

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

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"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 historian³⁾ has the following remarkable passage on the emperor Leo V (813-820) - indeed a true gem of observation:

1, 16 [*Lachm* 17-19] ἦν δὲ φιλότιμος πάντῳ, καὶν σοβαρὸν ἐμβῶν καὶ κακόρρυθμος. ὁ καὶ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Φάρου ναὸν καὶ τότε γνώριμον διεφαίνετο τοῖς ἐπελευσομένοις αὐτῷ ψαλμῳδῶς λαρυγγίζοντι. ἐξῆρχε γὰρ τῶν ψαλλόντων ἐνίοτε, καὶ μάλιστα τότε, φωνῶν· "τῷ παντάνακτος ἐξεφάυλισαν πόθῳ," οὗ γε διολισσθήσας ἄρα τὴν θείαν δίκην περιφανῶς ἐπεσπάσατο τῷ ὕμνῳ, προφητείας ταύτης συντελεσθείσης.

"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, φδῆ ζ', ὁ εἰρμός, ἄλλος]. 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 historian⁵⁾ we quote the following two passages on Nicephorus Phocas:

V, 8 [Haase, p. 89]

ἐν δὲ ταῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ ταῖς παννύχιοις πρὸς Θεὸν στάσεσιν ἄκαμπτός τε καὶ ἀδοιμάντινος, ἀμετεώριστον ἐν ταῖς ὕμνωδιαῖς τὸν νοῦν συντηρῶν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ μάταια μηδόλως ῥεμβόμενον.

"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."⁶⁾

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

λέγεται βαθείας ἄρτι νυκτός ἐνισταμένης, περιπαθῆ γενόμενον τὸν Φωκᾶν τῷ δρασμῷ τῶν συνωμοτῶν, ἀγρυπνῆν καὶ ἀλύειν, εὐχαῖς τε τὸ θεῖον ἐξιλεῦσθαι, τὸ Δαβιδικὸν ἐκεῖνο κατεπρόδοντα λόγον· Δίκασον, Κύριε, τοὺς ἀδικούντάς με. αἰφνίδιον δὲ φωνὴν ἐξ ἄερος ἐνηνεγμένην αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅλα περιβομβεῖν, μὴ περαιτέρω τοῦ ψαλμοῦ χωρεῖν διακελεύουσιν· ὡς τοῦ στρατηλάτου Βάρδα κατ' αὐτοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ ψαλμοῦ προεξαίτησαντος λόγια. ἐπιτρίς δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐνηχηθείσης φωνῆς, θαμβηθῆναι τε τῷ καινῷ τοῦ χρησμοῦ, καὶ τῆς εὐνῆς διαναστῆναι περιδεώς, καὶ τὴν τῆς ἑω φαύσιν 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 prayers 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 writer⁷⁾, 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 δέ, ὅτι εἰπὼν σοι κάμνειν καὶ ἀγωνίζεσθαι εἰς τὸν βίον, μὴ ἐκδώσης ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἐπινοίας τινὰς καὶ κόπους ἀμετρήτους, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἀπολέσης τὴν ψυχὴν σου καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ καταφρονήσας τῆς ψαλμωδίας ἀκολουθίας ἐπιλάβῃ τῆς παρὰ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων κοσμικῶν τελουμένης, οἷον ὄρθρου καὶ τῶν τεσσάρων ὥρων, σὺν τούτοις ἐσπερινοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποδείπνων. Ταῦτα γὰρ εἰς σύστασιν τοῦ βίου ἡμῶν εἰσι καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν λειτουργιῶν γνωρίζομεθα εἶναι δοῦλοι οἰκέριοι τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐπεὶ τὸ ὁμολογεῖν Θεὸν καὶ οἱ ἄπιστοι καὶ οἱ δαίμονες καὶ πάντες Θεὸν εἶναι ὁμολογοῦσι. Καὶ οὐ μόνον ταύτας τὰς λειτουργίας χρὴ σε ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰ δύνασαι, καὶ μεσονύκτιον εὐξαὶ εἰπὼν κἀν ἓνα ψαλμόν· διὰ γὰρ ταύτης τῆς ὥρας ἀπερισπάστως δυνήσῃ ὁμιλεῖσαι τῷ Θεῷ. Ὡςπερ γάρ σοι παραγέλλω σπουδαῖον εἶναι εἰς τὰ βιωτικά, οὕτως θέλω εἶναι σε σπουδαῖον καὶ εἰς τὰ πνευματικά, ὅπως ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων εἴ εὐέλπεις, καὶ ἀπλῶς θέλω σε εἶναι ἐξοχώτατον εἰς πάντα τὰ δέοντα. Καὶ μὴ εἴπῃς, ὅτι· «Ὁ θεῖνα ἀκολουθίαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν οὐ ποιεῖ καὶ εὐημερεῖ». Οὐ γὰρ οἶδας, τί ἐν κρυπτῷ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐργάζεται. Οὕτως γὰρ ἐν κρυπτῷ τινὲς ἀγαθὰ ἐργαζόμενοι ἔλαθον οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν διάβολον. Εἰ δὲ ἀμεληταὶ τινες καὶ κακοὶ προκόπτουσιν, οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν. Ἐβραῖοι γὰρ καὶ αἰρετικοὶ καὶ Σαρακηνοὶ καὶ ἀπλῶς ἄλλοι πολλοὶ οἱ μῆτε πειραν δογματῶν ἔχοντες μῆτε εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἀληθινὸν Θεὸν ἐλπίζοντες ζῶσι, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν καὶ εὐημεροῦσι καὶ ἑθνῶν ἄρχουσι καὶ τῆς του Θεοῦ ἀγαθότητος ἀπολαύουσι, καὶ οὐ ζηλοῦμεν αὐτῶν τὴν εὐημερίαν. Ἡ γὰρ ἀγαθότης αὐτοῦ οἷς κρίμασιν οἶδε διοικεῖ 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 unnecessary 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 προσεσχικότα φωνῶν ἀκοῦσαι λέγεται ἁδόντων τινῶν.]

