Traces of ‘Simple Psalmody’
in late- and post-Byzantine musical manuscripts:
melodic, modal and textual analysis of the Kekragarion tradition

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1. Introduction

The study of the Kekragarion chant tradition has over time become an important aspect of Byzantine musicology, especially regarding the development of “simple psalmody”. This term was used by Christian Troelsgaard in a study\(^1\) elaborating on the important contributions to the field made by Oliver Strunk.\(^2\) Simple psalmody describes the functional side of Byzantine “psalm tones”, pointing out a set of recurrent behaviours in the adaptation of psalm verses to simple melodic lines, producing a sort of “skeleton” that eventually would form the background for more developed, “ornate” or “embellished”, psalm settings.

Specifically regarding the Kekragaria, the present paper expands on a diachronic study published by Svetlana Kujumdzieva, primarily dealing with the rubrics reported in late Byzantine written musical manuscripts\(^3\), and a contribution by Annette Jung, presenting a synchronic analysis of the fifteenth-century manuscript Sinai gr. 1255 – with focus on the modal intonations.\(^4\) The possibility of using the melodic profiles of such simple chant tradition to trace the development of the Kekragarion up to the latest settings composed in the nineteenth century has not been pursued until

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This paper presents the results of a diachronic, comparative analysis through the eight modes. Fourteen manuscripts have been studied, but for the actual analysis two manuscripts representing the Kekragaria versions contained in the whole group of manuscripts were selected for transcription. My survey shows how the melodic tradition of the late medieval Kekragarion has been partly maintained and partly developed over four centuries, and it also demonstrates how specific melodic features relate to the arrangement of the text.

2. Selection and classification of sources
The following list includes the total pool of manuscript sources consulted, arranged according to estimated chronological order:

1. Athens, National Library of Greece, EBE 2458 [AD 1336], Theory, Anthologia; Kekragaria, ff. 36r-37v;
2. Jerusalem, Patriarchal Library, Tafou 425 [14th c.], Anthologia; Kekragaria, ff. 12v-14r;
3. Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, gr. 1311 [14th c. – last half], Anthologia (Psaltike); Kekragaria, ff. 111v-116v;
4. Athos, Iberon 1259 (5379) [15th c.], Heirmologion, Anthologia; Kekragaria, ff. 153r-160r;

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5 This comparative study has been conducted as a necessary first step in my studies of the historical development of the oral liturgical chant tradition of the Albanian communities in Sicily.

6 To get a slightly more detailed description of each source, check the “Inventory of Microfilms and Photographs” on the website of the Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae (Copenhagen), http://www.ig1.ku.dk/MMB/intro.html. For a physical description of MS Athens EBE 2458 and its contents, see Grigoris Stathis, Η ασματική διαφοροποίηση όπως καταγράφεται στον κώδικα EBE 2458 του έτους 1336, Thessaloniki 1989, and Linos & Maria POLITIS, Κατάλογος τῶν χειρογράφων τῆς Εθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ελλάδος, Athens 1991.


8 See also Grigorios Stathis, Τὰ χειρόγραφα βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς - Ἀγίον Ὄρος. Κατάλογος περιγραφικῶς τῶν χειρογράφων κωδικῶν βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς, τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τῶν ἱερῶν μονῶν καὶ σκήτων τοῦ Ἀγίου Ὄρους, τόμος Δ', Athens, 2015.
5. Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, gr. 1312 [15th c.], Anthologia, Sticherarion kalophonikon; Kekragaria, ff. 37r-43v;
6. Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, gr. 1323 [15th c.], Theory (Papadike), Anthologia; Kekragaria, ff. 36r-44r;
7. Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, gr. 1255 [15th c. – see Jung 1984], Sticherarion kalophonikon, Anthologia; Anastasimatarion, ff. 164r-203v;
8. Athos, Laura Epsilon 173 (635) [AD 1436], Theory (Papadike), Anthologia, Sticherarion kalophonikon; Cyclic offices, Kekragaria, Ainoi, ff. 14r-24r;
9. Athos, Pantokratoros 211 (1245) [15th c. – last half], Papadike, Treatises, Anthologia, Sticherarion kalophonikon; Cyclic offices, “Kyrie ekekraxa”, doxology, “Theos Kyrios”, through the modes, ff. 15r-61v.
10. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barber. gr. 300 [15th c. – by Tardo], Papadike, Methods, Erotapokriseis, Anthologia, Sticherarion Kalophonikon; Kekragaria through the modes, ff. 36r-51v;
11. Sinai, Monastery of St Catherine, gr. 1463 [15th-16th c. (see Schartau)], Theory, Papadike, Anthologia; Settings for Hesperinos, Orthros, for Liturgy, Cherubika, Ainoi and Kekragaria, ff. 80v-214v;
12. Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 3535 octavo [16th c.? (see Schartau)], Theory, Papadike, Anthologia, Kratematarion; inc. mut. of 3rd mode in Kekragaria through the modes, ff. 20r-26r;
13. Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS 4466 quarto [17th c. (see Schartau)], Theory, Papadike, Methods, Anthologia, Mathematarion; Settings for Hesperinos and Orthros; Kekragaria through the modes (inc. mut. 1st mode), ff. 31r-35r; two further cycles of the Kekragarion through the modes,9 ff. 349r-355r;

Of these fourteen musical manuscripts written in the Middle Byzantine Notation, I have chosen versions from the oldest one, EBE 2458 (A.D.

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9 Corresponding to the “agioreitika” version and the Kekragaria ascribed to Balasios the Priest, reported also in the MS Copenhagen NKS 2747 (see source no. 14).
1336), and the most recent document, MS NKS 2747 folio (18th c.), as the primary basis of my study, since no significant changes in the melodic versions reported by the other sources were identified – although I certainly did observe many instances of melodic and/or neumatic micro-variation which are of minor importance for this study.

The main conclusions are:

- that there is a stable tradition of a version referred to as “Koukouzelian” (labelled “Kouk A”), which in this material appears first in MS EBE 2458;
- that “Kouk A” can be considered a point of departure for all versions in the subsequent sources. These versions, however, are developed or have been embellished in the sense that melodic formulae and passages without a clear connection to “Kouk A” are occasionally inserted through a kind of re-composition, as is the case of the versions “Kouk B” and “Bal”. Also a shortened version occurs, “Synt”;
- such multiple traditions have been reported even in the latest source on our list, e.g. the MS Copenhagen NKS 2747 folio, which actually offers two further cycles of the Kekragarion, making up a total of only four distinct versions.

Before turning to the musical analysis of these versions, I shall briefly comment on the two selected sources. The manuscript Athens EBE 2458 is the oldest dated copy (A.D. 1336) of the “new” type of chant book of its genre, i.e. the so-called Akolouthiai manuscripts or ‘Orders of Service’, which reports the ancient – i.e. since the 14th century at least – chant tradition of the Kyrie ekekraxa (Ps. 140, 1 sqq. “Lord, I have cried unto Thee”) for the Byzantine Vespers office. The development of the Akolouthiai type of musical manuscript (also termed Anthologia or

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10 As in the case of the MS NkS 4466, quarto. For the reason why I chose to describe here the MS NkS 2747 folio instead of the NkS 4466 quarto see footnote no. 9.

11 A group of anthologies originating in about 1300 and containing traditional and contemporary settings of the Ordinary chants, as well as elements drawn from the earlier repertories, principally the psaltikon and the asmatikon. They contain within a single volume a collection of monophonic chants, both Ordinary and Proper, for the psalmody of Hesperinos and Orthros, and settings for the three Divine Liturgies (See Troelsgaard and Williams 2001, and Troelsgaard 2011, p. 31).
Papadike) was associated with the Athonite monk (St) Ioannes Koukouzeles, and it contains as its nucleus chants of the Hesperinos (i.e. the Vespers office), the Orthros (i.e. the morning office) as well as chant for the Divine Liturgy (i.e. the Byzantine mass).

In this source, only the setting for the first verse of the Kyrie ekekraxa is delivered through the modes, without any reference to the second (i.e. Kateuthynthētō) or the subsequent verses. The handwriting is very clear, both as regards the chant text and the neumes.

