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The “woman figure” in Byzantine Melopoeia

The question is: Has there ever been a case in Byzantine melopoeia where a specific form of “female aesthetics” has been reflected in the construction of any chant? The question is straightforward; the answer, however, cannot be but implicit.

The term “Byzantine melopoeia” should be broadly understood as defining musical experience; the ability to invent and record a melody based on a poetical-hymnographical text and destined to be heard (in the frame of Orthodox ritual) inside the church, as an auxiliary means of communication between the faithful and God.¹ In Byzantine melopoeia thus defined “female aesthetics” would be a substantiated reality if a woman had invented a melody whatsoever.

Given the fact that the major part, or rather, for all purposes, the whole of Byzantine and post-Byzantine melopoeia known to us has been created by men, both known and unknown, the answer to the initial question turns out to be extremely difficult. The presence of women in Orthodox ecclesiastical music is, generally speaking, circumstantial but discernible.² The subject has already been sufficiently investigated; several women poets, codex composers and chanters have been known through relevant research.³

- 1 On Byzantine melopoeia in general, see CHRYSANTHOS from MADYTOS, *Θεωρητικὸν Μέγα τῆς Μουσικῆς*. Trieste 1832, 174–192 (§§ 389–431) (= for the English version see: K. ROMANU, *Great Theory of Music* by Chrysanthos of Madytos. New Rochelle 2010, 179–191 [§§ 389–431]); cfr. also A. G. CHALDAEAKES, *The figures of composer and chanter in Greek Psaltic Art*, in: *Composing and Chanting in the Orthodox Church*. Proceedings of the second International Conference on Orthodox Church Music. University of Joensuu, Finland 4–10 June 2007 (ed. I. MOODY). Joensuu 2009, 267–301.
- 2 See: P. N. TREMPERAS, *Ἡ Γυνὴ ἐν τῇ ψαλμωδίᾳ*. Athens 1926; PHILOTHEOS, BISHOP of PROIKONISOS, *Ἡ συμμετοχὴ τῆς γυναικείας φωνῆς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ψαλμωδῆματι*. Istanbul 1953; G. S. MANIAKES, *Οἱ γυναῖκες στὴ λατρεία*. *Ἡ συμμετοχὴ τῶν γυναικῶν στὴ λατρεία καὶ ὕμνογραφία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας*. Athens 1993; A. S. KORAKIDES, *Ἡ μουσικὴ ἀξία τῆς γυναικείας φωνῆς καὶ ἡ συμμετοχὴ τῆς στὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴ μελωδία*. Athens 2004; IDEM, *Ἡ μουσικὴ ἀξία τῆς γυναικείας φωνῆς καὶ ἡ συμμετοχὴ τῆς στὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴ μελωδία*, in: *Κωνσταντῖνος Δωρ. Μουρατίδης-Πρόμαχος Ὁρθόδοξιας*. Τιμητικὸ ἀφιέρωμα πανελληνίου ἐνώσεως Θεολόγων. Athens 2003, 921–947; E. X. SPYRAKU, *Οἱ χοροὶ τῶν ψαλτῶν κατὰ τὴν βυζαντινὴ παράδοση*. Athens 2008, 94f., 182–197 (with additional bibliography on the subject).
- 3 On female poets, see E. CATAFYGIOTU-TOPPING, *Women Hymnographers in Byzantium*, in: *Δίπτυχα* 3 (1982–1983) 98–111; cfr. KORAKIDES, *Ἡ μουσικὴ ἀξία τῆς γυναικείας φωνῆς καὶ ἡ συμμετοχὴ τῆς στὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴ μελωδία* 112–124. On female chanters, see: D. TULIATOS-BANKER, *Medieval Women Composers in Byzantium and the West*, in: *Musica Antiqua*. Acta Scientifica 6 (1982), 687–712; EADEM, *Women Composers of Medieval Byzantine Chant*, College Music Symposium, in: *Journal of the College Music Society* 24.1 (1984) 62–80; EADEM, *Ὁ παραδοσιακὸς ρόλος τῶν Ἑλληνίδων γυναικῶν στὴ μουσικὴ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα ἕως τὸ τέλος τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας*, in: *Μουσικὸς Λόγος* 4 (2002) 3–19; EADEM, *The Evolution of Ancient Greek Music in Byzantium: Instruments, Women*

In regard to melopoeia, which is our present topic, our data are scantier. Until recently, we knew only one musical poem, attributed (with some reservation) to the daughter of the famous Byzantine musical composer Ioannes Kladas (beginning of 15th century). It happens to be a *koinonikon* (communion hymn) set in the fourth mode of the Byzantine octaechia; it is entitled *Eis mnhmósounon aiónion êstai díkaios* and has been anthologized once, in the codex No. 2406 of the National Library of Greece (from the year 1453), fol. 258^v, bearing the indication: *Τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. κύρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κλαδᾶ καὶ λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ εὐαγοῦς βασιλικῷ κλήρῳ)· τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἔστιν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ*; this composition has been presented, studied and published by Diane Tuliatos.⁴ To this already known composition is added yet another one, which I

Musicians, Dance and other sundry matters, in: *Εὐρωπαϊκὸ Πολιτιστικὸ Κέντρο Δελφῶν. Διεθνὴς Συνάντηση Μουσικῆς. Μουσικὴ καὶ Ἀρχαία Ἑλλάδα*. 5–15 Αὐγούστου 1996. Πρακτικὰ Συμποσίου. Athens 1999, 87–100. In the extant bibliography (where these two qualities are not always clearly distinguished) there are, of course extended references to the well known hymnographer Kassiane; see: H. J. W. TILLYARD, *A musical study of the Hymns of Casia*, in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 20 (1911) 420–485; S. J. CHATZESOLOMOS, *Τὸ τροπάρι τῆς Κασσιανῆς* (9^{ος} αἰ.) *στὴν ἀρχικὴ τοῦ μουσικῆ σύνθεσιν, κατὰ τὸν ὑπ’ ἀρ. 99 βυζαντινὸ μουσικὸ κώδικα τῆς Ἱερᾶς Ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Κύπρου* (13^{ος} αἰ.), in: *Ἐπιτηρίς τοῦ Κέντρου Ἐπιστημονικῶν Ἑρευνῶν Κύπρου* 13–14.1 (1984–1985) 479–493; D. TULIATOS-BANKER, *Kassia* (ca. 810–between 843 and 867), in: *Women Composers. Music Through the Ages*, vol. 1. *Composers Born Before 1599* (edd. M. FURMAN SCHLEIFER–S. GLICKMAN). New York 1996, 1–24; *Idem* (transcr., introd.) *Kassia. Six Stichera*. 1996; *Eadem* (arr.), *Thirteen Hymns by Kassia*. 2000; A. TH. BURLS, *Ἡ Θεολογία τῶν ὕμνων τῆς μελωδοῦ Κασσιανῆς. (Μελέτη Δογματικῆ καὶ Ἠθικῇ)*, in: *Θέματα Ὁρθοδόξου Χριστολογίας* (ed. A. TH. BURLS). Athens 2000, 155–240; N. TSIRONI, *Κασσιανὴ ἡ ὕμνωδός*. Athens 2002; SP. PANAGOPULOS, *Kassia: A female hymnographer of the 9th century*, in: *Byzantine Musical Culture. First International Conference–Greece 2007. Paeania 2009*, 111–123 (with a rich collection of bibliographical references). Finally, on female authors (but also owners) of codices, see: SP. LAMPROS, *Ἑλληνίδες βιβλιογράφοι καὶ κυρίαὶ κωδίκων κατὰ τοὺς μέσους αἰῶνας καὶ ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας. Μετὰ τριῶν πανομοιότυπων*. Athens 1903 (cfr. also Lampros 1906, 1907, 1908, 1910, 1913); N. A. BEES, *Ἑλληνίδες βιβλιογράφοι καὶ κυρίαὶ κωδίκων κατὰ τοὺς μέσους αἰῶνας καὶ ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας*. Athens 1905; A. W. CARR, *Women and Monasticism in Byzantium: Introduction from an Art Historian*, in: *Byzantinische Forschungen* 9 (1985) 1–15.

- 4 See: TULIATOS-BANKER, *Medieval Women Composers* 693–695 and 704 (notes 20–23) and 709 (example 1); *Eadem*, *Women Composers of Medieval Byzantine Chant* 63–65; *Eadem*, *The Traditional Role of Greek Women in Music from Antiquity to the End of the Byzantine Empire*, in: *Rediscovering the Muses. Women’s Musical Traditions* (ed. K. MARSHALL). Boston 199, 122 and 253 (notes 54–57) (= *Eadem*, *Ὁ παραδοσιακὸς ρόλος* 14 and 19 [notes 54–57]). For other occasional references to the aforementioned composer and her work, see: M. VELIMIROVIĆ, *Byzantine Composers in Ms. Athens 2406*, in: *Essays presented to Egon Wellesz* (ed. J. WESTRUP). Oxford 1966, 12; GR. TH. STATHES, *Ἡ Δεκαπεντασύλλαβος Ὑμνογραφία ἐν τῇ Βυζαντινῇ Μελωποιᾷ καὶ ἑκδοσίς τῶν κειμένων εἰς ἓν Corpus*. Athens 1977, 104; A. JAKOVLEVIĆ, *Δίγλωσση παλαιογραφία καὶ μελωδοὶ-ὕμνογράφοι τοῦ κώδικα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν 928*. Nicosia 1988, 71f.; L. POLITES, *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος* ἀρ. 1857–2500. Athens 1991, 401; GR. TH. STATHES, *Ἰωάννης Κλαδᾶς ὁ λαμπαδάριος (γύρω στὸ 1400)*, in: *Βυζαντινοὶ Μελουργοί. Μανουὴλ Χρυσάφης ὁ λαμπαδάριος. Ἰωάννης Κλαδᾶς ὁ λαμπαδάριος. Ἰωάννης Κουκουζέλης ὁ βυζαντινὸς μάιστωρ*. Athens 1994–1995, 48; K. X. KARANGUNES, *Ἡ παράδοση καὶ ἐξήγηση τοῦ μέλους τῶν χειροβικῶν τῆς βυζαντινῆς καὶ μεταβυζαντινῆς μελωποιᾶς*. Athens 2003, 219; KORAKIDES, *Ἡ μουσικὴ ἀξία τῆς γυναικείας φωνῆς* 129; G. G. ANASTASIU, *Τὰ Κρατήματα στὴν Ψαλτικὴ Τέχνη*. Athens 2005, 30; GR. TH. STATHES, “*Σήμερον ἡ κτίσις φωτίζεται*.” *Ἡ γοητεία τῆς βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς τέχνης τότε καὶ τώρα*. Athens 2005, 44.

discovered during a previous research conducted in the frame of the preparation of my doctoral dissertation *The polyeleos in Byzantine and post-Byzantine melopoeia*.⁵ This is a very interesting musical composition which forms a part (notably the verse *Εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον*) of a very well known Byzantine polyeleos composed in the first mode of the Byzantine octaechia, the so-called polyeleos of Kukumas. The composition, also anthologized once in the codex No. 399 of the Kutlumusiu monastery on Mount Athos (mid-14th century, fol. 61^{r-v}), is attributed – according to its introductory epigraph – to a certain nun (Τῆς Καλογρέας) with no further precision; in the entire Byzantine and post-Byzantine musical production⁶ that has been studied up

5 See A. CHALDAEAKES, *Ὁ πολυέλεος στὴ βυζαντινὴ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὴ μελοποιία*. Athens 2003, 415, 710, 716. However, the existence of this composition had already been recorded by GR. TH. STATHES, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς – Ἅγιον Ὄρος. Κατάλογος περιγραφικῶς τῶν χειρογράφων κωδίκων βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς τῶν ἀποκειμένων ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τῶν ἱερῶν μονῶν καὶ σκητῶν τοῦ Ἁγίου Ὄρους*, vol. 3. Athens 1993, 235 (cfr. also STATHES, "Σήμερον ἡ κτίσις φωτίζεται.", 44).

