"Testimonia" of Byzantine musical practice, chiefly collected from nonmusical (literary) sources, III.

Bjarne Scharau

"A written literature...may shed light on the history of musical ideas, practices and institutions within a culture, and on internal changes both in music itself and in its social, ritual, and other functions; such literature is available for the 'high cultures' of the ancient Mediterranean, Europe, and much of Asia, and has been extensively, but by no means exhaustively studied".\(^1\)

The present paper is a status report of an on-going project with the objective to trace, in principle, the complete literary evidence on the musical culture of Byzantium.\(^2\) This systematic and hopefully exhaustive collection of "testimonia" of the actual use and impact of the Byzantine music was begun more than a decade ago, inspired by the late Jørgen Raasted. It includes evidence scattered in all kinds of literary texts from the entire Byzantine millenium, or even later, and has now been carried almost through, as far as the historians of the period c. 600-1600 are concerned.

Before embarking on a more ambitious publication of all of my findings - be it in the form of a small monograph or a major article, I would like to present rather than discuss a few more of them. I shall willingly admit that my perusal of thousands of printed pages of the works of Byzantine writers of history (including of course the Chronographers and one or two authors belonging in the borderland between historiography proper and Sachprosa in the more technical sense) on the look out for "testimonia" of musical (and liturgical) practice and its impact on the worshipper has to some extent been a frustrating experience. Nevertheless, I think it has on the whole been worthwhile, seeing that students of Byzantine Music will in the event be able to form a clearer picture of what to expect (or sometimes rather not to expect) from this specific corpus of texts.

The examples now to follow will (as in the preceding contributions) be presented in chronological order.

Joseph Genesius

This 9th/10th century historian\(^3\) has the following remarkable passage on the emperor Leo V (813-820) - indeed a true gem of observation:


"And he was highly ambitious, even if out of tune, when he was singing loudly. His voice was so strong that his vocal utterances in the church of Pharos were clearly recognizable to those approaching. On occasion he would act as the leader of the choir, in particular when chanting "They exterminated [him] by the longing for the Almighty" [MR Dec. 25, φθέν ζ', ὅ εἴρμος, ἀλλαξ]. Obviously this also [later] had a prophetic sense, when he at his sinful fall through the hymn provoked upon himself the divine justice." \(^4\)

Leo Diaconus

From this 10th century historian\(^5\) we quote the following two passages on Nicephorus Phocas:
V, 8 [Haase, p. 89]

ἐν δὲ ταῖς εἰσαγάς καὶ ταῖς παννύχιοις πρὸς θεὸν στάσειν ἀκαμπτός τε καὶ ἀδικόμαντος, ἀμετέρωτον ἐν ταῖς ἰμναμήσεις τοῦ νόμου συνητρίων, καὶ πρὸς τὰ μάταια μηδέλος ἐμβομένου.

"At the prayers and Nocturns in honour of God he proved a true ironside, and he would follow the hymns of praise with internal concentration, without being diverted by petty distractions."

VII, 5 [Haase, p. 120-121]

λέγεται βαθείας ἄρτα νυκτὸς ἐνίσταμένης, περιπαθή γενόμενον τῶν Φωκῶν τῷ δρασμῷ τῶν συναυτῶν, ὑψητὰν καὶ ἀλίκειν, εἰσαγάς τῇ τοῦ θείου ἐδεικνύσαι, τῷ Δαβίδικον ἐκέλον καταπέσοντα λόγον· Δίκαιον, Κύριε, τοὺς ἀδικούντας με. αὐφινίδον δὲ φανεῖν ἐξ ἀετος ἐννημερεύμην αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅπα περιμοβεῖν, οὐ περιτέρων τῷ ψαλμῷ χωρὶν διακελεύουσαν· ὡς τῷ στρατηγῷ τοῦ Βάρδη καὶ αὐτοῦ τὰ τακοῦσα τοῦ ψαλμῷ προεικότης συνδέεται λόγῳ. ἐπετεῖς δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐνεχθείας φανεῖς, θεμπηθήναι τα τῶ ἐκεῖν ἡμείς διανοοῦμεν περιεδώκας, καὶ τῇ τῆς τοῦ φασίν ἐκδέχεσθαι.

