

Psaltike

Neue Studien zur Byzantinischen Musik:
Festschrift für Gerda Wolfram

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The Byzantine Compositions of the “Symbolon of Faith”

The information provided by the manuscript sources reveals that during the first centuries the Symbolon was read by the Bishop only in the Mass of Maundy Thursday, but from the 6th century onwards and afterwards it was sung in all the local churches. According to the Acts of the Council of Constantinople in 536 the Symbolon had to be sung after the Gospel, as it is supposed to sum up the doctrinal beliefs established at the Councils of Nicaea (325) and Constantinople (381).¹ Ancient liturgical manuscripts conserve the same liturgical practice of the singing of the Symbolon. The first notices about the practice of chanting the Symbolon during Mass are conserved in the liturgical manuscripts Falascae and Pyromalus.² From the first codex Falascae we get the following notice: Ο ιερέυς· Ειρήνη πάσι. Ο διάκονος· Αγαπήσωμεν αλλήλους. Ο χορός· Πατέρα, Υιόν και άγιον Πνεύμα [...]. Ο χορός το Πιστεύω. From the second codex, named Pyromalus, we derive the following information: Ο διάκονος· Πρόσχωμεν και το Σύμβολον ψάλλομεν. Και του αρχidiaκόνου αρχομένου, πάντες το Σύμβολον ψάλλουσι.³ An analogous indication is conserved in the manuscript Add. 34060 of the British Museum from the 12th century, which contains the Diataxis of the Great Church, according to which, Και ούτως ψάλλειν το ιερατεϊον μετά του λαού το Πιστεύω εις ένα Θεόν.⁴ This piece of information, dated between the 10th and the 12th centuries, notifies us that the Symbolon was chanted either by the Archdeacon and the choir or by the priest and the people simultaneously. The codex Falascae (B), from the same period, also conserves the following notice: Ο ιερέυς· Ειρήνη πάσι. Ο λαός· Και μετά του πνεύματός σου. Ο διάκονος· Αγαπήσωμεν. Ο λαός· Πατέρα [...]. Ο αναγνώστης λέγει· Πιστεύω εις ένα Θεόν.⁵ Finally,

- 1 G. I. PAPADOPOULOS, *Συμβολαί εις την Ιστορίαν της παρ' ημίν Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής*. Athens 1890, 1977, 120f. and the footnotes 362–368.
- 2 Concerning the estimation of the writing and the use of these manuscripts, see E. SPYRAKU, *Οι χοροί Ψαλτών κατά τη Βυζαντινή παράδοση*. Athens 2008, 138f., footnote 19: “[...] Συμπληρωματικοί για την κατανόηση ειδικά της Λειτουργίας του Ι' αι. όπως τελείτο στην ΜΧΕ είναι οι δύο κώδικες που εκδίδει ο Goar, *Euchologion*. Ο μεν κώδικας Basilii Falascae (σ. 85 κ. εξ.) αφορά στην Λειτουργία του Χρυσοστόμου ενώ ο κώδικας Pyromalus (σ. 153 κ. εξ.) είναι ο χαμένος πλέον κώδικας που ο διάκονος Ισίδωρος έφερε από την Πάτμο και αφορά στη Λειτουργία του Μ. Βασιλείου (βλ. Taft, *Great Entrance*, p. XXIX).” See also, J. GOAR, *Euchologion, sive rituale Graecorum*. Paris 1647. R. F. TAFT, *The Great Entrance: A history of the transfer of the Gifts and other Preanaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*. Rome 1975.
- 3 SPYRAKU, *Οι χοροί Ψαλτών* 412f.
- 4 SPYRAKU, *Οι χοροί Ψαλτών* 143, footnote 40: “[...] Η πρώτη ολοκληρωμένη τέτοια Διάταξις που περιέχει την λεπτομερή τέλεση Πατριαρχικής Λειτουργίας στην ΜΧΕ τον ΙΑ' αι. προέρχεται από τον κώδικα British Museum Add. 34060 και δημοσιεύεται από τον Taft ‘Pontifical Liturgy’.” See also, R. F. TAFT, *The Pontifical Liturgy of the Great Church according to a 12th century Diataxis in Codex British Museum Add. 34060*, in: *Liturgy in Byzantium and beyond* (ed. R. F. TAFT). London 1995, 89–124, 279–307.
- 5 SPYRAKU, *Οι χοροί Ψαλτών* 412.

according to other liturgical sources, dated between the 12th and the 14th centuries, the Symbolon is said either by the priest or by the people, but it is not clear if it was recited or sung.⁶

After the introduction of the so-called Nicene version of the Symbolon into the Eastern Liturgy during the early 6th century, it was also introduced into the Visigothic rite by the Council of Toledo (589) soon afterwards. Its introduction into the Mass occurred in the wake of doctrinal controversies during the first centuries of the Church.⁷ Later on during the 8th century the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle (798) required that the Symbolon had to be sung in Mass between the Gospel and the Offertory and for this purpose Alcuin, Charlemagne's liturgical adviser, pressed into use a new Latin translation-version of the Symbolon in 796. However, it was not introduced into the Roman Liturgy until the German Emperor Henry II required it of Pope Benedict VIII in 1014. Charlemagne's liturgical reform clearly envisaged the singing of the Symbolon in Latin specifically by the people. Nevertheless, the singing of a new Latin version by the people was at first impossible and has remained an ideal for centuries.⁸

Between 827 and 835 the Byzantine Emperor Michael II sent a copy of the works by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite to Louis the Pious, and probably at the same time, which coincided with the effort of the Frankish Emperors for the unity of the Empire, a set of mass chants in Greek – Gloria (Doxa en ipsistis), Credo (Pistevo eis ena theon) and Sanctus (Agios, agios, agios), which appear sporadically in Latin liturgical manuscripts of the 9th century – could have been transferred.⁹ In this context – among the Greek chants for the Mass ordinary that are notated in some of the early Latin sources – the Greek Symbolon appears as well.

The Byzantine compositions of the Symbolon

Although the liturgical sources saving the information about the chanting of the Symbolon date from between the 10th and the 12th centuries, the first Byzantine compositions are conserved in musical manuscripts from the second half of the 15th century.¹⁰ The first eponymous

- 6 SPYRAKU, Οι χοροί Ψαλτών 411f.: “Τυπ. Αναστάσεως (Τυμ. Σταυρού 43, 1122), Παπ–Κερ 49, 65, 81 [Προηγιασμένη]: Ο ιερεύς Πιστεύω. Τυπ. Αγ. Σάββα (Παρισίων 385, ΙΔ’ αι.), Dmitrievskij III 187: Ο λαός Πιστεύω εις ένα Θεόν. Ευχολόγιο Πατρ. Ιεροσολ. 362 (607), ΙΔ’ αι., Dmitrievskij II 307 [Διάταξις της του Πατριάρχου Λειτουργίας, πώς γίνεται εν τη Μεγάλη Εκκλησία]: Πληρωσάντων δε των πρεσβυτέρων τον ασπασμόν, ο εν τω άμβωνι διάκονος εκφωνεί: Τας θύρας, τας θύρας· Και λέγεται το Πιστεύω εις ένα Θεόν.” See also, P. N. TREMPÉLAS, Αι τρεις Λειτουργίαι κατά τους εν Αθήναις κώδικας. Athens 1982, 91f., footnotes 23–24.
- 7 See, R. L. CROCKER–D. HILEY, Credo. The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians 6 (2001) 657–658. See also, PAPADOPOULOS, Συμβολαί 121 and TREMPÉLAS, Αι τρεις Λειτουργίαι 92, footnote 24.
- 8 See, CROCKER–HILEY, Credo 658. Also, D. HILEY, Western Plainchant. A handbook. Oxford 1995, 168f.
- 9 C. M. ATKINSON, O amnos tou theu: The Greek Agnus Dei in the Roman Liturgy from the Eighth to the Eleventh Century, in: Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch 65 (1981) 7–30; IDEM, Zur Entstehung und Überlieferung der “Missa Graeca”, in: Archiv für Musikwissenschaft 39 (1982) 113–145; IDEM, The Doxa, the Pistevo and the Ellinici Fratres: Some anomalies in the transmission of the Chants of the “Missa Graeca”, in: Journal of Musicology 7 (1989) 81–106. Also, HILEY, Western Plainchant 528.
- 10 According to the information given by Georgios Papadopoulos, an anonymous composition of the Symbolon is