6 It has to be noted that, on the basis of the evidence from exclusively musical manuscript sources, scholars have identified yet another woman, the so-called Kuvuklisena. Her name is mentioned in a relevant notice, recorded in fol. 339^r of the codex No. C 71 of the Great Laura monastery on Mount Athos (a sticherion of the 13th century), which reads as follows: "+ ἐκοιμήθην ἡ δούλη του θεοῦ (εὐ)γενεὺς [?] ἡ κουβουκλησενα· / ἡ δομεστηκίνα· μηνί· σεπτεμβρίῳ· ἰα'· ὥρα α' / τῆς ἡμέρας· ἐν ετοί· ςουζ'ουζ'ουθ' [6769 = 1260]· κ(αι) μάκαρία ἡ μνήμῃ αὐ(τῆς)" (see facsimile of the specific page of the codex at the end of the present study). The aforementioned notice has been published for the first time in S. and SP. EUSTRATIADES, *Κατάλογος τῶν κωδίκων τῆς Μεγίστης Λαύρας (τῆς ἐν Ἁγίῳ Ὄρει)*. Paris 1925, 42 (where it reads as follows: "Ἐκοιμήθη ἡ δούλη τοῦ θεοῦ Εὐγενεὺς ἡ Κουβουκλήσενα ἡ δομεστικίνα μηνί Σεπτεμβρίῳ ἰα' ὥρα α' τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν εἰς ςζξη' καὶ μακαρία ἡ μνήμη αὐτῆς"; as one can see, the most important difference between the two versions concerns the date, which now must be corrected following the codex [1260 instead of 1259]). The same notice has been subsequently published (according to the aforementioned Eustratiades' transcription) in the study of F. EUANGELATU-NOTARA, *Σύλλογὴ χρονολογημένων "σημειωμάτων" ἑλληνικῶν κωδίκων 13^{ου} αἰ.* Athens 1984, 66, entry 214, whence the name of Kuvuklisena has been included in E. TRAPP-H.-V. BEYER-I. G. LEONTIADES, *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, vol.1/1-8 Add. Wien 1988, entry 92431, p. 150). H. L. MARGARU, *Τίτλοι καὶ ἐπαγγελματικά ὀνόματα γυναικῶν στὸ Βυζάντιο. Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη γιὰ τὴ θέση τῆς γυναίκας στὴ βυζαντινὴ κοινωνία*. Salonica 2000, 42, based on the latter entry, includes her in the list "of the five women bearing the title of great domestikissa", according to Margaru "The first one of them is the kuvuklisena Eugenou, who died probably in 1259. We do not possess any further information about her". The same notice has recently been republished (from the aforementioned list of Eustratiades) by STATHES, "Σήμερον ἡ κτίσις φωτίζεται." 44. The text of the above notice clearly shows that to the woman in question two titles were attributed. The first one (Kuvuklisena) might plausibly be associated to the title of kuvikularia (kuvikularia or Kuvuklaria; see MARGARU, *Τίτλοι* 63-65). According to MARGARU, *Τίτλοι* 63, "The kuvikoularia belonged to the personal service of the Empress as a kind of first chambermaid under the orders of the primikerissa. She was part of the lower ranks of the palatial personnel, as was her male counterpart in the service of the Emperor, and her denomination did not constitute a title of nobility." Equally interesting is the fact that "she retained her title for life" (MARGARU, *Τίτλοι* 64). Her second title (Domestikina) is a variant for Domestikissa or Domestikena (see MARGARU, *Τίτλοι* 41-43). In general the Domestikoi, writes Margaru (p. 41, note 1), "constituted a corps of the Imperial Guard. In the middle Byzantine period, the Domestikos of the Schools was the commander of a number of guards units (scholai). Gradually, the Domestikos' position was reinforced, due to his proximity and influence over the Emperor, and he became commander in chief of the Byzantine army [...] During the 14th-15th centuries, the title of Domestikos referred to court officials; during that period, the domestikos served at the table of the

to the present day, she is only the second attested female composer.

In the present paper, I will focus on these two female composers, who wrote music during the Byzantine times in the Mediterranean area, comparing their respective figures, and on the study, description and analysis of their compositions known to us. My endeavour is to provide an answer, albeit sketchy, to the initial question: Is there in Byzantine music a documented specific “female way” of composing?

1. The composers:

The two aforementioned female composers are separated by approx. one century. The chronological data transmitted to us are not perfectly clear; nevertheless, the so-called Nun must be the older of the two. The only mention of her is to be found, as we have already mentioned, in the codex No. 399 of the Kutlumuşiu monastery on Mount Athos⁷, dating from the mid-14th century⁸, a milestone that should be considered as the only safe terminus ante quem for determining the chronological frame of her activity. Her flourishing may well be placed in the first half of the 14th century, perhaps, more accurately, in its second quarter, but one obviously cannot exclude an earlier date.⁹ On the other hand, chronological evidence for Kladas’ daughter is more

Emperor. In other cases, whilst the title of Great Domestikos was a military one, it was in fact purely honorific, especially in the 13th century [...]. On the other hand, as an ecclesiastical title, it was usually attributed to members or leaders of choirs”. In the specialized musicological bibliography up to the present day (see: TULLIATOS-BANKER, *Medieval Women Composers* 693; EADEM, *The Traditional Role of Greek Women* 121f.; cfr. also KORAKIDES, *Ἡ μουσικὴ ἀξία τῆς γυναικείας φωνῆς καὶ ἡ συμμετοχὴ τῆς* 129; STATHES, *“Σήμερον ἡ κτίσις φωρίζεται.”* 11f.) the Kuvuklisena in question is unanimously recognized as a musician (furthermore, TULLIATOS-BANKER, *The Traditional Role of Greek Women* 122) suggests that she might also have been a composer: “There is no clear indication that Kouvouklisena was a composer, but since many leading male precentors of the period were composers or at least arrangers of traditional chant, she also probably composed and improvised”; and this is quite reasonable of course, because of her title (domestikina, i.e. female first chanter). Nevertheless, neither her name nor any mention of some musical composition attributed to her are found (at least up to the present day) in the strictly musical sources (or, for that matter, in any source whatsoever). Given, therefore, the additional dimensions of her two titles cited above, the probability of her having been a composer, or even a female first chanter, should be considered with extreme caution. It would be safer to assume that she was a woman who served at the palace (in the Kouvoukleion, i.e. the royal apartments) and at the same time participated in the palatial womens choir, perhaps as a director (cfr. the relevant primary evidence on the palatial choir cited by Spyraou 2008:155-56, note 31).

7 For a complete description of the manuscript, see STATHES, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς* 233–241.

8 See STATHES, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα βυζαντινῆς μουσικῆς* 233, 241.

9 It has also to be noted that, due to the lack of more specific primary testimonies, one cannot formulate but conjectures about the monastery where the Nun in question might have lived. On women’s monasteries and female monasticism in the Byzantine era, see: D. DE F. ABRAHAMSE, *Women’s Monasticism in the middle Byzantine period: Problems and Prospects*, in: *Byzantinische Forschungen* 9 (1985) 35–58; M. LOUKAKI, *Monastères de femmes à Byzance du XII^e siècle jusqu’ à 1453*, in: *Women and Byzantine Monasticism. Proceedings of the Athens Symposium 1988* (ed. J. Y. PERREAULT). Athens 1991, 33–42; E. C. KOUBENA, *A survey of aristocratic women founders of monasteries in Constantinople between the eleventh and the fifteenth centuries*, in: *Women and Byzantine Monasticism. Proceedings of the Athens Symposium 1988* (ed. J. Y. PERREAULT). Athens

concrete. Her composition, which is also the only reference to her, is anthologized, as we have already noted, in the codex No. 2406 of the National Library of Greece¹⁰, written by the monk Matthaïos Domestikos in 1453.¹¹ This fact, combined with the activities of her father¹², who is known to have flourished around 1400¹³, allows us to safely infer that her creations date from the first half of the 15th century. Nevertheless, the way in which she is mentioned in the manuscript ("[...] τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἔστιν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ [...]"), combined with the fact that this is a unique testimony, allows for the plausible assumption that the author of the codex might have been the receiver of an oral tradition in regard to her, approx. at the time when he wrote the manuscript, which, of course, would be chronologically incorrect; if such is the case, her flourishing should be placed in the second quarter of the 15th century.

Both female composers are referred to in a vague and general fashion, with no indication of their respective names. This is quite usual in medieval times and is generally observed in all manifestations of Byzantine life where women are involved, and therefore mentioned.¹⁴ At any rate, the mere indication that the composers are women seems here to be sufficient to establish their identity, in connection to the fact that the existence of women composing ecclesiastical chants was a rare occurrence. The first one is referred to merely as a nun and her name's omission might also be justified by the propensity of members of the Orthodox monastic communi-

1991, 25–32; A. BASILIKOPULU, *Monachisme: L'Égalité totale des sexes*, in: *Women and Byzantine Monasticism. Proceedings of the Athens Symposium 1988* (ed. J. Y. PERREAULT). Athens 1991, 99–110; A.-M. TALBOT, *Women and Religious Life in Byzantium*. USA 2001: XI 229–241, XII 1–20, XIII 119–129, XV 113–127, XVII 103–117, XVIII 604–618 (with relevant bibliographical references).

10 For a complete description of the manuscript, see POLITES, *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων* 398–405.

11 See POLITES, *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων* 398, 404. The relevant bibliographical note is recorded with red ink on fol. 291^r: "Τέλος τῆς ἀκολουθείας τοῦ με(ε)γ(ά)λου ἐσπερινοῦ, χειρὶ γραφέν(ος) ἐκ Ματθαίου τοῦ τάλ(α) // δομεστικ(ου) τάχα τέ καὶ ρακενδύτου. Τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον ἐγράφη παρ' ἐμοῦ Ματθαίου καὶ παρ' ἄξιαν μοναχοῦ, ἐντὸς τῆς μονῆς τοῦ τιμίου ἐνδόξου προφήτου Προδρόμου καὶ Βαπτιστοῦ Ἰω(άννου) τῆς ἐν τῷ ὄρει τοῦ Μενοικ(έ)ως διακειμένης, μη(ν)ὶ ἰουλ(ίῳ) α' τοῦ ς' 78α' (6961=1453) ἔτους, ἰνδ. α'" (see POLITES, *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων* 404f., with a mention of the other publications of the same note).

12 On the composer Ioannes Kladas in general, see STATHES, *Ἰωάννης Κλαδᾶς ὁ λαμπαδάριος*. The most recent special reference to him, with a collection of relevant bibliography, is in CHR. I. DEMETRIU, *Spätbyzantinische Kirchenmusik im Spiegel der zypriotischen Handschriftentradition. Studien zum Machairas Kalophonon Sticheron A4*. Frankfurt/Main 2007, 213–216.

