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***Qui bene cantat, bis orat.* Uloga pjevača u ranokršćanskoj crkvenoj liturgiji¹**

***Qui bene cantat, bis orat.* The role of cantors in the early Christian church liturgy¹**

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Kao i danas, i u prošlosti je muziciranje, sviranje i pjevanje bilo sastavni dio ljudske svakodnevice. Pjevalo se i sviralo u različitim prigodama, kako u onim privatnim tako i službenim, te, dakako, u religijskim (kultnim) obredima i svečanostima. Pjevalo se i sviralo na svim stranama svijeta, što izravno potvrđuju i suvremena istraživanja indigenih naroda. Posve je logično stoga da su i rani kršćani kao sastavni dio antičkoga svijeta, od samih svojih početaka, dakle od 1. stoljeća, uz molitve i čitanje svojih svetih tekstova, koji će kasnije ući u kanon Svetog pisma, u tu pralituriju ugrađivali i pjevanje. O tome svjedoče literarni izvori, ali i poneke arheološke činjenice. Da je čin pjevanja u ranokršćanskoj liturgiji bio iznimno važan i na cijeni, neka ilustrira onaj glasoviti *dictum* iz našeg naslova koji se atribuiraju svetom Augustinu: Tko dobro pjeva, dvostruko moli. Danas se još ne zna dovoljno o ondašnjem načinu pjevanja, još manje o fundusu pjesama što su ih kršćani izvodili tijekom praliturijskih kulturnih obreda,

As today, in the past, performing and playing music, as well as singing, were integral parts of everyday human life. Singing and playing were regular on various occasions, both private and official, and, of course, in religious (cult) rituals and ceremonies. Singing and playing could be heard in all parts of the globe, as directly confirmed by modern research of indigenous peoples. Therefore, it is quite logical that the early Christians, as an integral part of the ancient world, incorporated singing from their very beginnings, i.e. from the first century, together with their prayers and reading of sacred texts, which would later enter the canon of Scripture, into this preliturgy. This is evidenced by literary sources, as well as by some archaeological facts. The great importance and appreciation of the act of singing in the early Christian liturgy can be illustrated by the famous *dictum* from our title, attributed to St. Augustine: He who sings well, prays twice. Today, not enough is known

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1 This paper has been written with appropriate enthusiasm on the occasion of the great anniversary of the Archaeological Museum in Split, as part of the project *Razumijevanje rimskih granica: primjer istočnog Jadrana/Understanding Roman Borders. The Case of the Eastern Adriatic* (IP-2018-01-4934), funded by the Croatian Science Foundation.

ali neka ne ostane nezamijećeno da je u ovoj Augustinovo izreci naglasak bio na *dobrom* pjevanju. Koliko je to bilo važno u konstituiranju pjevačke sastavnice kasnijeg razvoja kršćanske liturgije, pokazat će se dalje u ovom tekstu. Ipak, prvotni cilj našeg rada jest fiksirati dosadašnje rezultate i saznanja o ulozi pjevanja u ranokršćanskim obredima, dakle u prvim desetljećima razvoja i širenja kršćanstva te, posebno u tom kontekstu, provjeriti eventualne arheološke potvrde i o djelovanju pjevača u ranokršćanskoj salonitanskoj Crkvi.

Ključne riječi: *Salona, liturgijsko pjevanje, schola cantorum, ranokršćansko razdoblje*

about the manner of singing at the time, much less about the repertoire of chants performed by Christians during preliturgical cult rites, but let it not go unnoticed that the focus of Augustine's saying is on singing *well*. The extent of importance of this in constituting the singing component of the later development of the Christian liturgy will be shown below. Notwithstanding, the original aim of our paper is to record the previous results and knowledge of the role of singing in early Christian rites, i.e. in the first decades of the development and spread of Christianity, and, especially in this context, to verify possible archaeological evidence of the cantors' activities in the early Christian Salonitan Church.

Key words: *Salona, liturgical music/singing, schola cantorum, early Christian period*

Kratak podsjetnik na povijesni kontekst

Najstariji dokazi muziciranja mogu se smjestiti na sam početak povijesti ljudskog roda.¹ Među prastarim narodima svoja su svjedočanstva o pjevanju i sviranju ostavili Sumerani, Babilonci, Asirci, Egipćani, Židovi, Rimljani te posebno Grci.² Grci, koji su se u muziciranju natjecali i na Olimpijskim igrama, osmislili su i sustav glazbene notacije uz pomoć abecednih simbola. Najbolje sačuvana grčka notacija jedne cijele profane skladbe u formi epitafa zapisana je na Seikilovoj nadgrobnoj steli. Taj spomenik koji je datiran u 2. st., odnosno početak 3. st., pronađen je u maloazijskom gradu Tralu (danas Aydin).³ Unatoč činjenici što je spomenuta notacija već u 3. st. pr. Kr. bila standard kojim su se koristili glazbenici u najvećem broju slučajeva, glazba se generacijama prenosila po pamćenju i sluhu, što može biti i razlogom da se sačuvao relativno mali broj glazbenih zapisa.⁴ U knjizi *Documents of Ancient Greek Music: The Extant Melodies and Fragments* iz 2001. objavljeno je 61 dosad poznato grčko glazbeno djelo datirano od 5. st. pr. Kr. do 3., odnosno 4. st. po. Kr. među kojima je i glasoviti ranokršćanski himan iz Oksirinha.⁵ Što se tiče izvorne starorimske glazbe poznat nam je tek jedan primjer, i to 861. stih Terencijeve komedije *Svekrva* iz 2. st. pr. Kr.⁶ Kako je zvučalo to pjevanje i muziciranje nikada nećemo saznati, jer je zvuk prvi put, zahvaljujući izumu fonautografa, zabilježen tek u 19. st.⁷ Usprkos tome o toj je glazbi koju nažalost nikada nećemo moći čuti u izvornom izvođenju, kao ni muziciranje ranih kršćana, napisan relativno velik broj radova.⁸

Nasuprot nedostatku zvučnih dokaza najranijeg,

A brief reminder of the historical context

The earliest evidence of musical performance originates from the very beginning of the history of humankind.¹ Among the ancient peoples, the Sumerians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Jews, Romans, and especially the Greeks left evidence about their singing and playing.² The Greeks, who also competed in musical performance at the Olympic Games, devised a system of musical notation by means of alphabetic symbols. The best-preserved Greek notation of an entire profane composition in the form of an epitaph is inscribed on the Seikilos column. This monument, dated to the second century AD, i.e. the beginning of the third century AD, was discovered in the town of Trall (present-day Aydin), in Asia Minor.³ Despite the fact that the mentioned notation had become standard as early as the third century BC, used by musicians in most cases, music was passed down through generations by memory and ear, which may be the reason why a relatively small number of musical scores have been preserved.⁴ Sixty-one hitherto known Greek musical works were published in the 2001 book *Documents of Ancient Greek Music: The Extant Melodies and Fragments*. They are dated from the fifth century BC to the third or fourth century BC. Among them is the famous early Christian hymn from Oxyrhynchus.⁵ As regards the original ancient Roman music, we know only one example, viz. the 861st verse of Publius Terentius Afer's comedy *Hecyra* from the second century BC.⁶ We will never know how that singing and musical performance sounded, because the sound was first recorded only in the 19th century, thanks to the invention of the phonograph.⁷ Nevertheless, a relatively large number of papers

1 Turk – Turk – Ott 2020, 10, 1226, str. 1–12.

2 Henderson 1921; Galpin 1937; Wulstan 1971, str. 365–382; Landels 1999.

3 Na Seikilovu nadgrobnom spomeniku u obliku stupa, koji se čuva u Danskom nacionalnom muzeju (br. inv. 14897) uklesan je sljedeći tekst:

Εἰκὼν ἢ λίθος/εἰμί· τίθησί με//Σεικιλος ἔνθα/μνήμησ
ἀθανάτουσῆμα πολυχρόνιον. Ὅσον ζῆς φαίνου//μηδὲν ὄλωσ σὺ/
λυποῦ· πρὸς ὀλί-/γον ἐστὶ τὸ ζῆν./τὸ τέλος ὁ χρό-/νος ἀπαιτεῖ.

Ja sam slika / u kamenu / Seikilos me ovdje/postavio / kao bezvremenski simbol / na vječni spomen

Dok živiš budi/ne žali ni za čim / život je kratak / vrijeme samo od sebe / donosi kraj. Vidi Solomon 1986, str. 455–479.

4 Ključ za odgonetanje starogrčke slovočane glazbene notacije je Alipijevo djelo Εἰσαγωγή Μουσική. Vidi Škiljan 1996, str. 19.

5 Pohlmann – West 2001.

6 *ut unus hominum homo te vivat numquam quisquam blandior.* Terencije Afer, *Hecyra* 861.

7 Iako su se sačuvali zapisi glazbe, od kojih su najstariji *Hurijске himne* iz Ugarita datirane u 1400. g. pr. Kr., prvi je zvuk bilo moguće snimiti tek nakon što je Édouard-Léon Scott de Martinville (1853. – 1860.) izumio fonautograf. Vidi Wulstan 1971, str. 365–382; Galpin 1937, str. 99–104.

8 Opsežan popis literature o pjevanju u antici nalazi se i kod Wille 1967, str. 725–737.

1 Turk – Turk – Ott 2020, 10, 1226, 1–12.

2 Henderson 1921; Galpin 1937; Wulstan 1971, pp. 365–382; Landels 1999.

3 The following text is engraved on Seikilos' column-shaped tombstone, kept in the National Museum of Denmark (Inv. No. 14897):
Εἰκὼν ἢ λίθος/εἰμί· τίθησί με//Σεικιλος ἔνθα/μνήμησ
ἀθανάτουσῆμα πολυχρόνιον.

Ὅσον ζῆς φαίνου//μηδὲν ὄλωσ σὺ/λυποῦ· πρὸς ὀλί-/γον ἐστὶ τὸ
ζῆν./τὸ τέλος ὁ χρό-/νος ἀπαιτεῖ.

