of Madauros*, IV, 1 (*vide supra*).

³³ K. Φιλοξένης, *Λεξικόν*, p. 106 (5): ἦθος τι τὸ ὁποῖον χαρακτηρίζει Εἰρμολογικῶς τὸν Δώριον ἢ Πρωτὸν ἤχον, ὅστις μετὰ τὸν Ἡσυχαστικὸν τοῦτον, καὶ ἄλλα ὅμοια χαρακτηριστικὰ σώζει καὶ χαρακτῆρα σεμνόν, πρὸς βελτίωσιν τῶν ἠθῶν, (καθὼς ὁ θεῖος Πλάτων φρονεῖ περὶ τούτου) ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπεισαγωγὴν τοῦ Ἔσω θεματισμοῦ τῆς φθορικῆς ποιότητος τοῦ β'. ἤχου, καὶ τοῦ Εἰρμολογικοῦ μέλους τοῦ Ἡγεμονικοῦ καὶ δραστηρίου Κλάδου « Τὸν τάφον σου Σωτήρ » οὗ οἱ βραχεῖς φθόγγοι τοῦ Εἰρμολογικοῦ μέλους προξενοῦσι τὸ ἀξιωματικὸν καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἦθος, καὶ εἰρηνικὴν κατάστασιν τῆς ψυχῆς. *Aristidis Quintiliani de musica libri tres*. Edidit R. P. Winnington-Ingram, Lipsiae MCMLXIII, p. 40¹⁵ (p. 43 Meibom). Rudolf Schäfke, *Aristeides Quintilianus Von der Musik*. Eingeleitet, übersetzt und erläutert von ..., Berlin-Schöneberg, 1937, p. 228: «beruhigende». François Duysinx, *Aristide Quintilien, La musique*. Traduction et commentaire, Liège, 1999, p. 162¹³: «apaisants». But Apuleius, *Florida*: «varium» (cf. Gevaert, I, pp. 198-199): βαρύς? V. Hunink, *Apuleius of Madauros*, IV, 1: «uarium», (*vide supra*).

³⁴ From the verb θέλω = to attract, to captivate through charms, to seduce, to fascinate, to calm down, to appease, to soothe.

However, it is well known that not all *echoi* have just one scale. Some develop on two or even three scales (the case of authentic *echos* 4). Then one can find that the same epithet happens to characterize 2 different *echoi* (the fourth and the first plagal). Finally, there are the *heirmologic*, *sticheraric*, *papadic* “ticks”, *agogic* and *stylistic* categories that give modes different forms.³⁵ All these are reasons that should dissuade from giving a unique ethical character to all the aspects of a certain *echos*. In reality, as it is known, one can count not only eight, but at least two times more *echoi*,³⁶ so that “it is obvious that the modal *ethoses* listed in the eight epigrams are entirely fictitious and invented”³⁷ and have no connection with the real attributes of the modes characterized in that way. These phrases of Evangelos Moutsopoulos contain an echo of the reprimand that Wilhelm von Christ expresses in connection to those “*inanes et infictos*” verses. “No doubt, the author of the epigrams manages to also express some valid observations, but he actually extrapolates his own conceptions beyond any permissible limit.”³⁸ This means that from now on one should abandon the sterile search of the sources that inspired Theodore Cyzicus, if indeed he is the author of epigrams, namely to what extent he was influenced by the *Damonian* theory³⁹ of the *ethos*, a theory that otherwise could itself be invalidated as a product of pure fantasy.⁴⁰ “On the contrary, the problem consists in seeking new criteria in order to proceed to the reassessment of the concept of modal *ethos* in Byzantine music, an assessment that, far from being moral or only moralizing, should be a purely aesthetic one.”⁴¹ I wonder, however, what would be if the reassessment the modern philosopher refers to were performed according to other criteria, perhaps closer to the spirit in which the hymnographic texts were first composed, together with the melodies that surely accompanied them from the beginning and then the verses about *echoi*, which entered as well in the category of extra-liturgical religious poetry. Indeed, according to a Holy Father of the Church, Clement of

³⁵ These examples are borrowed from the short essay by Moutsopoulos.

³⁶ Moutsopoulos, *Modal “Ethos”*, p. 5: “at least seventeen modes”.

³⁷ *ibidem*.

³⁸ *ibidem*.

