Introduction

In the preamble of *Alexiadis*[1], Anna Komnene poetically describes the power of history and the written word, which encompass and encircle people, things, and events, preventing them from drifting into the depths of oblivion, along the rapid flow of time. This description, written by a highly educated individual, who came from the same intellectual environment that gave birth to the *psaltic* art, highlights the importance of music notation and the manuscript tradition in the study of the phenomenon that is the topic of this book, namely, the presence of secular compositions within the post-Byzantine codices of the *psaltic* art tradition.

This book focuses on an aspect of the manuscript tradition of *psaltic* art that is more or less unknown to date, while also investigating fields relating to the music outside the ecclesiastical Greek musical heritage and those of the related music traditions of the Near East.

The beginnings of the use of music notation in ecclesiastical music are identified around the middle of the 10th century.

> "Neumatic notation or *parasimantiki* was born of the Byzantine spirit and civilization and is a sophisticated system, literally an audio alphabet, an offspring of the Greek alphabet of letters, for the perfect expression of monophonic music"[2].

Today, scattered in public and private collections around the world and with the great majority being found in Greek libraries, there are around seven thousand three-hundred, Byzantine and post-Byzantine manuscripts preserved.[3] This book is concerned with the use of this system of writing, that is, that of Byzantine *parasimantiki*, for the notation of music outside of the ecclesiastical Greek tradition, that is, the secular music, of the Greek, as well as the Persian, Ottoman and

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1 Anna Komnene, *Ἀλεξιάδα*: Annae Comnenae, Alexiadis, Libri XV, 714-19, ed. Ludovicus Schopenus, volumen II, Bonae, Impensis ed Webere, MDCCCL XXVIII (1878). This reference here is from the modern Greek translation by Alois Sideri, published by Agra, Athens, 1990.

2 Stathis 2005. An extensive bibliography relevant to the topic of Byzantine music is provided by G. T. Stathis 2009:68-69. See also Stathis 1993, Psachos 1978. A series of doctoral dissertations written in the last fifteen years address the topic of notation and its *exegesis*. See for instance, Apostolopoulos 2002, Anastasiou 2005, Chaldaiakis 2003, Karagounis 2003.

3 This is not a definitive number as research continues to bring to the surface previously unknown manuscripts. A catalogue of libraries whose collections contain Greek codices was published in the middle of the 20th century by M. Richard (*Repertoire des Bibliothèques et Cataloques de Manuscripts Grecs*, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris 1958 (I) & 1964 (II)). Extensive catalogues of both music manuscripts and general manuscripts containing music have been published by A. G. Chaldaiakis 2003:58-72, Karagounis 2003:82-88 and E. Giannopoulos, *Ἡ ψαλτικὴ τέχνη, λόγος καὶ μέλος στὴ λατρεία τῆς ὀρθόδοξης Ἐκκλησίας*, Thessaloniki 2004, pp. 313-355.

Arabic traditions. The wealth of these manuscripts constitutes a significant source, in terms of both folk music and art music, of the written inheritance of the nations of the Near East. Ongoing research in the field frequently shifts the chronological boundaries of the music sources at hand further back in time. Through the passing of the centuries, a significant number of manuscripts and single folios within codices, around 2,100 folios or 4,200 pages, which contain notated secular music, have been accumulated.

The study of this source material brings to the surface a wealth of data and information touching on many, differing fields, such as, the study of musical form, modal theory, rhythm, and notational systems. As well as this, the life and works of people who were active in the realm of secular music, and the relationships and commonalities of the musical societies of the Near East, are highlighted. Finally, it is significant to note the contribution the study of the source material makes towards topics of history, sociology and philology, which are afforded the opportunity of being approached from a different perspective.