I am an icon / in stone / Seikilos placed me / here / as an everlasting sign / of deathless remembrance

As long as you live, shine / Let nothing grieve you beyond measure / For your life is short / And time will claim / its toll. See Solomon 1986, pp. 455–479.

4 The key to deciphering the ancient Greek musical notation is Alypius' work Εἰσαγωγή Μουσική. See Škiljan 1996, p. 19.

5 Pohlmann – West 2001.

6 *ut unus hominum homo te vivat numquam quisquam blandior.* Terentius Afer, *Hecyra* 861.

7 Although there are preserved musical scores, the oldest of which are the *Hurrian hymns* from Ugarit, dated to 1400 BC, the first sound could be recorded only after Édouard-Léon Scott de Martinville (1853–1860) invented the phonograph. See Wulstan 1971, pp. 365–382; Galpin 1937, pp. 99–104.

originalnog kršćanskog pjevanja brojni su njegovi spomeni u izvorima, kako u patrističkoj literaturi tako i u kerigmatskoj historiografiji.⁹ U ovoj prigodi osvrnut ćemo se samo na zapise iz Novog zavjeta.¹⁰ Tako u Markovu (Mk 14, 26) i Matejevu (Mt 26, 30) evanđelju stoji da su, nakon večere, Isus i Apostoli zajedno pjevali: *Otpjevavši hvalospjeve, zaputiše se prema Maslinskoj gori.*¹¹ Radi se o posljednjoj večeri koju je Isus održao s apostolima.¹² Iako ne znamo koje su to hvale Bogu pjevali, ni na koji su način to činili, ipak možemo pretpostaviti da se, s obzirom na to da su bili Židovi, radi o pjesmama iz hebrejske liturgije, kao što možemo pretpostaviti i da su bile otpjevane na tradicionalan način, onako kako su se i inače izvodile na obredima.¹³

Nakon smrti Isusa Krista spomen na *Posljednju večeru* ugrađen je u kršćansku liturgiju kao njezina središnja tema, a nastavilo se i s pjevanjem, koje je bilo važno u obredima, o čemu svjedoči i podatak da je u pjevanju s apostolima sudjelovao i sam Krist. U navedenim citatima iz Markova i Matejeva evanđelja spominju se hvalospjevi, no Pavao u pismu koje je napisao kršćanskoj zajednici u Kolosima (Kol 3, 16) obavještava da su se osim hvalospjeva pjevale i druge pjesme.¹⁴

have been written about this music, which we will unfortunately never be able to hear as originally performed, the same as the musical performance of the early Christians.⁸

Contrary to the lack of audio evidence of the earliest, original Christian singing, it was mentioned in sources a number of times, both in patristic literature and in kerygmatic historiography.⁹ On this occasion, we will refer only to writings from the New Testament.¹⁰ Thus in the Gospels according to Mark (Mk 14:26) and Matthew (Mt 26:30) it reads that Jesus and the apostles sang together after the supper as follows: *When they had sung a hymn, they went out to the Mount of Olives.*¹¹ This was the Last Supper that Jesus had with the apostles.¹² Although we do not know the hymns they sang to God, nor the manner of their singing, it can still be assumed that, since they were Jews, they were chants from Hebrew liturgy, and it can also be inferred that they were sung in the traditional way, as they were usually performed at rites.¹³

After the death of Jesus Christ, the commemoration of the *Last Supper* was incorporated into the Christian liturgy as its central theme, and singing was continued, since it was important in the rites, as evidenced by the fact that Christ himself had sung with the apostles. The quotations from the Gospels according to Mark and Matthew mention hymns, but Paul's letter addressed to Christians at Colossae (Col 3:16) informs that other chants were also sung.¹⁴

9 McKinnon 1987; Henderson 1921; Kovačić 2012, str. 21–49; McFarland 2012.

10 Novi zavjet sastoji se od 27 rukopisa, i to četiri knjige Evanđelja, jedne knjige Djela apostolskih, dvadeset i jednog pisma, poznatih kao Poslanice, i Knjige Otkrivenja. U ovom radu konzultirali smo se hrvatskim prijevodom *Jeruzalemske Biblije* (Rebić, Fućak, Duda 2003).

11 Rebić, Fućak, Duda 2003, str. 1454.

12 McKinnon piše da se taj događaj može smjestiti na prvu noć Pesaha (Beskvasnih kruhova), pa bi se obrok mogao identificirati s Pesah Seder, a same pjesme poistovjećuje sa 6 psalama znanih kao Hallel (Ps 113 – 118). McKinnon 1987, str. 13.

13 Nagel, 1970, str. 8–18, Bärsch 2015, str. 4; Krummacher, 2020, str. 302.

14 Hvalospjev, koji A. Rebić naziva i kantik, lirski je ulomak Svetoga pisma koji ne pripada psalmima, ali se u bogoslužju primjenjuje na način psalma. Rebić 2012, str. 3–9; Jojić 2015, str. 407.

Psalam (grč. *Ψαλμός*; lat. *psalmus*) je liturgijska lirski molitva, čije porijeklo leži u hebrejskoj kulturnoj praksi, pa tako Stari zavjet sadrži i knjigu (psaltir) u kojoj je sakupljeno 150 psalama, koji su nastali u različitim razdobljima i od različitih autora. Psaltir sadrži razne vrste pjesama, kao što su himni, osobne i narodne molitve, hvalospjevi, tužaljke, kao i molitve povjerenja i predanja. Smatra se da je zbirka psalama koje poznajemo danas nastala oko 250. g. pr. Kr. i da je kao takva postala dijelom grčkog prijevoda hebrejske Biblije. Rani kršćani psalme su preveli na grčki i latinski te su neke od njih ugradili u svoju liturgiju. Rebić 2019, 3–9; D. Fouilloux *et al.* 1999, str. 176–177. Najslavniji primjer je *Psalam 23*, koji je, po tradiciji, sastavio sam David: *Jahve je pastir moj, ni u čem ja ne oskudijevam, na poljanama zelenim on mi daje odmora. Na vrutke me tihane vodi i krijepi dušu moju. Stazama pravim on me upravlja radi imena svojega. Pa da mi je i dolinom smrti proći, zla se ne bojim, jer si ti sa mnom. Tvoj štap i palica tvoja utjeha su meni. Trpezu preda mnom prostireš na oči dušmanima mojim. Uljem mi glavu mažeš, čaša se moja prelijeva. Dobrota i milost pratit će mene sve dane života moga. U Jahvinu ću domu prebivati kroz dane mnoge.* Rebić, Fućak, Duda 2003, str. 716–717. Vidi: Stichel

8 For an extensive list of literature on singing in antiquity, also see Wille 1967, pp. 725–737.

9 McKinnon 1987; Henderson 1921; Kovačić 2012, pp. 21–49; McFarland 2012.

10 The New Testament consists of 27 books, viz. four Canonical Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, twenty-one letters, known as the Epistles, and the Book of Revelation. In this paper, we consulted the Croatian translation of the *Jerusalem Bible* (Rebić, Fućak, Duda 2003).

11 Rebić, Fućak, Duda 2003, 1454.

12 McKinnon writes that this event can be dated to the first night of Passover (the 'days of unleavened bread'), so the meal could be recognised as the Passover Seder. He identifies the poems themselves with the six psalms known as the Hallel (Ps 113–118). McKinnon 1987, p. 13.

13 Nagel, 1970, pp. 8–18, Bärsch 2015, p. 4; Krummacher, 2020, p. 302.

14 The hymns, which A. Rebić also calls the canticles, are lyrical fragments of the Holy Bible that are not parts of the psalms, but are applied in services of worship in the manner of the psalms. Rebić 2012, pp. 3–9; Jojić 2015, p. 407.

Psalms (Gr. *Ψαλμός*; L. *psalmus*) are liturgical lyrical prayers, whose origin lies in the Hebrew cult practices. Thus the Old Testament also contains a book (psalter) of 150 collected psalms, written in different periods and by different authors. The psalter contains various types of poems, such as hymns, personal and folk prayers, odes, laments, as well as prayers of trust and devotion. It is believed that the collection of psalms we know today originated around 250 BC, and that as such it became part of the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible. Early Christians translated the psalms into Greek and Latin and incorporated some of them into their liturgy. Rebić 2019, 3–9; D. Fouilloux *et al.* 1999, pp. 176–177.

Kršćanstvo je započelo svoj religijski razvitak u Palestini nakon smrti Isusa Krista, odakle se širilo najprije po Maloj Aziji, Grčkoj, Egiptu, a potom i po cijelom Rimskom Carstvu.¹⁵ Na početku tog puta od velike su važnosti bila druženja (*agape*), potaknuta potrebama vjernika za izricanjem zahvale Bogu, koja su se do konstantinskog obrata održavala u prostorima koje su na raspolaganje zajednici stavljali vjernici.¹⁶ Prvotne liturgijske radnje, među kojima je bilo i pjevanje, tek su s vremenom dobile čvrst koncept, u čemu su pomagali i naputci koji su se mogli pročitati u crkvenim uputama, poslanicama, evanđeljima i drugim najranijim kršćanskim tekstovima. Na to nas upućuju riječi iz Druge Pavlove poslanice Rimljanima (Rim 15, 5–6) u kojoj stoji: *da međusobno budete složni po Kristu Isusu te jednodušno iz jednog grla slavite Boga i Oca Gospodina našega Isusa Krista*.¹⁷ Pavao je poticao i kršćane iz drugih gradova na pjevanje pa je tako Efežanima (Ef 5, 18–20) napisao sličnu uputu: *pjevajte Gospodinu u svome srcu i slavite ga*, kao i Kološanima (Kol 3,16), *psalmima, hvalospjevima, pjesmama duhovnim, od srca pjevajte hvalu Bogu*.¹⁸ Sudeći po navedenom, u najranijem razdoblju kršćanstva svi su okupljeni pjevali, što je u svakom slučaju dobro utjecalo na zajedništvo, snažilo osjećaj pripadnosti i jačalo vjeru.¹⁹ No pretpostavljamo da to nije moglo dobro zvučati jer je, ako nisu imali zborovođu i unaprijed dogovoreni repertoar, vjerojatno vladala kakofonija kao redovita pojava, čak i onda kad bi se među njima našlo i nadarenih pjevača. To temeljimo na iskustvu po kojem znamo da najglasnije vole pjevati baš oni koji ne znaju pjevati.