13 See STATHES, *Ἰωάννης Κλαδᾶς ὁ λαμπαδάριος* 48.

14 For women's position in Byzantium, see: R. IMBRIOTE, *Ἡ γυναίκα στὸ Βυζάντιο*. Athens 1923; SP. LAMPROS, *Ἡ γυνὴ παρὰ τοῖς Βυζαντινοῖς*, in: *Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων* 17 (1923) 258–285; PH. KUKULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός* vol. 2. Athens 1955, 163–218; A. E. LAIU, *The role of women in Byzantine Society*, in: *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 31/1 (1981) 233–260; IDEM, *Addendum to the report on the role of women in Byzantine Society*, in: *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/1 (1982) 198–204; IDEM, *Observations on the life and ideology of Byzantine women*, in: *Byzantinische Forschungen* 9 (1985) 59–102; K. NIKOLAU, *Ἡ θέσις τῆς γυναίκας στὴ βυζαντινὴ κοινωνία*. Athens 1993; MARGARU, *Τίτλοι* 3–15, 261–274; TALBOT, *Women and Religious Life* vol. 1, 117–143, vol. 2, 105–122 (with extended relevant bibliography). Cfr. also TSIRONE, *Κασσιανὴ ἡ ὕμνωδός* 7–10; M. TSIKRITES–K. ZORBAS, *Ἡ κοινωνικὴ θέσις τῆς γυναίκας μέσα ἀπὸ τὴν ἀνάληψη περιεχομένου τῶν θεολογικῶν δημοσιευμάτων τῆς περιόδου 1910–1960*, in: *Θεολογία* 78 (2007) 765–792, 774–775.

ties, both men and women, to remain anonymous. The second one is the daughter of the famous lampadarios Ioannes Kladas; beyond the obvious weight of the paternal name¹⁵, her anonymity might be due to some uncertainty about the authorship of the composition in question, a reserve that is discretely yet clearly voiced in the manuscript.¹⁶

Both women, however, do not seem to occupy a minor place in the esteem of their coeval fellow composers. In the case of the Nun's composition, which is anthologized in the unit of the first stasis of the so-called polyeleos of Kukumas (setting of the verses of Psalm 134)¹⁷, it is interesting to remark that, apart from the compositions of Nikolaos Kukumas himself, who, as one might naturally expect, composed the major part of the polyeleos¹⁸, the Nun is one of the three composers who

15 Cfr. also TULIATOS-BANKER, *Women Composers of Medieval Byzantine Chant* 63: "It is not uncommon in Byzantine musical manuscripts to identify a composer by profession or place of origin. In several instances composers have even been identified by a family name which has a long standing tradition of musicians. It is in this fashion that one of our women composers is identified. The one and only musical composition and inscription in reference to this composer appears in Athens MS. 2406, folio 258v. The composer is identified by the family name and the relationship of the composer to the patriarch of the family. The inscription reads: 'It is said that this [composition] is [written] by the daughter of Ioannes Kladas'. It is interesting that in the single reference to this woman composer, no given or Christian name is indicated. In instances where male members of a family are cited, a given name as well as a family relationship is usually included. From this reference it appears that the daughter of Ioannes Kladas was probably known as a singer and composer. Her fame is not as renowned as that of her father who was a leading composer of Byzantine chant of the late fourteenth century as well the 'Lampadarios' or maistor of the Hagia Sophia of Constantinople".

16 The formulation of the introduction to the composition (in fol. 258^v) is particularly eloquent; I repeat it here: "Τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. κύρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κλαδᾶ καὶ λαμπαδarioῦ τοῦ εὐαγοῦς βασιλικοῦ κλήρου)· τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι ἔστιν τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ· ἦχος δ' Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται δικαίος."

17 For the polyeleos of Nikolaos Kukumas in general, see CHALDAEAKES, 'Ο πολυέλεος 702–747. In its present anthologation (fol. 54^v–62^r of codex No. 399 of the Kutlumsiu monastery on Mount Athos) the polyeleos consists of 26 verses (namely: Δοῦλοι, Κύριον / 'Οτι τὸν Ἰακώβ / 'Οτι ἐγὼ ἔγνωκα / 'Οτι μέγας ὁ Κύριος / Πάντα ὅσα ἠθέλησεν ἐποίησεν / Ἐν ταῖς θαλάσσαις καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἀβύσσοις / Ἀστραπᾶς εἰς ὑετὸν ἐποίησεν / 'Ος ἐπάταξε τὰ πρωτότοκα Αἰγύπτου / Ἐξαπέστειλε σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα / 'Ος ἐπάταξεν ἔθνη πολλὰ / Τὸν Σηὼν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀμορραίων / Καὶ τὸν Ὠγ βασιλέα τῆς Βασάν / Καὶ πάσας τὰς βασιλείας Χαναάν / Κληρονομίαν Ἰσραὴλ λαφ' αὐτοῦ / 'Οτι κρινεῖ Κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ / Στόμα ἔχουσι καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσι / Στόμα ἔχουσι καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσι / Ὁφθαλμοὺς ἔχουσι καὶ οὐκ ὄψονται / Ὠτα ἔχουσι καὶ οὐκ ἐνωτισθήσονται / Οἱ ποιοῦντες αὐτὰ / Καὶ πάντες οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς / Οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ, εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον / Οἶκος Ἀαρὼν, εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον / Εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον / Εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον / 'Ο κατοικῶν Ἱερουσαλὴμ.

18 The totality of the verses of this polyeleos, on the basis not only of its label (polyeleos of Kukumas), but also of its initial inscription ("Ἄλλος πολυέλεος, λεγόμενος Κουκουμᾶς· ἦχος α' Δοῦλοι, Κύριον" [see codex No. 399 of the Kutlumsiu monastery on Mount Athos, fol. 54^v]), is, of course, attributed to Nikolaos Kukumas (cfr. CHALDAEAKES, 'Ο πολυέλεος 702–711); in its present anthologation, the following 23 verses of the polyeleos are referred to as written by Kukumas: Δοῦλοι, Κύριον (fol. 54^v) / 'Οτι τὸν Ἰακώβ (fol. 54^v–55^r) / 'Οτι ἐγὼ ἔγνωκα (fol. 55^r) / 'Οτι μέγας ὁ Κύριος (fol. 55^r) / Πάντα ὅσα ἠθέλησεν ἐποίησεν (fol. 55^r) / Ἐν ταῖς θαλάσσαις καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἀβύσσοις (fol. 55^r) / Ἀστραπᾶς εἰς ὑετὸν ἐποίησεν (fol. 55^r–56^r) / 'Ος ἐπάταξε τὰ πρωτότοκα Αἰγύπτου (fol. 56^r) / Ἐξαπέστειλε σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα (fol. 56^r–v) / 'Ος ἐπάταξεν ἔθνη πολλὰ (fol. 56^r) / Τὸν Σηὼν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀμορραίων (fol. 56^r–57^r) / Καὶ τὸν Ὠγ βασιλέα τῆς Βασάν (fol. 57^r) / Καὶ πάσας τὰς βασιλείας Χαναάν (fol. 57^r) / Κληρονομίαν Ἰσραὴλ

are additionally mentioned here¹⁹, the other two being priest Manuel Plagites²⁰ and Christophoros Mystakon²¹, both very well known in their time. The composition of

λαῶ αὐτοῦ (fol. 57^v–58^r) / Ὅτι κρινεῖ Κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ (fol. 58^r) / Στόμα ἔχουσι καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσι (fol. 58^v–59^r) / Ὁφθαλμοὺς ἔχουσι καὶ οὐκ ὄψονται (fol. 59^v–60^r) / Ὡτα ἔχουσι καὶ οὐκ ἐνωτισθήσονται (fol. 60^v–61^r) / Οἱ ποιοῦντες αὐτά (fol. 60^r) / Οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ, εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον (fol. 60^r) / Οἶκος Ἀαρὼν, εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον (fol. 61^r) / Εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον (fol. 61^r) / Ὁ κατοικῶν Ἱερουσαλὴμ (fol. 61^v–62^r). It has to be noted that three of the aforementioned verses (namely: Στόμα ἔχουσι καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσι [fol. 58^v–59^r] / Ὁφθαλμοὺς ἔχουσι καὶ οὐκ ὄψονται [fol. 59^v–60^r] / Ὡτα ἔχουσι καὶ οὐκ ἐνωτισθήσονται [fol. 60^v–61^r]) are examples of the so-called kalophonic verses of the polyeleos (on this phenomenon, see CHALDAEAKES, Ὁ πολυέλεος 648–676); furthermore, in the three last verses of the polyeleos (Οἶκος Ἀαρὼν, εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον [fol. 61^r] / Εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον [fol. 61^r] / Ὁ κατοικῶν Ἱερουσαλὴμ [fol. 61^v–62^r]) occurs the well known phenomenon (see CHALDAEAKES, Ὁ πολυέλεος 553–627 and IDEM Ἀπὸ τὸ τυπικὸ τῆς ἀκολουθίας τοῦ Ὁρθρου: Ἡ ἐπιβολὴ ἐξωψαλμικῶν ποιητικῶν κειμένων στὸν ψαλμὸ τοῦ πολυελέου, in: Πολυφωνία 11 [2007] 66–88) of the imposition of a non-psalmic poetic text (namely, in the verse Οἶκος Ἀαρὼν the following text is inserted: ὑμνήσατε, εὐλογήσατε, δοξάσατε τὸν Κύριον; the verse Εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον is composed by imposing a respective text, namely: Εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον, ἅσατε τῇ πανάνρω/ βοήσωμεν συμφώνως/ φωνὴν τὴν τοῦ ἀγγέλου χαῖρε εὐλογημένη καὶ μὴν χαῖρε χαρὰς ἢ πρόξενος; finally, in the verse Ὁ κατοικῶν Ἱερουσαλὴμ the following, very interesting (and unmentioned in the relevant bibliography (see STATHES, Ἡ Δεκαπεντασύλλαβος Ὑμνογραφία 175–263; CHALDAEAKES, Ὁ πολυέλεος 553–627) poem is imposed, composed in 15-syllable verses: Δεῦρο, Δαυὶδ πανθαύμαστε, λάβε σου τὴν κιθάραν, // λάβε σου τὸ ψαλτήριον, λάβε σου τὴν κινύραν, // καὶ ψάλε μοι τὰ πρόσφορα, Χριστῷ τῷ βαπτισθέντι.

- 19 To the Nun is attributed (as it has already been noted) the verse Εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον, anthologized on fol. 61^v of the codex No. 399 of the Kutlumisii monastery on Mount Athos, under the inscription Τῆς Καλογρέας.

- 20 To this composer the verse Στόμα ἔχουσι καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσι is attributed, anthologized on fol. 58^v of the codex No. 399 of the Kutlumisii monastery on Mount Athos, under the inscription “Τοῦ πατῆρ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Πλαγίτου”. This is a kalophonic verse of the polyeleos, whose structure appears as follows: Τοῦ πατῆρ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Πλαγίτου. [ἦχος] α’
Στόμα ἔχουσι καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσι, καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσι, καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσι. / Στόμα ἔχουσιν, ἔχουσι στόμα, ἔχουσι καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσι, τὰ εἶ- τὰ εἶδωλα / τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἀργύριον. / Ἀργύριον / Καὶ χρυσίον, ἔργα / Ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλληλοῦα. / Πάλιν / Ἀλληλοῦα, (ν)ἀλληλοῦα, ἀλληλοῦα / Ἀλληλοῦα / Ἀλληλοῦα, ἀ(να)λληλοῦα.