The Term "Secular Music"

A survey of Greek literature and discography of recent years reveals an increasing use of the term "secular music" in order to define the music outside of religious worship. The meaning of secular, however, in the context of music, in the Greek language, appears introduced as a translation of the correlating English and French terms, which gradually acquired particular weight in the West after the Renaissance, the Enlightenment and the French Revolution.[4] Because of sociocultural developments related mainly to the phenomenon and process of secularization (or in the French case to the more radical principle of "laïcité"), in the West, religious expression took place on the margins of societal and artistic life, and acquired the descriptive title "religious", which eventually came to be clearly distinguished from the term secular.[5] In contrast, in the Orthodox Near East, where the phenomenon under investigation was born, the world and cosmos, nature, people, social life and art, were viewed from a holistic perspective. According to this perspective, there is no distinction between sacred and temporal, holy and unholy, religious and secular. Every aspect of life, both private and public, demonstrates the unity between the universe and God's plan. Everything is sanctified and reveals God's glory. To a large degree, moreover, the beginnings

4 The earliest use of the term "Secular Byzantine Music" is found in Wellesz 1961, and more specifically in pp. 78-122, and in the chapters "The pagan background" and "Music in ceremonies".

5 See for example, among others, Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*, New York: Doubleday, 1967; and the more recent, Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age*, Cambridge, MA-London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007.

and the evolution of music, like every art form (with the exception of those that appeared in the 19th and 20th centuries such as photography, cinematography and video art), are connected to religious expression. As Ananda Coomarasvamy, and later the Greek essayist Zisimos Lorentzatos maintain,[6] in the traditional societies of the East – or even in the West before the Renaissance and the Enlightenment – art, it seems, mainly serves the worshipping community and religious faith – the metaphysical axis of life and society – referring to the metaphysical centre of the world. According to this analysis, art imitates the divine models or archetypes, trying to make the invisible, that is, the divine harmony, visible and tangible. As a result, "art, music… and the areas of cultural creativity in general, are inseparably connected with religious fervour"[7], while, as the leading philosopher and musicologist Theodor Adorno writes: "the language of music… contains a theological dimension"[8]. The above is recapitulated by the great Russian film director, Andrei Tarkovsky when he noted that: "art is a confession of faith"[9].

In the printed publications of the 19th century, the term "*κοσμική μουσική*" (secular music), is not encountered, but rather the terms "ἐξωτερικὴ" (*exoteriki*), which translates to "external", and also "*θύραθεν*"[10] (*thyrathen*), meaning "outside", occur. These terms accurately signify the notion of non-ecclesiastical music. Occasionally they are used to indicate the music of non-Orthodox Eastern nations (Stathis 1979:26), even though from the study of the source material it is evident that secular music is perceived as one entity, and as one common cultural asset, without ethnic or religious distinctions. Non-ecclesiastical music is named external or secular, revealing the music's placement and regard.

Secular music was not considered unsuitable for, or not in harmony with worship. It was simply the music of the formal ceremonies of the Byzantine palace

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6 A. Coomaraswamy, 1977, "Medieval and Oriental Philosophy of Art," in: R. Lipsey (ed.), *Coomaraswamy 1 : Selected Papers, Traditional Art and Symbolism*, Princeton University Press, 1977, pp. 43-70; Z. Lorentzatos, *"The Lost Center" and Other Essays on Greek Poetry*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980, passim.

7 B. Gioultsis, *Κοινωνιολογία της Θρησκείας*, Thessaloniki 1996, pp. 96-97.

8 T. Adorno, *Η κοινωνιολογία της μουσικής*, transl. T. Loupasakis, G. Sagkriotis, F. Terzakis, Athens 1997, p.15.

9 Interview in the Greek newspaper *Κυριακάτικη Ελευθεροτυπία* (December 8, 1996). For more on this topic see P. Sherrard, *The sacred in life and art*, Ipswich: Golgonooza Press, 1990; Z. Lorentzatos, *"The Lost Center" and Other Essays on Greek Poetry*, Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1980; *Περὶ ὕλης καὶ τέχνης*, essays by P. Sherrard, A. M. Allchin, Timothy Ware, C. Putnam, Jean Onimus, Olivier Clément, Paul Evdokimov, Athens 1971; Of special interest for this topic are the views of Bishop Kallistos Ware, *The Inner Kingdom*, Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2000, pp. 59-68, and Apostolopoulos 1999:18-21.