³⁹ For Damon of Athens, whose theory on musical ethics has profoundly influenced subsequent philosophers (primarily, Plato and Aristotle), see François Lasserre, *Plutarque, De la musique*. Texte, traduction, commentaire précédés d’une étude sur l’éducation musicale dans la Grèce antique, Olten & Lausanne, 1954, chapter VI: *Damon d’Athènes* and VII: *La postérité de l’éthique damonienne* (pp. 53-80), but also chap. VIII: *L’éthique musicale au IV^e siècle* (pp. 88-97).

⁴⁰ Argues E. Moutsopoulos, quoting J. Chailley, *Le mythe des modes grecs*, in: *Acta musicologica* 28, fasc. 4, 1956, pp. 137-163.

⁴¹ Moutsopoulos, *Modal „Ethos”*, p. 5.

Alexandria, “you can also interpret in another manner; the guitar [χιθάρα] can be understood as a church musical symphony between Law, Prophets, Apostles, and the Gospel; and the accord goes further: the accord of each prophet with the words of the other prophets.”⁴² For a truly theological interpretation of the spiritual basis of the echoi, in their succession and interdependence within the octoechal system, I found this excerpt from the work of St. Nicodemus the Hagiorite about the canons dedicated by St. Cosmas of Maiuma to the Holy Feasts and of Virgin Mary, in the view of Theodore [Ptocho]Prodromos, Byzantine writer from the twelfth century:⁴³ “Since Reverend Cosmas used the usual echoi of the song for his musical canons, I thought it would be appropriate to show the readers, like some sort of ingredient, Theodore’s views in connection therewith.⁴⁴ There are eight echoi, as everyone knows, including four upright and prevailing and forerunner,⁴⁵ and the other four crosswise⁴⁶ or oblique in relation to the upright ones. Cosmas the Bishop used them all, except one, the plagal of the first echos. He uses them in good order and for a perfect fit. That is because he uses the first echos for the first Feast, that of the Nativity. He uses the second echos for the second Feast, that is, for the Theophany and the Baptism of the Lord. The third echos is used for the third Feast of the Lord, that of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, which, although it is the second in the natural order, that is according to the cycle of the sun and the moon, it is actually the third. The fourth echos is used for the fourth Feast, that of Palm Sunday, because it is the fourth from the Nativity (as circumcision does not count, since it is according to the old law of the Jews).⁴⁷ The Annunciation is also omitted, not because it is not a Feast of the Lord, but because sometimes it is celebrated before, and sometimes after Palm Sunday. Arriving to the Great Passion Week, the

⁴² Clement Alexandrinus, *Scieri* [Writings], part II. *Stromatele* [Stromata]. Translation, foreword, notes and indices by D. Fecioru, Bucharest, 1982 [Părinți și scriitori bisericesti, 5], *Stromata a VI-a*, 88, 5, p. 436. Cf. Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, Buch I-VI. Herausgegeben von Otto Stählin, in dritter Auflage neu herausgegeben von Ludwig Früchtel, Berlin, 1960 [Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte. Clemens Alexandrinus, Zweiter Band], p. 476: «λάβοις δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλως μουσικὴν συμφωνίαν τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν νόμου καὶ προφητῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀποστόλων σὺν καὶ τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τὴν τε ὑποβεβηκυῖαν, τὴν καθ' ἕκαστον προφήτην κατὰ τὰς μεταπηδήσεις τῶν προσώπων συνωδιάν».

⁴³ *Ἑορτοδρόμιον ἧτοι Ἑρμηνεῖα εἰς τοὺς ἄσματικοῖς κανόνας τῶν Δεσποτικῶν καὶ Θεομητορικῶν ἑορτῶν*, Venice, 1836, pp. κδ'–κε'.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Ἑορτοδρόμιον*, p. ιζ' and ιη': ὁ σοφὸς Θεόδωρος ὁ καλούμενος Πτωχὸς Πρόδρομος.

⁴⁵ ὀρθοὶ καὶ κύριοι καὶ προηγούμενοι.

⁴⁶ τῶν ὀρθῶν πλάγιοι. The radical ΠΛΑΓ evokes the concept of the verb “to wander”.

