

# TRADITION AND RENEWAL IN CONTEMPORARY GREEK ORTHODOX PSALMODY

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What is Greek Orthodox psalmody? A logical and seemingly self-evident answer is provided by Robert Taft in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. There he defines ψαλμωδία as “the use of the 150 Psalms of the Bible in worship.”<sup>1</sup> However, if one were to ask the same question of the average churchgoer in Greece, there is a good chance that his or her definition of *psalmōdia* would be some variant on “Byzantine music” (Βυζαντινή μουσική), the strictly (at least in theory) unaccompanied chant of the Greek Orthodox Church. This is always sung, not by a “singer” or “cantor,” as in the West, but by a *psaltēs* (ψάλτης) or psalmist.<sup>2</sup> The gap between liturgy and common usage is significant but cannot be dismissed as simply an instance of disjunction between elite theology and popular piety in the Orthodox East.<sup>3</sup> On the contrary, these two definitions of psalmody mark out the ends of a whole spectrum of ways in which psalmody has been understood and practiced by Greek-speaking Christians over the last two millennia.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Robert F. Taft, “Psalmody,” in *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (ed. A. Kazhdan et al.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1752.

<sup>2</sup> See David Melling, “Music,” in *The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity* (ed. K. Parry et al.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 328–31.

<sup>3</sup> The literature on popular piety is vast, but probably the most famous instance of such a disjunction is belief in the “evil eye” (Richard P. H. Greenfield, “Evil Eye,” in *Encyclopedia of Greece and the Hellenic Tradition*, led. G. Speake; London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2000], 1:596–97). For other examples from the Byzantine period, see Jane R. Baun, “Middle Byzantine Tours of Hell: Outsider Theodicy?” in *Strangers to Themselves: The Byzantine Outsider* (ed. D. Smythe; Aldershot: U.K.; Burlington, Vt.: Variorum, 2000), 47–60; and Tia M. Kolbaba, *The Byzantine Lists: Errors of the Latins* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000).

<sup>4</sup> For a general introduction to the historical use of the term ψαλμωδία, see Athanasios Th. Vourles, *Δογματικοθητικά ὄψεις τῆς Ὁρθοδόξου ψαλμωδίας* (Athens:

In the first instance, one may discern in modern Greek usage an echo of the fluid musical terminology employed by the earliest Christians, for whom the noun ψαλμός had not yet acquired its later and more particular definition as one of the 150 (or 151!) poetic texts found in the biblical book attributed to David.<sup>5</sup> Eventually the doctrinal concerns that motivated the church to form its canon of Scripture also led it in some locations to ban nonscriptural texts from worship, a stance enshrined in the late fourth-century Council of Laodicea's Canon 59, which prohibited "privately composed psalms" (ἰδιωτικὸὺς ψαλμούς).<sup>6</sup> Byzantine Christians, however, continued to use "psalm" occasionally in its earlier broad sense of "sacred song." Thus, *psalmos* is only one of a number of labels applied by Saint Romanos the Melodist and his colleagues to the elaborate strophic hymns that eventually became known as kontakia.<sup>7</sup>

Second, Greek-speaking Christians' use through the centuries of the term *psalmōdia* to describe all forms of liturgical singing is a witness to the fact that specifically biblical psalmody has been central to their cycles of private devotion and common worship ever since the emergence of what James McKinnon called a "psalmodic movement" in late antiquity.<sup>8</sup> The origins and immediate consequences of this movement—namely, the decision by Egyptian monks to recite the Psalter in its entirety, followed by the rapid diffusion of biblical psalmody throughout the Mediterranean basin—have been discussed elsewhere and need not detain us here.<sup>9</sup> Rather, the

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Theological School of the University of Athens, 1994), 17–26. On pages 11–69 of *Θέματα ἱερᾶς ψαλμωδίας*, vol. 1 (Athens: n.p., 2000), the same scholar meticulously examines references to psalmody in the writings of Gregory of Nyssa, showing how he uses the term in ways that cover nearly the full range of its present meanings.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Eph 5:18–20 and Col 3:16–17, passages that tempted earlier generations of scholars to make anachronistic musical distinctions between "psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs." See Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 33–43.

<sup>6</sup> *MECL* §119.

<sup>7</sup> Others include hymn (ὕμνος), poem (ποίημα or ἔπος), ode (ὠδή), song (ᾠσμα), praise (αἶνος), prayer (προσευχή), and supplication (δέησις). See Wellesz, *History of Byzantine Music*, 179.

<sup>8</sup> James McKinnon, "Desert Monasticism and the Late Fourth-Century Psalmodic Movement," *Music and Letters* 75 (1994): 505–19.

<sup>9</sup> E.g., Joseph Dyer, "Monastic Psalmody of the Middle Ages," *RBén* 99 (1989): 41–74; idem, "The Singing of Psalms in the Early-Medieval Office," *Spec* 64 (1989): 535–78; James McKinnon, "Christian Antiquity," in *Antiquity and the Middle Ages: From Ancient Greece to the Fifteenth Century* (ed. J. McKinnon; Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1991), 68–87; idem, "Desert Monasticism"; Edward Nowacki, "Antiphonal Psalmody in Christian Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages," in *Essays*

significance of these ancient precedents to our present discussion lies in their persistent influence on the life and spirituality of Orthodox Christianity. The meditative and often private psalmody pioneered by early ascetics, for example, has been cultivated in one form or another by Orthodox anchorites, cenobites, and other "spiritual athletes" until the present day.<sup>10</sup> Likewise, the practice of gathering in urban churches to sing psalms appropriate to the hour, found in such early sources as the *Apostolic Constitutions*, is maintained by the modern Orthodox Liturgy of the Hours, the major offices of which are regularly celebrated in both parishes and monasteries.<sup>11</sup>

#### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RECEIVED TRADITION

By emphasizing continuity in this manner, I do not wish to reinforce the common misconception that liturgy in the Byzantine rite is characterized chiefly by rigid immobility. Indeed, Greek Orthodox psalmody has, along with the other elements of the Byzantine rite, undergone periods of vigorous development.<sup>12</sup> Antiphonal psalmody flowered in Late Antique

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on *Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes* (ed. G. M. Boone; Isham Library Papers 4; Cambridge: Harvard University Department of Music, 1995), 287–315; and Robert F. Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West: The Origins of the Divine Office and Its Meaning for Today* (Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1986), 31–213.

<sup>10</sup> See the entries for "psalmody" in the indices to the four-volume English edition of the *Philokalia* (G. E. H. Palmer et al, eds. and trans., *The Philokalia: The Complete Text Compiled by St. Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St. Makarios of Corinth* [4 vols.; London: Faber & Faber, 1979–95]), an eighteenth-century anthology of texts on prayer from the fourth to fifteenth centuries that is today perhaps Orthodoxy's most authoritative guide to the contemplative life known as "hesychasm." On the relationship between this tradition and that of liturgical psalmody, particularly in late Byzantium, see Alexander Lingas, "Hesychasm and Psalmody," in *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism* (ed. A. Bryer and M. Cunningham; Brookfield, Vt.: Variorum, 1996), 155–68.