Možda je neka slična situacija utjecala i na sv. Pavla, koji prilikom pisanja Poslanice Korinćanima (Kor 1, 12) više ne daje naputke o zajedničkom pjevanju u sav glas, kao što ih je davao Rimljanima (Rim 15, 5–6), nego ih uči da samo neki trebaju pjevati, što bi se moglo interpretirati kao sugestija da se “lošiji” pjevači suzdrže. Čini se da je Pavao s tim novim naputkom oprezan, pa ga ne iznosi odjednom, nego na samom početku poslanice (1 Kor, 12), kad govori o Duhu Svetome koji različitim ljudima dijeli različite darove.

Zaista, jednome Sveti Duh daje da govori riječi mudrosti, a drugome taj isti Duh daje govoriti riječ znanja. Jednima je u istome Duhu dana osobita vjera, a drugima moć da liječe bolesne. Nekima se daje moć da čine čudesa, drugima da prorokuju. Nekima je opet dana sposobnost da razlikuju djeluje li Božji Duh ili koji drugi duh. Neki imaju sposobnost govoriti jezike koje ne poznaju, a neki

Christianity began its religious development in Palestine after the death of Jesus Christ, whence it spread first over Asia Minor, Greece, Egypt, and then throughout the Roman Empire.¹⁵ In the early days, communal meals (*agapae*) were of great importance, motivated by the needs of the faithful to express gratitude to God. Until Constantinian conversion, they were held in venues made available to the community by the believers.¹⁶ The original liturgical activities, including singing, only gained a solid concept over time, aided by guidelines from church instructions, epistles, Gospels and other earliest Christian texts. This is indicated by the words from the second letter of Paul to the Romans (Rom 15:5–6) which reads: *so that united in mind and voice you may give glory to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ*.¹⁷ Paul also encouraged Christians from other cities to sing, so he wrote a similar epistle to the Ephesians (Eph 5:18–20) – *go on singing and chanting to the Lord in your hearts*, as well as the Colossians (Col 3:16) – *With gratitude in your hearts sing psalms and hymns and inspired songs to God*.¹⁸ Judging by the above, everyone sang at gatherings in the earliest period of Christianity, which in any case had a good effect on the fellowship, strengthened the sense of belonging and bolstered the faith.¹⁹ However, it can be assumed that this could not have sounded good because if they had had no choirmasters and pre-arranged repertoire, cacophony must have been a regular occurrence even when there were talented singers among them. This is based on the experience that those who cannot sing tend to do it the loudest.

Perhaps something to that effect also influenced St. Paul, who, while writing his Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor 12) no longer gave instructions on communal singing with a loud voice, as he had done to the Romans (Rom 15, 5–6), but expounded that only some should sing, which could be interpreted as a suggestion that “inferior” singers should refrain themse-

The most renowned example is *Psalm 23*, which, according to tradition, was composed by David himself: *Yahweh is my shepherd, I lack nothing. In meadows of green grass he lets me lie. To the waters of repose he leads me; there he revives my soul. He guides me by paths of virtue for the sake of his name. Though I pass through a gloomy Valley, beside me your rod and your staff are there, to hearten me. You prepare a table before me under the eyes of my enemies; you anoint my head with oil, my cup brims over. Ah, how goodness and kindness pursue me, every day of my life, my home, the house of Yahweh, as long as I live!* Rebić, Fućak, Duda 2003, pp. 716–717. See: Stichel 2007, pp. 23–113; Bratulić 1991, pp. 88–92; Šimić 2008, pp. 531–544.

A hymn (Gr. ὕμνος; L. hymnus) is a ceremonial song, especially sung in honour of a deity or a hero; Rebić 2012, pp. 3–9; D. Fouilloux *et al.* 1999, p. 63.

2007, str. 23–113; Bratulić 1991, str. 88–92; Šimić 2008, str. 531–544. Himan (grč. ὕμνος; lat. hymnus) je svečana pjesma, osobito pjevana u čast božanstva ili nekog junaka; Rebić 2012, str. 3–9; D. Fouilloux *et al.* 1999, str. 63.

15 Sanader 2016, str. 9–14.

16 *Ibid.*, str. 39–40; 97–98.

17 Rebić, Fućak, Duda 2003, str. 1621.

18 *Ibid.* str. 1670; 1682.

19 MacDiarmid 2008, str. 291–309; Grape, Sandgren, Hansson *et al.* 2002, str. 65–74.

15 Sanader 2016, pp. 9–14.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 39–40; 97–98.

17 Rebić, Fućak, Duda 2003, p. 1621.

18 *Ibid.* p. 1670; 1682.

19 MacDiarmid 2008, pp. 291–309; Grape, Sandgren, Hansson *et al.* 2002, pp. 65–74.

dobivaju tumačenje tih poruka. Samo je jedan Sveti Duh koji dijeli te darove. On jedini odlučuje koji će dar komu dati.²⁰

Među darovima Duha Svetoga, međutim, ne spominje ni jedan umjetnički dar izričito, pa tako ni dar lijepog pjevanja.²¹

Malo kasnije u istoj poslanici Pavao opisuje (1 Kor, 14) način na koji on sudjeluje u slavlju: *Molit ću se duhom, molit ću se i umom: pjevat ću hvalospjeve duhom, ali pjevat ću ih i umom.*²² U istoj poslanici nastavlja spominjati pjevanje (1 Kor, 14. 26–7), no sada piše o tome kako se zadaće nazočnih imaju za vrijeme obreda rasporediti, možda baš po darovima Duha svetoga o kojima je ranije pisao: *Kad se skupite te poneki ima hvalospjev, poneki ima nauk, ima otkrivenje, ima jezik, ima tumačenje – sve nek bude radi izgrađivanja.*²³ Budući da su spoznaje o ranim fazama razvoja kršćanske liturgije vrlo skromne, ovu su rečenicu različiti istraživači tumačili na različite načine. Tako npr. McKinnon u Pavlovim riječima raspoznaje redosljed pojedinih liturgijskih radnji, pri čemu je pjevanje na početku obreda.²⁴ Ferguson međutim čita istu rečenicu kao uputu o pjevanju, pa piše da svatko donosi knjigu psalama iz koje jedan izabire što će se na tom druženju pjevati ili da se donosi nova melodija, da je zajednica nauči, ili novi niz riječi, na koji je zajednica pružala tradicionalni odgovor.²⁵ Ovo bi se Fergusonovo mišljenje, valja naglasiti, moglo odnositi samo na prve godine kršćanstva, kada su poklonici bili Hebreji, no već u drugoj polovici 1. stoljeća kršćanstvo se proširilo i među nežidove, izvan palestinskog prostora, koji su poznavali samo pogansko kultno pjevanje i sviranje. Nemamo obavijesti da se tijekom ranih kršćanskih okupljanja uz pjevanje i sviralo, premda je sviranje tijekom poganskih kulturnih radnji kao i tijekom hebrejskog liturgijskog obreda bilo uobičajeno.²⁶

Ives. Paul seemed to be cautious with this new instruction, so he did not present it at once, but at the very beginning of the epistle (1 Cor 12), when he spoke of different kinds of gifts, albeit distributed by the same Spirit.

*One may have the gift of preaching with wisdom given him by the Spirit; another may have the gift of preaching instruction given him by the same Spirit; and another the gift of faith given by the same Spirit; another again the gift of healing, through this one Spirit; one, the power of miracles; another, prophecy; another the gift of recognising spirits; another the gift of tongues and another the ability to interpret them. All these are the work of one and the same Spirit, who distributes different gifts to different people just as he chooses.*²⁰

However, he did not explicitly mention any artistic gift among the gifts given by the Spirit, including the gift of beautiful singing.²¹

In the same epistle (1 Cor 14), Paul described the way he participated in celebrations: *Surely I should pray not only with the spirit but with the mind as well? And sing praises not only with the spirit but with the mind as well?*²² In the same epistle he mentioned singing again (1 Cor 14:26–7), but now he wrote about how the tasks of those present were to be distributed during the rites, perhaps according to the gifts given by the Spirit he had written about earlier: *At all your meetings, let everyone be ready with a psalm or a sermon or a revelation, or ready to use his gift of tongues or to give an interpretation; but it must always be for the common good.*²³ Since very little is known about the early stages of development of Christian liturgy, this sentence has been interpreted differently by different researchers. Thus, for instance, McKinnon recognised in Paul's words ²⁴the sequence of individual liturgical acts, with singing at the beginning of the rite. Ferguson, however, interpreted the same sentence as an instruction on singing, and wrote that everyone had had to bring a copy of the Book of Psalms from which one would select the material for singing at the gathering, or that a new melody could have been brought for the community to learn it, or a new set of lines to which the community would provide traditional answers.²⁵ It should be noted that Ferguson's opinion can refer only to the first years of Christianity, when the worshippers were Hebrews,

20 Jeruzalemska Biblija, Zagreb 2003, str. 1637.

21 Jesu li te Pavlove rečenice na tragu generalnog antičkog stava prema izvođačima kao ljudima koji se bave nečim čime se pristojni ljudi ne bave, kako nam je to, opisujući Semproniju, lijepo objasnio Sallustije Krispo (*De Cat.* 25), možemo samo pretpostavljati: *Po rođenju i ljepoti, također mužu i djeci, Sempronija je bila u vrlo sretnom životnom položaju. Poznavala je grčku i latinsku književnost i znala je vješto pjevati i plesati i više nego što je potrebno za pristojnu ženu.*

