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**MUSIC AND CULT IN EARLY CHRISTIAN CENTURIES**

The research of the first centuries of Christian music encounters difficulties as far as bibliography is concerned. The first difficulty is represented by the periodization of the chant history in the early church. A periodization accepted by most researchers relies on the great stages of church life development: the apostolic age, the persecutions, the ecumenical councils, the iconoclasm, Byzantinism.

The research on the Christian cult music of the early Church is not available to everyone and it is not a generous subject – especially from a documentary perspective – for those interested in the field. This is due, on the one hand, to the fact that the early Christians were not concerned to record data and information about the musical practices of the time. On the other hand, the remained documents are fragmentary and, most often allegorical, which makes it even more difficult to analyze the place and role of music within a world where the hearing became faith and way of knowledge of God<sup>1</sup>.

These difficulties often turn the research of the early Church documents in a dispute with hermeneutic accents, in which the Orthodoxy is favored by the Sacred Tradition and by the interpretations inspired by the Holy Ghost to the Church Fathers, whose works are strongly represented.

Among the difficulties, we believe that chant history periodization in the early Church, whose stages overlap those of Christian worship in general, especially the periodization of the Holy Mass as a central service of Christian worship, can be a starting point in assessing the conditions and circumstances where the manifestation of singing as emissary and expression of the early Christian faith asserted itself essentially and definitively.

A great theologian and liturgist of the Romanian Orthodox Church, who has almost completely exhausted the issue of the Orthodox cult and ritual theology through his studies unrivaled so far, i.e. priest Ene Brani te, proposes the following steps of the development, generalization and uniformization of liturgical forms: 1. the apostolic period, 2. the persecution, 3. the period from the end of persecutions to iconoclasm, 4. the iconoclasm, 5. the period after iconoclasm until the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries<sup>2</sup>. Since the liturgical

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<sup>1</sup> N. Gheorghiu a, *Direc ii stilistice  n muzica primelor veacuri creştine (Stylistic directions in the first centuries of Christian music)*. In: OMAGIU. Bucescu, Florin, *Folcloristul  i bizantinologul preot dr. Florin Bucescu - 75 de ani (HOMAGE. Bucescu, Florin, the folklorist and Byzantinist, Rev. Dr. Florin Bucescu – 75 years)*, Z.I. D nil , coord., Iaşi, 2011, p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> E. Brani te, *Liturgica general * (cu no iuni de art  bisericeasc , arhitectur   i pictur  creştin ) (General liturgy (with notions of religious art, architecture and Christian painting)), 2nd ed., Bucharest, 1993, Galaţi, 2002, p. 58-65; E. Brani te, *Originea, instituirea  i dezvoltarea cultului creştin (Origin, establishment and development of Christian worship)*. "Ortodoxia" (Orthodoxy), XXI (1969), no.

life of the early Church certainly included religious musical manifestations, this division may be used in order to delineate the "first centuries" of the early Church life as far as the Christian religious chant is concerned:

The beginnings of the Christian cult, by the establishment of the new bloodless sacrifice, during the Last Supper of the Holy Eucharist, which laid thus the foundations of the formal aspects of the new cult; all the other Christian cult forms would gravitate around the Holy Eucharist. At the same time, the Savior established the draft forms of the Holy Mass, where He spoke explicitly about the church chant at the conclusion of the Last Supper; Christ also spoke about all other cult forms necessary to salvation: baptism, priesthood, repentance, etc., which were formally found in "the liturgical practices" of His times.

