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Communion Chants in Magna Graecia and Byzantium

By DIMITRI CONOMOS

SAINTE CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, writing in 348 to the congregation at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, provides us with a valuable account of early Christian liturgical practices, and is one of the first to record that during the Communion rite a psalm was sung.¹ Considering the gap of eight to nine centuries that intervenes between Saint Cyril's testimony and the beginnings of the written tradition for Communion psalmody in the East, we could scarcely hope to establish a convincing argument which would demonstrate a musical relationship between the two. "Throughout the early Christian world," writes Oliver Strunk, "an impenetrable barrier of oral tradition lies between all but the latest melodies and the earliest attempts to reduce them to writing."² It is my intention to address this recurrent central problem from an entirely new perspective, basing my evaluations on the Eastern Communion chants preserved in a body of twelfth- and thirteenth-century musical documents from Magna Graecia and Byzantium.

The study takes two related paths. The first, an analytical one, defines a stable, pervasive melodic pattern which has resisted significant alteration in spite of modal ordering; while the second, stylistic path opens new channels of investigation into the genesis and subsequent development of melismatic chant. Desirable as it would be to break Strunk's formidable "sound barrier"—to confirm a direct survival of the chant of the early Church in the later Byzantine tradition—my paper is more modest in scope. I see the question not so much in terms of a faithful melodic preservation but rather as the degree to which traces of an ancient model may be gleaned from our

¹ St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Κατήχησις μυσταγωγικὴ* ε, *Patrologia graeca*, XXXIII, col. 1124.

² Oliver Strunk, "St. Gregory Nazianzus and the Proper Hymns for Easter," *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York, 1977), p. 61.

earliest notated sources. And it is in the Communion psalmody that I can see a valid and reliable point of departure.

The extensive repertory of Byzantine Communion chants has received limited treatment by musicologists, and the study of Eastern psalmody, a much wider and more complex issue, is still far from complete. No effort has been made to use the notated literature as a means of shedding light on the psalmodic practices of the primitive Christian Church. Principally, Strunk and Kenneth Levy have drawn the attention of the scholarly world to a number of other important questions. Strunk has dealt with the Byzantine system of syllabic psalm tones and cadences, the related procedures in East and West, and the musical and liturgical differences between the psalmody of the cathedral and the monastic rites;³ Levy has made a comparative survey of the Byzantine and Slavonic Communion cycles.⁴ In addition, Simon Harris has used the twelfth- and thirteenth-century collection as a basis for comparing the South Italian and Byzantine musical traditions and as evidence of modal ambiguities and discrepancies.⁵ Most recently, I have examined the late Slavonic Communion hymns preserved in manuscripts from the Moldavian monastic communities, and in the near future I shall be publishing a larger and more comprehensive monograph on the late Byzantine and Slavonic cycles.

* * *

The rite of Communion in Eastern and Western Christendom belongs exclusively to the Divine Liturgy or Mass. In the Orthodox East, the chant which accompanies this event is impressive and ceremonial, bearing favorable comparison with two other significant chants in the same service, the Trisagion and the Cheroubikon.⁶ All three are represented by a lavish number of choral settings in the late medieval manuscripts, and by texts which apply both to ordinary days and to ecclesiastical holidays. There are three Trisagion hymns:

³ Strunk, "The Antiphons of the Oktoechos," "The Influence of the Liturgical Chant of the East on that of the Western Church" and "The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia" in *Essays*, pp. 165-90, 151-6 and 112-50 respectively.

⁴ Kenneth Levy, "The Byzantine Communion Cycle and its Slavic Counterpart," *Actes du XII^e congrès international des études byzantines*, *Obriđ*, 1961, II (Belgrade, 1964), pp. 571-4.

⁵ Simon Harris, "The Communion Chants in Thirteenth-Century Byzantine Musical Manuscripts," *Studies in Eastern Chant*, II, ed. Egon Wellesz and Miloš Velimirović (Oxford, 1971), pp. 51-67.

⁶ The melodies for these are examined historically and analytically in my *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: A Study of Late Byzantine Liturgical Chant* (Thessaloniki, 1974).

“Ἄγιος ὁ θεὸς for regular occasions; “Ὅσοι εἰς χριστὸν for liturgical days associated with the Baptism of Catechumens (Nativity, Theophany, the Saturday of Lazarus, Easter Sunday and Pentecost); and Τὸν σταυρὸν σου προσκυνούμεν for the two celebrations in the year which relate to the Holy Cross—the third Sunday in Lent, known as the Adoration of the Cross (equivalent to the *Adoratio Crucis* on Good Friday in the West) and the Universal Exaltation on 14 September. For the Cheroubikon (Offertory) four hymns are used: Οἱ τὰ χερουβιμ on ordinary days; Νῦν αἱ δυνάμεις with the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts (celebrated on weekdays in Lent); Τοῦ δείπνου σου on Holy Thursday; and Σιγησάτω πᾶσα σὰρξ on Holy Saturday.

Exceeding both of these in number and variety is the Communion antiphon (in Greek, *Koinonikon*; in Slavonic, *Prichasten*) which boasts twenty-six texts, each assigned to one or more occasions in the liturgical year (see Table 1). This cycle was almost fully developed by the ninth century, as indications of its scope and function are noted in the early Constantinopolitan church ordos (the Patmos and Holy Cross typika⁷), although the collection was not completely established until about two hundred years later. Our earliest musical sources for these chants, fourteen unevenly compiled codices, do not reach as far back as the formation of the cycle. None dates from before the twelfth century. Yet we do have reason to believe that the three Slavonic books known as the Uspensky,⁸ Blagoveshchensky and Synodalny Kondakaria contain Greek melodies which preserve a more archaic form than the ones transmitted in contemporary Byzantine manuscripts.⁹

Another feature which the Trisagion, Cheroubikon and Koinonikon share is that they fulfill special functions in the structure of the service. Each is used to cover an action: the Trisagion covers the dialogue and motions prior to the reading of the lessons in the first part of the liturgy; the Cheroubikon accompanies the transfer of the gifts during the offertory procession (Great Entrance); the Koinonikon is sung while the clergy prepare the chalice and receive communion. When

⁷ For the Patmos typikon see A. A. Dmitrievskii, *Onucanie Литургических Руконцеи*, I (Kiev, 1895), pp. 1–152; for the Holy Cross typikon see Juan Mateos, “Le typicon de la grande église. MS. Saint Croix no. 40,” 2 vols., *Orientalia christiana analecta*, 165–6 (Rome, 1962–3).

