



PARTICIPATION IN PSALMODY AND CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IN CYRIL OF JERUSALEM

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The 24 catechetical homilies attributed to Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (c. 315–87),¹ are among the primary sources of mid-to-late fourth century liturgy and theology of initiation.² Given the central status which the Hagiopolite church of this period enjoyed as the model of liturgical creativity,³ it seems surprising that the Cyrilline view on ecclesiastical music

1 The 19 pre-baptismal *Lenten Catecheses* (*Procatech.*; *Catech.* 1–18) likely originate from 351, see Alexis James Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem, Mystagogue: The Authorship of Mystagogic Catecheses* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 44. Earlier datings have been suggested, see e.g. Sebastia Janeras, “Novament sobre la Catequesi XIV de Ciril de Jerusalem,” *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 21/2 (1996), 338–41. The five post-baptismal *Mystagogical catecheses* (*Catech. myst.* 1–5), probably authentic, were delivered in the 380s. For discussion on the authorship of *Catech. myst.*, see Donna R. Hawk-Reinhard, *Christian Identity Formation according to Cyril of Jerusalem: Sacramental Theōsis as a Means of Constructing Relational Identity* (Louvain: Peeters Publishers, 2020), 47–131; Doval, *Cyril of Jerusalem*. Cf. Juliette Day, *The Baptismal Liturgy of Jerusalem: Fourth- and Fifth-Century Evidence from Palestine, Syria and Egypt* (Aldershot; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 12–23. In the present article, *Procatech.* and *Catech.* have been examined using the editions widely accepted by contemporary Cyrilline scholars, *Cyriilli Hierosolymarum archiepiscopi opera quae supersunt omnia*, eds. W. C. Reischl and J. Rupp, vols I and II (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1967), henceforth referred to as 1 and 2. *Catech. myst.* have been studied using Cyrille de Jérusalem, *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, eds. Auguste Piédagnel and Pierre Paris, Sources Chrétiennes 126 bis (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2004), hereinafter SC 126.

2 See e.g. Lucien Deiss, *Springtime of the Liturgy: Liturgical Texts of the First Four Centuries*, trans. Matthew J. O’Connell (Collegeville, MI: The Liturgical Press, 1979), 270. For recent research on the Hagiopolite liturgy, see Aziz Halaweh, *The Church of Jerusalem and Its Liturgy in the First Five Centuries: A Historical, Theological and Liturgical Research* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2020); Daniel Galadza, *Liturgy and Byzantinization in Jerusalem* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2018). Recent studies on the Cyrilline theology of initiation include the abovementioned monographs by Doval, Day, and Hawk-Reinhard, as well as Kristian Akselberg, *Greeks, Jews, heretics, and the Church of God: Ecclesiology in the catechetical lectures of St Cyril, Archbishop of Jerusalem* (PhD Diss., University of Oxford, 2017), Oxford University Research Archive, accessed December 14, 2021, <http://ora.ox.ac.uk/>.

3 Charles Renoux, “Liturgical Ministers at Jerusalem in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries,” in *Roles in the Liturgical Assembly: the twenty-third Liturgical Conference, Saint Serge*, trans. Matthew J. O’Connell (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, Inc., 1981), 221.

and praise remains relatively unexplored⁴. This paucity of attention appears all the more striking considering that “the ancient liturgy of Jerusalem is still rather poorly known.”⁵

The present article constitutes an attempt to fill this lacuna. It also seeks to shed light upon a question that arises from the music-related statements of the catechist: In Cyril, is there a relationship between the catechetical audiences’ current stage in the initiatory process and their supposed role in congregational singing? Before embarking on a systematic study of the pertinent passages, however, it is necessary to make a few general observations on Cyril’s music-related vocabulary.

MUSIC-RELATED VOCABULARY IN THE CYRILLINE CORPUS

Cyril’s view on church music must be reconstructed from brief statements dispersed throughout his corpus. Of the ten Greek word groups which have a correlation with praising God in general, eight can be interpreted as being particularly used in relation to ecclesiastical music.

TABLE 1

| | Word group | Number of instances |
|---|------------|--|
| 1 | αἰν- | 11 |
| 2 | ἀνυμν- | 5 |
| 3 | ἄσ- | 10 |
| 4 | δοξ- | 65 |
| 5 | ὕμν- | 5 |
| 6 | χοο- | 3 or 5 depending on interpretation, cf. n. 66 below. |
| 7 | ψαλ- | 42 |
| 8 | ᾠδ- | 1 |

Notably, in some instances, such as in the final doxologies of the Cyrilline works, the noun δόξα (*doxa*) has no direct relation to the author’s view of psalmody.⁶ In addition to the above eight word groups, Cyril also employs μεγαλυν- (1) or ὑψ- (1) verbs. However, it is somewhat unclear whether these are used specifically in reference to music making.⁷ Furthermore,

4 Undoubtedly, this is partly due to the fact that the earliest description of the ancient liturgy of Jerusalem is found only later in the itinerarium of Egeria, who stayed in Jerusalem in 381–4, see Sebastia Janeras, “Les lectionnaires de l’ancienne liturgie de Jérusalem.” *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 2, 2005, 71. Nonetheless, as the present article may indicate, Cyril’s works provide more evidence on his view on psalmody than most scholars give him credit for.

5 Stig Simeon R. Frøyshov, “The Georgian Witness to the Jerusalem Liturgy: New Sources and Studies,” in *Inquiries Into Eastern Christian Worship: Selected Papers of the Second International Congress of the Society of Oriental Liturgy, Rome, 17-21 September 2008*, eds. Bert Groen, Steven Hawkes-Teeple, and Stefanos Alexopoulos (Leuven; Paris; Walpole, MA: Peeters, 2012), 228.

