One of the First Liturgical Hymns of the Eastern and Western Christian Church: the Great Doxology – Gloria in excelsis Deo From the Beginning until its Liturgical Crystallisation

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The doxological character is one of the essential aspects of the Christian worship, taken from the Hebrew divine worship. Thus, the doxological character of many Christian prayers and liturgical hymns represents the foundation and at the same time the key which reveals and explains the theology of the Creation, its mystery and purpose. The role of the Creation is to praise the Creator, as invited conclusively by the last verse of the last canonical Psalm: "Let everything that has breath praise the Lord!" (Ps. 150, 6). We will bring to the forefront of our debate the Great Doxology, one of the first liturgical hymns of the three basic doxological structures (the small, the great and the maximum doxologies) of the Eastern and Western Christian Church.

Keywords: *the Great Doxology* (η μεγάλη δοξολογία), *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, *liturgical forms*, *epigraphic and archaeological testimonies*, *sources*.

The Christian Church was born in the context and within the Hebrew religious precepts¹, which the Savior came to fulfill and not to break (Mth. 5, 17). In the essence and in the core of these precepts we find the glorification of God's name and in the same time the faithfulness or loyalty towards Him (Exod. 20, 2-5); so that, within the divine cult (both public and particular) of the Christian Church, a prevalent doxological feature and character has developed (besides the prayer of petition and thanksgiving). Offering sacrifices represents the religious tone of God's glorification sentiment, even on behalf of the first men, Cain and Abel, the sons of the protoparents, Adam and Eve, offering sacrifices to God from the fruit of their labour (Gen. 4, 3-4).

In the end though, the Judaic ritual fell into formalism, God Himself demanding some times in the history of the Hebrew people, an amendment in the sense of an involvement at a personal, inner and spiritual level. David, the psalmist, seizes upon the real sacrifice that must be offered to God, the only one which pleases him: the one of the lips arising from humble thought

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¹ Nicu Moldoveanu, *Istoria muzicii bisericești la români*, București 2010, Introducere, p. 8.

(Ps. 50, 16-18). Jesus, the Savior, refers to that inner and personal sacrifice several times (Mth. 6, 1-21; 21, 12-13; 23, 12; 23, 25-29 etc.).

Regarding the prayers of the Hebrew people: they had, first of all, in their theme an introductive expression to praise God, being concluded also with a doxological construction to the Divine Almightyness.² The same unitary structure is maintained within the prayers of the Christian Church, most of them being concluded with a praise to God, which implies the musical intonation of the last sequence, with a profound doxological value, having the function of an exclamation, in the case of the prayers which belong to the public divine ritual.

1. Doxologic liturgical forms

Regarding the structure of the praise prayer, an obvious connection between the oriental and occidental liturgical context, three doxological and liturgical tipologies being differentiated:

- 1.1. The small doxology is a praise expression brought to The Blessed Trinity at the end of a prayer or of a liturgical hymn (expression exhorted by the Blessed Parents of the first Christian centuries³, having as representatives the Saint Athanasius Alexandrian or The Great and Saint John Chrysostom, N.d.T.): In the glory of the Father and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost” (first part) - „and now and ever, and to all ages. Amen” (the second part);
- 1.2. The great doxology – the morning prayer (η μεγάλη δοξολογία, gr., Oratio matutina – Προσευχή ἑωθινή⁴, The morning singing – Hymnum Matutinum, Angelic Hymn – Hymnus angelicus⁵, Poem of the

² See, as example, The Prayer of King Manasseh.

³ Geoffrey William Hugo Lampe, *A patristic greek lexicon with Addenda et Corrigenda*, Oxford, Tenth impression 1991, p. 382-383; Siegmund Döpp, Wilhelm Geerlings (eds.), *Dizionario di letteratura cristiana antica*, Roma 2006, p. 275 and many other works.

⁴ S. Clemens I Romanus, *Constitutiones apostolicæ*, scripta dubia, Lib. VII, Cap. XLVII-XLVIII, in PG 1, l'Imprimerie Catholique Petit Montrouge, le 14^e arrondissement de Paris, France 1857, p. 1055-1056; Joseph Bingham, *Origines ecclesiasticæ. The antiquities of the Christian church. With two sermons and two letters on the nature and necessity of Absolution*, reprinted from the original edition 1708 – 1722, with an enlarged analytical index, Vol. II, London, Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Covent Garden, 1852, Book XIV, Chap. II, p. 688, the first column.

The great doxology within the ritual of the Greek Church is part of the freestanding liturgical singings (Ύμνοι Αδῆσποτοι), according to Wilhelm von Christ, Matthaios K. Paraniakas (eds.), *Anthologia graeca carminum christianorum*, Lipsiae, in Aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1871, p. 38-39.

⁵ R. P. Jacobi Goar, *Ευχολογίον sive Rituale græcorum : complectens ritus et ordines divine liturgiæ, Officiorum, Sacramentorum, Consecrationum, Benedictionum, Funerum, Oratorum*

- Angels – *carmen Angelorum*⁶, lat.): „Glory to the God in the highest” ... – „Δόξα σοι τῷ δείξαντι τὸ φῶς” – „Gloria in excelsis Deo” ...;
- 1.3. The maximum doxology (*dossologia massima*): „Σέ Θεέ ὑμνοῦμεν” – „Te Deum laudamus” ...⁷ (the work of Saint Nicetas of Remesiana⁸, beyond the different polemics referring to the affiliation to this religious hymn).

2. The great doxology (ἡ μεγάλη δοξολογία. Gloria in excelsis Deo). Presentation

The Blessed Hieronymus identifies the geographic place from where the angels announced to the shepherds the Nativity, by the words: „*Gloria in excelsis Deo, et super terram vox huminibus bonæ voluntatis*” (Lk. 2, 14). This localization, nearby Bethlehem is identified with the Gader Tower, Migdal-Eder, the tower of the flock, where Jacob once fed his flocks⁹ (Gen. 35, 21; Gen. 35, 16).

Hence the exclamation of the angels who were announcing the Nativity: „Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace, good will toward men!” (Lk. 2, 14), was developed in the midst of both oriental and occidental Christian Churches, one of the first prayers and at the same time a liturgical hymn: the great doxology.

etc, Interpretatione latina, Editio Secunda Expurgata & accuratio, Venetiis, ex Typographia Bartolomæi Javarina, 1730, *Cap. „In Officium laudum notæ”*, p. 47; Hugo Riemann, *Dictionnaire de musique*, traduit d’après la quatrième édition, revu et augmenté par Georges Humbert, Librairie Académique Didier Perrin et C^{ie}, Libraires-éditeurs 1988, p. 207.

⁶ *Appendix ad sæculum X, Monumenta liturgica, Missa latina*, in PL 138, J.-P. Migne, 1853, p. 1314.

⁷ Albert Blaise, *Continuatio Mediævalis, Lexicon latinitatis mediævi, præsertim ad res ecclesiasticas investigandas pertinens*, Turnholti, Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii 1975, reimpression anastatique 1994, p. 326.

⁸ Ruth Ellis Messenger, *Christian Hymns of the First Three Century*, The Papers of the Hymn Society, IX, The Hymn Society of America, New York City 1942, *Cap. IV, Liturgical Hymns*, p. 12.

⁹ Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi, *Epistola CVIII (c) ad Eustochium Virginem*, in PL 22, Tomus Primus, J.-P. Migne, 1845, § 10 (699), p. 885-886. With reference to the Final Days, the Prophet Micaiah mentions this guarding pillar of the flock, by identifying him with the Zion Mountain, nearby Jerusalem (Mih. 4, 8). For more details, please see the comments of Giovanni Garbini, “Myth and history in the Bible” in: *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series 362, Bath, Great Britain, 2003, p. 41, also the following. Regarding the argument discussed by us, respectively the song of the angels at Nativity: „*All glory be to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men!*” (Lk. 2, 14), for other details, please see: John Henry Bernard, Robert Atkinson (eds.), *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, edited from the Mss. with translations, notes and glossary (Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. XIV), Vol. II. Translations and Notes, Harrison and sons, London, 1898, p. 135-137.