My second source of transcription is the Anthology MS Copenhagen NKS 2747 folio (second half of the 18th cent.), acquired by the library in 1976. Only few scholars have mentioned or published on it, probably because it is a rather late source and many comparable manuscripts can be found elsewhere. Its usefulness for a diachronic study is, however, evident, since it transmits the last three of the four identified versions of the Kekragarion in a clearly legible notation.

The four versions are the following:
1) “Kouk A”, the oldest version of the “Koukouzelian” tradition, EBE 2458 (ff. 36r-37v);

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2) “Kouk B”, a later reception of the “Koukouzelian” tradition, NKS 2747 folio (ff. 32v-33v);\(^{14}\)

3) “Synt”, NKS 2747 folio (ff. 33v-34r), is described as “σύντομο αγιορετικό” (i.e. “short version from Mount Athos”);

4) “Bal”, NKS 2747 folio (ff. 34v-35v) is clearly more melismatic, developed or embellished than the other and older versions. It is ascribed to Balasios the Priest, a composer of the first half of the 17th century, contemporary of composers such as Chrysaphes the Young and Germanos, Bishop of New Patras. “Bal” recycles much of the melodic material transmitted in the “Kouk” and “Synt” versions.

The following table shows the total distribution of the four versions over the fourteen manuscripts listed above:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Version</th>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Date of earliest witness</th>
<th>Date of latest witness</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Kouk A”</td>
<td>EBE 2458 (ff. 36r-37v); Tafou 425 (ff. 12v-14r); Sinai 1311 (ff. 111v-116v); Iberon 1259 (ff. 153r-160r)</td>
<td>AD 1336</td>
<td>15th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Kouk B”</td>
<td>Sinai 1312 (ff. 37r-43v); Sinai 1323 (ff. 36r-44r); Sinai 1255 (ff. 164r-203v); Athos Laura Epsilon 173 (ff. 14r-24r); Athos Pantokratoros 211 (ff. 15r-61v); Vatican Barber. gr. 300 (ff. 36r-51v); Sinai 1463 (ff. 80v-214v); GKS 3537 octavo (ff. 20r-26r); NKS 4466 quarto (ff. 31r-35r); NKS 2747 folio (ff. 32v-33v)</td>
<td>15th c.</td>
<td>18th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Synt”</td>
<td>NKS 4466 quarto (ff. 349r-351v); NKS 2747 folio (ff. 33v-34r)</td>
<td>17th c.</td>
<td>18th c.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Bal”</td>
<td>NKS 4466 quarto (ff. 351v-355r); NKS 2747 folio (ff. 34v-35v)</td>
<td>17th c.</td>
<td>18th c.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Apart from few trivial musical and orthographical variants, the witnesses display the same constellation of music and text; in some cases, however, repetitions are written out, in other cases not.

\(^{14}\) In NKS 2747 folio the second stichos of the Kekragarion (i.e. “Kateuthynthētō”) is presented in all modes, unlike EBE 2458 that only transmits the first one (“Kyrie ekekraxa”).
3. Methodology
The manuscripts have been studied in situ at the Royal Library in Copenhagen and on microfilms, scannings and digital images kept in the archive of Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, University of Copenhagen. The full transcription of the settings in all four versions through the eight modes is presented in the Appendix. In the present analysis of the material, I have paid special attention to recurrent melodic formulae making up the Byzantine psalm tones or “simple psalmody”, a feature probably connected with the predominantly oral administration of the actual chant genre, closely connected with the system of the eight modes (the oktōēchos) as a generative musical principle. These formulaic elements have been traced though the four versions in order to assess how much of the melodic material of “simple psalmody” in the “Koukouzelian” tradition has survived in later versions. To better grasp the musical characteristics of the genre, modal profiles of the various settings are also described (ambitus, finals, recitation notes). Before attacking the musical analysis, I shall, however, turn to the titles and to the ‘libretto’, i.e. the actual arrangement of textual segments from Psalm 140.

4. Titles and Text in the Kyrie ekekraxa
Until the end of the 16th century the opening heading or attribution at the beginning of the Kekragarion was generally written as follows:

ἀρχή σὺν Ἁγίῳ ἁγίῳ τῶν κατ’ ἥξον κεκραγαρίων...

However, some variation occurs, but the rubric most often includes the indication “κατ’ ἥξον” (i.e. according to the modes). After the 16th century, we find in addition rubrics specifying the kind of Kekragarion, the place where it was sung or the name of the composer. For example, the term

15 Probably also long after 1250, when the earliest psalm settings were included in some Sticheraria (see Troelsgaard 2004, p. 2).
16 In her already mentioned study on the Kekragarion, Svetlana Kujumdzieva reports the following attribution: ἀρχή σὺν Θεῷ ἁγίῳ τῶν Κέ ἀκραγάριν κατ’ ἥξον, i.e. “beginning with holy God, Kyrie ekekraxa according to the modes”, 1995, p. 451.
17 Kujumdzieva, op. cit., p. 452.
“ἐκκλησιαστικά”,\(^\text{18}\) reported in manuscripts from the second half of the 17\(^{th}\) century, may – according to Raasted\(^\text{19}\) – refer to chants or repertories used in small churches. Also references to performance style etc. occur.

In the following table, I show variation in the rubrics over the centuries in all the studied sources (the orthography has been normalised):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>14(^{th})</td>
<td>Athens, EBE 2458 (ff. 36r-37v); Ἐἱθ’ οὐτος ἄρχεται τὸ Κύριε ἐκέκραξα, κατ’ ἤξον</td>
<td>Kουκ A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jerusalem, Tafou 425 (ff. 12v-14r); Ἐἱθ’ οὐτος ἄρχεται τὸ Κύριε ἐκέκραξα, κατ’ ἤξον</td>
<td>Kουκ A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai, 1311 (ff. 111v-116v); Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ τῶν κεκραγαρίων</td>
<td>Kουκ A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15(^{th})</td>
<td>Athens, Iberon 1259 (ff. 153r-160r); [...] τὸ Κύριε ἐκέκραξα, κατ’ ἤξον(^\text{20})</td>
<td>Kουκ A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai, 1312 (ff. 37r-43v); Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ ἀγίῳ τῶν κεκραγαρίων κατ’ ἤξον, σὺν τὸ Δόξα Πατρὶ - ἄρχεται ὁ πρῶτος χορός.</td>
<td>Kουκ B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai, 1323 (ff. 36r-44r); Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ τῶν κεκραγαρίων</td>
<td>Kουκ B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai, 1255 (ff. 164r; 169v; 174r; 178v; 184r; 189r; 194r; 198v); Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ ἀγίῳ τῶν κατ’ ἤξον κεκραγαρίων, ἤνωμένων μετά τῶν ἀναστασιῶν</td>
<td>Kουκ B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Athos, Laura Epsilon 173 (ff. 14r; 15r; 16v; 18r; 19v; 20v; 22r; 22v); Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ ἀγίῳ τῶν κως ἐκέκραξα κατ’ ἤξον, σὺν τὸ δόξα καὶ τὸ θεὸς κύριος. σὺν τὸ ἀλληλουία μετὰ τῷ πάσα πνοή , καὶ τὸ αἰνεῖται καὶ ἐτέρας ἀλλής ἀκολουθίας. ὁ δομεστικὸς τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ χοροῦ ἄρχεται.</td>
<td>Kουκ B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Athos, Pantokratoros 211 (ff. 15r; 22r; 28v; 32v; 39v; 46v; 53v; 56v); Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ ἀγίῳ τῶν κως ἐκέκραξα κατ’ ἤξον, σὺν τὸ κατευθυνθῆκε. σὺν τὰ ἀναστάσια. τὸ θεὸς κύριος. τὰ ἀλληλουία. τῆς μεγάλης τεσσαρακοστῆς. καὶ τὸ πάσα πνοή. καὶ ἐτέρας ἀκολουθίας.</td>
<td>Kουκ B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{18}\) Cf. NKS 4466 quarto (ff. 349v-351v).


