MUSIC AND LITURGY IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY

by

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I declare that

"MUSIC AND LITURGY IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY" is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Old Testament, New Testament and Apocrypha

Gen – Genesis
Ex – Exodus
Lev – Levite
Num – Numbers
Deut – Deuteronomy
Josh – Joshua
Jdg – Judges
1 Sam – 1 Samuel
2 Sam – 2 Samuel
2 Kgs – 2 Kings
1 Chr – 1 Chronicles
2 Chr – 2 Chronicles
Ezr – Ezra
Neh – Nehemiah
Ps – Psalms
Pr – Proverbs
Isa – Isaiah
Jer – Jeremiah
Dan – Daniel
Am – Amos

Mt – Matthew
Mk – Mark
Lk – Luke
Jn – John
Ac – Acts
Rom – Romans
1 Cor – 1 Corinthians
2 Cor – 2 Corinthians
Eph – Ephesians
Col – Colossians
1 Th – 1 Thessalonians
2 Th – 2 Thessalonians
1 Tim – 1 Timothy
2 Tim – 2 Timothy
Heb – Hebrews
Ja – James
1 Pet – 1 Peter
1 Jn – 1 John
Rev – Revelation
Sir – Sirach (Ecclesiasticus)

General Abbreviations

c. – century
cf. – compare
ed. - editor
e.g. – for example
etc. – and so on
ibid. – in the same book
i.e. – that is
ASV – American Standard Version
KJV – King James Version
LXX – Septuagint
NIV – New International Version
RSV – Revised Standard Version

The goal for this dissertation was to research the music in liturgy and daily life of early Christians (of the first two centuries AD) and to reveal the main factors affecting the formation of music and liturgy in the early church. Therefore the music backgrounds of the early Christians (the Jewish and Hellenistic music cultures) together with the evidences from early Christian literature (New Testament and some of the Church Fathers) have been examined. On the strength of the investigations done, the author concludes that Christianity inherited musical traditions first of all from Judaism, and later on, as it was extended to the entire Roman Empire, it was influenced by Hellenism as well.

Consequently, there was not a united form of worship in early Christian church, and from the very beginning the music of different communities could vary depending on their cultural backgrounds. Thus, music life of Jewish Christianity differed from the churches consisting mainly of Christians from the Gentiles.

10 key terms

Ancient musical instruments

Early Christian music

Ethos

Hymn

Jewish religious music

Liturgy

Pagan music

Psalm

Spiritual song

Therapeuts

INTRODUCTION

One of the essential characteristics of the church life nowadays is worship practice. Everyone is aware of the fact that, along with doctrinal disagreements, differences in differing styles of church services lead to divisions. Like it or not, church music is one of the important elements of worship, and plays a sometimes crucial role in this respect. However, traditionally, little attention is paid to this problem in studies of the history of the Christianity, in particular when studying the background of the New Testament. If we observe the works of theologians and historians who investigated these issues, we find very little exhaustive information in any of them. The question of music is frequently left aside for experts: art or music critics, and in case of ancient music – archeologists. This is completely understandable, however there is still room for a theologian who is not an art critic, to "intrude" into this area of culture – the arena of music. The motivation for theologians to concern themselves with music is rooted in people's inalterable tendency to worship God in singing. The historic evidence that music, as a Christian worship form, has been the second most debated point after doctrinal problems – could be a sufficient reason for a theologian to pay more attention to this important topic.

For example, Dann remarks that "to an Orthodox person, his or her "Orthodoxy" manifests itself not so much in the doctrine, as in the form of worship" – praising God correctly (1997:161). Thus, the forms of worship (liturgy) are not only aimed at the parishioners themselves. They also play an identifying role for the people around (this may have been what the Apostle Paul was indicating in 1 Cor 14: 23, 40).

As regards to doctrine, the words of the music carried the weight of doctrinal expression and thus conveyed dogma, both true and false. Take, for instance, the Christian hymn; depending on the words, it can sometimes be also classified as musical performance of the creed (cf. Wainwright 1984:183). For example, 1 Tim 3:16, which is defined by modern scholars as a hymn, could well have been used in the early church as a statement of faith. Likewise the Naasseni – a Gnostic group that clashed with Hyppolytus, the elder of the Church in Rome (170-236 AD), – used music not only for worship, but also for professing their heretical teaching. As Hyppolytus writes in *The Refutation of all Heresies* (V, 5), they composed a psalm to celebrate "all the mysteries of the error (advanced by) them in a hymn".

Thus, song texts have always been an extremely important aspect of the music of the Church – but it should be added – not the only one. In any case, most arguments arose not over the messages of songs (eventually, it was all the same regulated by the results of drawing-up uniform creeds), but rather over the musical forms; which musical instruments to use, polyphonic singing, and dancing. The diversity of opinions in the Church concerning the acceptability of this or that

musical form has been mostly tied to the fact that the New Testament – the most authoritative source to the Christian – does not contain any definite regulations on that score. So, there is no solid ground here for those who long to copy the model of the early church and transfer it into today's world. All one can do when pondering the terse statements regarding music in the New Testament, is to realize that man's emotional need to express his feelings of being delighted with God, his desire to praise the Lord in music under the most diverse circumstances, existed in those distant days, too. But it is quite problematical to draw from the New Testament concrete conclusions regarding what music was like in the early Christian communities.

The history of the development of Christian music can be divided into three major stages. The first stage took place during the first and second centuries, when the worship structure had not yet been fixed; the second stage – from the late second to the early fourth century – the formation of new kinds of church music; the third stage – beginning from the fourth century and following – synthesizing and "summing-up" the forms already in existence, transitioning to professionalism. The first and second centuries, which happen to be the focus of this research, are the most difficult to study. Christian music is not mentioned much during this period of time, other than brief references in the New Testament. This is all the more surprising when one considers that this was a time when Hellenistic musical and literary life is dotted with musical events and debates on the topic of music. Consequently, the music of pre-Constantinian Christianity still remains a blank space in the history of the Christian Church.

It is indisputable that during the era of the birth and spreading of the new doctrine, the most important thing for Christians was to announce its essence – Jesus Christ. As E. Hertsman writes (1999:265), Christian authors of the New Testament longed to elucidate topics and problems global to the new religion, and had no opportunity to pay attention to such secondary details of life as music. Besides, it can be surmised that Christianity, which had arisen from the cradle of Judaism, did not differ at first, more than likely, from the synagogue in its musical forms of worship (Martin 1974:18, also Wilson-Dickson 2001:27). That's why it did not require any special attention – Christians followed the same musical traditions as the Jews: they met for some time in the Temple, as it is described in the Book of Acts (Ac 2:46, 3:1, 6:42), in homes (Ac 6:42), attended the synagogue, and if they were expelled, had their assemblies separately from the Jews (Ac 19:9). It is, however, worth noting that these two most widespread arguments are not sufficient to explain the reason for the "silence" the New Testament keeps. Firstly, in view of importance of the given question, as it has already been said, secondly, because it can be seen at the pages of the New Testament itself that Gentiles – inhabitants of different regions and provinces of the Roman Empire – were brought to God by the Good News preached to all people. Although the synagogal way of worshipping was familiar to most of them (so-called "God-fearing" Greeks – Ac 17:17), for they

joined the Christians after they had heard the apostles' message at synagogue (Ac 13:42, 43; 14:1; 17:1-4), there was a good deal of extreme pagans as well. That follows from the incident in Lystra, when Barnabas was mistaken for Zeus, and Paul was given the name of Hermes (Ac 14:12), or from the requirements imposed on Gentiles after they had come to Christ (Ac 15:29). Thus, if a church appeared independently from a synagogue, and its congregation consisted only of those who were not familiar with Jewish rituals, they could shape a worship model of their own.

It is clear that the cultural aspects of the believers were reflected in the life of the early Christian communities. And music, as a consistuent element of the culture (as well as language, clothes, architecture and etc.) and liturgy in communities of the New Testament times were formed also from their cultural background. Therefore we can assert that **there wasn't a united form of worship in early Christian church: the music and liturgy of Jewish Christianity in Judea and the Diaspora differed from Jewish-Hellenistic Christianity as well as from the churches consisting mainly of Christians from pagan backgrounds. However, following the chronological line of the birth of Christian communities, one might say, that Christianity, born in Jerusalem, inherited music traditions first of all from Judaism, and later on, as it was extended to the entire Roman Empire, it was influenced by Hellenism as well.**

Thus, in order to investigate the music and liturgy of early Christianity, the researcher prefers to examine first of all the main features of Jewish music. Therefore in Chapter 1 the musical foundations of Judaism with its musical instruments and Jewish views on music will be presented. For the purpose of investigation, the researcher will discuss the music traditions of the Palestinian and Diaspora Jews, music and liturgical customs of the two main religious institutes – the Temple and synagogue – in their historical formation and their presence in the New Testament times; the music life of Jewish sects (the sect of Therapeuts in particular) will also be discussed. In Chapter 2 a survey of the main music traditions of Hellenistic culture will be made. The researcher will try to show the role of music in the life of the Gentiles – its connection with pagan religion, with the science and ethics, its part in the entertainment life of people belonging to Hellenism. The difference between the role music played in Judaism and the role music played in Hellenism will be noted. Chapter 3 is dedicated to the evidences in early Christian literature concerning the music of Christians. A survey of the texts from the New Testament, connected with the theme of music, with more thorough analysis of the most remarkable New Testament evidences on the given topic (Eph 5:18-21 and Col 3:16-17) will be done. And in this chapter, while examining the New Testament descriptions of the early Christian music and liturgy (with the references to the writings of the Fathers of the Church), an attempt will be made to see if there were any cultural aspects in the descriptions. On the strength of the investigations done, basic conclusions concerning the main factors affecting the formation of music and liturgy in the early church will be presented.

Before moving on, it is necessary to note that the task set before the writer of the present work is not to picture the order of worship service in the early church or to reconstruct the music itself. As it has been already remarked, there is not enough sources to do this – the earliest Christian hymn that was notated (from Oxyrhynchos Papyrus XV 1786) dates from the third century. As for the former, it is impossible because of the specificity of the period studied – we have no information of the structures of worship services during this time. Besides, the limited scope of this work does not allow the researcher to examine the liturgy in detail, in the sense of the performance of the sacraments. Hence, liturgy, in this work, will be covered exclusively with respect to the *order of service* and its connections to music.

1 JEWISH MUSIC

There is no reason to doubt that the church born in Jerusalem inherited the features of worship, typical of the Jews. This is directly and indirectly testified both "from outside" and "from inside". The early followers of Christ were classified as the sect of the Nazarenes (Ac 24:5). That means that the early Christian community was perceived by the people around as a trend in Judaism (cf. Martin 1974:18), because the very word αἵρεσις (a sect, faction) was also used in regard to the parties of the Sadducees and the Pharisees (Ac 26:5). Those who believed that the Messiah had come, that he had been crucified and raised, kept attending the Temple in Jerusalem for a certain time (Ac 3:1) or synagogues far from the center of the Judaism (Ac 17:1-2, 10-11). The past of the early Disciples of Christ was closely connected with the Jewish traditions, and their faith was the fulfillment of the Old Testament aspirations and, therefore, an organic continuation of the past. That's why, when there still arose a persecution on the part of the Jews and the Christians had to meet separately (Ac 19:9), they had no need to invent any new forms of worship. According to this fact the first thing is to do in defining the source of Christian music is to consider two basic "institutions" in the Jewish worship, as they existed in the first century AD, - the synagogue and the Temple, which remained the main religious center of the Judaic religion up to the moment of its destruction in 70 AD.

But what does it mean – to describe musical traditions of the Judaic temple, if not to have a look into the history of the old Jewish nation and not examine the basics of Jewish music preserved on the pages of the Old Testament? Although the completed form of the temple music falls on the time after the captivity (cf. Harrison 1991:990), traditions of the temple liturgy that had been laid in the early monarchy age remained practically unchanged owning to the Jewish scrupulousness in observance of traditions. Neither the destruction of the Temple, nor the long stay in captivity broke the musical originality of the Jews. After the days of decline, music in the traditions of David and Solomon was revived and sounded again (Sachs 1937:86). Thus resting on the fact that music directives of the *Tenakh* books were nearly fundamental for Jews (Kolyada 1999:4), one can conclude that the job of contemporary scholar, who makes an attempt to penetrate into the details of history, becomes easier. It seems that all that needs to be done is to consider what the Old Testament speaks about Jewish music. However, it is essential to point out at some hardship and limitations of the present research. For instance, the Old Testament music to a greater extent is instrumental but nowadays it is difficult to define some of the instruments mentioned in the Bible on account of its further evolution and some inaccuracies in translations. It becomes more complex to say anything concerning melodies or the sounds of the music since the music system never reached the present days, moreover there is no any information on whether the Hebrews had a

system of notation at all. The supposition that the signs of stress (accents) in text of Hebrew Bible (particularly the book of Psalms – *Tehelim*) were sort of "music" record, has not found consolidation in opinion because of its later appearance (LaSor 1982:530; Stradling & Kitchen, 1997:789).

As for other sources outside the Bible, containing certain information concerning the Jewish music, it can be added a brief, but expressive description of the temple service, for example, in *The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach* (Sir 50). This book falls under the category of apocryphal literature and dates from 190 – 175 BC Josephus Flavius (37 – 120 AD), the historian of the Judaism, in his work *The Antiquities of the Jews* left us a detailed description of some instruments that were in use in the days of David and Solomon, evidently, some of these instruments were still existing in his lifetime. Another source, containing a lot of material on the topic we are researching into, is, of course, the *Talmud* and later rabbinical literature.

Although the *Talmud* is not considered by all scholars to be a trustworthy post-biblical source, as the historic retrospective in them, in spite of stability of Jewish traditions, could still be distorted because of the later time of their fixation. For example, the Palestinian or Jerusalem *Talmud* was compiled in the early fifth, and the Babylonian *Talmud* – in the early sixth century. Its basic part, the *Mishnah* (the collection of the oral law), started to take shape as early as in the first century and was finished in the late second century by Rabbi Judah. This book includes certain treatises on the Temple, festivals and even on instruments (e.g. *Arakhin*, *Tamid* and *Middot* from the section *Kodashim* – "Holy things"; *Sukkah* and *Rosh Hashanah* from *Moed* – "Appointed times"). However, not all scholars share the opinion that the *Talmud* renders the living musical practice of the Jewish nation that took place during the last decades of the second Temple (cf. Kolyada 1999:4). On the contrary, the scholars are inclined to think that the *Mishnah*'s detailed descriptions of the temple service are an idealized picture (cf. Neusner, Green 1999:387), and in general, the literature referred to (no older than the second AD) requires a thorough comparison with other sources (cf. Ferguson 1990:391, 392).

Besides the research on the Temple and synagogue music (which the evidences about are more vague) there attention should be also paid to another aspect. As it is well known, the process of hellenization (from the late fourth c. BC), a consequence of Alexander the Great's conquests and policies, did not pass over the Jews but resulted mostly in their spiritual estrangement (Levek 1989:41) and gave rise to different sects on the ground of Judaism. Owning to the description of one of them – the sect of "Therapeuts" – stated in the apologetic work of Philo of Alexandria (*On the contemplative Life*) – we may speak not only about the synagogue music in particular but about music Jewish customs in general.

Hence, bearing in mind everything noted above, we have to discuss in this chapter the main music traditions of both Palestinian and Diaspora Jews. But before we get over to the description of this kind of music, let us pay some attention to the basic features of Jewish music: its origins, musical instruments and the process of development of the Israeli nation's musical culture. That is necessary both for a better understanding of the whole heritage of Jewish music left to the Christians and for a further analysis and comparison of the two musical "civilizations", which got eventually under one roof of Christianity.

1.1 The Musical Basis of Judaism

It may be well said that the Jewish national musical culture was shaped no earlier than the Israelites got freedom from slavery and received the Law through Moses. As for their religious music, its formation falls on a still later period, after King David undertook attempts to introduce an order into the levitical musical service. We do not find in the Bible any information about the developed musical culture of Abraham's descendants before the time specified, and if there are some mentions of music and musical instruments, they testify rather to the fact that the Jews adopted the music of the nations around them. The greatest was evidently the influence of the Egyptian traditions, which afterwards became a reason for Church Fathers Theodoret and Chrysostom to criticize the cult of the Jews[1]. The generations brought up in that country couldn't avoid imbibing its culture. Remember that when Joseph was burying his father the mourning for him was made according to the Egyptian traditions (Gen 50:11 – the Canaanites who witnessed the funeral procession, delineated it as "a grievous mourning of the Egyptians). Philo was of the same opinion when writing that Moses adopted the Egyptians' rhythm, harmony and everything connected with instrumental music (Philo, *De vita Moysis* I 23)[2], beside the arts of computation and geometry (measuring land). Even the Jews' idea of the proper way to worship was originally under the Egyptian influence. That revealed itself at the moment of worshipping the golden calf, when the Jews delivered from the Egyptian captivity were dancing and singing before their hand-made god like the Egyptians (Ex 32:18, 19)[3]. But as the religious music was regulated, this continuity was broken and here it can be boldly spoken of originality of the Palestinian Jews' music, which only retained some traces of foreign influences in names of some instruments.

In general, the topic of musical instruments used in the Temple requires a particularly thorough study. On the one hand, the musical instruments of the ancient music is the most "tangible" area to the modern researcher, because, unlike so ephemeral a matter as sounding music,

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[1]Theodoret, *Graecorum affectionum curatio* 7, 16; *In Ps 150*; Chrysostom, *Homil. in Ps 150* - are cited as an example by Quasten, 1983: 100, 101.
[2] Cited from Quasten 1983:101-102, who quotes the whole paragraph in Greek.
[3] Also Philo, *De specialibus legibus* (III 125) – from Quasten 1983:102.

it has come down to us thanks to archeological finds[4] and some descriptions in literary monuments. But, on the other side, there is a difficulty here in defining some of them, too, due to contradictions in these descriptions. Unfortunately, in this work there is no opportunity to examine the problem of identifying ancient musical instruments. In order to avoid the muddle in translating the instruments mentioned in the Bible that we can come across, the author of the present work preferred to call them the way they would be called in Hebrew, only indicating their equivalents in English (see also Appendix 1, *Table of musical instruments*).

So, let us examine at least some of the broad spectrum of instruments mentioned in the Old Testament.

1.1.1 The musical instruments

1.1.1.1 Wind instruments

The oldest wind instrument the Jews knew was the *shofar.* Its name comes from the Akkadian *shapparu*, which means "a wild goat". This instrument that has come down to us practically with no changes, occurs in the Scripture most frequently. The earliest type was manufactured out of the ram's horn, but in the Second Temple age – out of horns of the wild goat and the antelope. Traditionally the *shofar* is considered to be a musical instrument, despite the fact that it was used exceptionally for giving signals to warn of a danger or to notify about the beginning of a war, to call to worship, to announce the year of jubilee (Lev 25: 9,10) or to declare a festival – *Rosh Hashanah* (the New Year) and *Yom Kippur* (the Day of Atonement). In modern versions, *shofar* is most frequently translated as *trumpet of ram's horn* or just *trumpet* (Josh 6:4, 5).

The word *trumpet*, not very correct to translate *shofar,* can denote (in ASV, RSV, NIV) three other instruments: *h^{a}sos^{e}ra, yobel* and *qeren*. The word *qeren* appears in the Hebrew Bible usually in regard to a horn of an animal, for example, of a goat. On the strength of some Old Testament Scriptures we can draw the conclusion that *shofar* and *qeren* had the same meaning in the early Hebrew language. In the Book of Joshua 6:4,5, where the events of capturing Jericho are described, these two words are interchangeable (Mitchell). And in the later rabbinical literature there takes place an assimilation of *shofar* and *h^{a}sos^{e}ra* (possibly, because after the Second Temple was destroyed the *shofar takes up the "duties" of the h^{a}sos^{e}ra* – Kolyada1999:7). The thorough description of using *h^{a}sos^{e}ra* – the trumpet made of hammered silver – is found in the book of Numbers (10:1-10). Josephus Flavius provides a detailed description of the *h^{a}sos^{e}ra*: it is a little less than a cubit long, consists of a narrow pipe, an end of which has the form of a bell like an ordinary

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[4] An article *The Finds That Could Not Be* written by B.Bayer introduces some of rich archeological materials- more than three hundred remains of actual instruments found on territory of ancient Israel.

trumpet, it's a bit thicker than a flute, with a large mouthpiece (*Antiquities* III, 12:6). On the Arch of Titus in Rome two of this instrument alike with other spoils taken from the Temple in Jerusalem are depicted in the relief of the triumphal procession, and three the length of the instruments is about 3ft 7 in or 1.10m (cf. Bayer 1982:28). As Mitchell writes, this instrument was thought to be one of the most important instruments and was very special to the people of Israel: its sound symbolized the connection between God and the Jewish nation. But the same is true to *h^{a}sos^{e}ra* – in Numbers 10: 9, 10 it is shown that one of the functions of these silver trumpets was to remind before the Lord about the people of Israel whether during the battles, when the enemies were oppressing them, or during brining burn and fellowship offerings.

Even though the trumpets had not being employed by Christians in their religious practice, it is obvious that the idea of the trumpet associated with God was derived from the Old Testament. In the New Testament about twelve times, and nine of them are in the texts of eschatology (Mt 24:31; 1 Cor 5:52; 1 Th 4:16; Rev 1:10; 4:1; 8:2, 6, 13; 9:14; (18:22)).

Besides the "signal" winds, there were instruments in Israel, which emitted sounds pleasant to the ear. Akkadian monuments mention the *halhallatu* or "the double reed-pipe". In Israel it was known as *halil* (*flutes* - см. Jdg 5:16; 1Sa 10:5; Dan 3:5); it was, evidently, an analogue of the Greek *aulos* (LXX). The simplest *halil* was usually manufactured out of reeds or wood, although during the excavations in Ur a beautiful silver specimen was found. By the age of the monarchy "the double reed-pipe" was rather widespread in Israel, and usually it was provided with a reed mouthpiece. Here it can be mentioned that to translate this instrument as *flute* is not correct, because it had the form of doubled oboe (Sachs 1937:85). Obviously, the instrument had an Egyptian origin, as it was popular as early as in the Old and Middle Kingdom ages in the Ancient Egypt, where it was used exceptionally for lay purposes (on the occasions of festivals, fun, sorrow). Some scholars believe, on the strength of the Talmud, that the *halil* was one of the Temple instruments (Kolyada 1999:7), others, however, hold that, at any rate, in the first Temple the *halil* was not accepted for the Temple music, but remained a folk instrument and served to express a great joy or a violent sorrow (Sachs 1937:85). It can be definitely said that in the New Testament age the *halil* was played both during merry-making (Mt 11:16), and at funerals (Mt 9:23)[5]. In the book of *Mishnah* it is said (*Ketubot* 4:4G) that, according to the Jewish custom, the poorest man had to hire at least two flutes ("halil-players") to bury his wife.