The apostolic ministry (first century), with an imprecise duration, from the Pentecost until the beginning of the anti-Christian persecutions; it may not be wrong to say that, within the Orthodoxy, the divine worship is a perpetual Pentecost<sup>3</sup>; there is no doubt that the acts of the new cult founded by Christ were held, at the time of the Pentecost, within the Jewish ritual, with the formulas that it had made available, but with other perspectives and with a new spirit. It is obvious that we cannot find too many clues about the Christian cult, especially because the Holy Ghost had not come down yet; therefore, the Church cult did not manifest in its wholeness<sup>4</sup>. The Pentecost was decisive for the expression of the priesthood dynamics of the Apostles and for the early Christian cult. They were walking outside, above the "upper room", in public, "talking about ... the glory of God" (Acts 2:1); in other words, they were first singing praises to God in an inexpressible way, followed by Apostle Peter's preaching, the praise and thanksgiving to God becoming thus the center and the feature of the Christian cult<sup>5</sup>. This can be considered the origin of the explicit Christian worship chant. The main element of the apostolic congregations was represented by the breaking of bread (Acts 2:46; 20:7.11), one of the names of the Holy Eucharist, which was the center of the new cult, to which the prayer to and praise of God, the readings from the holy books (1 Thessalonians 5:27; Colossians 4:16), the kerygma (the preaching) and the religious chants (Ephesians 5:19 and Colossians 3:16) were added; they were performed during love feasts, i.e. brotherly or love meals (1 Corinthians 11:20-22), charity collections for the poor (1 Corinthians 16:1-2) and manifestations of charisms (1 Corinthians 14). The nocturnal (vigil) nature of the Eucharistic service of the early Christians facilitated the imperceptible passage from the Jewish Sabbath to the Christian Sunday, "the first day of the week" or "Lord's day", which, from this era, became the Christians' day of weekly holiday, replacing Saturday (cf. 1 Corinthians 16:1-2 and Revelation 1:10). The oldest annual Christian holidays also appeared during this period: the Easter and the Pentecost, which, at the beginning, were extensions of the corresponding Jewish holidays, observed by the Apostles and by the early Christians (see, e.g. Acts 18:21 and 20:16); also, the Ecclesiastical hierarchy, established by the Savior by the

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2, p. 131-140; P. Vintilescu, *Istoria liturghiei în primele trei veacuri (The history of the Holy Mass in the first three centuries)*, Bucharest, 2001, p. 15; G. Zotu, *Despre originea și caracterul slujbelor bisericești (About the origin and nature of church services)*. "Biserica Ortodoxă Română" (Romanian Orthodox Church), I (1874), p. 99-115.

<sup>3</sup> V. Sava, *Cultul divin ortodox - o Cincizecime perpetuă (Orthodox divine worship - a perpetual Pentecost)*. „Candela Moldovei" (The Candle of Moldavia), VIII (1998), no. 6, p. 23.

<sup>4</sup> P. Vintilescu, *Istoria liturghiei în primele trei veacuri (The history of the Holy Mass in the first three centuries)*, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. P. Batiffol, *Études d'Histoire et de Théologie positive*, deuxième série, huitième éd., Paris, 1920, p. 116.

sacrament of priesthood, was then made up of three stages: the diaconate (see, e.g.: Acts 6:5-6; 1 Timothy 3:8-13 and others), the priesthood (Acts 14:23; 20:17; 1 Timothy 4:14; 5:7.19; James 5:14) and the episcopate (1 Timothy 3:1-7; Titus 1:7-9 etc.). In addition to the Eucharist, the sacraments established by the Savior were practiced in the apostolic era: the Baptism (Acts 2:38; 8:37, etc.), the Ordination (Acts 13:3 etc.) and the Confession of sins (Acts 19:18), to which new ones were added and applied: the last rites (James 5:14), the marriage (Ephesians 5:31-33) and the Chrismation. The final breaking of the Christian cult from the Jewish one was represented by tearing down the temple in Jerusalem, by the Romans, in AD 70. From then on, the cult of the young Christian religion, which had risen and grown up in the shadow of the Jewish one, would develop independently from it. Moreover, it may be noticed, from the outset, the centrifugal tendency of the Christian cult to the Hebrew one; some theologians agree that this tendency is a "Hebrew anti-cult"<sup>6</sup>, seen not as a rejection and distancing from the generating cult, but rather as an intent to sufficiently refill the ritualistic needs of the Christians, whose ethos was developing.