10 The term "θύραθεν", that is, "outside" is often used in Byzantine literature to refer to non-Christian philosophical tradition and culture. See, N. Matsoukas, *Ἱστορία τῆς φιλοσοφίας*, Thessaloniki, 1980; Herbert Hunger, *Βυζαντινὴ λογοτεχνία. Ἡ λόγια κοσμικὴ γραμματεία τῶν Βυζαντινῶν*, vol. 1, MIET, Athens, 1994, pp. 37-122.

and the Hippodrome of Constantinople[11], and of the imperial and other celebratory processions. It was the music heard at the dinners, suppers, symposia, and various other forms of entertainment and banquets.[12] And hence, the emergence of the phenomenon that is the inclusion and preservation of "secular" music within the ark that is the ecclesiastical music manuscript tradition can be understood.

The above distinctions are deemed necessary in order to establish a use of the term secular music in this book. The notion of secular should not be construed as antithetical to religious, given that what is being discussed is an era during which every manifestation of personal and communal life was steeped in sincere religious sentiment and intense metaphysical angst, to such a degree that, emperors frequently abandoned their throne and authority and withdrew to monasteries becoming monks[13]. Distinction must be made from worshiping, clerical and ecclesiastical but not from religious. Steven Runciman notes that:

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11 Depending on the circumstance, in this book, the historical name, "Constantinople", and the contemporary, "Istanbul", are used to refer to the city. For the official and unofficial names of the city see, among many: Georgacas, Demetrius John (1947), "The Names of Constantinople", *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* (The Johns Hopkins University Press) 78: 347–67; Shaw, Stanford Jay (1976): *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Necdet Sakaoğlu (1993/94b): "Kostantiniyye". In: *Dünden bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, ed. Türkiye Kültür Bakanlığı, Istanbul; G. Necipoğlu "From Byzantine Constantinople to Ottoman Kostantiniyye: Creation of a Cosmopolitan Capital and Visual Culture under Sultan Mehmed II" Ex. cat. *From Byzantion to Istanbul: 8000 Years of a Capital*, June 5 - Sept. 4, 2010, Sabancı University Sakıp Sabancı Museum. Istanbul (2010) p. 262.

12 Stathis 1979:26, notes that the separation between ecclesiastical and "external" music as concepts "is formalised in the 8th c., when the *Octoechos* was established for ecclesiastical – Byzantine *melopoeia* by John of Damascus". See also fn. 4 on that same page. Finally, in the field of literature, the great Greek writer and novelist Alexandros Papadiamantis characteristically states in his narrative "Ρεμβασμὸς τοῦ Δεκαπενταυγούστου" (*Ἅπαντα*,, vol. 4, p. 86, edited by N. D. Triantafyllopoulos, Athens 1982): "They loved music very much, both ecclesiastical and external [secular]".

13 Many kings and queens of Byzantium are mentioned in the "Synodicon of the Seventh Ecumenical Council for Orthodoxy" where it is stated that they "exchanged the earthly kingdom with the heavenly one" (see *Τριώδιον*, publ. Φῶς, Athens 1983, pp. 155-166). C. P. Cavafy beautifully outlines this custom in his poem "Manuel Komninos":

Ὁ Βασιλεὺς κὺρ Μανουὴλ ὁ Κομνηνός
…
Παληὲς συνήθειες καὶ εὐλαβεῖς θυμᾶται
κι ἀπ' τὰ κελλιὰ τῶν μοναχῶν προστάζει
ἐνδύματα ἐκκλησιαστικὰ νὰ φέρουν,
καὶ τὰ φορεῖ, κ' εὐφραίνεται ποὺ δείχνει
ὄψι σεμνὴν ἱερέως ἢ καλογήρου.

Emperor Manuel Komninos
…
he remembered an old religious custom
and ordered ecclesiastical vestments
to be brought from a monastery,

"it is impossible for one to understand the Byzantines without taking into account their piety"[14],

while E. Jammers claims that:

"in Byzantium there was not yet a distinction between ecclesiastical and secular"[15].

In the same vein, worth noting is the instrumental relationship between external, or secular music, and ecclesiastical[16]. The origins are found in the relationship and cross-influences between the *psaltic* tradition and ancient Greek music in regard to the theoretical system, the notation and the metrical system. While, later on, the Fathers of the Church adopted external, that is secular, melodic elements unchanged, and indeed from theatrical scenes and the Hippodrome, in order to counter-act the heresies[17].