⁸ The Uspensky manuscript has been published in facsimile by Arne Bugge, *Contactarium palaeoslavicum mosquense*, Monumenta musicae byzantinae, Principal Series, VI (Copenhagen, 1960).

⁹ See Levy, p. 572, n. 4, and Constantin Floros, *Universale Neumenkunde*, 3 vols. (Kassel, 1970).

the nature of the rite demands it—for example, at a hierarchical service or a festal liturgy—these actions can become quite elaborate; so florid and lengthy melodies are used to allow time for their completion. This is no doubt the reason for the high degree of attention paid to these hymns by the Byzantine composers. The fourteenth- and fifteenth-century anthologies contain multiple settings of all three chants, but in the thirteenth century only the Communion hymn is given extensive musical representation, with a repertory of over sixty melodies. For the Trisagion and the Cheroubikon, the earliest documents transmit but one musical setting, since the action of the rites connected with these hymns was, at that time, still evolving and consequently less deserving of musical cover. The Communion rite was, from the beginning, a more solemn act, the very focus of the liturgy, where the need for chanting (especially psalms) was naturally the greatest.

As a body of chant, the Communion hymns in the thirteenth-century collections are unique, not only in their number but also in their arrangement. Two cycles are used to transmit the melodies—one an *oktoechos*, with settings in the order of the eight modes for each of the three chants most frequently used: those for Saturdays, Sundays and for the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts;¹⁰ the other a cycle following the major feasts in the ecclesiastical calendar with fixed (*Menaion*) and movable (*Triodion* and *Pentekostarion*) celebrations combined in a single order, beginning with the feast of the Indiction on 1 September.¹¹ A number of the more prominent *Koinonika* in the latter group are provided with several settings but with no fixed *oktoechal* scheme. These include the psalm verses for the feasts of the Mother of God¹² and for festivals¹³ in memory of famous church dig-

¹⁰ See Table 1, *a* and *c*. Normally one setting is provided in each mode but in a very few cases two are given.

¹¹ The *Menaion* is a book which contains the services for the fixed feasts throughout the twelve months, from 1 September until 31 August; it corresponds to the Proper of Saints in the West. It is normally divided into twelve volumes, one for each month. The *Triodion* has the texts for Great Lent. The book begins with the Sunday of the Publican and Pharisee (the tenth before Easter, twenty-two days before the beginning of Lent), and concludes with Saturday in Holy Week. Many *kanons* in the *Triodion* contain only three odes, hence the title of the work. The *Pentekostarion* is a companion volume to the *Triodion*, and contains the services for Eastertide and Pentecost. It covers the period from Easter Sunday until the Sunday of All Saints (the first after Pentecost).

¹² Ps. 115:4, for her Nativity (8 September), the Meeting of Our Lord (2 February) and her Dormition (15 August). Cf. Table 1, *a*.

¹³ Ps. 111:6b. Bishops such as St. Nicolas (6 December), St. Basil (1 January), St. John Chrysostom (13 November) and St. Gregory the Theologian (25 January) are singled out in the rubrics.

nitaries. Other hymn settings, particularly the Hypakoai, Kontakia, Prokeimena and Alleluias, are also incorporated into double cycles, but, exceptionally, the Koinonika are in some cases given alternative melodies, and their texts, apart from two instances (Holy Thursday and Easter), are from the bible, and the psalter in particular (see Table 1). In all but these two cases, the hymns conclude with an alleluia, the melody of which frequently surpasses in length and elaboration that of the scriptural verse.

TABLE 1
THE LITURGICAL CYCLE OF BYZANTINE KOINONIKA

Scriptural Reference	English Text	Greek Text	Celebration
<i>a. Variable Koinonika</i>			
Ps. 148:1	Praise the Lord from the heavens.	Αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν.	Sundays Forefeasts
Ps. 32:1	Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous.	Ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, δίκαιοι, ἐν κυρίῳ.	Saturdays Martyrs Prophets/-esses All Saints
Ps. 111:6b	The righteous shall be in everlasting remembrance.	Εἰς μνημόσυνόν αἰώνιον ἔσται δίκαιος.	St. John Baptist Hierarchs Righteous Ferial Tuesdays
Ps. 115:4	I will lift up the cup of salvation and call on the name of the Lord.	Ποτήριον σωτηρίου λήψομαι καὶ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου ἐπικαλέσομαι.	Mother of God Ferial Wednesdays
Prov. 10:7 and Ps. 101:3	The righteous will be remembered with praises and their memory will endure unto generations and generations.	Μνήμη δικαίων μετ' ἐγκωμίων ἔσται καὶ τὸ μνημόσυνόν αὐτῶν εἰς γενεὰν καὶ γενεὰν.	Dead Beheading of St. John Baptist
Ps. 64:5 and Prov. 101:13	Blessed are they, O Lord, who are chosen and brought near; and their memory will endure unto generations and generations.	Μακάριοι οὓς ἐξελέγω καὶ προσελάβου, κύριε· καὶ τὸ μνημόσυνόν αὐτῶν εἰς γενεὰν καὶ γενεὰν.	Dead Saturdays
Ps. 18:5	Their sound goes out through all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world.	Εἰς πάσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ρήματα αὐτῶν.	Apostles Ferial Thursdays