22 Rebić, Fućak, Duda 2003, str. 1639.

23 Ibid. 1639, bilj. c.

24 McKinnon 1987, str. 12.

25 Ferguson 2004, str. 144–157.

26 U Talmudu se spominje zbor drugog Hrama u kojemu je bilo dvanaest članova, od kojih je devet sviralo i različite instrumente (*Talmud, Suk. 53a*). Otkrivenje (Otk 5, 8–9) govori o sviranju citre, no ta vijest može biti samo potvrda da su poznavali glazbene instrumente, ali ne da su ih i koristili: *Četiri bića i dvadeset i četiri starješine padoše ničice pred Jaganjca. U svakog bijahu citre i zlatne posudice pune kada, to jest molitava svetačkih. Pjevahu oni pjesmu novu. Na drugome mjestu (Otk 14, 2–3) piše: Glas koji začuh bijaše kao glas citraša što sviraju na citrama. Sljedeći put kaže (Otk 15, 2–3): Pjevali su pjesmu novu, stoje u moru od prozirca s citrama Božjim u ruci. Pjevaju pjesmu Mojsija.*

Ch. Krummacher smatra da ukidanje sviranja instrumenata u sinagogama 70. g., što je uslijedilo kao posljedica tugovanja nad sruše-

20 Jeruzalemska Biblija, Zagreb 2003, p. 1637.

21 It is anyone's guess whether Paul's words echo the general ancient attitude towards performers as people involved in something that decent people do not do, as Sallust fittingly explained when describing Sempronion (*De Cat.* 25): *In birth and beauty, in her husband also and children, she was abundantly favoured by fortune; well read in the literature of Greece and Rome, able to play the lyre and dance more skilfully than an honest woman need.*

22 Rebić, Fućak, Duda 2003, 1639.

23 Ibid. 1639, fn. c.

24 McKinnon 1987, p. 12.

25 Ferguson 2004, pp. 144–157.

Rani kršćani nisu pjevali samo za vrijeme kulturnih obreda nego i u nekim drugim prigodama. Tako u Djelima apostolskim (Dj 16,25) možemo pročitati kako su Pavao i Sila pjevali Bogu hvalospjeve u zatvoru: *Oko ponoći su Pavao i Sila molili pjevajući hvalu Bogu, a uznici ih slušali.*²⁷ Isto tako iz Jakovljeve poslanice (Jak 5, 13), u kojoj među ostalim stoji i ovo: *Je li tko radostan? Neka pjeva hvalospjeve!*, saznajemo da je pjevanje, kao što je to uostalom i danas, bilo i način izražavanja veselja i dobrog raspoloženja.²⁸ Vjernike se, razvidno je, poticalo da se i u takvim, osobnim trenucima radosti pjevanjem posvete hvaljenju Boga.

Istraživači smatraju da su najstariji kršćanski himni nastali na istoku Carstva.²⁹ Pod utjecajem tih himana krajem 4. st., odnosno početkom 5. st. počeli su se pisati i na Zapadu, latinskim jezikom.³⁰ Neke od pjesama koje su nastale u to najranije vrijeme i danas su dijelom liturgijskog slavja.³¹

Među tisućama Oksirinskkih papirusa s tekstovima različitih dokumenata, pisama i literarnih djela prepoznali su istraživači i jedan kršćanski himan s notacijom.³² Analiza je pokazala da je taj himan, za sada, jedan od najstarijih kršćanskih zapisa na kojem je iznad samog teksta ispisana i notacija abecednim simbolima.³³ Sustav notacije uz pomoć slova, kako je već spomenuto ranije, usavršili su Grci stoljećima prije, pa nam ovaj komad papirusa iz Oksirinha (danas Al Bahansa u Egiptu)

but as early as the second half of the first century saw Christianity spreading among non-Jews, outside the Palestinian territory, who knew only of pagan cult singing and playing. We have no information on singing and playing at early Christian gatherings, although playing during pagan cult activities as well as at Hebrew liturgical rites was common.²⁶

Early Christians sang not only during cult rites but also on some other occasions. Thus, in the Acts of the Apostles (Acts 16:25) we can read how Paul and Silas sang hymns to God in gaol: *And at midnight Paul and Silas prayed, and sang praises unto God: and the prisoners heard them.*²⁷ Likewise, the following is written in the Epistle of James (James 5:13), inter alia: *Is any merry? Let him sing psalms.*, viz. we can learn that singing was also a way of expressing joy and good cheer, as it is today.²⁸ It is apparent that the believers were encouraged to devote themselves to praising God by singing in such personal moments of joy.

Researchers believe that the earliest hymns originated in the east of the Empire.²⁹ Under the influence of such hymns at the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth century, they started appearing in the West, written in Latin.³⁰ Some of the chants that were created at that earliest period

nim Hramom, ne mora značiti da su se i rani kršćani odrekli svirke (Krummacher 2020, str. 302). Dodajmo da se u to vrijeme kršćanstvo već bilo proširilo i na prostore dominacije helenističke kulture, u kojoj se tijekom religijskih svečanosti i pjevalo i sviralo, pa je lako moguće da su se u tim najranijim godinama kršćani tijekom obreda služili i glazbalima.

27 Rebić, Fućak, Duda 2003, str. 1572.

28 Ibid., str. 1732.

29 Sirijskom kleriku i skladatelju Romanu zvanom Melod (grč. Ρωμανός Μελωδός; lat. *Romanos Melodos*), koji je u Konstantinopolu djelovao do sredine 6. st., pripisuje se uvođenje kontakija (κοντάκιον) kao nove poetske forme u himnologiji (Cunningham 2008, str. 251–297; Khachidze 2018).

30 Najstariji sačuvani himni pripisuju se Grguru Nazijanskom, Sineziju Kirenjaninu, Hilariju, Ambroziju i Prudenciju (Hengel 2006, str. 222).

31 Među njima je svakako najslavniji himan pohvale Svetom Trojstvu, *Te Deum*, koji je doživio nebrojena uglazbljenja, i to od najcjenjenijih skladatelja, kao što su G. F. Händel, H. Berlioz, A. Dvořák, G. Verdi, G. Mahler ili pak A. Bruckner.

Tebe Boga hvalimo/Vjerno ispovijedamo/Vječnog Oca slavimo/ Složnim glasom pjevamo: Na nebesih anđeli/Štiju te s arkandeli.

Kerubini složno svi/Duboko se klanjaju/ Serafimi smjerno ti/ Jednim glasom pjevaju: Svet, svet, svet je Gospod Bog/ Kralj preslavni puka svog! <https://www.biskupija-porecko-pulska.hr/arhiva/12-arhiva/605-tebe-boga-hvalimo-te-deum.html> (pristupljeno 6. 2. 2020.).

32 Tekst himna, datiranog u 3. stoljeće, ispisan je na poleđini jednog računa za žito dimenzija 29,6 x 5 cm. Istraživači koji su pronašli Oksirinske papiruse, Grenfell i Hunt, 1922. su objavili tekst himan u seriji *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (P. Oxy. XV 1786).

<https://archive.org/details/oxyrhynchuspapyri15gren/page/20/mode/2up>(pristupljeno 22. 2. 2020.)

33 Trip, Wheeler 1989, str. 94–104.

26 The Talmud attests that in the time of the Second Temple there was a liturgical choir that comprised a minimum of 12 adult singers, nine of whom played various instruments (*Talmud, Suk. 53a*). The Book of Revelation (Rev 5:8–9) mentions harps, which can however only confirm that they knew musical instruments, but not that they actually used them: *the four animals prostrated themselves before him and with them the twenty-four elders; each one of them was holding a harp and had a golden bowl full of incense made of the prayers of the saints. They sang a new hymn.* Elsewhere (Rev 14:2–3), the Revelation reads as follows: *it seemed to be the sound of harpists playing their harps.* In another passage (Rev 15, 2–3) it reads: *and standing by the lake of glass, those who had fought against the beast and won, and against his statue and the number which is his name. They all had harps from God, and they were singing the hymn of Moses.* Ch. Krummacher believes that the ban on the use of instruments in synagogues in AD 70, which followed as a result of the destruction of the Temple, does not necessarily mean that the early Christians also gave up playing music (Krummacher 2020, p. 302). Let us add that Christianity at the time had already also spread to the areas dominated by the Hellenistic culture, in which singing and playing had been practised in religious ceremonies, so the Christians may well have used musical instruments during their rites in those earliest years.

27 Rebić, Fućak, Duda 2003, p. 1572.

28 Ibid., p. 1732.

29 The Syrian cleric and composer Roman the Melodist (Gr. Ρωμανός Μελωδός; L. *Romanos Melodos*), active in Constantinople until the mid-sixth century, is credited with introducing the kontakion (κοντάκιον) as a new poetic form in hymnology (Cunningham 2008, pp. 251–297; Khachidze 2018).

30 The earliest surviving hymns are attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus, Synesius of Cyrene, Hilarly, Ambrose, and Prudence (Hengel 2006, p. 222).

može svjedočiti ne samo o održivosti tog notacijskog sustava i njegovoj rasprostranjenosti u mediteranskom svijetu nego i o čvrstoj ukorijenjenosti kršćana u tom istom antičkom svijetu.

