

THE BYZANTINE COMMUNION CHANT FOR EASTER
IN 14TH-CENTURY MANUSCRIPTS

by

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ABSTRACT

It is only recently that the attention of musicologists has been directed to the study of Eastern church music as transmitted in 14th and 15th-century Byzantine manuscripts. This constitutes a reversal of the prejudices held by most pioneers in the discipline, who believed that the musical oeuvre of the late Byzantine empire was only a pallid reflection of a once magnificent style, and was, therefore, unworthy of detailed examination. In its support of the current reassessment of the late Byzantine musical style, this study shows that, in spite of the declining fortunes of the empire, the composers of that time fashioned a vital and distinguished culmination to a millenium of liturgical composition.

The thesis is limited to a clearly discernible entity within the 14th-century repertoire: the Easter Koinonikon, or Communion chant, *Σῶμα χριστοῦ*, a hymn conveyed by at least fourteen manuscripts representing the works of some seven composers. The eight settings considered here comprise the entire 14th-century collection of this chant that has survived the vicissitudes of time.

The method of investigation is both historical and analytical. Its results reveal a hitherto unsuspected degree of consanguinity among the musical materials of all seven composers, one which is delineated by the establishment of three distinct sub-groupings. These, in turn, further emphasize the presence of a known thesaurus of musical elements. A similarity of various compositional procedures also becomes evident. The most

significant of these is the use of a refrain that is analagous to the Alleluia refrain which occurs in most other Communion hymns. There are, naturally, a number of stylistic differences that appear in the written tradition during the course of the century, and these reflect a gradual evolution of the composers' idiom. Of particular interest to future studies is the development of a tentative chronology for these seven composers, since in many cases this supersedes their currently accepted dating.

Most importantly, however, is the fact that this study focusses attention and sheds new light on a neglected area of Byzantine music history, and indicates the need for continuing research in this field.

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To all the above, and to many other friends who offered a multitude of kindnesses, I can do no better than to proffer the salutation of the Byzantine polychronion:

Δόξα θεῷ τῷ δοξάσαντί σε οὕτως.

Δόξα θεῷ τῷ εὐδοκήσαντι οὕτως ...

Πολλοὺ ἔρῃ χρόνοι οἱ θεράποντες τοῦ Κυρίου.

INTRODUCTION

For the past two decades musical scholars have devoted increasing attention to the vast amount of liturgical music composed in the final century and a half of the Byzantine Empire (1300-1450). The pioneers in the discipline of Byzantine musicology generally eschewed this repertoire, for they considered it a vitiated and superficial reflection of 'classical' Byzantine music and hymnography.¹ A reassessment of the prodigious musical output that manifests itself in the declining years of the Empire has gradually taken place, however, and has revealed this period as constituting a vital and distinguished culmination of a millenium of liturgical composition.

The present study focusses on an example of one of the significant groups of chants for the Divine Liturgy in the East as transmitted by 14th-century musical manuscripts — the Communion antiphon, *Σῶμα χριστοῦ*. The Communion hymn, or *Koinonikon*, comprises the largest body of proper psalmody that is used in the Mass of the Orthodox Church, and consists of a cycle of twenty-six texts, each of which is allocated to one or more occasions in the liturgical year. This collection reflects a usage that was fully developed at least by the 11th century, but which can, in fact, be traced back to the 9th century, as reflections of its existence can be

¹Egon Wellesz disparaged this repertoire as ". . .the rather superficial coloratura style of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries." Such deprecation is not uncharacteristic of the attitude of most early scholars in the field. Egon Wellesz, A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography, 2d ed., rev. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 23.

seen in the Patmos and Holy Cross typika.² As with many of the major hymns in the Byzantine Rite, the Koinonikon is used to cover a liturgical action. After the Elevation and fraction of the Consecrated Gifts, the priest intones the words "Holy things for the holy," and the congregation responds with the chant "One is holy. . ." Following this, the clergy receive Communion while the choir sings the Communion antiphon.³

The antiphon Σῶμα χριστοῦ is used as the proper Koinonikon for Easter. Its connection with this feast is clearly an old tradition, as it is without exception specified by all liturgical ordos from Constantinople.⁴ The text of this hymn is one of only two non-scriptural Koinonika, and as such the customary pendant Alleluia is omitted:⁵

Σῶμα χριστοῦ μεταλάβετε

πηγῆς ἀθανάτου γεύσασθε

*("Partake of the body of Christ,
taste the source of immortality")*

It must also be noted, however, that in addition to the use of this hymn for the Communion of the clergy at Easter, it also seems to have

²Dimitri Conomos, "Communion Chants in Magna Graecia and Byzantium," JAMS XXXIII (Summer 1980): 243; also see idem, "Psalmody and the Communion Cycle," St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly 25 (1981): 47-48. The Typikon (Τυπικόν) is a liturgical book which contains the Rule for the Service of all Liturgies and Offices for the entire church year.

³Mother Mary and Kallistos Ware, The Festal Menaion (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), p. 80.

⁴Conomos, "Psalmody and the Communion Cycle," p. 113. The Jerusalem ordo of 1122, and the somewhat earlier Palestinian practice as reflected in a Georgian lectionary, both contribute unique exceptions to this prescription (ibid., pp. 114-16). Neither of these practices, however, is contained in any of the musical MSS under consideration.

⁵The other non-scriptural Koinonikon is the troparion Τοῦ δείπνου σου for Holy Thursday.

been used regularly throughout the liturgical year during the Communion of the faithful. Currently this is still common practice in the Greek and Slavic churches, and on occasion Τοῦ δειπνοῦ σου is also chanted for the same purpose. This usage, which constitutes an unwritten convention, may in all likelihood be dated to the 12th century. Liturgical documents up to that time indicate that in both Eastern and Western rites the Communion hymn was generally used during the people's Communion. It was only sometime during that century that the Koinonikon was transferred to its customary location at the Communion of the clergy; as if to compensate for this, a tradition of using Σῶμα χριστοῦ for the Communion of the laity during most liturgies evolved. Certainly this practice is eminently suited to theological precepts, for, as Helen Breslich-Erickson has pointed out, every Sunday may be considered as a 'small' Easter.⁶

A total of fourteen manuscripts have been utilized as the primary source material for this study. All of these represent a new type of musical codex that appears with increasing frequency during the 14th and 15th centuries. These manuscripts, usually called Akolouthiai, or Orders of Service, constitute, as Kenneth Levy has noted, a first attempt to establish in a single collection an anthology containing the bulk of the musical chants for the Byzantine rite.⁷ In their contents these Akolouthiai supplanted the earlier books known as Psaltikon and Asmatikon, the former of

⁶Helen Breslich-Erickson, "The Communion Hymn of the Byzantine Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts," in Studies in Eastern Chant III, ed. Miloš Velimirović (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 64, n. 37.

⁷The fundamental study by Kenneth Levy provides an excellent elucidation of the genesis and contents of this class of MS. See "A Hymn for Thursday in Holy Week," JAMS XVI (Summer 1963): 154-57. See also Oliver Strunk, "The Antiphons of the Oktoechos," in Essays on Music in the Byzantine World (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1977), pp. 170-72.

which contained extremely elaborate chants used only by skilled soloists and the latter comprised a collection of melismatic choral chants. Included in these new Akolouthiai is not only most of the proper and ordinary psalmody, but also some of the ordinary hymns for the services of Vespers, Matins, and the three Divine Liturgies.⁸

The following 14th-century manuscripts which transmit the Koinonikon $\Sigma\omega\mu\alpha \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ were consulted.

TABLE I

List of Primary Manuscripts Consulted

A. Dated Manuscripts from the 14th Century

Athens MS. 2458 — 1336
 Athens MS. 2622 — 1341-ca. 1360
 Ambrosiana MS. L. 36 sup. (gr. 476) — 1341-ca. 1360⁹
 Ambrosiana MS. Q. 11 sup. (gr. 665) — ca. 1360-1385
 Koutloumoussi MS. 457 — ca. 1360-1385
 Vatopedi MS. 1495 — ca. 1360-1385¹⁰
 Vienna MS. theol. gr. 185 — ca. 1385-1391¹¹

B. Undated Manuscripts from the 14th Century

Athens MS. 2600
 Athens MS. 904
 Athens MS. 2454¹²
 Athens MS. 2411¹³
 Sinai MS. 1294
 Sinai MS. 1462
 Taphos MS. 425

⁸The contents of a representative 14th-century Akolouthiai (in this case, Vienna MS. theol. gr. 185) are given in Christian Hannick, "Étude sur l'ἀκολουθία ἁσματικὴ," in Jahrbuch der Oesterreichischen Byzantinistik 19 (1970): 245-46.

⁹For purposes of convenience this and the following MS will hereafter be cited, respectively, as Ambrosiana MS. L. 36, and Ambrosiana MS. Q. 11.

¹⁰ Only Athens MS. 2458 may be precisely dated by its colophon. The five following MSS are approximately dated on the basis of their polychronia (acclamations) which refer to Anne of Savoy (reigned 1341 to ca. 1360) or Andronicus IV (reigned ca. 1360 to 1385). See Strunk, "Antiphons of the Oktoechos," pp. 170-71.

¹¹ Hereafter cited as Vienna MS. 185. This MS. is usually dated as cited here. See Dimitri E. Conomos, Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries. A Study of Late Byzantine Liturgical Chant (Thessaloniki: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1974), p. 47 and p. 53. But Hannick suggests 1379 to 1391 instead (see Hannick, "Étude," p. 245).

¹² These three Athens MSS are summarily dated as in Conomos, Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika, p. 48. Athens MS 904, however, also contains some 15th-century music that was added later by a second scribe (see *ibid.*, p. 48, n. 30).

¹³ Athens MS. 2411, Taphos MS. 425, and the two Sinai MSS have been assigned to the 14th century by Conomos.

SOURCE MATERIAL

Some eight different musical settings of the Communion hymn $\Sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ are transmitted in 14th-century Byzantine musical manuscripts. Most of the fourteen manuscripts consulted (see Table I) provide only a single setting of this text, but five of the sources give multiple versions.¹⁴ The following seven composers are represented: Ioannes Glykes; Konstantinos Moschianos; Ioannes Kladas; Philip Gavalos; Ioannes Doukas; Gerasimos hieromonachos; George Panaretos. Each of these composers is credited with one setting except for Kladas, to whom two are ascribed.

The setting of $\Sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ attributed to Glykes seems to have been by far the most popular version. It appears at least once — sometimes twice — in twelve¹⁵ of the manuscripts that contain the Easter Communion hymn (a total of fourteen instances). The version by Moschianos is a distant second with a total of five examples in four manuscripts. Each of the remaining composers is represented in one, or occasionally two, manuscripts.

Glykes's setting is in one respect somewhat problematical. The twelve manuscripts are in considerable disagreement about the modal

¹⁴See Table V below.

¹⁵The remaining two, Athens MS. 2411 and Athens MS. 904, contain only a version by Kladas.

designation for the fourteen versions of this hymn, as a total of four different modes are specified, The distribution is as follows:

Athens MS. 2458 fol. 169 ^r	Mode I Plagal,
Ambrosiana MS. L. 36 fol. 264 ^v	requiring an
Vienna MS. 185 fol. 285 ^r ¹⁶	<u>f</u> start
Athens MS. 2600 fol. 63 ^v ¹⁷	
Sinai MS. 1294 fol. 167 ^r	
Athens MS. 2622 fol. 360 ^r	Mode III Authentic,
Ambrosiana MS. Q. 11 fol. 261 ^r	requiring a <u>c</u> or
Vatopedi MS. 1495 fol. 217 ^r	possibly an <u>a</u> start
Vatopedi MS. 1495 fol. 217 ^v	
Sinai MS. 1462 fol. 149 ^r contains a double main signature of which the first group is not completely legible. Most likely, however, it denotes either Mode I Plagal or Mode III Authentic. The second group specifies the Nana mode (<u>żż</u>) that requires a start on <u>c</u> .	
Athens MS. 2454 fol. 42 ^v	Mode II Plagal, re-
Taphos MS. 425 fol. 152 ^r ¹⁸	quiring a <u>g</u> start
Koutlounousi MS. 457 fol. 232 ^v	Nana mode (<u>żż</u>), ¹⁹
Vienna MS. 185 fol. 268 ^r	requiring a <u>c</u> or
	a <u>g</u> start

¹⁶The signature is indistinct in the microfilm, but this seems most likely.

¹⁷Although the signature here is reckoned from d the opening neume of the hymn is an ascending third, which compensates for the modal signature and thus requires a start on f.

¹⁸The signature is not entirely visible in the microfilm but this is most probable.

¹⁹The Nana (mesos tetartos or Mode IV Medial) is one of two medial modes commonly used during this period. It is polyvalent and appears in our repertoire in conjunction with Mode III Authentic (żż, see Sinai MS. 1462 fol. 149^r) and Mode IV Plagal (żż, see Koutlounousi MS. 457 fol. 232^v and Vienna MS. 185 fol. 268^r). Constantin Floros has suggested ". . .dass der Mesos tetartos gewissermassen eine Mittelstellung zwischen dem IV. authentischen und dem IV. plagalen Echos einnimmt und an beiden teilhat, ausserdem dass der III. authentische und der IV. mediale Echos sich annähern oder gar in mancher Hinsicht angleichen. . ." Constantin Floros, "Die Entzifferung der Kondakarien-Notation (II)," in Musik des Ostens IV, ed. Elmar Arro and Fritz Feldmann (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1967), p. 26.

On the basis of the preceding tabulation one would have to assume that at least three different pitch levels could be utilized for the start of this composition, two of which (f and c) predominate. This assumption seems to be verified by two 15th-century manuscripts, Athens MS. 2406 and Iviron MS. 1120, both of which provide two main signatures for this hymn: Mode I Plagal ($\tilde{\eta}\chi.\pi\lambda.\alpha'$) and Nana ($\tilde{\eta}\tilde{\eta}$).²⁰ As a result of duplicate neumatation such double martyriai in 14th and 15th-century manuscripts invariably indicate progression from the same pitch and seem to have only a confirmatory function.²¹ In this case, however, the following neumes do not resolve the dichotomy and merely provide the opening that is common to all of our 14th-century versions: $\tilde{\eta}\tilde{\eta}$.²² It seems probable then, that during the 14th century both Mode I Plagal and Mode III Authentic (or the Nana) were customarily used for this hymn. Moreover, it is interesting to note that this disagreement, which resulted in at least a bi-modal tradition, is already evident in our two earliest sources (Athens MS. 2458 and the virtually contemporaneous Athens MS. 2622), and is then continued throughout the 14th century.²³

²⁰Respectively, Athens MS. 2406 ('1453') fol. 289V, and Iviron MS. 1120 ('1458') fol. 583F. Also, as was indicated above, it is possible that Sinai MS. 1462 contains the identical double signature.

²¹See Conomos, *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika*, pp. 318-19, who cites the following example in which the two different main signature taken in conjunction with their subsequent neumes indicate an identical start on d:



²²The only minor exception is, of course, the opening in Sinai MS. 1294 referred to in n. 17 above.

²³The two versions in Vienna MS. 185 add support to this hypothesis. Although they are in Mode I Plagal and the Nana they require, respectively, an f and a c start. The use of Mode II Plagal in Athens MS. 2454 and Taphos MS. 425 is somewhat more difficult to explain. It is possible, however, that this reflects a local variant, and in the case of Athens MS. 2454 this is not an unusual divergence from the consensus of other MSS. Thus, for example, Athens MS. 2454 is the only one of nine 14th-century MSS which assigns the παλαιόν ("old") setting of Γεύσασθε to Mode I Plagal, instead of to Mode II Plagal. Γεύσασθε is the Communion verse for the Presanctified liturgy.

For the purposes of this study preference has been given to the version in Athens MS. 2458 while other versions have been consulted when necessary. Athens MS. 2458 is not only the earliest Akolouthiai that can be dated precisely ('1336') but in most instances it also seems to establish or to follow the modal designation of the majority of 14th-century manuscripts²⁴ and its transmissions are seldom distorted by scribal errors. In addition, the choice of Mode I Plagal is in accordance with the earliest musical sources that transmit the $\Sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$.²⁵

The thirteen remaining transmissions generally follow Athens MS. 2458 but they do display a number of melodic variants. Such variants usually constitute only minor alterations to the melodic fabric and comprise both figural expansion and contraction. Certainly a cursory examination of these changes supports the conclusion reached by Dimitri Conomos, who notes that

. . .melodic ornamentation should not be viewed as evidence either for stylistic development, or for chronological progression..²⁶

Thus in the following comparison of two excerpts from Athens MS. 2458 (fol. 169^r) and Vienna MS. 185 (fol. 285^r), the later manuscript contains in one case a simplification and, in the other instance, an elaboration of our earliest source.

²⁴ Athens MS. 2458 also contains, for instance, three settings of Γεύσασθε, and in each case these Koinonika agree in their modal designation with the majority of 14th-century sources.

²⁵ Conomos, "Psalmody and the Communion Cycle," p. 116.

²⁶ Conomos, Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika, p. 150.

EXAMPLE 1



Somewhat more substantial differences also occur in a few manuscripts but the melodic outline is, nevertheless, always clearly sustained.²⁷

There are in addition a few other discrepancies among the various sources that need to be dealt with here. The setting in Athens MS. 2454 is, as we have seen, assigned to Mode II Plagal, but immediately preceding the phrase $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}s$ ἀθανάτου there is found a medial signature of the Nana mode, as follows:

[μεταλάβετε]^a $\overline{22}$ $\overline{\pi}$ $\pi\eta[\gamma\tilde{\eta}s]$.

None of the other 14th-century versions contains a medial signature at this point and therefore the starting note of the new phrase — always an *ison* — is naturally reckoned from the end of the preceding phrase. In this instance, however, the medial signature seems to suggest a starting note a third higher (on c), rather than the same pitch as the previous ending (a). There does not appear to be a rational explanation for the use of this signature, and it must be assumed that this anomaly is due to a

²⁷ Such changes invariably appear in the music accompanying the phrase $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}s$ ἀθανάτου.

scribal error.²⁸ Otherwise, it could possibly mean that the Nana mode has a starting note of a in addition to the customary c, but this is highly unlikely.

The first of the two versions of this hymn in Vatopedi MS. 1495 (fol. 217^r) is the only example in the 14th-century repertoire which expands this piece with a complete repetition of the phrase *μηγῆς ἀθανάτου* and its music. However, a diastematic transcription of the final phrase shows an incongruity which is again probably the result of a scribal error. The following correction (marked by an asterisk) results in the right finalis for this version and accords with our other sources.

EXAMPLE 2

2458
π 9
γε χεδ σα σθε

1495
π 9
γε σα σθε

1495
CORRECTED
γε σα σθε

A further distortion that must be attributed to scribal error occurs in Sinai MS. 1294. The initial citation of γεύσασθε is given a descending third on the second syllable, as opposed to the customary

²⁸ A questionable medial signature also appears in Athens MS. 2454 in a number of other instances. In fact, Conomos, in his analysis of modal signatures, cites Athens MS. 2454 as one of the few MSS which contains inexplicable martyriai. See Conomos, Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika, p. 320.

descending fourth. This has been corrected in order to achieve agreement with the other versions.