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 οὕτω συσκευασάμενος κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐφέρετο. βασιλέα δὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν Οὐννων γεγονότα ἐξήεσαν οἱ ταύτη ἀνθρώποι πανδημεῖ ὑποδεξόμενοι, ὅσοι τε ἐς τοὺς ἱερέας κατελέγοντο ἐριουργεῖς ἀναβεβλημένοι στολὰς καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ χερσὶν ἔχοντες λόγια, καὶ ὅσοι ὀχλικὸν καὶ δημῶδες ἦν, ᾧδόν τινα ἐμμελῶς συντεθειμένην ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρμοδιώτατα προσφωνοῦντες. εἶχε δὲ ὡδε:

ὦ συμμαχήσας κύριε τῷ πρωτοτάτῳ Δαβὶδ¹⁰⁾

καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.

"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*)¹¹ 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.

Ἰτέον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ θεωρητέον τοὺς τοιοῦτους καὶ ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἐρωτέον τίς ὅρα ἐν τοῦτοις ὁ πλουσίος ἢ πένης, καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα. ἀλλὰ τίς μὲν ἱερᾶται· τίς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναγινώσκειν ἐστί· τίς δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ εἶναι εἴληχε· πάντες γὰρ εἶδος ἐν καὶ μορφῇ ἢ αὐτῇ· κἂν εἰ μὴ τις ἀποκριθεὶς τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἱερὸν εἰσελθεῖν βῆμα, στησόμενος εἰς εὐχάς, καὶ τις ἄλλος εἰς ἱερὸν ἀνέλθοι ὀκρίβαντα ψαλμοὶ χάριν, οὐκ ἦν διάκρισις τούτων τε καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ. εἶχον δὲ τι πάντες οὗτοι σεμνόν, εἰ καὶ ἄλλως λυπηρόν· λελυμένοι γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν πάντες τὰ ὑποδήματα τῶν τοῦ ἁγίου οἴκου κρηπίδων ἐγίνοντο.