Moguće je da rani kršćani, koji su već krajem 1. st. bili multietnička zajednica, nisu tijekom liturgijskog druženja pjevali isključivo tradicionalne religiozne pjesme, koje su poznavali bilo iz hebrejskih kulturnih rituala ili pak iz poganskog kulturnog muziciranja, već su, oduševljeni i osnaženi vjerom, započeli s izvođenjem i vlastitih, novih napjeva, od kojih poneki možda i nisu bili sasvim u kršćanskom duhu. Takva situacija mogla je, osim spomenute kakofonije, itekako utjecati na napuštanje običaja zajedničkog pjevanja. O tome bi mogle svjedočiti i riječi sv. Augustina (Ps. 148, 11). On je valjda zabrinut zbog raznolikoga crkvenog glazbenog repertoara, vrlo strogo podučavao da se mora pjevati samo Bogu i u Božju slavu.³⁴

Čini se neospornim da je zajedničko glasno pjevanje tijekom obreda ranih kršćana u jednom trenutku povjereno nadarenim pjevačima, onima dobrog sluha i glasa. Početak ograničavanja dotadašnjeg zajedničkog pjevanja na liturgijskim slavljinama i uvođenje kontrole nad izborom pjesama smješta se već na kraj 1. st. i početak 2. st.³⁵ No od prvih uputa sv. Pavla o prepuštanju pjevanja onima s talentom, do koncila u Laodiceji 367., kada je svima osim profesionalnim pjevačima ograničeno pjevanje, prošla su već i stoljeća.

Smatra se da su po naputku Silvestra, rimskog biskupa od 314. do 334. g., i prije spomenute službene zabrane s radom započele škole pjevanja, za koje Henderson čak misli da početak njihova djelovanja ujedno znači i početak modernog glazbenog obrazovanja.³⁶ Za stolovanja Hilarija (461. – 468.) one su već bile etablirane, a za Pelagija II. (577. – 590.) *scholae cantorum* već su se mogle podičiti velikim brojem polaznika.³⁷ Proces izdvajanja onih koji znaju pjevati dovodio je postupno i do formiranja profesionalnih crkvenih zborova, čije su izvedbe do današnjih dana sastavni dio kršćanskoga liturgijskog slavlja.³⁸

Ipak, najveće su se promjene u crkvenom pjevanju dogodile, kako se smatra, za pape Grgura Velikog, koji je dao kanonizirati ne samo lokalnu rimsku liturgiju nego i liturgiju

are still parts of the liturgical celebration.³¹

Among thousands of Oxyrhynchian papyri with texts of various documents, letters and literary works, researchers identified a Christian hymn with notation.³² Analyses showed that the hymn is currently one of the earliest Christian records with notation in alphabetic characters written above the lines.³³ As mentioned earlier, the system of notation with letters was perfected by the Greeks centuries ago, so this piece of papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (present-day al-Bahnasā in Egypt) can testify not only to the viability of this notation system and its presence in the Mediterranean world but also to the firm rootedness of Christians in that ancient world.

It is possible that the early Christians, who had already been a multiethnic community at the end of the first century, did not sing only traditional religious songs during liturgical communions, which they knew either from Hebrew cult rituals or from pagan cult musical performances. Instead, enthusiastic and empowered by faith, they began to perform their own new songs, some of which may not have been entirely in the Christian spirit. Such a situation, in addition to the mentioned cacophony, could have resulted in the abandonment of the custom of communal singing. The words of St. Augustine could corroborate this (Ps. 148:11). Seemingly concerned about the diverse musical repertoires in churches, he gave very strict instructions that one must sing only to God and the glory of God.³⁴

It seems indisputable that communal loud singing during the rites of the early Christians was at one point entrusted to talented singers, those with a good ear and voice. The be-

34 Sv. Aurelije Augustin napisao je raspravu *De musica* (Augustin 2012), u kojoj definira glazbu objašnjavajući neke od njezinih bitnih karakteristika, kao što su stopa, proporcija, ritam, metar i stih. Zanimljivo je kako u posljednjem poglavlju pojam ritma iz glazbene umjetnosti vješto povezuje s vječnom božanskom istinom; Brennan 1988, str. 267–281.

35 Hengel 2006, str. 216.

36 Henderson 1921, str. 1. <https://archive.org/details/earlyhistoryofsi-oohend> (pristupljeno 2. 3. 2020.).

37 Harris 1936, str. 210–217.

38 Podsjetimo da ni zorno pjevanje nije izum kršćana, jer su ga prije njih uvelike prakticirali kako Egipćani tako i Grci i Židovi. Vidi: Grö-zinger 1982, str. 119; Wille 1967; Harris 1936, str. 210–217.

31 Certainly the most famous among them is *Te Deum*, the hymn of praise to the Holy Trinity, which has been known in countless arrangements by the most esteemed composers, such as G. F. Händel, H. Berlioz, A. Dvořák, G. Verdi, G. Mahler, or A. Bruckner.

You are God: we praise you; You are the Lord: we acclaim you; You are the eternal Father: All creation worships you. To you all angels, all the powers of heaven, Cherubim and Seraphim, sing in endless praise: Holy, holy, holy, Lord, God of power and might, heaven and earth are full of your glory!

<https://www.biskupija-porecko-pulska.hr/arhiva/12-arhiva/605-te-be-boga-hvalimo-te-deum.html> (accessed: 6/2/2020).

32 The text of the hymn, dated to the third century, was written on the back of an account for corn, measuring 29.6 x 5 cm. Grenfell and Hunt, the researchers who discovered the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, published the text of the hymn in the 1922 series *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (P. Oxy. XV 1786).

<https://archive.org/details/oxyrhynchuspapyr15gren/page/20/mode/2up> (accessed: 22/2/2020)

33 Trip, Wheeler 1989, pp. 94–104.

34 St. Aurelius Augustinus wrote the treatise *De musica* (Augustin 2012), in which he defined music by explaining some of its essential characteristics, such as the measure, proportion, rhythm, meter, and verse. It is interesting to note that in the last chapter he skilfully associated the notion of rhythm from the art of music with the eternal divine truth; Brennan 1988, p. 267–281.

za cijelu latinsku crkvu.³⁹ Inzistirao je na načinu pjevanja poznatom kao *cantus planus*. Takvo pjevanje, koje danas nazivamo i gregorijanskim, karakterizira istodobno zvučanje tonova jednake visine različitih boja glasova koji slijede verbalni ritam, ali bez korištenja glazbenih instrumenata.⁴⁰ Polaznici škola pjevanja zaslužni su što se ta metoda proširila cijelim kršćanskim svijetom.

Zanimljivo je da se početkom 20. st. polako počinje vraćati pradavni običaj zajedničkog pjevanja svih okupljenih vjernika. Taj je pokret započeo na krilima motuproprija pape Pija X. iz 1903. godine, u kojem je ustvrdio da je glazba integralni dio svečane liturgije.⁴¹ Na Drugom Vatikanskom saboru 1963. g. izglasana je i konstitucija *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (Konstitucija o svetoj liturgiji), koja potvrđuje važnu ulogu zajedničkog pjevanja u liturgiji.⁴²

Kršćanska se liturgija razvijala postupno, pa su se postupno razvijale i službe koje su bile važne za njezino nesmetano odvijanje. Čini se da su u 3. st. kršćanske službe bile uglavnom već hijerarhijski strukturirane, pa je vodstvo kršćanske zajednice preuzeo biskup, a pomagali su mu prezbiteri i đakoni.⁴³ Uz ove službe postojale su i brojne druge dužnosti koje su obavljali pripadnici crkve.⁴⁴ Nakon što je u najranijem kršćanskom bogoslužju minorizirano zajedničko pjevanje,

ginning of the restrictions imposed on communal singing in liturgical celebrations and the introduction of control over the selection of songs dates back to the end of the first and the beginning of the second century.³⁵ However, it took centuries from the first instructions given by St. Paul on leaving the singing to talent to the Council of Laodicea in 367, when singing was barred to all but professional cantors.

It is believed that singing schools began to operate on the instructions of Sylvester, the Bishop of Rome from 314 to 334, even before the mentioned official prohibition. Henderson even thought that the start of their activities also meant the birth of modern music education.³⁶ During the pontificate of Hilary (461–468), they were already established, and at the time of Pelagius II (577–590), the *scholae cantorum* already had a large number of students.³⁷ The process of selection of those who knew how to sing gradually led to the formation of professional church choirs, whose performances have been an integral part of the Christian liturgical celebration to this day.³⁸

However, it is believed that the greatest changes in church singing occurred during the time of Pope Gregory the Great, who organised not only the local Roman liturgy but also the liturgy for the entire Latin Church.³⁹ He insisted on the way of singing known as *cantus planus*. Such singing, which we today also call Gregorian, is characterised by the pitches sounded simultaneously by voices of different colours in a verbal rhythm, but without the use of musical instruments.⁴⁰ Thanks to the students of singing schools, this method has spread throughout the Christian world.

It is interesting to note that the ancient custom of the whole congregation singing together slowly began to return at the beginning of the 20th century. This tendency was started by Pope Pius X's motu proprio of 1903, in which he decla-

39 Kao što u to vrijeme liturgija nije bila ujednačena, tako nije bila ujednačena ni glazba, jer nisu svi krajevi njegovali jednaku vrstu pjevanja. I kršćani koji su živjeli u zapadnom dijelu Carstva stvarali su lokalne obrede s vlastitim repertorijem pjesama i načinima pjevanja. Danas znamo za dijelom izgubljena ili pak zaboravljena liturgijska pjevanja poznata kao starorimska, beneventanska, galkanska, španjolska (mozarapska) i milanska (ambrozijanska). Ambrozijanski je obred, kao i mozarapski, i nakon intervencije Grgura Velikog uspio preživjeti pokušaj eliminacije.

40 D. Ljubičić pod gregorijanskim pjevanjem podrazumijeva sav repertorij priznat od Katoličke Crkve, nastao na tekstovima koji prate liturgijske crkvene obrede. Vidi: Ljubičić 2011, 1–2. http://www.redovnistvo.ba/upload/file/povijest_gregorijanskog_pjevanja.pdf (pristupljeno 20. 3. 2020.).

41 *Motu proprio* pod nazivom *Tra le sollecitudini del sommo pontefice Pio X sulla Musica sacra može se pročitati na sljedećem linku*: https://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-x/it/motu_proprio/documents/hf_p-x_motu-proprio_19031122_sollecitudini.html (pristupljeno 4. 8. 2020.).

