Christos Kakalis

In the Orality/Aurality of the Book
Inclusivity and Liturgical Language

Abstract

This article examines the role of language in the constitution of a common identity through its liturgical use at the Eastern Orthodox church of St Andrew's in Edinburgh, Scotland. Open to individuals who have relocated, the parish has a rather multinational character. It is a place of worship for populations that consider Christian Orthodox culture part of their long-established collective identity and for recent converts. Based on ethnographic research, archival work and theoretical contextualisation, the article examines the atmospheric materiality of the written text as performed by the readers, the choir and the clergy. This soundscape is an amalgam of different kinds of reading: prose, chanted prose, chanting and antiphonic, depending the part of the Liturgy being read. The language of the book is performative: the choreography and its symbolisms perform the words of the texts and vice versa. Additionally, the use of at least four languages in every service and two Eastern Orthodox chanting styles in combination with European influences expresses in the most tangible way the religious inclusivity that has been carefully cultivated in this parish. Through closer examination of literary transformation processes, I demonstrate the role of liturgical language in the creation of communal space-times that negotiate ideas of home and belonging in a new land.

Biography

Christos Kakalis holds a PhD in architecture from the Edinburgh School of Architecture and Landscape Architecture and is a Senior Lecturer in Architecture at the School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape of Newcastle University. His work focuses on the embodied experience of architecture and the natural landscape with special emphasis on the role of atmosphere. He is the author of the monograph *Architecture and Silence* (Routledge, October 2019). He has edited (with Emily Goetsch) *Mountains, Mobilities and Movement* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), (with Mark Dorrian) *The Place of Silence: Architecture/Media/Philosophy* (Bloomsbury, December 2019) and (with Martin Beattie and Matthew Ozga Lawn) *Mountains and Megastructures: Neo-Geologic Landscapes of Human Endeavour* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).

Introduction

In 2011, the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of Thyateira and Great Britain, under Archbishop Gregorios, published the *Divine Liturgy* as translated from ancient Greek to English by the priest Ephrem Lash.[1] The book, in a dark red cover, is small (slightly smaller than A5) and made to be held by parishioners during the service. Each spread of the book has the ancient Greek text on the left page and its English translation on the right page, as well as instructions for the choreography of the rituals and clearly marked gaps for the parts of the liturgy that change depending on the date. Underlining the significance of English as a common language in Orthodox Christian parishes of the United Kingdom, this small red book is acquired by most of the parishioners of St Andrew's Orthodox Church in Edinburgh, Scotland, from the very beginning of their participation in the services. The congregation does not need the book, however, to contribute actively to the chanting, a tradition that has long since faded out, giving to the choir and deacon the role of living bridge between congregation and clergy. The parishioners of St Andrew's use this small red book to ease their unfamiliarity with the worshipping environment by following the texts on the right page; the text on the left pages may not relate to their background, which for some worshippers is Russian, British or Rumanian or even French or Chinese and therefore associated with languages that are not traditionally connected to Orthodox culture.

Books have played an important role in Orthodox Christian rituals since Byzantine times.[2] Handwritten manuscripts preceded the invention of typography, which enabled the texts' production and wider dissemination, while their liturgical use has developed and become an important way of communicating knowledge. Religious books can be divided into two main categories: books of personal/private/individual prayer and books used during services of collective prayer – the Divine Liturgy, Matins, Vespers and so forth. In both cases, there is a performative element in the way the book as an object is carried and used, contributing to the materiality of private prayer spaces and the church. In the case of collective services, the rituals and the texts constantly interact.

In this article, I examine the role of language in the creation of inclusive religious auralities at the multinational Orthodox Community of St Andrew in Edinburgh. With the term "aurality", I describe the materiality of a place's

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1   https://orthodoxwiki.org/EPHREM_(LASH) [accessed 20 July 2020].

2   Aston 2004, Földváry 2008.

intangible qualities such as sound, odours and light, which while not perceived visually, still contribute to the phenomenal spatiality of the examined places, filling the spaces between tangible components.[3] In unpacking the transformation of text into sound, I argue about a repositioning of personal and collective identity, from a more ethnic understanding to a more inclusive one, emerging during the religious activities.

