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Carmen grece et latine: Liturgical Chants as Points of Contact between Byzantium and the West?

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*Carmen grece et latine: Liturgical Chants as Points of Contact between Byzantium and the West?*¹

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Abstract: Between approx. the 9th and 12th cent. liturgical chants with transliterated Greek text occur in Western manuscripts in a variety of regions (e.g. France, Italy, England and the German-speaking countries). Most famous are the ordinary-chants (Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei) of the so-called “Missa Graeca”, but also 49 various others such as Alleluia-chants, antiphones for Christmas, Easter and Pentecost or the Cherubic hymn can be found in these manuscripts.

Although these chants are regarded as a paradigm for interculturality between Byzantium and the West in the middle-ages, many questions still remain unsolved. The paper will therefore concentrate on the following central issues with regard to the transmission of liturgical chants:

- How can these chants have come to the West and/or who might have set Greek texts to music using perhaps a Byzantine model?
- To which extent could a cultural transfer have happened between Byzantium and the West in medieval times and in which way might Eastern and Western liturgical music have indeed influenced each other?
- What can the West have prompted to actually include chants with Greek texts in the manuscripts?
- How was the usage of Greek in liturgical chants regarded in contemporary sources? Were Greek-texted chants seen as something “foreign/exotic” or belonging to one’s own cultural heritage?
- Did the Greek chants have a purely decorative function or were they meant to stress the universality of the church?

The paper will offer a reevaluation of the sources, a new assessment of the myths and facts surrounding the chants in questions as well as a discussion of new results from the current research project on the “Cultural transfer of music between Byzantium and the West”.

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Keywords: Missa graeca, Byzantine chant, Gregorian chant, medieval music, doxology.

Introduction

Between approx. the ninth and twelfth centuries liturgical chants with transliterated Greek text occur in Western manuscripts in a variety of regions (e.g. France, Italy, England and the German-speaking countries). Most famous of those are the ordinary-chants (Gloria, Credo, Sanctus and Agnus Dei) which have come to be known under the misleading title “Missa Graeca”. Although these chants are regarded as a paradigm of interculturalism between Byzantium and the West in the middle-ages many questions still remain unsolved.

The present article will try to give an insight into one of the many issues concerning the Missa Graeca-chants, namely the text varieties of the Great Doxology (Doxa en ypsistis/Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις/Gloria in excelsis) in the early eighth/ninth centuries Western manuscripts. The texts vary according to the Latin, the Latin/Greek and the Greek versions.

The Great Doxology and its text²

Early information on the Great Doxology is recorded by the pilgrim-nun Egeria who travelled through the Holy Land during the years 381–384. She describes³ the cathedral offices of Jerusalem where at matins after the morning psalms the Doxa en ypsistis was sung probably by the congregation. In the Greek church the Doxa is still sung at the end of the morning prayer (*Orthros*) after the psalms 148–150, but not during the liturgy of St Basil or St Chrysostomos.⁴ In the Latin church though the Gloria has been

2 Klaus Gamber, “Die Textgestalt des Gloria, Liturgie und Dichtung. Ein interdisziplinäres Kompendium,” In *Pietas liturgica*, vol. 1, edited by Hansjakob Becker and Reiner Kaczynski (St Ottilien: Eos Verlag, 1983), 227–256.

3 Egeria, “Itinerarium Peregrinatio:” <https://bit.ly/2WZ8vgh> (accessed 09.01.2021).

4 See Frank E. Brightman and Charles E. Hammond, *Liturgies Eastern and Western: Being the Texts Original or Translated of the Principal Liturgies of the Church*, vol. 1: *Eastern* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), 308–344, where the text of the liturgies is printed according to ninth century manuscripts (V-CVbav Barb. lat. iii 55; I-GR Γ. β. vii). See also Charles A. Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies: Chiefly from Original Authorities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1884), 254 for the Syriac Liturgy of St James with the beginning of the Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῶ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία (after F-Pn grec. 2509, fol. 200r).

part of the Holy Liturgy at least from the fourth century onwards and is already referred to by Hilary of Poitiers.⁵

Since late Antiquity the beginning of the text is taken from the account of the Nativity in Luke 2:14: «Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῶ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας.»⁶ / “Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis.”⁷ This is followed by three sections with recurring phrases in praise of God the Father and the Son,⁸ which are not consistent in the oldest versions⁹: There is one text in the late fourth century Apostolic Constitutions VII, 47¹⁰ which seems to stem from a Syrian community (perhaps Antioch).¹¹ By far the best known version though can be found in the

5 Rémi d’Auxerre, *Liber de divinis officiis*, PL 101, col. 1248. *Corpus Troporum XII, Tropes du Gloria*, vol. 1: Introduction et édition des textes, edited by Gunilla Iversen (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 2014), 21: “Incipit deinde sacerdos: *Gloria in excelsis Deo*, hymnum in nativitate Salvatoris ab angelis decantatum; sed a beato Hilario Pictaviensi postea auctum et consummatum, et hoc ipsum ad imitationem angelorum, ut ostentamus nos eundem Dominum colere in terris, quem angeli venerantur in caelis.”

6 *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, edited Brooke F. Westcott and Fenton J. A. Hort (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1881).

7 <https://bit.ly/2YaaxLN> (accessed 04.01.2021).