<sup>11</sup> The chapters "Sunday in the Byzantine Tradition" and "The Spirit of Eastern Christian Worship" in Robert F. Taft, *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding* (NPM Studies in Church Music and Liturgy; Washington, D.C.: Pastoral Press, 1984), are good introductions to liturgical practice and piety in the churches employing the Byzantine rite. Kallistos Ware ("The Theology of Worship," in *Collected Works* [Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2000], 1:59–68) provides a complementary theological perspective.

<sup>12</sup> The long and complicated development of the Byzantine rite as a whole is the subject of Robert F. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History* (American Essays in Liturgy Series; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1992). More narrowly focused treatments of the subject including material relevant to the study of psalmody

Jerusalem and Constantinople within the context of rapidly developing stational liturgies.<sup>13</sup> In the latter city, frequent psalmodic processions (still sixty-eight per year in the tenth century)<sup>14</sup> played a vital role in the formation of a distinct Rite of the Great Church of Hagia Sophia, shaping both the form and the original architectural contexts of its eucharistic liturgies.<sup>15</sup> The characteristically Constantinopolitan predilection for antiphonal psalmody and processions was equally important to the formation of Hagia Sophia's cycle of daily prayer. Known collectively as the Sung Office (ἄσματικὴ ἀκολουθία), it featured services that were direct descendents of the popular psalmodic assemblies of late antiquity, consisting almost entirely of blocks of antiphonal psalms, diaconal litanies, and presidential prayers separated at symbolically significant points by processions.<sup>16</sup>

Not long after the Rite of the Great Church reached its apogee of ceremonial magnificence under the emperor Heraclius, psalmody in the Holy Land began to grow in other directions. Beginning in the seventh century, the churches of Jerusalem and the nearby monastery of Saint Sabas fostered the composition of hymns for intercalation between the biblical psalms and canticles of the Horologion (the "Book of the Hours" containing the Palestinian Divine Office).<sup>17</sup> Initially limited to Sundays and feasts,

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include Miguel Arranz, "Les grandes étapes de la Liturgie Byzantine: Palestine-Byzance-Russie. Essai d'aperçu historique," in *Liturgie de l'église particulière et liturgie de l'église universelle* (Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae, Subsidia 7; Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche, 1976), 43–72; Robert F. Taft, "Mount Athos: A Late Chapter in the Byzantine Rite," *DOP* 42 (1988): 179–94; idem, "How Liturgies Grow: The Evolution of the Byzantine Divine Liturgy" in *Beyond East and West*, 167–92.

<sup>13</sup> John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (OCA 228; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1987).

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 211–14.

<sup>15</sup> Summarized in Taft, *Byzantine Rite*, 30–36. See also Thomas F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1971).

<sup>16</sup> On the use of psalmody in these services, see Oliver Strunk "The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia," *DOP* 9–10 (1956): 175–202; repr. in Strunk, *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York: Norton, 1977), 112–50; Kosmas I. Georgiou, "Ἡ ἑβδομαδιαία ἀτφωνικὴ κατανομή τῶν ψαλμῶν καὶ τῶν ᾠδῶν εἰς τὰς Ἀσματικὰς Ἀκολουθίας ἑσπερινοῦ. Ἑλληνικοὶ Μουσικοὶ Κῶδικες 2061–2062 Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης Ἀθῆνῶν" (Ph.D. diss., Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1976); Alexander Lingas, "Sunday Matins in the Byzantine Cathedral Rite: Music and Liturgy" (Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1996), and idem, "Festal Cathedral Vespers in Late Byzantium," *OCP* 63 (1997): 421–59.

<sup>17</sup> The Constantinopolitan kontakia of the previous century were originally paraliturgical compositions intended for performance between the offices of a vigil. See

the replacement of the old antiphonal refrains with melodious exegeses of Christian theology by such luminaries as Sophronios of Jerusalem, Andrew of Crete, and John of Damascus proved to be enormously popular. The adoption in 799 of the Sabaitic Divine Office by the Studios monastery in Constantinople—an event precipitating the formation of a mixed Studite rite, a preliminary synthesis between Palestinian and Constantinopolitan liturgical traditions that coexisted for centuries alongside the cathedral Rite of the Great Church—further accelerated the growth of the new hymnodic repertoires of stichera and canons. By the twelfth century the process of farcing Studite psalmody with hymnody was virtually complete, bequeathing to subsequent generations over sixty thousand proper hymns<sup>18</sup> for the eight-week resurrectional and yearly fixed and movable cycles of the Byzantine liturgical year.<sup>19</sup> Hymnody thereafter was assimilated so completely to the concept of Greek Orthodox *psalmōdia* that it became customary in many places to abridge or even omit the scriptural texts that the hymns were originally meant to adorn.<sup>20</sup>

The Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61) marked the beginning of a period of precipitous and ultimately terminal decline for the venerable Sung Office, which disappeared completely following the Ottoman conquest in 1453. Its retreat left a void that was filled by the monastic rite of Saint Sabas in its fourteenth-century Athonite recension, a Neo-Sabaïtic synthesis that also replaced most Studite usages.<sup>21</sup> Rising monastic

Alexander Lingas, "The Liturgical Use of the Kontakion in Constantinople," in *Liturgy, Architecture and Art of the Byzantine World: Papers of the XVIII International Byzantine Congress (Moscow, 8–15 August 1991) and Other Essays Dedicated to the Memory of Fr. John Meyendorff* (ed. C. C. Akentiev; Byzantinorossika 1; St. Petersburg: Vizantinorossika, 1995), 50–57.

<sup>18</sup> Kenneth Levy and Christian Troelsgård, "Byzantine Chant," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (ed. S. Sadie and J. Tyrell; rev. ed.; London: Macmillan, 2001), 4:743. This figure is based on a count of incipits in published sources alone.

<sup>19</sup> These hymns dominate the fifteen volumes containing the most important proper texts used in modern Byzantine worship: the Octoechos (Book of the Eight Modes) or Paraklitike (Book of Supplication), containing an eight-week cycle of hymns beginning with the Saturday-evening Vigil of the Resurrection arranged according to musical mode; the Menaia (Book of the Months), twelve volumes of propers for fixed commemorations; and the (Lenten) Triodion and Pentecostarion, books containing propers for the movable season centered on Easter.

<sup>20</sup> E.g., the so-called Antiphons of the Octoechos for Sunday and festal matins, which were originally sung with Pss 119–30. See Oliver Strunk, "The Antiphons of the Octoechos," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 13 (1960): 50–67; repr. in Strunk, *Essays on Music*, 165–90.

