



A SHORT STUDY ON THE COMPOSITIONS OF THE 'MATHĒMA' ἈΝΩΘΕΝ Οἱ Προφῆται, FROM THE "GOLDEN AGE" OF KALOPHONIA (14TH–15TH CENTURIES) AS FOOD FOR THOUGHT ON THE CONCEPTS OF EPONYMITY, TRADITION AND INNOVATION IN BYZANTINE MUSIC

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I am sure that psaltes and scholars of Byzantine musicology will rush to acquire time machines once they are invented and built. Naturally, after that, the most visited time destination will be the last two Byzantine centuries – the 14th and 15th – when psaltic kalophony blossomed. On the other hand, a second, deeper, thought dictates that such time machines already exist; they are the musical manuscripts of the uninterrupted tradition of Byzantine and post-Byzantine psaltic art.

The present study will transfer us to the era of kalophony and take us back through the post-Byzantine centuries, using as a vehicle the manuscript tradition of the theotokion mathema Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφῆται. Aiming to understand the concepts of eponymity, tradition and innovation as regards Byzantine compositions, in fact, I shall examine the adventures of the most widely-disseminated Byzantine mathēmatarian compositions, which survive even today in liturgical praxis.

Let me clarify first that I am referring to five different settings to music of an identical or similar poetic text, appearing during the 14th and 15th centuries, and recorded almost constantly in the musical manuscripts of the post-Byzantine period. They are two compositions by St Ioannēs Koukouzelēs – one in plagal second nenano and one in the grave mode¹ – and three by Ioannēs Kladas; one in plagal second nenano, one in grave mode and a larger and more elaborate one in first or plagal fourth mode. The first four of these compositions are accessible through their transcription into the modern analytical Byzantine music notation, the so called

¹ The greater part (pp. 399-534) of the doctoral dissertation of Vassiliki Goussi, *Ἡ τέχνη τῆς προσωπογραφίας στὴ Βυζαντινὴ Μουσικὴ: τὸ πρόσωπο τῆς Παναγίας* (*The Art of Portraying in Byzantine Chant: the Person of the Most Holy Virgin Mary*), Thessaloniki 2015 [<http://ikee.lib.auth.gr/record/278326>], deals to the composition of Ioannes Koukouzelēs in grave mode. There is also a short study by the present writer on this specific composition to be published in the forthcoming volume *Μαθηματάριον: Ερμηνευτικὴ προσέγγιση καὶ μουσικολογικὴ σπουδὴ*.

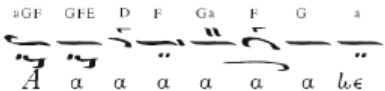
New Method. The latter has only been found in the original Round Middle Byzantine Notation.

The consensus of the musical manuscripts is that there are no more Byzantine compositions of *Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφήται* except for the five mentioned above. Significantly, during the post-Byzantine period, four of these compositions (two in nenano and two in grave mode) are contained in almost every Mathēmatarion, while the composition by Kladas, adapted to the perissè *Πιφεῖς Ἀδάμ*, has been left behind and thrown into oblivion. In contrast, the composition by Koukouzelēs in the grave mode is probably the most disseminated and copied in numerous manuscripts from the 15th – 19th centuries.²

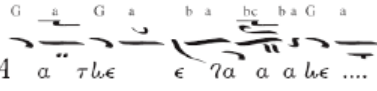
However, the very important codex Sinai 1262, copied by the last Byzantine protopsaltēs, Gregorios Bunes Alyates, from an older anthibolon by Moschianos³ complicates what is clearly indicated by the rest of the manuscript tradition. Between folios 172b and 176a of the Sinai manuscript, eight settings of the mathēma *Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφήται* are contained, rather than five. Surprisingly, none of the three compositions of Kladas are included. Moreover, study of these compositions, contained in the codex Sinai 1262, demonstrates that six of them are different and not recorded elsewhere. These are three anonymous in plagal second nenano mode, one in the same mode by Koukouzeles and another in the first mode by Ioannēs Glykys.

The following table shows the musical incipits of the compositions as well as the graphic layout of the poetic texts, the interpolations of kratēmata and the extent (i.e. the number of double lines written in the manuscript):

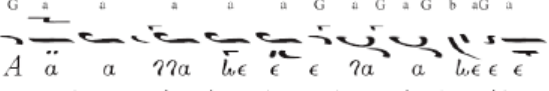
The compositions found in codex Sinai 1262

172v: Ἐτέρα περισσὴ ψαλλομένη εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν Θεοτόκον· ἦχος πλ. β' *λεγαγω*  *Α α α α α α α α*


.... *αλεγα ... (3rd line) ἄνωθε γε εεε οἱ ΓΓοι... οἱ προφήται -λέγε- σὲ προκατήγγειλαν, κόρη, (6th line) σὲ προκατήγγειλαν, κόρη .-*

173r: Εἶτα ἄρχεται ὁ δομέστικος καλοφωνίαν  *Α α τλε ε γε α α α α α α α α*


(17th line) ...τετε... (18th line) ἄνωθεν οἱ προφήται (19th line) τετετε (23rd line) οἱ προφήται.-

173v: Ἄλλος [λόγος] τοῦ αὐτοῦ [Ἰωάννου Κουκουζέλη] *λεγαγω*  *Α α α γε α α α α α α α α*

(8th line) ἄνωθεν οἱ προφήται τετε (9th line) εἶ το τετε... (10th line) σὲ προκατήγγειλαν κόρη, στάμνον τὸ μάννα φέρουσιν καὶ τόμον γεγραμμένον α (13th line) γεαε (14th line) τόμον γεγρα- (15th line) γεγραμμένον.-

173v: Ἐπερον τοῦ αὐτοῦ [Ἰωάννου Κουκουζέλη] *λεγαγω*  *Α α τλε ε γε α α τλε ε (15th line)*

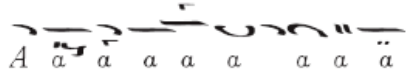
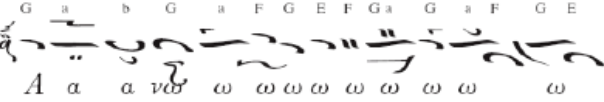
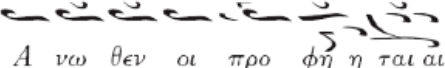
ἄνωθεν οἱ προφήται σὲ προκατήγγειλαν, κόρη, στάμνον τὸ μάννα φέρουσιν καὶ τόμον γεγραμμένον (18th line) αγεαε τερε... καὶ τόμον γε- (19th line) εεε γεγραμμέ- (20th line) γεγραμμένον.-

174r: Ἄλλος [λόγος (:)]  *Α α τε ρε ε ε τε ε ε ε ε τε ρε ... α α α α α α α α*

προκατήγγειλαν, κόρη, οἱ προφήται σὲ προκατήγγειλαν στάμνον τὸ μάννα φέρουσιν, στάμνον τὸ μάννα φέρουσιν, στάμνον χρυσὴν, σὲ προκατήγγειλαν οἱ θαυμαστοὶ προφήται, σὲ προκατήγγειλαν, κόρη, προκατήγγειλαν -πάλιν- κόρη προκατήγγειλαν, στάμνον, ράβδον, πλάκα, τράπεζαν, κλίμακα, καὶ σκηνήν, πύλην ἀδιόδουτον, παλάτιον (17th line) παλάτιον τοτοτοτο (19th line) καὶ θρόνον τοῦ βασιλέως ὁρος ἀλατόμητον χρυσοῦν θυματήριον σὲ προκατήγγειλαν κόρη (22nd line) ἄνωθεν οἱ προφήται.-

2 See the table and diagram at the end of this paper showing the dissemination per century of each of these compositions.

3 Concerning Moschianos see Gregorios Stathis, *Ἡ δεκαπεντασύλλαβος ὕμνογραφία ἐν τῇ βυζαντινῇ μελοποιίᾳ*, Athens 1977, 105-106 and also Constantinos Karangounis, *Ἡ παράδοση καὶ ἐξηγήση τοῦ μέλους τῶν Χερουβικῶν τῆς βυζαντινῆς καὶ μεταβυζαντινῆς μελοποιίας*, Athens 2003, 227-228.