Table 1, continued

Scriptural Reference	English Text	Greek Text	Celebration
<i>b. Fixed Koinonika (Menaion)</i>			
Ps. 64:12	Thou crownest the year with thy bounty.	Εὐλόγησον τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητός σου.	Indiction (1 Sept.)
Ps. 103:4	Thou wilt have thy angels be like the winds and thy ministers a flame of fire.	Ὅ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον.	Archangels (6 Sept., 8 Nov.) Ferial Mondays
Ps. 4:7	The light of thy countenance is marked upon us, O Lord.	Ἐσημειώθη ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου, κύριε.	Exaltation of Cross (14 Sept.) Adoration of Cross (3rd Sun. of Lent) Ferial Fridays
Ps. 44:15a and 16b	Virgins shall be brought to the king after her, they shall be brought into the temple of the king.	Ἀπενεχθήσονται τῷ βασιλεῖ παρθένοι ὀπίσω αὐτῆς, ἀχθήσονται εἰς ναὸν βασιλέως.	Entry of the Mother of God (21 Nov.)
Ps. 25:8	O Lord, I love the habitation of thy house.	Κύριε, ἠγάπησα ἐνπρεπτιαν οἴκου σου.	Dedication of the Great Church (23 Dec.)
Ps. 110:9a	[The Lord] hath sent deliverance unto his people.	Λύτρωσιν ἀπέστειλεν [κύριος] τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ.	Nativity (25 Dec.)
Titus 2:11	The grace of God that bringeth salvation unto all men hath appeared.	Ἐπεφάνη ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις.	Theophany (6 Jan.)
Ps. 131:13	The Lord hath chosen Zion, he hath desired it for his habitation.	Ἐξελέξατο κύριος τὴν σιών, ἤρετίσατο αὐτὴν εἰς κατοικίαν ἑαυτοῦ.	Annunciation (25 Mar.)
Ps. 88:16b and 17a	We shall walk, O Lord, in the light [of the glory] of thy countenance and in thy name shall we rejoice [unto the ages].	Ἐν τῷ φωτὶ [τῆς δόξης] τοῦ προσώπου σου, κύριε, πορευσόμεθα καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἀγαλλιασόμεθα [εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα].	Transfiguration (6 Aug.)

Table 1, continued

Scriptural Reference	English Text	Greek Text	Celebration
<i>c. Movable Koinonika (Triodion and Pentekostarion)</i>			
Ps. 33:9	O taste and see how gracious the Lord is.	Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χρῆστὸς ὁ κύριος.	Presanctified Liturgy
Ps. 8:3a	Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings thou hast perfected praise.	Ἐκ στόματος νηπίων καὶ θηλαζόντων κατηρτίσω αἶνον.	Lazarus Saturday
Ps. 117:26	Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.	Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.	Palm Sunday
Troparion (Non-scriptural)	At thy mystical supper receive me today, O Son of God, as a communicant; for I will not speak of the mystery to Thine enemies; I will not kiss Thee as did Judas; but as the thief I will confess Thee: "Remember me, O Lord, in Thy Kingdom."	Τοῦ δείπνου σου τοῦ μυστικοῦ σήμερον, υἱέ θεοῦ, κοινωνῶν με παράλαβε· οὐ μὴ γὰρ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς σου τὸ μυστήριον εἶπω· οὐ φίλημά σοι δώσω καθάπερ Ἰούδας· ἀλλ' ὡς ὁ ληστής ὁμολογῶ σοι: Μνήσθητί μου, κύριε, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου.	Holy Thursday
Ps. 77:65	The Lord is risen as from sleep [and resurrected saves us].	Ἐξηγέρθη ὡς ὁ ὑπνῶν κύριος [καὶ ἀνέστη σώζων ἡμᾶς].	Holy Saturday
Non-scriptural	Partake of the body of Christ, taste the source of immortality.	Σῶμα χριστοῦ μεταλάβετε, πηγῆς ἀθανάτου γεύσασθε.	Easter
Ps. 147:1	Exalt the Lord, O Jerusalem; praise your God, O Zion.	Ἐπαίνει, Ἱερουσαλήμ, τὸν κύριον· αἶνει τὸν θεὸν σου, Σιών.	Antipascha or Thomas Sunday
St. John 6:56	He who eats my body and drinks my blood dwelleth in me and I in him.	Ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἶμα, ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει κ' ἐγὼ ἐν αὐτῷ.	Mid-Pentecost
Ps. 46:6	God has gone up with a shout, the Lord with the sound of the trumpet.	Ἀνέβη ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἀλαλαγμῷ, κύριος ἐν φωνῇ σάλπιγγος.	Ascension

Table 1, continued

Scriptural Reference	English Text	Greek Text	Celebration
Pss. 142:10	Thy [good] spirit shall guide me into a land of righteousness.	Τὸ πνεῦμα σου [τὸ ἀγαθόν], ὁδηγήσει με ἐν γῆ εὐθείᾳ.	Pentecost

The earliest preserved versions of the Communion chants are in a collection known as the Asmatikon for the Greek-speaking world and the Kondakar for the Slavs, dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (see Table 2). Nearly a dozen copies of the Asmatikon survive; most of them undoubtedly have their origin in Southern Italian religious establishments which followed the Greek rite, and the musical tradition they embrace dates, at the latest, from 1225. Two are presumably from the Greek mainland (Lavra Γ. 3 and Kastoria 81⁴) and represent different, though not wholly dissimilar melodic traditions. The impact and extent of this repertory in Slavic lands is attested by its transmission in three Russian manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: the aforementioned Uspensky, Blagoveshchensky and Synodalny Kondakaria. Each varies the manner in which the Koinonika are arranged, perhaps reflecting a more primitive Greek ordering or perhaps attesting to a procedure more suitable for singing in the non-Greek Orthodox world. In spite of this variability, however, the Slavonic sources still exhibit both the oktoechal cycle and the calendar.

The Asmatikon is essentially a choir book which contains special chants and refrains that are sung by the psaltai (chanters) in unison. Its repertory is cast in a moderately ornate style, and its contents provide the choral music for the Liturgy. For the solo items of the service we must turn to the Psaltikon, with its highly florid chants suitable only for the well-trained singer.¹⁵ Four of the manuscripts listed in Table 2 combine the contents of the Asmatikon and Psaltikon: Messina 129, Messina 120, Grottaferrata Cod. Cyrpt. Γ.γ.5 and Vatican gr. 1606. This compilation, according to Oliver Strunk, would seem to have begun initially in the scriptorium of the Greek-Sicilian monas-

¹⁴ Full citations of MSS mentioned in the text are given in Table 2.

¹⁵ For additional information on the Asmatikon and Psaltikon see Bartolomeo di Salvo, "Asmatikon," *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*, XVI (1962), pp. 135-58; Levy, "A Hymn for Thursday in Holy Week," this JOURNAL, XVI (1963), pp. 129-54, and Strunk, "S. Salvatore di Messina and the Musical Tradition of Magna Graecia," *Essays*, pp. 45-54.