The relevant manuscript tradition usually attributes to Manuel Plagites another kalophonic verse: Ὁφθαλμοὺς ἔχουσι (for its structure, see CHALDAEAKES, Ὁ πολυέλεος 660). This verse is sometimes ascribed to a certain Georgios Plagiotēs, which has led me in the past to consider these two persons as being one and the same (see CHALDAEAKES, Ὁ πολυέλεος 395–396, with the relevant bibliography on the composer). According to the data of the research conducted up to the present day, the kalophonic verse Στόμα ἔχουσι (referenced to in CHALDAEAKES, Ὁ πολυέλεος 714), is attributed here for the first time to this composer.

- 21 To this composer (see CHALDAEAKES, Ὁ πολυέλεος 430 for the relevant bibliography for him) is attributed the verse Καὶ πάντες οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς, anthologized on fol. 60^r of the codex No. 399 of the Kutlumisii monastery on Mount Athos, under the inscription “Τοῦ Χριστοφόρου”; it is one of the current, simple verses of the polyeleos. It has to be particularly noted that we have here in the relevant research the one and only evidence attributing this verse to the aforementioned composer (see CHALDAEAKES, Ὁ πολυέλεος 430–435, where the verse in question is not referenced to). However, the accumulation of so many “unica” in the present “unicum” (cfr. those mentioned in the two previous notes), interesting as it may be for the tradition represented by the specific manuscript, generates nevertheless some suspicions (which cannot be explored here any further) about the accuracy of those unique testimonies.

Kladas' daughter, anthologized in the unit of the *koinonika* (communion hymns) written in all the eight modes ("poems by various poets, both old and new", according to the manuscript²²), is counted among the most familiar and widely spread compositions²³ of the most famous Byzantine composers²⁴, all of them male, from the 13th century until the fall of Constantinople, i.e. the period during which the codex was written.²⁵ It is, maybe, worthwhile to comment upon a surrepetitious attempt by the author of the manuscript, who seems to have included in his *koinonika* – in order to preserve them by regrouping them – various compositions attributed to members of "families of chanters"²⁶, known from the manuscript tradition of the time²⁷, such as the Korones (Xenos Korones, his brother Agathon and his son Manuel)²⁸, the

- 22 See codex No. 2406 of the National Library of Greece, fol. 251^r ("Ἀρχὴ σὺν Θεῷ ἁγίῳ τῶν κατ' ἕχρον κοινονικῶν, ποιήματα διαφόρων ποιητῶν, παλαιῶν τε καὶ νέων· ἀρχή, ποίημα κύρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κλαδᾶ καὶ λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ εὐαγοῦς βασιλικῶ κλήρου· ἤχος α' τετράφωνος, νόσος Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον").
- 23 On this particular kind of composition, i.e. the communion hymns, see: S. HARRIS, *The Communion Chants in Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Musical MSS*, in: *Studies in Eastern Chant* 2 (1971) 51–67; IDEM, *The Communion Chant of the Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Asmatikon*. Amsterdam 1999; D. E. CONOMOS, *The late Byzantine and Slavonic communion cycle: liturgy and music*. Washington 1985; N. GHEORGHIȚĂ, *The structure of Sunday Koinonikon in the Postbyzantine era*, in: *Tradition and Innovation in Late- and Postbyzantine Liturgical Chant*. Acta of the Congress held at Hernen Castle in April 2005 (ed. G. WOLFRAM). Leuven 2008, 331–355; IDEM, *Chinonicul Duminical în perioada post-Bizantină (1453–1821)*. Liturgică și Muzică. Bucharest 2007 (with relevant bibliographical references).
- 24 In this particular section of the *koinonika* in all eight modes, on fol. 251^r–275^v of the codex No. 2406 of the National Library of Greece, compositions are anthologized explicitly attributed to the following (26 in total) composers (by alphabetical order of their first name): Agathon Korones, Demetrios Dokeianos, Demetrios Moschianos, Demetrios Rhaidestenos, Georgios Domestikos Sguropoulos, Georgios Moschianos, Gerasimos Monk Chalkeopulos, Gregorios Alyates, Ioakeim Monk Charsianites, Ioannes Deacon Sguropulos, Ioannes Domestikos Dukas, Ioannes Kladas, Manuel Argyropoulos, Manuel Blateros, Manuel Chrysaphes, Manuel Korones, Manuel Priest Ampelokepiotes, Markos Monk Xanthopulos, Michael Priest Propolas, Nikolaos Asan, Pherentes, Phokas Polites, Theodoros Domestikos of Kallikrateia, Theodoros Katakalon, Theophylaktos Argyropoulos, Xenos Korones. For a general survey of these composers, see M. VELIMIROVIĆ, *Byzantine Composers in Ms. Athens 2406*, in: *Essays presented to Egon Wellesz* (ed. J. WESTRUP). Oxford 1966, 7–18.
- 25 See the very instructive note added by the copist of the particular codex on fol. 291^r, immediately after the aforementioned bibliographical notice: "Εἰς αὐτὸ γοῦν τὸ ἔτος καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἵνδικτον ἐπαρέλαβεν ὁ Μαχουμέμπειεις τὴν ἐκ Θ(εο)ῦ ὀργισθεῖσαν Κωνσταντινούπολιν, πλὴν μαίῳ κθ', τῆς ἁγίας ὁσιομάρτυρος Θεοδωσίας, ἡμέρα τριτῇ, ὥρα πρώτη τῆς ἡμέρας. Καὶ ἐγένετο θρήνος καὶ οὐαὶ εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν κόσμον." See L. POLITES, *Κατάλογος χειρογράφων* 398, 404; cfr. GR. TH. STATHES, *Ἡ ἐξέλιξη τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς στὴ μεταβυζαντινὴ περίοδο*, in: *Ἀναφορὰ εἰς μνήμην Μητροπολίτου Σάρδεων Μαξίμου 1914–1986*, vol. 4. Geneva 1989, 432.
- 26 On the phenomenon of families of chanters, cfr. A. CHALDAEAKES, *Ψαλτικὲς "οἰκογένειες"*, vol. 1: *Οἱ Παιδестηνοί*, in: *Byzantine Musical Culture. First International Conference–Greece 2007*. Paeanea 2009, 157–209.
- 27 Cfr. VELIMIROVIĆ, *Byzantine Composers* 12f.
- 28 Seven poems by first chanter Xenos Korones are anthologized in this particular section of *koinonika* in all eight modes in the codex No. 2406 of the National Library of Greece: three Sunday *koinonika* (Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον, set in the first plagal mode respectively [fol. 261^r–262^r], the second plagal mode

Argyropulos (Theophylaktos and Manuel)²⁹, the Sguropulos (deacon Ioannes and domestikos Georgios)³⁰, and of course the Kladas, represented by Ioannes, the lampadarios of the charitable royal clergy, and by his anonymous daughter.³¹

2. The compositions:

Before proceeding to a detailed analysis of the compositions examined here, I would like to stress, as a preliminary remark, that the aesthetic dimension of any Byzantine or post-Byzantine composition is studied, interpreted and analyzed on three levels³²; namely:

- The primordial structure of the composition, resulting automatically from the structure of the poetical text on which the composition is based.
- The secondary morphology of its melos. Here remarks are made on the general musical makeup of the composition, consisting of particular sub-unities which the specialized researcher can easily recognize from the way the compositions' musical phrases are developed one after the other. Besides, this further segmen-

[fol. 263^r] and barys [fol. 265^v]); two koinonika dedicated to the Virgin Mary (Ποτήριον σωτηρίου λήψομαι, set in the second plagal mode nenano respectively [fol. 263^v] and the fourth plagal mode [fol. 271^r]); one koinonikon chanted in memory of saints (Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον, set in the second plagal mode nenano [fol. 263^r]); and one koinonikon for the Ascension (Ἀνέβη ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἀλαλαγμῷ, set in barys [fol. 267^{r-v}]). Together with these a composition by Korones' son Manuel is anthologized (a koinonikon for the Annonciation; see fol. 263^v: "Τοῦ νιοῦ αὐτοῦ, κύρ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Κορώνη· [ἦχος] πλ. β' Ἐξελέξατο, Κύριος, τὴν Σιών"), and another one attributed to Korones' brother Agathon (a Sunday koinonikon; see fol. 265^v-266^r: "Ποίημα κύρ Ἀγάθωνος μοναχοῦ τοῦ Κορώνη· [ἦχος] βαρὺς Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον").

- 29 To Theophylaktos three koinonika are attributed here (in the codex No. 2406 of the National Library of Greece): one Sunday koinonikon (see fol. 266^r: "Ἐτερον, τοῦ Ἀργυροποῦλου κύρ Θεοφυλάκτου [ἦχος] βαρὺς Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον"), one chanted in memory of saints (see fol. 269^{r-v}: "Θεοφυλάκτου τοῦ Ἀργυροποῦλου· [ἦχος] βαρὺς Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον") and one dedicated to the Virgin Mary (see fol. 256^r: "Τοῦ Ἀργυροποῦλου κύρ Θεοφυλάκτου, πολιτικόν· [ἦχος] γ' Ποτήριον σωτηρίου λήψομαι"); to Manuel are attributed two koinonika, both of them Sunday koinonika (see, respectively: fol. 267^v-268^r: "Ἐτερον κοινωνικόν, ποίημα κύρ Μανουὴλ μαΐστορος τοῦ Ἀργυροποῦλου· [ἦχος] βαρὺς Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον"; and fol. 271^v-272^r: "Ἐτερον, κύρ Μανουὴλ μαΐστορος τοῦ Ἀργυροποῦλου· [ἦχος] πλ. δ' Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον").
- 30 See, respectively, in the codex No. 2406 of the National Library of Greece: fol. 252^v-253^r: "Ἐτερον, ποίημα κύρ Ἰωάννου διακόνου τοῦ Σγουροποῦλου καὶ δομεστικοῦ τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας· [ἦχος] α' τετράφωνος Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται δικαίος"; and fol. 256^v-257^r: "Ἐτερον, τοῦ δομεστικοῦ κύρ Γεωργίου τοῦ Σγουροποῦλου· [ἦχος] γ' Ποτήριον σωτηρίου λήψομαι."
- 31 The composition of Kladas' daughter (anthologized on fol. 258^v of the codex No. 2406 of the National Library of Greece) is discussed here in detail. Her father, the lampadarios Ioannes Kladas, appears in the specific section of the same codex as the composer of 13 communion hymns; of them, nine are Sunday koinonika (Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον, set in the following modes: first [fol. 251^r and 251^{r-v}, two compositions], second [fol. 253^{r-v}], third [fol. 255^v-256^r], fourth [fol. 257^v-258^r], barys [fol. 266^v and 266^v-267^r, two compositions] and fourth plagal [fol. 270^v-271^r and 272^{r-v}, two compositions]); other four koinonika are dedicated to the Virgin Mary [Ποτήριον σωτηρίου λήψομαι, set in the following modes: third [fol. 256^{r-v}], fourth [fol. 258^{r-v}], first and barys [fol. 267^r] and fourth plagal [fol. 273^r]).
- 32 The remarks that follow reflect, in a concise form, my views on the subject which I develop in detail in my (forthcoming) monography entitled Introduction to the Morphology of Byzantine Music.

tation of the melos is also noted in a way which is more accessible even to a simple but attentive observer of the compositions' written form, i.e. by marking a dot where the poetic text of the composition is written to indicate the transition between musically different parts of the melody.³³ In other words, the (usually) extended and melismatically developed papadic compositions offer a peculiar, extremely interesting "morphological punctuation" which, quite understandably, is a very safe guide for the comprehension and exact identification of these secondary structural sub-unities of the composition.