EXAMPLE 3

2458
π ḡ

1294
π ḡ

1294
Corrected *

The five versions of Moschianos's arrangement demonstrate a similar disagreement concerning modal designation. However, only two modes are specified here, Mode I Plagal and Mode II Plagal.

Athens MS. 2622 fol. 360^V
Vienna MS. 185 fol. 285^r

Mode I Plagal,
requiring a d
start

Ambrosiana MS. Q. 11 fol. 261^V
Vatopedi MS. 1495 fol. 217^V
Vienna MS. 185 fol. 268^r

Mode II Plagal,
requiring an e
start

Once again all indications seem to suggest that this setting by Moschianos was not restricted to a single mode. Particularly significant, of course, is the fact that Vienna MS. 185 contains both versions, one in each mode. Moreover, if we look to later manuscripts it becomes apparent that this dichotomy remains unresolved, for all versions follow the tradition

of utilizing either Mode I Plagal or Mode II Plagal.²⁹ The version in Athens MS. 2622 is the oldest at our disposal and it has been used as our primary source.

Aside from Vatopedi MS. 1495, the remaining examples follow Athens MS. 2622 quite closely. Vatopedi MS. 1495 once again specifies a repetition of the phrase $\pi\eta\gamma\eta\varsigma \alpha\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ with its entire music, and also contains some more substantive deviations from our model. The changes, however, affect only incidentally the melodic outline of this version.

This ambiguity in modal designation does not really present a problem for the remaining versions of $\Sigma\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$, particularly since most of them are found only in one or two manuscripts. Two versions attributed to Kladas are contained in the 14th-century repertoire, one of these being transmitted by two manuscripts:

Athens MS. 904 fol. 268 ^v ³⁰	Mode IV Plagal, requiring a \underline{g} start, and Nana
Athens MS. 2411 fol. 572 ^r ³¹	Mode IV Plagal

²⁹It should be noted that the choice of two distinctive main signatures is, in two MSS, confirmed by the medial signatures. Thus Vienna MS. 185 fol. 285^r ($\lambda \tilde{g}$) contains a medial signature of g^{L} at the identical point where Vlatadon MS. 46 ('1591') fol. 109^r ($\lambda \tilde{y}$) gives a comparable medial signature of y^{\wedge} .

³⁰Since this $\Sigma\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ melody appears anonymously in Athens MS. 904, the attribution has been restored by comparison with Athens MS. 2411 and later 15th-century MSS. Moreover, due to the poor condition of the microfilm of Athens MS. 904 (also the MS?), Athens MS. 899 fol. 149^r and Athens MS. 2406 fol. 287^v were used to restore obscure or illegible passages.

³¹A microfilm of this MS was unavailable to me, but on a recent trip to Athens D. Conomos kindly copied this Koinonikon from the original MS in the National Library, and I am pleased to express my gratitude for this assistance.

In this case the explanation for the use of the double martyriai in Athens MS. 904 is quite simple and may be found in Athens MS. 2411. There the scribe has only written the signature for Mode IV Plagal but has added the rubric ". . .καὶ τρίτος" (= "and in Mode III"), indicating that the piece belongs not only to Mode IV Plagal. The transition into the Nana form of Mode III is shown by the medial signature $\tilde{\zeta}\tilde{\zeta}$ which appears after the "πάλιν" (= "repeat," "again") (line 5), and precedes the repetition of $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ ἁθανάτου. Moreover, an examination of this hymn shows that a modulation from Mode IV Plagal to the Nana mode has already occurred in line 2, for immediately before the first appearance of the word $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$, the scribe has inserted a phthora requiring a modulation to Mode III Authentic. This modulation, which is evident from the musical context as well, is also signified by the same phthora in Athens MS. 904, but where Athens MS. 2411 specified a Nana medial signature after the $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$, Athens MS. 904 indicates a medial signature of Mode IV Plagal.

EXAMPLE 4

904 $\text{[ἀθανάτου] πάλιν πηγῆς}$

2411 $\text{[ἀθανάτου] πάλιν πηγῆς}$

* See n. 32 below.

³² Although this should presumably be transcribed as an octave, there are numerous indications in 14th and 15th-century MSS that there was a certain amount of confusion concerning intervals larger than a sixth. The context in this case seems to suggest a seventh.

It is self-evident, of course, that the repetition of the phrase $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ ἁθανάτου (as indicated by $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$) will be in the identical mode as that used for its first citation (the modulation there being denoted by a phthora),³³ and the two passages are, to all intents and purposes, the same. The difference between our two 14th-century sources seems to be that in the case of Athens MS. 904 Mode IV Plagal is briefly reiterated by the $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$ formula as well as being specified by the following medial signature, before the melody returns to the Nana mode for the repetition of the $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ phrase. In the case of Athens MS. 2411, however, the scribe retains the Nana mode by virtue of the ascending seventh (see Example 4 and the caveat cited there), and consequently prescribes the $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$ formula in that mode as well before specifying the Nana medial signature that indicates a continuation in the Nana mode. Both versions subsequently return to Mode IV Plagal and end there with a finalis on g.³⁴

Another setting of $\Sigma\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha$ χρικοῦ by Kladas is transmitted by our 14th-century manuscripts but appears only in one of our earliest sources:

Athens MS. 2622 fol. 417^v

Mode III Authentic, requiring an a start

³³In fact the two 15th-century MSS consulted (Athens MS. 899 and Athens MS. 2406) both indicate a phthora only after $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$ and both also specify a medial signature for Mode IV Plagal here.

³⁴In Athens MS. 2411 line 6 - the exact location is marked by an asterisk in line 10 of Example 11 below, which contains the entire hymn - the scribe has omitted the ison from the figure ✂ . This results in the remainder of the setting being a tone too high, and has been corrected by comparison with Athens MS. 904.

The remaining composers are all represented by a single musical setting of the Easter Koinonikon. Gerasimos's setting occurs in two 14th-century manuscripts:

Vatopedi MS. 1495 fol. 217^V

Mode IV Plagal, requiring
a g start

Vienna MS. 185 fol. 285^V

Although the melody of this setting is essentially the same in both manuscripts, the version in Vatopedi MS. 1495 poses a rather unusual problem. Here the hymn is not only somewhat longer than in Vienna MS. 185 (by approximately four lines), but it contains an entire line of music without any text or teretismata whatsoever. The reasons for the use of this expansion will be analyzed in detail in the section on text; at this point the following explanation should suffice. Due to the absence of the Alleluia in the Easter Koinonikon, the repetition of entire text phrases together with their accompanying music was commonly utilized in order to fit the hymn to the liturgical action it had to cover. The most frequently repeated phrase was $\pi\eta\gamma\eta\varsigma \alpha\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon \gamma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon$ and it is this phrase which Vatopedi MS. 1495 repeats almost exactly after the customary $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$. Vienna MS. 185, however, omits this repetition and proceeds to another repetition of this text phrase (the conclusion of the hymn) with new music, which also concludes the version in Vatopedi MS. 1495. Immediately preceding this concluding phrase in Vatopedi MS. 1495, however, there occurs the aforementioned line of textless music. By comparing these two versions it becomes evident that the scribe of the Vatopedi manuscript has cleverly inserted a second ending in order to expand this hymn even further.

This irregularity in Vatopedi MS. 1495 is perhaps most simply explained by reference to the following figure. The word *πάλιν* (lines 7-8) signifies the repetition (in lines 8-10) of the phrase *πηγῆς ἁθανάτου γεύσασθε* and its music (from lines 5-7). In line 11 the scribe has entered the music previously used for *πάλιν* (fig. Δ), followed by that used for *πηγῆ[s]* (fig. Α') but has omitted this text. The next texted line (line 12) begins with a new ending for *[γεύσα]σθε* (fig. Ε), and continues with new music (fig. Θ) for the phrase *πηγῆς ἁθανάτου γεύσασθε* which concludes the hymn. By contrast, in Vienna MS. 185 only an abbreviated version is supplied, with the original *πηγῆ...s ἁθανάτου* (figs. Α and Β, cf. with lines 5-7 in Vatopedi MS. 1495) being followed by *γεύσασθε* (fig. Ε, cf. with line 12 in Vatopedi MS. 1495), and continuing directly with the concluding material (fig. Θ).

On the basis of this comparison the intentions of the scribe in Vatopedi MS. 1495 become clear. After the repetition contained in lines 8-10 the singer had the option of yet further repetitions. If the liturgical action required additional music, he would continue with line 11, adding to the untexted line the text with which he was by now quite familiar, viz., *πάλιν πηγῆς*. He would then return to the top of the folio (line 9) which constitutes the exact textual and musical sequel to line 11 (as well as line 8), and continue with line 10. This procedure could be repeated ad infinitum. Moreover, whenever the singer approached the end of line 10 he could also elect to substitute fig. Ε (the beginning of line 12) for fig. Γ (line 10) in *[γεύσα]σθε* and thereby draw the hymn to a close by continuing with line 12 et seq. The reason for the text omission in line 11 thus becomes obvious, as the text required here would have been nonsensical

with the ordinary sequence of lines (i.e. line 11 πάλιν πηγῆς line 12 σθε...). It would have confused both singers and future transcribers. In addition the textless line provides the singer with an important visual cue for the alternate second ending of [γεύσα]σθε in the following line (line 12).

FIGURE 1

Refrain Repetition in Gerasimos's Setting

Vatopedi MS. 1495

	fol. 217 ^V	fol. 218 ^P (line 9) B -2η-2ης	
		(line 10)	Γ
		ἄ-θα-νά-του γεύσασθε	
Music (=M)	(line 5)	A B	Δ A'
Text (=T)	[με]ταλάβετε πηγῆ-2η-2η	NO TEXT HERE	[= πάλιν πηγῆ-]
	(line 6)		(line 12)
M	B	E Θ etc.	
T	-2ης ἄ-	σθε - με πηγῆς ἄθα-	
	(line 7)		(line 13)
M	Γ Δ-		
T	θα-νά-του γεύ-σα-σθε πᾶ-	νάτου γεύσασθε ...	
	(line 8)		
M	-Δ A'		
T	λιν πηγῆ-		

Vienna MS. 185

Music	A B
Text	[μεταλάβετε] τηγῆ-2η-2η-2ης ἄθανάτου
Music	E Θ
Text	γεύσασθε με πηγῆς ἄθανάτου γεύσασθε

Only one setting of Σῶμα χριστοῦ by Gavalos is found in the 14th-century repertoire and it is transmitted by two manuscripts:

Vatopedi MS. 1495 fol. 218^r

Mode IV Plagal, requiring a g start

Vienna MS. 185 fol. 285^v

The version in Vatopedi MS. 1495 seems to contain a number of scribal errors and for this reason the slightly later version from Vienna MS. 185 is given precedence.

EXAMPLE 5

Ex. 5 (a)



Ex. 5 (b)



The most readily-apparent error is the fact that the Vatopedi scribe supplies an incorrect ending with a finalis on e, whereas that in the Vienna MS. ends correctly on g (see Example 5a). In addition, the major portion of line 4 in the Vatopedi MS. (i.e. following [ᾶ]θανάτου) consists

of music that is extraneous to the Vienna version and to the various 15th-century manuscripts utilized for comparative purposes (see Example 5b).³⁵ This phrase contains what is probably a further scribal error, for the succeeding line 5, which corresponds to the music immediately following ἁθανάτου in the Vienna version, is a tone too low.³⁶ Further support for this assumption may be found in the final musical phrase of this hymn which is an obvious repetition of the opening phrase and which the Vatopedi scribe begins a tone too low and then ends a third too low, as noted above (see Ex. 5a). The 15th-century manuscripts that were consulted follow the model of the Vienna MS. and this was deemed to be the preferable version for our purposes.

Doukas's setting of Σῶμα χριστοῦ is a unica which appears in the 14th-century manuscript:

Vatopedi MS. 1495 fol. 218^r

Mode IV Plagal

Once again this version is problematical. The phrase πηγῆς ἁθανάτου γεύσασθε (in lines 3-5) is repeated (in lines 6-8) after the word πάλιν, but a digital transcription results in the latter part of this repetition (beginning at line 7) being a third lower than the original citation. Due

³⁵ Athens MS. 2406 fol. 288^v, Vat. Barb. gr. 392 fol. 206^v and Ivron MS. 1120 fol. 585^v. Only the last MS contains a suggestion of this phrase but it does not, as is the case with Vatopedi MS. 1495, distort the remaining material.

³⁶ Most likely the error is due to the omission of an oligon or an oxeia from the unusual figure \s>, near the end of line 4. The exact location is marked by an asterisk in Example 5b.

to its distinctive contours, it is almost certain that this reiteration constitutes not only a textual but also a musical parallel and on this basis a correction has been effected. Beginning with line 7, on the syllable -νά- of ἀθανάτου, the rest of the hymn has been transposed up a third. The finalis of the text proper then becomes d whereas the post-cadential ending concludes on g.

The one remaining example of Σῶμα χριστοῦ is attributed to Panaretos and occurs in only one manuscript:

Koutlounousi MS. 457 fol. 232^v Model II Plagal

Although this setting is quite unproblematical, it does pose a question with respect to medial signatures. Immediately preceding the phrase πηγῆς ἀθανάτου γεύσασθε there appears a signature for Mode I Authentic (g⁴) which is followed by an ison above π[ηγῆς]. This signature normally requires the note a and the ison should merely confirm this pitch. The previous phrase, however, ends with an ascending fifth (from e to b) and it is a matter of conjecture whether the medial signature or the ison should take priority. It was arbitrarily decided that precedence should be given to the medial signature, and as such this section begins, and eventually ends, in Mode I.

T E X T

The text of the Easter Koinonikon has, for purposes of musical structure, been divided by the Byzantine composers into the following phrases:

1. Σῶμα χριστοῦ
2. μεταλάβετε
3. πηγῆς ἁθανάτου
4. γεύσασθε

This text structure of four phrases is a determining factor in the melodic organization of the hymn, for the phrase endings regularly coincide with cadence points in the music. As Breslich-Erickson has pointed out in her study of the Γεύσασθε, it is common practice at this time for major text divisions to be marked by full cadences.³⁷ Such cadences occur either on the last text syllable of a phrase (or shortly thereafter), or are what might be termed 'progressive' cadences, in that a rhythmic elongation occurs on the first syllable of the succeeding word. In some instances where the following word is the non-textual term πάλιν or λέγε (= "say!"), such 'progressive' cadences may occur on either or both of its syllables. The present repertoire shows a remarkable adherence to this principle as is demonstrated by these figures.³⁸

³⁷Breslich-Erickson, "Communion Hymn," p. 55.

³⁸These computations are not based merely on the initial citation of a phrase; rather, unambiguous phrase repetitions have also been taken into account.

TABLE II

Average Frequency of Text-Phrase Endings Coincident
with Musical Cadences

phrase 1	100%
phrase 2	92%
phrase 3	77%
phrase 4	75%

An unusual feature of the Σῶμα χριστοῦ setting, already alluded to above,³⁹ is the extensive use of textual phrase repetitions. The primary reason for this must be sought in the absence of a concluding Alleluia, which is omitted both from this hymn and from the only other non-scriptural Koinonikon, Τοῦ δεῖπνου σου for Holy Thursday. Since the music of the Alleluia refrain often surpasses in length that of the text verse proper, other means had to be utilized to expand the music of this hymn in order to cover the same liturgical action. A comparison with the other Communion verses, moreover, reveals that the Σῶμα χριστοῦ is one of the shorter texts, whose length in no way compensates for the missing Alleluia.⁴⁰ The problem must have been compounded further due to the position of the Easter feast as the culmination of the liturgical year, a fact which inevitably would have required the presence of additional celebrants, especially in the major churches, thereby necessitating ever more music. The solution, for the

³⁹See p. 16 above.

⁴⁰The texts of all Koinonika are reproduced in Conomos, "Communion Chants," pp. 245-48.

majority of our composers, was inherent in the text itself, and only the earliest example from our group, that attributed to Glykes, contains — except for the transmission in Vatopedi MS. 1495 fol. 217^r — no phrase repetition whatsoever. The slightly later version by Moschianos is also reticent about this procedure and contains only a brief reiteration of the word $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ within the same musical phrase. Once again, however, the Vatopedi scribe (on fol. 217^v) provides a $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\iota\nu$ repetition of the third text phrase.

The following table demonstrates the frequency of phrase repetition in this repertoire, and for this purpose the text has been divided into its five elements. The calculations here are based on eleven examples, since in three instances the repetition in a specific hymn is varied substantially in different sources, and therefore these have been counted separately.⁴¹ It must also be emphasized that the rationale behind this is the presence of a clear and unambiguous repetition of a self-sufficient unit of text and its music. Thus, for example, the reiteration of the word $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ in Moschianos's setting mentioned above has not been included, nor has the extension of the word $\mu\epsilon\text{-}\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ in Panaretos's hymn.

TABLE III

<u>Average Text-Element Repetition</u>				
<u>Σῶμα</u>	<u>Χριστοῦ</u>	<u>μεταλάβετε</u>	<u>πηγῆς ἀθανάτου</u>	<u>γεύσασθε</u>
9%	0%	18%	73%	36%

⁴¹This applies to the settings of the following composers as transmitted by these MSS: Glykes in Athens MS. 2458 and Vatopedi MS. 1495; Moschianos in Athens MS. 2622 and Vatopedi MS. 1495; Gerasimos in Vatopedi MS. 1495 and Vienna MS. 185.

It becomes obvious from these figures that the text-phrase $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ was the favoured vehicle of repetition utilized by the 14th-century composers of this hymn. This phrase occurs not only in its normal word order, but in some cases it also consists of juxtaposed words, a feature that is quite common in the kalophonic repertoire.⁴² Thus in Gavalos (according to both of our sources) the order is inverted as $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon \pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma \gamma\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon$, and in Kladas (according to Athens MS. 2622) $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon \pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma [\gamma\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon]$ is used as the repetition which follows the citation of the complete text. What does not become apparent from the preceding figures, however, is that the word $\gamma\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon$ often becomes a part of the repeated unit. In fact, in every instance that has been included in these calculations⁴³ the repetition of $\gamma\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon$ occurs in conjunction with the preceding phrase, as in $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon \gamma\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon$.

Upon examining this repertoire one becomes increasingly aware that this element ($\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon \gamma\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon$), or on occasion its three constituent words, functions in a manner analogous to the Alleluia refrain in other Koinonika. It appears as a de facto refrain both by virtue of the textual and musical elaboration accorded to it, and because of its length in relation to the rest of the hymn. Support for this supposition is, of

⁴²Edward Vinson Williams, "John Koukouzeles' Reform of Byzantine Chanting for Great Vespers in the Fourteenth Century" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale, 1968), p. 266.