This is not the first time that social fields such as transnational religious places have been approached from the perspective of the constitution of identity.[4] People choose to participate in the activities of a religious institution in the hope of a more settled sense of belonging, which is connected to deep existential quests and their inherited backgrounds. Since late 1990s, sociological scholarship has emphasised the need for the "transtemporal" and "translocative" in the creation of new geographies through religion by migrants.[5] In these geographies, the locals and non-locals are interconnected in practices that re-enact identity, an identity that goes beyond the limits of the country in which they co-exist to reach the home countries of the migrants as well.[6] Ethnographic research via interviews and observation and the study of archival material and secondary sources are combined here to further unfold these processes.

The St Andrew's community in Edinburgh was established in 1948 by the Polish priest John Sotnikov for a very small congregation, composed mainly of Polish soldiers from Stalin's forces who had been demobilised in Britain at the end of the Second World War. Russians, Greeks and very few British were the yeast of today's 200-strong congregation, who come from around thirty countries. Because of the differences in national and cultural backgrounds, language has become one of the key components for the establishment and development of the community. A series of literary transformative processes has created a field of worshipping interactions between members of the parish in various spaces, many of which were not constructed for religious purposes. Translations, transliterations and musical transcriptions have been combined to produce the soundscape needed for a transnational community that while not unique, is also not what might be considered a "mainstream" Orthodox Christian congregation. In the St Andrew's community, the minority

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3   On aurality, atmosphere, ambience, attunement see Griffero 2014, Böhme 2018 and Pérez-Gómez 2016.
4   Levitt/Glick 2004.
5   Tweed 2009.
6   Levitt/Glick 2004, 1027.

citizens are the majority and locals (from the United Kingdom) are only one group within it.

Focusing on the role of books in Orthodox Christian praxis, I argue that the amalgamation of two ways of ordering the services, a more normative one (based on formal documents) and a more organic one (based on the parish's needs) has allowed the community to produce its own soundscape. In its aural experience (heard or performed), "identity" as traditionally understood, mainly related to the nation state and ethnic background, is repositioned as a multi-vocal condition. This repositioning is the result of controlled and flexible transformations that respect the background of individuals and groups that are part of the community.

Placing Books in Order

In Orthodox Christian tradition, a rotating four-sided lectern has been gradually developed as a furniture piece that holds the books at an angle in order that the members of the choir can more easily read the parts of the liturgies.[7] Placed on the angled surfaces of the lectern, variously sized books can be read undisturbed by a group of people standing in front of them or around them. The rotating lectern focuses the gaze of the cantors and facilitates the transformation of the texts into sound in the form of prose reading, melismatic reading and chanting. Due to the antiphonic character of the Byzantine Liturgy, traditionally we find two lecterns in the zone in front of the sanctuary, providing the conditions for discursive chanting and reading. In the St Andrew's parish, there is only one lectern, usually placed where there is sufficient space for the cantors to stand.

The number of books and use of rotating lecterns follow the Eastern Orthodox Christian tradition that organises its calendar according to a "feast cycle" based on the events of the life of Christ, the Mother of God and the Saints. The main theme is the Resurrection of Christ, celebrated at Easter, the first Sunday after the full moon of the vernal equinox. Thus, a "moving" festival cycle related to the fifty days of the preparation for Easter (Great Lent) and the fifty days