The Great Doxology (Greek δόξα – praise and λόγος – word, lecture) is a praise singing in honor of the Blessed Trinity, sung according to the Greek ritual by the psalm singers (ψάλτοι) and by the protopsalte in the end of the Matins (Ὁρθρος) on Sundays and religious holidays, right after the Lauds (stichera of the praises introduced by stiches mainly from the Psalm 150)¹⁰, therefore a little bit before the beginning of the Holy Liturgy, being revealed as an authentic doxological prayer with deep dogmatic connotations.

The Great Doxology is delineated as one of the first prayers of the Christian Church¹¹. Its roots date from the beginning times of Christianity, being remarked as a praise hymn, demand prayer and at the same time a faith profession, the work of the Saint Martyr Athenogenes¹² (whose ritual has developed due to the ardour of the Basilian monks from Calabria, who followed the example of Saint Basil the Great, who had a great devotion to this martyred saint¹³). To Saint Athenogenes is attributed also the singing Φῶς Ἰλαρόν (Gentle light...), sung before his martyrdom¹⁴.

The Great Doxology is present in the Apostolic Constitutions¹⁵ (identified as the morning prayer par excellence) and in the Alexandrian Codex¹⁶ (century IV/V), being sung not only in the Churches of Greek ritual, but: “and in the Churches from the Occident. Ms. Regin. Lat. 215¹⁷, from 887,

¹⁰ Miguel Arranz S. J., “L’office de l’Asmatikos Orthros («matines chantées») de l’ancien Euchologe byzantin” in: OCP, Volumen XLVII, Fasciculus I (1981), p. 142.

¹¹ Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition, vol. 20, III. Byzantine psalmody, 1. Th Byzantine Psalter and its liturgical use, London 2001, p. 463.

¹² S. Basilius Magnus, *Liber de Spiritu Sancto ad S. Amphilochium Iconii Episcopum*, cap. 29, in PG 32, vol. 4, l’Imprimerie Catholique Petit Montrouge, le 14^e arrondissement de Paris 1857, p. 205.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ *Martirologio romano*, dato alla luce per ordine di Gregorio XIII, accresciuto e corretto, nuova edizione tradotta in italiano, Stampator Vaticano, Roma 1750, p. 13.

¹⁵ S. Clemens I Romanus, *Constitutiones apostolicæ*, scripta dubia, Lib. VII, Cap. XLVII-XLVIII, in PG 1, l’Imprimerie Catholique Petit Montrouge, le 14^e arrondissement de Paris 1857, p. 1055-1058. In the Apostolic Constitutions, the great doxology has a tendency of subordinationism, according to L’Abbé Louis Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*, Paris 1889, p. 158, note 1; Franciscus Xaverius Funk (ed.), *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Vol. 1, Libreria Ferdinandi Schoeningh, Paderbornae, 1905, p. 454-457.

¹⁶ Αλεξάνδρου Κορακίδη, Αρχαίοι ύμνοι: 2. Ο αγγελικός ύμνος (*Gloria*): “Δόξα εν υψίστοις θεώ και επί γής ειρήνη...”, Αλεξάνδρου Σ. Κορακίδη, Αθήναι 1984, pp. 48-53; Lorenzo Tardo Jeromonaco, *L’antica melurgia bizantina nell’interpretazione della scuola monastica di Grottaferrata*, Grottaferrata, 1938, ristampa 2005, Poligrafica Laziale s.r.l., Frascati, p. 31.

¹⁷ So, we find the Ms. Regin. Lat. 215 in the Manuscripts Stock of the Vatican Library from Vatican and we also find its technique description and even the reproduction of the entire

from the Vatican Library, has this hymn composed in Greek, but with Latin letters and Gregorian neumes¹⁸.

From the same Library of the Vatican, we have the version of the great doxology, kept in a Greek manuscript from the XI-th century, respectively the Greek Barberini Manuscript 372¹⁹.

According to the Greek ritual, the great doxology begins after the exclamation of the deacon: “Δόξα σοι τῷ δείξαντι τὸ φῶς” (Glory to you who has shown us the light), angels’ words (Lk. 2, 14) by which they were announcing the Nativity: Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία²⁰ / „Gloria in excelsis Deo, et super terram vox hominibus bonæ voluntatis”, words reproduced by the priests, preluding the invocation of the Holy Ghost, during the preparedness for the beginning of the Holy Liturgy and before the impartation of the believers.²¹

In the ordinary days though, the small doxology is put up²², the first part of the doxology being reunited with the prayer (Make us worthy, Lord...), replacing the trisagion hymn²³ with a concluding expression in the name of the Holy Trinity, with a profound doxological value and an exclamatory and ecphonic function.

If in the oriental liturgical tradition, the great doxology is placed at the end of the morning prayer (Matins), in the Roman and Ambrosian ritual it is found within the Holy Liturgy²⁴, from Sundays and religious

manuscript in: Enrico Marriotti Bannister (raccolti ed illustrati da) *Monumenti Vaticani di paleografia musicale latina*, editi a cura della Biblioteca Vaticana, Lipsia, Ottone Harrasowitz, 1913, vol. 1 [Testi], p. 28-31, vol. 2 [Tavole] (Collana Codices e vaticanis selecti phototypice expressi), tabel 10; Andreas Wilmar, *Codices Reginenses Latini*, Tomus I: Codices 1-250, Civitate Vaticana: Biblioteca Vaticana, 1937 (Collana: Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae - Codices manu(y) scripti recensiti), p. 511.

¹⁸ L. T. Jeromonaco, *L'antica melurgia bizantina*, p. 31, note (3): „anche nelle Chiese d’Occidente. Il ms. Regin. lat. 215 dell’anno 887 della Biblioteca Vaticana, ha questo inno redatto in greco, ma con le lettere latine e con i neumi gregoriani”.

¹⁹ James Mearns, *The Canticles of the Christian Church Eastern and Western in Early and Medieval Times*, Cambridge 1914, table p. 16.

²⁰ S. Clemens I Romanus, *Constitutiones apostolicæ*, Lib. VII, Cap. XLVII-XLVIII, p. 1056.

²¹ *Ibidem*, Lib. VIII, Cap. XIII, p. 1107-1110.

²² Let us distinguish the small doxology from the Matins service in an ordinary day by the small doxology: *Glory to Father...*

²³ Ωρολόγιον το Μέγα, της Αποστολικής Διακονίας της Εκκλησίας της Ελλάδος, Αθήναι, έκδοσης έκτη (the sixth edition), 1974, p. 83-84.

²⁴ The number of three authors of Holy Liturgies characterizes both the Oriental Church (Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Basil the Great and Saint Gregory the Dialogue) and the Occidental Church (Saint Leo I the Great – pope of Rome, celebrated on 18th February, Saint

holidays, being placed between the penitence act²⁵ and the introductive prayer²⁶.