⁴³In Panaretos's version the concluding repetition of $\gamma\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon$ constitutes what is virtually a post-cadential formula. Although it is actually an integral part of the hymn, its brevity and syllabic setting have caused it to be dismissed from consideration here.

course, evidenced by the figures adduced previously, but of greater interest here are the versions of Σῶμα χριστοῦ transmitted by one specific manuscript, Vatopedi MS. 1495. Without exception, every example in this manuscript contains a repetition of all or part of this unit of text, and even more importantly, the versions here are invariably more highly developed than the same pieces in other 14th-century sources. In the case of the versions attributed to Glykes and Moschianos, Vatopedi MS. 1495 is the only source among a total of nineteen examples which specifies a repetition of the phrase πηγῆς ἀθανάτου, and in the setting by Gerasimos (see above, p.16), this manuscript makes provision for an indefinite number of repetitions of the complete textual unit which is not reflected even in the later Vienna MS. 185. Presumably the elaboration of these passages in Vatopedi MS. 1495 is due to reasons of liturgical expediency, but, more significantly for our purposes, it becomes clear that a scribe, when required to expand this hymn, invariably developed the phrase πηγῆς ἀθανάτου γεύσασθε. This development is, by its very nature, closely related to the approach taken by the composers of other Communion hymns, who generally utilized the Alleluia refrain when confronted with a similar task. An examination of other Koinonika, in fact, reveals that elements of the text verse are only infrequently repeated, and that the expansion of musical material occurs primarily in the Alleluia.⁴⁴

⁴⁴See Conomos, "Communion Chants," p. 245 and Breslich-Erickson, "Communion Hymn," p. 67. An examination of the 14th-century repertoire of Γεύσασθε, shows that less than one-third of the examples repeat a phrase of the text. Such repetitions, however, are dispersed throughout the text and are not reserved for any one particular segment.

FIGURE 2

Text Parallelism in Glykes's Γεύσασθε and Σῶμα χριστοῦ

Γεῦ-σα-σθε	καὶ	ἴ-δε-τε	ὅ-τι	χρι-στό-s	ὁ	κύ-ρι-ο-os	ἀ-λλη	ζἀ-λλη-λού-ῖ-α	χἀ-λλη-λού-ῖ-α
Σῶ-μα	χρι	στοῦ	με-τα	λά-βε		τε	πη-γῆ[s]	ἀ-θα-νά-του	χἀ γε-εὔ-σα-σθε

phrase *πηγῆς ἁθανάτου γεύσασθε* is equated unambiguously with the Alleluia refrain, even though this procedure is not dictated by the syllabic alignment of the two verses. Moreover, the correlation even extends to the placement of the extraneous 'χ' in both instances. Although no other such versions of melodic migration between *Σῶμα χριστοῦ* and any other Koinonika which utilize the Alleluia refrain are known to me, on the basis of the evidence cited above, it seems reasonable to assume that the phrase *πηγῆς ἁθανάτου γεύσασθε* fulfilled a role similar to that of the Alleluia. Moreover, as a substitute for the customary Alleluia, the repetition of this phrase was eminently suited to the theological significance of the Easter feast, a fact which would scarcely have gone unnoticed by the composers or unappreciated by the listeners.

Another feature of the texting practice in this repertoire is what might be referred to as 'word extension', whereby a text-word is prolonged by the repetition of its syllables. This may be done by repeating the previous syllable (eg. *με-μεταλάβετε* or *γε-γεύσασθε*),⁴⁸ or by repeating a larger segment of the text (eg. *μετα-μεταλάβετε* or *ἁθανά-θανάτου*).⁴⁹

the other versions of *Σῶμα χριστοῦ* cited by Breslich-Erickson (excluding the opening labelled 'Sinai MS. 1293'), and permit a correct medial cadence on the opening pitch at the end of the first line. Moreover, the controversial second neume in Sinai MS. 1293 (an ison) is abnormally large, suggesting that the scribe here may also have originally used an erroneous apostrophos and later covered it with the ison. Furthermore, it should be noted that both Athens MS. 2406 and Sinai MS. 1462 give double main signatures for their *Σῶμα χριστοῦ* transmissions, not only the Nana signature (see p. 7 above), and that Athens MS. 899 assigns this hymn to Mode I Plagal and not to Mode II Plagal as indicated by Breslich-Erickson.

⁴⁸The former example is from Gavalos in Vatopedi MS. 1495 (fol. 218^r), and the latter is from Moschianos in Athens MS. 2622 (fol. 360^v).

⁴⁹The first example is from Gerasimos in Vatopedi MS. 1495 (fol. 217^v), and the second is from Panaretos in Koutloumoussi MS. 457 (fol. 232^v).

The former method is distinguished from the latter by its retention of a specific vowel or diphthong sound, and is therefore related to the intercalation of foreign letters in the texts of the kalophonic chants during the 14th and 15th centuries.⁵⁰ This extraneous material, which comprises both non-textual letters and the non-alphabetical letters 'z' and 'u', seems to have been used primarily as a means of supporting the text syllables during the lengthy musical melismas. As suggested by Conomos, their use seems to have a dual purpose; being employed

... in the texts of the hymns in order to facilitate the choir's or soloist's delivery of ornamental melismata and to enhance the otherwise disagreeable sound of an extended vowel.⁵¹

The most common application of this procedure is as follows: $\pi\eta-\gamma\eta-\chi\eta-\chi\eta-\chi\eta-\chi\eta\varsigma$ and $\pi\eta-\gamma\eta-\zeta\eta-\zeta\eta-\zeta\eta\varsigma$.⁵² The non-alphabetical letter 'u' functions in a similar manner but seems to be restricted (in our material at any rate) to instances of minor repetition, e.g., $\mu\epsilon-\upsilon\epsilon-\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ and $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon-\upsilon\epsilon$.⁵³ An unusual foreign letter occurs in Moschianos's version in Vatopedi MS. 1495 (fol. 217^V), where the word $\pi\eta\gamma\eta\varsigma$ is twice altered to become $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}-\kappa\eta-\kappa\eta\varsigma$. Although uncommon, this is only another means of prolonging the eta sound, and does not depart from the usage discussed previously. In the final analysis, of course, the extension of the text, whether

⁵⁰A detailed exegesis of this phenomenon is contained in Chapter Five, "Intercalated Letters and Meaningless Syllables," in Conomos, Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika, pp. 261-86.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 273.

⁵²Respectively, from Panaretos in Koutloumousi MS. 457 (fol. 232^V), and Gerasimos in Vatopedi MS. 1495 (fol. 217^V).

⁵³These occur, respectively, in Kladas in Athens MS. 904 (fol. 268^V), and Gerasimos in Vatopedi MS. 1495 (fol. 217^V). An unusual use of this letter occurs in Kladas's setting in Athens MS. 2622 (fol. 417^V), viz., $\Sigma\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha-\upsilon\epsilon-\sigma\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha$. Here the syllable 'uε' is equivalent to 'uāi' (= "yes"), and the interpolation functions as an affirmation.

effected by the repetition of syllables or larger segments of the word, and regardless of whether the syllabic repetition is assisted by the insertion of foreign consonants, serves much the same purpose: that of accommodating the text to prolonged musical passages and thereby facilitating their performance. It must also be noted that the insertion of foreign letters was clearly the prerogative of the scribe, who was usually also a singer. Parallel versions of Glykes's setting (taken from Athens MS. 2458 fol. 169^r and Vatopedi MS. 1495 fol. 217^r, respectively) demonstrate this clearly:

$\begin{array}{c} \gamma\epsilon\upsilon-\sigma\alpha-\chi\alpha \\ \qquad \qquad \\ \gamma\epsilon-\text{---}-\chi\epsilon-\chi\epsilon \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} \gamma\epsilon-\chi\epsilon\upsilon-\sigma\alpha-\sigma\theta\epsilon \\ \qquad \qquad \\ \gamma\epsilon\upsilon-\text{---}-\sigma\alpha-\sigma\theta\epsilon \end{array}$
---	--

A feature that is related to the preceding insertion of foreign letters is the use of meaningless syllables or teretismata. They are entirely absent from the present body of chants and this is somewhat surprising, for lengthy teretismatic passages are found from the 14th century on in other standard liturgical chants such as the Trisagion and Cheroubikon.⁵⁴

⁵⁴Conomos, Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika, pp. 273-86.

COMPOSERS

The composers of Σῶμα χριστοῦ in this collection of 14th-century manuscripts are generally identified by rubric, and in the few instances in which chants appear anonymously, the attributions have been restored by comparison with other versions.⁵⁵ Little is known, however, about any of these or other 14th and 15th-century Byzantine composers.⁵⁶ Usually they are simply names in a manuscript, occasionally modified by titles such as 'protopsaltes' or 'domestikos'; details about their lives and places of activity are generally unknown.⁵⁷ Even details about a composer's period of activity are distressingly limited. On occasion, they are provided by a few tantalizing clues in the contemporaneous 14th and 15th-century manuscripts themselves, but require in most cases an extrapolation based on a composer's initial appearance in a securely-dated source.

A treatise by the 15th-century composer and theoretician Manuel Chrysaphes provides the following order of composers: Aneotes, Glykes,

⁵⁵This was necessary in the following cases: Kladas's setting in Athens MS. 904 (fol. 268^v); Glykes's settings in Athens MS. 2600 (fol. 63^v), Sinai MS. 1294 (fol. 167^r), and Sinai MS. 1462 (fol. 149^r).

⁵⁶Ioannes Koukouzeles is the only exception, and he has been extensively studied by Williams, "John Koukouzeles' Reform."

⁵⁷Miloš Velimirović has produced a very helpful list of composers from a 15th-century MS. in "Byzantine Composers in MS. Athens 2406," in Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz, ed. Jack Westrup (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), pp. 7-18. See also the preliminary observations by Andrija Jakovljević, "David Raidestinos, Monk and Musician," in Studies in Eastern Chant III, ed. Miloš Velimirović (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 91-97. The protopsaltes and lampadarios directed, respectively, the right and left choirs, whereas the principal singer of each choir was termed the domestikós.

Ethikos, Koukouzeles, Kladas.⁵⁸ Another list is contained in an introductory note to Koutloumousi MS. 457 (fol. 1^r) and gives this order:

. . .the. . .protopsaltes Glykes and. . .his heirs
and pupils, Xenos Korones protopsaltes and Ioannes
Papadopoulos Koukouzeles, the maistor. . .⁵⁹

These at least provide us with a chronological ordering of the earlier composers, and when taken in conjunction with the conclusions about the life of Ioannes Koukouzeles reached by Edward Williams⁶⁰ would clearly suggest that all of the aforementioned composers (with the possible exception of Kladas) may be placed in the early 14th century.

The remaining composers, however, can in most cases only be dated approximately by a terminus ante quem of their activity as provided by the first appearance of their compositions in a datable manuscript. Naturally this is not an infallible procedure since it presupposes the absence of later additions to a manuscript. The lack of codicological studies of Akolouthiai, however, has necessitated the recognition of the generally accepted date of a manuscript as the date of all of its parts. Since the twenty-eight examples of Σῶμα χριστοῦ that have been utilized for this study do not present sufficient data for such an endeavour, the following list is based on an index of all Koinonika from the 14th and 15th centuries.⁶¹ A similar

⁵⁸A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Μανουὴλ χρυσάφης-λαμπαδάριος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κλήρου," Vizantiskii Vremennik VIII (1901): 536-37, cited in Conomos, Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika, p. 74.

⁵⁹Conomos, Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika, p. 66.

⁶⁰Williams, "John Koukouzeles' Reform," pp. 379 ff.

⁶¹I wish to thank Dimitri Conomos for allowing me the use of this index, which he compiled for his forthcoming publication on the Byzantine and Slavic Koinonika.

chronology has been attempted by both Breslich-Erickson⁶² and Williams,⁶³ based on their respective repertoires, but in view of the accumulation of additional information here, it becomes clear that in some cases their dating must be advanced considerably.

The following is a tentative chronology of our 14th-century composers, together with an indication of the earliest manuscript that contains any of each composer's Koinonika.

TABLE IV

Earliest MSS that Contain Any Koinonika by Each Composer

1336 (Athens MS. 2458)	Glykes Panaretos
1341-ca.1360 (Athens MS. 2622)	Moschianos Kladas Gavalas Gerasimos
ca.1360-1385 (Vatopedi MS. 1495)	Doukas

Ioannes Glykes's position as a protopsaltes is attested to by numerous sources, and, as Conomos has pointed out, whenever a rubric simply refers to τοῦ πρώτου ψάλτου there is little doubt that the reference is to Glykes.⁶⁴ According to Miloš Velimirović, he may have been associated

⁶²Breslich-Erickson, "Communion Hymn," p. 54.

⁶³Williams, "John Koukouzeles' Reform," p. 146 and p. 215.

⁶⁴Conomos, Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika, p. 416. Breslich-Erickson (in "Communion Hymn," p. 54) dates Glykes to ca. 1400, and Williams (in "John Koukouzeles' Reform," p. 215) suggests the first half of the 15th century. Based on the evidence provided by Chrysaphes's treatise and Koutlounousi MS. 457 (see p. 33 above), however, as well as Glykes's appearance in Athens MS. 2458, it becomes clear that he must have lived at the beginning of the 14th century at the very latest.

with the choir of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople⁶⁵ but in view of the conclusions reached by Christos Patrinelis, it seems more likely that Glykes was a member of the 'Royal Clergy'.⁶⁶ It is also possible that this composer may be identified with Ioannes XIII Glykes, Patriarch of Constantinople from 1315-1319, who is known to have been "a lover and promoter of arts and letters,"⁶⁷ and such an association certainly fits with the dating suggested above. Nothing whatsoever is revealed about George Panaretos by our sources. Velimirović has noted that this is a family name from Constantinople, and that it may also have been the name of a monastery.⁶⁸ In the case of Moschianos it is also possible that this may be either a family name or the name of a monastery.⁶⁹ In our repertoire he is on one occasion simply referred to as Konstantinos λαοσυνάκτου (Athens MS. 2622 fol. 360^V), and elsewhere as

⁶⁵Velimirović, "Byzantine Composers," p. 12.

⁶⁶Christos Patrinelis, "Protopsaltae, Lampadaraii, and Domestikoi of the Great Church during the post-Byzantine Period (1453-1821)," in Studies in Eastern Chant III, ed. Miloš Velimirović (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 145-47. On the basis of a passage in Pseudo-Kodinos (J. Verpeaux, Pseudo-Kodinos, Traité des offices, Paris, 1966, p. 265, line 20 ff., quoted in ibid., p. 145), Patrinelis has suggested that in Byzantine time the positions of protopsaltes and lampadarios did not exist in the Great Church. He proposes that all references to these offices must be to singers of parochial or provincial churches, or to members of the 'Royal Clergy', i.e. the palatine choirs.

⁶⁷Conomos, Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika, pp. 65-66.

⁶⁸Velimirović, "Byzantine Composers," p. 13. Only a Ποτήριο setting by Panaretos appears in Athens MS. 2458 (fol. 170^r), but two slightly later MSS (both dated 1340-ca. 1360) contain an Αἰνεῖτε melody (Athens MS. 2622 fol. 359^v and Ambrosiana MS. L. 36 fol. 264^r). The former text is used on Ferial Wednesdays and for feasts of the Mother of God; the latter is used on ordinary Sundays and on Forefeasts.

⁶⁹Velimirović, "Byzantine Composers," p. 13.

Konstantinos Moschianos.⁷⁰ Ioannes Kladas is often identified merely as the 'lampadarios' or Ioannes lampadarios, and, judging from the amount of his music transmitted by 14th and 15th-century manuscripts, he must have been one of the most prominent composers of the first half of the 14th century.⁷¹ He is thought to have been a member of the 'imperial' choir or clergy in Constantinople but little else is known about him.⁷² Gavalos is the name of a Cretan family⁷³ and the only information provided about Philip is that he was a domestikos.⁷⁴ At least two composers with the surname Gerasimos are found in the 14th and 15th-century repertoire of Koinonika. The composer of the Easter hymn under consideration here (in Vatopedi MS. 1495 and Vienna MS. 185) is referred to as Gerasimos hiermonachos, but a comparison of all

⁷⁰Vlatadon MS. 46 ('1591') fol. 109^r is the only source which refers to this composer as Moschianos domestikos, but it seems likely that the scribe there has confused Konstantinos with George Moschianos domestikos, see Velimirović, "Byzantine Composers," p. 15. Williams ("John Koukouzeles' Reform," p. 146) dates Moschianos to the late 14th century/first half of the 15th century, acknowledging, however, on p. 146, n. 5, this composer's presence in Athens MS. 2622. Breslich-Erickson ("Communion Hymn," p. 54) suggests a mid-fourteenth century date for a Gerontios[?] Moschianos.

⁷¹Conomos, *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika*, p. 146, notes that the term lampadarios invariably refers to Kladas. Later, however, in Athens MS. 2406 this appellation is also applied to the 15th-century composer Manuel Chrysaphes, see Velimirović, "Byzantine Composers," p. 10 and p. 16. When "the lampadarios" is used in isolation, however, it refers only to Kladas.

⁷²In addition to his setting of Ὡμῶν χριστοῦ Athens MS. 2622 also contains numerous examples of Ποτήριον, Αἰνεῖτε, and Εἰς μνημόσυνόν (the Communion for feasts of the Baptist) by Kladas, and his name appears consistently throughout the remainder of the 14th century. Clearly, then, he must have been born considerably earlier than the end of the 14th century/beginning of the 15th century as proposed by Williams ("John Koukouzeles' Reform," p. 215). See also Breslich-Erickson, "Communion Hymn," p. 54.

⁷³Velimirović, "Byzantine Composers," p. 13.

⁷⁴Athens MS. 2622 (fol. 418^r) contains only a Γεύσασθε by Philip Gavalos, but he then appears more frequently in Vatopedi MS. 1495 and Ambrosiana MS. Q. 11, both of which are dated ca. 1360-1385. Williams places him in the first half of the 15th century ("John Koukouzeles' Reform," p. 215), and Breslich-Erickson suggests "by 1453" ("Communion Hymn," p. 54). Both assignments are obviously far too late.