⁴⁷ ὡς νομικωτέρα καὶ ἰουδαϊκωτέρα.

composer skips the first plagal echos, because this one is suitable for celebration and joy,⁴⁸ so it would not be appropriate at all for sorrow and suffering.⁴⁹ For this week he makes full use⁵⁰ of the second plagal and the second [authentic] echos; because these holy days are days of sorrow, the ehoi are also of lament.⁵¹ Although the Lord's Passion is cause for people's joy, however, there can not be a soul, except if it is completely dry and wild, that would not suffer and cry in these holy days. When Reverend Cosmas⁵² reaches⁵³ the Pentecost, he uses the third plagal echos, that is, βαρύς, thereby imitating, I reckon, that voice that came down from Heaven over the Holy and Sanctified Apostles, as it is written in *Acts* 2, 2.⁵⁴ After that, the last echos, that is, the bar of four is used by the Holy Spirit-inspired writer of songs⁵⁵ for the last Feast, that of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, because, although the course of time (the temporal cycle)⁵⁶ begins in late fall and on the threshold of the new year, that is, in [mid] September, making this the first celebration, it is, however, the last because this Feast comes a long time (that is, many years in historical time) after the Ascension.⁵⁷ Moreover, the plagal of the fourth befits the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross: four, for the four sides of the Cross.⁵⁸ Because the bar (plagal), the kinship with the crossing, i.e. the cross wood (τοῦ πλαγίου ξύλου τοῦ Σταυροῦ) that crosses (merges) with the upright wood (μὲ τὸ ὄρθιον ξύλον αὐτοῦ), thus beautifully portraying the Cross.⁵⁹ But why

48 πανηγυριστῆς καὶ χαρίεις.

49 καὶ δὲν ἀρμόζει εἰς λύπην καὶ πάθος.

50 κατακόρως.

51 πενθικοί.

52 ὁ Ἱερός Κοσμάς.

53 ἔφθασεν, from the verb φθάνω 'to reach first, as opposes to vb. ὑστερέω.

54 καὶ ἐγένετο ἄφνω ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἦχος ὡσπερ φερομένης πνοῆς βιαίας καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν ὅλον τὸν οἶκον οὗ ἦσαν καθήμενοι. Suddenly there came a sound from the sky, like a roar (ἦχος), like a mighty rushing wind, and it filled the entire house where they were sitting.

55 ὁ θεσπέσιος.

56 ὁ τοῦ χρόνου δρόμος.

57 μετὰ πολλὰς ἐτῶν περιόδους, ὕστερα ἀπὸ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου Ἀνάληψιν.

58 διὰ τὴν τετραμέρειαν τοῦ Σταυροῦ.

59 In relation to the meaning of the adjective πλάγιος (oblique, beside the road), an interesting testimony, although apocryphal, is found in *Acta Petri cum Simone* (cf. *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, ed. de R. A. Lipsius ἠ M. Bonnet, Leipzig, 1891–1903, vol. I₂, p. 45–103). The apocryphal work is from the IInd century and renders the speech of St. Peter while he was crucified. At one point, addressing the crowd who witnessed the martyrdom, he says: “The Spirit saith: What else is Christ, but the word, *the sound* (ἦχος) of God? So that the Word is the upright beam whereon I am crucified. And *the sound* (ἦχος) is that which crosseth it (πλάγιος), the nature of man. And the nail which

did Holy Cosmas⁶⁰ use the fourth echos for the Feast of the Transfiguration, as he used it for Palm Sunday? No doubt because of the celebrating nature,⁶¹ as a panegyric holiday deserves the dedication of a panegyric echos. Again, there is no doubt that, because this fourth echos was played at this Feast, the composer⁶² chose to sing the fourth plagal for the feast that follows, of the Exaltation of the Cross.”

ABSTRACT

The short dodecasyllabic poems devoted to each echos that can be encountered within the Greek octoechoi and which were thought to provide a late reflection of the old ethos-doctrine of the Hellenic *harmoniai* have been considered by the scholars who managed to scientifically publish and decipher the Byzantine musical monuments as factual poetical improvisations lacking any real ground. They appear in manuscripts starting with the twelfth century, in different versions, among which a later one (fifteenth century), published only in the middle of the last century. The most common version, which can also be found in the printed books, seems to have an author, the Bishop Theodore of Cyzicus, correspondent, among others, of emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. Although these rhymes that claim to portray, in naïve and obsolete imagery, the character of each echos have been considered, in the first scientific printed anthology, as „barren and dull (uninspired)” (*illos [...] inanes et inficetos*), they are still able to transmit the message of the theological conception regarding the role of music in the spiritual development within Christianity, as it is found in the writings of the first Fathers of the Church, as well as in other authors closer to our time, such as Saint Nicodemus the Hagiorite.

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holdeth the cross-tree (πλάγιος) unto the upright in the midst thereof is the conversion and repentance of man”. See Peter Jeffery, *The Earliest Oktōēchoi* (cited above), p. 155.

⁶⁰ ὁ θεῖος.

⁶¹ διὰ τὸ πανηγυρικὸν τοῦ ἤχου.

⁶² ὁ Μελωδός.

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