"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." ¹²

Tafel 299 (Bekker, CSHB), 482

Καὶ ὅτε ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν τῷ τοῦ μεγάλου μυροβλύτου ναῷ ὕμνους ἱεροὺς ἐτελοῦμεν, περισταμένοι τὸν περιώνυμον ἐλεήμονα, οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς πλαγίαις τοῦ ἱεροῦ βήματος τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐτέλουν, ἀντιφωνοῦντες ἡμῖν καὶ ταῖς πολιτίδας φωνὰς ὑπερφωνεῖν ἐθέλοντες βοαῖς κορυζώσαις καὶ ἀπηγέσι, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς θείων εὐαγγελίων ἐκφωνήσεσι πρὸς ἔριν οἱ ἀχαριτώτατοι ἀντεπεξαγόμενοι, καὶ συγχέοντες οὕτω τὸ εὐτακτον, καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν ἀρμονίαν λύοντες.

"As we were chanting holy hymns in the Church of the Great Spender of Myrrh [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

Οὐκ ἦν οὐδὲ τοὺς θεῖους ναοὺς ὕμνοις ἀσκήλτως περιᾶδασθαι τότε, ἀλλ' εἶχε καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἔργον τοῦτο ἐπηρεῖαν. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἱκαναὶ ἡμέραι καὶ οὐτε ἐκλείοντο οὐτε σὺναξις ἦν ἢ ἐθαῖς ὡς ὑμνεῖσθαι θεόν, ἀλλ' εἰ που ὡς ἐπὶ σκέπη καὶ ἀναπαύσει αἰχμαλωσίας, ὅσα καὶ κατ' οἴκους, ὅτε δὲ ποτε καὶ τις ᾄδεια ἐξεφάνη καὶ θεοὶ πυλεῶνες ἐκλείσθησαν καὶ φῶς μυστικὸν ἀνήφθη καὶ ἡρμόσθησαν ψαλμοὶ καὶ ἱερεὺς ἐτέλει καὶ λαὸς ἡμέτερος εἶχε σχολήν, κατὰ ἰσχὺν τότε ὁ δαίμων ἀντέπραττε, τῶν φαύλων Λατίνων εἰστρεχόντων καὶ ταῖς ἱεροαῖς φωναῖς ἐπιβουλεπόντων καὶ λαλαγούντων καὶ συνήθη βαυζόντων, εἰ πως ἐγκόπτουσι τὴν συνέχειαν τοῦ καλοῦ.