We present also the exceptions, the cases when this hymn lacks from the Latin liturgical service. Therefore, „Gloria in excelsis” is not sung:

- during *The Advent*²⁷ (to give a higher liturgical burden to the celebration from the Nativity night, because the Christmas service is celebrated at night – please see, further, the subchapter ”The liturgical evolution and historicity of the angelic hymn”).
- during *Lent* and in the beginning period of the Triodon, called *Tempo di Settuagesima*²⁸, a period of two weeks and a half, between Dominica Circumdederunt (the correspondent of the Sunday of the Publican and of the Pharisee, according to the oriental calendar) and Shrove Tuesday, as an extraordinary form of the Roman ritual).
- Also, „Gloria in excelsis Deo” is missing from the liturgical context when the *burial service* is conducted, as well as on 1st November when alms are given in the name of the departed ones (lat. Sollemnitas/ Festabant Omnium Sanctorum – it. la festa di Tutti i Santi/di Ognisanti), if it is celebrated during an ordinary day.

3. The inspiration for the Great Doxology’s text²⁹

This liturgical singing is first of all, a *confession of faith*, with a deep christological value, being delineated in the same time as an authentic and

Ambrose of Mediolanum – 7th December, for the Archdiocese from Milan and Isidor of Sevilla † 636, for the regions of Spain and Portugal). Some details can be tracked in this sense at Sorin-Dan Damian (Introduction, translation from Latin, historian, liturgical comment, notes and comments), *Liturgia Sf. Ier. Ambrozie, episcopul Mediolanului (374-397)*, Târgu Lăpuș 2011, Introduce, p. 7-10.

²⁵ The Latin liturgy is structured in 5 parts: Introduction (*Riti di Introduzione*), from which it takes part the hymn „Gloria in excelsis Deo”, The Liturgy of the Word (*Liturgia della Parola*), The Eucharistic (*Liturgia Eucaristica*), The Impartation (*Riti di Comunione*) and the Epilogue or the Apolis (*Riti di conclusione*).

²⁶ L’Abbé Louis Duchesne, *Origines du Culte*, p. 159.

²⁷ Sanctus Gregorius Magnus, *Ordines Romani Sexdecim.*, in PL 78, J.-P. Migne, 1862, *Ordo Romanus XIV*, p. 1180.

²⁸ Idem, *Ordo Romanus XI seu Benedicti, Beati Petri Canonici, Liber Pollicitus*, p. 1037; B. Flacci Albinus or Alcuini, *De Divinis Officiis liber*, in PL 101, J.-P. Migne, 1863, *Tomus Secundus*, p. 1182.

²⁹ We will not analyze the great doxology from a doctrinal perspective, but only from a liturgical and musical point of view. For more details about the theological aspects of the great doxology, please see: Ανδρέα Θεοδώρου, *Η μεγάλη δοξολογία, Θεολογικό σχόλιο, Αποστολική Διακονία της Εκκλησίας της Ελλάδος*, 1996.

profound *praise prayer* brought to God, but also as a *demand* one (of the forgiveness of the sins and of a spiritual life which pleases God).

In most of the cases, its verses have mainly a scriptural inspiration from the Old Testament³⁰, mostly coming from the psalms³¹, largely used in the centuries II-III of the Christian period:

The first period: *Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace, good will among men* (Luke 19, 38³²);

The fourth period: *O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sin of the world, have mercy on us, Thou that takest away the sins of the world.* This period of the great doxology reminds the prophecy of Isaiah (Is. 53, 7), according to which, the Lamb of God, by His Sacrifice, saved the world (the objective salvation) and we became the beneficiaries of the salvation by acknowledging the sin estate and by prayer (subjective salvation);

The fifth period: *Receive our prayer, Thou that sittest at the right hand of the Father, have mercy on us* (Ps. 109, 1; Mark 16,19; Hebrew 10,12);

The sixth period: *For Thou only art holy, Thou only art the Lord, O Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father. Amen* (Revelation 15.4 b; Philipp. 2:11);

The seventh period: *Every day will I bless Thee and I will praise Thy name forever, yea forever and ever* (Ps. 144, 2);

The tenth period: *Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be upon us according as we have hoped in Thee* (Ps. 32, 21);

The eleventh period: *Blessed art Thou, O Lord, teach me (us) Thy statutes* (Ps. 118, 12).

The twelfth period: *Lord, Thou hast been our refuge in generation and generation.* (Ps. 89, 1). *I said: O Lord, have mercy on me, heal my soul, for I have sinned against Thee* (Ps. 40, 4);

The thirteenth period: *O Lord, unto Thee have I fled for refuge, teach me to do Thy will, for Thou art my God* (Psalm 142, 9 b – 10 a);

The fourteenth period: *For in Thee is the fountain of life, in Thy light shall we see light* (Ps. 35, 9);

³⁰ Maria Benedetta Artioli (translated from Greek by), *Anthologhion di tutto l'anno*, volume 1, Roma, re-edit 2012, p. 89-90, 108-109; *Ibidem*, vol. 2; Frederick E. Warren (ed.), *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, an early Irish Manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, vol. II (Henry Bradshaw Society, Stanford Library, Vol. X), London 1895, p. 78-79.

³¹ Charles G. Herbermann, Edward A. Pace (eds.), *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 6, New York 1909, p. 585; Pierre Batiffol, *Histoire du Bréviaire romain*, Paris 1893, p. 9.

³² We see how this exclamation remained in the conscience of the people, who, nearby the Mount of Olives, before the Entry of God in Jerusalem, cried out (reversing the initial topics): "Blessed is the King who comes in the name of the Lord; *peace in heaven and glory in the highest*" / "εἰρήνῃ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις" (Lk. 19, 38).

The fifteenth period: *O continue Thy mercy unto them that know Thee* (Ps. 35, 10 a);

The sixteenth period and the last one: *Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us*, the liturgical Trisagion³³ (repeated three times), ends the great doxology, appointing to the exclamation of the Seraphs (Isaiah 6, 3) – (Rev. 4, 8). Many names were given to it, among them *Hymnus angelicus* – *The angelic hymn* in the Latin Church, which does not comprise the liturgical trisagion; still, this name suits very well to the Alpha and Omega of the great doxology.

4. The epigraphic and archaeological testimonies of the great doxology

Regarding the great doxology, in Christian Africa were found a series of epigraphic monuments:

- 4.1. In Zaghouan, a town situated in the north- center part of Tunisia, at app. 100 km. from ancient Carthage, was discovered in 1889 a calcareous stone fragment, being possibly the superior part of a fountain placed in the middle of the *atrium* (around whom the catechumens were gathering) with the inscription GLORIA IN EX(celsis Deo)³⁴:

³³ The text of the liturgical trisagion (Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, Ἅγιος Ἰσχυρός, Ἅγιος Ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς) dates from 446, since Theodosius the Second the Young, emperor of the Oriental Roman Empire (408-450), during the time of Saint Proculus, patriarch of Constantinople (434-446), furtherly used by the Blessed Parents at the fourth ecumenical Synod from Calcedon (451), in the anathematization of Dioscorus, according to J. Bingham, *Origines ecclesiasticae*, p. 688, the second column (and the following for other details referring to the liturgical trisagion); Idem, *Origines ecclesiasticae. Or the antiquities of the Christian church and other works*, Vol. V, London, printed for William Straker, West Strand, 1834, Book XIV, Chap. II, p. 31.

³⁴ Dom Fernand Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, vol. 1, A, Paris 1907, p. 708, figure 146.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, vol. 4, Deuxième Partie, 1921, p. 1528.