TABLE 2
LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS CONTAINING KOINONIKON SETTINGS

	Source	Date	Provenance
A	Grottaferrata, Badia greca, Cod. Crypt., Γ.γ. 1	13th century	Messina?
B	Grottaferrata, Badia greca, Cod. Crypt., Γ.γ. 5	1225	Messina
C	Grottaferrata, Badia greca, Cod. Crypt., Γ.γ. 6	13th century	Calabria
D	Grottaferrata, Badia greca, Cod. Crypt., Γ.γ. 7	13th century	Messina?
E	Grottaferrata, Badia greca, Cod. Crypt., E. α. xiii	13th century	Southern Italy
F	Kastoria, Cathedral Library, 8	13th/14th century	Byzantium
G	Leningrad, Public Library, Q. I. 32 (<i>Blagovesbchensky Kondakar</i>)	12th century (first half)	Russia
H	Messina, Biblioteca universitaria, S. Salvatore 120	13th century	Messina
I	Messina, Biblioteca universitaria, S. Salvatore 129	13th century	Messina
J	Moscow, State Historical Museum, 1099 (<i>Uspensky Kondakar</i>)	1207	Russia
K	Moscow, State Historical Museum, 777 (<i>Synodalny Kondakar</i>)	13th century	Russia
L	Mount Athos, Great Lavra, Γ. 3	13th century	Byzantium
M	Vatican City, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, gr. 1606	13th century	Messina
N	Vatican City, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, Borg. gr. 19	13th century	Southern Italy

References

- A: A. Rocchi, *Codices cryptenses* (Grottaferrata, 1883), p. 432; Lorenzo Tardo, *L'antica melurgia bizantina* (Grottaferrata, 1938), Pl. xxiv.
 B: Rocchi, pp. 435-6; Tardo, Pl. xxvi.
 C: Rocchi, p. 436.
 D: Rocchi, p. 437.
 E: Rocchi, p. 418.
 F: Linos Polites, *Δύο χειρόγραφα ἀπὸ τὴν Καστοριά*, 'Ελληνικά, XX (1967), pp. 29-41.
 G: Bugge, pp. xvii-xviii.
 H: A. Mancini, *Codices graeci monasterii messaniensis S. Salvatoris* (Messina, 1907), p. 192.
 I: Mancini, pp. 187-8.
 J: Bugge.
 K: Bugge, p. xviii.
 L: Sophronius Eustratiades and Spyridon Monachos, "Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos," *Harvard Theological Studies*, XII (Cambridge, 1925), p. 243.
 M: C. Giannelli, *Codices vaticani graeci*, IV (Rome, 1950), pp. 262-4.
 N: Paul-Armand Lailly, *Analyse du codex de musique grecque no. 19 Bibliothèque vaticaine (Fonds Borgia)* (Harissa, 1948).

There are two more Russian manuscripts from this period, the Typografsky Ustav (Moscow, Tretyakov Gallery, MS 142) and the Lavrsky Kondakar (Moscow, Lenin Library, MS 23) (see Bugge, pp. xvi, xviii), neither of which contains communion chants.

tery of S. Salvatore.¹⁶ The other Italo-Greek and Byzantine collections are books intended purely for the choir, while the Russian documents contain elements of both repertoires. If we hold the belief expressed above that the Kondakaria conservatively transmit archaic Byzantine practices (both in melodic style and manuscript ordo) we may even assume that the lost Greek exemplars combined the two books.

The manuscripts of this small collection demonstrate little homogeneity in their arrangement of the Koinonika. In many ways each is unique, each exhibits curiosities of format and structure. Certain Asmatika follow a roughly similar plan of arrangement, especially the simple collections. But even here one source will have a heavily reduced set of Koinonika, another will avoid duplicating settings by directing the singer to another feast which uses the same text, and yet another will have only the Saturday and Sunday cycles fully represented. The most comprehensive collection of Koinonika is that of Messina 129, which preserves a repertoire of fifty-six melodies. At the other extreme is the small representation of two melodies in Messina 120.¹⁷ In the case of Vatican Borg. gr. 19 the arrangement is extremely untidy and the musical notation void of any real meaning. As Harris has noted, this degree of variability is entirely exceptional, and occasionally aggravating for the transcriber, who often needs to refer to other transmissions. On the other hand, by noting the divergencies we stand to learn a great deal about the development of the Koinonikon repertoire and about the different communities to which these manuscripts belonged.¹⁸

For the melodies of the Communion hymns the tradition appears even and stable in the South Italian transmissions. Differences within this group, where they occur, are often confined to the addition of small intonation phrases in one manuscript, the provision of a medial signature or the extension of a cadence. Lavra Γ. 3 represents a closely related though identifiably varied melismatic idiom, and Harris has observed that the Kastoria manuscript preserves yet a third strand.¹⁹ The existence of these three divergent traditions (possibly more if other Asmatikon Communions are located) leaves the problem of melodic authenticity to sheer guesswork. We cannot safely argue that any one tradition is better or preferable or more archaic than any other. And if

¹⁶ Strunk, "S. Salvatore di Messina," p. 48.

¹⁷ Ἀπενεχθήσονται on fol. 10^v and Σῶμα χριστοῦ on fol. 155^r. Apart from these two Asmatikon chants the rest of the manuscript is a Psaltikon.

¹⁸ Harris, pp. 56-7.

¹⁹ Harris, p. 67, n. 13. I have not seen MS Kastoria 8.

on one occasion a Greek manuscript transmits a melody which is somewhat rigid, less elegant and less sophisticated than that in the Italian sources, this cannot be used to identify a more traditional musical repertory, for on another occasion the reverse will prove to be true. In more general terms, however, it is possible to make some remarks about the Asmatikon style which apply universally. The music is fairly elaborate and varied, phrases are irregular and there is no sure correlation between textual accents and melodic inflections. Dependent upon the interplay of melodic cells as a crucial means of building the melismatic flow, the phrases contribute to a formation in which the autonomy of the words is balanced by that of the music.²⁰ These observations hold true for all Asmatikon chants. The differences which we encounter in the Lavra manuscript center not so much on the length or range of the melodies but on their very fabric: the phrases, the groupings, the small lines which bridge disjunct patterns, the accentuation and the cadential points. Harris writes that the simpler and more flexible style of Lavra Γ. 3 "suggests that it may have an earlier origin than the South Italian style"²¹ which seems more rigid because of its tendency to have frequent points of repose. As I understand it, however, chants which gravitate to cadences are more likely to have their origin in simple, easily memorized congregational melodies. That the Koinonikon was a favorite hymn for the people is well-attested in church ordos from the fourth century.