A characteristic form of this borrowing of secular music, are the *megalynaria* of the Feast of the Presentation of The Lord, from the royal acclamations (Karas 1976:22). The influences were, however, mutual and the *psaltic* art "must be regarded as the main influential factor upon secular music" (Apostolopoulos 2000) throughout the centuries. As it will be shown below, the blurred boundaries between the secular and the ecclesiastical are extended, in some instances, to the repertoire as well.

In the manuscript traditions of the Byzantine period, acclamations – *akta* and *phemai* – towards the emperors in ceremonies and at feasts at the Hippodrome and the palace, but also inside the churches and within the context of worship, are encountered; a custom which survives later as well in the form of acclamations towards leaders, tsars, voivodes, etc.[18] In addition, secular music is often re-

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and he put them on, glad to assume
the modest image of a priest or monk

K. P. Kavafis, *Τά ποιήματα (1897-1918)*, ed. G. P. Savvidis, Athens 1995, vol. 1, p. 51 and C. P. Cavafy, *Collected Poems*. Translated by Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard, ed. George Savidis, revised edition, Princeton University Press, 1992.

14 Steven Runciman, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance*, Cambridge University Press, 1970. See also by the same author, *The Byzantine Theocracy*, Cambridge University Press, 1977.

15 See related Baud-Bovy 1984:18, note 4 and p. 90 which includes the relevant reference: Jammers, Ewald, *Rhythmische und tonale Studien zur Musik der Antike und des Mitteralters, analytisch untersucht*, Archiv für Musikforschung, VI 94-115 and 151-181 (1941).

16 See for instance Baud-Bovy 1984; Stathis 2001d; S. Karas, *Γιά νά ἀγαπήσωμε τήν ἑλληνική μουσική*, Athens 1999; Apostolopoulos 2000; C. Tsiamoulis 2000:135-139.

17 Stathis (2001:26) characteristically states: "To shelter the Orthodox flock from such a threat, the Church fathers opposed the threat with Orthodox hymnography, the melodies of which, although similar to the those of the heretics, formed a different, purely ecclesiastical music". See also Papadopoulos 1980:110-118, where many relevant source references are given.

18 A very brief list of examples includes: *Μανουὴλ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου Βασιλέως καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Ρωμαίων τοῦ Παλαιολόγου καὶ Ἑλένης τῆς εὐσεβεστάτης Αὐγούστης, πολλὰ τὰ ἔτη* (NLG 2061, 73v); Petros Bereketis, to the emperor and king of Great Russia, echos I tetraphonic, *Δεῦτε Χριστοφόροι λαοί* (Dochiariou 338, 177r; NLG 2175, 316v; Chiou 30, 380v); Acclamation to His Highness the Ruler of Samos Mr. Konstantinos Photiadis, by Gregorios Konstantas,

flected in the *kratemata*. Special mention must be made of the carols, the alphabetic *acrostic* songs, and other songs of religious content, such as, the Cappadocian songs of Easter, those of Aziz Alexios, those of the Holy Sepulchre and others still which,

> "entail the closest link between secular and ecclesiastical music, as their thematic content and their usage warrant the borrowing of analogous and related elements of ecclesiastical music"[19].

In addition, great Despotic and Theometoric feasts, as well as feasts of saints, constituted an important reason for entertainment and recreation. After the conclusion of the Holy Services, the congregation would celebrate with song and dance, a custom that survives without interruption to a great extent and great intensity to our day.[20]

Apart from the comparative study of the general characteristics and the structural elements of the *psaltic* art and secular music, which reveals various cross-influences, indicative as well of the parallel development of these two musics, is a wealth of events, customs and traditions. It is known, for instance, that the emperor himself, along with his military escort, took part in the Procession of The Gifts,[21] during the Great Entrance in the Divine Liturgy. Therefore, the adoption of liturgical forms from the protocol of the Byzantine Court is observed once more.[22] Also observed, is the participation of the highest secular au-

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echos plagal II (Panteleimonos 971, 256); *Εἰς αὐθέντην, echos* IV Polychronion…of all Moldo-Wallacia Ioannin Voivode (Xeropotamou 268, 158v).