8 Richard L. Crocker and David Hiley, “Gloria in excelsis Deo,” in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online <https://bit.ly/3nt1Mbl> (accessed 09.01.2021). For associations of the text with biblical texts and psalms see a.o. the explanations in: George Diaconou, “One of the First Liturgical Hymns of the Eastern and Western Christian Church: The Great Doxology – Gloria in excelsis Deo. From the Beginning until its Liturgical Crystallisation,” *Review of Ecumenical Studies* 7/3 (2016): 319.

9 Josef A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, vol. 2 (New York: Benziger, 1951), 346 speaks of three principal versions of the Great Doxology: The Syrian version from the Nestorian liturgy; the Greek version used as morning hymn in the Apostolic Constitutions and another Greek version from the Byzantine liturgy.

10 Franz Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, vol. 1 (Paderborn: Schoeningh, 1905), 454-455: «Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῶ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία. αἰνοῦμέν σε, ὑμνοῦμέν σε, εὐλογοῦμέν σε, δοξολογοῦμέν σε, προσκυνοῦμέν σε, εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως, σε τὸν ὄντα Θεὸν ἀγέννητον ἕνα ἀπρόσιτον μόνον διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν, κύριε βασιλεῦ ἐπουράνιε Θεὲ πατὴρ παντοκράτωρ, κύριε υἱὲ μονογενεῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ, καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς, ὁ αἰῶν τὰς ἀμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ὁ αἰῶν τὰς ἀμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου, πρόσδεξαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν ὁ καθηήμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς· ὅτι σὺ εἶ μόνος ἅγιος, σὺ εἶ μόνος κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πατρὸς. ἀμήν.» “Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax, in hominibus bona voluntas. Laudamus te, hymnis celebramus te, benedicimus te, glorificamus te, adoramus te per magnum pontificem, te verum Deum, ingenitum unum, solum inaccessum, propter magnam gloriam tuam, Domine rex caelestis, Deus pater omnipotens. Domine Deus, pater Christi, agni immaculati, qui tollit peccatum mundi: suscipe deprecationem nostram, qui sedes super Cherubim; quoniam tu solus sanctus, tu solus Dominus Iesus, Christus Dei universae naturae creatae, regis nostri, per quem tibi gloria honor et adoratio.” Clemens I Romanus, *Constitutiones apostolicæ*, Lib. VII, Cap. XLVII-XLVIII, p. 1055–1058.

11 Johannes H. Emminghaus, *The Eucharist: Essence, Form, Celebration* (Collegeville/Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1997), 124; Keith Falconer, “Gloria,” in *MGG online*, Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: <https://bit.ly/3nw4sFv> (accessed 09.01.2021). There is another early record of the Great Doxology in the fifth/sixth centuries parchment codex US-PRu Scheide 144: see Hans-Martin Schenke, *Das Matthäus-*

fifth century Codex Alexandrinus (GB-LBl Royal 1. D. V-VIII)¹² where the text appears as the last of the fourteen odes, i.e. the appendix to the Greek psalter.¹³ A very similar Gloria is contained in the so-called “Purple Psalter” or “Codex Turicensis” (CH-Zz RP 1, fol. 223r–v) of Western origin from the seventh century.¹⁴

The version in Codex Alexandrinus is also the basis for the Latin text. One of the earliest complete Latin texts appears in the so-called Bangor Antiphoner (I-Ma C 5 inf., ca. 690).¹⁵ The oldest known Gloria version used in the Roman mass is contained in the “Wolfcoz Psalter”, CH-SGs 20 from ca. 820–830 (p. 365)¹⁶ which shows today’s version of the text with only one slight variation, where it reads “propter gloriam tuam magnam”, instead of propter magnam gloriam tuam.

Evangelium im mittellägyptischen Dialekt des Koptischen (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1981), 30-31, 128–131, plates 1–17).

12 GB-LBl Royal I D VII, fol. 569v (fifth century). See also Hermann A. Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus sive hymnorum canticorum sequentiarum circa annum MD usitatarum collectio amplissima* (Leipzig: Anton Verlag, 1846) vol. 3, 4 and vol. 2, 267-8; Benjamin H. Cowper, *Codex Alexandrinus. Ἡ Καινὴ Διαθήκη – Novum Testamentum Graece* (London: Williams & Norgate et D. Nutt, 1860, 28); *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, vol. 10: Psalmi cum Odis, edited by Alfred Rahlfs (Göttingen: Societas Scientiarum Göttingensis, 1931), 364-365 and Wilhelm von Christ, *Anthologia graeca carminum christianorum* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1871), 38.

13 There are similar versions in fifth/sixth centuries sources primarily from Egypt, e.g. the papyri P. Berol. 17 449 and P. Berol. 364: see Kurt Treu, “Neue Berliner liturgische Papyri,” *Archiv für Papyrusrorschung* 21 (1971): 114–117, or the inscription in the Coptic White Monastery: *Recueil des inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d’Égypte*, edited by Gustave Lefebvre (Cairo: Institut Français 1907/Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1978). See Falconer, “Gloria”.

