MUSICAL NOTATION AND QUASI NOTATION IN SYRO-MELKITE LITURGICAL MANUSCRIPTS.

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When Heinrich Husmann at the *Symposium Syriacum* 1972 spoke on "Eine Konkordanztabelle syrischer Kirchentöne und arabischer Maqamen in einem syrischen Musiknotizbuch"[1], he dealt at some length with a peculiarity in his source, "über besonderen Silben schräg nach links aufsteigende Doppelreihen von Punkten bzw. kurzen Strichlein, von denen mir Kriakos Touma[2] erläuterte, dass sie andeuteten, dass dort grössere Melismen zu singen wären." The parallel between this melisma notation of a Jacobite source and the melisma notation in Greek and Slavonic manuscripts which I have called 'Theta Notation'[3] immediately suggested itself to Professor Husmann and made him conclude as follows: "Entsprechend der Theta-Reduktion der Paläobyzantinischen Notation bietet Toumas Notizbüchlein also den *heute noch lebenden* letzten Rest einer ebenso reduzierten 'Oxeia-Notation'."[4] Until Kriakos Touma's booklet came to light,

1. Orientalia Christiana Analecta N.197, 1974, pp.373-385.
2. The manuscript at that time belonged to Kriakos Touma, a goldsmith in Beirut who had formerly been deacon in Tur Abdin. Thanks to the kind assistance of Asmar Khoury (Beirut), a microfilm of the entire MS was made for the MMB, in 1975. The present location of the orignal is unknown.
3. Cf. my article on "A primitive palaeobyzantine musical notation", Classica et Mediaevalia 23, 1962, pp. 301-310.
4. Husmann, Konkordanztabelle, p. 375, my Italics. On p. 217 sq. there is a long subscription, beginning as follows: "This holy book, a treasury full of life and of advantage for the readers and for the young people, was finished by the power of the Almighty on August 31 of the year 1900, Christian Era, being the year 2211 of the Greeks, in the Great School which is in the Holy Monastery of St. Ananias and St. Eugenios, known as the Monastery of Kurkāmā, i.e. Zafarān, the see of us the Old Syrians, the believers of true orthodoxy, in the days of our blessed father ---- Ignatios, Supreme Priest, Servant of Christ, the Second, from the blessed town Qal'a (?) de Abba ---- in the time when abbot of the aforesaid monastery and leader of the brethren/monks and steward of the aforesaid priest was our father and lord Kyrillos Georgios from Mardīn (?)." The date - A.D.1900, indicated in Christian and Seleucide Era - fits to the date of the Metropolitan Ignatios II, see Aziz S. Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity*, London 1968, p. 220.

Syrian musical notation was known only from Melkite manuscripts. Are we, then, to assume Melkite influence upon this late Jacobite source? Hardly, says Husmann, for "die musikalische Notation der melkitischen Manuskripte ist von der unseres Büchleins ganz verschieden, wie sich aus einem Vergleich mit der Wiedergabe einer solchen Notenschrift auf Tafel 6 in *Jean-Baptiste Thibauts* Werk *Origine Byzantine de la Notation Neumatique de l'Eglise Latine* (Paris 1907) leicht ergibt."[5] This, however, needs some modification. In fact, the manuscript from Charfé which is reproduced on Thibaut's plate 6, is far from being a typical representative of Melkite musical notation. It is true that some Syro-Melkite manuscripts do exist in which the same type of notation is used - but these are by far outnumbered by witnesses to other notational systems among the Syro-Melkites.

The whole complex of musical notation and quasi notation in Syro-Melkite liturgical manuscripts thus needs further treatment, before the question raised by Professor Husmann's observations can be definitively settled.

In 1973 a generous grant from *Statens Humanistiske Forskningsråd* enabled me to visit a number of manuscript collections in Western and Central Europe, my main object of study being Byzantine and Metabyzantine musical manuscripts. Passing through Salzburg on my way back from Vienna I had a long conversation with Professor Ludger Bernhard at his Institut für Ostkirchliche Liturgie, Erzabtei Sankt Peter. Among other topics we discussed a musical notation which he had come across in a few Syro-Melkite manuscripts from the Library of St. Catharine's, Mount Sinai, and its possible connection with the musical notation of two manuscripts to which Father Rachid Haddad (St. Sauveur, Lebanon) had drawn our attention at the *Primo congresso internazionale di studi di musica bizantina e orientale liturgica*, Grottaferrata 1968[6]. After the congress, Dr.

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5. Husmann, Konkordanztabelle, p. 376.
6. A summary of Father Haddad's paper is printed in *Accademie e biblioteche d'Italia*, Anno XXXVI (19° n.s.) N.4-5, p. 266 ("La musique religieuse des Melkites aux environs du XIV siècle").

Haddad had kindly provided me with a microfilm of those pages from the two manuscripts that contained musical notation; but since it had been impossible for me to identify the texts in his manuscripts, I had had to postpone an eventual investigation of these sources until some later time. In Salzburg, however, the expertise of Professor Bernhard enabled us to identify two Syro-Melkite Stichera from the manuscript Sinai Syr. 80, and to compare their sporadic neumes with the melodies of their Byzantine originals - and to our great surprise we found that the melismata indicated by the Syro-Melkite source were placed exactly where the Byzantine melodies had their melismata. Evidently, then, the assumption of Dr. Haddad (that the neumes of his two MSS were related to palaeobyzantine musical notation) had a wider bearing than first supposed, since it now looked as if not only the musical notation but also the melodies themselves in such Syro-Melkite manuscripts had a Byzantine origin.

On the strength of this I began a more systematic search for musical notation in Syro-Melkite liturgical manuscripts. My travel program, then, was almost completed; but since it included two short stays in Berlin and Paris (respectively 6 and 2 days), I decided to concentrate my work on manuscripts in the Oriental Departments of these two libraries. The result of these few days' work was overwhelming. In Berlin I inspected 23 Syro-Melkite liturgical MSS; 21 of them contained some kind of musical notation. In Paris, where I had only 2 days at my disposal, almost every manuscript which I saw was provided with notation.

With the present article I intend to give a preliminary report on my findings. As I am totally unfamiliar with the Syriac language, I have had to rely on the support of other scholars. At a very early stage of my work, I received help in identifying and translating the Syriac texts from Professor Ludger Bernhard and from Dr. Christian Hannick, Münster. Since then Stamatis Giannoulos (Institute for Semitic Studies, University of Copenhagen) has put his expert knowledge at my disposal, spending hours and hours on our microfilms and xerox

copies. At times, our small identification team has included yet another scholar, Mr. George Amargianakis (Folklore Research Center of the Academy of Athens, at that period licentiate at the Institute for Medieval Greek and Latin Philology, University of Copenhagen); his inside knowledge of Byzantine liturgical texts has more than once helped us through our difficulties.

Due to the shortness of my stays in Berlin and Paris, and because of my lack of knowledge of the Syriac language - I cannot even decipher the alphabet in its various realizations by the scribes - all I had done was to collect some specimens from the manuscripts that I came across. This fragmentary and hastily collected material, however, seemed to be sufficient for my actual purpose, and I saw no reason to collect more documentation than I already had. Consequently, when Professor Husmann published his remarkable discovery of Sinai syr. 261, a 13th century Sticherarion thoroughly provided with Palaeobyzantine musical notation[7], I had already written a substantial part of the present article - too much, in fact, to make a fresh beginning feasible.

The material on which our work has been based covers most of the Menaia (only the months of May - August are not represented), the Triodion, and the Pentekostarion. Most of the texts are translations from Byzantine originals; as to those texts which we have not been able to identify, chances are that these, too, are translations from Greek models, presumably still existing in manuscript[8]. As a rule, the texts that are provided with musical notation are Stichera Idiomela; but a surprising number of Stichera Proshomoia - surprising, measured by Byzantine standards - occur as well. Finally we have observed a few Heirmoi with musical notation, also some pericopes provided with cantillation signs.

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7. Cf. below, note 27.
8. The complete set of identifications of the models for all the texts contained in Sinai syr. 261 (Husmann, *Einleitung*, pp.13-46; the bibliographical reference is given below, note 27) is a fine illustration to this point. The identification work which we have done here in Copenhagen would have been infinitely more simple if we had had access to Husmann's *Anfangsverzeichnis*.

The present article deals with three main questions concerning Syro-Melkite church music and notation: It describes the various *notational types* which occur in the manuscripts investigated, defining their characteristics and pointing out their Byzantine parallels; it compares Byzantine and Syro-Melkite melodies to the same texts, trying to define the *relationship between Byzantine and Syro-Melkite chant;* finally, the *stability of the Syro-Melkite musical tradition* is measured in a few cases where the material includes more than one version of the same melody.

NOTATIONAL TYPES:

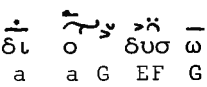
As far as I can see, the numerous varieties of musical notation or quasi notation in our Syro-Melkite sources can be reduced to three main types, two of which are to be found in Byzantine musical MSS. Of these, the most frequently encountered is a melisma notation of the same type as the so-called *Theta notation.* Also directly comparable with Byzantine musical notation are some occurrences of ordinary Palaeobyzantine notation, more precisely: of different stages of *Coislin notation;* to these should be added some cases where stray Coislin neumes are to be found. The third main type of musical notation, known until now only from very few MSS, might provisionally be described as a syllabic accent notation (or '*Diple notation*', since its favourite sign is a doubled acutus, resembling the Double Oxeia which in Byzantine musical terminology is called Diple); for this kind of notation I have found no clear Byzantine parallels.

In the following, each of these three main types shall be exemplified in a number of variations. For the sake of clarity I have arranged my examples according to their typological closeness to the Byzantine parallels; but this arbitrary arrangement is not to be understood as a genetic explanation. As to the origin and development of the Syro-Melkite notational or quasi-notational systems of writing, it seems to be too early to draw any conclusions. The only fact which

has emerged with absolute certainty is that all these systems - typologically speaking - are 'archaic' if measured by the dates of the manuscripts in question; if the catalogues are to be trusted, the MSS date from the 13th to the 16th centuries - but the corresponding Byzantine musical notations were superseded by more developed types several centuries earlier[9]. The implication is, of course, that the main stream of the development has bypassed the Syro-Melkite backwaters. This is a situation which somehow resembles that of the Slavonic area, where Archaic Coislin notation continued to be used at a period where it had been superseded by Developed Coislin (or even Early Round notation?) in the Byzantine centers.

a. Theta Notation:

Our first example[10] shows the ending of a Sticheron from the Berlin MS Sachau 35 (15th century), with melisma notation at four places. Three of these are on equivalents of the word χαίροις in the Greek text[11] - i.e. at places which are melismatically treated in the Byzantine melody. In the last line but one of the Syrian Sticheron the neumes are placed on ≠ διό; here the melody of D runs



The Ø of the notation is evidently to be understood as a Greek θ; more or less peculiar Thetas can be found in many Syro-Melkite MSS (see, e.g. Exx. 4b and 11). The notation consists of black (or brown) and red elements; the red strokes are jotted

9. The only conspicuous exception to this general rule is to be found in Sinai syr. 261, where the melodies on some folios are written in Round Notation. See below, pp.28-33.

10. For practical reasons, the examples are printed separately, in Cahiers 31B.

11. To denote such equivalents I use the symbol ≠. However, since the translations are often quite free - to match the number of syllables in the Greek originals - the equivalents are positional rather than lexicographic; more precisely the symbol therefore is to be understood as indicating "at the place in the verse where the Greek original reads so and so."

down, as it seems, without any recognizable function and are probably nothing but an ornamental device. Similar red strokes and dots occur in other MSS.

Example 2 contains the same text as Ex. 1, from the MS Sachau 37. In this MS - which according to the catalogue (p. 854) was written in A.D. 1478 by the same scribe as Sachau 35 (Ex. 1) - the melismata are prescribed for the three ≠ χαίροις; lines 4-6 is a dittography and has been cancelled in the MS. Notice that the Theta symbol is not used here, as it was in Ex. 1. We may safely infer - as it will appear, also, from many of the following examples - that it really did not matter: all that was necessary for the singers was that *something* was written above the lines of text at the places where melismata were to be sung according to oral tradition.[12] That does not mean that the shape of the neumes did not matter at all. If some scribes apparently jotted down a random number of oblique strokes without caring much about their actual shape (as in Ex. 2), others - or the same scribe in a different mood, or copying from another source? - seem to have tried to make distinctions. Thus, in Ex. 1 the notation on ≠ χαίροις contains three different elements: ϕ , // , and \\ . And if this might be explained as a kind of symmetrical stylization[13], there are other cases in Sachau 35 where unambiguous attempts to distinguish are evident - see, e.g., *Example 3*, where a distinction is clearly made between // and /ᴗ (between "Diple" and "Oxeia + Klasma", to use the Byzantine terminology).

Evidently, consistency and uniformity cannot be expected from these scribes. This is true, also, in their usage of red ink for some elements of the melismata. In Sachau 35, we met

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12. Cf. Kriakos Touma's explanation of the "reduced Oxeia notation" as quoted above, p.11.
13. For a Slavonic parallel, see R.P. Verdeil, La musique byzantine chez les Bulgares et les Russes (MMB Subsidia III, 1953), p. 229 and Plate XXI, on the symmetrical arrangement of Thematismos neumes in the Zography Triphologion (⸗0⸗ , ⸗0⸗// etc.) Another feature of stylization in Ex. 1 is the duplicated Thetas; for these can hardly reflect an actual doubling of the melisma itself. An even clearer instance of this is shown in Ex. 4b, with its triple Theta.

such elements in Ex. 1. But in Ex. 3 (from the same MS) there are none - whereas on fol. 7v of the same MS a black melisma ( ) has been provided with numerous red dots and strokes; but these black neumes on fol. 7v are exactly the same as those encountered in Ex. 3, the only difference being that the Theta ( ) is missing in Ex. 3.

In *Example 4*, two renderings of a melisma are juxtaposed, to show once more (a) that a few "Oxeiai" are enough to indicate that a melisma is to be sung, and (b) that repetitions of Thetas occur without any musical implication, as a mere ornamental device.

In the Berlin MS Sachau 100 (14th-15th cent., "eine Sammlung von kirchlichen Gesänge der verschiedensten Art") we can observe how the writing of melismata was increasingly ornamentalized. On fol. 19v we find a simple notation to indicate a melisma similar to the one which was reproduced in Example 3:

On fol. 33v again at the same word, the writing is more complicated, also because of the red ornamental strokes:

Similarly, on fol. 70r I have noted (in black and red):

- and on fol. 71r we find once again the same word, but this time provided with about 30 black and 7 red "Oxeiai" (but no "Thetas").

On fol. 135r sqq. (from the beginning of "die Gesänge für die elf Auferstehungs-Sonntage") the melismata are treated in a new way: The notation, which may or may not include Thetas (etc.), is apparently becoming purely ornamental, in a kind of criss-cross pattern, with red ornamental strokes which are likewise criss-crossed. *Example 5* gives an idea of this ornamentalization; in its opening melisma, each stroke cannot possibly have had any definite meaning.

b. Coislin Notation:

In the examples which we have seen until now, a restricted number of "Byzantine" neumes occurred in the writing of melismata: "Diple" (//), "Oxeia + Klasma" (/~), "Theta" (θ, φ, ϑ ...), and may-be "Piasma" (\\ in Ex. 1, unless this is to be understood as a kind of symmetrical stylization, cf. p.). But some Syro-Melkite scribes went far beyond that, occasionally providing a hymn with coherent Byzantine musical notation.[14] Thus, in the Menaion Paris Syr. 137 (16th cent.) one of the Stichera for February 1 (≠ Ὑπερφρονήσας τῶν τῇδε) carries Palaeobyzantine neumes on every syllable, see *Example 6*. Somewhat earlier are *Examples 7-9*, taken from the Menaion Paris Syr. 134; this MS is dated A.D. 1256, but the notation appears to have been added later on.

It is evident that the notation of these comparatively late Syro-Melkite MSS is based on Byzantine traditions of a much earlier date; for the musical notation of Exx. 6-9 is still the Coislin Notation which in Greek musical manuscripts went out of use towards the end of the 12th century. In this connection, attention should be drawn to the three examples from Paris Syr. 134 (Exx. 7-9), where different typological stages of Coislin notation are to be found side by side. For if the notation of Ex. 7 - like that of Ex. 6 - with its provisions for every syllable of the text can best be described as "Developed Coislin", the many blank syllables in Ex. 8 (more than 25%) remind us of early stages of "Archaic Coislin". And Ex. 9, if described in similar terms, looks even more primitive than the most archaic Coislin notation known from Byzantine sources, for here we see that less than 25% of the syllables carry musical signs.[15] We might explain the coexistence of

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14. With Heinrich Husmann's discovery of Sinai syr. 261 - cf. below, note 27 - this general statement must be modified; for now we know that at least one 13th cent. Syro-Melkite liturgical manuscript included the melodies (in Palaeobyzantine musical notation) for most of its contents.