<sup>21</sup> Taft, *Byzantine Rite*, 78–84.

influence in the church hierarchy undoubtedly played a role in these developments, but it is worth noting that Archbishop Symeon of Thessalonica (d. 1429), the Constantinopolitan cathedral rite's last and most prolific apologist, reports that some members of his flock were actively seeking to abolish the cathedral rite on the pretext that they were being deprived of the canons sung elsewhere.<sup>22</sup> Symeon's solution was to supplement the Sung Office's old-fashioned antiphonal psalms with dogmatically rich and tuneful monastic hymnody, thereby producing what he saw as a more pleasing union of Old Testament typology and New Testament revelation.<sup>23</sup> Sadly, his reformed cathedral rite did not survive the fall of Thessalonica to the Ottoman Turks in 1430, at which time Symeon's provincial cathedral of Hagia Sophia was turned into a mosque.

Of more lasting significance was the replacement of Studite forms of the Divine Office with their Neo-Sabaïtic counterparts in the contemporary monastic tradition. The total number of psalms heard in offices remained about the same, but changes in performance practice and compositional style drastically shifted musical emphasis away from the majority of psalms. Whereas documents of the Studite tradition indicate that many psalms, including some from the weekly cycle of continuous psalmody, were formerly sung in imitation of cathedral practice,<sup>24</sup> they came to be recited simply (χῦμα) and without refrains (as in modern Greek usage). The newfound austerity of most ferial psalmody was, however, balanced by the emergence of new varieties of florid psalmody concentrated in the Neo-Sabaïtic All-Night Vigil, an ancient concatenation of evening and morning offices revived for celebration on Saturday evenings and the eves of major solemnities.<sup>25</sup>

Formerly, the cathedral and Studite rites of Byzantium had shared repertoires of anonymous melismatic chants for choirs and soloists transmitted in notated collections known, respectively, as the *Asmatikon* and the *Psaltikon*. These volumes—together with the majority of their stately and highly formulaic melodies for such psalmodic genres as the Byzantine Divine Liturgy's *Prokeimenon*, *Alleluarion*, and *Communion* (corresponding to the *Gradual*, *Alleluia*, and *Communion* of the Roman Mass)—were replaced during the fourteenth century by a new collection usually entitled *Akolouthiai* or "Orders of Service," the compilation of which was attributed

<sup>22</sup> PG 155:556.

<sup>23</sup> Symeon's reforms are discussed in Lingas, "Sunday Matins," 191–278.

<sup>24</sup> Arranz, "Les grandes étapes," 64.

<sup>25</sup> Discussed most extensively in Nicholas Uspensky, "Chin vsenoshchnogo bdeniia (ἡ ἀγρυπνία) na pravoslavnom vostoke i v russkoï tserkvi," *Bogoslouskie Trudy* 18 (1977): 5–117; 19 (1978): 3–69. On the music, see Lingas, "Hesyachism and Psalmody," 160–68 and idem, "Sunday Matins," 157–69.

to the saint, monk, composer, and theorist John Koukouzeles (ca. 1280–ca. 1341).<sup>26</sup> Akolouthiai manuscripts contained within a single cover all the ordinary chants and psalmodic propers of the Byzantine monastic offices and eucharistic liturgies, including not only new redactions of certain chants formerly contained in the Asmatikon and Psaltikon but also many previously unnotated psalms, some of which were presented in multiple versions reflecting regional or functional variations in practice (Thessalonian, Athonite, monastic, etc.). These anonymous repertoires, however, were overshadowed musically by numerous musical settings of ordinary and (especially) festal psalms by Koukouzeles and his Late Byzantine colleagues. These were written in a new, distinctly personal, and often highly virtuosic “kalophonic” or “beautified” idiom distinguished variously by virtuosic vocal ranges, textual troping, extended melismas, and vocalizations on nonsense syllables (teretisms).

The Neo-Sabaitic and Koukouzelian reforms succeeded in establishing jointly the range of psalmodic forms found today in Greek Orthodox worship. After the fall of the Byzantine Empire their music was modified only in detail as cantors enriched older works with orally transmitted formulae and composed new settings reflecting contemporary tastes.<sup>27</sup> Liturgical changes during the post-Byzantine period were similarly minor in scope and may, in some instances, even reflect the survival of older urban usages. Thus most Greek churches today, unlike their Russian counterparts, celebrate the All-Night Vigil infrequently, choosing instead to separate the evening and morning offices in the Studite manner. Similarly, Greek parishes tend to prefer beginning the Divine Liturgy with the singing

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<sup>26</sup> For summary discussions of the Koukouzelian reforms and their liturgical context, see Edward V. Williams, “A Byzantine *Ars Nova*: The Fourteenth-Century Reforms of John Koukouzeles in the Chanting of Great Vespers,” in *Aspects of the Balkans: Continuity and Change: Contributions to the International Balkan Conference Held at UCLA, October 23–28, 1969* (ed. H. Birnbaum and S. Vryonis Jr.; The Hague: Mouton, 1972), 211–29; and Lingas, “Hesychasm and Psalmody.” Dimitri E. Conomos, *The Late Byzantine and Slavonic Communion Cycle: Liturgy and Music* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 21; Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1985), contains a detailed discussion of Communion settings in the Asmatikon and Akolouthiai, as well as representative lists of these manuscripts and the composers represented in them.

<sup>27</sup> The musical history of this period is recounted in Manolis Chatziagiakoumes, *Χειρόγραφα ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς (1453–1820)* (Athens: National Bank of Greece, 1980); and Dimitri E. Conomos, “Sacred Music in the Post-Byzantine Era,” in *The Byzantine Legacy in Eastern Europe*. (ed. L. Clucas; Eastern European Monographs 230; Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs; New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 83–105.

of Constantinopolitan antiphons rather than the Palestinian *Typika* (Pss 102 [103] and 145, followed by a forced rendition of the Beatitudes).

Equally common but of greater concern is the abbreviation or total omission from Greek Orthodox services today of particular psalmodic elements for reasons of (real or perceived) pastoral need, local custom, or convenience. Certain cuts to the funeral service and the morning office of Orthros, a service that can run well over three hours when celebrated in its entirety, are officially mandated by the Ecumenical Patriarchate's modern parochial *Typikon of the Great Church*.<sup>28</sup> However, the rubrics of the *Typikon* account for only a fraction of the bewildering array of abbreviations that one may encounter in virtually every service, many of which reinforce the longstanding Byzantine tendency to omit biblical psalmody rather than the hymnody attached to it (although significant quantities of the latter are often left out of parochial celebrations of Orthros).