"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

Ἦν τῆνικαῦτα καιρός, παρὰ τὰ τελευταῖα τῆς ἀλώσεως, καὶ περικοπὰς εὐαγγελικὰς ἐπὶ ἐκκλησίας ἐκφωνεῖσθαι, δι' ὧν τὰ τῆς Ζιὼν σπηλωγραφοῦνται κακά. καὶ οἱ ἔσω φρενῶν ἱερολογίαν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ὑπενόουν αὐτὰ. ἔδοξε τῷ ἀρχηγῷ τῆνικαῦτα, οἷα τῷ στρατηγικῶν ἀπεγνωκῶτι, διατάττεσθαι τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ διεγείρειν ὡς οἷον ἀπονυστάζοντας, ἵνα φαίνοιτο τοῖς μὴ συνιέσι διὰ πάντων ἡμῶν καὶ προμηθέστατος, μηνύεται γοῦν ἡμῖν παννυχίδας ἀγρυπνητὰς ἐπιτάξει περὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ναοὺς, παίζων ἐκεῖνος κἀνταῦθα· τί γὰρ καὶ ἔδει προτρέπειν εὐχεσθαι ὅπερ ἐκεῖνος ἀπτήχeto, τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως; ἦν δέ οἱ ἐπινόια ὁσιούσθαι τὸ εὐσεβεῖν καὶ ἐπικρύπτειν τὴν ὄρεξιν, ἵνα δοκῇ πᾶν περιποιεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν ἐφ' ἅπασιν εἰ γε θέλει καὶ εὐχὰς τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς· οἶμαι δέ, καὶ ἐνδεικνύμενος οὕτω καραστήσαι τὰ τῆς πόλεως ὡς εὐχῶν καὶ μόνων αὐτὴν δέεσθαι, ὅμοιον ὡς εἰ καὶ ἱατρός κατεργασάμενος ἐκ τινος φαυλότητος ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἀνθρώπων, εἴτα ἐπιτάσσει προσκαλεῖσθαι ἱερέα ἐφοδιάσοντα ἤδη θνήσκοντα σωστικῷ ἀγιάσματι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν ἐπιπόλαιος ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν βαθὺς εὐτραπελεύεσθαι, ὅσα γε πειράσασθαι τοῦ ἀνδρός τοὺς δεινοὺς γνωματεύειν ἦθη τῶν οἷς ἂν περιτύχῃσι. διὸ καὶ ταύτην προσποιεῖτο τὴν θεοκλύτῃσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἂν τὸ θεῖον θεραπεύοιτο. ὅπως δ' ἂν εἶχε τὸ πρῶγμα, ὁ μὲν εἶπεν, οἱ δ' ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ἐπήκουον. καὶ δὴ χρεῶν προλάμπειν τοῦ ψάλλειν τὸν γλυκὺν μελωδὸν Δαυὶδ, ἐπὶ ἡλθεν οὕτι κατὰ αἶσιον τοῖς δεησομένοις (ἦν δὲ βαθὺς ὀρθρος τότε, οὐ λαμβθέντος ἡλίου ἐσλάμεν) ἐπιλέξασθαι ψαλμὸν ἐκεῖνον οὗ κατάρχει μὲν τὸ "ὁ θεός, ἤλθοσαν ἔθνη εἰς τὴν κληρονομίαν σου", ἐφέπεται δὲ τὸ "ἐμίαναν τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἁγίον σου, ἔθεντο τὰ θνησιμαῖα τῶν δούλων σου" καὶ τὸ ἐξῆς, μόνον οὐ χρησιμὸν δοῦντος τοῦ προφήτου καὶ θεοπάτορος δι' ὑποφητείας τῶν ἡθροισμένων εἰς δέησιν, καὶ λέγοντος "τί ἂν ἔτι δεοίμεθα πρεσβειῶν εἰς θεόν, ἔθνα ἐκεῖνω τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν ἀποπέφνανται."

"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 administer the *viaticum*. For he was far from superficial, but rather profound in his irresolution. At least that was the experience that 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 day of the sack of the city - the psalm that begins: "Lord, the gentiles have

fallen upon thy heritage" and further on it 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?"

Εἶχεν οὕτω ταῦτα, πλείοσιν ἑτέροις παρασπιζόμενα συγκροτήμασι τῆς τοῦ κακοῦ δηλώσεως, καὶ τοῖνυν τῷ συχνῷ τούτων ἅπαντες ἀνεφρονοῦμεν, ὄψιμον συνάγοντες νοῖν καὶ τὸ πρῶτον θράσος ἀποποιούμενοι (οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐκεῖνο θάσος εἶποιμι ἑλλόγως εἶχομεν), καὶ ἐνοοῦμεν οὐκέθ' ἡμῖν εἶναι φυκτά. οὐκ οὖν ἐφθασαν καταντῆσαι εἰς πέρας αἱ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν δεητήριοι ἀρμονίαι, καὶ ὁ πόλεμος, ἐτι τῶν ψαλμῶν εἰλουμένων ἐν τοῖς τῶν δεομένων στόμασι, θρήνους παρέβυσσε, καὶ εἰς φυγὴν αὐτοὺς ἀθροισθέντας ἔπτυρε, καὶ τοιαῦτα διέθετο ὥνπερ οἶω μεμνησεσθαι τοὺς ζῶντας ἐν περ ὄνειροις, εἶπερ οὐ τὰ ἡδέα μόνον προπίπτουσι τῆς καθ' ὑπνον φαντασίας, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἦττον καὶ τὰ φόβον ἐνδειξάμενα.