For the purposes of this study I have relied chiefly on five of the thirteenth-century collections listed in Table 2. Four preserve the South Italian tradition (Grottaferrata Γ.γ.1, Γ.γ.5, Γ.γ.7 and Messina 129), while the Lavra MS Γ.3 has been used for the "Byzantine" versions. Γ.γ.1 is a well-compiled Asmatikon, whose generous repertory of Koinonika is transmitted in a clear and reliable notation. By this I mean that most of its melodies stand without need of correction, and the majority fulfill all that a transcriber wishes from a source—cadences ending on the home note of the mode, phrase endings which comply with the specifications of medial signatures, identifiable melodic patterns that recur on the same or on other strong degrees of the modal complex. This is the only manuscript to transmit the Saturday, Sunday and Presanctified Koinonika in three oktoechal cycles (the mode III melodies are missing in each of the cycles as is the mode IV melody for Ps. 32:1, though I imagine they must have formed part of the original production). It also makes handsome provision for the

²⁰ A thorough discussion of the centonate structure in Asmatikon chants is given by Levy, "A Hymn," pp. 135-54.

²¹ Harris, p. 62.

feasts of the Menaion, but in its present amputated state a number of the Triodion and all of the Pentekostarion texts are missing (the cycle stops with the chant for Palm Sunday). The presentation in $\Gamma.\gamma.5$ is poorer in its oktoechal cycles (only the Saturday Communion is fully represented in the eight modes) but richer in its festal scheme of fixed and movable chants. Similar to it in layout and sharing its complete yearly cycle is $\Gamma.\gamma.7$. Its notation is less trustworthy than that in $\Gamma.\gamma.5$ and $\Gamma.\gamma.1$ —missing or misplaced neumes are not rare—but it does have the advantage of being the only source, other than $\Gamma.\gamma.1$, with two complete oktoechal cycles (the Saturday and Sunday hymns only; the Presanctified Communion is represented by one entirely unique setting). As I mentioned earlier, of all the sources, Messina 129 contains the largest collection. The last half dozen or so folios, in the book's present shape, which transmit most of the Saturday and Sunday cycles, have been so severely damaged that it is only possible to identify them as far as mode III. The settings of the Presanctified Communion, which are written in a section specifically allotted to Triodion chants, are not arranged into an oktoechos. Instead, three melodies (familiar from other Asmatika) in modes I, II and III are specifically designated for the first three days of Holy Week, while two unassigned settings in mode IV plagal are unique to this manuscript. The Athonite Codex, Lavra $\Gamma.3$, has lost its Saturday and Sunday Communions, but enjoys a full cycle of the Presanctified hymn, even surpassing in number that of $\Gamma.\gamma.1$ (nine compared with seven). The remainder of its repertory comprises a complete cycle for the yearly feasts. Finally, purely for purposes of modal comparison and liturgical identification, I have had occasion to refer to Borgia gr. 19. I stated above that its melodic transmission is too corrupt for an accurate transcription. This is most regrettable since the manuscript, while providing a very reduced number of oktoechal Communions, makes ample provision for the calendar cycle and, like $\Gamma.3$, contains an abnormally large number of rubrics which indicate the feast for each hymn.

* * *

A notice in the *Chronikon Paschale* for the year 624²² and a liturgical indication in London, British Library Additional 34060,²³ testify to the fact that the Communion hymn, in its original shape, was not merely a psalm verse with an appended alleluia, but an entire psalm.²⁴

²² *Patrologia graeca*, XCII, col. 1001.

²³ My thanks to Robert Taft, S.J., for this information.

²⁴ See Robert Taft, "How Liturgies Grow: the Evolution of the Byzantine 'Divine Liturgy'," *Orientalia christiana periodica*, XLIII (1977), pp. 376-7.

The alleluia which in later times became attached to the single verse may well have been the old antiphonal response that the congregation chanted after the successive verses of the psalm. What remains is a bipartite structure, verse and alleluia, and this division is clearly reflected in the musical settings of the Koinonika. For, in the Asmatika, the psalm verses are provided with melodies that are, on the whole, unambitious in their scope and variety, and that exhibit an appreciable degree of thematic coherence and unity. In the oktoechal settings (*Αἰνεῖτε*, *Ἀγαλλιᾶσθε* and *Γεύσασθε*) the music bears a primitive, recitative-like simplicity with very moderate embellishment. Its semi-ornate character never interferes with the intention of the composer to focus attention onto the text. This is achieved by the creation of an alliance, elegantly and intimately balanced, between textual and musical ideas. Points of repose in the verse dictate the cadential phrases of the music with ingenious regularity, and embellishments, when they occur, are derived from a thesaurus of conventionalized ornamental patterns. These patterns are not applied mechanically, nor are they completely dependent on incidences furnished by the psalm texts; their function is to inject a diversity of style welded into a carefully systematized verse-music scheme. The point which I am about to make here is perhaps an obvious one, and it is one which I had occasion to offer in my study of the music for the evening office on Whitsunday.²⁵ It deals with the question of the historical origin of the constituent elements of this compositional procedure, and I would like to suggest that the most challenging argument which emerges is the possibility that the original melodic fabric of this psalmody was a single syllabic chant suitable for congregational use.