- 4.2. On another marble fragment which comes from Carthage and is kept in the Museum from Marseilles, is written the angels' exclamation: Gloria in (excelsis) Deo et (in terra)³⁶

GLORIA IN
+
DEO EZ

- 4.3. In a Christian church from Ammædera (Haidra), it can be read on two columns, written with uppercase³⁷:

GLORIA IN EXCEL	HOMNIB
SIS ΔO ET IN TE	BONE BOLV
RRRA PAX ⲡ	MTATIS

- 4.4. On a marble piece found at Chusira (Kessera), it was written³⁸:

....ELSYS DO ET IN TERR(a) PAX ⲡ

- 1.5. In Numidia, on a stone which was supposed to be part of the upper part of a church doorcase it was found written³⁹:

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO ET IN
TERRA PAX HOMINIBVS BONAE VOLON TATIS-
HAEC EST DOMUS DEI

- 4.6. In the same region, among the ruins of a church from Henchir Abdallah, nearby Aïn Beida, it was found the inscription⁴⁰:

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO
PAX IN TERRA HOMINIBVS
BONE VOLVM(tatis) SPES IN
DEO SEMPER

- 4.7. At Bordj el Amri (28 km. from Tunis), nearby the Roman road from Carthage to Sebaste, was found the archaeological testimony⁴¹:

GLORIA IN
+
deo EZ

³⁶ *Ibidem*; Cardinal Jean-Baptiste Pitra, *Hymnographie de l'Église grecque*, Rome 1867, p. 36.

³⁷ D.F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 4, Deuxième Partie, p. 1528.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 1529.

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

4.8. We find another testimony at Dra ben Jouder, on one of the five fragments of a calcareous plaque (which dates from the fourth century): GLORIA IN exCELSIS DEO⁴².

4.9. In the ruins of a Christian church from Uppenna (Henchir Chigarnia), was found a mosaic, also from the fourth century, made from 9 lines, the last one being:

GLORIA IN ESCE
LSIS DEO ET IN TERA PACS OMINIBVS⁴³

4.10. The testimonies in Greek are present too. At El Barah were discovered two Greek epigraphs, the first one being: + ΔΟΞΑ ΕΝ ΥΨΙΣΤΟΙΣ [Θ]ΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΓΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΙΑΙΕΝ⁴⁴, the second inscription redeems, totally, the angels' doxology: Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία⁴⁵.

4.11. In Egypt, at Deir-el-Abiad (or Deir-Amba-Schnoudi, at app. 5 km west from Sohag/Atrip), at the southern side, from the entrance, after the inscription of the count Caesarius, engraved on the inner face of the architrave, situated upon the entrance door, were found significant fragments of doxological hymns, such as Gloria in excelsis and Te Deum in Greek.⁴⁶

We list the oldest manuscripts from the Romanian territory, most of them belonging to the seventeenth century, which contain the text of the great doxology⁴⁷:

- The oldest text of the great doxology from Romania is kept at the Linguistics Institute of Cluj-Napoca, in the Drăganu Codex⁴⁸, manuscript no. 6, ante 1634, ff. 108-109^v.
- Manuscript no. 100 of the Romanian Academy Library, Cluj Subsidiary, 1679, author Popa Pătru.

⁴² *Ibidem*, p. 1530.

⁴³ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 1532: + Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις (Θεῷ) καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 485-486; *Ibidem*, vol. 4, Deuxième Partie, p. 1531-1532; Gustave Lefebvre, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d'Égypte*, Le Caire 1907, Cap. XIV. Sohag (Atrip), § 237, p. 45-46. Please see the comments and the footnotes of these two last works for details of linguistics nature between the two languages (Latin and Greek).

⁴⁷ Atanasie Popa, "Texte ale «Doxologiei» din veacul XVII" in: *Mitropolia Banatului*, Revista oficială a Arhiepiscopiei Timișoarei și Caransebeșului și a Episcopiei Aradului, XX, Nr. 1-3, (1970), p. 153-157.

⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 153: the doxology's text was published in „Transilvania”, no. 4/1929 and the study of the text in Dacoromania (III, 1923), in Cluj.

- Manuscript no. 4 of the Romanian Academy Linguistics Institute, Cluj Subsidiary, Anghilest, 20th February 1679, written by the parish clerk Dumitru from Boen.
- The Book of Katavasias of Anthimos Ivireanu from 1714, Tîrgoviste, not paged. The text of the Great Doxology remained unmodified, as proof that this text is most closely similar to the ancient Greek and Slavonian texts.
- The Horologion, Sibiu, 1696, ff. 76-79.

In the same first half of the seventeenth century and in the Moldavian region, the great doxology was sung in Romanian. Marco Bandini, the apostolic administrator of the Catholic believers from Moldavia, during the lordship of Vasile Lupu, on the Feast Day of the Baptism of the Lord, year 1647, heard a seven year-old child singing in a sui generis manner, in a proclamatory way, in Vlach language: Glory in the highest...⁴⁹

5. The content, the comparative presentation and the main Greek and Latin sources of the great doxology

The history of the text shows us three expressions⁵⁰:

- a Sirian one of the nestorian liturgy (Nestorius was anathematized by the third ecumenical Synod from Efes, in 431);
- Greek one from the Apostolic Constitutions⁵¹;
- another Greek one used during the liturgical service of the Matins in the Orthodox Church.

First, we will present the two versions of the great doxology, used by the Greek Orthodox Church and by the Catholic Church.

In the following lines, we present the text used within the ritual of the Greek Church, according to the sixteenth liturgical and musical periods, adding in the same time the English version as well:

Δόξα σοι τῷ δείξαντι τὸ φῶς, Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς
εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.

⁴⁹ Vasile Alexandrescu Urechia, *Codex Bandinus, Memoriu asupra scrierii lui Bandinus, de la 1646, urmat de text și însoțit de acte și documente*, București 1895, p. 142, apud Vasile Vasile, *Istoria muzicii bizantine și evoluția ei în spiritualitatea românească*, vol. 2, Cap. "Începuturile cântării bizantine în limba română", București 1997, p. 59.

⁵⁰ Ferdinand Haberl, *Il Kyriale Romanum, Aspetti liturgici e musicali*, Roma 1977, p. 73, as J. A. Josef Jungmann SJ. also points out in *Missarum sollemnia* (Ancora Editrice, 2004, the most recent edition).

⁵¹ S. Clemens I Romanus, *Constitutiones apostolicæ*, Lib. VII, Cap. XLVII-XLVIII, p. 1055-1058.

Glory to Thee, Who has shown us the light! Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace, good will among men.

Ὑμνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε, προσκυνοῦμέν σε, δοξολογοῦμέν σε, εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν.

We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee, we glorify Thee, we give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory.

Κύριε βασιλεῦ, ἐπουράνιε Θεέ, Πάτερ παντοκράτορ, Κύριε Υἱὲ μονογενές, Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.

O Lord, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty, O Lord, the Only-Begotten Son, Jesus Christ and O Holy Spirit.

Κύριε ὁ Θεός, ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Πατρὸς, ὁ αἴρων τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου.

O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, that takest away the sin of the world, have mercy on us, Thou that takest away the sins of the world.

Πρόσδεξαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν, ὁ καθήμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς, καὶ ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

Receive our prayer, Thou that sittest at the right hand of the Father, have mercy on us.

Ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ μόνος Ἅγιος, σὺ εἶ ὁ μόνος Κύριος, Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ Πατρὸς. Ἀμήν.

For Thou only art holy, Thou only art the Lord, O Jesus Christ, to the glory of God the Father. Amen.

Καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν εὐλογήσω σε, καὶ αἰνέσω τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος.

Every day will I bless Thee and I will praise Thy name forever, yea forever and ever.

Καταξίωσον, Κύριε, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ, ἀναμαρτήτους φυλαχθῆναι ἡμᾶς.

Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin.

Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν, καὶ αἰνετὸν καὶ δεδοξασμένον τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

Blessed art Thou, O Lord, the God of our fathers and praised and glorified is Thy name unto the ages. Amen.

Γένοιτο, Κύριε, τὸ ἔλεός σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καθάπερ ἠλπίσαμεν ἐπὶ σέ.

Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be upon us according as we have hoped in Thee.

Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε. δίδαξόν με τὰ δικαιώματά σου (γ').

Blessed art Thou, O Lord, teach me (us) Thy statutes. (thrice)

Κύριε, καταφυγὴ ἐγενήθης ἡμῖν, ἐν γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ. Ἐγὼ εἶπα· Κύριε, ἐλέησόν με, ἴασαι τὴν ψυχὴν μου, ὅτι ἡμαρτόν σοι.

Lord, Thou hast been our refuge in generation and generation. I said: O Lord, have mercy on me, heal my soul, for I have sinned against Thee.

Κύριε, πρὸς σέ κατέφυγον, δίδαξόν με τοῦ ποιεῖν τὸ θέλημά σου, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ Θεός μου.

O Lord, unto Thee have I fled for refuge, teach me to do Thy will, for Thou art my God.

Ὅτι παρὰ σοὶ πηγὴ ζωῆς, ἐν τῷ φωτί σου ὀψόμεθα φῶς.

For in Thee is the fountain of life, in Thy light shall we see light.

Παράτεινον τὸ ἔλεός σου τοῖς γινώσκουσί σε.

O continue Thy mercy unto them that know Thee.

Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, Ἅγιος Ἰσχυρός, Ἅγιος Ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. (ἐκ γ')

Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us. (thrice)

Δόξα Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν. Ἅγιος Ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit, both now and ever and unto the ages of ages. Amen. Holy Immortal, have mercy on us.

The Latin version of the great doxology is:

„Gloria in excelsis Deo. Et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.

Laudamus te, benedicimus te, adoramus te, glorificamus te,

(+) *Hymnum dicimus tibi* (in some embodiments),

Gratias agimus tibi propter magnam gloriam tuam.

Domine Deus, Rex cælestis, Deus Pater omnipotens;

Domine Fili Unigenite, Jesu Christe (+) *altissime* (in some embodiments),

Domine Deus, Agnus Dei, Filius Patris,

qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.

Qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram;

Qui sedes ad dexteram Patris, miserere nobis,

Quoniam tu solus Sanctus, tu solus Dominus,

tu solus Altissimus Jesu Christe

cum Sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei Patris. Amen."⁵²

This Latin translation of the Greek text is attributed to Saint Hilarius Pictaviensis/ Hilarius of Poitiers⁵³ (+366/367), who heard and learned it during his exile in the East.

It is observed, that from the point of view of the liturgical development, the Latin version stops almost at half, being concluded with the sixth period of the Greek text.

We would like to indicate some bibliographic references regarding the Greek and the Latin versions of the great doxology's sources:

Frederick Edward Warren shows side by side the Greek original from the Alexandrian Codex from the British Museum (5th Cent.) five Latin versions, one from the Ambrosian Antiphonary from the British Museum (the 11th Cent.), another one from the Antiphonary from Bangor⁵⁴ from the Ambrosian Library from Milan (the 7th Cent.) and another three texts from three

⁵² *Appendix ad saeculum X*, PL 138, p. 1314.

⁵³ C. G. Herbermann, E. A. Pace (eds.), *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, p. 583; Amédée Gas-toué, "La grande doxologie, Étude critique" in: *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, Paris, 4^e Année, (1/1899), § I, p. 280; Christian Charles Josias Bunsen, *Analecta Ante-Nicæna*, vol. 3, Reliquiæ liturgicæ: cum appendicibus ad tria analectorum volumina / Collegit recensuit illustravit Christianus Carolus Josias Bunsen, London 1854, p. 74, 86-87.

⁵⁴ We make a historical abbreviation of the Antiphonary from Bangor, one of the oldest existing antiphonaries: this is a manuscript with liturgical singings in Latin, elaborated in the Abbey at Bangor, Northern Ireland, around 680/690 and furtherly transferred to Northern Italy, in the Scriptorium of the Abbey of Saint Colombanus from Bobbio, Piacenza Province, where from around 1606-1609, it was taken and brought with other works by the cardinal Federico Borromeo to the Ambrosian Library from Milan, with the occasion of its foundation (officially inaugurated on 8th December 1609). This Antiphonary was discovered and brought forward by the „father of the Italian historiography”, Ludovico Antonio Muratori, around 1695, who gave its name of „The Antiphonary from Bangor” (*Antiphonarium Ben-choreNSE*). This manuscript contains an indedited hymn i.e. the eucharistic liturgical Hymn, which is not included in any ancient collection previous to the Antiphonary from Bangor: „i. *Sancti venite,/ Christi corpus sumite,/ Sanctum bibentes/ Quo redempti sanguinem* ii. *Salvati Christi/ Corpore et sanguine, /A quo refecti/ Laudes dicamus Deo.*” etc. (f. 10^v-11^r), see: Frederick Edward Warren (ed.), *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, An Early Irish Manuscript in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, Vol. 2 (Henry Bradshaw Society, Stanford Library, Vol. X), London 1895, p. 10.

Irish manuscripts, from Dublin: Missale Stowe from the Irish Royal Academy (the 9th Cent.), the Book of Hymns⁵⁵ (the 11th Cent.) and Lebar Brecc. from the above mentioned Irish Royal Academy (the 14th Cent.).⁵⁶

We recall other comparisons of the Greek and Latin text, taken from the reference documents, such as the Apostolic Constitutions (lib. VII, Cap. 47-49, the 4th Cent.), textus receptus from the Roman Liturgy (Messale) (the 9th Cent.) and the Milan Ambrosian Liturgy (the 4th Cent.).⁵⁷

We can also suggest another comparative parallel of the great doxology's text from the Alexandrian Codex (The Royal British Library I. D. III, London, f. 569^v – the 2nd column, the 4-5th Cent.) , the Apostolic Constitutions (lib. VII, ch. 47-49, the 4th Cent.), the Roman Liturgier (Missale) (the 9th Cent.) and the Ambrosian Antiphony (the 4th Cent.).⁵⁸

The Greek text of the great doxology is also in the Liturgy of Saint Apostle Jacob, brother of God, according to the Syrian ritual.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ This manuscript, known under the name of *Liber Hymnorum* or the Book of Hymns, is at the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (E 4.2); it dates from the ninth, the tenth or the eleventh century and represents a collection of liturgical singings and hymns, used within the ritual of the Irish Church, acc. to F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, Cap. 3, § 12. Irish fragments. Antiphony of Bangor, ii. Ad pacem celebrandam, vi. Collectio post Evangelium, Ad vesperum et ad matutinam, Oxford 1881, p. 197, 193-194, 227-228, with three versions with small differences.

⁵⁶ F. E. Warren (ed.), *The Antiphony of Bango*, vol. 2, p. 76-77; Ferdinand Haberl, *Il Kyriale Romanum*, p. 73, note no. 4.

⁵⁷ Amédée Gastoué, "La grande doxologie", p. 281-282.

⁵⁸ D. F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, Vol. 4, Deuxième Partie, p. 1533-1536. We find another one comparison between the Greek variant of the Alexandrine Codex and the Latin text of the Catholic Church, according to Hilary of Poitiers at Chr. C. J. Bunsen, *Analecta Ante-Nicæna*, p. 86-87. For the English version of the great doxology by the Apostolic Constitutions, Alexandrine Codex and the Antiphony from Bangor (f. 33^r, sec. VII), we can see: F. E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Ante-Nicene Church*, Side-Lights of Church History, London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York 1897, p. 257-259. Regarding the great doxology and the other liturgical and doxological forms of the morning service's structure according to the Byzantine rite, Armenian, Syrian, Maronite, Chaldean, Coptic, Ethiopian, Ambrosian, Mozarabic, we can follow the work of Jean Michel Hanssens, *Aux origines de la prière liturgique – Nature et genèse de l'Office des Matines*, *Analecta Gregoriana*, Cura Pontificiae Universitatis Gregorianae edita, vol. LVII, Series Facultatis Theologicae, Sectio A (n. 7), Rome 1952, Art. III, p. 17-25. Also, we find a concentrated historical and liturgical excursus of the great doxology at F. Cabrol, *Liturgical prayer: its history & spirit*, New York 1922, p. 100-103; Idem, *Le livre de la prière antique*, Tours, the Fifth edition, 1919, p. 150-156.