19 Apostolopoulos 2000:469. For more on alphabetic acrostic songs see Kakoulidis 1964. For a first introduction to the religious songs of Cappadoccia see also E. Anagnostakis – E. Baltas, *Ἡ Καππαδοκία τῶν "ζώντων μνημείων"*, Athens 1990.

20 See P. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, vols. 1-6, Athens 1948-55, pp. 215-217, where relevant source references are provided. Also of interest is the description by N. Iorga about the established three day long celebration of Easter with the sounds of folk instruments at the Ecumenical Patriarchate and on the streets of Ottoman Constantinople, his source obviously being the relevant text of Kaisarios Dapontes (*Ἱστορικὸς κατάλογος ἀνδρῶν ἐπισήμων (1700 – 1784)*, in K. N. Sathas, Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη, vol. 3, pp. 131-133): "Constantinople still lived an intensely Christian life. Just as in the Byzantine era, when at Easter, the members of the various guilds, led by the fur merchants and the butchers, danced for three days on the streets to the sounds of folk instruments and drank to the Resurrection of Christ. To gain permission for this, two thousand red dyed eggs were sent via the Protosyngelos [Translator's note: the *Protosyngelos* is the administrative head of a diocese or archdiocese and an assistant priest to the Bishop or Archbishop] from which the Sultan kept his portion. In the Patriarchate itself they would step out into the courtyard to give the signal for the start of the dancing. The guilds would come to take the blessing of the head of the Church before they started the festivities, in which people from other faiths, including Turks, took part as observers". N. Iorga, *Byzance après byzance*, Bucarest: L'Institut d'Etudes Byzantines 1935, p. 229.

21 Karagounis 2003:48. See also: Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, *Le livre des Cérémonies*, Paris 1967, pp. 168-169.

22 Kallistos Ware, Bishop of Diokleia, *The Inner Kingdom*, Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2000, pp. 59-68.

thority in one of the holiest moments of Orthodox worship, as in the case of Emperor Theophilos circa 830, who

> "composed stichera, and having given them to chanters he would encourage them to chant them, and he loved to conduct in festive celebrations" (Chrysanthos 1832:XXX & XXXI).

In yet another example, often at royal meals the chanters of Hagia Sophia, the *Hagiosophites*, and those of the Church of the Holy Apostles, the *Hagioapostolitai*, chanted the *vasilikia* – the praises to the king,

> "remaining silent while the two silver reed instruments were played" [23].

In the post-Byzantine period, at the boundaries of secular music, lies the genre of *kalophonic heirmoi*, especially those composed originally for non-liturgical use "chanted at the end of the service and at joyous occasions"[24], and "at a friend's table"[25]. The custom of chanting at friendly gatherings and meals seems to be fairly old and continues to our day when chanters congregate. Indeed, Angelos Boudouris calls the presence and performance of the chanters of the Great Church at the formal meals of the Patriarch an "ancient tradition"[26]:

> "The patriarchal chanters, apart from their church duties, also had other duties and whenever the Patriarchs gave formal meals, then the musical choirs, a kind of a patriarchal musical ensemble, could be found in a special adjacent room under the leadership of the *Protopsaltes*, chanting various pieces suitable for the occasion often taken from the corpus of kalophonic heirmoi."

The eminent Greek writer Alexandros Papadiamantis, very elegantly, gives a similar account in Skiathos in the 19th century:

> "Then the songs started. First the *Christos Anesti*, then the secular" [27].

Also, the Metropolitan of Perge, Evangelos, records a related event which took place in the old Great Archdeaconate office in Istanbul in the 1960's, where, after the conclusion of Sunday's Divine Liturgy in the patriarchal church, the Archon Protopsaltes of the Great Church, Thrasyvoulos Stanitsas, sang the *segâh beste* by Hânende Zacharias in a mystagogical manner.[28] Along the same lines is the account given by Samuel Baud-Bovy during his visit to the Holy Monastery of Stavronikita, Mt. Athos, in the early 20th century. There, the best chanter of Mt. Athos, according to Chrysanthos, the Metropolitan of Trapezounta,

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23 Koukoules 1948-55:197, where relevant source references are provided.

24 This label is found in many *kalophonic heirmologia* or at the beginning of a section of *kalophonic heirmoi* in *Anthologies* and *Papadikes*.