composition that appears in the musical manuscripts is the one by Manuel Agallianos. It is a partial composition which refers only to the last part of the text *Και εις το Πνεύμα το άγιον* until the end. The second composition is a work by Markos Bishop of Korinthos from the 15th century and the third composition, which is dated a little later but still belongs to the 15th century, is by Manuel Gazes. Another setting without the name of a composer, but with the indication "neon", i.e. a new composition, is conserved in two manuscripts of the Sinai Library dating from between 1470 and 1495.¹¹ These compositions can be found rather sporadically in manuscripts dating from between the 15th and the 18th centuries and cover the chanting of the Symbolon until the beginning of the 16th century and the appearance of the Cretan compositions, which are conserved only in musical manuscripts of Cretan provenance. It is rather curious that the analogous compositions of the 14th and 15th centuries are absent from the Cretan musical manuscripts.¹²

The fact that after the 15th century the composition of the text of the Symbolon appears again in Crete, which was under Venetian occupation, raises the question if – through the existence of these compositions – an influence on the common life of the Orthodox and the Latin people can be suspected. As relations between the Greeks and the Venetians can be considered as certain, a relation between the Typikon of the Orthodox and the Latin Church, concerning at least the practice of the chanting of the Symbolon, can also be supposed. It is noteworthy that at the same time there exist many Latin compositions of the same text. The researchers have already proved that a melody of a Byzantine composition of the Symbolon, probably the anonymous one used in the *Missa Graeca*, conserved in a manuscript of the 14th century in Cologne (D-Knu W.105), shares many common elements with the melody of the best-known old Latin composition named *Credo I*.¹³ The Latin liturgical manuscripts, representatives of some local liturgical repertoires, conserve several polyphonic compositions of the Symbolon already dating from the 14th century.¹⁴ Though a comparative study of the Byzantine and the Latin compositions would reveal many in-

conserved in a musical manuscript (a Papadike codex) from the collection of the Metochion of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in Constantinople, conserved today in the National Library of Greece. If this information is correct and if the composition is not one of the already known, it is possible that this composition could be the first anonymous composition of the Symbolon used before the 14th century. However, as Papadopulos does not give the number of the manuscript, it was not possible to find it. See PAPADOPULOS, *Συμβολαί* 121.

- 11 Sinai 1463 ff. 100v–102r and Sinai 1552 ff. 114v–116r: The two manuscripts are Anastasimataria-Anthologies from the end of the 15th century, autographs of Theodoros Rhodakinos. See, F. ΚΡΙΤΙΚΟΥ, *Θεόδωρος Ροδακινός, μελουργός και κωδικογράφος του 15^{ου} αι.*, in: *Παρνασσός* 2011 (forthcoming).
- 12 Concerning the compositions of the text of the Symbolon and especially the Cretan compositions, see, E. ΓΙΑΝΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Η άνθηση της Ψαλτικής Τέχνης στην Κρήτη (1566–1669)*. Athens 2004, 360ff.
- 13 See M. HUGLO, *Origine de la mélodie du Credo "authentique" de la Vaticane*, in: *Revue Grégorienne* 30 (1951) 68–78. K. SCHLAGER, *Eine Melodie zum griechischen Credo*, in: *Acta Musicologica* 56 (1984) 221–234.
- 14 T. MIAZGA, *Die Melodien des einstimmigen Credo der römisch-katholischen lateinischen Kirche: Eine Untersuchung der Melodien in den handschriftlichen Überlieferungen mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der polnischen Handschriften*. Graz 1976. G. CATTIN, *Musica e liturgia a San Marco. Testi e melodie per la liturgia delle ore dal XII al XVII secolo. Dal Graduale tropato del duecento ai graduali cinquecenteschi*, 4 vols. Venice 1990–1992.

teresting aspects of a probable influence, this has not been possible for the present study. However, the study of the Byzantine compositions could clarify several observable facts and might permit the prove of a possible internal relation between the Byzantine compositions and the respective Latin ones.

A) Compositions of the 14th and 15th centuries

Manuel Agallianos:

According to the facts provided by previous research Manuel Agallianos, domestikos of the Great Church, was the first to set the text of the Symbolon to music.¹⁵ He lived during the first half of the 14th century, as his works flourished in musical manuscripts of this period.¹⁶ His composition of the Symbolon is rarely to be found in codices, contrary to his other works, which are conserved in many manuscripts from the 14th to the 19th centuries.¹⁷ He composed the last part of the Symbolon *Και εις το Πνεύμα το άγιον* (until the end) in the first plagal mode. This composition is quite simple and moves between the first plagal and the first mode. Basically, it is built around a few musical phrases, found all over this short composition. Two of them are the most common in the composition: the first one is used as a recitation form around G (GFGFGFG) and the second one is applied in order to end on the final pitch of the mode (FEDDEFEDCDEFED).¹⁸

15 See, GIANNOPULOS, Η άνθηση 360.

16 See the autograph codex of Manuel Agallianos, National Library of Greece 2454. See also, L. POLITES, Κατάλογος χειρογράφων της Εθνικής Βιβλιοθήκης της Ελλάδος αρ. 1857–2500. Athens 1991, 453f. Concerning his life and work, see A. CHALDAIAKES, Αγαλλιανός Μανουήλ, in: Μεγάλη Ορθόδοξη Χριστιανική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια 1 (2010) 69–70. M. CHATZEGIAKUMES, Μουσικά Χειρόγραφα Τουρκοκρατίας (1453–1832). Athens 1975, 262f.

17 See as example the following manuscripts: Library of the Monastery of Timios Prothromos in Beroia 1, Papadike, 18th cent. (around 1770), scribe Demetrios the priest and nomophylax of Beroia, 903: Του [Μανουήλ] Αγαλλιανού· ήχος πλ. α' Και εις το Πνεύμα. See, E. GIANNOPULOS, Περιγραφικός κατάλογος χειρογράφων κωδίκων βυζαντινής εκκλησιαστικής μουσικής της Ι. Μ. Τιμίου Προδρόμου Βερροίας. Salonica 1994, 563–606. Library of the Hermitage of Suroti, Papadike, 18th cent. (end), scribe Kyrillos the priest-monk, f. 33r: Ετερον κυρίου Γαλλιανού (=Αγαλλιανού)· ήχος πλ. α' Και εις το Πνεύμα; See, M. GIANNOPULOS, Ταμείον Χειρογράφων Ψαλτικής Τέχνης. Salonica 2005, 86–107. In the manuscript 976 of the Library of the Monastery Iberon, Mathematariou, first half of the 16th cent., f. 377r an anonymous similar composition is conserved. Though this composition presents several similarities with the one of Manuel Agallianos, the basic difference is that the anonymous composition is rather simple, without theseis of xeron klasma, kylisma and lygisma which are very often used in the one by Manuel Agallianos. Only theseis as parakletike and tromikon are used. See, GR. TH. STATHES, Τα Χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινής Μουσικής, Άγιον Όρος, vol. 3. Athens 1993, 779: (Ιβήρων 976) f. 377r [Ανωνύμως]· εις το άγιον Σύμβολον· ήχος πλ. α' Και εις το Πνεύμα.