Koinonikon melodies attributed to the name 'Gerasimos' reveals that our composer is the person elsewhere identified as Gerasimos hieromonachos of Halkeopoulos (from Thessalonika).⁷⁵ Ioannes Doukas was a domestikos of

⁷⁵ Unfortunately, the *Σῶμα Χριστοῦ* setting by Gerasimos hieromonachos is only transmitted in Vatopedi MS. 1495 and Vienna MS. 185. Vatopedi MS. 1495, however, also contains a *Γεῦσασθε* (fol. 219^v) and a *Ποτήριον* (fol. 198^v) by Gerasimos hieromonachos, and in both cases the composer of the same hymns is identified elsewhere as Gerasimos hieromonachos of Halkeopoulos; the former occurs in Athens MS. 2406 (fol. 216^v), and the latter in Athens MS. 2622 (fol. 404^v) and Athens MS. 2406 (fol. 254^v). In fact, all of the following appellations are used for this same composer in various MSS: Gerasimos hieromonachos of Halkeopoulos (to which is added "from the city of Thessalonika" in Athens MS. 2406 fol. 254^v); Gerasimos of Halkeopoulos; Halkeopoulos; Gerasimos hieromonachos; Gerasimos monachos; Gerasimos ὁ ἁγιορείτης (= "of the Holy Mountain") or Gerasimos ὁ ἁγιορείτης (both occur only in Sinai MS. 1527); Gerasimos. A *terminus ante quem* for this composer is provided by the appearance of his works in Athens MS. 2622 (1341-ca. 1360). A Gerasimos from the monastery of Xanthopoulos also occurs in our sources. Xanthopoulos, as Velimirović has noted ("Byzantine Composers," p. 12) is the name of a monastery in Constantinople and that of a family associated with it. From the 15th century on this composer occurs mainly in Sinai MSS (but also in Vat. Barb. gr. MS. 300 and Vlatadon MS. 46), and is referred to as Gerasimos of Xanthopoulos, Xanthopoulos, Gerasimos, and, in one manuscript (Vlatadon MS. 46), as Gerasimos hieromonachos from the monastery of Xanthopoulos. The anomalous designation of 'hieromonachos' for this composer in Vlatadon MS. 46 ('1591') is in all probability a scribal error. Seemingly the scribe of this late MS. has simply switched the appellation 'hieromonachos' between the two composers, since he has referred to the former as Gerasimos of Halkeopoulos and has omitted the rightful title of 'hieromonachos', which he has, instead, added here. It becomes clear then, that only the Gerasimos from Halkeopoulos was a priest-monk, and this lends additional support to our previous conclusion about the composer of the *Σῶμα Χριστοῦ* melody in our repertoire. A further difficulty arises with the practice, in a number of Sinai MSS (especially Sinai MS. 1532 and Sinai MS. 1463), of indiscriminately referring to both composers simply as Gerasimos. On the basis of melodic comparisons it has generally been possible to ascertain which composer the scribe was referring to. In the case of one version, that in Sinai MS. 1463 (fol. 255^r) and Sinai MS. 1552 (fol. 519^r), however, no other copies are transmitted by our sources. Without *inter alia* a stylistic analysis that would be inappropriate to this paper, it is therefore impossible to determine which of the two composers the scribe had in mind. Williams ("John Koukouzeles' Reform," p. 146) suggests that Gerasimos hieromonachos be dated to the late 14th century/first half of the 15th century, and Breslich-Erickson ("Communion Hymn," p. 54) says only "by 1453." Both of these estimates are clearly too late.

Hagia Sophia in Constantinople; he also had the title of 'laosynaktos',⁷⁶ and his Ὡμα χριστοῦ melody in Vatopedi MS. 1495 is one of only a few Koinonika attributed to him.⁷⁷

The above dating of composers of this Koinonikon may be verified by yet another means. In her study, Breslich-Erickson draws attention to the way in which the order of the composers of the Γεύσασθε text in each manuscript reflects the composers' dating.⁷⁸ Only in the case of composers that are more or less contemporary with one another does the order become inconsistent. The following table (see p. 39) demonstrates that in our repertoire the manuscripts with multiple versions of Ὡμα χριστοῦ similarly reflect the chronology of their composers.

Having established a tentative chronological ordering of our repertoire it now becomes apparent that there exists not only a correlation between chronology and modal usage, but also a chronological order to the modal assignment of a composer's work which is transmitted in a number of manuscripts. This seems to clarify the seemingly haphazard choice of modes of Glykes's and Moschianos's settings of Ὡμα χριστοῦ (see pp. 7, 8, and 12 above). The following table (see page 40) takes into account only those manuscripts that can be securely dated, and shows clearly this progression in the course of the 14th century.

⁷⁶Velimirović, "Byzantine Composers," p. 12.

⁷⁷Doukas' Koinonika seem to appear only in Vatopedi MS. 1495, and the dates of this MS agree with the earlier dating suggested by Williams, i.e., the late 14th century (not the first half of the 15th century). See Williams, "John Koukouzeles' Reform," p. 146.

⁷⁸Breslich-Erickson, "Communion Hymn," pp. 54-55.

TABLE V

Ordering of Settings of Σῶμα χριστοῦ in MSS

	Athens MS. 2622	Ambrosiana MS. Q.11	Vatopedi MS. 1495	Koutloumousi MS. 457	Vienna MS. 185
Glykes	#1.	#1.	#1. #2.	#1.	#1. #3.
Panaretos				#2.	
Moschianos	#2.	#2.	#4.		#2. #4. ⁷⁹
Kladas (Mode III Auth.)	#3. ⁸⁰				
Gavalos			#6.		#5.
Gerasimos			#4.		#6.
Doukas			#5.		

⁷⁹In Vienna MS. 185 some seventeen folios separate Moschianos's version (#2.) and the second version by Glykes (#3.).

⁸⁰In Athens MS. 2622 there are fifty-seven intervening folios between the version by Moschianos and that by Kladas.

TABLE VI

Modal Assignment of Σῶμα χρῆστοῦ in Securely-Dated MSS

	Athens 2458 <u>'1336'</u>	L.36 <u>1341-ca.1360</u>	Athens 2622 <u>1341-ca.1360</u>	Q.11 <u>ca. 1360 - 1385</u>	Vat. 1495 <u>ca. 1360 - 1385</u>	Kout. 457 <u>ca. 1360 - 1385</u>	Vienna 185 <u>ca.1385-1391</u>	Vienna 185 ⁸¹ <u>ca.1385-1391</u>
Glykes	I Pl.	I Pl.	III Auth.	III Auth.	III Auth.	Nana	Nana	I Pl.
Panaretos						II Pl. (⇒I Pl.)		
Moschianos			I Pl.	II Pl.	II Pl.		II Pl.	I Pl.
Kladas			III Auth.					
Gavalos					IV Pl.			IV Pl.
Gerasimos					IV Pl.			IV Pl.
Doukas					IV Pl.			

⁸¹The six settings of this hymn seem to form two discrete units in this MS (see n. 79 above), and have therefore been cited in this manner. See also n. 83.

At the beginning of the century composers seem to have favoured Mode I Plagal for their settings of *Σῶμα χριστοῦ*, and as noted above (see p. 9) this choice agrees with the earliest musical sources of this hymn. If we consider, for example, the earliest manuscripts which contain the settings by Glykes and Moschianos, and which probably transmit these hymns most faithfully, we find that Mode I Plagal is specified in both instances. The compositions of such composers as Gavalos and Gerasimos, however, show that by mid-century Mode IV Plagal had superseded Mode I Plagal as the most popular choice of mode for this hymn, and this trend is confirmed in the work of the later Ioannes Doukas. Another setting of this text by Kladas, which appears to have been the more popular of his two versions, does not appear in the preceding table since it occurs only in manuscripts which cannot be precisely dated;⁸² however, it also reflects this trend with its use of Mode IV Plagal.

The preceding table also demonstrates that there seems to be a chronological order to the selection of the several different modes for Glykes's and Moschianos's settings. In the case of the former composer, successive manuscripts show that there is a progression from Mode I Plagal through Mode III Authentic to the Nana mode, and with the latter composer there is in evidence a trend from Mode I Plagal to Mode II Plagal. It must be noted, however, that this progression extends only to the first section

⁸² Athens MS. 904 (fol. 268^v) and Athens MS. 2411 (fol. 572^r).

in Vienna MS. 185 since in both instances the second group reverts, for some inexplicable reason, to the older usage of Mode I Plagal.⁸³

Continuing in a similar vein it seems possible to utilize this information to extrapolate a somewhat more precise dating of those manuscripts which are merely assigned to the 14th century. Having established that Kladas lived before 1341 (see Table IV) and that by the third quarter of the century (ca. 1360-1385) there was a definite trend towards utilizing Mode IV Plagal for settings of this Koinonikon (see Table VI), it does not seem unreasonable to propose that both Athens MS. 904 and Athens MS. 2411 must have been written post ca. 1360. Similarly, it seems that both Athens MS. 2600 and Sinai MS. 1294 might, on the basis of their inclusion of Glykes's $\Sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ melody in Mode I Plagal, conceivably be dated between 1336 and ca. 1360. Naturally this is insufficient data upon which to propose the dating of an entire manuscript, but it does suggest an avenue which, with the accumulation of enough information, might allow such manuscripts to be placed within a more specific chronological context.

⁸³ An examination of Christian Hannick's conclusions in regards to the scribes of this MS. reveals that these two sections (see Table VI) were written by two different scribes (Hannick, "Etude," p. 245). This second group (fols. 285^r-286^r), which retains the earliest modal designation for this hymn, occurs in a section of the MS devoted to Cheroubika of Holy Thursday and Easter Saturday, and the Koinonikon of Easter (fols. 282^r-285[?]^v). It is attributed to scribe A who is actually responsible for the majority of this MS. The two versions of $\Sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ by Glykes and Moschianos on fol. 268^{r-v} occur within a section of the MS that contains the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom (fols. 233^v-276^v), the latter portion of which was written by scribe B (fols. 261^r-276^r). This intimates the possibility that the earlier modal assignment—at least in Thessalonica, where this MS presumably originated—may have been utilized for these Koinonika at Easter, whereas a different modal scheme—possibly octoechal (?)—was used on other occasions. As was noted above (p. 2), this text was also used on Sundays, other than Easter. A less plausible explanation is that each scribe included those versions of which he was particularly fond in his section of the MS.

M U S I C

It seems appropriate to begin by considering the three settings of $\Sigma\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}$ by Glykes, Panaretos, and Moschianos as a group. Glykes and Panaretos—as was noted above—are the earliest composers represented in our repertoire, and the choice of mode in Moschianos's setting suggests a chronological proximity to their two versions. Moreover, as will become apparent in the following section, all three Koinonika embody similar structural procedures, and utilize much the same musical material. The complete transcriptions appear in Examples 6, 7, and 8, and in each case the constituent phrases have been vertically aligned so that their interrelationship becomes obvious.

The opening of Glykes's composition consists of a single phrase immediately repeated (Example 6, phrase A, lines 1 and 2), the focus of which is figure a. This phrase discloses the first text-unit ($\Sigma\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\tilde{\upsilon}$), and is restricted to the lower tetrachord of the mode, $\underline{d-f}$ (\underline{g}). In the other two settings the opening is very similar, and in each case figure a plays a determining role. Panaretos also uses an opening which spans the interval of a third, but only sets the first word of the text to it, in the following manner: $\Sigma\tilde{\omega}-\chi\omega-\mu\alpha$. Moschianos utilizes much the same opening which, however, has been expanded slightly by the lower auxiliary note \underline{c} , and which, in its repetition (phrase A'), shows a further increase in range by the consistent

EXAMPLE 6 - (a) Glykes, Athens MS. 2458, fol. 169^r ($\text{π}^{\text{a}} \text{γ}^{\text{a}} \text{π}^{\text{a}}$)
 (b) Glykes (excerpt), Vat. MS. 1495, fol. 217^r ($\text{r}^{\text{a}} \text{π}^{\text{a}} \text{ε}^{\text{a}}$)
 [transposed down a fifth]

Ex. 6(a) A B

Ex. 6(b)

EXAMPLE 7 — Panaretos, Kout. MS. 457, fol. 232^v (ἄγ→ḡ)^L

The musical score consists of eight staves, numbered 1 through 8. The notation is in a single system, with a section marker 'B' positioned between staves 3 and 4. The lyrics are in Greek, with some words written in a stylized, possibly medieval, script. The staves contain various musical notations, including notes, rests, and accidentals. The lyrics are: 1. ἄγ, 2. ἄγ, 3. ἄγ, 4. ἄγ, 5. ἄγ, 6. ἄγ, 7. ἄγ, 8. ἄγ. The staves also contain other words such as: 1. ἄγ, 2. ἄγ, 3. ἄγ, 4. ἄγ, 5. ἄγ, 6. ἄγ, 7. ἄγ, 8. ἄγ. The staves are numbered 1 through 8, and the section marker 'B' is located between staves 3 and 4.

EXAMPLE 8 — (a) Moschianos, Athens MS. 2622, fol. 360^v (π γ̃)
 (b) Moschianos (excerpt), Vat. MS. 1495, fol. 217^v (π γ̃)
 [transposed down a second]

Ex. 8(a)

A **A'** **B**

1 $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ $\chi\rho\iota$ $\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\chi\rho\iota$ $\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\mu\epsilon$

2 $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ $\chi\alpha$ $\beta\epsilon$ $\tau\epsilon$

3 $\pi\eta$ $\gamma\eta$

4 $\kappa\iota$ $\kappa\iota$ $\kappa\iota$ $[\eta]s$ $[\alpha]$

5 $\nu\alpha$ $[v] 185 + 1495$

6 $\gamma\epsilon$ α $\theta\alpha$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $[\gamma\epsilon\upsilon]$

7 $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon$ $\sigma\alpha$ $\sigma\theta\epsilon$

8 γ ϵ $\gamma\epsilon\epsilon$

Ex. 8(b)

5 $\pi\alpha$ $\lambda\iota\nu$ $\pi\eta$ $\gamma\eta$ *

5' α $\theta\alpha$ $\nu\alpha$

6' $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\sigma\alpha$ $\sigma\theta\epsilon$

7' $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon$

* This sign is used to indicate the omission of part of the melody.

use of the g. Both phrases A and A' nevertheless clearly remain in this lower region of the mode, and once again comprise the entire first phrase of the text, i.e. $\Sigma\omega\mu\alpha\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$.

All three versions show a considerable augmentation of range in phrase B. In essence, the very restricted ambitus of phrase A is here extended upwards and eventually revolves around the note a, with only an occasional excursion up to b and c. Even Moschianos, who develops the upper range most consistently, does not venture beyond c. In his version, however, it is possible to see this phrase as constituting a shift — albeit brief — to the upper tetrachord of Mode I Plagal (i.e. a-d), whereas the earlier settings by Glykes and Panaretos show this shift only incipiently, in effect an expansion in range of phrase A. This is particularly evident by the fact that in most instances phrase B in Glykes and Panaretos begins from and returns to the lower tetrachord of the mode, while this occurs less frequently in Moschianos. Glykes's original use of phrase B actually gives every indication of being merely a development of phrase A (see line 3 in which this phrase only spans a third from e-g), and it is only after successive versions that the character of the phrase becomes sufficiently well defined and its identity clarified (see line 7). In addition, figure b often functions as the closing element of phrase B both here (cf. lines 3, 5, and 7) and in the other two versions; thus its use in line 3 adds support to our identification of this line with phrase B.

The texting of phrase B at its initial appearance is quite similar in all three versions and shows evidence of a change that seems to constitute a progression from Glykes through Moschianos. Glykes begins this phrase with the first syllable of $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ whereas Panaretos, who does not repeat

phrase A as the other two composers do, sets the initial citation of the word $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ to phrase B. Moschianos begins with a repetition of this word, and reaches the apogee of the phrase with the first syllable of $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$. Example 9 illustrates the first use of phrases A and B in all three versions and allows the various similarities of the openings to become readily apparent.

EXAMPLE 9

Phrase A A B

Glykes Σω μα χρι στού με

Moschianos Σω μα χρι στού με

Panaretos Σω μα χρι στού

* see n. 84 below

After having thus expanded the compass of the melody in phrase B, both Glykes (Example 6, line 4) and Panaretos (Example 7, line 2) return to phrase A before proceeding to a middle section which consists of phrase B; the latter uses this return to the lower tetrachord for his initial setting of $\mu\epsilon[\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\epsilon\tau\epsilon]$, and the former uses it for the continuation of this word. This repetition does not occur in Moschianos, who continues directly with phrase B.

⁸⁴ Transposed to Mode I Plagal for ease of comparison.

In all three settings a great deal of similarity may be observed between the various versions of phrase B. This is particularly evident, of course, in the general ambitus and contours of the phrase, as well as in the use of figures b and c. Also noteworthy, however, is the unusually consistent placement of the pelaston within the melodies. This neume occurs somewhat infrequently in 14th-century manuscripts,⁸⁵ and it is here reserved not only for the same musical figure, but invariably for the same pitch (i.e. b). In Glykes's setting the pelaston is used as the peak of phrase B in line 7, and occurs in the word γεύσασθε. All other manuscripts which transmit Glykes's hymn use a pelaston at this point, irrespective of whatever other differences in modal assignment or notation they may transmit.⁸⁶ In Moschianos's setting the pelaston is used at the identical place in the text but occurs only in Vatopedi MS. 1495 and Vienna MS. 185 and not in our model from Athens MS. 2622. Moreover, at the same place in phrase B, at the word ἀθανάτου, Vatopedi MS. 1495 adds an additional pelaston (cf. Example 8b, lines 6' and 5'). Panaretos also uses the pelaston only in phrase B, but utilizes it for both the words ἀθανάτου and χριστοῦ (cf. Example 7, lines 6 and 1).⁸⁷ It is difficult to deduce the significance of this remarkably consistent usage of the pelaston, but it does serve to emphasize

⁸⁵Hannick, "Étude," p. 255.

⁸⁶Sinai MS. 1462 (fol. 149^r) and Sinai MS. 1294 (fol. 167^r) both use an additional pelaston. In Sinai MS. 1462 it occurs to ἀθανάτου on the note g, and in Sinai MS. 1294 it is used during the post-cadential formula to the note e (see Example 21).

⁸⁷Although in line 1 the pelaston occurs on a c, this note is equivalent, by virtue of the use of Mode II Plagal in this section, to the note b as it is used in line 6.

the similarity of phrase B in all three versions and might conceivably indicate a common origin or at least the existence of a similar model utilized by all three composers.

Of greater significance than these various features, however, is the similarity in overall structure that is revealed by all three settings. After a middle section that is devoted to phrase B, all three composers eventually return to phrase A and its lower area of the mode, thereby giving their compositions the semblance of a large tripartite form. In each case the last element of this structure constitutes an amalgamation of the two phrases and their respective regions of the mode, so that the scheme appears as A + B + (A + B). This recapitulation is especially obvious in Glykes's hymn where it is highlighted by the virtually exact reiteration of figure a (see Example 6, lines 6, 7, and 8) and figure b (see Example 6, line 7). Panaretos is similarly unequivocal about the return to phrase A and B (see Example 7, figure a in lines 6 and 7, and figures c and b in line 7) and although Moschianos obscures figures a and b somewhat through embellishment, they are still distinctive enough to permit their identification (see Example 8, figure a in line 7 and compare this with line 2). It is of particular interest that this reappearance of phrase A, and its subsequent combination with phrase B, is relegated to much the same place in the text of all three versions. Panaretos and Glykes both associate this recapitulation with the music which separates *πηγῆς* and *ἀθανάτου*, and return to it again for the music which accompanies or immediately precedes the last word, *γεύσασθε*. Moschianos applies it only to the first syllable of this last word.

It should also be noted that in all three versions the lower tetrachord is utilized for the final cadence. Glykes makes direct use here of the opening figure *a*, and Panaretos follows this procedure, albeit through a lengthening of the figure. Moschianos does not revert to the opening figure but merely returns to this area of the mode by circumscribing the finalis *d* and its upper neighbouring tone.

The overall form that emerges in all three versions then is a very simple one that is constructed with a minimum of musical materials. The use of only two phrases underlines the similarity of these early settings of *Σῶμα χριστοῦ* and segregates them quite clearly from the more elaborate structures of the later 14th-century composers.