6 See the last paragraphs of *Catech.*, *Catech. myst.*, *Hom. paral.* 20 (RR 2:426), and *Ep. Const.* 8 (RR 2:440).

7 For further discussion, see n. 29 below.

there is one occasion of μουσική (*mousike*), but—as could be expected from an ancient Greek Christian author—Cyril does not employ this noun in relation to ecclesiastical music. Instead, the word is used in reference to the singing of birds.⁸

Ever the Scriptural homilist, Cyril follows the Pauline approach to ecclesiastical singing. For instance, he produces a verbatim quotation of Eph 5:18–19a, where the apostle mentions psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs (ἐν ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς).⁹ Similarly to Paul, there is no point at which Cyril uses these nouns explicitly to denote different genres of ecclesiastical music.¹⁰ He also refrains from revealing the provenance of such songs¹¹, or their liturgical context. His chief interest lies rather in the general role of hymnody in the pursuit of Christian virtue by his catechetical audiences.¹² One wonders whether such an unsystematic approach to the characterization of church music may have influenced Egeria's failure to make a clear distinction between terms such as hymns or psalms¹³ in her description of the Hagiopolite liturgy of Cyril's late bishopric.

Similarly, in the Cyrilline texts, the more general¹⁴ expression ψαλμῳδοί (*psalmōdoi*)¹⁵ and the title ψάλλοντος (*psallontos*)¹⁶ are employed interchangeably in reference to the designated cantor(s)¹⁷. Notably, titles such as ψάλτης (*psaltes*) or ὁ ψάλλων (*ho psallōn*), commonly utilized in coeval and later Patristic sources, are absent.¹⁸

8 See *Catech.* 9.12 (1:252). Cf. Basil of Caesarea, who describes bird vocalization using ᾠδικός, ᾠδή and μελωδία (*Hex.* 8.3, 7 [SC 26:446, 464]). See also Egeria's *cant-* vocabulary in reference to rooster calls (*It. Eger.* 24.8–9 [SC 296:242]).

9 *Catech.* 17.33 (2:292). For an overview of the early Christian and Byzantine differentiation between the Pauline concepts of psalmody, hymns, and spiritual songs, see Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), 33–42, 127.

10 A similar approach is also adopted by John Chrysostom, In *Eph. hom.* 19.2 (PG 62:129). It has been suggested that in Paul, “there might be no clear distinction between the three nouns for Christian song”, see Thomas M. Winger, *Ephesians* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2015), 586, see also 588, 591. Based upon the Cyrilline catecheses alone, one can only adopt an approach similar to that expressed by John G. Landels in reference to ancient Athenian songs and hymns: “The nature of the music which was played and sung can be guessed.” See *Music in ancient Greece and Rome* (London; New York: Routledge, 2002), 3.

11 It has been assumed that Cyril himself “probably wrote liturgical hymns”, see Stig Simeon R. Frøyshov, “The Early Development of the Liturgical Eight-mode System in Jerusalem,” *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly* 51:2–3 (2007), 166. However, in the catechist's own writings there is no evidence of such compositional work.

12 Cf. Chrysostom who, in connection with the Eph 5 passage (In *Eph. hom.* 19.2 [PG 62:129]), “makes it clear that he does not mean singing for pleasure, but as the expression of a virtuous state of mind.” See Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 33.

13 So Halaweh, *The Church of Jerusalem*, 169.

14 James McKinnon, ed., *Music in early Christian literature* (Cambridge; New York; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 76.

15 *Catech.* 13.26 (2:86). Cyril most frequently uses the singular form of this noun (ὁ ψαλμῳδός) in reference to the inspired author(s) of the Psalms, see e.g. *Procatech.* 6 (RR 1:10); *Catech.* 7.10, 10.19, 11.16 (1:218, 286, 310); *ibidem*, 13.16, 18.24, 25 (2:72, 326).

16 *Catech. myst.* 5.20 (SC 126:168). Cf. *Const. ap.* 8.14.1 (SC 336:210).

17 Cf. Halaweh, who unequivocally identifies the Cyrilline ψαλμῳδοί and ψάλλοντος with “the Cantors”. See *The Church of Jerusalem*, 182 (emphasis original). See also *ibidem*, 299.

18 For instance, in fourth- and fifth-century documents, the title ψάλτης is used in the canons of the Synod of Laodicea (*Laod.* 15, 23–24 [PG 137:1360, 13729]) and by Sozomen (*Hist.* 4.3 [PG 67:1113]). Later, the plural form of the title (ψαλταί) is employed by Maximus the Confessor in reference to OT musicians (*Qu.* 55.20 [PG 90:549]). In the same passage, Maximus distinguishes ψαλταί from ψαλτωδοί, a term used earlier by Eusebius to describe Levitical leaders of song (*In ps.* [PG 23:72–73]). The appellation ὁ ψάλλων is found e.g. in Chrysostom (*In 1 Cor. hom.* 36.6 [PG 61:315]). Like these titles, the term ἱεροψάλτης, used in the canon 33 of the Quinisext Council (*Trull.* 33 [PG 137:625]), is also non-existent in Cyril's vocabulary.

On account of such variability in Cyril's approach to music-related vocabulary, a detailed exegetical study of the pertinent word groups would not constitute the best method of revealing his views in regard to psalmody or participation in it. Therefore, in what follows, the relevant passages will be arranged and studied according to a thematic approach. However, prior to tackling the research question, it is essential briefly to consider the starting point of the author's theology of ecclesiastical song: his general view of human capabilities in relation to God.

THE STARTING POINT: PRAISING THE INEXPLICABLE

The notion of Christian praise presupposes some degree of cognizance of God. In Cyril's view, all humans are fundamentally in a state of ignorance (ἀγνωσία) with regard to precise knowledge about God. Despite their inability to explain the essence of the Divine, humans can, however, —and should—praise and glorify Him.¹⁹ For the catechist, exalting God's name is a corporate act which requires the participation of all Christians²⁰. That being said, even if all members of the universal church gathered together, they would be incapable of singing such praises in a worthy fashion.²¹ Indeed, no creature, whether celestial or earthly, can worthily sing God's praise.²² Nonetheless, for Cyril, even an attempt to glorify God is a work of piety.²³ This raises the question: who can participate in this activity, and to what extent?

