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# Sanctus and Gloria

76-97 minutes

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*Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*

*Dominus Deus Sabaoth.*

*Pleni sunt cæli et terra Gloria tua.*

*Hosanna in excelsis.*

Holy! Holy! Holy!

Lord God of hosts.

Heaven and earth are full of your glory.

Hosanna in the highest.

*Gloria in altissimis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.*

Glory to God in the highest heaven, and on earth peace for those he favours. (*New Jerusalem Bible*)

The purpose of this essay is to demonstrate that song of the heavenly host in Luke 2:14 (“Glory to God in the highest...”)—which in Latin bears the title *Gloria*— is based on an [exegetical](#) paraphrase of the triple “holy” the angels proclaim in Isa. 6:3 (“Holy! Holy! Holy is the Lord of Hosts! The whole earth is full of his glory”)—whose Latin title is *Sanctus*. I have arrived at this conclusion by comparing Luke 2:14 to the diverse sources of the Jewish *Kedushah*, which in turn forms the origin of the Christian *Sanctus* (quoted above). Therefore, in the course of this investigation, we will be dealing with ancient Jewish and early Christian liturgical traditions.

## The Text of Luke 2:14: εὐδοκία or εὐδοκίας?

Before we can turn to the main purpose of this essay, however, we must first address the text critical issues concerning Luke 2:14. There appears to be a general consensus today that the angelic hymn in Luke 2:14 consists of two stanzas. In the first stanza God is praised in the heights, while in the second stanza peace is proclaimed to the people in God’s good graces on earth. So, for instance, the *New Revised Standard Version* reads: “Glory to God in the highest heaven, and on earth peace among those whom he favors!” By contrast, the *King*

*James Version* renders the angelic hymn in three stanzas: “Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men.” These days the view that the angelic hymn should be understood as having a tripartite form has few supporters, although both readings are founded on good textual traditions.

Whether the angels’ song consists of two or three stanzas depends on whether the original text is deemed to have read εὐδοκίας (*evdokias*, “of good will,” “of favor”) or εὐδοκία (*evdokia*, “good will,” “favor”). If we regard εὐδοκίας as original, the hymn is bipartite in form and the second verse speaks of peace on earth among people who already enjoy God’s favor. But if εὐδοκία is original, we have a tripartite hymn in which the angels announce (1) God’s glory in the highest places, (2) peace on the earth, and (3) divine benevolence toward humankind.



Illustration by [Marjorie Cooper](#).

The text-critical question can be settled by determining which reading is the *lectio difficilior*

(“more difficult reading”), for the more difficult reading is more likely to be original. However, the principal of *lectio difficilior* is valid only when it is able to explain how and why the other textual variants arose,<sup>[1]</sup> and not vice versa. In the present case only εὐδοκία can be considered the *lectio difficilior*, since it is easy to see why this reading would have generated the variant εὐδοκίας. As most readers are aware, there was no punctuation in the ancient Greek manuscripts. Therefore, there was always a risk that the words ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνην (*epi gēs eirēnē*, “upon earth peace”) would (wrongly) be associated with ἐν ἀνθρώποις (*en anthrōpois*, “in people”), whereby a new, though not improbable, sense arises: “on the earth [there is] peace among humans.” But this misreading made the noun εὐδοκία (“favor,” “good will”) meaningless, and an emendation was required to make sense of it. By adding the -ς to εὐδοκία a scribe was able to transform “peace on earth” into “peace among people of [divine] favor.” Such a development in the transmission of the text is not unlikely. In contrast, a development in the opposite direction is implausible. Would a scribe think he had improved the words ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας (“among people of [divine] favor”) by dropping the -ς so that εὐδοκία becomes the subject and the bipartite hymn becomes tripartite?<sup>[2]</sup>

Theological motives could also account for the emergence of the reading ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας. Some theologians<sup>[3]</sup> have compared this reading with the phrase בני רצונכה (“sons of your will”; 1QH<sup>a</sup> XIX, 9)<sup>[4]</sup> from the [Dead Sea Scrolls](#). The Hebrew word for “will,” רצון (*rātzōn*), in the Dead Sea Scrolls reflects the sect’s concept of predestination. The “sons of your will” are God’s elect or chosen ones. This theological concept was also important for the “Pauline” stratum of Christianity, which betrays the influence of Essene thought in this regard and in many others besides.<sup>[5]</sup> Thus in Paul’s letter to the Ephesians we read that God “predestined us for adoption...according to the good pleasure of his will” (κατὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ; Eph. 1:5).

At first glance, the similarity of the reading ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας (“among people of [divine] favor”) to the Dead Sea sect’s notions about predestination seems to make the originality of this reading more probable. But upon further reflection, the fact that the Dead Sea Scrolls bear witness to theological concepts and vocabulary parallel to “people of divine favor” does not automatically settle the question. Every Christian scribe, being indirectly influenced by Essene thought via the Pauline corpus, would have known that God, in his benevolence, has predestined the elect and bestowed his grace upon them alone. Therefore, a scribe could easily have “corrected” the wording of Luke 2:14 to conform to this Essene-cum-Pauline sectarian outlook.<sup>[6]</sup> Accordingly, the similarity of the generally accepted reading (ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας) to the theology of the Dead Sea sect is hardly decisive for determining the original text of Luke 2:14. On the contrary, if I succeed in proving that Luke 2:14—in its tripartite form—is a paraphrase of the trishagion (Greek for “thrice-holy”) in Isa. 6:3, then maintaining the commonly accepted, though philologically more difficult, reading will no longer be tenable.

## The *Sanctus* and the *Kedushah*

Isaiah 6:3 forms an important part of the Christian liturgy, though its wording has been slightly adapted from the original. While the text of Isa. 6:3 states that “the whole earth is full of his [i.e., God’s—DGF] glory,” in the Greek liturgy of the eucharist one sings πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης σου “*heaven and earth are full of your glory.*” With this unscriptural phraseology the Latin, Syriac, and Armenian eucharistic liturgies concur.<sup>[7]</sup> The unscriptural phrasing of the *Sanctus* is a good indication that its liturgical use among Christians has its roots in Jewish worship. And in a [Qumran Thanksgiving Hymn](#), we read the very formula the Christians were later to pray: מְלֹא הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ [כ...בְּדוֹד] (“Heaven and earth are full...of your glory”).<sup>[8]</sup> So the Dead Sea Scrolls prove what we already suspected: the Christian formula “*heaven and earth are full*” is of Jewish origin. And how could it have been otherwise? Can we really imagine that the Christians would have altered a scriptural text without relying on a Jewish liturgical tradition?

Moreover, the adaptation of Isa. 6:3 in the Christian *Sanctus* is in the spirit of ancient Jewish exegesis ([midrash](#)). When the text of Isa. 6:3 says מְלֹא כָּל-הָאָרֶץ בְּדוֹדוֹ (“the whole earth is full of his glory”), it scarcely meant that the earth *alone* is full of God’s glory.<sup>[9]</sup> The Jewish midrashists would have insisted that if this had been the verse’s intention, it would have been necessary to express it as מְלֹא הָאָרֶץ בְּדוֹדוֹ (“the earth is full of his glory”). What is actually written is כָּל-הָאָרֶץ (“the *whole* earth”), which is to be understood as meaning “heaven and earth.” Thus the formula in the *Thanksgiving Hymn* and in the Christian *Sanctus* probably originated as a midrashic interpretation of the word כָּל (“all”) in Isa. 6:3.<sup>[10]</sup> Hence Jewish circles, including the members of the Dead Sea sect, must have used the trishagion in their prayers in the same form as the Christians were to do later.<sup>[11]</sup>

The very form of the Isaiah quotation in the Christian *Sanctus* shows that it was adopted into the Christian liturgy from a Jewish rite. The question arises when this adoption occurred. From the fact that Isa. 6:3 is quoted in a source as early as *1 Clement* (late first-early second cent. [C.E.](#)), it is commonly assumed—and I think correctly—that the Church included the trishagion in its liturgy from its inception. This assumption becomes virtually certain when we compare *1 Clement* with the *Epistle of Ignatius to the Ephesians* (second cent. C.E.). According to *1 Clement*, Christians should submit themselves to the will of God:

Let our glorying and confidence be in him; let us be subject to his will; let us consider the whole multitude of his angels, how they stand ready and minister to his will. For the Scripture says “Ten thousand times ten thousand stood by him, and thousand thousands ministered to him, and they cried Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Sabaoth, the whole creation is full of his glory.” (*1 Clem.* 34:5-6; Loeb)<sup>[11a]</sup>

After quoting Dan. 7:10 and the song of the angels from Isa. 6:3, *1 Clement* continues:

Therefore, we too must gather together with concord in our conscience and cry earnestly to

him, as it were with one mouth, that we may share in his great and glorious promises.... (*1 Clem.* 34:7; Loeb)

In *Ignatius to the Ephesians* on the other hand, the *Sanctus* is not quoted nor does the epistle compare the Church to the heavenly multitudes. For Ignatius the image of the singing community is a metaphor for the harmonious subordination of the community membership to its leaders and a paradigm for the unity of all Christians:

Therefore it is fitting that you should live in harmony with the will of the bishop, as indeed you do. For your justly famous presbytery, worthy of God, is attuned to the bishop as the strings to a harp. Therefore by your concord and harmonious love Jesus Christ is being sung. Now do each of you join in this choir, that being harmoniously in concord you may receive the key of God in unison, and sing with one voice through Jesus Christ to the Father, that he may both hear you and may recognize, through your good works, that you are members of his Son. (*Ign. Eph.* 4:1-2; Loeb)<sup>[11b]</sup>

Despite their very different contexts and intentions, the common literary heritage of these two passages becomes clear if we place *1 Clem.* 34:7 and *Ign. Eph.* 4:2 side by side:

<b>1 Clem. 34:7</b>	<b>Ign. Eph. 4:2</b>
καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν, ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ	ἵνα σύμφωνοι ὄντες ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ
And we, therefore, in harmony	...so that being symphonic in harmony
ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναχθέντες τῇ συνειδήσει	
together being brought together in conscience	
ὥς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος βοήσωμεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκτενῶς	χρῶμα θεοῦ λαβόντες ἐν ἐνότητι ᾄδετε ἐν φωνῇ μιᾷ
as from one mouth we might cry out to him earnestly....	the [musical] key of God receiving, in unity you might sing in one voice....