42 *Crkva smatra gregorijansko pjevanje vlastitim rimskoj liturgiji; stoga neka ono u liturgijskim činima, uz jednakost ostaloga, zadrži glavno mjesto. Druge vrste sakralne glazbe, osobito polifonija, nikako se ne isključuju iz bogoslužnih slavlja, ako odgovaraju duhu liturgijskoga čina, prema odredbi čl. 30.* (SC VI,116).

43 https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html (pristupljeno 8. 8. 2020.).

Pretpostavlja se da je već koncem 3. st. gotovo svaki veći grad antičkoga svijeta imao i biskupa, a za Justinijanove vladavine (*Cod. Ius.* 1,3,35) to je postalo pravilo (Chadwick 1972, str. 46–55).

44 Krajem 2. i početkom 3. st. dolazi do uspostave prava klera na uzdržavanje, zbog čega se crkvene službe postupno i profesionaliziraju; Schöllgen 1998.

35 Hengel 2006, p. 216.

36 Henderson 1921, p. 1. <https://archive.org/details/earlyhistoryofsi-oohend> (accessed: 2/3/2020).

37 Harris 1936, pp. 210–217.

38 It should be noted that choral singing was not invented by the Christians, because it had been widely practised before them by the Egyptians and Greeks and Jews. See: Grözinger 1982, p. 119; Wille 1967; Harris 1936, pp. 210–217.

39 Both the liturgy and music were not standardised at the time, because not all regions cultivated the same kind of singing. The Christians who lived in the western part of the Empire also had their local rites with their own repertoire of chants and manners of singing. Today we know of partly lost or forgotten liturgical plainchants known as Old Roman, Beneventan, Gallican, Hispanic (Mozarabic) and Milanese (Ambrosian). The Ambrosian rite, like the Mozarabic one, managed to survive the attempt at elimination even after the intervention of Gregory the Great.

40 D. Ljubičić regards the Gregorian chant as the entire repertoire recognised by the Catholic Church, based on the texts that accompany the liturgical church rites. See: Ljubičić 2011, 1–2. http://www.redovnistvo.ba/upload/file/povijest_gregorijanskog_pjevanja.pdf (accessed: 20/3/2020).

za njega su bili zaduženi daroviti pjevači i zborovi. U prvim desetljećima 3. stoljeća Ciprijan Kartaški (*Ad Donatum 16*) je u pismu Donatu naveo da pjevačima treba dobro pamćenje i ugodan glas. Slijedilo je njihovo izdvajanje od drugih vjernika; oni su prihvaćanjem službe pjevača dobivali poseban status (ne, dakako, u hijerarhijskom smislu) i dodatne dužnosti, kao što je npr. uvježbavanje ili pak redovito prisustvovanje obredu, što je sve skupa značilo da je u tu službu valjalo uložiti dosta vlastitog vremena.

Salonitanski ranokršćanski pjevači

Zahvaljujući dugotrajnim istraživanjima i arheološkim nalazima, može se reći da je kronologija razvoja ranoga kršćanstva rimske provincije Dalmacije, pa tako i njezina glavnog grada Salone, relativno dobro poznata.⁴⁵ Isto tako su nam poznate i određene crkvene službe, kao i neki od njihovih nositelja.⁴⁶ Slijedom dosad akumuliranog znanja o pjevanju, pretpostaviti je da se tijekom najranijih kršćanskih obreda u Dalmaciji, i specifično u Saloni, također pjevalo. No za razliku od nositelja drugih crkvenih službi, dalmatinski rani crkveni pjevači za sobom nisu, barem koliko nam je zasada poznato, ostavili epigrafskog traga. To, međutim, nije u suprotnosti sa situacijom u drugim provincijama, jer su nam poznata tek dva ranokršćanska natpisa koja spominju crkvene pjevače.⁴⁷ Jedan je upisan na podnom mozaiku iskopanom 1900. g. u ranokršćanskoj crkvi seoceta Doss Trento u Italiji (EDCS-10900214). Mozaik posvećen sv. Kuzmi i Damjanu dao je izraditi pjevač Laurencije u vrijeme episkopata biskupa Eugipija (530. – 540.).⁴⁸ Drugi je spomenik nadgrobni natpis iz Mertole u Portugalu (EDCS-37600168). Ta je stela bila podignuta za slugu Božjeg Andréa, prvog pjevača svete Crkve mertilijanske, koji je imao 36 godina kada

red that music was an integral part of the solemn liturgy.⁴¹ At the Second Vatican Council in 1963, the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy – *Sacrosanctum Concilium* – was promulgated, as a confirmation of the important role of communal singing in the liturgy.⁴²

The Christian liturgy developed gradually, as well as the services that were important for its unhindered operation. It seems that Christian services were mostly already hierarchically structured in the third century, so the leadership of Christian communities were assumed by bishops, assisted by presbyters and deacons.⁴³ In addition to these services, there were many other duties performed by members of the church.⁴⁴ After the depreciation of communal singing in the earliest Christian worship, gifted cantors and choirs came to the fore. In the first decades of the third century, Cyprian of Carthage (*Ad Donatum 16*) stated in a letter to Donatus that cantors required a good memory and a pleasant voice. What followed was their separation from other believers. By accepting to serve as cantors, they received a special status (of course, not in a hierarchical sense) and additional duties, such as rehearsing or regular attendance at ceremonies, which altogether meant that they had to invest a lot of their own time in this service.

Salonitan early Christian cantors

Thanks to long-term research and archaeological finds, it can be said that the chronology of the development of early Christianity in the Roman province of Dalmatia, including its capital Salona, is relatively well known.⁴⁵ We are also familiar

45 Moguće je da je nova religija došla do Dalmacije zahvaljujući Timoteju, učeniku apostola Pavla (Rim 15, 9; 2 Tim, 4, 10). Ako su se dakle sredinom 1. st. stanovnici Dalmacije počeli upoznavati s kršćanstvom, ipak o tim prvim dalmatinskim kršćanima još ne znamo ništa. Situacija se, kao uostalom i u drugim provincijama, dramatično mijenja ozakonjenjem kršćanstva, pa je i u Dalmaciji, naročito u Saloni, najviše arheoloških svjedočanstava iz 5., odnosno 6. st. (Chevalier 1996; Cambi 2002, str. 205–310).

46 Sanader 2014, str. 261–267; Sanader 2020, str. 177–192; Sanader, Demicheli 2017, str. 253–264.

47 Čini se da rimska epigrafija poznaje tek nekoliko natpisa koji spominju poganske pjevače (EDCS-26400051; EDCS-24701277; EDCS-18700333; EDCS-23900534; EDCS-16500180; EDCS-15200138), kao i jedan natpis koji spominje pjevačicu (EDCS-14803635). No to nikako ne znači da ih nije bilo. Pjevači su se znali udružiti u kolegije i društva (EDCS-26400051; EDCS-15200138; EDCS-24701277). Napomenimo da su zabilježena i osobna imena *Cantorius* i *Cantoria*, koja se mogu dovesti u vezu sa zanimanjem pjevača (EDCS-10701199; EDCS-30400275; EDCS-34900999), odnosno pjevačice (EDCS-22000420; EDCS-09400058).

48 *De donis dei et s(an)c(t)orum C<o=U>sm(a)e et Dammiani tempor(ibus) do[mi]ni Eugyp(i) ep(iscop)i Laurentius cant(or) c[on]didit(?)*

41 *The </i>motu proprio*, entitled *Tra le sollecitudini del sommo pontefice Pio X sulla Musica sacra*, can be read on the following link: https://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-x/it/motu_proprio/documents/hf_p-x_motu-proprio_19031122_sollecitudini.html (accessed: 4/8/2020).

42 *The Church acknowledges Gregorian chant as specially suited to the Roman liturgy: therefore, other things being equal, it should be given pride of place in liturgical services. But other kinds of sacred music, especially polyphony, are by no means excluded from liturgical celebrations, so long as they accord with the spirit of the liturgical action, as laid down in Art. 30. (SC VI.116).*

43 https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html (accessed: 8/8/2020).

See also: Kirigin 1985.

It is assumed that as early as the end of the third century, almost every major city in the ancient world had a bishop, which became the rule during Justinian's reign (*Cod. Ius. 1.3.35*) (Chadwick 1972, pp. 46–55).

44 The right of the clergy to subsistence was established at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century, which is why church services gradually became professional; Schöllgen 1998.