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7   The introduction of this piece to Orthodox Christian worship cannot be precisely dated. It is not included in the sketches and descriptions made by 18th-century Russian pilgrim to Mount Athos Vasil Grigorovich Barsky in his depictions of liturgical practice at the Great Lavra Monastery. Earlier depictions and written descriptions contain *diskeli* ("of two legs"), which is closer to a typical music lectern.
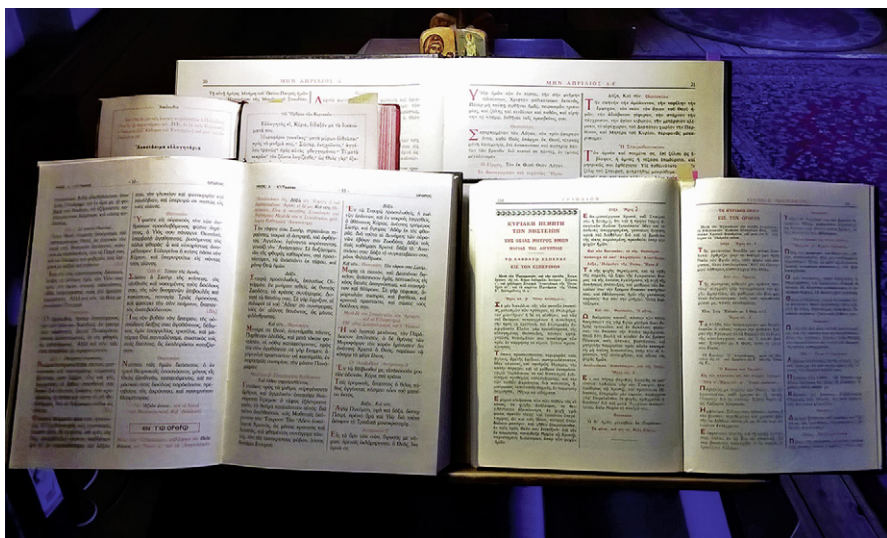
Fig. 1: Books arranged for Matins on a Lenten Sunday, at the chapel of St Andrew's in April 2020. (Photo by the author)

after it (Pentecost) is combined with a fixed cycle. The main "canonical" (and fixed) calendar is organised around the "Twelve Feasts" (*Dodekaorton*), twelve to sixteen key events of the Orthodox faith celebrated on fixed days. Furthermore, each day of the week (recollecting the seven days of the creation) is dedicated to an important religious event. This normative order of time and services is based on formal documents, named *Typikon*, that are the products of synodical meetings and established traditions.[8]

Space and time are incorporated in the liturgical use of the book. In figure 1 we see the book arrangement for Matins on a Lenten Sunday in April 2020 at the chapel of St Andrew's. The books are placed in the order to be used, merging the moving and fixed calendars. Hence, books such as the *Triodion* (The Three Odes) and *Pentikostarion* (The Book of the Fifty Days) refer to the texts to be read during the Great Lent and the Fifty Days that follow it, until the celebration of Pentecost. In parallel, we have books of the fixed liturgical calendar, such as the *Menaion* (The Book for the Month) or the *Festal Menaion* (important feasts of the fixed calendar). *Typikon* suggests a complex system of liturgical worship in which these books are combined in different ways to facilitate the readings of the services. Very few prayers are read "silently" by

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8   Getcha 2009.

the priest during the services, leaving the emphasis on the sonorous expression of the books and including these moments of silence in the animation of the ritual soundscape.

In figure 2 an A4 sheet of paper of Choir instructions for Palm Sunday in April 1988 is depicted. It is signed by the priest-in-charge then, Archimandrite John Maitland Moir. It is a collage of hymns (*antiphons*) in English, Greek and Russian and instructions about Matins and the Liturgy. A closer look reveals again a merging of moving and fixed calendars: the choir is to read from the *Lenten Triodion* and from books usually used for the Divine Liturgy (fixed calendar). Different languages and different calendars are all depicted on this compressed transcription of the Liturgy.

In the case of St Andrew's, we find an amalgamation of two kinds of normative liturgical orders: the *Typikon* of Constantinople, practised in Greece and the churches under the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and the *Typikon* of Jerusalem, practised in Russia and Balkan countries such as Serbia. This amalgamation is based on a careful organisation of the components of the services to meet the worshipping needs of the community, greatly informed by its demographic dynamics. Three languages are used: Greek (mainly related to the *Typikon* of Constantinople), Old Slavonic (connected to the *Typikon* of Jerusalem) and English, as the common language of the different national groups. In parallel, two musical notations are deployed, the European (used for the polyphonic Slavonic chanting) and the Byzantine (used for the Byzantine chanting).