The second element in the musical and textual structure of the Koinonikon is the alleluia. Its music is written in a style entirely different from that of the psalm text. The long lines, characterized by uninhibited melismatic elaborations, require the support of intercalated foreign letters. Cadential patterns are complex and randomly juxtaposed. To my understanding this ornate appendage exists for reasons of liturgical expediency. The Communion rite is lengthy, particularly when there are several priests in attendance or when a bishop celebrates the Liturgy; and, as we have seen, there is no longer an entire psalm to cover its action. Three choices are available to the choir: it may repeat the hymn until the royal doors are opened for the presentation of the chalice; it may remain silent; or it may lengthen the chant. The Byzantines, in choosing the last of these three, concen-

²⁵ D. Conomos, "Music for the Evening Office on Whitsunday," *XV^e Congrès international des études byzantines, Athènes, 1976*, III, p. 275.

trated their efforts on the alleluia ending, expanding it by singing long, drawn-out phrases on the first two syllables. The last three syllables are invariably given a brief, syllabic descent (marked X in Ex. 1). This characteristic phrase may have acted as a kind of signal, because it was probably sung when the doors opened for the communion of the laity.²⁶

Example 1

Alleluia to *Αἰνεῖτε* in Mode IV plagal

Source: Cod. Crypt. Γ.γ.5, fols. 152^v-153^r

α - γι α χα - - ου α' ἄ ου α χα χα - - ου
α' ου α χα - - ου α' λλε - χε ου ε'
ε ου ε χε χε - - - ου ε'
ου ε χε - - ου ε' ε - ου ε - -
ου ε - - ου ε - - - λού ι' α' γγα γγα.

The four-note post-cadential rise with its double gammas (marked Y) is also a typical feature of this idiom, and it was used to provide a cue for the deacon, informing him that the chant was completed, and possibly giving him a note for his exclamation inviting the people to approach and receive the Eucharist.²⁷ The sweeping, melismatic flow of Example 1 is punctuated by the intercalated letters γ, χ and ου, which

²⁶ Ex. 1, the Alleluia to *Αἰνεῖτε* in mode IV plagal (Γ.γ. 5, fols. 152^v-153^r), is typical. It is much longer than the psalm verse and bears no musical relation to it. Only on rare occasions is the same alleluia used with different psalm texts. One such case is that of the alleluia to the mode IV setting of *Αἰνεῖτε* (Γ.γ. 7, fols. 10^r-10^v), which, in a slightly modified form, is used with *Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος* in the same mode (Γ.γ. 1, fol. 42^v). In the majority of cases, however, the alleluias appear to be independent units of chant grafted onto the ends of the verses. Without exception the second syllable is given as -λλε- rather than -λλη-. Evidently the sound of the epsilon was favored over that of the eta for these prolonged vocalizations.

²⁷ The same phenomenon was noted by me in the Trisagion and Cheroubikon settings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; see my *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika*, chaps. 3 and 4, *passim*.

also appear, though more sparingly, in the more sober music of the psalm verse (see Ex. 2). It should not come as a surprise that it was the alleluia which received the greater melismatic attention, for the preceding verse, with its own liturgical functions, required a more traditional musical dress. First, it directed the attention of the faithful to the imminent presentation of the sacraments, and secondly, because of the well-chosen variety, it reminded the congregation of the feast for which the Liturgy was being celebrated.

The eight modally arranged Asmatikon melodies for the Sunday Koinonikon, *Ἀνεῖτε τὸν κύριον*, once cast into the scheme seen in Example 2,²⁸ afford us an opportunity to learn a good deal about the procedures characteristic of this kind of psalmody. It is my belief that, embedded in the Asmatikon transmission, we have an ancient psalm tone, most likely syllabic in style and originally designed for congregational performance. This psalm tone naturally existed before the organization of the oktoechos (c. 8th century),²⁹ and in Example 2 we see its subsequent application to, and modification in, the eight-mode scheme. The remarkable uniformity of the melodic line is quite clear. It is a very simple recitation chant, narrow in range and gravitating essentially on a single tone with minor cadential movements. Its uncomplicated character would have been admirably suited for congregational response. Even in its late medieval form the embellishments display a kind of regularity which seems to defy modal definition. In many instances noticeable formulaic strands emerge with identical features such as dynamic markings, the localized intercalations of foreign letters (the double gamma is frequently attached to a lengthened note in this idiom), equivalent phrase lengths associated with the same syllables (see especially τὸν κύ-, ἐκ τῶν, -ρανῶν), and cadential points marked by punctuation in the text (rendered as short bar lines in the transcription). This is more than merely a matter of borrowing; surely it is a question of common origin and the conservative retention of a strong melodic tradition.

Evidence from another quarter argues favorably to this end. I remarked earlier that the Slavonic musical documents preserve elements

²⁸ The transcriptions in Ex. 2 have been made from Cod. Crypt. Γ.γ. 5, fols. 137^v-153^r, with one exception: the mode IV authentic melody is taken from Cod. Crypt. Γ.γ. 7, fols. 10^r-10^v. For the purposes of this discussion I have intentionally chosen the *Ἀνεῖτε* settings rather than those of the more ancient text, *Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε*, since the transmission of the former in the Asmatikon demonstrates my points with greater clarity. I firmly believe, however, that the same conclusions apply in most cases to the other Koinonika: evidence for this is given below.

²⁹ St. John of Damascus (c.675-c.749) is usually given the credit for establishing the oktoechos in the form which survived throughout the Byzantine period.

Example 2

Source: Cod. Crypt. Γ. γ. 5, fols. 137^v-133^r; Mode IV authentic melody from Cod. Crypt. Γ. γ. 7, fols. 10^r-10^v

The musical score consists of four systems of staves, each with four parts (I, II, III, IV). The parts are labeled as follows:

- System I:** Part I (Soprano), Part II (Alto), Part III (Tenor), Part IV (Bass).
- System II:** Part I Pl. (Soprano), Part II Pl. (Alto), Part III Pl. (Barys) (Tenor), Part IV Pl. (Bass).

The Greek lyrics are: ΑΙ - - ΝΕΙ ΤΕ - - ΤΟΝ - - ΚΥ - - ΠΙ - - ΟΝ - -

Performance markings include accents (^), slurs (>), and various Greek characters (γ, π, ρ, ο, υ) placed above or below the notes. Some parts have specific markings like '134' or '134/1'.

Example 2, continued

EK ΤΩΝ ΟΥ - - - ΠΑ - - ΝΩΝ

The musical score consists of four systems of staves, each with a label on the left and Greek lyrics below the notes. The lyrics are: EK ΤΩΝ ΟΥ - - - ΠΑ - - ΝΩΝ. The notation includes various musical symbols such as accents, slurs, and dynamic markings.