One of the earliest instruments mentioned in the Bible (Gen 4:21), which was used by shepherds, is the *ugab* (flute). A later form of this instrument is possibly represented by the *mashroqi* (occurs in the Bible only in the Book of Daniel – Dan 3:5, 7, 15). Evidently, in the

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[5] This verse describes the scene, when of Jesus came to the house of "a ruler", whose daughter had died, and saw "*aulos* players".

antiquity *ugab* meant a simple linear flute, with no mouthpiece. Due to the Septuagint version, the Old Testament instrument *ugab* began to be identified afterwards with the Greek *hidraulis* – the water organ, too. Some scholars say that the mention of the *hidraulis* in connection with the Temple service (for example, in Ps 150:4), is a "crying case", because an alien heathen instrument could not penetrate into the Temple (Kolyada 1999:9).

1.1.1.2 Stringed instruments

In Israel, the stringed instrument resembling the lyre was called *kinnor* (*harp* – the ten-stringed lyre). This instrument was, evidently, of the Syrian origin (Sachs 1937:79-80). Let's recall that it is mentioned in Gen 31:27, in the story of Jacob's flight, with all his possessions, from the house of Laban, a Syrian, and where Laban laments the fact that he could not see off Jacob and his daughters with music of the *kinnor* and the *toph*. The *kinnor* was used in Israel both for sacred and lay purposes. The Babylonian *qatros* (zither, c LXX – *kitharis*) and *sabb^{e}ka* (lyre, c LXX – *sambuke*) (Dan 3:5, 7, 10, 15) belong, obviously, to the last modifications of the *kinnor*.

The *nebel* (KJV – psaltery) (Ps 81:2; 92:3) is, in all probability, an analogue of the ancient harp in the Hebrew Bible. The number of the *nebel*'s strings altered from three to twenty, as with the lyre (Josephus Flavius mentions 12 strings - *Antiquities*, VII, 12:3). Unlike the *kinnor*, which suggested the elegant Greek kithara and had a straight, smoothly outlined trunk, the *nebel* made an impression of a "big-bellied vessel" (*nable*) – that was the way the wide bows, which ran into a very convex resonance box, looked (Sachs 1937:84). In NIV the *nebel* is translated as lyres, and the *kinnor* – as harp (which is vice versa to the proper meaning). In general, harps in Egypt were immediately linked with the cult of gods (Sachs 1937:53-54), which told even on the appearance of the instrument. The supporting part of the Egyptian harp was shaped like an Isis's knot or an Osiris's symbol, and the harp itself was usually decorated with a head of a sphinx, an ibis, the goddess of justice, the Pharaoh or merely with a lotus flower – the symbol of the Nile. In the later age, sculptural adornments of the harp like these turned into formal symbols, but formerly they indicated the harp's basic earmarking. It is possible that the harp could not spread in Israel widely in the form it used to have in Egypt, that's why there it got a new "shape" of a "big-bellied vessel".

There are some more stringed instruments known to the Jews. Their names are of Greek origin: *qateros* (zither), *sabb^{e}ka* (lyre) and *p^{e}santerin* (harp). These instruments are mentioned in the Book of Daniel (3:5) in connection with the Babylonian culture. There is an opinion that the Greek names of the instruments indicate the Maccabean age as the writing time of the Book of Daniel. However, it should be considered that, firstly, some Greek colonies existed in Egypt as early as by the middle of the seventh c. BC, and, secondly, Greek mercenaries took part in the battle at Carchemish in 605 BC on the part of both the Egyptian, and the Babylonian armies (Harrison

1991:1126). Thus, we can speak of the penetration of the Greek culture to the Middle East long before the neo-Babylonian age. The instruments themselves could be of Mesopotamian origin, and the *qateros* was one of the many Asiatic forerunners of the classic Greek kithara. The *qateros* was used exceptionally for having pleasure and fun, that's why, as Harrison puts it, it was very relevant to the picture of Nebuchadnezzar's feast (1991:1126).

As for the p^{e}*santerin*, a variety of the harp, was widespread in the eastern Mediterranean culture, and s*abb^{e}ka*, which resembled the Akkadians' seven-stringed lyre or sprang from it, had later a bad name among the Greeks (*sambuke*), as an instrument played by vulgar musicians and prostitutes, and, therefore, was, actually, rejected even by the heathen.

1.1.1.3 Percussion instruments

It is not known, whether the Jewish music was played in Egypt, as the whole people of Israel was moaning in the Egyptian captivity, but we do know that after the miraculous deliverance from the Pharaoh's troops at the Red Sea Miriam the prophetess, together with other women, sings a song to the sounds of the (tambourine) (Ex 15:20) – an instrument that was widely spread in the territory from Mesopotamia to Egypt as early as in the middle of the second millennium BC.[6] And, as that is the earliest testimony of glorifying God in a song by all the Israelites, it may be thought that it is from the song to the *toph* accompaniment that the development of Jewish "spiritual" music begins.

As we know, the ancient nations' music was often an organic blend of singing and dancing, the rhythm of which was beaten by percussion instruments, and it can be noticed that often percussions were women's attribute. For example, just like the women were beating tambourines at the Red Sea, the Israeli women were meeting, with singing and dancing to the accompaniment of the *toph* and the *schalischim* (LXX – *kymbala*), David, as he was coming back after his victory over the Philistines (1 Sam 18:6).

The schalischim, of the Syrian origin, looked like small clinging plates fastened to the dancers' fingers. Beside the *toph* and the *schalischim,* there existed also the *m^{e}siltayim* (cymbals) – bronze plates and the *m^{e}na'anim* (sistrum) (2 Sam 6:5). The latter instrument was, evidently, shaped like metal sticks, with round plates fastened to them, and resembled the Egyptian *kemkem* – the sistrum, which frequently occurs in the Egyptian painting was used in the Isis and Hathor cults (Sachs 1937:86; Quasten 1983:65). This instrument seems to have been widespread in the Middle East: during the archeological excavations in Bethel (in 1937), a sistrum was found, which is

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[6] Quasten is inclined to think that this instrument, which had an appearance of "a hoop of bells over which a white skin was stretched", was taken (copied) from Egypt (1983:65).

believed to date from the pre-Israelite period. David is also thought to have played the sistrum (2 Sam 6:5) (Harrison 1991:988).

1.1.2 Musical "views" of the Jews

It is interesting that Moses, who adopted, in Philo's opinion, the Egyptians' musical art, did not inherit the Egyptian idea of the divine origin of the art of music (that was believed in Egypt to be created by Isis, Osiris and Thoth). On the contrary, he linked its birth with usual human crafts and definitely gave to understand, in the Book of Genesis (4:21), that the author of musical instruments is the man. Thus, Jubal is said to be the father of all the skilful at playing the *kinnor* and the *ugab* (the harp and the flute). Of course, the terseness of the verse, and above all, the absence of any further references in the Bible, doesn't let us draw better-founded conclusions, but there are two ways to interpret this verse. On the one hand, we can assert that, as Jubal's brother was engaged in stockbreeding, the birth of the earliest musical instruments is connected with shepherd's work. (Harckavy & Katsenelson 1991:370). On the other hand, if we take into consideration, firstly, Jubal's genealogy (he belonged to the line of Cain, not of the righteous Seth), secondly, the atmosphere of the people's defection from God, and, thirdly, some later statements concerning Jubal's music, which, however, obviously reflect an existing opinion, we can say that the origin of musical instruments had "pagan" roots. For example, Shlomo Yitshaqi Rashi (1040 – 1105 AD), a commentator of the Scripture and the Talmud, held that Jubal's brother, the father of those who dwell in tents (the nomads), was the first to arrange pagan sanctuaries, the worship in which was accompanied by Jubal's music (Branover 1991:15, 72, 73). This fact was afterwards a help to the Christianity in opposing Jubal's paganism (its example was followed by the Thracian music) to David's harmonious spiritual singing (Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticos* 9)[7].

In the antiquity, music, as a unique phenomenon, was often attached a mystic significance to. Musical instruments were at times "animated" by the ancients. And, just like in the classical mythology Orpheus's kithara bemoaned its master's death all by itself, David's lyre could, in Jewish legends, wake him up in the night to praise God (*Haggadah.* Judges. Kings. Prophets, XII). The Jewish people were also aware of a strong psychological influence of music on man. The prophets of Israel sometimes accompanied their prophesying with sounds of musical instruments[8]. And David played the *kinnor* to "drive away" an evil spirit from Saul (1 Sam 16:23).

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[7] Cited after Quasten 1983:67.

[8] 1 Sam 10:5 – Saul met a band of prophets with the *toph, the halil* and *the kinnor;* 2 Kgs 3:15 – Elisha ordered to bring a string instrument player, and as the musician was playing, he uttered his prophecy.

1.1.3 Formation of Israel's musical traditions

Despite the fact that, according to the story of Jubal, harp and flute were not of "pious" origin at all, the Jews believed in existence of angels' and seraphim's heavenly singing (Job 38:7; Isa 6:3), and, therefore, didn't think it disgraceful to praise God with the help of music. The most vivid example of how undemanding, but heartfelt music, directed to the living God, sounded in the everyday life, is the songs of David, a common shepherd, who won afterwards a reputation not just of a great king of Israel, but also of a matchless, "sweet" Israeli singer (2 Sam 23:1).

Expressing his sincere desire to praise God, David sang his songs, leaped and danced before the (2 Sam 6:14), and at the moments of anxiety found his comfort in playing the *kinnor*. It was David's musical abilities that God used to bring the young man into the house of Saul, the first king of Israel, (1 Sam 16:17-23), and David's skill in playing the musical instrument became an example to be imitated for a long time. Later, in the 760s BC Prophet Amos was sarcastic when speaking of hypocrites who claimed to be as skilful in music as David that they sing to the sounds of the *nebel*, thinking that they wield the musical instrument, like David (Am 6:5). This episode shows us that after nearly 300 years the people of Israel did not merely remember David's talent, but tried to copy his music. The example of David, who glorified God in singing, was and is up to now an inspiration to all the believers. The image of David, a righteous Jewish king who pleased God, even had an impact on the attitude to the kithara or the lyre (*kinnor*) in the early church. When in the second century some Christians began to raise their voices against using musical instruments, it wasn't considered reprehensible to praise God to the music of a harp or a lyre – David's distinctive attribute (Clement of Alexandria, *The Instructor* II, 4).

As we know, David made a huge contribution to development of Israel's religious music (Josephus, *Antiquities* VII 12.3)[9]. So the Levites were taught by David to sing and play), which was to be joyful, according to Moses' commandment[10]. Of course, the heyday of Israel's musical culture fell on Solomon's reign, when music began to play in the Temple (Harcavy & Katsenelson 1991:370), but it was David who attempted to regulate the Levites' musical ministry. And as David's regulations regarding the musical service were strictly observed in the Temple in the New Testament days, too, it is necessary to examine them more minutely.

The First Book of Chronicles (chapters 15 and 16) sets forth the order of using instruments, their roles in praising God, and here it is also said that for the first time a psalm for extolment of the Lord was given by David through Asaph and his brothers (1 Chr 16:7). These two chapters let us

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[9] Here Josephus tells that David not only composed songs and hymns, but he made musical instruments.

[10] Israel was to serve God "with joyfulness and gladness of heart" (Deut.28:47), and therefore, descriptions of worshipping Yahweh often included words denoting jubilation, and the music seemingly was of a merry dancing character.

establish several facts. Firstly, musical glorification of God in the Tabernacle (later in the Temple) was a prerogative of the Levites, or better, a part of them. By David's direction, from now on the Levite musicians were to praise God in front of the Ark every day. Secondly, the greatest importance was attached to invocation: "… to invoke, to thank and to praise the Lord, God of Israel" (ibid, 16:4). That is the essential difference from Egyptian cults, where music was intended to create a mystical atmosphere. Thirdly, Levites accompanied their singing with playing musical instruments (1 Chr 15:16). The word combination *keli shir* used in this verse means "instruments to accompany singing" (Harcavy & Katsenelson 1991:370). Those could be instruments, "limited in sound volume" and, therefore, convenient for accompanying voice, or percussions, "emphasizing the rhythmical element in music" (ibid). Harrison remarks that the collective term "stringed instruments" – *minnim* (Ps44:8, 150:4) and "instruments of music" – *keli shir* (Am 6:5, 1 Chr 16:42, 2 Chr 5:13) indicate the prevalence of the strings as distinct from cymbals or trumpets, also used by the priests (1991:989).

Concerning the composition of the Levites' caste it can be added that, according to some suppositions, only singers were to belong to the tribe of Levi, and the instruments could be played by any relatives of the priests, in case they were skilful in playing, however, they were not allowed to sing with their voices together with the Levites. According to a comment by Maimonide, the musicians were called "the Levites' offenders", because they drowned the beauty of the Levites' song (cf. Skaballanovich 1995:6).

In this sort of a choir with a band, there was a division of parts. The first in the "band" to begin were the *kinnors* (harps) – they "were to lead". The *m^{e}siltayim* (bronze cymbals), played by Asaph and other Levites, were charged with the culmination forte. The *nebels* (lyres), evidently, complemented the women's soprano – after the word *nebel* there is *al-alamot*, which means a "high" or "women's" voice; evidently, the *nebel* made a high-pitched sound (1 Chr 15:20,21). As for the priests, they were blowing the *h^{a}sos^{e}ra* (silver trumpets) before the ark of God (1 Chr 15:24), and created, by doing so, a special feeling of solemnity. This band was directed by Chenaniah – a teacher of singing.

After the Levites finished singing the final words of David's psalm, the people expressed their unanimity with the singers by saying "Amen! Halleluiah to the Lord!" Possibly, that was the beginning of antiphonal singing, when two groups or a person and a group sang doxologies in turns.

1 Chr 25 reads also that two hundred and eighty eight men were set apart for the musical ministry: there was a sequence of twenty-four groups of musicians, which included twelve singers and "accompanists" each. The Levite singers were specially exempted from all kinds of work for continual rehearsals, as they were obliged to practice their art "day and night" (1 Chr 9:33). During

the census of the Levites by the moment Solomon ascended to the throne (1 Chr 23:3, 5) there already were as many as four thousands of those "offering praises to the Lord with instruments".

1.2 The Judaic Temple

Proceeding from what has been said above, the conclusion can be drawn that music played an important role in religious life of the Jews, and, of course, reached its fullest development in the Temple, where it imparted a special splendour to the cult ceremonies. Music in Solomon's temple followed the traditions established by David. As the Levite musicians took part in the consecration of the Temple built by Solomon (2 Chr 5: 13), and it was a magnificent sight, when, at the sounds of horns, musical instruments and singing, the cloud of God's glory filled "the house of the Lord", so, during all the time of existence of the House of the Lord, singing and musical instruments accompanied offerings in the sanctuary. This is pointed to by Amos' (Am 5:21-23, 8:3) and other prophets' (Isa 30:29, 64:11, Jer 33:11) mentions of music connected with temple rituals in eighth – seventh c. BC (Harrison 1991:989).

The splendour of the Temple ceremonies entirely corresponded to the outer magnificence of the Temple. But, as we know, Solomon's Temple was destroyed during the Babylonian invasion in 586 BC, and it was not at once that the Second Temple, re-built after the Babylonian captivity (the repair works lasted 46 years, Jn 2:20), took on an appearance as splendid as it can be found in descriptions by Josephus Flavius (*Wars V, 11.6*) and in amazed cries of Christ's disciples (Mt 14: 1, Mk 13:1, Lk 21:5). The Temple was reconstructed and improved. Sirach mentions that Simon, son of Onias, a high priest, laid the foundation of the double eminence – the high fence of the Temple (Sir 50:1,2). Herod the Great also undertook reconstruction works to perfect the Temple building (in 20-19 BC), which went on after his death and were finished shortly before the Temple was destroyed.

1.2.1 The role of music in the Temple service

As for the Temple liturgy, it hardly underwent any changes, and the number of musicians, evidently, even increased. (Foley 1996:36). The structure of the Second Temple service is hard to find out nowadays, although some testimonies have come down to us. But, as it has already been said before, the Bible gave basic directions for the service in the First Temple, which were to be followed in the Second Temple, too. At least, the *Mishnah* mentions that in the Second Temple, as well as in the First one, the choir consisted of 12 Levites at the minimum (*Arakhin* 2:6 A), and it was accompanied by musical instruments. In this passage of *Mishnah* it also has been told that there were two groups of Levites, in which a minor group (Junior Levites) were entering the courtyard only during the Levites singing. That Junior Levites sang only *a capella* "to add spice to the music".

In contrast to the minor Levites, the first group, probably, sang with harp and lyre (*Mishnah, Arakhin* 2:6 A-G).

More than four hundred years after David gave the first psalm (see above), after the split of the kingdom, destruction of Jerusalem and seventy-year-long Babylonian captivity, musical forms and traditions in Israel were alive. Thus, for example, in honor of resuming construction works on restoration of the Temple, the Levites praised God "according to the directions of David" (Ezr 3:10, 11): the priests in their array with trumpets (*h^{a}sos^{e}ra*) and the Levites with cymbals (*m^{e}siltayim*) responsively sang "praise" and "thanks to the Lord", "for he is good, for his mercy endures for ever toward Israel", and all the people shouted with a great shout, praising the Lord, because the foundation of the house of the Lord was laid.

Except the cymbals and the trumpets, no other instruments are mentioned here, but this does not mean that after the captivity other instruments were not used[11]. As the Jews were disposed to restore the Temple (even the Jewish Bible, which has 2 Chronicles as its last book, finishes with King Cyrus of Persia's command that the Jews should go and build the House of the Lord), it's clear that they longed to revive the earlier Temple traditions, laid by David, as well. Anyway the stringed and percussion instruments (not very likely, the winds), which had never played alone, accompanied the Levites' singing after the return from exile. One hundred and twenty eight Levites, who came back from Babylon and stayed to live in their towns (Ezr 2:41, 70), resumed their ministry together with the priests in the second year after they had returned.

The offering always was the central element of the temple liturgy. The time to bring the morning and the evening burnt offerings (*Tamid*) according to Moses' directions (Ex 29:38-42 and Num. 28:1-8) became the time for prayer as well (Ac 3:1). The succession of actions during the service in the Temple varied, depending on the event – everyday course of the service differed from the festival one (cf. Weber 1989:101, Ferguson 1990:450, Neusner 1999:387, Skaballanovich 1995:4-6). As for music, the following may be noted: a trumpet blow announced the offering and the Levites, whose singing was described by Sirach as "delightful" (Sir 50:20), sang to the

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[11] Actually, the future of the Temple musical instruments after Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem is not quite clear. Possibly, "the King of the Chaldeans" took them from the Temple together with all "great and small vessels" and treasures of the Lord's house (2 Chr 36:18). The Jews lead to captivity could take some musical instruments with them to Babylon (for example, in Ps 136:2 we read about lyres (*kinnor*), hung up on the willows by the rivers of Babylon, of course, if it is not a figure). Neither in the Book of Chronicles, where it reads about the treasures of the Temple taken away, nor in Ezra (1:7-11), in the list of the vessels from the house of the Lord, King Cyrus returned to the Jews, the instruments are in any way singled out. However, judging by the fact that there were certain requirements imposed on manufacturing and keeping the Temple instruments (e.g. *shofar* and *h^{a}sos^{e}ra*) in order not to make them ritually unclean, they fell under the category of "sacred vessels" (cf. Kolyada1999: 6, 7).

accompaniment of musical instruments, while parts of the lamb to be offered were burning on the altar, and wine was being poured to the foundation of the altar.

Since music (instrumental one in particular) was an integral part of the Temple service and was closely connected with the offering ritual (*Mishnah*, *Arakhin* 2:3-6; *Tamid* 7:3L-4I), it could not remain the same when the Temple disappeared. That's why after the Second Temple was destroyed in 70 AD, some limitations were introduced in the Jewish music. The Temple instruments, used for sacred purposes, were, naturally, forbidden (except the *shofar*), and the character of the music was to change from merry to more reserved for the reason of common mourning because of the misfortunes that befell the Jewish nation as a result of the war with Vespasian[12]. This general mood of a national sorrow told on entertaining music as well, the *irus* (a variety of the drum, covered with leather on one side - in English translation of *Mishnah* it's called as wedding drum) did not sound any longer even at wedding festivities (*Mishnah*, *Sotah* 9:14A). The Amoraim demanded to abolish music – both instrumental and vocal – at all, but these prohibitions were not fulfilled. (Harcavy & Katsenelson 1991:373).

A similar attitude, when the temple music could not be transferred to any other place, was shared also by the Christian community (see below). Here it is to be remarked right away that the Temple (being of central place of Jewish worship and of which attendance is spoken many times by Jesus and his disciples in the New Testament: Lk 2:41; Mt 21:12-14; Ac 2:46; 3:1-11; 21:26) in actual fact could scarcely render "direct" influence on the order of worship in the early church for the following reasons. Firstly, for splendid ceremonies, similarly to the Temple ones, there would be no room anyway as the first Christians secretly gathered. Besides that, Jesus gave to His disciples a clear understanding about His attitude toward the outer magnificence of the Temple. His concern was about internal content of a person (Lk 21:5-6 especially in the context). Secondly, although the singing in the Temple played role of a prayer, offered up to God, nevertheless, it was attached to its main solemn performance – sacrificing, as it was talked above. Thus, as soon as Christians realized the fact that a perfect sacrifice – Jesus - had been already brought about (Heb 10:10) and there was no necessity of offering in the Temple, the music accompanied this ceremony came to end as well.

In this case we could exclude the influence of the Temple religious music on the early church and to think everything stated above a useless work. However, firstly, it is worth mentioning (although it goes beyond the time frames of this work), that a "class" of professional musicians,

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[12] Though it doesn't mean that the instruments employed in the Temple were soon forgotten: silver coins of the period of Bar Kochba Revolt (132-135 AD) bore symbols (two silver *h^{a}sos^{e}ras*, a *nebel*, and a *kinnor*) commemorating the music of the Temple. So these instruments depicted on the coins were the "reminders of the Temple service's vanished glories" (Bayer 1982:25, 31).

liturgical music, accompanying the symbolic, if not real, offering, and musical instruments, - all these began to enter the cult practice of the western Christianity as early as in fourth century, when Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire. Secondly, it is to be noted that, in a certain sense, the Temple music made a great contribution not only to the history of Christian music, but of the world culture as well. It is the main merit of psalms performed in the Temple, for it is commonly believed that the Psalms (or *Tehillim*) was the song-book or the hymn-book of the Temple, and, as we know, some psalms contain obvious signs of their connection with the Temple liturgy, as they were written specially for this purpose. Since they were widely used not only in Judaism but in Christianity as well, and Christian communities have continued "to find in the Psalter a rich treasury of material for direct and indirect use in their praise and supplication of God" (Wainwright 1984:155, 156), it is necessary to say a couple words about the role psalms played in the Temple liturgy.