BAPTISMAL CANDIDATES AS “STUDENTS” OF PSALMODY

To appreciate Cyril's view of the relationship between participation in psalmody and church membership, it is helpful to start by examining his account of the musical activities of those who have yet to be fully initiated. Here, it bears noting that unlike the other prominent fourth century catechists, who refer to all potential members of the church as catechumens²⁴, Cyril divides the participants in the pre-baptismal process of initiation into two groups. The first one is the initial order of *catechumens* (κατηχούμενοι, *katekhoumenoi*). While Cyril does not clearly reveal the extent to which these inquirers into church membership were allowed to participate in the liturgical life of the congregation, it is clear that their access to ecclesiastical

19 *Catech.* 6.2, 9.3, 14 (RR 1:156, 242 254). Cf. Chrysostom, *Exh. in ps.* 9.2 (PG 55:124).

20 For discussion on both the private and corporate psalmody in fourth century ecclesiastical life, see James W. McKinnon, “Desert Monasticism and the Later Fourth-century Psalmic Movement,” *Music & Letters* 75/4 (1994), 505–12.

21 *Catech.* 6.2 (1:156).

22 *Catech.* 6.3 (1:158).

23 *Catech.* 6.5 (1:160). A similar approach has been adopted by later ecclesiastical authors as well, see e.g. Silouan the Athonite: “The Lord gave us as feeble children sung church services – we do not yet know how to pray properly but singing helps everyone when it is done in humility.” See Archimandrite Sophrony, *Saint Silouan the Athonite*, trans. Rosemary Edmonds (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1999), 97.

24 For pre-baptismal titles in John Chrysostom, see Philippe de Roten, *Baptême et mystagogie: Enquête sur l'initiation chrétienne selon s. Jean Chrysostome* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag GmbH & Co. KG, 2005), 137. For the same in Ambrose, see *Myst.* 4.20 (SC 25 bis:166).

instruction was rather limited. The second group is the intermediate rank of *baptismal candidates* (φωτιζόμενοι, *fōtizomenoi*) who participated in the Lenten period of intensive catechesis that precedes the Easter vigil baptismal rites.²⁵

According to Egeria's witness of the early 380s Hagiopolite liturgy of hours, not only the baptized faithful (*fideles*), but "everyone" (*omnes*) including baptismal candidates (*competentes*)²⁶ and catechumens took part in the singing of hymns.²⁷ This activity—apparently commonplace—seems to have had a pedagogical function.²⁸ Curiously, in Cyril's *Procatech.* and *Catech.*, which originate from around three decades before Egeria's itinerary, there is no evidence of participation in psalmody by *the early-stage catechumens*. Of course, this may be due to the fact that in these particular homilies, Cyril's chief purpose is not to document the actions of the catechumens who occupied this earlier stage of the initiatory process, but rather to instruct the more advanced baptismal candidates. That said, Cyril's silence about any musical activity on the part of the catechumens may also indicate that in this initial stage, they as yet had no significant role in the church. Be that as it may, Cyril—like Egeria—clearly regards *the baptismal candidates* as participants in praise and psalmody. Thus, proceeding from the initial stage of the catechumenate to the intermediary position of baptismal candidacy appears to have allowed the hearers also to participate in the musical life of the congregation in a more profound way.

Three passages discuss the participation in psalmody by the baptismal candidates. In the first one, Cyril exhorts his candidates to magnify the Lord. While the Septuagint imperative *μεγαλύνετε* (*megalynate*, cf. Ps. 33:4 LXX) itself has no musical connotation, the catechist would employ it in connection with another verb that pointed precisely to *singing praises* (ὑμνῆσαι, *hymnesai*). Conscious of the fact that his hearers are yet to be

25 *Procatech.* 6, 12 (1:10, 16); *Catech.* 5.12 (1:148). See also *ibidem*, 1.4 (1:32), and the Προςλόγιον of *Procatech.* (1:26). While this classification of pre-baptismal phases is widely recognized, opinions vary as to whether the group of baptismal candidates should be regarded as a special ecclesiastical order. Hawk-Reinhard would answer in the negative, see *Christian Identity Formation*, 244. Others, however, explicitly describe the candidates as a τάξη, see *KATHXHSEIΣ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΛΛΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΩΝ: Εισαγωγή-Μετάφραση-Σχόλια-Πίνακες-Επιμέλεια Έκδόσεως υπό του Σεβαστού Γέροντος της Αδελφότητας ΙΜΑΙΠΚ, Αρχιμ. Αντωνίου Ρωμαίου καί τῶν Ἀδελφῶν τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Προδρόμου Καρέα* (ΚΑΡΕΑΣ: ΕΚΛΟΣΕΙΣ «ΕΤΟΙΜΑΣΙΑ» ΙΕΡΑΣ ΜΟΝΗΣ ΤΙΜΙΟΥ ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΥ, 1999), 36. For a detailed examination of the ecclesial status of baptismal candidates, see Harri Huovinen, "Familial Terminology and the Progressive Nature of Church Membership in Cyril of Jerusalem," *Review of Ecumenical Studies* 13 (3/2021), 400–18. In fact, despite some terminological opacity (see n. 24 above), Chrysostom also distinguishes between two groups of catechumens, see Josef Knupp, *Das Mystagogieverständnis des Johannes Chrysostomus* (München: Don Bosco Verlag, 1995), 74–75. Even as the baptismal candidates received Christian instruction previously unknown to them, the ecclesiastical *disciplina arcana* still denied them full access to knowledge of the mysteries of the church. For further discussion on the Hagiopolite *disciplina*, see Akselberg, *Greeks, Jews, heretics*, 169–94; Jonathan Malesic, *Secret Faith in the Public Square: An Argument for the Concealment of Christian Identity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Brazos Press, 2009), 21–42.