The anti-Christian persecutions period (second century – 313), started with the post-apostolic age, as called by many historians. The post-apostolic age (between the second and the fourth centuries) was marked by the habit of not recording in written almost anything from the practiced liturgical tradition; thus, the habit can be linked to the famous *disciplina arcana*, which would begin to fade away from end of the fourth century; however, until then, it had required secrecy, especially in relation to what was happening during the Holy Mass; this issue triggered great difficulties in researching this period of the Holy Mass history<sup>7</sup>. However, there is an incontestable source of documentation in the field of the cult for this period: the development of the cult of martyrs, which underlies the cult of saints in general. On this basis, some development of the Christian cult may be noticed during this period. Thus, the orderliness of the Holy Mass became increasingly fixed, by gradually limiting the right to improvise freely the liturgical prayers. By the end of this age (third century) the first attempts to systematize and regulate the orderliness of divine services appeared, by means of those cult rules, entered into the so-called Church Ordinances, anonymous papers and pseudo-epigraphs, of which the oldest seems to be the *Apostolic Tradition* of Ippolit Roman (235) – considered lost. For liturgical assemblies, the Christians used both private homes and the underground chambers of the catacombs. Moreover, during this period, the first (and the oldest) Christian churches on the earth's surface appeared; the predominant feature of the Church life in this period is represented by the development of the catechumenal institution based on the scheme presented in Acts 2: Evangelism (kerygma) – faith – repentance – baptism. As far as the celebration day is concerned, in the first years it was held on Saturday. However, very soon, even from the apostles' days, due to the nocturnal nature of the Eucharistic celebrations, Saturday was replaced by Sunday and, in the second century, it acquired a theological justification, as noticed in St. Justin the Martyr. In this regard, he gave us a description of the liturgical Eucharistic celebrations on Sundays: "On the day of the Sun, we all gather together, because this is the first day when God made the world, by changing darkness and matter, and Jesus Christ, our Savior, rose from the dead on the same day. For He was crucified on the eve of Saturn's day and, on the second day after Saturn's day, which is the

<sup>6</sup> D. Borobio, (editor), *La celebrazione nella Chiesa*, vol. I, Elle Di Ci, Leumann (Torino) 1992, p. 52.

<sup>7</sup> P. Pruteanu, *Liturghia ortodoxă: istorie și actualitate (Orthodox Liturgy: history and present)*, 2nd ed., Bucharest, 2013, p. 28.

day of the Sun, He showed Himself to His apostles and disciples ...”<sup>8</sup>. A more difficult problem was to determine the date of the Easter as Asia Minor, based on a tradition that goes up to the apostles Philip and John, celebrated the Easter on the same day as the Jews did, i.e. on 14th Nisan, no matter the week day (the quartodeciman group)<sup>9</sup>. During the same century, other communities like the ones in Rome, Palestine, Egypt, Greece did not celebrate the Easter on 14th Nisan but on the next Sunday (according to a tradition held as coming from the Apostles Peter and Paul, tradition which has remained in the Church).

Most researchers accredit the idea that the liturgical life of the new faith is a synthesis of Hebrew, Hellenistic and Gnostic elements, performed in areas where the proto-Christian people manifested<sup>10</sup>. From apostolic times and to the institutionalization of the Empire under Constantine the Great (330), the liturgical traditions had been in constant search of identity, in a world that could hardly cope with persecutions<sup>11</sup>.

The first Christians, being Hebrew, took over some elements coming from the two religious institutions of the time (i.e. the Temple of Jerusalem and the Synagogue), from the cult basics<sup>12</sup>. It is noteworthy that, in the Savior’s times, the most important liturgical landmark was apparently the Temple; music and, in general, its rite, made it clear that the Temple’s role should not be neglected, not even after its life ceased with the Roman conquest and its destruction in 70<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> St. Justin Martirul, *Apologia I (Apology I)*, LXVII. In: *Sfântul Iustin Martirul și Filosoful (St. Justin the Martyr and Philosopher)*, *Apologia întâia în favoarea creștinilor (Apology I for the Christians)*, I, in vol. 3, collection P.S.B., *Apologeti de limbă greacă (Apologists of Greek language)*, transl. by Ol. Căciulă, Bucharest, 1980.

<sup>9</sup> T.J. Talley argues that this has been the most natural and the first practice in the history of the Church (*The Origins of the Liturgical Year*, Pueblo, New-York, 1986, p. 18).

<sup>10</sup> R. Janin, *Les Églises orientales et les rites orientaux*, Paris 1955, p. 17; A. Schmemmann, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology*, London 1966, p. 73; S. Sataville, *An Introduction to the Study of Eastern Liturgies*, London, 1938, p. 9; F. Cabrol, *Liturgie*, DTC IX (1), Paris 1926, p. 794-795.

