Worship as Interpretation: The Liturgical Reception of Isaiah 6

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This dissertation is an investigation into how the Hebrew Bible is used in (Rabbinic) Jewish and Christian liturgical settings, and how this impacts biblical scholars. I argue against the neglect of liturgy and ritual in reception studies and make the case that liturgy is one of the major influential forms of biblical reception. I do this by taking Isa. 6:3 as my example.

My liturgical material is the *qedushah* liturgies in Ashkenazi Judaism and the *Sanctus* in three church traditions; (pre-1969) Roman Catholicism, Anglicanism (the Church of England) and Lutheranism (Martin Luther, and the Church of Sweden). As my focus is lived liturgy I investigate not just worship manuals and prayerbooks but also architecture, music and choreography. With an eye to modern-day uses, I trace the historical developments of liturgical traditions. To do this, I have used methodological frameworks from performance and theatre studies, as well as Clifford Geertz's concept of "thick description", from the realm of anthropology. I then analyse the impact this can have on biblical researchers, who often come from religious backgrounds.

First I raise the issue of the identity of the *seraphim* in Isaiah 6, and their transformation in both the *qedushot* and the *Sanctus* into angels. I show how some of the tendencies in Jewish and Christian liturgy, and Christian iconography, recur in scholarship, for example the association with *cherubim.* The idea of an ongoing angelic liturgy, stressed especially in Jewish worship, also finds its way into scholarship.

A second theme is the presumed liturgical nature of Isa. 6:3 itself. This common idea may, however, owe more to Jewish and Christian liturgical uses of it than to the text itself. In this context I discuss Christian liturgical uses which stress Trinitarian and Christological understandings of the text. I also bring up a nineteenth-century Swedish liturgical use which deviates from the *Sanctus* tradition. I use this to probe some of the modern ideas of holiness, and how Protestant liturgy has played a part in shaping the sentiments among scholars.

Lastly I discuss the theme of Divine presence. Both the *qedushot* and the *Sanctus* are concerned with the presence of God. Jewish liturgy has shown a strong tendency to complicate the notion while in Christian liturgy it is instead concretised, either affirmatively or negatively. Some of these issues translate into scholarly debates, where scholarship often bears clear marks of especially Reformed theology. One shared tendency in both Jewish and Christian worship is to "spiritualise" Isaiah 6, and transpose it to a heavenly court. I argue that these ideas still make themselves felt in research on Isaiah 6.

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Table of Contents

Introduction, Part I. Performance Matters

Every time Jews or Christians worship is an instantiation of biblical interpretation. And when the Bible comes to life through music, movement and setting, it changes character. Psalm 23, for example, sung to the sombre tone of a Christian funeral is a rather different text then when sung (usually after some schnapps) by Jews around a Shabbat dinner table. "Interpretation" itself, as a word, hints at this, as French-American polymath George Steiner writes in his 1986 book *Real Presences*:

> An interpreter is a decipherer and communicator of meanings. He is a translator between languages, between cultures and between performative conventions. He is, in essence, an executant, one who 'acts out' the material before him so as to give it intelligible life… An actor interprets Agamemnon or Ophelia. A dancer interprets Balanchine's choreography. A violinist a Bach partita. In each of these instances, interpretation is understanding in action; it is the immediacy of translation.[1]

Interpretation is a highly practical issue. And let us keep in mind: the interpretation of a text (in Steiner's sense) can have quite a dramatic influence on how one later *interprets* it. Liturgical experiences activate or neglect certain readings of a text, and evoke certain emotive responses that can galvanize an interpretation. Jews can chuckle their way through the Book of Esther even when not reading it on Purim, when the topsy-turvy nature of the liturgy reinforces the carnivalesque aspects of the text.[2] Mirth, sorrow, solemnity, anger – all these emotions and more can grow out of one's reading, and especially so if those are the emotions that are encouraged liturgically. Liturgy involves us, not just intellectually but also emotionally and somatically. The space in which worship takes place, the choreography according to which one moves one's body, the sounds and sights, tastes and scents that one registers, all work to shape one's experience of the text. Liturgy is, among other things, an experienced biblical interpretation. Like a concert, or a play, it is a performed act – liturgy is not a book, just like a concert is not its sheet music, but a moment, an action in time and space. But there is, as with a classical concert or a play, a particular text that is performed again and again.

My argument in this dissertation is that while biblical scholars have in general become more aware of how our heads are turned, so to speak, in certain interpretational directions by earlier commentators and even art and literature, we have to a large extent neglected what the *ritual*

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[1] Steiner (1989), 7-8.
[2] See Whedbee (1998), 171.

or *liturgical reception* of biblical texts do to us.[3] Not only has there been a privileging of content over form when looking at the history of biblical texts, there has also been a privileging of abstract text over other forms of cultural activities: commentaries have been unpacked for their readings, but the study of other engagements with the biblical texts is still underdeveloped. Art, film, theatre, music, pop culture phenomena, are all part of this history and some of them have had a far bigger impact on how people approach the biblical texts than even the most influential commentary. There have been attempts at remedying this by broadening the field by for example Cheryl Exum, looking into the Bible in art history[4], and Adele Reinhartz, examining the role of the Bible in Hollywood productions.[5] This is, to my mind, a very welcome endeavour which needs further strengthening.[6] Timothy Beal's call for a broadening of the field "to include not only academic and theological readings but also biblical appearances in visual art, literature, music, politics, and other works of culture, from "high" to "low,"" appears to be underway.[7] It would seem, however, that some areas have been overlooked. Christopher Rowland, writing about his editorial work on the *Blackwell Bible Commentary*, focusses on "the different ways in which the Bible has been read and heard in history, through music, literature and art."[8] He believes an "[o]penness to the varieties of effects of biblical texts puts exegesis in touch with wider intellectual currents in the humanities, so that literature, art and music become part of the modes of exegesis".[9] Curiously absent from these listings of media is ritual.[10]

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[3] One early exception which, due to its explicitly religious and theological focus has not been very useful in this investigation is Danielou (1956).

[4] For example, Exum & Nutu (2007).

[5] For example, Reinhartz (2003), (2007). Another early attempt at encompassing more than purely textual areas of reception would be Sjöberg (Larsson), (2006).

[6] A broadening can also be seen in the recent publications of, for example, *Biblical Reception*. The *Bible and its Reception* project, including both its *Journal* and the *Encyclopaedia*, is another positive development.

[7] Beal (2011), 359.

[8] Rowland (2009), 140.

[9] Rowland, (2009), 144.

[10] One refreshing counterexample is that of Susan Gillingham, who in her 2013 book does devote a chapter to the liturgical reception of Psalms 1 and 2 in Jewish and Christian tradition; Gillingham (2013), Chap 6. She does not, however, touch upon method nor in what ways liturgy is different from other media. She also concedes that she was unfortunate in working with Psalms which have not been used extensively; Gillingham (2013), 130. It is perhaps not surprising to find this example in research on Psalms, where the liturgical nature of both the texts and their reception is hard to avoid. See, also, Barthélemy (1996).

Gillingham's contribution to the Blackwell Bible Commentaries is, however, an example of both the merits and the risks of undertakings such as these. Gillingham's scope and depth of knowledge is remarkable, as are her interpretative intuitions. But her grasp of Jewish liturgy is sorely lacking. One particular page shows a veritable list of misunderstandings (that the Psalm of the Day is to be used throughout the day; that it was the afternoon prayer, not the evening prayer, that was added to the sacrifice-based set of daily prayers; that Ps. 150 is used as a "refrain" in the *Amidah* (the fact that Gillingham cannot even identity a *b'rakhah* shows that she has not understood the very basic concepts of Jewish prayer); that the *tallit* is only worn on Shabbat, and that the Torah is only read then). See Gillingham (2012), 44.

It is also a remarkable oversight when we take into account the very fact that the only Hebrew Bible we have is a liturgical text.[11] The Masoretic text, which is our access point to this corpus in its original language(s), is cantillated in its entirety. Our Hebrew Bible is written to be sung in synagogues and is such an unavoidably *ritual text* and, to be more precise, an unavoidably *Jewish ritual text*. The liturgical nature of the Hebrew Bible available today is, in a certain sense, hidden in plain sight.[12] A biblical scholar cannot get away from the fact that the liturgical instructions of *qere* and *ketiv*, for example, are written in the manuscripts themselves.