This part of Ignatius of Antioch's metaphor is almost identical to the exhortation of Clement, the Roman bishop, who, after quoting the trishagion, summons the congregation to prayer.

In the following paragraphs we will examine the variants of the Jewish *Kedushah*,<sup>[12]</sup> the Jewish trishagion liturgy, and other Jewish texts dealing with the singing of the heavenly host in Isa. 6:3. When these are compared to the passages we have cited from *Ignatius to the Ephesians* and *1 Clement*, it becomes clear that the words of these two apostolic fathers echo early Christian liturgy, which the Christians adopted from the synagogue rite.

## Unanimous Praise

All the pertinent Jewish sources speak of the unanimity of the angelic singing. Following the *Yotzer* of the morning prayer service, we read in the *Siddur* that the angels sing the trishagion “all of them as one” (כולם כאחד).<sup>[12a]</sup> In *Hekhalot Rabbati*,<sup>[13]</sup> a book of Jewish mysticism, the angels sing in purity and holiness אחת ובנעימה אחת כדעת אחד בדיבור אחד בקול אחד (“with one voice, with one utterance, with one mind and with one melody”).<sup>[13a]</sup> According to this source, the myriads of angels who do not begin their singing with the others or who do not sing in tune with the rest fall into a river of fire and burn there.<sup>[14]</sup> It is of particular importance for our inquiry that *Hekhalot Rabbati* explicitly states that all the angels sing בקול אחד (“in one voice”), for that is exactly what is stated in the oldest surviving version of the *Kedushah*. This most ancient version of the *Kedushah* is found in *Ethiopian Enoch*, where we read:

And when he shall lift up his countenance to judge their secret ways according to the word of the name of the Lord of Spirits, and their path according to the way of the righteous judgment of the Lord of Spirits, then shall they all with one voice speak and bless, and glorify and extol and sanctify the name of the Lord of Spirits. And he will summon all the host of the heavens, and all the holy ones above, and the host of God, the Cherubin, Seraphin and Ophannin, and all the angels of power, and all the angels of principalities, and the Elect One, and the other powers on the earth (and) over the water. On that day shall raise one voice, and bless and glorify and exalt in the spirit of faith, and in the spirit of wisdom, and in the spirit of patience, and in the spirit of mercy, and in the spirit of judgment and of peace, and in the spirit of goodness, and shall all say with one voice: “Blessed is He, and may the name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed for ever and ever.” (*1 Enoch* 61:9-11; underlining mine—DGF)<sup>[14a]</sup>

Likewise, in the *Passion of Perpetua* it says that the angels recite the trishagion in unison:

*audivimus vocem unitam dicentem: Agios, agios, agios, sine cessatione.*

...and we heard as it were one voice crying *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus* without any end.

(*Passion of Perpetua* 12:1; underlining mine—DGF)<sup>[14b]</sup>

Other passages regarding the singing of the angels agree on this point: In *Slavonic Enoch* it says that the angels sing unanimously in the sixth heaven (*2 Enoch* 19:6),<sup>[15]</sup> while in the *Apocalypse of Abraham* it says that the “voice of the sanctification” of the heavenly beings is like “the voice of a single man” (*Apoc. Ab.* 18:14).<sup>[16]</sup> Similarly, in the *Apocalypse of Peter* it says that the inhabitants of paradise together with the angels praise God *μὴ φωνῇ* (“with one voice”; *Apoc. Pet.* Akhmim fragment §19).<sup>[17]</sup> Thus, even if the parallel in *1 Clem.* 34:7 had not been preserved, the words *ἐν φωνῇ μὴ* (“in one voice”) in *Ign. Eph.* 4:2 would themselves have made it clear that the entire passage in *Ignatius to the Ephesians* is directly related to the singing of the angels.<sup>[18]</sup>

## On Earth As It Is In Heaven

By comparing *1 Clement* with *Ignatius to the Ephesians* and other Jewish and Christian texts,

it becomes apparent that what follows the quotation of the trishagion in *1 Clement* must allude to an early Christian *Sanctus*. A careful reading reveals even more. Clement exhorted his readers to submit themselves to God's will, just as the host of angels minister according to his will (*1 Clem.* 34:5). Following the quotation of the trishagion Clement continues:

“Therefore, we too must...cry earnestly to him out of one mouth” (*1 Clem.* 34:7; underlining mine—DGF). As we can see from the Jewish texts we have cited, the bishop's exhortation is based on the traditional Jewish view that the praying congregation on earth imitates the trishagion of the heavenly congregation of angels. Similarly, in the fourth-century C.E. *Apostolic Constitutions* we read:

Ἰσραὴλ δέ, ἡ ἐπίγειός σου ἐκκλησία ἡ ἐξ ἐθνῶν, ταῖς κατ' οὐρανὸν δυνάμεσιν ἀμιλλωμένη νυκτὶ καὶ ἡμέρα „ἐν καρδίᾳ πλήρει καὶ ψυχῇ θελοῦσῃ“ ψάλλει

But Israel, your church on earth, taken out of the Gentiles, emulating the heavenly powers night and day, with a full heart and a willing soul sings.... (*Apostolic Constitutions* 7:35 §4; underlining mine—DGF)[\[19\]](#)

The same idea is expressed in the introductory words to the trishagion in all forms of the *Kedushah*. In the morning prayer it says:

נְקַדְשׁ אֶת שְׁמֶךָ בְּעוֹלָם בְּשֵׁם שְׁמִקְדִּישִׁים אוֹתוֹ בְּשֵׁם מְרוֹם בְּכָתוּב עַל יַד נְבִיאָךְ

Let us sanctify your name in the world as it is sanctified in heaven on high, as written by your prophet....[\[19a\]](#)

And in the Mussaf prayer:

נַעֲרִיצְךָ וְנִקְדִּישְׁךָ כְּסֹד שֵׁית שְׁרָפֵי קִדְשׁ הַמִּקְדָּשִׁים שְׁמָךְ בְּקִדְשׁ בְּכָתוּב עַל יַד נְבִיאָךְ

Let us reverence and sanctify you according to the secret utterance of the holy seraphim who sanctify your name in holiness, as written by your prophet....[\[19b\]](#)

And according to the Sephardic rite:

כְּתָר יִתְּנוּ לְךָ הַמוֹנִי מַעֲלֵה וּקְבוּצֵי מַטֵּה יַחַד כּוֹלֵם קְדוּשָׁה לְךָ יִשְׁלְשׁוּ כַּמָּה שְׁנָאֵמַר עַל יְדֵי נְבִיאָךְ

Heavenly hosts and the assemblies on earth crown you, together they all repeat *Kedusha* three times, as is written by your prophet...[\[20\]](#)

A Christian prayer in the *Apostolic Constitutions* also mentions the trishagion and summons the earthly congregation to sing it together with the angels:

„τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ ἐξαπτέρυγα Σεραφὶμ...“ καὶ λέγοντα ἅμα χιλίαις χιλιάσιν ἀρχαγγέλων καὶ μυρίαις μυράσιν ἀγγέλων ἀκαταπαύστως καὶ ἀσιγήτως βοῶσαι, καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἅμα εἰπάτω· „Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος Σαβαώθ, πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ· εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν“.

The cherubim and the six-winged seraphim...say together with with thousand thousands of



archangels, and ten thousand times ten thousand angels, incessantly, and with constant and loud voices, and let all the people say it with them [καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἅμα εἰπάτω]: “Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts, heaven and earth are full of His glory: be Thou blessed forever. Amen.”

(*Apostolic Constitutions* 8:12 §27; underlining mine—DGF)<sup>[20a]</sup>

From these last two passages we learn not only that the earthly congregation imitates the angels in reciting Isa. 6:3, but that the prayers of the earthly congregation take place at the same time as the praises offered by heavenly hosts. Similarly *Hekhalot Rabbati*<sup>[21]</sup> explicitly states that the heavenly beings utter the trishagion in concert with the earthly congregation:

מפי הכרובים ומפי האופנים שפותחין פיהן לומר קדוש בשעה שישראל אומרים לפניו קדוש כדבר שבאמר ק'ק' וגו'

From the mouths of the cherubim and from the mouths of the ophanim who open their mouths to say “Holy” when Israel says “Holy” before Him (as it is said, *Holy, holy, holy* etc.).

(*Hekhalot Rabbati*, chapter 3 §101)<sup>[22]</sup>

And in another passage:

מתגבר קול ויוצא ברעש גדול בשעה שישראל אומרים לפניו קדוש וגו'

A sound strengtheneth itself and goeth forth in a great tumult when Israel saith before Him,—Holy, Holy, Holy. (*Hekhalot Rabbati*, chapter 8 §161)<sup>[22a]</sup>

In the context of the *Kedushah* we read in *Ethiopian Enoch* about the synchronized praises in heaven and on earth:

All who sleep not above in heaven shall bless Him:

All the holy ones who are in heaven shall bless Him.

And all the elect who dwell in the garden of life:

And every spirit of light who is able to bless, and glorify, and extol, and hallow Thy blessed name,

And all flesh shall beyond measure glorify and bless Thy name for ever and ever. (*1 Enoch* 61:12).<sup>[23]</sup>

Thus, by reciting the same words (viz., the trishagion) as the angels, and by praising God at the same time as the heavenly hosts, the familiar notion that the earthly order corresponds to the heavenly order, and that Israel, the God’s congregation on earth, is in harmony with the congregation of holy ones in heaven is actualized. Perhaps this very concept is what gave rise to the liturgical use of the trishagion in the *Kedushah* in the first place.

## An Ancient Greek Sanctus

When, following the trishagion, it says in *1 Clement*, “Therefore, we too must gather together with concord in our conscience and cry earnestly to him, as it were with one mouth,” and when prior to the trishagion Clement exhorts his readers to submit, as the angels do, to the will of God, the Roman bishop expresses the same thought as that which is presupposed in



the Jewish *Kedushah*. For this reason, it is not merely the words following the trishagion in *1 Clem.* 34:7 (cf. *Ign. Eph.* 4:2), but the entire passage (*1 Clem.* 34:5-7) that must be used to reconstruct the ancient Christian liturgical fragment it reflects. This ancient liturgical fragment apparently opened with a comparison between the singing angels of heaven and the praying congregation on earth. After this the trishagion itself was recited. Then came a summons to call upon God together<sup>[24]</sup> in unity (ἐν ὁμοθυμῳ) with one voice.<sup>[25]</sup> Finally, there was a petition for God to listen to the congregation's prayer.<sup>[26]</sup> This Greek *Sanctus*, a fragment of which we have discovered in the course of our investigation, was sung in the Christian communities of Rome and Antioch at the end of the first century.