18 See the Table "Manuel Agallianos".

Markos Bishop of Korinthos:

According to the manuscripts' information and the flourishing of his works, Markos Bishop of Korinthos lived during the first half of the 15th century.¹⁹ His composition, found rather sporadically in manuscripts, covers the whole text of the Symbolon. A notice in the manuscript 315 of the Library of the Docheiarion Monastery informs us that this composition was sung on feast-days.²⁰ It is the first composition of the whole text of the Symbolon in the second plagal mode and it looks like a classical Byzantine composition. The musical line is rather simple except for some specific phrases, which are especially embellished, as e.g. ουρανού και γης, τον Υιόν του Θεού τον μονογενή, Θεόν αληθινόν εκ Θεού αληθινού, Σταυρωθέντα τε υπέρ ημών επί Ποντίου Πιλάτου και παθόντα και ταφέντα, Και αναστάντα, ζωοποιόν and εκπορευόμενον. Known Byzantine theseis such as piasma-syndesmos, uranisma-thematis-mos, xeron klasma-thematismos, thematismos eso and exo, kratema, parakletike and synagma for cadences are used. Points are applied in order to separate the musical phrases. Most of the verses are introduced on E, which plays the part of reciting note. The composition mostly moves between the second plagal and the second mode, except for some phrases under the nenano phthora. For the changes of modes the modal signatures are used more frequently than the phthorai, in accordance to the general practice of the time until the end of the 15th century.

Manuel Gazes:

Manuel Gazes was a student of Markos Bishop of Korinthos according to the manuscripts' information.²¹ He lived during the first half of the 15th century and died in Crete approx. in the middle of the 15th century.²² His works thrived in musical manuscripts from the 15th to the 19th centuries. However, Manuel Gazes is also known because of his works with a second musical line conserved in a number of manuscripts.²³ This fact makes rather certain the influence he accepted from Latin chant and the practice of chanting by two voices.²⁴

19 Concerning Markos Bishop of Korinthos, see, GR. TH. STATHES, *Η Δεκαπεντασύλλαβος Υμνογραφία εν τη Βυζαντινή Μελοποιία*, Athens 1977, 108f.; CHATZEGIAKUMES, *Μουσικά Χειρόγραφα* 337f. IDEM, *Χειρόγραφα Εκκλησιαστικής Μουσικής (1453–1820)*. Athens 1980, 24, 168.

20 See the manuscript 315 of the Library of the Docheiarion Monastery, Anthology, 16th cent. (end) f. 135v: Το άγιον Σύμβολον ψαλλόμενον εν ταις επισήμοις εορταίς· ποίημα του πανιερωτάτου μητροπολίτου Κορίνθου υπάρχου (sic) και εξάρχου πάσης Πελοποννήσου [Μάρκου]· [ήχος] πλ. β' Πιστεύω εις ένα Θεόν; See STATHES, *Τα Χειρόγραφα*, vol. 1, 348–355. See also, Sinai 1552, Anastasimatarion-Anthology, 15th cent. (between 1475–1490), scribe Theodoros Rhodakinos, f. 112v Του [Μάρκου] Κορίνθου· [ήχος] πλ. β' Πιστεύω εις ένα Θεόν.

21 See, Sinai 1566, Kalophonikon Sticherarion, 15th cent. (end), f. 80v Εκαλωπίσθη παρά κυρ Μάρκου ιερομονάχου και παρά του αυτού φοιτητού κυρ Μανουήλ του Γαζή. GIANNOPULOS, *Η άνθηση* 62, footnote 41.

22 GIANNOPULOS, *Η άνθηση* 61–64, 78; N. PANAGIOTAKES, *Μαρτυρίες για τη μουσική στη Βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη*, in: *Θησαυρίσματα* 20 (1990) 56f.

23 See, D. E. CONOMOS, Experimental polyphony, "according to the ... Latins" in late Byzantine Psalmody, in: *Early Music History* 2 (1982) 1–16. GR. TH. STATHES, "Διπλούν μέλος". Μια παρουσίαση των περιπτώσεων "Λατινικής Μουσικής" στα χειρόγραφα βυζαντινής μουσικής. Athens 2001, 656–669. M. ADAMES, Πολυφωνική εκκλησιαστική μουσική στο Βυζάντιο του ΙΕ' αιώνα, in: *Μουσικολογία* 2/1 (1986) 51–63. M. DRAGUMES, *Η Δυτικίζουσα Εκκλησιαστική μουσική μας στην Κρήτη και στα Επτάνησα*, in: *Λαογραφία* 31 (1976–1978) 272–293. GIANNOPULOS, *Η άνθηση* 401.

24 See. CONOMOS, Experimental polyphony 10: The second possible connection with the West is evident in Gazes' two settings of the Credo of the Mass – one complete and one partial. While it is known that Greeks

Manuel Gazes composed the whole text of the Symbolon in the fourth mode as well as the part *Και εις το Πνεύμα το άγιον*, possibly following the example of Manuel Agallianos.²⁵ For the present research his composition of the whole text, found quite often in musical manuscripts in comparison with the settings of Manuel Agallianos and Markos Bishop of Korinthos, has been studied.²⁶ The first observation in regard to this composition concerns the stable use of intervals of the fourth and fifth. Excepting this phenomenon, the musical line constitutes an ascent and descent of the scale of the fourth or the fourth plagal mode, while the final notes of these two modes are used as a centre of constant movement around them and also as reciting notes.

Another basic characteristic of this composition is that it is built around some phrases, which most of the times constitute either a typical movement around the final notes of the fourth and the fourth plagal modes (G–C) or a descent from the fourth to the fourth plagal mode.²⁷ It ends to the final pitch of the fourth plagal mode, although the composition is in fourth authentic mode. Common theseis of Byzantine compositions, such as *lygisma*, *antikenokylisma*, *tromikon*, *psephiston parakalesma* in a double setting, *piasma-syndesmos* and *kylisma*, are used. It is worth noting that the setting appears rather strange in comparison with common Byzantine compositions, as it constitutes an appropriate join of a recitation form with Byzantine theseis. An interesting hypothesis could be that it is a two-voice composition – as others works of Manuel Gazes – but a second musical line is not written in any manuscript. However, in the codex 324 of the Library of the Docheiarion Monastery this composition is conserved in fourth plagal mode. The existence of the same composition in fourth plagal mode means – if it is not an erroneous note of the scribe – that perhaps there was a possibility it might have been chanted by two voices, the first one in the fourth mode and the second one in the fourth plagal.²⁸

occasionally sung the Creed before the ninth century, it is generally assumed that in medieval times, as today, it was simply recited by the whole congregation. Gazes' setting in mode 4 authentic and in mode I plagal are virtually without precedent in the East and it may be that they were composed under Western musical influence.

25 See, GIANNOPULOS, *Η άνθηση* 360; ADAMES, *Πολυφωνική εκκλησιαστική μουσική* 55; CHATZEGIAKUMES, *Μουσικά Χειρόγραφα* 271f.