"We are told that Phocas in the still of the night, being beside himself with pain and rage because of the flight of his fellow-conspirators, (121) in his depression could find no rest and through payers was imploring for the Grace of God, intoning that song by the Prophet David that begins with the following words: "Plead my cause, O Lord, with them that strive with me" (LXX Ps. 34, 1; King James Version 35, 1). Suddenly a roaring voice from above filled his ears, commanding him not to carry on with the Psalm, for field marshal Bardas had already prayed the same words from the Psalm, hinting at Phocas himself. When he had heard these words for the third time, he became frightened at this unusual portent, and rising in fear from his bed he awaited the break of dawn."

Cecaumenus

This military writer, who is of course not to be considered a historian in the strictest sense, offers at least one passage of great interest to our project:

[Greek text after Litavrin]

Ἀκούσας δὲ, ὅτι εἵπον σοι καίμενοι καὶ ἀσωμάτειας εἰς τῶν βιῶν, μὴ ἐκδοχής ἐκαύτων εἰς ἐκανόνας τινάς καὶ κἀκεῖνος ἀπερητής, καὶ ἐξ τούτου ἀπόλεσθι τὴν ψυχήν σου καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ καταφορησίας τῆς ψυχημάτου ἀκολουθίας ἐκπλάθης τῆς παραὶ τῶν ὑροδόδων κοσμικῶν τελομείας, ὅσον ἰδρύς καὶ τῶν τεσσάροι σώματος, σὺν τούτους ἑτερον καὶ τῶν ἀποδεικτῶν. Ταύτα ἡ γὰρ σύντασσεν τῷ βιῶ τῶν ἕνων εἰς καὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν λειτουργιῶν γνωρίζεσθαι εἶναι δοῦλοι οἰκεῖοι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὶ τὸ ὁμολογεῖν θεόν καὶ ὁ ἄπτοι καὶ ὁ διάλογος καὶ πάντες θεὸν εἶναι ὁμολογοῦσι. Καὶ αὐτὸς μόνον τὰς λειτουργιὰς χρὴ σε ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ εἰ δύνασαι, καὶ μεσονύτικοι εὕρει εἰπὼν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἄρας ἀπεισώπατος δυνάμει ὑμεῖσας τῷ θεῷ. Ὄσοσ θέλει παραγέλλω σπουδάζων εἶναι εἰς τῶς πνευματικῶς, ὁ δὲ τῷ θεόν ἐνστεφῶν καὶ εἰς τὰ πνευματικά, ὅπως ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων εἰ δυνατός, καὶ ἀπαίδευτος σε εἰς ἐξοχοπάτωσιν εἰς πάντα τὰ δέντα. Καὶ μὴ εἴπῃς, ὅτι οὐκ εὐλογούσις εὐκλησιοτητίκην οὐ ποιεῖ καὶ εὐθυμεῖ. Οὐ γὰρ οἶδας, εἰν κρυφότερ εὔρεθηται, οὕτως γὰρ εἰκός τινες ἄγαλη ἐγραφαίς καὶ ἐπεξερεύθης ἐπαράγω ἄδοξόν σου καὶ τῶν διαβόλων. Εἷς δὲ ἀμελεῖται τινες καὶ κακοὶ προκόπτουσιν, οὐδενὶ διαμαστάν. Ἐβραίοι γὰρ καὶ ἄμελείκοι καὶ Σαρακηνὸι καὶ ἀπαίδευτος ἄλλοις πολλοῖς αὐτὲς πέραν δομάτων ἔχοντες μέτρα εἰς τῶν Κύριων ἔνων Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἐλθὼν θεὸν ἐλπίζετες ζῇς, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ εὐθυμοῦσι καὶ ἔθνος ἐρχομοι καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθότητος ἀπολαμβάνεις, καὶ οὐκ ἔκλεψεν αὐτῶν τὴν εὐθυμίαν. Ἡ γὰρ ἀγαθότης αὐτῶν ὡς κρίμασιν οἴδε διοικεὶ τὰ πάντα.
"If you hear me saying to you that you ought to endeavour and take good care of your household, that does not imply that you should have all sorts of ideas and take unneccessary trouble, thus losing your soul, despising God and forgetting the Services for the Orthodox Christians, such as the Matins, the Four Hours, as well as Vesper and Complete. For this is part of our Being, and through our participation in these Services we prove to be the servants of God. Since to confess God, is what even the Infidels and the Demons do, and everyone admits the existence of God. You should however not confine yourself to these Services, but when possible also pray the Night Office, at least one of the Psalms of it. Just at that hour you may talk with God and find peace in prayer. It is indeed no trouble, but rather a joy to keep quiet conversation with God. In the same way as I recommend to you to take the things of external life seriously, thus I also want you to take spiritual things seriously, in order to find in both of them a reason for gaining hope: In short, I want you to fulfill all of your duties meticulously. And don’t try to get away with excuses such as: "So and so does not go to church, and still he is doing well." For you don’t know what he is doing in secret. There are people who are doing good in secret in such a way that neither human beings nor the Devil himself learn anything about it. Therefore don’t wonder, if negligent or bad people have success. There are of course even Jews and heretics and Saracens, in short a lot of people, who know nothing of our dogms and cherish no hopes of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the True God; and some of them are also doing quite well as rulers of Nations and enjoying the bounties of God. We should not envy their success. God’s Goodness rules everything according to his own decisions, only known to himself." 8)