174v: Ἐπερον τοῦ μαῖστορος κελαιω  (the known composition)
 175r: ἄλλον τοῦ πρωτοψάλτου κύρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Γλυκέος [Ἰηχος] 
 F G a F G a
 ἦε ε ε ε ε ε κελαιω - (2nd line) χεχεν οἱ προφήτε τετε.. σὲ προ- (3rd line) κατήγγειλαν οἱ προφήται -πάλιν- σὲ
 προκατήγγειλαν οἱ προφήται (5th line) τε ρρε τε τε τε... (7th line) στάμνον, ράβδον, πλάκα, τράπεζαν, λυχνίαν, κιβωτόν σὲ
 προκατήγγειλαν οἱ προφήται (10th line) τετετε.....κελαιωκε..... (17th line) σὲ προκατήγγειλαν.-
 175v: Ἐπερον τοῦ μαῖστορος κυροῦ Ἰωάννου [Κουκουζέλη]· [Ἰηχος] 
 A νωθεν οἱ προ φή η ται αι
 (the known composition)

The composition by Ioannēs Glykys is especially interesting. If we trust what Grēgorios Bunēs Alyatēs writes in codex Sinai 1262, then the prevailing impression that Ioannēs Koukouzelēs was the first composer of both the poetic text and the melody of Ἄνωθεν οἱ προφήται, is dissolved. What is very significant, in this case, is a fresco located in Ardenitsa Monastery in Lushnja, Albania, which is work of the Zografoi brothers, Athanasios and Konstantinos, from Korca, painted in 1744 and depicting the *maistor* saint holding a scroll with the text of Ἄνωθεν οἱ προφήται on it.⁴ On the contrary, once again, the first inspiration and shaping of the composition belongs to Koukouzelēs's teacher, Ioannēs Glykys. There is also an anonymous, extensive mathemata composition, which possibly could have been made by Koukouzelēs. The rest of them seem to be *logoi* or *prologoi* (ie kratēmata) rather than mathēmata. The following comparative table, showing the "prophetic" nouns and epithets for the Theotokos in the compositions of Glykys, Koukouzelēs and the anonymous one from Sinai 1262, may be considered to substantiate the hypothesis:

Glykys	Koukouzelēs	Anonymous
στάμνον	στάμνον	στάμνον
ράβδον	ράβδον	ράβδον
πλάκα	πλάκα	πλάκα
τράπεζαν	τράπεζαν	τράπεζαν
λυχνίαν	λυχνίαν	λυχνίαν
κιβωτόν	κιβωτόν	κιβωτόν
γέφυρα	γέφυρα	γέφυρα
κλίμακα	κλίμακα	κλίμακα
	ὄρος ἀλατόμητον	καὶ σκηνήν
	χρυσοῦν θυμιατήριον	πύλην ἀδιόδευτον
	θρόνον τοῦ βασιλέως	παλάτιον
		θρόνον τοῦ βασιλέως
		ὄρος ἀλατόμητον
		χρυσοῦν θυμιατήριον

Seen through modern eyes and with the ideas of our era on copyright and the originality of a musical piece, it may be difficult to understand how the older melodic material, is not at

4 Unfortunately, the study of ecclesiastical heirlooms and monuments in Albania is still at an early stage and the relevant bibliography is hardly accessible. The existence of this fresco was suggested to me by Theodor Peci, protopsaltes of the Orthodox Cathedral in Tirana, and I found further information about it on the following sites: <http://www.shqiperia.com/arteologjia/ardenica.php> and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ardenica_Monastery

all avoided by younger composers, within the context of Byzantine composition; rather they openly aim at transforming or rearranging it. Furthermore, it seems that the greatest virtue and the pride of a Byzantine composer is to follow the path of his teachers.

Even in Byzantine kalophony of the 14th and 15th centuries, when eponymity first appeared in Byzantine music, a musical work seems to be emancipated from its creator and it is likely to have many adventures over the course of time. Indeed, these adventures are declared often by manuscript music terminology itself and henceforth they create a new level of eponymity. In this light, I shall now examine the aforementioned five compositions of Koukouzelēs and Kladas, leaving apart that found in codex Sinai 1262.

METATHESIS, REMAKING, ADAPTATION AND EMBELLISHMENT

The remaking of an older composition, essentially the adaptation of the melodic material of an older *melos* to another poetic text, is not a rare phenomenon, especially during the 15th century. The mathēma Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφήται by Ioannēs Kladas in the first or plagal fourth mode, which in several codices has been labeled “great”,⁵ is the product of such a process of adaptation. Here is the inscription under which Kladas’s work is usually found in the musical manuscripts:⁶

Ἀπὸ τὸ μέλος τῶν περισσῶν, μέλος τό, εἰς τὸ Ριφεῖς Ἀδάμ, μετατεθὲν καὶ καλλωπισθὲν [πλατυνθὲν] ἔν τε χειρονομίαις καὶ μέλεσι καὶ σχήμασι καὶ ιδιώμασι, παρὰ κύρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ λαμπαδαρίου, εἰς τὸ Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφήται. Τὰ γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τερεντίσματά τε καὶ τετενίσματα συνετέθησαν καὶ συνηρομόσθησαν πάνυ ἐντέχνως καὶ εὐφυῶς εἰς τὰ τῶν ἐγκωμίων τῆς Θεοτόκου γράμματα, ὡς ὁρᾷς. Ψάλλεται δὲ εἰς τὸ τέλος τῆς Ακολουθίας δίχορον, οὐχ ὁμοῦ, ἀλλ’ ὅπερ ὁ δεξιὸς εἶπει, τοῦτο καὶ ὁ ἀριστερὸς ἀποκρίνεται, καὶ εἰς τὰς μελέτας καὶ εἰς τοὺς διπλασμοὺς. Μέλος κύρ Ἀνδρονίκου, ἀπὸ τὸ Ριφεῖς Ἀδάμ. Ὁ δεξιὸς δομέστικος τοῦ δεξιοῦ χοροῦ, μελέτα ἔσω διὰ τοὺς διπλασμοὺς· ἤχος πρῶτος Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφήται.

[The *melos* of the perissē Ριφεῖς Ἀδάμ has been transposed (adapted) to this *melos* Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφήται and has been embellished in *gestures* and *melodies* and *formulas* and *idioms* by Ioannēs Lampadarios [Kladas]. The *teretisms* and *nenanisms* of the original *melos* have been composed and adapted in an artistic and clever way to the words of the praise to the Theotokos, as you can see. It is to be chanted at the ending of the service by two choirs, not both together, but one by one. The original *melos* was composed by Andronikos].

Some very interesting information arises from the above indication:

a) First information: “Metathesis”, i.e., the adaptation of an existing *melos* to another poetic text is accompanied by a broader processing of the original *melos*. This processing is in other words the “embellishment” or/and the “extension”⁷ of the original melody and regards on:

- *Gestures* (i.e., adding or replacing the stereotypical melodic formulas, dictated by specific combination of vocal and speechless-gesture signs, the so-called theseis according to the definition of Manuel Chrysaphes).

- on *meloses* (ie the change of the melodic contour)

- on “*schemata*”- figures (ie ornamental movements of the voice required by specific signs) and

- on *idioms* (obviously of the mode, in other words the modal behaviour of the *melos*).

In addition, some other scribes describe this processing of the melody in less detail, referring to *parekvolai/interpolation*, *addition* and *embellishment* of the original melody.⁸ (It should be noted that the meaning of the previous terms can be easily found in the music theory treatises of the same period).

5 See codex Sinai 1313, f. 407r: “Ἀνωθεν τὸ μεγάλο· ψάλλεται δὲ δίχορον, εἰς ἤχον α’”.

6 Codex Varlaam (Meteora) 208, f. 339v. See also Gerda Wolfram, “The anthologion Athos Lavra E-108.”, *Μυζικολογία – Musicology* 11 (2011), 32-33.

7 Codex Koutlounousiou 456, 463r.

8 Konstamonitou 86, f. 246r: “Τοῦ λαμπαδαρίου [Ἰω. Κλαδᾶ] καὶ νοήματα καὶ ποιήματα, παρεκβολαὶ καὶ προσθέσεις καὶ καλλωπισμοί. Τὸ παρὸν μέλος ἔνι ἀπὸ τὰς περισσᾶς· τὰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ριφεῖς Ἀδάμ τετενίσματα καὶ τερετίσματα ἐτέθησαν καὶ ἐποιήθησαν παρ’ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφήται, καθὼς ὁρᾷς· ψάλλεται δὲ ἐν τῇ Μεγάλῃ Ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἀπαραιτήτως καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ πόλει· ἤχος α’ Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφήται...”.