The parallel use of the two *typika* introduces a temporal dimension. The *Typikon* of Jerusalem still follows the Julian calendar, which was replaced by the Gregorian calendar (which we still use) during the sixteenth century. The former is currently thirteen days behind the latter. The periods of daylight and darkness are divided into twelve equal parts of one hour.[9] Additionally, the division of Orthodox Christian music into eight modes (tones) influences the liturgical soundscape, as the chanting of each week of the year follows the sequence of the eight modes. At every ninth week, the musical tone goes back to the first, continuing a repetitive pattern that is interrupted by the moving elements of the festive calendar.

A closer look at the construction of this page of instructions introduces us to the way in which the community was established and developed. It is one of

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9   For example, Christmas and the feast of the Holy Protection of the Theotokos (Pokrov in Slavonic) were worshipped in both the Old Calendar and the New Calendar. The feasts of St Nicholas and St Seraphim of Sarov were celebrated only in the Old Calendar.

Handwritten note at top right:
Great Tenor, not too much of one language

PALM SUNDAY 1st Sunday of April 1988.

① BLESSING OF PALMS

Lenten Triodion pp. 495 f

Psalm 50 (51) while the priest does the introductory censing; then the prayer of blessing, followed by "Glory be to the Father ..." &c ("Have mercy upon me ..." at the top of p. 496 is the first verse of the Psalm repeated) down to "Hosanna in the highest."

② THE LITURGY

Antiphons of the Feast: ✳

Antiphon One
TONE TWO

℣1. I am filled with love, for the Lord will hear the voice of my supplication (*Psalm 114: 1*).

At the prayers of the Theotokos, save us, O Saviour.

2. The anguish of death encompassed me, the perils of hell beset me (*ibid.*, 3).

At the prayers of the Theotokos. . . .

℣3. I found tribulation and anguish, and I called upon the Name of the Lord (*ibid.*, 3–4).

At the prayers of the Theotokos. . . .

℣4. I will walk acceptably before the Lord in the land of the living (*ibid.*, 9).

At the prayers of the Theotokos. . . .

Glory be to the Father. . . . Both now. . . .

At the prayers of the Theotokos. . . .

Antiphon Two
SAME TONE

℣1. I believed, and therefore have I spoken: but I was deeply humiliated (*Psalm 115: 1*).

☊ Son of God, who wast seated on the foal of an ass, save us who sing to Thee: Alleluia.

℣2. What shall I render unto the Lord, for all His benefits unto me? (*ibid.*, 3).

O Son of God. . . .

℣3. I will take the cup of salvation, and I will call upon the Name of the Lord (*ibid.*, 4).

O Son of God. . . .

℣4. I will pay my vows unto the Lord in the presence of all His people (*ibid.*, 9).

O Son of God. . . .

Glory be to the Father. . . . Both now. . . .

O only-begotten Son and Word of God. . . .

Handwritten: ✳ I suggest verses for each antiphon — English, refrains in 3 languages

'Αντίφωνα.

α'. — Ταῖς πρεσβείαις τῆς Θεοτόκου.

Στίχ. Ἠγάπησα, ὅτι εἰσακούσεται Κύριος τῆς φωνῆς τῆς δεήσεώς μου.

Περιέσχον με ὠδῖνες θανάτου, κίνδυνοι Ἄδου εὕροσάν με. Θλῖψιν καὶ ὀδύνην εὗρον καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου ἐπεκαλεσάμην. Εὐαρεστήσω ἐνώπιον Κυρίου ἐν χώρᾳ ζώντων.

β'. — Σῶσον ἡμᾶς, Υἱὲ Θεοῦ, ὁ ἐπὶ πώλου ὄνου καθεσθείς, ψάλλοντάς Σοι Ἀλληλούϊα.