45 It is possible that the new religion reached Dalmatia thanks to Timothy, a disciple of the Apostle Paul (Rom 15:9; 2 Tim 4:10). If the inhabitants of Dalmatia were introduced to Christianity in the

je u ožujku 525. umro.⁴⁹ Nasuprot tome sačuvan je veći broj natpisa koji spominju leksem *musicus*, za koji pretpostavljamo da nije označavao pjevanje, već sviranje. A od svih njih tek su četiri pripisana ranokršćanskom razdoblju (EDCS-00100382; EDCS-10500503; EDCS-10900586; EDCS-33100842).⁵⁰ Wille je utvrdio da u slučajevima kada se *musicus* na natpisima nalazi iza prenomena i gentilnog imena, može označavati i ime i zanimanje. Tek u slučajevima u kojima na natpisu piše *musicarius* možemo biti sigurni da se radi o zanimanju.⁵¹

Ovdje se sada želimo osvrnuti na pojam *schola cantorum*, koji se provlači u literaturi o bazilici na salonitanskom lokalitetu Manastirine.⁵² U tekstu je već bilo riječi o mogućim razlozima i kronologiji osnivanja *škola pjevanja* – što bi *ad litteram* bio hrvatski prijevod latinske sintagme *schola cantorum*. Međutim pojam *schola cantorum* u 16. st. se slijedom Ugolinijeva opisa crkve sv. Klementa u Rimu počeo koristiti i za ograđeni prostor u srednjem brodu rimskih crkava.⁵³ Semantička je logika nudila pretpostavku da se radi o prostoru u kojem je radi potreba liturgijskog obreda bio smješten papinski zbor. Iako nemamo nikakvih vijesti, ili su one vrlo slabašne, o kršćanskoj liturgiji iz prvih stoljeća njezina razvoja, istraživanja i rasprave posvećene arheološkim ostacima i odnosu između arhitekture i liturgije tijekom posljednjih dvadeset godina unijeli su više svjetla i u ovaj arhitektonski objekt.⁵⁴ Sumarno bi se moglo reći da je taj ograđeni prostor pravokutnog oblika u središnjem crkvenom brodu već od najranijih vremena mogao služiti kao prostor za svećenstvo i liturgijske obrede koje su predvodili, kao i za primanje pričesti, kako predlaže Brandenburg, premda precizna funkcija prezbiterija kao i ovog objekta u ranokršćanskoj liturgiji ostaju i dalje nedovoljno izvjesne.⁵⁵

with certain church services, as well as some of their providers.⁴⁶ Based on the knowledge accumulated so far concerning singing, it is to be assumed that singing was practised in the earliest Christian rites in Dalmatia, and specifically in Salona. Notwithstanding, unlike the providers of other church services, the early Dalmatian cantors did not leave epigraphic traces, at least as far as we know. This, however, does not run counter to the situation in other provinces, since we know of only two early Christian inscriptions mentioning cantors.⁴⁷ One is inscribed on the floor mosaic unearthed in 1900 in the early Christian church of the village of Doss Trento in Italy (EDCS-10900214). The mosaic dedicated to Sts. Cosmas and Damian was commissioned by cantor Laurentius during the period of bishop Eugippius (530–540).⁴⁸ The other monument is the tombstone inscription from Mértola in Portugal (EDCS-37600168). This stele was erected for the servant of God Andrés, the first cantor of the Holy Church of Mértola, who died at the age of 36 in March 525.⁴⁹ In contrast, there is a number of preserved inscriptions mentioning the lexeme *musicus*, which we assume did not denote singing, but playing. Only four of all of them are attributed to the early Christian period (EDCS-00100382; EDCS-10500503; EDCS-10900586; EDCS-33100842).⁵⁰

mid-first century, we still know anything about these first Dalmatian Christians. The situation changed dramatically with the legalisation of Christianity, as in other provinces. Therefore, the bulk of archaeological evidence in Dalmatia, especially in Salona, originates from the fifth and sixth centuries (Chevalier 1996; Cambi 2002, pp. 205–310).

46 Sanader 2014, pp. 261–267; Sanader 2020, pp. 177–192; Sanader, Demicheli 2017, pp. 253–264.

47 It seems that there is but a few Roman epigraphic sources mentioning pagan cantors (EDCS-26400051; EDCS-24701277; EDCS-18700333; EDCS-23900534; EDCS-16500180; EDCS-15200138), as well as one inscription referring to a cantress (EDCS-14803635). Notwithstanding, that does not mean there were none. Cantors were known to form colleges and societies (EDCS-26400051; EDCS-15200138; EDCS-24701277). It should be mentioned that personal names *Cantorius* and *Cantoria*, were also recorded. They can be related to the profession of the cantors (EDCS-10701199; EDCS-30400275; EDCS-34900999) and cantresses (EDCS-22000420; EDCS-09400058).

48 *De donis dei et s(an)c(t)orum C(o)sm(a)e et Dammiani tempor(ibus) do[m]ni Eugyp(i) ep(iscop)i Laurentius cant(or) c[on]didit(?)*

49 *Andreas famulu(s) / dei princeps can(t)orum sacrosan(ct)ae {a}ec(c)le=I>siae Mer(till)ian(a)e vixit / annos XXXVI / requievit in pa/ce sub d(ie) tert(i)=E>o / Kal(endas) Apriles / aera DLX tr(e)=I>s{is}*

50 An inscription with the following text was discovered in Carthage (EDCS-00100382): *Musi(c)=I>u(s) fidelis vi/xit annos XCV / Bonifatia fidelis / vixit annos XX*. Another one, found in Le Puy-en-Velay, former Anicium (EDCS-10500503), reads as follows: *Adidoni et Augusto / Sex(tus) Talonius Musicus d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuit) // Scutari / papa vive deo*. Two inscriptions referring to musicians originate from catacombs. The first one (EDCS-10900586) is from the catacomb of Superaequum in Castelvecchio Subequo, comprising only one word: *Musi/cus*, while the other inscription (EDCS-33100842), originating from the Roman catacomb at Via Appia, reads as fol-

49 *Andreas famulu(s) / dei princeps can(t)orum sacrosan(ct)ae {a}ec(c)le=I>siae Mer(till)ian(a)e vixit / annos XXXVI / requievit in pa/ce sub d(ie) tert(i)=E>o / Kal(endas) Apriles / aera DLX tr(e)=I>s{is}*

50 U Kartagi (EDCS-001003829) je pronađen natpis na kojem je sljedeći tekst: *Musi(c)=I>u(s) fidelis vi/xit annos XCV / Bonifatia fidelis / vixit annos XX*, a u Le Puy-en-Velay, nekadašnjem Aniciju (EDCS-10500503), natpis s tekстом: *Adidoni et Augusto / Sex(tus) Talonius Musicus d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuit) // Scutari / papa vive deo*. Dva natpisa muzičara potječu iz katakombe. Prvi (EDCS-10900586) je iz katakombe Superaequum u Castelvecchio Subequo i sastoji se samo od jedne riječi: *Musi/cus*, a drugi natpis (EDCS-33100842), koji potječe iz rimske katakombe na Via Appia, glasi: *Musicus cum suis lab(o)=V>rantibus Ursus Fortunio Maximus Euse*.

51 Wille 1967, str. 315–317.

52 Iscrpna bibliografija kao i povijest istraživanja na Marusincu objavljena je u Duval *et al.* 2000, XV – XVII i str. 1–179.

53 Ugolino 1588, str. 121–126.

54 Mathews 1962, str. 75; Gamber 1976, str. 23–25; Brandenburg 2001, str. 52; Guidobaldi 2001, str. 81–99; Andaloro 2008, str. 175; Eitrem 2008, str. 57–67; Catalano 2009, str. 117–126; Brandt 2014, str. 21–52; Sanader 2016, str. 40.

55 To rano datiranje predložio je Brandenburg (Brandenburg 2005², str. 200–214), a podržao ga je i Brandt (Brandt 2014, str. 52). Brandenburg je osvijetlio i kasniju upotrebu riječi *solea* za objekte nazivane

Iz svega iznesenog, a posebno na temelju do sada proučenih veza između ranokršćanske arhitekture i liturgije, valja zaključiti da objekt nazvan *schola cantorum* u bazilici na Manastirinama u Saloni ne dokazuje postojanje crkvenog zbora. No takav zaključak ne znači istodobno da se u Saloni i u razdobljima najranijih kršćanskih obreda nije pjevalo. Za sada doduše nema salonitanskih epigrafskih svjedočanstava koji bi tu presumpciju neporecivo potvrdili, no logikom usporedne metode možemo zaključiti da se rezultati istraživanja ovog rada o sudjelovanju pjevača u tim ranim liturgijskim obredima mogu odnositi na sve lokalne crkve tog doba. Kršćanstvo je od svojih početaka uvijek težilo univerzalnosti, a to se odnosilo i na obrede. To najbolje potvrđuju primjerice poslanice, koje su izvorno bile adresirane na pojedine lokalne crkve, ali su njihovi sadržaji, upute i sugestije, interpretacije i pravorijeci vrijedili za sve, za opću Crkvu do dana današnjeg.

Naposljetku, želimo naglasiti da je tema ovog rada jedna od onih koje nipošto nisu dostatno istražene. Razloga takvom stanju u našoj znanosti više je, a među njima je istaknut onaj koji se odnosi na mali broj relevantnih arheoloških svjedočanstava. Zato ne začuđuje, s jedne strane, da se istraživači teško odlučuju zakoračiti u polje koje većinski pokriva *terra incognita*, dok se, s druge strane, ranokršćanska arheologija, ne smije olako predati: to bi značilo ustuknuti pred izazovima. Jer premise su u ovom našem slučaju zadane i jasne, te naprosto pozivaju na istraživački rad, ma koliko je on, što potvrđuje i naš slučaj, bio mukotrpan. Evo tih premisa:

- a) Pjevanje je po sebi jedna od temeljnih ljudskih aktivnosti, kojom od pamtivijeka čovjek želi izraziti svoja emotivna stanja, od radosti, zadovoljstva i veselja do žalosti, razočaranja i tuge, od nade do očaja, od sreće do nespokoja. U te temeljne aktivnosti ubrajamo i molitvu kao krovni pojam za sva ljudska obraćanja nadnaravnome.
- b) Velik je broj izravnih i neizravnih ranokršćanskih izvora o pjevanju kao važnom elementu zajedničkih obreda, molitva i liturgije. O tome govore mnogi, među njima i najveća imena ranokršćanske epohe, od Pavla do Augustina.
- c) I, naposljetku, kako smo u radu i naveli, postoje, premda ne u željenom broju, i konkretni arheološki nalazi koji izravno potvrđuju da su pjevanje i pjevači bili, u ovom ili onom obliku, koherentni dio ranokršćanskih liturgijskih obreda.