26 Cf. *It. Eger.* 44.1–2, 45.1–2 (SC 296:304, 306).

27 See e.g. *It. Eger.* 24.2–7; 25.7; 27.5–6, 46.4 (SC 296:236, 238, 240, 250, 262, 296, 310).

28 Cf. *It. Eger.* 37.6 (SC 296:288): "semper sic leguntur lectiones aut dicuntur ymni, ut ostendatur omni populo, quia, quicquid dixerunt prophetae futurum de passione Domini, ostendatur tam per euangelia quam etiam per apostolorum scripturas factum esse."

received into full membership of the church, the homilist still invites them to join himself and the rest of the church in magnifying the Lord in this way.²⁹ His expression “you who are present” (παρόντας ὑμᾶς) indicates that he expects this doxology to take place in the very location in which the candidates are gathered to hear the catechetical homilies. This is an apparent reference to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.³⁰

In the other two instances, Cyril is more explicit as to the candidates’ participation in psalmody. Nevertheless, it is slightly unclear whether by the noun ψαλμωδία (*psalmōdia*) the author is referring to ecclesiastical singing in general, or to the chanting of the Psalms in particular, or to both.³¹ While it has been suggested that “psalms were prominent as musical texts” in the liturgical life of Jerusalem³², Cyril provides no information on any kind of Psalm lectionary, or on the exact liturgical contexts of these texts³³. Nonetheless, he does reveal his view that *night* is the ideal time for psalmody and prayer³⁴. From this we can assume that some of the corporate singing took place in a nocturnal context. Indeed, Cyril makes a passing reference to vigils (τῆς ἀγρυπνίας), in which he expected his candidates to participate,³⁵ and the observance of which is later confirmed by Egeria.³⁶ However, unlike some other patristic authors, Cyril is silent about the Biblical roots or other origins of this practice.³⁷ Likewise, he provides no evidence as to whether nocturnal psalmody was also encouraged as a means of private devotion.

What then were the functions of psalmody in the life of Cyril’s baptismal candidates? In light of the educational nature of his catechetical programme³⁸, one might expect that in the homilist’s mind, participation in psalmody and praise would serve as a pedagogical tool in the Christian formation of the candidates. After all, such a function was to be given to psalmody by both Egeria³⁹ and Chrysostom⁴⁰. One might also assume that

29 *Catech.* 6.2 (1:156).

30 P. W. L. Walker suggests that Cyril may have delivered some of his catecheses if not all of them in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, see *Holy City, Holy Places? Christian Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 254. G. Delacroix, on his part, is certain that all of the homilies were delivered in this location, see *Saint Cyrille de Jerusalem: Sa vie et ses œuvres* (Paris, 1865), 102.

31 Cf. Hilikka Seppälä, who associates the noun ψαλμωδία with church chanting in general, see *Sanasta säveleen: Ortodoksisen kirkkolaulun kysymyksiä* (Joensuu: Joensuu yliopisto, 1996), 57.

32 Lester Ruth, Carrie Steenwyk and John D. Witvliet, *Walking Where Jesus Walked: Worship in Fourth-Century Jerusalem* (Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge, U.K.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 2010), 15.

33 For extant information on the Hagiopolite lectionary, see Galadza, *Liturgy and Byzantinization*, 300–49.

34 *Catech.* 9.7 (1:246). See also *Procatech.* 16 (1:22). Cf. Evagrius, according to whom staying awake and praying helps to focus wandering minds, see *Prakt.* 15 (SC 171:536, 538).

35 *Catech.* 18.17 (2:320).

36 *It. Eger.* 25.5, 27.7–8, 33.1–34, 35.3–4, 43.7–8. Cf. Jan Willem Drijvers’s overview of the services celebrated by the late fourth century bishop of Jerusalem, which includes (almost?) no information on nocturnal services, see *Cyril of Jerusalem: Bishop and City* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2004), 187–90.

37 Cf. Basil, for whom the Biblical foundation for nightly psalmody is found in Ps 118:62, 148 (LXX) and Acts 16:25, see *Reg. fus.* 37.3–5 (PG 31:1013, 1016). Chrysostom, in turn, bases his view on passages like Ps 6:7 and 133:2 (LXX), see *In 1 Tim. hom.* 14.4 (PG 62:576). For further references to nightly psalmody, see e.g. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 8.14 (PG 35:805); Gregory of Nyssa, *Macr.* (PG 46:961, 964).

38 See e.g. *Procatech.* 10 (1:14).

39 See n. 28 above.

40 *Exp. in ps.* 134.1 (PG 55:388).

Cyril would regard psalmody as spiritually transforming, as Chrysostom would later suggest⁴¹. However, while nothing in Cyril's works contradicts these views, he never explicitly mentions them as such.

Whatever the case may be, corporate chanting was considered to be more than a cognitive enterprise. Cyril regards praise and singing as holistic activities that occupy the entire human being. Even during the initiatory process, the baptismal candidates were implicitly taught to view the human body as the only musical instrument acceptable for the edification of the soul. In this sense, Cyril's teaching echoes that of Greco-Roman philosophers and earlier Patristic authors alike.⁴² For instance, even though the catechist recommends that the virgins among his candidates sing (ψάλλων) or read inaudibly, he still presupposes a corporeal action, in this case, the moving of the lips⁴³. Considering that in a Byzantine congregation, not only public prayer but also private prayer and reading was vocalized audibly, Cyril's words may be taken as an attempt to ensure that singing and prayer were performed in good order (cf. 1 Cor 14:40), thereby avoiding "a ruckus and disturbing others" in the church.⁴⁴ Furthermore, Cyril also exhorts his candidates to praise (ἀνυμνῆς, ἀνυμνήσωμεν) aloud, with lips full of purity, and "with a grateful and holy tongue". Nonetheless, it is not only the lips that should praise incessantly, but the heart as well.⁴⁵

41 *Exp. in ps.* 140.1 (PG 55:427). See also *ibidem*, 134.1, 144.1 (PG 55:388, 465). For further discussion on the functions of "Christian song" in Chrysostom, see Giovanni Nigro, "Musica e canto come fattori d'identità: giudei, pagani e cristiani nell'Antiochia di Giovanni Crisostomo," *Annali di Storia dell'Esegesi* 23/2 (2006), 475–77. Later, Maximus the Confessor touches upon the spiritual functions of ecclesiastical chanting in *Mystag.* 24 (PG 91:704, 708).