14 Leo K. Mohlberg, *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Mittelalterliche Handschriften* (Zürich: Zentralbibliothek Zürich, 1952), 87-88; imprint in: Konstantin von Tischendorf, *Monumenta sacra inedita*, Nova collectio, vol. 4. (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1869), 223: ΔΟΞΑ ΕΝ ΥΨΙΣΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΓΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΕΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΙΣ ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ ΑΙΝΟΥΜΕΝΣΕ ΕΥΛΟΓΟΥΜΕΝΣΕ ΠΡΟΣΚΥΝΟΥΜΕΝΣΟΙ ΔΟΞΟΛΟΓΟΥΜΕΝΣΕ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΥΜΕΝΣΟΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΝΣΟΥ ΔΟΞΑΝ ΚΥΡΙΕ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ ΕΠΟΥΡΑΝΙΕ ΘΕΕ ΠΑΤΕΡ ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΚΥΡΙΕ ΥΙΕ ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ ΚΥΡΙΕ Ο ΘΕΟΣ Ο ΑΜΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ Ο ΥΙΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ Ο ΑΙΡΩΝ ΤΑΣ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ ΗΜΑΣ Ο ΑΙΡΩΝ ΤΑΣ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΣ ... ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΕΛΕΗΣΟΝ ΗΜΑΣ ΟΤΙ ΣΥ ΕΙ ΜΟΝΟΣ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΣΥ ΕΙ ΜΟΝΟΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΔΟΞΑΝ ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΑΜΗΝ.

15 Frederick E. Warren, *The Antiphony of Bangor*, part II, vol. 10: Text and Commentary (London: Harrison and Sons, 1895), 31; and commentary 75-77; Crocker and Hiley, “Gloria”; Michael Curran, *The Antiphony of Bangor and the Early Irish Monastic Liturgy* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1984), 173; Helen Patterson, “The Antiphony of Bangor and its Musical Implications,” Ph.D diss. (University of Toronto, 2013).

16 Cf. *Corpus Troporum* 12/1: Tropes du Gloria, p. 19.

Textual differences in ninth century Missa Graeca-manuscripts

Concerning the Gloria/Doxa text of the Missa Graeca the article will focus on five sacramentaries and a glossary (V-CVbav Reg. lat. 215) from the second half of the ninth century, which all contain Greek-texted ordinary chants and are considered as starting points of the Missa Graeca¹⁷:

- RUS-SPsc Q.v.I 41: ca. 870, Saint-Amand or nearby Tournai (fol. 10v)
- S-Sk A 136: ca. 870/75–880, Saint-Amand (fol. 15v–16r)
- F-Pn lat. 2290: ca. 875–883, Saint-Amand or Saint-Denis (fol. 7v)¹⁸
- F-Pn lat. 2291: 875–877/881–883, Saint-Amand (fol. 16r)¹⁹
- V-CVbav Reg. lat. 215: ca. 876/77²⁰, Fleury or Tours (fol. 130v)²¹
- F-LA 118: late ninth century, Saint-Denis (fol. 156v)²²: the Doxa text is incomplete here, therefore the manuscript is omitted from the list in Figure 1.

Since Ilona Opelt's article on the textual characteristics of some Missa Graeca-chants²³ it was taken for granted that due to the "mistakes" found in the texts they must have been dictated to the scribes by someone who knew spoken Greek very well or even by native speakers. The texts show the following common characteristics due to the supposed oral transmission²⁴:

- crasis, i.e. word contraction

17 Charles M. Atkinson, "Zur Entstehung und Überlieferung der 'Missa graeca'," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 39/2 (1982): 102, considers the text found in these early manuscripts the "standard version" of the Missa graeca.

18 Online scans: <https://bit.ly/2N6Jlg5>.

19 Online scans: <https://bit.ly/2YET2nt>.

20 John J. Contreni and Pádraig P. O'Neil, *Glossae divinae historiae: The Biblical Glosses of John Scottus Eriugena* (Florence: Sismel, 1997), 7, think 876 more probable than 877.

21 Online scans: <https://bit.ly/2RzFjeD>.

22 Online scans: <https://bit.ly/31PjID>.

23 Ilona Opelt, "Die Essener 'Missa Greca' der Handschrift Düsseldorf D2," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 23 (1974): 87: "Man ist sich bereits relativ einig, daß die Texte nur nach Gehör, also nach Diktat aufgeschrieben worden sein können, so lassen sich die Fehler erklären [...] Daraus wäre der Schluß zu ziehen, daß nicht westliche, griechisch-kundige Mönche die Texte verlesen/vorgesungen haben könnten, da diese wohl eine andere Aussprache als Griechen aus Byzanz gehabt hätten." See also Atkinson, „Entstehung,“ 126.

24 Cf. Opelt, "Die Essener 'Missa Greca'," 84, 86.

- itacism²⁵
- monophthongization of diphthongs
- y (v) becomes i (u) or vice versa
- χ (ch) is rendered as c or k
- θ becomes τ or vice versa
- omission of letters, e.g. aios instead of agios
- confusion of vowels
- wrong double consonants, e.g. “rr” in kyrrie
- great variety of grammatical errors and wrong endings.

Figure 1

Comparison of the Doxa text in the early manuscripts

RUS-SPsc Q.v.I 41 ²⁶	F-Pn lat. 2291	S-Sk A 136	F-Pn lat. 2290	V-CVbav Reg. lat. 215	Cod. Alexan- drinus ²⁷	Today
Doxa en ip- sistis	Doxa en ip- sistis	Doxa en ip- sis[tis]	Doxa en yp- sistys	Doxa en ip- sistis	Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις	
theo	theo	Theo	theo	theo	Θεῶ,	
ke ypi gis	ke ypigis	ke ypigis	ke epigis	ke epy gis	καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς	
yrini	yrini	yrini	irini	yrini	εἰρήνη,	
en antropis	en anthropis	enanthropis	enantropis	en antropis	ἐν ἀνθρώποις	
eudokya	eudokya	Eudokya	eudokia	eudekya	εὐδοκία.	