15. For "blank syllables" as a chronological criterion, see Constantin Floros, Universale Neumenkunde I (Kassel, 1970), pp. 355-57; Oliver Strunk, Specimina Notationum Antiquiorum (MMB VII, 1966), Prolegomena pp. 21-22 and passim; my own facsimile edition of Saba 83, Prolegomena (MMB VIII,1), pp. 18-22 and 28-32.

old and recent stages of notation in Paris syr. 134 in terms of genealogy, seeing in it a reflection of several *Vorlagen* having been used in the MS itself or in some of the ancestors of its neumatic tradition.[16]

Example 10 shows an exceedingly restricted use of musical notation, with neumes added to only six syllables of the poetic text. The manuscript (Paris syr. 135) is a December Menaion, written by the same scribe as Paris syr. 134. But whereas the Coislin notation of Exx. 7-9 must be part of a *written* tradition[17], the stray and random neumes of Ex. 10 make a distinctly different impression. They look as if they were added by someone who had a special interest in this particular stanza, may-be a singer who had difficulties with some rhythmical details of a melody which he was supposed to know by heart. In this connection it is to be noted that the text in question is not a Sticheron, but a stanza of a Kanon, and that the other Heirmoi and stanzas of this Kanon are not provided with notation.

c. Diple Notation:

For most of its Stichera Idiomela the January Menaion Paris Syr. 136 (A.D. 1521) provides no music. Occasionally, however, a most peculiar musical notation is to be found (on folios 146r-148r, 161r, 180r, and 188v-189r). A characteristic specimen of this notation is shown in *Example 11*. Although every syllable is here provided with one or more neumes - apart from a few words in line 3 - it is impossible to follow the details of this melody. This is due not only to the fact that the neumes are so carelessly written that it is virtually impossible to decide, e.g., whether the intended neumes are // or /\ . The real difficulty consists in the overwhelming frequency of Oxeia and Double Oxeia ("Diple"); evidently these neumes have other implications than they have in ordinary

16. Cf. Strunk's Specimina, Prolegg. pp. 16 sqq. (on "Manuscripts with Multiple Vorlagen") and my Prolegomena to MMB VIII, pp. 18 sqq.
17. For this tradition, see below pp. 24-29 and 33-35.

Byzantine and Palaeobyzantine notation. The Theta sign occurs five times, four of which at verse ends, but in the Byzantine parallels the corresponding places have no melismatic ornaments whatsoever (see Ex. 22). In line 4 there is a medial signature for the Deuteros mode (⊃).

For feasts of monastic saints Byzantine rite frequently uses the Sticheron of which Ex. 11 is a translation[18]. In Byzantine musical MSS, however, it will normally occur only once, at the feast of St. Anthony (January 17) - but fortunately for us, the scribe of Paris syr. 136 has copied out the melody no less than four times in his January Menaion (147v, 161r, 180r, 188v); these four settings will be discussed below, pp.35-36.

The notation of Paris syr. 136 is unusual, but not an isolated phenomenon. A similar notation is used in Sinai syr. 80, and the Charfé MS which Husmann considered to be a typical representative for Syro-Melkite musical notation (cf. above, p.12) evidently displays notation of the same kind. More interesting, however, are occurrences outside the Syro-Melkite area:

In his Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Collection of the John Rylands Library, Manchester (Manchester 1909), W.E. Crum published a few fragments of Greek liturgical texts provided with more or less eleborate musical notation (MSS 25-29, 10th-11th cent.). This notation is sometimes referred to as a kind of 'ekphonetic notation', e.g. in René Ménard's contribution to Fellerer's Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik.[19] *Example 12* shows the most interesting of these fragments.[20] The difference between this notation and genuine ekphonetic notation is easily seen: the neumes are not used to frame the incises of the poetic text, but are dispersed over the entire text, though not on every syllable. This notation

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18. Τῶν μοναστῶν τὰ πλήθη, cf. Follieri, Initia... 4, 350.
19. Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik... hrsg. v. Karl Gustav Fellerer, Band I, 1972, pp. 116-17.
20. For the sake of clarity my example reproduces the *transcription* from Crum's Catalogue, p. 10; a photograph of the fragment is given on Crum's Plate 2.

has nothing to do with ekphonetic notation; but the similarity to the Syro-Melkite notation of my Ex. 11 is striking.

Another specimen of a musical notation which may have some affinity to the Syro-Melkite Diple Notation is to be seen in one of Verdeil's reproductions from the Zographou Tripholo-gion.[21] The similarity may be coincidental; but it certainly cannot be dismissed altogether. To Verdeil, the uniqueness of this notation suggested that we had to do with "un essai de crêation d'une notation originale bulgare" (op. cit. p. 227), and in the symmetrical arrangement of the neumes of its Theta melism[22] she saw an "innovation bulgare" (ibid. p. 229). Instead of this Bulgarian hypothesis another possibility is worth considering, that there once existed - in Byzantium herself - peculiar types of musical notation and quasi nota-tion, of which scattered remains have been preserved in remote corners of the orthodox world - remote, that is, in respect to the Byzantine capital and the patriarchate of Constantinople. This still does not define the original place or places where these systems were created; but it suggests a wide area for future research. To be sure, no clear parallels to the nota-tion of Exx. 11 and 12 - and to the notation of the Zographou Triphologion - have until now been found in Byzantine litur-gical manuscripts. But as long as every folio of all extant MSS has not been turned, we cannot know.[23] In fact, we do come across Greek manuscripts which testify to an unforeseen variety of strange notations or quasi notations which, like the Syrian and Coptic examples just quoted, seem to be based on the ancient prosodic signs in a way which differs from that of 'ordinary' Byzantine neumes. Thus, in the non-liturgical manuscript Berlin gr. fol. 25, an untrained hand added some liturgical texts in the margins of three folios (27v, 28r, and

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21. Plate XX of the book quoted above, p.17, note 13.
22. Cf. above, p.17, note 13.
23. To mention just one famous case: Until Linos Politis at the Oxford Congress in 1966 produced pictures of *Kastoria 8*, we all thought that the Byzantine ancestor of Slavonic Kondakarian Notation had been irretrievably lost, without any traces in the Byzantine tra-dition.

40v) and provided these texts with a 'notation', the main elements of which are the prosodic signs Oxeia, Bareia, and Perispomene (´ , ` , ῀).

In *Example 13* I have combined the two occurrences of the Apolytikion Σῶσον κύριε τὸν λαόν σου, both of them incomplete and difficult to reproduce;[24] in *Example 14* we have the beginning of Psalm 1, entered in the margin of fol. 27v. Although many of the signs above the lines of text may be understood as 'normal' accents and spirits (though sometimes incorrectly used), this explanation fails to account for the treatment of the long words εὐλόγησον and βασιλεῦσι in Ex. 13.

The Menaion British Museum Add. 24378, a veritable gold mine for unusual types of notation and quasi notation, furnishes us with the following two examples. In *Example 15* we see Diplai (or groups of double Oxeiai) used as the only neumatic sign, thus reminding us of the Coptic Ex. 12. But now, a comparison with the Byzantine melody shows that the notation of Ex. 15 was exclusively used to indicate the melismata of the melody. Notwithstanding the general likeness to Ex. 12, we must therefore conclude that the real parallel to Ex. 15 is to be found in the Syro-Melkite material as exemplified in Exx. 2 and 5, and in Touma's booklet.[25] The same notation occurs elsewhere in Add. 24378, sometimes in situations which come even closer to our Ex. 12. Thus, in the Doxastikon Ὁρῶσά σε ἡ κτίσις ἅπασα (fol. 197r; MR II, 739; D 98r) we find not only Ορώσα´´´σε, ἡ κτίσι´´σ, ἅπασα´, but also, near the end, ὦ τοῦ θαύματος· ὁ τροφεύς· τρέφεται μητρός πανάγνου. But also here, a comparison with cod. Dalass. shows that the notation was used on melismatically sung syllables, as in Ex. 15.

With *Example 16* we have, once again, to do with a melisma notation. But this time the notational elements are not the Double Oxeia (Diple), but signs which have been taken over

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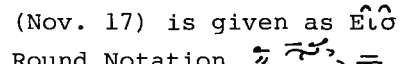
24. In my rendering, the symbol x denotes syllables or 'neumes' that are physically missing. For the liturgical use of this Apolytikion, see Follieri, Initia... III, 612.
25. Cf. above p.11.

directly from the prosodic accents (Oxeia and Perispomene). Elsewhere in the manuscript, the same two signs are used to indicate 'ups' and 'downs' of the melismatic movement, most clearly on fol. 140r, where the incipit of a Sticheron for St. Gregory (Nov. 17) is given as Εἰσ βάθοσ· θεορίασ, corresponding to Round Notation  (BMAdd. 43 790 A,20r).

a bcba b G b aGFG EF D

To sum up: Of the notational varieties used in British Museum Add. 24 378, two (Exx. 15 and 16) are used in the same way as the melisma notation which we know from Byzantine and Syro-Melkite (and Slavonic) 'Theta notation', but in their outward appearance they resemble the Coptic neumes of Ex. 12 and the marginal entries in Berlin gr. fol. 25 (Exx. 13 and 14); in this connection it should be noted that the Perispomene occurs also in Ex. 12 (esp. on the word δεόμεθα, near the end of the hymn).

THE MELODIES:

As we have now seen, the Syro-Melkite scribes - at least up to the 16th century - disposed of several distinct varieties of musical notation or quasi notation, most of which had parallels in Byzantine material. As already pointed out (pp.15-16), the parallels belonged to the Palaeobyzantine systems of musical notation - the only exception being some folios of Sinai syr. 261, where the melodies for the eleven Stichera Heothina are transmitted in faulty Middle Byzantine ("Round") Notation.[26] Evidently, then, we cannot 'transcribe' directly from a Syro-Melkite MS; if we are to interpret such melodies at all, we must resort to comparisons with a suitable Greek material.

In connection with his facsimile edition of Sinai syr. 261, Heinrich Husmann described its musical notation in the first volume of the Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft.[27]

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26. The first Heothinon is studied below, pp. 28-33 + Exx. 19A-19C.
27. Heinrich Husmann, Ein syrisches Sticherarion mit paläobyzantinischer Notation (Sinai syr. 261), Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft I, 1975, pp. 9-57. The facsimile edition itself and Husmann's introduction were published in Göttinger Orientforschungen, I. Reihe: Syriaca, Band 9,1-2, Wiesbaden 1975 and 1978. See also *Addendum* (below, p. 37).

In this highly interesting and stimulating article, Husmann published comparative material from a great number of Greek Sticheraria - including more than 25 MSS in Round Notation (12th-16th cent.). For my present purpose, a much more modest display of sources will suffice: For the central - and stable - tradition in Developed Coislin Notation ("CN"), I use the Sticherarion Sinai 1217 + 1243 (12th cent.); as a representative for the latest stage of the CN tradition Patmos 218 (A. D. 1166?) is the obvious choice; and, finally, the Round Notation ("RN") Sticherarion Sinai 1218 (A.D. 1177) has been chosen - not only because of its early date, but also for the reason that again and again it seems to be the only RN source that reflects the CN majority readings. Unfortunately, Sinai 1218 in other respects is a poor source, as it is difficult to decipher and contains far more scribal errors than the average RN Sticherarion. Still, notwithstanding its neumatic ambiguities and errors, Sinai 1218 seems to be the best clue to the central CN tradition.

We shall begin our comparisons with one of the oldest Syro-Melkite sources available, Sinai syr. 261 (A.D. 1233/34). For our immediate concern, the wording of the Syrian translation is irrelevant and has been omitted from the examples.[28] From *Example 17* we see immediately that this Syro-Melkite version belongs to the same stable tradition as Sin.gr. 1243. The deviations of 261 from 1243 apparently fall into three categories: (a) a few differences in explicitness (such as ⸝ versus ⸝· in line 1 and \ versus \· in line 2); (b) quite a number of variations between neumes which are graphically akin (/ versus — and ⸝ versus ⸤ in line 1, — and ⸤ in line 2 etc); (c) some real variants (as, e.g., the treatment of the last words in line 3).

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28. A careful analysis of a limited number of pieces like those which are published in the present article (esp. Exx. 17-21) will no doubt lead to results which have a general bearing on the relationship between the Syro-Melkite translations and the Greek originals. Without the information of the melodies, such comparative studies remain unnecessarily inexact.

In order to work on a more solid base in interpreting these differences between 261 and 1243, I have checked the readings of some other Greek CN MSS: Sinai 1214, 1241, 1242, 1244; Ohrid 53; Berlin gr. fol. 49; Vatopedi 1488. Two of these MSS are older than Sinai 1243 (Sinai 1242 and Vatopedi 1488, both of them from the 11th cent.), one is decidedly later (Sinai 1244, 13th cent.). The results of these probings are as follows:

a. Explicitness:

line 1 E : 261 = 1241 1488,  cett. ( 218)

" 2 τε:  261 = 49, cett. ( 218)

" 3 ου:  261 = 1241,  1488,  cett. ( 218)

" 5 ελ:  261 (and 218), cett.

" 6 πνευ:  261,  1244,  cett. ( 218)

In these five cases 261 seems to be less explicit than the majority - thus, maybe, representing a stage of CN somewhat earlier than 1243. There are no cases where 261 is more explicit than 1243.

b. Variation between neumes which are graphically akin:

1 τα, 2 την, 2 του:  261,  cett. (218 differently)

1 τρι:  261,  cett.

2 τι, 6 προ:  261,  cett.

3 πο, 4 γρη, 8 α: 261 (= 1241 and 1244 in line 8), cett.

Of these 9 cases, only the last one (the Ison in line 8, found in 261, 1241, and 1244) may represent a genuine reading; the other 8 cases look like unintended results of imprecise copying.[29]

c. Other variants:

3: ισραηλ: 261 is longer than the Byzantine version, cf. below.

4 και and ευ: 261 is difficult to read, but apparently differs from my CN MSS.

29. In his article on the musical notation of Sinai syr. 261 (cf. note 27) Husmann finds in this and other MSS a hitherto unknown neume (an Oligon with a thickening of its left end). His reasoning about this "Iso-Oligon" should be reconsidered in the light of the comparisons carried out in the present article, cf. below pp. 30-32 (ad.Ex.19A).

4 σθε: 261, cett. (1241)
5 ι: 261, cett. (218).[30]
5 θη: 261, cett. (218)
7 δε: 261, cett. (218)
7 σθε: 261, cett. (218)

In line 3, the Syrian translator for reasons unknown added the word ṭalūmē ("the lawless") at the end of the line, as an apposition to the sons of Israel ("B'nē Isrā'Īl"); the melody had to be changed in order to fit these extra syllables. The two versions (1243 and 261) run as follows:

ον	ε	τι	μη	σαν	το	α	πο	υι	ων	ισ	ρα	ηλ·
a	G	EF	G	G	G	G	ab	cG	a	G	F	F
hu	d-az	da	ban	- wa	b'ṭī	me	min	b'nē	is	rā	'Īl	ṭa	lū	mē.
a	G	EF	G	G	G	G	ab	cG	a	?	?	?	?	?
(who		was bought			with price		by sons		Israel's			the lawless)		

The Syro-Melkite reading on ≠ 5 θη ( ) is probably an orthographical variant for the usual combination Apostrophos + Dyo Kentemata, of the same type as the Apostrophos + Oxeia which we find in archaic Coislin Notation and on some pages of the MS Lavra Gamma 67 (Chartres Notation).[31] It is just possible that the reading on ≠ 7 σθε ( ) is to be explained as a miscopied (equivalent to) - since, as we have already seen, there are other instances in 261 where Petasthe and Ison have been confused; the intended melody of 261 might thus very well have been *a Ga a*, corresponding to the *a G a* of Sinai 1216, 1484, 1464, Patmos 223, and Coislin 40 (pp. 192A-193B of the collations mentioned in note 30).

This comparison of neumatic details has fully confirmed our first impression: that the Syro-Melkite version in Sinai syr. 261 is based on the central - and stable - tradition of Byzantine MSS in Developed Coislin Notation.

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30. In the appendix to my dissertation (Intonation Formulas and Modal Signatures in Byzantine Musical Manuscripts, MMB Subsidia 7, 1966) I have collated more than a hundred versions of the melody to "Εστησαν τα τριάκοντα ἀργύρια; it is worth while mentioning that the Petasthe of 261 is found in all these MSS.

31. Floros, Universale Neumenkunde, I, pp. 141 and 388. For a RN example, see in my Example 19B the variant reading of Athens 974 to line 2.

In *Example 18*, taken from Paris syr. 137 (16th cent.), it is less easy to define the exact shape of the Byzantine source for the Syro-Melkite version. For the majority of its syllables, the melody in 137 is identical with the central CN version of Sin. gr. 1217, and there are also in this example a few cases like those which we in Ex. 17 defined as being due to an imprecise copying: e.g. Oligon for Oxeia on 2 ρων and Petasthe for Ison on the last syllable of line 9 - cf. also the misplaced Katabasma in line 6, which is placed on ≠ σω though it certainly belongs to the Xeron Klasma of the preceding syllable. But apart from these variants, we now observe some cases where 137 seems to agree with the version of Patmos 218 (e.g. on 1 τηδε, 2 γεη, 4 αι, 6 ηο) - none of them really important, but they are too many to be neglected. Finally, we find a number of cases where the neumes of 137 appear to convey a melody which differs from both 1217 and 218 (e.g. 3 ωϛ, 6 στεφοϛ, 7 θεον, 8 πα); but, again, these are only details; our Syro-Melkite melody is clearly a genuine Coislin version. Preserved in a 16th century MS we thus find a melody in the shape in which it was written down 400 years earlier! There is no sign of any influence from the Round Notation, though at the time, it had been in general use for more than 350 years.