1.2.2 The Psalms

Of course, not all poetry in the Book of Psalms bore a relation to the Temple worship, nor was everything sung in the Temple taken from the Book of Psalms. The Temple service included various hymnal fragments from all the Old Testament, e.g., the song by Moses from Ex 15:1-18 (*Mishnah*, *Sotah* 5:4). According to the *Mishnah* (*Tamid* 5.1), the priests daily performed a prayer service, during which they pronounced the Decalogue, the Schema ("Hear O Israel" – Deut 6:4-9); "And it shall come to pass if you shall hearken" (Deut 11:13-21); "And the Lord spoke to Moses" (Num 15:37-41), benedictions, psalms, and blessings over the people (Foley 1996:38).

A psalm sung in the Temple was usually divided into several parts. In intervals between singing (often marked with a *selah* sign), there came a blast of two trumpets (*h^{a}sos^{e}ra* or *shofar*), that was a signal for the people to prostrate themselves. We can assert on the strength of the *Mishnah* (*Tamid*, 7:4) that the Levites daily sang a psalm, set for this day: on the Sabbath – 92 (there is even a note for it in the Book of Psalms: "A song for the Sabbath Day"), on Sunday – 24, on Monday – 48, on Tuesday – 82, on Wednesday – 94, on Thursday – 81, on Friday – 93. Weber remarks also that festivities stimulated creating new hymns, prayers and liturgies (1989:99). Some psalms were obviously written on the occasion of festivals and were sung on the days of pilgrimage to Jerusalem[13]: the Songs of Zion (Ps 47, 49, 77), the Enthronement Psalms with their cult exclamations "The Lord is King!" (Ps 93, 96 – 99), and the Songs of Ascents (Ps 120 – 134), performed by the Levites standing on the steps of the Temple and the women's court (Ferguson

[13] A successful attempt to make classifications of the Psalms by means of form-critical methods was made also by H. Gunkel and S. Mowinckel. According to them the types included hymns of praise, individual thanksgivings and laments, pilgrimage songs, royal psalms, and enthronement psalms (Wainwright 1984:155).

1990:444). On the Passover Festival, there sounded the minor (or Egyptian) *hallel* (from Hebrew *Hallelu Yah*) (Psalms 113 – 118, talking about the exodus from Egypt), and on the Sukkoth – the major one (according to different opinions of rabbis: from Ps 117 – 135, or 119 – 133, or 134 – 136) (Skaballanovich 1995:5-6).

Proceeding from the above-mentioned passage from the Book of Ezra (3:10-11), we can suppose that antiphonal and responsive singing was practiced in the second Temple (when the congregation responded to the leader) (also *Mishnah, Sotah* 5:4; *Sukkah* 3:10). This is confirmed by some hymns with signs of antiphonal and responsorial singing of this kind we find in the Book of Psalms (Ps 21; 47; 67 and Ps 118; 136).

We can hardly say anything certain about precise musical sounding of the psalms. Some of them contain directions regarding the musical instruments to accompany singing these psalms (even the stem of the Hebrew word *mizmor* – a psalm – means "to run one's fingers over the strings"). E.g., Psalms 4; 6; 11; 54; 55; 61; 67 etc. are meant for singing to the accompaniment of the strings (*n^{e}ginot*), and Psalm 5, possibly, to the accompaniment of the winds (*n^{e}hilot*) (although it could be any other musical term). It is extremely hard nowadays to establish the meaning of all the words the psalms are marked with, but we can suppose that some of them indicated the pitch the psalm was to be performed at (*^{a}lamot* – Ps 46), or pointed to raising the pitch (*higgayon selah* – Ps 9:17) in the process of singing.

The singing that sounded in the Temple could not vanish completely, thanks to the numerous synagogues, which had already existed in various parts of the Roman Empire before the Temple was destroyed. Despite the fact that there was a different form of service there, the melodies of the psalms performed in the Temple (which were in the antiquity hardly distinguished for their diversity) passed over to the synagogues. This can be judged about upon the fact that Levites frequently and practically simultaneously participated in services both at the Temple and at synagogues (Wilson-Dickson 2001:26)

Also the astonishing likeness of Jewish liturgical music in the three major traditions (completely different from one another) – the Ashkenazim and the Sephardim, which makes it possible to suppose existence of a common root in the Temple music (Pilkington 2000:239).

This idea was expressed for the first time in the 30-s of the XX century. On the bases of the researches undertaken by Idelson it was concluded that Babylonian and Yemen Jewish communities for a long time broken off the main mass of Palestinian Jews preserved the traditions of pre-exilic cult music (Sachs 1937:87).

1.3 The synagogues

We do not know for certain when the idea of a synagogue first appeared: during the Babylonian captivity, right after it, when Ezra was reading from the Book of the Law by Moses and "giving the sense" (Ezr 8, Neh 8:4), or in the third century BC in connection with the Jews' settling in Egypt. Those are the basic suppositions, though in fact, concrete written evidence of synagogue existence date from the time no earlier than the firs century BC[14]. The latter point of view rests on some Greek writings found in Egypt and dating from the third c. BC (Feinberg 1996:1142). Since this matter has no value for this theme, we will merely mention (point to, note) that the synagogues' appearance obviously contemporize with the time when so-called Jews of Palestine and Jews of Diaspora appeared.

In the course of time synagogues became an integral part of religious life of the Jews, and in the days of the New Testament they could be found side by side with the Temple in Jerusalem (a legend says there were over four hundred synagogues – Hertsman 1996:15), in Nazareth, in Capernaum, in Galilee (Mt 12:9; 13:54; Mk 1:21; 6:2; Lk 4:16; 12:51; Jn 6:59; etc.), in a word, wherever the Jews were living. The original purpose of the synagogue was to create a religious educational institution for reading and holy scriptures. But, since to the Jews in Diaspora this was the only place to find comfort, they began, in addition to reading, to recite prayers there. For this reason, studying the scriptures and prayer are up to now the basic elements in the synagogal liturgy. Overall, the form of the service in the synagogue apparently resembled that in the Temple, for the exception of substituting prayer and reading for offering rituals.

As for singing, we can suppose that it also sounded in the early synagogues. On the strength of Psalm 137, (verses 2 – 4), songs that had been sung in the Temple were not to be sung in "in a foreign land". However, as the Levite singers did not disappear as a "class" (judging by Ezr 2, 3, 7 and 7:7), they, obviously, did not forget their art in Babylon and kept it up in a certain way – for instance, as they sang when coming together for prayer on Sabbath days (if we agree that synagogues appeared during in the Babylonian captivity). Though, of course, such a presupposition is quite speculative on account of lack of any evidences. On the other hand, at all events, music was used in the synagogue in the form of chanting the text when reading the Law (even Jewish boys, learning the Scriptures, chanted the text to memorize it better). It was not in Israel alone that this kind of declamation was practiced. In Ancient Greece, a similar genre of singing was called the "nom" (from the word νομος [*nomos*], a law), when people sang their laws not to forget them (Hertsman 1999:267). Plutarch of Chaeroneia even talks of the creative musical contribution of Phalet, a "lyrical poet" (seventh – sixth c. BC), respected for his intellect and political wisdom. His

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[14] Philo, *Life of Moses* 3.27, there are also a mention of the Jewish community in Rome in Suetonius, *Life of the Divine Julius* 84 (5) and Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews* XIV, 10, 8).

poems, set to music, beneficially influenced the audience, inspiring them to long for the beautiful, and that made the Lycurgus' laws in Sparta stronger (Plutarch, *Lycurgus,* 4).

Melodies of declamations (of certain phrases from the Holy Scripture), evidently, resembled singing in the Temple (we have talked about that before), therefore, in any communities it hardly could become a reflection of the music impressions, the Jews perceived from their environment (cf. Harcavy & Katsenelson 1991:376).

The synagogal singing was sounded like a chant, in which the music was subordinate to the text – the order of words and the syntactical structure of sentences (ibid, 375). Musical accents in a chant like this corresponded to contents of the books. The Pentateuch, in the rabbis' opinion, was to sound soft, but deep; the Prophets – high and menacing; the Proverbs – insinuating; the Song of Solomon – lively and merry; the Ecclesiastes – earnest and strict (Scaballanovich 1995:14).

Such a kind of primitive way used by Jews to characterize the melodies in some sense is similar to how Greeks were describing melodic keys – Doric, Lydian and Phrygian (see the next chapter). And here it should be noted that the structure of the melodies laid in the basis of Jewish music was the same with Greek, because it was also built on tetra-chord. While we hardly find any Greek music terms in rabbinical literature, Clement of Alexandria witnessed that Doric key prevailed in Jewish music, which means that the character of Jewish music was mainly solemn and sublime. So, singing of the epic books was based on Doric key, poetic literature – on Phrygian, and hymns of praise – on Lydian key (Sachs 1937:88).

As it was mentioned before, after the destruction of the Temple in 70 AD all music instruments except the *shofar* were abandoned from the daily life of Jews. Concerning to synagogue music it can be said that even before the fall of the Temple there is no evidence that any instruments (with the exception of the *shofar* which served as a signal instrument – *Mishnah, Rosh Hashanah* 3:7; 4:5-9; *Taanith* 2:3-4) were used in synagogue. The reason for that should be repeated one more time: the Temple music was an accessory to its sacrificial ritual, and synagogue music from the very beginning was nothing but the "way" of reading the Scriptures what made it predominantly vocal (Foley 1992:56).

It is hard to say how developed the liturgy of prayers and blessings was in the synagogues before the temple was destroyed, scholars do not have a common opinion. But some texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls, which look like collections of prayers and blessings for a week's, a month's cycle or for festivals, make us to think that the first models of prayers and blessings date from an earlier period. Judging by the language and theology of the texts, they were not a product of sectarian groups, but reflected the spreading development of the Judaism (Neusner 1999:387). As for music, a description of a Judaic sect that we have at our disposal lets us learn some more about the music of the Diaspora.

1.4 The Judaic sects

Among the apocalyptic and ascetic sects, which existed in Palestine, we should specially mention, following the example of Philo of Alexandria, a thinker and philosopher from the Alexandrian Jewish community, who lived approximately in 30 BC – 50 AD, the sect of Therapeuts. In his work *On Contemplative Life* Philo describes in detail Therapeuts' mode of life and the way they worshipped God. Therapeuts' settlement was situated near Lake Mareotis in Lower Egypt. (Ferguson 1990:450). Philo notes that a great number of these people lived in the environs of Alexandria (*On Contemplative Life* 21). The name of the sect, most likely, meant "healers", as Philo himself puts it. Therapeuts or Therapeutrides had an art of healing, more perfect in comparison with urban healers, for they cared for healing souls, stricken with bad passions and vices (ibid, 2). In contradistinction to the Essenes – practical people, who made diligent labor the foundation of the sect's existence, Therapeuts chose a contemplative way of life (ibid, 1).

This sect was notable for a particular musicality. In music, these people praised God (ibid, 29). Thanks to their singing, they could stand long fasts (ibid, 35). And after all, by means of hymns, as well as laws, prophecies of seers and other books, they "multiplied and perfected knowledge and religion" (ibid, 25). It is possible that music played an important role in the life of other sects as well, but at least we don't have any evidence to prove that supposition in comparison to the description of the therapist sect left by Philo.

It is quite possible that Therapeuts did not lose contact with the traditional Judaism, although they did not acknowledge everything in Moses' laws, and therefore, in the musical respect, their life was typical of the Jews of the Diaspora (Hertsman 1999:266). Philo himself confirms this thought when explaining at length that Therapeuts retained a lot of verses and melodies of epic poems, trimetres[15], prosodic hymns, canticles sung at the altar, choral stasims (*On Contemplative Life* 80), i.e. Therapeuts used traditional Jewish singing that sounded in the Temple and in the everyday life. We can suppose, of course, that once Therapeuts created hymns of their own, it means that they had their own musical culture (Philo, *On Contemplative Life* 29), but Hertsman warns us here against a hasty conclusion about music composing work among the Therapeuts. In the ancient musical practice, "composing" looked this way: an old melody was adapted to the new verses, naturally, undergoing some changes in the course of singing to fit the words.

It is to be noted that the work by Philo of Alexandria we are now examining was written in the Greek language. He was, therefore, to use Greek equivalents when listing Jewish musical genres. Therefore it is hard to understand the measure, in which these Greek words correspond to what was in use in the Therapeuts' community. (Hertsman 1999:270). Unlike to the situation with

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[15]Josephus used this term too, in his *Antiquities* (VII 12.3), where he assures that king David composed songs in trimeter and pentameter.

the LXX translation of the Old Testament, when it was difficult to recognize some music instruments employed in the Temple even having the Hebrew Bible, now there is no Hebrew text with which the original Philo's composition could be compared. So the confusion in identification of the music forms used in therapist sect appears inevitably, because *prosody* in Old Greece was a choral song to the accompaniment of the kithara, or, even a solemn song with the accompaniment of the *aulos* during a ceremonial procession to a temple or an altar of a pagan deity. Singing for solemn libations is nothing else but singing connected with the heathen offering ritual. As for choral *stasims* – songs of the choir in the old Greek tragedy, they were a theatrical genre completely incombinable with Judaic worship (Hertsman 1999:270 – 273).

On the one hand this terminological incompatibility was brought about by the "requirements" of the Hellenistic civilization, which made creations of a non-Greek mind take a Greek shape. It means that everyone who wanted to say something had no other choice but to say that in Greek, not only linguistically, but also as regards his concepts, ideas and the literary form (Jonas 1998:35). On the other hand, it is obvious that Philo of Alexandria, whose writings reflect the fact of the adjustment, made by synagogue of the Diaspora, of the Semitic faith to the Hellenized world (Ferguson 1987:494), used the Greek terminology because he wanted to show to his Greek reader the diversity of Jewish religious poetry and music, which doesn't give in to Greek forms (as marked Elizarova in her commentaries to *Qumran Texts* (1971:388)). Moreover there is nothing surprising that Philo, a Jew by birth and belief, so easily operated with Greek conceptions. He got a thorough Greek education, so some reflections of the Greek culture (especially philosophy) found their place in his writings. For instance, we can see some of the Plato's ideas of theory of the Universal musical harmony, which will be discussed in next chapter, in Philo's *On the Creation of the World* (48; 96; 107) and *On the Cherubim* (21; 23).

Nevertheless, despite the fact of terminological confusion and the Greek coloring of music in the sect of Therapeuts, due to Philo's remarks, likening the final round dance in the Universe to the ancient dance at the Red Sea (*On Contemplative Life* 85, 88), we realize that it is all about the Jewish culture with its old roots.

The musical part of Therapeuts' worship service began after reading and commenting on the Holy Scriptures: the leader of the assembly stood up and started singing a hymn. Only then the others, in the pre-set succession according to their ranks, continued the singing, all the rest listening and finishing ends of some phrases, when necessary, thus, making an antiphon (Philo, *On Contemplative Life* 80).

This singing in special cases (in all-night vigil) acquired the form of choral signing where two groups took part: male and female choirs, with leading singers in both of them. Choirs sang at

first alternately and in the end, they joined in one powerful sounding as the ancient choir did celebrating its freedom at the shore of the Red sea.

To an early Christianity scholar, Therapeuts' musical life is of a great interest, as the Christian way of praising God in music would be similar to that of Therapeuts. For this reason, some scholars classify the sect of Therapeuts' under Christianity, probably, following Eusebius of Caesarea (the first historian of the Christian Church, who lived about 260 – 340 AD). Eusebius, noting similarities in worship between Christians and Therapeuts, saw the latter ones as "heralds of the evangelic teaching" (Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History* II, 17, 24).

Judging by attention paid to reading of the Scriptures with the following prayers and singing at therapists' assemblies it can be concluded that particularly synagogue service had formed the style of worship which was inherited by different sects arising from Judaism (with the "sect of Nazarene" amongst them). Even melodies sung in synagogue and in Christian church had the same roots. This statement is confirmed by incontrovertible evidence which was the find of the similarities between the melodic line of singing in synagogues of Yemen and Gregorian Chant in Catholic church discovered by Z. Idelson (cf. Sachs 1937:87).

So, on the bases of literal descriptions we can say that synagogue style of worship became the pattern of church services of Jewish Christians, and with the musical or melodical evidence, we can maintain that through the ancient synagogue the vocal music taken from the Temple became the heritage of the early Christian church.

In conclusion of this chapter, it is to be remarked that beside religious music the Jews, like any other people, had music that sounded outside the Temple and synagogues. During military campaigns and in days of peace, in the streets and in the homes, at festivals, weddings and funerals music was played there, which was also an integral part of the culture. And if the cult music had to maintain strictly the purity of Jewish traditions and it excluded any possibility of pagan culture's display, we probably couldn't assume that there was the same tendency in simple folk music of the daily life, because far from Judea the Hellenistic influence was very strong even on Jews. However, one of the peculiarities of Jewish musical life was the fact that the music of this people was for many centuries concentrated at worshipping God. It reflected the things that filled the life of a godly Jew – faith and trust in the saving Yahweh, the deliverer from all troubles.

Both the surviving traditions in the Judaic communities beyond the boundaries of Palestine and the decree of rabbis relative to non-cult music (for instance – a prohibition of the wedding *irus)* speak of it. Thus, not only on a social level but in a private life of Jews, both in Judea and as well as Diaspora, the music was subject to human opinion. So, any penetration of motives from pagan culture into the environment of even the hellenized Jews was improbable.

In order to understand how much Jewish and Hellenistic music cultures were different and how this difference could influence upon the early Christian communities we will get over to the following part of this thesis where we will consider the main features of the music culture of Hellenism.

2 HELLENISTIC MUSIC

It is a well-known fact that the first Christian missionaries, having left the boundaries of Judea, set off for the far corners of the huge Roman Empire. Until this time they had worked mostly among the Jews in Judah, where the influence of Hellenism was causing protest, even to the shedding of blood.[16] Now, however, they were able to witness in a place impregnated with Greek culture and thought. The power of Rome upon the once Hellenistic governments did not put an end to the influence of Hellenism, in fact Rome itself adopted the culture of the Greeks. It is no accident that the Roman satirist Juvenal[17] calls the city of Rome completely Greek (Juvenal, *Satires*, III 60-65). This was very evident in the music of the Romans; the musical taste of the Greeks (along with many other aspects of their lives) had taken root in Rome as early on as the fourth century BC. Although they had their own ancient traditional music, the Romans were not able to preserve it against the development of advanced Greek culture. Their modest instruments and simple tunes "died away in the temples and on stage in the face of the more complex and rich Greek music" (Abert 1937:194). The echoes of the ancient music of the Romans remained only in songs of triumph, wedding and funeral songs, and in singing around the table (cf. Gruber 1941:302).

The military campaigns of Rome and trade relations with other countries enabled the Empire to bring their musical instruments and musical traditions to other peoples. Syrian music with its dancers and flautists; Babylonian music with its bagpipes; Spanish music with its dances and castanets; and especially Egyptian-Alexandrian music – all exerted their influence on the variety of music forms in existence during the epoch of the Roman Empire. But the main influence was the music of the Greek culture.

In turn, Greek art, transplanted into Roman soil, could not help but undergo changes. Spoiled by the shows of Roman society, which at times, far from expressing true artistic taste, directed the development of their music into a particular direction. The coarsening of their artistic ways and their pursuit of the enjoyment of sensual pleasure in music is a characteristic of this period. However, it is not quite correct to assume that the "decline" of ancient musical culture is due to the Romans in particular, as proposed by Abert's article (cf. Abert 1937:199). Rome merely inherited and developed the tendency, already present in the Greek music of the Hellenistic epoch. It was only when there was an "orientalisation" of Greek art (after all, Hellenism is not only the adoption of things Greek by the East, but the influence of the East on Hellenism), that virtuosity, superficial sumptuousness, and pomp became the main priority of music. It was then that the ideological content that characterized the ancient music of the Greeks became far less important

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[16] For example, the efforts of Antioch III to Hellenize the Jews at the end of the first c. AD led to the Maccabeean Uprising.

(Gruber 1941:300). Virtuosity was achieved by the professionalism of musicians, and sumptuousness and pomp were achieved by increasing the resonance of the instruments.

An example of deviation from the Greek tradition is the music of Alexandria – the breeding ground of Hellenistic culture. Here, in the court, they held processions that were accompanied by huge choirs and many instrumentalists[18]. The sound of the many different instruments, which had at one time been alien to Greek music (the exception being only the *aulos* and *kifari*), was not an innovation in this context, as it had been part of Egyptian music from ancient times (Abert 1937:201). So the Romans, with their entire ensemble of instruments (lyre, pipe in the temple of Venus; choir accompanied by *aulos*, *sirincs* and cymbals in the tragic pantomime of Pilad), could not have been called innovators.

It is interesting to note that the period of time when dilettantism and conservatism in Greek music gradually gave way to professionalism and innovation is nevertheless termed a time of "decline". If, during Homer's time we don't hear of any special opinions concerning music being "good" or "bad", by the time of Aristophanes (427 – 388 BC), one finds complaints about older music being better than modern music, which was regarded as having lost its worthiness. In order to try to explain this phenomenon, it is necessary to note the following: Gruber (1941:300) points out the degradation of ideas in ancient music took place on the background of the birth of one of the greatest achievements of ancient Greek aesthetics; the idea of a musical ethos. This teaching of the moral influence of music on a person occupied an important place in the life of the Greeks. This can be demonstrated by the fact that their whole system of public education was founded on the study of music (Shestakov 1975:48). The efforts to classify the ethical attributes of the musical scales, rhythms, and instruments -- which were useful for correct upbringing and which were harmful – were due to this idea of musical ethos. It is important to note that a united opinion among ancient authors regarding the ethical worth of one or another of the musical elements cannot be found. The important thing to note is that the musical ethos formed in ancient classical esthetics laid the foundation for a critical approach to music from the point of view of morals and thus subsequently rendered a huge influence on the musical criterion of medieval church.

Regarding the question of what kind of influence the Hellenistic culture could have on the music of the early church, it is important to examine two main aspects of the music of the Hellenists as it existed in the ancient world. The first is the foundations of music (built on long-standing Greek traditions); the second – the place that music occupied in society.

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[17] Born in approximately the fifth or sixth decade of the first century.
[18] Ptolemy of Philadelphia added to the procession a male choir of 600 men, 300 of which played on golden *kitharas* (Abert 1937:199).

The concept of "foundations" includes music theory, which was so well developed during the time of the Greeks that it became the foundation for all the musical sciences that followed. It is not possible, or even important, to explain Greek music theory in detail within the confines of this work; instead we will merely examine a few subdivisions of music theory. Thus, attention will be given to the sources of musical world-view of the Greeks, especially their mythology, because in the context of the contiguity of the two religions – Hellenism and Christianity – this question is of critical importance. With this in mind it is also important to examine Greek musical aesthetics, especially their ideas of ethos, which formed the particular musical value system of Hellenists. Regardless of the richness of the ideas of ancient musical thought, it would be impossible to form a general picture of this music without research into their "living" musical traditions. For this reason, the second section of this chapter is dedicated to the question of the musical sounds in the everyday life of the Hellenists.