The question now arises how the uniformity of the liturgy in two such distant congregations may be explained. The time-honored community of Antioch may have influenced the Christian liturgy of the Church in Rome, but it may also be that the *Sanctus* of the two communities is derived from a Hellenistic synagogue rite. At any rate, it seems certain that the early Christian *Sanctus*, the traces of which can still be detected in *Ignatius to the Ephesians* and *1 Clement*, had its origin in an ancient Jewish *Kedushah*.

## The Ancient Jewish *Kedushah*

So let us now turn to this Jewish *Kedushah*.<sup>[27]</sup> The *Kedushah*, as we know it today, combines the trishagion from Isa. 6:3 with the words of the angels from Ezek. 3:12: כְּרוֹד כְּבוֹד יי (Blessed be the glory of the LORD from his place).<sup>[28]</sup> Other scriptural quotations were added later. The *Kedushah* looks rather different in *Ethiopian Enoch*, the oldest version of the *Kedushah* to have reached us:

Those who sleep not [i.e., the angels—DGF]<sup>[29]</sup> bless Thee: they stand before Thy glory and bless, praise, and extol, saying: "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with spirits." And here my eyes saw all those who sleep not [i.e., the angels—DGF]: they stand before Him and bless and say: "Blessed be Thou, and blessed be the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever." (*1 Enoch* 39:12-13).<sup>[30]</sup>

The second angelic praise in this passage also appears in *1 Enoch* 61:11, which enables us to use *1 Enoch* 61:9-12 for reconstructing the history of the *Sanctus* and the *Kedushah*.

Of particular interest for our inquiry is how Isa. 6:3 is modified in *1 Enoch* 39:12. The author understood the designation לַיהוָה (LORD of hosts) to be equivalent to the scriptural title אֱלֹהֵי הָרוּחֹת ("God of the spirits"; Num. 16:22; 27:16). Just as the author of *Ethiopian Enoch* understood the "hosts" to consist of spirits, so also he declared "his glory" in Isa. 6:3 to consist of spirits ("he fills the earth with his spirits"). In his view, the LORD, the God of Spirits, fills the whole world with his spirits. This is reminiscent of the term *pleroma*, which, in Christian theology and in Gnostic sources, refers to the abundance of divine powers that fill the cosmos. The translators of the [Septuagint](#) did not render the noun מְלֵא (m<sup>elo</sup>), "fullness") in Isa. 6:3 as πληρομα (*plērōma*, "fullness"), as they so often did elsewhere, for

example:

לִי הָאָרֶץ וּמְלֹאָהּ תִּבְּל וַיְשָׁבִי בָּהּ

The earth is the LORD's and its fullness [וּמְלֹאָהּ], the world and the inhabitants in it. (Ps. 24:1)

Toῦ κυρίου ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῆς, ἡ οἰκουμένη καὶ πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ

The earth is the Lords' and its fullness [πλήρωμα], the world and all the inhabitants in it. (Ps. 23:1)<sup>[31]</sup>

Nevertheless, the Christain and Gnostic use of term *pleroma* may be related to the interpretation of the angels' singing in Isa. 6:3 preserved in *1 Enoch* 39:12.

Having seen how the first angelic hymn developed from Isa. 6:3 to its form in *Ethiopian Enoch*, it will be easier to arrive at a correct understanding of the second angelic praise in the most ancient form of the *Kedushah*. The angels' second praise ("Blessed be Thou, and blessed be the name of the Lord of Spirits for ever and ever") appears to be an adaptation of the well-known Jewish doxology וְעַד בָּרוּךְ שֵׁם מְלִכּוּתוֹ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד (*bārūch shēm k'evōd malchūtō l'e'olām vā'ed*, "Blessed be the name of the glory of his kingdom forever and ever"), which was recited in the Temple (m. Yom. 3:8; 4:1).<sup>[32]</sup> As we have seen from his adaptation of Isa. 6:3, the author of *Ethiopian Enoch* understood the word בָּרוּךְ (*kāvōd*, "glory") as a reference to spirits. Since this is how he understood "glory," we can see why the author of *Ethiopian Enoch* changed "the glory of his kingdom" to "Lord of Spirits." Thus, in the ancient *Kedushah* of *Ethiopian Enoch*, instead of Isa. 6:3 being followed by Ezek. 3:12, as in the modern rite, the trishagion was followed by the familiar Jewish doxology *Baruch Shem Kevod* adapted in accordance with the author's interpretation of "glory." It is fascinating to note that in a mystical text related to *Hekhalot Rabbati*<sup>[33]</sup> the doxology *Baruch Shem Kevod* is placed in the mouth of angels in association with Ezek. 3:12.<sup>[34]</sup>

### The *Kedushah de-Sidra*

The *Kedushah* in its various forms is an integral part of the Jewish synagogue rite. It is said in the *Yotzer* of the morning prayer (where it is secondary),<sup>[35]</sup> in the public reading of the third benediction of the *Amidah*, and also as the *Kedushah de-Sidra*.<sup>[36]</sup> Since the last of these is of some importance for our investigation, we shall quote the *Kedushah de-Sidra* in its entirety:

וּבָא לְצִיּוֹן גּוֹאֵל וְלִשְׁבִי פָשַׁע בְּנִעְקֹב נָאֻם יי: וְאַנִּי זֹאת בְּרִיתִי אִתְּם אָמַר יי רוּחִי אֲשֶׁר עָלֶיךָ וּדְבָרִי אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַתִּי בְּפִיךָ לֹא יִמְשָׁו מִפִּיךָ וּמִפִּי יִרְעָה וּמִפִּי יִרְעָה אָמַר יי מַעֲטָה וְעַד עוֹלָם: וְאַתָּה קְדוֹשׁ יוֹשֵׁב תְּהִלּוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל: וְקָרָא זֶה אֵל זֶה וְאָמַר קְדוֹשׁ קְדוֹשׁ יי צְבָאוֹת מְלֹא כָל הָאָרֶץ כְּבוֹדוֹ: וּמִקְבְּלֵינוּ דָּן מִן דָּן וְאֶמְרִין קְדִישׁ בְּשֵׁמִי מְרוֹמָא בֵּית שְׁכִינְתָּהּ: קְדִישׁ עַל אַרְעָה עוֹבֵד גְּבוּרָתָהּ: קְדִישׁ לְעֵלְמָא וְלְעֵלְמִי עֲלִמְיָא: יי צְבָאוֹת מְלִיָּא כָל אַרְעָא זִיו יְקָרָהּ: וּתְשַׁאֲנִי רוּחַ וְאַשְׁמַע אֲתָרִי קוֹל רַעַשׁ גְּדוֹל בְּרוּךְ כְּבוֹד יי מִמְקוֹמוֹ: וְנִטְלַתְנִי רוּחָא וְשִׁמְעַת בְּתַרִּי קוֹל זִיעַ שְׂגִיָּא דִּי מִשְׁבַּחִין וְאֶמְרִין: בְּרִיךְ יְקָרָא דִּי יי מֵאַתֵּר בֵּית שְׁכִינְתָּהּ: יי וְיִמְלֹךְ לְעֵלְמָא וְנָעַד: יי מְלִכּוּתָהּ קָאֻם לְעֵלְמָא וְלְעֵלְמִי עֲלִמְיָא

*And a redeemer shall come to Zion and to them that turn from transgression in Jacob, saith the Lord. And as for me, this is my covenant with them, saith the Lord: my spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever [Isa. 59:20-21]. But thou art holy, O thou that dwellest amid the praises of Israel [Ps. 22:4]. And one cried unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory [Isa. 6:3]. And they receive sanction the one from the other, and say, Holy in the highest heavens, [\[36a\]](#) the place of his divine abode; holy upon earth, the work of his might; holy forever and to all eternity is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of the radiance of his glory. Then a wind lifted me up, and I heard behind me the voice of a great rushing (saying), blessed be the glory of the Lord from his place [Ezek. 3:12]. Then a wind lifted me up, and I heard behind me the voice of a great rushing, of those who uttered praises, and said, Blessed be the glory of the Lord from the region of his divine abode. The Lord shall reign forever and ever [Exod. 15:18]. The kingdom of the Lord endureth forever and to all eternity. [\[36b\]](#)*

It is not entirely certain whether the name קדוּשָׁה דְּסִידְרָא (*q<sup>e</sup>dūshāh d<sup>e</sup>sidrā*, “Kedushah of the Lesson”) actually means that this form of the *Kedushah* was originally recited following a study session. Perhaps the original *sitz im leben* of the *Kedushah de-Sidra* was not the Scripture lesson. Nevertheless, the fact remains that where we find it in the liturgy, the *Kedushah de-Sidra* is introduced with readings from the Prophets and Hagiographa, which makes a study setting credible. Of course, such uncertainty makes it difficult to research the origin of this liturgical piece. In any case, it is possible that this form of the *Kedushah* originated from the same religious milieu as the *Kaddish*, which from the outset was recited at the end of aggadic discourses in the [Bet Midrash](#). Both prayers, the *Kedushah de-Sidra* and the *Kaddish*, sanctify God after delving into his teaching. So perhaps the *Kedushah de-Sidra* was an alternative to the *Kaddish*. [\[37\]](#)

Be that as it may, the fact that the *Kedushah de-Sidra* is a composite work and that some of its components also occur independently in the liturgy does not speak against a definite *sitz im leben*, [\[38\]](#) since liturgical pieces are often composite in nature. The components of the *Kedushah de-Sidra* are as follows:

1. First a recitation of Isa. 59:20-21, which was apparently understood as an invitation to study the Torah, and the words “But thou art holy, O thou that dwellest amid the praises of Israel” (Ps. 22:4).
2. Following the preliminary verses, the actual *Kedushah* appears. As usual, the *Kedushah* consists of Isa. 6:3 and Ezek. 3:12, but in the *Kedushah de-Sidra* it also appears with the addition of Exod. 15:18. All three verses are recited first according to the original Hebrew text, and then in Aramaic translation. The bilingual nature of the *Kedushah de-Sidra* is of particular importance for our investigation, as well as for supplying further evidence that the

*Kedushah de-Sidra* originated in the Bet Midrash. In ancient times Aramaic prayers, such as the *Kaddish*, were always associated with learning and Torah study, since in the Bet Midrash Scripture portions were read both in the original language and in Aramaic translation.