\(^{20}\) Cf. footnote no. 8.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Century</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15th</td>
<td>Vatican, Barber. gr. 300 (ff. 36r-51v); Ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ ἁγίῳ, τῶν κεκραγαίων, σὺν τὸ κατευθυνθέτω, καὶ τὸ δόξα καὶ νῦν, καὶ τὸ θεὸς κύριος, σὺν τὸ ἀλλήλωνία, καὶ τὰ πάσα πνοή, καὶ ἦλθον.</td>
<td>Kouk B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15th</td>
<td>Sinai 1463 (ff. 80v; 112r; 128v; 145r; 163v; 180v; 196v; 214r); Ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ ἁγίῳ τῶν κυριακῶν καὶ τῶν ζ΄ ἡμερῶν, καὶ τοῦ αἰνεῖται καὶ τῶν προκειμένων καὶ τῆς θείας λειτουργίας τοῦ χρυσοστόμου καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου σαββάτου καὶ ἑτέρας ἀκολουθίας.</td>
<td>Kouk B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16th</td>
<td>Copenhagen, GKS 3537 octavo (ff. 20r-26r); inc. mutile</td>
<td>Kouk B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17th</td>
<td>Copenhagen, NKS 4466 quarto (ff. 31r-35r); inc. mutile</td>
<td>Kouk B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Copenhagen, NKS 4466 quarto (ff. 349r-351v); κεκραγάρια ἐκκλησιαστικὰ καθὼς ἐν τῷ Ἁγιοῦ Ὀρει ἑτέροις</td>
<td>Synt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Copenhagen, NKS 4466 quarto (ff. 351v-355r); κύριος Μπαλασιοῦ ἱερέως καὶ νομοφύλακος</td>
<td>Bal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18th</td>
<td>Copenhagen, NKS 2747 folio (ff. 32v-33v); Ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ τῶν κεκραγάριων, καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κατευθυνθέτων.</td>
<td>Kouk B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Copenhagen, NKS 2747 folio (ff. 33v-34r); έτερα κεκραγάρια, σύντομα, ἀγιορετικα</td>
<td>Synt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Copenhagen, NKS 2747 folio (ff. 34v-35v); έτερα κεκραγάρια σύντομα, ποίημα κύριος Μπαλασιοῦ ἱερέως</td>
<td>Bal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In EBE 2458, ff. 36r-37v (i.e. Kouk A) and NKS 2747, ff. 32v-33v (i.e. Kouk B), we find almost the same reference with regard to the contents "κατ’ ἦλθον", although none of the sources reporting Kouk A includes the second verse of the Psalm 140 (i.e. Kateuthynthētō). In fact, this verse is reported only in the sources belonging to Kouk B, Synt and Bal. This observation confirms that – as Kujundzicëv also mentioned in her study – in the sources from the 14th century only the Kyrie ekekraxa is noted, whereas the Kateuthynthētō, apart from some few manuscripts of the 15th century (e.g. all those reporting Kouk B in this study), began to be regularly included from the 16th century onwards. In addition, the Kateuthynthētō – when it is reported – is always noted with the same...
melodic profile as verse 1, albeit with some variations due to the different syllabification of the text.

In Synt and in Bal a particular expression is added, namely ἕτερα κεκραγάρια, σύντομα, referring to the setting as an alternative (ἕτερα), “another” or “a second version”. The indication “abridged” (σύντομα) is reported in many sources from the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. Moreover, several other terms might indicate a similar “concise” version. For instance, the attribution “συνοπτικόν” is found in MSS from the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, but I have not found it in the latest sources.

In his study of the use of “abridgements” in post-Byzantine compositions, Gregorios Stathis refers to this “new short style” as a “σύντομον ὤφος” (‘short style’). He claims that terms such as “συνοπτικόν” or “ἔτερον σύντομον”, usually accompanied by “ἐκκλησιαστικόν” or “καλογερικόν”, belong to the “σύντομον ὤφος”. He maintains that although these terms are not synonymous, they refer to independent creations, differing from earlier melodies; they are new compositions. By contrast, indications as συντετμημένον, σμικρυνθέν, συντομηθέν, ἐλαττωνηθέν, clearly relate to previous compositions.

Additionally, the Synt version offered by NKS 2747 folio (ff. 33v-34r), has ἁγιορείτικα in the rubric, a term that usually refers to the monastic singing tradition originating in Mount Athos. Similarly, the other source here ascribed as Synt, i.e. NKS 4466 quarto (ff. 349r-351v), shows the attribution “κεκραγάρια ἐκκλησιαστικά καθώς ἐν τῷ Ἁγιονόμῳ Ὄρει ψάλλονται”, which I did not find elsewhere among the Kekragaria.

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22 Also “concise”, “cut”, or even “shortened” in the sense of “veloce” (i.e. quick) version.
25 Stathis, op. cit., p. 23. Also, the reference to the term “σύντομον” is explained by Stathis as regarding the actual length of a melos and not just the number of its notational signs (cf. p. 25).
26 Stathis, op. cit., p. 19.
27 On this traditional way of singing belonging to the Brotherhoods of the monks of Mount Athos, as well as the style itself, which is not based on individual chanting mood, but on a more ecclesiastical character, that requires group participation and joint chanting performance, see Olympia N. Tolià, Επίτομο εγκυκλοπαιδικό λεξικό της βυζαντινής μουσικής, Athens 1993.
studied here. Nevertheless, I should note one instance of a similar rubric registered by Manolis Chatzigiakoumis in his description of the MS Lesbos, Leimōnos Monastery 459, ff. 67v-73v (relating to Synt and Bal, in the orthography of the catalogue): 28

κατ’ ἥξιον κεκραγάρια, ἔτερα λεγόμενα ἐκκλησιαστικά καθός ἐν τῷ ἁγιονόμῳ ὅρει ψάλλονται καὶ ἔτερα σίντομα Μπαλασίου ἱερέως.

With regard to the actual arrangement of the text, I made a comparison between the four versions of verse 1 and decided, on the basis of some features of the musical settings, to divide the chant in to the following five lines:

1. Κύριε, ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ, εἰσάκουσόν μου·
2. εἰσάκουσόν μου, Κύριε.
3. Κύριε, ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ, εἰσάκουσόν μου·
4. πρὸς ψάλλει τῇ φωνῇ τῆς δεήσεώς μου, ἐν τῷ κεκραγέναι με πρὸς σέ·
5. εἰσάκουσόν μου, Κύριε.

This five-line structure has been observed in all modes of all four versions, although word repetitions as “εἰ-σά-” before “εἰσάκουσόν”, or “δε-ή-” before “δεήσεώς μου” are found. Another particularity is the occasional addition of the syllable “νε”, as in the following examples:

εἰ-σά- κοῦ- σόν [νε]- ὄν μου
δε-ή- σε- ως [νε]- ως
ϕω-νῇ [νε]- Ἑ

The νε is attached to the last syllable of a word, after which the word is completed, creating three syllables instead of one. Yet another feature affecting the syllabification of the text is the addition of the vowel “ε” at the sequence of two consonants. The neume notated above such an interpolated syllable is the so-called “isaki” (i.e. a small ison). 30 This happens specifically in the following words:

28 Μουσικά χειρόγραφα Τουρκοκρατίας (1453-1832), Athens 1975, p. 100.
29 For the phenomenon nenanismata, see Raasted 1966, p. 149.
30 For a detailed description of how the isaki works, see Troelsgaard 2011, p. 46. See also Karas 1982, I, p. 181.
ἐκέκ(ε)ραξα
π(ε)ρός
π(ε)ρόσχες or πρόσ(ε)χες or π(ε)ρόσ(ε)χες
κεκ(ε)ραγέναι

5. Melodic analysis through the modes
From the first authentic to the fourth plagal mode the verses of the Kyrie ekekraxa “are systematically arranged according to their oktōēchos succession”.31 I investigate here the frequency and occurrence of various melodic motives and their position in the whole melodic profile itself by using analytical tables in order to describe in detail what happens in the setting of each of the modes. Particular attention has also been paid to the ambitus of each version, as well as to the relationship between the text and the melody, in an attempt to figure out whether it is possible to determine a general melodic mechanism by looking at, for instance, the patterns of accentuation.