Στίχ. Ἐπίστευσα, διὸ ἐλάλησα· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐταπεινώθην σφόδρα. Τί ἀνταποδώσω τῷ Κυρίῳ περὶ πάντων, ὧν ἀνταπέδωκέ μοι; Ποτήριον σωτηρίου λήψομαι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου ἐπικαλέσομαι. Τὰς εὐχάς μου τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀποδώσω ἐναντίον παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ.

Δόξα, καὶ νῦν.

Ὁ μονογενὴς Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ.

I ANTIPHON

Возлюбих, яко услышит Господь глас моления моего.

Молитвами Богородици, Спасе, спаси нас.

Яко приклони ухо Свое мні, і во дни моя призову.

Молитвами Бого.:

Обяша мя болізни смертния, біди адови обрітоша мя.

Молитвами Бого.:

Скорб і болізнь обрітох, і імя господне призвах.

Молитвами Бого.:

II АНТIPHON

Віровах, тімже возглаголах: аз же смирихся зіло.

Спаси ни, Сине Божий, возсідий на жребя, поющія ти: аллилуя.

Что воздам Господеви о всіх, яже воздаде ми;

Спаси ни, Сине:

Чашу спасенія приму, і імя господне призову.

Спаси ни, Сине:

Молитви моя Господеви воздам пред всіми людьми его.

Спаси ни, Сине:

Fig. 2: Choir instructions for Palm Sunday in 1988. (courtesy of Mr Thomas Francis Nicholas Donald)

four A4 sheets (as shown on the stapling at the upper left). Handwritten notes by the Archimandrite John Maitland Moir open the instructions, followed by pieces of copied liturgical books in different languages (Greek, Slavonic and English). The pieces have been hand cut and glued on the paper without attention to their visual/aesthetic impression, but in accurate liturgical order. The gaps between the glued cut-out pieces, given in black when photocopied, testify to the physical effort that was invested in making the document. The clarity in the instructions (expressed in the handwritten bridges between the pieces) and ritual order testify to the mental effort invested in collating the parts into a whole. The materiality of this physical-mental care, condensed in four A4 pages, makes us ask about the reasons for such a complex liturgical performance and about its organic development, and also how it was related to the specific liturgical space-time and linked to the normative attunement of the *typikon*.

Three priests-in-charge have had opportunity to develop the parish, making decisions about the spaces to be used as well as the order and character of the services.[10] While this article is not a chronological narrative of the parish, some indicative information is necessary at this point. Its founder, the priest John Sotnikov, was born in Russia[11] in 1905 and arrived in Great Britain as a soldier with Polish forces, which were disbanded in October 1946. In 1984 the Archimandrite John Maitland Moir, who was born in Scotland in 1924 and was received into the Orthodox Church in 1981, became the priest-in-charge. After his death in 2013, Archimandrite Father Raphael Pavouris, who had joined the community as a priest in 2004, became the priest-in-charge. In 2007 Archimandrite Avraamy Neyman (British of Polish origin and Orthodox of Russian tradition) came to the parish and a British convert, Father Luke Jeffery, was ordained a deacon in 2008 and then a priest in 2015. Father Antonios, a Greek immigrant, was ordained a deacon in July 2018, having been a parishioner for nine years, and then a priest in 2020. The multinational background of the clergy reflects the demographics of the congregation.

The Edinburgh congregation was very small at the beginning. For several years, the services were held in Dean Parish Church. In the 1970s Father John Sotnikov started using a side chapel of the Scottish Episcopalian Church of St Michael and All Saints at Tollcross. Two Liturgies were held each month in the city and additional Liturgies were held further afield. Father Sotnikov had

10 The priest John Raffan was priest-in-charge for a short period in 2013 but did not have opportunity to contribute to the development of the parish.