"So it was with these portents, to which another amount 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 Diäten, 255) ὡς καὶ αὐτός [Andronicus] μεταχωρεῖ τῆς Δαμάλεως ὑποψήλας τὸ τοῦ Δαυιδ ἐν τῷ τὸν πορθμὸν καὶ ὑποφθεγξάμενος μετὰ διαχύσεως "ἐπίστρεψον, ψυχὴ μου, εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσίν σου, ὅτι Κύριος εὐηργέτησέ σε, ὅτι ἐξείλετο τὴν ψυχὴν μου ἐκ θανάτου, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μου ἀπὸ δακρύων καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου ἀπὸ ὀλισθήματος."

"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 Diäten, 301) οὐκ ἐπικλᾶται λιταῖς, οὐ θηλύνεται δάκρυσιν, οὐκ αἰμύλοις ἱλαρύνεται φθέγμασι. κἀν ἄσῃ τις χάριεν, κλαγγὴ τοῦτο ἱκτίνων ἢ κρωγμὸς κορώνης λογίζεται.

"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⁾

42. Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ ὃν προειρήκειμεν Ἰωάννην τὸν δεσπότην γεγενημένον παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἰωάννου τὸ χρεὼν εἰλήφει. ἡγήρχε δὲ αὐτῷ ἀδελφὸς Δημήτριος, ὃς μεταστειλάμενος πρεσβείαν εἰς τὸν βασιλέα τοῦ τε δεσποτικοῦ ἀξιωματος ἐκεκληρονομήκει τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ δεσπόζειν πάντων τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου προστέτακται. ἀλλ' ἦν οὗτος οὐκ ἀδελφὸς φρονῶν Ἰωάννη τῷ ἀδελφῷ, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ τῷ μέτρῳ διέξενκτο. ἐκείνου μὲν γὰρ εὐσεβεία καὶ εὐλαβεία καὶ σωφροσύνη χαίροντος - καὶ γὰρ ἔλεγον οἱ τὰ αὐτοῦ εἰδότες μὴ ἂν ποτε ἀπολειφθῆναι μηδεμιᾶς ἡμέρας τοῦ ἔτους τοῦ μὴ τῆς θείας ἱεροτελεστίας ἐπακροάσασθαι, εἰ μὴ τις ἐκάλυε νόσος· προσεῖχε δὲ παννυχίαν εὐχαῖς, καὶ τὰς καθ' ὥραν ὑμνωδίας ὁσημέραι ἐπλήρου. ὦμιλε δὲ καὶ διηλεκτῶς Ναζιραίοις, καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ διὰ σπουδάσματος ὅτι πλείστον τὸ τοῦ μονήρους βίου τυχεῖν καὶ τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ἡσυχίας ἐν πείρᾳ γενέσθαι ἢ καὶν προσφιλῶς διακείσθαι τοῖς οὕτως ἔχουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς Δημήτριος ἐξ ἐναντίας εἶχε τοῦ τρόπου.

"Not much later the afore-mentioned metropolitan John who had been appointed by the emperor John died. But he had a brother Demetrius who had sent an embassy to the emperor and become the heir of his brother and had been ordered to rule over everything that had been under the defunct. He did not however cherish brotherly feelings towards his brother John but differed immensely from him. The former found pleasure in piety, devotion and a decent life - for those who had been familiar with him said that he would never one single day of the year fail to attend the Divine Service, unless prevented by illness. He observed the Vigils, and would every day recite the Hours in full. He also continuously had intercourse with monks, and his ambition was to attain to monastic life as much as possible, and to enjoy its peace, or at least be friendly disposed towards those who lived that kind of life. But his brother Demetrius' character was entirely different."¹⁶⁾