2.1 Foundations of ancient music

2.1.1 Mythology

First of all, it is important to note that among the ancient Greeks, the word "music" meant "art of the muse"; lessons which were learned under the tutelage of a muse. This is closely tied to the fact that the sources of Greek art were tied very closely to their mythology. Both their literary achievements as well as their visual arts are a testament to this fact. Reflections on mythological stories can be found in the poems of Homer and Hesiod, and in the paintings on Greek red-figured vases; picturing not only musical instruments and how they were used in the ancient world, but also allowing us to understand a bit of the ancient Greek understanding of origins.

It was the gods who were credited with the "invention" of instruments. According to legends, Hermes, the son of Zeus, invented the *kithara* (an instrument resembling the lyre, only shorter and wider and with many more strings). He made the resonator from a turtle shell, attached to it three branches (or horns), and stretching upon it beautiful-sounding strings. Hermes gave the *kithara* to Apollo, and as a result it became an important characteristic of Apollo. Thus, Apollo is the god of the muse and patron of the arts, poetry, and music (*The Hymns of Homer* III 418-456). Among the nine muses, Erato is the muse of lyrical poetry (in the Hellenistic epoch she is pictured with a lyre in her hands), Evterpa is the muse of lyrical song (pictured with a flute), Polihymnia is the muse of sacred hymns (with a scroll in her hands and a thoughtful pose), and Terpsichore is the muse of the dance (pictured with a lyre and plectrum).

Another instrument, the *aulos* (reed flute), was created by the goddess Athena, but she abandoned it and cursed it when she realized that when playing on the flute, her beautiful face

became disfigured (Pausanias, *Descriptions of Greece* I 24,1). Satire Marsyas, picking the abandoned flute up, learned to play it so well that he decided to compete with Apollo himself. However, the flute could not compete with the golden-stringed *kithara,* and the defeated Marsyas was forced to pay cruelly for his audacity (Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, VI 382-400). The shepherd's reed *siring* was made by the satyr Pan, a god from the retinue of Dionysus. But Pan was also unable to win in a duel with Apollo's *kithara* (Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, I 706-712, XI 153-179).

Since the gods were the creators of music, they were the source from which people received their musical abilities. Thus, Hesiod says that all singers and poets came from Apollo and the muses (Hesiod, *Theogony* 93-94). About himself, Hesiod testifies that the muses taught him their songs and commanded him to glorify the gods (22-28). The same is said about several characters in Homer's *Odyssey*, which describes a singer by the name of Themi, in whose breast the gods placed every possible kind of song (Homer, *Odyssey* XX 347-348). It also describes the blind singer Demodok who received a wonderful gift of singing from the gods (Homer, *Odyssey* VIII 43-44). Homer himself, whose portrait is hidden behind the image of Demodok, begins his poem with a reference to the muse, in order that the gods and heroes could be revealed through the song (Homer, *Odyssey,* Song 1:1,9-10). Judging by the fact that the singers repeat this throughout the whole poem, a similar introduction – a reference to the muse – is considered to be traditional. The muses inspired songs, revealed mysteries of the lives of the gods, and occasionally led the singers into error, passing off lies as truth (Hesiod, *Theogony* 27).

Both of the poems of Homer belong to the genre of literary epos, but the songs Themi and Demodok are examples of folk epic songs – the forerunners of the epos (Tronski 1988:46). Epic songs, which were performed by the *aioedos* and accompanied by the lyre, sounded a little different each time they were performed. They had a "fixed" plot, but the text was not fixed, due to the fact that it was the improvisation of the performer. In this manner, the *aioedos* interjected the element of creativity into his performance and gave the song a new design. In a literal sense, he sang, literally, under inspiration. Later on the rhapsodists appeared, wandering singers, who performed the already known texts of Homer's poems (as was required, for example, in the competitions of the rhapsodists, established by the Pisistratus in the sixth c. BC). Of course, among these were also poets.

From ancient times, music was given mystical meaning because of its ability to excite the listener or to bring him comfort and calm. For example, the great singer Orpheus, whose lyre was placed in the constellations by the gods after his death, conquered not only people, but nature and the gods as well with his singing and playing on the lyre. He calms the waves, tames the guard of the underground empire and conquers Hell by his magical music (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, X 1-63). Another legendary singer, Amphion, playing on a lyre given to him by Hermes, was able to

command the stones to lay themselves in the correct place during the building of a city (Homer, *Odyssey*, XI 260-265; Pausanias, *Description of Greece* IX 5-8). The sirens, demonic beings born of one of the muses, had unusual musical abilities. They were able, by the sweetness of their songs, to enticed travelers to land on the islands where they then perished (Homer, *Odyssey*, XII 183-196).

A man with a musical gift enjoyed the respect of people and the favor of the muses (Homer, *Odyssey*, VIII 479-481), as long as he wasn't so brazen as to compete with the gods. The singer Thamir was such a man, gaining a number of victories at the Pifus games founded by Apollo (Pausanias, *Description of Greece* X 7,2). Thamir challenged the Muse himself, and upon losing, was punished with the harshest of punishments – blindness and the deprivation of his ability to sing and play on the kithara (Homer, *Iliad*, XXI 594-599). The anthropomorphism of the gods, so characteristic of Greek mythology, displays clearly that man, in his own way, tried to be equal with the gods. A similar competition in the myth of Thamir reveals the first signs of comprehension of music as a human, earthly art (Shestakov 1975:16).

Greek mythology, with its ubiquitous plots on musical themes, consistently demonstrates the Hellenistic interest in music. In time, when a naturalistic understanding of the world began to develop, a scientific explanation of music appeared alongside these mythological understandings. All the same, the mythological images and plots continued to flourish, both in the theoretical sphere and in the musical life of antiquity.

2.1.2 Theory of music

An example of how scientific theories existed side by side with mythology in the worldview of the Greeks can be seen in the teaching of the "harmony of the spheres", which originated with Pythagoras and was developed later by Plato. This theory was based on the notion that the earth was orbited by seven spheres; the Sun, the Moon, and five known planets at that time. Each sphere had its own velocity. To the degree that every kind of movement produces a sound (postulated by Pythagoras), the planets each produce their own tone, depending on the parameters of their individual movement.

Plato visualized the movement of the heavenly bodies as being like an antique spindle which, hanging from a thread, held the firmament together. The shaft of the spindle consisted of eight rotating shafts, placed one inside the other. Above each shaft sits a siren, and each rotating shaft/siren produces a one sound – one pitch (Plato, *Republic,* 616b-617c). The interrelation of tones creates a harmonious sound, thus the name "harmony of the spheres". The model of the spindles and their sirens obviously carries mythological overtones. However, even the astronomical elements of the model (the above-mentioned planets) are closely connected to mythology in that they are closely related to heavenly deities. In his discussions of the origins of the planets, Plato

makes this connection clear by listing the planets in the same category as the well-known gods Zeus, Hero, etc. (Plato, *Timaeus* 40e-41). To discuss the connections between ancient science and mythology, however, is not our purpose. In general, it is clear that science is not only accompanied by mythology, but that it borrows many of its assumptions from mythology, developing them further into theories (cf. Losev 1991:29). Regarding our theme, it is merely important to note the presence of this connection.

The doctrine of the harmony of the spheres – a central theme in Pythagorean aesthetics – was built into the foundation of the theory of music, and furthermore, it put music in the same class with mathematics, physics, and astronomy, making it an integral part of scientific knowledge. The establishment of the connection between pitch, velocity, and frequency of oscillation – an inevitable conclusion of the doctrine of the harmony of the spheres – formed the foundation of musical acoustics. These propositions of the characteristics of musical tones and the measurement of intervals formed the foundational building blocks of the construction of music theory. Since music theory and acoustics use numbers and are related to harmony of sounds and the structure of the cosmos, the music of antiquity was always considered to be a mathematical discipline and the sister of astronomy. Both Greek and Roman sources reflect the opinion that music is a major part of the system of knowledge (Aristotle, *Metaphysics* XIV 3, 1090a, 20-25; Plato, *Republic* VII 530; Cicero, *On Oratorical Art* I 187, III 127). Even the church fathers were compelled to follow this opinion and ranked music with the general sciences: grammar, rhetoric, arithmetics, and geometry (Tertullian, *Liber de pallio* 6; Augustine, *Retractionum libri duo* I 6 – from Hertsman 1995:26).

In antiquity, to be an expert in music meant to be not only educated, but to be well-brought up (Plato, *Laws* II 654). Other than the rationalistic interpretation of music and numerical manipulations to which some followers of Pythagoras gave all their attention (the clergy, for example), there was an understanding of music – "built not on [theoretical or rational] constructs", but on the "exercise of sensitivity" (Plato, *Philebus* 56). In other words, the idea was one of "live" music produced by the musician. The more he exercised his musical intuition as he played on the instrument, the better the music turned out. This kind of music was judged not only from the aspect of beauty and perfection of sound, but also from the ethical point of view – the way in which it influenced the morals of a person. This perspective of a connection between music and a person's mentality and temperament was laid into the foundation of the ethos of music theory.

2.1.3 Musical ethos

One might say that the teaching of music ethos began to form back in early antiquity. It was put forward by Plato in the fourth century BC and was developed to a deeper level by Aristotle and Aristocsen, but the conditions for the occurrence of ethos were already laid in the early stages of

ancient Greek musical aesthetics – when the newly born idea of one instrument having advantages over another began to be reflected in ancient Greek mythology. In confirmation of this one may point to the legend of the competition between Marsyas and Apollo, mentioned above. Plutarch's explanation of the legend, which he gave much later (in the first century AD), was that the sparse melody of the flute, which by its nature "closed the mouth" of the performer, could not compete with songs accompanied by the kithara (*Table Talks*, 7, VIII, 4). Songs were preferred above instrumental playing in antiquity because songs were considered more of a "thinking" genre, influenced men to a higher degree (not only on their mentality, but also their reason). It was because of this that Plato regards with disdain any form of purely instrumental music; be it the flute or the *kithara* – he saw both as being insipid (cf. Plato, *Laws* II 670). In addition, in the myth of Marsyas and Apollo, one may note that the character of the music of Apollo was quite different than the music of Marsyas. Taking into account that Apollo, in ancient mythology, symbolize organized beginning and opposed everything spontaneous or orgiastic (Shestakov 1975:16), one may conclude that the music of Mars, with its "flute-like character of ecstasy-frenzy" (Losev 1990:342), was the complete opposite of the music of Apollo. This preference for one music style over another, in the end resulted in the occurrence of ethos in music.

The musical styles of antiquity were defined to a great degree by various musical modes. The reason for the assigning of aesthetic coloring to the various modes is contained in the history of the Greek culture. From antiquity, the Greeks took pride in their arts and pointed out the differences between their music and the music of the peoples that surrounded them (which, by the way, they were nonetheless imitating). This imitation is demonstrated in several aspects of Greek music, including the modes. The modes received their names from the various tribes in which they were used: Dorians (a Greek tribe), Phrygians (inhabitants of Phrygia, a Greek colony), and Lydians (also a Greek colony located in Asia Minor). Of all the ancient modes in Greek music – dorian, phrygian, and lydian[19] – only dorian was considered to be truly Greek; the model of Hellenistic harmony. Thus, the reason is fairly clear why music in the dorian mode was believed to be endowed with the ability to foster ethical, well-bred behavior.

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[19] The foundation of each ancient mode is the tetrachord (a tone-row of four steps – the name came from the archaic lyres, which had four strings). The dorian diatonic tetrachord has descending consecutive steps with the following structure – whole step, whole step, half step (mi-re-do-ti); the phrygian mode – whole step, half step, whole step (re-do-ti-la); lydian – half step, whole step, whole step (do-ti-la-sol). Modes were the union of two identical tetrachords, for example the dorian mode looked like this: (mi-re-do-ti)+(la-sol-fa-mi). There existed as well the so-called "derivative modes" which were formed by shifting the tetrachords. So if, in the dorian mode, the upper tetrachord was shifted down (ti-la-sol-fa-mi-re-do-ti), it was called "hyper-dorian" or mixolydian. If the lower tetrachord was shifted upwards, it was called hypo-dorian or mixolidian. In this way derivative modes were formed from phrygian and lydian.

No one among the ancient Greek authors even had a doubt concerning the distinctively ethical features of the dorian mode, as opposed to the other modes. Even Plato's cosmos resounded in the dorian mode; a result of special numerical calculations within the "harmony of the spheres" theory (1993:268). Since the Dorians were considered experts in battle songs, which was reflected in their music, the Greeks began to think of the dorian mode as personifying songs that extol courage and bravery. To them, the low register of the dorian scale was inherently associated with solemnity and greatness (Hertsman 1995:116).

The music of the Phrygians was in complete contrast to the Dorian style – to the Greeks it seemed ecstatic and unbalanced. It was often connected with the poetry of Bacchus and pagan religious music. Songs in honor of Dionysis (dithyrambs) were played in the Phrygian style. In the same manner, romantic ballads of the Lydians gave rise to a characterization of Lydian music as feminine, plaintive, sweet, and intoxicating. It was considered ideal for funeral rituals.

In his thoughts on the ideal form of government for the proper upbringing of orderly citizens, Plato suggests eliminating the lydian mode (because of its characteristic attribute of lament and tendency to pamper and encourage idleness), and use only dorian and phrygian modes (Plato, *Republic,* III 398e-399b). Aristotle, on the other hand, considered music in the dorian and lydian modes more useful for the purposes of societal upbringing, whereas phrygian was necessary for expressions of delight (Aristotle, *Politics*, VIII 7, 1342a).[20]

Similar discrepancies of opinion concerning the ethical properties of various musical styles, as well as the subsequent transformation of the doctrine of ethos into simple moralization (which the stoics[21] tended to do, for example), in the end led to the place where, during the epoch of Hellenism, it began to expose the destructive criticism on the part of the skeptics and epicures. Finally (in the person of Philodem of Hodar who lived in the first c. BC), the Greeks rejected the ethical properties of music, regarding it as instead being neutral and incapable of expressing moral qualities. They felt that if indeed music has the ability to influence the moral upbringing of people, then the influence is not in the music itself (tunes and melodies), but in the philosophy (expressed in the words of the text) that sounded along with the music. In summary, the usefulness of music boiled down to the fact that it brings man enjoyment, similar to what he experiences from eating and drinking (cf. Shestakov 1975:48-49).

The criticism of ethos in the Hellenistic era, on the background of a decline of ancient culture, was a reflection of the musical tastes and customs of the Greco-Roman society. Music

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[20] To examine in more detail the ethical characteristics of the modes, see Gruber 1941:330-331.

[21] This is clearly what was being said in the treatise on music by the stoic Diogen of Babylon. The work of Diogen itself is not available to us, but one may judge its contents by the reaction of Filomed , the representative of epicurean aesthetics, in his treatise "About Music", where he strongly opposes the views of Diogen.

simply was not used in any way for the purposes of upbringing. However this does not mean that the idea of ethos was forgotten. In a counterbalance to the skepticism of the ethical-aesthetical views of the classical period, there existed the view that older music was idealized (in agreement with the idea of ethos), and modern music, on the contrary, was subject to criticism (Livanova, 1983:20). This is clearly evidenced in Plutarch's treatise *About Music*[22], in which one finds reflections of the thoughts of Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, and Aristosthanes. Plutarch expresses his opinion that it is important to follow the model of olden times and states his regret that his contemporaries have abandoned the ideals of ancient art. Instead of the ideals of "former courageous, heavenly, and gracious gods of music", people had brought to the theatre the "lax and shallow" (Plutarch, *About Music* 32, 15). Taking into account that the original doctrine of ethos gave preference to Greek art; any deviation from which was regarded as the demise of aesthetic values in music (even increasing the size of the strings on an instrument, making it more complicated to play, caused criticism –see Plato *Republic* III 399d), it is not surprising that several centuries later, the return by Plutarch to ethos meant an attempt to restore ancient Greek traditions.

Certainly, the idea that music had the ability to ennoble the feelings of man was occasionally criticized, re-thought, and re-interpreted not only by the great thinkers of various philosophical schools of thought, but by the music theorists as well. Even within the discipline of music aesthetics itself, there were two opposite poles of thinking – the "clergymen" (Pythagorean tradition) and the "harmonists" (Aristoksenian tradition). The latter appealed to the sound and live perception of music, whereas the clergy had as the foundation of their doctrine the importance of numbers. Due to the Pythagorean tradition, which turned out to be stronger and more influential, and by the efforts of Ptolemy of Alexandria and Nikomak from Herace (in the first and second centuries AD), the doctrine of ethos gained astral and moral symbolism. In this way it was subsequently incorporated into medieval theories of music and was reflected in the writings of the Church Fathers (Shestakov 1975:65-69).

2.2 Spheres of the applications of music

2.2.1 Pagan music

One may deduce from the Hellenistic ideas that the origins of music were bound closely to mythology, that the initial application of music was to support pagan religious ceremonies. Gradually, some of the forms of pagan music expanded beyond the limits of the pagan ceremonies and evolved into independent genres (as in the birth of Greek tragedies). But music always remained an integral part of worshipping the gods.

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[22] The authorship of Plutarch's treatise is disputed, however, the themes and ideas of the treatise parallel in many ways another work of Plutarch's, *Table Talks.*

The topic of the practice of pagan religions in the Hellenistic world (as opposed to monotheistic Judaism) is rather broad because there was not only the urban system of pagan religions in ancient Greece, which still had influence despite its gradual decline, but also the Greco-Roman pantheon of gods with its religious syncretism. To thoroughly examine all these elements would demand a lot of time. Therefore we will single out merely the characteristic aspects of music used by the Hellenistic pagan religions.

Sacrifices and prayer – central elements of the liturgy – were always performed with music. Prayer had three functions – to appeal to the god of the temple, praise, and forgiveness. This structure corresponded with the hymns, or hymnodic singing, which was performed by the choir (typically a children's choir) during the great holidays. Hellenistic hymns, as a rule, had four parts: an appeal to the god according to his name, his nature, and his genealogy; then praise of its power; a description of the miracles and wondrous deeds which the god had performed; and last – requests. The prayers were usually written in special books (Apuleius, *Metamorphosis* XI 17)[23] with special instructions for the accompanying acts – the position of the body, gestures, etc. There were also hymns in the form of prose which were prayers in honor of the gods. The writing of these was entrusted to famous poets (Apuleius *Metamorphosis* XI 9). As with other ancient peoples, the bringing of sacrifices was often accompanied by the sound of musical instruments. In Hellenistic cultures the *aulos* was played. On one hand, the sound of the wind instruments helped to cover the groans of the dying animals, on the other hand the music was given a mystical significance: it drove away evil spirits or cajoled the gods to favor the worshippers (Ferguson, 1990:150).

Processions to honor gods such as Isis (an Egyptian goddess worshipped in Italy as early as the second century BC) were characterized by amazing splendor and visual effects. Music played an important role in these processions; it created a special mystical mood of grandeur and solemnity. The sound of flutes and pipes, as well as a chorus of specially chosen young men in sparkling white garments performed songs composed especially for the occasion. The commencement of the singing included hymns, prayers, and vows. Also heard were flutes, playing melodies approved for the temple of the Egyptian-Hellenistic god Serapes[24] (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* XI 9). There were people dressed up in masks, crowds devoted to the sacraments, ministers of the sacraments, pagan priests, musicians and singers, people dressed up to represent the gods; certainly it must have been a majestic sight. Among the spectators there must surely have been Christians.

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[23] In his part-mystical, part-autobiographical work, *Metamorphoses*, Apuleius (born around 125 AD) relates with documentary accuracy, on the testimony of specialists, the initiation ritual into the pagan religion of Isid.

[24] Serapes equated Osiris with Zeus.

The influence of the pagan religions on the everyday life of the Hellenists (and ancient peoples in general) was significant. Pagan priests performed their blessings at wedding ceremonies. Plutarch mentions certain ancient conjugal songs dedicated to newlyweds by the pagan priest Demeter[25] (Plutarch, *Admonitions to Spouses*). A similar procession with masks and the sounds of the flute took place during funerals. To these were added mourners (sometimes "mourning" was entrusted to boys and girls from the best families (Suetonius, *Life of the Divine Augustus* , 100 (2)). Mourners and musicians were a necessary attribute of the funeral procession (just as it was among the Jews). Even if someone, by virtue of their poverty, was not able to afford to employ musicians for a funeral (to bury their dead in the accepted way), in the Roman world, a societal fund would provide a particular sum of money to poorer citizens for this purpose (Sanchurski 1995:133). The Greeks would typically hire flautists and singers, the Romans – horns (*tubas*), flutes (*tibia*) and small horns (*cornu*). Musicians lead the processions; after them came the mourners, singing songs in honor of the deceased against the gloomy sounds of the flutes intermittently playing in the plaintive lydian mode (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, IV 33). Expressive and intense music in the higher register of the lydian mode was an attribute of lament, and from time immemorial was associated with funeral rites.

Orgies were a part of some of the pagan religions, and involved music in the Phrygian style; wild, arousing passions – it led the participants into ecstasy. This was the worship of Dionysus (or Bacchus of the Romans); the god of fertility and winegrowing. It is interesting that the Hellenists, who had no entrance into the Jewish temple and not knowing the Jewish rituals, tried all the same to compare the worship of Yahweh to the pagan religion of Dionysus. Thus, some of them thought that the Jewish holiday cycle corresponded that of Dionysus, and that on the seventh day of Sukkoth the Jews celebrated a holiday devoted to Bacchus. This distorted description of Hebrew traditions against the backdrop of Hellenism allows us to reach some conclusions about the pagan religion of Dionysus in the first century AD. Thus, the sound of the *shofar* (horn) and appealing to God in the Jewish temple resembled the "Bacchian act", which was accompanied by the whistle of the fife and the appeals to the gods, as was done during the festivals of Dionysus. The levitical choir accompanied by the psalter was compared to the lyrical[26] choir, performing praise songs to Dionysus. The presence of small bells (*pamonim*) on the vestments of the high priests, jingling with their every movement, was considered the most obvious resemblance to Bacchism. Even regarding the Sabbath day, it was said to have been "not alien" to Dionysus. When the question was raised

[25] Demeter, in Greek mythology, is the god of fertility and farming.
[26] Originally, the term "lyric" was used in relation to songs performed to the accompaniment of a seven-stringed lyre (Tronski 1988:75).

regarding the God of the Jews in Plutarch's *Table Talks* (4, VI, 2), the participants felt that "the celebrants testify" to their connection to Dionysus, "inviting each other to drink wine…".