This may be observed in contemporary Greek Orthodox celebrations of the Divine Liturgies of Saint John Chrysostom and Saint Basil, which often deemphasize or suppress virtually all of the Byzantine Eucharist's remaining biblical psalmody.<sup>29</sup> In the Greek Archdiocese of America, for example, the Constantinopolitan Antiphons are often reduced in practice to a two- or threefold repetition of their refrains, leading even church musicians to reclassify the latter as "hymns."<sup>30</sup> Nearly everywhere the refrain and verse of the Prokeimenon are performed sequentially (i.e., without repetition of the refrain) in a monotone, while the following Alleluarion—originally comparable in form to the medieval Roman Alleluia<sup>31</sup>—is customarily represented

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<sup>28</sup> Giorgios Violakis, ed., *Τυπικὸν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας* (Constantinople: n.p., 1888; repr., Athens: Saliveros, n.d.).

<sup>29</sup> I.e., after the Trisagion and Cherubic Hymn were shorn of their original psalm verses; see Juan Mateos, *La célébration de la parole dans la liturgie byzantine: Étude historique* (OCA 191; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1971), 106–14; Taft, *Beyond East and West*, 176–82. At all events, the quantity of psalmody sung in Constantinopolitan eucharistic liturgies was, in comparison with the Roman Mass, never very extensive (for comparative statistics, see Strunk, *Essays on Music*, 317).

<sup>30</sup> E.g., Tom Pallad, ed., *A Guide to Congregational Singing* (National Forum of Greek Orthodox Musicians; [n.p.]: National Forum of Greek Orthodox Church Musicians, 1991), 9; Sophronia Tomaras, ed., *Hymns from the Liturgy, Book 1: A Beginner's Hymnal Arranged for Church School and Home Use* (2d field-test ed.; San Francisco: Greek Orthodox Diocese of San Francisco Religious Education Commission, 1986), 5:1–6.

<sup>31</sup> On the form of the medieval Alleluarion, see Christian Thodberg, *Der byzantinische Alleluarionzyklus: Studien im kurzen Psaltikonstil* (MMB, Subsidia 8; Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1966). The relationship of Western Alleluias to their



by a threefold repetition of the word "Alleluia" lasting approximately five seconds. Consequently, the symbolically rich censuring that formerly accompanied the singing of the Alleluarion has, at best, been replaced by a few token but nevertheless distracting swings of the censer during the preceding reading.<sup>32</sup> An unintentionally comical result of drastically abbreviating the Alleluarion and its prefatory dialogue between reader and celebrant is that the response to "Peace be to you [the reader]" is no longer generally perceived to be "and to your spirit," but "Alleluia! Alleluia! Alleluia!"<sup>33</sup> Finally, in place of the received repertory of melismatic settings of twenty-two scriptural and two nonscriptural proper communion texts, one may hear seemingly random combinations of hymns from the offices, excerpts of festal psalms from the All-Night Vigil, and paraliturgical songs.<sup>34</sup> The moment of communion has in some Greek churches become effectively an excuse for the performance of a sacred concert related only tangentially to the liturgical action, a stage of disintegration reached approximately two centuries before in Russia with the rise of the sacred Choral Concerto.<sup>35</sup>

#### GREEK ORTHODOX PSALMODY TODAY: REVIVAL AND RESTORATION

Despite differences of detail in liturgical and musical usage, modern Greek Orthodox psalmody has clearly been afflicted by the same problems that Alexander Schmemmann diagnosed in contemporary Russian worship: tokenism, indifference, and ignorance contributing to structural and ultimately spiritual incoherence.<sup>36</sup> Schmemmann's solution to what he called

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Byzantine counterparts is reexamined by James McKinnon, *The Advent Project: The Later-Seventh-Century Creation of the Roman Mass Proper* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 249–79, who suggests that the latter exercised a decisive influence on the former.

<sup>32</sup> See the discussion of this action in the liturgical commentary of the eighth-century patriarch Germanus of Constantinople in Paul Meyendorff, ed. and trans., *On the Divine Liturgy* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1984), 78–81.

<sup>33</sup> This may be seen from the insertion in some modern Greek books of threefold Alleluias after the Apostolic readings of the Royal Hours on Good Friday, for which no Alleluaria are in fact prescribed.

<sup>34</sup> Probably the most common paraliturgical song heard today is the Marian carol "Αγνή Παρθένε" on a text by Saint Nektarios of Aegina (1846–1920) set to music by Fr. Gregorios Simonopetrites (Ψαλτήριον *τεπνόν* [Mount Athos: Holy Monastery of Simonos Petras, 1991], 637–40).

<sup>35</sup> Vladimir Morosan, ed., *One Thousand Years of Russian Church Music* (Monuments of Russian Sacred Music 1/1; Washington, D.C.: Musica Russica, 1991), xlix.

<sup>36</sup> Alexander Schmemmann, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology* (trans. A. E. Moorhouse; 3d ed.; Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1986), 35–39.

“the problem of the Ordo” was the cultivation of a liturgical theology defined as “the systematic study of the *lex orandi* of the Church,”<sup>37</sup> beginning with inquiry into the “concrete data of the living tradition of worship,” followed by investigation of its history and, finally, discernment of its inner meaning.<sup>38</sup> With the benefit of hindsight, we can see that just such a program of study, of which Schmemmann’s own work forms an important part, was undertaken during the twentieth century. Operating in parallel with such other movements as the revival of patristics, it advanced not only on a pan-Orthodox basis but on also an ecumenical one, as liturgiology, historical musicology, patristics, and theology all contributed to progressively fuller understanding of the forms, functions, and meaning of biblical psalmody used in the Christian East over the last two millennia. Recognition of the degree to which later developments have obscured or otherwise altered earlier psalmodic forms has allowed scholars to consider the impact of such changes on particular services and liturgical cycles<sup>39</sup> as well as their relationship to concurrent changes in other elements (e.g., iconography and mystagogy) of Byzantine worship.<sup>40</sup> Viewed within the context of the “eucharistic theologies” advanced by certain modern Orthodox theologians, it becomes apparent that such concerns are ultimately inseparable from the Church’s ecclesiological, social, and cosmological consciousness.<sup>41</sup>

Elegant and inspiring as such holistic theological visions may be, the renewal of psalmody in actual Greek Orthodox worship has proven to be

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>39</sup> In the United States, St. Vladimir’s Seminary (Orthodox Church in America) has been particularly active in this regard. See, e.g., David Drillock, *Orthodox Church Music* (2 vols.; Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1984–85); *idem*, “Liturgical Song in the Worship of the Church,” *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 41 (1997): 183–218; Mark Bailey, “Psalmic Music in Orthodox Liturgy as Foundation, Movement, and Ministry,” *Jacob’s Well* (Spring-Summer, 2000); online at [http://jacwell.org/spring\\_summer2000/psalmic\\_music\\_in\\_orthodox\\_liturg.htm](http://jacwell.org/spring_summer2000/psalmic_music_in_orthodox_liturg.htm).