Kladas, in general, often dares to embellish or adapt many compositions from the older repertory. The following inscriptions from codex SAL 48, which was written around 1430 by David Raidestēnos, are indicative:

267r: “Μετάφραση τοῦ αὐτοῦ [Ἰωάννου Κλαδᾶ] ἀπὸ τὸ Σῶμα Χριστοῦ τοῦ [Ἰωάννου] Γλυκέος· [ἦχος] γ’ Γεύσασθε..”

364r: “Ἐγκώμιον εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν θεοτόκον μετατεθὲν καὶ αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῦ λαμπαδαρίου [Ἰωάννου Κλαδᾶ] ἀπὸ τὸ κράτημα τοῦ μαΐστορος [Ἰωάννου Κουκουζέλη] τὸ λεγόμενον βιόλα καὶ ζαμάρα· ἦχος πλ. δ’ Ἦν πάλαι προεκήρυξαν”.

368r: “Ἐτερον ἐγκώμιον καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Θεοτόκον, μετατεθὲν ἀπὸ τὸ Ριφείς Ἀδάμ εἰς τὸ Ἄνωθεν οἱ προφῆται παρὰ τοῦ λαμπαδαρίου [Ἰωάννου Κλαδᾶ] δίχορον· [ἦχος] α’”.

It seems, therefore, that Kladas had the necessary self-confidence and enjoyed the appreciation required to make such “embellishments”. However, not all similar efforts were favourably received. Although it is not directly relevant to my theme, the following inscription from codex Sinai 1234, written by Ioannēs Plousiadēnos in 1469, is very interesting:

f. 88r: “*Mathēma to the same feast by maistor [Ioannēs Koukouzelēs], “deformed” by Manuel Argyros as somebody says*”. (And on the lower margin): “*Note: “deformed” is written so that everybody see the composer’s (Manuel Argyros) audacity in touching Koukouzelēs’s composition*”.⁹

b) Secondly: Kladas adapted the words of the praise of the Theotokos to the melodies of the kratēmata (also teretisms and nenanisms) in an “artistic and clever way”. The specific reference to the melody adaptation of a kratēma shows that this is neither an obvious nor an easy process. The difference in treatment between kratēmata – especially teretisms – and the rest of the papadic melodies is obvious even to outsiders.

c) Thirdly: The original composition was composed by Andronikos, who is presented as a king in some other manuscripts. The absence of his name in the Athenian codex 2458 of the year 1336 and its appearance in the musical manuscripts from the mid 14th century onwards indicates that he is Andronikos III, who reigned between 1328 and 1341, and not his grandfather Andronikos II, already dead since 1332.

But in addition, in some other musical codices, Kampanis, who lived during the same period, is presented as the composer of the original composition.

Codex Iberon 1006, written by David Raidestēnos in 1431, gives more important information. Patriarch Matthaios ordered Ioannēs Kladas to adapt the words of the praise of the Theotokos to the old composition of the perissē Ριφείς Ἀδάμ.¹⁰ This means that the work of Kladas took place between years 1397 and 1410. It may be concluded in general that a simple monk as well as an emperor could deal with psaltic art – especially kalophony – during the Byzantine era and also that the ordering of musical works, particularly kalophonic compositions, was not a rare phenomenon.

“...KAT’ ἸΧΝΟΣ ἘΠΙΕΤΑΙ...” / “...FOLLOWS STEP BY STEP...”

Ioannēs Kladas set to music the mathēma Ἄνωθεν οἱ προφῆται, using similar text, twice over, one in nenano mode and another in grave mode. Ioannēs Koukouzelēs almost a century before made the same modes choices for his own, very famous, compositions. Kladas certainly knew the compositions of Koukouzelēs, and thus the question arises: what gave Kladas the right to create his own compositions next to the older ones made by the greatest maistor Ioannēs Koukouzelēs?

Codex Konstamonitou 86, from the early 15th century, answers this question with the

⁹ “Ἐτερον [μάθημα] εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἑορτήν, τοῦ μαΐστορος [Ἰωάννου Κουκουζέλη], ὡς τινες λέγουσι ἐκακωπίσθη δὲ παρὰ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Ἀργυροῦ, ἦχος β’ Τῆς αὐλῶν οὐσίας...”

“Σημείωση· πολλὰ οὖν οὗτος τολμηρὸς προσεγγίσει, ἔνθα ὁ Κουκουζέλης συντέθεικε· ἵνα δὲ πάντες ὁρῶσι τὴν αὐθάδειαν αὐτοῦ, ἐκακωπίσθη προσγέγραπται”.

¹⁰ “Αὐτὴ ἡ περισσὴ μετεποιήθη ἀπὸ τὸ Ριφείς Ἀδάμ εἰς τὸ Ἄνωθεν οἱ προφῆται ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαρίτου κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ λαμπαδαρίου. Τοῦτο δὲ προσέταξεν αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι ὁ ἀγιώτατος πατριάρχης κὺρ Ματθαῖος. Ψάλλεται δὲ τοῦτον ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους· ὅπερ ὁ δεξιὸς χορὸς εἶπει τοῦτο καὶ ὁ ἀριστερὸς ἀποκρίνεται”.

following indication: “The first composition is to be chanted by two choirs as one can see, but the latter is kalophonic and soloistic and is composed by Ioannēs Kladas who follows the older composers step by step. It is considered to be very good by its composer”.¹¹ It is very interesting in this case that the scribe of the aforementioned codex conveys a statement by the composer, Ioannēs Kladas. This reminds us what Manuēl Chrysaphēs wrote about the setting to music of the Oikoi of the Akathistos Hymn by Kladas, wherein “he follows the old masters step by step” and one may easily understand why he “is not only ashamed so to do, but rather took pride thereafter in not departing from the model provided by the efforts of the older composers”.¹²

However, it remains to be seen what constitutes this melopoetic imitation, by comparing Koukouzelēs's compositions to those of Kladas:

First, one may see that the initial musical phrases in the compositions of Kladas are comparable with those of Koukouzelēs. It is obvious therefore that Ioannēs Kladas maintains the basic melopoetic ideas of Koukouzelēs but extends and varies them.

The initial phrase of the theotokion mathema Ἀνοθεὺν οἱ προσήται by Ioannes Koukouzeles and Ioannes Kladas in comparison.

11 “Τοῦτο μὲν ἀπὸ χοροῦ καὶ δίχορον, ὡς ὄρας, τοῦτο δὲ καλλιφωνικὸν μονο-φωνάρικον καὶ ἴδιον τοῦ λαμπαδαρίου ποιήμα· **κατ’ ἵχνεσιν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις διδασκάλοις ἀκολουθῶν**· πάνυ καλὸν ὡς δοκεῖ τῷ ποιήσαντι [ἦχος] βαρὺς Ἄνωθεν οἱ προφῆται...”

12 Dimitri Conomos, *The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes the Lampadarios*, Wien 1985, 44-45: "Τῶν οἰκῶν δέ γε πρῶτος ποιητῆς ὁ Ἀνεώτης ὑπῆρξε καὶ δευτέρος ὁ Γλυκύς, τὸν Ἀνεώτην μιμούμενος· ἔπειτα τρίτος ὁ Ἡθικός ὀνομαζόμενος, ὡς διδάσκαλος ἐπόμενος τοῖς προειρημένοις δυσὶν· καὶ μετὰ πάντας αὐτοὺς ὁ χαριτώννυμος Κουκουζέλης, ὃς εἰ καὶ μέγας τῷ ὄντι διδάσκαλος ἦν καὶ οὐδενὶ τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ παραχωρεῖν εἶχε τῆς ἐπιστήμης, εἶπετο δ' οὖν ὅμως κατ' ἔχνος αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐδέν τι τῶν ἐκείνοις δοξάντων καὶ δοκιμασθέντων καλῶς δεῖν φετο καινοτομεῖν. διὸ οὐδὲ ἐκαινοτόμει. ὁ δὲ λαμπαδάριος Ἰωάννης τούτων ὕστερος ὢν καὶ κατ' οὐδὲν ἐλαττοῦμενος τῶν προτέρων, καὶ αὐταῖς λέξεσι γράφων ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ, ἔφη· Ἀκάθιστος ποιηθεῖσα παρ' ἐμοῦ Ἰωάννου λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Κλαδᾶ, μιμουμένη κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν τὴν παλαιὰν Ἀκάθιστον. καὶ οὐκ ἠσχύνετο γράφων οὕτως, εἰ μὴ μᾶλλον καὶ ἐσεμνύνετο καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ὥσπερ ἐνομοθέτει διὰ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν ὑποδείγματος τοῦ τῶν παλαιότερων ζήλου μηδόλως ἐξίστασθαι, μηδὲ καινοτομεῖν τι παρὰ τὰ καθάπαξ δόξαντα καλῶς ἔχοντι αὐτοῖς".