In the early steps of the development of the pagan religion of Dionysus, it consisted of night-time dances by torchlight to the sounds of flutes and timpani, where the worshippers, dressed in animal skins, worked themselves into a frenzy and tore an animal (an incarnation of the god) into parts and ate it raw, thus "joining themselves" to the god. After this the worshippers nurtured/nursed their gods, as if they had been born again and, like an infant, were laying in a cradle. The myth reflected the constant flow of nature; for this reason the "Dionysus" celebrated spring, when nature awoke, and autumn, when the harvest was brought in. Later, these "passions" or sufferings of Dionysus were given a few other meanings: the torment and resurrection of the god came to embody the struggle between good and evil, the suffering of the innocent, and a celebration of justice (Tronski 1988:108). The leading singer played an important role in the dithyramb, a praise hymn to Dionysus, which gradually turned in to a "call and response" between the choir and the lead singer. The lead singers began to perform an epic role – that of narration about "passions" of Dionysus, while the lyrical-dramatic role, growing out of the passionate appeals to Dionysus, was played by the round-dancing and singing of the other participants. In this way the ancient Greek tragedy grew out of the dithyrambs (the final form of the tragedy took shape in Athens at the end of the sixth century BC) and as a result became widespread. Its production would, in the future, coincide with the festivities of the Great Dionysus.

2.2.2 Theatrical productions and musical competitions

The theatre remained an important and impressive institution of urban life in the New Testament period. In terms of size, it was the largest public space in the city (Ac 19:29, Ferguson 1990:74). It was considered to be a place for entertainment as well as a religious institution. As was already mentioned, Greek drama has arisen and developed in the context of religion: it began with festivities in honor of the god Dionysus. Greek theatres (in contrast to Roman) were built adjoining temples and sacred buildings. (Pergamom's theatre, for example, was partly situated on a terrace connecting the forum with the temple of Dionysus). Usually an altar was located in the center of the "orchestra" (a round platform for chorus and actors).

Songs sung by the choir were an integral part of Greek theatrical productions. Towards the time of Christianity, when the great age of Greek drama had long passed and been reborn as "new comedy" (with its unpretentious plots of everyday Greco-Roman life); vulgar comedies and farces occupied the theatre stages. The pantomime became popular, in which the plot of the play was performed by dancers in costumes and masks and joined by the choir and music instruments. Apuleius describes a performance in which mythological characters hold a beauty contest. Juno

marches to the melody of the flute being played in the Ionian mode; Minerva – to a battle tune in the dorian mode played by skillful flautists who intersperse low droning sounds with high whistling tones in the imitation of a pipe; and the half-naked Venus, whose graceful movements are in step with the gentle Lydian tunes of the flutes, fascinate the spectators and judges alike. The goddess that wins the competition expresses her triumph by dancing in a round dance (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, X 30-34). Children and trained animals took part in similar theatrical productions, in which the show might please the spectators by culminating in the sex act (right down to copulation with animals) and actual murder (specially reserved for those condemned to the death penalty) (cf. ibid, X 34-35).

Wherever there was a large theatre, it usually adjoined the *odeon* ("concert hall, auditorium") a different type of theatre, which was devoted to musical performances. It performed the same functions as the theatre, but was merely smaller in size. Here they held rehearsals, performances, small civil assemblies, and music competitions, which were connected to various holidays (Targelia, Lenia, Dionysus) or were carried out during the games (for example in Delphi, in honor of Apollo, held every four years). Both individual musicians and whole ensembles participated in the competitions. Choir competitions were held between societies based on the territorial-administrative unions. Selection of people for the choir, money spent on its maintenance, location, rehearsals, costumes, etc., was assigned to some solid citizen who had been nominated as "*choreg*" – the leader of the choir. The order of appearance of the choirs was set by the organizers of the competition or by lot. According to Plutarch's *Table Talks,* the sponsors of the competitions (also named the "*choregs*") provided generous awards to the winners, which increased the passion of the performers (Plutarch, *Table Talks* 1, X).

The organization of similar entertainments was done very carefully. A choir or individual musician who wanted to participate in a competition or in the games was required to register ahead of time with the guardian of the amphitheatre[27]. According to the rules, if the competitor was late, the guardian was not allowed to let him into the competition (Plutarch, *Table Talks* 7, V, 1). There were special traditions with regard to clothing: at the games in Pithia, for example, the singer-player of the *kithara* performed in a long garment embroidered in gold, a crimson cloak lavishly ornamented with multi-colored decorations, and a golden crown on his head (Abert 1937:209-210). Sometimes the efforts in preparation reached such an extreme that the participants and the principal artists received for their excessive diligence only sneers from their contemporaries (Plutarch, *Table Talks* 7, VII).

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[27] *Amphiktion* – the union of several cities for the preservation of a pagan religion (editor's note in Plutarch 1999:905).

Even in Roman society, which at one time accepted only spectacle-type shows and farces, from the second half of the first century, competitions in the arts began to play a central role. Competitions in the Greek model were first done by Nero, who himself participated as a poet, singer, and player of the *kithara* (Suetonius, *Nero*, 11 (3)). But more than all others, the competitions in honor of Jupiter, established by Domitian, were highly respected (Suetonius, *The Life of Domitian,* 4 (3)). To win these competitions meant fame not only in Rome, but also in the entire world. For this reason, it drew participants from Asia and Egypt who gathered to compete for the crown of bay leaves, bestowed on the winner by the emperor himself.

To become a virtuoso in the musical arts and gain success in the competitions, the musicians employed the best teachers and applied themselves with all the effort they possibly could. Thus, singers led an extremely ordered life, observed various diets, and performed incredible exercises for the development of their breathing. In the breaks between festivals, which took place only in certain times of the year, the actors were sent on performance tours; the greatest among them received the highest respect and attention. Their glory was immortalized in monuments, and enthusiastic admirers and fans guarded their relics with trepidation – plectrums with which the *kithara* performers touched the strings of their instruments (Abert 1937:213:214). Their fees were huge, such that the instruction of music or the art of playing the *kithara* or the *aulos* was considered to be an occupation earning fairly good money. It is not surprising that envy and intrigue became the constant companion of popular musicians. This was especially visible in the competitions, when the contenders (through pay-offs or other means) tried to neutralize other competitors (for example, see Suetonius, *Life of Nero*, 23 (2)). Sometimes the virtuosos did not even go out on stage, knowing in advance the opinion of the spectators. It got to the point that in Rome, among the simple folk, it was considered a profitable enterprise to applaud one or another of the *kitharists* (Abert 1937:211). Sometimes for the sake of glory there were even murders. A rumor went around that Nero, as it was told, merely because of artistic successes rather than because of governmental affairs, murdered an actor by the name of Paris because he was a dangerous competitor (Suetonius, *Life of Nero*, 54).

Although music lessons were formerly reprehensible for the free citizens of Rome (although music theory was an exception because it was considered to be one of the general disciplines), gradually, under the influence of Greek way of life, it became a normal occurrence; boys and girls from well-off families learned to play musical instruments at a young age. This speaks of the universal enthusiasm for music and the growth of dilettantism during the Roman Empire. Seneca the Younger also spoke of this in his writings – that passionate fans of music spent entire days in listening to music, singing, composing arias, humming to themselves little melodies or drumming with their fingers the rhythm of some new piece (ibid, 220-222).

In the palaces, villas, and resorts, music was heard both day and night. Some, having become tired, would fall asleep to the music of flutes and the singing of the eunuchs, or having their failing spirits lifted by organs and lyres size of a two-wheeled chariot; others would not even set out for a walk without bringing along musicians. Caligula, for example, who loved to float in his magnificent galley ships to the sound of music and singing (Suetonius, *Caligula*, 37 (2)). But by the end of the first century there was a real over-saturation of music, especially at sumptuous feasts, to the point that several of the contemporaries (in particular Martial) remarked sarcastically that to begin the organization of a feast would be best done by the removal of the musicians (Abert 1937:208).

2.2.3 Feasts

One might say without exaggeration that throughout antiquity, musical entertainment was an obligatory part of dining. As early as Homer's time, there are descriptions of musicians at feasts – the music was vastly enjoyed by all those in attendance. Singing and playing on the lyre was frequently accompanied by dance – giving rise to a common nickname for the lyre; the "friend of feasts". It was said of singing and dancing that they were "decorations for the lyre" (Homer, *Odyssey*, VII 98-99; I 149).

In the first century AD feasts were sometimes "intellectual" and sometimes nothing more than revelry. At the former type of feast they loved to philosophize, and for that reason wine at these types of feasts was limited – the guests would be able to pass the time in verbal debates on political, philosophical, or societal issues. Here, we might see theatrical presentations, especially the popular Menander's pieces of the "new comedy" genre which was distinguished by its elegance, grace, and simple plots (Plutarch, *Table Talks*, 7, VIII, 3). Also heard was the reading of compositions, recitations of historical poems, and the verses of Sapho and Anakreon to the accompaniment of the *kithara*. The traditions of antiquity were given preference; to the degree that the *kithara* was used at the feasts in Homer's day, its presence was completely natural and accepted. However, according to one participant of the *Table Talks* of Plutarch: "we only need to request of the *kithara* player to remove from his music all that is … sad, allowing only those songs, … which are worthy of holiday celebrations" (ibid, 7, VII, 4). The flute was also used due to its gentle timbre, but some tried to impose restrictions on its playing because it was capable, in their opinion to give rise to "excessive passion" (ibid).

It is abundantly clear that during the latter of the two types of feasts mentioned above, "passion" in playing or dancing was quite acceptable. Flautists that had been invited to the feast were none other than courtesans (in Greece they were called *auletrid*, obviously from the word "*aulos*" – flute).

The *auletrid* used the art of the dance and flute playing to attract male attention (Dupue 1991:76). Their well-being depended on the perfection of their art: their audience would give these courtesans generous gifts if she delighted them with "intoxicating" tunes or particularly expressive dance steps or body movements (ibid, 77). This, by the way, is very similar to the scene where Herod Tetrarch, fascinated with the dancing of the daughter of Herodias, offered her everything that she wanted (Mt 14:6,7). Flautists were extremely popular among the Athenian population (and in Greece in general); they were admired even in Alexandria. They performed not only in homes, but participated as well in national festivals (Dupue 1991:73). When they appeared with their performances in public places in Rome, they were greeted with enthusiastic shouts (ibid, 78).

Thus, we see that music not only played an important role in public and private life, but it occupied all the leisure time of the people of the Roman Empire.

The musical world of Hellenism, in and of itself, is without a doubt very rich and multifaceted. It incorporates both philosophical thoughts and the art of live sound; religious views as well as scientific inquiry; religious practice and secular performance traditions; the rise of the human soul and its corruption. In comparison with Judaism (which was discussed in the previous chapter) what can be particularly discerned about this culture?

As was demonstrated, in the ancient world, the musics of the various nations (Jewish and Greek music in particular) were in many respects similar in essence: they had the same modes (comprised of four-note tetra-chords) and practically the same set of instruments. But the concept (or philosophy) of music and its place in the Hellenist society and Jewish society were quite different from each other. In general, the term "philosophy" in relation to the Palestine Jews of the Hellenistic age is hardly applicable, for the word itself at that time meant "Greek wisdom", which was alien to the Jews (cf. Chalier 1999:65). As far as the ancient Greeks were concerned, there was a direct connection between philosophy and music. After all, it was the ancient Greek philosophers, including Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle, who were the leading figures of the aesthetics of music. The Jews did not particularly philosophize about the origin of sounds or tunes, but they touched on the practical aspects. Meanwhile the ancient Greeks, besides other things, also developed a theory of music and its acoustical characteristics. For Jews, music was a means of praising God, an expression of national self-consciousness as "God's people" ("How can we sing the songs of the LORD while in a foreign land", "May my tongue cling to the roof of my mouth…if I do not consider Jerusalem my highest joy" – Ps 136:4,6). In this sense, a musical "God-centeredness" is demonstrated by the Jews.

As to the attitude of the Hellenes, where an individual usually lived "as if he…were the only and absolute creature in existence" (Losev 1994:107), this individualism was displayed in music as well. On one hand, music, in the understanding of the ancient Greeks, was the product of

the cosmos and was viewed on the Earth "as a prototype of divine and of heavenly music" (Hertsman 1993:67); on the other hand, it was "the product" of the Earth. According to ancient ideology, the gods did not create the world but "the world has created gods out of itself", and Earth is nothing other than "a single and indissoluble bosom of all births and all deaths, both for living creatures and for gods" (Losev 1994:120). Thus, music served the worldly sensuality of human beings and sooner or later it would bring decay to "the moral substance" of this ancient art. As a result, therefore, it is quite likely that by the time of the beginnings of Christianity "only inferior music of the street, sung in dens, tavern, theaters, and other pleasure establishments had been thoroughly developed" (Hertsman 1996:192). This became especially visible during the rule of Nero, when the emperor himself had absurd aspirations to musical glory. Certainly the Hellenists' opinions about music (especially entertaining music) were not equivocal, as was already mentioned in the section on aesthetics; and the influence of ethos is appreciable. Some accepted cheerful "dining music", others would not only defend the more serious, noble music, "able to facilitate mourning" (Plutarch, *Table Talks*, 7, VII), but even tried to isolate themselves from perverted music which would "intoxicate" the listener and incite them to actions "not appropriate or worthy of a well-bred man" (ibid, 7, V). The well-educated people of that time, both Greek and Roman (Seneca the Elder and Cicero), were inclined to believe that the bad taste of their society was becoming more and more prevalent and was silencing the perfect (ibid, 7, VIII, 1). For this reason, some, being faithful to ancient traditions, did not accept the non-ideological, empty music which was associated with the psalter and flute, preferring instead "intelligent" music with wise words "directed to reason and delighting in it" (ibid, 7, VII, 4).

As a whole, it is possible to conclude that the meaning which was given to music in both religious and everyday life, the mysticism, idleness, and luxury which surrounded the music of the Hellenistic world, the revelry with which it was associated in the lives of the Hellenists – all these could not but effect the attitude of the Jews (and later on, the Christians). However, a question might be raised – if the general character of the musical customs were so obscene and dominated everywhere, and if music occupied such a prominent place in the lives of the Hellenists, then why do we not see some kind of discussion regarding pagan music in the New Testament? After all, the former mode of life of the heathen attending church must have had some influence on Christianity; not necessarily in the sense of accepting heathen traditions, but in the sense of the principle of denial from any manifestation peculiar to the pagan life. Reflections of such tendencies one indeed does encounter later in the works of Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Jerome and others.

Besides that, how could the church, which was including more and more people coming from a Hellenistic background, not but reject one type of musical element rather than another, since even amongst Hellenes themselves, due to the teaching of *ethos*, there arose disputes regarding

good and bad music? Based upon this, we can draw the conclusion that Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles – who worked with such churches, would not have ignored a dispute concerning the use of music. Later on, the Church Fathers did not pass up the opportunity to curb some of the musical styles used by Christians.

In order to explain the reason of the apparent "silence" of the New Testament in respect to this matter, the researcher considers it necessary to note that, in general, there was a process of "corruption" of the art of music in the Roman world. With the increasing number of performances conducted in the Rome Empire (in the second and third centuries there were about 135 holy days accompanied by performances, by the middle of the fourth century this number increased to 175 (Bichkov 1981:187), meaning that more than five months (!) in a year were set aside entirely for performances), increasing the scope of the use the of music for entertainment. So, in the days of the Church Fathers, the development of such music, apparently, was already at its apogee. As for the period of the apostle's ministry, it is possible that the obscene entertainment music of the Hellenes was not honored with special attention, firstly, because it was not much different from the similar entertainment music in Israel, by that time, well-known and condemned by righteous people (for example, see Job 21:12; Isa 5:12) (which talks about wicked people drinking from early morning: "they have harps and lyres at their banquets, tambourines and flutes and wine…"); it is also said that Jewish prostitutes sang and played harps (Isa 23:16); and ungodly women danced before nobles during the days of feasting, inflaming passions in men (Mt 14:6; Mk 6:22). And secondly, during the time of Paul and other authors of the New Testament, the process of combining music with human vices was only beginning to gather momentum. The "bloom" of such music occurred, to all appearances, in the period after Nero (as it was noted, the emperor himself set an example of absurd aspiration for musical fame[28]). Paul most likely was killed at the time of his reign and so the theme of pagan music did not find reflection in the New Testament.

Of course, this is merely conjecture, but it fits well into the theory about the early origin of the New Testament books. Unfortunately, it is not possible to discuss the matter of the dating of books within the boundaries of this thesis. Therefore the author of this thesis prefers only to emphasize the conviction that the books of the New Testament, in particular the epistles of the Apostle Paul, were written before 70 AD Resting upon this assumption, the writer will proceed to the following phase of research – the data in the New Testament (and other literature) regarding early Christian music and liturgy.

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[28] Apparently, this is why Plutarch wrote that if emperor-musicians love music, then "their reign produces a great number of musicians" – *Advice to Spouses* 17.

3 MUSIC IN THE LITURGY AND DAILY LIFE OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY

3.1 The theme of music and liturgy in the New Testament

In spite of the apparent paucity of New Testament references to music, there are at least eight passages from different books of the NT giving information about the place of music in the life of believers (Mt 26:30; Mk 14:26; Ac 16:25; Ja 5:13; 1 Cor 14:15, 26; Eph 5:19-20, Col 3:16-17). Also there are at least three passages containing hints about the order of early church services (1 Cor 14:26-33; Eph 5. 19-20, Col 3:16-17), and more than 20 times music terms (instruments, genres, etc.) are mentioned. Moreover, it should be noted that some passages of the New Testament (as well as in the Old Testament) are identified by scholars as liturgical, implying that these materials originated in the context of worship (Wainwright 1984:163).

It is not necessary to discuss here some of the problematic proposals occurring as a result of the form-critical approach to the New Testament (such as seeing liturgical data everywhere – "pan-liturgism"). The more reasonable approach of taking only into account the passages that clearly contain hymnodic forms, benedictions, doxologies, creedal confessions, etc., shows that most of these passages could fit perfectly into church liturgy. It is not important at this point to determine whether some of the materials first originated in liturgy and then were used by the authors of the New Testament, or whether they were first written by the apostles and then appeared in church liturgy. It is appropriate to mention, however, that there was a tendency of the New Testament authors (especially of the epistolary genre) to represent already known texts as a quotation by means of the word λέγει. For instance, Paul in the Epistle to the Ephesians (5:13) writes: "λέγει, Ἔγειρε, ὁ καθεύδων, καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός" ("… it is said: Wake up, O sleeper, rise from the dead, and Christ will shine on you"). This is evidently a hymn, considered by some scholars as "the most cogent example of early Christian hymnody" (Martin 1974:47). An exception to this rule might be "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God Almighty" from the book of Revelation (4:5); this passage could serve as an example of a text which is so obviously liturgical that it is not marked as a quotation (it was clearly understood as being taken from the book of the prophet Isa - 6:3) The genre of this particular passage from the book of Revelation is clearly liturgical, whereas in the epistles, quotations are necessary to clarify the author's intentions.

Since the question regarding liturgical passages of the New Testament is disputable and extensive, the writer prefers not to dwell on examination of the texts identified by modern scholars as hymnodic (or other liturgical compositions), but to deal with the passages, which contain direct information about music. Most of them appear in three cases: in the context of narration (or description) – like Mt 26:30, Mk 14:26, Ac 16:25 etc.; in the context of exhortation – Ja 5:13,

1 Cor 14:15, 26; Eph 5:19-20; Col 3:16-17; and when used as a metaphor – 1 Cor 13:1; 14:7, 8; Rev 1:10; 4:1. There are other passages on musical themes in the book of Revelation (5:8, 14:2, 18:22, etc), but they contain descriptions of heavenly musicians and instruments, therefore they do not really belong to these three groups. While the first list allows us to see music traditions in the life of the believers (including Ja 5:13 - which belongs in this category too), the second list gives examples of the earliest Christian settings for the use of music in worship.

As it has been noted before, the absence of exhaustive information in the New Testament regarding the music of the church is usually explained by the fact that "Christianity entered into the inheritance of an already existing [Jewish] pattern of worship" (Martin 1974:19). But if one looks carefully at the New Testament, it is clear that the few musical directions that exist for the church are contained in the epistles – addressed to the churches in Corinth, Ephesus and Colosse, where there were a large percentage of believers of Gentile origin. Proceeding from the fact that the author of the three above-mentioned epistles thought it necessary to touch upon this topic, one can deduce that the members of these congregations were not very familiar with that particular "pattern of worship". As early as the New Testament period, one encounters varying types of congregations; therefore it would not be wise to reduce the study of the background of early Christian worship to a mere investigation of the main Jewish institutes as Martin does (1974:19).

Let's take for instance the church of Antioch (Ac 11:20): it arose after "some of …men from Cyprus and Cyrene" came there and told the good news about Jesus. While other disciples were traveling and spreading the Gospel only to Jews (Ac 11:19), the men from Cyprus and Cyrene began to speak to Greeks. And as a result, "a great number" of pagans turned to the Lord (11:21). We know nothing about the character of worship that developed in the Antioch church. Nevertheless, because of the discord and sharp debates which occurred with the arrival of some of Jewish Christians from Judea (15:1-2), we can conclude that cultural differences between these two types of communities – Jewish Christians and Christians newly out of paganism – were influencing the life of churches as well, making the churches different from each other (this conclusion can be also made on the basis of the Council's letter to Gentile believers – Ac 15:23-29). Even within one community, Jews and Greeks were finding disagreements (Ac 6:1; 15:1-2, 5).

It would be appropriate to remark that Barnabas and Paul, who spent a whole year in the church in Antioch (Ac 11:26), did not force the believers to follow the Law of Moses. They, unlike the Christians in Jerusalem, had a different vision concerning Christians from among the Gentiles, (although Paul did circumcise Timothy, whose father was Greek – Ac 16:1-3).

It is important to note here that from the very beginning the apostles allowed for the cultural aspect of churches: their geography, composition, and environs, which sometimes determined their

actions (although at times inconsistently). Thus, Paul circumcised Timothy "because of the Jews who lived in that area" (Ac 16:3), and Peter used to eat with the Gentiles (Gal 2:12).

The gospels and the epistles were written with special orientation toward the cultural background of their readers. The gospel of Matthew was written for people from of Jewish origin, whereas the gospel of John – for those coming out of Hellenism. Judging by the greetings in the epistles, the membership of the churches can be easily determined (the recipients of the letters). For example, James wrote "to the twelve tribes…"; or Peter (in his first epistle) – to those who temporarily lived in foreign countries (of the Diaspora - παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς; and etc.). It is well-known that Roman, Corinthian, and Galatian churches consisted of both Jewish and Greek Christians, while Ephesian, Philippian, and Colossian churches – predominantly Greek, and so on.