Husmann's discovery of Sinai syr. 261 has brought one important modification to our general picture of the Syro-Melkite 'backwaters', where Coislin Notation continued to be copied centuries after a diastematically precise musical notation had been developed in the Byzantine area. The eleven Stichera Heothina are copied twice in this MS - foll. 169r-183v in ordinary Coislin Notation, and foll. 195v-204r "nach einer anderen paläobyzantinischen Quelle mit Hinzufügung von Zeichen der mittelbyzantinischen Notation, die den neutralen Charakter der paläobyzantinischen Notation diastematisch präzisieren".[32] To illustrate this isolated occurrence of "diastematische Zusatzzeichen" Husmann quotes the first lines of the first Heothinon from 4 Coislin sources and 22 sources

32. Husmann, Ein syrisches Sticherarion... p. 52.

in Round Notation, adding to this material a tentative "Melodierekonstruktion" of the Syro-Melkite melody. Stimulated by Husmann's success, I have continued his work on the first Heothinon, including now the entire melody in the investigation, and being led - along the road - to add a varying number of other sources to my material.[33]

The first question for which I consulted the Byzantine parallels dealt with the relationship between the two Syro-Melkite versions (foll. 170r sqq. and 195v sqq. in Sinai syr. 261). I wanted to know whether we had to do with the same melody in different stages of explicitness, or whether there were real melodic differences in the two settings. During this stage of the work I realized that our scribe (or his models) also here must have made a considerable number of confusions between neumes that are graphically akin.[34] By means of comparisons with Byzantine sources I suppose that I have removed most of these scribal errors, restoring the musical text *intended*. As it was to be expected, the first setting (foll. 170r sqq.) came very close to the central Coislin version (for which I here used Sinai 1242). For its 'transcription' - or rather: reconstruction - Sinai 1218 will no doubt suffice.[35] But the second setting came out as a surprise. I had expected to find another Palaeobyzantine version with occasional dia-

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33. Details of the two Syro-Melkite versions can best be seen if one compares the facsimile edition from 1978 with Plates 5 and 6 in the article from the Hamburger Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft. Constantin Floros's Universale Neumenkunde III, 1970, pp.216-22 collects on Tafel XIX a useful comparative material from Palaeobyzantine, Middle Byzantine, and Slavonic sources. Besides, I have used unpublished collations made by Mr. Solon Hadjisolomos (Nicosia), and - for selected passages - collations of my own. For three MSS (Sinai 1218, Sinai 1244, and Athens 974) I have made complete collations. Finally, I have consulted Oliver Strunk's Specimina Notationum Antiquiorum (MMB VII, 1965), plates 65, 69, 82, and 157-158.
34. Cf. above, pp. 25-28 (on Sinai syr. 261 and Paris syr. 137).
35. Cf. H. Husmann, Ein syrisches Sticherarion... p. 52: "man sieht, dass Sinai syr. 261, die zweite Hälfte der ersten Zeile as Basis des Variantenvergleichs genommen, am nächsten Sinai gr. 1221, gr. 1224 und gr. 1218 steht."

stematic clarifications - but I ended up with an almost perfect Round Notation source, now and then expressing familiar elements in the oldfashioned Coislin way.[36] Reconstructing the neumatic text meant changes of the actual neumes at more than 60 places, each of which based on data from the comparative material or from the musical context. Obviously, the readers would loose the track if I were to present my reasons for each case. I have therefore skipped this point entirely, leaving it to the reader to judge for himself, if he feels uncertain about details. To make this possible I have put a dot at the corresponding places of my reconstruction (*Example 19A*), under the letters of the transcription. If the reader makes his own comparison with Husmann's reproductions, he will see a restricted number of substitutions repeating themselves again and again (between ⌣ , ∪ , and ⌐ ; between — , ⁄ , and ⧹). Similarly, I have indicated the Coislin elements by underlining the corresponding letters of the transcription. Of the Byzantine MSS two were closely related to the reconstruction of Ex. 19A: Sinai 1244 and Athens 974; their version is shown in *Example 19B*.

Commentary to Examples 19A and B:

1 ο(ρος): The doubling of the Chamile is abnormal; we would expect >>x⌐↓.

2 (μα)θηταις: Of Husmann's Sinai MSS only one - 1229, no doubt by coincidence - reads like 261, 1244, and 974. The others have *ab a*, like the variant version of 974.

3: The open tritonus progression *EF b* of 261, 1244, and 974 is found in 1221 and 1223 and in 1228 as a variant reading.

4 ο (κυριος): The *da b a* of 1244 and 974 is shared by a majority of Husmann's MSS, the *ea b a* of 261 being found only in 1216, 1218, 1224, and 1231.

36. This is especially clear in the Bareia groups. Of the 15 occurrences in the melody on fol. 195v sqq., only two are "correctly" written (from the point of view of Round Notation!). This tallies with Floros's observations on the notation of the Iviron Heirmologion (Universale Neumenkunde I, p. 327).

4 κυ(ριος): I cannot account for the last Apostrophos.

5 (αυ)τον: 261 alone omits *bc* before the Kratemohyporrhoon.

6-7: There are some really problematic places in these two lines, all of them in connection with the group  . The readings of 261 have no exact parallels in the MSS that I have inspected, and in Sinai 1220 (and Ottobonianus gr. 380) we find support for placing the *G ab* element one third higher, on *b cd*. However, since a change of pitch would affect the entire context - and, moreover, go decidedly against the pitch of the beginnings of lines 7 and 8 (which seem to be guaranteed by the Byzantine MSS), I have preferred the *G ab* - solution. This, anyway, is the pitch of the group at the only place where it is found in the entire tradition, at the end of ἐξουσίαν in line 6. But here, again, 261 is strange, with its unique repetition of the group.[37]

8: The characteristic Apoderma () is found only on foll. 195v-204r; in the rest of the MS we find the usual Coislin shape  . This must thus be a feature taken over from the model for the second set of Heothina.

11: The Antikenoma of 261 (also found, e.g., in 974) seems to have been used "stenographically", for the progression *d cb*.

12 (συνδιαι)ω: In most MSS the melisma on this syllable ends *c d*; the *a bc* of 261 is found in 1220, 1223, 1227, 1472, 1484, and 1564.

14 (θε)ος: The *Ga* of 261 is found only in 1244 and 1223, most MSS having *bc*.

14 (θε)ος: For the melisma on this syllable, I have encountered at least 13 different shapes in the MSS consulted. The reading of 261 is related to that of 1244. Similar shapes are found in 1218, 1223, 1227, 1229, and 1231; most MSS, however, treat the syllable in ways similar to that of 974.

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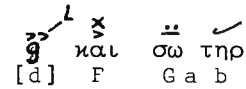
37. As seen on Plate 6 of Husmann's article (NB. here, as elsewhere, the facsimile edition is less clear) a red Deuteros signature() is added beneath the text, exactly under the repetition of the neumatic group  . We might combine these data and take them to reflect an ordinary Deuteros signature in the Greek ancestor ().

14 και σωτηρ: The progression of 261 (*G a e*) is found in the majority of my sources, including the variant reading of 974. Of all MSS inspected, 1218 alone ends the melody low, on *a*:



Ex. 19A reconstructs *one* of the Heotina transmitted in the queer "Round Notation" of Sinai syr. 261. A thorough study of all eleven pieces (foll. 195v-204r) would no doubt be worth-while. At present, with only one of the eleven Heothina accessible, we can do no more than point out some of the main problems and possible gains:

(a) The mixture of Middle Byzantine and Coislin elements can be interpreted in several ways. Was it unintentional or intentional? That is to say: Are the CN remains oversights by a scribe whose aim it was to convert a CN source into exact RN, or did the scribe not feel it necessary to spell out the hints of the diastematically imprecise CN in progressions which every singer was familiar with? An answer to this question would have a general interest, quite apart from our curiosity to know what happened in one particular manuscript, the model from which this part of Sinai syr. 261 was copied.[38]

(b) The musical text as reconstructed in Example 19A is a more explicit specimen of a Syro-Melkite melody than any other of those studied by Professor Husmann or myself. Any Syro-Melkite Coislin version of a melody can be understood and studied, but at numerous places the diastematic vagueness of the notation leaves us with more than one possible rendering of the tune. A "transcription" of such melodies will again and again run into difficulties, where our solutions must remain more or less arbitrary. But in the present case the details are so well defined (directly, or through comparisons with contemporary Byzantine material) that a successful tran-

38. Cf. my contribution "Modernization and conversation. Two types of notational change and their consequences for the transmission of Byzantine music" (International Musicological Society, Report of the Eleventh Congress, Copenhagen 1972, Vol. II (Copenhagen 1974) pp. 775-777).

scription should be possible - in other words: that the result would fairly well correspond to the realities of Syro-Melkite singing in the 13th century. *Example 19C* gives an idea of the possibilities; the Syrian text has here been provided with the reconstructed melody of Ex. 19A.[39] I am convinced - to mention only one of these possibilities - that a similar work on all eleven Heothina would provide a most useful material for the study of Syrian accentuation in the beginning of the second millennium.

(c) Finally we might ask whether the RN settings in the Syro-Melkite manuscript were the product of a Syrian specialist familiar with the new system of Byzantine musical notation, or whether these particular melodies were taken over from a Byzantine source. Once again, this question cannot be answered before all eleven melodies have been studied. We can observe some affinities between the Syro-Melkite second version of the First Heothinon and two particular Byzantine MSS from the same period (Sinai 1244 and Athens 974); but we do not yet know whether these affinities tell us about the general place of Syro-Melkite chant or only about the ancestor of the Heothina of Sinai syr. 261.

As mentioned above (pp.19-20) the 13th cent. manuscript Paris syr. 134 contains different types of Coislin Notation. Side by side with the Developed Coislin Notation of Ex. 7 we find specimens of what looks like early archaic CN, characterized by a varying percentage of 'blank syllables' (from about 25% to more than 75% of totally undefined syllables). Such melodies cannot, of course, be "transcribed" at all; but even so, a comparison with Byzantine versions may give us an idea of how faithfully the melodies have been taken over and transmitted. Let us therefore compare the two melodies of Exx. 8 and 9 with their Byzantine parallels (*Examples 20 and 21*). Ideally the Byzantine source ought to be in Archaic Coislin Notation; but

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39. More than anywhere else I have here drawn on St. Giannoulos's expertise. A rendering of the Syrian words without vowels would have been more neutral, but we found it to be less satisfactory for my present purpose.

since no such MS seems to have been preserved, our comparative material must again be taken from the main tradition in Developed Coislin - this time, however, from another source (Ohrid 53), because Sinai 1217 is here too worn to be entirely readable.

Our first observation in this material is that the two melodies so imperfectly rendered by the Syro-Melkite scribe, *grosso modo* must be the same as those of the Byzantine CN MS. Furthermore, if we look more closely at the 'blanks'[40] we find that the corresponding places in the Byzantine melodies are mostly "unimportant" or "uninteresting" progressions. Bearing in mind that this treatment of "uninteresting" elements is exactly what we find in Byzantine melodies in Archaic Coislin Notation[41], we have a choice between two - and only two - possible explanations: Such Syro-Melkite neumations must either be copies of Byzantine originals in Archaic Coislin Notation, or they must be abbreviated from full sources (in Developed Coislin Notation), made by scribes who were familiar with the habits of earlier stages of musical notation. Personally I am inclined to subscribe to the former of these alternatives.

To be sure, the blanks are not exclusively found at progressions which correspond to more or less uninteresting ones in the Byzantine melodies. In the long and complicated melody of Ex. 20 we might thus have expected some kind of neumes on αγγελων and αρχιστρατηγε in line 2, and on αμαρτηματων in line 4. And in Ex. 21, the high percentage of blanks comprises a greater number of undefined progressions of some importance.

SYRO-MELKITE AND BYZANTINE CHANT:

The Syro-Melkite settings which we have inspected until now, all depended on Byzantine models. With different stages of explicitness - ranging from the extremely archaic Coislin

40. In these examples I use two new symbols, an 0 for the blank syllables and ⊏———⊐ for the cases where the translation omits one or more syllables.

41. Cf. above, p.19, note 15. In Oliver Strunk's "Essays on Music in the Byzantine World", New York 1977, the Index of principal subjects has references to Strunk's treatment of the phenomenon on p. 349 (s.v. Secondary syllables).

Notation of Ex. 21 to the Round Notation of Ex. 19A - they are part of the musical tradition which we know from Byzantine musical manuscripts of the 10th-13th centuries, rendering the same melodies as those used in the Byzantine rite in Greek language.

If we now turn to the Syro-Melkite melodies which were taken down in one of the varieties of Theta Notation, it is obvious that our comparisons cannot rest on so many details as was the case when we had to do with genuine musical notation. It is quite clear, however, that the majority of melismata indicated in the Syro-Melkite MSS are found at the same places as the melismata of the Byzantine melodies to the corresponding texts (see above, pp.16-18, with Exx. 1-5). At our present state of knowledge it is not easy to say whether such Syro-Melkite MSS ultimately stem from Byzantine MSS which were provided with Theta Notation, or whether they were written from an oral tradition of the Byzantine melodies, by scribes who were familiar with this Byzantine system of quasi notation. Anyhow, we seem to have good reasons to believe that the Syro-Melkite Theta MSS, too, contain Syrian texts which were intended to be sung to the melodies which we know from the Byzantine musical tradition. Thus, even here, a combination of the melodies of, say, Sinai 1218 with the Syro-Melkite texts will give us at least an idea of how these texts were sung.

As for the third main type of musical notation found in our Syro-Melkite MSS - the Diple Notation, as I have preferred to call it - the only specimen which I have so far examined (Ex.11, above pp.20-21) gives us but little hope of ever being able to understand its ill-differentiated rows of straight and curved strokes. In my source, Paris syr. 136, the text (≠ Τῶν μοναστῶν τὰ πλήθη) occurs four times, each time provided with Diple Notation; but a comparison of these four settings has yielded no definite results. At 9 places, Thetas or Theta-like symbols are indicated in one or more of the settings. But if these indications are compared with the Byzantine melody

(Example 22), it appears that only one of them corresponds to a melismatic ornament in the Byzantine sources. There are only two small details to suggest any relationship at all between the Syro-Melkite melodies and their Byzantine counterpart: The modulation into the Deuteros mode before line 7 is indicated in one of the Syro-Melkite versions (fol. 161r, the one shown in Ex. 11) - and in the same version the last of its five Thetas is found near the beginning of line 12 (at ≠ μεϑ'οὗ), where the Byzantine melody has a punctuating ornament. The connection between the Byzantine and the Syro-Melkite melodies remains highly problematic. Besides, each of the four Syro-Melkite settings has its own way of applying the melismata at verse ends, testifying thus to some instability or freedom of the tradition: On fol. 147v, the only Theta is found at the end of line 9; on 161r we find one after line 5 - but then one after each of lines 9, 10, and 11, and one near the beginning of line 12; the hymn on 180r has its three Thetas at the ends of lines 4, 5, and 6; and finally, the one on 188v has four Thetas evenly distributed over the first half of the melody, at the end of lines 1, 3, 6, and 9.[42]

*

"From the 17th century onwards the Melkites 'have sung like the Greek', since union with the Ecumenical Patriarchate was reinstored. Prior to that period they had a musical tradition of their own, having been separated from the Byzantines since the Arab conquest." This was the general picture drawn by Rachid Haddad at the Grottaferrata Congress in 1968 - the framework into which he sought to fit the two 14th cent. MSS which were the subject of his communication.[43] This position, however, cannot be upheld any longer. The material surveyed in the present article provides a physical demonstration that

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42. A similar instability can be observed in MSS which use Theta Notation; the last melisma in Ex. 1, for instance, has no equivalent in Ex. 2. This phenomenon is wellknown from Byzantine MSS.

43. Cf. above, p.12, note 6.

some Syrian Melkites, at least, 'sung like the Greek' already in the first half of the 13th century - the date of the oldest sources studied by Heinrich Husmann and myself. But perhaps it is even more important to find Archiac Coislin Notation used in Paris syr. 134; for this seems to imply that the Syro-Melkite musical tradition was Greek already in the 10th-11th century. We are thus very close to A.D. 969, when the Byzantine army recaptured Antioch and reestablished Constantinopolitan influence in the area, to last for more than a hundred years.

In the present article I have concentrated on the neumes and the melodies of my material. If these observations would make scholars deal with this neglected field of study on a broader and more solid base, they will have fulfilled their purpose. Duly placed in their historical and cultural context, the Syro-Melkite liturgical manuscripts will no doubt reveal more of their secrets - maybe even throw some light on their lost Byzantine models.

Addendum.

In Göttinger Orientforschungen, I. Reihe: Syriaca, Band 19 (=Erkenntnisse und Meinungen II, herausgegeben von Gernot Wiessner), Professor Husmann has now published a study "Zur syrischen Neumenschrift" (pp. 191-222). Many of Husmann's observations fit well to the results which I have reached myself in the present article. As for the inevitable divergences of opinion, these should be wellcomed as *stimuli* for further studies in the field. In his article, Husmann has deciphered the Diple Notation of Sinai Syr. 80 with considerable success. Thus, my pessimistic remarks on this type of Syro-Melkite musical notation (above, p. 35) already seem to be outdated.

J.R.