Wille found that in cases of inscriptions where *musicus* followed the praenomen or gentilic name, it could designate both the name and occupation. Only in cases where the inscriptions mention *musicarius* can one be sure that it indicates an occupation.⁵¹

Let us now address the term *schola cantorum*, often used in the literature on the basilica at the Salonitan site of Manastirine.⁵² This paper has already discussed the possible aims and chronology of the establishment of *singing schools* – which would be an *ad litteram* translation of the Latin term *schola cantorum*. However, in the 16th century, after Ugolini's description of the church of St. Clement in Rome the term *schola cantorum* began to be used for the enclosure in the naves of Roman churches.⁵³ Semantic logic offered the assumption that this was the area intended for the papal choir for liturgical rites. Although there has been none or very sparse information about the Christian liturgy from the first centuries of its development, research and discussions dedicated to archaeological remains and the relationship between architecture and liturgy over the last twenty years have brought more light to this architectural object.⁵⁴ In summary, it could be said that this rectangular enclosure in the church nave could have served from the earliest times as the area intended for the clergy and liturgical rites they led, as well as for receiving communion, as suggested by Brandenburg, although the precise intended use of the presbytery and this object in the early Christian liturgy remains insufficiently certain.⁵⁵

From all the above, and especially based on the links between early Christian architecture and liturgy researched to date, it should be concluded that the object called *schola cantorum* in the basilica at Manastirine in Salona does not prove the existence of a church choir. Notwithstanding, such a conclusion does not mean at the same time that there was no singing in Salona even in the periods of the earliest Christian rites. However, at this point there is no Salonitan epigraphic evidence that would unequivocally confirm this presumption, but by the logic of the comparative method it can be conc-

lows: *Musicus cum suis lab<=V>rantibus Ursus Fortunio Maximus Euse.*

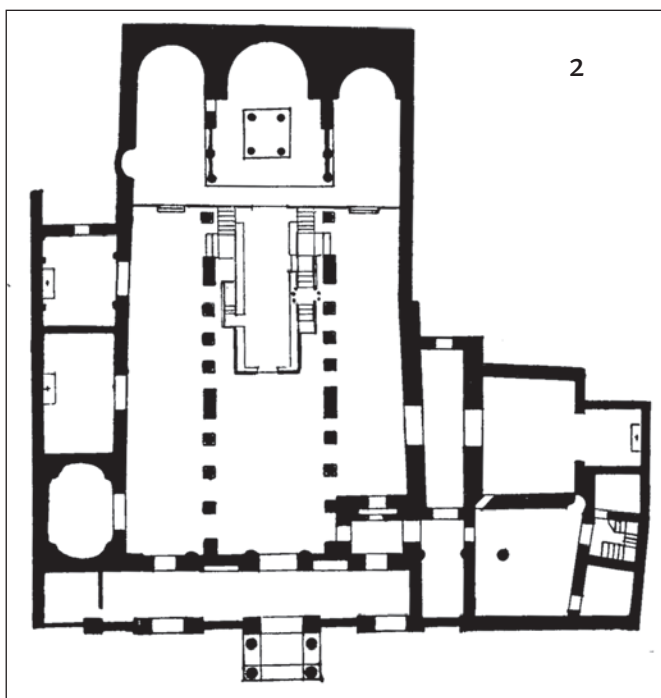
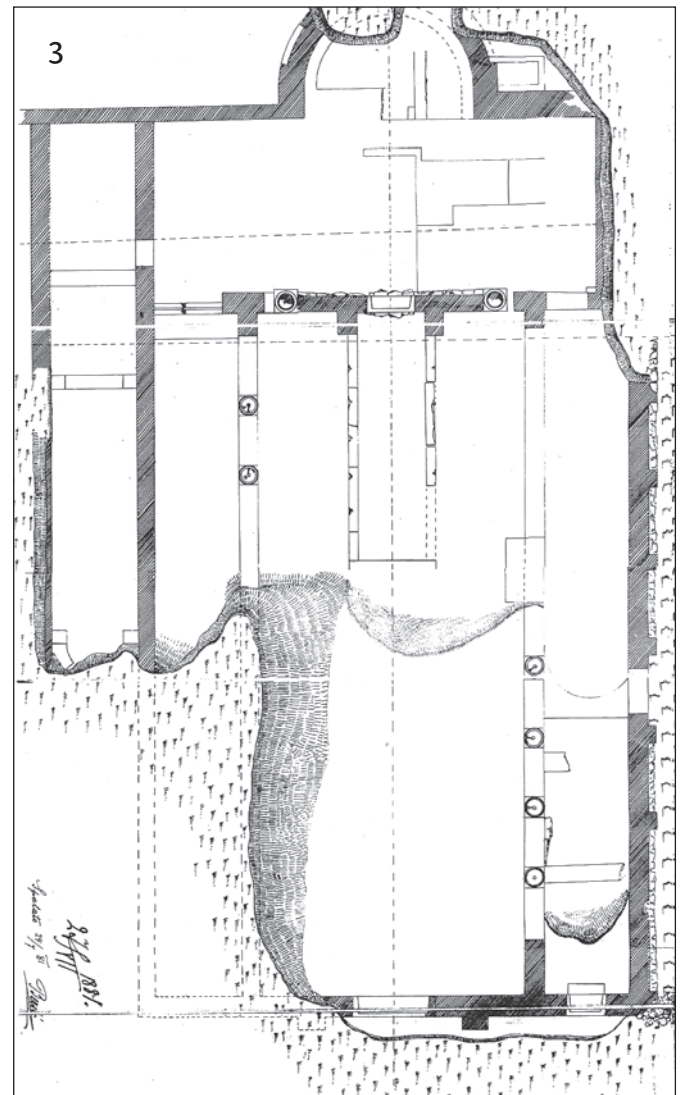
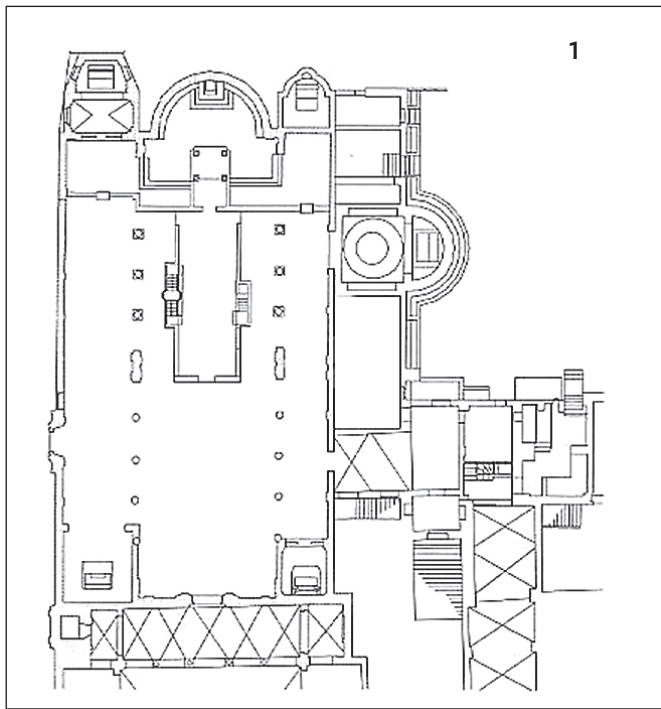
51 Wille 1967, pp. 315–317.

52 An exhaustive bibliography, as well as a history of research at Marusinac was published in Duval *et al.* 2000, XV–XVII, and pp. 1–179.

53 Ugolino 1588, pp. 121–126.

54 Mathews 1962, p. 75; Gamber 1976, pp. 23–25; Brandenburg 2001, p. 52; Guidobaldi 2001, pp. 81–99; Andaloro 2008, p. 175; Eitrem 2008, pp. 57–67; Catalano 2009, pp. 117–126; Brandt 2014, pp. 21–52; Sanader 2016, p. 40.

55 This early dating was suggested by Brandenburg (Brandenburg 2005², pp. 200–214), and supported by Brandt (Brandt 2014, p. 52). Brandenburg also shed light on the later use of the word *solea* for the objects called *Schola Cantorum* (Brandenburg 2005², 212–213).



Slike 1 – 3
 Schola cantorum u bazilikama
 San Clemente u Rimu, 12. st.
 (izvor: Andalaro 2008, str.
 175);
 Santa Maria in Cosmedin
 u Rimu, 13. – 14. st. (izvor:
 Creative Commons)
 i na Manastirinama u Saloni,
 5. st. (izvor: Salona III, sl. 6)

Figures 1–3
 Schola cantorum in the
 Basilicas of St. Clement
 in Rome, 12th c. (source:
 Andalaro 2008, p. 175)
 Santa Maria in Cosmedin in
 Rome, 13th–14th c. (source:
 Creative Commons),
 and at Manastirine in Salona,
 fifth c. (source: Salona III,
 Fig. 6)

cluded that the research results of this paper on the participation of cantors in the early liturgical rites can apply to all local churches of that time. From its beginnings, Christianity has always strived for universality, which also applies to rites. For instance, this is best confirmed by the epistles, originally addressed to individual local churches, but their contents, instructions and suggestions, interpretations and finding conclusions have applied to all, for the Church in general to this day.

Finally, we want to point out that the topic of this paper is one of those that have by no means been sufficiently researched. The reasons for such a situation in our science are many, the most prominent among them being the one that concerns a small number of relevant archaeological evidence. It is therefore not surprising that researchers find it difficult to decide to delve into the field mostly covered by a *terra incognita* on the one hand, while, on the other hand, early Christian archaeology must not give up lightly, since it would mean balking at the challenges. To wit, the premises in our case are outlined and clear, and they simply invite research work, no matter how hard, as confirmed by our case. Here are the premises:

- a) Singing is per se one of the basic human activities, which humans have utilised to express their emotions from time immemorial, from good cheer, pleasure and joy to sadness, disappointment and sorrow, from hope to despair, from happiness to anguish. Such basic activities include prayer as the umbrella term for all human addresses to the supernatural.
- b) There exists a large number of direct and indirect early Christian sources on singing as an important element of communal rites, prayers, and liturgy. Many have spoken about it, among them the greatest names of the early Christian era, from Paul to Augustine.
- c) Finally, as we have indicated in the paper, there exist, albeit not in the desired number, concrete archaeological finds which directly confirm that singing and cantors were, in one form or another, a coherent part of early Christian liturgical rites.

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