In order to display the melodic line, I have for practical reasons adopted the method of “letter-notation” described and used by Jørgen Raasted.32

First authentic mode (α’)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Version</th>
<th>Ambitus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kouk A</td>
<td>E – d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kouk B</td>
<td>E – e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synt</td>
<td>G – d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bal</td>
<td>E – d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ambitus is quite extended (E-d) in Kouk A, Kouk B (it reaches e, but only once) and Bal, compared to the one in Synt, which is quite narrow probably due to its “abridged” character.

In Kouk A the ‘classical’ psalmodic opening formula (EF G a) occurs at the beginning of each line apart from the last one (i.e. line 5), it is found three times in Kouk B and Bal (though not in line 1), and never in Synt.

Thus, we can see that Kouk A and Kouk B share opening formula, whereas Synt and Bal sustain the note a, providing, respectively, a shorter and a longer version of apparently the same melodic idea.

Every time there are syllables with a strong accent, such as “- κέ” (from “ἐκέκραξα”), “σέ” or “-νῇ” (from “φωνή”), we notice an ascending leap (a c) or melodic phrase (a b c) – as a sort of preparation – towards the stressed syllable and then, in some cases, a following descending interval or phrase (e.g. cba baa) or a preparation for the next accentuated syllable. Kouk B and Bal include extra pitches on the word “φωνή” compared with Kouk A and Synt, and this might reveal something about the rules of accentuation and the relationship between text and music.
The last part of line 4 always includes two elements that I place in two different tables, although they belong to the same syntactic unit; the first one is characterised by a sequence of identical notes, that we identify as "recitation pitch", which is clearly established in Kouk A and Kouk B, although the latter is slightly ornamented. In contrast, this passage is more ornately rendered in Bal and Synt, where a certain melodic aspect has replaced the recitation character.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Version</th>
<th>Recitation pitch(es)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kouk A</td>
<td>ἐν τῷ κε - κ(ε)ρα - γέ - νοι με πρὸς σέ: a a a (a) a a b c a b G a a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kouk B</td>
<td>ἐν τῷ κε - κ(ε)ρα - γέ - νοι με πρὸς σέ: a a c b (b) b a a b c a b G a a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synt</td>
<td>ἐν τῷ κε - κ(ε)ρα - γέ - νοι με πρὸς σέ: c b a a (a) c b a b a G a G a b G a a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bal</td>
<td>ἐν τῷ κε - κ(ε)ρα - γέ - νοι με πρὸς σέ: a a c b c b (b) b a b a b a a G a G a b G a a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second element is the so-called "psalmodic cadence", which always presents a stable melodic shape on the last four syllables of line 4, and in the first authentic mode is rendered by the "classical" cadence formula (bc ab Ga a) of simple psalmody. In Bal it is slightly more ornate. In addition, the 'classical' rule of the "last four syllables" is broken in Synt.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Version</th>
<th>Psalmodic cadence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kouk A</td>
<td>ἐν τῷ κε - κ(ε)ρα - γέ - νοι με πρὸς σέ: a a a (a) a a b c a b G a a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kouk B</td>
<td>ἐν τῷ κε - κ(ε)ρα - γέ - νοι με πρὸς σέ: a a c b (b) b a a b c a b G a a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synt</td>
<td>ἐν τῷ κε - κ(ε)ρα - γέ - νοι με πρὸς σέ: c b a a (a) c b a b a G a G a b G a a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bal</td>
<td>ἐν τῷ κε - κ(ε)ρα - γέ - νοι με πρὸς σέ: a a c b c b (b) b a b a b a a G a G a b G a a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and Bal, where the beginning of the cadence seems to be anticipated respectively on “-γέ-” and “-κε-κ(ε)ρα-”. However, Synt reports the ‘classical’ psalmodic cadence of the first authentic mode at the end of line 2 as shown below.

The final cadence \((c b a \text{G a})\) begins on a sort of melodic peak, after which a descending phrase leads towards the note \(a\). It seems to have much in common with the psalmodic cadence in all four versions.

**Second authentic mode (β‘)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Version</th>
<th>Ambitus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kouk A</td>
<td>D – d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kouk B</td>
<td>G – d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synt</td>
<td>G – e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bal</td>
<td>G – e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this mode the ambitus is generally narrower \((G – d)\) than in the first authentic mode; Synt and Bal both reach \(e\), and Kouk A reaches \(D\), once.
### Opening patterns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Version</th>
<th>Opening patterns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Kouk A  | Κύριε, εκείνος - κεφαλή - κεφαλή - κερατος - ζακύνθιος - μεγαλόπορος - ζακύ
| Kouk B  | Κύριε, εκείνος - κεφαλή - κεφαλή - κερατος - ζακύνθιος - μεγαλόπορος - ζακύ
| Kouk A  | Κύριε, εκείνος - κεφαλή - κεφαλή - κερατος - ζακύνθιος - μεγαλόπορος - ζακύ
| Kouk B  | Κύριε, εκείνος - κεφαλή - κεφαλή - κερατος - ζακύνθιος - μεγαλόπορος - ζακύ
| Synt   | Κύριε, εκείνος - κεφαλή - κεφαλή - κερατος - ζακύ
| Bal    | Κύριε, εκείνος - κεφαλή - κεφαλή - κερατος - ζακύ

The ‘classical’ opening formula (G ab b) occurs three times, at the beginning of lines 1, 3 and 4, in Kouk A (with slight variation), Kouk B, and Bal, whereas it is found only once in Synt (in line 1).

### Accentuation patterns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Version</th>
<th>Accentuation patterns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Kouk A  | ἐκείνος - κεφαλή - κεφαλή - κερατος - ζακύνθιος - μεγαλόπορος - ζακύ
| Kouk B  | ἐκείνος - κεφαλή - κεφαλή - κερατος - ζακύνθιος - μεγαλόπορος - ζακύ
| Synt   | ἐκείνος - κεφαλή - κεφαλή - κερατος - ζακύ
| Bal    | ἐκείνος - κεφαλή - κεφαλή - κερατος - ζακύ

On syllables with a strong accent we find ascending leaps (b c; b d) or rising melodic phrases (e.g. bcd), and in some instances (cf. Bal) a descending phrase (e.g. bcbaG) follows. In Synt, on “π(ε)ρος σέ” there is a different kind of ascending formula ((G)ab b), similar to the opening pattern. In Kouk A and Kouk B, on “φωνή” the interval leap is prepared by the notes ba and then reaches d, while Bal is much more developed than the other versions. The accentuation patterns of Kouk A and Kouk B are similar and reach the peak-pitch d only twice, whereas in Synt it is reached three times and in Bal four times. In the latter version, this high register is sustained by recitation-like repercussion of d, and the word “φωνή” is drawn out considerably in comparison with the other versions.
The recitation pitch is G. This is most obvious in Kouk A and Synt, whereas in Kouk B and Bal one notices a certain degree of ornamentation to the effect that a melodic aspect replaces the recitative one.

The psalmodic cadence in this mode is rendered by the formula \( bc\ a G a b c b\ b G\) that is, however, abridged and varied in Synt and much developed in Bal. One notices a slight deviation from the ‘classical’ form of the simple psalmodic cadence (i.e. \( c\ a\ b\ b\)). Also the rule of the “last four syllables” is broken in Synt and most clearly in Bal, where the beginning of the cadence seems to be anticipated on “-\( \gamma\varepsilon\)-” and ends in a quite embellished form. Like in the first authentic mode, Synt reports here the ‘classical’ psalmodic cadence at the end of line 2, although in a slightly modified form:

\[
\text{Synt. } \begin{array}{c}
\varepsilon\iota - \sigma\alpha - \kappa\omicron - \sigma\omicron\nu\mu\omicron, \ K\upsilon - \rho\omicron - \epsilon. \\
G\ b\ a\ G\ b\ G\ a\ b\ b\ G
\end{array}
\]
The concluding formula begins on the note d (cf. Kouk A) or c (cf. Kouk B; Bal is more embellished) with a descending phrase – or slightly ascending in Synt as it starts on a – leading towards the recitation pitch of this second mode. It seems melodically related to the ‘classical’ cadence of simple psalmody in all versions.