25 Kalophonic heirmos *Ὁ χορτάσας λαόν* by Petros Bereketis which is included in a great number of manuscripts.

26 A. Boudouris 1934-1937:287 & 156 where related references can be found.

27 A. Papadiamantis, "Ἐξοχικὴ Λαμπρή", *Ἅπαντα*, vol. 2, p. 132, critical edition by N. D. Triantafyllopoulos, Athens 1982.

28 E. Galanis Metropolitan of Perge, *"Ἐκ Φαναρίου…" Β΄ Ἀειδίνητον Ὄφλημα*,, Athens 1997, pp. 244-247.

> "Fr. Synesios, moved from the Cherubic Hymns to the Lagiarni, from the Lagiarni to love songs, arriving at the amanedes…"[29].

With all that has been presented above, it becomes clear that the existence of secular music in the manuscript codices of ecclesiastical music is a natural consequence of an open, outward-looking and free musical civilisation, harmoniously integrated into a broader sensibility and perspective of things both of this life and beyond.

Delineation of the Material under Investigation

The musical material under investigation concerns secular music, in other words, the music outside of the church and holy services, both instrumental and vocal, excluding genres which are directly related to the ecclesiastical or are dependant on it, even when they are chanted outside the church, as for example the *kalophonic heirmoi*, the *methodoi*, the *phemai* and the *polychronia*. Of course, in the corpus of ecclesiastical music, a great number of *kratemata* are encountered, in the headings of which, references to national names, musical instruments, and foreign words of unknown meaning, can be found. For example:

Persikon (Persian), Atzemikon, Ismailitikon (Ismaili), anakaras, sourlas, viola, simantira, tasnif etc.

Their non-ecclesiastical names, on the one hand, and their particular melodic character on the other, give reasonable cause for speculation. The question of whether they are purely secular music or whether they are ecclesiastical *kratemata* with secular musical influences must be asked. In order to develop a relevant classification, two criteria were established: a) the existence of foreign language syllables in the body of the text, and b) the musical form.

The existence of non-Greek language syllables in *kratemata*, such as:

Ντιλ ντος τι γιαλλαλλι ντος τουμ για λα λλα λλα λλε
Τοστουμ γελελα… τζανιμε ντιλ ντιλ ντιλ ερ χε τανν… ρινετινε ζουφλιγε
Αρ γϊ γϊ γϊ α το γγο γγο γγορ ρϊ γγϊ

Ntil ntos ti giallalli ntos toum gia la lla lla lle
Tostoum gelela… tzanime ntil ntil ntil er che tanni… rinetine zouflige
Ar gi gi gi a to ngo ngo ngor ri ngi

excludes their relationship with worship and indicates a secular piece.

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[29] S. Baud-Bovy 1967:9. The former librarian of the Holy Monastery of Stavronikita and current librarian of the Holy Monastery of Iviron Fr. Theologos confirmed during the course of this research that notebooks with folk song transcriptions by Fr. Synesios are in existence. (Translator's note: An *amanes* (pl. *amanedes*), is a vocal genre from the Greek folk music tradition characterised by extended, melismatic musical lines, typically on one or two verses of text. Its nature is one of a sung lament with themes often revolving around love, loss, displacement and suffering. It is generally an improvisation and usually technically demanding.)

The study of musical form also enables or excludes the classification of a *kratema* as belonging to the corpus of secular music, according to the existing data from the field of Arabo-Persian and Ottoman music. It is a general observation that the *kratemata*, despite any influences from secular music or any melodic similarity with it, belong in terms of form, to the body of ecclesiastical music. However, a future focussed study could possibly reveal hidden non-ecclesiastical elements within certain *kratemata*, as for example that of Panagiotis Chalatzoglou[30].

Theoretical treatises on *makams* and *usúls*, with the only exception being the *seyir*, which appears in the treatise of Kyrillos Marmarinos, since it contains music scores and not just theoretical discussion, were deemed beyond the scope of this book. The study of the excluded theoretical treatises could become the subject of other research, since the focus of this book is primarily on the repertoire.