26 See the manuscript Sinai 1299, Papadike, 18th cent. (1715), scribe Athanasios the priest-monk, f. 269v *Μανουήλ του Γαζή ήχος δ' Πιστεύω εις ένα Θεόν*; See, D. K. MPALAGEORGOS–F. N. KRITIKOU, *Τα Χειρόγραφα Βυζαντινής Μουσικής*, Σινά, vol. 1. Athens 2008, 419. See also the manuscript of the Library of the Hermitage of Suroti, Papadike, 18th cent. (end), scribe Kyrillos the priest-monk, f. 32v *Σύμβολον άγιον της αμωμήτου πίστεως των ορθοδόξων χριστιανών ποιήμα κυρίου Μανουήλ του Γαζή ήχος δ' Πιστεύω εις ένα Θεόν*; See, GIANNOPULOS, *Ταμείον Χειρογράφων* 88. Library of the Monastery of Timios Prophromos in Beroia 1, Papadike, 18th cent. (around 1770), scribe Demetrios the priest and nomophylax of Beroia, 901 *Σύμβολον της αμωμήτου πίστεως*, [Μανουήλ Γαζή], [ήχος] δ' Πιστεύω εις ένα Θεόν; See, GIANNOPULOS, *Περίγραφικός κατάλογος* 563–606. Other manuscripts which include the composition of Manuel Gazes are referred to by GIANNOPULOS, *Η άνθηση* 360f. See also the manuscripts 315 of the Library of the Docheiarion Monastery, 455 of the Library of the Kutlumusion Monastery and 976 and 987 of the Library of the Iberon Monastery. See, STATHES, *Τα Χειρόγραφα*, vol. 1, 348–355, 342ff. and vol. 3, 778–783, 827–843, respectively.

27 See the related theseis in the Table “Manuel Gazes”.

28 Ms 324 of the Library of the Docheiarion Monastery, Anthology, 17th cent. (1686), scribe Kosmas Makedon, f. 117r *Μανουήλ του Γαζή ήχος πλ. δ' Πιστεύω εις ένα Θεόν*. STATHES, *Τα χειρόγραφα*, vol. 1, 371. Unfortunately,

"Neon" – An anonymous composition from the end of the 15th century:

In the manuscripts of the Sinai Library 1463 and 1552, both of them autographs by Theodoros Rhodakinos, who lived in Crète during the second half of the 15th century, an anonymous composition of the Symbolon is conserved under the indication "neon", meaning a new composition.²⁹ This new composition of the whole text of the Symbolon in the fourth plagal mode has as a basic characteristic the common use of the intervals of fourth and fifth. The final note of the mode is used as a reciting note. It is also built around some musical phrases repeated several times and usually applied to the common phrases of the text.³⁰

However, this composition shares some common musical phrases with the one by Manuel Gazes, as it is pointed out by the comparison of the two compositions. Usually, these common parts of both compositions appear with a difference of an interval of a fifth. Many parts of them provide the possibility to be chanted by two voices. Specifically, these parts are: Πιστεύω εις ένα Θεόν Πατέρα Παντοκράτορα, Και εις ένα Κύριον Ιησούν Χριστόν, Φως εκ φωτός Θεόν αληθινόν εκ Θεού αληθινού γεννηθέντα, Τον δι' ημάς τους ανθρώπους, Σταυρωθέντα τε υπέρ ημών, Και ανελθόντα εις τους ουρανούς και καθεζόμενον εκ δεξιών του Πατρός, το ζωοποιόν το εκ του Πατρός εκπορευόμενον το συν Πατρί και Υιώ συμπροσκυνούμενον και συνδοξαζόμενον το λαλήσαν, Εις μίαν αγίαν, Και ζωήν του μέλλοντος αιώνος Αμήν. Other parts of this composition are totally different from the analogous one by Manuel Gazes, as the anonymous composition is much more developed in several parts. Nevertheless, the study of the few Byzantine compositions written for two voices, points out that a completely parallel movement of the two lines does not exist.³¹ A possible relation between the two compositions has been observed, which probably concerns the influence by Manuel Gazes' setting on the anonymous one, as each composition is a self-contained melody.

B) The Cretan compositions (16th–17th centuries)

The tradition of composing the text of the Symbolon was continued in Crete during the 16th and the 17th centuries. The first composer who was involved in the composition of the Symbolon was Antonios Episkopopulos in the 16th century and after him Demetrios Tamias,

it was not possible to compare this composition with the one by Manuel Gazes in fourth mode, because the manuscript Docheiarion 324 is not available on microfilm.

29 Sinai 1463, Anastasimatarion-Anthology, 15th cent. (end), scribe Theodoros Rhodakinos, f. 100v Νέον· [ήχος] πλ. δ' Πιστεύω εις ένα Θεόν and Sinai 1552, Anastasimatarion-Anthology, 15th cent. (end), scribe Theodoros Rhodakinos, f. 114v Έτερον νέον· [ήχος] πλ. δ' Πιστεύω εις ένα Θεόν.

30 See the Table "Neon".

31 See the works of Manuel Gazes written with a second voice in the manuscript of the National Library of Greece 2401, 15th cent., ff. 30v, 216v, 328r–v, 310r–v. See also the photos of the ff. 66v–67r of the manuscript Docheiarion 315, where works of Manuel Gazes with a second voice can be found: see, ΣΤΑΤΗΣ, Τα χειρόγραφα, vol. A, 350f, see also footnote 22 of the present paper.

Kosmas Baranes and Ignatios Phrielos during the 17th century. Their compositions will be presented below.³²

Antonios Episkopopulos:

Antonios Episkopopulos lived in Crete during the 16th century and according to manuscript sources he was “protopsaltes Kydonias”. He is known as a productive scribe of manuscripts, musical as well as others. His compositional work is considerable and includes pieces for Vespers, Matins and the Mass, mathemata theotokia, nekrosima katanyktika and many others.³³

Among his works two compositions of the whole text of the Symbolon can be found, one in the fourth plagal mode with the title “το άγιον Σύμβολον της Πίστεως ημών των Ορθοδόξων”³⁴, and a second one in the first mode. He has also composed the part of the text Εις μίαν αγίαν καθολικήν και αποστολικήν Εκκλησίαν (until the end) five times, in the first, third, fourth, fourth plagal and first plagal modes, and the part Και εις το Πνεύμα το άγιον (until the end) four more times, in the first, third, fourth and fourth plagal modes.³⁵ For the present research four of

32 As the manuscript Iberon 1225 and the Gritsanis Collection have not been accessible, the composition of Ignatios Phrielos (see Library of the Monastery of Iberon 1225 f. 116r: Κυρ Ιγνατίου [Φριέλου] ήχος πλ. δ' Εις μίαν αγίαν) and some of the partial compositions of Antonios Episkopopulos and Demetrios Tamias have not been studied.

33 See the information about Antonios Episkopopulos' life and work in, GIANNOPULOS, Η άνθηση 143–160, with an extended bibliography.

34 See the manuscript 4 of the Gritsanis Collection (Zakynthos), 150. In my opinion this note refers more to the “Orthodox text” of the Symbolon in comparison with the “Latin text” than to the music.