<sup>40</sup> E.g., Hans-Joachim Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy: Symbolic Structure and Faith Expression* (trans. M. J. O’Connell; New York: Pueblo, 1986); Hugh Wybrew, *The Orthodox Liturgy: The Development of the Eucharistic Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1990).

<sup>41</sup> A classic statement of this is Alexander Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World: Sacraments and Orthodoxy* (4th printing of the rev. 2d ed.; Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1988). See also Metropolitan John of Pergamon Zizioulas, “Συμβολισμός και Ρεαλισμός στην Ὁρθόδοξη λατρεία,” *Σύναξη* 71 (1999): 6–21; David Drillock, “Liturgical Song in the Worship of the Church,” *St. Vladimir’s Theological Quarterly* 41 (1997): 183–218.

a painfully slow process.<sup>42</sup> The decentralized nature of Orthodox church administration, the low level of training (if any) given to most church musicians, and the sheer force of inertia in a church that continues to suffer dissension from a partial shift away from the Julian calendar in the 1920s have until recently precluded the emergence of anything but isolated initiatives. Among the first were efforts to preserve traditional forms of Byzantine psalmody by Konstantinos Psachos (ca. 1866–1949), who vehemently defended the integrity of the received tradition of chanting in the face of Westernization,<sup>43</sup> and the priest George Rigas of Skiathos (1884–1961), a spiritual descendant of the Athonite Kollyvadist movement, which promoted its conservative psalmodic practices as part of a broader effort to encourage fidelity to the traditions enshrined in the *Typikon*.<sup>44</sup>

A similarly preservationist agenda may be observed in the work of Simon Karas (1905–99), a scholar of Greek folk and ecclesiastical music. He taught students at his Society for the Dissemination of National Music strict adherence to the received traditions of chanting, including the singing at communion of only the appointed melismatic verse and the performance of the poetic Praises of Holy Saturday Orthros without, as had unfortunately become customary, omitting the verses of Ps 118. Karas, however, went beyond Psachos and Rigas to embrace mild forms of musical and liturgical restorationism, ranging from the historically informed performance of forgotten psalmodic settings contained in premodern manuscripts to the composition of neomedieval Prokeimena and Alleluaria for the Divine Liturgy. Initially appreciated primarily by a narrow circle of connoisseurs, Karas's work began to circulate more widely in the mid-1970s through gramophone recordings, books, and other publications.<sup>45</sup> During the 1980s and 1990s Karas's ideas achieved even greater

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<sup>42</sup> Cf. Taft's observation ("Sunday in the Byzantine Tradition," in idem, *Beyond East and West*, 47) that the Orthodox are often better at articulating beautiful liturgical ideals than realizing them in practice.

<sup>43</sup> Psachos's work is summarized in Markos Ph. Dragoumis, "Constantinos A. Psachos (1869–1949): A Contribution to the Study of His Life and Work," in *Studies in Eastern Chant* (ed. D. Conomos; Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1990), 5:77–88.

<sup>44</sup> A selection of Kollyvadist melodies from Giorgios Rigas, *Μελωδήματα Σκιάθου* (Athens: n.p., 1958), has recently (2001) been recorded (Ioannis Arvanitis, dir., *Under the Shadow of Mount Athos: Orthodox Hymns from Skiathos Monasteries* [The Hellenic Music Archives CD AEM 019]). *Τύπικον* (Liturgica Vlatadon 1; Thessalonica: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1994) is the imposing result of Rigas's efforts to promote the careful celebration of services.

<sup>45</sup> Especially Simon Karas, *Μέθοδος ἑλληνικῆς μουσικῆς* (8 vols.; Athens: Society for the Dissemination of National Music, 1982–85), and the series of recordings he

currency through the efforts of his students, some of whom assumed prominent cantorial posts, taught in conservatories accredited by the Greek state, published scholarly or pedagogical writings, and founded choirs with international reputations.<sup>46</sup>

The advent of a distinct “Karas school” of chanting was but one of several factors accelerating the renewal of Greek Orthodox psalmody during the last quarter of the twentieth century. Equally important were the concurrent revival of monasticism and the institutionalisation of chant scholarship in Greek universities. Among the first communities to promote the renewal of liturgical psalmody were the Athonite monastery of Simonopetra and its dependent convent of the Annunciation located near Ormylia, Chalkidiki. In addition to running fully staffed choral offices throughout the week, these monasteries have produced—often in cooperation with the Athenian musicologist Gregorios Stathis or the Thessalonian liturgiologist Ioannis Phountoulis—a steady stream of service books, musical settings, and recordings. As with Karas and his school, the members of these monastic communities have generally sought to deepen appreciation of received psalmodic traditions while also seeking to restore certain other ancient customs, most notably through the setting to music of full psalms with Alleluia refrains for use at communion.<sup>47</sup> Other monasteries have since issued recordings and publications in emulation of Simonopetra, but only Vatopaidi on Athos has been comparable in its scholarly ambitions, adopting the Simon Karas model in its entirety and producing a remarkable series of historically informed recordings.<sup>48</sup>

When working within an academic or public (as opposed to a monastic) setting, members of Greece’s first generation of chant scholars with university posts have been far more daring in their attempts to revitalize and restore various psalmodic forms. Antonios Aligyzakes, for example, produced for use in the chapel of the University of Thessalonica a pastorally

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made with the support of the Ford Foundation. The latter are currently being reissued on compact disc by the Society for the Dissemination of National Music.

<sup>46</sup> Lycourgos Angelopoulos (b. 1941), founder of the Greek Byzantine Choir, is but the most prominent example.

<sup>47</sup> Simonopetrites, *Ψαλτήριον τερπνόν*.

<sup>48</sup> The monastery has issued two series of recordings with extensive notes and scores in Byzantine notation: the self-published *Musical Bible* with works by composers from the monastery and a newer series for the University of Crete Press presenting “textbook” versions of Holy Week services. From the latter series, Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi, *Holy Saturday: Service of the Epitaphios*. The Holy Week 6. University of Crete Press CD CUP 26 (1999), is notable for its restoration of psalm verses to the Praises (Engomia) and Alleluiarion of Holy Saturday Orthros.

oriented collection of chants designed to accompany Phountoulis's important series of liturgical texts.<sup>49</sup> Its music for the Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom includes newly composed Alleluias in all eight modes, simpler and less self-consciously neomedieval than those written by Karas, as well as a series of responsorial communion psalms. Even more unusual is its provision of psalmody for such rare services as the Divine Liturgies of the Apostolic Constitutions, Saint Mark, Saint James (both regular and presanctified), as well as the minor cathedral-rite offices of Pannychis and Trithekte. Elaborate settings of the latter two services have been composed by Gregorios Stathis of the University of Athens, whose choir "The Maestors of the Psaltic Art" has participated annually in public celebrations of Pannychis since 1994, and Trithekte—altered from its original Lenten form for performance during Advent, and with the addition of Romanos's Christmas Kontakion—since 1999.<sup>50</sup>

#### THE FRONTIERS OF PSALMODIC RENEWAL

The celebrant at the première of Stathis's setting of Trithekte was His Beatitude Christodoulos, enthroned as Archbishop of Athens and All Greece in 1998. Having publicly advocated the renewal of the Church's psalmodic traditions since at least 1971 (the year he published the first edition of his *Cantor's Handbook: Basic Obligations of the Cantor as a Contribution to the Liturgical Renaissance*<sup>51</sup>), Archbishop Christodoulos now promotes this cause at the highest levels; he commissioned from Stathis a set of Sunday Alleluias,<sup>52</sup> approved the celebration in all churches

<sup>49</sup> Antonios E. Alygizakes, *Μελωδήματα άσκήσεων λειτουργικής* (Thessalonica: Dedouses, 1992).