The chronological bounds of the material under investigation extend from the 15th century through to the year 1830. The codex NLG 2401, dating from the early 15th century, contains the oldest notated secular melody, a Persian song on f122v. Hence this date, that is the early 15th century, is taken as the terminus post quem. Possible discovery of other older manuscripts could move the chronological bounds further back in time. The year 1830, which was when the first printed publication of secular music recorded in Byzantine *parasimantiki*, a collection titled *Εὐτέρπη* (*Euterpe*)[31], was produced, is taken as the terminus ante quem. The production of manuscripts of course does not cease with the publication of *Euterpe*. Noteworthy manuscripts exist later than 1830, such as MIET 37, RAL 2238, RAL 561, LKP 169/309, LKP 170/310, Philanthidis/CAMS, and others. However, the success of the publication of *Euterpe*, resulted in the circulation of other printed collections and consequently lead to the evolution of the written tradition of secular music into the printed tradition. The 19th century, from 1830 onwards, is the "golden" era of printed publications of secular music, a topic that, however, lies outside the scope of this book.

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30 Chalatzoglou's *kratema* in *echos varys* does not have titles, nor foreign language syllables or any other indication suggesting it may be secular music. However, it is either a complete transcription of a composition by Persian Derviş Ömer (according to Plemmenos (2003:11-14, 251-252), or an ecclesiastical *kratema* influenced to a very great degree by the Persian pioneer (G. G. Anastasiou, 2005., pp. 452-455). On this issue, see also Anastasiou 2005:445-460, in section "Θύραθεν ἐπιδράσεις".

31 The translation of the full title of the book is as follows: "A book called Euterpe containing a collection of the newest and sweetest external melodies, with the addition at the end of some Romaic [Greek] songs in Ottoman and European style, transcribed into the New System of Music by the most musical Theodore Phokaeus and Stavrakis Byzantios, meticulously edited and corrected line by line by the most musical teacher Chourmouzios Chartophylax, one of the inventors of the aforementioned system, generously funded by the transcribers themselves. Printed at the Galata based house of Castro, Constantinople, 1830".

Survey of the Relevant Literature and Audio Recordings

The number of academic works directly related to the topic of this book is disproportionately small in comparison to the great volume of primary sources, which span 2,221 leaves or 4,442 pages in total. This reveals, both the novelty of the topic, and the number and variety of issues and challenges particular to this topic.

The first observation of the existence of secular music in the manuscripts of *psaltic* art, is attributed to Spyridon Lambros on the occasion of his discovery of the thirteen songs from MS Iviron 1203b. In his article titled "Δεκατρία δημώδη ἄσματα μετὰ μουσικῶν σημείων ἐν Ἁγιορειτικῷ κώδικι τῆς Μονῆς τῶν Ἰβήρων" (Lambros 1914:423-432) he accounts the discovery itself, giving a first description of the songs along with a transcription of the verses accompanied by some explanatory comments, as well as a first attempt of *exegesis* made by the *Protopsaltes* Andreas Tsiknopoulos. The discovery made a great impression upon Athenian musical circles. The thirteen songs of Iviron triggered a series of musicological and philological studies, speculations, transcriptions, interpretations and reviews. Many years after Lambros's discovery, B. Bouvier published a philological study of the songs in French and in Greek (Bouvier 1955:72-75, Bouvier 1960), which then led to a review of his work by Stilpon Kyriakidis (1962). D. Mazarakis (1967, 1992) attempted the difficult task of the *exegesis* of the songs from the old notation into the new, and a transcription into staff notation, without particular success. In the first edition (1967), S. Baud-Bovy wrote the foreword and B. Bouvier wrote the epilogue. A little later, D. Conomos published a "re-evaluation" of the songs, transcribing them into staff notation, on the basis of the *exegesis* principles of the Copenhagen school of thought,[32] while Egon Wellesz (1959:883), a little before, had dedicated a short article to the topic, in the journal, *The Listener*.