25 Cf. Bernhard Bischoff, “Das griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 55 (1951): 44, who writes: “Das sprachliche Material, über das man im Abendland verfügte, bot in der Regel das Formenbild der Literatur oder der Hochsprache, auch wenn seine Aufzeichnung itazistisch gefärbt war.”

26 The text is printed in Antonio Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du V^e au XIII^e siècle conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale de Saint-Petersbourg*, vol. 1 (St Petersburg: Krois, 1910), 82-83.

27 The text is cited according to *Septuaginta*, pp. 364-365 and Christ, *Anthologia graeca*, 38.

RUS-SPsc Q.v.I 41 ²⁶	F-Pn lat. 2291	S-Sk A 136	F-Pn lat. 2290	V-CVbav Reg. lat. 215	Cod. Alexan- drinus ²⁷	Today
enumen se	enumense	eunumense	enumen se	enumense	Αἰνοῦμέν σε,	Ὑμνοῦμέν σε,
eulogumen se	eulogumense	eulogumense	eulogumen se	eulogumense	εὐλογοῦμέν σε,	
proskynumen se	proskynu- mense	proskynu- mense	proskynumen se	proskynu- mense	προσκυνοῦμέν σε,	
doxalogumen se	doxologu- mense	doxologu- mense	doxalogumen se	doxologu- mense	δοξολογοῦμέν σε.	
eukaristumen sy	eukaristu mensy	eu- karistumensy	eucha- ristumen sy	eu- karistumense	Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι	
dyatin	dyatin	diatin	diatin	dyatin	διὰ τὴν	
megalin su	megalinsu	mekalinsu	megalin su	megalinsu	μεγάλην σου	
doxan	doxan	doxan	doxan	doxan	δόξαν,	
kyrie	kyrrie	kyrrie	kyrrie	kyrie	Κύριε,	
basileu	basileu	basileu	basileu	basilleu	βασιλεῦ	
epuranie	epuranie	epuranie	epuranie	epuranie	ἐπουράνιε,	
thee	thee	thee	thee	thee	Θεῒ	
patyr	patyr	patyr	patyr	patyr	πατήρ,	Πάτερ
panto crator	panto crator	panto crator	panto krator	panto krator	παντοκράτω ρ.	παντοκράτορ ·
kyrie	kyrrie	kyrrie	kyrrie	kyrie	Κύριε,	
ye	ye	ye	yie	yie	υἱέ	
monugeni	monogeni	monogeni	monogeni	monogeni	μονογενῆ	μονογενές
ysu	ysu	ysu	iisu	isu	Ἰησοῦ	

RUS-SPsc Q.v.I 41 ²⁶	F-Pn lat. 2291	S-Sk A 136	F-Pn lat. 2290	V-CVbav Reg. lat. 215	Cod. Alexan- drinus ²⁷	Today
xpe	christe	xpe	christe	xriste	Χριστέ,	
ke aion pneuma	ke aion pneuma	keaion pneuma	ke agion pneuma	keagio pneuma	καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα.	
kyrie	kyrrie	kyrrie	kyrrie	kyrie	Κύριε,	
o theos	otheos	otheos	otheos	o theos	ὁ Θεός,	
o amnos	oamnos	oamnos	oamnos	o amnos	ὁ ἄμνος	
tu theu	tutheu	tutheu	tu theu	tu theu	τοῦ Θεοῦ,	
o yos	oyos	oyos	oyios	o yios	ὁ υἱός	
tu patros	tupatros	tupatros	tu patros	tu patros	τοῦ πατρὸς,	
o eron	oeron	oeron	oeron	o eron	ὁ αἰῶν	
tas amartias	tas amarthias	tas amarthias	tin amartian	tin amarthian	τὰς ἁμαρτίας	τὴν ἁμαρτίαν
tu cosmu	tucosmu	tucosmu	tu kosmu	tu kosmu	τοῦ κόσμου,	
eleyson	eleyson	eleyson	eleison	eleyson	ἐλέησον	
ymas	ymas	ymas	imas	ymas	ἡμᾶς.	
oeron	oeron	oeron	oeron	o eron	Ὁ αἰῶν	
tin amarthian	tin amarthian	tin amarthian	tas amartias	tas amarthian	τὰς ἁμαρτίας	
tu kosmu	tucosmu	tucosmu	tu kosmu	tu kosmu	τοῦ κόσμου,	
prosdeke	prosdeke	prosdeke	prosdeke	prosdeke	πρόσδεξαι	
tyn	Tyn	tyn	tin	tin	τὴν	
deysin	deysin	deysin	deisin	deisin	δέησιν	
ymon	ymon	ymon	imon	ymon	ἡμῶν,	