<sup>11</sup> N. Gheorghită, *Muzica bizantină – s urtă prezentare (The Byzantine music – short presentation)*. "Glasul Bisericii" (The Voice of the Church), no. 9-10, 2006, p. 375.

<sup>12</sup> Eric Turner, former professor at the Hebrew College of New York, believed, in the sixth decade of the last century, that the temple, the synagogue and the Christian cult had, at first, five common elements: a. liturgical texts, b. hierarchy, c. ceremonies and ritual, d. music and e. the organization of the liturgical year. Cf. E. Werner, *The Sacred Bridge. The Interdependence of Liturgy and Music in Synagogue and Church during the first Millennium*, New York, 1959, p. 19-20; and W. Clifford Dugmore, *The influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office*, Westminster, The Faith Press, 1964. Slightly nuanced, but in almost the same terms, the idea is repeated by A. Seay, *Music in Medieval World* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 9. For a critical view on this theory, see P.F. Bradshaw, *The Search of the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, New York & Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992, p. 1-29. Supporter of Bradshaw, Robert Taft believes that the only elements found both in Judaism and in Christianity are the moments of public prayer in the morning and evening, common scenario not only in Christianity but otherwise in any other liturgical tradition. Cf. R. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West*, Collegeville, Minn., 1986, p. 11. The same perspective is also found in D.J. Grout & C.V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 4th ed., New York, W.W. Norton, 1988, p. 25.

<sup>13</sup> St. Jerome accredits the idea that the hierarchy of the Jerusalem Temple represented a model that was overtaken in the early church rite: "As Aaron and his sons and also the Levites occupied positions within the Temple, in the same way, the bishops, the priests and the deacons occupy positions within the Church", in C. Vitranga, *De Synagoga Vetere*, Franequerae, 1696, p. 9. Cf. Werner, *The Sacred Bridge*, p. 18.

In parallel with the Temple, the synagogues and, in particular, those in rural areas were the prayer spaces of both Christians and Jews (between Hebrews and relatives). That is why the experts consider that both institutions played a key role in the development of the Holy Mass of the Christian world, the synagogue ritual playing a predominant role<sup>14</sup>.

The Acts of the Apostles talk about the involvement of St. Paul and of his disciples in the activities of the synagogue in Pisidia – Antioch (Acts 13:14-43). Moreover, the New Testament, by the Gospel of St. Luke, confirms the participation of the Savior at the service performed at the synagogue (Luke 4, 16)<sup>15</sup>, service whose ritual consists of four basic elements: *reading* from the Scripture of the Old Testament; *homily* or comment on the previously read text; *intone* and *common prayer*<sup>16</sup>.

And, finally, the early free Christian service period, between the Edict of Milan and the creation of the first canon of the Holy Mass<sup>17</sup>; the cult is subject during this period to profound transformations, and, during the subsequent centuries, not only did the emperors tolerate the new cult, but they also promoted it by laws and decrees. The state gradually became Christian, and the access to political, military etc. offices was allowed only to Christians or, at most, to catechumens; the bishops became equal to the highest officials; the Church acquired extensive lands; arts, architecture, music, poetry etc. were in the service of the Church, in order to make the new cult shine. Another event that marked the beginning of the separation of two different liturgical traditions is the fall of the Western Roman Empire, under the blows of Odoacer's barbarians (476). Under these conditions, without the financial and political support of the Byzantine emperors, the Western Church would develop a sober cult that did not enjoy the Eastern pomp and splendor; the Roman liturgy austerity, the lack of hieratism and drama in liturgical celebrations would be the keynote and the main element differentiating it from the Byzantine liturgies and celebrations. Finally, the avalanche of church-goers, who had declared themselves Christians after the cessation of persecutions, gave birth to a new category of

<sup>14</sup> L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship. Its Origin and Evolution*, London, 1919, p. 48; P. Vintilescu, *Despre poezia imnografică din cărțile de ritual și cântarea bisericească (The Hymnographic poetry from ritual books and church chants)*, Galați, 2006, p.155; P. Wagner, *Introduction to the Gregorian Melodies*, London, 1907, p. 7; Werner, *The Sacred Bridge*, p. 19; E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, Oxford, 1961, p. 35; A.Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development*, New York, 1929, p. 19; A. Sendrey, *Music in Ancien Israel*, New York, 1969, p. 180. For information, it should be noted that one of the oldest writings that discuss this topic dates back to the end of the seventeenth century: Cf. C. Vitranga, *De Synagoga*.