3. The *Kedushah* portion of the *Kedushah de-Sidra* is followed by a few scriptural quotations and finally by a non-scriptural section. First a longer version of the benediction that is usually recited after reading the Torah reads:

ברוך אלהינו שבראנו לכבודו והבדילנו מן התועים ונתן לנו תורת אמת וחי עולם נטע בתוכנו

Blessed is our God, who hath created us for his glory, and hath separated us from them that go astray, and hath given us the Torah of truth and planted everlasting life in our midst. [\[38a\]](#)

4. This Benediction is then followed by two petitions, both of which are concerned with the Torah:

הוא יפתח לבנו בתורהו וישם בלבנו אהבתו ויראתו ויעשות רצונו ויעבדו בלבב שלם [ובנפש חפצה] למען לא ניגע לריק ולא נלד לבהלה

May he open our heart unto his Torah, and place his love and fear within our hearts, that we do his will and serve him with a perfect heart [and with a willing soul], [\[39\]](#) that we may not labour in vain, nor bring forth for confusion. [\[40\]](#)

In the second petition God is asked that “we may keep thy statutes in this world” and that we might “inherit life in the world to come.”

5. The entire liturgical piece concludes with yet a few more scriptural passages.

Determining when the *Kedushah de-Sidra* was composed will depend, at least in part, on the age of the non-scriptural texts it contains. As we already noted, an expanded version of the benediction after reading the Torah has been preserved in the *Kedushah de-Sidra*. In the usual version, the congregation gives thanks to God “who gave us the Torah of Truth and planted within us eternal life.” With the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls it has now become possible to more fully understand the poetic image of eternal life that God has planted in our hearts. In a prayer that was discovered at Qumran dated to the middle of the second century B.C.E., [\[41\]](#) God is asked לטע תורתכה בלבנו (“to plant your Torah in our heart”; 4QDibHam<sup>a</sup> [4Q504] 1-2 II,13). Since the Torah is a tree of life for all who hold fast to it (Prov. 3:18), when the Torah is planted in one’s heart, the fruit it bears is eternal life. That is why God can be praised for giving the “Torah of Truth” and thereby planting eternal life within the worshipper’s soul.

### The Torah of Truth

But what does the benediction mean by “Torah of Truth”? The phrase itself comes from Mal. 2:6: “The Torah of Truth was in his mouth.” It is not surprising, therefore, that Rabbi Eleazar ben Azariah (ca. 110 C.E.) apparently identified the “Torah of Truth” as the Oral Torah. [\[42\]](#) On a particular Shabbat, Rabbi Eleazar ben Azariah seems to have alluded to the

aforementioned Torah benediction in his homily. The homily itself, however, was based on a verse that states: “The words of the wise are like goads and like planted nails are those proficient in collected sayings, they are given by one shepherd” (Eccl. 12:11). Rabbi Eleazar ben Azariah identified “the words of the wise [or sages]” as the words of the Torah interpreted according to Rabbinic teaching (i.e., the Oral Torah). And why, he asked, are the words of the Torah compared to a goad? Because just as a goad steers the cattle plowing the furrows in order to bring life into the world (להוציא חיים לעולם; cf. the phrase חיי עולם [“eternal life”] in the benediction), so the words of the Torah guide disciples away from the Ways of Death and into the Ways of Life.

The words of Torah bring life into the world, as it is written, *It is a tree of life* (Prov. 3:18).<sup>[43]</sup> The words of the sages are said to be “like planted nails,” and they really are like plants, growing and multiplying. Thus while Eleazar ben Azariah was ostensibly expounding Eccl. 12:11, his homily also explained the benediction after the Torah reading. He understood the “Torah of Truth” as referring to the sages’ oral teaching that “implants” eternal life with in the hearts of those who receive it.

So if in the benediction after the Torah reading the “Torah of Truth” refers to the Oral Torah, which produces eternal life when it is implanted in the heart, then the benediction emphasizes two basic tenets of the Pharisees that the Sadducees rejected. It thus becomes clear that the longer form of benediction preserved in the *Kedushah de-Sidra* is the original form and that the shorter, more familiar, form of benediction is an abbreviation. If one praised God “who...hath separated us from them that go astray, and hath given us the Torah of truth [i.e., the Oral Torah] and planted everlasting life in our midst,” then “them that go astray” must refer to the Sadducees, who did not accept the Oral Torah or believe in eternal life. We have thus discovered that the *Kedushah de-Sidra* has retained the original form of the benediction after the Torah reading, which reflects the religious conflict between the Pharisees and the Sadducees during the Second Temple period.

### Heart and Soul

The petition which follows, that God “may open our hearts to his Torah and place love and fear in our hearts so that we may serve him with perfect [or whole—DGF] hearts and a willing soul” is apparently the oldest portion of this Jewish prayer that can be dated. It has already been noted<sup>[44]</sup> that this petition occurs in 2 Maccabees.<sup>[45]</sup>

2 Macc. 1:3-5	Torah Benediction
καὶ δὲ ὑμῖν καρδίαν πᾶσιν εἰς τὸ σέβεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ ποιεῖν αὐτοῦ τὰ θελήματα καρδίᾳ μεγάλῃ καὶ ψυχῇ βουλομένη καὶ διανοίξαι τὴν καρδίαν ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς προστάγμασιν καὶ εἰρήνην ποιῆσαι...	הוא יפתח לבנו בתורהו וישם בלבנו אהבתו ויראתו ולעשות רצונו ולעבדו בלבב שלם ובנפש חפצה למען לא ניגע לריק ולא נלד לבקלה

<p>μή ὑμᾶς ἐγκαταλίποι ἐν καιρῷ πονηρῷ.</p>	
<p>...and may he give you all a heart to worship him and to do his will in a big heart and a willing soul and open your heart in his law and in the commands and may he make peace... ...may he not forsake you in a time of evil.</p>	<p>May he open our heart unto his Torah, and place his love and fear within our hearts, that we do his will and serve him with a perfect heart and with a willing soul, that we may not labour in vain, nor bring forth for confusion.</p>

This prayer is contained in a letter that the Jews of Jerusalem sent to their Egyptian compatriots in 143 B.C.E. So as early as that time, the petition we read following the *Kedushah de-Sidra* already existed.

So we have discovered that the *Kedushah de-Sidra* preserves an form of the benediction after the Torah reading dating to the Second Temple period, and it is followed by a prayer that was composed no later than 143 B.C.E. It is no accident that these ancient prayer fragments coalesced around the *Kedushah de-Sidra*, since, as we have seen, the *Kedushah de-Sidra* was recited at the conclusion of lessons. In such a liturgical setting the blessing for the Torah and a request that God open one’s heart to the Torah took firm root. The two ancient prayer fragments are certainly older than the *Kedushah de-Sidra* as a whole, but the fact that they are preserved together with the *Kedushah de-Sidra* argues for the antiquity of *Kedushah de-Sidra* itself. The antiquity of the *Kedushah de-Sidra* is important to us because in this *Kedushah* the trishagion (as well as Ezek. 3:12) was recited both in Hebrew and Aramaic.

### Targumim and the *Kedusha*

The question now arises whether the Aramaic translations of Isa. 6:3 and Ezek. 3:12 that appear in *Kedushah de-Sidra* were created for specifically for the *Kedushah de-Sidra* and subsequently incorporated into the Isaiah and Ezekiel Targums, or whether it happened the other way around. The former possibility does not appear to have been the case with respect to Isa. 6:3, but it might have been the case with respect to Ezek. 3:12.

In the Targum to Isaiah, the prophet’s vision of God in the Temple is transferred to heaven. According to the Targum God’s glory is seated on a high and lofty throne in the highest heavens (בְּשָׁמַי הַרְוֵמָא), and whereas in the Hebrew text of Isaiah the hem of God’s robe fills the Temple, according to the Targum the Temple is merely filled with the brilliance of God’s glory shining from heaven.<sup>[46]</sup> And whereas in the Hebrew text of Isaiah the seraphim stand above God in the Temple, according to the Targum, the seraphim stand before God on high (Isa. 6:2). One of these ministering angels flies to the prophet. The Targum says that in its mouth is a word from the one whose Shechinah is seated on the throne of glory in the highest heavens above the altar (אֵל מִן מְדִבְהָא בְּשָׁמַי הַרְוֵמָא יִקְרָא; Isa. 6:6). The angel then puts this word into the prophet’s mouth. Thus according to the Isaiah Targum, God’s glory remains in the highest heavens (בְּשָׁמַי הַרְוֵמָא) throughout the prophet’s vision. The phrase



“highest heavens” occurs twice in the Targum’s description of Isaiah’s vision (Isa. 6:1, 6). It occurs for a third time in the trishagion itself: “Holy in the highest heavens (בְּשָׁמַי הַמְּרוֹמָא), the place of his Shechinah’s dwelling; holy upon earth, the work of his might; holy forever and to all eternity is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of the radiance of his glory” (Isa. 6:3). Since the highest heavens are mentioned in the Targum’s description of vision as well as in its version of the trishagion, it appears that the Targum’s version of the trishagion cannot have arisen independently of the rest of the Targum’s treatment of Isaiah’s vision.

On the other hand, it is at least possible that the Targum of Ezekiel was influenced by the tradition behind the Targum of Isa. 6:3, since the Targum renders the Hebrew phrase מִמְּקוֹמוֹ (“from his place”; Ezek. 3:12) in Aramaic as מֵאַתְרַּיָּתָא שְׁכִינְתָּיָה (“from the place of the dwelling of his Shechinah”). As we have seen the phrase “place of his Shechinah’s dwelling” also occurs in the Targum to Isa 6:3. Nevertheless, the phrase בֵּית שְׁכִינְתָּהּ also occurs elsewhere in the Targumim, so the similarity between the Aramaic translations of Isa. 6:3 and Ezek. 3:12, which are included in the *Kedushah*, does not prove much on its own. Moreover, since the Aramaic Targumim were transmitted orally, many—and often quite disparate—variants could arise.