RUS-SPsc Q.v.I 41 ²⁶	F-Pn lat. 2291	S-Sk A 136	F-Pn lat. 2290	V-CVbav Reg. lat. 215	Cod. Alexan- drinus ²⁷	Today
o katimenos	okatimenos	okatimenos	okathimenos	o catimenos		ὁ καθήμενος
en dexa	endexia	endexia	endexia	endexyan		ἐν δεξιᾷ
tu patros	tupatros	tupatros	tu patros	tu patros		τοῦ Πατρός,
eleison	eleyson	eleyson	eleison	eleyson		ἐλέησον
ymas	yimas	yimas	imas	yimas		ἡμᾶς.
othi	othi	othi	oti	oti		Ὅτι
sy	Sy	sy	sy	sy		σὺ
monos	monos	monos	imonos	imonos		εἶ μόνος
aios	Aios	aios	agios	agyos		ἅγιος,
sy	Sy	sy	sy	sy		σὺ
monos	monos	monos	iomonos	imonos		εἶ μόνος
kyrios	kyrrios	kyrrios	kyrrios	kyrios		κύριος,
sy	Sy	sy	sy	sy		
monos	monos	monos	imonos	imonos		
ypsistos	ypsistos	ypsistos	ypsistos	ypsistos		
ysus christos	ysus christos	ysus christos	iisus christos	ysus christos		Ἰησοῦς Χριστός,
syn	syn	syn	syn	sin		
aion pneu- mati	aion pneu- mati	aion pneu- mati	agion pneu- mati	agion pneu- mati		
ys doxan theu	ys doxan theu	ys doxan theu	is doxan theu	ys doxan theu		εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ
patris	patros	patros	patros	patros		πατρός·

RUS-SPsc Q.v.I 41 ²⁶	F-Pn lat. 2291	S-Sk A 136	F-Pn lat. 2290	V-CVbav Reg. lat. 215	Cod. Alexan- drinus ²⁷	Today
amen.	amin	amen.	amin.	amin.		Ἀμήν.

As can be seen with the help of the above list, the Greek text in the early manuscripts is clearly based on Codex Alexandrinus,²⁸ although there are slight differences: The first ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἀμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου, is rendered in the singular (oerontin **am-artian** tu kosmu) in F-Pn lat. 2290 and V-CVbav Reg. lat. 215, as it is now in use in the Greek church, whereas the second ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἀμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου is transliterated as oerontin **amarthian** tu kosmu in S-Sk A 136, RUS-SPsc Q.v.I 41 and F-Pn lat. 2291. Also, the ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς of the Codex Alexandrinus is omitted after the second Ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἀμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου in all the manuscripts here.

Then there are parts which were apparently taken over from the Latin version, e.g. the phrase **sy imonos ypsistos** / tu solus altissimus which does not exist in any Greek version of the Doxa. Also, the following **sin agion pneumati** at the end of the chant does not correspond to the Codex Alexandrinus nor to any other known Greek version and therefore seems also to have been taken over from the Latin **Cum Sancto Spiritu** at that section in the text.

Regarding similarities and differences between the sacramentaries one can easily see that F-Pn lat. 2291 and S-Sk A 136 show the most concurrences regarding the spelling of the words. RUS-SPsc Q.v.I 41 is also similar to these two manuscripts, although word divisions can be different. However, as word divisions are very variable anyway in medieval codices, they do not need to be taken too seriously. Nevertheless, all three manuscripts show the same word wrap and the same layout, namely presenting the Greek and the Latin text side by side in two parallel columns

V-CVbav Reg. lat. 215 differs most from the other ninth century codices regarding the layout as well as the spelling, although there are some similarities with F-Pn lat. 2290: Both manuscripts have the Latin text in smaller writing above the Greek one.

F-Pn lat. 2290 itself stands out from the fellow sacramentaries, as already Charles Atkinson has pointed out²⁹: "Paris 2290 shares some examples of crasis with other sources, but it does not share most of their grammatical mistakes. Indeed, the quality of its Greek is better than that of any other of the sixty manuscripts consulted for this

28 Cf. Charles M. Atkinson, "The Doxa, the Pisteuo, and the Ellinici Fratres: Some Anomalies in the Transmission of the Chants of the 'Missa graeca'," *Journal of Musicology* 7 (1989): 82-83, and Charles M. Atkinson, "Doxa en ipsistis theo: Its Textual and Melodic Tradition in the 'Missa graeca'," in *Chant, Liturgy, and the Inheritance of Rome: Essays in Honour of Joseph Dyer*, eds. Rebecca Maloy and Daniel J. DiCenso, 3-32 (London: Boydell Press, 2017), 16.

29 Atkinson, "The Doxa," 93.

study, including three manuscripts supposedly contemporary with it and thought to have been copied at the same scriptorium [...]. Whoever dictated the chants of the Missa graeca that appear in Paris 2290 obviously knew his Greek very well; whoever transcribed them was not truly literate in the language.”

The spelling in F-Pn lat. 2290 shows indeed better knowledge of Greek orthography in most cases than the other codices, especially regarding the use of y instead i, e.g.:

- ypsistis // ipsistis
- eudokia // eudokya
- epi // epy resp. ypi
- eucharistumen // eukaristoumen
- diatin [+ S-Sk A 136] // dyatin
- yie resp. yios [+ S-Sk A 136] // ye resp. yos
- agion [+ S-Sk A 136] // aion
- amartian [+ RUS-SPsc Q.v.I 41] // amarthian
- tin deisin [+ V-CVbav Reg. lat. 215] // tyn deysin
- imon // ymon
- kathimenos // katimenos resp. catimenos
- oti [+ V-CVbav Reg. lat. 215] // othi
- is // ys

Generally speaking, all five ninth century manuscripts show a much more uniform text with better orthography than the codices from the later tenth/eleventh centuries, which is considered the flourishing time of the Missa Graeca. Perhaps knowledge and learning of Greek were indeed better during the time of John Scottus and his contemporaries than a hundred years later.