The particular, subtler and more specific techniques of its setting. Here the musicologist focuses on the analysis, either simple or combined, of the melos that is developed in the aforementioned sub-unities. This "internal melic development" is achieved through specific techniques of melopoeia, such as the "repetition", the "restatement" (palillogy), the "literal imitation", the "alteration", the "restitution" (apodosis)³⁴, etc. Identifying of and commenting upon these data further contributes to shedding light on the thought process of the composer, the paths of his musical inspiration and the whole plan of his composition.

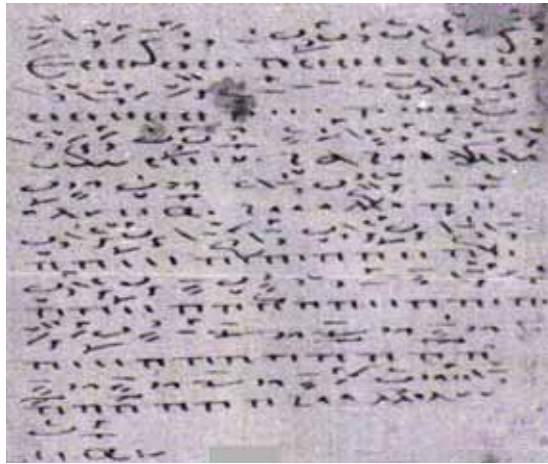
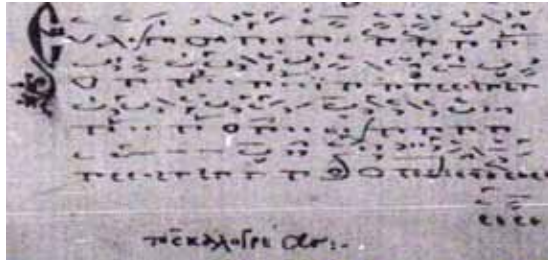
Based, therefore, on the aforementioned plan of analysis, I will subsequently present the works of the two female composers examined here:

The composition of the Nun is (as it has already been observed above) a verse from the first stasis of Kukumas' polyeleos. This means that it forms part of a broader psalm, viz. the 134th, whose structure is already determined by its creator: a psalmic verse (the semi-verse or another, even smaller part of one of the 21 verses comprising the psalm) and a refrain (ephymnion), which, in the psalm in question, is the *halleluia*³⁵:

33 See J. RAASTED, Some observations on the structure of the Stichera in Byzantine Rite, in: *Byzantion* 28 (1958) 529–541; IDEM, Intonation Formulas and Modal Signatures in Byzantine Musical Manuscripts. *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, Subsidia vol. 7. Copenhagen 1966, 55–76; cfr. CHR. TROELSGÅRD, Musical Notation and Oral Transmission of Byzantine Chant, in: *Classica et Mediaevalia* 50 (1999) 249–257; F. N. KRITIKOU, 'Ο Ἀκάθιστος Ὕμνος στὴ βυζαντινὴ καὶ μεταβυζαντινὴ μελοποιία. Athens 2004, 287; M. ALEXANDRU, Ἀναλυτικὲς προσεγγίσεις καὶ ἰχνηλασία τοῦ κάλλους στὴ Βυζαντινὴ Μουσικὴ. Ὁ εὐχαριστήριος ὕμνος Σὲ Ὑμνοῦμεν, in: *Μουσικὴ Θεωρία καὶ Ἀνάλυση – Μεθοδολογία καὶ Πράξη*. Πρακτικὰ Συμποσίου (ed. K. TSUGRAS). Salonica 2006, 321 (note 41).

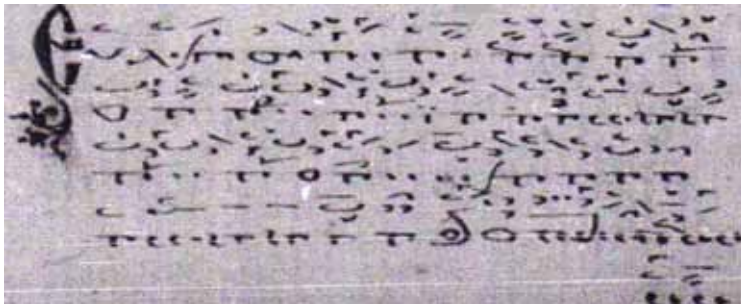
34 These are the techniques mentioned by CHRYSANTHOS, *Θεωρητικὸν Μέγα* 187–188 (§§ 419–123).

35 See CHALDAEAKES, Ὁ πολυέλεος 226–232.

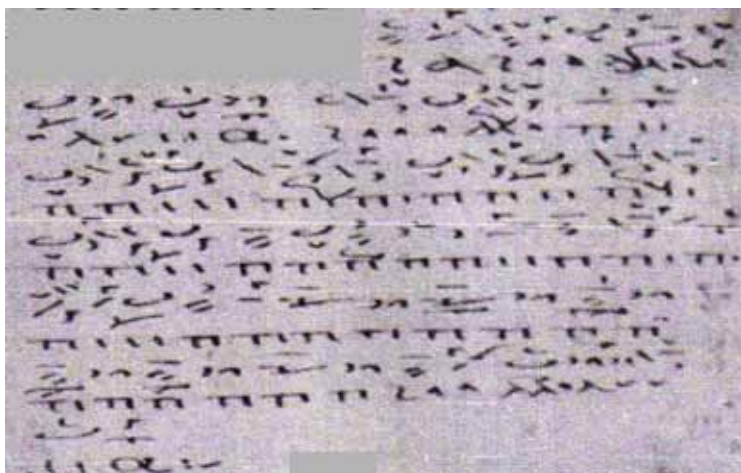


Thus, the composition originally consists of two parts: The first part is defined by the psalmic verse Εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον (or, more accurately, by the second semi-verse of verses 19 and 20 of Psalm 134) and the second part by the refrain halleluia:

PART A (Εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον):

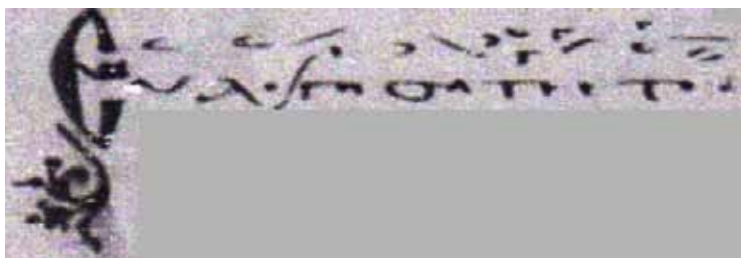


PART B (ἀλληλοῦια):

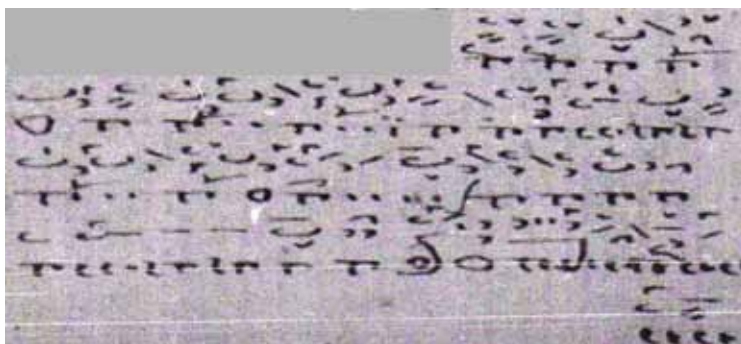


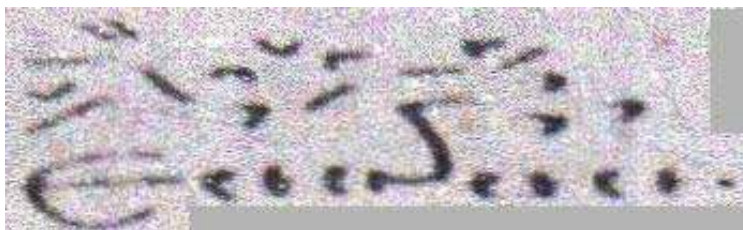
Each of the two parts of the composition is divided in three sub-unities which can be distinguished on the basis of changes in both the poetical text and the melos, but also of the clearly discernible “morphological punctuation”:

A1 (Εὐλογήσατε τὸ-):

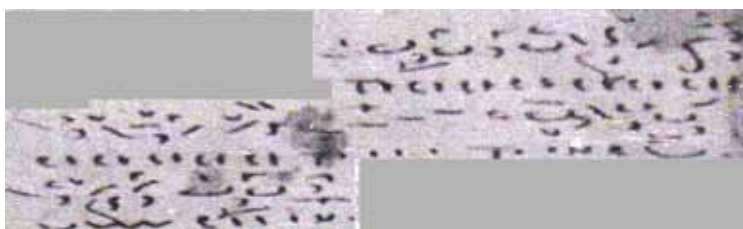


A2 (τοτοτο [...] – τερερε [...]):





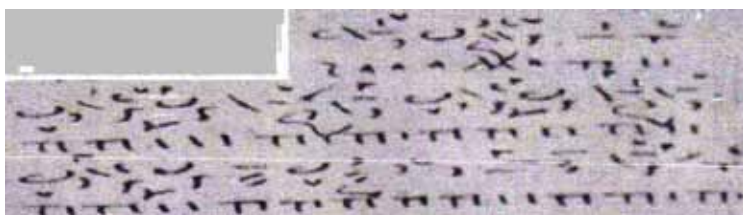
A3 (τερερε [...] – τὸν Κύριον):



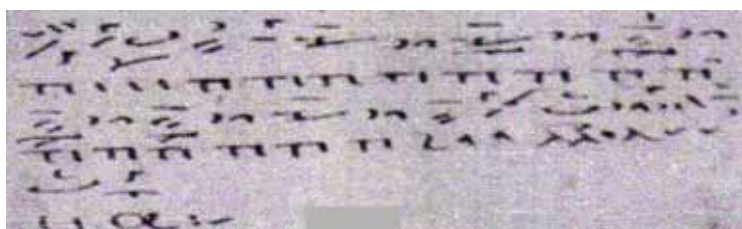
B1 ([v]α – [v] ἀλληλοῦα):



B2 ([v] ἀλλη – τιτι [...]):



B3 (τιτι [...] – [v]ἀλληλοῦα):



A.1

Diagram A.1 illustrates a DNA molecule with various restriction sites (D, D, F, E, D, CB, C, D) and associated labels (Eu, λo, γγ σd, τe, ε, ε, τo) indicating specific regions or features.

A.2

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

(Musical notation with notes and stems, including a double bar line and a repeat sign.)

TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO

TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO

D A D E D G F G F F E D E D D E D E

(Musical notation with notes and stems, including a double bar line and a repeat sign.)

TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO

TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO

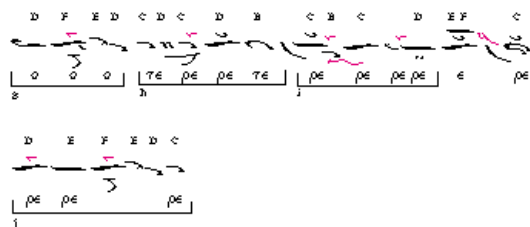
G F F E E D D B B C D E G D

(Musical notation with notes and stems, including a double bar line and a repeat sign.)