But this neglect is also remarkable from another perspective, given the prevalence of biblical language in Jewish and Christian liturgy.[13] Already the fourteenth-century liturgical commentator David Abudraham, points out in his *siddur* commentary:

> Know then that the language of prayer is founded on the language of Scripture. Because of this, you will find written in this explanation on every single word a verse like it or on its theme. And there are a few words for which a foundation in Scripture could not be found, and therefore for them I will bring a foundation from the Gemara.[14]

This has been repeated by Ruth Langer, who writes on Jewish prayer: "Hardly a word of the prayer lacks a biblical echo."[15] Reuven Kimelman, championing the study of biblical hypotexts in Jewish liturgy writes: "[T]he meaning of the liturgy exists not so much in the liturgical text per se as in the interaction between the liturgical text and the biblical intertext. Meaning, in the mind of the reader, takes place between texts rather than within them."[16] The same of course holds true for much of Christian worship. So, while scholars of liturgy have realised the inability to understand liturgy without the Bible, biblical scholars seem to have been slower to realise the reverse. This interpretative activity is often glossed over, though it might be one of the most influential sites of biblical interpretation. As Diarmaid MacCulloch points out concerning the Book of Common Prayer:

> Its liturgy was not a denominational artefact; it was the literary text most thoroughly known by most people in this country, and one should include the Bible among its lesser rivals. This was because the English and the Welsh were active participants in the BCP, as they made their liturgical replies to the person leading worship in the thousands of churches throughout the realm: they were actors week by

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[11] I use the term 'Hebrew Bible', not because it is an ideal designation of the corpus but because it is, in my view, preferable to the alternative, *Tanakh* or *Miqrah*, and certainly preferable to the "Old Testament."

[12] My thanks to Nathan MacDonald for this observation.

[13] While one must not forget Freemasonry, strands of Western esotericism, Karaism and Samaritanism, the influence of Christian and Rabbinic receptions of the Bible makes them more immediate objects of study.

[14] Abudraham (1995). 8.

[15] Langer (2007), 68.

[16] Kimelman (2001), 28.

> week in a drama whose cast included and united most of the nation, and which therefore was a much more significant play, and more culturally central, than anything by Shakespeare.[17]

What could be added to this important observation is that through the Book of Common Prayer the Bible, too, entered the mouths and minds of all those worshippers.[18] While a less central cultural activity in the West than it once was, liturgy is still a potent interpretation on biblical texts. In it, the Bible is a script to be performed, and so is remade, day after day, week after week. Many biblical scholars still come from a religious background, and even among those who do not most are embedded – at least in the most general sense – in a certain religious tradition, owing to culture and geography, if nothing else. Liturgy shapes our pre-understanding of a text: which texts are important, which texts are connected, and often how they are to be read. Certain readings are reinforced, and certain potential aspects of a text activated, through their use in liturgy, while others are neglected or even actively muted. Some of the readings encouraged through liturgy may be helpful, some innocuous but some may be problematic, even harmful.

An instructive example here is that of Isaiah 6:1-5, which is my case study. This is far from a peripheral text; in fact, it is probably one of the most well-known biblical texts, to a large extent for liturgical reasons. I have chosen this text because of its fame rather than its obscurity and it will serve to exemplify my argument since it has been employed in related but diverse Jewish and Christian settings. In this study, I will trace its liturgical use in Jewish, Roman-Catholic, Anglican and Lutheran traditions. It should be stressed at the outset that I am not presenting a comprehensive historical overview. Rather, I have chosen examples of illuminating interpretational choices in the liturgy. I have selected certain trends and "summit moments" where in my view the text has been taken in new directions, and often this has meant providing context. While much of the chapter material is dedicated to an historical investigation, the purpose of this is to provide background for and examples of influential liturgical traditions that have shaped the interpretation of this text, and that continue to exercise an influence today. This has also dictated the choices of traditions. Rather than taking an encyclopaedic approach – which would have included, for example, Eastern Christian liturgies – I have chosen those religious traditions which are well-represented and influential in modern biblical research.

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[17] MacCulloch (2016), 137-8.
[18] And to buttress his point, I can point to the monograph by Daniel Swift (2013) on the influence of The Book of Common Prayer on Shakespeare!

Reception studies

As this is an investigation into the reception study of the Bible, it might be worth considering some of the issues that have come up within this field, and how they relate to this study. Reception studies have come a long way, from being a rebel to an established subfield in its own right. However, it is now no longer seen as unorthodox so much as in risk of calcifying, as can be seen in critiques of it.[19] One recent such critique concerns some of the core assumptions of why reception studies should even be separated into a distinct field. Reception studies have traditionally been set up in opposition to historical-critical approaches as the tracing of what the text has meant after its production or formalisation in the biblical text. Reception history has often been understood the way John Sawyer characterises it: "the history of how a text has influenced communities and cultures down the centuries."[20] Lately, this distinction has turned out to be untenable and in order to situate this study in the larger field, I would like to turn to some of the issues surrounding it.[21] Let me begin with how I think the reading process can be imagined and then return to what this means for the problematic division original-reception.

Two core assumptions in this study are that reading is a process undergoing constant mutation, and that our academic ways of reading – from historical-critical to postcolonial – are themselves part of the reception of the text, rather than a meta-operation taking place above it. In this, I also assume that reading is transformed, not just over time, but also in the lifetime of a reader by the life, activities and experiences that she goes through. I will filter some of these issues through two major twentieth-century thinkers of the act of reading, starting with Paul Ricoeur for my model of the reading process itself and its applicability to my research, and then moving onto Hans-Georg Gadamer for a model of how to understand the field of biblical studies itself, as a chain of reception.

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[19] Some illuminating critiques here are those of Robert Evans (2014) and Richard Kueh (2012).

[20] Cited in Beal (2011), 359.

[21] Even the terms in use have by now been discussed at length, especially the Gadamerian term *Wirkungsgeschichte* (where, I suspect, English-speaking scholars may have spent more time on its definition than their German-speaking colleagues). See Knight (2010). I am using the terms "reception" or "reception history" for the simple reason that they are at the moment of writing the most widely used.

Paul Ricoeur and the Mimetic Arc

One way of describing the process of reading is that of Paul Ricoeur and his "narrative" or "mimetic arc."[22] In this description of the process of reading (or writing), Ricoeur separates the activity in three stages. A reader (or writer) goes from a "prefigurative" everyday world of unstructured snippets of "protonarrative" and experiences, to a "configuration" taking place when a text orders human life in a certain way, to a "refigured" lived world, now informed by the reading, in accordance or in disagreement with the text.[23]

One of the views underlying Ricoeur's theory of text and reading is the notion of *mimesis*. For Ricoeur, a text is not just 'fiction', floating free without any connection to the world, but neither is it a neutral representation of reality, as in the positivist notion of historiography. Rather, we could say with Virginia Woolf that "fiction is like a spider's web, attached ever so slightly perhaps, but still attached to life at all four corners."[24] A text orders and presents reality in a certain way so as to make a reader view reality accordingly. It is engaged in a certain "imitation" (μίμησις) of reality, but not a passive representation. Leaning on Aristotle's *Poetics*, Ricoeur describes this as a creative process

> However, we stumble upon an intolerable paradox if … we translate [*mimesis*] as 'imitation', in the sense of copying some already existing model. Aristotle had in mind a completely different kind of imitation, a creative imitation.[25]

Aristotle's presentation of *mimesis* (*Poetics*, 1448a) describes an activity, a conscious effort on the part of the writer to present reality in a certain way, by dramatizing it: in comedy, the characters are usually worse than ordinary humans – in tragedy, better. This is in order to lure out certain aspects about reality. Ricoeur writes:

> [F]iction is not an instance of reproductive imagination, but of *productive imagination*. As such, it refers