[illegible]

KOUKOUZELĒS'S NENANO

G a G F E F G a F G a b a a G a G a E E E F G a a a c b a a G

A α α α α α α α α α α ω ω θ α ω θ ε ι ν ο ι π ρ ο φ η η η η

a F G ab a a

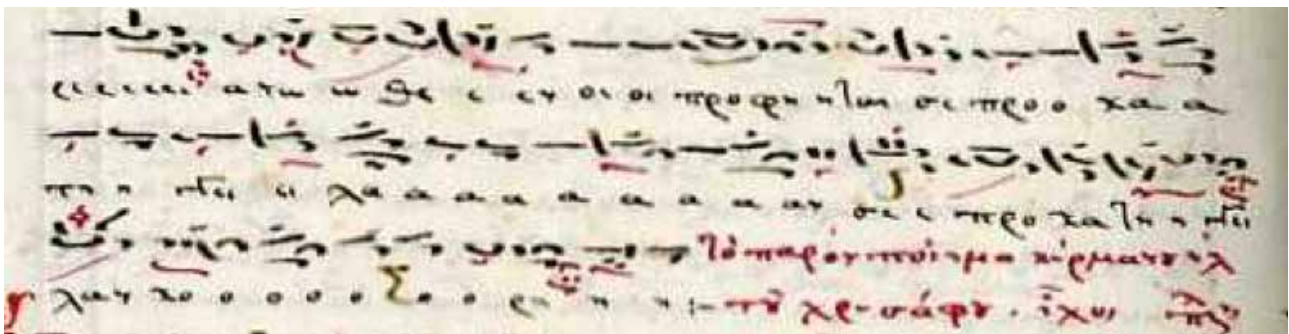
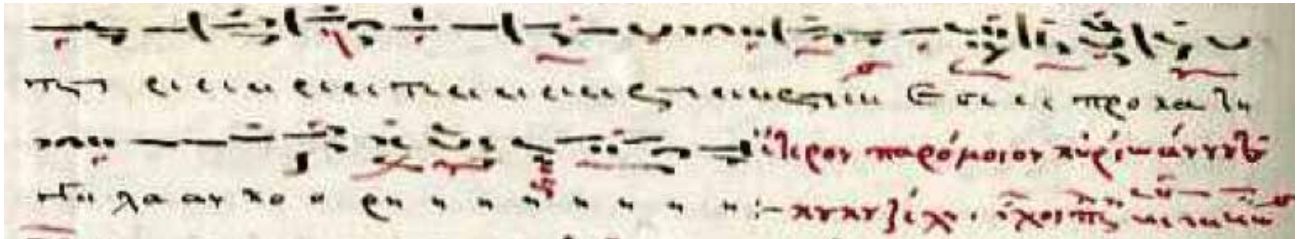
η η η η η ται

KLADAS'S NENANO

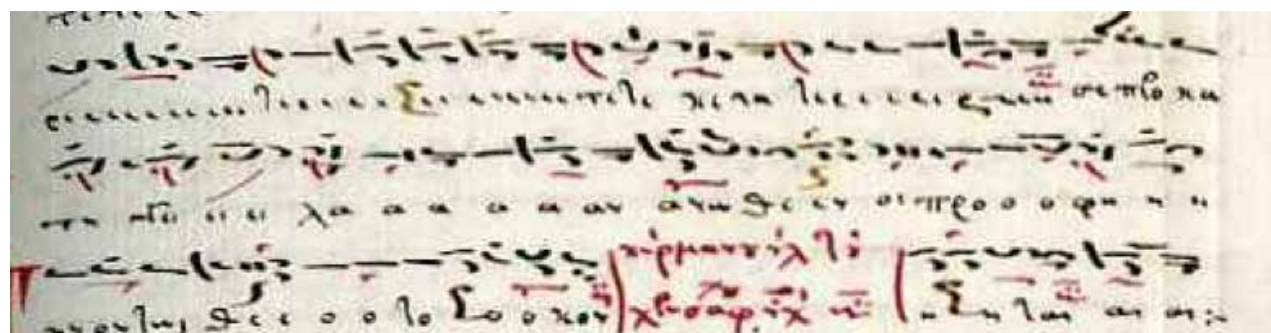
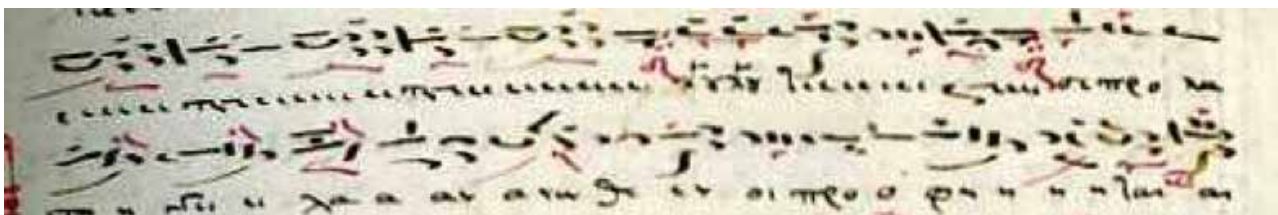
G a G F E F G a F G a b a a G a G a E a G F G F E G a a b a G a G
 Α α α α α α α α α α α ρω ω ω θεν α α ρω θε ε ε εν οι προ φη η η η
 b a b a a
 η η η η ραι

b. He also acts similarly at the endings of the compositions, when he is interested in reminding the listener of the corresponding compositions by Koukouzelēs, but he also, very carefully, creates his own slightly wider melodic lines.

THE ENDINGS OF THE COMPOSITIONS IN NENANO MODE



THE ENDINGS OF THE COMPOSITIONS IN GRAVE MODE



It is characteristic, moreover, that Kladas uses phrases of poetic text identical to the corresponding compositions of Koukouzelēs at the beginnings and at the endings of his own compositions:

Pl. 4 mode beginning:	Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφῆται σὲ προκατήγγειλαν, κόρη
ending:	Σὲ προκατήγγειλαν, κόρη
Grave mode beginning:	Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφῆται σὲ προκατήγγειλαν, κόρη
ending:	[Σὲ προκατήγγειλαν] Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφῆται.

c. The beginnings and the endings of Kladas's compositions demonstrate his overall melopoetic method. Kladas presents two wider, and in some ways more complete, compositions than Koukouzelēs. This can be clearly seen in the elaboration of the poetic text. Kladas uses as a basis the poetic text of the corresponding mathēmata of Koukouzelēs and after he has already set to music all the names of the Theotokos then he displays them completed with the appropriate adjective, also adding more prophetic designations for the Theotokos, known from the Akathistos Hymn and other relevant hymnographic poems. The following table shows the names and epithets of the Theotokos in the mathēmata of Koukouzelēs in comparison with those of Kladas. All the differences are indicated with bold letters:

Grave Mode*Koukouzelēs*

στάμνον,
ράβδον,
πλάκα,
κιβωτόν,
λυχνίαν,
τράπεζαν,
ὄρος
ἀλατόμητον,
χρυσούν
θυμιατήριον,
σκηνή,
πύλην
ἀδιόδευτον,
παλάτιον,
κλίμακα,
θρόνον τοῦ
βασιλέως

Kladas

στάμνον,
ράβδον,
πλάκα,
λυχνίαν,
κιβωτόν,
ὄρος ἀλατόμητον,
ὄρος **κατάσκιον,**
σκηνή,
πύλην ἀδιόδευτον
κεκλεισμένην,
παλάτιον,
θρόνον τοῦ βασιλέως,
βάτον ἀκατάφλεκτον,
στάμνον **μάννα**
φέρουσιν,
πόκον δροσοφόρον,
νεφέλη κούφην,
γέφυραν,
κλίνην,
καθέδραν τοῦ μεγάλου
βασιλέως

Nenano Mode*Koukouzelēs*

στάμνον,
ράβδον,
πλάκα,
τράπεζαν,
λυχνίαν,
κιβωτόν,
γέφυρα,
κλίμακα,
ὄρος
ἀλατόμητον,
χρυσούν
θυμιατήριον,
θρόνον τοῦ
βασιλέως