Wilhelm von Christ, Matthaios K. Paraniakas (ed.), *Anthologia graeca*, p. 38-39 – for the Greek text of the great doxology with references to the Apostolic Constitutions and Alexandrine Codex.

⁵⁹ Frank Edward Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western, being the texts original or translated of the principal liturgies of the church*, vol. I: Eastern liturgies, Oxford 1896, p. 45.

Though within the content of this doxological hymn, the Virgin Mary is not present, we still have „Gloria Marianum”⁶⁰, a version of the Angelic Hymn, used in the Germanic Liturgy.

There is also „Canticum Marianum” of the Saint Bonaventura in honor of the Mother of God, after the example of Saint Ambrose’s Singing.⁶¹

Regarding the liturgical time of use of the doxological hymn, par excellence, following the directions of the Manuscript from Bangor, we understand that initially this hymn was sung in the evening – at the Evening Service of the Vespers⁶² – being used afterwards „ad vesperum et ad matutinam”⁶³ and furtherly became a component part within the Liturgy.

The angelic hymn is structured in three parts:⁶⁴

1. The angels’ exclamation in the district of Beth-lehem due to the Nativity: *Gloria in excelsis Deo. Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis./ Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace, good will among men.* (Lk. 2,14)
2. After this neo-scripturistical motto, follows the second part made from three strophes, first in a metrified form, an offering brought to God, the Father from the part of the believers:
 - i. (a) *Laudamus te, benedicimus te, (b) adoramus te, glorificamus te*⁶⁵,
 - ii. (a) *Gratias agimus tibi (b) propter magnam gloriam tuam.*
 - iii. (a) *Domine Deus, (b) Rex caelestis, (c) Deus Pater omnipotens.*

It is noted a strong correspondence of the verses, one part of a verse sending to another one, defining its casualty, mutually:

i. (a) ⇔ iii. (a), (b)

So, *We praise and bless thee because You are Lord and God, King/ Emperor of heaven.*

⁶⁰ Hermann Adalbert Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologus* sive Hymnorum canticorum sequentiarum circa annum MD usitatarum collectio amplissima, Tomus Secundus, Sequentiae, Cantica, Antiphona, Cap. II: *Canticorum et antiphonarum delectus*, Lipsiae 1844, p. 273; Idem (curavit), *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiae Universae in epitomen redactus, Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiae Romano-Catholicae in epitomen redactus*, Lipsiae 1847, p. 119.

⁶¹ H. A. Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologus*, Tomus Secundus, p. 293.

⁶² F. E. Warren (ed.), *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, vol. 2, p. 75.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 31, 78-79 (Antiphonarium Benchorense, f. 33^r). Following the Didascalia that introduces this hymn and also the second sentence of the antiphonal chant (“Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day/night without sin”), the Gloria in excelsis Deo was used during the day according to the Ambrosian Antiphonary and to the Antiphonary of Bangor and during the night, according to the Book of Hymns (Liber Hymnorum).

⁶⁴ The hymn’s patterning is taken over from F. Haberl, *Il Kyriale Romanum*, p. 74-76.

⁶⁵ This text is presented in a synthetic parallelism: the praise and the blessing is performed in/by adoration (worship) and glorification, see: F. Haberl, *Il Kyriale Romanum*, p. 75.

(or: we acknowledge thee to be Lord and God, King/ Emperor of heaven, we praise and we bless thee)

i. (b) ⇔ iii. (c)

We worship and we praise thee because You are God Father Creator Almighty/Omnipotent.

(or: we acknowledge thee to be God Father Almighty, by this we worship and we praise thee), resulting a first conclusion: ii. (a), (b) We praise you Lord for your greatness.

3. The third part is of christological nature and contains three strophes, characterized by an equivalent parallelism⁶⁶, the first one having two verses, the second one three verses (made from three demands to invoke the divine mercy and the prayer's listening) and the third one being made from only one verse, but with a triple faith confession:

The Angelic Hymn concludes with a trinitarian expression, different from the classic one: *Jesu Christe cum Sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei Patris*.

The text used by the Greek Orthodox Church and not only is almost identical with the doxological version of the Alexandrian Codex (5th Cent., f. 569^{f-r}), being different from the one of the Apostolic Constitutions. But, in relation to the text of the Alexandrian Codex, the great doxology from the liturgical context of the Matins has in addition three sequences:

1. The introductive and exclamatory expression⁶⁷: Δόξα σοι τῷ δείξαντι τὸ φῶς (*Glory to you, who has shown us the light!*)
2. The tenth period: Γένοιτο, Κύριε, τὸ ἔλεός σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καθάπερ ἠλπίσαμεν ἐπὶ σέ /Have mercy on us, Lord, have mercy, for we have had our fill of contempt (Ps. 32, 21).
3. The liturgical trisagion (sixteenth period): Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, Ἅγιος Ἰσχυρός, Ἅγιος Ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς/Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us, Δόξα... καὶ νῦν... (*Glory...and now...*).

The Great Doxology, one of the first worship liturgical hymns and at the same time one of the first prayers of the Primary Christian Church, was

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁶⁷ Though the first verse, therefore the first period of the great doxology is a revival of the angels' exclamation who were announcing the Nativity, this introduction reminds of the Resurrection service, which begins with the invitation: "Come and receive the light!", see: *Slujba Învierii*, București 2010, p. 18, after the preach during the period of Lent, within the Holy Liturgy of Saint Gregory the Dialogue or of Before-Blessed Gifts, "The Light of Christ shines upon all!" see: *Liturghier*, Bucharest 2012, p. 301. After the eighth singing of the Matins' Canon, the deacon calls the Virgin Mary, Mother of God and „Mother of light”, *Ibidem*, p. 97 etc.

entirely transposed into music in the Byzantine musical manuscripts at a relatively late stage, around the 2nd – 3rd quarters of the 17th century. Thus, the score of the first Great Doxology in Byzantine musical notation belongs to the bishop Melchizedek of Rhaedestos - from Eastern Thrace (1615-1625), on the first plagal voice.

I found this liturgical song in the Γ.γ.II manuscript of the National Monument's State Library from the Exarchic Greek Roman Abbey of the Virgin Mary and St. Nilo of Grottaferrata, f. 73^r et sequens. Chronologically, the Code Cryptense (=hidden) Γ.γ.II. is the most recently Psaltikon of the Library of the National Monument's State of Grottaferrata – written at the beginning of the 18th Cent., being concluded on 6th August 1718. At first sight it could be a Psaltikòn or an Asmatikòn. Antonio Rocchi writes in his Catalogue⁶⁸ that it is a Psaltikòn. However, with black ink, on the second row of the title page is designated as Ἀσματικόν, Asmatikòn. Γ.γ.II. is not the classical Greco-Italian manuscript, made in the San Nilo Abbey by a trainee monk. On the basis of its origin and affiliation, it is remarked as being a completely special manuscript: it was written in Albany and the author would have been an archbishop. It is one of the few Psaltikons present in the State Library of the National Monument from Grottaferrata, intended for the solo singing of the protopsalte. This aspect delineates the importance of the liturgical singings described in the inventory of the manuscript in question.