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 Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ τρισάγιος ὕμνος προσθήκην τότε ἐδέξατο τὴν, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος ὁ στυρωθεὶς δι' ἡμᾶς, λιτανευόντων τοῦ Πρύκλου καὶ πλείστον ὄχλου ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, παιδίον ἡρπάζη ὑπὸ δυνάμεως θείας εἰς τὸν ἄερα, πάντων ἰσταμένων καὶ τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον βοῶντων περὶ τρίτην τῆς ἡμέρας ὥραν· ὁ δὲ παιδίον αὐθις κατελθόν, ἔλεγεν ἀκοῦσαι θείας φωνῆς προταττούσης ἀναγγεῖλαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ λαῷ, οὕτω λέγειν τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον λιτανευόντας, Ἄγιος ὁ θεός, ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, μηδὲν ἕτερον προστιθέντας, ὁ καὶ ἐκράτησεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ διὰ βασιλικοῦ τύπου καὶ συνοδικῆς 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:

Sathas, BGMA VII, 109 Ἐκτοτε οὖν εἰς μνήμην τοῦ θαύματος ἡ τῆς Ἀκαθίστου κατ' ἔτος ἐτυπώθη ψάλλεσθαι παννυχίς, τοῦ Σεργίου συνταξαμένου τοὺς κατὰ στοιχεῖον, οὓς δὴ καὶ Οἴκους λέγομεν, ὕμνους τῇ νικοποιῷ καὶ ὑπερμάχῳ ἡμῶν.

"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 as 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 τῇν ἡ τράπεζα πανδοισία τις θεϊκῇ οὐκ ὀργάνων παρόντων οὐδὲ αὐλῶν οὐδὲ τυμπάνων οὐδὲ τὸ παράπαν μουσικῆς τινοῦ ἐνοχλοῦσης.

"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:

1) R. Widdess, *Historical Ethnomusicology*, in *Ethnomusicology*, An introduction I, ed. H. Myers, New York 1992, 219-37, quotation 220.

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, (Copenhagen 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 Ὑλη 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.

3) Iosephi Genesii regum libri quattuor. Rec. A. Lesmüller-Werner et I. Thurn. CFHB. Series Berolinensis, XIV. Berlin & New York 1978, 14-15.