Examples 6 and 8 also reproduce a number of parallel musical phrases from the latter section of Glykes's and Moschianos's settings as found in Vatopedi MS. 1495. This manuscript, it will be remembered, contains a repetition in both settings of the phrase *πηγῆς ὁθανάτου* and its music. Occasionally, Vatopedi MS. 1495 is slightly more elaborate than our models of Glykes's and Moschianos's settings from Athens MS. 2458 and Athens MS. 2622 (respectively), and it is gratifying to observe that Vatopedi MS. 1495 invariably supports our division of the phraseology (e.g. compare line 5 from Athens MS. 2458 and line 5' from Vatopedi MS. 1495 in Glykes' hymn). In Vatopedi MS. 1495 the word *πάλιν* is, in both instances, used to introduce the repetition of the phrase *πηγῆς ὁθανάτου* and it is interesting to note the manner in which this word is set to music. It is not merely given an arbitrary musical figure; rather it comprises an integral part of the structure and fulfils the musical logic of its context. Consider, for example, the ending of the musical phrase which follows the word *ὁθανάτου*

in Glykes's hymn (as given in Athens MS. 2458, line 7) and which cadences on c immediately prior to the leap of a fifth to g that begins the word γεύσασθε. At the identical location in Vatopedi MS. 1495 (line 7') the notes of this fifth are filled in, a musical elaboration which is also fulfilled by the word πάλιν at the equivalent point in line 7. A comparison of lines 6 and 6' of Moschianos's setting from Vatopedi MS. 1495 (Example 8a) shows that much the same procedure is followed there.

The text setting is quite similar in all of these three versions by Glykes, Panaretos, and Moschianos. It amounts to a decidedly conservative treatment that is basically syllabic or neumatic and is only infrequently expanded into melismas. The longest melisma is invariably written under the second syllable of πηγῆς, and in Moschianos's and Glykes's hymns the first, and the first two syllables of γεύσασθε (respectively) are also prolonged. In general, however, it appears that a maximum effort has been made to preserve the intelligibility of the text by according to most words a syllabic or neumatic musical setting. This is particularly evident in the composers' treatment of the words ὦμα and πηγῆς, the former opening the hymn and the latter beginning the second major section. The word πηγῆς is always set to two successive notes of the same pitch, and this gives it a somewhat heraldic quality. Panaretos and Moschianos both delay the final consonant of this word by the use of intercalated material but this only obviates the lengthy unsupported melisma on the final syllable that occurs in Glykes's setting in Athens MS. 2458. A similar procedure is utilized for the word ὦμα. Only in Panaretos's hymn are the two syllables of this word not set to successive notes. Instead, he introduces a repetition of the opening vowel by using the intercalated syllable 'χω' after

an intervening upper neighbouring tone, but this is at most a minor departure from the nature of the opening used by the other two composers.

The two works by Kladas — one in Mode III Authentic, the other in Mode IV Plagal (hereafter, respectively, Kladas Γ and Kladas Δ) — comprise a second category for the Easter Communion hymn. Chronologically, and to some extent stylistically, they show a connection with the preceding three versions, whereas the choice of mode suggests — at least in one case — a link with the remaining settings in Mode IV Plagal. In fact, a close examination reveals that they exhibit a far greater similarity to one another than to either the earlier or later settings, and will therefore be treated independently.

The two hymns are reproduced in Examples 10 and 11, and their interrelationship, as well as their divergence from the earlier settings, is immediately apparent. It is evident that the structure here has been expanded somewhat, and both works are now constructed with three musical phrases rather than two as had been utilized by the earlier composers. Within each version the first two phrases (A and B) are decidedly similar; occupying much the same tessitura and displaying like contours. Their distinctiveness, however, is manifested by the generally dissimilar opening or closing notes, and by the correlation of some significant musical elements. Compare, for instance, figure e which dominates the cadence of most examples of phrase B in Example 10, but is not present in phrase A. Similarly, in Example 11, the descending motion of phrase A is usually initiated by a combination of figures f and g, whereas this descent is generally avoided in phrase B by the use of figure h. Phrase C, on the other hand, is in

EXAMPLE 10 — Kladas, Athens MS. 2622, fol. 417^V (Γ π 4)

The musical score is written on nine staves, numbered 1 to 9. It is divided into three main sections: A, A', and B, followed by section C. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals, along with Greek lyrics written below the staves.

Section A: Staves 1-3. Lyrics: *Σω* (Staff 1), *μα* (Staff 2), *με σω μα* (Staff 3).

Section A': Staves 1-3. Lyrics: *αχρ* (Staff 3).

Section B: Staves 4-9. Lyrics: *στον* (Staff 3), *με τα λα* (Staff 4), *με τα λα* (Staff 5), *α* (Staff 6), *α* (Staff 7), *ε* (Staff 9).

Section C: Staves 4-9. Lyrics: *βε τε* (Staff 4), *λε γε* (Staff 5), *πη γης α θα να* (Staff 5), *πα λιν* (Staff 7), *πη γη* (Staff 7), *ης* (Staff 7), *α θα να* (Staff 7), *πη γης γε* (Staff 8), *σα σε* (Staff 8).

EXAMPLE 11 — Kladas, Athens MS. 2411, fol. 572^r ($\frac{\lambda}{\pi} \frac{\pi}{\sigma}$)

The image shows a handwritten musical score for 18 voices, organized into three systems: A, B, and B' (with C as a continuation of B').

- System A:** Contains staves 1 through 12. It includes the lyrics "ΣΩ ΜΑ", "ΣΤΟΥ ΜΕ", "ΘΑ ΝΑ", and "ΤΟΥ".
- System B:** Contains staves 13 through 18. It includes the lyrics "ΜΕ", "ΤΑ ΧΑ", "ΒΕ", "ΤΕ", "ΠΑ", "ΛΙΝ", "ΓΕ", "ΟΛΑ", and "ΣΑ".
- System B' (C):** Contains staves 19 through 24. It includes the lyrics "ΠΑ", "ΛΙΝ", "ΠΗ", "ΓΗΣ", "ΜΕ", "ΣΑ", and "ΛΙΝ".

The score is written in a single system with 18 staves. The lyrics are in Greek. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *f*, *g*, and *h*.

both versions completely at variance with the two preceding phrases and forms an easily identifiable group.


The following Example 12 contains the first line of all three phrases, and this juxtaposition highlights an astonishing similarity between both of Kladas's settings. Not only are the three phrases virtually identical in both settings but their initial appearance occurs at equivalent points in the text, i.e. each phrase coincides with one of the first three text divisions. It is scarcely an exaggeration, then, to suggest that both hymns are fashioned from the same materials, for although some differences are evident, the degree of identity is far too great to permit it to be summarily dismissed.

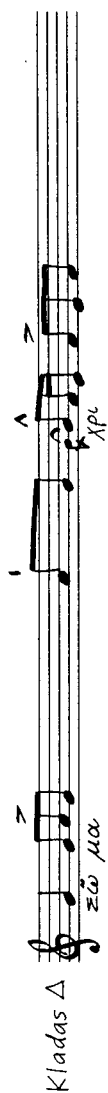
The two hymns are originally assigned to different modes that start a second apart, and Example 12 shows that phrase A in each version is a transposition, by an interval of a second, of its companion. In Kladas Γ the opening phrase is longer, and is more highly developed by virtue of its two distinct upward curves (cf. phrase A' and A' in Example 12), but this only shows the slight divergence in compositional approach that is also apparent elsewhere in this setting. This dissimilitude is revealed, in particular, by the unusual and extended melisma on the first syllable of Σῶμα, as well as by the repetition of this entire word, a feature which occurs in no other 14th-century example. More than twice as much music is actually devoted to the first phrase of the text in Kladas Γ than in Kladas Δ, and a similar change of proportions is also evident in the second phrase.

A modulation to Mode IV Authentic, which is verified by the interpolation of a medial signature of that mode, occurs at the beginning of phrase B in Kladas Γ and results in this version acquiring the same pitch


EXAMPLE 12


Phrase **A** (line 1)

Kladas Γ 


Kladas Δ 

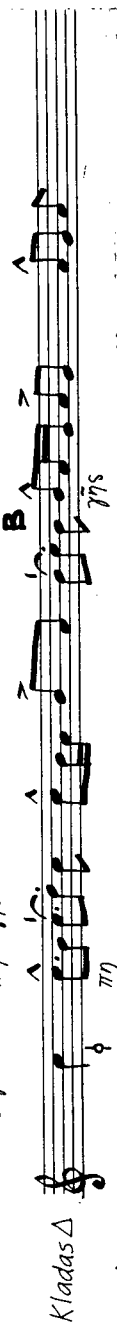
Phrase **B** (line 3)

Kladas Γ 

Kladas Δ 

Phrase **C**

Kladas Γ 

Kladas Δ 

level as Kladas Δ. This phrase, together with the second unit of text, is again given a more extensive musical treatment in the former hymn, occurring there three times, and only once in Kladas Δ. At its first repetition in Kladas Γ this phrase is preceded by a medial signature of the Nana mode, a signature that is somewhat puzzling for its context suggests that it must be reckoned from g and not its customary c. Moreover, except for the somewhat lower tessitura in its central part, this phrase is equivalent to the previous one, which had been introduced with the signature of Mode IV Authentic.

In Kladas Γ the beginning of phrase C is introduced by the word λέγε which is set to a musical fragment that is similar to the intonation formula for the Nana mode (Mode IV Medial),⁸⁸ and it is followed by a medial signature of this mode. The use of the word λέγε at this point is rather unusual, for ostensibly it does not mark either a musical or textual repetition, and is set to the identical figure that is used slightly later for the word πάλιν which introduces a repetition of the phrase πηγῆς Ἀθανάτου. Although the word λέγε may signify an unnotated and as yet unrecognized reiteration of previous material, its most apparent role is that it acts as an abstract of the opening of the succeeding phrase. After the repetition of phrase C there occurs a brief musical phrase (Example 10, line 8) that is our first indication of the practice of word inversion — in this case, word elision — that became increasingly popular among the composers of this era.⁸⁹

¹ ⁸⁸See the formulae of Mode IV Plagal in Oliver Strunk, "Intonations and Signatures of the Byzantine Modes," in Essays on Music in the Byzantine World, p. 24 examples #10 and #11, and p. 33.

⁸⁹See p. 25 above.

It is obvious, however, that the phrase $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}s \gamma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon$ is merely a paraphrase that conveys the idea of the complete phrase in a somewhat more succinct but equally intelligible and possibly more emphatic manner.

A phthora of Mode III Authentic marks the beginning of phrase C in Kladas Δ but this only confirms a transposition that is evident from the music itself. The repetition of this textual and musical unit is introduced by the word $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$ (Example 11, line 7), and as was the case in our three earlier settings, this word is set to an organic part of the phraseology of this hymn. In Example 4 above (p. 14), we noted the divergent approach taken by the two scribes of Athens MS. 2411 and Athens MS. 904 for the setting of the word $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$, but Example 12 reveals that the latter, in effect, substitutes phrase B where the former uses phrase C. Preceding the reiteration of $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}s \delta\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ the scribe in Athens MS. 2411 also interpolates a signature of the Nana mode ($\tilde{2}\tilde{2}$), whereas Athens MS. 904 utilizes a martyriai of Mode IV Plagal.

In the three early versions of $\Sigma\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ we observed in each case the recapitulation of phrase A towards the close of the hymn, and this feature resulted in all settings acquiring the appearance of a tripartite structure. A similar tendency appears in the examples by Kladas, but the symmetrical scheme is no longer visible. Kladas Γ uses a phrase (Example 10, line 7) that is reminiscent, both by its tessitura and its use of figure d, of phrase A (see especially line 3). As in our earlier settings, this is then followed by the remaining phrases: the ending only of phrase B, and the $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$ repetition of phrase C in its entirety. In addition, the conclusion of this hymn utilizes a portion of phrase A', as does the post-cadential material. However, in spite of this, a substantially different form results

and the reiteration of material from phrase A seems practically incidental to it. The difference in form is caused mainly by the disproportionately greater amount of musical emphasis placed on the first two phrases (A and B) and their music, an imbalance which is furthered by the brevity of phrase C.

Kladas Δ demonstrates a rather complex structure in which a great deal of alternation of phrases B and C takes place, and in which phrase A plays a significant, if intermittent, role. The recapitulation of phrase A is actually considerably more distinctive here than in the former Kladas example, and it occurs with the word ἁθανάτου (Example 11, lines 7 and 12), a placement that is analagous to that in Glykes's and Panaretos's versions. Moreover, as was the case with our earlier settings, phrase A is immediately followed by phrases B and C (see Example 11, line 12, since this omits the πάλιν phrase that follows in line 7). In Kladas Γ, however, the reappearance of phrase A is set to the first syllable of γεύσασθε and this usage is similar to Moschianos's version, as well as the second occurrence of the phrase in Glykes's and Panaretos's hymns.

A completely different approach to text setting is seen in Kladas's two works. In Kladas Γ, except for a few instances — notably the lengthy melismas on Σῶ-μα, and that which occurs at the initial use of γεύσασθε — the preference is for a repetition of words, or occasionally parts of words, rather than lengthy, unsupported melismas. Again there seems to be a maximum emphasis on the comprehensibility of the text and the remaining melismas generally occur on the last or penultimate syllables of a word, thereby ensuring that the nature of the word has been clearly expressed, e.g., μεταλά-βετε or ἁθανά-του. In Kladas Δ, however, text words are not repeated — barring,

of course, the repetition associated with the $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$ — and this requires the more frequent use of the lengthy melismas, especially since it is the longer of the two hymns. Since most of the text receives a neumatic/syllabic setting this does not affect its intelligibility to any great extent, and the longest melisma occupies a familiar place on the second syllable of $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$. Only in the word $\gamma\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon$ are all of the syllables widely dispersed by the insertion of melismatic passages.

The setting of the words $\Sigma\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha$ and $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ is also subtly altered in the two settings. In Kladas Γ the first words is — as we have already seen — subjected to a lengthy melisma, but the word $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ is set syllabically. Both syllables of this word are initially set to two identical notes, but when the word is reiterated the repeated pitch of the second syllable is presaged by both lower and upper neighbouring tones. The second repetition is yet again different and there the second syllable is set a third higher than the first. Also, in contrast to both Kladas Δ and the earlier versions discussed above, only a moderate melisma is written to the second syllable of $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$, and this occurs solely at its second citation. Except for the initial use of $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$, Kladas Δ also continues the practice of setting both syllables of the two words to successive notes of the same pitch. It is possible, though, that in the former instance the unusual disposition of the syllable $\gamma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ is primarily meant to signify the placement of the sigma consonant, in a manner analagous to $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}-\chi\eta\varsigma$ which occurs frequently in our repertoire. In that case the scribe would have assumed that the two vowels of $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ would be sung in the customary manner to the two consecutive notes at the beginning of the phrase, similarly to that which he notated for the repetition of the word in line 8 (Example 11).

EXAMPLE 13 — Gavalos, Vienna MS. 185, fol. 284^v ($\frac{\lambda}{\pi} \frac{\epsilon}{\delta}$)

The musical score is organized into four measures labeled A, B, C, and D. It features nine staves, numbered 1 through 9. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals, along with Greek lyrics written below the staves.

Measure A:

- Staff 1: $\xi \omega$ μα
- Staff 2: $\chi \rho \iota$ σ του
- Staff 3: με
- Staff 4: (empty)
- Staff 5: (empty)
- Staff 6: (empty)
- Staff 7: $\gamma \epsilon \nu$
- Staff 8: $\sigma \alpha \sigma$ $\theta \alpha \iota$
- Staff 9: $\eta \alpha \iota$

Measure B:

- Staff 1: τα λα
- Staff 2: $\beta \epsilon$ $\tau \epsilon$
- Staff 3: α $\theta \alpha$ $\nu \alpha$
- Staff 4: $\tau \alpha$ $\lambda \alpha$ $\beta \epsilon$ $\tau \epsilon$
- Staff 5: α $\theta \alpha$ $\nu \alpha$
- Staff 6: $\tau \alpha$ $\lambda \alpha$ $\beta \epsilon$ $\tau \epsilon$
- Staff 7: $\gamma \epsilon \nu$
- Staff 8: $\sigma \alpha \sigma$ $\theta \alpha \iota$
- Staff 9: $\eta \alpha \iota$

Measure C:

- Staff 1: $\pi \eta$ $\gamma \eta$ $\eta \varsigma$ α $\theta \alpha$ $\nu \alpha$ $\tau \alpha$ $\lambda \alpha$ $\beta \epsilon$ $\tau \epsilon$
- Staff 2: $\pi \eta$ $\gamma \eta$ $\eta \varsigma$ α $\theta \alpha$ $\nu \alpha$ $\tau \alpha$ $\lambda \alpha$ $\beta \epsilon$ $\tau \epsilon$
- Staff 3: $\pi \eta$ $\gamma \eta$ $\eta \varsigma$ α $\theta \alpha$ $\nu \alpha$ $\tau \alpha$ $\lambda \alpha$ $\beta \epsilon$ $\tau \epsilon$
- Staff 4: $\pi \eta$ $\gamma \eta$ $\eta \varsigma$ α $\theta \alpha$ $\nu \alpha$ $\tau \alpha$ $\lambda \alpha$ $\beta \epsilon$ $\tau \epsilon$
- Staff 5: $\pi \eta$ $\gamma \eta$ $\eta \varsigma$ α $\theta \alpha$ $\nu \alpha$ $\tau \alpha$ $\lambda \alpha$ $\beta \epsilon$ $\tau \epsilon$
- Staff 6: $\pi \eta$ $\gamma \eta$ $\eta \varsigma$ α $\theta \alpha$ $\nu \alpha$ $\tau \alpha$ $\lambda \alpha$ $\beta \epsilon$ $\tau \epsilon$
- Staff 7: $\pi \eta$ $\gamma \eta$ $\eta \varsigma$ α $\theta \alpha$ $\nu \alpha$ $\tau \alpha$ $\lambda \alpha$ $\beta \epsilon$ $\tau \epsilon$
- Staff 8: $\pi \eta$ $\gamma \eta$ $\eta \varsigma$ α $\theta \alpha$ $\nu \alpha$ $\tau \alpha$ $\lambda \alpha$ $\beta \epsilon$ $\tau \epsilon$
- Staff 9: $\pi \eta$ $\gamma \eta$ $\eta \varsigma$ α $\theta \alpha$ $\nu \alpha$ $\tau \alpha$ $\lambda \alpha$ $\beta \epsilon$ $\tau \epsilon$

Measure D:

- Staff 1: $\pi \eta$ $\gamma \eta$ $\eta \varsigma$ α $\theta \alpha$ $\nu \alpha$ $\tau \alpha$ $\lambda \alpha$ $\beta \epsilon$ $\tau \epsilon$
- Staff 2: $\pi \eta$ $\gamma \eta$ $\eta \varsigma$ α $\theta \alpha$ $\nu \alpha$ $\tau \alpha$ $\lambda \alpha$ $\beta \epsilon$ $\tau \epsilon$
- Staff 3: $\pi \eta$ $\gamma \eta$ $\eta \varsigma$ α $\theta \alpha$ $\nu \alpha$ $\tau \alpha$ $\lambda \alpha$ $\beta \epsilon$ $\tau \epsilon$
- Staff 4: $\pi \eta$ $\gamma \eta$ $\eta \varsigma$ α $\theta \alpha$ $\nu \alpha$ $\tau \alpha$ $\lambda \alpha$ $\beta \epsilon$ $\tau \epsilon$
- Staff 5: $\pi \eta$ $\gamma \eta$ $\eta \varsigma$ α $\theta \alpha$ $\nu \alpha$ $\tau \alpha$ $\lambda \alpha$ $\beta \epsilon$ $\tau \epsilon$
- Staff 6: $\pi \eta$ $\gamma \eta$ $\eta \varsigma$ α $\theta \alpha$ $\nu \alpha$ $\tau \alpha$ $\lambda \alpha$ $\beta \epsilon$ $\tau \epsilon$
- Staff 7: $\pi \eta$ $\gamma \eta$ $\eta \varsigma$ α $\theta \alpha$ $\nu \alpha$ $\tau \alpha$ $\lambda \alpha$ $\beta \epsilon$ $\tau \epsilon$
- Staff 8: $\pi \eta$ $\gamma \eta$ $\eta \varsigma$ α $\theta \alpha$ $\nu \alpha$ $\tau \alpha$ $\lambda \alpha$ $\beta \epsilon$ $\tau \epsilon$
- Staff 9: $\pi \eta$ $\gamma \eta$ $\eta \varsigma$ α $\theta \alpha$ $\nu \alpha$ $\tau \alpha$ $\lambda \alpha$ $\beta \epsilon$ $\tau \epsilon$

EXAMPLE 14 — Gerasimos, Vat. MS. 1495, fol. 217^v-18^r ($\frac{\lambda}{\pi} \delta$)

Handwritten musical score, Example 14, from Gerasimos, Vat. MS. 1495, fol. 217^v-18^r. The score is written on 17 staves, numbered 1 to 17. It is divided into five sections labeled A, B, C, D, and E.