While Christians of Jewish origin adhered to Jewish rituals, Christians from among the Gentiles "were not bound by the liturgical traditions of the Jews", as G. Rouwhorst puts it (1993:74). That does not mean that in congregations consisting mostly of Hellenes that there was no room for the Jewish religious culture. The Passover festival, the Eucharist, baptism, as well as words like "Amen" and "Halleluiah" were acknowledged in these churches, undoubtedly reflecting Jewish influence. However, "hellenistic" Christianity adopted Jewish liturgical traditions only if those traditions were of a special importance to the Christians. For example, all Christians celebrated the Passover, because its events were connected with Christ's sufferings and death; the Jewish religious vocabulary could not disappear from the Greek-speaking environs, as it was a part of the acknowledged Old Testament Scriptures (ibid).

Thus, it is necessary to bear in mind the cultural context of the Christian communities, which are mentioned in the pages of the New Testament. That's why the following study of the information available regarding liturgy and music in the New Testament will be divided into two parts: an investigation into the evidence pertaining to Jewish Christianity, and investigation into the music and liturgy in churches with a marked Hellenistic character.

3.1.1 Some illustrations of music of Christians with Jewish backgrounds

As Christianity arose from the bosom of Judaism, and all the happenings of Christ's life on earth were connected mostly with the Jewish nation, descriptions of this period up to the day of Pentecost, correspondingly, reflect the life of the Jews. It follows that the few mentions of music, which occur in the Gospels (Mt 9:23 – in the episode of a burial ceremony with flute players (αὐλητής); Lk 15:25 – in the parable of the prodigal son, where music and dancing (συμφωνίας καὶ χορῶν) are mentioned; Mt 26:30 and Mk 14:26 – the episode when Jesus sang together with the Disciples), represent mostly musical traditions of the Palestinian Jews, which have already been examined in Chapter 1. To avoid repetition, the writer will now dwell just on one Scripture from Mt

26:30 or Mk 14:26 (Καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸ Ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν ("When they had sung a hymn, they went out to the Mount of Olives" – NIV)), for this verse is of a special value for studies of the origins of the early Christian music.

The context of the Scripture shows that it was on the eve of the Passover, therefore the singing was, most likely, connected with Jewish traditions. For example, some scholars are prone to believe that psalms from the second half of the great *Hallel* (see chapter 1) could have been heard that night, for the Jews usually sang them at the Passover festivals (Davis & Allison 1997:484; Hertsman 1996:56). It should be mentioned that the question as to what exactly Jesus and the disciples sang at the Last Supper has been discussed since early days. This is connected with the fact that the last Seder of Jesus' life on earth was different from ordinary ones – during it the disciples were notified about the suffering and death that awaited Jesus, which must have created an especially tense atmosphere. It is no wonder that Justin Martyr, an early Christian writer (100 – 160 AD) would come to the following opinion, expressed in his discussion of Psalm 22 in *Dialogue with Trypho, a Jew* (CVI) – that it was this psalm predicting his sufferings on the cross, that Jesus sang with the disciples. Verse 22 of this psalm was to Justin, grounds for asserting that Jesus "when living with them [the disciples], sang praises to God" (ibid).

Although the verse Mt 26:30 (Mk 14:26) is very laconic, it is impossible to overestimate the importance of this Scripture to the formation of the church liturgy. As Jesus himself took part in singing, and this singing took place at the Last Supper, it was sure to become an example for the later practice of the Eucharist. Consequently, in Tertullian's description of the *agape* feast, the singing of hymns is mentioned (*The Apology* XXXIX). Also there is the following statement in *Homily on St. Matthew* (LXXXII 2) by St. John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople (c 350-407), in his discourse on the topic of the Lord's Supper: "He [Jesus] gave thanks, and sang an hymn after the giving, that we also may do this selfsame thing".

Chrysostom does not make any specific comments about the kind of singing fit for such an occasion. That is why, as there is not a sufficient amount of evidence, everything the researcher can do is to confine herself to the following hypothesis about the character of the music. On the strength of the word ὑμνήσαντες used in this text (a participle of the verb ὑμνέω, which means "to sing a hymn" (ὕμνος) or "to sing praises"), one can assert that shortly before Jesus' sufferings on the cross, he and his disciples were not singing a sorrowful song. On the contrary, they were singing praise to God, which was the best way to keep up their spirits in difficult trials.

Acts (16:25) gives us a similar example of singing hymns in difficult straits. It reads that after Paul and Silas had been imprisoned in Philippi (Macedonia), they sang to God as they were praying at the dead of night (προσευχόμενοι ὕμνουν τὸν θεόν). As we can see, the same word ὑμνέω is used here, but specified with the object τὸν θεόν. H. Conzelmann (1987:132) notes that

singing hymns of praise in prison conditions is rather a widespread topic both in the Jewish and in classical literature. So, τὸν θεόν is an helpful supplement in demonstrating the difference between praise to Dionysus, sung by the imprisoned Bacche (ibid) and a hymn exalting the God of Paul and Silas.

Judging by the remark of the author of the Book of Acts that the other prisoners were listening to Paul and Silas (ἐπηκροῶντο δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ δέσμιοι), they must have been singing in the Greek language, a language intelligible to those prisoners. As for the hymns, they were a sort of prayer of Paul and Silas. God's reply to this prayer, when "the foundations of the prison were shaken" and "all the prison doors flew open" (16:26), was to become a strong testimony to the people confined in the prison with Paul and Silas.

Singing was an expression not only of trust in God, but also of joy in the life of the Christians. Thus, James writes: "Is anyone happy? Let him sing songs of praise" (5:13), showing by these words that to a believer devoted to the Christian faith, this is a natural reaction to the good situations of life (cf. Dibelius 1996:251, 252). The etymology of the word ψάλλω used in this case indicates the presence of a stringed instrument (a harp) accompanying the singing (the meaning of this word will be dwelt upon later). However, scholars remark that in the New Testament it does not necessarily imply the use of an instrument (cf. Ropes 1991:303; Hiebert 1992:293), therefore, ψάλλω is similar here to ὑμνέω. Due to the form of expression of thought used here[29], the conclusion can be drawn that it is not the process of singing that James is accentuating . It is the fact that God should "be remembered and praised in all situations, the good as well as the bad" (Hiebert 1992:293).

The indefinite pronoun τις (anyone) and the verb in Imperative Singular indicate that the author is talking not about corporate, but individual worship (ibid). Proceeding from the assumption that the epistle of James was addressed to a Jewish audience (Guthrie 1996:576), one can assert that the apostle probably did not feel the need to talk about worship at church, because, as we know, the Jewish Christians followed the already-established traditions of the synagogue. This is an essential difference of James's addressee from the contingent of people to which the Apostle Paul was writing his epistles (Christian congregations consisting mostly of former heathens, including mixed groups of believers of Jewish and Greek extraction); they evidently needed admonitions concerning their corporate worship of God. That's why the only one who can give us advice regarding the order of the church service and using music in corporate worship is "the apostle to the Gentiles".

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[29] Rhetorical questions (or declarative sentences – cf. Dibelius 1996:251) followed by the Imperative; words placed in opposition to one another (for example, "in trouble" and "happy") create contrast.

3.1.2 Performance practices and exhortations regarding music in churches with Hellenistic backgrounds

We are primarily talking about the epistles of Ephesians and Colossians, wherein Paul writes about singing psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs in worship. It would be appropriate at this point to say a few words about the epistles themselves. Traditionally, their authorship was ascribed to Paul, but this view was subjected to criticism when the historical-critical method developed. Thus, since 19th century attempts were made to disprove Paul's authorship of Ephesians; the authenticity of Colossians was debated even before the Tubingen school appeared. The obvious connection between the two was considered to be an indication of the pseudo-epigraphic character of one or another of the epistles. The writer will not spend too much time reflecting on this matter, just to note that while one critic thinks of similarities between these epistles as an argument against the authenticity of one of them, another, in contrast, uses these similarities as an argument for one authorship with a small amount of time between the writing of the two books (Guthrie 1996:393).

Based upon the fact that Ephesians and Colossians were accepted as being written by the Apostle Paul (both begin with the phrase "Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus by the will of God") as far back as the early church, the writer considers Paul as the true author of these epistles. The similarities between the two may be explained by assertion that they were written one after another. The fact that both of them were written in the prison confirms this claim (see the mention of chains – Eph 3:1; 6:20; Col 4:3, 10, 18). Most scholars think that Paul wrote these letters during his two-year (60-62 AD) imprisonment in Rome, mentioned in Ac 28.

Consideration must be given to the difficulty in determining the destination of the epistles by reason of absence " ἐν Ἐφέσῳ (in Ephesus)" of an inscription in some of the old codices. Therefore, Marcion, whose text apparently missed the reference to Ephesus, thought this epistle to be addressed to Laodiceans. On the other hand, this letter is commonly accepted as encyclical, delivered by Tychicus into different provinces of Asia Minor. It is possible that a blank was made in the original so that one could write in the church's name to which it was destined (even though there are strong arguments against this theory; for instance there have not been any manuscripts found with other inscriptions replacing the original).

That fact that Ephesians and Colossians were encyclical (we may assert that on the basis of author's charge to read his letter in the Laodicean church, Col 4:14) is of importance to our investigation, since the regulations about music are given, then, not to these two congregations only, but to many in this region. If one addresses history, examining the cultural environment of believers to whom Paul wrote his epistle, then one observes that Ephesus – the capital of Asia, and Colosse – a city in Phrygia, were rich with cities that were religious centers. The temple of Artemis was a point of interest in Ephesus. The temple brought to the city a special fame among all the inhabitants

of Asia. Colosse, because of the growth of neighboring cities, suffered decay during Roman Empire, but nevertheless, was the center of the renaissance of worship of the goddess Cybil.

Perhaps this is why the Colossian believers were in danger of false doctrine, and why the author pays so much attention to the doctrine of Christology. The reason for the writing of the epistle to the Colossians is quite well established: the apostle is alarmed by the false teaching that is attracting believers (Col 2:4, 8, 18, 20). Nevertheless, the letter was intended to be circular; therefore the exhortations about exalting Christ were meaningful not only for the Colossians, but for others as well.

In this respect, it is not strange that the church, as early as the second century, preferred to interpret the apostolic epistles from the point of view of universal application than in connection with its s*itz im leben* (Aune 2000:215).

The epistle to the Ephesians bears a similar character, and its theology in many respects corresponds with the epistle to the Colossians (in both epistles the "cosmic reigning of Christ is highlighted: He was seated at his right hand (1:20), appointed to be head over everything in the church (1:22)). However, as Schnelle notes, there is no other New Testament document where ecclesiology would occupy such an important place as it does in the epistle to the Ephesians (1998:301,302).

Let us therefore take a closer look at Ephesians 5:18-21 and Colossians 3:16-17.

3.1.2.1 Analysis of the texts

Ephesians 5:18-21	Colossians 3:16,17
18 καὶ μὴ μεθύσκεσθε οἴνῳ, ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν ἀσωτία, ἀλλὰ πληροῦσθε ἐν πνεύματι,	16 ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνοικείτω ἐν ὑμῖν πλουσίως, ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ διδάσκοντες καὶ νουθετοῦντες ἑαυτούς, ψαλμοῖς ὕμνοις ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς ἐν [τῇ] χάριτι ᾄδοντες ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν τῷ θεῷ·
19 λαλοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς [ἐν] ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς, ᾄδοντες καὶ ψάλλοντες τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν τῷ κυρίῳ,	
20 εὐχαριστοῦντες πάντοτε ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρί.	17 καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι ἐὰν ποιῆτε ἐν λόγῳ ἢ ἐν ἔργῳ, πάντα ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ πατρὶ δι' αὐτοῦ.
21 Ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ,	

These two passages demonstrate an example of identical texts between the two epistles. They are both given in the context of exhortation. We can see motivating character from the abundance of verbs in imperative mood, second person plural (or participles attached to the verbs in imperative and carrying the same idea of urge), second person pronouns plural (the addressee of Paul's letter), some literary techniques (i.e. hendiadys, antithetic parallelism (Eph 5:18), chiasmus

(Eph 5:19-21; Col 3:16), metaphor, and the intensification of the meaning of certain words). The opening theme of virtues and vices is also a characteristic of letters of exhortation. Furthermore, the vocabulary of these epistles is pretty much the same (literary analysis shows that more than 25% of the words coincide in these epistles).

These passages demonstrate an example of musical directions given for church worship (i.e. for the corporate worship). It may be traced not only from the features shown above, but also from the pronoun ἑαυτοῖς, ἑαυτοῦ – one another), second person plural, found in both epistles (Eph 5:19; Col 3:16). Some versions (e.g. RSB or KJV) put it as "yourselves". However, as the Greek-Russian dictionary, ed. Sobolevsky, says, the pronoun ἑαυτοῦ is translated as reflexive in the singular and may mean "each other" in the plural. The way we translate this pronoun will appreciably affect the meaning of the whole text, since it identifies whether the author intended music as means to devotion for just an individual or interaction between the members of the congregations during the meetings. The context of Ephesians will help us to clarify the situation, therefore let us begin our exegetical examination with the epistle to the Ephesians.

a) Ephesians 5:18-2

Ephesians 5:21 has ἀλλήλοις, a word similar in meaning to ἑαυτοῖς. Not everyone, though, agrees that we can correspond verse 21 with the passage under consideration as we break the text in semantic units. Most debates arise because of the participle ὑποτασσόμενοι which primarily determines if this verse belongs to the preceding or the following passage. Some, as Hodge comments, when trying to solve the problem of this "inconvenient" participle and endorse their opinion about the boundaries of this passage, even translate it as a verb "submit", and in that way break the rules of "language use" (1994:309). Best also mentions this tendency and writes that participle ὑποτασσόμενοι could hardly be thought of as an imperative apart from all other participles (1998:516, cf. also Wallace 1996:651).

Apparently, we will not find a clear solution to this debate, since both parties supported their reasoning by forcible arguments. Hodge, for example, an advocate for joining ὑποτασσόμενοι to the following section, shows, first of all, that τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρί itself points out to the end of the passage[30]. Then, he casts doubt on the possibility of correlation of this participle with the main verb πληροῦσθε, since the meaning is uncertain: "be filled with the Spirit… submitting to one another". In contrast to this view, one may point out that all these participles have one time aspect (present), the same person and number (second person plural), and, finally, they are all predicative participles in the nominative case. It appears from this that ὑποτασσόμενοι (with no more participles until the

[30] Lincoln (1990:338) also sees the rhetorical conclusion of the section here.

twenty-sixth verse) is linked to the preceding ones and acts as a closing one in the "cascade" of participles in this passage.

To solve the debate, Wallace suggests a middle road: verse 21 clearly links two passages, since the main thought of 5:15-21 flows into 5:22-6:9, and so belongs to both preceding and following sections (1996:651). J. Stott (1986:25, 195-215) is obviously of the same opinion, he considers this verse as being in two passages at the same time: as a conclusion in the first one (5:15-21) and as an opening in the next (5:21-6:9).

Even though this approach is not unreasonable, grammatically it is better to link verse 21 with the preceding passage; this would be in nowise contradictory to the meaning of the text. One may assert this on the basis of the observation that unlike in 5:19-21, where the author talks about mutual submission (he uses "one another" expression twice), the 5:22-6:9 passage gives a whole list of pairs in family relations with evident subordination among them: wives are to subject to their husbands (obviously here no mutual subordination is meant otherwise how should we understand the analogy of the submission of the Church to Christ), children – to their fathers (6:1-4), and slaves – to their masters (6:5-9) (cf. Best 1998:517).

Consequently, having determined that verse 21 is the concluding verse of the passage under discussion, we can assert that this instruction pertains not only to particular members of the community, but to the whole community in a corporate sense. This means that the author is not talking here about individual singing in private (cf. with Ja 5:13), but of singing for others or congregational singing. Best (1998:511) believes that we should not eliminate the possibility of antiphonal singing here. This had long been the practice of Jews and one could see a variation of it in the sect of the Therapeuts (see Chapter 1, also Philo of Alexandria, *On the Contemplative Life*, 84) and in some ancient Christian communities (Pliny the Younger, X 96). However, not all agree with this kind of supposition (cf. Balz 1994:495).

Having set the boundaries of the passage under discussion, let us examine the contents of the verses themselves.

Verse 18.

The author of Ephesians continues the thought that he began in verses 15-17 (where he urges the readers to spend time wisely, not in imprudence, but in discerning God's will) with an admonition to the reader not to be filled with wine, but filled up with the Spirit. This advice is expressed with an antithetical construction (like verses 15 and 17), formed by the negative μη and conjunction ἀλλα. It is the key sentence in this passage. The antithesis, according to Abbot (1991:160), is expressed, not between the nouns οἴνῳ and ἐν πνεύματι , but between the imperatives expressed by the verbs μὴ μεθύσκεσθε and πληροῦσθε (cf. also Best 1998:506-507).

Some commentators believe the phrase μὴ μεθύσκεσθε οἴνῳ ("do not be filled with the wine") is taken from the Old Testament (Pr 23:31, LXX) and appears here only for the sake of antithesis: "be filled with the Spirit" (Bruce 1984:379). Still, this researcher prefers the arguments of scholars who point to a possible connection with the heathen traditions from which these believers came (cf. Lincoln 1990:343). In the second chapter of this composition the writer emphasized that Gentile morals were characterized by ἀσωτία, (debauchery). However, as Best (1998:508) remarks, we face a significant difficulty when attempting to explain why Paul gives such an instruction since we know very little about the readers' situation. Besides, as we have said, this epistle was circular, i.e. was intended for more than just the community in Ephesus. For that reason, it is unlikely that alcoholism was a problem among believers in several churches all at once. If this were so, we would expect the author to be more explicit about this matter. Most likely Paul was addressing a broad context of readers with Gentile backgrounds[31] and wanted to demonstrate that in Christianity, there was no room whatsoever for the religious drunkenness that was often seen in the Hellenistic pagan religions (Best 1998:508-509).

In addition, Paul contrasts, by means of antithesis, the results of these opposing types of behavior; injudicious behavior such as drunkenness, led to further degradation – whereas being filled with the Spirit (πληροῦσθε ἐν πνεύματι) permitted further growth in the knowledge of God and praising Him in worship with other believers.

Verses 19-21.

For a more correct understanding, it is worth examining the grammatical construction, especially the construction in Eph 5: 19-21 which represents a "cascade" of participles.

There are two ways to interpret the participles in this passage. One might assert that all participles - λαλοῦντες, ᾄδοντες and ψάλλοντες, εὐχαριστοῦντες and lastly ὑποτασσόμενοι syntactically refer to the main verb πληροῦσθε.[32] Another possibility is that the participles depend on each other: λαλοῦντες is referring to πληροῦσθε and is the "main" participle in this chain. The following participles ᾄδοντες and ψάλλοντες (εὐχαριστοῦντες "ensuing" from them) are related to it. The last participle ὑποτασσόμενοι reverts to λαλοῦντες thereby concluding the thought.

Such a construction is, of course, dictated more by logical sense since ᾄδοντες and ψάλλοντες are obviously jointed with ψαλμοῖς, ὕμνοις and ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς (psalms, hymns, and songs are naturally connected with the process of singing), in a similar manner εὐχαριστοῦντες connected with ᾄδοντες and ψάλλοντες, as though pointing out the "thankful" character of singing.

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[31] Drunkenness with its consequent orgies was characteristic of the secret rites of Dionysus.

[32] Here one can agree with Hodge that ὑποτασσόμενοι by implication does not agree well with πληροῦσθε, though Best (1998 : 518), for instance, refers the word "submitting" to the verb "be filled", speculating that believers will experience difficulty to submit unless they are filled with the Spirit).

The only doubt arising in this case is that the participles are used in predicative form and not in attributive, whereas in the text, they could be used in correspondence with ψαλμοῖς, ὕμνοις and ᾠδαῖς in passive voice: ᾳδόμενοις and ψαλλόμενοις.

Analyzing the connection ᾄδοντες and ψάλλοντες with the previous λαλοῦντες, Lincoln (1990:345) notes that this grammatical structure points to the fact that singing functions not only as praising God but as exhortation, instruction, and teaching of believers (this also corresponds with the idea that music in the church should be meaning-based, expressed in words).

Hodge sees here various types of songs. λαλοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς, means singing aloud; ᾄδοντες και ψάλλοντες ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ concerns the silent "music" of the heart. With the support of Harless, Ruckert, Olshausen and Meyer, Hodge goes on to say that the apostle uses ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν ("with your hearts") and not εκ καρδίας ("from the heart") in the case where ὑμῶν is not indicated[33]. In other words, this turn one should be regarded as dative case of instrument and not the modifier of act when the preposition εκ would be appropriate. Besides that, the singing in this case relates to those who are filled with the Spirit, therefore, the warning that singing should not be simply voice work but in spirit and sincerity, is evidently superfluous (Hodge 1994:305).

In addition to the syntactical structure of the sentence in Eph 5:19-21, it is worth adding that the participles here are not likely to indicate attendant circumstances, since the way in which it is used in this sentence (when the main verb and the following participles are all in present tense) the attendant circumstances are practically not used (are not likely to occur) (cf. Wallace 1996:644).

Therefore, it would be correct to regard these participles as the result of the action of the verb "be filled". An understanding of the difference between the attendant circumstances and the result significantly influences the interpretation. For in the former instance the participles coordinate commands, while the latter refers to "the overflow of one who is Spirit-filled" (ibid, 645). And since here it is the result, then based on that we can assume that corporate musical praise is connected to the work of the Holy Spirit, who inspires (moves) believers in singing and thanksgiving to God.

In light of the theme about the role of the Holy Spirit in musical praise, it is worth discussing the meaning of the word λαλέω used in Eph 5:19 in the form of a participle. Paralleling the message of Col 3:16-17 is the theme of Eph 5:19, where participles such as διδάσκοντες καὶ νουθετοῦντες are used. These are not particularly difficult to understand: the former derives from the verb "teach", and the latter derives from "instruct", "persuade". As to the word λαλοῦντες (derived from "speak", "proclaim") in Eph 5:19 – the reason why this particular word was used is not quite

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[33] In other words, in this case it should be regarded as Instrumental Dative case and not a Modifier of Action when the preposition εκ would be appropriate.

clear to scholars. On one hand, the use of this fragment of λαλοῦντες may be connected with the previous thought of the filling of the Holy Spirit. This word is frequently used as a term of speaking in tongues (for instance, Act 2:4-13). If we take a look at the narrative of the day of Pentecost, we can see that this was a situation where the eyewitnesses of those events mistook the believers being filled with the Spirit for slightly drunk people. Lincoln (1990:344) writes that researchers frequently try to make this connection, but in fact, it is impossible to draw any strong conclusions.