Kladas

στάμνον,
ράβδον,
τράπεζαν,
λυχνίαν,
κιβωτόν,
ὄρος ἀλατόμητον,
ὄρος **κατάσκιον,**
σκηνή,
πύλην ἀδιόδευτον
κεκλεισμένην,
πύλην ἐπουράνιον,
κλίμακα
τόμον γεγραμμένον,
βάτον ἀκατάφλεκτον,
στάμνον **μάννα** **φέρουσιν,**
πόκον δροσοφόρον,
νεφέλη κούφην,
φωτεινὴν λαμπάδα,
παλάτιον,
θρόνον τοῦ μεγάλου
βασιλέως,
χρυσούν **θυμιατήριον,**
γέφυραν,
κλίνην,
καθέδραν τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ
μεγάλου

And of course, the main parts of Kladas's compositions are newly created and obviously different from those by Koukouzelēs:

[illegible]

All the foregoing demonstrates that kalophony is more than an “Ars Nova”. It must be regarded as a great but peaceful revolution against the traditional character and the anonymity of the psaltic art. The composers of the 14th century asked and took “the portion of the property that fell to them”, which is translated into their new creations. But they did not journey “to a far country” as the prodigal son of the Gospel did.¹³ Instead, they cultured the fertile fatherland, in a less adventurous way perhaps than in the parable.

“...ΚΑΘ’ΩΣ ΓΡΑΦΕΤΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΨΑΛΛΕΤΑΙ...” / “...AS IT IS WRITTEN AND CHANTED”

Of course, the notational transmission of a Byzantine kalophonic composition appears in different versions according to the period of notation. However, sometimes one may see variations in notated versions of the same composition during the same notational period. And obviously, these variations must be reflected in different styles of chanting.

This fact calls to mind the cases of Cretan composers of the 16th-17th centuries, who were accustomed to transmitting classical Byzantine compositions in their own notational versions and, consequently, their own fashion. The inscription relating to the mathēma Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφηῇται by Koukouzelēs in grave mode, from the Cretan codex Mayer 12053, held at the Sydney Jones Library of Liverpool University, written by Gerasimos Yalinas in year 1662, is eloquent testimony: (f. 283v) “One other theotokion, a poem by the maistor Ioannēs Koukouzeles as [it is written and chanted] by Demetrios Tamias; grave mode, Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφηῇται”.¹⁴

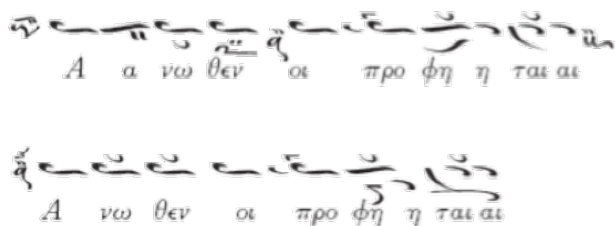
This provides a very good opportunity to study the general phenomenon of the notational recasting of Byzantine compositions by the Cretan composers, but unfortunately space does not permit this here.¹⁵ Moreover, it is clear that the subject will be illuminated sufficiently by the contribution of Dimitris Balageorgos to the present collection of essays.¹⁶

“...ΚΑΤ’ ΕΞΗΓΗΣΙΝ...” / “...IN EXĒGĒSIS....” (TRANSCRIPTION)

It is remarkable that the composition of Koukouzelēs in grave mode is regarded as the most disseminated and essentially the only one of the total five compositions of the mathēma Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφηῇται to have survived in the contemporary psaltic repertory. And furthermore, it should be noted that this particular composition is contained in all almost the Papadikes and Anthologies and of course in the Mathēmataria until the 19th century, and has been printed in numerous musical editions since then.

In the context of its extraordinarily rich manuscript tradition, Koukouzelēs’s composition remained notated in its original Round Middle Byzantine Notation until the middle of the 18th century. A few insignificant notational variations in some cases and the removal of the first repeated phrase Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφηῇται σὲ προκατήγγειλαν κόρη - παλιν- can be observed in some manuscripts.¹⁷

Different writings in the Middle Byzantine Notation

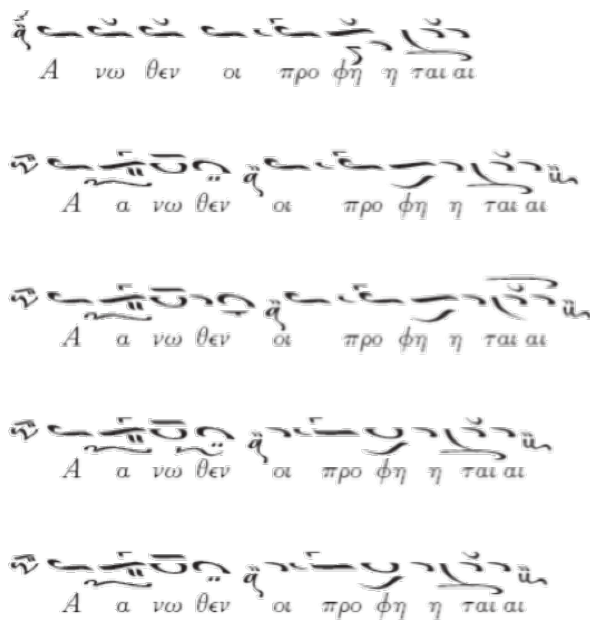


¹⁴ “Ἐτερον θεοτοκίον, ποίημα Ἰωάννου Κουκουζέλη καὶ μαῖστορος, καθὼς [γράφεται καὶ ψάλλεται παρὰ] Δημητρίου Ταμιά· ἦχος βαρύς, Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφηῇται”.

¹⁵ See also in Emmanuēl Giannopoulos’ dissertation, *Ἡ ἀνθρησι τῆς Ψαλτικῆς Τέχνης στὴν Κρήτη*, Athens 2004, 416-435 the relevant unit in the fourth capital of the second part, entitled: “2. Παλαιὰ μέλη, ‘καθὼς γράφονται καὶ ψάλλονται παρὰ’ τῶν Κρητῶν”.

¹⁶ “From the Cretan chanting tradition of the 16th - 17th centuries: A radical and original musical setting of the Great Doxology”, see pages XXXX

¹⁷ See the relevant table in Constantinos Psachos, *Ἡ Παρασημαντικὴ τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς*, Athens 1978², 244, where four different notational versions of the initial phrase Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφηῇται σὲ προκατήγγειλαν are presented.

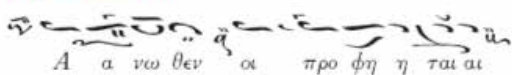


Later on, the composition is found written in the transitional exegetic notation by the two Peters, the master Peloponnesian († 1778) and his student Vyzantios († 1778).¹⁸ In addition, a certain Savvas¹⁹ – otherwise unknown – appears as the transcribe of the composition in codex Xeropotamou 385, f. 206r, writing it down in the pre-New Method transitional exegetic notation. Also, Antonios Lampadarios²⁰ provides his own exegetic work, found in the acquisitions of Constantinos Psachos's library.²¹

Here is a table based on the older one compiled by Konstantinos Psachos and presenting the various notational versions of the phrase *Ανωθεν οί προφήται*.

The exegeseis in Transitional Exegetic Notation

Original notation:



Exegesis by Petros Peloponnesios



Exegesis by Petros Vyzantios (almost similar to the previous)



18 Autograph codex Esphigmenou 93, written in 1789, 126-132. See also Manolēs Chatzigiakoumēs, *Χειρόγραφα Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Μουσικῆς 1453-1820*, op.cit., 110 and Constantinos Psachos, op.cit., 83.

19 See Grēgorios Stathis, *Τὰ Χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικῆς - Ἅγιον Ὄρος*, vol. A, Athens 1975, 298.