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[22] The terms themselves would seem to be those of Stiver (2001), 66. I am far from the first one in the field to make use of Ricoeur – Mary Gerhart recognised his importance to American theologians as early as 1975; Gerhart (1975), 496. In the field of theology we have for example Dan R. Stiver's two books (2001; 2012) but also Albano (1987). In the field of biblical studies, the publication in 1981 of an issue of *Semeia* entitled "The Book of Job and Ricoeur's Hermeneutics", edited by John Dominic Crossan, was an important contribution. By 1990, Kevin J. Vanhoozer points out in his book on biblical narrative and Ricoeur that "many Ricoeurrian terms and phrases are now part of the common theological currency ("the conflict of interpretations," "the hermeneutics of suspicion", "second naiveté," "the symbol gives rise to thought"); Vanhoozer (1990), 3.
Even in the field of liturgical study, others have been using Ricoeur. See Zimmerman (1988).
It is also an intersection that Ricoeur himself explored – see Ricoeur & LaCocque (1998)
One problem, for my purposes, would seem the near obsession with narrative – though important for Ricoeur! – that has determined many of the uses of Ricoeur, especially during the heyday of his influence in the 1980s and 1990s. This leaves many of his other potential exegetical tools underdeveloped. Later I will return to his "model of the text" for example, which has not been used much in biblical studies.
[23] Ricoeur (1985), 52-87. For a helpful overview, see Stiver (2001), 66-70; (2012), 47-55. Another insightful presentation of Ricoeur's general hermeneutics can be found in Thompson (1981), 36-70.
[24] Woolf (2014), 49.
[25] Ricoeur (1981), 292.

to reality not in order to copy it, but in order to prescribe a new reading. I shall say... that all symbolic systems make and remake reality.[26]

There is simply no neutral representation of reality. The mimetic activity is always creative and reorganises the world in different ways.[27] This, Ricoeur points out, holds true for fiction but also for "epistemological models and political utopias." They all "generate new grids for reading experience and for producing it."[28]

Describing the process of how this happens, Ricoeur writes of the three steps that a reader takes, from the *prefigurative* (mimesis$_1$) world, through a *configuration* (mimesis$_2$), to a *refigured* world (mimesis$_3$).

The world itself is, in Ricoeur's view, already open to narrativisation. When we recount experiences we must make choices concerning how to represent them, and this we do not only when talking to others but also when thinking about these things ourselves. We automatically structure our experience in a "prenarrative" or "protonarrative" way. [29]We cannot help but to impose order on reality and on our own lived lives – we all have a "life story."[30] There is an "emplotment" going on in everyday life.[31] This is the world as we go through it before we write or read something, the world in which we are always navigating meaning and bits and pieces of "plot", great and small. The world has, as Ricoeur is fond of pointing out, "prenarrative resources."[32]

These resources are what a text draws upon when setting up "the kingdom of the *as if*", in the next stage, *configuration*.[33] A text constitutes a certain interpretation of reality, an organisation of events that rules out other possibilities. Events and incidents are transformed into a story, and contribute to the overall plot.

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[26] Ricoeur (1981), 292-3.

[27] For the most obvious investigation into *mimesis* in Western literature, see Auerbach (2003). For a critique of *mimesis*-based approaches, see Sontag (1966) who argues that the mimetic theory of art denigrates art and calls its existence into question, since it makes it secondary to reality, a representation of the real. Here she seems to have in mind Plato's tirade against the image-makers in *The Republic*, Book X, rather than the Aristotelian approach, which does not intrinsically imply falsehood or secondariness. In the context of theatre, Elin Diamond has levelled a feminist critique of *mimesis*, relying to quite a large extent on the Brechtian concepts of *Gestus* and *Verfremdung*; Diamond (1997).
Gadamer takes a somewhat ambiguous attitude towards mimetic theory; he admits that it seems outdated, but defends it nonetheless as a creative and interpretative representation, as it does point to the world outside of itself. Modern visual art for him remains mimetic, for example, in that it points to its time and place and the ideological concerns of that context. On Gadamer's defence of *mimesis*, see Warnke (1987), 56-64.

[28] Ricoeur (1981), 293.

[29] Ricoeur himself tends to shy away from too strong a use of the term "prenarrative", as he views the tensions and complexities of everyday life as ultimately irresolvable. Here he is opposed by David Carr who argues for a much stronger narrative quality of everyday life; Carr (1991), 160.

[30] Ricoeur (1985), 60.

[31] Ricoeur (1985), 64.

[32] Ricoeur (1985), 81.

[33] Ricoeur (1985), 64.

> A story, too, must be more than just an enumeration of events in serial order; it must organize them into an intelligible whole, of a sort such that we can always ask what is the "thought" of this story. In short, emplotment is the operation that draws a configuration out of a simple succession. (Ricoeur, 1985. 65)

Through this emplotment, events form together into a "theme" or a "point."[34] When the reader comes with her prefigured world of half-systematised events and snippets of protonarrative, and a mind keen on structuring events and incidents, to the world of a certain text, there is a *configuration* taking place.

After the encounter with the text, the reader then goes back to her world, but not the exact same world as before. The text will be applied to the world, in a *refiguration*. Ricoeur writes:

> I shall say that mimesis₃ marks the intersection of the world of the text and the world of the hearer or reader; the intersection, therefore, of the world configured by the poem and the world wherein real action occurs and unfolds its specific temporality.[35]

The plot presented in a text has a capacity to "model experience" in a certain way, and the text is also interpreted according to a reader's "world."[36] True to his conviction that a text refers to the world, Ricoeur is anxious to point out that not only does the reader meet the text, fill out its gaps, interpret it and actualise it in the sense of reading it – the text also connects to the lived world of the reader.[37] The reception of a text must necessarily be brought outside the world of the text.[38]

The world is reconstituted, cast anew, and in the interpretation of a text, Ricoeur sees "the proposing of a world that I might inhabit and into which I might project my ownmost powers."[39] Sometimes, this refiguration may be substantial, sometimes minimal. Sometimes it is in accord with the interpretation proposed by the text, sometimes in opposition to it. But serious engagement with a text does not end when the book is closed, it carries on into the everyday life of the reader, there to enrich and augment it.

How this links up with liturgy is in liturgy's considerable capacity for restructuring reality. In fact, it can be argued that the "mimetic arc" applies even better to liturgy than to literature, given that the aim of liturgy is to describe and order *this* life (as opposed to a "sealed" life of literary characters) and its claim to describe some ultimate reality.

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[34] Ricoeur (1985), 67.
[35] Ricoeur (1985), 71.
[36] Ricoeur (1985), 76.
[37] Ricoeur (1985), 77.
[38] Ricoeur (1985), 77-8.
[39] Ricoeur (1985), 81. Stiver points out the possibility of linking the "mimetic arc" to Ricoeur's other arc, the hermeneutical, from which the term "second naivete" is derived and which involves "naïve understanding", critical "explanation" and a postcritical "appropriation." See Stiver (2001), 57-66; 70-76.

Individuals come to worship embedded in their everyday lives, and through the liturgy they are presented with a certain interpretation of life, involving factors such as God, covenant, sin, creation and a whole range of other concepts which enable them to understand and structure their experience of the world. They do not come empty-handed but rather already with bits and pieces of narrative, more or less aligned with their religious tradition (if any).

In the liturgy there are signs, not as tightly controlled as in a text, but still in a certain and expected sequence, which represent human life in a certain way. Since neither Christian nor Jewish liturgy has one author, it cannot be said to represent one theology, even were we to look for an author-oriented approach. Liturgy in both these traditions can more easily be likened to a medieval cathedral; the work of centuries of labour and often even more centuries of use, in which new details will have been added, removed and altered. While the architecture of the cathedral cannot be said to express *one* intention, it still very clearly brings the visitor into a certain world with certain architectural features signifying different theological and historical realities. These liturgies are, in a very literal sense, collaborative and cumulative texts, and cannot be said to convey *one* message from one viewpoint to a passive recipient. Rather, a certain web of signs is presented to the worshipper and, ideally, the worshipper actively takes part in enacting these signs, body and mind. In this the worshipper encounters a model for the world, and engages in it to a greater or lesser extent, filling in the gaps and ambiguities, in what we might parallel with the configuration part of Ricoeur's model. This configuration is not, however, only one of experiences, but *also of biblical texts used in the liturgy*. Jewish and Christian liturgical traditions make abundant use of biblical texts, but not in the more immediate sense of, say, Islamic prayer and its direct use of the Qur'an as its liturgical text. Rather, biblical texts are taken apart, recombined, paraphrased, alluded to in a complex web that transform the texts in question. To many Jewish worshippers, after years of praying, Isa. 6:3 cannot easily be separated from its liturgical companion Ezek. 3:12, as we will see. To many Anglicans, Luke 2:14 will be the natural association, for the same reason.