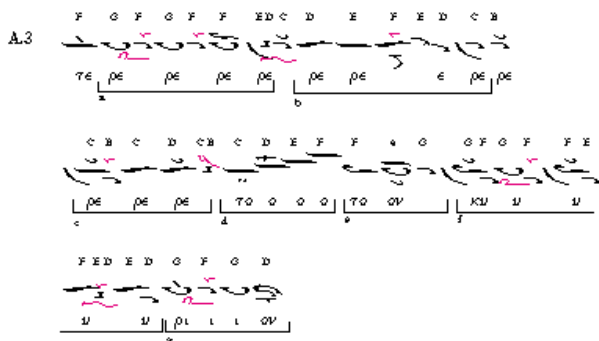
TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO

TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO TO

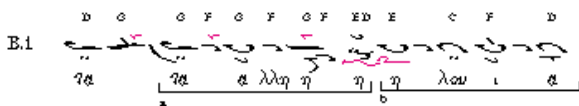
۴ ۵ ۶ ۷ ۸ ۹ ۱۰ ۱۱ ۱۲ ۱۳ ۱۴



This part of the composition (A2) is faintly linked to the next one (A3) with three musical phrases. These three formations which occur here in a dispersed way [A.2.e/A.2.i/A.2.j] are also used by the composer in part A3 [A.3.b/A.3.c/A.3.d], this time in a continuous form and in reversed order.



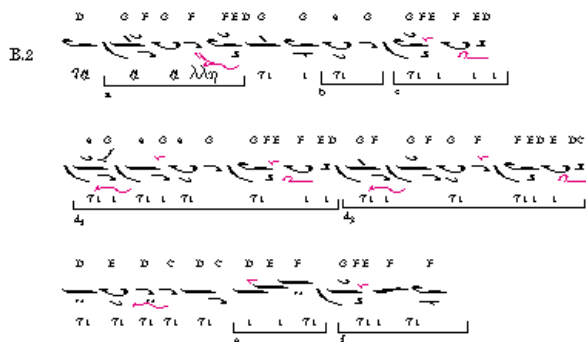
Part B1, as a counterpoint to part A1, functions as a “prologue” to the second part of the composition. It is developed on the basis of the descending tetrachord G–D [B.1.a] with a characteristic final cadence [B.1.b] at the end of the word halleluia.



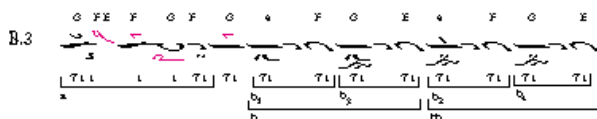
Part B2 is dominated by an extensive formula, which occurs, according to the technique of descending restatement (palillogy), twice: first beginning with note a [B.2.d₁] and then with note G [B.2.d₂]. The cadence of this part [B.2.f], stopping at the mode’s diphony, at note F, is also characteristic. This fact, assessed in its broader context and in connection with the previous (first) part of the composition, presents an interesting alternation of the particular cadences chosen by the composer⁴¹, an

41 Part A1 ends on the note D, part A2 on the note C and part A3 again on the note D. part B1 ends on the note D, part B2 (discussed here) on the note F and part B3 on D, respectively.

alternation which, while maintaining as a stable point of reference the basis of the mode (and therefore the tetrachord D-G), is also deployed in the nearby tetrachord C-F, the tetrachord of the fourth plagal mode.



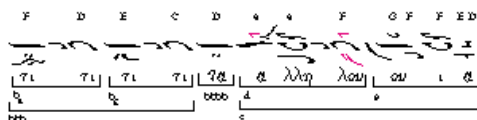
Part B3, which ends the composition, begins with a repetition of the final melodic formation of part B2 (which connects the two parts very harmoniously) [B.2.f – B.3.a]. This is followed by an impressively long “chain” of restatement (palillogy), mostly a descending one, with the same formation⁴², a formation which is obviously set using the “web” (plope)⁴³, occurring six times [B.3.b₁–b₆].⁴⁴ This part (and the whole composition) is consummated with a final halleluia [B.3.c], set upon the pentachord (a–D) of the first mode.



- 42 This formation is shaped four times by a xeron klasma and two more times (on either side of the aforementioned four) by a kratema; both of them are set on an ascending sign, followed by a descent of two voices:

The subsequent formation [B.3.d], shaped by the same melodic movement, but with the use of antikenoma and piasma, can be considered as a variation on the previous one:

- 43 According to CHRYSANTHOS, Θεωρητικὸν Μέγα 175 (§ 390), “[...] use (chresis) was the varied working-out of the chant” (see ROMANU, *Great Theory of Music* 179 [§ 390]); cfr. CHRYSANTHOS, Θεωρητικὸν Μέγα 175–176 (§ 392): “[...] web (plope) drops the notes one after the other at the distance of two or more discontinuous intervals, projecting the lower ones or the higher first” (see ROMANU, *Great Theory of Music* 180 [§ 392]).
- 44 Note, however, that this chain of musical phrases [B.3.b₁–b₆] might as well be considered – from a macrostructural point of view – as an integrated (developed following a quadruple sequence) descending (from the top to the basis of the pentachord of the first mode [a to D]) melodic line, which goes as follows: triple repetition of the same formula (consisting of a double web [plope] – a repetition that in the first two instances [B.3.b – B.3.bb] is strictly identical, whilst in the third one [B.3.bbb] is transposed lower by two tones, according to the technique of restatement [palillogy], and is, finally, completed, in a calm a simple way, at the basis of the mode [B.3.bbbb]).



In an attempt to analyse the whole composition from a macrostructural melic perspective, we might point out the following remarks:

- The core of the composition consists of a musical formula set in the frame of the descending basic tetrachord of the first mode (G–D). This formula, unchanged or, in most cases, with several variations (expanded or contracted) occurs at least twelve times in the composition.⁴⁵

The second – by frequency of use – musical formation, occurring six (or even seven) times, is another short formula (consisting of one ascending and two descending voices).⁴⁶ The essential difference, however, is that the first formula can be found in the entire composition; the formula in question though is only used in a part of the composition (in B3).

Other, regularly repeated formations by means of which the composer completes the construction of her composition is a scaled ascent of three or four notes⁴⁷, as well as the known development of *tromikon*.⁴⁸ Both of them occur three times.

The use of a limited number of musical formulas undoubtedly confers a sense of metre to the present composition. The composition is easy not only to learn but also to remember thanks to the harmonious and calculated assembly of the above-mentioned melodic phrases. Finally, since the whole composition is essentially developed on the basic tetrachord of the mode (D–G), its extremely limited vocal length⁴⁹ is not only suited perfectly for the monastic environments (from which, by definition, its composer evolved), but also facilitates its interpretation by female voices in a decisive way.⁵⁰

45 See the following formulas: A.2.b₁/ A.2.c₁/ A.2.b₂/ A.2.c₂/ A.2.d/ A.2.f/ A.3.a/ A.3.f/ A.3.g/ B.1.a/ B.2.a/ B.2.c/ B.2.d₁/ B.2.d₂/ B.3.e. (Cfr. *supra*, notes 38, 40).

46 See the formations B.3.b₁–b₆ και B.3.d. (Cfr. *supra*, notes 42, 44).

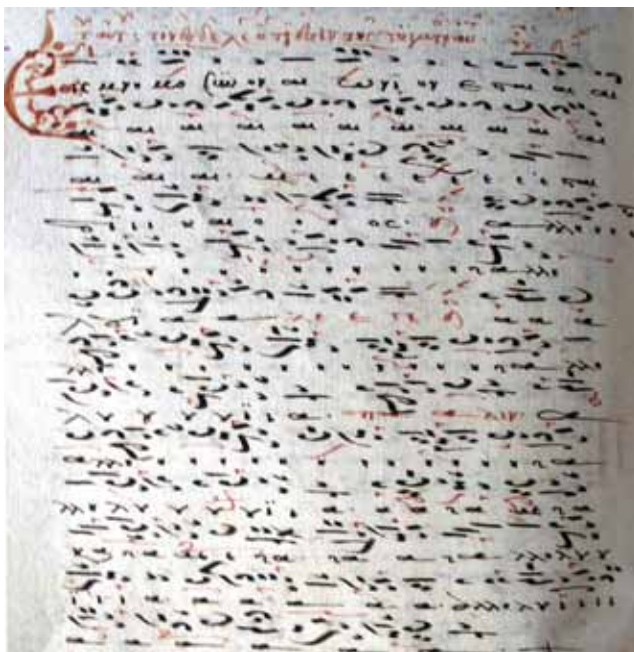
47 See the formations A.2.e/ A.3.d/ B.2.e. Of course, the *melos* here is developed according to the “straight direction”, as described by CHRYSANTHOS, *Θεωρητικὸν Μέγα* 175 (§ 391): “[...] straight is the direction which ascends in succeeding notes [...]” (see ROMANU, *Great Theory of Music* 179 [§ 391]).

48 See the formations A.2.g/ A.2.j/ A.3.b.

49 Note that on the accented tone, the *melos* strikes only once the note A of the lower vocal area (see A.2.b₂), while on the pitched tone it strikes six times the note a of the highest vocal area (see A.3.e/ B.2.f/ B.2.d₁/ B.3.b₁/ B.3.b₂/ B.3.d), thus forming – visually – a full scale; there are also some instances where the melody falls into the middle mode, at the note B of the lower vocal area (see A.1.b/ A.2.d–e/ A.2.h–i/ A.3.b–c).

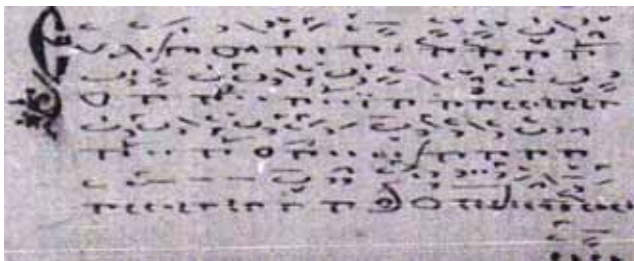
50 For more specific remarks on the female voice, see KORAKIDES, *Ἡ μουσικὴ ἀξία τῆς γυναικείας φωνῆς καὶ ἡ συμμετοχὴ τῆς στῆν ἐκκλησιαστικῇ μελωδίᾳ* 922–926 and IDEM, *Ἡ μουσικὴ ἀξία τῆς γυναικείας φωνῆς καὶ ἡ συμμετοχὴ στῆν ἐκκλησιαστικῇ μελωδίᾳ* 146–160.