I
 X ου X X
 ου X X

II
 τῶν γγ X

III
 X ου γγ X X

IV
 τῶν ου X X

I Pl.
 γγ ου X X

II Pl.
 ου γγ X

Pl. III (Barys)
 X ου ου X X X X

IV Pl.
 X ου ου X ου

of older Greek practices. However, since it is not possible to transcribe directly from the notation in the Kondakaria, I offer in Example 3 the Slavonic and Greek texts respectively as they appear under the mode I melodies for the Sunday Communion.³⁰

Example 3

Slavonic and Greek texts for the Sunday Communion in Mode I

ХВААЛИИТЕ^AХЕ' ХЕЕЕ ГΟΟΟΟСПΟΟΟΔΑΧ^AΧΑΑΑ
 AI_γγ_NEI_TEXE_XE_'TON KY____PI_γγ_O_XOXON'

СЪ ЪЪ ЪЪ ЪЪЪ' ЪЪЪ' ЪЪЪ ХЪХЪ Ъ НЕЕЕБЕСЪ^B
 EK TΩ_XΩ_Ω' _Ω' _____XΩXΩN' OY_PANΩN'

ΑΑΧΑΧΑΧΑ' ΣΑ' ΑΑΑ' ΑΧΑΧΑ' ΣΑΑ' ΑΛΕ'
 Α_ΧΑ_____ΣΑ' _____ΧΑΧΑ ΣΑ_ΛΛΕ'

Ε'ΕΕ' ΧΕΧΕΣΕ' ΕΕΕ' ΕΧΕΣΕΕΕΝΕΣΕΕΕΛ^CΣΓΙΑ.
 Ε. . . . ΧΕΣΕ' Ε_ ΧΕΧΕ_____ΣΕ_ΛΟΥΙ Α.

In Example 3 we are quite obviously dealing with the same music. The amount of melodic material per syllable of text is equivalent, the regular occurrences of punctuation identify a common division of the chant into distinctions, and the notable correspondence of intercalated letters testifies to a common origin for this hymn. The older Slavonic transmission has a greater number of distinctions, and its lack of double gammas and of the post-cadential motif suggest that these are later, Greek innovations. The bracket marked A covers identical music in the transcription from the Asmatikon, and, accordingly, the same Kondakar neumes are to be found at these points. Those marked B and C identify a common syllabic movement where neither melisma nor letter-intercalation occurs. It can be seen that this musical correspondence extends even into the alleluia, although, as is only to be expected, this section sees more flexible musical treatment, and the more rhapsodic Greek version with its accrued melismata points to a later adaptation. A comparison of other alleluia melodies in the two transmissions reveals that, while both begin in much the same fashion, the Greek tune is usually much longer, and supports a greater

³⁰ The Slavonic text is in Bugge, fols. 183^v-184^r.

number of letter intercalations. The psalm verses, however, regularly exhibit astounding uniformity, and this perhaps suggests that we must look to hymns like the alleluia if we wish to investigate the origins of the encroaching florid style—a style which burgeons in the Asmatikon and is later replaced by the dominant kalophonic idiom of the fourteenth and later centuries. At the same time this contrast shows us that there was a conservative element in the transmission of centuries-old congregational psalm tones. This is hardly surprising in the case of the Koinonikon, which, according to ancient documents, is one of the oldest psalm chants in Christian worship.³¹ Moreover, its central and sacred position in the rite of Communion would tend to strengthen its authority among the musical items of the service and lessen its susceptibility to alteration.

Before the formation of the Communion cycle, there is universal acknowledgment in both Eastern and Western patristic and liturgical writings of the use of Psalm 33:9 as the Koinonikon. Now it would be most agreeable if, for my argument, I could demonstrate that the eight melodies for this verse (Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε—“O taste and see”), and for that matter those of the oktoechal “Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous” (Psalm 32:1—Ἀγαλλιᾶσθε, δίκαιοι, ἐν κυρίῳ), all share the same characteristics as the Αἰνεῖτε psalm tone in its Asmatikon guise. Fortunately this set of conditions does in fact prevail. Without going to great lengths to prove my point, I can illustrate its essential aspects with two short transcriptions. Examples 4 and 5 are the mode I melo-

Example 4

Mode I melody for Psalm 33:9

Source: Lavra Γ.3, fol. 9'

Γεύ-σα - σθε ___ γε - καὶ ἴ - - - δε χε ___ χε

τε - χε ___ ὁ - τι - γγι χρη - στὸ - - -

χο - ου - ος ὁ κύ - - χυ - - - ρι - ος.

³¹ See, for example, St. Clement, *Paedagogus*, II, ch. iv (Patrologia graeca, VIII, col. 444); Tertullian, *De oratione*, *Ad uxorem*, and *Apologia* (Patrologia latina, I, cols 1304, 1194 and 408 respectively).

Example 5

Mode I melody for Psalm 32:1

Source: Messina 129, fol. 173^r

A - γα - χα χα - λλι γγι - ᾶ - χα χα σθε — γγε δί χι - χι
 και - οι - γγοι ε̇ χε χεν — κυ - ρι - - ω. ———

dies for Psalm 33:9 and Psalm 32:1 respectively.³² The same observations which I made for the *Αἰνεῖτε* settings would also obtain here if we were to view each of these hymns in their oktoechal alignment: a limited melodic range circumscribing certain cadential tones, a regular recurrence of intercalated letters and dynamic markings, a comparably even distribution of melody to text, cadential points and punctuation occurring at the same place. Furthermore, the Slavonic books confirm these procedures as before.

Certain similarities may be seen in the structure of the three chants. Given the formulaic idiom of the Asmatikon melodies and the fact that these all belong to the same mode, this should not come as a surprise. Stripped of their elaborations, the basic elements of the compositions are revealed as follows:

<i>Αἰνεῖτε:</i>	<i>g-c'</i>	<i>-a-g</i>
	<i>c-f</i>	<i>-a</i>
<i>Γεύσασθε:</i>	<i>a-c'</i>	<i>-a</i>
	<i>g-c'</i>	<i>-g-e</i>
<i>Ἄγαλλιᾶσθε:</i>	<i>a-c'</i>	<i>-a</i>
	<i>g-c'[e']</i>	<i>-ag-e-d</i>

This general agreement lends additional credibility to the case for derivation from an ancient model.