Latin text alongside the transliterated Doxa

The Latin Gloria written above or alongside the Greek text in the chosen manuscripts also differs from the Gloria text usually found in ninth century Latin manuscripts as well as from today’s standard version:

Figure 2

Latin Gloria from manuscripts containing also the Greek text

Latin version in 9 th c. sacramentaries	Wolfcoz Psalter (9 th c.) + Bangor Antiphoner (7 th c.) Bobbio Missal (8 th c.) = Today's version	
Gloria in excelsis/ altissimis [215] Deo,	Gloria in excelsis Deo,	
et super terram pax in hominibus bonae voluntatis.	et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.	
Laudamus te;	Laudamus te;	
benedicimus te;	benedicimus te;	
adoramus te;	adoramus te;	
glorificamus te,	glorificamus te,	
	magnificamus te	
gratias agimus tibi/ <i>gratificamus tibi</i> [Sto136]	gratias agimus tibi	
propter magnam tuam gloriam	propter magnam gloriam tuam	propter magnam miseri-cordiam tuam
Domine rex de caelo	Domine deus rex coelestis	Domine rex coelestis
dee Pater, omnipotens	Deus Pater, omnipotens.	
Domine fili unigenite,	Domine, fili unigenite,	
Jesu Christe.	Jesu Christe.	
Et sancto spiritu	Sancte Spiritus Dei	
	et omnes dicimus, Amen	
Domine Deus agnus Dei filius Patris	Domine Deus agnus Dei filius Patris	Domine, fili Dei Patris, agne Dei
qui tollis peccatum/peccata [215] mundi	qui tollis peccata mundi	qui tollis peccatum mundi

Latin version in 9 th c. sacramentaries	Wolfcoz Psalter (9 th c.) + Bobbio Missal (8 th c.) = Today's version	
miserere nobis	miserere nobis.	
qui tollis peccata mundi	qui tollis peccata mundi	
suscipe deprecationem nostram	suscipe deprecationem nostram	suscipe orationem nostram
qui sedes in dextera Patris	qui sedes ad dexteram Patris	qui sedes ad dexteram Dei Patris
miserere nobis.	miserere nobis.	
Quoniam tu solus sanctus,	Quoniam tu solus sanctus,	
tu solus Dominus,	tu solus Dominus,	
tu solus altissimus	tu solus altissimus	tu solus gloriosus
Jesus Christus	Jesu Christe	
cum sancto spiritu	cum sancto spiritu	cum spiritu sancto
in gloriam Dei Patris.	in gloria Dei Patris. Amen.	

The alterations in the Latin text accompanying the Greek one in the sacramentaries are clearly translations from the Greek, probably in order to adjust the Latin to the Greek³⁰: Et **super** terram pax **in** hominibus / καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις, gratificamus tibi / Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, rex de caelo / βασιλεὺ ἐπουράνιε, dee Pater / Θεὸς πατήρ, qui sedes in dextera Patris / ὁ καθήμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ, Jesus Christus / Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, in gloriam Dei Patris / εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πατρὸς. Also, the insertion Et sancto spiritu after Domine fili unigenite Jesu Christe is taken from the Greek καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα at

30 Cf. Jacques Handschin, "Eine alte Neumenschrift," *Acta musicologica* 22 (1950): 73-74: "Interessanterweise hat die in unserer Hs. [i.e. F-Pn lat. 2290] daneben stehende lateinische Fassung einige Abweichungen von der offiziellen, die sich durch den näheren Anschluss an das griechische Original erklären [...]."

that point in the text. But as Handschin explains, *et sancto spiritu* or *et sancte spiritus* can also be found quite often in Western medieval manuscripts.³¹

Hence, the Gloria text was not unified in the ninth century: Hiley³² states likewise that “[...] variants in the text are still occasionally to be found in sources of the tenth century and later, that is, in the period from which we first have notated versions.” The Western Latin text of the Gloria was not fixed until the Council of Trent (1545–1563).³³ Therefore, it cannot be taken for granted that the text of the Doxa in the Missa Graeca manuscripts was taken from a Byzantine prototype: The insertions show that the Latin Gloria was taken as prototype and the Latin text was adapted to resemble the Greek one.

Earlier examples of a Greek Doxa in Western codices

Although the before mentioned sacramentaries are the earliest evidence for the so-called Missa Graeca, Greek-texted ordinary chants appear already earlier in Western codices. Regarding the Doxa, one of the earliest examples can be found in D-W Guelf. 86 Weiss. from Tours, from the middle of the eighth century:

31 Handschin, “Alte Neumenschrift,” 73-74: “[...] hierzu wäre zu bemerken, dass die Beifügung ‘et sancte spiritus’ in mittelalterlichen Hss. häufig vorkommt – vereinzelt auch ‘et sancto spiritu’ –, was also nicht als Tropus, sondern als Rest einer sehr alten Fassung zu erklären ist.”

32 David Hiley, *Western Plainchant, A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 156-157. See also *Corpus Troporum* 12/1: Tropes du Gloria, p. 20: “Le texte latin du chant, tel qu’il se retrouve dans un grand nombre de manuscrits depuis le neuvième siècle, est généralement bien fixé dans sa forme, qui cependant peut varier un peu [...].” Detlev Bosse, “Das griechische Element in der abendländischen Bildung des Mittelalters,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 55 (1951): 15 states that the text variant *magnam gloriam tuam vers. magnam tuam gloriam* and other similar changes can be found in a great number of manuscripts.