- 4) Cf. the Modern Greek translation: 'Ιωσήφ Γενέσιος, *Περὶ βασιλείων. Μετάφραση - Σχόλια Παύλος Νιάρχης. Εισαγωγή - Επιστημονική θεώρηση της μετάφρασης Δημήτρης Τσουγκαράκης. Κείμενα βυζαντινῆς Ἱστοριογραφίας - 3.* Ἀθήνα 1994, 56.
- 5) Leonis Diaconi caloënsis *Historiae libri decem et liber de velicatione bellica Nicephori Augusti e recensione Caroli Benedicti Hasii.* CSHB. Bonn 1828.
- 6) Cf. the German translation: Nikephoros Phokas "Der bleiche Tod der Sarazenen" und Johannes Tzimiskes. *Die Zeit von 959 bis 976 in der Darstellung des Leo Diakonos. Übersetzt von Franz Loretto.* Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber, Bd. X. Graz - Wien - Köln 1961, 86, 112.
- 7) Editions of the Greek text: B. Vassilievskij et V. Jernstedt, *Cecaumeni Strategicon et incerti scriptoris de officiis regis libellus.* Petropoli 1896 and Litavrin (see the following note). Only Litavrin's edition has been accessible to me.
- 8) Cf. the German translation of this passage: *Vademecum des byzantinischen Aristokraten. Das sogenannte Strategikon des Kekaumenos, übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von Hans-Georg Beck.* Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber. Bd. V. Graz - Wien - Köln 1956/64, 74-75; and the Russian: *Soveti i rasskazi Kekavmena. Sochinenie vizantijskogo polkobodza XI veka. Podgotovka teksta, vvedenie, perevod i kommentarij G. G. Litavrina.* Moskva 1972, 193-195.
- 9) Ioannis Cinnami *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum. Ad fidem codicis Vaticani recensuit Augustus Meineke.* CSHB. Bonn 1836. French translation: Jean Kinnamos, *Chronique traduite par J. Rosenblum,* Paris 1972.
- 10) This is a *sticheron* in the Fourth Mode from the Triodion, 4th Week of Lent. Cf. e.g. the *Sticherarium Ambrosianum* (*Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae. XI Sticherarium Ambrosianum. edendum curaverunt Lidia Perria et Jørgen Raasted. Codex Bibliothecae Ambrosianae A 139 sup. phototypice depictus. Pars Principalis. Hauniae 1992*), fol. 204^v.
- 11) Editions of the Greek text of the *De expugnatione*: G.L.F. Tafel, *Eustathii Opuscula.* Frankfurt 1832; I Bekker, CSHB. Bonn 1842; S. Kyriakidis, *La espugnazione di Tessalonica.* Palermo 1961 (with Italian translation). The editions of Tafel and Kyriakidis have both been inaccessible to me.
- 12) Cf. the German translation of this and the following passages: *Die Normannen in Thessalonike. Die Eroberung von Thessalonike durch die Normannen (1185 n. Chr.) in der Augenzeugenschilderung des Bischofs Eustathios, übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von Herbert Hunger.* Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber. Bd. III. Graz - Wien - Köln 1955, 117, 119-120, 126-127, 127-128, 133-135.
- 13) Nicetae Choniatae *Historia recensuit Ioannes Aloysius van Dieten.* CFHB. Series Berolinensis, XI/1-2. Berlin 1975.
- 14) For this and the following quotation, cf. the German translation: *Abenteuer auf dem Kaiserthron. Die Regierungszeit der Kaiser Alexios II., Andronikos und Isaak Angelos (1180-1195) aus dem Geschichtswerk des Niketas Choniates übersetzt, eingeleitet und erklärt von Franz Graber.* Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber. Bd. VIII. Graz - Wien - Köln 1958, 45 and 95-96.
- 15) Georgii Acropolitae *opera* I. Ed. A. Heisenberg. Lipsiae 1903, 70-71.
- 16) Cf. the practically identical passage in Theodorus Scutariota:

Sathas, BGMA VII, 490 Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ δεσπότην τὸ χρεὼν εἰλήφει, καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Δημήτριος πρεσβείαν στέλλει πρὸς βασιλέα τοῦ τε δεσποτικοῦ ἀξιώματος καὶ τῆς χώρας κληρονόμος εἶναι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. Ἀλλ' ἦν οὗτος οὐκ ἀδελφὰ ἐκείνων φρονῶν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ ἀπεῖχεν ἐκείνου· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ εὐσεβεῖα καὶ εὐλαβεῖα καὶ σωφροσύνη διέζῃ καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἡμέρα τοῦ ἔτους ὅλου, καθ' ἣν μὴ τῆς θείας ἱεροτελεστείας ἐπηκροάσατο, εἰ μὴ τις ἐκώλυε νόσος, προσεῖχε δὲ παννυχίσι καὶ ὑμνωδίαις, ἀμίλει δὲ καὶ Ναζιραίοις διηνεκῶς, ἐπιποθὼν καὶ αὐτὸς τυχεῖν τούτων τοῦ σχήματος.

17) Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη (BGMA), ἐπιστασία Κ. Ν. Σάθα, τόμ. I-VII, Βενετία - Ἀθήναι - Παρίσιον 1872-1894. Τομ. VII, 1-556 Theodorus Scutariota.

18) Whoever wrote the *stanzas* of the Akathistos, Patriarch Sergius I (610-38) hardly comes in for consideration as their author. Cf. the detailed discussion of the authorship: The Akathistos Hymn, introduced and transcribed by Egon Wellesz. MMB Transcripta, Vol. IX. Copenhagen 1957, xx-xxxii.

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

20) Anne Comnène, Alexiade, tome III (livres XI-XV). Texte établi et traduit par Bernard Leib, S. J. Paris 1945, 214 (with French translation).

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