11 Born in Vilnius, now in Lithuania, which was then in Russia and was later occupied by Poland.

previously travelled and served in Galashiels, in the Cala Sona refugee camp in Ayrshire, and in camps in Perthshire and East Lothian. At the time Stalin was in complete control of the USSR, the Baltic States, Poland and most of Eastern Europe. The men and women in the camps could not return to their homes as, in the words of parishioner Stephen Gellaitry, "there was no home to return to".[12] Those who returned to the USSR were either executed or sent to the gulag. In this geopolitical environment of exile and re-settling in a new land, the newly established small parish was composed mainly of Polish from the Polish army forces under General Anders, Ukrainians and some Serbs who lived in Scotland in the post-war years. Russian and Greek spouses of Scots were also included in its members, such as Evgenia Fraser (author of *The House by the Dvina*), Sophia Lavranou (a Greek immigrant from Corfu, Greece)[13] and Marili MacVicar (from Corfu, the Greek wife of a Scottish sheriff).[14] The Greek families were fully welcomed into the community, which followed the Russian, Old Slavonic, style, as John Sotnikov never learned English well.[15] He introduced the recitation of the Creed and Lord's Prayer in Greek, English and Slavonic and insisted that some part of the Liturgy be said in the various languages of members of the congregation. Hence, even from its establishment, the parish showed inclusivity and acceptance of difference in nationality and cultural background, which gradually would develop into defining qualities of the parish.

In the 1980s an influx of young professionals and students from Greece brought new active members to the community. Many of them settled in Edinburgh, where they made their homes and raised their families. Gradually the number of parishioners was increasing. The community started to need a "church of its own",[16] a permanent location for services and relevant activities (instruction, Bible study, communal meals). From a more fluid fabric of religious practices, the community now developed stability. The transformation of a house at 23a George Square into a church and a hall in 1986 was followed in 2004 by the transformation of a former parish school into community premises that continue to serve the church today.

This stability was the result of innovations that were introduced by Father John Maitland Moir and consistently maintained to open a field of devotion

12 Interview with Mr Stephen Gellaitry, April and May 2020.
13 Edensor/Kelly 1990, 96–102.
14 McVicar 1991.
15 Interviews with Mr Thomas Francis Nicholas Donald, Mrs Marina Donald and Mr Stephen Gellaitry, April and May 2020.
16 Interview with Mr Stephen Gellaitry, April and May 2020.

that was essentially based on the worshipping interaction between the members of an Orthodox community. The defining element for membership was faithful understanding of the world, with nationality or social hierarchies less significant. Full participation in the sacraments was given to Orthodox Christians, but nothing prevented the non-Orthodox from being involved in the life of the parish. As the priest John Maitland Moir used to say, "All Orthodox Christians and those interested in Orthodoxy are welcomed."[17] Matins and Vespers were added to the services, which were increased in frequency, taking place weekly with the exception of the first Sunday of every month, when Father John visited Orthodox Christians in other parts of Scotland, beyond Edinburgh and Glasgow. One of the most important changes that Father John instigated was a rotation of the languages to be used during the three Liturgies held in Edinburgh. It was the first time that almost the whole Liturgy was provided in English once a month.

The alternation in liturgical styles and languages has been kept since then, disclosing the significance of the text in the consecration of a space. The text of the Liturgy, including parts of the Gospel and the Acts or the Epistles of the Apostles, is performed through the rituals. The Slavonic style in English, the Byzantine style in Greek and English, the recitation of the Creed and Lord's Prayer in Russian, Greek, Romanian and English (in every Liturgy) fill the spaces in-between objects and people. The mixing of languages, with English playing a prominent role, has added to the detaching of Christian faith from any sense of nationality. The missionary character of the parish adds another angle: for some people, mainly converts, this is the only Orthodox atmosphere that they have known and the one in which they converted.[18]

Mobility

In order for inclusivity to be enacted, new "books" had to be made. These were folders in which the services were transformed from ethnic into trans-border through the careful collaging process that we encountered earlier. These folders are big enough to be placed on the lectern for the Choir to see, while also

17   From recollections of the priest Raphael Pavouris during an interview with him in July 2020.

18   The foundation and development of the Greek School is a characteristic case of negotiating the connection of the parish to a specific nationality or Orthodox culture through language. We should note that in this instance Father John Maitland Moir encouraged other nationality groups to have schools on the church's premises.

Fig. 3–4: A characteristic spread, from the folder of *The Divine Liturgy.*
(Photos by the author)

considered essential objects for the worship of a service, as the most precise collection of the parish's textual material.