**Third authentic mode (γ ’)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Version</th>
<th>Ambitus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kouk A</td>
<td>G – e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kouk B</td>
<td>G – g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synt</td>
<td>G – g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bal</td>
<td>G – g</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ambitus spans an octave (G – g) in Kouk B, Synt and Bal, whereas Kouk A has a narrower range. Nevertheless, it seems that the real peak-pitch would be f, since e and g might be seen as transitional notes through which this peak is reached. For this reason, the mode might resemble the fourth authentic mode (δ ’).
As in the instances studied by Jung, the third authentic mode does not have a proper opening pattern, but opens directly on the recitation of the note c, a phenomenon we find not only in Kouk A and Kouk B, but also in Synt. The latter version is, however, not entirely recitative, whereas Bal again has a more developed formula and moves around the recitation pitch (i.e. c).

Furthermore, in this case the melody follows the text accentuation, except for the words “π(ε)ρος σέ” in Synt and “φωνή” in Bal, that are accompanied by descending motives.

34 In the third authentic mode I interpret this pitch as b-flat in top note positions.
35 Jung, op. cit., p. 12.
As in the opening pattern, the recitation tone is on c, mostly in Kouk A and Kouk B (with variations), whereas in Synt and Bal we find another melodic contour, i.e. an ascending phrase (a a bc d) and a descending one (e d c ababG a), respectively. The melodic profile thus prevails over recitation in Synt and Bal also here.

The psalmodic cadence is similarly coined in Kouk A and Kouk B where there is the same descending interval on “π(ε)ρός σέ·”, while it is absent in Synt and apparently varied in Bal. The ‘classical’ form is d c b a, which is only recognisable as an underlying melodic pattern in Kouk A and Kouk B.
The closing formula seems to be similar and very much embellished in Kouk B, Synt and Bal, while an abridged version is reported in Kouk A, which is apparently also the version melodically most similar to the ‘classical’ psalmody, despite the shift of final note.

**Fourth authentic mode (δ)\(^3\)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Version</th>
<th>Ambitus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kouk A</td>
<td>a – f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kouk B</td>
<td>a – g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synt</td>
<td>b – g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bal</td>
<td>a – a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this mode each of the versions has its own ambitus. The peak-pitch g is reached only in Kouk B, Synt and Bal, particularly in lines 4 and 5; in Bal also in line 2.

\(^3\) In this mode, the Bal version in NKS 2747) presents an error in line 3, on the syllable “ἐ.” (from “ἐκέκραξα”). Apparently, an oligon is missing. To re-establish a sound transcription, the oligon is supplied with support from MS NkS 4466, f. 353 r.
The opening formula does not occur several times as in the previous modes, and it seems to be closely related in Kouk A and Kouk B (again in an expanded form). In Synt it is abridged while in Bal it is quite embellished, though this version as the only one has the ‘classical’ fourth-mode opening directly on $d$.

Also in this case, there are ascending intervals ($d f$) or melodic phrases ($e e f$) on syllables with a strong accent. On the word “φωνῇ”, the melodic contour reported in Bal is much more developed than in the other cases; on the same word, Kouk B and Synt show a very similar melodic phrase.
The recitation pitch is on d, most explicitly seen in Kouk A. In contrast to Kouk A’s genuine recitation-like character, the three subsequent versions appear to be more “melodised”.

The psalmodic cadence has almost the same shape in Kouk A and Kouk B, although this last one is slightly more developed; Synt and Bal both begin on the same note (e), but have a different shape, further from the ‘classical’ form e b c d. Nevertheless, Kouk A ends on c, Bal on b, whereas Kouk B – which is much more embellished – and Synt end on e.
The final cadence begins on different notes in each of the versions, but ends on the same note d, except in Synt, which ends on e. Also, Kouk A and Synt show an abridged cadence, compared with the more embellished ones found in Kouk B and Bal.

First plagal mode (πλ. α’)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Version</th>
<th>Ambitus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kouk A</td>
<td>C – b³⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kouk B</td>
<td>C – c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synt</td>
<td>D – b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bal</td>
<td>C – b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ambitus embraces an octave (C – c) only in Kouk B, a minor seventh in Kouk A and Bal, and a minor sixth in Synt and the actual tonal range is placed very low in all versions.

---
³⁷ Probably to be understood as b flat in top note positions.
The opening formula (F E D) does not occur several times like in the case of the authentic first and second modes; we see the same movement in Kouk A and Kouk B, slightly developed in Bal, but different in Synt (i.e. G G E), in which the melody then progresses at a distance of a fourth above that of the other versions.

Also in this mode, the music is coordinated with text accentuation, except for the words “π(ε)ρός σέ” in Synt and “φωνή” in Bal, that are accompanied by a descending motif (like in the case of the third authentic mode), and “φωνή” also has pitch repetitions in Synt. Moreover, the melodic material seems to be reduced in comparison with the previous modes.

---

38 Probably b flat.
In this mode, the recitation pitch is either G or D, the latter especially in Bal.

The psalmodic cadence in this mode has almost the same shape in Kouk A and Kouk B; conversely, Synt and Bal offer two variants of the cadence: the first one is abridged and ends on a, whereas Bal shows a simpler variant, ending on D as the Kouk versions. The ‘classical’ psalmodic cadence of first plagal is a F E D, and a close parallel is seen in Synt (but without respect to the four-syllable rule) at the end of line 2 in this shape:
The final formula seems to be unique in Kouk A (which ends on D as the psalmodic cadence), whereas Kouk B, Synt and Bal consistently end on G, the last two sharing the melodic phrase b GaF G.

Second plagal mode (πλ. β’)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Version</th>
<th>Ambitus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kouk A</td>
<td>C – b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kouk B</td>
<td>D – d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synt</td>
<td>D – c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bal</td>
<td>D – d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ambitus embraces an octave (D – d) in Kouk B and Bal, a major seventh in Kouk A – having the bottom note C instead of D –, and a minor seventh in Synt.

39 Jung, op. cit., p. 50.
The opening formula (G F E), which is identical in each of the versions (apart from the beginning note of Kouk A), occurs twice, at the beginning of lines 1 and 3, with variation in Synt, though. It also displays a different development in Bal, reminiscent of melodic progressions found elsewhere in Synt.

Accentuation is melodically accompanied by leaps (E G; D F) or longer melodic phrases ((E)E F; F Ga; b cd); in some instances (cf. “π(ε)ρος σέ” in Kouk A and Kouk B, and “φωνή” in Kouk B), a descending phrase follows. Only in one case (“φωνή” in Synt) is a descending interval (a G) linked with textual accent. On the word “φωνή”, Bal appears to be an abridged version of Kouk B.

---

40 In her synchronic analysis of the modal intonations in MS Sinai 1255, Annette Jung has pointed out that there is a similarity between such opening formula and the intonation melody of this mode (EFGFE), cf. Jung, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
The recitation pitch is either on G (in Kouk A) or a (in Kouk B, Synt and Bal). Further, it is “melodically” developed in Kouk B and Bal.

The psalmodic cadence in this mode has almost the same shape in Kouk A, Kouk B and Bal, with a certain degree of decreasing melodic development, while Synt reports an abridged variation which ends in a, and – as we have seen a number of times so far – does not correspond to any of the other versions shown in the tables. The ‘classical’ psalmodic cadence is either a GabaGaG G E or G ba aGG E.

---

See also Jung, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
The final cadence begins on different notes, and ends on the same E; Kouk B and Bal report exactly the same neumes on the final syllables “ρι-ε” (ison + apostrophos + ison on petastē + apostrophos with elaphron = aGG E), identical with the final segment of the “classical” psalmodic cadence.