20 Constantinos Psachos, op.cit., 243.

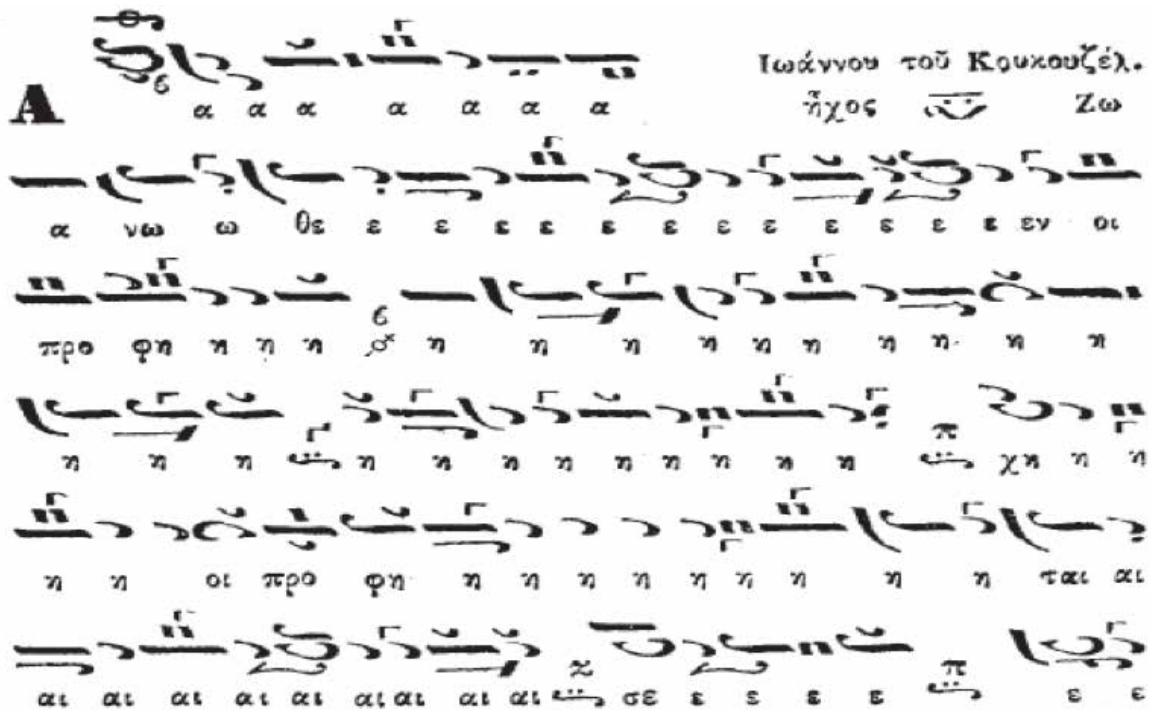
21 BKΨ folder 3/ leaf. 62, f. 1v.

Exegesis by Antonios Lampadarios



Finally, the composition was transcribed into the notational system of the New Method by both teacher-exēgētes, Grēgorios Protopsaltēs (†1821) and Chourmouzos Chartophylax (†1840). The protographs of these exēgēseis can be found in the Anthology, codex EBE-MΠIT 706, f. 370r, and in the envelope E of Gregorios's Archive in Psachos's library, f. 111v, respectively. The exēgēsis of Gregorios, however, is the most widespread and well known through its printed publication, in the third volume of *Mousikē Pandektē*,²² (pp. 5-14) as well as in the first volume of *Tameion Anthologias*,²³ where is recorded with some small notational variations. It should be said that the later edition is intentionally mentioned here first because it is faithfully copied from the autograph of Grēgorios. The exēgēsis printed in the earlier *Ταμείον Ανθολογίας* is undoubtedly also Gregorios's work, but nevertheless some notational differences exist, probably on account of the intervention of the editor, Chourmouzos.

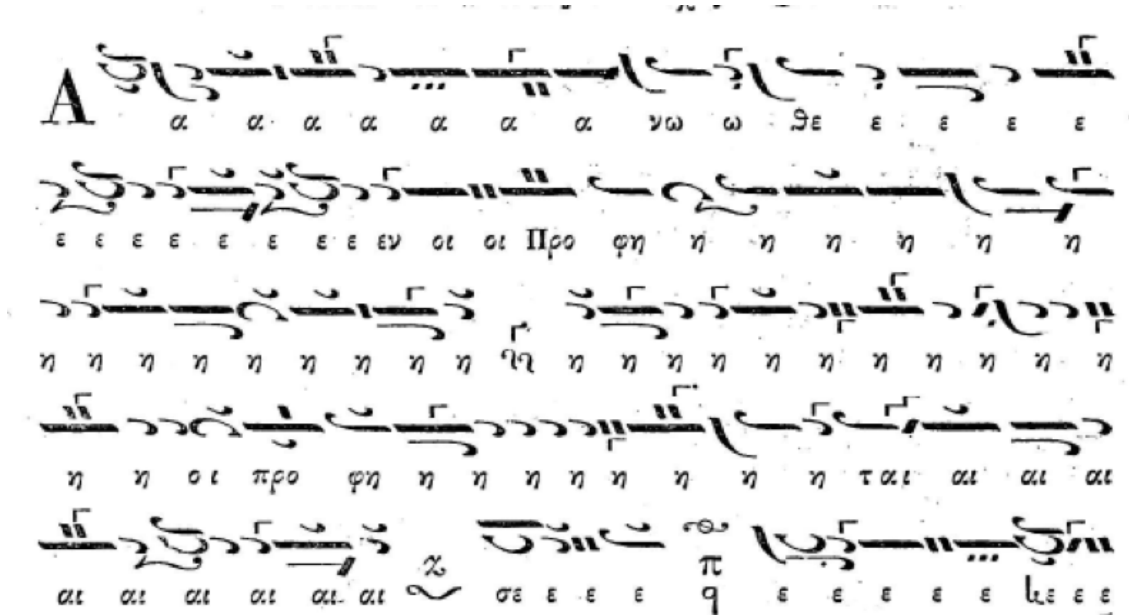
MOUSIKĒ PANDEKTĒ



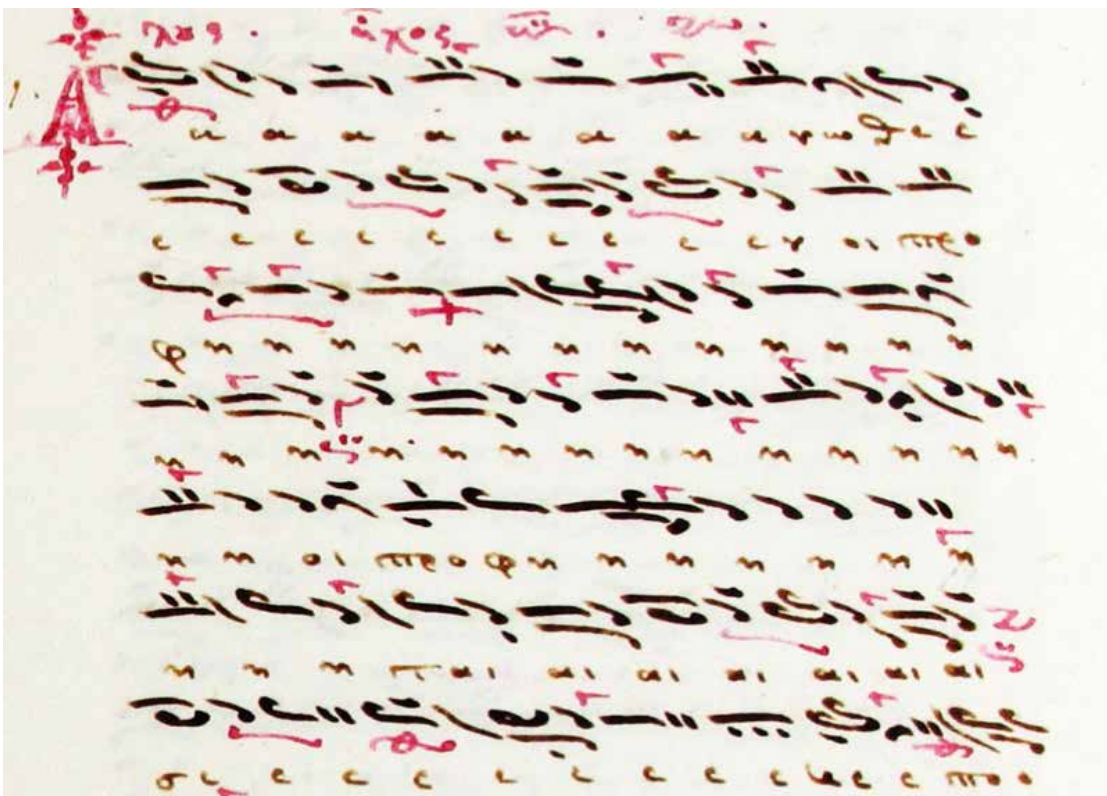
22 Πανδέκτη της ιεραῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὑμνωδίας τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐκδοθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου λαμπαδαρίου καὶ Στεφάνου Α' Δομεστίκου τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας, τόμος 3, περιέχων τὰ μέγιστα μαθήματα τῆς τε Παπαδικῆς καὶ τοῦ Μαθηματαρίου, ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἁῶνα' [1851].