When returning to the text, readers will carry these connections, assumptions and experiences with them as a suggestion, sometimes so forceful as to be nigh undetectable, to the biblical material.

Hans-Georg Gadamer and the Fusion of Horizons

So if liturgy, as a form of reception, can restructure the ways in which an individual reads biblical texts, how does that work on a macro-level, in the field of biblical studies? How can we understand, in more theoretical terms, how modern biblical research is part of the stream of

textual interpretation – and production – that is the Hebrew Bible, itself an instantiation of biblical reception, influenced by, among other things, liturgy? Here is where I turn to Hans-Georg Gadamer who, in the words of David Klemm, "more than anyone else is responsible for intensifying and enlivening hermeneutical discussion since 1960."[40]

In their attempt to navigate the tension between original and later meanings scholars of biblical reception have often turned to Gadamer's *Wahrheit und Methode* (1960)[41] and its famous *Horizontsverschmelzung*.[42] In this image, the horizon of the modern reader and the horizon of the text come together through the dialogical event of reading, in which text and reader speak to each other and meaning is negotiated.[43] This is phrased in terms of a dialogue, leading to understanding (*Verstehen*), in both senses of the word; to understand, and to reach an understanding.[44]

This might imply that there are two stable horizons, that of the reader and that of the text.[45] It may thus seem ironic to use Gadamer's work to break the barrier between the Bible and its reception, since his ideas have sometimes been used to uphold this divide. This, however, is itself due to a certain reception of Gadamer, and a fairly crude use of the image since Gadamer himself characterises reading as being conditioned by the reader and the prejudices she brings to the text. The reader has her own horizon, the boundaries beyond which her world does not extend, a vantage point from which she sees and understands. This is what determines what is nearest to her. But the horizon of the text and her own horizon are not so easily distinguishable. The *Horizontsverschmelzung* is not, as Evans has pointed out, "the formation of a single horizon, but it involves experience of tension between the text and the present."[46] Consequently, it is neither a naïve appropriation nor a statement that everything we read is just

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[40] Klemm (1986), I:173. Fred Lawrence goes so far as to say that, after the establishment of the Christian canon and the hermeneutical revolution of the Enlightenment, the twentieth-century hermeneutical revolution "marks the third great turning point in the development of hermeneutics in Western culture." He traces this revolution to Martin Heidegger and – perhaps more curiously – Karl Barth. See Lawrence (2002), 167. This revolution "culminates", according to him, in Gadamer; Lawrence (2002), 192.

[41] One theoretical problem of reception criticism is that while it is often based loosely on Gadamer, and Hans Robert Jauss, it rarely invokes them explicitly and many scholars do not seem to be aware of their own theoretical framework. See Evans (2014), 15.

[42] The "horizon" metaphor itself is Heideggerian and Heidegger, in turn, seems to have inherited the metaphor itself, if not quite its meaning, from Husserl. See Heidegger (1995), 351, 352. However, Gadamer's use of it is his own contribution.

[43] Thompson (1981), 40-41.

[44] Taylor (2002), 133; Grondin (2002), 39-42.

[45] Stiver (2001), 47. For a discussion on why perspectives such as these, especially in the "reader-response" school of Jauss or Wolfgang Iser, has had such an appeal to biblical scholars, see Moore & Sherwood (2010) who argue that reader-response theory in biblical studies has often been "an exercise in historical criticism performed in a wig and dark sunglasses" (204). Evans, too, notes a preference for Jauss over Gadamer; Evans (2014), 9. This may, however, be specific to New Testament studies.

[46] Evans (2014), 5.

a projection of our own prejudices – Gadamer emphatically rejects such a view. We might read, for example, Aristotle's horizon through our own, but that does not mean that we cannot distinguish his horizon from the scholastic horizon, or our own. Gadamer writes:

> In fact the horizon of the present is continually in the process of being formed because we are continually having to test all our prejudices. An important part of this testing occurs in encountering the past and in understanding the tradition from which we come. Hence the horizon of the present cannot be formed without the past. There is no more an isolated horizon of the present in itself than there are historical horizons which have to be acquired. *Rather, understanding is always the fusion of these horizons supposedly existing by themselves*.[47]

While there is often some acknowledgement of the difficulty of establishing an original meaning to a text, this awareness is sometimes lacking in the actual methodological proceedings of reception scholars – after cautioning humility, many set up their studies in a way that in no serious way challenges the assumption that an original meaning can be reconstructed.[48] Roland Boer writes, on the distinction between historical-critical exegesis and reception history:

> But what is wrong with the category of reception history? … [T]he problem is that reception history assumes that the text is in some way *original*, the pad from which subsequent trajectories launch themselves forth. If "exegesis" is the primary method appropriate to the originary biblical text, then reception history is *secondary*. It is a linear straightjacket that preserves the *primacy* of that strange guild of biblical "exegetes." So, under the label of "reception history" may now be lumped all those other approaches, like feminist, Marxist, postcolonial, psychoanalytic, ideological, queer, and so on, all of which are supposedly anachronistic.[49]

This misses the mark of the Gadamerian language of "horizons", which has too often been presented as a tension between modern-day prejudices and original meaning somehow carried by the text; Gadamer's talk of horizons emphasises that the horizon of the text can only be reached *through* the horizon of the reader. Tradition and prejudice is not even necessarily a bad

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[47] Gadamer (2013), 314. Italics in the original.

[48] One example of this setup would be Sjöberg (Larsson) (2006), in an otherwise excellent work. That a change is underway can be seen from scholars such as Yvonne Sherwood, who writes concerning her decision to start her book with reception that "interpretation comes first, indeed interpretation overwhelms my text, as if to demonstrate how it also overwhelms, eclipses, *and always precedes* the biblical 'original'." Sherwood (2010), 2. Italics in the original)
Boer writes on the term "reception history" that it relies on "a spurious distinction drawn from German historical-critical biblical scholarship: one first engages in exegesis of the original biblical text, usually with three steps: translation, paraphrase (restating the key moments of the text in question), and exegesis proper, the "leading out" of the meaning of the text. This is the only "sound" and "scientific" approach to biblical interpretation, an approach that is by definition free of ideological concerns such as gender, class, ethnicity, or politics… Now for the second step: after exegesis comes reception history (*Rezeptionsgeschichte*) and the history of the text's use (*Wirkungsgeschichte*), although the latter is usually subsumed within the former." Boer (2011).

[49] Boer (2001).

thing but necessary to understanding.[50] But they will affect *both* horizons, as one is viewed through the other. While critics have pointed out that Gadamer might have been too naïve about how much alterity the reader can accommodate for in her reading,[51] how much she can actually be "struck" by the text, one should not forget that Gadamer does not present a description of the reading process in which there is a meaning of the text that the reader can access by doing away with her modern prejudices. The text has its integrity, to be sure, but bracketing the reader in order to establish the original meaning of the text and then go on to interpret it is impossible within the Gadamerian scheme.[52] For Gadamer, "[r]eal historical thinking must take account of its own historicity",[53] and he warns against the dangers of a naïve approach to one's own method: "[history] prevails even where faith in method leads one to deny one's own historicity."[54] In the image of a fusing of horizons he takes care to point out that "we must always already have a horizon in order to be able to transpose ourselves into a situation."[55] He even writes: "But now it is important to avoid the error of thinking that the horizon of the present consists of a fixed set of opinions and valuations, and that the otherness of the past can be foregrounded from it as from a fixed ground."[56]

The impossibility of actually reaching the past does not render it meaningless to attempt to reconstruct of earlier meanings. But, as Gadamer points out: "Projecting a historical horizon, then, is only one phase in the process of understanding"[57] The reconstructed "original meaning" is one step in trying to understand a text; it is not something we can simply recover from the past.[58] Picking up on this, Robert Evans writes, concerning historical-critical methods:

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[50] For this "rehabilitation of prejudice and tradition", see Warnke (1987), 75-82.