42 In Aristotle, instrumental music is already considered to promote barbarous dispositions, see *Pol.* 8.6, 1341b, Perseus Digital Library, accessed December 28, 2021, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/>. Cicero, on his part, regards the orator's body as a musical instrument, see *Orat.* 3.216, Perseus Digital Library, accessed December 28, 2021, <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/>. For the same theme in Philo, see Everett Ferguson, "The Art of Praise: Philo and Philodemus on Music," in *Early Christianity and Classical Culture: Comparative Studies in Honor of Abraham J. Malherbe*, eds. John T. Fitzgerald, Thomas H. Olbricht and L. Michael White (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003), 394, 412–14, 424. One of the first Christian authors to liken the believer to an instrument is Ignatius of Antioch, see *Ign. Phil.* 1.2 (SC 10:140). The preference of the human body over other musical instruments is evident in Eusebius, *In ps.* (PG 23:683). For the recurring theme of the body as the only acceptable instrument, see e.g. Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* 2.4 [PG 8:441]), Athanasius (*Ep. Marc.* 28 [PG 27:40]), Gregory of Nyssa (*Op. hom.* 9 [PG 44:149, 152]; *Inscr.* 1.3 [PG 44:441–44]), and Chrysostom, (e.g. *Exp. in ps.* 4.4, 143.4 [PG 55:45–46, 462–63]; *In Matt. hom.* 68.4 [PG 58:645]). For further occurrences of this theme in Chrysostom, see Thomas E. Ameringer, *A Study in Greek Rhetoric: The Stylistic Influence of the Second Sophistic on the Panegyric Sermons of St. John Chrysostom* (PhD Diss., Catholic University of America, 1921), 75–76. Cf. also Basil, *Hom. in ps.* 29.1 (PG 29:305). O. M. Bakke observes that early Christian authors associated instruments with secular music, and emphasized that instead of worldly songs, children "must learn to esteem 'the sweetness of the psalms' while their tongues are 'still tender.'" See *When Children Became People: The Birth of Childhood in Early Christianity*, trans. Brian McNeil (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2005), 184. For discussion on the stance of ecclesiastical authors on secular music in the Byzantine era, see Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 79–85, 91–97.

43 *Procatech.* 14 (1:18). Cf. McKinnon, *Music in early Christian literature*, 15: "The verb ψάλλειν originally meant 'to pluck a string instrument', but by New Testament times it came to mean simply 'to sing', with or without an instrument." According to Hilikka Seppälä, during the Christian era, the verb came to be used solely in reference to ecclesiastical singing, see *Ortodoksisen kirkkolaulun teologia*, ed. Seija Lappalainen (Joensuu: Suomen bysanttilaisen musiikin seura ry, 2018), 26.

44 See Robert F. Taft, *Through Their Own Eyes: Liturgy as the Byzantines Saw It*, Patriarch Athenagoras Orthodox Institute, The Paul G. Manolis Distinguished Lectures 2005 (Berkeley, CA: InterOrthodox Press, 2006), 100–1. Cf. Chrysostom, who demands noisy congregants to exit the building and emphasizes the unity of the ecclesial voice, whether the question is about reading, singing, or responding, see *In 1 Cor. hom.* 36.6 (PG 61:315).

45 *Catech.* 9.16 (1:258); *ibidem*, 12.1 (2:2).

Ultimately, Cyril refers to the eternal consequences of psalmody in the lives of the candidates: Their singing is “recorded”, i.e., written down.⁴⁶ Apparently, Cyril means to say that he expects the ecclesiastical song to be recognized in the divine realm as well. The purpose of such a statement is to encourage the candidates to persist in their pursuit of piety.

This is all Cyril says about the participation in psalmody of the yet-to-be-baptized candidates. To understand his view of the relationship between the catechetical audiences’ current stage in the initiatory process and their role in congregational singing completely, we must compare the above to what he states about participation in psalmody by the fully initiated members of the church. This will be discussed in the following section.

INITIATED MEMBERS AND FULL PARTICIPATION IN ECCLESIASTICAL CHANT

Despite the fact that Cyril’s *Lenten Catecheses* are addressed to baptismal candidates, the majority of music-related evidence in this set of homilies indicates singing as being an action carried out by fully initiated Christians. In fact, for Cyril, baptism appears to constitute an important turning point not only in the process of initiation, but also in one’s ability to participate in the psalmody of the church. Cyril states:

You that are clothed with the rough garment of your errors, who are *bound tightly with the cords of your own sins*, hear the voice of the Prophet saying, *Be washed, become clean, put away your vices from your souls, and from before my eyes*, that the choir of Angels may chant over you, *Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered*. You who have just lighted the torches of faith, guard them carefully in your hands unquenched, so that he who once on this all-holy Golgotha opened the paradise to the robber on account of his faith, may grant to you to sing the bridal song.⁴⁷

While some of the images in this passage apparently depict the future blessed state of the hearers as members of the church, some of them may also refer to perceptible liturgical customs. For instance, if washing is taken as a reference to the tangible rite of baptismal ablution, “the torches of faith” may also allude to the concrete tapers which the candidates held in their hands during the ceremonies on the first day of Lent⁴⁸. Similarly, the references to the angelic chanting of Ps. 31:1 (LXX) as well as to the “bridal song” could be interpreted as descriptions of actual liturgical songs sung at baptism. Indeed, later in the eighth century euchologion *Barberini gr. 336*, “[t]he first and oldest written witness we have to the rites of Christian initiation in Byzantium,”

46 *Catech.* 15.23 (2:186): Ανάγραπτός ἐστί σου πάσα [...] ψαλμωδία.

47 *Catech.* 1.1 (1:28, 30): Οἱ τὸ χαλεπὸν τῶν πταισμάτων ἠμφισσμένοι, καὶ σειραῖς τῶν οικείων ἁμαρτιῶν ἐσφιγμένοι [cf. Prov 5:22b], τῆς προφητικῆς φωνῆς ἀκούσατε λεγούσης· Λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γίνεσθε· ἀφέλετε τὰς πονηρίας ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν, ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν μου· [Isa 1:16a] ἵνα ἀγγελικὸς ὑμῖν ἐπιφωνήσῃ χορὸς· Μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι, καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. [Ps. 31:1 LXX] Οἱ τὰς τῆς πίστεως λαμπάδας ἐξάψαντες ἀρτίως, ἀσβέστοις ἐν χερσὶ διατηρήσατε αὐτάς· ἵν’ ὁ τῷ Ληστῇ τότε τὸν παράδεισον ἐν τῷ παναγίῳ τούτῳ Γολγοθᾶ διὰ τὴν πίστιν ἀνοίξας, τὸ νυμφικὸν ὑμῖν ἄσαι παράσχοι μέλος. The English is my revision of the Edwin Hamilton Gifford translation.