<sup>15</sup> He went to Nazareth, where he had been brought up, and on the Sabbath day he went into the synagogue, as was his custom. He stood up to read (Luke 4,16). See also Luke 6,6.

<sup>16</sup> J. McKinnon, *Christian Antiquity. In: Antiquity and Middle Ages. From Ancient Greece to the 15th century*, ed. by J. McKinnon, 1990, p. 68. This division is taken over by J. McKinnon from L. Duchesne (*Christian Worship*, p. 48).

<sup>17</sup> As soon as the Roman Empire was converted to Christianity, during the fourth century, Christianity changed from a persecuted cult – which had been practiced in some secret way, in catacombs and secret meetings - into a religio licita, which, from then on, would be practiced freely, in public forms, in major imperial basilicas, under the authority of local bishops. Inevitably, within these practices, music began to play a dominant role, after the obviously lower role it had played in the catacombs, during services, due to underground conditions. The testimonies of the age offer, for the Byzantine period – which officially started after the Edict of Milan – the image of a liturgical framework where the community participated to a dialogue, whose invariable chorus to the psalms was picked up by a soloist and/or by the community. These texts were sung on occasions and on special days of the liturgical calendar, becoming permanent, year by year, and thus creating a solid tradition. (E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music*, p. 43. See also N. Gheorghită, *Muzica bizantină - scurtă prezentare*, p. 383).

Christians – the monks – who would develop a new liturgical form – *The Church Praises* (mentioned in an early form in the past centuries) and to a new kind of martyrdom – the white martyrdom.

Since its entry into history, monachism reigned supreme in the administrative and liturgical life of the Christian Church, especially of the eastern one, compared with secular clergy<sup>18</sup>. With the withdrawal from the desert and after the return to “the world”, towards the end of the fourth century, almost all cities and important liturgical centers of the Eastern Christian Antiquity (Antioch, Jerusalem, Caesarea, Alexandria, Constantinople, etc.) would benefit from the emergence of new monasteries<sup>19</sup> and, at the same time, from the “spiritual” authority of its inhabitants, who immediately became formative landmarks: counselors, confessors, teachers etc.

The involvement of monasticism in theological disputes and its contribution to the success of holy councils are other elements that have ensured its privileged position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy and history, from the early centuries until nowadays<sup>20</sup>.

All these are manifestations of monasticism that help us understand the fundamental role played by this venerable institution in the liturgical and spiritual establishment of the Church, the backbone of the Christian world<sup>21</sup>.

This last “period” proposed as the limit of the period “of the first centuries” continues, of course, with the generous Byzantine period, which can be subdivided into several segments, due to its long duration of existence.

We can talk about a Byzantine musical culture starting from the sixth century, with the transformation of the Eastern Roman Empire into the Byzantine Empire. After this century,

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<sup>18</sup> When talking about the iconoclastic period (726-843), Robert Taft states: „The victory over iconoclasm, in 843, which was actually a victory of monks, contributed to the demoralization of the secular clergy and to a significant increase in the monastic influence”. (R.F. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite. A Short History*, Liturgical Press, Collegeville, 1992, p. 52, 56). About the dominant role of the monastic institution in the history of the Byzantine liturgy and, in general, in the history of the Eastern Church, see the references cited in R.F. Taft, *Select Bibliography on the Byzantine Liturgy of the Hours*. „Orientalia Christiana Periodica”, 48 (1982), p. 1-28.

<sup>19</sup> See, for example, the see of Constantinople, which, at the end of the sixth century, (586) had 68 monasteries for men, while the neighboring diocese of Chalcedon had 40 monasteries. Cf. A. Schmemmann, *Introducere în Teologia liturgică (Introduction to Liturgical Theology)*, transl. in Romanian by V. Bârză, Bucharest, 2002, p. 276.