<sup>50</sup> Grigorios Stathis, *Παννυχίς, ήτοι Νυκτερινή Άσματική Άκολουθία κατά τὸ Βυζαντινὸν Κοσμικὸν Τυπικὸν τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας Ἁγίας Σοφίας* (Athens: Apostolike Diakonia, 1999); idem, *Τριθέκτη, ήτοι Ἁκολουθία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κοσμικοῦ Τυπικοῦ τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας Ἁγίας Σοφίας καὶ τὸ Κοντάκιον τῶν Χριστουγέννων τοῦ Ρωμανοῦ τοῦ Μελῶδοῦ* (Δατρειολογήματα 2; Athens: Institute of Byzantine Musicology, 2000); Pannychis: A Byzantine "Chanted" Office of the Great Church of Saint Sophia (CD Recording with booklet; National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Department of Musical Studies, 2000).

<sup>51</sup> Archbishop Christodoulos (Pareskeviades), *Ἐγχειρίδιον ἱεροψάλτου Βασικαὶ τοῦ ἱεροψάλτου ὑποχρεώσεις ὡς συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν Λειτουργικὴν ἀναγέννησιν* (3d ed.; Athens: Apostolike Diakonia, 2001).

<sup>52</sup> Grigorios Stathis, *Κυριακὰ Ἀλληλουϊάρια τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου διὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς προσφοράς τοῦ θυμιάματος μελιθέντα κατ' ἦχον μετὰ τῶν ἀρμολίων στίχων αὐτῶν παρὰ Γρηγορίου Θ. Στάθη καθηγητοῦ τῆς Βυζαντινῆς Μουσικολογίας καὶ Ψαλτικῆς Τέχνης ἐν τῷ Πανεπιστημίῳ Ἀθηνῶν, τάχα καὶ μαΐστορος, κατ' εἰσήγησιν καὶ*

of Trithekte on the Friday before Christmas,<sup>53</sup> and sponsored a major conference on church music.<sup>54</sup> Although the audience's contributions to the open discussion that followed this conference's concluding round-table demonstrated that a sizable number of Greek cantors are, to say the least, uncomfortable with some recent developments,<sup>55</sup> the continuing appearance of a steady stream of publications pondering even more radical initiatives to renew Greek Orthodox liturgy and its psalmody makes further alterations to received practice seem inevitable.

One particular area of concern that has yet to be addressed significantly in practice is the virtual absence of congregational singing, the promotion of which may require changes to received musical and psalmodic forms.<sup>56</sup> Recognizing this, some authors have turned to the offices of the Constantinopolitan cathedral rite for alternative models.<sup>57</sup> However, a full-scale revival of the old Sung Office, or, indeed, any other such attempt to displace completely the received tradition, is highly unlikely to succeed. Not only would the usual Orthodox patterns of resistance to change make radical reform virtually impossible, but the current mixed rite and its exuberant hymnography remain both popular and spiritually powerful, making the cathedral offices' more restricted offerings of biblical psalmody seem dry in comparison.<sup>58</sup> It therefore seems probable

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εὐλογίαν τοῦ μακαριωτάτου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀθηνῶν καὶ πάσης Ἑλλάδος κυρίου Χριστοδούλου, εἰς ὃν καὶ ἀφιερῶνται προφρόνως τὰ νεωστὶ ποιηθέντα, εἰς ἦχον πλ. β', βαρὺν καὶ πλ. δ', κατὰ τὴν ε' καὶ ζ' τοῦ μηνὸς Φεβρουαρίου τοῦ σωτηρίου ἔτους βα' (Athens: Apostolike Diakonia, 2001).

<sup>53</sup> The encyclical, issued in the name of the Holy Synod of Greece, is reprinted on pages 7–8 of Stathis, *Τριθέκτη*.

<sup>54</sup> Proceedings in Achilles G. Chaldaiakis, ed., *Θεωρία καὶ Πράξη τῆς Ψαλτικῆς Τέχνης· Πρακτικὰ Α' Πανελληνίου Συνεδρίου Ψαλτικῆς Τέχνης* (Ἀθήνα, 3–5 Νοεμβρίου) (Athens: Institute of Byzantine Musicology of the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece, 2001).

<sup>55</sup> Chaldaiakis, *Θεωρία καὶ Πράξη*, 201–15. The round-table is also discussed on pages 119–37 of Philippos Ath. Oikonomou, *Το Νέο «Μουσικό Ζήτημα» στην Ορθόδοξη Εκκλησία* (Eliki, Aegio: n.p., 2002), which is a polemic against the Karas school.

<sup>56</sup> Metropolitan Aimilianos (Timiades) of Selybria has been a particularly harsh critic of the status quo. See Ἄσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ—Σκέψεις γιὰ τὴν ἀναζωπύρωση τῆς θείας λατρείας (Preveza: Holy Metropolis of Nikopolis, 1990); “Ἡ ὕμνολογία ὁμηρος τῆς μουσικῆς,” *Σύναξη* 81 (2002): 5–17.

<sup>57</sup> See the articles by Pinakoulas (48–54) and Balageorgos (55–62) as well as the following discussion (63–69) in *Σύναξη* 71 (1999), an issue devoted to the question “Liturgical Renaissance: Need or Luxury?”

<sup>58</sup> One participant in a “Sung” Vespers reconstructed by the author for celebration in the chapel of St. Peter's College, Oxford, on 26 May 2001, remarked afterwards that he felt it to have been a very “low-church” experience.

that the renewal of psalmody in Greece will continue to follow its current trajectory, emphasizing revitalization of the received tradition and greater respect for its forms of biblical psalmody.