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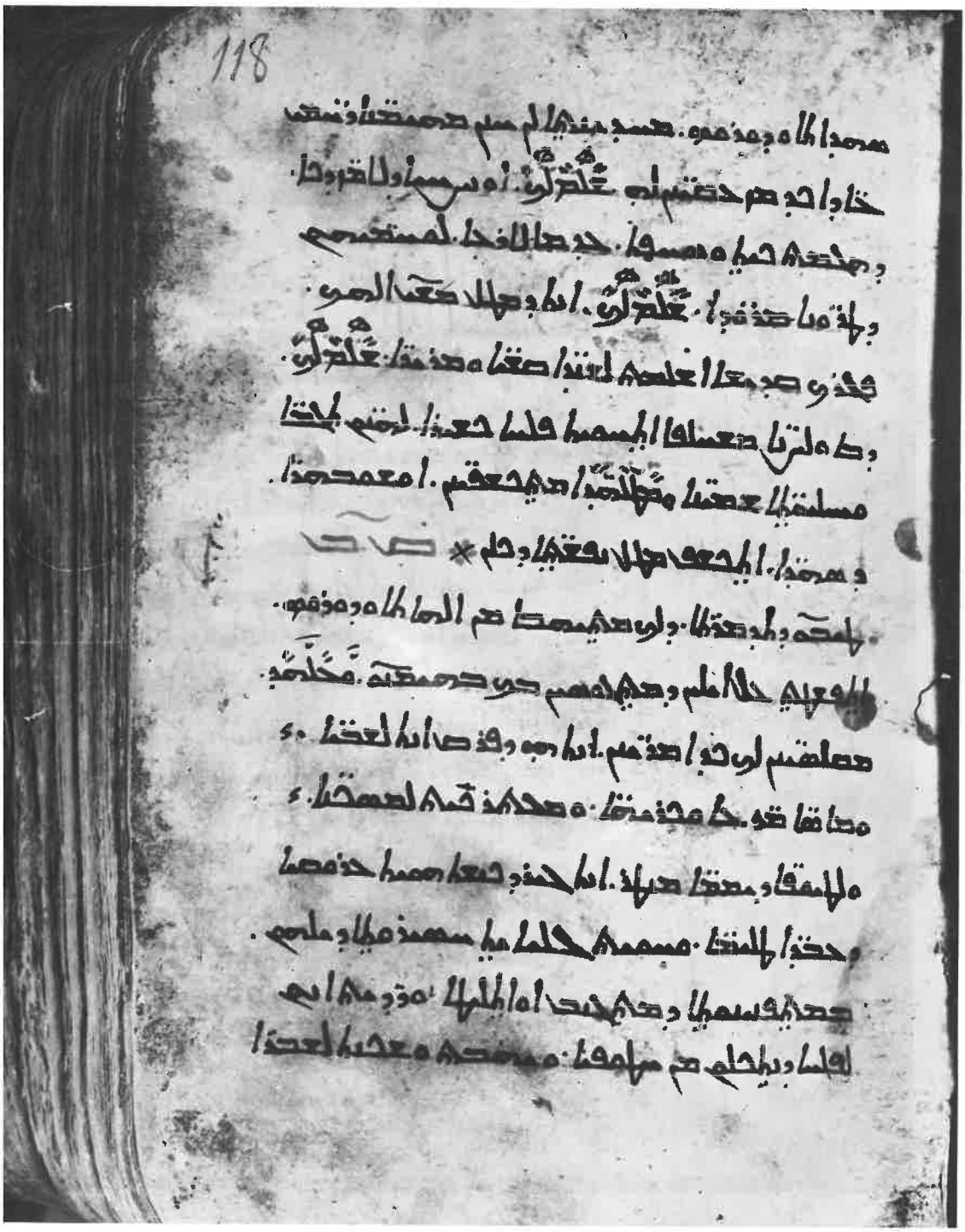
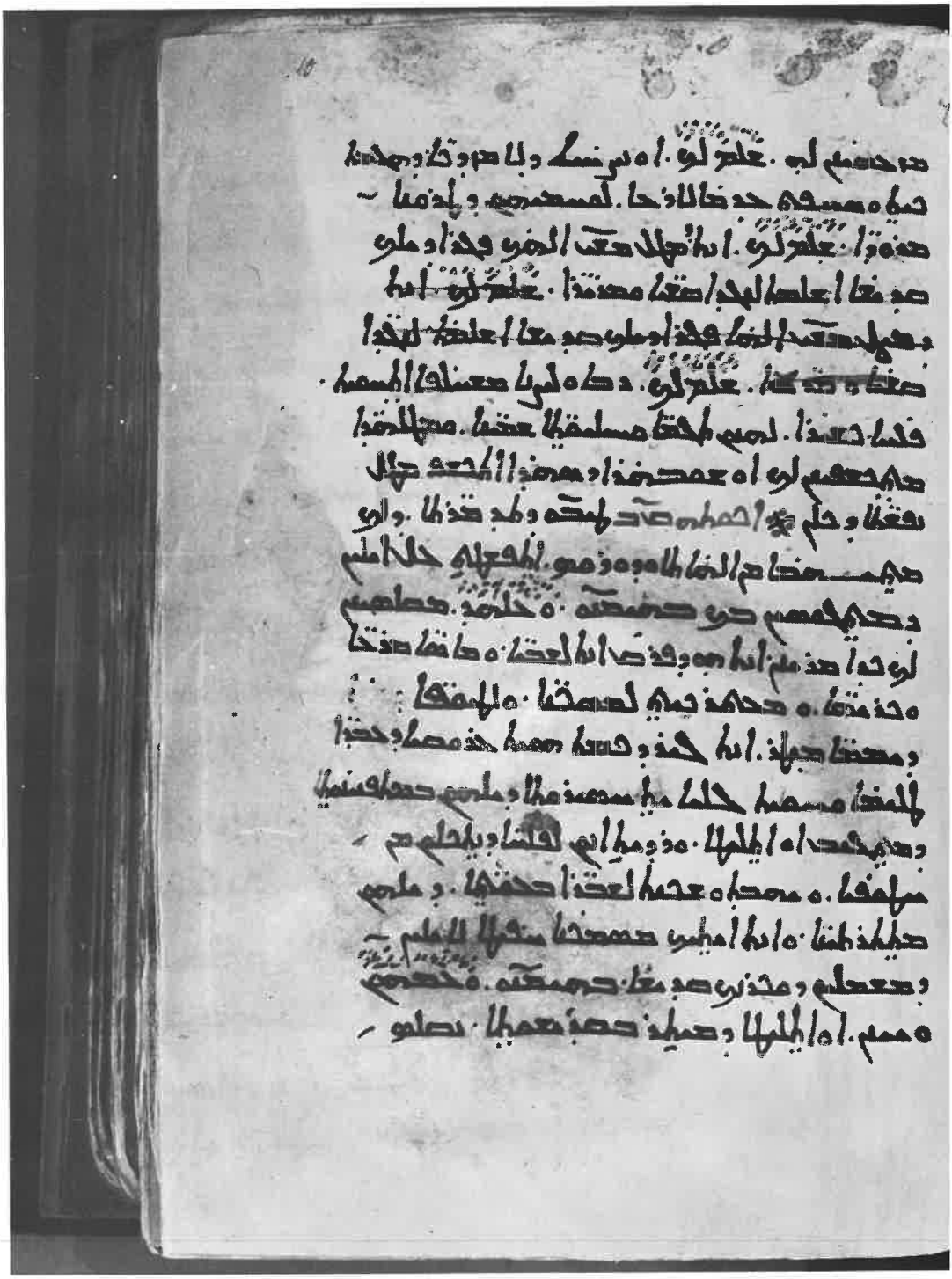
Examples 6-11 with the permission of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; and Examples 15-16 with the permission of the British Museum, London.

Stougaard Jensen/København
Un 55-3

Example 1 (Berlin, Sachau 35,118r (A.D.1491?), end of ≠ Δεῦτε φιλομάρτυρες πάντες (Triod.Rom.202; cod.Dalass.198v))



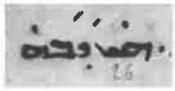
Example 2 (Berlin, Sachau 37,15r (A.D.1478), same text as Example 1)



Example 3 (Sachau 35,118r (A.D.1491), from ≠ Τὴν θεοδώρητον χάριν (TR 202, D 199r), on ≠ δι'ἧς)

D 199^{r}: δι η ης
D G a d c b

Example 4 (From ≠ Δεῦτε ἅπαντες πιστοί (September 8th), on ≠ ἐν ᾧ (a = Sachau 36,26r,15th cent.; b = Petermann I,29,65v, A.D.1500; c = D,11v))

a) 

b) 

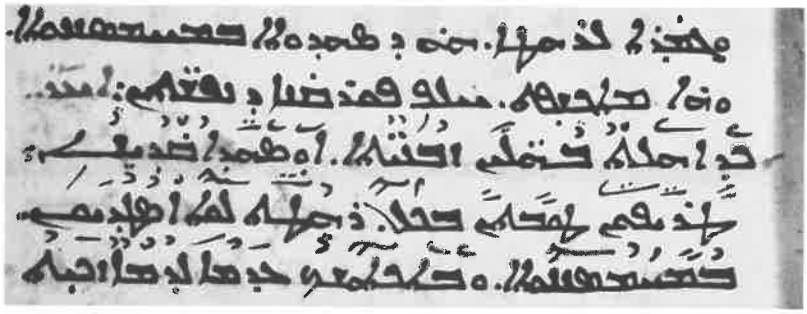
c) εν ω
bc e

Example 5, see next page

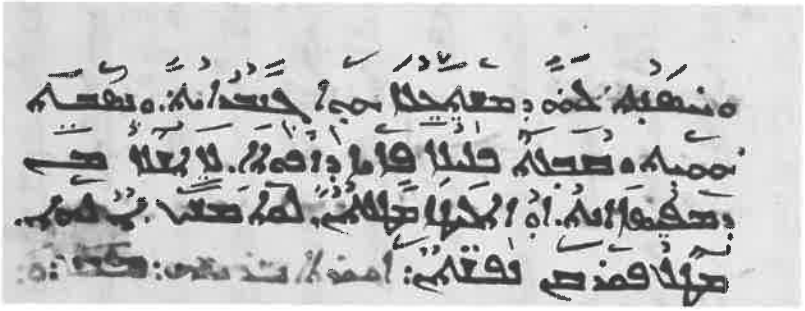
Example 6 (Paris Syr.137,5r–5v (16th cent.); ≠ Ὑπερφρονήσας τῶν τῇδε (Sticheron for the feast of St.Tryphon, February 1))

NB. See also Example 18.

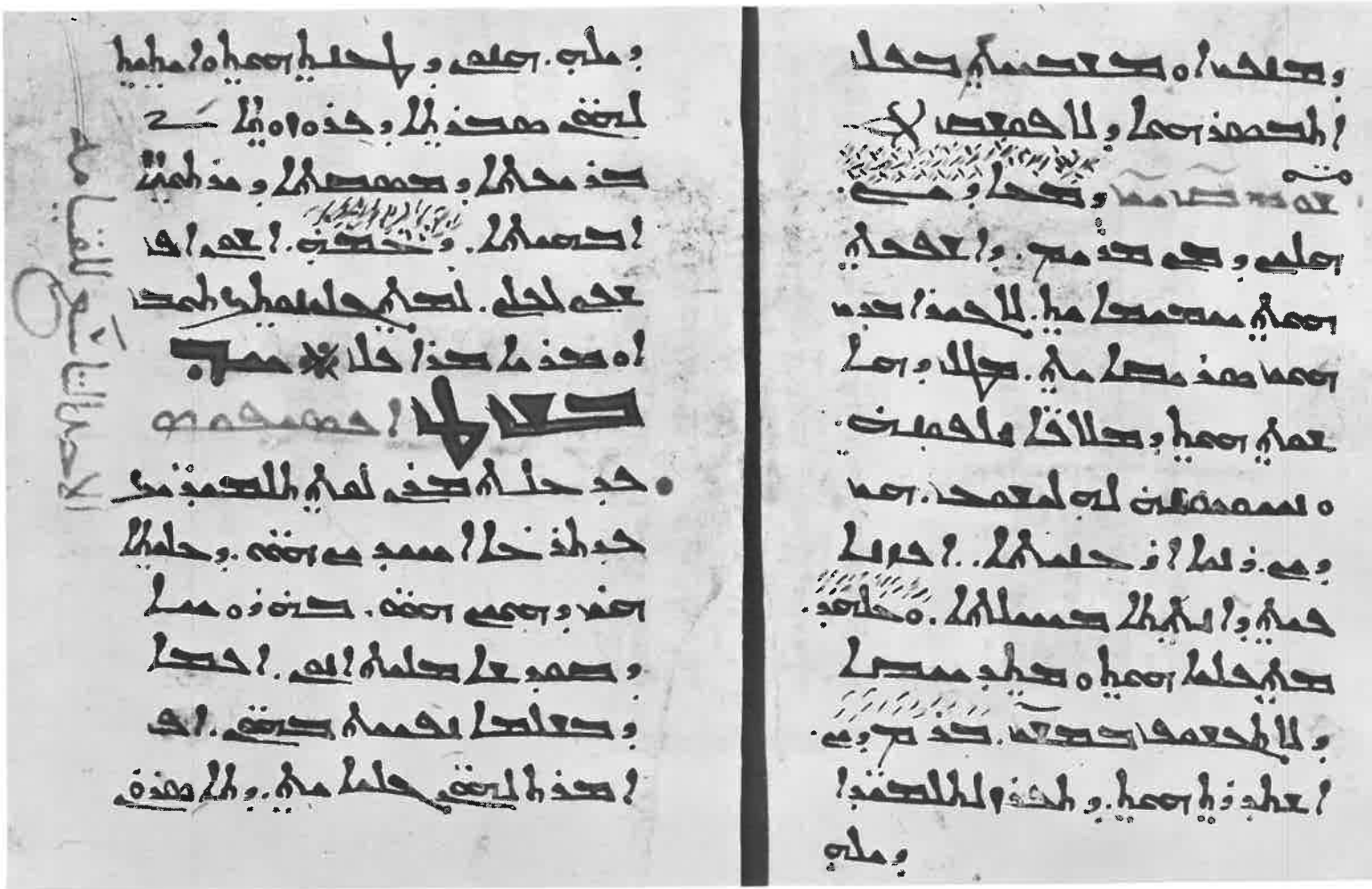
5^{r}



5^{v}



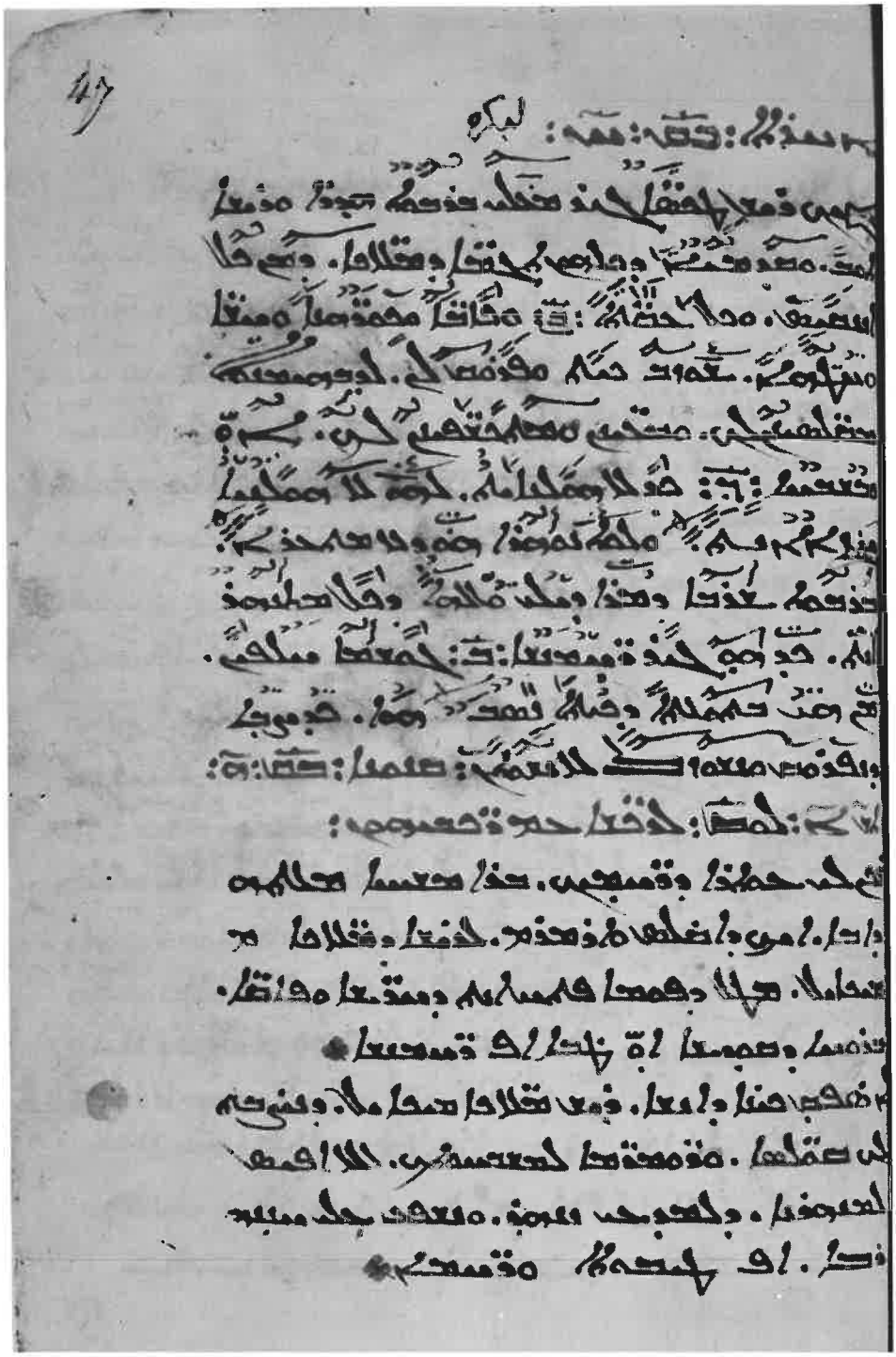
Example 5 (Sachau 100,145v-146r (14th-15th cent.); ≠ Τὰ τῆς Μαρίας δάκρυα (Heothinon 8, 4th Plagal; cod.Dalass.309v))



Example 7 (Paris Syr.134,201v (later than A.D.1256); ≠ Πιστῶς ἀθροισθέντες (Sticheron for the feast of St.James the Persian, November 27; Men.Rom. p. 304; cod.Dalass.67r))