[51] See the debate in the 1960s between Jürgen Habermas and Gadamer, and how later Gadamer interpreters, such as Paul Ricoeur and Richard Bernstein to a large extent have sided, at least partially, with Habermas; Stiver (2001), 147-148. One should perhaps also remind oneself of how in the 1980s, Gadamer and Jacques Derrida met in what Bernstein has dubbed "the conversation that never happened", in which the two philosophers famously failed to understand each other (perhaps owing more to Derrida than Gadamer). This "non-encounter" seems to have been a demonstration of Derrida's thesis that the dialogical approach to understanding that Gadamer takes is too naïve. See Bernstein (2008).

[52] See Knight (2010), 143; Evans (2014), 15.

[53] Gadamer (2013), 310.

[54] Gadamer (2013), 312.

[55] Gadamer (2013), 315.

[56] Gadamer (2013), 316.

[57] Gadamer (2013), 317. See, also, Evans (2014), 35.

[58] Gadamer insists that we need this type of scholarship to distance the text from ourselves, but warns against trying to divide the reading process into the classical tripartite hermeneutics of *understanding*, *interpretation* and, after the eighteenth century, *application*; Liu (1996), 128. One cannot first understand (in the sense of a *subtilitas intelligendi*, or a nineteenth-century *Verstehen*) the text "as it is", then interpret it. See Grondin (2002), 37, 40) Rather, these two elements of reading are already bound up with one another. Gadamer writes: "Interpretation is not an occasional, post facto supplement to understanding; rather, understanding is always interpretation, and hence interpretation is the explicit form of understanding." Gadamer (2013), 318.

> Conceived in this way, historical-critical methods not only do not stand outside of the diachronic exercise of reception history, but may be represented as an (essential) operation within it. They do not produce the 'primary datum' in the sense of a single and unchallengeable 'meaning' of the text to which other meanings are later added ... but they contribute to the 'scholarly task' of a 'projection of the horizon of the past' which for Gadamer is 'one phase in the process of understanding'; and for [Hans Robert] Jauss, this is a strategy to render the 'horizon of a specific historical moment comprehensible'.[59]

Evans draws a parallel to the anthropologist Clifford Geertz and his idea of "thick description" as the way to understand another culture, not as an objective observer but as a subjective outsider who tries to make herself "literate" enough in the studied culture to be able to interpret it efficiently.[60] For Gadamer, as well as Jauss, Evans points out, it is important to avoid a naïve appropriation of a text – they both underscore the importance of "mediation" and "interplay" between the reader and the text.[61] Neither of them subsumes the text under the reader, but on the other hand they do not allow for recovering a pure "original" meaning. Using Gadamer as the theoretical framework for what we today see in some reception criticism is, then, a dubious affair. Scholars across the board, however, have tended to go about in such a way: first they have tried to reconstruct an original meaning through historical-critical tools, then they have turned to the history of reception. Evans writes:

> Such articulation of historical-critical methods as essential components in constructing the possibilities of the first reception will not accord with Gadamer's hermeneutics if it is represented as a (temporal) *pre*-condition for understanding, rather than *co*-determinant in the process of understanding an historic text. There is a division – and in some quarters a lack of clarity – on this question in recent biblical interpretation where reference is made to Gadamer and Jauss.[62]

Gadamer himself stresses that he is not offering a method – Anthony Thiselton has even characterised *Wahrheit und Methode* as "a full-scale attack on the role of *method* in hermeneutics."[63] But he does offer a perspective, and in the scholarly reception of Gadamer this perspective has sometimes proven problematic when, in fact, it could be a remedy.

This study undeniably rides on the back of recent shifts in reception studies, in which certain older paradigms have been challenged. I am happy to see the shift away from the view of scholars of biblical reception as coming in after the historical-critical "job has been done", to do the same – i.e. neutrally explicating – to Origen or Rashi.[64] Instead of framing reading as a

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[59] Evans (2014), 39.
[60] Geertz (1973), 6-14.
[61] Evans (2014), 40.
[62] Evans (2014) 46.
[63] Thiselton (1992), 313.
[64] Breed (2012), 301.

creative endeavour, biblical studies have for too long presented reading as a matter of applying the right toolset of methods to unpack a text. Often, the model has been to be a commentator on the commentators. This is reflected in content, style, and even chapter layout, since studies often start with "what the Bible says" and then goes on to reception. The comments of Stephen D. Moore and Yvonne Sherwood come to mind:

> In biblical studies, epistemological decorum is construed rather differently than in literary studies. In biblical studies, the model of the good reader is the commentator. This self-effacing reader does not write but, as his name implies, merely comments. He is a civil servant of the biblical text.[65]

The Hebrew Bible, however, was not made in the past but now, in the present, by scholars who themselves form the latest "growth ring", something of which the field has, thankfully, become ever more aware.[66] What this recalibration of the Gadamerian horizons can do is to put us, so to speak, on a horizontal plane with the flow of biblical texts throughout history, rather than above it, in our reading of them.

Studying Liturgy: Methodological considerations

This is a study in the field of reception history, and above I have argued for what I take the role of reception studies to be in the larger field of biblical studies. I will now turn to the issue of how to bring in liturgy into reception studies in a credible way, and what needs to be considered when doing so. First, I will give a very brief lie of the land, as the issue of how to analyse and understand ritual acts is something that has been studied by both anthropologist, liturgists, theologians, and scholars of theatre. While liturgy has been studied extensively in both Jewish and Christian circles, and rituals have been studied by anthropologists, the overlap between the two has been minimal.[67] There is also a peculiar lack of research on the liturgy as a form of biblical interpretation, not just by biblical scholars, but also by their colleagues studying liturgy.

Jewish and Christian Liturgical Studies

What makes liturgy call out for some methodological clarification is the same thing that makes it an important activity to study: its extra-textual dimensions. It is not, after all, just another text using biblical texts. It is an *activity* using biblical texts. This is, as I note, something that liturgy has in common with, for example, theatre. For a long time in theatre studies, the

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[65] Moore & Sherwood (2010), 212.
[66] See, for example, Parris (2009), ix.
[67] One contribution is that of Mark Searle (1992).

dramatic text was what was being studied, as if it were a book and not a "blueprint for production", a realisation which has since shifted the whole field, not just into extra-textual considerations but into non-textual ones as well.[68] Research on liturgy has, on the whole, been slower to realise that there is something outside the text. That is not to say that nothing has been done: Margaret Mary Kelleher represents an early Christian attempt to redress this problem, as does Joyce Ann Zimmerman.[69] Catherine Pickstock's important work *After Writing* (1998), while on the philosophical side of the issue, can also be seen as attempts at capturing liturgy in its fullness, rather than as a written text. One recurring peculiarity of Christian liturgical research, however, is its explicitly theological assumptions. Theological considerations and even confessional remarks are legion in Christian liturgical research. Take for example the influential liturgist Joseph Jungmann (1889-1975), who writes on the actions around consecration in mass that

> [i]n the person of the priest, Christ Himself stands at the altar, and picks up the bread, and lifts up "this goodly chalice" (Psalm 22:5) … Through this mode of speech clear expression is given to the fact that it is Christ Himself who is now active, and that it is by virtue of power deriving from Him that the transubstantiation which follows take place.[70]

One does not have to look hard for other possible examples in Jungmann, but it is also commonplace in more recent research, such as that of Pickstock.[71]

The opposite problem is the case on the Jewish side. It is safe to say that while Christian scholars have tended to work in a confessional framework, most Jewish scholars have focused on the hypothetical political dimensions of liturgy, almost completely disregarding theological issues. That politics and sociology have been important topics in Jewish liturgical research, to the detriment of theological perspectives, should be clear from looking at both early and more recent Jewish scholars. Already from the father of modern Jewish liturgical studies Leopold Zunz (1794-1886) we see a tendency to explain Jewish liturgy in terms of struggle for political hegemony, responses to crises, and compromises between different social groups.[72] Ismar Elbogen (1874-1943) and Avraham Zvi Idelsohn (1882-1938), two other influential scholars, are also notably uninterested in questions of theology. While Christian writers tend to make