Of course, in comparing the two messages, the thought occurs that the word λαλοῦντες , chosen for communicating the author's idea, is not accidental. In Col 3:16, 17, where it describes the indwelling of Christ's teaching, διδάσκοντες καὶ νουθετοῦντες, ("teaching and instructing") are used. In the same passage, after the words about the Spirit dwelling, λαλοῦντες ("proclaiming") is used. Besides that, the correlation between being filled with the Spirit and singing, analogous to speaking in tongues, is supported by another passage from Corpus Pauline – 1 Cor 14:15, which is situated in the context of speaking in tongues - ψαλῶ τῷ πνεύματι, ψαλῶ δὲ καὶ τῷ νοι ("I will sing in my spirit, I will (sing) with my mind"). Thus, one cannot deny that Paul could be implying here spontaneous singing, occurring in the prayerful ecstasy of the believers. All the more, because we have observed singing "under inspiration" as a phenomenon of the ancient world, both in ancient literature (Aioedos, see chapter 2), in the Old Testament (the singing at the shore of the Red Sea), and the impartation of the prophetic spirit under the impact of music (see chapter 1).

But even if Paul did have in mind singing as a manifestation of the Holy Spirit in the corporate worship of believers, preference was certainly given to the content of the singing (following the principle of 1 Cor 14:15 and Col 3: 16,17). One might add that, besides the above-mentioned possible meanings of λαλέω, there are two more: one is "to proclaim", "to preach", "to speak to" – the most widespread opinion, and best of all, it has something in common with the passage in Colossians. The other possible meaning, unfortunately, has not been researched. The ancient Greek dictionary edited by Sobolevsky states that Aristotle uses this word in the sense of "uttering musical sounds", or "playing". Taking into consideration the possibility of the existence of such a shade of word meaning, it can be assumed that the author of the epistle in the passage is speaking in particular about fellowship through the medium of music.

Besides the antithetic parallelism that was mentioned above, one can see a plainly stated chiasmus in this passage to Ephesians (see Appendix 2, *Diagram 1*). The chiasmus is difficult to distinguish if the confines of the passage do not include verse 21. The chiasmus is mostly comprised of the pronouns ἑαυτοῖς and ἀλλήλοις, and the nouns τῷ κυρίῳ and τῷ θεῷ καὶ Πατρί. We can see that the action of the (A) statements is directed to people (the Ephesians themselves), and the action of the (B) statements is directed to God (another person).

It may also be noted that λαλοῦντες and ὑποτασσόμενοι to some extent convey contrary ideas: the former means to speak to somebody, and the latter – to submit, which implies listening to a speaker and obeying him. Thus, through this parallelism, the idea of equality – mutual exhortation and mutual obedience – is expressed.

The word ὑποτάσσω (ὑποτασσόμενοι – Eph 5:21) is quite frequently encountered in the New Testament (38 times), not only in the Pauline works, but in the books of Luke, James, and Peter as well. It is used in the context of obeying God, in relations with the government, and in the context of church and family relationships. In the text of Ephesians ὑποτάσσω is applied as a participle of the present tense and of the middle voice, attaching to this word a shade of voluntary submission (Tevs 1999:87). Essentially, the indirect object ἀλλήλοις also refers to voluntary submission, which is a necessary aspect of mutual submission. It is interesting to note the use of the word φόβος in verse 21. In the epistolary genre, we see such phrases only a few times (sometimes these two words are situated not immediately together but simply close to each other). In addition to Eph 5: 22, we see this expression in Rom 13:5-7 where it talks about submission to authorities; in 1 Pet 3:1,2 about a wife's reverence to her husband; in 1 Pet 2:18 and Col 3:22 - about a servant's subordination to his master. But only in Eph 5:21 and Col 3:22 does one see an explanation that the word "fear" stands for fear of Christ (Eph 5:21) - ἐν φόβῳ Χριστου (or, if taking into consideration the variant reading, Ἰησου Χρ. (D F G), κυρίου (K) or θεοῦ (6. 81. 614. 630. 1175. 1881 pm; C1 Ambst^{mss}) (Col 3:22) - τὸν κύριον. With this in mind, one may assert that the motivation of submission should be reverence and obedience to Christ (cf. Hodge 1994:310-311).

In addition to this, having noted that φόβος is quite a strong word and means not simply "fear" but "horror", one may presume the author wanted to emphasize the importance and gravity of his statement about submission to each other.

The word ὑποτάσσω, originated in the lexicon of the military and points toward troop orders or their allocation (cf. Tevs 1999:87). So the word τάσσω means "forming a line up", "disposing", "appoint" (of the same root to it καθίστημι also means "place", "constitute"). When Paul speaks of order in church and of "God being not a God of disorder" (1 Cor 14:33), he uses the word ἀ-καταστασία ("commotion", "tumult") which has the root -τασ- too. The equivalent to the Greek ὑποτάσσω in the Russian language would be "под-чин-яться"- which also contains the element of "order" since the root "-чин-" (Russian word) means "organization", "order", "establishment." Thus, ὑποτάσσω excellently conveys the sense of a church institution or the order of divine service (worship).

If the given text from the book of Ephesians is situated in a passage which contains the statements of negative + positive type (antithetical parallelism) (Eph 5:15-18), then the text from

the book of Colossians is found in the context of positive type statements (Col 3:12-17). And on the whole, despite the fact that the vocabulary and manner of formulating thought in many respects coincides with the passage in the book of Ephesians (5: 18-21), this text (Col 3:16, 17) does contain peculiarities.

b) Colossians 3:16, 17

Verse 16.

With the presence of several participles at once, the syntax of the verse in the given fragment somehow reminds us of Eph 5:18:21, though the main verb (ἐνοικείτω – "dwell") of the present tense and of imperative mode are not in the second person, like in the book of Ephesians, but in the third singular person.

In essence, the command itself relates to "the word of Christ", which should dwell in the people to whom the author is writing. Therefore, the following participles διδάσκοντες and νουθετοῦντες (joined by the conjunction καὶ into one unit) would be better viewed as an attendant circumstance to the verb ἐνοικείτω: "May (let) the word of Christ dwell in you..., when you teach and instruct."

The sentence by itself is uncoordinated, and its construction represents anacoluthon: the noun is ὁ λόγος but the participles relate to ὑμῖν (cf. Harris 1991:168). As for the expression ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ (the word of Christ) this is the only time when it appears in this form. The phrases such as "the word of God" (1:25) or "the word of the Lord" (1 Th 4:15, 2 Th 3:1) are used more frequently.

Perhaps this is why some manuscripts change it to the more customary "the word of God" (A C^*) or "the word of the Lord" ($\aleph^*$ I). However, the reading found in the text is strongly supported by the earliest manuscripts $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ $\aleph^c$ B C^2 D F G (Metzger 1994:558). The explanation of the "unusual" use of ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ can be found in the purpose the author pursued in his epistle to the Colossians. His task was to glorify the status of Christ – to accentuate His personality and mission (Abbot 1991:290). Some deduce, apparently by analogy with 1 Jn 2:14, that ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνοικείτω ἐν ὑμῖν implies the presence of Christ in one's heart as internal stimulus (cf. Abbot 1991:290). In any case, the ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ is traditionally understood as "Christ's teaching", which seems more appropriate within the context of teaching and instructing (διδάσκοντες καὶ νουθετοῦντες). Keeping in mind the context of oral communication one with another, the contraction of the dative case (ἐν ὑμῖν), and the adverbial modifier of place, it can be concluded that ἐν ὑμῖν implies the meaning 'in you as a collective body' (Abbot 1991:290). This once again shows that the present exhortation relates to the church in general.

If one examines the use of the word ἐνοικέω (Col 3:16), one sees that it appears only in Paul's epistles and only in a figurative sense. It is used in relation to God abiding among people (2 Cor 6:16) and the Holy Spirit dwelling in believers (Rom 8:11, 2 Tim 1:14 and others.) Thus, the idea of being filled with the Spirit in Eph 5:18b resembles Col 3:16a (the dwelling of Christ's word in believers). In both instances, the results of the effect of the Spirit and of the Christ's word are the same.

ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ (in dative case) operates as an adverbial Modifier of Action and relates to διδάσκοντες και νουθετοῦντες (cf. Lohse 1971:151). The other possibility – that the phrase is attached to ἐνοικείτω, (cf. Harris 1991:167) – is hardly likely, since this thought already occurs in the epistle of Colossians (1:28), and there the connection of ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ with "instructing" and teaching" is evident:

> ὃν ἡμεῖς καταγγέλλομεν νουθετοῦντες πάντα ἄνθρωπον
> καὶ διδάσκοντες πάντα ἄνθρωπον ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ.

Moreover, as Harris notes, ἐνοικείτω is already specified by the adverbial Modifier of Action, expressed by the adverb πλουσίως - "abundantly" (1991:167). The details that Paul quotes again brings us back to the thought that the priority in praising God by singing was not in the music itself, but the word content conveyed by the music.

Further, in the epistle we encounter a construction similar to Eph 5:19:

> ψαλμοῖς ὕμνοις ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς ἐν [τῇ] χάριτι ᾄδοντες
> ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν τῷ θεῷ.

Here it is necessary to note some peculiarities as compared to Ephesians. For instance, we see that the three first nouns (in the role of instrumental dative case) are not connected by the conjunction καὶ, in contrast to the passage in Ephesians. Concerning the present καὶ before and after the word ὕμνοιϛ there are variant readings in some manuscripts (C^3 D^2 Ψ Ambr). Though this version of the text is supported by such important evidences as $\mathfrak{P}^{46}$ ℵ B C^* D^* F G. Therefore, there are no doubts that πνευματικαῖς refers to the last word in this chain (the dispute concerning a participle in the given text will be discussed below in the section Analysis of music terms).

Regarding the attachment of ψαλμοῖς ὕμνοις ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς to the respective participles, there are two options: to διδάσκοντες και νουθετοῦντες or ᾄδοντες. Harris (cf. 1991:167) discusses this matter, but in actual fact, attaching these three nouns to one or another participle does not much influence the sense, because the connection between the three musical terms and ᾄδοντες remains evident anyway.

Verse 17.

The sentence in this verse starts with the conjunction καὶ, forming a complex connection with the previous sentence. The author uses it in order to summarize; thus, the exhortation in this

verse summarizes the previous one (Lohse 1971:152).

The syntax structure of the whole sentence in Col 3:17 is quite complex: both the subject and predicate of the main sentence are concealed, and the direct object πᾶν "all" (though some regard it as the Nominative Absolute (compare O'Brien 1982:211, Harris 1991:170)) contains an explanation in the form of the dependent clause formed by the relative prounoun ὅς ("which"). We will not dwell on all the syntactical peculiarities of this sentence, only note that the expression πᾶν ὅ τι ἐὰν is regarded by exegetes as an example of Semitism (Lohse 1971:152, O'Brien 1982:211). They believe that it is placed in the beginning for rhetorical emphasis (O'Brien 1982:211).

ἐν λόγῳ и ἐν ἔργῳ ("by word" and "by act"), joined by the conjunction ἤ ("or"), in the role of the instrumental dative case, serves as an explanation of the first πᾶν, as well as for the purpose of pointing that it talks not only about worship (O'Brien 1982:211). Here we can see the author using the rhetorical method: he moves from the general (πᾶς) to the particular (ἐν λόγῳ ἢ ἐν ἔργῳ), and then from the particular to the general (πᾶς). Then the same word πᾶς but in plural form is used for summarizing ἐν λόγῳ ανδ ἐν ἔργῳ. The expression itself emphasizes the importance of the author's thought that praising the name of Jesus (ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Ἰησοῦ) is supposed to be the motivation for everything.

Contrary to Ephesians 5:20, ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Ἰησοῦ grammatically refers not to εὐχαριστοῦντες but to the concealed ποιεῖτε ("do"). Nevertheless, the semantic notional connection, due to δι' αὐτοῦ, remains the same, since the pronoun αὐτός implies Jesus.

According to Lohse, this phrase "through Him (Christ)" stands for "in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ" (1971:153). The participle itself εὐχαριστοῦντες ("thanksgiving", "thanking") refers to the verb ποιεῖτε.

Regarding εὐχαριστοῦντες, it should be noted that in the form of a noun, this word, according to the early Christian literature, became a term for The Lord's supper. Paul himself used this word as a verb in the same context. The word is quite widely used in its elemental meaning – "to thank", "give thanks". It is used in this way in Eph 5:20 and Col 3:16. No one can say for certain whether the author was alluding to the Lord's supper (during the worship service and praising God) or not (cf. Best 1998:515).

In researching the text of Colossians, as well as the book of Ephesians, it can be concluded that there is a chiasmus here (see Appendix 2, Diagram 2). The construction between ᾄδοντες … τῷ θεῷ· and εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ, it has a structure of A-B-A1-B type and unites two participles. Thus, a connection discovered between singing (ᾄδοντες) to God and thanksgiving (εὐχαριστοῦντες) to Him mainly defines the meaning of praising God through music.

3.1.2.2 Analysis of the music terms

Now let us examine the three terms encountered in both passages: ψαλμός, ὕμνος,· ᾠδή. Researchers unanimously assert that it is impossible to precisely distinguish the terms (cf. Harris 1991:169; Lincoln 1990:345; Hodge 1994:303-204, Stoeckhardt 1952:238 and others). Lohse writes that attempts towards this were frequently made from ancient days. He cites the words of Gregory the Lesser Gregory of Nissa (*On Psalms* II, III) who believed a psalm was a melody, produced by a musical instrument, song was a melody sung with words, and hymn was a song of praise sung to God for all of the blessings that He gives us (1971:151).

The commentary of Gregory the Lesser sheds a little light on the situation. It is still not clear though, how a song, for example, differed from a hymn. Apparently, this is why such researchers such as Bullinger prefer to regard all three words as synonyms (cf. Bullinger 1994:333-337).

Hertsman also discusses the insolubility of the problem. He asserts that in the ancient world there was not any one particular characteristic of any of these musical genres (1996:87).

Rutenfranz (1994:392) and Balz (1994:495) think that among the above-mentioned terms in these texts, there is no real difference. For a solution to this dispute, they suggest that this instance is an influence of Jewish tradition where a tendency exists to multiply terms for praising God.

Accordingly, let us examine the meaning of each word and its use predominantly in the New Testament.

a) ψαλμός

"A song", "a song of praise" in the form of noun is encountered seven times in the New Testament. In LXX it mostly corresponds to the Hebrew word *mizmor*, particularly in references to Psalms, and as a rule, relates to a song accompanied with stringed instruments (Ps 66:1, Ps 44:1). In the New Testament the word is encountered in some books in the following variants: as a mention of the book of Psalms (Lk 20:42, Mt 22:43, Ac 1:20, 13:33); and as a term for indicating spiritual singing (Ja 5:13; 1 Cor 14:26). The use of the word in the context of Paul's exhortation about worship service order and speaking in tongues (1 Cor 14:15, 26) leads some scholars to think that it is the ψαλμός which was the term for indicating singing in regard to the effect of the Holy Spirit in community (see the section *Analysis of the texts* (Eph 5:18-21)). Thus Lohse (1971:151) talks about psalms as being newly produced songs of praise that expressed the believer's joy and gratitude under the impulse of the Holy Spirit. Wainwright (1984:211) and Balz (1994:495) do not exclude, either, the possibility that in the New Testament (1 Cor 14:26, in Eph 5:19, Col 3:16) ψαλμός implied either extemporaneous song or a composition by someone in the community which was for the first time presented to the church as a song. The evidence of Tertullian testifies that in the early church they actually practiced such singing. According to him there were hymns sung to God, either

from the Scripture or of one's own composing (*The Apology* XXXIX). The term ψαλμός could also imply the singing of psalms from the book of Psalms. In the context of a call to instruction by the means of psalms, (especially in Colossians where it talks about Christ's word abiding in believers) it is quite possible that by that time, it was the Old Testament Psalms that were perceived christologically (Wainwright 1984:211). We can also see examples of christological interpretation (such as Ps 2: 7; 16:10; 21, etc) in the New Testament (in Ac 13:33; 2:31, 32; etc). Despite the fact that most researchers agree that these words can imply psalms from the book of Psalms (cf. Lohse 1971:151), there is an objection to this as well. For instance, B. Fisher believes that in ancient times Christians did not sing, but read from the Holy Scripture for the purpose of studying it (cf. Wainwright 1984:211), which would mean that the epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians did not talk about psalms from the book of Psalms.

However, such a position is conditioned by the approach of studying ancient music from the point of view of a contemporary person, and is mistaken in its nature: in ancient music, contrary to present day music, the border between singing and reading was frequently obliterated.

One must not exclude the literal interpretation of the term – the singing to the accompaniment of stringed instrument, since further in the text of Eph 5:19, the participle ψάλλοντες is used (from the verb ψάλλω - literally pluck, run one's fingers over the strings). However, it is worth noting that in Col 3:16 there is no ψάλλοντες , and in Ephesians it could be used only for emphasizing the meaning of ᾄδοντες (ᾄδω – "to sing") as a rhetorical method. Yet, in 1 Cor 14:15 the word ψάλλω evidently is used meaning "to sing" and not "to play".

There is no unanimity of opinion as to the degree to which instrumental music existed in early church liturgy, due to the lack of direct confirmation in early sources. There are, nevertheless, some indirect evidences. For instance, Ignatius of Antioch (about 35-107) in his *Letter to Ephesians* (IV 1) makes an assessment regarding the leader of the Ephesian church, that he "is fitted as exactly to the [office of] bishop as the strings are to the harp". Moreover, in connection with the following "Therefore in your concord and harmonious love, Jesus Christ is sung" we can assume that this symbolic use of the harp was an example taken from the church life (cf. Quasten 1983:72). As it was pointed out above (see Chapter 1), there are also comments by Clement of Alexandria (*The Instructor* II 4). Though he was against using musical instruments in general, he permitted harp or lyre playing: "… if you wish to sing and play to the harp or lyre, there is no blame…" As he continues, he moves on to the thought of a psalm as being "a melodious and sober blessing…" (ibid) during partaking of food and drinking (in *agape* meetings). Based upon this, it may be assumed that singing to lyre or harp (*kitharas)* was entirely acceptable in the early church.

It is interesting that in the book of Revelation, heavenly creatures (Rev. 5:8-9) and heavenly choirs (15:2) use only *kitharas* (harps or lyres) for accompaniment to their singing. Such an

instrument like the flute is mentioned in the book of Revelation (18:22) only in the context of Babylon, where it says that the voice of flute players will never be heard. Flute, associated with depravity, is more matched for the illustration of Babylon, than for heavenly choir. Thus, Quasten (1983:72) proved to be right in the idea that " the whole vision had for its model the earthly liturgy..." (compare with Foley 1996:80). Foley argues with this point of view (1996:80-81), thinking that music in the early church *ad exemplum* synagogues was definitely vocal. However, it is worth mentioning that Foley builds his conclusions basically on the strength of Jewish Christianity, practically not taking into consideration the influence of Hellenism. Whereas, according to the thesis of this writer this manner of drawing conclusions is correct only from the point of view of chronology.

b) ὕμνος

Possible meanings of this word are: "A song of praise", "hymn", also "a solemn song", "a hymn (in somebody's honour)", "a melody", or "a tune" (according to Sobolevski). This word occurred in verb form four times in the New Testament (Mk 14: 26, Mt 26:30, Ac 16:25, Heb 2: 12 – follows the tradition of LXX "to praise"), and in the form of a noun two times (Eph 5:19, Col 3:16). The word itself is practically always used in a religious sense.

Hertsman writes that what Gentiles called a "hymn" was a ritual song sung in honor of a god or hero. This song could contain both praising to a god and a prayer-petition (1996:87). Hymns were always performed in public and, apparently, had a shade of solemnity (Rutenfranz 1994:392).

Augustine (*On Psalms CXLVIII* 11) gives the term "hymn" his own definition. Here it would be appropriate to quote him:

> It is a song with praise of God. If thou praisest God and singest not, thou utterest no hymn: if thou singest and praisest not God, thou utterest no hymn: if thou praisest aught else, which pertaineth not to the praise of God, although thou singest and praisest, thou utterest no hymn. An hymn then containeth these three things, song, and praise, and that of God. Praise then of God in song is called an hymn.

In other words, a hymn can be called a praise song to God. The examples of singing hymns were already given above (see *Some illustrations of music of Christians with Jewish background*).

c) ᾠδή

"A song", "a singing". This word appears seven times, with five of them in the book of Revelation. It is interesting to know that out of these three terms, this is the only one used in Revelation. In the LXX this word is usually referred to as a song of praise and thanksgiving to God (Ex 15:1; Deut 31:19,30; etc.) According to Sobolevsky, ancient authors described this term by

using adjectives: mournful song, funeral song, and triumphal song, song to the accompaniment of the zither. As we see, in this instance the adjective πνευματικός follows ᾠδή.

Concerning its use, there is a great deal of dispute, since it is not completely clear whether it refers only to the noun ᾠδαῖς or to the previous ψαλμοῖς and ὕμνοις as well. Also, because of the articles missing before the noun and the adjective, there is no way to determine whether the adjective is attributive or predicative. On the one hand, in the passage of the epistle to Ephesians the copulative conjunction και makes all three nouns equivalent, thereby forming one semantic unit – hendiad, with the adjective extending to all three nouns. On the other hand, the conjunction καὶ is lacking in the epistle to Colossians. One cannot ignore the fact that the adjective in both epistles agrees in gender exclusively with ᾠδαῖς (ψαλμός, ὕμνος contrary to ᾠδή, are masculine nouns). In the given construction the conclusion as to the significance of the adjective πνευματικός will to a great extent depend on the choice of one or the other of the grammatical constructions. If the adjective refers to the last noun in the construction, then πνευματικαῖς clarifies the nature of ᾠδαῖς- "songs", since the word ᾠδή, as mentioned above, was used in a lay sense as well (in the Gentile language).

For Jewish Christians it was not necessary to classify the meaning of "religious singing" (Best 1998:511) simply because in the books of the Old Testament (LXX) the word ᾠδή was used without clarification. But for Gentiles by birth, it probably made sense to give some clarification. However, taking into the account the nature of the concerned passage and the lack of any extra additional comments on Paul's part, there is no sense on insisting on the point of view that it was a clarification for the Gentiles.

If, in agreement with the fact that πνευματικαῖς refers to all three related parts of the sentence, then it is possible to conclude that the author of the epistles wanted to accentuate the role of the Holy Spirit who inspired singing of these psalms, hymns, and songs.

This opinion meets hearty support among researchers. For example, Balz (1994:495) and Morris (1994:177) believe that in this case the adjective serves not merely to distinguish "singing" from spiritual "singing" (since this word, as well as "hymn" is a biblical term) but for modifying all three terms and describing the songs as an expression of the Spirit; experiencing Him in praising and thanking Christ and God.

To all appearances, the latter point of view is the most successful: πνευματικαῖς is indeed referring to all three terms and, thus, points out to the "inspiration" of songs sung by believers.

In addition to Eph 5:18, there is another fact that argues in favor of this position: the interchangeability of terms in ancient literary sources. Such a conclusion can be drawn on the strength of the testimony of Josephus, who refers to psalms as songs and hymns (Antiquities of the Jews VII 12.3) from the book of Psalms, where the meanings of these words frequently intertwine

dependent on the character of the psalms (for instance Ps 4:1; 64:1, 2; 65:1; 75:1; 82:1 etc); from patristic literature (for instance, Clement of Alexandria (*The Instructor* II 4) deduces that in the concerned texts of Paul "the apostle calls the psalm 'a spiritual song'").