### Third plagal mode (βαρύς)\(^{43}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Version</th>
<th>Ambitus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kouk A</td>
<td>D – c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kouk B</td>
<td>D – d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synt</td>
<td>C – a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bal</td>
<td>F – d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ambitus spans an octave (D – d) in Kouk B, a minor seventh in Kouk A, and a major sixth in Bal (F – d) and Synt (C – a).

---

\(^{42}\) See full rendition in the analytical tables in the Appendix. The same final cadence is reported in MS Sinai 1255, cf. Jung, op. cit., p. 52.

\(^{43}\) Based on a comparison with other sources, the reading of the modal signature in EBE 2458 (Kouk A) has been corrected by adding oxeía to dyo kentēmata. Thus, the starting note is on a instead of F (see full rendition in the analytical tables of the Appendix).
The opening formula does not reoccur at subsequent line openings; it is, however, repeated once in line 3 in Synt. Kouk A and Kouk B report exactly the same melodic phrase ending on a. This confirms what is stated in the analysis made by Jung,44 whereas Synt and Bal offer two different variants ending on F.

Also in this case, the music is in agreement with text accentuation, except for the words “π(ε)ρος σε” and “φωνη” in Synt, that are accompanied by a descending motif.

---

44 “The opening pattern in Barys is characteristic in being very simple consisting only of a leap of a fifth from D to a and vice versa. The pattern contains a long or short recitation either on the deep tone or on the high”, cf. Jung, op. cit., p. 19.
### Version | Recitation pitch(es)
--- | ---
**Kouk A** | ἐν τῷ κοκκ(ε)ρα - γέ- ναι μὲ π(ε)ρός σέ·<br>a a a (a) a | a b G (G) G a
**Kouk B** | ἐν τῷ κοκκ(ε)ρα - γέ- ναι μὲ π(ε)ρός σέ·<br>a a c b (b) b | a b G (G) G a F G F G a
**Synt** | ἐν τῷ κοκκ(ε)ρα - γέ- ναι μὲ π(ε)ρός σέ·<br>F F F (F) F | G F F (F) F F F
**Bal** | ἐν τῷ κοκκ(ε)ρα - γέ- ναι μὲ πρός σέ·<br>a G F (F) G F G | a b G a c a F

The recitation pitch is either on a (in Kouk A and Kouk B) or F (Synt and Bal), and in each of the four versions the distribution between a and F varies.

### Version | Psalmodic cadence
--- | ---
**Kouk A** | ἐν τῷ κοκκ(ε)ρα - γέ- ναι μὲ π(ε)ρός σέ·<br>a a a (a) a | a b G (G) G a
**Kouk B** | ἐν τῷ κοκκ(ε)ρα - γέ- ναι μὲ π(ε)ρός σέ·<br>a a c b (b) b | a b G (G) G a F G F G a
**Synt** | ἐν τῷ κοκκ(ε)ρα - γέ- ναι μὲ π(ε)ρός σέ·<br>F F F (F) F | G F F (F) F F F
**Bal** | ἐν τῷ κοκκ(ε)ρα - γέ- ναι μὲ πρός σέ·<br>a G F (F) G F G | a b G a c a F

As described by Jung, the endings of the psalmodic phrases in this mode employ two different cadences, one on a and one on F. Jung also reports a melodic variation ending on G, corresponding to the ‘classical’ simple psalmodic cadence a b♭ G G or b♭ G G G.

---

46 Jung, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
The final cadence is launched on different notes, but ends regularly on F; Kouk A and Kouk B report a similar melodic phrase, whereas Synt and Bal display two seemingly related variant readings.

**Fourth plagal mode (πλ. δ’)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Version</th>
<th>Ambitus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kouk A</td>
<td>F – d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kouk B</td>
<td>F – d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Synt</td>
<td>F – e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bal</td>
<td>D – e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ambitus of the Kekragarion in fourth plagal is quite narrow in the Kouk versions (a major sixth), slightly more expanded in Synt (major seventh) and Bal (major ninth) versions.

---

47 In the modal signature of the Kouk B version in NKS 2747, I have by comparison with other sources supplied a missing *oxéia*, producing a instead of G as the starting note (as in Synt). E.g. the mss EBE 2458 and Sinai 1255 report the correct reading, cf. Jung, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
As in the case of the third plagal, the opening formula mainly consists of simple recitation (here on G). This feature occurs three times at the beginning of lines 1, 3 and 4, although with some variation: Kouk A and Kouk B repeat exactly the same melodic pattern, Synt gives a transformed pattern in line 4, whereas it is not repeated in Bal at all.

Also in this mode, there is a certain relationship between text and music, to the effect that where we encounter syllables with a strong accent there is an ascending leap (G b) or a melodic phrase (G G a; G ab; cd de). In few cases, however, (cf. Kouk A) it is followed by a descending phrase (e.g. a bGaGaG). In Synt, on “ἐκέκ(ε)ραξα” we also see pitch repetition (G) and only afterwards an ascending phrase; also, on “π(ε)ρὸς σέ” there is a descending leap (b G), and on “φωνῇ” a descending motif (d bcha) is reported as well.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Version</th>
<th>Recitation pitch(es)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Kouk A  | έν τό κε - κερα - γέ - να με π(ε)ρός σέ:  
          | G G (G) G G a b c a G a b c b (b) b a a |
| Kouk B  | έν τό κε - κερα - γέ - να με πρός σέ:  
          | b a G (G) G D G a c b c b a G a b d b G |
| Synt    | έν τό κε - κερα - γέ - να με π(ε)ρός σέ:  
          | G G G (G) a b b b (b) b b |
| Bal     | έν τό κε - κερα - γέ - να με πρός σέ:  
          | b a G D (D) G a c b c c a b c b c b b d b G |

The recitation pitch is on G with some variations in Kouk B and Bal. The Kouk A version corresponds exactly – even in the orthography of the neumes – with the versions reported by Jung.48

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Version</th>
<th>Psalmodic cadence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Kouk A  | έν τό κε - κερα - γέ - να με π(ε)ρός σέ:  
          | G G G (G) G G a b c a G a b c b (b) b a a |
| Kouk B  | έν τό κε - κερα - γέ - να με πρός σέ:  
          | b a G (G) G D G a c b c b a G a b d b G |
| Synt    | έν τό κε - κερα - γέ - να με π(ε)ρός σέ:  
          | G G G (G) a b b b (b) b b |
| Bal     | έν τό κε - κερα - γέ - να με πρός σέ:  
          | b a G D (D) G a c b c c a b c b c b b d b G |

The psalmodic cadence is quite similar in three of the four versions, although we find some particularities; e.g. Kouk A ends on a, Kouk B and Bal on G: these endings may be related to the ‘classical’ psalmodic cadence: bc a a G G. In contrast, Synt reports a shortened setting with pitch repetition ending on b.

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48 See Jung, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
The final cadence begins on different notes, but ends consistently on G; Kouk A and Kouk B present melodic phrases possibly related to the ‘psalmodic cadence’, whereas Synt and Bal are different. Moreover, the final cadence of fourth plagal seems generally to be melodically more elaborated than those of the previous modes.

6. Results and discussion
My study of the melodic variation of the Kekragarion in late- and post-Byzantine musical sources from the perspective of ‘simple psalmody’ has yielded the following primary results:

- There is a marked stability in the written transmission of the music for the Evening Psalm Kyrie Ekekraxa (Ps. 140) since only four substantially different versions have been identified in manuscripts from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries, despite a substantial variation in manuscript rubrics. These four versions seem to have coexisted during much of the period studied here.
- Annette Jung’s transcription of the melodies of the late-Byzantine Kekragarion is generally confirmed, and the relationship between the common intonation melodies (ēchēmata) and opening patterns of the Kyrie ekekraxa that she claimed is reasserted by my analysis. This is important, since it places the Kekragarion at the cross section between concepts of mode and melody. In addition, it is shown here that the late-Byzantine Kekragarion is slightly more embellished than ‘simple psalmody’, with which it is otherwise closely connected musically. The Kekragarion deviates from simple psalmody with regard to the particular musical form established by the ‘libretto’ or particular
arrangement of the text, which involves text repetition. In this connection it is worth noticing that the ‘psalmic cadence’ (line 4) is closely related to the four-syllable cadences associated with simple psalmody, especially in the older versions, and that it differs from the ‘final cadence’ (line 5). This section (line 5) of the melodic setting seems already in the late-Byzantine or ‘Koukouzelean’ versions to have had a somewhat looser connection with the melodic material of the classical psalmic cadence and is not reconcilable with the ‘classical’ Byzantine four-syllable rule.