The Γ.γ.II manuscript integrates *rare* and even *inedited* liturgical singings: τα Κεκραγάρια (O Lord, we cried out) and τα Πασαπνοάρια (All the gathered men), composed by Chrysaphos the Young and also, the great doxology. About the great doxology from the Γ.γ.II manuscript: the fact is there is no mention of its author, but on the basis of a comparative analysis that I made between different manuscripts containing various Doxologies, there is no doubt about its appurtenance: its author is indeed Melchizedek, bishop of Rhaedestos; therefore this one is the first Great Doxology! The Great Doxology on the first plagal tone of the bishop Melchizedek from the Γ.γ.II manuscript proves itself to be - very likely – an *inedited* doxological hymn not only for the National Monument's State Library from Grottaferrata, but also for the entire Italian territory (excluding, scrupulously, the eventual private collections). It appears that the author would have made only this great doxology! But Ms. I – 22 from the Central University Library “Mihai Eminescu” from Iasi (*the only „pure” Kratimatar* present in the Romanian libraries, placed between the second and the fourth decade of the seventeenth century) con-

⁶⁸ Antonio Rocchi, *Codices Cryptenses seu Abbatiae Cryptae Ferratae in Tusculano*, Rome 1883, p. 433-434.

tains a hyphen on the first tone (f. 37^v and the following), whose author is the same Melchizedek from Rhaedestos.

In Romania also, the great doxology of Melchizedek represents the *first great doxology* from the first manuscript written in Romanian (Ms. rom. 61⁶⁹ – author, the hieromonach Filothei sin Agăi Jipei – from the Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest, f. 44^v and the following). It is also delineated as being the *only* great doxology of Melchizedek, bishop of Rhaedestos, translated into Romanian.

Another interesting fact is: Despite the fact that the monastery canonically belongs to the Vatican, it follows the Byzantine liturgical tradition regarding the conduct of divine worship. So, the music of worship in the monastery of Grottaferrata was in past centuries a Byzantine one, as the Byzantine musical manuscripts of that era bear witness. These songs include the Great Doxology, which in this manuscript follows a classical, traditional melody, with the version sung in the major monastic centers (e.g. Mount Athos) and the reference cathedral of the Byzantine Empire, Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

Other great doxologies on the Italian territory were found in the Library of the Greek Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies from Venice.⁷⁰

6. The liturgical evolution and historicity of the angelic hymn (the great Latin doxology) from the beginning until its liturgical crystallisation

The first statements regarding the presence of the angelic hymn within the Latin liturgical context, are connected with the name and theological figure of Telesphorus⁷¹, the eighth pope of Rome (app. 125/128 – 136/138). He re-

⁶⁹ Sebastian Barbu-Bucur, *Filothei sin Agăi Jipei – Psaltichie rumânească, I Catavasier*, Izvoare ale muzicii românești, vol VII A, Bucharest 1981, p. 57, 128-129 (the facsimile of the great doxology of Melchizedek, Bishop of Redestos from the BAR Ms. rom. 61, f. 44^v-45^v), p. 346-352 (transliteration on the Western Musical Scores of the above-called great doxology).

⁷⁰ Γρηγόρης Θ. Στάθης, "Ελληνική ψαλτική τέχνη. Τα χειρόγραφα βυζαντινής μουσικής του Ελληνικού Ινστιτούτου Βενετίας", *Θησαυρίσματα / Thesaurismata* 37, 2007, (Stathis Gr. Th., *Arte del canto liturgico greco. I manoscritti di musica bizantina dell'Istituto Ellenico di Venezia*), p. 22. See also: Ελένη Δ. Κακουλίδη, "Κατάλογος των ελληνικών χειρογράφων του Ελληνικού Ινστιτούτου Βενετίας", *Θησαυρίσματα / Thesaurismata* 8 (1971), p. 249-273 + πίν. ΙΔ'-ΚΒ' (Kakulidis Eleni, *Catalogo dei manoscritti greci dell'Istituto Ellenico di Venezia*). The Greek Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies from Venice is the only research (cultural) center of the Greek in diaspora, acc.to <http://www.istitutoellenico.org/istituto/index.html> (site accessed on 19th May 2015).

⁷¹ Apart from the introduction of the hymn *Gloria in excelsis Deo* from the Christmas Eve's Liturgy, to the pope Telesphorus (Greek origin and former anchorite) is attributed also the

quested that, at Nativity, the services should be celebrated during the night and the angelic hymn „Gloria in excelsis Deo” should be sung before the sacrifice.⁷²

Since pope Telesphorus, therefore the first half of the second century, Gloria in excelsis Deo was sung only at celebrations of the Nativity.⁷³ This liturgical tradition is kept until the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth one, when another pope from Rome, Symmachus (498–514), brings a change in the midst of the liturgical ritual in connection to this hymn, by introducing it within the dominical services and during the martyrs’ celebration days.⁷⁴

We keep in mind the historical and liturgical characteristic, according to which, in the original form, the hymn „Gloria in excelsis Deo” was introduced within the Liturgy only at Christmas, until the beginning of the sixth century, when pope Symmachus extended it to the Liturgy from Sundays and martyrs’ celebration days during the entire liturgical year, most probably for its obvious easter character, though sung only by the bishops⁷⁵. Because it represents a praise hymn with strong dogmatic and trinitarian valences, is missing from the ordinary Liturgy.

Even in the later period (the ninth period), it was sung only by the pope, being forbidden to the priests, even if in absentia they represented him, excepting God’s Resurrection day.⁷⁶ It is understood as a fact that the priests

initiative of celebrating Easter on Sunday, the seven weeks fast before the Resurrection of God and the settlement of the Liturgy at midnight, day light and at three o’clock at Nativity’s Celebration, see: L’Abbé Louis Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, vol. I, Paris 1886, p. 129. Some researchers from the relative field tried to consider him as the author of the hymn, which represents the object of our study, but they did not have enough reasons to determine this concept (from the historical and theological point of view).

⁷² *Ibidem*, p. 129: „et natalem Domini noctu missas celebrarentur [...] et ante sacrificium hymnus diceretur angelicus, hoc est: «Gloria in excelsis Deo»”; Idem, *Origines du Culte*, p. 158; Ferdinand Probst, *Lehre und Gebet in den drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderten*, Tübingen 1871, p. 290; Berno Abbas Augiæ Divitis (Bernonis Abbatis Augiensis), *Libellus de quibusdam rebus ad Missæ officium pertinentibus*, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, 2 *De Gloria in excelsis*, in PL 142, J.-P. Migne, 1853, p. 1058-1059; L. Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, vol. 1, p. 57: „Hic fecit ut natalem Domini nostri Iesu Christi noctu missae celebrarentur et in ingressu sacrificii hymnus diceretur angelicus: Gloria in excelsis Deo, tantum noctu natale Domini.”

⁷³ *Ibidem*, p. 268, explanatory note 41.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 263, 130, explanatory note 5: „Hic constituit ut omne dominicum vel natalicia martyrum Gloria in excelsis ymnus diceretur.”; B. A. A. Divitis, *Libellus de quibusdam*, 2. *De Gloria in excelsis*, p. 1059.

⁷⁵ Giuseppe Pizzardo (cardinal, president of the administration council), P. Celestino Testore, S. J. (General Reviser), *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, Ente per l’Enciclopedia Cattolica e per il Libro Cattolico, Città del Vaticano, vol. VI, Firenze 1951, p. 869.

⁷⁶ L. Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis*, vol. 1, p. 130, explanatory note 5: „A Rome, au IX^e siècle, les prêtres ne pouvaient chanter le Gloria in excelsis, même quand ils remplaçaient le pape empêché, si ce n’est le jour de Pâques.”

were allowed to sing „Gloria in excelsis” only on God’s Ressurrection day! We find though important details in the Typikon of Saint Amanda, which allows the singing of this hymn by the priests also on the eve of Easter and on the day of their ordination.⁷⁷ This liturgical constraint was applied until the eleventh century, when the priests received the right to sing the angelic hymn on Sundays and religious holidays⁷⁸.