Section A: Staves 1-17. Includes lyrics: $\chi\rho\iota$, $\mu\alpha$, $\sigma\tau\omega$, $\mu\epsilon$, $\tau\alpha$, $\lambda\alpha$, $\beta\epsilon$, $\tau\epsilon$.

Section B: Staves 1-17. Includes lyrics: $\mu\epsilon$, $\tau\alpha$, $\lambda\alpha$, $\beta\epsilon$, $\tau\epsilon$.

Section C: Staves 1-17. Includes lyrics: $\chi\epsilon$, $\pi\alpha$, $\lambda\iota\nu$, $\pi\eta$, $\gamma\eta$, $\lambda\iota\nu$, $\gamma\eta$, $\lambda\iota\nu$, $\gamma\eta$, $\lambda\iota\nu$, $\gamma\eta$, $\lambda\iota\nu$, $\gamma\eta$, $\lambda\iota\nu$, $\gamma\eta$, $\lambda\iota\nu$, $\gamma\eta$, $\lambda\iota\nu$. Includes the note: [repeated without text].

Section D: Staves 1-17. Includes lyrics: $\pi\eta$, $\gamma\eta$, $\lambda\iota\nu$, $\gamma\eta$, $\lambda\iota\nu$, $\gamma\eta$, $\lambda\iota\nu$, $\gamma\eta$, $\lambda\iota\nu$, $\gamma\eta$, $\lambda\iota\nu$, $\gamma\eta$, $\lambda\iota\nu$, $\gamma\eta$, $\lambda\iota\nu$, $\gamma\eta$, $\lambda\iota\nu$.

Section E: Staves 1-17. Includes lyrics: α , $\theta\alpha$, $\nu\alpha$, $\tau\omega$, $\gamma\epsilon\iota$, $\sigma\alpha$, $\sigma\theta\epsilon$, $\sigma\theta\epsilon$, $\sigma\theta\epsilon$, $\sigma\theta\epsilon$, $\sigma\theta\epsilon$, $\sigma\theta\epsilon$, $\sigma\theta\epsilon$, $\sigma\theta\epsilon$, $\sigma\theta\epsilon$, $\sigma\theta\epsilon$, $\sigma\theta\epsilon$. Includes the note: [Vienna Ms. 185 substitutes line 12 etc.].

EXAMPLE 15 — Doukas, Vat. MS. 1495, fol. 218^r ($\frac{\lambda}{\pi} \frac{\epsilon}{\delta}$)

The musical score consists of seven staves, numbered 1 to 7. The notation is in a medieval style with square neumes on a four-line staff. The lyrics are in Greek. The score is divided into three sections: A, B, and C.

Section A: Staves 1 and 2. Staff 1 has the lyrics "εω" and "μα". Staff 2 has the lyrics "χρ" and "σου".

Section B: Staves 2 through 7. Staff 2 has the lyrics "με", "τα", "λα", "βε", and "τε". Staff 3 has the lyrics "πη" and "της". Staff 4 has the lyrics "α", "θα", "να", and "του". Staff 5 has the lyrics "γευ", "σα", "σθε", "πα", "λιν", "πη", and "της". Staff 6 has the lyrics "α", "α", "να", and "του". Staff 7 has the lyrics "ε" and "τη".

Section C: Staves 4, 5, and 6. Staff 4 has the lyrics "γευ" and "σα σθε". Staff 5 has the lyrics "γευ" and "σα σθε". Staff 6 has the lyrics "γευ" and "σα σθε".

The openings of the remaining settings in Mode IV Plagal by Gavalos, Gerasimos, and Doukas immediately suggest a similarity between these three versions, and this is verified by a closer examination of the complete hymns. Example 16 shows the first use of phrases A and B, and there the relationship becomes readily apparent. (The complete settings are contained in Examples 13, 14, and 15).

EXAMPLE 16

Phrase A (1st line)

Gavalos 

Gerasimos 

Doukas 

Phrase B (1st line)

Gavalos 

Gerasimos 

Gerasimos (3rd line) 

Doukas 

The unique outline of the opening phrase — displayed most clearly in the examples by Gavalos and Doukas — suggests that the hymn may have acquired not only a common modal usage but also a standard opening by the latter part of the 14th century, i.e. post-Kladas. In its most basic form this opening comprises the notes g-a-c-a-g and this may also be seen in other Koinonika.⁹⁰ Moreover, the similarity clearly extends also to phrase B, and in both cases is associated with the identical text phrases. A similar approach to phrase C in Gavalos is also taken by Doukas in phrase D but by this point a divergence in text setting has occurred, as is seen in Example 17.

EXAMPLE 17

Phrase C

Gavalos

[αθανάτου]

Doukas

γεω

σα

θε

In spite of this obvious use of the same musical material all three versions show a number of unique features. Returning once again to the opening, it can be observed that the repetition of this phrase A (line

⁹⁰This opening is vaguely similar to the Mode IV Plagal opening of the 13th-century *Αἰνεῖτε* melody provided by Conomos, "Communion Chants," p. 256. In addition, the two 14th-century examples of *Γεύσασθε* in this mode that are known to me, both utilize an opening that is clearly based on that found in Example 16. The settings by Gerasimos and Raidestinos — a composer who makes a first appearance in the same MS. as Gerasimos, i.e. Athens MS. 2622 — contain openings that are somewhat more ornate than those illustrated here, but whose similar outlines are easily visible. (Gerasimos in Vatopedi MS. 1495 fol. 219^v-220^r and Raidestinos in Athens MS. 2622 fol. 419^r.)

2 in all three versions) is subtly varied by each composer. Only in Gerasimos does the phrase now ascend to the original c, whereas both Gavalos and Doukas limit its upward movement to b. A comparison with phrase A in line 3 of Gavalos's setting (Example 13) clarifies the relationship of line 2 — both here and in Doukas's hymn — with line 1. The presence there of figure i within the standard opening formula reveals that in line 2 we are dealing with a similar, albeit slight, variation of phrase A that is characterized by the omission of the c and the substitution of figure i which initiates the phrase's descent. Interestingly enough, figure i also occurs in Kladas Γ' (Example 10, line 1, phrase A') where it fulfils a similar function. In that case, however, it is merely a repetition of phrase A and in no way alters the contours of the opening phrase. Another minor difference between these three settings is that Gavalos sets the first syllable of μεταλάβετε to a second repetition of phrase A, whereas the two other composers only repeat this phrase once and utilize it solely for the first text unit.

The congruity of phrase B in all three versions has already been shown in Example 16 but various differences in its use may also be observed. Gavalos initially employs this phrase only for the remainder of [με]ταλάβετε and then proceeds to phrase C for the subsequent text. Conversely, both Gerasimos and Doukas lavish a great deal of attention on this phrase. In the former version it is originally repeated four times and used only for a number of reiterations of the word μεταλάβετε (Example 14, lines 2-6), while the latter composer immediately reuses this musical phrase for the entire middle section of the text, viz., μεταλάβετε πηγῆς ἀθανάτου (Example 15, lines 2-4).

After phrase B the approach of the three composers diverges substantially. Phrase C in Doukas's setting is virtually the same as phrase D of Gavalos's version, but Gavalos set this to the word ἁθανάτου rather than to γεύσασθε as set by Doukas. Moreover, it is only at the second untexted occurrence of phrase D (Example 13, line 5) that its similarity to Doukas's phrase C really becomes evident, for its initial appearance in line 4 conveys at most an affinity based on tessitura and contours. Phrase C in Gavalos, however, is equivalent to the third phrase used by Gerasimos but once again they are used for different purposes in the text.

EXAMPLE 18

Phrase C

Gavalos

Gerasimos

Gerasimos

In Gavalos the phrase is set to the word πηγῆς (Example 13, lines 3 and 6), whereas Gerasimos uses it as the musical adjunct of the directions λέγε and πάλιν (Example 14, lines 4 and 8). It is only later in the hymn that this phrase also serves as a reiteration of the word πηγῆς and subsequently, ἁθανάτου (Example 14, lines 13 and 14). This once again demonstrates that the words πάλιν and λέγε are set to an integral part of the hymn's structure.

Gerasimos extends his hymn yet further by the introduction of two additional phrases, which bear no resemblance to any of the material in the settings of Gavalos and Doukas. Phrase D is essentially a lengthy melisma to the word *πηγῆς* but its most interesting feature is that it concludes with the citation of an abbreviated version of phrase A. This is followed by phrase E which is repeated for the first setting of the two words *ἁθανάτου* and *γεύσασθε*, and functions as a cadential figure of this section.

It is obvious that these three versions display somewhat more elaborate structures than our earlier settings but in spite of this a number of significant features are held in common. As was the case with the majority of the previous settings, a reiteration of the opening phrase A occurs towards the end of these examples. The most distinctive recapitulation is visible to the word *γεύσασθε* in line 8 of Gavalos's version (Example 13), for here it consists of a virtually exact repetition of line 1. This repetition is preceded by a reiteration of phrases B and C to the text of *ἁθανάτου* and *πηγῆς*, and results in a symmetrical structure that is analagous to a Bogen form. This sequence also shows once again the practice of text elision and it occurs here in the same manner as in Kladas I. Doukas utilizes a form that is scarcely more complex although its proportions are somewhat different. The expansive middle section, which comprises phrase B and the two middle units of the text, has been alluded to above, and is followed by a brief setting of *γεύσασθε* in phrase C. This final word is immediately repeated but by music that reverts to phrase A (see Example 15, line 5), and after this the entire latter half of the text recurs to the music that had been utilized previously, i.e. phrases B and C. Only in the case of phrase C does this constitute an exact repetition of the foregoing

music. The versions of phrase B are clearly related to the original example in line 2, but show signs of embellishment and variation. Also significant, however, is that this repetition is introduced by a *πάλιν* unit that evidences the same integration into the phraseology that had been observed in previous examples. Here it fulfils the ascent from g to d with which phrase B begins.

The setting by Gerasimos demonstrates the most complex and protracted structure of our group. We have noted above the manner in which a compact reiteration of phrase A functions here as a closing figure to phrase D and is then followed by its corollary, phrase E. Subsequently, however, a somewhat more concise setting of the last two text phrases is appended, and these constitute a curious amalgamation of the previous musical material. The word *ᾠθανάτου* is set to a brief fragment that resembles phrase C which had earlier been employed for *λέγε*, *πάλιν*, and *πηγῆς*, and the word *γεύσασθε* contains a reiteration of phrase B which reverts once again to phrase A for its conclusion. It is clear that Gerasimos has utilized his original musical material to the utmost, but has returned, invariably, to the opening phrase in a manner that seems to have been customary for most composers of this hymn. Moreover, in agreement with all but one of the preceding versions, this recapitulation occurs in proximity to the word *γεύσασθε*.

The text setting of these three Koinonika shows some major changes from all previous examples. Particularly obvious is a trend towards a melismatic — occasionally neumatic — treatment of the text, in contrast to the earlier hymns which generally evince a syllabic-neumatic text setting. Although Gerasimos is usually somewhat more conservative in this respect — with a considerably greater amount of syllabic usage — there is a marked

tendency, especially in the versions by Gavalos and Doukas, in favour of lengthier melismas for each text syllable. Such melismatic passages intrude increasingly upon the forthright exposition of the text, but seldom affect its lucidity, and never show an expansion into the unrestrained melismas that constitute a feature of the kalophonic repertory. It is also interesting to note that the syllables of the two introductory words of each section, Σῶμα and πηγῆς, are now seldom set to successive notes of the same pitch as had been the case in most earlier versions of this hymn. In fact, only the first setting of the word πηγῆς in Gerasimos's setting receives this treatment, and even at its second occurrence there the syllables of this word are separated. Gerasimos and Doukas, however, still retain the longest melismatic passage for the latter syllable of πηγῆς, and in Gerasimos's version this is a very expansive melisma that is supported by the intercalation of non-textual vowels. All three settings also separate the two syllables of σῶμα by the insertion of melismas of varying length. Gerasimos, in particular, utilizes a lengthy melismatic passage at this point, and in this he seems to be following a practice that was first observed in Kladas Γ.

SUMMARY

A. Changes

With a total of only eight settings of the proper Koinonikon for Easter it is naturally impossible to arrive at any definitive conclusions about the development of this hymn during the 14th century. Nevertheless, a number of overall trends become visible and these will be dealt with in this section.

The most obvious change in our repertoire of Σῶμα χριστοῦ is that the dimensions of the settings are progressively expanded in the course of the century. In the following table (see following page) two criteria were utilized in order to establish the length of the eight versions: a note count of the entire hymn (excluding the post-cadential formulae), and an enumeration of the number of lines devoted to the piece in a specific manuscript.⁹¹ The calculations are based on the models that have been used throughout this study.

⁹¹Each of these methods is somewhat problematical, but taken in conjunction they produce a reasonable measurement of the length of the hymns. A simple count of all the notes that the scribe has written does not take into account the cheironomia that were frequently added, and which, in some cases, seem to denote an unwritten practice of melodic elaboration (see Conomos, *Trisagia and Cheroubika*, p. 367 and pp. 351 ff.). In that sense a note count is at best a relative gauge of length. On the other hand, a line count depends on the scribe's calligraphy and even the size of his MS for its accuracy. The imprecision of this method is clearly demonstrated by the two versions of Kladas in Athens MS. 2622 and Athens MS. 2411. The twelve lines utilized by the scribe in Athens MS. 2622 suggest that Kladas Γ is considerably longer than Kladas Δ, which is fitted into 9 1/4 lines in Athens MS. 2411. In actual fact, however, a note count reveals that the latter example is slightly longer. Clearly an enumeration of lines is only an acceptable estimate of the length of a hymn if we are dealing with only one scribe and one specific MS.

TABLE VII

Length of Σῶμα Χριστοῦ Melodies

	<u>NOTE COUNT</u> ⁹²	<u>LINES</u>
Glykes (Athens MS. 2458)	113 (115)	6 1/2
Panaretos (Koutlounousi MS. 457)	138 (140)	7
Moschianos (Athens MS. 2622)	129 (136)	6
Kladas Γ (Athens MS. 2622)	223 (237)	12
Kladas Δ (Athens MS. 2411)	(246) 264 ⁹³	9 1/4
Gavalos (Vienna MS. 185)	184 (164)	7
Gerasimos (Vatopedi MS. 1495)	324 (333) or 402 (411) ⁹⁴	14
Gerasimos (Vienna MS. 185)	244 (254)	10
Doukas (Vatopedi MS. 1495)	156 (166)	7

This table reveals that the length of our settings increases gradually from the earliest group of composers (Glykes, Moschianos, and Panaretos) to

⁹²The bracketed figures include the post-cadential phrase.

⁹³The presence of a post-cadential figure is uncertain here (see p. 81 ff.).

⁹⁴The second set of figures takes into account the addition of a complete repetition of the second half of the text that is made possible by the alternate ending.

the third group (Gavalos, and Doukas). The version by Gerasimos, although it is not the latest example, surpasses all the others and stands as the culmination of this progression. Similarly, the two hymns by Kladas occupy an intermediate position in the chronological order of the repertoire, but their length suggests a placement between the latest group of settings and Gerasimos's version. Conversely, of course, it is somewhat surprising that the last example — the setting by Doukas which occurs only in one of the latest manuscripts, Vatopedi 1495 — does not continue the expansion evidenced by the earlier hymn of Gerasimos's, but reverts to a more concise musical format.

Another facet of the changing dimensions of our repertoire is the increasingly larger ambitus encompassed by the different examples. The following Figure provides first the total range of each hymn, and then the span of each section of the melody. Whenever an obvious shift in *territura* occurs within a section this has been noted. Once again it becomes evident that there exists a clear correlation between chronology and the ambitus of a melody. Thus, for example, the melody of our earliest hymn by Glykes spans the interval of a seventh whereas the last setting by Doukas encompasses a range that has been expanded to an eleventh. A necessary adjunct to this criteria, however, is the shift in *tessitura* within the sections of a hymn. This is illustrated in the latter part of the figure, for it places the increased range of the pieces within their context. This is particularly necessary since a corollary of the expanding ambitus is the changes in *tessitura* that become more pronounced during the course of the century. At its most extreme this can be observed by comparing the hymns of Glykes and Doukas. In the former case the entire melody basically remains within the

FIGURE 3

Changing Ambitus in Σῶμα χριστοῦ

	TOTAL RANGE	RANGE WITHIN Σῶμα χριστοῦ	SECTIONS μεταλάβετε	πηγῆς ἀθανάτου	γεύσασθε
Glykes 2458 (Ἀ γ ^π)					
Panaretos 457 (Ἀ γ ^π)					
Moschianos 2622 (Ἀ γ ^π)					
Kladas Γ 2622 (Γ π ^π)			 μεταλάβετε μετά- μεταλάβετε	 πηγῆς ἀθανάτου ἀθανάτου	
Kladas Δ 2411 (Ἀ δ ^π)				 πηγῆς ἀθανάτου πάλιν ἀθανάτου πηγῆς	 γεύ-μεύ-σα-σθε
Gavalos 185 (Ἀ δ ^π)			 με-ταλάβετε	 πηγῆς ἀθανάτου ἀθανάτου πηγῆς	
Gerasimos 1495 (Ἀ δ ^π)			 μεταλάβετε μεταλάβετε (λεγε)	 πηγῆς ἀθανάτου πάλιν πηγῆς ἀθανάτου	 γεύσασθε γεύσασθε 1. 2.
Doukas 1495 (Ἀ δ ^π)				 πηγῆς ἀθανάτου πάλιν πηγῆς ἀθανάτου	 γεύ-σασθε γεύσασθε γεύσασθε incl. post- cadential ending

fifth from d-a and on occasion is briefly expanded by one note in each direction. The setting by Doukas, on the other hand, shows a number of definite transpositions, the most obvious of which may be seen by comparing the opening phrase with the initial citation of γεύσασθε.