33 *Beneventanum Troporum Corpus II: Ordinary Chants and Tropes for the Mass from Southern Italy, A.D. 1000–1250, Part 2: Gloria in excelsis*, edited by John Boe (Madison: A-R Editions, 1990), 42.

Figure 3

Earlier testimonies of Greek Doxa in Western manuscripts

Wolfenbüttel 86	Royal 2. A. xx	Harley 5642
ΔΟΞΑ ΕΝ ΝΥΨΙΣΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΩ	Doxa en ipsistis theo	Doxa enipsistis theo
ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙ ΓΗΣ ΕΙΡΙΝΙ ΕΝ ΑΘΡΟ- ΠΟΙΣ ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ	kepigis irini ennantropigis eu- dokia	kepigis irini enan thropis eudo kia
ΕΝΟΥΜΕΝΣΕ	enumense	enumense
ΕΥΛΟΓΟΥΜΕΝΣΕ	eulogumense	eulogumense
ΠΡΟΚΥΝΟΥΜΕΝΣΕ	pschinumense	proskinumense
ΔΟΞΟΛΟΓΟΥΜΕΝΣΕ	doxalogumense	doxo logumense
ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΥΜΕΝΣΥ	eucharistumense	eukaristumensi
ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΙΣΤΟΥ ΔΟΞΑΝ	diathin megalin sudoxam	diatin megalinsu doxan
ΚΥΡΙΕ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΥ ΕΠΟΥΡΑΝΙΕ	kirrie othos basileu epuranie	kirrie basileu epuranie
ΘΕΕ ΠΑΤΗΡ ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡ	otheos patir pantokrator	thee patir panto crator
ΚΕ ΥΨΕ ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΙ	kyrrie ie monogeni	kir rie yemonogeni
ΙC ΧC	issu criste	ysu xpe
ΚΑΙ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΠΝΕΥΜΑ		keagion pneuma
ΚΕ Ω ΘC	kyrrie otheos	kirrie otheos
Ω ΑΜΝΟC ΤΟΥ ΘΥ	o amnos tutheu	oannos tutheu
	oyos tupatros	oyos tupatros
ΩΡΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ	o eron tas amarthias tuchosmu	oerontin amar thian tucosmu
ΕΛΕΙCΟΝ ΗΜΑC	eleyson ymas	eleyson ymas

Wolfenbüttel 86	Royal 2. A. xx	Harley 5642
ΩΕΡΟΝ ΤΑC ΑΜΑΡΤΙΑC ΤΟΥ ΚΟCΜΟΥ	oerontas amarthian tuchosmu	oerontin amarthian tucosmu eleyson ymas oerontas amarthias tucosmu
ΠΡΟCΔΕΞΕ ΤΗΝ ΔΕΗCΙΝ ΗΜΟΝ	psdeke thin deysin ymon	prosdexe tindeisin imon
Ω ΚΑΘΙΜΕΝΟC ΕΝΔΕΞΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟC	ochathimenos endexia tupatros	ocatimenos en dexia tupatros
ΕΛΕΙCΟΝ ΗΜΑC	eleyson ymas	eleyson imas
ΩΤΗCΥ ΕΙΜΟΝΟC ΑΓΙΩC	othy symonos agyos	otosymonos agyos
CΥ ΕΙΜΟΝΟC ΚΥΡΙΩC	symonos kyrios symonos ipsistos	siymonos kirrios siymonos ipsistos
ΙC ΧC	isus xpos syn agyon pneumathin	ysus christos sin agion pneumati
ΕΙC ΔΟΞΑΝ ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟC Α- ΜΕΝ.	is doxan theu patros amin.	isdoxan theupatros amin.

The Doxa³⁴ (fol. 216r) in D-W Guelf. 86 Weiss. is found together with other Greek-texted liturgical chants such as the antiphon Ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν εὐσπλαγχνίαν καταφεύγομεν (Sub tuum praesidium confugimus), the Magnificat (Μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν Κύριον) as well as a Greek Benedictus (Εὐλογητὸς Κύριος ὁ Θεός). They are all written in Greek uncial at the end of the codex, which otherwise contains mainly grammatical texts. Interestingly though there can also be found a Greek-Latin glossary in the manuscript (fol. 145r-v) transliterated into Latin script similar to the Missa Graeca-texts. Whoever were the scribes of the codex seem to have had a heightened interest in Greek.

The text in D-W Guelf. 86 Weiss. is very close to the Greek original without the insertions taken from Latin, *i.e.* sy imonos ypsistos and syn agion pneumati. The spelling

34 See also the text in Mallius Theodorus, *De metris*, ed. Jacob F. Heusinger (Leiden: Mostert, 1766).

shows the typical irregularities known from both contemporary glossaries and the slightly later *Missa Graeca* manuscripts, namely omission of letters resp. insertion of wrong letters, o instead of ω, v instead of ι or η or vice versa or ε instead of αι.

The so-called “Royal Prayerbook”, GB-Lbl Royal 2. A. xx (fol. 28r), written during the early ninth century, shows the transliterated Doxa text in small writing above the Latin version. The passus of the Greek versions, *ke aion pneuma* after *Kyrie Ye monogeni Iesu Christe*, is missing here. The text structure is similar to the one found in the sacramentaries, but the spelling is of lesser quality and there is also a grammatical error, when matching the plural of *oerontas* with the singular of *amarthian*. The Latin text, however, shows today’s common version. The text in the late ninth/early tenth centuries manuscript GB-Lbl Harley 5642 (fol. 47v, possibly St Gall),³⁵ shows similarities both with the Royal Prayerbook as well as with the sacramentaries, but with slightly better spelling than in the latter one.