Ioannes Cinnamus

In the Historiae of Ioannes Cinnamus 9) we find two small passages of some relevance to our project:

Hist. L. I, 10 [Meineke, 25-26]

The monk praying a Vigil for the dying Emperor, is said to have heard the voices of singers, while he was absorbed in prayer [τὸν δὲ τῇ δεήσει προσευχητώτα φωνὰς ἁκούσας λήγεται ὕδοντων τινών.]

Hist. L. V, 8 [Meineke, 221]

The following passage is highly interesting: Here the Hungarian Roman-Catholic clergy and congregation apparently chant a Byzantine hymn in honour of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus:

Στέφανος μὲν οὖσις συστενασάμενος κατὰ Ρωμαίων ἔφερε τα: βασιλέα δὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν Οὔννων γεγονότα διεσέται οἵτως τοῖς ἐνθρωμαῖς πανδημιοῖς ὑποδεξόμενος, ὡς τε ὑπὸ τοὺς ἱερὰς κατελέγοντο ἐρυθρομέλεις ἁμαρτημένοις στολώσας καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ χειρὶν ἠδύνατε λόγια, καὶ ὡς ὁλίγον καὶ δημοδὸς ἦν, ὕδον τίνα ἐμμελοῦς συντεθημένην ἀκούσας ἄρμοδωτον προσφυγόντες, εἰγε δὲ ὅπε: ὃς συμμοιχήσας θυρίμ τῆς προφοτάτων Δαβίδ 10)

καὶ τὰ δέξες.

"Thus prepared Stephen [king of the Magyars] moved towards the Byzantines. But when the emperor had arrived in Hungary, the inhabitants all went out to receive him; and their clerics vested in paraments of wool, carrying the Gospels in their hands, together with the lay multitudes, in the most harmonious way chanted a sacred hymn, composed by our composers:

"O, lord who assisted David, mildest of men"

etc."
Eustathius Thessalonicensis

The archbishop’s account of the Norman Sack of Salonica (De expugnatione Thessalonicae) has a number of passages of relevance to our project. I of course realize that the majority of these are already familiar to students of Byzantine Music.

For the sake of documentation, I nevertheless venture to present them even in my context.

Tafel 298 (Bekker, CSHB), 479-480.

"If we then enter the churches, we will throw a glance at the people around us, and ask ourselves, who amongst them is rich and who is poor, and the like. But who is the priest, who is the lector, who is of the common folk? Seeing that all of them look alike and have the same exterior. And even if one of those who does not belong to the laity, would enter the holy choir and stand before God in prayer, and another one would mount the consecrated ambon to chant one of the Psalms, there would be no difference between him and those of the common folk. All of them had an air of venerability, even if this was due to deplorable circumstances. For all of them went without their sandals on their feet over the floors of the temples of God."

Tafel 299 (Bekker, CSHB), 482

"As we were chanting holy hymns in the Church of the Great Sperand of Myrhr [Saint Demetrius], gathered together around [the shrine of] the famous Compassionate, they were from the side of the holy choir having great fun, screaming at us and trying to quench our performance in the local language in their stupid and abominable outbursts. In many cases those blockheads would intervene with their mocking cries at the chanting of the Holy Gospels, disturb the liturgical order and interrupt the Divine Service."

Tafel 301 (Bekker, CSHB), 489-490

"..."
"But we were not even able to chant the hymns in church, without being insulted, and even at this praiseworthy activity we were disturbed. In the beginning we could not close the churches for days on end, nor carry through the usual gatherings in praise of God. At most the enslaved citizens would seek for shelter and quiet here as they would otherwise do at home. When again a certain amount of safety had been established, you could close the consecrated doors, light the holy candles and lamps and intone the Psalms. The priest could celebrate and our people participate anew in the Divine Service in an orderly manner. Then however the Devil entered the scene as a crafty adversary. The inferior Latins would rush in, having an ear on the voices of the priests, and would chatter and gossip in their usual way, in order to disturb the coherence of the Sacred Service."