48 So John F. Baldovin, *Liturgy in Ancient Jerusalem* (Bramcote: Grove Books Limited, 1989), 14. Cf. also Gregory of Nazianzus’s account of the baptismal lighting of lamps, *Or.* 40.46 (PG 36:425).

Ps. 31:1 is sung by the cantor after the baptism of the candidates.⁴⁹ According to Cyril, not only does the choir of angels sing in this ceremony, but also the newly baptized, who have now been granted participation in the song of the holy choir that is the Church.⁵⁰ In other words, baptism constitutes the culmination of the initiatory transformation of the candidates into full members of the Church, i.e., into the congregation of saints that sings the new song to its Lord.⁵¹ In fact, as Cyril suggests elsewhere, praising the Lord is possible only for the just, namely, for those who have repented and received pardon during their earthly life.⁵² It is the baptized faithful (*πιστοί, pistoi*) who offer praise to the Lord for the goodness and philanthropy he has shown in saving them⁵³. Irrespective of their age or gender, all Christians praise the one name of Christ⁵⁴.

Granted, it is not always clear whether Cyril employs the verb αἰνέω (*aineō*) as a general reference to praise, or more specifically in a music-related sense, as in *singing* praises. However, considering that in two instances the verb is used interchangeably with ὑμνέω (*ymneō*)⁵⁵, it may be safe to suggest that the latter is the case.

The question then is, how was this singing organized? While Cyril gives no detailed explanation of who sung what and when in the liturgical services, his use of the titles ψαλμῳδοί and ψάλλοντος seems to indicate that in his church(es), the ecclesiastical chant was led by authorized singers.⁵⁶ Obviously, this would imply that musical leadership was not open to everyone.⁵⁷ Admittedly, Cyril neither refers to a canonical status of singers nor to any sort of instructions given to them; these were both to be mentioned around a decade later by the synod of Laodicea⁵⁸. Even so, Cyril's statement that these singers had been "deemed worthy to chant psalms in this Golgotha"⁵⁹ appears to presuppose some sort of a qualification. Whether this meant examination of the spiritual and/or professional qualities of the chanters, it is impossible to tell.⁶⁰ In any case,

49 Stefano Parenti, "Christian initiation in the East," in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies, Volume IV: Sacraments and Sacramentals*, ed. Anscar J. Chupungco (Collegeville, MI: The Liturgical Press, 2000), 34, 38. See also McKinnon, *Music in early Christian literature*, 76.

50 *Catech.* 18.25 (2:328). Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus who explicitly discusses psalmody in the baptismal context, *Or.* 40.46 (PG 36:425).

51 For Cyril's views on the transformative role of each objective rite of initiation, see discussion in Huovinen, "Familial Terminology and the Progressive Nature of Church Membership," 411–15.

52 *Catech.* 18.14 (2:314).

53 *Catech.* 18.35 (2:340).

54 *Catech.* 12.34 (2:46).

55 *Catech.* 6.3 (1:158); *ibidem*, 12.32 (2:44).

56 Also Ruth, Steenwyk and Witvliet, *Walking Where Jesus Walked*, 15: "A choir or soloist assisted congregational singing, which was done without instruments [...] the congregation often had a simple, memorable line to sing in response to longer verses sung by practiced voices." However, unlike other ecclesiastical authors, Cyril does not mention responsorial singing, cf. e.g. Eusebius, *HE* 2.17.22 (SC 31:77); Basil, *Ep.* 207.3 (PG 32:764); Chrysostom, *Ex. in ps.* 117.1 (PG 55:328).

57 Cf. G. Delacroix's interpretation, according to which there were catechumens among the chanters, see *Saint Cyrille de Jerusalem*, 221. However, based on the sources, such a claim is difficult to sustain.

58 *Laod.* 15, 23–24 (PG 137:1360, 1372). Cf. also the canons of the Quinisext Council of 692, *Trull.* 33, 75 (PG 137:625, 769).

59 *Catech.* 13.26 (2:86).

60 In fact, it may be that in the Hagiopolite church(es), "there were none of those specially trained, professional singers who now perform this 'duty'." See Alexander Elchaninov, *The Diary of a Russian Priest*,

Cyril suggests that diligence was required of them, for their task included nothing less than imitating the angelic hosts and continually singing praise to God.⁶¹ While the song of the chanters was directed to the Divinity, it had communal significance as well. In what may be “the earliest extant reference to psalmody at the distribution of communion”⁶², the author of the *Mystagogical Catecheses* suggests that one of the functions of the chanter’s “divine melody” was to invite the congregation to the eucharist, and to prepare their inner disposition in the face of this mystery.⁶³

JERUSALEMITE PARTICIPANTS OF THE ANGELIC LITURGY

As we have seen, for Cyril, psalmody and praise receive their fullest realization in the liturgical services of the Jerusalem congregation of baptized believers. At the same time, in Cyril’s view, the liturgy of this local congregation included a celestial dimension as well. As the angelic host sang praises and hymns at the nativity of Christ⁶⁴, so the choirs of angels are considered to be present in the baptismal liturgy, exclaiming their joy over the neophytes⁶⁵.

Obviously, the use of the noun “choir” (χορός) raises a question about the liturgical activity of the heavenly host. In some instances, Cyril appears to use this word simply in reference to the angelic group itself.⁶⁶ In

trans. Helen Iswolsky, ed. Kallistos Timothy Ware (London: Faber and Faber, 1967), 164.