23 Ταμίον Ἀνθολογίας, περιέχον ἅπασαν τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἀκολουθίαν ἐσπερινοῦ, ὄρθρου, λειτουργίας, Μεγάλης Τεσσαρακοστῆς καὶ τῆς λαμπροφόρου Ἀναστάσεως, μετὰ τινων καλλοφωνικῶν (sic) εἰρμῶν ἐν τῷ τέλει, κατ' ἐκλογὴν τῶν ἐμμελεστέρων καὶ εὐφραδестέρων μουσικῶν μαθημάτων τῶν ἐνδοξοτέρων διδασκάλων παλαιῶν τε καὶ νέων, ἐξηγηθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν νέαν τῆς μουσικῆς μέθοδον καὶ μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας διορθωθείσαν παρὰ τοῦ ἐφευρετοῦ τῆς ῥηθίσεως μεθόδου διδασκάλου Χουρμουζίου Χαρτοφύλακος τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας, ἐπιστάσις δὲ τοῦ ἰδίου νῦν πρώτων ἐκδοθεῖσαν εἰς τύπον, ἀναλῶμασι τοῦ Ἰσακ δὲ Κάστρου, τόμος πρῶτος, ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, ἐκ τῆς τυπογραφίας Κάστρου εἰς Γαλατᾶν, αὐκδ'. 1824.

TAMEION ANTHOLOGIAS



EBE-MJT 706, f. 370R (CHOURMOUZIOS' "THINNER EXEGESIS")



It should be made clear that exēgēsis is not a simple process of transcription from one notational system to another. It is, rather, an internal process occurring in the framework of the same, united and indivisible, notation. And this is the reason why it largely involves the interpretive expression of the exegetes, each clearly differing from the other. And this is the reason why in codex Xeropotamou 385 one can find the exēgēsis of Savvas a few folios after the exēgēsis of Peter Peloponnēsios on the same composition. In the same vein it can be understood also why Peter Vyzantios demonstrates a new exēgēsis instead of that of his teacher, Peter Peloponnēsios,

satisfying the request of his own students. Furthermore, it can be understood why the “thinner exēgēsis” of Chourmouziōs is found beside the already analytical exēgēsis in the New Method of Grēgorios Protopsaltēs in codex Docheiariou 1240.²⁴

In any case, the study of the different exēgēseis reveals that differentiation between them constitutes the result: (a) of different musical orthography, (b) of different interpretations of the original notation, (c) of the lower or higher definition of the musical meaning.

“...ΣΥΝΤΜΗΘ'ΕΝ...” / “ABRIDGED”

This wonderful composition by Koukouzelēs, from the distant Byzantine Palaiologan period has never so far stopped being chanted, and never ceased to be included in music manuscripts and printed music publications, and has never stopped being taught in music schools. However, in the case of the requirement of the modern era for shortening the time of worship, some teachers took care to transmit this composition in an abridged version. Konstantinos Protopsaltēs,²⁵ Nikolaos Protopsaltēs of Smyrna²⁶ and Markos Vasileiou²⁷ made the most memorable abridgement of the mathēma Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφήται. However, the abridgement of Konstantinos Protopsaltēs is regarded as the most widely used²⁸.

The operation of Konstantinos essentially consists in cutting all repetitions extant in the composition of Koukouzelēs, and in the severance of the first kratēma.

Konstantinos, however, distances himself from the composition of Koukouzelēs in the remaining kratēma, which is found at the end of the composition. He recreates it in an absolutely free way such that this part is regarded as an “epibolē”²⁹ rather than an “abridgement”. Nikolaos Protopsaltēs of Smyrna presents, in turn, his own melopoetic proposal regarding the kratēma and the ending of the mathēma. Instead, the abbreviation of the Markos Vassileiou, shows throughout great commitment to the original melody of Koukouzelēs. Note that the abridgement of Konstantinos Protopsaltēs was adapted by Nektarios [Vlachos] Prodromitēs in Romanian.³⁰

24 Codex Docheiariou 1240,

- σ. 3: “[...] Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κουκουζέλη· ἐξηγήθη ἐκ τοῦ παλαιοῦ παρὰ κύρ Πέτρου [...] Πελοποννησίου· ἦχος βαρὺς, Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφῆται...”.

- σ. 12: “Ἐξηγήθη δὲ παρὰ κύρ Χουρμουζίου Χαρτοφύλακος, **λεπτοτέρῳ ἐξηγήσις**· ἦχος βαρὺς, Τον δεσπότην – Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφῆται...”.

25 Μουσικόν Ἐγκόλπιον περιέχον τὸ Θεωρητικόν, Ἀναστασιματάριον, Δοξαστικά καὶ ἅπασαν τὴν Ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἀκολουθίαν, Ἑσπερινοῦ, Ὁρθρου, Λειτουργίας, Μεγάλης Τεσσαρακοστῆς καὶ τῆς λαμπροφόρου Ἀναστάσεως μετὰ τινων Καλοφωνικῶν Εἰρμῶν ἐν τῷ τέλει, ὡς καὶ διάφορα ἀνέκδοτα Μαθήματα. Ἐκδίδεται τὸ πρῶτον εἰς τόμους δύο ... διορθωθὲν ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου Θ. Φωκαέως. Ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ ἐκ τοῦ τυπογραφείου «Ἡ Μακεδονία» Θάνου καὶ Βασιλειάδη. 1869, 275.

26 Νέον Ταμεῖον μουσικῆς Ἀνθολογίας, περιέχον ἅπασαν τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἀκολουθίαν ἑσπερινοῦ, ὁρθρου καὶ λειτουργίας, τῇ προσθήκῃ ἀρίστων τινῶν ἀνεκδότων εἰσέτι μαθημάτων τῶν ἀειμνήστων διδασκάλων Μανουὴλ καὶ Γρηγορίου τῶν Πρωτοψαλτῶν καὶ Χουρμουζίου Χαρτοφύλακος, ἐκδίδεται ἤδη τὸ πρῶτον, μετὰ πολλῶν νεωστὶ μελοποιηθέντων μαθημάτων, ὑπὸ Νικολάου Πρωτοψάλτου Σμύρνης, συνδρομῇ φιλοτίμῳ τοῦ ἐκ Σπάρτης τῆς Πισιδείας φιλομούσου Χαράλαμπος Γ. Φωτιάδου, τόμος Β', ἐν Σμύρνῃ, ἐκ τοῦ τυπογραφείου Νικολάου Πρωτοψάλτου, 1864, 388.

27 Νέον μουσικόν ἐγχειρίδιον περιέχον ἐκ τῶν δοκίμων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν μαθημάτων τὰ μᾶλλον ἀναγκαῖα εἰς τὴν τακτικὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἀκολουθίαν ἑσπερινοῦ, ὁρθρου καὶ λειτουργίας καὶ ἰδίως τὰ ψαλλόμενα ἐν τῇ Μ. τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἐκκλησίᾳ. Ἐκδοσις πρώτη Ἀδεία του υπουργείου της Δημ. Εκπαιδεύσεως. Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει 1884, 325.

28 See also Fr Konstantinos Terzopoulos, *op.cit.*, 353.

29 Concerning the meaning of “epibolē” see in Gregorios Stathis, *Introduction to Kalophony, Byzantine Ars Nova; The Anagrammatismoi and the Mathēmata of Byzantine Chant*, translated and revised by Konstantinos Terzopoulos, Bern 2014, 88-91.

30 See codices Hagiou Pavlou 432, ms of Nektarios Prodromitēs from year 1882, f. 269r and Hagiou Pavlou 502, ms of Nektarios Prodromitēs from the year 1907, 265.

Others have also dealt with the abridgement of this specific composition of Koukouzelēs – Stephanos Xeropotamēnos,³¹ Ioasaf Dionysiatēs,³² Grigentios Zografitēs³³ and two more anonymous authors, according to information from Matthaios Vatopaidinos³⁴ – but their works never enjoyed any great dissemination. It is worth mentioning, however, that the abridgements of Stephanos and Ioasaf were originally written in the notation system used before the New Method. Ioasaf, in fact, transcribed his own work into the New Method later.