Turning finally to the Koinonika which are not cast into the oktoechal scheme, the evidence is less convincing but not entirely inadmissible. A number of these ferial chants entered the cycle at a comparatively late date, when congregational singing in the East had lapsed; hence the degree to which pristine shapes are faithfully reflected in the music cannot always be estimated. Where correspondences are discernible, however, the implications for our understanding of these chants is quite striking. The incidence of melodic parallels in hymns belonging to the same mode and in different modal melodies

³² Ex. 4: Lavra Γ. 3, fol. 9^r; Ex. 5: Messina 129, fol. 173^r.

set to the same psalm text is quite high. I need not dwell on this point, since the same phenomena have been encountered in the oktoechal chants and our conclusions about them do not differ, although I would like to remark on the astonishing similarity between the mode I melody of Γεύσασθε and that of Κύριε ἠγάπησα,³³ where both text syllables and intercalations fall on the same notes. Here, and in other situations of this kind, it appears that composers simply borrowed existing chants and applied them mechanically to other texts, a procedure affected without difficulty owing to the melismatic nature of the settings. Where strong melodic parallels exist in different Koinonika *irrespective* of modal classification, my central argument finds emphatic support. Examples of this type abound; a few are listed in Table 3.

TABLE 3
MELODIC PARALLELS IN KOINONIKA OF DIFFERENT MODES

Text	Mode	Source
{ Εὐς μνημόσυνον Ποτήριον	II	Cod. Crypt. Γ.γ. 1, fol. 38 ^v
	III	Cod. Crypt. Γ.γ. 1, fol. 36 ^v
{ Ἀγαλλιᾶσθε Τὸ πνεῦμα σου	IV	Cod. Crypt. Γ.γ. 7, fol. 9 ^r
	IV plagal	Cod. Crypt. Γ.γ. 7, fol. 67 ^v
{ Ἐν τῷ φωτὶ Μνήμη δικαίων Ἐξελέξατο	Barys	Cod. Crypt. Γ.γ. 7, fol. 68 ^v
	II plagal	Cod. Crypt. Γ.γ. 7, fol. 69 ^v
	III	Cod. Crypt. Γ.γ. 1, fol. 42 ^r
{ Ὁ ποιῶν Ἐξελέξατο Ἀνέβη	IV	Cod. Crypt. Γ.γ. 1, fol. 38 ^r
	III	Cod. Crypt. Γ.γ. 1, fol. 42 ^r
	Nana	Cod. Crypt. Γ.γ. 7, fol. 67 ^r
{ Ποτήριον Μνήμη δικαίων Λύτρωσιν ἀπέστειλεν Ἐξηγέρθη	III	Cod. Crypt. Γ.γ. 1, fol. 36 ^v
	II plagal	Cod. Crypt. Γ.γ. 7, fol. 69 ^v
	Barys	Cod. Crypt. Γ.γ. 1, fol. 41 ^r
	IV	Cod. Crypt. Γ.γ. 7, fol. 64 ^r

In these cases the degree of melodic concomitance is restricted to opening phrases, cadential figures, and conventionalized formulas. It may well be that these compositions have their origin in earlier practices, but on the basis of the few shreds which can be gleaned from the dense texture of the Asmatikon idiom, this kind of evidence alone has little conclusive substance. At best it can supplement the more authoritative illustrations given above. But before dismissing this area of investigation entirely I should like to turn to three Koinonika in the

³³ Lavra Γ. 3, fol. 9^r, and Γ.γ. 1, fols. 40^v-41^r respectively.

Slavonic Kondakaria: ТВОРАИ АНГЕЛЫ СВОІА (Archangels), ІАДЫИ МОЮ ПЛЪТЪ (Mid-Pentecost) and ВЪ СВЪТЪ СЛАВЫ ЛИЦА ТВОЕГОИ (Transfiguration). The modal designations are IV plagal for the first two and I authentic for the last,³⁴ and a comparison of these transmissions with the Greek melodies demonstrates the same close affinity that we noticed above with *Ανεΐτε*, *Γεύσασθε* and *Ἀγαλλιᾶσθε*. However, there is one important qualification: the Greek modal designations are entirely different. They are given as IV authentic for the first two and barys for the last. Presumably, the early Greek exemplar for the Slavonic source specified the former modal usage, and, for reasons unknown to us, the modal classifications changed in the later Greek transmissions, yet the substance of the melody remained intact. How can we explain this extraordinary irregularity if we do not acknowledge that a pre-oktoechal tone has been adapted to satisfy the demands of a subsequent ordered eight-mode system?

In conclusion I would like to restate my case. In view of the fact that I am attempting to derive information about early Byzantine music from relatively late sources, it must be admitted that I have relied largely on conjecture. But in the light of evidence of the kind given above my results seem inescapable, for what other explanation can really fit the facts? We must recognize that a uniform tradition of psalmody for the Communion hymn existed in the early Church, and that an archetypal, congregational melody, simple in form but authoritative and stable in its dissemination, has provided the basic elements for most, if not all, of the *Koinonika* transmitted in our twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts. With the establishment of the *oktoechos* this melody was cast into eight modal areas, but its integral features have been preserved. The complex musical style of the late Byzantine period has disguised the early chant, but by comparing the settings through and across modal boundaries we can arrive at a notable degree of unanimity. Internal details, such as the location of intercalated letters, the recurrence of punctuated divisions, and the common ratio of music to text, as well as the comparison with the Slavonic books, have contributed substantial, though sometimes circumstantial, evidence. It would be unrealistic to assume that our Byzantine and Slavonic sources have preserved, even in skeletal form, the ancient psalm tone of the Communion antiphon. What I am suggesting, however, is that it is along these lines that our investigations must be carried if we wish to become familiar with the procedures of orna-

³⁴ According to the Slavonic enumeration the modes are given as 8 and 1 respectively. See Bugge, fols. 191^v, 200^v and 202^r.

mental increment in the later music. And more than this, we may be able to gain an insight, however imperfect, into the essential features of early Byzantine psalmody.

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