The situation is somewhat different in the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, where some members of the clergy and the laity have also expressed a desire for increased congregational participation. Historical circumstances such as the coincidence of Greek immigration's height in the early twentieth century with the period of Greek music's maximal Westernization,<sup>59</sup> as well as the pressures of assimilation, contributed to the development of a distinctly Greek-American tradition of Orthodox liturgical music.<sup>60</sup> In many American parishes, plainchant—often sung by cantors who have received only limited training in Byzantine music—is used only for offices and weekday services. This is because the Sunday Divine Liturgy has generally become the preserve of mixed choirs with electronic organs, who sing musical settings influenced strongly by Russian and Western prototypes.<sup>61</sup> Most attempts to foster congregational singing in America have therefore not been inspired by the traditions and history of Orthodox psalmody but by Protestant hymnals.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> The Westernization of Greek music, both sacred and secular, during this period is briefly surveyed by Alexander Lingas, "Music," in Speake, *Encyclopedia of Greece and the Hellenic Tradition*, 2:1102.

<sup>60</sup> The development of liturgical music in the United States is surveyed in Frank Desby, "The Growth of Liturgical Music in the Iakovian Era," in *History of the Greek Orthodox Church in America* (ed. M. B. Ephthimiou and G.A. Christopoulos; New York: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, 1984), 303–23; George Raptis, ed., *National Forum of Greek Orthodox Church Musicians Silver Anniversary 1976–2001* (Bloomington, Ind.: National Forum of Greek Orthodox Church Musicians, 2002); and in the booklet to Alexander Lingas, dir., *Tikey Zes: Choral Works*. Cappella Romana. Gagliano GR501-CD (1999), 1–2.

<sup>61</sup> See, e.g., Christos Vrionides, *Byzantine Hymnology: The Divine Services of the Greek Orthodox Church* (2d ed.; repr., Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1980); Pericles P. Phillips, *ΜΕΓΑ ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ ΠΡΩΙ: The Holy Saturday Morning Service* (Junior Choir Series; Denver: Federation of Greek Orthodox Choirs of the Western States—East, 1980); and Frank Desby, ed., *Communion Hymns of the Pentecost Season* (Federation Choral Series; Los Angeles: Greek Sacred and Secular Music Society, 1986).

<sup>62</sup> Tom Pallad, ed., *A Guide to Congregational Singing* (n.p.: National Forum of Greek Orthodox Musicians, 1991). Examples of such hymnals are Ernest A. Villas, *The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom Hymnal: A Hymnal with Texts in Greek, English and English Phonetics* (2d ed.; Brookline, Mass.: Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America Department of Religious Education, 1982); Nicolas E. Maragos, *Holy Cross Liturgical Hymnal: Containing the Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom in Greek and English, the Resurrectional Apolytikia, Hymns*

There are, however, now tentative signs—most visibly the increased space devoted in recent editions of the National Forum of Greek Orthodox Church Musicians' annual *Liturgical Guidebook* to rubrics for psalm verses that were customarily omitted—that a revival of psalmody may also be occurring in the Greek Archdiocese of America. Presently observable trends that would appear to be contributing to the renewal of Greek Orthodox psalmody in North America include greater familiarity with liturgical structures brought about by the use of English in worship, more frequent contact with church musicians from other Orthodox jurisdictions,<sup>63</sup> the recent establishment of a significant number of Greek Orthodox monasteries, and the growing popularity of recordings of chant, especially those featuring adaptations of traditional melodies to English.<sup>64</sup> One should also not discount the missionary zeal of those who have experienced the newly revitalised psalmodic traditions of Greece at first hand. Like the emissaries of Prince Vladimir who wished to recapture the experience of worship at the Constantinopolitan Hagia Sophia in their native Kievan Rus, a small but significant group of American clergy and church musicians are now working hard to restore a sense of heavenly glory to psalmody in their own Greek Orthodox parishes.\*

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*of the Menaion, Hymns of Lent and Easter, Hymns of the Pentecostal Season, the Memorial Service, and the Service of Thanksgiving Following Holy Communion* (Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1988); and Tikey Zes, arr., *The Divine Liturgy Arranged for Congregational Participation* (San Francisco: Diocese of San Francisco, 1984).

<sup>63</sup> Collaborations between musicians of different jurisdictions have occurred at the local level for such events as joint celebrations of Vespers on the Sunday of Orthodoxy. Thanks in part to the recent establishment of the Pan-Orthodox Society for the Advancement of Liturgical Music (PSALM), cross-jurisdictional contacts now also occur frequently at the highest levels. Further particulars are available at PSALM's web site: [www.orthodoxpsalm.org](http://www.orthodoxpsalm.org), which includes a link to its lively listserver.

<sup>64</sup> Recordings made by the Boston Byzantine Choir and the three sisters who form the ensemble EIKONA have circulated widely. Publications of chant in English include *The Divine Liturgy of Our Father among the Saints John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople* (Seattle: St. Nektarios Press, 1982), and *Selected Byzantine Hymns according to the Tradition of the Great Church of Christ, Including Troparia Taken from Vespers, Great Lent, Holy Week, and Pascha, Transcribed from the Chrysanthine Byzantine Notation* (Brookline, Mass.: Holy Transfiguration Monastery, 1986).

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PSALMS IN COMMUNITY  
Jewish and Christian Textual,  
Liturgical, and Artistic Traditions

Edited by  
Harold W. Attridge and Margot E. Fassler

Society of Biblical Literature  
Atlanta

# PSALMS IN COMMUNITY

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## ABBREVIATIONS

### PRIMARY SOURCES

Ambrose

*Expl. Ps.* *Explanatio super psalmos xii / Explanations on Twelve Psalms*

*Hex.* *Hexaemeron libri sex / Six Days of Creation*

Athanasius

*Ep. Marcell.* *Epistula ad Marcellinum de interpretatione Psalmorum / Letter to Marcellinus on the Interpretation of the Psalms*