- The melodic interrelation between the versions is complex. Sometimes, melodic material drawn from simple psalmody occurs in identical positions, e.g. there is a certain coincidence of the opening patterns in Kouk A, Kouk B and Bal whereas Synt regularly opens directly on the recitation pitch. Likewise, the psalmic cadence is recognisable at the end of line 4 in most versions, the two Koukouzelean versions rendering the closest parallel to the standard cadence of simple psalmody. In line 4, Synt and Bal recurrently recycle melodic material of the psalmic cadence more freely, ‘anticipating’ the melodic motif, i.e. without strict observation of the four-syllable rule. Synt is, however, not alien to the ‘classical’ psalmic cadence, which is seen in its pure form at the end of line 2 in the first authentic mode, and in slightly modified versions (also in line 2) in the second authentic and first plagal modes.

- In six of eight modes the ambitus of Synt is narrower than the others (cf. the first and fourth authentic and all the plagal modes); the same happens in Kouk A, although with a minor extent (cf. the third and fourth authentic and the second and fourth plagal modes). Kouk B shows a narrower ambitus only in fourth plagal, as in Kouk A (i.e. F – d). In addition, Bal has a narrower ambitus (i.e. a major sixth, like Synt) in third plagal if compared with both Kouk versions in the same mode. Moreover, due to the average of ambitus in third authentic and to its real peak-pitch (f), this mode might resemble the fourth authentic. In first plagal the actual tonal range is placed very low.

- The degree of ornamentation (including partial word repetitions and the occasional insertion of asmatic syllables) varies substantially between the four versions. Distributed on the modes, the versions have the following number of notes:
We notice that Synt has the smallest amount of notes through the modes; Kouk A has less notes in third plagal, while in all the other modes has more or less the same amount. The same difference is found also in Kouk B with regard to the third plagal mode, whereas a similar proportion is represented in Bal particularly in second plagal.

On this background, it is possible to conclude that there are a number of similarities between the versions that seem somehow to grow out of the “Koukouzelian” tradition. It is less clear exactly how this transmission took place and it presents a situation open to various interpretations.

For instance, the stability of the written tradition might be related to chant education, i.e. the four versions were transmitted faithfully since they were considered worthy of imitation, offering the pupil to see older settings, plain settings and settings with a higher degree of embellishment.

Moreover, as a constituent element of the Hesperinos, the Kekragarion was sung regularly and was often considered the nucleus of the repertory to be mastered by any psaltes. It is, therefore, not irrelevant to imagine a situation in which the Kekragarion was in practice administered mainly orally, and with some variation according to the circumstances, but mostly inspired from the multiple versions attested by
the written transmission. For example, circumstances might demand a choice between a shorter or longer version.

Kouk B seems to be an ornamented version of Kouk A. The latter already rather has the contour of a ‘rounded’ musical piece, deviating from the simpler form of continuous psalmody, although still preserving many traces of it. In Kouk B, some of these traces are further changed, especially the passages that in Kouk A are characterised by recitation notes and accent peaks. Such recitational stretches are regularly embellished and tonally expanded upwards and downwards, while the similarity or sometimes coincidence between Kouk A and Kouk B is more evident in the opening patterns and the cadences.

The Synt version is definitely the shortest one and the one with the narrowest ambitus. It recycles much melodic material of simple psalmody, but seems to apply it according to different rules or a different aesthetic ideal. It may open directly on the recitation pitch (as in first authentic, lines 1 and 3), ‘misplace’ the accentuation pattern (opening of line 2), ‘anticipate’ the psalmodic cadence in line 4, even if it is correctly applied in line 2. Sometimes, however, it appears to be historically linked to the chain form of simple psalmody, but if so, the resulting musical profile has been overarched by a kind of ‘melodisation’ of repetitive patterns. One sees a more restricted use of recurrent opening patterns (generally resulting in a more narrow ambitus), a discrete variation in the recitation parts, some similarities with the tonal expansions in Kouk B, and smooth transitions from one line to another.

Bal appears to form a kind of compromise between Kouk B and Synt, in the sense that the more recitational parts of Synt have been further ‘melodised’ or melodically embellished, often with passages very similar to those in Kouk B.

The situation that traces of simple psalmody reoccur in various patterns in the four versions of the Kekragarion might be interpreted, then, to the effect that the rules of simple psalmody, which possibly always had been applied in a flexible and slightly improvisational way in medieval Byzantine chant, were balanced by principles of ‘melodisation’ or the establishment of more self-contained chants. It seems, however, that the ‘melodisation’ principle slowly gained more ground during the period studied here. The reoccurrence of similar melodic material in shifting positions might be interpreted as a characteristic of oral chant transmission, in which by ‘osmosis’ the received musical knowledge
enables a psaltēs to generate multiple, but similar versions, and to contribute to the development of the musical tradition.

It is my hope that this diachronic and comparative analysis through the modes of the traces of simple psalmody in the Kekragaria may shed some light on some mechanisms in the transmission of Byzantine chant, written and oral, medieval and post-medieval.

A note on the transcriptions in the Appendix

In Copenhagen, MS NKS 2747 folio, it is generally very difficult to distinguish between the (theoretically distinctive) angle of inclination of the pen stroke in drawing the interval signs “oligon” (_above_ ) and “oxéa” (_below_ ). Regarding the actual transcription, it does not really make much difference (a shade of accentuation, at most). In combination with group signs or at some particular neume constellations, it has, however, been easier to interpret the sign as “oxeía” rather than “oligon”, as, for example, in the following graphic examples of the figurations “tromikón” or “streptón”:

For this reason, I understand the sign as “oxeía” in such cases, while elsewhere – in the running neume text – I render the ambiguous sign as “oligon”.
First authentic mode (échos prôtos)

1st Line
Kouk. A

Kò - pî - e,
E F G a

è - kê - k(ê)ra - ëa
a c b (b) b a a
(a) a c b

π(ê)ρoς σê,
el - sâ - kou - sôv µou
a a b a G a G G E FG

Kouk. B

Kò - pî - e,
E F G a a

è - kê - k(ê)ra - ëa
ab cb (b) b a a
(a) a c b a b a b a G a b G a G G F E FG

Synt.

Kò - pî - e,
a a a

è - kê - koua - ëa
a c b b a
(a) a b c
d b c d c c ba

π(ê)ρoς σê,
el - sâ - kou - sôv µou

Bal.