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[68] Aston & Savona (1991), 2.
[69] Kelleher (1993); Zimmerman (1999).
[70] Jungmann (2012), II:203.
[71] There are exceptions to these generalisations: Gregory Dix on the Christian side is not very interested in theology. It is, however, more helpful to mention exceptions than examples here, due to the overwhelming scope of the tendency.
[72] Hoffman (1987), 8. Reif, too, notices Elbogen's lack of attention to "theology, *halakhah* and vestigial cultic elements." Reif (1993), 3.

themselves less useful outside their own confessional circles by their explicitly theological approaches, Jewish writers have the opposite tendency in that they have often had a tin ear for theological and spiritual dimensions: in the classical mode of Jewish liturgical studies, you would never guess that liturgy involves the notion of turning to a living and active God.[73]

Some very helpful suggestions have, however, come out of Jewish studies that may help with the task of studying liturgy as an act, or activity. This issue was raised already by the most famous advocate of looking "beyond the text", Lawrence Hoffman, in his 1987 book *Beyond the Text: A Holistic Approach to Liturgy*. In it, he argues for the importance of going beyond (though in no way excluding) traditional philological research as represented by Zunz, Elbogen and Ezra Fleischer (1928-2006) and form-critical research as represented most famously by Joseph Heinemann (1915-1978).[74] Hoffman suggests moving beyond the text-based approaches of philology and form-criticism, which often explain textual features by way of hypothesising about social conditions and struggles. He argues that sociological and anthropological perspectives are needed together with, in fact, a 180 degree turn in approaching the question, as he wants to see us using the liturgy as a window to the people throughout history: "We ought not to argue from the people to the texts, then, but from the texts to the people."[75]

Hoffman, whose book has since become enormously influential, does spell out his theoretical framework, but does not attempt to formulate an actual approach or method, and his perspective is explicitly anthropological rather than theological or exegetical. While executed with much finesse and testifying to Hoffman's own deep liturgical sensibilities, its main use in this context is the approach that it opens up, rather than in the tools it offers.[76]

One of the attempts at looking at liturgy as an interpretative activity is that of Jeremy Schonfield in *Undercurrents of Jewish Prayer* (2006). He argues that the *siddur* has been curiously neglected in Jewish intellectual culture, which otherwise promotes textual interpretation. While studying Torah can be said to be "the dominant cultural practice of rabbinic Judaism"[77], prayers

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[73] One refreshing exception would be Petuchowski (1978), which examines the interplay between theology and *piyyut*, liturgical poetry.
[74] See Kaunfer (2014), 10-15; Reif (1993), 2-8; Hoffman (1987), 3-5.
[75] Hoffman (1987), 8.
[76] Other helpful contributions when it comes to looking at extra- (or non-)textual dimensions are those of Ehrlich (2004), and Septimus (2015).
[77] Schonfield (2006), 3, quoting, in turn, Daniel Boyarin.

in contrast, are never full-time activities but are limited to ritually prescribed occasions. In addition, they confer no special social status, but are performed by all on a regular basis, with varying degrees of attention.[78]

The *siddur* is probably the single text observant Jews engage with most frequently, and one would assume its status would mirror this temporal intensity. "However, the liturgy is of negligible importance in the traditional study curriculum and is hardly ever systematically examined by groups or individuals."[79] He notes a curious lack of interest on both a popular and scholarly level, something which is reflected even among *siddur* publishers, in Israel and the Diaspora.[80] He asks:

> What is the reason for this lack of attention in the traditional curriculum, and why are people who are used to making sense of texts as complex as the Bible and Talmud not tempted to puzzle more intensively over the meaning of the prayer-book, which they encounter far more often than any other text?[81]

After suggesting different reasons for this curious lack of curiosity, he argues for reading the *siddur* as a genre of Jewish literature. It deserves the same attention as the Bible or the Rabbinic texts.[82] His own approach, however, does not present a coherent methodological framework and also takes liturgy to *be* literature, not dwelling long on the radically different modes of aesthetic reception that go together with literature on the one hand and liturgy on the other.[83] Literature is *read*, liturgy is *performed*. Treating the *siddur* as a book, rather than as a manual, therefore risks ending up being reductionist. Schonfield himself is very attentive to the different biblical substrata in a liturgical text, but his insistence that the liturgy forms one narrative undoes much of the merit of his work. Eliezer Kaunfer writes:

> This does not view liturgy as a montage of images (enriched by the intertextual references), but as a story being told. This approach suffers from the same problem as [Reuven] Kimelman's approach: a singular interpretation to which all the intertexts are driving. In particular, within these narratives, Schonfield sees unorthodox interpretations lurking behind each turn of the *siddur*, and views his task as bringing this "undercurrent" of radical theology to the fore.[84]

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[78] Schonfield (2006), 3.
[79] Schonfield (2006), 4.
[80] Schonfield (2006), 5.
[81] Schonfield (2006) 4.
[82] The relative lack of commentaries is also striking; the only major –a somewhat generously applied term – liturgical commentaries are those of Amram Gaon (d. 875), Sa'adia Gaon (882/892-942), Eleazar of Worms (c. 1176-1238), Abudraham (fl. 1340), and Yaakov Emden (1697-1776). Of these, only Yaakov Emden, in his impressive *siddur* printed on his own printing press between 1745-48 in Altona, formulated a theory of the liturgy in which the different stages of worship correlate with the courts of the Jerusalem temple, leading the worshiper closer to the holy of holies, which corresponds to the *Amidah*. See Emden & Touger (2002).
[83] His discussion of this on pp. 47-51 does not echo much in the rest of the work.
[84] Kaunfer (2014), 27.

Schonfield's approach does seem highly individual, and Kaunfer ends his discussion with the comment: "This approach seems more steeped in Schonfield's personal narrative than in a plausible reading of the *siddur*."[85]

Another, more thorough attempt at looking at liturgy from the perspective of interpretative activity is that of Kaunfer himself. In his PhD dissertation from 2014 he states that he wants to "develop a method of interpretation, called the "literary-intertext" method." He further states that his method "offers a literary reading of prayer texts based on the juxtaposition with biblical intertexts."[86]

Kaunfer then unpacks the biblical hypotexts for a couple of prayers with much elegance and sensitivity, based on a five-step method. While he unfortunately does not argue for his method, it does make enough sense to present as a systematic attempt at approaching liturgy as biblical interpretation and it is worth quoting him in full:

> **Step 1**: Approach the liturgical text from a standpoint of exegesis, in which allusions abound and the surface rendering is never satisfactory. Ask questions about phrases in the prayer text – what is strange? What needs further explanation?
>
> **Step 2**: Using the tools of philology and academic inquiry, establish as many parallels to the liturgical text as one can. Drawing from quotations of the prayer in rabbinic sources, the Cairo Genizah, and varied rites, one can see the range of texts under examination, and more clearly understand the language choices performed by the author of any given liturgical expression, pointing to the identification of the intertexts in Step 3.
>
> **Step 3**: Identify the biblical intertext or intertexts at play in the line of prayer. The intertext will be most fruitful when understood in its larger context – not just as a textual snippet, but as a stand-in for a larger section of text.
>
> **Step 4**: Identify the rabbinic interpretation(s) of the biblical intertext, giving additional layers of meaning to the text behind the prayer text.
>
> **Step 5**: Offer an interpretation or set of interpretations that relate to the prayer.[87]

Kaunfer thus focuses on the interplay between the text of the *siddur* and the biblical text, drawing on for example Kimelman. While he certainly shows why the intertextual approach is worth pursuing, and does so with great knowledge and sharp analysis, his approach does seem to lack a full appreciation of the practical, performed aspect of liturgy, and so might need some supplementing.[88] I believe his approach will be felt, however, in how I myself analyse the

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[85] Kaunfer (2014), 28.
[86] Kaunfer (2014), 1.
[87] Kaunfer (2014), 31-32.
[88] A "precursor" to Kaunfer could be said to be Jeffrey Hoffman's dissertation (1996).

relationship between liturgy and biblical text, although he starts and finishes in the liturgy, while I start and finish in the Bible.