EPILOGUE

When found in the area of the psaltic performance and especially the worship praxis, the time machine that has been used in our previous stroll through the era of kalophony is transformed into a vehicle that can carry us to the existing utopia of the psaltic art. In other words, it carries us into the Psaltic Eden. In the middle of this paradise, there is a huge tree, which is soaked with the sweat of the older and newer composers and art-masters and it is full of the fruits of their works. The new branches and shoots of this tree are not always identical to the older ones, but nevertheless they are consubstantial with them. Blessed are those who contribute to increasing and renewal of this tree of tradition and tasting its fruits. And conversely, expelled from Paradise, those who plant other trees and taste alien fruits without having authority.

31 See codex of Hagiau Pavlou 26, ca 1800, 184 and codex Gr. Liturg. E. 4 (S. C. 36615) of Bodleian library in Oxford, ca 1805, f. 172v.

32 See codex Dionysiou 645, ms of Ioasaf Dionysiatēs, p. 17: “Τὸ παρὸν θεοτοκίον, ἥτοι Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφήται, συνετμήθη εἰς τὸ παλαιὸν μὲν, ἐξηγήθη δὲ εἰς τὴν Νέαν Μέθοδον τῆς Μουσικῆς, ἵνα ψάλληται καὶ ὡς μάθημα, καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τὴν τράπεζαν, ὅταν πανήγυρις ὑπάρχη· ἤχος βαρὺς· Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφήται”.

33 Codex Hagiau Pavlou 217, 1.

34 See codex Gregorion 18, ms Matthaios Vatopaidinos from the year 1843.

- p. 601: “[...] Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κουκουζέλη· ἤχος βαρὺς Ζω Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφήται...”

- p. 617: “Ἐτερον τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ψάλλεται ὅταν ἐνδύεται ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, ἐσυντομήθη δὲ παρὰ τινὸς ἀνωνύμου· ἤχος βαρὺς Ζω Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφήται...”.

- p. 627: “Ἐτερον τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἐνδυομένου ἀρχιερέως, ἐσυντομήθη δὲ παρὰ τινος ἄλλου ἀνωνύμου· ἤχος βαρὺς· Ἀνωθεν οἱ προφήται...”.

cent.	Koukouzeles' Grave mode	Koukouzeles' nenano mode	Kladas' Grave mode	Kladas' nenano mode	Kladas' first (or pl. 4th) mode	
14 th	Sinai 1262 (1437)/ Iv. 1006/ ED Cl. 14/ EBE 2406 (1453)/ EBE 2604 (1463)/	Sinai 1262 (1437)/	Iv. 1006/ Konst. 86/	Iv. 1006/	Iv. 1006, Iv. 1120 (1458)/ Ar 527, SAL 48 (1430)/ Met. 164/ Varl. 208/ Varl. 211/ Ath. 904/ Ath. 2401/ Ath. 2406 (1453)/ Konst. 86/ Vat. 1550/ Koyrl. 456/ Vat. 1497/ Vat. 1530/	
15 th						
16 th	Iv. 1123/ Iv. 1238/ Iv. 1274, Ps. 70/ Met. 246/ Xer. 265/ Xer. 269/ Doch. 315/	Pant. 1046	Doch. 315 (?)/	Doch. 315/	Sinai 1313/ Iv. 1144/ Doch. 315	
17 th	Sinai 1283/ HS 624/ Iv. 543 (1650)/ Iv. 1007 (1605)/ Iv. 1023/ Iv. 1096/ Iv. 1151/ Iv. 1176/ Iv. 1178/ Iv. 1187/ Iv. 1191/ Iv. 1197/ Iv. 1198/ Iv. 1221/ Iv. 1224/ Iv. 1228/ Iv. 1229/ Iv. 1232/ Iv. 1234/ Iv. 1237/ Iv. 1283/ Mayer 12053/ Ps 98/ Met. 310/ Met. 229/ Xer. 271/ Xer. 328/ Doch. 357/ Lauras E6 (1620) Merl. 2 (1658)/ EBE 2980 (1667)/ Anan. 6 (1680)/ EBE 947 (1680)/ Tax. 2 (1682)/ EBE 900 (1692)/	Sinai 1283/ Iv. 1187/ JC 33 (1635)/	Sinai 1283/ Iv. 1096/ JC 33 (1635)/	Sinai 1283/	Iv. 1004/ Iv. 1096/ Doch. 357/	
18 th	Sinai 1266/ Sinai 1270/ Sinai 1288/ Sinai 1299 (1715)/ Sinai 1419/ Sinai 1424/ Sinai 1429/ Sinai 1446/ Sinai 1448/ Sinai 1454/ Sinai 1458/ HS 308**/ HS 547**/ HS 550/ HS 560/ HS 574/ HS 577/ HS 590/ HS 594*/ HS 604**/ HS 614*/ HS 616/ HS 626/ HS 632*/ HS 634/ Iv. 1019/ Iv. 1026/ Iv. 1038/ Iv. 1091/ Iv. 1093*/ Iv. 1118 (1746)/ Iv. 1129*/ Iv. 1134/ Iv. 1147/ Iv. 1148/ Iv. 1195 (1725)/ Iv. 1262/ Iv. 1273/ Iv. 1289/ Hirsch III 695/ C. Gr. 25/ Ps 45/ Ps 59/ Ps 73**/ Ps 71/ Ps 99/ Ps 12/ Ps 60 (1716)/ Ps 11/ Ps f. 4, t. 114**/ Met. 60/ Met. 92 (1772)/ Met. 101/ Met. 416/ Met. 244/ Stef. 23/ Stef. 52 (1743)/ Stef. 55 (1733)/ Stef. 59 (= 1730)/ Stef. 127/ Xer. 267/ Xer. 276/ Xer. 280/ Xer. 305*/ Xer. 312*/ Xer. 320 (1741)/ Xer. 321*/ Xer. 323 (1708)/ Xer. 330 (1781)*/ Xer. 364/ Xer. 365/ Xer. 366/ Xer. 368*/ Xer. 370 (1758)/ Xer. 373/ Xer. 380 (1759)/ Xer. 382*/ Xer. 385*+***/ Xer. 413 (1839) asb/ Doch. 338/ Doch. 350*/ Doch. 359/ Doch. 372/ Doch. 1240~^~^/ Xen. 150 (1763)/ Xen. 172**/ Pant. 901 (1734)/ Pant. 985/ EBE 2222 (1736)/ EBE 2220 (1745)/ EBE-MPT 723 (1745)/ EBE 823 (1747)/ EBE 2446 (1770)/ EBE 2218 (1782)/ EBE-MPT 810 (1789)/ EBE 926 (1792)/ EBE-MPT 623 (1792)/ EBE 2215 (1794)/ Esph. 93 (1789)**/	Sinai 1266/ Sinai 1299 (1715)/ HS 550/ HS 560/ Met. 416 (?)/ Stef. 23/ Stef. 52 (1743)/ Stef. 127/	Sinai 1299 (1715)/ HS 550/ HS 560/ Met. 416/ Stef. 23/ Stef. 52 (1743)/ Stef. 127/ Paul 128/	Sinai 1299 (1715)/ HS 550/ HS 560/ Met. 416/ Stef. 52 (1743)/ Stef. 127/ Paul 128/	Iv. 1289/ Ps 65	# * ** *** **** ^ ^ () abridgement exegesis by Petros Peloponnesios exegesis by Petros Byzantios exegesis by Savvas exegesis by Antonios Lampadarios exegesis by Gregorios Protopsaltes exegesis by Chourmouzios Chartophylax year
19 th	Sinai 1441, HS 311/ HS 348/ HS 398/ HS 556**/ HS 571**/ HS 575/ HS 580*/ HS 602/ Iv. 1013**/ Iv. 1030/ Iv. 1124 (1815)*/ Iv. 1126 (1810)/ Iv. 1080 (1820)*/ Iv. 1096 (1829)/ Iv. 1998/ Gr.L.E4 #/ Ps 134/ Ps 84 (1809)*/ Ps 145/ Ps 160/ Ps 154/ Ps f. 1, t. 25B**/ Ps f. 3, t. 62****/ Ps f. E (1817)*/ Xer. 288/ Xer. 361**/ Xer. 369 (1802)/ Doch. 341 (1822)**/ Doch. 354*/ Greg. 18 (1843)#+#/ Dion. 645#+#/ Paul 26 (1800)#/ Paul 217#/ Paul 432#/ Merl. 7 (1805)/ EBE 1869 (1821)*/ Anan. 3 (1811)/ EBE 2417 (1818)**/ EBE-MPT 743 (1808)/					