Tafel 303 (Bekker, CSHB), 497-499

"Hn thnignanatika kairopous, para ta teleutaia tis olaikis, kai periropous eisagogikis ev evkhrpiophsxai.

Tafel 303 (Bekker, CSHB), 497-499

"Hn thnignanatika kairopous, para ta teleutaia tis olaikis, kai periropous eisagogikis ev evkhrpiophsxai.

"It was just about the time, when the siege was drawing towards its close that in the churches those sections of the Gospel were being read that proclaim the Fall of Sion (Mat 24; Mk 13; Lk 21,5 sqq.). Anyone in his senses interpreted those words as a portent of God against our city. And so the commander-in-chief who had already abandoned any military activities, decided to regulate our duties and thus wake us up from our lethargy. Thus he in those who were not too well informed of our situation created an impression of great concern. He ordered us to arrange Vigils with prayers throughout the night. But even that was a joke. How would he have to encourage prayers for the salvation of the city that he himself wished for? His purpose was to play the pious man and thus to hide his real goal. We were to be under the impression that he in any respect did care for the city, seeing that he also had prayers said for it. In my opinion he also wanted to indicate that the situation of the city was so bad that it could now only be helped by prayers. Just like a doctor who through a wrong treatment has brought his patient to the threshold of death, and then at last calls for a priest to admonister the viaticum. For he was far from superficial, but rather profound in his irresolution. At least that was the experience of good judges of human character had had in their dealings with him. And therefore these Vigils served him as a veil, but not as a praise of God. Enough of him; he issued his orders and the clerics obeyed. As the noble singer David were to begin in a flamboyant manner, those praying had the unfortunate idea to select - it was early in the morning of the sack of the city - the psalm that begins: "Lord, the gentlest have
founded upon thy heritage" and further on its says: "O God, the heathens are come into thine inheritance; thy holy temple have they defiled; ... The dead bodies of thy servants have they given ..." (LXX Ps. 78,1-2; King James Version 79, 1-2) Here the prophet and patriarch of God speaks like a prophet for the edification of those congregated in prayer: "What is the use of prayers to God, when he has already pronounced his condemnation of us?" 

Εἴξεν οὖν ταῦτα, πλείοντι εἰρήνου παραστραπῆμεν συγκροτήμασι τῆς τοῦ κακοῦ δηλώσεως, καὶ τοῖνυν τῷ συγχρότων ἔστας οὖν διαφοροῦμεν, γιὰμον συνάγοντες νῦν καὶ τὸ πρόηγον δρᾶσας ἀποποιοῦμεν (οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἔκαθεν θάρσεως εὑρίσκω εἰλήφος εἰχόμεν), καὶ ἐνοικυμένοι οὐκετ' ἦμιεν εἴναι φυκτά. οὖν τῶν ἐφύησαν καταντήσας εἰς πέρας αὐτὸν ἐκκλησίαν δεσπότηριον ἀρμονίαν, καὶ δέ τοίως ἤταν τῶν ἑλπιζόμενος εἰς τοὺς τῶν δεσποτῶν στόματα, ὁρώνως παρέβιασε, καὶ εἰς φυγήν αὐτοῦς ἀδροισθέντας ἐπετρε, καὶ τοιαύτα διέθετο ὅπερ οὗ μεμνήσοσθαι τοὺς ζῶντας ἐν περ ὀνείροις, εἰπερ οὐ τὰ ἑδέα μόνον προπόστους τῆς καθ' ὑπὸν φαντασίας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἤτοιν καὶ τὰ φῶς ἐνδειξάμενα.

"So it was with these portents, to which another number of portents could be added, to make the disaster clear to all. In fact we through the great number of such portents made up our minds, concentrated, even if it was too late, abandoned our former rashness (that certainly was unfounded), and realized that to us there was no way of escape. For the songs of prayer in the churches had not yet ended, and the war forced upon those praying, besides the words of the Psalms, dirges and changed them into cries of pain and complaints of death. The war frightened the congregation so much that it turned to flight and found itself in a situation that living people in my opinion could only imagine in their dreams, seeing that in sleep not only the pleasant, but even the horrible appears before the spiritual eye."