The melodies of our examples also reveal that the use of increasingly larger intervals becomes commonplace as the 14th century advances. In the earliest group of settings the melody progresses mainly by conjunct motion and, to a lesser extent, by the interval of a third. The largest intervals, those of a fourth and a fifth, are used rather infrequently. In fact, as may be seen in Table VIII, the interval of a fifth does not even occur in two

TABLE VIII

Interval Usage in Percentages

<u>INTERVALS:</u> ⁹⁵	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>	<u>4th</u>	<u>5th</u>	<u>6th</u>	<u>7th</u>	<u>8th</u>
Glykes	86%	11%	2%	1%			
Panaretos	86%	10%	2%	2%			
Moschianos	90%	9%	1%				
Kladas Γ	85%	11%	4%				
Kladas Δ	86%	9%	3.5%	1%		.5%	
Gavalos	84%	14%		2%			
Gerasimos (Vatopedi MS. 1495) ⁹⁶	88%	8%	2%	2%			
Gerasimos (Vienna MS. 185)	90%	7%	1%	2%			
Doukas	78%	19%	1%	1%			1%

⁹⁵None of the post-cadential material has been taken into consideration when arriving at these figures.

⁹⁶The calculations are based on one repetition of the latter section as provided by the second ending.

settings, those of Moschianos and Kladas I. The later settings consistently employ the fifth, and in two versions even exceed that to utilize the intervals of a seventh^o and an octave. On the whole, however, the proportionate use of most intervals remains reasonably constant throughout our repertoire. The majority of movement is always by conjunct interval (an average of 86% of the melody), and the utilization of thirds also remains much the same (an average of 11%). It is only the actual use of increasingly larger intervals in the later settings of Σῶμα χριστοῦ that constitutes a difference in the intervallic utilization of our repertoire. The relative use of most intervals, on the other hand, does not change to any appreciable degree.

In conjunction with the increasing length of the Σῶμα χριστοῦ during the 14th century some major change in form are also evident. The earliest settings by Glykes, Panaretos, and Moschianos are quite simple structures, arranged with a minimum of materials. Two compact phrases were deemed sufficient for the entire hymn by these composers. The later versions, however, evidence a form that becomes increasingly complex. Not only do the composers now utilize additional phrases, but they combine them in considerably more complicated ways. The culmination of this trend is clearly shown by the setting of Gerasimos.

A necessary corollary of the burgeoning complexity and extended ambitus of the melodies is the need for a more careful organization of the material. Clearly there existed a danger of the settings becoming essentially rhapsodic and somewhat formless. In order to counteract this the later composers devote greater attention to internal cadences and utilize more sequential passages in the construction of their melodies. The profusion of

cadences is obviously imperative if a semblance of order is to be retained, and an examination of our repertoire shows that composers from Kladas on increasingly subdivide their expanded melodic flow by the regular insertion of medial cadences. In addition it can be observed that the melodies are further organized throughout the 14th century by the growing use of successively more complex sequences.

EXAMPLE 19

The example displays four staves of musical notation, each representing a different composer's setting of a hymn. The notation is in a single melodic line on a four-line staff, with Greek lyrics written below the notes. Brackets are used to group specific melodic sequences.

- Moschianos:** The melody consists of a single phrase. The lyrics are "[ΜΕΤΑΛΛΑ] ΒΕ" and "[ΤΕ]". A bracket groups the notes for "ΒΕ".
- Kladas Γ:** The melody is divided into two phrases. The first phrase has the lyrics "ΜΕ" and "ΤΑ ΛΑ", with a bracket under "ΛΑ". The second phrase has the lyrics "[ΓΕΥ]" and "[ΣΑΘΕ]". Brackets group the notes for "ΛΑ" and "ΣΑΘΕ".
- Kladas Δ [= Gerasimos]:** The melody is a single continuous phrase. The lyrics are "[ΓΕ] ΜΕΥ" and "[ΓΕΥ] [ΣΑΘΕ]". Brackets group the notes for "ΜΕΥ", "ΓΕΥ", and "ΣΑΘΕ".
- Doukas:** The melody is a single continuous phrase. The lyrics are "[ΜΕΤΑ] ΛΑ" and "ΒΕ". Brackets group the notes for "ΜΕΤΑ" and "ΛΑ".

The earlier composers favoured sequential passages that comprise simple two and three note groups which only subtly expand the melodic fabric of the hymn. A representative of the most common procedure may be seen above in the example taken from Moschinos's setting. When compared to the later examples — especially those from Kladas Δ and Doukas — it becomes obvious that not only the length of the sequences but also their nature has been somewhat altered. In addition to extending the melody they now constitute a very effective means of regulating its progression.

Most of the Koinonika of our repertoire conclude with some type of post-cadential phrase, which is appended to the music utilized for the text verse proper. The function of this appendage is not fully understood but it seems likely that it was some sort of cue for the domestikos,

. . .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.⁹⁷

The following example illustrates these post-cadential formulae from the settings of Σῶμα χριστοῦ that were used as the models for this study.

The earliest hymns by Glykes and Panaretos employ the identical ascending figure that consists merely of the interval of a third followed by that of a second. Gradually, however, the post-cadential phrase becomes longer and more complex. The analytical transcriptions of our repertoire show, in fact, that in conjunction with these developments, the post-cadential formulae are increasingly fashioned from significant musical elements present in earlier phrases of the hymn. This is particularly evident in the Koinonika by Gavalos and Doukas (respectively, Examples 13 and 15). In the latter case, for instance, the descending figure from c to g (see Example 20) had previously functioned as the connection between two citations of γεύσασθε (Example 15, line 5). Similarly, in Gavalos's hymn the beginning of the post-cadential phrase had occurred in an identical manner to the word πηγῆς (Example 13, line 6), and the latter part of the formula is an amalgamation of material previously used in lines 2 and 3 (see Example 13).

⁹⁷Conomos, "Communion Chants," p. 254.

Except for our two earliest settings by Glykes and Panaretos, most subsequent composers support the post-cadential figure with the following letters: Ϝ (= superposition of omikron 'o' and upsilon 'u'⁹⁹), ϵ , $\gamma\gamma\epsilon$, and sometimes followed by ϵ ¹⁰⁰. Kladas Δ omits these extraneous letters, and it is actually uncertain whether the appended phrase illustrated in Example 20 is intended to be a post-cadential formula or the final phrase of the hymn. In Athens MS. 2411 the setting appears devoid of both text and letters, but in later manuscripts the syllables $[\gamma]\epsilon\upsilon\text{-}\sigma\alpha\text{-}\sigma\theta\epsilon$ are repeated to the last three notes of this phrase.¹⁰¹ If the evidence of the later sources is accepted, then this Koinonikon (Kladas Δ) would be the only version in our repertoire that dispenses with the post-cadential formula.

In most of our versions a clear distinction is made between the music of the text verse and the post-cadential material by the use of an unambiguous cadence at the conclusion of the texted music. Only in Moschianos and Kladas Γ is this division somewhat obscured and there a dividing line based on the musical context has been proposed in Example 20.

When a Koinonikon is repeated in different manuscripts the later settings also generally show an expansion of the post-cadential material.

⁹⁹B.A. van Groningen, Short Manual of Greek Paleography, 3d ed., rev. (Leyden: A.W. Sythoff, 1963), p. 44, fig. 9.

¹⁰⁰Gavalos's setting in Vienna MS. 185 fol. 285^V provides a rather unusual alternative but in other 14th and 15th-century versions of this hymn that were consulted (Vatopedi MS. 1495 fol. 218^r, Barb. gr. MS. 293 fol. 206^V, Iviron MS. 1120 fol. 285^V) the more common usage discussed here is utilized.

¹⁰¹Athens MS. 904 is completely illegible at this point and was thus useless in clarifying this situation. The following 15th-century MSS were therefore consulted: Athens MS. 899 fol. 149^r (dated to the first half of the 15th century); Athens MS. 2406 fol. 287^V-288^r (dated 1453); Athens MS. 2837 fol. 203^V (dated 1457). In all cases the word $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon$, minus its initial consonant, is repeated at the end of the hymn and the extraneous letters that seem to indicate post-cadential material do not appear at all.

Example 21 illustrates the progressive augmentation of the endings in Glykes's hymn, and the major changes that occur between Athens MS. 2458, Vatopedi MS. 1495 fol. 217^r, and Sinai MS. 1462 or Sinai MS. 1294 become readily apparent.

EXAMPLE 21

2458
185 fol. 285
π ̂ ̂

4. 36
π ̂ ̂

2622
Q. 11
1495 fol. 217^v
π ̂ ̂

457
185 fol. 268
1/2 1/2

1495 fol. 217
π ̂ ̂

1462
π ̂ ̂ or π ̂ ̂
and 1/2 1/2

1294
π ̂ ̂
*

Athens 2406 fol. 289^v
π ̂ ̂ and 1/2 1/2

* Transposed down a second.

In one respect, however, all later versions follow the earliest example in Athens MS. 2458, as the extraneous letters are always omitted from the post-cadential phrase of Glykes's hymn, even in the two late Sinai manuscripts. The expansion of the endings naturally magnifies their relationship to important structural elements of the hymn, in much the same manner as was observed above in Gavalos's and Doukas's Koinonika. Consider, for example,

the prominent use in the Sinai manuscripts and in Athens MS. 2406 of figure a, a figure which constitutes a distinguishing feature of phrase A in Glykes's setting (see Example 6). The mid-15th century Athens MS. 2406 also contains, in addition, a unique syllabic repetition of the final word γεύσασθε at the conclusion of this purported post-cadential phrase. This is analagous to the procedure reflected in 15th-century sources of Kladas Δ,¹⁰² and once again raises the question of whether this appendage should be considered as being a post-cadential phrase or an organic part of the Koinonikon. Another possibility, however, is that in certain cases when the extraneous letters were omitted the syllables of the final text word were substituted, and functioned in a manner similar to the post-cadential formula. Certainly this would account for the unusual usage in Athens MS. 2406, the 15th-century versions of Kladas Δ, and the decidedly similar application of the repeated γεύσασθε in Panaretos's Koinonikon.¹⁰³

A rather curious feature which emerges from the post-cadential phrases illustrated in Example 20, is that, irrespective of the mode selected by each composer, the model versions of all eight Koinonika end on the note g. Glykes's and Moschianos's hymns are the only examples in our repertoire that receive various (later?) transpositions and in those instances the final note of the post-cadential formula is usually transposed by an equivalent degree.¹⁰⁴ The settings of Glykes's chant that are transmitted by

¹⁰²See n. 101.

¹⁰³See Example 7.

¹⁰⁴See for example the endings of Glykes's versions in Athens MS. 2622, Ambrosiana MS. Q. 11, Vatopedi MS. 1495 fol. 217^v, Koutloumoussi MS. 457, Vienna MS. 185 fol. 268^r, in Example 21. However, Glykes's setting in Vatopedi MS. 1495 fol. 217^r, (Mode III Authentic), which is the

the two Sinai manuscripts¹⁰⁵ do not end on g even though both are in the 'standard' mode, (i.e. Mode I Plagal). Instead, they contain a rhythmic elongation on g that is produced by a kratema on the final note of the brief ascending figure that follows the conclusion of the text. This short figure spans the interval of a fourth and occurs in all post-cadential material that is added to the numerous recensions of Glykes's hymn. In most settings this rising passage constitutes the entire post-cadential phrase; in others it comprises only the opening of this appended matter. It is quite possible then that this ascending figure (see figure k in Example 21) is the nucleus of the postscript, and that the remaining material is merely an embellishment provided by each scribe.

Moreover, if this hypothesis is compared to the post-cadential phrases in the rest of our repertoire (see Example 20) it becomes apparent that an abstract of figure k is utilized for the end of this phrase in the majority of Koinonika. The exceptions are the hymns by Gavalos and Doukas, and possibly Kladas Δ. In these cases figure j seems to have been substituted for figure k. This figure is marked by the prominent use of an encircling motion of at least two intervals of a fifth, from g-d-g. In both Gavalos's setting and in Kladas Δ this alternation of fifths begins on the finalis of Mode IV Plagal (g) after the conclusion of the text, and

only example that has been expanded by a $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$ repetition of the phrase $\pi\eta\gamma\eta\varsigma \alpha\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\upsilon$, contains a lengthy post-cadential phrase which begins similarly to the other transposed versions that start from c, but eventually also ends on the note g. The nucleus of the phrase (see Example 21), though, ends on d, and this codicil therefore seems equivalent to the other transposed settings discussed above.

¹⁰⁵These are illustrated in Example 21.

instantly encompasses the leap of a fifth to d before returning to g at the end. Doukas's hymn provides an unconventional ending for the text verse on d — a fifth higher than the customary finalis of this mode on g. Most likely the composer has here merely delayed the standard finalis on g until the superposed letters 'o' and 'u' of the post-cadential phrase and has then commenced the encircling fifths of figure j with the subsequent extraneous letters.¹⁰⁶

The reason for this change in post-cadential phrases, reflected by the presence of figure j, is uncertain. It seems significant, however, that in Gavalos and Doukas the final note is approached from above and never from below, as was the case in all the other endings.¹⁰⁷ Possibly then this material is related to the tessitura of the preceding music, for in both Doukas's hymn and Kladas Δ the word γεύσασθε, or a significant portion of it, is set to the upper register of the mode (respectively, Example 15 and Example 11). In Gavalos (Example 13) the word γεύσασθε has actually been transposed to the lower tessitura but a major part of the central section of the hymn is set in the higher range. Conversely, Gerasimos utilizes the

¹⁰⁶This idiosyncrasy, if accepted, certainly adds support for our emendation to the digital transcription of this hymn (see above, p. 21).

¹⁰⁷Kladas Δ constitutes a minor exception by virtue of a closing figure that incorporates the lower neighbouring note f, but this may simply be a result of the amalgamation of both formulae. Or it may reflect a variant usage that is associated with the repetition of the text word γεύσασθε to the final notes of this ending.

older post-cadential formula and there the final word γεύσασθε comprises a conscious reiteration of previous music in the lower area of Mode IV Plagal (see Example 14). It seems plausible then that this variant post-cadential ending was devised by later composers in order to relate it to the musical style and higher tessitura used towards the end of their Koinonika. In that respect, of course, it served a function analagous to that of the earlier formula.

The evolving relationship between text and music that is evinced by our repertoire has been alluded to periodically throughout this study. The most obvious change, the growing use of lengthier neumatic and melismatic passages, generates within itself an equally important development concerning the actual placement of these passages. In all eight versions the majority of text syllables invariably receive a syllabic treatment. Composers from Kladas on, however, begin to write melismas not only between the various words of the text but interspersed among the syllables of the words. Occasionally such embellishments become quite sizeable, giving rise to situations where the syllables of a word are separated by twenty or more notes. An excellent example of this may be seen in the lengthy melismatic passages that occur between the two syllables of the initial word Σῶμα in the settings of Gerasimos and Kladas (see Kladas Γ in Example 10, and Gerasimos in Example 14). A similar procedure is displayed by the intercalation of melismas or neumatic sections within the word πηγῆς in Kladas Δ (Example 11, line 3), and Gavalos and Gerasimos (respectively, Example 13, line 3, and Example 14, line 13). This shows evidence of a considerable change when compared to the earliest settings of Σῶμα χριστοῦ, for there the opening words of the two sections generally receive a syllabic

treatment. In fact, melismas do not occur within any words in the earliest versions of this hymn. In conjunction with this development there is also a tendency, by composers from Kladas on, to accord a neumatic treatment to more 'interior' syllables than had previously been the case. Thus, for example, in both Gavalos's and Doukas's Koinonika (see respectively Examples 13 and 15) the number of neumatic passages within the text words is nearly as great as the number of syllables that receive a syllabic treatment. It becomes evident then that the earlier emphasis on the clear enunciation of the text was gradually superseded by a growing interest in musical elaboration and embellishment.

B. Stasis

In contrast to the numerous changes that were discussed in the preceding pages, this collection of Communion chants also displays a number of stable elements. Perhaps the most interesting characteristic is melodic stability; the degree of melodic migration that is evident amongst the different settings of $\Sigma\omega\mu\alpha \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$.

The analytical transcriptions used in the course of this study to illustrate the eight examples of our hymn are based on the premise that the composers used only a limited amount of musical material in the construction of their works, such material then being repeated with various modifications. Inherent in this supposition therefore is a compositional technique that utilizes similar melodic phrases for diverse sections of the text. Such melodic repetition within a Koinonikon is seldom verbatim. Instead it seems to result from the selection of a basic model phrase that undergoes

subsequent alternations and permutations during the exposition of the complete melody. Naturally, such reiteration results in different gradations of identity between musical phrases, but it also occurs to varying degrees throughout the examples of our repertoire. In the earliest settings a greater number of repetitions are obviously necessary due to the use of only two basic musical phrases for the entire hymn. Later this procedure becomes somewhat less apparent by virtue of the increased number of phrases that are used to construct these settings.

In addition to the recurrence of musical phrases within each Koinonikon, however, we have also observed an interrelationship of hymns — based on the use of a number of similar phrases — within the three groups that were established. None of this, however, prepares us for the surprising amount of melodic similarity between all eight versions of this hymn.

The following examples illustrate the similarity between various musical phrases taken from the entire repertoire. In general the relationship is more pronounced in phrases that are utilized for identical sections of the text, but on occasion the musical resemblance also extends to the use of different text elements. The majority of the latter instances, however, have already been identified and are not considered here.

It must be noted, though, that such musical similarity seldom constitutes unpremeditated copying of another composer's work. In fact, the suggested consanguinity is manifested for the most part by the use of equivalent contours, the disposition of text syllables on the same or closely related notes, and the utilization of uniform musical figures. Moreover, in

some cases the correspondence does not even depend on the same pitch levels and whenever this became apparent such phrases were transposed for ease of comparison.¹⁰⁸ For the purpose of these comparisons, musical phrases that only contain partial text words have also been included. Where composers utilize such fragments, it is generally in the guise of an introduction to a complete citation of the word, e.g. με-μεταλάβετε.¹⁰⁹ Such preceding syllables, however, often receive an entire musical phrase of their own and are thus significant in this context.

Probably the greatest uniformity occurs in the setting of the word μεταλάβετε. Examples 22 and 23 reveal that two slightly different schemes are employed for the major occurrence of this word in all eight versions of this hymn.

The word πηγῆς is used in the same manner in five of the Koinonika (see Example 24). Gerasimos actually utilizes this word as an occasion for a somewhat extended melisma, but the outlines of this elaboration agree with the basic form of the phrase as used by earlier composers.¹¹⁰ Interestingly

¹⁰⁸ The direction and the degree of transposition from the original have always been indicated in the following manner: TR + 5, i.e. the phrase has been transposed down by the interval of a fifth. In addition, the affinity between musical phrases is not necessarily retained for all occurrences of a specific text element in each setting. This has been expressed by the use of two numerals beneath the composer's name, e.g. [2/3]. The latter refers to the total number of citations of the specific text phrase, and the former indicates the position occupied by the phrase under consideration, i.e. 2/3; the second of three repetitions. It does not mean that two out of three citations of this phrase follow the illustrated procedure.