The composition of Kladas' daughter is (as has been noted above) a koinonikon Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται δίκαιος, which can be considered as a koinonikon of the Week (suitable, notably, for Tuesday) or as a koinonikon chanted in memory of saints. Its structure (and, more generally, the structure of all communion hymns, whose poetic text is taken from David's psalms) is similar to the one of the previously analysed composition: it consists of a psalmic verse chosen in such a way as to befit the celebrated feast and the refrain (ephymnion) halleluia, which is very common in the psalms of David:

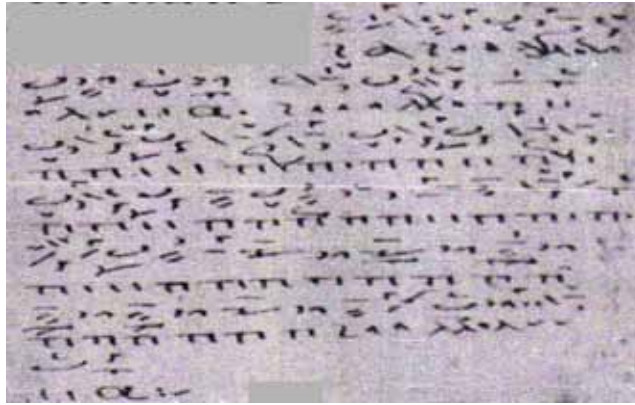


Thus, the composition is originally divided into two parts. The first part is defined by the psalmic verse Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται δίκαιος (Psalm 111, 6b) and the second one by the refrain halleluia:

PART A (Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται δίκαιος):

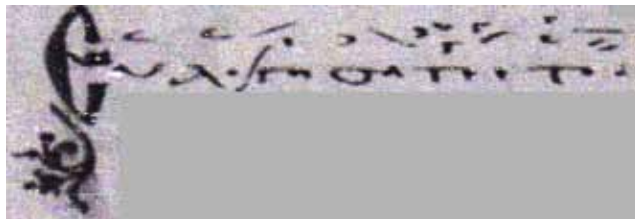


PART B (ἀλληλούια):

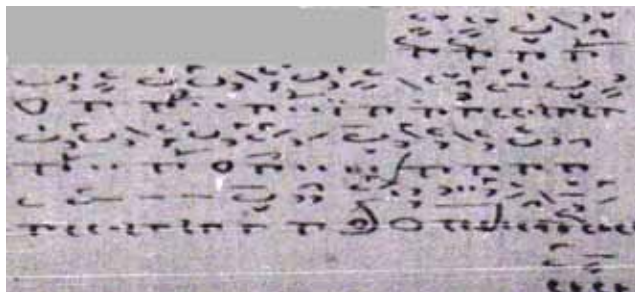


Each of the two parts of the composition is divided again according to the rhythm of the poetic text, the alternations of the melos and the clearly discernible “morphological punctuation”, in several sub-unities: two for the first part and eight for the second one:

A1 (Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται):



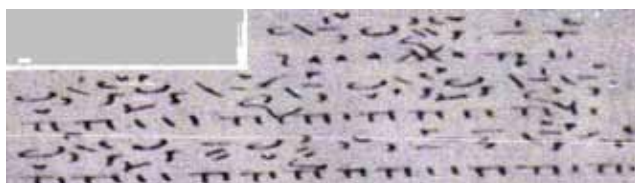
A2 ([νε] ἔσται δίκαιος):



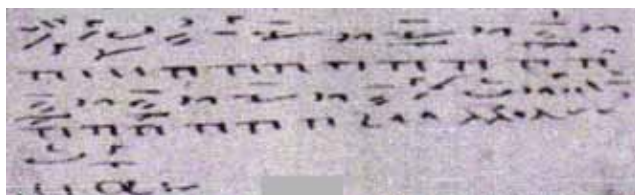
B1 (ἀλλη-[v]ἀλληλούια):



B2 (λέγε):⁵¹



B3 (ἀλλη-[v]ἀλληλούια):



B4 (πάλιν):



B5 (ἀλλη-[v]ἀλληλούια):



51 As one can see in the relevant facsimile, at the end of part B1 the usual final point is not marked, which could mean that the setting of the word λέγε was included in this part; nevertheless I separate it here, as part B2 – λέγε – considering it as a prelude to the next part B3 (halleluia), obviously matching the structure of the two subsequent parts (B4 [πάλιν] and B5 [halleluia]).

B6 (α – νανενα [...]):



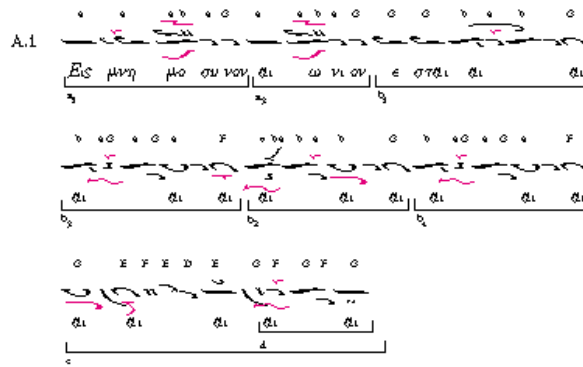
B7 ([ν]ἀλληλούια):



B8 (ἀλληλούια):



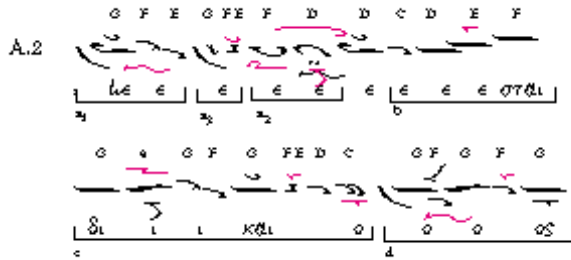
To be more specific, part A1 begins with a musical motive (a formula of parakletike) repeated twice [A.1.a₁–a₂]. It continues by using the technique of restatement (palliology), since the same musical phrase is repeated four times [A.1.b₁–b₄], and closes with a typical cadence on the basis of the fourth mode [A.1.d].



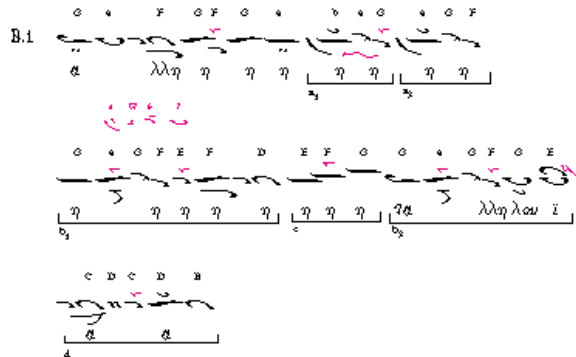
With exactly the same cadence also the part A2 [A.2.d] is completed, following the technique of restitution (apodosis).⁵² At the beginning of this part once more a triple

52 Cfr. CHRYSANTHOS, Θεωρητικὸν Μέγα 188 (§ 423): “Restitution is to compose for all the endings of the text’s periods one cadence, the melody of which extends to two or three four-beat measures, in the new sticherarion and up to several metres in the papadike [...]” (see ROMANU, Great Theory of Music 189 [§ 423]).

repetition of essentially the same⁵³ musical motive [A.2.a₁-a₃] occurs, while the melody progressively shifts to the fourth plagal mode before the end [A.2.c].



In part B1 one can distinguish two melodic lines: the first one is shorter, a formation presented as a double (descending) restatement (palillogy) [B.1.a₁-a₂], while the second one is more extended, a formula which (following the technique of repetition) occurs also twice [B.1.b₁-b₂]. The latter two repeated formulas are united by a scheme of scaled ascension of three notes [B.1.c]⁵⁴.

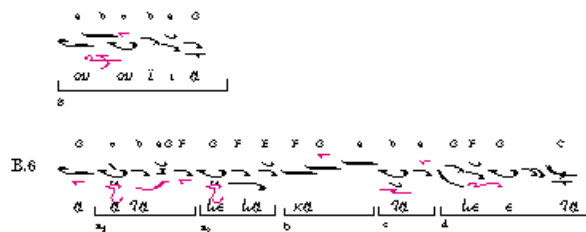


Parts B3 and B5 (introduced respectively by parts B2 and B4) are strictly identical. The melos (which is the same in both) is elaborate and precious, moving in high vocal areas, and – without using any special technique of recreating identical or similar musical motives – consists of a sequence of separate musical phrases or formations.⁵⁵

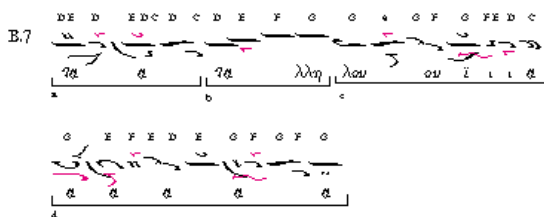
53 Despite the (in each case) differentiated notation, in all three formations the melodic movement is exactly the same; the only difference is that in the first two (A.2.a₁ and A.2.a₂) it is developed on a descending tone, inside the di-tone G-E, while in the third one (A.2.a₃) it is developed within the di-tone F-D.

54 A similar formation, developed of course in straight direction (cfr. *supra*, note 47), has been used by the composer in the previous part (see A.2.b).

55 I note, however, here the following (subsequent) formulas or formations: the kratema [B.3.a], the parakalesma [B.3.b] (a formula also used for the setting of part B4 [πάλιν]), the tromikon



In part B7, where the composer lets the melody shift back to the fourth mode⁵⁷, one can immediately recognize some interesting “internal musical loans”: the melos at the end of the word *halleluia* (syllables -*λοῦια*) [B.7.c] is strictly identical to the one at the word *dikaïos* in part A2 [A.2.b], while in the final cadence of this part [B.7.d.] the technique of the restitution (apodosi) is once again used, since the melos is exactly identical to the respective conclusion of part A1 [A.1.c]⁵⁸.

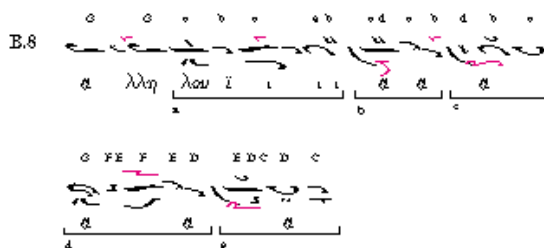


The composition is completed with part B8, a panegyric setting of the entire word *halleluia*, fairly elaborate and in high vocal areas⁵⁹. The melos, quite surprisingly, does not end on the note G, viz. the base of the fourth mode, which is the main mode of the composition, but on the base of the fourth plagal mode, the note C. This final part may also be considered as a “summary” of the phonetic range of the whole composition, since – despite its shortness – it extends from the note C of the middle vocal area to the note d of the high one.

57 This is achieved through a formation of homalon [B.7.a] at the beginning and subsequently with a scaled ascent of four notes [B.7.b.]; note that this is the fourth time that the latter melodic scheme of straight use is used in the present composition (cfr. *supra*, notes 54 and 56).

58 Cfr. TULIATOS-BANKER, *Women Composers of Medieval Byzantine Chant* 65: “A double cadence concludes the setting of the antiphon proper. The second cadence which precedes the refrain is composed of a GFGFG motive that brings that portion of the chant to a close on the final G. However, the refrain of the chant does not end on the expected final but rather a fifth lower on G. The cadential formula is a pentachord G to C, which is identified with the lettered brackets C in Example 1. In the final cadence of the refrain, this formula appears in an extended sequential form. In its five-note form, it is the cadence for the fourth *halleluia* statement and is the first of a double cadence for the setting of the Antiphon proper.”

59 Here are also various formulas or formations used such as: kratema with antikenoma [B.8.a], tromikon [B.8.b], antikenokylisma [B.8.c], kratema with psephiston [B.8.d] and lygisma [B.8.e].