### The Significance of the Repetition of “Holy”

We now must take a closer look at the Aramaic version of the trishagion. Today it is understood that the angels’ triple repetition of “holy” in Isa. 6:3 was a solemn poetic formula, but this was not common knowledge either for the ancient Jews or the early Christians. Since both Jews and Christians believed in the verbal inspiration of Scripture, they sought for some rational way to explain the triple occurrence of “holy” in Isa. 6:3. Accordingly, Rabbi Hananel said in the name of Rab that the thrice-repeated “holy” reflects the arrangement of the heavenly choirs: “Three divisions of ministering angels sing praises [to the LORD] daily; one proclaims: *Holy*, the other proclaims: *Holy*, and the third proclaims: *Holy is the LORD of hosts*” (b. Ḥul. 91b; Soncino trans.).

Another approach was to attribute a different meaning to each of the three instances of “holy.” It was from this latter approach that the Christian liturgical trishagion emerged: Ἅγιος ὁ Θεός, Ἅγιος ἰσχυρός, Ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς (“Holy God, Holy Strong, Holy Immortal, have mercy upon us”).<sup>[47]</sup> A similar treatment of the trishagion can also be found in a *piyyut* (liturgical poem) of Yannai, a Jewish poet from the Byzantine period. For example:

קְדוֹשׁ מֵהוֹלָכֵי תַמִּים קְדוֹשׁ מִפּוֹעֲלֵי צֶדֶק קְדוֹשׁ מִדּוֹבְרֵי אֱמֶת

“Holy” on behalf of those who walk blamelessly. “Holy” on behalf of those who act righteously. “Holy” on behalf of those who speak honestly.<sup>[48]</sup>

The Targum to Isa. 6:3 arose from the same tendency. The Targum gives each instance of “holy” a different application.



Holy in the highest heavens, || his Shechinah's dwelling place;  
Holy upon earth, || the work of his might;  
Holy forever and to all eternity is the Lord of hosts....

## The *Gloria* and the Targumic Trishagion

<p>δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῶ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.</p>	<p>קדיש בְּשָׁמַי מְרוֹמָא בֵּית שְׁכִינְתָּהּ קדיש עַל אַרְעָה עוֹבֵד גְּבוּרָתָהּ קדיש לְעָלָם וּלְעָלְמֵי עָלְמָא יְיָ צְבָאוֹת</p>
<p>Glory in the highest [places] to God, and upon earth peace, among human beings good will.</p>	<p>Holy in the highest heavens, his Shechina's dwelling place; Holy on the earth, the work of his might; Holy forever and ever is the LORD of hosts.</p>

Even at a glance the first two lines of the *Gloria* and of the Targum show an important

correspondence. In the first line the Greek ἐν ὑψίστοις (“in the highest [places]”) corresponds to the Aramaic בְּשָׁמַי מְרוֹמָא (“in the highest heaven”). In the second line the Greek ἐπὶ γῆς (“upon earth”) corresponds to the Aramaic עַל אַרְעָא (“upon earth”). One could even imagine that these two Greek expressions are translations of the Aramaic phrases. At the very least, we can say that the *Gloria* must be indirectly related to the Targum’s version of the trishagion in Isa. 6:3. Before proceeding with the analysis, however, I want to prove the *Gloria*’s direct dependence on a Jewish *Kedushah*.

The Aramaic translation of Ezek. 3:12, which follows the trishagion in the *Kedushah*, reads: “Then a wind lifted me up, and I heard behind me the voice of a great rushing, of those who uttered praises and said [דְּמִשְׁבְּחֵי וְאִמְרִין]....” The words מְשַׁבְּחִין וְאִמְרִין (“praising and saying”) in the Targum could be an explanatory gloss, since in the Hebrew text of Ezek. 3:12 the angelic words are somewhat harsh and lack a transitional phrase<sup>[50]</sup> leading into the direct speech: *I heard behind me the sound of a great rushing*, “*Blessed be the glory...*” etc. But it is also possible that the liturgical use of this verse in the *Kedushah* influenced the wording of the Targum to Ezek. 3:12. From the *Kedushah* the words מְשַׁבְּחִים וְאִמְרִים (“praising and saying”) could have entered the Targum, since in both the *Yotzer Kedushah*<sup>[50a]</sup> and in the main *Kedushah* of almost all rites<sup>[51]</sup> the angelic doxology in Ezek. 3:12 is introduced with the words מְשַׁבְּחִים וְאִמְרִים (“praising and saying”). So it is only natural that in the *Kedushah de-Sidra* too, the Aramaic version of Ezekiel’s angelic doxology should be introduced with the same formula דְּמִשְׁבְּחֵי וְאִמְרִין (“who praise and say”). The importance of this formula in liturgical use is evident from the fact that it even occurs in the oldest extant *Kedushah* in *Ethiopian Enoch*. There, too, the second angelic praise, though different from the one in Ezek. 3:12, has the transitional phrase “praising and saying”:

And here my eyes saw all those who sleep not [i.e., the angels—DGF]:<sup>[52]</sup> they stand before Him<sup>[53]</sup> praising and saying: “Blessed be Thou....” (1 *Enoch* 39:13; underlining mine—DGF)

The *Gloria* in Luke is likewise introduced with the same words known from the *Kedushah*, *Ethiopian Enoch*, and the Targum of Ezek. 3:12. In Luke, too, we read of a multitude of heavenly hosts that praised God and said, “Glory to God in the highest...” (Luke 2:13-14). If we suppose that the author of Luke added the words τὸν θεόν (“God”) for the sake of clarity and completeness, then the phrase αἰνοῦντων...καὶ λεγόντων (“praising...and saying”) in Luke 2:13 is an exact equivalent of the Hebrew phrase מְשַׁבְּחִים וְאִמְרִים (“praising...and saying”) in the *Kedushah* and is nearly identical to דְּמִשְׁבְּחֵי וְאִמְרִין (“who praise...and say”) in the Targum of Ezek. 3:12.

Thus the words “praising...and saying,” which introduce the *Gloria* in Luke, depend directly on the *Kedushah*, and the similarity of the *Gloria* to the Targum of Isa. 6:3 is neither coincidental nor indirect: it is explained by the direct dependence of the *Gloria* on the *Kedushah*, which quotes Isa. 6:3.

### **Holy in the Highest: His Glory**

Let us now return to the comparison of the targumic trishagion in Isa. 6:3 and the *Gloria*, beginning with the first stanza in both sources. In the Targum it reads: “Holy in the highest heavens, the place of his Shechinah’s dwelling.” In other words, God has stretched out the heavens to serve as the dwelling place of his Shechinah (i.e, his divine presence).<sup>[54]</sup> That is why the prayer *Aleinu*,<sup>[55]</sup> similar to our Targum, says:

שְׁהוּא נֹשֵׂה שְׁמַיִם וְיִסֵּד אֶרֶץ וּמוֹשֵׁב יְקָרוֹ בְּשָׁמַיִם מִמַּעַל וְשְׁכִינָתוֹ עֲזָז בְּגִבְהֵי מְרוֹמִים

...who stretched forth the heavens and laid the foundations of the earth, the seat of whose glory is in the heavens above, and his mighty Shechinah is in the loftiest heights.<sup>[55a]</sup>

This one sentence of the *Aleinu* also demonstrates that the terms “Shechinah” and “glory” (Hebrew: כְּבוֹד; Aramaic: יְקָר; Greek: δόξα) are often regarded as synonymous and so were easily interchangeable in ancient texts.<sup>[56]</sup> Thus, “the place of his Shechinah’s dwelling” in the Targum to Isa. 6:3 is synonymous with “the place of his glory” (Greek: δόξα). Therefore, when the first line of the *Gloria*, where it says δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ (“glory in the highest to God”), is compared with the Targum’s phrase בְּשָׁמַיִ מְרוֹמָא בֵּית שְׁכִינָתָה (“in the highest heavens, his Shechinah’s dwelling place”), we see that there is a great similarity between the Lukan and the Jewish-liturgical formulae, provided that שְׁכִינָה (*shechināh*, “divine presence”) is understood to be synonymous with δόξα (*doxa*, “glory”).



“And the glory of the Lord shone round about them.” Illustration by [Marjorie Cooper](#) (a.k.a. Elizabeth Webbe)

It appears, however, that in the course of the *Gloria*’s transmission the Greek word δόξα—or perhaps already the Hebrew כְּבוֹד or the Aramaic יְקָר behind it—was misunderstood. In all three languages “glory” can refer either to the praise of God (which others ascribe to him) or to God’s magnificence (an innate divine attribute). In Luke’s *Gloria*, “glory” was misunderstood as “praise” or “honor.” That is why the word θεῷ (“to God”) was added in Luke 2:14, although originally, it seems, δόξα referred to the glory of God, which is enthroned in the highest heavens. Perhaps it was the author of Luke himself who reinterpreted the beginning of the *Gloria*, for as we saw, the words τὸν θεὸν in Luke 2:13 are also an interpolation. If I am correct, then 1) δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις (“glory in the highest [places]”) is closely related to the Aramaic בְּשָׁמַיִ מְרוֹמָא בֵּית שְׁכִינָתָה (“in the highest heavens, his Shechinah’s dwelling place”) in both form and meaning, and 2) the original structure of the first stanza of the *Gloria* is strictly parallel to the second and third stanzas:

δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις / καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη / ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία

Glory in the highest / and on earth peace / among humans good will.

### **Holy on Earth: His Peace**

When we compare the second line of the *Gloria*, ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη (“upon earth peace”) with the Targum of Isa. 6:3, עַל אֶרֶץ עוֹבַד אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל (“upon earth, the work of his might”), the Targum clearly explains why God is holy on earth: the earth is his might work. If we assume that, like the Targum, the second line of *Gloria* also expounds the trishagion’s second “holy,” then it becomes clear how the holiness of God is revealed on earth—through his peace.<sup>[56a]</sup> In the third line of the *Gloria*, which unfortunately has no parallel in the Targum, it is stated, according to our interpretation, that God’s holiness is revealed among human beings through his good will.

### **Holy to Humankind: His Good Will**

So this is the meaning ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία (“among people good will”) in the third line of the *Gloria*: “[He is shown to be holy] among humankind [through the exercise of his] good will.”