Gregorios Stathis comments on Mazarakis's *exegesis* (Stathis 2001a), while much earlier, with his monumental work of analytical cataloguing of music manuscripts found at Mt. Athos, he uncovered a great number of secular melodies scattered in *Papadikes, Anthologies, Kratemataria* and other such references (Stathis 2009). Amongst them, especially noteworthy, is his discovery in 1972 of the oldest song notated in Byzantine notation, dated 1562, (Iviron 1189) which was presented at the conference of the Academy of Athens on the 4th of March 1976 (Stathis 1976) along with the voluminous anthology of Nikeforos Kantouniares (Vatopediou 1428).[33]

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[32] D. Conomos, "The Iviron Folk-Songs. A Re-examination", *Studies in Eastern Chant* 4 (1979), pp. 28-53.

[33] Stathis 1983b, the collective volume of the proceedings of the International Conference "Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis" (September 1982) *Acta Scientifica*. Also published in Greek (Stathis 2001c).

Miloš Velimirović (1973), in a two-page article, questions the existence of Persian music in MS NLG 2401, while scattered references to the existence of secular music within *psaltic* art manuscripts are made in texts by: H.J.Q. Tillyard (1935), S. Baud-Bovy[34], L. Vranousis (1995), M. Dragoumis (1979/80, 1993, 1998), P. Erevnidis (1998), G. Anastasiou (2005), E. Giannopoulos[35] and Nicolae Gheorghiţă[36]. In recent years, J. Plemmenos (1998, 1999-2000) has dealt with the topic as well, presenting articles of interest in terms of cataloguing the "Mismagia of ELIA", the so-called manuscript of Raidestinos of MFAand RAL 927. Moreover, frequent relevant references are made in his book "*Το μουσικό πορτραίτο του Νεοελληνικού διαφωτισμού*", while his main work on the topic is his book "*Ottoman Minority Musics: The Case of 18th Century Greek Phanariots*" (2010).

The discography relevant to the topic is poor. A first presentation of Phanariot songs can be found on the album *Gregorios Protopsaltes* of the THE INSTITUTE OF BYZANTINE MUSICOLOGY, under the direction of the Archon Protopsaltes of the Great Church, Thrasyvoulos Stanitsas and of Gregorios Stathis.[37] The performances are based on the manuscript of Dochiariou 322 and are presented without instrumental accompaniment. Christodoulos Chalaris and Petros Tambouris have also attempted to make use of the manuscript sources in their CDs, with debatable aesthetic results based on questionable academic conclusions. The CDs of the cultural organisation "En Chordais", with the main contributors being Thomas Apostolopoulos and Kyriakos Kalaitzidis, is noteworthy. In 1998, they produced *Secular Music from Athonite Codices of Byzantine Music*[38], which contains songs from MSS Iviron 1203b, Xeropotamou 262 and Dochiariou 322. This was followed by two discs, both part of the series *Great Composers of the Mediterranean,* being Hânende Zacharias[39] and Petros Peloponnesios[40]. Lastly, Chatzimichelakis released an album[41] with songs from MSS Iviron 1203b and Xeropotamou 262, the transcriptions of which were based on the *exegesis* of Mazarakis.

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34 Apart from the foreword of D. Mazarakis's work, see also Baud-Bovy 1980, 1984.

35 E. Giannopoulos, "Συλλογή Εξωτερικών Ασμάτων", *Ταξίδι στον κόσμο των χειρογράφων*, catalogue of manuscript exhibition of Gennadios Library, published by the Greek Palaeographical Society, Athens 2004, pp. 100-101.

36 Gheorghiţă 2010, and especially chapter "Secular Music at the Romanian Princely courts during the Phanariot epoch (1711-1821)".

37 *Γρηγόριος Πρωτοψάλτης (1778 - 1821)*, G. T. Stathis (texts – ed.). Chanting by choir of *psaltai* directed by Archon Protopsaltes Thrasyvoulos Stanitsas. Series *Βυζαντινοὶ καὶ μεταβυζαντινοὶ μελουργοί* 2 [IBM 102 (I-II)], Athens 1976.

38 "En Chordais", Secular Music from Athonite Codices.

39 "En Chordais", Zakharia Khanendeh.

40 "En Chordais", Petros Peloponnesios.

41 G. Chatzimichelakis (ed. and texts), *Ἄλλοτες ὅταν ἐκούρσευαν*, Reconstructions of secular post-Byzantine music of 16th and 17th c. from Athonite manuscripts, Produced by the Municipal Conservatoire of Petroupolis, 2006.