35 The list of Antonios Episkopopulos' work is published by GIANNOPULOS, Η άνθηση 152–159. Based on the elements published by the same researcher in the same work concerning the works of the Cretan composers (Η άνθηση 457–740) the compositions of Antonios Episkopopulos on the text of the Symbolon are conserved in the following manuscripts: Zakynthos, Gritsanis Collection 4, 16th cent. (1590–1600), 150: Το άγιον Σύμβολον της πίστεως ημών των ορθοδόξων, εμελίση δε παρά του αυτού κυρ Αντωνίου [Επισκοποπούλου]· [ήχος] πλ. δ' Πιστεύω εις ένα Θεόν, 153: Καθώς παρά του αυτού κυρ Αντωνίου [Επισκοποπούλου] πρωτοψάλτου Κυδωνίας· [ήχος] α' Πιστεύω εις ένα Θεόν, 154: Του αυτού [Αντωνίου Επισκοποπούλου]· [ήχος] γ' Εις μίαν αγίαν καθολικήν και αποστολικήν Εκκλησίαν – Του αυτού πρωτοψάλτου Κυδωνίας [Αντωνίου Επισκοποπούλου]· [ήχος] δ' Εις μίαν αγίαν καθολικήν και αποστολικήν Εκκλησίαν, 155: Του αυτού Αντωνίου [Επισκοποπούλου]· [ήχος] α' Εις μίαν αγίαν καθολικήν και αποστολικήν Εκκλησίαν – Του αυτού ποιητού Αντωνίου [Επισκοποπούλου], νέον· [ήχος] α' Και εις το Πνεύμα το άγιον, 156: [ήχος] πλ. δ' νανα Και εις το Πνεύμα το άγιον, 157: Έτερον του αυτού Αντωνίου [Επισκοποπούλου]· [ήχος] δ' Και εις το Πνεύμα το άγιον, 158: Συνοπτικόν του αυτού ποιητού [Αντωνίου Επισκοποπούλου]· [ήχος] πλ. α' Εις μίαν αγίαν καθολικήν και αποστολικήν Εκκλησίαν. See also, Sinai 1440, 17th cent. (second half), scribe Gerasimos Gialinas, f. 55v: Ψάλλεται το άγιον σύμβολον παρά κυρού Αντανίου [Επισκοποπούλου]· [ήχος] δ' Και εις το Πνεύμα το άγιον and f. 56v: Του αυτού [Αντωνίου Επισκοποπούλου]· [ήχος] α' Εις μίαν αγίαν. Library of the Monastery of Iberon 1225, Anthology of the Mass, 17th cent. (between 1625–1650), f. 114v: Κυρ Αντωνίου [Επισκοποπούλου]· [ήχος] α' Και εις το Πνεύμα and f. 115r: Του αυτού [Αντωνίου Επισκοποπούλου]· [ήχος] πλ. δ' Εις μίαν αγίαν καθολικήν και αποστολικήν Εκκλησίαν. Library of the Monastery of Great Lavra H136, Anthology, mid-17th cent., f. 155v: Από το άγιον Σύμβολον ποίημα κυρ Αντωνίου Επισκοποπούλου· [ήχος] α' Και εις το Πνεύμα το άγιον. National Library of Greece 963, Anthology, 17th cent. (between 1650–1675), f. 251v: Κυρ Αντωνίου [Επισκοποπούλου]· [ήχος] α' Και εις το Πνεύμα το άγιον and f. 252r: Του αυτού κυρ Αντωνίου [Επισκοποπούλου]· [ήχος] πλ. δ' Εις μίαν αγίαν. Udine, Arch. Library 265, Anthology, 16th cent., scribe Antonios Episkopopulos, f. 31v: [ήχος] γ' Και εις το Πνεύμα το άγιον and f. 100r: Ποίημα Αντωνίου Επισκοποπούλου πρωτοψάλτου Κυδωνίας· [ήχος] α' δ' Και εις το Πνεύμα το άγιον.

the partial compositions have been studied, especially *Και εις το Πνεύμα το άγιον* in the fourth and first mode and *Εις μίαν αγίαν, καθολικήν και αποστολικήν Εκκλησίαν* in the first and fourth plagal mode.³⁶

In the first partial composition *Και εις το Πνεύμα το άγιον* in the fourth mode the intervals of fourth and fifth are the most common, while the ascent and descent of the scale of the fourth plagal mode are also used. The composition moves around G–c and it ends on the higher pitch of the scale of fourth plagal mode, a phenomenon rather unusual for Byzantine compositions. Moreover, this tone (c) is used like a reciting note in alteration with the final note of the mode (G). The theseis most often applied are *kratema* under *oligon* with the *phthora nana* added, *xeron klasma* and *kylisma*. The whole composition is built around parallel musical phrases, the repetition of which creates a rather simple musical result around the final pitch of the fourth and the fourth plagal mode.³⁷

The second composition *Εις μίαν αγίαν, καθολικήν* in the first mode is rather short and it is characterized by a typical movement in the basic tetrachords of the first, the second plagal, the fourth and the fourth plagal mode.³⁸ For the change from one mode to the next modal signatures are applied. The fifth interval is used mostly as passing-note, when necessary as an introduction for the next mode. Known Byzantine theseis such as *parakletike*, *xeron klasma*, *lygisma*, *kylisma* and *tromikon* are used. This composition is also built around a number of repeated phrases.³⁹

The third partial composition in the first mode refers to the part of the text *Και εις το Πνεύμα*.⁴⁰ The entire composition is constructed around the movement between the first, the first plagal and the barys mode, and in some parts the fourth plagal mode, as the *nana phthora* is often applied. In this composition *Antonios Episkopopulos* makes use of *xeron klasma*, *kylisma*, *piasma*, *parakletike* and also some theseis characteristic of Cretan compositions, like *oligon* with *kratema* or *diple* and the *nana phthora*. Repeated phrases are found in the whole composition.⁴¹

The fourth of the studied compositions by *Antonios Episkopopulos* refers to the part *Εις μίαν αγίαν καθολικήν και αποστολικήν Εκκλησίαν* in the fourth plagal mode.⁴² This composition basically moves in the lower tetrachord of the mode with frequent use of the *nana phthora*. Some similar phrases are applied in the whole composition, though in other parts a normal ascent and descent of the scale of the mode, or at least of the pitches of the lower tetrachord, can be observed.⁴³ Known theseis such as *lygisma*, *parakletike*, sometimes in a double setting, *tromikon* and *apoderma* are used.

36 These compositions have been studied in the manuscripts Sinai 1440 and National Library of Greece 963.

37 See the Table "Antonios Episkopopulos, a. fourth mode *Και εις το Πνεύμα*".

38 The composition has been studied in the manuscript Sinai 1440, f. 55v.

39 See the Table "Antonios Episkopopulos, b. first mode *Εις μίαν, αγίαν, καθολικήν*".

40 The composition has been studied in the manuscript National Library of Greece 963, ff. 251v–252r.

41 See the Table "Antonios Episkopopulos, c. first mode *Και εις το Πνεύμα*".

42 The composition has been studied in the manuscript National Library of Greece 963, f. 252r–v.

43 See the Table "Antonios Episkopopulos, d. Fourth plagal mode *Εις μίαν, αγίαν, καθολικήν*".

Demetrios Tamias:

According to the manuscript sources Demetrios Tamias lived in Crete from the end of the 16th until the first half of the 17th centuries. He is testified as “protopsaltes Chandakos” and “protopsaltes Kretes” already at the beginning of the 17th century.⁴⁴ Among his huge melurgical work a composition of the whole text of the Symbolon in the fourth plagal mode is included. He has also composed twice the part *Και εις το Πνεύμα το άγιον* (until the end) in the fourth plagal and first mode and twice the part *Εις μίαν αγίαν αποστολικήν* (until the end) in the fourth plagal and second plagal mode.⁴⁵

His composition of the whole text of the Symbolon in the fourth plagal mode is separated into verses-parts, thus giving the opportunity to be chanted by two choirs, even if this is not stated in any of the manuscripts.⁴⁶ The constant alteration between the fourth and the fourth plagal mode has been observed as a characteristic element of this composition, but the first, the third and the barys mode are also used. The modal signatures and not the phthorai signs are usually applied for these changes. The nenano phthora is used for two short passages and the phthora of the fourth mode is applied for the return to the fourth mode. Other characteristic elements of this setting are the persistence around the intervals of fourth and fifth and mostly around the final and the higher pitch of the mode (C–c), the ascent and descent of

44 Concerning the life and the works of Demetrios Tamias, see GIANNOPULOS, Η άνθηση 185–220, where extended bibliography is cited.