Athenaeus

*Deipn.* *Deipnosophistae*

Augustine

*Conf.* *Confessionum libri XIII / Confessions*

*Enarrat. Ps.* *Enarrationes in Psalmos / Enarrations on the Psalms*

*Ep.* *Epistulae / Letters*

*Retract.* *Retractationum libri II / Retractations*

*b.*

Babylonian Talmud

Basil of Caesarea

*Ep.* *Epistulae / Letters*

*Ber.*

*Berakot*

Cassiodorus

*Exp. Ps.* *Expositio Psalmorum / Exposition on the Psalms*

Cicero

*De or.* *De oratore / On the Orator*

Clement of Alexandria

*Paed.* *Paedagogus / Christ the Educator*

*Strom.* *Stromateis* *Miscellanies*

Diodore

*Comm. Ps.* *Commentarii in Psalmos / Commentaries on the Psalms*

Dionysius of Halicarnassus

*Rhet.* *Ars rhetorica / The Art of Rhetoric*

Eusebius	
<i>Hist. eccl.</i>	<i>Historia ecclesiastica / Ecclesiastical History</i>
Gregory of Nyssa	
<i>Inscr. Ps.</i>	<i>In inscriptiones Psalmorum / On the Inscriptions of the Psalms</i>
Hilary of Poitiers	
<i>Instr. Ps.</i>	<i>Instructio Psalmorum / Commentary on the Psalms</i>
Horace	
<i>Ars</i>	<i>Ars poetica / The Art of Poetry</i>
Irenaeus	
<i>Haer.</i>	<i>Adversus haereses / Against Heresies</i>
Jerome	
<i>Comm. Ps.</i>	<i>Commentarioli in Psalmos / Notes on the Psalms</i>
<i>Tract. Ps.</i>	<i>Tractatus in Psalmos / Tractates on the Psalms</i>
Josephus	
<i>Ag. Ap.</i>	<i>Contra Apionem / Against Apion</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	<i>Antiquitates judaicae / Jewish Antiquities</i>
<i>J.W.</i>	<i>Bellum judaicum / Jewish War</i>
<i>Let. Aris.</i>	<i>Letter of Aristeas</i>
Longinus	
[ <i>Subl.</i> ]	<i>De sublimitate / On the Sublime</i>
LXX	Septuagint
<i>m.</i>	Mishnah
OG	Old Greek
Origen	
<i>Comm. Jo.</i>	<i>Commentarii in evangelium Joannis / Commentary on the Gospel of John</i>
<i>Or.</i>	<i>De oratione (Peri proseuchēs) / Prayer</i>
<i>Philoc.</i>	<i>Philocalia / Love of the Beautiful</i>
<i>Princ.</i>	<i>De principiis (Peri archōn) / First Principles</i>
<i>Pesah̄.</i>	<i>Pesah̄im</i>
Philo	
<i>Aet.</i>	<i>De aeternitate mundi / On the Eternity of the World</i>
<i>Agr.</i>	<i>De agricultura / On Agriculture</i>
<i>Cher.</i>	<i>De cherubim / On the Cherubim</i>
<i>Congr.</i>	<i>De congressu eruditionis gratia / On the Preliminary Studies</i>
<i>Contempl.</i>	<i>De vita contemplativa / On the Contemplative Life</i>
<i>Ebr.</i>	<i>De ebrietate / On Drunkenness</i>
<i>Flacc.</i>	<i>In Flaccum / Against Flaccus</i>
<i>Leg.</i>	<i>Legum allegoriae / Allegorical Interpretation</i>
<i>Mos.</i>	<i>De vita Mosis / On the Life of Moses</i>
<i>Plant.</i>	<i>De plantatione / On Planting</i>

<i>Prob.</i>	<i>Quod omnis probus liber sit / That Every Good Person Is Free</i>
<i>Sobr.</i>	<i>De sobrietate / On Sobriety</i>
<i>Somn.</i>	<i>De somniis / On Dreams</i>
<i>Spec.</i>	<i>De specialibus legibus / On the Special Laws</i>
Plato	
<i>Resp.</i>	<i>Respublica / Republic</i>
Quintilian	
<i>Inst.</i>	<i>Institutio oratoria / The Orator's Education</i>
SRA	<i>Seder Rav Amram</i>
Sextus Empiricus	
<i>Math.</i>	<i>Adversus mathematicos / Against the Mathematicians</i>
<i>Sop.</i>	<i>Sopherim</i>
<i>t.</i>	Tosefta
<i>Ta'an.</i>	<i>Ta'anit</i>
Tertullian	
<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologeticus / Apology</i>
<i>Marc.</i>	<i>Adversus Marcionem / Against Marcion</i>
<i>Or.</i>	<i>De oratione / Prayer</i>

## SECONDARY SOURCES

AB	Anchor Bible
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
ACW	Ancient Christian Writers
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
<i>AHR</i>	<i>American Historical Review</i>
ASOR	American Schools of Oriental Research
<i>BBR</i>	<i>Bulletin of Biblical Research</i>
BEL.S	Bibliotheca "Ephemerides liturgicae," Subsidia
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
<i>BHG</i>	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca</i> . Edited by François Halkin. Brussels: Société des ballandistes, 1969.
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BJs	Brown Judaic Studies
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
BZNW	Beihefte zur neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum: Series graeca. Turnhout, 1977–
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum: Series latina. Turnhout, 1953–.
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum



CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium. Edited by I. B. Chabot et al. Paris, 1903–.
CSEL	Corpus scriptorum ecclesiastorum latinorum
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et liturgie</i> . Edited by F. Cabrol. 15 vols. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907–1953.
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
EncJud	<i>Encyclopedia Judaica</i> . 13 vols. Jerusalem: Keter, 1971.
FC	Fathers of the Church
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GCS	Die griechische christliche Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte
Hen	<i>Henoch</i>
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
Int	<i>Interpretation</i>
JE	<i>The Jewish Encyclopedia</i> . Edited by I. Singer. 12 vols. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1901–6.
J ECS	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
JSNT	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JSSSup	Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement
LCC	Library of Christian Classics
LQ	<i>Lutheran Quarterly</i>
LQF	Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen
MECL	<i>Music in Early Christian Literature</i> . Edited by J. McKinnon. Cambridge Readings in the Literature of Music. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
MGWJ	<i>Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums</i>
MMB	Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae
Mus	<i>Muséon: Revue d'études orientales</i>
Neot	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version

<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>OCA</i>	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
<i>OCD</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> . 2d ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1970.
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia christiana periodica</i>
<i>OPA</i>	<i>Les oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrine</i> . Edited by R. Arnaldez, J. Pouilloux, and C. Montdésert. 36 vols. in 35. Paris: Cerf, 1961–92.
<i>OrChr</i>	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>
<i>OTP</i>	<i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . Edited by J. H. Charlesworth. 2 vols.; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983–85.
<i>OTS</i>	Old Testament Studies
<i>PG</i>	Patrologia graeca [= Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 162 vols. Paris: Migne, 1857–86.
<i>PL</i>	Patrologia latina [= Patrologiae cursus completus: Series latina]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 217 vols. Paris: Migne, 1844–64.
<i>PO</i>	Patrologiae orientalis
<i>RBén</i>	<i>Revue bénédictine</i>
<i>REAug</i>	<i>Revue des études augustinienes</i>
<i>Res</i>	<i>Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics</i>
<i>RevExp</i>	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
<i>RTAM</i>	<i>Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale</i>
<i>SBLDS</i>	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
<i>SBLMS</i>	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
<i>SBLTT</i>	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
<i>SC</i>	Sources chrétiennes. Paris: Cerf. 1943–.
<i>SJ</i>	Studia Judaica
<i>Spec</i>	<i>Speculum</i>
<i>TDNT</i>	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976.
<i>TQ</i>	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
<i>TRE</i>	<i>Theologische Realenzyklopädie</i> . Edited by G. Krause and G. Müller. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977–.
<i>TU</i>	Texte und Untersuchungen
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>VTSup</i>	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
<i>WUNT</i>	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZNW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche</i>
<i>ZTK</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>