61 *Catech.* 13.26 (2:86). It would be interesting to locate the liturgical context of Ps. 21:19 (LXX) quoted in the present passage. However, while Janeras is correct in stating that in the pre-baptismal catecheses there are allusions to certain readings, the Cyrilline corpus includes no conclusive evidence of any sort of lectionary. See “Les lectionnaires,” 72. Of course, according to Egeria, in the later service of the commemoration of the sufferings and death of Christ which started at the sixth hour of the Great Friday “before the Cross”, “whichever Psalms speak of the Passion are read”, see *It. Eger.* 37.4–5 (SC 296:286). This would perhaps indicate the use of Ps. 21 in the said service — an assumption which is confirmed by the later *Armenian lectionary* of Jerusalem, see Halaweh, *The Church of Jerusalem*, 258–59. While Cyril is silent about the number of singers, Halaweh suggests that in this particular service, the psalms were “sung in *solo* with refrains performed in unison by all the Assembly.” See *ibidem*, 259. The scholar also adds that Ps. 21:18 was used in the service of the Commemoration of the Burial that directly followed, see *ibidem*, 260.

62 McKinnon, *Music in early Christian literature*, 76.

63 *Catech. myst.* 5.20 (2:392): Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀκούετε τοῦ ψάλλοντος μετὰ μέλους θείου προτροπόμενου ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων καὶ λέγοντος· γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι χρηστός ὁ Κύριος. Due to a typographical error in SC 126:168, the RR edition is used here. Juliette Day seems to be correct in explaining that the cantor “sang the communion psalm for, rather than with, the congregation.” See “The Eucharist in Jerusalem: A Brief Survey of Some Problems and Content of the Eucharistic Prayers of the Mystagogical Catecheses,” in *The Eucharist – Its Origins and Contexts: Sacred Meal, Communal Meal, Table Fellowship in Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity. Volume II, Patristic Traditions, Iconography*, eds. David Hellholm and Dieter Sänger (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 1146.

64 *Catech.* 12.32 (2:44): ποιμένες μαρτυρήσουσιν οἱ τότε εὐαγγελισθέντες καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν αἰνούντων καὶ ὑμνούντων καὶ εἰπόντων· Here, Cyril interprets the Lukan account of the angelic praise (αἰνούντων) in musical terms, adding the word ὑμνούντων. Cf. Lk 2:13: καὶ ἐξαίφνης ἐγένετο σὺν τῷ ἀγγέλῳ πλῆθος στρατιᾶς οὐρανοῦ αἰνούντων τὸν θεὸν καὶ λεγόντων· So also Chrysostom, *Exp. in ps.* 8.1 (PG 55:106).

65 *Procatech.* 15 (1:20, 22). The baptismal presence of angels is a recurring theme in *Catech.* — see e.g. 1.6, 3.16 (1:36, 84) — as well as in later Patristic authors, see e.g. Chrysostom, *Cat.* 2.20 (SC 50:145). Cf. *ibidem*, 8.5 (SC 50:250). In Cyril, the same theme is implied also in *Catech.* 1.1 (1:28); *ibidem*, 18.34 (2:338).

66 See also *Catech.* 6.2 and 9.8 (1:156, 248), where Cyril mentions the choir(s) of the stars without an explicit reference to musical activities. Similarly, Hesychius of Jerusalem, *Hom. pasc.* 1.1 (SC 187:62): Φαιδρός ὁ οὐρανὸς τῆ τῶν ἄστρον χορεία καταλαμπόμενος, ... Cf. Chrysostom, who uses the noun χορός in his discussion “the diverse choir of stars” (τῶν ἄστρον χορός) and other celestial bodies. Notably, according to Chrysostom, all of these proclaim their creator. See *Exp. in ps.* 144.1 (PG 55:463). Cf. also the Greek “Hymn to the Sun”, in which the chorus of stars was depicted as both dancing and singing, see Landels, *Music in ancient Greece and Rome*, 256.

others, the word denotes the joyful dance around (περὶ) the newly baptized performed by the angels. Furthermore, based upon the fact that in Ancient Greek literature, the noun χορός is often employed in reference not only to dancing but to singing as well⁶⁷, its Cyrilline use may also imply the angels' activity as both choral singers and dancers. Indeed, in connection with the angels as a choir, the catechist refers to their message which they probably addressed to humans by singing (χορεύσουσι περὶ ὑμῶν ἄγγελοι, καὶ ἑροῦσι).⁶⁸ Unfortunately, the sources lack sufficient evidence for a final conclusion on this matter.

What is more important for Cyril, as well as for our study, is that in his mind, participation in the baptismal liturgy equals participation in the celestial liturgy in the presence of the heavenly host. At baptism, the door is opened for the candidates to nothing less than one form of paradise which, before the eschatological entry into the eternal kingdom of God, is manifested in the church.⁶⁹ In other words, the church and its liturgical life provide—or, properly speaking, *are*—the presence of the celestial and salvific reality in the temporality and locality of the immanent world. This liturgical confluence of the heavenly and the earthly is a fundamental factor for Cyril. He emphasizes:

What has the sanctity of the Church to do with the abomination of the Manichees? Here is order, here is knowledge, here is sanctity, here is purity: here even *to look upon a woman to lust after her* is condemnation. Here is sacred marriage, here steadfast continence, here the angelic honor of virginity: here partaking of food with thanksgiving, here gratitude to the creator of everything. Here the Father of Christ is worshipped: here are taught fear and trembling before Him who sends the rain: here we ascribe glory to Him who makes the thunder and the lightning.⁷⁰

Apparently, the adverb “here” (ᾧδε)—repeated no less than 13 times in the present passage—denotes an ideological distinction between the church and the sect of the Manichees. Simultaneously, the word can hardly be divorced from the actualization of the sanctified life in the local congregation. In the Jerusalem church and as its baptized members, Cyril’s audience would

67 See Anton Bierl, *Ritual and Performativity: The Chorus in Old Comedy* (Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2009), “Introduction”, *passim*, Harvard University Center for Hellenic Studies, accessed December 14, 2021, <https://archive.chs.harvard.edu/>.

68 *Catech.* 3.16 (1:84). Cf. *Catech.* 12.5 (RR 2:8), Cyril mentions that “this the greatest of the works of creation was disporting (χορεύον) himself in Paradise”—an apparent reference to delightful dancing and perhaps to singing as well. The translation is by Edwin Hamilton Gifford.