45 See Sinai 1563, Anthology of the Mass, 17th cent. (second half), scribe Gerasimos Gialinas, f. 138r: *Το άγιον σύμβολον κυρού Δημητρίου του Ταμιά και πρωτοψάλτου Κρήτης*: [ήχος] πλ. δ' Πιστεύω εις ένα Θεόν. Library of Iberon Monastery 1225, Anthology of the Mass, 17th cent. (between 1625–1650), f. 112r: *Το άγιον Σύμβολον ποιήθη παρά του αυτού ποιητού [Δημητρίου Ταμιά]:* [ήχος] πλ. δ' Πιστεύω εις ένα Θεόν and f. 116r *Κυρ Δημητρίου [Ταμιά]:* [ήχος] πλ. δ' *Εις μίαν αγίαν καθολικήν και αποστολικήν Εκκλησίαν.* Patmos 819, Anthology of the Mass, mid-17th cent., f. 233r: *Κυρ Δημητρίου του Ταμιά:* [ήχος] α' *Και εις το Πνεύμα.* National Library of Greece 963, Anthology, 17th cent. (between 1650–1675), f. 252v: *Έτερον συνοπτικότερον κυρ Δημητρίου Νταμιά και πρωτοψάλτου Χανδάκου (sic) Κρήτης:* [ήχος] πλ. δ' *Εις μίαν αγίαν* and f. 253r: *Κυρ Δημητρίου [Ταμιά]:* [ήχος] πλ. δ' *Και εις το Πνεύμα.* Liverpool, Mayer Collection 12053, Anthology of the Mass, 17th cent. (1662), scribe Gerasimos Gialinas, f. 236r: *Ποίημα Δημητρίου Ταμιά:* [ήχος] α' *Και εις το Πνεύμα* and f. 237v *Το άγιον Σύμβολον καθώς [...] Δημητρίου Ταμιά:* [ήχος] πλ. δ' *Πιστεύω εις ένα Θεόν.* Padua 432, Anthology, 17th cent. (1600–1610), f. 112v: *Του αυτού ποιητού [Δημητρίου Ταμιά]:* [ήχος] α' *Και εις το Πνεύμα* [ήχος] πλ. δ' *Εις μίαν αγίαν.* See, GIANNOPULOS, Η άνθηση 457–740.

46 The text is separated into verses – the parts as following: *Πιστεύω εις ένα Θεόν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα ποιητήν ουρανού και γης ορατών τε πάντων και αοράτων – Και εις έναν Κύριον Ιησούν Χριστόν τον Υιόν του Θεού τον μονογενή τον εκ του Πατρός γεννηθέντα προ πάντων των αιώνων – Φως εκ φωτός Θεόν αληθινόν εκ Θεού αληθινού γεννηθέντα ου ποιηθέντα ομοούσιον τω Πατρί δι' ου τα πάντα εγένετο – Τον δι' ημάς τους ανθρώπους και διά την ημετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα εκ των ουρανών και σαρκώθέντα εκ Πνεύματος αγίου και Μαρίας της Παρθένου και ενανθρωπήσαντα – Σταυρωθέντα τε υπέρ ημών επί Ποντίου Πιλάτου – και παθόντα και ταφέντα Και αναστάντα τη Τρίτη ημέρα κατά τας Γραφάς – Και ανελθόντα εις τους ουρανούς και καθεζόμενον εκ δεξιών του Πατρός Και πάλιν ερχόμενον μετά δόξης κρίναι ζώντας και νεκρούς ου της βασιλείας ουκ έσται τέλος – Και εις το Πνεύμα το άγιον το κύριον το ζωοποιόν το εκ του Πατρός εκπορευόμενον το συν Πατρί και Υιώ συμπροσκυνούμενον και συνδοξαζόμενον το λαλήσαν διά των προφητών – Εις μίαν αγίαν καθολικήν και αποστολικήν Εκκλησίαν – Ομολογώ εν Βάπτισμα εις άφεσιν αμαρτιών Προσδοκώ ανάστασιν νεκρών Και ζωήν του μέλλοντος αιώνος Αμήν.* See, Sinai 1563 ff. 138r–140r.

the scale in those parts where the great intervals are not used and, finally, the ending on the higher note of the fourth plagal mode. Another element of this setting is the use of theseis such as kratema under oligon with the nana phthora, tromikon under petaste and apostrophos, lygisma under oligon with dipole and stauros in a double or triple setting, tromikon with syndesmos or homalon. There are also cases (parts) in which the theseis of lygisma, piasma or parakletike are used in double or triple settings, but also parakletike, lygisma and kylisma are often applied without repetition. This composition is also built around similar musical phrases which are appropriated in more than one mode, like the fourth and the first, or the fourth and the fourth plagal mode.⁴⁷

The partial composition of Demetrios Tamias of the part *Εἰς μίαν αγίαν καθολικὴν* in the fourth mode is conserved by the scribe of the manuscript 963 of the National Library of Greece as "συνοπτικώτερη", shorter than the last one by Antonios Episkopopoulos.⁴⁸ Even though it starts in the fourth plagal mode, it moves to the first and the second mode and to the second plagal with the nenano phthora. The nana phthora is used for the return to the fourth plagal mode. The basic movement is constructed between G and c, a peculiar final cadence on b. Demetrios Tamias uses the same theseis as in his composition of the whole text. Some musical phrases are repeated but also the ascent and descent of the pitches of the scale are applied.⁴⁹

The second composition of the part *Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον*⁵⁰ is also in the fourth plagal mode, but the fourth and first modes are used too. The movement is around the intervals of fourth and fifth, and also around a typical ascent and descent of the pitches of the basic tetrachord of the fourth plagal and the first modes. Theseis such as lygisma, xeron klasma, tromikon, parakletike and kratema under oligon together with the nana phthtora are applied. The setting also ends abnormally on b.⁵¹

Kosmas Baranes the monk:

Kosmas Baranes was a famous person related to the chant affaires in Crete during the second half of the 17th century. He has composed many works for the Office but also chants of the Sticherarion and Heirmologion, mathemata theotokia, katanyktika nekrosima and many others.⁵²

His composition of the Symbolon is conserved in his autographical codex 1137 of the University Library of Padua.⁵³ He has composed the whole text of the Symbolon separated

47 See the Table "Demetrios Tamias, a. fourth plagal mode Πιστεύω εἰς ἓνα Θεόν".

48 See National Library of Greece 963, f. 252v.

49 See the Table "Demetrios Tamias, b. fourth plagal mode *Εἰς μίαν, αγίαν, καθολικὴν*".

50 National Library of Greece 963, f. 253r-v.

51 See the Table "Demetrios Tamias, c. fourth plagal mode *Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα*".

52 About the life and the work of Kosmas Baranes, see, GIANNOPULOS, *Η ἀνθήση* 220–234.

53 Padua, University Library 1137 – Anthology of Kosmas Baranes' works, 17th cent. (beginning), scribe Kosmas Baranes, f. 7r: *Τὸ ἅγιον Σύμβολον μελισθέν παρ' ἐμοῦ Κοσμά μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βαρανίου* [ἦχος] δ' Πιστεύω εἰς ἓνα Θεόν (until *Καὶ ανεληθόντα* [...] *οὐκ ἔσται τέλος*) f. 8v: *Τούτο ψάλλεται ὅταν εἶναι χοροὶ δύο* [ἦχος] δ' *Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον* (until the end) and f. 9v: *Ἐτερον* [ἦχος] δ' *Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον* (until the end).

into verses, in such a way that it could be chanted by two choirs, though this is referred to only in the title of the last part of the composition *Και εις το Πνεύμα το άγιον*: “Τούτο ψάλλεται όταν είναι χοροί δύο”.⁵⁴ The division of this last part is rather strange as the elements are small textual phrases or even words.