Conclusion

Regarding the Doxa/Gloria-texts of the various eighth/ninth centuries sources the following conclusions can be drawn:

- a) Codex Alexandrinus is clearly the basis for the Greek as well as the Latin text. But the Doxa in the *Missa Graeca* contains insertions taken over from the Latin version;
- b) differences in the Latin text accompanying the Greek text do not mean that it was taken from a Greek source, but rather goes to show that the Latin text was not unified in the early middle ages;
- c) although the ninth century sacramentaries are regarded as the “starting point” of the *Missa Graeca*, the texts of the ordinary chants must have been translated into Greek much earlier. As demonstrated above, the Doxa already occurs in eighth century sources and might even have existed earlier than that. Therefore, one cannot assume that the ordinary chants were translated for the first time and/or especially for the *Missa Graeca*. There clearly existed a tradition of ordinary chants with Greek text in non-musical manuscripts, perhaps in connection with bilingual bibles and psalters. Whoever thought of incorporating chants sung in Greek must therefore have had recourse to the already existing Greek texts of the ordinary chants. This hypothesis is backed up by the fact that the transliterated Doxa text and its peculiarities regarding spelling and insertions

35 Online Scans: <https://bit.ly/2Y8N39W>. Charles M. Atkinson, “On the Provenance of Harley 5642,” in *Res musicae: Essays in Honor of James W. Pruett*, eds. Paul R. Laird and Craig H. Russell (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 2001), 35-52: 47, argues against a St Gall origin, due to the Doxa text which shows telling significances to the Doxa in other manuscripts of the St Gall monastery.

taken over from the Latin is very similar in all the above-named sources. Thus, the framework of the *Missa Graeca* does not procure any new texts but rather provides a new form of combining Greek-texted chants – a fact that gives the deceptive impression of an intentional combination much in the style of a later day officium. The only new feature the sacramentaries or more correctly one sacramentary, i.e. F-Pn lat. 2291 offer, is the beginning of providing neumes for the Doxa;

- d) due to the above named conclusions, the hypothesis that the texts of the ordinary chants were dictated by a Greek native speaker³⁶ should be re-evaluated: If this had indeed happened, then probably at a much earlier time than the emergence of the *Missa Graeca*: e.g., the spelling of the *Missa Graeca*-chants is also very close to that found in Greek glossaries.³⁷ There existed enough Greek resources at the end of the ninth century that the *Missa Graeca*-texts might have been transliterated and compiled by someone who had some knowledge of Greek and recourse to these glossaries and other bilingual texts;
- e) thus, the *Missa Graeca*-chants do not seem to be proof for a cultural transfer between the East and the West but rather for the fascination of the Greek language in the West. The holy language of the Bible, the exotic sound of the words and the no less exotic writing (if Greek uncial was used) must have added a heightened “flavour” not only to a great variety of texts but even more so to the Holy Liturgy.

36 See a.o. Atkinson, “Entstehung,” 127: “Daher sei die Behauptung aufgestellt, daß sich der Text eines griechischsprachigen Gesanges, der im Westen notiert wurde und Krasis zeigt, aber keine grammatikalischen Fehler enthält, nicht als ‘schlechtes Griechisch’ abtun läßt. Denn in solchem Fall besteht die Möglichkeit, daß der Text von einem Griechen gesungen, doch von einem Franken aufgezeichnet wurde [... daß] man im ältesten Manuskript [i.e. Paris 2290] mit vollständiger Aufzeichnung der *Missa graeca* etliche Fälle von Krasis, doch fast keine Beispiele für fehlerhaftes Griechisch [findet...] Derjenige, der die Gesänge der *Missa graeca* für Paris 2290 ‘diktierte’, beherrschte offenkundig das Griechische gut; derjenige, der sie transkribierend aufzeichnete, war jedoch mit dieser Sprache ungenügend vertraut.” See also Atkinson, “The Doxa,” 93-94.

37 See Nina-Maria Wanek, “The Phenomenon of the so-called *Missa Graeca*-Chants: Assessing New Hypotheses Regarding their Emergence and Dating,” *Clavibus Unitis* 7 (2019): 3-12.

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Biography: **Nina-Maria Wanek** has been doing research on Byzantine music for over 15 years. In 2006 she was awarded her habilitation for "Historical Musicology" at the University of Vienna. Her resulting book was awarded with the "Förderungspreis des Kardinal Innitzer Studienfonds" in 2008, which is given to outstanding young Austrian scientists. Her areas of expertise are Byzantine and Modern Greek music from the middle ages until the 20th cent., Western plainchant as well as 20th cent. Austrian music. In 2011 she published the "Festschrift" in honour of her colleague's G. Wolfram's 70th birthday and in 2013 the results of her last research project were published in the book "Sticheraria in Late- and Postbyzantine times". She teaches at the Institute of Musicology (Vienna University) as well as abroad (e.g. Athens University; guest-professorship University in Bratislava etc.). Since 2015 she is the leader of a major research project on the "Cultural transfer of music between Byzantium and the West" (University of Vienna). Since then she has published several articles on this topic as well as attended national and international conferences.