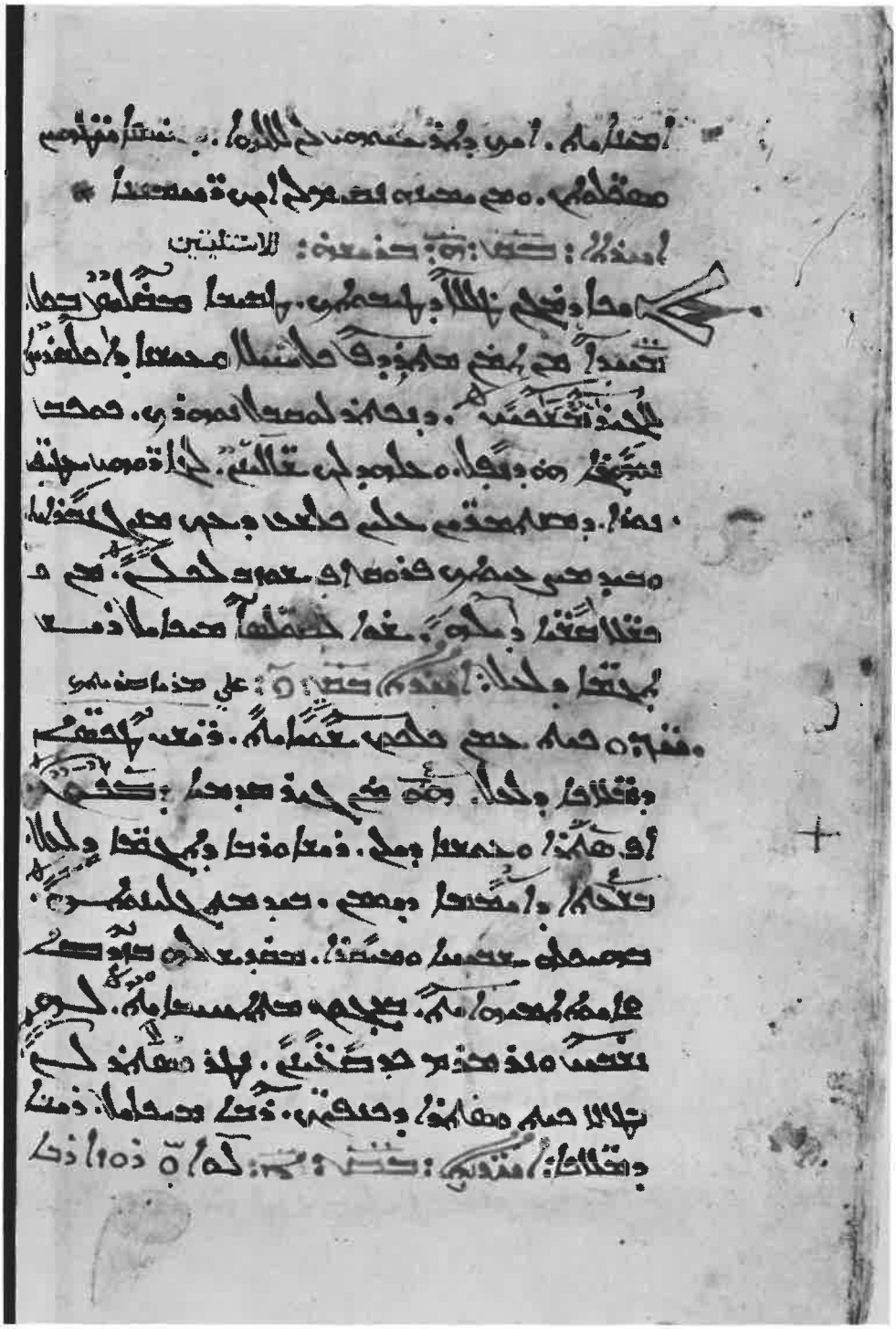
Example 8 (ibid.47r, ≠ Ὡς ταξιάρχης (Sticheron for the feast of St.Michael, November 8))

NB. See also Example 20.

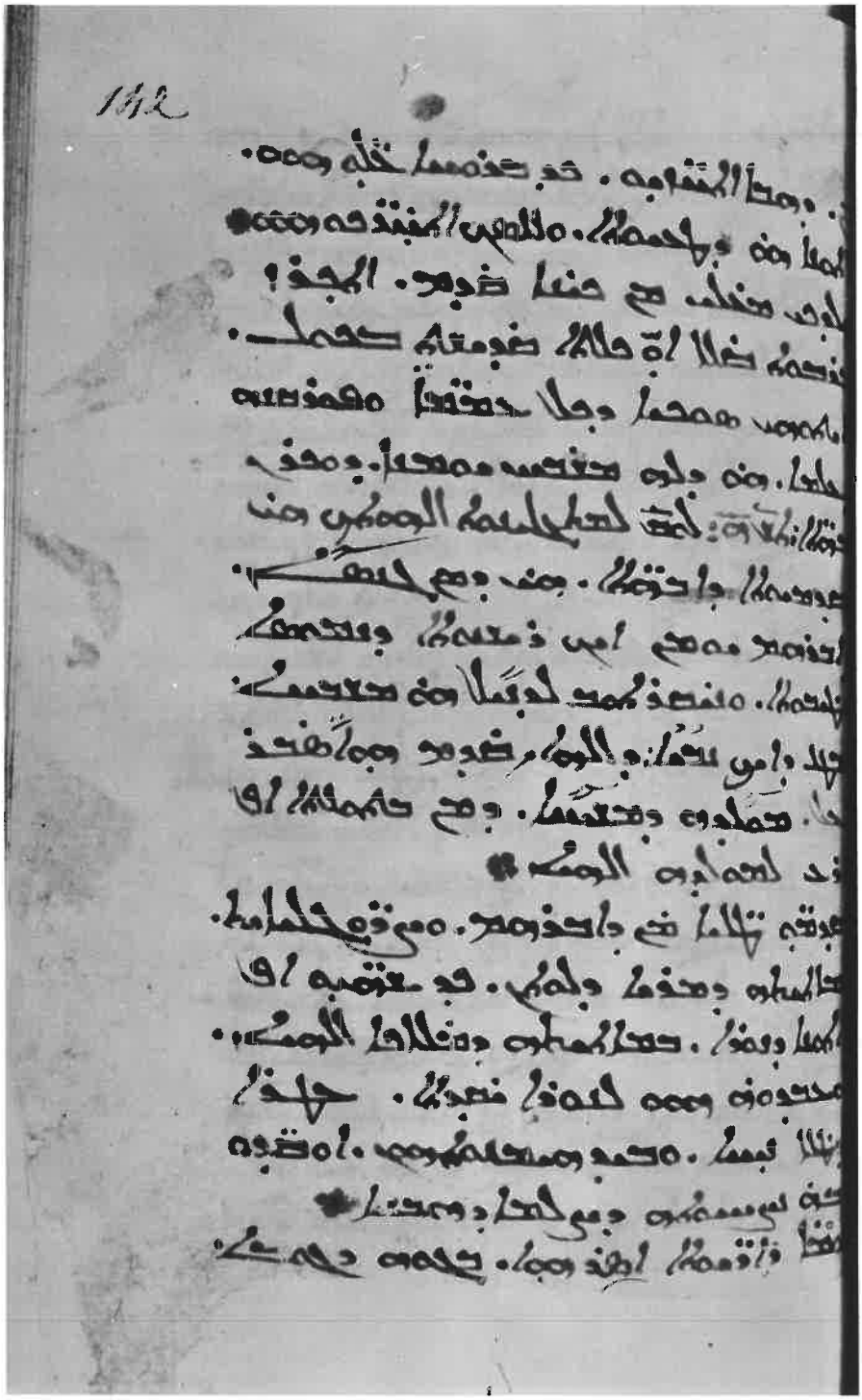


Example 9 (ibid.44v, ≠ Ὅπου ἐπισκιάσῃ (Sticheron for November 8).

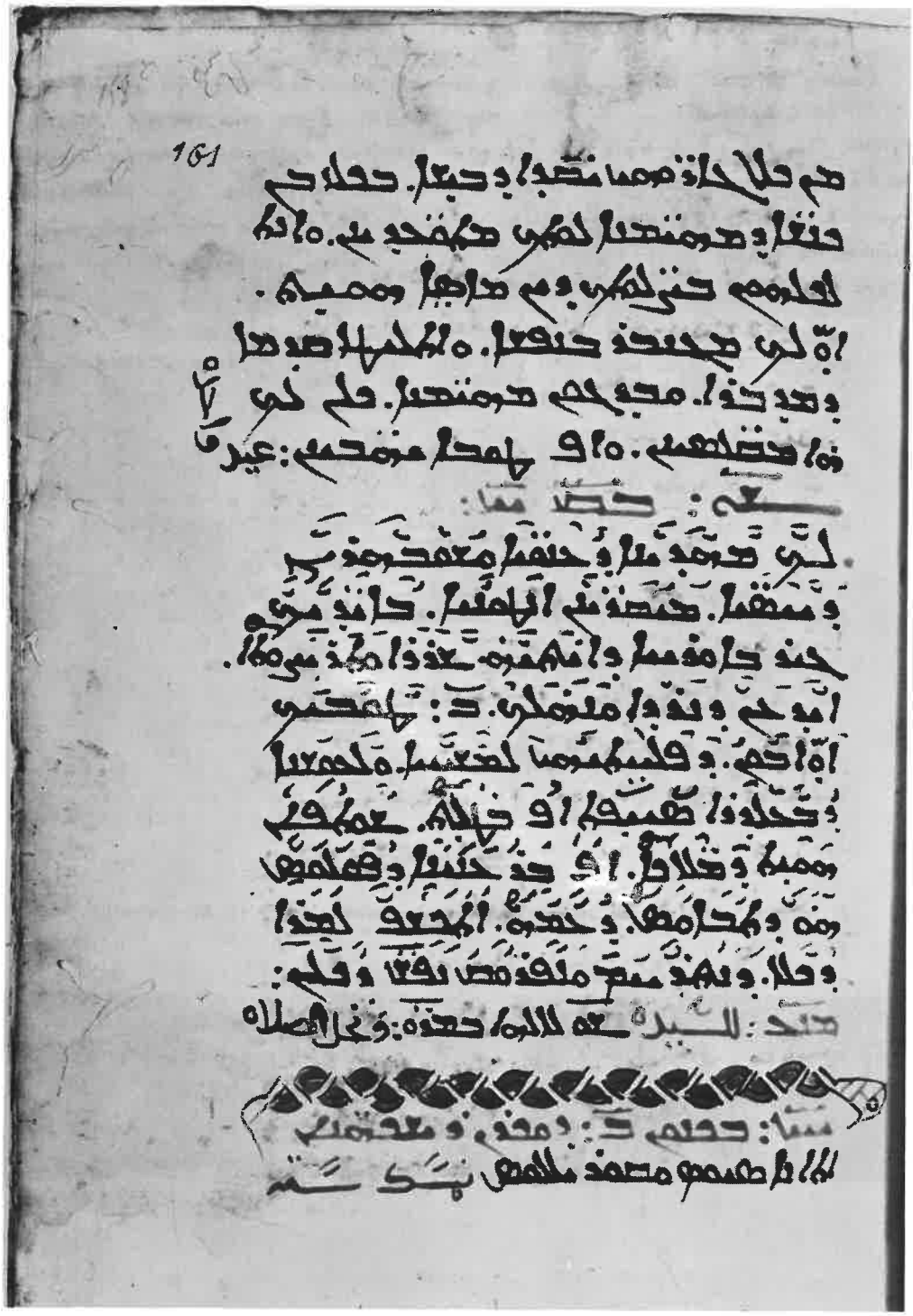
NB. See also Example 21.



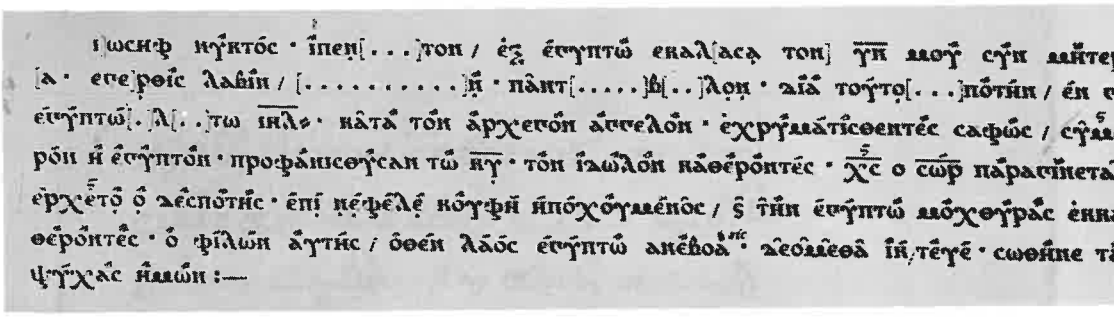
Example 10 (Paris Syr.135,142r (13th cent.); ≠ Τὴν τῶν πατέρων ἀπαρκήν (a stanza from Ode 5 of Clement's Kanon for December 18, MR II,531))



Example 11 (Paris Syr.136,161r (A.D.1521); ≠ Τῶν μοναστῶν τὰ πλήθη (January 17th, St.Anthony; MR 265; cod.Dalass.118v))



Example 12 (Rylands Copt.28 (10th-11th cent.), Crum's transcription)
(Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Collection of the
John Rylands Library, Manchester 1909, p.10)



ⲓ̅ⲱⲥⲛⲫ ⲛ̅ⲩ̅ⲕⲧⲟⲥ · ⲓ̈ⲡⲉⲛ[...]ⲧⲟⲡ / ⲉ̈ⲝ ⲉ̈ⲅⲩⲡⲧⲱ̈ ⲉⲛⲁⲗ[ⲁⲥⲁ ⲧⲟⲛ] ⲡ̅ⲏ̅ ⲙⲟⲩ̈ ⲥⲩ̈ⲛ ⲙⲁ̈ⲓⲧⲉⲣ-
[ⲁ · ⲉⲧⲉ]ⲣⲟⲓ̈ⲥ ⲗⲁⲃⲓ̈ⲛ / [.....]ⲏ̈ · ⲡⲁⲛⲧ[.....]ⲃ[..]ⲗⲟⲛ · ⲁ̈ⲓⲇ̈ ⲧⲟⲩ̈ⲧⲟ[...]ⲡⲟ̈ⲧⲓⲛ / ⲉ̈ⲛ ⲥⲩ̈
ⲉ̈ⲅⲩⲡⲧⲱ̈[.]ⲗ[..]ⲧⲱ ⲓ̅ⲏ̅ⲗ̅ⲉ · ⲕⲁ̈ⲧⲁ̈ ⲧⲟ̈ⲛ ⲁ̈ⲣⲭⲉⲧⲟ̈ⲛ ⲁ̈ⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟ̈ⲛ · ⲉ̈ⲭⲣⲩ̈ⲙⲁⲧⲓ̈ⲥⲑⲉⲛⲧⲉ̈ⲥ ⲥⲁⲫⲱ̈ⲥ / ⲥⲩ̈ⲙⲉ-
ⲣⲟ̈ⲛ ⲏ̈ ⲉ̈ⲅⲩⲡⲧⲟ̈ⲛ · ⲡⲣⲟⲫⲁ̈ⲛⲓⲥⲑⲩ̈ⲥⲁⲛ ⲧⲱ̈ ⲛ̅ⲩ̅ · ⲧⲟ̈ⲛ ⲓ̈ⲁⲱ̈ⲗⲟ̈ⲛ ⲕⲁⲑⲉ̈ⲣⲟ̈ⲛⲧⲉ̈ⲥ · χ̅ⲥ̅ ⲟ ⲥⲱ̅ⲣ̅ ⲡⲁ̈ⲣⲁⲥⲩ̈ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲓ̈ ·
ⲉ̈ⲣⲭⲉ̈ⲧⲟ̈ ⲫ̈ ⲁⲉ̈ⲥⲡⲟ̈ⲧⲏⲥ · ⲉ̈ⲡⲓ̈ ⲛⲉ̈ⲫⲉ̈ⲗⲉ̈ ⲕⲟ̈ⲩⲫⲏ ⲛ̈ⲡⲟ̈ⲭⲟ̈ⲩⲙⲉ̈ⲛⲟⲥ / ⲋ ⲧ̈ⲏⲛ ⲉⲩ̈ⲅⲡⲧⲱ̈ ⲙⲟ̈ⲭⲟⲩ̈ⲣⲁⲥ ⲉⲛⲛⲁ-
ⲟⲉ̈ⲣⲟ̈ⲛⲧⲉ̈ⲥ · ⲟ̈ ⲫⲓⲗⲱ̈ⲛ ⲁ̈ⲅⲧⲏⲥ / ⲟⲟⲉⲓ̈ⲛ ⲗⲁ̈ⲟⲥ ⲉⲩ̈ⲅⲡⲧⲱ̈ ⲁⲛⲉ̈ⲃⲟⲁ̈ⲓ̈ⲥ · ⲁⲉⲟⲩⲁⲉⲟⲁ ⲓ̈ⲏ̈ⲧⲉⲅⲉ · ⲥⲱⲟⲏⲛⲉ ⲧⲁⲥ
ⲯⲩ̈ⲭⲁⲥ ⲏⲙⲱⲛ :—

Example 13 (Σῶσον κύριε τὸν λαόν σου, marginal entries in Berlin cod.gr. fol.25, folios 28r and 40v)

28r: χ̂ χ̂ χ́ τόν λὰ ὅν σοῦ κάι ε͞υ λό γη̂ σον τη̂ν κλη ρο x x x x̂

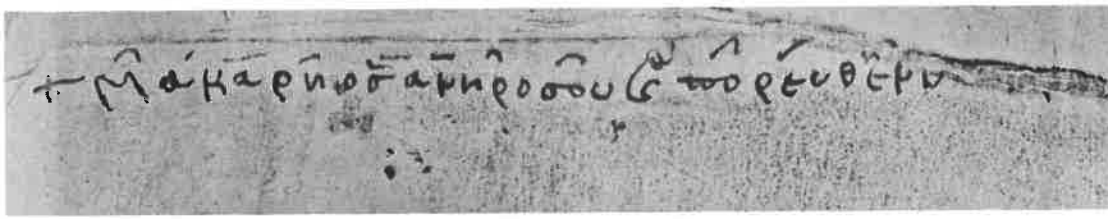
40v: ϯσῶ σόν κ̄ε̄ τόν λα ὸν σο͞υ κάι ε͞υ λό γη̂ σον τη̂ν κλη ρο νο x x x