The composition is in the fourth mode with many variations into the fourth plagal mode. His introduction on the word *Πιστεύω* is similar to the one by Manuel Gazes.⁵⁵ This setting can be compared with the previous one having the same characteristics, such as the change between the intervals of fourth and fifth, the use of some stable musical phrases, the ascent and descent of the scale of the fourth plagal mode.⁵⁶ Kosmas Baranes, like the previous Cretan composers, makes use of the theseis of *xeron klasma*, *lygisma* and *kylisma* but also of *kratema* and *stauros*.

Conclusions:

The four earliest compositions of the 14th and the 15th centuries can be separated into two categories on the basis of their characteristics. The works of Manuel Agallianos and Markos Bishop of Korinthos can be included in a first group as they constitute two rather classical Byzantine compositions. The setting of Manuel Gazes and the anonymous one can be classified in a second group as they present characteristics rather unusual for the Byzantine composition.

Although Byzantine compositions on the text of the Symbolon ceased at the end of the 15th century, Antonios Episkopopulos, Demetrios Tamias, Kosmas Baranes and Ignatios Phrielos continued composing the text in Venetian Crete during the 16th and 17th centuries. If we also consider the fact that the last two compositions of the Byzantine period – by Manuel Gazes and the anonymous one – have taken place in Crete and that they present several similarities considered as probably deriving from the Latin music, the relation between the practice of the Cretan chanting of the Symbolon and the analogous Venetian practice is apparent. This relation and influence can be explained on the basis of the Cretans' continuous contact with the Venetian liturgical practice and music. Certainly, another hypothesis which

54 The text is divided into articles as following: *Πιστεύω εις ένα Θεόν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα ποιητήν ουρανού και γης ορατών τε πάντων και αοράτων – Και εις έναν Κύριον Ιησούν Χριστόν τον Υιόν του Θεού τον μονογενή τον εκ του Πατρός γεννηθέντα προ πάντων των αιώνων – Φως εκ φωτός Θεόν αληθινόν εκ Θεού αληθινού γεννηθέντα ου ποιηθέντα ομοούσιον τω Πατρί δι' ου τα πάντα εγένετο – Τον δι' ημάς τους ανθρώπους και διά την ημετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα εκ των ουρανών και σαρκωθέντα εκ Πνεύματος αγίου και Μαρίας της Παρθένου και ενανθρωπήσαντα – Σταυρωθέντα τε υπέρ ημών επί Ποντίου Πιλάτου και παθόντα και ταθέντα Και αναστάντα τη τρίτη ημέρα κατά τας Γραφάς – Και ανελθόντα εις τους ουραμούς και καθεζόμενον εκ δεξιών του Πατρός Και πάλιν ερχόμενον μετά δόξης κρίνει ζώντας και νεκρούς ου της βασιλείας ουκ εσται τέλος – Και εις το Πνεύμα – το άγιον – το κύριον – το ζωοποιόν – το εκ του Πατρός – εκπορευόμενον – τω συν Πατρί – και Υιώ – συμπροσκυνούμενον – και συνδοξαζόμενον – το λαλήσαν – διά των προφητών – Εις μίαν – αγίαν – καθολικήν – και αποστολικήν – Εκκλησίαν – Ομολογώ – εν Βάπτισμα – εις άφεσιν αμαρτιών – Προσδοκώ – ανάστασιν – νεκρών – Και ζοήν – του μέλλοντος – αιώνος – Αμήν – Αμήν – Αμήν. See, Padua University Library 1137. ff. 7r-9r.*

55 See the composition of Manuel Gazes in Sinai 1299 ff. 269v-270v and the appropriate Tables in this paper.

56 See the Table “Kosmas Baranes, fourth plagal mode *Πιστεύω εις ένα Θεόν*”.

should be considered concerns the fact that with the help of the settings of the Symbolon the composers as well as the chanters tried to remind the Greek people of Crete of the Orthodox text and meaning of the Symbolōn. This hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that there are many partial compositions of the section *Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον* which are apparently much more present from the ones of the whole text.⁵⁷

The existence of these compositions in Cretan musical manuscripts, their creation and development in Crete, an island under Venetian occupation for centuries, and from Cretan composers who lived together with people of the Latin faith and knew their polyphonic music, indicates a possible following of the Latin liturgical and musical practice. Most of their compositions present some analogous internal characteristics which might lead us to the supposition that they could be chanted by two voices. The first characteristic element is the choice of the modes, as most of these works are composed in fourth and fourth plagal mode and in first and first plagal mode. The choice of these modes is already apparent in the composition by Manuel Gazes as well as in the anonymous one in the manuscripts Sinai 1463 and 1552. The second characteristic is the frequent use of great intervals and the unusual persistence of the chant around the intervals of fourth or fifth or the simple ascent and descent of the scale. The application of parallel phrases, often with a difference of a fifth, is another characteristic element of these musical settings. On the other hand, in Cretan compositions attempts to simplify the melody or to compose without embellished parts – which would be appropriate for a polyphonic setting of the music – has not been observed. On the contrary, the usual Byzantine theseis, such as *xeron klasma*, *lygisma*, *kylisma*, *stauros*, are often used. Thus, what should be studied in the future firstly as a working hypothesis is the relation of these Cretan compositions of the Symbolon with the Latin ones and secondly the functional role of the theseis in these compositions, especially if they could have been chanted by two voices. Also, the possibility of a different meaning of the Byzantine theseis in these Cretan compositions should still be examined.⁵⁸

Even though these compositions of the Symbolon have some unusual characteristic elements, they should be considered as exceptions and not as representatives of the whole Cretan musical production. Nevertheless, they can be appreciated as a conscious experiment by the Cretans meeting another musical system and as an attempt of writing this down with the help of the Byzantine musical system, possibly because this was the only musical system which the Cretan composers knew.⁵⁹

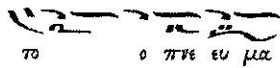
57 According to the sources, this part was composed four times by Antonios Episkopopulos (in first, third, fourth, and fourth plagal modes), twice by Demetrios Tamias (in first and fourth plagal mode). Kosmas Baranes has separated this part and composed it for two choirs. He has also added one more composition in fourth mode.

58 STATHES, "Διπλὸν μέλος" 658f. footnote 9.

59 STATHES, "Διπλὸν μέλος" 66^rf.

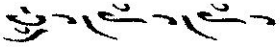
Manuel Agallianos, first plagal mode *Καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα*
Beroia, Library of the Monastery of Saint John Prodromos 1

G F G F G F G



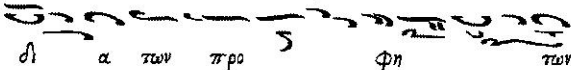
το ο πνε εω μα

G F F E E D



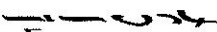
και α πο στο (λικόν)

F D D E F E D C D E F D



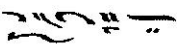
δι α των προ φη των

F G a D



το λα λη σαν

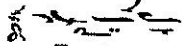
F E F G



και υι ω

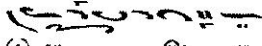
Manuel Gazes, fourth mode *Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεόν*
Sinai 1299, ff. 269v-270v