69 *Procatech.* 15–16 (1:20, 22). In his catechetical rhetoric, Cyril depicts paradisiacal existence on four levels: 1) The primordial paradise, 2) the gardens of Gethsemane and Golgotha, 3) the Church as paradise, and 4) the celestial paradise. For Cyril, these paradisiacal realities form historical and typological continuum, and represent individual phases of a single narration of salvation history. For a closer examination of this topic in Finnish, see Harri Huovinen, “Paratiisin neljä tasoa Kyrillos Jerusalemlaisen katekeettisessa retoriikassa,” in *Varhaiskirkon Jerusalem*, ed. Serafim Seppälä, *Studia Patristica Fennica* 19 (Helsinki: Societas Patristica Fennica, 2023).

70 *Catech.* 6.35 (1:204, 206): τί τὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας σεμνὸν, πρὸς τὸ [τῶν] Μανιχαίων μυσαρὸν; Ὡδε τάξις, ὦδε ἐπιστήμη, ὦδε σεμνότης, ὦδε ἀγνεία· ὦδε καὶ τὸ ἐμβλέψαι γυναικὶ πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν [Mt 5:28], κατὰ γνῶσιν. Ὡδε γάμος σεμνότητος, ὦδε ἐγκρατείας ὑπομονή, ὦδε παρθενίας ἰσάγγελον ἀξίωμα· ὦδε βρωμάτων μετοχή μετὰ εὐχαριστίας· ὦδε εὐγνωμοσύνη πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὅλων δημιουργόν. Ὡδε ὁ Πατήρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσκυνεῖται· ὦδε φόβος καὶ τρόμος διδάσκεται τοῦ βρέχοντος· ὦδε τῶ βροντῶν καὶ ἀστράπτωντι δοξολογίαν ἀναπέμπομεν. The English is my revision of the Gifford translation.

have ascribed glory to God. By this doxology, the catechist most likely means the *Sanctus*, which later in the Cyrilline corpus is introduced as a part of the eucharistic liturgy. According to the author of the *Catech. myst.*, the recitation (λέγομεν, *legomen*) of the words of the seraphic *Sanctus* manifests the Christians as partakers of the hymnody of the supermundane hosts.⁷¹ Echoing the words of Paul (Eph 5:19a) already quoted in the pre-baptismal *Catech.* 17.33, the mystagogue states that these spiritual hymns have a sanctifying effect on the Christians in his church⁷². In this way, for Cyril, the Hagiopolite church with its liturgy and hymnody constitutes the “living icon”⁷³ and the bridgehead of the heavenly Jerusalem and its eternal liturgy.⁷⁴ It is the very *topos* where heaven is revealed on earth, and at its very centre⁷⁵. Thus, in the liturgy, the fully initiated members of the church—both neophytes and authorized singers alike—are granted participation in celestial doxology in the presence of angels.⁷⁶

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This article has sought to provide an unprecedented systematization of Cyril of Jerusalem’s views on ecclesiastical music and praise. At the same time, the aim has been to answer the question of whether, in Cyril’s oeuvre, there is a relationship between the catechetical audiences’ current stage in the initiatory process and their supposed role in congregational singing.

As can be expected from a fourth-century author, Cyril provided no systematic exposition of church music. Even so, most of his music-related vocabulary was utilized precisely in reference to this theme. For Cyril, the bishop-catechist, psalmody was exclusively vocal, and served mainly as a medium for doxology. It may also have had a role in the instruction and spiritual edification of its participants. Ecclesiastical singing was depicted as a corporate affair involving designated cantors as well as the whole congregation. Information on the participants of this activity can be summarized in three points:

1. Cyril did not refer to the early-stage *catechumens* as participants in psalmody or praise. It is unknown whether or not they actually sung in the Hagiopolite services. In any case, they seem to have lacked any significant role in the making of church music.
2. Participation in psalmody and praise of the more advanced rank of *baptismal candidates* was mentioned in three instances. At this pre-

71 *Catech. myst.* 5.6 (SC 126:154).

72 *Catech. myst.* 5.7 (SC 126:154).

73 Taft, *Through Their Own Eyes*, 145.

74 Cf. *Catech.* 18.26 (2:330).

75 Cyril follows the Jewish idea of Jerusalem as the centre of the earth, see *Catech.* 13.28 (RR 2:86). Cf. e.g. Hes 38:12; Josephus, *Bell.* 3.3.5. For discussion, see Robert L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 120.

76 Other patristic authors of the late 380s would agree: Basil (*Ep.* 2.2 [PG 32:225–28]) and Chrysostom (*Vid. dom. hom.* 1.1 [PG 56:97]) discuss ecclesial imitation of the chorus of angels. Chrysostom also maintains that the church is full of angels (*In ascen.* [PG 50:443]), whom the choirs of believers join to raise their chant (*Exp. in ps.* 109.5 [PG 55:273]; see also *Comm. in Is.* 4.3 [PG 56:71]). Chrysostom even states that it is necessary to become an angel and give praise in this way (*Exp. in ps.* 112.1 [PG 55:300]).

baptismal stage, participation in ecclesiastical song seemed to lack the fullness which is apparent in Cyril's descriptions of the liturgy of the faithful. Thus, the candidates appear to have been considered mainly as "students" of psalmody.

3. The majority of Cyril's music-related statements depicted the liturgical life of the *baptized assembly*. This appears to indicate his view that while the baptismal candidates enjoyed a partial participation in the membership of the church and psalmody, only in the post-baptismal life did they have the ability to enjoy these gifts in full measure. Indeed, through the rites of baptism, the candidates were transformed into full members of the church, i.e., into the holy assembly that sung a new song to the Lord. Further, in the baptismal and eucharistic liturgies, these fully initiated members of the church were granted participation in celestial doxology in the presence of angels.

In this way, the Cyrilline gradation between the ecclesial statuses of (1) initial-stage catechumens, (2) baptismal candidates, and (3) baptized Christians was reflected in the way the author discusses the ability of each group to participate in psalmody. Briefly, over the course of the initiatory process, Cyril's audience was gradually transformed from simple listeners into participants in the fullness of the church and its singing. These observations constitute a novel contribution, however small, to the study of fourth-century theologies of psalmody and Christian initiation.

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