28r: νή κά τη̂ς βα ση̂ λε͞ύ ση̂ κά τα βᾱρ x x x x x ν́ον

40v: νη κας τη̂ς βα̂ ση̄ λε͞υ ση̂ x x x x x x

28r: κέ το̂ σο φη λά̂ τον δη α στ x x x x x x μα

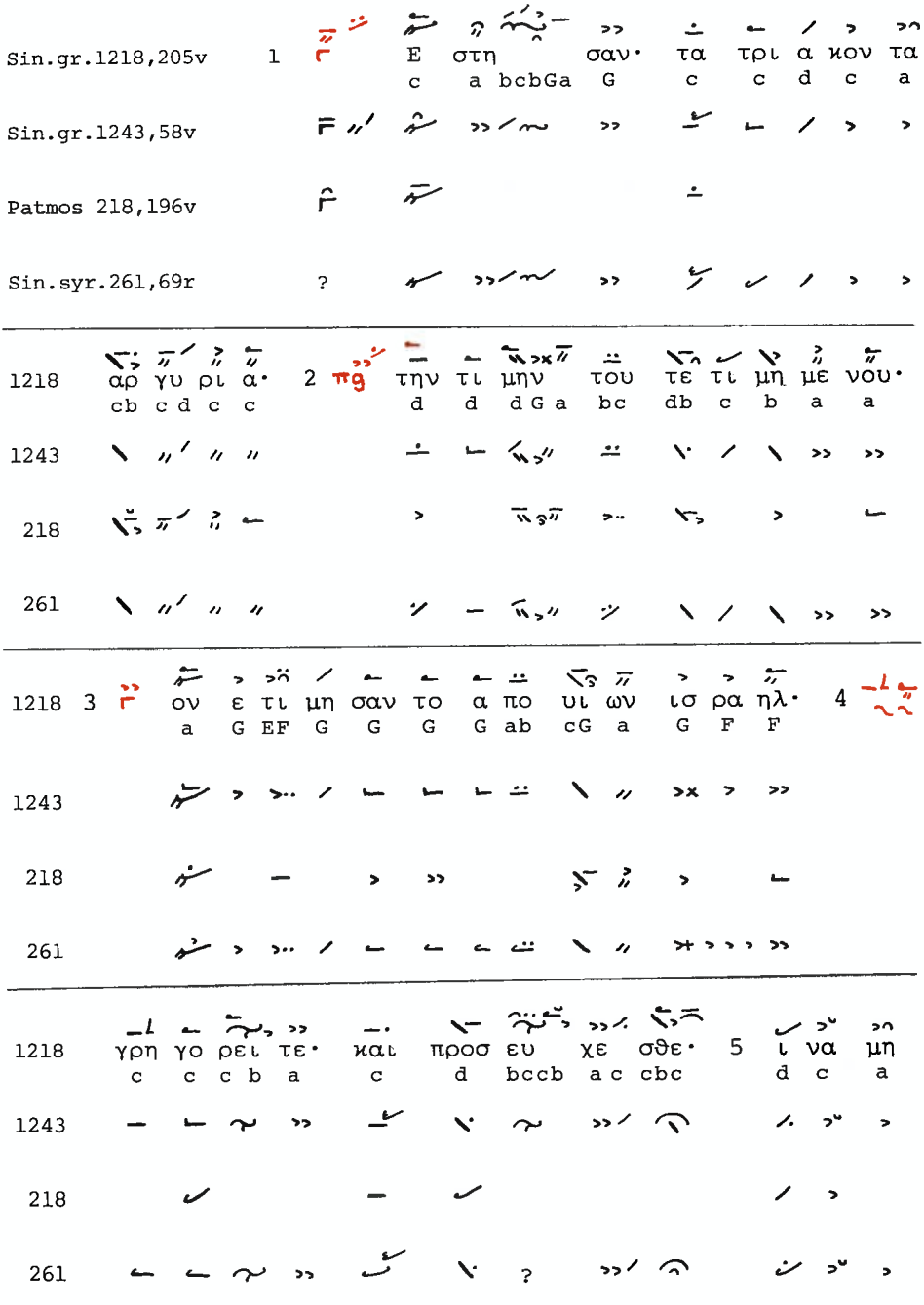
Example 14 (The beginning of Psalm 1, marginal entry in Berl.cod.gr.fol.25, folio 27v)



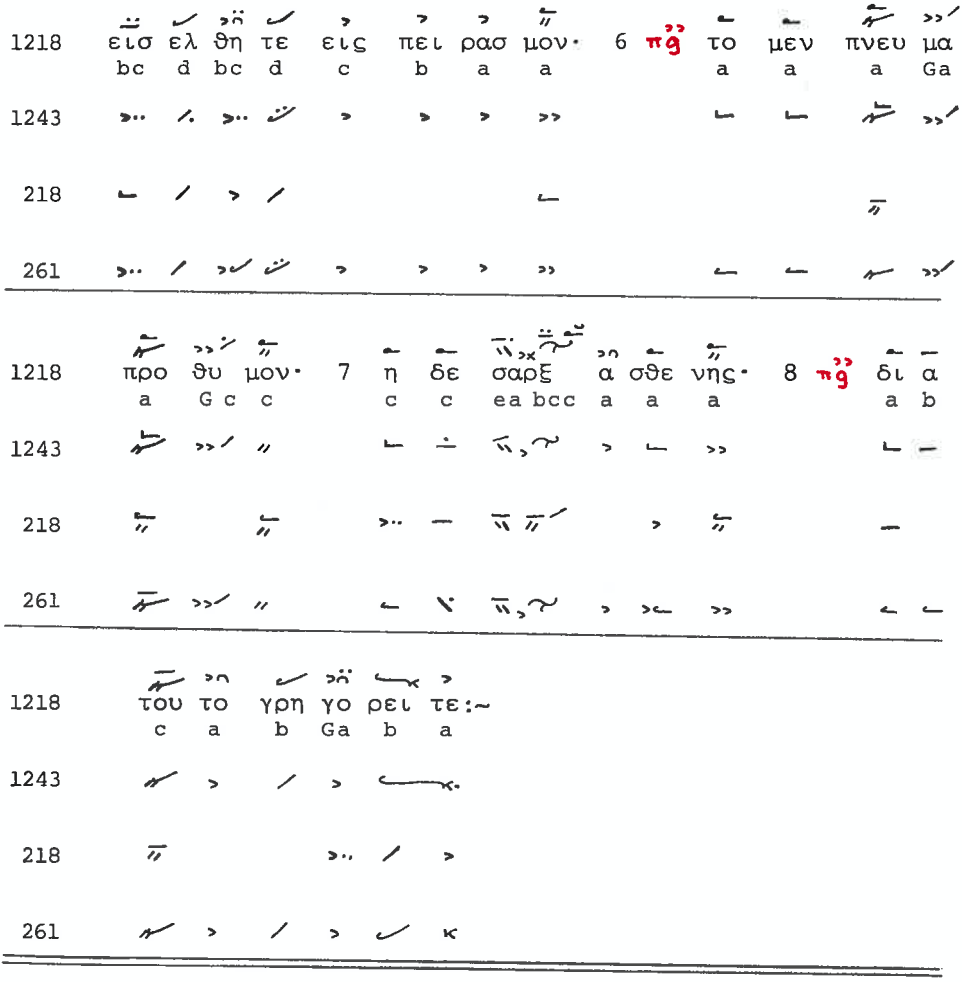
Example 15 (British Museum, Add.24 378,196r (December 24; MR II,646; D 92r-92v))

Example 16 (ibid., 138r (November 16, St. Matthew; MR II,170; D 60v, transcribed in Mon.Mus.Byz. Transcr.II, p.98))

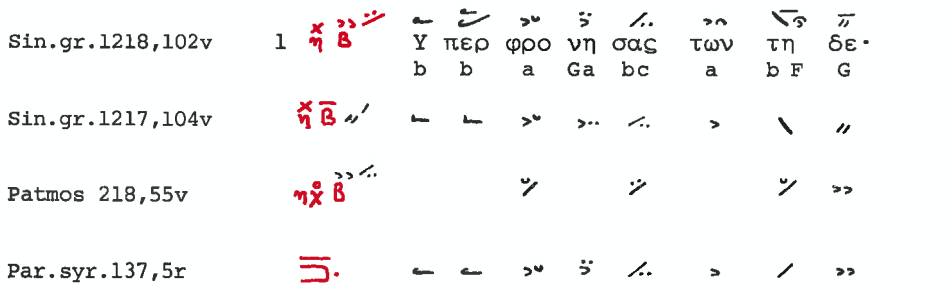
Example 17 (Good Friday troparion)



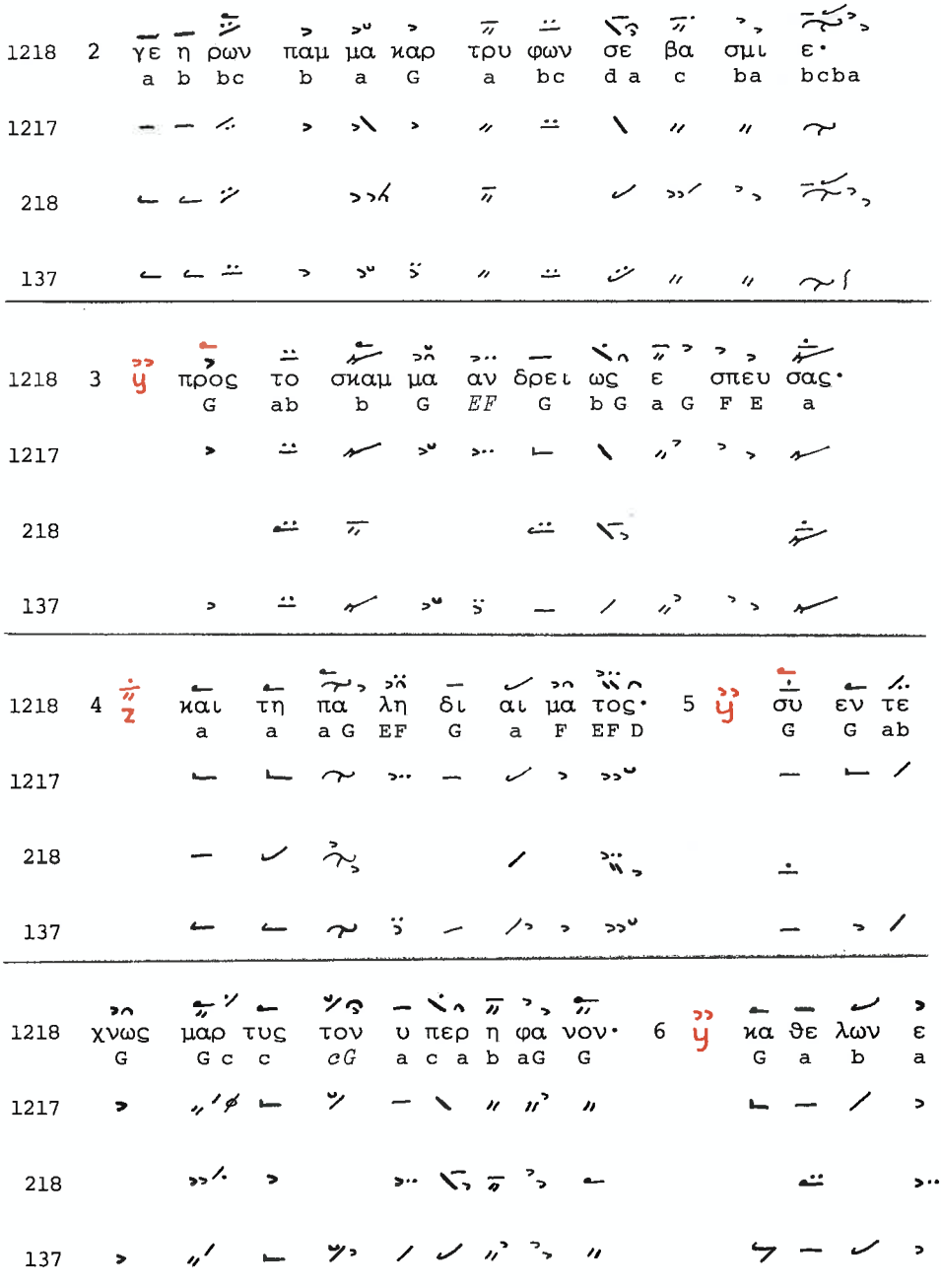
Ex.17/2



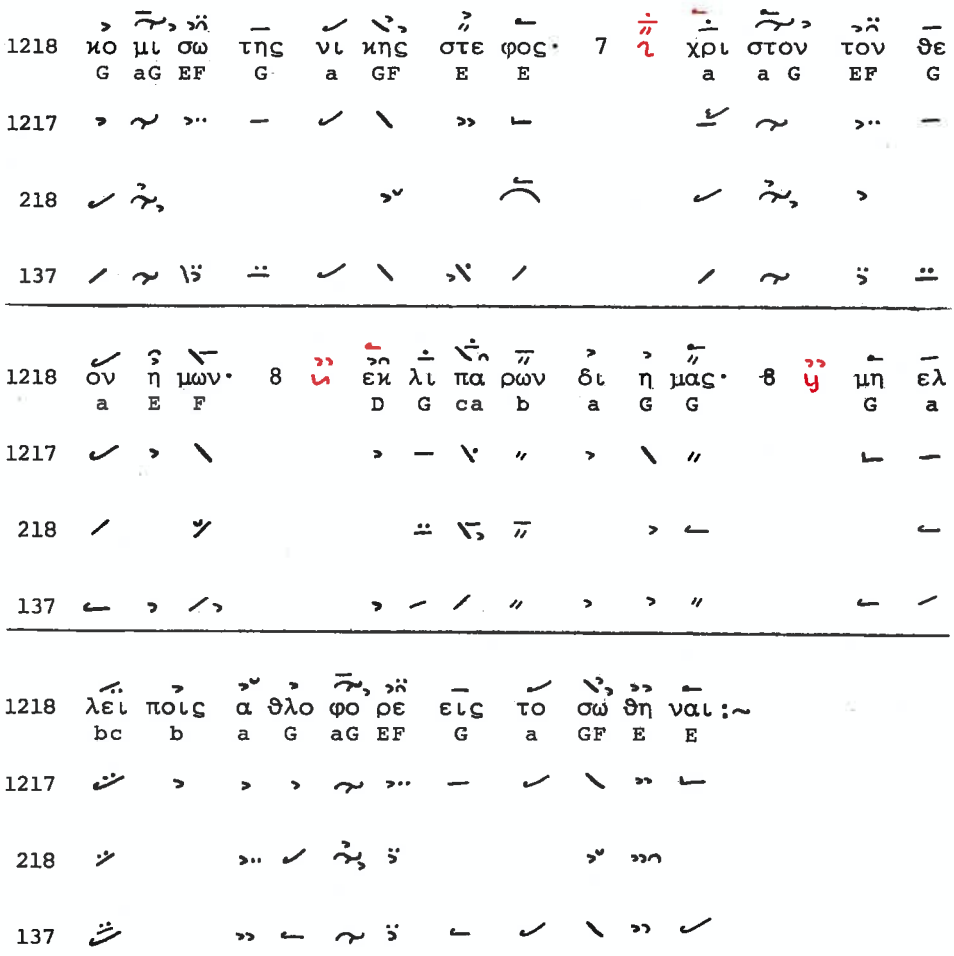
Example 18 (February 1, St.Tryphon)



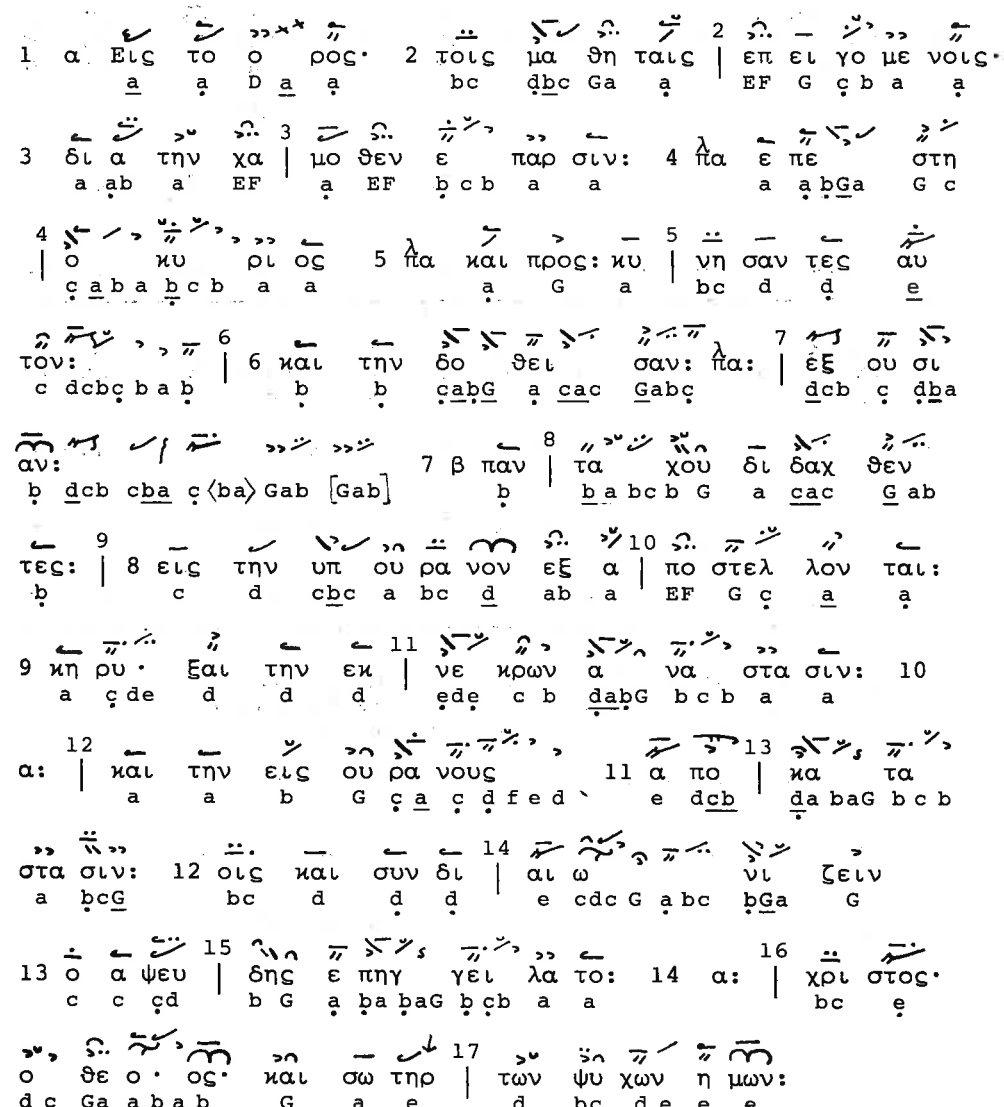
Ex. 18/2


1218 2 γε η ρων παμ μα καρ τρυ φων σε βα σμι ε·
a b bc b a G a bc d a c ba bcba
1217
218
137
1218 3 προς το σκαμ μα αν δρει ως ε σπευ σας·
G ab b G EF G b G a G F E a
1217
218
137
1218 4 και τη πα λη δι αι μα τος· 5 συ εν τε
a a a G EF G a F EF D G G ab
1217
218
137
1218 χνως μαρ τυς τον υ περ η φα νον· 6 κα θε λων ε
G G c c cG a c a b aG G G a b a
1217
218
137