Kò - pî - e,

è - kê - k(ê)ra - ëa
a b a a G a F G F a a c b (b) b a a b G a a

π(ê)ρoς σê,
el - sâ - kou - sôv µou

2nd Line
Kouk. A
eî - sê - kou - sôv µou, Kò - pî - e
E F G a G a b G c b a a F G a a G a a

Kouk. B
eî - sê - kou - sôv µou, Kò - pî - e
E F G a G a b G c b a G a G a

Kò - pî - e,
Second authentic mode (échos deuterοs)

1st Line
Kouk. A
Kυ - ρι - ε, ε - κέ - κ(ε)ρα - ζα π(ε)ρός σε, ει - σά - κου - σόν μον -
G a a b b c b c b (b) b a a b (b) b d b c c b a a b G a G D

Kouk. B
Kυ - ρι - ε, ε - κέ - κ(ε)ρα - ζα π(ε)ρός σε, ει - σά - κου - σόν μον -
G a b b b c b b (b) b a a b (b) b d b c c b a b d b b a G a G G

Synt.
Kυ - ρι - ε, ε - κέ - κ(ε)ρα - ζα π(ε)ρός σε, ει - σά - κου - σόν μον -
G a b b b d (c) c b (b) b d b b c a b a G

Bal.
Kυ - ρι - ε, ε - κέ - κ(ε)ρα - ζα π(ε)ρός σε, ει - σά - κου - σόν μον -
G a b b b c d d (c) c b c b a G (G) a b b b c d c b a b a G a G G

2nd Line
Kouk. A
ει - σά - κου - σόν μον, Κυ - ρι - ε
G a b c b a b d b a b a G a G G

Kouk. B
ει - σά - κου - σόν μον, Κυ - ρι - ε
G b G a b c d c b a b c b a
Third authentic mode (échos tritos)

1st. Line
Kouk. A
Kó - ρι - ε, ἐ - κέ - κ(ε)πα - ξα - π(ε)ρός σέ, εί - σά - κου - σόν μου.
c c c c b c b (b) b a a (a) a c b a b c d c c b a G
Kouk. B
Kó - ρι - ε, ἐ - κέ - κ(ε)πα - ξα - π(ε)ρός σέ, εί - σά - κου - σόν μου.
c c c c e b b c b (b) b a a (a) a c b a d c e d c c b a G
Synt.
Kó - ρι - ε, ἐ - κό - κ(ε)πα - ξα - π(ε)ρός σέ, εί - σά - κου - σόν μου.
c c b c c d (d) e e (e) c c e f d c a
Bal.
Kó - ρι - ε, ἐ - κέ - κ(ε)πα - ξα - π(ε)ρός σέ, εί - σά - κου - σόν μου.
d e d f e d e d e c e (d) d c a b c c e d e c a b a G a b c b c c

2nd. Line
Kouk. A
eí - σά - κου - σόν μου, Kó - ρι - ε.
 a b c b c d G G a c d d c b c c
Kouk. B
eí - σά - κου - σόν μου, Kó - ρι.
a b c b c d G G a b a b c d e f e e d e d c c
Fourth authentic mode (échos tetartos)

1st Line

Kouak. A
Kο - πρ - ε,  ε - κέ - κ(ε)προ - ξα
c b c d e e f e (e) e d d
(d) d d e
c d b c d c d e e c

Kouak. B
Kο - πρ - ε,  ε - κέ - κρα - ξα
(c) c b c b d e e f e e d d
d (d) e d c d b c e d e d b c b a

Synl.
Kο - πρ - ε,  ε - κέ - κ(ε)πα - ξα
(e) d e e e e f e (e) e d
d c b d d f e d c e e f e e e

Bal.
Kο - πρ - ε,  ε - κέ - κ(ε)πα - ξα
(d) d e e e e e f e (e) e d d
d e f e f e d e c d b c b
d f e d c e c

2nd Line

Kouak. A
ει - οά - κου - σόν
d e f e d e e f e c d c d e

Kouak. B
ει - οά - κου - σόν
c b c d e d e d e f e e d e c d e
First plagal mode (échos plagios prōtos)

1st Line
Kouk. A
Kó - ρι - ε, ἐ - κέ - κρα - ξα π(ε)ρός σέ, ει - σά - κον - σόν μου - F E D D F E D (D) D E D C C F ED E D E E

Kouk. B
Kó - ρι - ε, ἐ - κέ - κ(ε)ρα - ξα π(ε)ρός σέ, ει - σά - κον - σόν μου - F E D D F (E) E D (D) D E D C F F ED E D E G E

Synt.
Kó - ρι - ε, ἐ - κέ - κ(ε)ρα - ξα π(ε)ρός σέ, ει - σά - κον - σόν μου - G G E F b (a) a G (G) G E F G a a F E D

Bal.
Kó - ρι - ε, ἐ - κέ - κ(ε)ρα - ξα π(ε)ρός σέ, ει - σά - κον - σόν μου - F E F E D D F (E) E D (D) D F E D D F E D F D

2nd Line
Kouk. A
ει - σά - κον - σόν μου, Kó - ρι - ε, E F G G F G D D E G a b a a GF G G

Kouk. B
ει - σά - κον - σόν μου, Kó - ρι - ε, E F G F G D D E G F E D E D D G
Second plagal mode (échos plagios deuterōs)

1st. Line

Kouk. A
G F E, G F E, E G F, (F) F E, (E) E E, F E, E D D, D D E, F G a

Kouk. B
G F E, G F E, E G (F) F E, (E) E E, F E, E D D, D D E, F G a

Synt.
G F E, G F E, E G (F) F E, (E) E E, F E, E D D, D D E, F G a

Bal.
G F E, G F E, E F (E) E E, F D D, D D E, F G a

2nd. Line

Kouk. A
G G a, G F G F E, D E, F G F G E, F G E, E F G

Kouk. B
G G a, G F G F E, G a G F E, D E, F G G, F G E, E F G
Synt.  
εἰ· ὑστερον· κοῦστον· μου, Κόπον· 
Ε Ε Ε G E G   
F G a F E D

Bal.  
εἰ· ὑστερον· κοῦστον· μου, Κόπον· 
a b c G E F   
G b a b a a G G E

3rd. Line
Kouk. A  
Κόπον· εΙ· κε· κ(ε)ραθαί· τήσεως· 
G F E G G (F) F E   
G G F E E F ED D E F G a G a

Kouk. B  
Κόπον· εΙ· κε· κραθαί· τήσεως· 
G F E F G G a F G G   
(E) G G F E E F ED D E F G a G a

Synt.  
Κόπον· εΙ· κε· κ(ε)ραθαί· τήσεως· 
G b G a b c (b) b a   
(G) G E F G a b G F E

Bal.  
Κόπον· εΙ· κε· κ(ε)ραθαί· τήσεως· 
G F E E G (F) F E   
(D) D F G a a a a G a F a G G F E F E E
Third plagal mode (échos plagios tritos)

1st. Line
Kouk. A

Kύ - ρί - ἐς, ἀ - κά - κ(ε)προ - ξένος π(ε)ρός σά, εἰ - σάκ - κούν - σών μοῦς
a D D D a (a) a a (a) a c b a a c b a b a a a

Kouk. B

Kύ - ρί - ἐς, ἀ - κά - κ(ε)προ - ξένος π(ε)ρός σά, εἰ - σάκ - κούν - σών μοῦς
a D D D a (a) a a (a) a c b a a c b a b a a a

Synt.

Kύ - ρί - ἐς, ἀ - κά - κ(ε)προ - ξένος π(ε)ρός σά, εἰ - σάκ - κούν - σών μοῦς
a G G G a (G) G F (F) G F F D D C C D E F F

Bal.

Kύ - ρί - ἐς, ἀ - κά - κ(ε)προ - ξένος π(ε)ρός σά, εἰ - σάκ - κούν - σών μοῦς
a b a b a G F G F G a b a G a F G F G a G a a G F F

2nd. Line
Kouk. A

εἰ - σάκ - κούν - σών μοῦς, Κύ - ρί - ἐς.
a b c G G a a b G G

Kouk. B

εἰ - σάκ - κούν - σών μοῦς, Κύ - ρί - ἐς.
a b c G G c a a F G F
Fourth plagal mode (échos plagios tetartos)

1st. Line
Kouk. A
Kú - pt - e,
G G G G
a G a a
(a) a (a) a
b a G a G G G
G G a b c

Kouk. B
Kú - pt - e,
G G G G
a G G G
G b a G a
(a) a (a) a
b a G G G
b G G G
b a G a g b
G D

Synt.
Kú - pt - e,
G G F G
G G (G) a b
(a) a (b) b
b G a b c
d b a G G

Bal.
Kú - pt - e,
G G G G
G a G a a G G
(G) G a G a b c
a b c d e b a G a G

2nd. Line
Kouk. A
Kú - pt - e,
b c b e b b b
G b a G a G G
cou - són
e, 
Kú - pt - e,
Kú - pt - e,
Kú - pt - e,
Kú - pt - e,
Kú - pt - e,
Kú - pt - e,
Kú - pt - e,
Kú - pt - e,
Kú - pt - e,
Kú - pt - e,
Kú - pt - e,
Kú - pt - e,