Nicetas Choniata

This otherwise extremely important historian has yielded a very lean crop indeed; as a matter of fact I have found only two small passages of some interest to our project in the entire historia: 13)

Bekk 331/2 (van Dielen, 255) ὡς καὶ αὐτῶς [Andronicus] μεταχωρεῖ τῆς δαμαλέως ὑποψίας τῷ τοῦ δαουδ ἐν τῷ τῶν πορθμῶν καὶ ὑποφθεγξάμενος μετὰ διαχύσεως "ἐπιστρεψον, ψυχή μου, εἰς τὴν ἀνάπασιν σου, διὸ Κύριος εὐρήγησέ σε, διότι ἔζειλε τὴν ψυχήν μου ἐκ θανάτου, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μου ἀπὸ δακρύων καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου ἀπὸ υλοθήματος."

"Only late did Andronicus leave Damalis on board a man-of-war, and on his way through the harbour he sang with exultation the psalm of David: "Return unto thy rest, O my soul; for the Lord has dealt bountifully with thee. For thou hast delivered my soul from death, mine eyes from tears, and my feet from falling." (LXX Ps. 114, 7-8; King James Version Ps. 116, 7-8) 14)

Of the inhuman attitude of the Latins our author says:

Bekk 391 (van Dielen, 301) οὐκ ἐπικλάται λιταῖς, οὐθ' ἐπιλύνεται δακρυστιν, οὐκ αἰμόλους ἑλαρύνεται φθέγματι. καν ἄσθ τοῖς χάριν, κλαγή τοῦ ἐκτίνων ἢ κροῆμος κορίνθης θαλαμεύει.

"It is not mitigated by prayers, it will not be weakened by tears, nor mildened by blandishing words. And however sweetly one [of us Greeks] would sing, it will be reckoned as the shriek of hawks or the croaking of crows."

Georgius Acropolita

The following passage dealing with Demetrius, the ambitious brother of a recently defunct metropolitan of Salonica John, describes the devotion of the latter: 15)
Theodorus Scutariota
The Σύνοψις χρονική 17 attributed to Theodorus Scutariota (second half of 13th cent.) exhibits a number of passages of liturgical interest, even if referring to events way back in time.

The following anecdote about the addition to the Trisagion brings us back to the days of Patriarch Proclus (434-446):

Sathas, BGMA VII, 75 Ἕπαι δὲ καὶ ὁ τρισάγιος ἤμον προσθήκην τὸν ἄδειατο τὴν, ὅπως ἀθάνατος ὁ σταυρωθείς δὲ ἡμᾶς, λιτανεύοντος τοῦ Πρόκλου καὶ πλείστου ὅχλου ἐξόμοια, παέλον ἡράκλει ὑπὸ δυνάμεως θείας εἰς τὸν ἄβρα, πάντων ἑσταμένων καὶ τὸ Κύριον ἑλέον τοιούτου θέλων τῆς τῆς ἡμέρας ὅραν: ὅ δε παιδίον ὁ ἄνθρωπος κατέληθος, ἔλεγεν ἑκάστους θείας φωνῆς προστατευόμενος ἀναγέρχεται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ λαῷ, ὡς ἔλεγεν τὸν τρισάγιον ἤμον λιτανεύοντας, Ἀγνο ὁ θεός, ὅν ῥυπος ὅς ἁλίκανος ἄθανατος ἐλέον ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἔλεγεν προσταθείσας, ὅ καὶ εκκλησίαν ἐν τῇ τῆς θεοῦ ἑκατοσίᾳ διὰ βασιλικοῦ τύπου καὶ συνοδικής διατάξεως.

“For even the thrice holy hymn by that time had an addition made to it: “Holy, immortal, you who were crucified for us”, when patriarch Proclus and a large multitude were celebrating service outside the city, a young man was raptured into the air by some divine force, while everybody stood around singing the Kyrie about the third hour of the day. When the young man had come down again, he told that he had heard a divine voice ordering him to tell the bishop and the congregation that they were to say the Trisagion in the service thus: “Holy God, Holy strong, holy immortal have mercy on us” without further addition, which has also prevailed in God’s Church by royal ordinance and synodical regulation.”

And a brief reference to the history of the Akathistos Hymn in connection with the assault of the Avars on Constantinople in 626:
"From then on it was ordained that the Vigil of the Akathistos should be chanted every year to commemorate the miracle. [Patriarch] Sergius composed the alphabetic hymns,\(^{18}\) those that we use to call "Oikoi" [Houses = Stanzas], to Her who granted us victory and fought on behalf of us."