The noun εὐδοκία (*evdokia*, “good will,” “object of desire”) is not found in Classical Greek sources.<sup>[56b]</sup> It is first attested in the Septuagint, where it occurs ten times. Of these ten instances, εὐδοκία occurs seven times as the equivalent of the Hebrew noun רָצוֹן (*rātzōn*, “favor,” “will,” “desire”; Ps. 5:13; 18:15; 50:20; 68:14; 88:18; 105:4; 144:16). Thus εὐδοκία and רָצוֹן are clear equivalents.<sup>[57]</sup> While it is true that in the writings of the Dead Sea sect רָצוֹן became a *terminus technicus* for God’s gracious will whereby he predestines the elect,<sup>[58]</sup> this limited definition was only the result of a narrowing of a broader Jewish concept. As Jeremias noted, “The word רָצוֹן occurs 56 times in the Old Testament. Most of the time, namely in 37 (39) cases, the word is used of God’s favor, only in 19 (17) cases are people the subject.”<sup>[59]</sup> Even in post-Second Temple Judaism, the Hebrew רָצוֹן (and the Aramaic רְעוּתָא or רְעוּתָא) means God’s “will” or “pleasure,” as, for example, in the frequent prayer formula יְהי רָצוֹן (“Let it be the will [of God]”).<sup>[59a]</sup>

This is how the words γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημα σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς (“let your will be done as in heaven also on earth”; Matt. 6:10) in the Lord’s Prayer are to be understood: May your gracious will be done on earth as it is in heaven. That this is the meaning of the petition is also evident from Rabbi Eliezer’s short prayer: יַעֲשֶׂה רַצוֹנְךָ בְּשָׂמַיִם מִמַּעַל וְתֵן נַחַת רוּחַ לִירֵאִיךָ (“Let your will be done in heaven above and give peace of mind to those who fear you.”<sup>[60]</sup> In this prayer, God’s will in heaven corresponds to the well-being of people on earth: God’s gracious will should also be done on earth.

This line from the Lord’s Prayer and the rabbinic parallels are also important for

understanding the *Gloria*. For in these prayers, as well as in the *Gloria*, mention is made of the heavens above and the working of God's good will among human beings. Apparently, just like the Jewish prayers, the *Gloria* expresses the idea that God's good will is at work both in heaven and with humankind. That this is so becomes even clearer when we compare the second line of *Gloria*, ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνην (*epi gēs eirēnē*, “upon earth peace”), with another ancient Jewish prayer formula:

עושה שלום במרומיו הוא ברחמיו יעשה שלום עלינו ועל כל ישראל

May he who makes peace in his heights [במרומיו] in his mercy make peace over us and over all Israel. (y. Meg. 4:12 [34a])<sup>[61]</sup>

Here too, as in the *Gloria*, the petition speaks both the heavenly heights and of peace on earth.

So there were ancient Jewish prayers that expressed a desire for God to exercise his gracious will—which he already does in heaven—upon the earth for the benefit of humankind.

Likewise, there were other ancient Jewish prayers that beseeched God to give his heavenly peace to people on earth. Therefore, when the first line of the *Gloria* mentions the highest heavens, the second line mentions peace, and the third line mentions God's good will, the train of thought appears to be that that God's heavenly peace is taking effect on earth as his divine good will is bestowed upon humankind. In any case, we can see from the Jewish parallels why the *Gloria* refers both to the will and the peace of God: On the one hand there are Jewish prayers that speak of peace in heaven and on earth, and on the other hand there are prayers that speak of the God's will being done in heaven above and on the earth below. The *Gloria* united these two concepts in a tripartite form based on the trishagion in Isa. 6:3.

## Conclusion

The *Gloria* is, so to speak, a targumic interpretation of the trishagion in Isa 6:3. As such it is closely related to the existing Targumim that Jewish tradition has handed down to us. The hypothetical Targum from which the *Gloria* originated would have read something like this:

קדיש בשמי מרומא יקריה, קדיש על ארעא שלמיה, קדיש בבני נשא רעותיה

Holy in the highest heavens his glory; Holy upon the earth his peace; Holy toward humankind his good will.

I have assumed that the *Gloria* originated as a Targum and not as some other paraphrase of the trishagion, not only because of the similarity of the received Targum to the *Gloria*, but above all because of the introduction of the *Gloria* with the words αἰνούντων...καὶ λεγόντων (“praising and saying”). For, as I said, this same introduction is used for the angelic praise in Ezek. 3:12, both in the various forms of *Kedushah* and in the Targum to Ezek. 3:12 itself. It is possible, therefore, that the *Gloria* is a fragment of a complete *Kedushah*, perhaps like the *Kedushah de-Sidra*, in which the Hebrew Scriptures are followed by their Aramaic translations.



Shepherds keeping watch over their flocks by night. Illustration by [Marjorie Cooper](#) (a.k.a. Elizabeth Webbe).

We can imagine the original form of the oral tradition as follows: to the report of the angel's good news to the shepherds that the Savior was born was appended a notice that a multitude of heavenly hosts appeared. Consequently, a kind of *Kedushah* was inserted, in which the Scripture verses were given first in Hebrew and then in Aramaic. In my opinion, only a fragment of this oral tradition has survived in Luke's Gospel. The introduction to the second angelic quotation was transferred to the opening of the *Gloria*, and only a Greek translation of the Aramaic paraphrase of the first angelic quotation, the trishagion of Isa. 6:3, was retained. If my hypothesis is correct, then with respect to the *Gloria*, as in many other cases, we have to reckon with a loss of much of the original substance in the course of oral transmission.

However hypothetical my attempt to trace the origin of *Gloria* may be, I believe that, at the very least, my demonstration of the connection between *Gloria* and the Targum to Isa. 6:3 has been successful. Even this much confirms my initial contention that the *Gloria* should be understood as consisting, not of two, but of three stanzas. The *Gloria*'s original meaning was that God's holiness manifests itself in the highest heavens as his glory, on earth as his peace, and among human beings as his good will. So, despite all the twists and turns in the oral transmission, we have in the *Gloria* a declaration that fully expresses the good news of Christianity.





## Notes

[\*] This article originally appeared as David Flusser, “Sanctus und Gloria,” in *Abraham Unser Vater: Juden und Christen im Gespräch Über die Bibel Festschrift für Otto Michael* (ed. Otto Betz, Martin Hengel, and Peter Schmidt; Leiden: Brill, 1963), 129-152; repr. in David Flusser, *Entdeckungen im Neuen Testament* (2 vols.; Neukirchener, 1987-1999), 1:226-244.

In this translation I have supplemented the article with additional footnotes. These are marked with the letters “a,” “b,” “c,” etc., appended to the number of the preceding footnote, e.g., [\[11a\]](#). In this way the enumeration of the footnotes in the reprinted (1987) version of the article is preserved.

I wish to thank my friends Hiromu Nagahara and Pieter Lechner, without whom this translation would not have been possible. I also wish to thank the librarians at the [Rockland Public Library](#) in Rockland, Maine, who on my behalf cheerfully obtained copies of so many of the books referenced in the footnotes below. —JNT

[1] Vincent Taylor, *The Text of the New Testament* (London, 1901), 4.

[2] A good example of how religious concepts can secondarily infect a text can be found at the end of Georg Büchner’s play *Leonce und Lena*. At the happy conclusion of the comedy, the fool Valerio sees the future as a land of milk and honey: “...and then we’ll lie down in the shade and pray to God for macaroni, melons, and figs, for musical throats, classic bodies and a coming religion [*kommende Religion*]” (according to the 1879 edition). Although the “coming religion” was a widespread slogan at the time, it does not match the ideology of the atheist Büchner or the light tone of the comedy. Significantly, “coming religion” arose from a serious misreading of the text by its editor Karl Emil Franzos. Büchner himself wrote *Kommode Religion* (“comfortable religion”), as can be read in later editions. (Translation of *Leonce und Lena* adapted from Michael Hamburger, trans., *Leonce and Lena* · Lenz · Woyzeck [Chicago: University Chicago Press, 1972], 33. Price’s translation reads “accommodating religion.” See Victor Price, trans., *Danton’s Death, Leonce and Lena, Woyzeck* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971], 104.)

[3] Claus-Hunno Hunzinger, “Neues Licht auf Lc 2<sub>14</sub> ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας,” *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 44.1 (1953): 85-90; Ernst Vogt, “Peace among men of God’s good pleasure,” in [The Scrolls and the New Testament](#) (ed. Krister Stendahl; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), 114-117; idem, “[«Pax Hominibus Bonae Voluntatis» Lc 2,14](#),” *Biblica* 34.3 (1953): 427-29; and also J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer, II* (Münich, 1960), 105. (For a popular presentation, see Randall Buth, “[The Sons of His Will](#),” on [JerusalemPerspective.com](#).)

[4] See also 1QS VIII, 6: בחירי רצון (“the chosen ones of the will”).



**[5]** David Flusser, “The Dead Sea Sect and Pre-Pauline Christianity,” *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4 (1958): 224-225; repr. in his *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988), 23-74.

**[6]** Similar to how K. E. Franzos (see above note 2) read “coming religion” in *Leonce und Lena*.

**[7]** Anton Baumstark, “Trishagion und Qeduscha,” *Jahrbuch für Liturgie-Wissenschaft* 3 (1923): 28.

**[8]** 1QH<sup>a</sup> VIII, 21 [16:3]. J. Licht (*The Thanksgiving Scroll* [Jerusalem, 1957], 201f. [Hebrew]) reconstructed the phrase as:

מְלֹאָה הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ [כוח גבורותיכה והדר כ] בְּדֹר מְלֹאָה כ [ול תבל]

Heaven and earth are full of the power of your mighty deeds and splendor and glory fill all the world.

**[9]** Of course, in Isa 6.3, “earth” means the “world,” as is more common in the Bible. If one wanted to understand “earth” in this verse in a narrow sense, difficulties would arise that could only be interpreted away by “rabbinical” exegesis. Clement apparently encountered the same difficulty, and that is why he translated the words “the whole earth” in Isa. 6:3 with the phrase “all creation” (πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις) (1 *Clem.* 34:6). Of course, this does not mean that the liturgy of the Roman community at that time was different from the general Christian liturgy, because nothing required Clement to precisely replicate the liturgy in his letter.

**[10]** An example of this type of ancient Jewish exegesis can be found in the Passover Haggadah:

Rabbi Elazar ben Azariah said: “...I was unable to prove why the story of the Exodus from Egypt ought to be related at night until Ben Zoma explained it. For it is written: “that you may remember today when you came forth out of the land of Egypt all the days of your life,” from which he inferred that: whereas the expression “the days of your life” would only indicate the days, “all the days of your life” includes the nights as well. The sages, however, explain the text in this way: “the days of your life” refers to this world only, but “all the days of your life” also it includes the times of the Messiah.