Other Approaches: Theatre, Performance and Thick Description

One reason for why the issue of lived liturgy is important can be found in research on both the Jewish and the Christian side, and that is that with an eye fixed on text, one runs the risk of ending up studying an idealized *siddur* or missal, rather than actual worship. Take, for example, Pickstock's laudable attempt to break out of the privileging of text over orality, which devotes a substantial section to an interpretation of the mass of "the Roman Rite."[89] Bryan Spinks, after trying to figure out when and where this mass that Pickstock interprets may have taken place, points out that "it is certainly not a reading of a medieval mass, but a reading of an academic critical text by a modern academic."[90]

While it is impossible to go through all iterations and variants of a liturgical rite, especially when taking many different areas and periods into account as I will do, an approach is needed that can take in more than just the written text and look beyond it to get at something resembling an actual worship experience without getting bogged down in the minutiae of liturgical history. What is needed is a way to describe these experiences in a rich way, taking context and setting into account. This work has to be interdisciplinary, and will thus have to be written to some extent in a no man's land.[91] But it is my belief that I am not alone, as there are tools that can be gathered from other fields (otherwise it would hardly be an interdisciplinary endeavour, but rather solipsistic ramblings). My main interlocutors in my search for tools with which to study liturgy as a form of biblical reception are, mainly, theatre studies, Austinian performance approaches, and certain concepts from ritual studies.

Theatre Studies

Jewish and Christian liturgical practices have one thing in common which cannot be overlooked: they are textually based. This is not a given for all religious rituals but it does hold true for the regulated worship of these two religious traditions. This means that they are not, as I have indicated earlier, entirely dissimilar to theatrical plays, or sheet music, and this similarity, in turn, makes methodological models that "read" rituals especially well-adapted to

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[89] Pickstock (1998). See also Pickstock (2000).
[90] Spinks (1998), 510.
[91] See Barthes (1989), 72.

them.[92] These parallels may be of some advantage to a biblical scholar looking for a framework that determines what to look for and how.

Here, I believe, theatre studies may be a useful interlocutor. While there are differences between the two – liturgy generally has a much more active "audience", for example, and is generally thought to have two addressees: humans, and God – there are also similarities which may help illuminate our path.[93] One obvious such similarity is how there is in dramatic theatre, as in liturgy, a strong textual element, but how the actual play is not a text. A play is a performance, not "a text *to be performed*" and it is not exhausted as long as it is only read.[94] The meaning(s) of a play, therefore, must be understood in a wider sense than just what a literary reading might yield. Theatre scholar Christopher B. Balme gives us a helpful way of trying to encapsulate what might one need to take into consideration when analysing a performed play:

> When a text is enacted on stage, the spectator is confronted with three different entities or, semiotically speaking, sign systems.
>
> (1) The play or theatrical text constitutes a structure of linguistic signs regulating the story and the characters. If it is a well-known one, there will be considerable expectations on the part of the spectators regarding how it will unfold.
>
> (2) The production, or staging (the French term '*mise-en-scène*' is also used) is a particular artistic arrangement and interpretation of the text with a high degree of stability. It includes the set design, the lighting plot, usually the same actors performing the moves they have learned. Cuts to the text and questions of casting such as doubling roles or cross-casting all belong to the realm of the production or staging.
>
> (3) The performance is what spectators actually see on any given night. It is a particular version of the production, and is unrepeatable.[95]

This trifold scheme of play, production and performance is quite useful for my purposes, as it provides a set of factors to look for when "reading" the liturgies. When looking at liturgy, one cannot just look for manuscripts, something pointed out forcefully by Hoffmann above. One also need to look at musical and architectural traditions, and extra-textual or non-verbal liturgical acts such as choreography and wordless actions. Waving the *lulav* fronds, blowing the *shofar*, the ram's horn, or receiving the ash cross on Ash Wednesday, may all be highly

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[92] See, for example, Paul Ricoeur's "model of the text", which he uses to "read" historical events; Ricoeur (1971). Especially helpful is his summary of the challenge of interpreting, in text, and analysing, as text, something that, unlike text, is a fleeting act: "In living speech, the instance of discourse has the character of a fleeting event. The event appears and disappears. This is why there is a problem of fixation, of inscription. What we want to fix is what disappears." Ricoeur (1981), 198.

[93] See Septimus (2015), 17-18.

[94] Balme (2008), 128.

[95] Balme (2008), 127.

charged moments in the liturgy, without words having a central role at all. But even when words are the focus, the role of these words may be unusual.

This is in part so because of one aspect of liturgy that cannot be overlooked is its *performative* nature, in the more old-fashioned, analytical sense of the word.[96] Liturgy is not a dry statement of doctrine; it is the dynamic interpretation and bringing about of a world. In this world, Divine forgiveness is dispensed on Yom Kippur, blessing is relayed through the Priestly Blessing, and bread and wine are turned into the body and blood of Christ. Liturgical language does not *describe* these moments, it *instantiates* them.

Performativity

Performativity as a concept stems from J.L. Austin's *How to Do Things with Words* (1962).[97] In this little book, based on his 1955 William James lectures at Harvard, Austin famously blurs the boundaries between the world of speech and the world of action by proposing that some utterances are also acts, "performatives" rather than just being descriptions, "constatives." Whereas a phrase like "the car is red" is a constative, simply describing something, a phrase like "I name this ship the *Queen Elizabeth*", in the context of smashing a bottle against the stem of the ship, does not describe the naming – it *effects* it.[98] Bets, promises, orders, apologies,

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[96] It is important not to conflate theatre studies with performance studies, nor performance studies with performativity. The term is notoriously slippery, and I do not wish to exclude more semiotically based approaches to theatre, such as the one taken by Eco (1997).

[97] It is also a work that Ricoeur bases himself heavily upon, while taking it in his own directions; Ricoeur (1971).
Austin's analysis of what happens in a speech act is also not entirely dissimilar from what Balme presents, if expanded. Austin separates a speech act into its 1) "locutionary", 2) "illocutionary" and 3) "perlocutionary" aspects, with which he tries to holistically describe what happens in a performative utterance. See Austin (1975), 92-108:
1. The *locutionary* aspect of an utterance is the pure 'phonetic' act of uttering certain noises belonging to a certain vocabulary and conforming to a certain grammar.
2. The *illocutionary* aspect is what one actually does through uttering certain words, with what bodily postures it is done and with what intonation; it is what distinguishes an order from a plea or a suggestion.
3. The *perlocutionary* aspect is not mainly connected to the speaker/actor but to the addressee. It is the effect one's utterance has on someone else, by, for example, instilling fear. Austin describes it as: "Saying something will often, or even normally, produce certain consequential effects upon the feelings, thoughts, or actions of the audience, or of the speaker, or of other persons..." Austin (1975), 101. Ricoeur characterises this as "that which we do *by* saying." Ricoeur (1971), 94.
Austin sums this up as: "We can similarly distinguish the locutionary act 'he said that...' from the illocutionary act 'he argued that...' and the perlocutionary act 'he convinced me that...'" Austin (1975), 102. Ricoeur, in another context, wishes to supplement these categories with "the interlocutionary act," to emphasize the dialogical nature of discourse. See Ricoeur (1976), 14-19.

[98] Austin (1975), 5.

verdicts and many other utterances fall under this category. In order for a sentence to effect change, however, it has to be uttered in a certain context.