* * *

Finally I would like to quote just one example from a non-Greek text, the 15th century Life of the Serb despot Stephen Lazarevic, written by Constantine of Kostenec:

"And he <Stephen> went about doing good deeds. But it happened on Maundy Thursday, just a they were chanting: "Son of God, let me to-day partake in your Holy Communion" - he could no longer restrain himself, but began to weep bitterly. He went outside crying from the bottom of his heart, but having washed his face, he entered anew. And again he wept loudly."\(^{19}\)

In my opinion as good an example as any of the effect of liturgical chant on the mind of the worshipper!

Addendum: Secular music
In the Alexias of Anna Comnena (XV,vii,2)\(^{20}\) we find the following passage expressing a negative attitude towards Tafelmusik:

καὶ ἦν ἡ τράπεζα πανδαισία της θεική όνος ὅργανον παρόντων οὑδὲ αὐλᾶν οὑδὲ τυμπάνων οὑδὲ τὸ παράπτων μουσικῆς τινος ἐνύχλουσης.

"And the table was a divine banquet, without the presence of instruments, neither flutes nor drums nor any kind of music in general to disturb the diners."\(^{21}\)

NOTES:

2) Cf. my preceding contributions on these "testimonia": I) On collecting 'testimonia' of Byzantine musical practice. Cahiers de l'institut du moyen-âge grec et latin 57, Copenhague 1988), 159-166. II) "Testimonia" of Byzantine musical practice, chiefly collected from non-musical (literary) sources. Colloque sur le chant byzantin, organisé à la Fondation Royaumont par le Centre Européen pour la Recherche et l'Interprétation des Musiques Médiévales du 12 au 15 décembre 1996 (forthcoming). In particular the latter contribution will offer to the reader more general information on scope and method of the project. Among the texts consulted by me so far it should be noted that the 'Υλη ἱστορίας of Nicephorus Bryennius (ed. P. Gautier. CFHB. Series Bruxellensis, IX. Bruxelles 1975) contains no references or hints whatsoever at ecclesiastical music and/or liturgical practice.


5) Leonis Diaconi calunensis Historiae libri decem et liber de velicitatione bellica Nicephori Augusti e recensione Caroli Benedicti Hasii. CSHB. Bonn 1828.


7) Editions of the Greek text: B. Vassilievskij et V. Jernstedt, Cecaumeni Strategicon et incerti scriptoris de officiis regii libellus. Petropoli 1896 and Litavrin (see the following note). Only Litavrin's edition has been accesible to me.


10) This is a sticheron in the Fourth Mode from the Triodion, 4th Week of Lent. Cf. e.g. the Sticherarium Ambrosianum (Monumenta Musicæ Byzantinae. XI Sticherarium Ambrosianum. edendum curaverunt Lidia Perria et Jörgen Raasted. Codex Bibliothecae Ambrosianae A 139 sup. phototypice depictus. Pars Principalis. Hauniae 1992), fol. 204V.


16) Cf. the practically identical passage in Theodorus Scutariota:
Sathas, BGMA VII, 490 Met. ὦ πολὺ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη δεσπότην τὸ χρεών εἰλήφει, καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Δημήτριος κρεσβείαν στέλλει πρὸς βασιλέα τοῦ τε δεσποτικοῦ ἀξιόματος καὶ τῆς χώρας κληρονόμος εἶναι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. ἄλλ. ἦν ὁ γάμος ὡς ἀδελφό ἐκείνος φρονόν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα πολὺ ἀπείχεν ἐκείνου ἐκείνος γὰρ ευσεβείᾳ καὶ εὐλαβείᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ διέζη καὶ οὔκ ἦν ἡμέρα τοῦ ἔτους ὅλου, καθ' ἦν μὴ τῆς θείας ἑρωτευτείας ἐπικροάσατο, εἰ μὴ τὶς ἐκώλυτος νόσος, προσέβρε ὃς πανυχίστη καὶ ἔμνηψας, ἀμύλει δὲ καὶ Ναξίραιος διηνεκῶς ἐπιτυόθην καὶ σύντος τυχόν τούτων τοῦ σχήματος.


19) This quotation was translated from the Danish (I) translation (Konstantin fra Kostenc, Den serbiske Despot Stefan Lazarevics liv og levned. Oversat og kommenteret af Gunnar Svane. København 1975 ,147), the church Slavonic text being inacessible to me.


21) the English (Penguin) translation by E.R.A. Sewter. Harmondsworth 1969 has been inacessible to me.