C G G



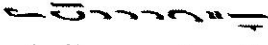
Πι στευ ω

G F G E F G



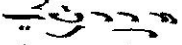
(ε) να Θε ον

G b a G E F G



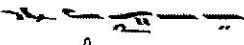
ε γε νε το

G c b a G



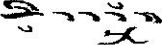
Φω ως εκ Φω τος

C C D E F G



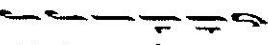
τον δι η μας

G F E D C



νου και ρης

G G a b c G

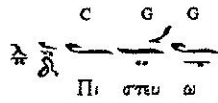


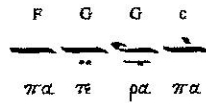
και σαρ κω θεν τα και

"Neon", without a composer's name, fourth mode

Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεόν

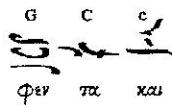
Sinai 1552, ff. 114v-116r

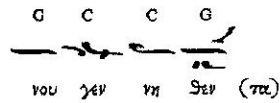
C G G

 Πι στευ ω

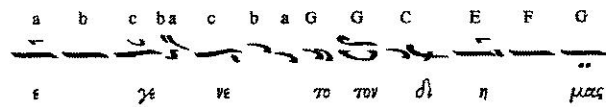
F G G c

 πα τε ρα πα

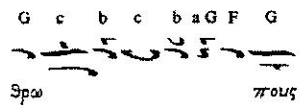
G F G C E F G c

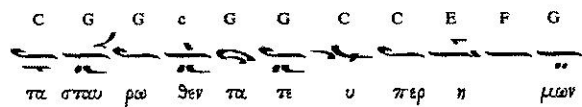
 φω ως εκ φω τος Θε (ον)

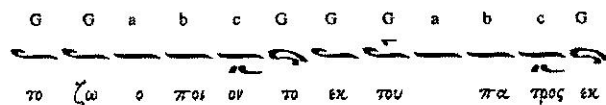
G C c

 φεν τα και

G C C G

 νου γεν νη θεν (τα)

a b c ba c b a G G C E F G

 ε γε νε το τον δι η μας

G c b c baGF G

 θρω πους

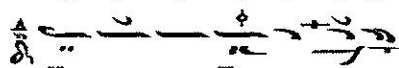
C G G c G G C C E F G

 τα στω ρω θεν τα τε υ περ η μων

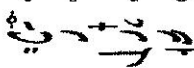
G G a b c G G G a b c G

 το ω ο ποι ον το εκ του πα τρος εκ


Antonios Episkopopoulos

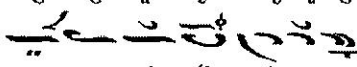
a. fourth mode *Καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα*

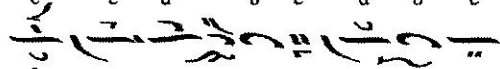
Sinai 1440, f. 55r-v

G a b c b a G

 Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα


c b a G

 τοῦ αἰγιονοίου

C F E D C C

 σὺν πρὸς σου νοῦ μενον

G G a c b a G

 καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον


c e d b c d b c

 διὰ τῶν προφητῶν

b. first mode, *Εἰς μίαν, ἁγίαν, καθολικὴν*
 Sinai 1440, f. 55v

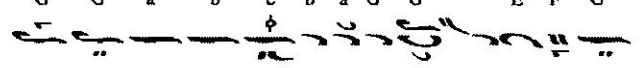
a G F E

 εἰς μίαν

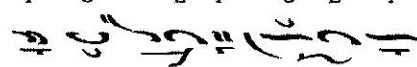
a F E D

 αἰγιονοίου

G E D C

 εἰς ἁφῆσιν

c. first mode *Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα*
 Nat. Lib. Gr. 963, ff. 251v-252r

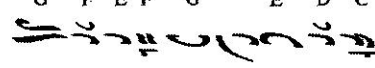
G G a b c b a G' G E F G

 τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευομένου

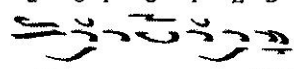
F G E F G E F

 προφητῶν

d. fourth plagal mode *Εἰς μίαν, ἁγίαν, καθολικὴν*
 Nat. Lib. Gr. 963, f. 252r-v

C D C

 εἰς μίαν
 αἰγιονοίου

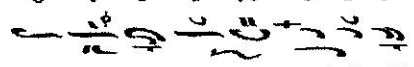
G F E F G E D C

 καὶ ἀποστόλικήν

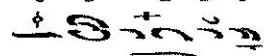
a G F G F E D

 νεκρῶν

Demetrios Tamias

a. fourth plagal mode *Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν*

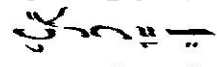
Sinai 1563, ff. 138r-140v

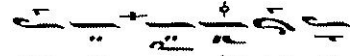
G c G a bc b a G

 πα τε ρα πα τρ ο χρα το ρα

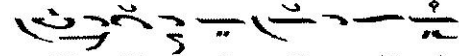
c G E D C

 νου και γης

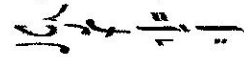
a F E D
 G E D C

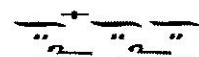
 και γης

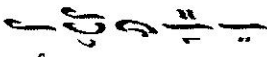
a F G a
 G E F G

 κυ ρι σν

G a b c G G

 σταυ ρω ω θεν τα τε

c a G a b a b c

 τον μο νο γε νη η

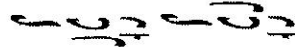
G C E F G

 Φως εκ φω τος

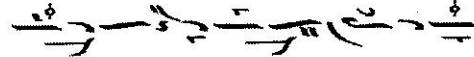
E F G

 ι ναν

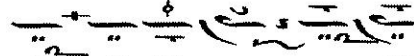
c c G ab c

 δι ου τα παν τα

b. fourth plagal mode *Εἰς μίαν, ἁγίαν, καθολικὴν*

Nat. Lib. Gr. 963, f. 253r-v

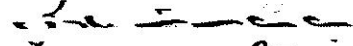
C D C C D C

 εις μι αν α γι αν

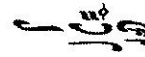
c b c ba G a bc c b c

 α μαρ τι ων

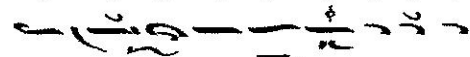
a b c c ba b b

 νος α μη ην


c. fourth plagal mode *Καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα*

Nat. Lib. Gr. 963, f. 252v

G C DE F G G

 και εις το ο πνευ μα

a bc G

 α γι ω

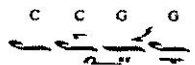
a c G a b c b a G

 και α πο στο λι κην εκ κλη σι

G a bc c b c b

 α μη ην

Kosmas Baranes

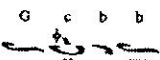
fourth plagal mode *Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεόν*

Padova, University Library 1137, ff. 7r-9v

C C G G

 Πι στεύ ω

G a F F E F G

 εις ε να Θε ον

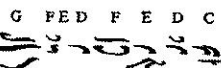
G c b b

 Πα τε ρα

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

 Παν το κρα το ρα ποι η την ου ρα του

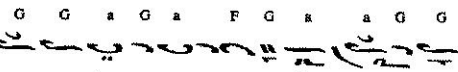
C DE F G


 ο ρα των

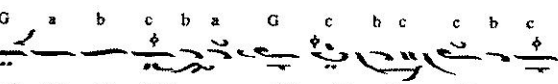
G FED F E D C

 γεν ηθεν τα

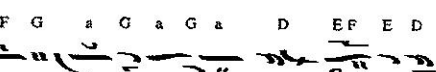
G C EF G

 φως εκ φω τος

G G a G a F G a a G G

 γεν ηθεν τα ου ποι η δε ε εν τα

C D E F E F F E F
 G a b c b c c b c

 και α νελ θα ον τα

G a b c b a G c b c c b c

 και εις το πνευ μα το α γι ον

F G a G a G a D EF ED

 το λα λη σαν εις μι αν

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