From a macrostructural perspective, the composition seems to rely mainly on the calophonic elaboration of the refrain halleluia, undertaken in its second part. Precisely because of the intended melic elaboration, no specific formulas are distinguished, but there is a plethora of elaborated and often sophisticated musical motives which follow each other in order to embellish the whole chant.⁶⁰ Nevertheless, as we have already observed above in our microstructural analysis of the composition, the composer limits herself to simpler musical lines with repetitive musical motives, especially in the first part of her composition, where several formulas (such as those of parakletike, parakalesma, tromikon, etc.) are constantly used; moreover, it is extremely interesting that the same formulas are also found in parts B1, B7 and B8 of the composition, which are placed at both sides of the aforementioned calophonic elaboration of halleluia⁶¹. It would not, therefore, be groundless to claim that, beside the above noted obvious and understandable morphological division of the composition in two unequal parts, there is another (latent) division, also in two parts: one simple and classical (A1, A2, B1, B7, B8) and the other more elaborate and calophonic (B2–B6), inserted into the first one. This second division, which is more equal in comparison to the first one, and the subsequent successful attempt to keep the balance between a series of polarized oppositions (old vs. new, classical vs. elaborate, traditional vs. innovative and so on) is, to my opinion, the

60 It must, however, be noted that in this part the technique of repetition is also applied in a macrostructural perspective, i.e. not inside just one part of the composition (with the repetition of a musical formula) but in its totality (with the repetition of one full part). Should we try to “deconstruct” this kalophonic part of the composition (exempting the hortative imperatives *λέγε* and *πάλιν* – that support the repetition of the musical motive of halleluia – and limiting ourselves to the simple – and not double – quoting of the refrain, with the *nenanismos* in the end), the remaining melos would also be limited, both in extent and in melic sophistication, as follows:



61 It is worth noting that at the end of part B1 is used a formula of homalon [B.1.d], which we have also observed in the composition of the Nun (in part A2 [A.2.h]), written in exactly the same manner and tonality. Given the fact that the two compositions belong to entirely different kinds (polyeleos and koinonikon respectively) and are set in different modes (first and fourth respectively), this “coincidence” is not what one might anticipate, and is therefore very remarkable.

most important (albeit latent) parameter of the musical proposition presented here by the composer.

3. Remarks:

The two compositions analysed above are typical examples of papadic melopoeia. Despite the fact that they belong to different kinds of psalmody (the first one being a polyeleos verse, the second one a communion hymn), both of them belong to the same kind of melopoeia (i.e. the papadic one), and therefore display obvious similarities, which is also highlighted by their common basic structure (they both consist of two parts, of which the first one sets a psalmic verse and the second one the typical refrain halleluia). Nevertheless, as their respective analysis has clearly showed, their differences are much more remarkable both in their morphological structure and in their whole melodic elaboration:

The composition of the Nun clearly displays an admirable equilibrium between its two parts. In the first part, between the two words of the psalmic hemistich (εὐλογήσατε and κύριον), the composer inserts a kratema consisting of nonsense syllables which are homophonic to the article (τὸν) existing between the aforementioned words. Observe the characteristic threefold structure of this first part: in part A1 are deployed the word Εὐλογήσατε and the beginning of the kratema (το) that follows; part A2 is occupied by the kratema, deployed almost entirely upon the syllables τοτοτο (formed, as it has been observed above, in such a manner as to produce homophony with the article τὸν) which only at the end of this part are transformed into the corresponding syllables terere; next comes part A3, in which the remaining portion of the psalmic hemistich (τὸν Κύριον) is set, preceded though by the kratema terere, as a prolongation of part A2. Thus the kratema (part A2) is not simply inserted by the composer between the two words of the poetic text, but seems to “penetrate” them harmonically, through both the corresponding preparation (in part A1) and its extension (in part A3). It also needs to be noted that the extension of the first part of that kind of composition (where the psalmic verse is deployed, i.e. a poetic text with a clear meaning which should normally be easily understood by the listener) is not a usual practice. From this point of view, the composer does innovate; however, it is probable that she considered this kind of “innovation” as a necessary means to obtain the overall equilibrium that characterizes her composition. Indeed, close observation shows that the second part of the composition displays a similar makeup concerning both the extent of the melody and the morphological structure. There is an equivalent kratema inserted exactly in the middle of the one and only word that constitutes the poetical text, i.e. the word halleluia. Observe again: in part B1 the entire word halleluia is set; part B1 consists of a kratema, which once again is not developed independently, but on the syllable -λη of the word halleluia (a syllable occupying the exact middle of the word), a homophonic kratema formed by the syllables τιτιτι; finally, in part B3 the entire refrain (the word halleluia) is repeated,

immediately after the kratema τιτιτι. In other words, the inserted kratema "penetrates", as an extension and harmonic connection, not the words of a phrase, but the syllables of a word of the poetical text.

On the contrary, the composition of Εὐλογήσατε τὸν Κύριον Kladas' daughter follows, in a more conventional way, the traditional melic standards of its time. There is a clearly discernible disequilibrium between its first and its second part regarding both the extent of the melos and the morphological structure. In the first part (based on the psalmic text Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται δικαίος), the key-word is the verb ἔσται, which, by means of a melic extension, divides the two portions of the first part: A1 (Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον ἔσται) and A2 (beginning with a repetition of the verb, after an emphatic syllable which does not belong to the traditional poetical text: (νε) ἔσται δικαίος. Thus, instead of a more conventional division of the poetical text in two equal parts (e.g. Εἰς μνημόσυνον αἰώνιον // ἔσται δικαίος), we have here two unequal parts, with the extensively set verb ἔσται "penetrating" (in a proportional fashion) both of them. The melic center of gravity of the composition is, however, being shifted to its second part, with the exclusive setting of the refrain (halleluia). Essentially, one notes here the usual ecclesiastical practice of repeating this refrain three times: observe the parts B1, B7 and B8, where the halleluia is being set three times in a row. However, this common triple repetition of the refrain is intertwined with a further melic elaboration of the same word, structured according to the then widely diffused practice of twice repeating the halleluia by using the (non related to the poetic text) words λέγε and πάλιν (which are usually referred to as "hortative imperatives"): observe the parts B2–B3 and B4–B5, where we have a double repetition of halleluia (a repetition which is not only verbal but also musical, since the melos in parts B3 and B5 is strictly identical), preceded, respectively, by the two aforementioned words. These words function as a (mental) invitation to the chanter: λέγε (imperative of the verb λέγω = to say) and πάλιν = again (here of course one must infer the previous imperative, i.e. "say [= chant] again"); at the same time, from a melic point of view, they constitute a tangible evidence of the special morphological division of the composition into equal additional parts. This division is discernible not only visually (the two words are marked in red ink, contrary to the rest of the text written in black ink), but also musically, since these words are sung by a soloist, whilst the rest of the composition is chanted by the choir. Finally, this "musical commentary" upon the refrain halleluia is concluded with part B6, a part that duly completes the melic sophistication of the refrain (through the addition of a kratema) and at the same time functions as a harmonious introduction (according to the logic of "preparation", a popular practice of the composers) to the parts that follow: observe that the kratema here is informed homophonically to the initial letter of the word halleluia (α – νανενα), i.e. the word which the immediately following part (B7) of the composition begins with. Thus, the refrain is repeated five times in all.

4. Conclusion:

What is the (obvious or latent) “message” inherent in these two compositions, which are, at least up to the present day, the only musical products of female composers?

The composition of the Nun shows an admirable equilibrium both in its general construction and in its constitutive parts. It looks like a perfectly executed “embroidery”, brocaded with extraordinary diligence and care, which “ornates” the broader composition of the Kukumas’ polyleos. It is characterised by its flawless order, an element which, albeit (partially) present in the respective works of male composers, finds here its most unadulterated expression.

The composition of the Kladas’ daughter, also extremely interesting and finely constructed, does not seem to display any clearly discernible difference from other similar compositions elaborated by male musical creators. This is a conclusion to which we are led by a first glance (superficial) assessment. Nevertheless, its internal division into equal parts, as it has been analysed in detail above, marks a sharp contrast to its obvious unequal structure and cannot go uncommented. From it emanates interiority, a secretiveness (whose aim is, of course, symmetry) that can be interpreted as a carefully hidden manifestation of female sensibility.

Using the eye of my imagination, I try to “see” the two women: The first one, dwelling (very probably) in a monastic environment (and therefore enjoying a social and ideological “autonomy”) during the period of the absolute bloom of Byzantine civilization, seems free to express herself according to her nature, to directly and spontaneously manifest her feelings and inspiration, even in the frame of an artistic milieu that was not particularly “favourable” to women. The second one, living under the heavy shadow of a famous father, in a cosmopolitan environment, but in a time of absolute decline and generalized artistic backlash, expresses, through female cunning, a latent reaction, a secret and silent “voice of protest”, a “codified” – impenetrable to the many (but not to the initiated few) – divergence from the musical standards and techniques that were established and widely used by the rest of her (male) colleagues. Both women, however, share a common goal: metre.

And I come to wonder: Could this ordained, well-balanced and moderate spirit that permeates both compositions, either explicitly or implicitly, be the specific contribution of a female composer to Byzantine melopoeia?

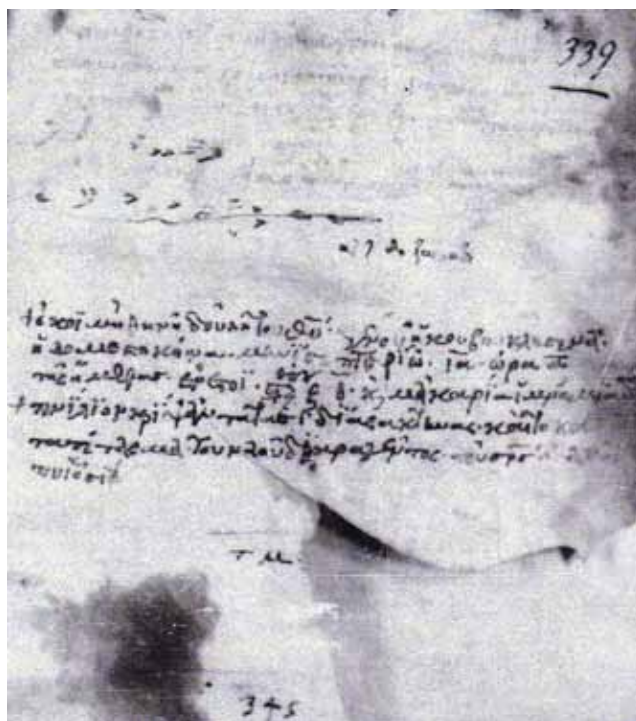
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Codex No. C 71 of the Great Laura monastery on Mount Athos, fol. 339^r

The Nun's composition

[codex No. 399 of Koutloumousiou monastery in Mount Athos, fol. 61^v]

Handwritten musical notation for 'The Nun's composition' on the left page of a manuscript. The notation is in a single system with ten staves. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notes are written in a stylized, handwritten manner, with some notes having red markings above them. The text is in Greek, written in a cursive script below the notes.

Handwritten musical notation for 'The Nun's composition' on the right page of a manuscript. The notation is in a single system with ten staves. Each staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notes are written in a stylized, handwritten manner, with some notes having red markings above them. The text is in Greek, written in a cursive script below the notes.



The Kladas' daughter composition
[index No. 2406 of the National Library of Greece, fol. 258^v]



The image displays two staves of handwritten musical notation, likely representing a Byzantine Melopoeia. The notation is written on five-line staves with a red treble clef. The notes are represented by various symbols, including Greek letters (alpha, beta, gamma, delta, epsilon, zeta, eta, theta, iota, kappa, lambda, mu, nu, xi, omicron, pi, rho, sigma, tau, upsilon, phi, chi, psi, omega) and other symbols (alpha, beta, gamma, delta, epsilon, zeta, eta, theta, iota, kappa, lambda, mu, nu, xi, omicron, pi, rho, sigma, tau, upsilon, phi, chi, psi, omega). The notation is written in black ink, with some red ink used for accents or specific notes. The first staff contains 10 lines of notation, and the second staff contains 10 lines of notation. The notation is complex and appears to be a form of musical shorthand or a specific notation system used in Byzantine Melopoeia.