<sup>20</sup> For the Christian East, see the study of C. Mango, *Sfântul (The Saint)*. In: *Omni Bizantin (The Byzantine Man)*, coord. by G. Cavallo, Iași, 2000, p. 293 -320. The reflection of the monastic institution's image in the social hierarchy of the Romanian medieval world and, in particular, the relationship between “sacred” and “God” can be traced in the punctual study conducted by O. Cristea, *Note sur le rapport entre le prince et «Romme saint» dans les Pays Roumains. La Rencontre d'Etienne le Grand avec Daniel Termite*. In: *L'Empereur Hagiographe. Culte des saints et monarchie byzantine et post-byzantine*, Bucharest, 2001, p. 177-185. A major study on the role of “the saint” in the Orthodox world is signed by P. Guran, *Aspects et rôle du saint dans les nouveaux États du «Commonwealth byzantin» (XIe-XVe siècle)*. In: *Pouvoirs et mentalités, textes réunis par Laurentiu Vlad à la mémoire du Professeur Al. Dutu*, Bucharest, 1999, p. 45-69.

<sup>21</sup> N. Gheorghită, *Monahism și psalmodie în antichitatea creștină, considerații preliminare (Monasticism and singsong in Christian antiquity, preliminary considerations)*. In: *Volum omagial – Pr. Prof. Dr. Nicu Moldoveanu la 70 de ani (Homage volume – Rev. PhD. Prof. Nicu Moldoveanu at 70 years old)*, Bucharest, 2000, p. 468.

the evolution of the Byzantine chant splits markedly from the evolution of the Gregorian Chant in the West, which, over time, would follow a completely different path<sup>22</sup>.

The history of Byzantine (and post-Byzantine) music can be divided into several distinct periods: the first period (the “melods” period) (from the fifth to the eleventh century), the second period (the “melurgs” period) (from the eleventh to the fifteenth century), and the post-Byzantine period (from the fifteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century, more specifically up to 1814) and the hrisantic or modern period (from 1814 until nowadays)<sup>23</sup>.

The first of these periods, i.e. the “melods” period, is characterized primarily by the emergence of the basic forms of Byzantine hymnography: the tropar (the fifth century), the kontakion (the sixth century) and the canon (the seventh century), all developed in Syrian-Palestinian cultural centers. The melods, authors of these forms, were creating both the text and the melodic lines<sup>24</sup>.

The music of this beautiful period is called “Byzantine or Orthodox church music”<sup>25</sup> by contemporary researchers, since Byzantium was also the center of the Ecumenical Patriarchate<sup>26</sup>. In terms of liturgical theology, this era is characterized by the tendency of interpreting the liturgical ritual in mystical and symbolic keys. Dionysios the Areopagite, Germanus of Constantinople, Maximus the Confessor are just some of the names of the commentators of the liturgical works that bequeathed memorable liturgical and sacramental theology pages.

The following development periods of the ecclesial music virtually bear the stylistic fingerprints typical of the primordial period, marked by modalism, which evolved within the permitted traditional limits and the already enshrined forms.

## MUSIQUE ET CULTURE DANS LES PREMIERS CENTRES CHRÉTIENS

### Résumé

La recherche des premiers siècles de musique chrétienne rencontre des difficultés en ce qui concerne la bibliographie. La première difficulté concerne la périodisation de l'histoire du chant dans l'église primitive. Une périodisation acceptée par la plupart des chercheurs repose sur les grandes étapes du développement de la vie de l'église: l'âge apostolique, les persécutions, les conseils œcuméniques, l'iconoclasme, le byzantinisme.

### Mots-clés

musique chrétienne, culte chrétien, chant d'église, musique orthodoxe, musique byzantine

<sup>22</sup> V. Grăjdian, *Elemente de cântare bisericească și tipic (Elements of church and typical singing)*, Sibiu 2002, p. 18.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem, p. 19.

<sup>25</sup> P. Delion, *Tradiții creștine uitate (Forgotten Christian traditions)*, Bucharest, 1992, p. 23.

<sup>26</sup> O. Drîmba, *Istoria culturii și civilizației (The History of Culture and Civilization)*, vol. II, Bucharest, 1987, p. 213.

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