By giving important elements in the service’s orderliness, the Roman Typikon mentions also the way in which it has to be sung this „heavenly singing”⁷⁹, ecphonetical, with a high and clear voice: „clara voce”⁸⁰, „elevata voce”⁸¹, „excelsa voce”⁸². Therefore, it was not simply spoken, but sung⁸³, forming therefore in its accomplishment a lyrical liturgical dialogue between the pope – who was introducing the hymn – and the chorus (schola cantorum).⁸⁴

From the notions mentioned above, we understand the liturgical significance of this liturgical hymn, present in Christianity’s important moments⁸⁵.

Conclusions

In the present study I do not follow the evolution and / or changes of the great doxology in the various liturgical contexts of different religions, but rather the integration in time, i.e. historical (wherever possible) of its appearance, formation and crystallization in order to highlight its age and especially its importance and value in the conduct of worship, based on its scriptur-

⁷⁷ Idem, *Origines du Culte, Appendice, Les Ordines Romains du manuscrit de Saint-Amand*, VII, Paris 1889, p. 460 and p. 159: „et habet ibi licentiam sedere eodem die (die ordinatio fit, our specification) et in vigilia paschae tantum et dicere Gloria in excelsis Deo.”

⁷⁸ G. Pizzardo, *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, p. 869.

⁷⁹ Amalarius, *De ecclesiasticis Officiis libri quatuor*, Liber primus, Caput primum, *Di Septuagesima*, in PL 105, J.-P. Migne, 1864, p. 996; B. Flacci Albini or Alcuini, *De Divinis Officiis*, p. 1182: Aliluia and Gloria in excelsis Deo are considered to be heavenly singings: „Alleluia et Gloria in excelsis cantica caelestia are.”

⁸⁰ S. G. Magnus, *Ordines Romani Sexdecim, Ordo Romanus II, De Missa Pontificali*, p. 970.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, *Ordo Romanus IX*, p. 1006.

⁸² *Ibidem*, *Ordo Romanus X*, p. 1010.

⁸³ *Ibidem*, *Ordo Romanus XII*, pag. 1073, *Ordo Romanus XIV*, p. 1136, *Index Rerum quae in Libro Sacramentorum, etc. continentur*, p. 1431-1432.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem*, *Ordo Romanus II, De Missa Pontificali*, p. 971; *Ordo Romanus XI*, p. 1033, 1042; *Ordo Romanus XIV*, p. 1186.

⁸⁵ According to the Saint Gregory of Tours, during the disclosure of the body of the Martyr Mallosus, the Christian clergy and people sang the hymn Gloria in excelsis Deo. Also, during the visit of king Charles the Great to the Pope Leo the third, in 800, the pope, after the formal embracements, sang the hymn Gloria, see: D. F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d’Archéologie Chrétienne*, vol. 4, Deuxième Partie, p. 1532.

al inspiration, as confirmed by the most suggestive archaeological evidence. Therefore, methodologically, and in terms of research, I focused on material representing the bibliographic sources. I sought a return to origins, to the authors of the first testimonies, the first witnesses of the occurrence or shaping of this liturgical hymn, so full of doctrinal and liturgical value.

In order to introduce the development of the great doxology, I used first and foremost the mainly bibliographical resources (*Patrologiae Graecae et Latinae*, important historians, biblical scholars and palaeographics for all generations of researchers, such as Louis Duchesne, Fernand Cabrol, Frederick E. Warren, Jean-Baptiste Pitra, Amédée Gastoue, Frank Edward Brightman, Adalber Daniel, James Mearns, Gustave Lefebvre).

It is observed at the level of the text a special interest of the researchers for different formulations or expressions in Greek and Latin, harvested from the main reference manuscripts and bibliographical principles and also on the basis of the epigraphic and archaeological testimonies. The essential purpose was and it is to surprise and to delineate the differences and the changes met during the time in different geographical spaces.

This hymn, inspired from the Scriptural books, especially from the psalms, is sung both in the Oriental Church (at the end of the Matins) and in the Occidental Church (during the Holy Liturgy) – on the basis of its liturgical and doctrinal value – being revealed as an ecclesiastical singing with deep roots in the liturgical story of the Christian Church. The fourth period and the sixteenth are Biblical paraphrasings, the third period is a trinitarian faith confession, in the second period apart from the praise character the thankfulness character also appears, and the eighth and the ninth periods are made after the model of the others, through which it is demanded to not fall into sin and to praise God. It results, as a consequence, that the great doxology does not represent an original liturgical expression, but it is taken instead from the Scriptural texts in which God is worshipped and praised into the Holy Trinity, being asked both for compassion and for forgiveness of the sins.

One may state that its first part (periods 1-6), which corresponds to the Latin hymn *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, represents the main base by which the great doxology is delineated as a faith confession in the Holy Trinity, being in the same time a praise, a demand and a thanksgiving prayer (to which it can be added the last period, the liturgical trisagion with *Glory... And now...*). For the Latin liturgical ritual, the second part implies an antiphonal approach, in which the choir is also involved. Probably because of this antiphonal aspect of

the second part, it can be missing from the celebration act, and therefore from some manuscripts⁸⁶.

About the manuscript Γ.γ.II from Grottaferrata, even if the copyist did not indicate the great doxology author's name, on the basis of a comparative analysis of the different manuscripts with Byzantine musical neumes from different countries, which contain great doxologies (Italy, Greece, Romania), its affiliation is unchallenged. The great doxology of the bishop Melchizedek is *the first* great doxology kept with a Byzantine musical neum, being revealed as an *inedited liturgical singing* not only for the manuscripts stock of the State Library of the National Monument from Grottaferrata but for the entire Italian territory. The Cryptense Codex Γ.γ.II stands out among the Byzantine musical manuscripts as being *the only manuscript* on the entire Italian territory which contains the first great doxology, therefore the *prototype* of this kind of liturgical singing. Hence, according to the Byzantine music studies made until present day, the Cryptense Codex Γ.γ.II is the first and the only manuscript from Italy, recognized as containing the first great doxology, not taking into account, out of scrupulosity of course, the possible personal collections and stocks.

The presence in the Byzantine musical manuscripts of the first great doxology in different countries (thus Albania, which is the source of the Cryptense Codex Γ.γ.II, Italy, Greece, Egypt, Romania, U.K., Denmark etc.), in a fixed period of time (17th – 18th Cent.), in both Orthodox and Greco-Catholic Churches, in the same language (Greek) and mainly with the same measure, delineates obviously the likenesses and not the differences. The handwritten testimony of the echo of a singing sung all in the same spirit and language (hence, in obvious circumstances of a real liturgical manifestation, in a great symbiosis!) on behalf of the protopsaltes and of the Byzantine and Greco-Latin believers, represents an important accomplishment, an important crossing point and an additional reason for such a necessary and lively ecumenical dialogue within the scope of the faith unity.

⁸⁶ This part lacks completely from the Irish manuscripts from Dublin: Missale Stowe (the 9th century) and Lebar Brecc. from the Irish Royal Academy (the 14th Cent.), having some differences in the Ambrosian Antiphonary from the British Museum, f. 133^v (the 11th Cent.), in the Antiphonary from Bangor, from the Ambrosian Library, Milan, f. 33^r (the 7th Cent.) and in the Book of Hymns, f. 9 (the 11th Cent.) from the same Irish Royal Academy, see: F. E. Warren (ed.), *The Antiphonary of Bangor*, vol. 2, p. 78-79.