¹⁰⁹ The only exception occurs in Panaretos' setting. There the composer repeats the middle part of the word without, however, reiterating its beginning, viz., ἀθανά-θανάτου.

¹¹⁰ See the text punctuation of the original manuscript that has been inserted in our transcriptions by the use of short vertical lines. In addition, Gavalos accords this phrase a somewhat restrained treatment, and the relationship to the rest of the group is based primarily on the similarity of contours. In view of the high tessitura of this phrase in the original, though, it is scarcely surprising that it extends no further than g.

EXAMPLE 22

Glykes
 $\hat{A}^{\flat}_{\text{g}}$
 $[1+2/2]$

Panaretos
 $\hat{A}^{\flat}_{\text{g}}$
 $[1+2/2]$
 $\text{TR} \uparrow 1$

Doukas
 $\hat{A}^{\flat}_{\text{g}}$
 $[1/1]$
 $\text{TR} \uparrow 1$

Gerasimos
 $\hat{A}^{\flat}_{\text{g}}$
 $[1+3/5]$
 $\text{TR} \uparrow 5$

The musical score consists of four systems, each with two staves. The first system is for Glykes, the second for Panaretos, the third for Doukas, and the fourth for Gerasimos. Each system contains Greek lyrics written below the staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals, along with specific Greek characters (μ, λ, τ, β) used as lyrics. The score is presented in a clear, professional layout with a consistent font and notation style.

EXAMPLE 23

Moschianos
 $\hat{\pi}^{\pi}$
 $[1+2/3]$

Kladas Γ
 $\hat{\pi}^{\pi}$
 $[1+3/3]$

Kladas Δ
 $\hat{\pi}^{\pi}$
 $[1/1]$

Gavalos
 $\hat{\pi}^{\pi}$
 $[1+2/2]$

The musical score consists of four systems, each with two staves. The lyrics are in Greek: με, τα, λά, βε, τε. The notation includes various rhythmic values (e.g., eighth, sixteenth, and dotted notes) and accents. The first system (Moschianos) has a 1+2/3 time signature. The second system (Kladas Γ) has a 1+3/3 time signature. The third system (Kladas Δ) has a 1/1 time signature. The fourth system (Gavalos) has a 1+2/2 time signature.

EXAMPLE 24

Moschianos
 $\hat{A}^{\flat} \hat{g}$
 $[1/1]$



Panaretas
 $(\hat{A}^{\flat} \hat{y}) \hat{g}$
 $[1+2/2]$



Glykes
 $\hat{A}^{\flat} \hat{g}$
 $[1/1]$
 TR $\uparrow 1$



Kladas Δ
 $\hat{A}^{\flat} \hat{g}$
 $[4+5+6/6]$
 TR $\uparrow 3$



Gerasimos
 $\hat{A}^{\flat} \hat{g}$
 $[1 \text{ or } 2/3]$
 TR $\uparrow 1$



Kladas Γ
 $\hat{A}^{\flat} \hat{g}$
 $[line 1]$



enough, both here and in the other examples, the greatest similarity is not necessarily between contemporaneous composers. In fact, the closest relationship may on occasion be seen between the earliest and the latest composers. In Kladas Γ the second occurrence of the word *πηγῆς* is set to a phrase that bears a likeness to the beginning of the phrase illustrated in Example 24. However, the long melisma which this composer sets to the initial syllable of the word *Σῶμα* is far more closely related to the phrase used elsewhere for the word *πηγῆς*.

Example 25 illustrates the decidedly similar treatment of the word *ἁθανάτου* in all eight versions of *Σῶμα χριστοῦ*. Only Kladas Γ presents a rather different approach. There the phrase, which is restricted to a high tessitura, is analagous to the development of a portion of Doukas's phrase, and thus a certain resemblance is established. However, besides the musical similarity of all settings of this word, the disposition of text syllables is also closely related. Except in Panaretos's and Gavalos's hymns, the first three syllables are set syllabically, and if a short melisma is used within the word, it occurs to the penultimate syllable, i.e. *ἁθανά-του*.

The most obvious similarities in the setting of the final word *γεύσασθε* are shown in Examples 26 and 27. The use of either of the two forms is clearly independent of the chronology, as both examples occur alternately throughout the entire repertoire. In Example 27 the preceding phrase from Gerasimos's hymn has also been added for comparative purposes since it and the music utilized for *γεύσασθε* are closely related, and occur in immediate succession.

EXAMPLE 25

Glykes
 $\lambda \pi \theta$
 $[1/1]$

Panaretos
 $(\lambda \pi \theta)$
 $[1+2/2]$

Moschianos
 $\lambda \pi \theta$
 $[1/1]$

Kladas
 $\lambda \pi \theta$
 $[2/2]$

Gerasimos
 $\lambda \pi \theta$
 $[1+2/3]$

Doukas
 $\lambda \pi \theta$
 $[1(+2)/2]$
 $TR+3$

Kladas Γ
 $\lambda \pi \theta$
 $[3/3]$

Gavalos
 $\lambda \pi \theta$
 $[1/2]$
 $TR+B$

The musical score consists of seven staves, each representing a different melodic version of a hymn. The staves are labeled on the left with the name of the version and its corresponding notation. The notation includes a lambda symbol (λ), a pi symbol (π), and a theta symbol (θ), followed by a bracketed fraction. The music is written on a single staff for each version, with notes and rests. The lyrics are written below the notes. The versions are: Glykes, Panaretos, Moschianos, Kladas, Gerasimos, Doukas, and Kladas Γ . The notation for each version is: Glykes ($\lambda \pi \theta$), Panaretos ($(\lambda \pi \theta)$), Moschianos ($\lambda \pi \theta$), Kladas ($\lambda \pi \theta$), Gerasimos ($\lambda \pi \theta$), Doukas ($\lambda \pi \theta$), and Kladas Γ ($\lambda \pi \theta$). The bracketed fractions are: Glykes ($[1/1]$), Panaretos ($[1+2/2]$), Moschianos ($[1/1]$), Kladas ($[2/2]$), Gerasimos ($[1+2/3]$), Doukas ($[1(+2)/2]$), and Kladas Γ ($[3/3]$). The Doukas version also includes the notation $TR+3$. The Gavalos version includes the notation $[1/2]$ and $TR+B$. The music is written on a single staff for each version, with notes and rests. The lyrics are written below the notes. The versions are: Glykes, Panaretos, Moschianos, Kladas, Gerasimos, Doukas, and Kladas Γ .

* The notes with a downward stem, and that with the pelaston (v), are from the Vatopedi version (fol. 217^v) of this hymn.

EXAMPLE 26

Panaretos
 $\begin{smallmatrix} \lambda^{\pi} \\ \pi^{\lambda} \end{smallmatrix}$
 $[1/1]$

Gavalos
 $\begin{smallmatrix} \lambda^{\pi} \\ \pi^{\lambda} \end{smallmatrix}$
 $[1/1]$
 TR + 1

Kladas Γ
 $\begin{smallmatrix} \lambda^{\pi} \\ \pi^{\lambda} \end{smallmatrix}$
 $[1/2]$
 TR + 1

EXAMPLE 27

Gerasimos
 $\begin{smallmatrix} \lambda^{\pi} \\ \pi^{\lambda} \end{smallmatrix}$
 $[1+2/3]$
 TR + 1

Maschianos
 $\begin{smallmatrix} \lambda^{\pi} \\ \pi^{\lambda} \end{smallmatrix}$
 $[1/1]$

Gerasimos
 $\begin{smallmatrix} \lambda^{\pi} \\ \pi^{\lambda} \end{smallmatrix}$
 $[1+2/3]$
 TR + 1

Gerasimos
 [ending of 3/3]
 TR + 4

Example 28 illustrates the beginning of the final setting of γεύσασθε in Gerasimos's hymn, which is here revealed as being identical to the middle portion of the phrase used by Kladas (Kladas Δ) for the same word.

EXAMPLE 28

Kladas
 $\text{F}\sharp$
 $\frac{5}{8}$
 [1/1]

Gerasimos
 $\text{F}\sharp$
 $\frac{3}{8}$
 [3/3]

In addition to the musical similarities that occur at identical points in the text, it must be kept in mind that most of these phrases are also utilized in a modified form for various other text words. Thus the musical likeness is even more substantial than that established by the preceding examples. Moreover, this resemblance not only crosses modal boundaries but it occurs at various levels of transposition within the different modes. The inescapable conclusion seems to be that the composers of those Koinonika used, for the most part, a thesaurus of standard melodic formulae in the construction of their works. Certainly the weight of the evidence adduced in the preceding paragraphs lends credence to no other explanation. This procedure, however, never devolves into slavish copying; rather it permits the composer's inspiration to be exercised within certain established parameters.

In his study of the 13th-century repertory of Koinonika Conomos suggested that it is quite conceivable

. . .that the original melodic fabric of this psalmody was a single syllabic chant suitable for congregational use.¹¹¹

It is not possible at this juncture to suggest that the 14th-century settings of Σῶμα χριστοῦ allow the same conclusion. In fact, due to the different scope of this investigation, we do not seek to propose this. Rather, our analysis has concentrated on various specific and readily identifiable similarities on a more immediate scale, and has not considered their ramifications in a macroscopic sense. To a large extent it would be premature to do so. Not only have we dealt with a very limited repertoire but it seems that our 14th-century composers had a somewhat more subjective conception of their task than did those of the previous century. This increasing individualism, clearly concomitant with the introduction of the Akolouthia in the early 14th century, governs many facets of this type of manuscript.¹¹² Nevertheless, sufficient evidence has been brought to light to permit us to qualify the above statement and to suggest instead that this similarity between the phrases of all eight settings,

. . .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.¹¹³

A number of significant structural features are utilized consistently throughout this repertoire of Communion hymns. It was suggested previously that the second half of the text verse (πηγῆς ἀθανάτου γεύσασθε) seems to

¹¹¹Conomos, "Communion Chants," p. 253.

¹¹²See Levy, "A Hymn for Thursday," pp. 155-56 and Conomos, Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika, p. 37 and p. 44.

¹¹³Conomos, "Communion Chants," p. 255.

function in a manner analagous to the Alleluia refrain in other Koinonika. One of the characteristics of this Alleluia refrain is that it invariably receives the bulk of the musical attention. The following table shows that, with the exception of Kladas Γ,¹¹⁴ this purported refrain of Σῶμα χριστοῦ also receives a more elaborate musical treatment than the rest of the text. In fact, in some cases the proportion of musical material in the 'refrain' is overwhelmingly greater.

TABLE IX

<u>Proportion of Music in Text and 'Refrain'</u>		<u>TEXT</u> ¹¹⁵	<u>'REFRAIN'</u> ¹¹⁶
Glykes	Athens MS. 2458	38%	62%
	Vatopedi MS. 1495 (πᾶλιν)	27%	73%
Panaretos	Koutloumousi MS. 457	46%	54%
Möschianos	Athens MS. 2622	41%	59%
	Vatopedi MS. 1495 (πᾶλιν)	29%	71%
Kladas Γ	Athens MS. 2622 (πᾶλιν)	54%	46%
Kladas Δ	Athens MS. 2411 (πᾶλιν)	19%	81%
Gavalos	Vienna MS. 185	36%	64%
	Vatopedi MS. 1495	32%	68%
Gerasimos	Vatopedi MS. 1495 (πᾶλιν)	35%	65%
		28%	72% ¹¹⁷
	Vienna MS. 185	48%	52%
Doukas	Vatopedi MS. 1495 (πᾶλιν)	33%	67%

¹¹⁴The unusual use here of the word λέγε suggests, however, the possibility of further unnotated repetitions of this refrain, see note 106 below.

¹¹⁵The percentages in this table are based on a note count of both sections of the hymns. Moreover, this table contains not only the model versions of our hymn but also reflects those in Vatopedi MS. 1495. In this manuscript the proportions of the two sections are somewhat different due to the inevitable repetition in the refrain. Both here and in other examples where this repetition is designated by the word πᾶλιν or λέγε, these words have been indicated within the table.

¹¹⁶The post-cadential material (actual or presumed) has not been taken into account here.

Further support for this suggested function of the phrase $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ $\alpha\theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon$ is also evidenced by the use of the words $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon$ and $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$, two terms that are always associated with musical and/or textual repetition. In her study of the Koinonikon, $\Gamma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon$, Breslich-Erickson noted that these directions occur primarily in the Allelia refrain.¹¹⁷ Similarly, in our collection of chants the two words consistently appear in conjunction with this latter phrase of the text and the only exception may be seen in Gerasimos's hymn.¹¹⁹

Even the setting of the first word of this phrase, $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$, implies the presence of a refrain. Invariably a long melisma is written to the second syllable of the word and with a few exceptions this constitutes the most extensive musical effusion of the entire Koinonikon. Only in Kladas Γ and in Gavalos's hymn does the word $\pi\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ generally receive a syllabic treatment, but even in the former case a moderate melismatic passage is used for the first repetition of this word. Such consistent musical embellishment of the opening of this section gives it an improvisatory nature that is in contradistinction to the conservative text setting usually

¹¹⁷ This second set of figures takes into account one additional repetition of the 'refrain' as provided by the second ending in this manuscript.

¹¹⁸ Breslich-Erickson, "Communion Hymn," pp. 68-70.

¹¹⁹ In addition to a repetition of the refrain, Gerasimos uses these terms to specify a reiteration of the phrase $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\text{-}\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\epsilon\tau\epsilon$. The usage here, incidentally, suggests that these two words were used interchangeably. In Vienna MS. 185 the scribe has used the word $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$ to introduce this repetition, whereas in Vatopedi MS. 1495 the word $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon$ has been substituted at the identical place. Moreover, elsewhere in our repertoire the two words are generally set to similar or identical musical figures. The significance of the unique placement of the word $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon$ before the refrain in Kladas Γ is unclear, since ostensibly it does not designate a melodic or textual repetition. Moreover, it is musically identical to the word $\pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu$ used in the refrain.

employed elsewhere in the hymn. Moreover, this rhapsodic character not only delineates our 'refrain' from the preceding text but is equivalent to the nature of most Alleluia refrains in other Koinonika.

One of the most interesting features of the design of all Koinonika in our repertoire is the consistent recapitulation of the opening phrase of music towards the end of the chant. This has been commented on throughout the study and need only be mentioned briefly here. In nearly every case where this reiteration of the initial phrase occurs, it is associated with the final word of the text, γεύσασθε. Only in Kladas Δ is this word not set to a repetition of the first phrase; instead the preceding word ἀθανάτου is used. The reason for the reappearance of this melodic material is not readily apparent. It is possible, of course, that it formed part of the tradition that was associated with the composition of this Koinonikon. In any case, it provided the composer with a means of fulfilling an elementary musical law, that of symmetry.

CONCLUSIONS

This analytical and historical examination of the 14th-century Byzantine repertoire of Communion chant melodies for Easter allows a number of important conclusions.

One aspect of this study, which was undertaken as an investigation ancillary to the main inquiry, may conceivably have the greatest ramifications. It is an excursus which offers by its results a tentative redating of some seven Byzantine composers, based on the appearance of any of their Koinonika settings in the earliest securely-dated Akolouthiai. At the very least this chronology should furnish future studies of late Byzantine hymnography with a more secure basis than has hitherto been the case.

Equally significant, but of a more immediate application to the Byzantine composers' settings of the antiphon *Σῶμα χριστοῦ*, are the conclusions reached with respect to the 'refrain'. From the evidence adduced in the course of this study it becomes clear that the latter half of our text is equivalent to the musical and textual function performed by the Alleluia refrain in other Communion chants. Certainly this is supported by the meaning of the text-phrase, as it is eminently suited to serve as a unique Easter replacement of the more traditional Alleluia. Moreover, the protracted musical development that is associated with this phrase permits no other logical conclusion, for it follows the procedure used in the refrain of all other Koinonika.

The eight musical settings that comprise our repertoire have been organized into three separate groups involving contemporaneous composers, thus providing a specific context for a stylistic analysis of compositional activity during the 14th century. Within each of the groups a close relationship of music, text setting, and structure is evident. In fact, some of these features, particularly the structural and musical ones, remain reasonably consistent in all of the composers' works. It was noted, for instance, that a musical recapitulation is generally allocated to the final word of the text. Only in one instance is this supplanted by a musical reiteration that occurs on the penultimate word. In addition, the utilization of similar musical phrases by most composers suggests the existence of a thesaurus of musical material as the basis of the compositional process. Each composer naturally left his own imprint on the specific application of such material but the musical consanguinity leaves little doubt about the veracity of such a conclusion.

A number of features, however, are used consistently only within each of the three groups. Probably the most significant of these is the use of standard openings by the first and last groups of composers; one in Mode I Plagal and the other in Mode IV Plagal. Such standard openings are not merely reserved for the Easter Koinonikon but receive a wider application in the chants of the 14th century. Text setting, and particularly the musical role performed by specific text words, also remains reasonably constant within each group. It becomes obvious, for example, that the early composers have an equally conservative attitude towards text setting, and that the later composers all favour a somewhat more expansive neumatic and melismatic approach. Even the use of post-cadential formulae seems to

be determined by the contiguity of composers, for the nucleus of this appendage reflects both an early and late usage.

More important, though, is a progressive development of most features of this repertoire in the course of the 14th century. Immediately apparent is the change in modal assignment of this hymn as the century progresses, the outlines of which are best illustrated by the earliest and latest groups. Without exception the later composers substitute Mode IV Plagal where Mode I Plagal was used for the earliest settings of this text. Aside from this overt innovation, there is also evidence of a progression in modal assignment during the 14th century that encompasses Mode III Authentic, the Nana, and Mode II Plagal. A gradual expansion of the overall dimensions of the eight versions is also revealed. This includes such elements as the length of the settings, the increasing ambitus of the music, and the more frequent use of larger intervals in the melodies. Once again, this change also affects the post-cadential material, which gradually becomes longer and more complex. The latter trait is shown especially by its growing integration into the musical fabric of the settings, for the repetition of significant musical elements becomes far more apparent in these appendages to the later hymns. In conjunction with these developments the relationship between text and music also undergoes various alterations. This is a somewhat more subtle evolution and is revealed both by the later composers' greater interest in neumatic and melismatic text setting, and, especially, by the increasing use of such passages within the text words. Although this practice connotes a decrease in textual intelligibility, it seems, conversely, to be evidence of a greater concern with musical elaboration. Inevitably, this concern is also reflected in the increasing

structural complexity of the settings. As the century progresses the composers are less willing to restrict themselves to only a minimum of musical phrases for their settings and instead prefer a greater number of phrases, combining them in more complicated ways. The earlier use of simple and symmetrical form is abrogated in favour of gradually more intricate structures. In spite of this a careful organization of the musical material is retained by all composers and the hymns never degenerate into unconsidered musical effusions.

In many respects the conclusions reached in the course of this inquiry are necessarily of a preliminary nature. The musical idiom of the late Byzantine composers is only gradually being understood and many lacunae still exist in our knowledge of the 14th-century Byzantine musical style. Various questions have been recognized, addressed, and, in some instances, resolved. More importantly, however, a number of significant avenues for future research have been adumbrated.

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