Figures 3–4 depict a characteristic spread of these books, from the folder of *The Divine Liturgy*. In it we find the *Apolytikion* of St Andrew (the festal hymn of the Saint) scored in three different ways: in European notation and Latin alphabet, in European notation and Greek alphabet, and in Byzantine notation and Latin alphabet. The *Apolytikion* of St Andrew is chanted during the first third of the Divine Liturgy and it is a fixed part of its order. The page is made to be read by people with different musical and linguistic knowledge. The spread was transcribed in both notations and languages by Dr George Nabil Habib and further edited by the Reader Gregory Gascoigne in the early and mid 1990s. Not necessarily professional musicians, they transcribed specific types of notation into other types of notation while in parallel translating from (ancient) Greek into English in a prosodic way. The lack of extensive musical education and the complexity of the project have led to an empirical blended methodology that remains "imperfect" in terms of scholarly or more clinical approaches, but is sufficiently flexible to adjust to diverse demographic dynamics as well as to the different spaces in which the community had to worship.

In parallel, figure 5 shows a page with the Beatitudes in Old Slavonic alphabet and music using European notation by Thomas Donald. All the transliteration from Slavonic to Latin was undertaken by Donald, and it was based on an abbreviated version of the Liturgy that Father John Sotnikov had previously created in order to accommodate the limited time for which the side chapel of St Michael and All Saints could be used. This abbreviated version is still used for the Slavonic parts of the Liturgy. In the transcription to European notation, one can also find connections to Episcopalian chanting, perhaps related to Donald's Episcopalian background as well as his contribution to the Edinburgh Royal Choral Union.

This blended methodology of adjusting to the changing needs of the community is also evident in alterations to the lectern. A characteristic Episcopalian church furnishing, the lectern we see in figure 6 was initially used as a typical musical unidirectional angled lectern. The photograph was taken on 19 October 1992, at the house on George Square whose basement was used at that time as a chapel. It is difficult to say when exactly the lectern was transformed into an Orthodox-like four-sided one, but it is very likely this transformation would have taken place at the time the chapel was moved to the ground floor of the house, as depicted in figure 7 (taken in 1995 or 1996). Ob-

Fig. 5: A page with the Beatitudes in Old Slavonic and European notation done by Thomas Francis Nicholas Donald. (Photo of the author)

jects such as the books and the lectern symbolise the significance of language in the constitution of religious place, as material expressions of its aurality.

In exploring how religious buildings contribute to soundscapes, architectural scholarship has largely focused on the acoustic qualities of the building itself, which may have religious symbolism. Thus, in *Sound and Space in Renaissance Venice*, Deborah Howard and Laura Moretti's examination of the

Fig. 6: A view from the chapel of St Andrew's, taken in 1992 in the basement of 23a George Square. On the left we see the Episcopalian lectern. (courtesy of St Andrew's Community)

Fig. 7: A photograph of the chapel on a Holy Friday service, taken during 1995 or 1996, when the chapel of St Andrew's had moved from the basement to the ground floor of 23a George Square. The same lectern is now transformed into a four-sided rotating one. (courtesy of St Andrew's Community)

relationship between architectural design and sacred music in Renaissance Venice is combined with scientific explorations and choral experiments in the spaces themselves. In addition, the work of art historian Bissera Pentcheva and the musicologist Alexander Lingas explores the way Byzantine chanting would have been heard through computationally simulated spatio-temporal environments.[19] Coming from a purely scientific or mathematical understanding of music, these studies are limited to the qualities of architecture that are shared with this approach to music, a more algorithmic and technical approach to acoustics, that while valuable does not fully describe the materiality of the atmosphere and its bodily poetics.