Translation according to Shmuel and Ze’ev Safrai, eds., *Haggadah of the Sages* (trans. Miriam Schlüsselberg; Jerusalem: Carta, 2009), 183.

**[11]** There is even the possibility that Isa. 6:3, as cited in the *Kedushah*, originally included the words “the heavens and the earth are full of your glory” and that at some point the *Kedushah* was made to conform to the MT. According to a version of the *Kedushah* in *Slavonic Enoch* the angels in the seventh heaven sing the trishagion in the form that is common in Christian liturgy (2 *Enoch* 21:1). However, this cannot be taken as additional proof of the Jewish origin of this form, since the wording in *Slavonic Enoch* may not be original. The same applies to the Christian treatment of prayer for Sabbath and feast days,

which has been preserved in the (fourth-century C.E.) *Apostolic Constitutions* 7:33-37. See K. Kohler, "The Origin and Composition of the Eighteen Benedictions," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 1 (1924): 387-425. In the *Apostolic Constitutions* 7:35 the trishagion is quoted in its usual Christian form; but since the entire prayer was subjected to Christian revision, the trishagion could have been adapted to conform to the Christian rite.

**[11a]** Translation according to Kirsopp Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers* (2 vols.; Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1912-1913), 1:67.

**[11b]** Translation according to Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 1:177-179.

**[12]** We will not deal with the textual criticism or the history of the different variants of the *Kedushah* here.

**[12a]** According to Hertz the prayer reads:

וְכָל־מַקְבְּלִים עָלֵיהֶם עַל מַלְכוּת שְׁמַיִם זֶה מִזֶּה וְנוֹתְנִים רְשׁוּת זֶה לָזֶה לְהַקְדִּישׁ לַיהוָה בְּנִחָת רוּחַ בְּשִׁפָּה בְּרוּרָה וּבְנִעִימָה קְדוּשָׁה  
בְּלִם כְּאֶחָד עוֹנִים וְאוֹמְרִים בִּירְאָה קְדוּשׁ קְדוּשׁ קְדוּשׁ יִי צְבָאוֹת מְלֹא כְּלִי־הָאֶרֶץ כְּבוֹדוֹ: וְהַאֲוִפִּיִם וְחַיּוֹת הַקֹּדֶשׁ בְּרַעַשׁ גָּדוֹל  
מִתְנַשְּׂאִים לַעֲמֹת שָׂרָפִים לַעֲמֹתָם מְשַׁבְּחִים וְאוֹמְרִים בְּרוּךְ כְּבוֹד־יִי מִמְקוֹמוֹ

...and they all take upon themselves the yoke of the kingdom of heaven one from the other, and give leave one unto the other to declare the holiness of their Creator: in tranquil joy of spirit, with pure speech and holy melody they all respond in unison, and exclaim with awe: *Holy, Holy, Holy is the LORD of Hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory.* And the Ophanim and the holy Chayoth with a noise of great rushing, upraising themselves towards the Seraphim, thus over against them offer praise and say: *Blessed be the glory of the LORD from his place.*

See Joseph H. Hertz, *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book* (rev. ed.; New York: Bloch, 1975), 112-113.

**[13]** On *Hekhalot Rabbati* and related ancient mystical literature, see Gershom G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1960; 2d ed., 1965).

**[13a]** Translation according to Morton Smith, trans., Gershom Scholem and Don Karr eds., [\*Hekhalot Rabbati: The Greater Treatise Concerning the Palaces of Heaven\*](#) (© 1995, 2009, corrected 2013, 2015), 24 §185.

**[14]** Thus we read in *Hekhalot Rabbati*:

וְכָל־עוֹמְדִים בְּטִהְרָה וּבְקְדוּשָׁה וְאוֹמְרִים שִׁירָה וְזִמְרָה שֶׁבַח וְצִהְלָה וְקִילּוֹס בְּקוֹל אֶחָד בְּדִיבּוּר אֶחָד בְּדַעַת אֶחָת וּבְנִעִימָה אֶחָת  
וְלֹא זֶה בְּלִבָּד אֲלֵא שְׁנוּפְלִים מִמְּלָאכֵי הַשֶּׁרֶת אֶלֶף אֶלְפִים וְרִיבֵי מִפְנֵי מָה? מִפְנֵי שֶׁאֵין בָּהֶם מוֹקֵדִם וּמֵאוּחָר מִשְׁפִּיל וּמִים  
שִׁירָה וְקְדוּשָׁה לִפְנֵי מֶלֶךְ מַלְכֵי הַמַּלְכִּים, לִפְיֶכֶךְ כָּל מוֹקֵדִם וּמֵאוּחָר מִחִבְרָה בְּשִׁירָה מִיד נִשְׂרָף

...and...all of them stand in purity and holiness and sing songs and music, praise and rejoicing and applause, with one voice, with one utterance, with one mind and with one melody. And not only [do they purify themselves] but [nevertheless] there fall from them—that is, from the

ministering angels—a thousand thousands and myriad myriads, fall to the river of fire and are burned. Wherefore? Because there may not be among them any who preceedeth or delayeth, who singeth more softly or loudly the song and the sanctus [which are sung] before the King of Kings of Kings. Accordingly any who preceedeth the rest or who delayeth [and singeth] after them in the song is at once burned. (*Hekhalot Rabbati*, chapter 11 §185-186)

Translation according to Smith, [Hekhalot Rabbati](#), 24. The text is quoted from the major critical edition that Professors G. Scholem and Wirszubski are preparing, and I hereby express my gratitude to both gentlemen for providing the manuscript. —DGF

**[14a]** Translation according to R. H. Charles, [The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English](#) (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 2:226-227.

**[14b]** Translation according to W. H. Shewring, trans., [The Passion of SS. Perpetua and Felicity MM.: A New Edition and Translation of the Latin Text](#) (London: Sheed and Ward, 1931), 33-34.

**[15]** André Vaillant, ed., *Le livre des secrets d'Hénoch: texte slave et traduction française* (Paris: Institut d'études slaves, 1952), 20.

**[16]** G. N. Bonwetsch, ed., *Die Apokalypse Abrahams. Das Testament der vierzig Märtyrer* (Leipzig, 1897), 18:30. As I was unable to access the Slavic text I can only venture a guess that the word “sanctification” is based on the Hebrew *Kedushah*. —DGF

**[17]** A. J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste, III* (Paris, 1953), 136. On the history of the *Sanctus*, see Festugière's remarks on p. 133-137. See also Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*, 23.

**[18]** My friend J. Heinemann suggested that the frequent occurrence of the phrase “with one voice” in connection with the singing of the angels can be explained by the fact that in the *Kedushah* Isa. 6:3 and Ezek. 3:12 always appear in tandem. Isaiah heard the angels call the trishagion “one to the other” while Ezekiel heard a [single] voice (קוֹל). The fact that the two angelic praises were connected in *Kedushah* created an apparent contradiction that could be resolved by assuming that the angels sing “with one voice.” Another reason for the emergence of this phrase could be the assumption (see below) that the heavenly and earthly congregations sing the trishagion at the same time, that is, “with one voice,” and that this phrase was also used when one described the heavenly choirs alone. —DGF

**[19]** Text according to Franz Xaver Funk, ed., [Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum](#) (Paderbornae, 1905), 430. Translation adapted from *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* (10 vols.; ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, Allan Menzies; repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980-1986), 7:473. See K. Kohler, op. cit.

**[19a]** Text according to Hertz, *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, 134.

**[19b]** Text according to Hertz, *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, 528.

[20] Text according to [Seder Rav Amram](#) (Warsaw, 1865), 10b.

[20a] Text according to Funk, [Didascalia et Constitutiones apostolorum](#), 504, 506.

Translation adapted from *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 7:488.

[21] See above, note 13.

[22] Translation adapted from Smith, [Hekhalot Rabbati](#), 8.

[22a] Translation according to Smith, [Hekhalot Rabbati](#), 19.

[23] Translation according to Charles, [The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English](#), 2:227.

As far as I am aware, talmudic literature does not explicitly state that Israel recited the trishagion in imitation of the angels, or that Isa. 6:3 was simultaneously recited by the earthly congregation with the heavenly host. This omission may be attributed to the sages' jealousy of the heavenly congregation. For example, in the following rabbinic discussion we read:

חביבין ישראל לפני הקב"ה יותר ממלאכי השרת שישראל אומרים שירה בכל שעה ומלאכי השרת אין אומרים שירה אלא פעם אחת ביום...וישראל מזכירין את השם אחר שתי תיבות שנאמר שמע ישראל ה' וגו' ומלאכי השרת אין מזכירין את השם אלא לאחר ג' תיבות כדכתיב קדוש קדוש קדוש ה' צבאות ואין מה"ש אומרים שירה למעלה עד שיאמרו ישראל למטה

Israel are dearer to the Holy One, blessed be He, than the ministering angels, for Israel sing praises to the Lord every hour, whereas the ministering angels sing praises but once a day.... And whereas Israel mention the name of God after two words, as it is said: *Hear, Israel, the LORD* etc., the ministering angels only mention the name of God after three words, as it is written: *Holy, holy, holy, the LORD of hosts*. Moreover, the ministering angels do not begin to sing praises in heaven until Israel have sung below on earth.... (b. Hul. 91b; Soncino)

Sifre on Deut. 32:3 shows that similar views were already widespread among the tannaim. See also the discussion of A. Heimann (תורה הכתובה והמסורה, III [Tel Aviv, 1939], 182) on Job 38:7. However, the above quoted passage from the Talmud and others like it show that the view that the angels only commenced their worship after Israel developed in opposition to the older view that Israel recites the trishagion simultaneously with the angels. Perhaps this is related to the view, recently suggestion by Elbogen (see Ismar Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History* [trans. Raymond P. Scheindlin; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1993]), that the Mussaf prayer is where the *Kedushah* originally stood. According to this version of the *Kedusha* Isa. 6:3 and Ezek. 3:12 are followed by Deut. 6:4 ("Hear, O Israel"). —DGF

[24] The words ἐν ἐνότητι ("in unity") in *Ign. Eph.* 4:2 correspond to ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ("together") in *1 Clem.* 34:7. See W. Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur* (Berlin, 1958), 571, where it is shown that the phrase ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ means "together." This corresponds to the Hebrew יחד. Bauer also pointed out (1127) that the phrase ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ("in harmony together") in *1 Clem.* 34:7 has a parallel in the LXX Psalms, where, however, it occurs in a completely different

context:

ὅτι ἐβουλεύσαντο ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, κατὰ σοῦ διαθήκην διέθεντο

...because they conspired together with one accord [ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό]; against you they made a covenant.... (Ps. 82[83]:6; NETS)

This verbal correspondence could either be a coincidence, or *1 Clement* (or the liturgy itself) may have been influenced by the language of the Greek psalter.