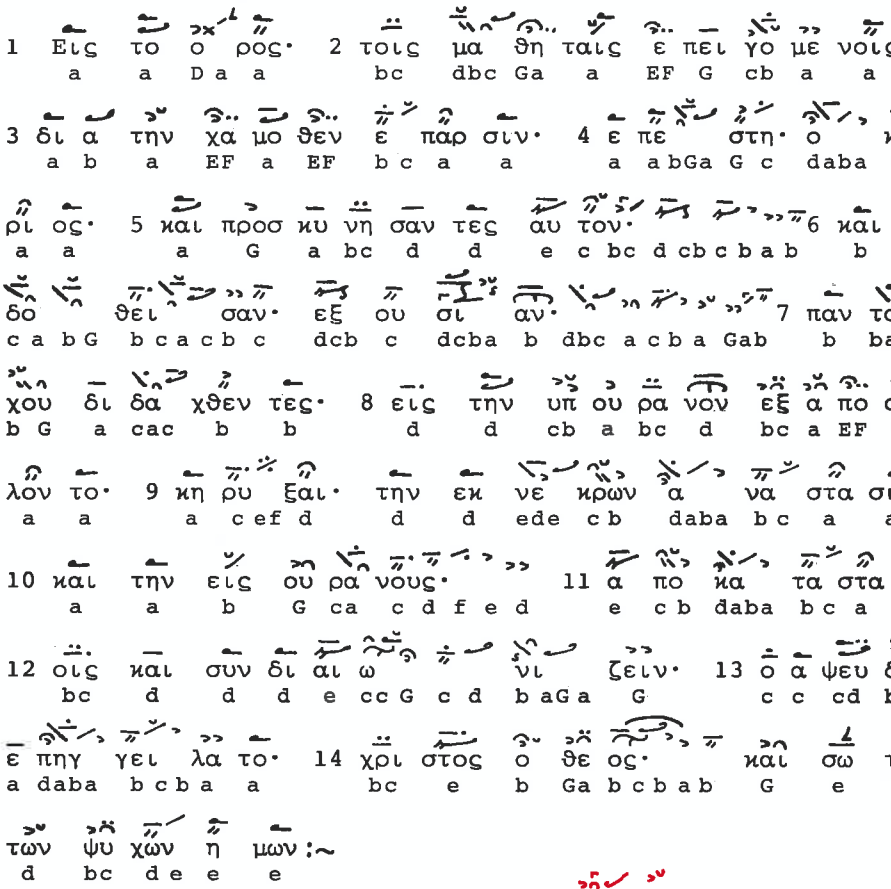
Ex. 18/3


1218 κο μι σω της νι κης στε φος· 7 χρι στον τον θε
G aG EF G a GF E E a a G EF G
1217
218
137
1218 ον η μων· 8 εκ λι πα ρων δι η μας· 8 μη ελ
a E F D G ca b a G G G a
1217
218
137
1218 λει ποις α θλο φο ρε εις το σω θη ναι :~
bc b a G aG EF G a GF E E
1217
218
137

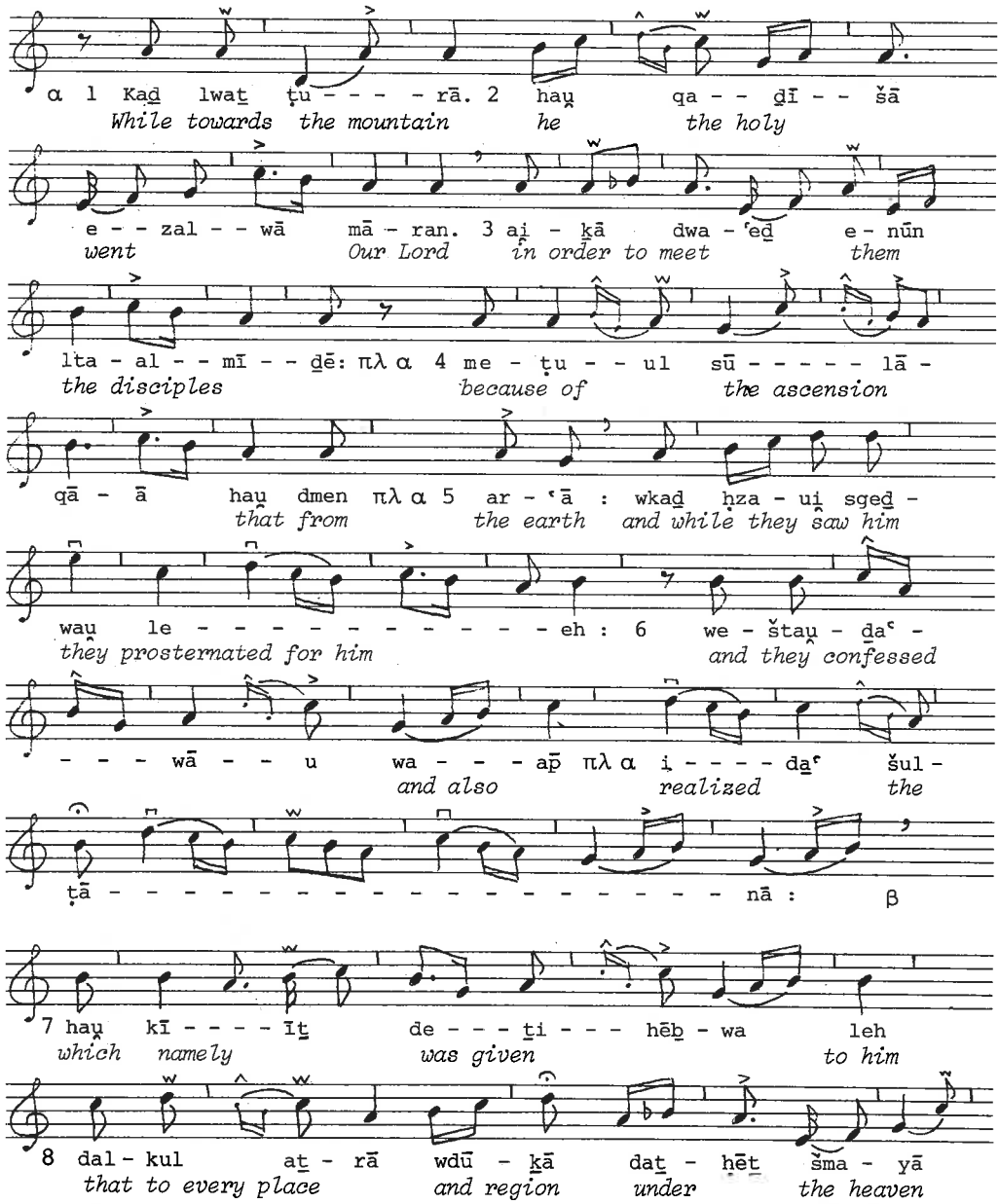
Example 19A (Reconstruction of the First Heothinon, Sin.syr.261,195v)



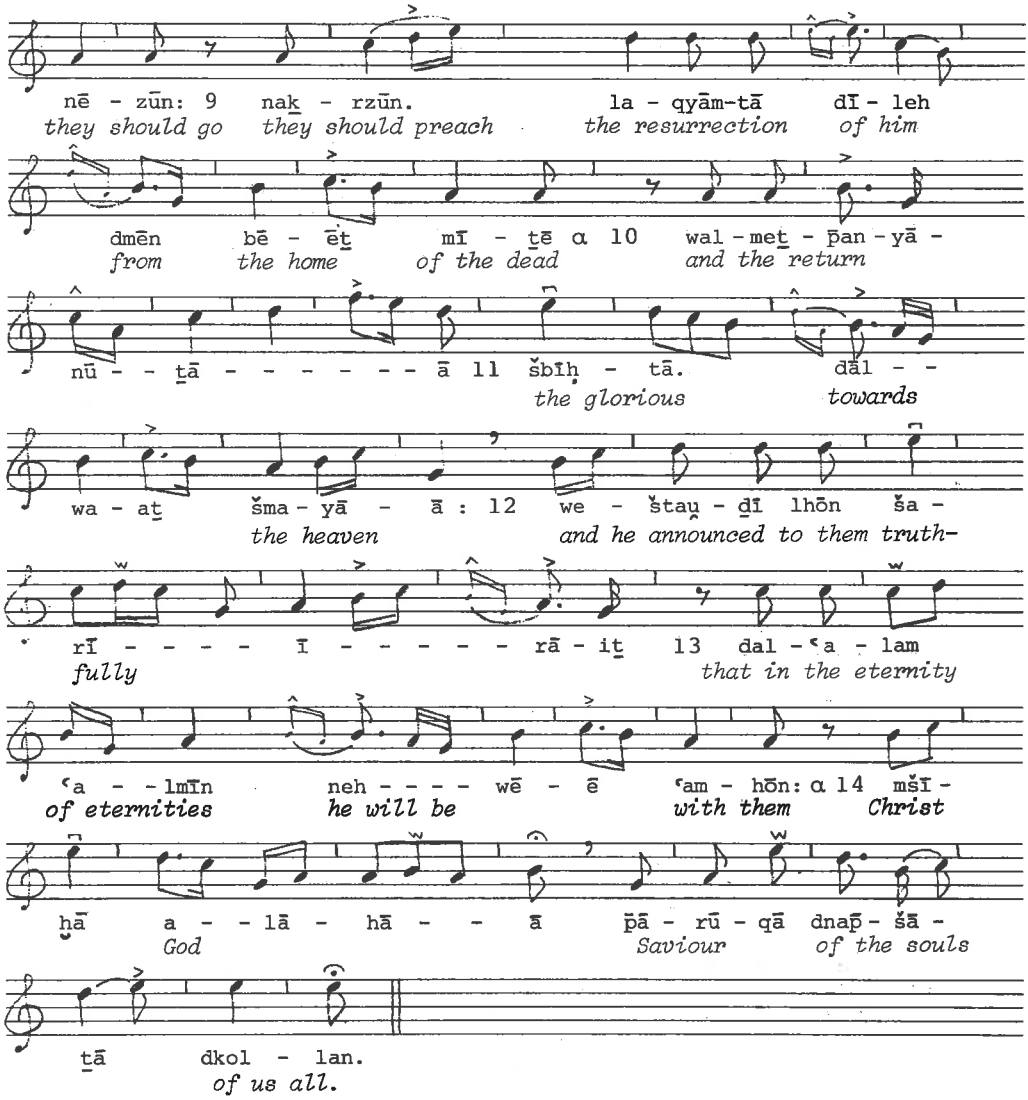
Example 19B (Sin.gr.1244,363r + main variants of Athens 974,p.202)



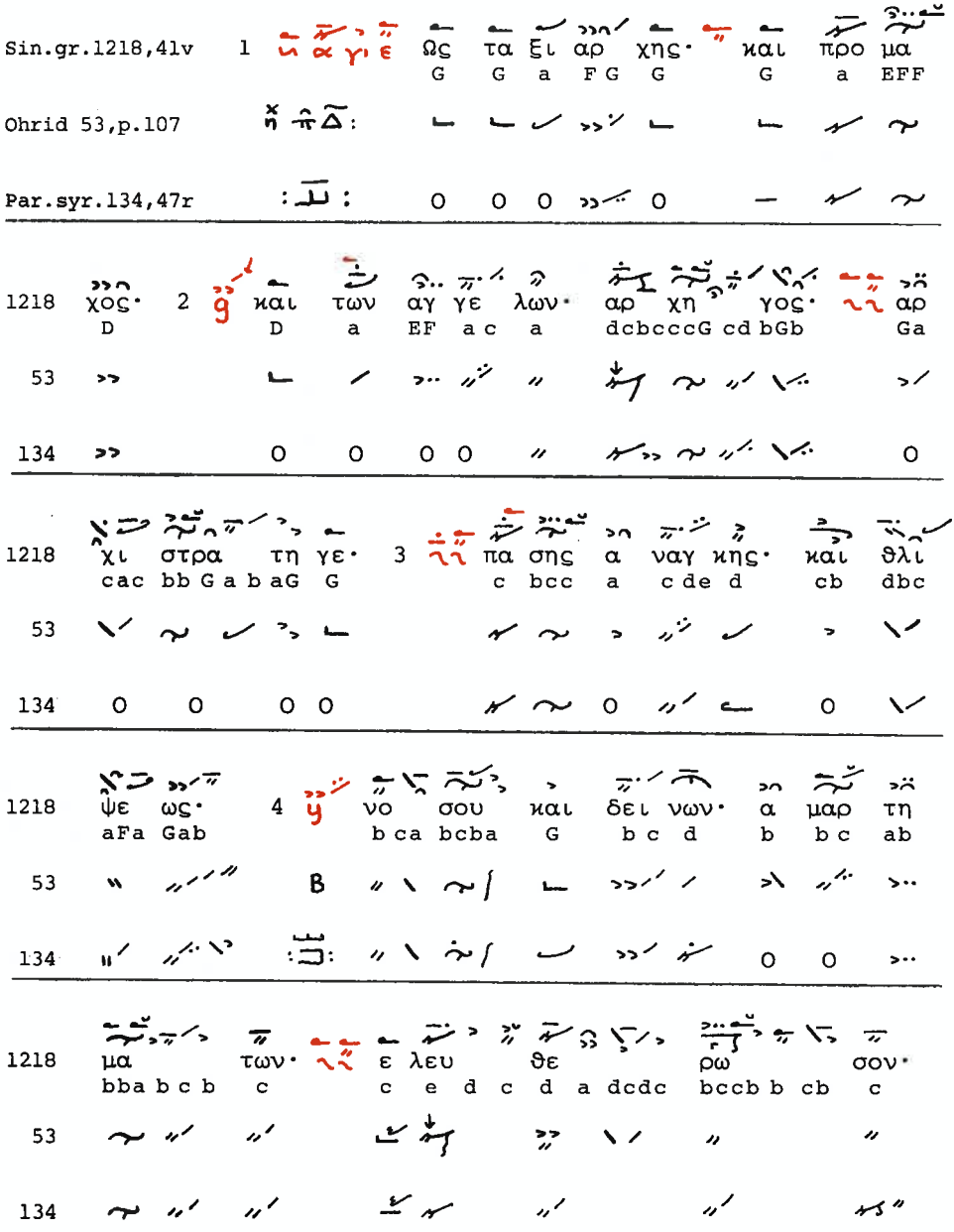
Example 19C (A tentative transcription of Sin.syr.261,195v)



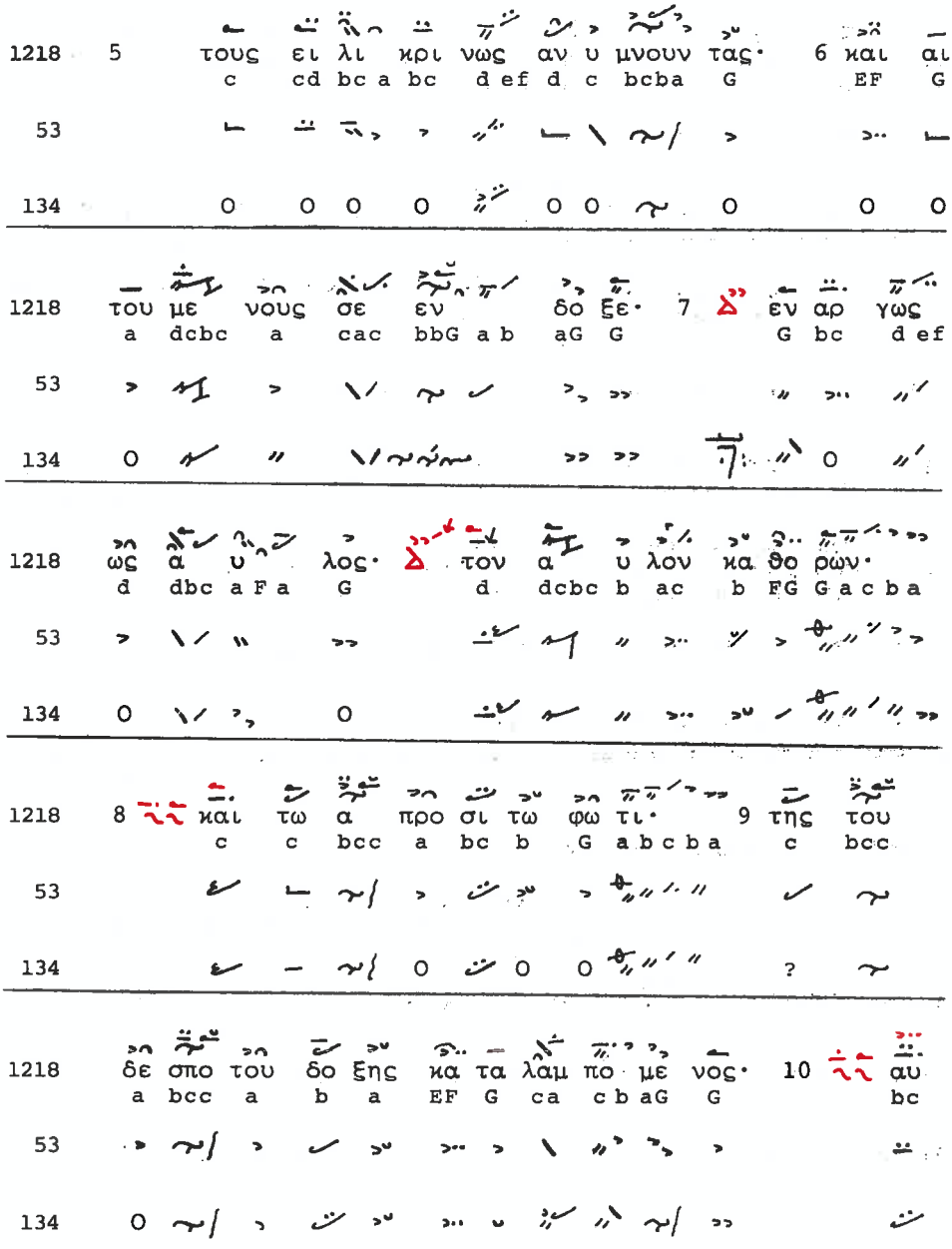
Ex. 19C/2


nē - zūn: 9 naḵ - rzūn. la - qyām-tā dī - leh
they should go they should preach the resurrection of him
dmēn bē - ēṯ mī - ṯē α 10 wal - meṯ - pan - yā -
from the home of the dead and the return
nū - - ṯā - - - - - - - ā 11 šbīḥ - tā. dāl - -
the glorious towards
wa - aṯ šma - yā - ā : 12 we - štaṷ - dī lhōn ša -
the heaven and he announced to them truth-
rī - - - - ī - - - - - - rā - iṯ 13 dal - ʿa - lam
fully that in the eternity
ʿa - - lmīn neh - - - - wē - ē ʿam - hōn: α 14 mšī -
of eternities he will be with them Christ
ḥā a - - lā - hā - - ā pā - rū - qā dnaṗ - šā -
God Saviour of the souls
ṯā dkol - lan.
of us all.