The term ψαλμός in early Christianity, by implication practically overlaps all of the other meanings and includes the understanding ὕμνος and ᾠδή. Hertsman (1996:91) comes to this conclusion, having done a thorough analysis of patristic literature. It turns out that the authors of early Christian literature (Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, Chrysostom, Augustine, Athanasius, etc.) mostly used this term. On account of such a wide spectrum of meaning of the word "psalm" it can be actually stated that "during the first stages of Christian music a psalm was … "a beginning, a center, an end, and a system" of the musical layout of the worship service" (ibid).

Therefore, when in 1 Cor 14: 26 Paul says that ἕκαστος ψαλμὸν ἔχει - "each of you has a psalm" for mutual exhortation during corporate gatherings, apparently, the word ψαλμός is used here for indicating religious singing in general.

It also can be added that the use of the word ψαλμός in such a wide sense of religious singing automatically means that there is connection between the word ψαλμός and playing on a stringed instrument already in existence in the early Christian lexicon.

Thus, reviewing the attempt to understand the difference between ψαλμός, ὕμνος and ᾠδή, the author of this thesis is compelled to admit that in the context of early Christian praise music, it is not possible to distinguish between the three musical terms.

Therefore, there is practically no basis for believing that in the passages of Eph 5:18-21 and Col 3:16-17 the Apostle Paul was talking about different genres of music. As a consequence, one can agree with Lohse that these terms taken together cover full the spectrum of singing inspired by the Spirit (1971:151).

3.1.2.3 General overview of the exegetical analysis of the texts

While researching Eph 5:18-21 and Col 3:16-17, one notes that the main theme of the respective epistle is traced in each one of them. In Colossians 3:16 the author prefers to place the emphasis on abiding in Christ's word; i.e., Christ's teaching in the church (whereas Ephesians speaks about being filled with the Spirit) and in the context of warning against false teachers, this makes sense.

Yet, in Ephesians (5:20), the author talks more about relations among believers in church; about mutual submission to one another. In his ecclesiological discourse, Paul touches upon the theme of unity all members, of the participation of everyone in the "administration" of God's church.

This shades of commonality can be seen even in the fact that the author uses expression τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν (your heart), with "heart" in singular from, contrary to Colossians (3:16), where the plural form is used. In both Epistles we hear a call to new life, to leave the old way of life with its sinful habits and start living in a way that every action of a believer would pursue one goal: to exalt Christ (Col 3:17).

As for the theme of music, especially regarding Paul's letters addressed to the Ephesians and the Colossians, on the strength of the exegetical analysis of Eph 5:18-21 and Col 3:16-17, the following conclusions can be made.

First, it may be concluded that corporate music ought to bear Christ's teaching (i.e. it consisted only of singing with words).

Secondly, singing should be connected with the work of the Holy Spirit, leading one toward a sincere gratitude to God.

Thirdly, music mainly served for expressing gratitude to God, for motivating believers into abiding in Christ's teaching and doing godly deeds.

In addition, music ought to bind believers together so that they would unanimously, "with a single heart" exalt God.

And finally, the use of music in church was to correspond to the main need behind the gathering of believers – exhortation and encouragement, according to Paul in 1 Corinthians (14:26 - πάντα πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν γινέσθω "let all things be done for the sake of strengthening" (or encouragement)).

3.2 Music and liturgy in Christian communities of different backgrounds

It is worth mentioning that all these statements concerning the use of music in Christian worship are true not only for churches in pagan surrounding, but for Christians in general – both Jews and Greeks. Nevertheless, we must emphasize that, as it was mentioned before, we find all these passages only in admonitions addressed mainly to the churches of Hellenistic background. It is obvious that for Jews, who had a rich heritage of worship music (as we observe in the first chapter of this research), the words of Paul's encouragement to worship God by songs of praise and thanksgiving were not new ones. And it is clear as well that if we see music and exhortations for its use in church meetings in 1 Corinthians, it indicates that there was already a difference between the worship of Christian believers and that of the synagogues.

In our study of 1 Cor 14:26-33 we don't find any descriptions which would tell us about the definite order of worship in Corinthian church. On the contrary we conclude that its character was quite spontaneous and confused, such that the apostle Paul had to make provision for the church of

Corinth. Thus, he gives a place for two or three prayers in tongues with an interpretation (14:27), two or three prophets to speak while others are listening carefully (14:29), and probably the same is true for singing psalms, because of its being mentioned in verse 26 of the same chapter. Of course, gathering in different places made it difficult to maintain the same order of worship (as we know from Acts, after Paul was driven away from the synagogue in Corinth he started the meetings in the house of Titius Justus (18:7), and probably in other places, as it is well known that the early church primarily gathered in various houses: poor and rich, big and small). Therefore, it is doubtable that all house churches followed the model of the synagogue.

There are several more facts showing the difference in the early Church between the Jewish Christians religious customs and of Christians exiting paganism.

First, we do not see anybody leading the meetings in Corinthian church (leaders were a common aspect of the synagogue), even though we know that Crispus, the synagogue ruler in Corinth, turned to the Lord (Ac 18:8) and joined the Corinthian community. If there had been a leader of the meetings, Paul would not have had to give the instructions concerning the order of community gatherings from afar. Secondly, even in this very passage from 1 Corinthians, we don't see readings of Scripture to be mentioned in the list of the parts of the service, while it was a central part of synagogue service, as was shown in Chapter 1. Of course, one should point out that there was a special time given for public readings of Paul's letters at least, and it is a fact that later on, the readings from the 'apostles' and 'the prophets' became a part of liturgy (Justin, *First Apology* LXVII). However, reading of the Old Testament scriptures was an essential part of the Sabbath meeting in the synagogue, whereas teaching and the Eucharist were two very important elements of Christian liturgy on Sundays. The nonobservance of the Sabbath was the most obvious example of deviation from the course of Judaism in Christian liturgy. While the Jewish Christians continued to go to the synagogue on the Sabbath day to read from the Torah and the Prophets; they also came together on the Lord's Day (Eusebius, *The church History* (III, 27, 5); Justin, *Dialogue with Trypho* (XLVII)) to partake in the Lord's Supper. The Christians with pagan backgrounds did not celebrate the Sabbath (Rouwhorst 1993:79-80). In Justin's *First Apology* (LXVII), the Sabbath is not mentioned (there are only a few words about Saturday as the day when the Lord was crucified). Sunday is called the day on which Christians held their "corporate assembly", because it was the first day of the week when the Lord rose from the dead. In Barnabas' Epistle (XV) the preference of the "eighth" day (Sunday) is obvious also. In sources dating from the third and fourth centuries, one can find indications of the growing interest in the Sabbath among the Christians of pagan society (as Tertullian's polemics concerning kneeling and fasting on the Sabbath reflect – see *On Prayer* XXIII; *On Fasting* XIV). Nevertheless, it can be affirmed, that at least "during a certain period of

time (the majority of) Christians from paganism" didn't "come together on the Sabbath to read from the Torah and the Prophets" (Rouwhorst 1993:77).

Therefore, because of the disparate attitudes toward the Jewish leanings of the religious practice of various Christians, the most appropriate way to examine the liturgy of early Christianity, following the idea of Rouwhorst, is to take into consideration the geographical (and consequently cultural) aspect of the communities, or in other words "to distinguish between different regions and cities" (ibid, 80). So Rouwhorst cites as various examples the churches in Alexandria, Antioch, and in the Syriac speaking areas east of Antioch, where the liturgical gatherings on Sabbath very likely took place; the church of Jerusalem, where the Sabbath must have been abolished after the Bar Kokhba revolt (135 AD); and the Christians of Rome who did not follow the Jewish traditions of reading from Torah on the Sabbath (at least in the middle of the second c.) (ibid, 80-81).

These tendencies of "continuity and discontinuity between Jewish and Christian liturgy" (as the title of G. Rouwhorst's article is called) can be applied to the sphere of music as well. As was mentioned in the second chapter of this research, the Hellenistic traditions of music were too developed and too strong for Christianity to easily avoid its influence.

The telling admonitions of the early Christian writers serve as proof of the penetration of the Hellenistic musical culture into the church. The writers saw in musical forms, which somehow resembled Hellenistic ones, a connection with vices and union with the world.

Clement of Alexandria (*The Instructor* II, 4) disapproved of using musical instruments such as the pipe and the flute, during the joint meal or "temperate banquets", reckoning them as being "engrossed in idolatry".

The position of Clement of Alexandria regarding Hellenistic culture is evident in his *Exhortation to the Heathen* (I), where he calls Thracian Orpheus and other famous Greek musicians – "deceivers", who

> under the pretence of poetry, corrupting human life, possessed by a spirit of artful sorcery for purposes of destruction, celebrating crimes in their orgies, and making human woes the materials of religious worship, were the first to entice men to idols.

Moreover, the whole Greek system of music, with its characteristics – phrygian, lydian, and dorian modes (ibid), the music arts, which were "licentious and mischievous" (*The Instructor* II, 4) – is opposed to the immortal harmony "which bears God's name – the new, the Levitical song" (*Exhortation to the Heathen* I). Tertullian's opinion concerning Hellenistic music, mostly accompanying the performances (*The Shows, or De Spectaculis* XXV) is definite: it does not agree with the Christian spirit. Neither a prayer nor a psalm will cross one's mind while such music is being played. As it was mentioned in the second chapter, tendencies in the Hellenistic world were criticized even by well-mannered Gentiles. Therefore, it is not surprising that for Christians, musical instruments which had earned an indelible reputation due to their link with theaters,

drinking bouts, and orgies, became a symbol of heathenism, vice, and atheism. In addition to all this, musicians were viewed as fornicators and were not allowed into churches. The musical arts were regarded as completely useless (cf. Hertsman 1996:197).

The condemnation of Hellenistic music caused even those musical forms formerly acceptable in the Jewish tradition to be rejected by the church (one of the examples, concerning a Jewish cult derived from the Egyptians, is mentioned in chapter 1). On one hand, Christians remembered David who danced before the ark of the covenant, but on the other hand, depravity in the dances of fornicators at feasts as well as the example of the daughter of Herodias had also effected the reputation of dance. Ambrose linked dancing with drunkenness or madness, which was "the cause of dancing" (*Concerning Virgins* III, 5, 25).

Of course, it is worth noting that nearly all exhortations found in the earliest Christian literature relate more to the daily life of Christians than to liturgical practice: Tertullian warns Christians against visiting theaters and shows (*The Shows, or De Spectaculis*). Clement of Alexandria (*The Instructor*) talks about the daily life of Christians, evidently pagans by birth, that with respect to music, they have "double" standards: in church they pay "reverence to the discourse about God" and "hymn immortality", while outside the church they amuse themselves "with impious playing, and amatory quavering, occupied with flute-playing, and dancing, and intoxication… ".

Passion for the playing of pipes and psalteries as well as dances with the clapping of hands were called "disorderly frivolities" by Clement, and cymbals and drums – "instruments of delusion". These things would lead an individual to immodesty and intractability (*The Instructor* II, 4). Of course, in this statement we may see not simply the signs of penetration of heathen culture against which Clement so strongly objected. In his call to be on the alert "against whatever pleasure titillates eye and ear, and effeminates" (ibid), we see a call against any kind of music in church worship and in one's daily life; we are hearing a sermon of ascetic morality. Nevertheless, the general picture that becomes visible on the basis of all examined evidences of the earliest Christian writers, shows that the church (especially beginning with the end of the second century) had to apply great force in order to restrain the influence of Hellenistic musical culture.

As for New Testament times, despite the fact that there is a lack of exhortations in the New Testament which are specifically concerning music, the subject matter of the church fathers were of a general nature, such as the deeds normally associated with music. For instance, in the book of Romans 13: 12, 13, among "the deeds of darkness", Paul mentions κώμος (orgy) and μέθη (drunkenness). Based on the sources examined in the second chapter of this thesis (in the section about feasts), it can be certainly stated that these types of deeds of the Hellenists were always accompanied by music. Clement of Alexandria, by the way, used the apostle's own words in the

context of exhortations regarding music (*The Instructor* II 4). Thus, it was not necessary to stress obscene music separately, since it was understood from traditions which were hidden in the words κώμος and μέθη.

There were perhaps similar problems concerning music connected with idolatry. Music itself was a neutral subject. It neither drew an individual nearer to God nor moved him away from God (the same with eating in 1 Cor 8:8), but because it was accompanied by heathen rituals, music could have a negative influence upon believers. So the principles mentioned by Paul in 1 Cor 8:7-12 with respect to idolatrous meals should be applied to music too. Hellenistic music exalted the gods of the Greco – Roman world as did meals offered to demons. This could become a temptation for former heathens, now believers, who suffered from a "weak conscience".

CONCLUSION

After a thorough study of the music traditions in Jewish and Hellenistic cultures, and after examining the evidences of the New Testament and other early Christian literature, one can draw some conclusions about the formation of music and liturgy in the early church. Since Christianity arose out of Judaism with its well-developed religious traditions (including worship music), and as the first Christians were mostly Palestinian Jews and Jews of the Diaspora, the newly formed church took the best from the worship experience of the Jews. The psalms sung in the Temple and the synagogical style of chanting and explaining the Scriptures found their own similar forms of manifestation in the worship services of the early church. Even the sound of Jewish music – the melodic line of the songs – was inherited by Christianity and continued to be heard even until the time of Gregorian chants. And what would one expect to hear in the singing of the first disciples, Jews by birth, among the Gentiles? Preaching the Good News to the Greeks, praising God in hymns with the new believers; they evidently sang songs in a way taught by their Jewish culture. While the melodies of the songs followed the pattern of Jewish psalmody, the message of the singing, of course, received a new orientation – worshiping Christ as Lord. That was especially urgent for the Christians from Gentile backgrounds. These former idol-worshippers had to learn to sing praises to the only true God; that is why the admonitions of Paul to sing psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs are directed firstly to them, the Christians with a Hellenistic background.

While the Christian Jews were faithful to their culture, former pagans were excused from observing the Jewish traditions. It is difficult today to determine if it was that way with music and liturgy. Upon examination of the heritage of Jewish religious music and comparison of its values with the philosophy of Hellenistic music which was full of pagan ideas, one might decide that the Jewish traditions were more appropriate for the new religion. However, bearing in mind that music is an aspect of culture, and that the number of former Gentiles gradually grew to predominance outside of Judea, the writer has drawn the conclusion that the Hellenistic influence became quite strong. The grounds for this hypothesis were based firstly on the evidences of a well-developed Greco-Roman music art. It was shown that the musical arts permeated all branches of the life of the Gentiles (their philosophy, education, pagan religious practices, entertainment, etc.), so to escape the Hellenistic influence was rather difficult.

Secondly, upon examination of the New Testament, it becomes apparent that the main musical and liturgical exhortations are found in the epistles addressed to the churches with strong Hellenistic cultural influences.

Thirdly, it was ascertained that beginning with the end of the second century, the church fathers began to prohibit some music forms, which were being used by Christians. That kind of

music was associated, from their point of view, with pagan customs. This is a clear example of the influence of the Hellenistic culture on Christian music.

The main debates of the church fathers occurred around the use of music instruments in community banquets and in private life. The fact that the Church Fathers felt the need to ban musical instruments could also serve as proof of the pressure being put on Christianity by the Hellenistic culture. Even as they forbade displays of Hellenistic influence, they nonetheless thought in categories that had been formed by Greek aesthetic ideas, in particular, the concept of musical ethos. In addition, instrumental music in Hellenism was focused on entertainment, which is why it became a symbol of depravity. Therefore the Church Fathers railed against it.

However, in contrast to the heated writings of the church fathers, the New Testament does not contain these types of negative reactions. The writer is in partial agreement with the widely accepted opinion that the New Testament is terse on the theme of music because Jewish traditions were dominant in early Christian music. Nonetheless, it can be inferred, considering the history of Hellenistic music, that the progress of its corruption gathered momentum in post-Nero times and flourished during the time of the Church Fathers. Because of this, the Apostle Paul did not give particular indications that the believers should withdraw from heathen music, but it was implied in his general exhortations to live a pure life. And while talking about the Christian music in the life of the believers, by his brief mentioning of the theme, Paul showed that it was not the outer form of music that was important for the first Christians, but its message. In short, the apostle Paul did not discuss in detail music as an art but instead, as a means for worshiping God.

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APENDIX 1

TABLE OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

RSV	Hebrew	Selected Old Testament references	LXX	Selected New Testament references
Wind instruments				
The horn; trumpet	שׁוֹפָר (shofar)	Lev 25: 9; 2Sam 6: 15; Ps 47.6; Jer 4: 5	σάλπιγξ	1Cor 14:8; Mt 24:31; Heb 12:19
Trumpet	חצוֹצְרָה (h^asos^era)	Num 10: 9,10; Ps 98: 6; 2Ch 5:13	σάλπιγξ	1Cor 14:8, 15:52; Rev 4:1; Rev 18:13;
Trumpet of ram's horn	קֶרֶן (qeren)	Josh 6:5; Isa 5:1	σάλπιγξ	Mt 24:31; 1Th 4:18; Rev 9:14
Flute	חָלִיל (halil)	Judges 5:16; 1Sam 10:5; Dan 3:5	αὐλὸς	Mt 11:16; Mt 9:23
Pipe	עוּגָב (ugab)	Gen 4:21; Job 30:31	ψαλτήριον ὀργάνον	_____
Pipe	מַשְׁרוֹקִי (mashroqi)	Dan 3:5, 7, 15	σάλπιγξ	Mt 24:31
Stringed instruments				
Lyre	כִּנּוֹר (kinnor)	Gen 31:27; 4:21; Ps 81:3; Isa 24:8	κιθάρα	1Cor 14:7; Rev 14:2
Lyre	קִיתָרוֹס (qateros)	Dan 3:5, 7, 15	σαμβύκ	_____
Harp of ten strings; Lyre	נֵבֶל (nebel)	Ps 81:3; 92:4; 2Sam 6:5	ψαλτηριον νάβλα	_____
Trigon	סַבְּכָא ($sabb^eka$)	Dan 3:5, 7, 15	σαμβύκ	_____
Harp	פְּסַנְתֵּרִין ($p^esanterin$)	Dan 3:5, 15	ψαλτηρίον	_____
Percussion instruments				
Timbrel	תֹּף (toph)	Ex 15:20; 1Sam 18:6; Isa 30:32	τύμπανον	_____
Bronze cymbals	שְׁלִשׁ (schalischim)	Ex 15:4; Ps 80:6; Isa 40:12	κυμβάλον	1Cor 12:1
Cymbals	מְצִלְתַּיִם ($m^esiltayim$)	1Ch 16:15; 2Ch 5:12; Ezr 3:10	κυμβάλον	1Cor 12:1

APPENDIX 2

Diagram 1

Ephesians 5:18-21.

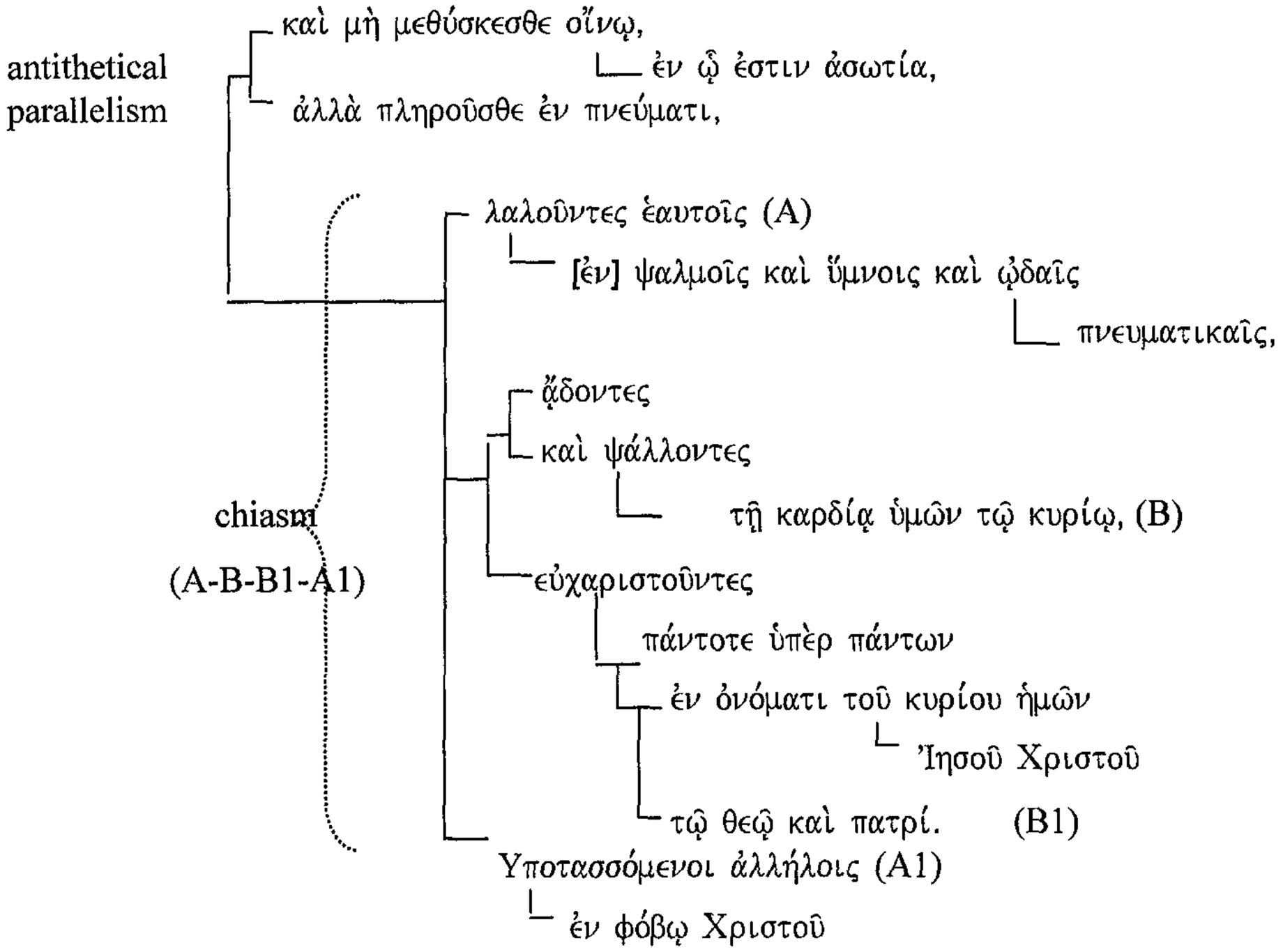

Diagram 2

Colossians 3:16-17