**[25]** The phrase ἐν φωνῇ μιᾷ (“in one voice”) in *Ign. Eph.* 4:2 corresponds to similar phrases in various other texts (see above), and therefore this phrase is preferable to ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος (“from one mouth”), the formulation of *1 Clem.* 34:7.

**[26]** As we read in *Ign. Eph.* 4.2, ἵνα ὑμῶν...ἀκούσῃ (“so that he might hear you”). The petitions are so different in *1 Clem.* 34:7 and *Ign. Eph.* 4:2 that it is impossible to recover the original wording.

**[27]** On the *Kedushah*, see Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy*, 54-62, 287-288.

**[28]** It is not my intention here to pursue why Ezek. 3:12 is missing from the Christian *Sanctus*. See the conjectures of Baumstark, “Trishagion und Qeduscha,” 22, 24f.

**[29]** The Greek text undoubtedly read ἐγρήγοροι (*egregoroi*, “wakeful ones”), a mistranslation of the Aramaic ܝܪܝܢ (*irin*, “guardians,” “angels”).

**[30]** Translation adapted from Charles, [The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English](#), 2:211. Corrected according to *1 Enoch* 61:11.

**[31]** On the subject of *pleroma*, see Pierre Benoit, “[Corps tête et plérôme dans les Epîtres de la captivité](#),” *Revue Biblique* 63.1 (1956): 5-44, esp. 35-37.

**[32]** On this doxology cf. V Aptowitzer, “[בשכמל"ו: Geschichte einer liturgischen Formel](#),” [Monatsschrift für die Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums](#) 73.3 (1929): 93-118; Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy*, 376-377. The meaning of this doxology, which originates from the Temple in Jerusalem, is made clear from the beginning of the song of the three youths in the fiery furnace:

εὐλογημένον τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δόξης σου τὸ ἅγιον...εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας,  
εὐλογημένος εἶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς ἁγίας δόξης σου...εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας,  
εὐλογητὸς εἶ ἐπὶ θρόνου τῆς βασιλείας σου...εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Blessed is the holy name of your glory...forever,

Blessed are you in the Temple of your holy glory...forever,

Blessed are you upon the throne of your kingdom...forever. (LXX Dan. 3:52-54)

The name of God, at the mention of which the doxology served as a response in the Temple, is the name of the glory of God that dwells in the Temple; God himself sits on the throne of the glory of his kingdom as king. That is why it was said in the Temple, “Blessed be the name of



occurs in other forms, as does the whole non-scriptural portion of this *Kedushah*. See L. J. Liebreich, “An Analysis of U-ba Le-Zion in the Liturgy,” 177-181.

**[38a]** Text and translation according to Hertz, *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, 204-205.

**[39]** The bracketed words are missing in some rites, including in the text Hertz, *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, 204-205.

**[40]** The last part of the petition alludes to Isa. 65:23.

**[41]** Maurice Baillet, “[Un recueil liturgique de Qumrân, Grotte 4: «Les paroles des luminaires,»](#)” *Revue Biblique* 68.2 (1961): 195-250, esp. 200. Similarly in a prayer belonging to the Sephardic and Italian rites:

הרחמן הוא יטע תורתו ואהבתו בלבנו בבלתי נחטא

The merciful one, he will plant his Torah and his love in our heart so that we may not sin.

**[42]** Wilhelm Bacher has collected the places where Rabbi Eleazar ben Azariah’s homily is preserved in his [Die Agada der Tannaiten I](#) (Strasbourg, 1903), 224 n. 4. I owe thanks to my friend Shmuel Safrai thanks for pointing out this homily to me. —DGF

**[43]** The quotation from Prov. 3:18 is missing in b. Hag. 3b and in the Erfurt manuscript of t. Sot. 7:11 (Zuckermann, 307). On the other hand, it is contained in the Vienna manuscript and in the printed editions of the Tosefta and is probably an integral part of the text.

**[44]** D. M. M. Sluys, *De Maccabaeorum libris I et II questiones*, (Amsterdam, 1904), 62. See also F. M. Abel, *Les livres des Maccabées* (Paris, 1949), 286.

**[45]** Here we reproduce a text reconstructed according to other Jewish rites: וישם לבנו ליראתו. See the note in Isaac Seligman Baer, ed., [Seder Avodat Israel](#) (Roedelheim, 1868), 128. Before the words שלם בלבב one usually finds ולעבדו, but this word is missing in the text of the Italian rite, which is cited in Liebreich, “An Analysis of U-ba Le-Zion in the Liturgy,” 179. See also the Italian Machzor (Livorno, 1856), I 6b. The words ובנפש הפצה are missing in some rites.

**[46]** Cf. the LXX version: καὶ πλήρης ὁ οἶκος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ (“and the house was full of his glory”; Isa. 6:1). For δόξα in the Greek Isaiah text see. L. H. Brockington, “[The Greek Translator of Isaiah and his Interest in ΔΟΞΑ](#),” *Vetus Testamentum* 1.1 (1951): 23-32.

**[47]** See Anton Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy* (trans. F. M. Cross; London: A. R. Mowbray, 1958), 86. See also David Flusser, “[Jewish Roots of the Liturgical Trishagion](#),” [Immanuel](#) 3 (1973/1974): 37-43.

**[48]** Text according to Menahem Zulai, ed., [Piyyute Yannai: Liturgical Poems of Yannai Collected from Geniza-Manuscripts and Other Sources](#) (Berlin: Schocken, 1938), 78. Another example is found on p. 34:

קדוש מבוסתי בך קדוש ממאמיני בך קדוש משומעי לך

“Holy” on behalf of those who trust you. “Holy” on behalf of those who believe in you. “Holy”



on behalf of those who listen to you.

**[49]** Luke 2:13: ἀληθὺς στρατιᾶς οὐρανίου. This is reminiscent of the המוני מעלה in a *Kedushah* form (see note 20 above).

**[50]** The harsh transition in the Masoretic Text could be secondary if, as some text critics suggest, the original text of Ezek. 3:12 was ברום כבוד ה' ממקומו ("at the rising of the glory of the LORD from its place"). [See Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel, 1-20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 22; Garden City: Doubleday, 1983), 70-71.] In that case the Targum would have smoothed the hard transition caused by a textual corruption. If so, the influence of *Kedushah* on the Targum would have to be excluded.

**[50a]** For the text of the *Kedushah*, see above, n. 12a.

**[51]** An exception is only the Ashkenazi and the Italian rite. As E. D. Goldschmidt tells me, the manuscripts of Seder Rav Amram are divided: in some MSS the words משבחים ראומרים occur, in others we read the formula of the Ashkenazi and Italian rite: ברור יאמרו. —DGF

**[52]** See above, note 29.

**[53]** Cf. the Targum of Isa. 6:2: ברומא קדמוהי, but in the Hebrew text it says: עומדים ממעל לו.

**[54]** As Targum Onkelos to Deut. 32:40 states, ארי אתקנית בשמיא בית שכינת, ("I have prepared in the heavens the abode of my Shechinah"). Likewise, the Fragmentary Targum to Num. 24:6 refers to, שמיא דמתח מימרא דה' לבית שכינה ליה, ("the heavens which the Memra of the LORD spread out for the dwelling of His Shechinah").

**[55]** On the *Aleinu*, see Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition*, 28f.; Joseph Heinemann, "Prayers of Beth Midrash Origin," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 5.3 (1960): 264-280, esp. 277f.

**[55a]** Text and translation (adapted) according to Hertz, *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, 208-211.

**[56]** George Foot Moore, *Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era* (3 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927-1930), 3:134. Cf. also יקר שכינת מלך עלמא in the Targum of our vision (Isa. 6:5), שכינת יקר in the Targum to Ps. 44:25 and שכינתא in the Fragmentary Targum to Exod. 19:18 and Targum Jonathan to Num. 24:6.

**[56a]** Or perhaps his peace-making? On peace-making or friendliness as a meaning of ש-ל-מ, see Menahem Kister, "Words and Formulae in the Gospels in the Light of Hebrew and Aramaic Sources," in *The Sermon on the Mount and its Jewish Setting* (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 60; ed. Hans-Jürgen Becker and Serge Ruzer; Paris: J. Gabalda, 2005), 115-147. Cf. J. N. Tilton, "[Perfect Children](#)" on the [Whole Stones](#) blog. —JNT

**[56b]** See Gottlob Schrenk, "εὐδοκᾶω, εὐδοκία," *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (ed. Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich; trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley; 10 vols.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-1976), 2:738-751, esp. 742.

**[57]** Cf. Joachim Jeremias, “Ἀνθρωποι εὐδοκίας (Luk. 2,14),” *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 28.1 (1929): 13-20, esp. 16.

**[58]** See above, note 4.

**[59]** Jeremias, “Ἀνθρωποι εὐδοκίας (Luk. 2,14),” 17f.

**[59a]** Prayers including the phrase יְיָ רַחֵם are found, for instance, in m. Ber. 9:3 (2xx); m. Taan. 4:8; m. Avot 5:20; b. Ber. 16b.

**[60]** See t. Ber. 3:7; b. Ber 29b.

**[61]** The first half alludes to Job 25:2 and the second half alludes to Ps. 125:5; 128:6. The short prayer is reminiscent of Gal. 6:16, but Paul could also be dependent on other Jewish prayers. The last sentence of the *Kaddish* of the Sages is similar: “Let there be great peace from heaven and life over us and over all Israel.” See Gottlob Schrenk, “Was bedeutet »Israel Gottes«?” *Judaica* 5 (1949): 81-94, esp. 93. For our prayer formula, cf. David de Sola Pool, *The Kaddish* (Leipzig, 1909), 77f.