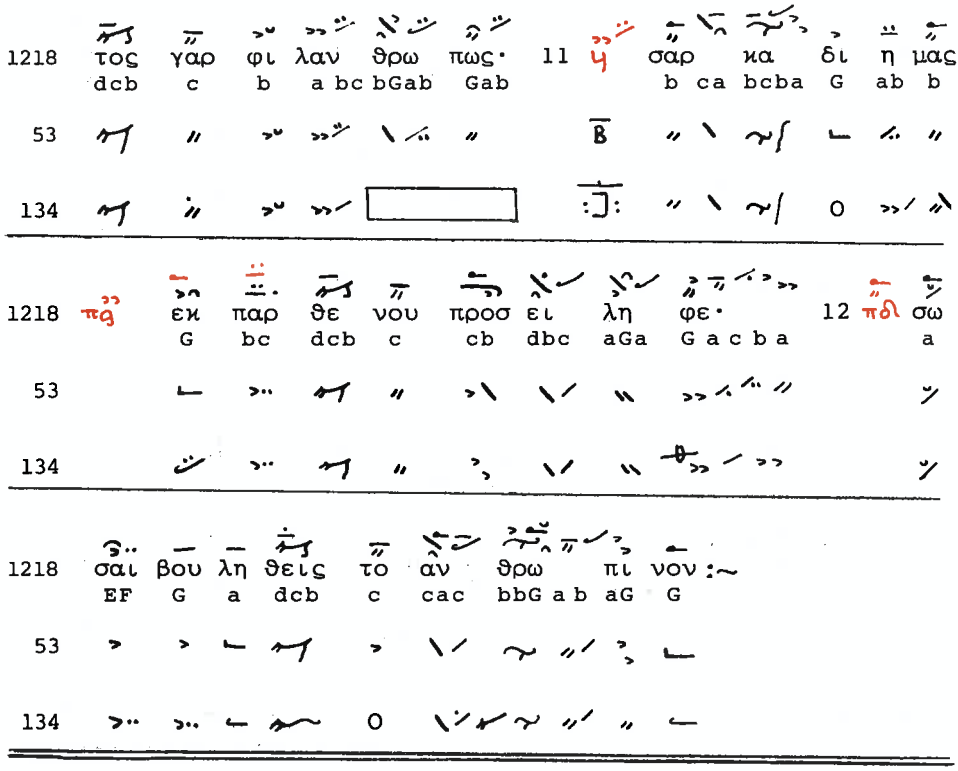
Example 20 (November 8, St.Michael)



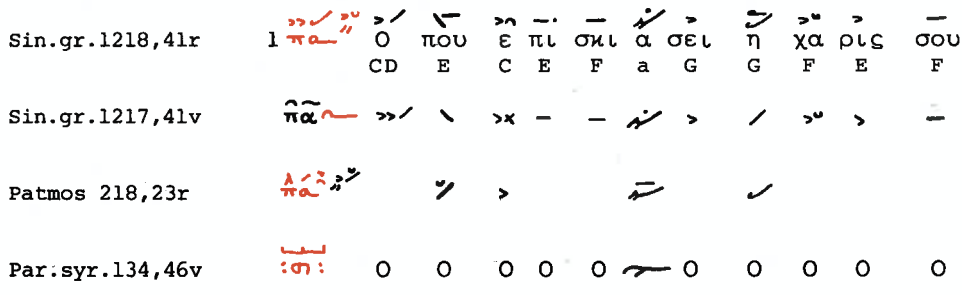
Ex. 20/2


1218 5 τους ει λι κρι νως αν υ μνουν τας· 6 και αι
c cd bc a bc d ef d c bcba G EF G
53
134 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0
1218 του με νους σε εν δο ξε· 7 εν αρ γως
a dcbc a cac bbG a b aG G G bc d ef
53
134 0 0
1218 ως α υ λος· τον α υ λον κα θο ρών·
d dbc a F a G d dcbc b ac b FG G a c b a
53
134 0 0
1218 8 και τω α προ σι τω φω τι· 9 της του
c c bcc a bc b G a b c b a c bcc
53
134 ?
1218 δε σπο του δο ξης κα τα λαμ πο με νος· 10 αυ
a bcc a b a EF G ca c b aG G bc
53
134 0

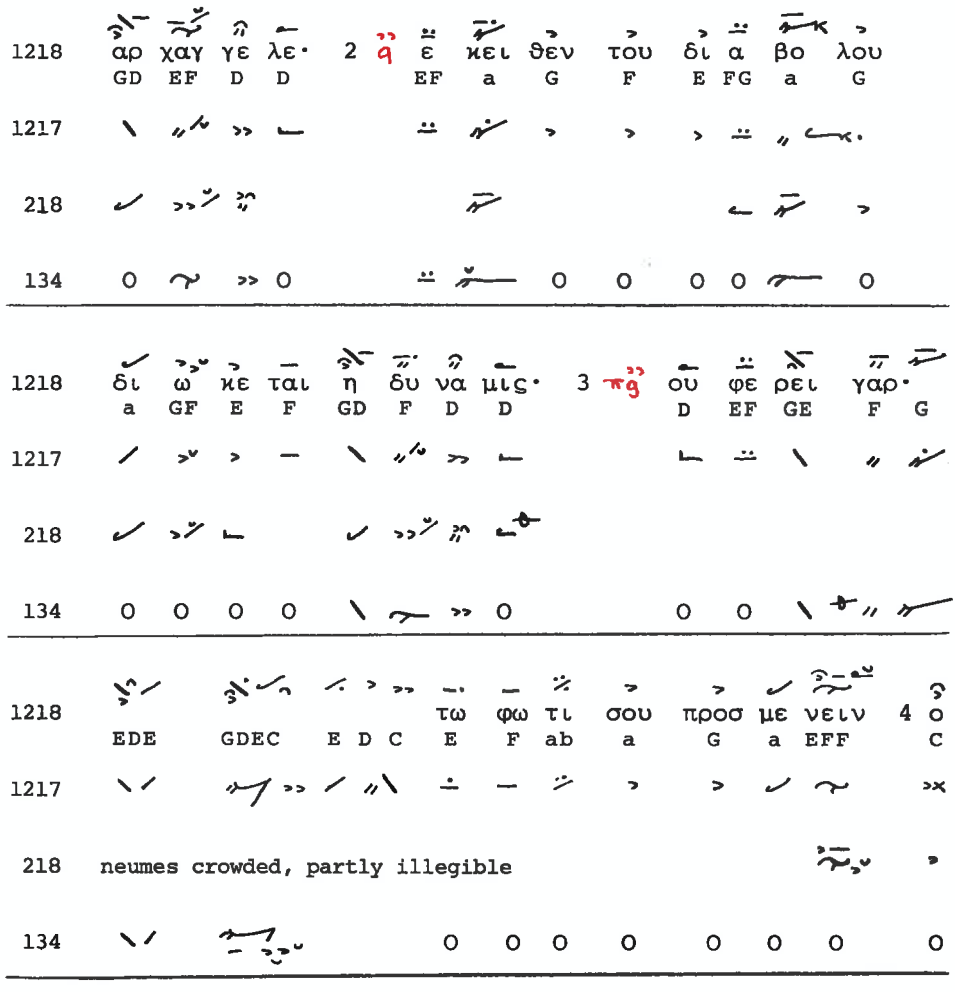
Ex.20/3



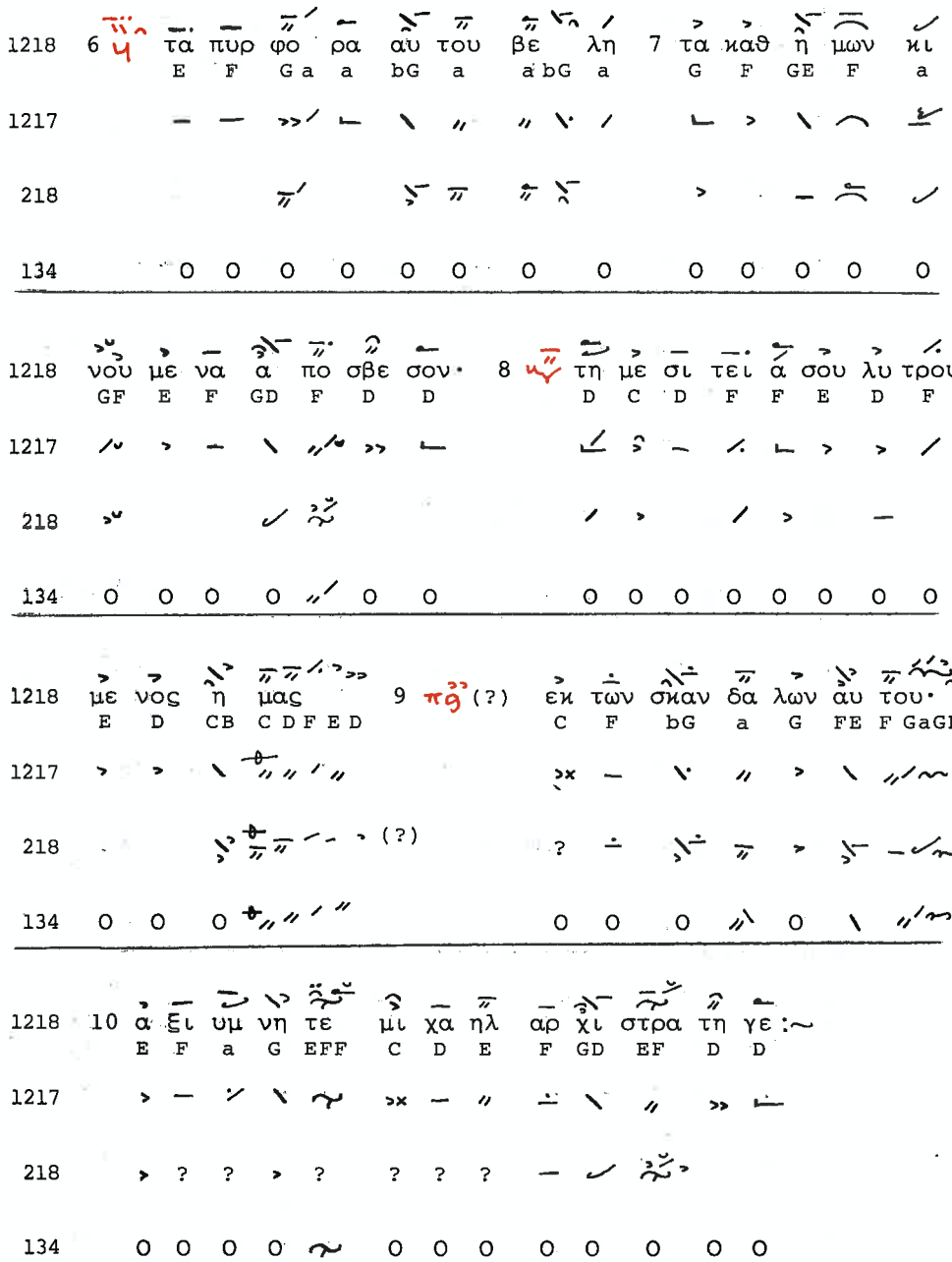
Example 21 (November 8, St.Michael)



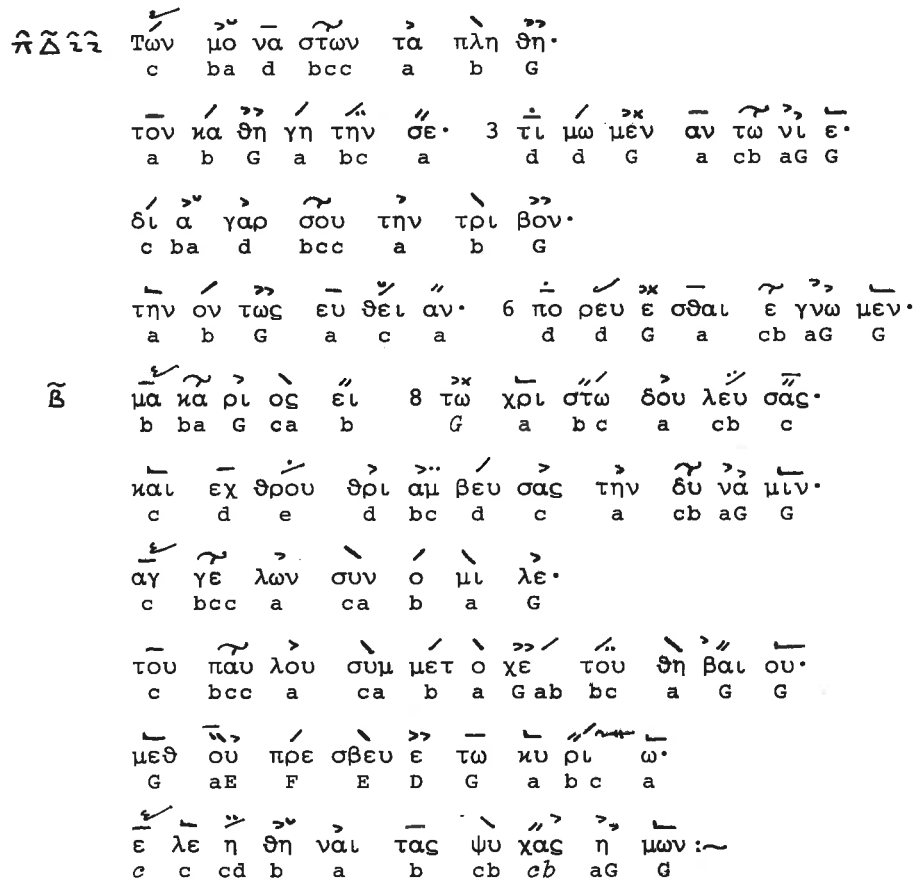
Ex. 21/2


1218
αρ χαγ γε λε· 2 ϙ ε κει θεν του δι α βο λου
GD EF D D EF a G F E FG a G
1217
218
134
1218
δι ω κε ται η δυ να μις· 3 πg ου φε ρει γαρ·
a GF E F GD F D D D EF GE F G
1217
218
134
1218
τω φω τι σου προσ με νειν 4 ο
EDE GDEC E D C E F ab a G a EFF C
1217
218
neumes crowded, partly illegible
134
1218
πε σων ε ωσ φο ρος· 5 πg δι ο αι του μεν σε·
D E FG a FE D D D EF G a EF DEC
1217
218
?
134

Ex. 21/3


1218 6 τα πυρ φο ρα αὐ του βε λη 7 τα καθ ή μων κι
E F G a a bG a a bG a G F GE F a
1217
218
134 O O O O O O O O O O O O O
1218 νοὺ με να α πο σβε σον· 8 τη με σι τει ά σου λυ τρου
GF E F GD F D D D C D F F E D F
1217
218
134 O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O
1218 με νος ή μας 9 (?) ἐκ τῶν σκαν δα λων αὐ του·
E D CB C D F E D C F bG a G FE F GaGEF
1217
218 (?) ? ?
134 O O O O O O O O
1218 10 ά ξι υμ νη τε μι χα ηλ αρ χι στρα τη γε :~
E F a G EFF C D E F GD EF D D
1217
218 ? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?
134 O O O O O O O O O O O O

Example 22 (Sin.gr.1217,97r; transcription from Sin.gr.1218,95v)



NB. The corrections in lines 8 and 13 are based on the readings of cod. Dalass. (MMB I), 118v.