Here, a bottom-up methodology is adopted[20] to capture glimpses of the soundscape related to the book's use as a performative object. Starting from the people and the processes followed to fulfil the intentions of the clergy-in-charge, the spaces are read through the creation, maintenance and evolution of the soundscape itself, a soundscape that reflects the identity of a transnational community whose members have settled in a new land.[21] It is really difficult to describe in text something intended to be lived (either heard or performed), something so integral to the choreography of the services. But isn't that always the case when scholarship seeks to translate ambient atmosphere into hermeneutic narratives? Even online streaming provides a different soundscape from the actual one, translated from the phenomenal to the virtual.[22] Writing about the soundscape of this community allows us to adopt a distance from it and to think about the effort that is invested to transform the text – the language that is performed in a typical service – into an ambient mosaic through translation, transliteration and transcription. The book itself is a space of interaction. Inked symbols, gaps and lines are all interrelated on the white pages. As an instrument of attunement, the book, or the folder in our case, enables the performance and perception of an inclusive soundscape.

Human praxis is at the core of phenomenal study of sacred space filled with voices through time. Place-making is an "embodied practice" and "the out-

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19 Pentcheva 2017a, 2017b.

20 For additional use of bottom-up methodology for religious musical environments see Lind 2012.

21 This methodology contrasts with the top-down application of a pre-formed theoretical framework or methodological model to a specific case study.

22 A characteristic Divine Liturgy according to the order of the folders can be accessed in the services live-streamed during the COVID-19 lockdown: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H_1GIDh0dg0 [accessed 1 August 2020].

come of human engagement".[23] The emergence of a sacred place is, as Claudia Moser and Cecelia Feldman argue, "the outcome of actions, intentions and recollections – it is the result of past and present interactions among humans, material implements, architecture and landscape".[24] Through the reciprocal relationship between the ritual and the text, the physical context is transformed into a religious place. The environment for these actions plays an important role, re-defined through their performance, and hence re-designed in accordance with the choreographies taking place in it. The choreographies are phrases performed through voice and body movement. For Tonino Griffero, atmospheric situations, such as the one described here, involve a vagueness that is difficult to fully grasp and order.

> One might wonder […] what the criteria of identity and identifiability of atmospheres are, […] whether they constitute a semantic or de dicto vagueness (the atmospheric description designates a given situation in a given way) or instead, as we like to think, a metaphysical or de re vagueness (the atmospheric description designates a vague entity in a precise way), analogous to that attributable to many other quasi-things, such as colours, shadows etc.[25]

This inherent vagueness of ambience is what has allowed the transforming of texts into sound to play a significant role in the resulting inclusive soundscape. Using mainly English, the services followed the normative choreographies and texts, but the soundscape cannot be fully connected to one of the two *typika* used or to a specific national or cultural tradition. People feel connected with parts of these acts through their own language, the type of liturgical music used back home, or the movements of the clergy that are common to all Orthodox religious traditions. The whole of the service cannot be attributed to one of the established types of Orthodox Christian Liturgy. The liturgical atmosphere always feels slightly incomplete, allowing for new voices to enter into it. Interestingly, the use of folders instead of books embodies this incompleteness and openness to new additions that are related to the needs of the parish. The clips are always waiting to be opened, allowing pages to be added or removed.

The social aspect of the religious place is important to its constitution and the development of its meaning and character, as this case reveals. Kim Knott

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23 Moser/Feldman 2014.
24 Moser/Feldman 2014, 1.
25 Griffero 2014, 12.

has argued that "the spatial underpinning of religion is witnessed at all levels, from the expression of hierarchical relations (divine, clerical, lay) in the physical enactment of the Eucharist in Christianity, to the local, national and global extension of religious structures and institutions by their repeated reproduction."[26]

Migration, diaspora and transnationalism[27] are combined in the inclusivity of the soundscape examined in this article. It is very difficult to live this soundscape without thinking of these three concepts as integral. It is impossible to get into its spatial reality without grasping its openness and mobility. This controlled and careful openness and inclusivity allow for the vagueness of its aurality to be a welcome part of the services. They allow for "mistakes", incompatibilities, dissonances, slight diversions from a nominalist following of the order to be considered not wrong but rather a creative practice with its own coherence and methodological value.

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26 Knott 2005, 21.

27 Vertovec 2004.

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