> Speaking generally, it is always necessary that the *circumstances* in which the words are uttered should be in some way, or ways, *appropriate*, and it is very commonly necessary that either the speaker himself or other persons should *also* perform certain *other* actions, whether 'physical' or 'mental' actions or even acts of uttering further words. Thus, for naming the ship, it is essential that I should be the person appointed to name her, for (Christian) marrying, it is essential that I should not be already married with a wife living, sane and undivorced, and so on: for a bet to have been made, it is generally necessary for the offer of the bet to have been accepted by a taker (who must have done something, such as to say 'Done'), and it is hardly a gift if I *say* 'I give it you' but never hand it over.[99]

There must be a context for the procedure: on the simplest level, uttering certain sounds is a greeting in one language but nonsense in another. It must be intelligible and this presupposes rules, etiquette, custom. One consequence of this is that the meaning of a speech act (or any act for that matter) is not simply about the intentions of the agent. As Austin's disciple John R. Searle, the other major name in the philosophy of speech acts, points out: "Meaning is more than a matter of intention, it is also at least sometimes a matter of convention."[100]

This is important to the theological dimensions that we need to keep in mind when dealing with liturgy. The individual worshipper may not believe in angels, or the miracle of Mass, or even God, but she might still go through the liturgical actions, sing hymns, move her body in the prescribed ways, and so will *perform* the theological worlds and perspectives of which the liturgy is part. She will not do so in an uncomplicated manner, especially as the liturgy may be communicating many different worldviews, sometimes in tension or in direct contradiction with one another, but she will still "follow the script." It is in this way that theology can also be taken seriously, not as an abstract "content" or "belief" behind the "practice", but as a component and as a function of the liturgical actions themselves.[101]

Ritual studies: Performance Theory

Performance is a word naturally tied to the world of theatre, but it is not just in theatre and linguistics that the term has come up. It also shows up in the field of anthropology known as

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[99] Austin (1975), 9. Italics in the original.
[100] Searle (1969), 45. Searle also nuances Austin's somewhat formulaic approach to the matter, by showing that the rules and conventions for speaking, the performative act of speaking, and the content of what is being said, cannot be neatly separated but are all tightly intertwined; Searle (1969), 59-61.
[101] Austin, like Gadamer and Ricoeur, has also been drafted into biblical and literary studies. In 1988, a *Semeia* volume entitled "Speech Act Theory and Biblical Criticism" was published, with Hugh C. White as its editor. It has been much harder to put to good use in practice, however, which is amply demonstrated by the attempt by Joseph Hillis Miller (2002) in the field of literary studies.

ritual studies. While ritual prayer is not something that has been studied much among ritual scholars,[102] performance theory is a subfield in and of itself, in which the analogy of drama is invoked. Performance studies can be seen as an attempt by researchers such as Ronald Grimes, Stanley Tambiah, Gregory Bateson and Victor Turner to break free from earlier paradigms such as functionalist[103] or structuralist[104] approaches.[105]

Culture is seen as something "performed", like a drama, to be experienced and interpreted. The focus is on what a ritual actually *does*, and takes culture to *be* a set of actions, rather than *expressed* in actions.[106] Performance theory, naturally, is an approach which needs to be careful about how much to stress the analogy between ritual and theatre – taken too far, the theatre paradigm can lead to rituals being seen just as symbolic acts, addressed to an audience. It also

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[102] See the summary by Septimus (2015), 16. My own reading very much confirms his views.

[103] One of the earliest models for understanding the function of rituals, which derives its name from the supposed work that ritual does, is functionalism. It is perhaps most famously represented by Émile Durkheim (1858-1917) who has stressed ritual and myth as a projection and sacralisation of the community's own social structures. Ritual actions let individual experience something bigger than themselves but this is, at the end of the day, the social group itself, which the individual is roused to identify with emotionally. See Liljas (2005), 167; Bell (1997), 23-25; Durkheim (1935), 385-390. Other approaches in line with this are, for example, those of Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown (1881-1955), who even strengthens what I would want to call the "inculcation model", and Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942) who is credited with bringing ethnography "off the veranda" and into serious anthropology. See Bell (1997), 27-29. He is, however, also known for his assumption that the cultures he studied had no idea of their own social structures: "They have no knowledge of the *total outline* of any of their social structure. They know their own motives, know the purpose of individual actions and the rules which apply to them, but how, out of these, the whole collective institution shapes, this is beyond their mental range. Not even the most intelligent native has any clear idea of the Kula as a big, organised social construction, still less of its sociological function and implications...The integration of all the details observed, the achievement of a sociological synthesis of all the various, relevant symptoms, is the task of the Ethnographer..." Malinowski (1961), 84-85. The strength of the functionalist approach is that it tries to take into account the community building and the sheer propaganda that goes into ritual, something that we will see come into play forcefully during the Christian Reformation. It is also an approach that has several drawbacks, however. For a succinct critique of these reductionist models, see Liljas (2005), 167.

[104] Functionalists came under critique for being reductionist by later structuralists, such as E.E. Evans-Pritchard who pithily remarks: "It was Durkheim and not the savage who made society into God." In Bell (1997), 34-5. He also notices an important problem with the Durkheimian approach, namely that if the function of ritual is to generate emotions which will cement certain attitudes, then these attitudes are notoriously hard to find. One and the same ritual can exhibit many different "messages" and induce various emotions and attitudes: contemplation, inattentiveness, happiness, solemnity and so on. It is usually very hard to find this assumed collective ethos. According to him, ritual acts only make sense when taken as parts of greater system, in the context of which they might well express something. A system is best understood from within, according to its own categories, where one can see how the different parts affect each other. From the viewpoint of this structure one can begin to analyse particular rituals. See Bell (1997), 34-5. But the structuralist school has encountered other problems. It has been notorious for its universalistic tendencies, and for its assumption that the researcher can understand "deep structures" that the participants themselves cannot. (We need not get into the more fanciful results of structuralist anthropology, but Claude Lévi-Strauss does come to mind.) There is an assumption, as Robert Campany points out, noting the logic of "us" and "them" that pervades this type of analysis that "we had the theory, while what they could provide amounted only to "raw" data; we theorized about their practices; we philosophized, they acted." Campany (1996), 87. That it could be the case that the *researcher* was the under-informed person, the one least likely to understand what was "actually going on", does not seem to arise even as a possibility in this line of thinking

[105] Bell (1992), 37-38.

[106] Especially important in this context is Turner (1987).

runs the risk of being too broad in its definition, leading "to the difficulty of being unable to distinguish how ritual is not the same as dramatic theater or spectator sports."[107]

But one need not take it to its logical end. For Tambiah, for example, ritual is something which affects the participants to view the world in certain ways: it does not mainly evoke certain feelings or opinions but shapes the performers' experience of the world. "All ritual, whatever the idiom, is addressed to the human participants and uses a technique which attempts to re/structure and integrate the minds and emotions of the actors." [108]

American sinologist and anthropologist Emily Ahern points out the problems of only relying on the model of a performance addressed in an "external" way to communicate something to the participants. The meaning of a ritual might not be what it communicates to the participants but how it affects the world: a ritual might not, in the minds of the participants, address the congregation but God.[109] The reason for why this is important to bring up is that this perspective is all too often lost on researchers. There are rituals the purpose of which is to affect certain attitudinal changes in the community, such as the *pax* in many Christian settings, or the *qaddish yatom* in Jewish. But it might warp one's understanding of what a ritual is and tries to do if one forgets about the "native" understanding of its purpose. Catherine Bell describes the view of most performance theorists to be one in which ritual communicates but does not affect change in the world and that the function of ritual is to "indirectly affect ... social realities and perceptions of those realities."[110]

> The meaningfulness of ritual that such interpretations attempt to explicate has nothing to do with the efficacy that the ritual acts are thought to have by those who perform them. The idiom of communication through symbolic acts maybe [sic] a corrective to the notion of magic, but it does little to convey what these acts mean to those involved in them.[111]

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[107] Bell (1992), 43-3. This, however, only holds true if one takes a strong stance on the analogy. We have for example the British anthropologist Gilbert Lewis who "suggests "likening" ritual to the performance of a play or a piece of music, but he cautions against using such insights into ritual to define it." Bell (1992), 41.

[108] Tambiah (1968), 202.

[109] She brings up the example of the Chinese festivals to honour the local gods, the *pai-pai*, which also has the explicit purpose of trying to persuade the gods to bring fortune. If the ritual is not performed correctly, misfortune is thought to come upon the *lu-chu*, the man in charge of the ritual procedures, and his household; Sangren (1987), 55-57. Ahern points out that concrete consequences are expected and if things do not go as the community wants, it will have to explained: perhaps the god did not have the power do affect this particular thing, perhaps something went wrong in the ritual and so on. Spirits in Taiwanese ritual are often explicitly ordered around in the language of Imperial edicts. "In sum, Chinese attribute to the gods the ability to effect change in the external world and hope their requests to the gods will be granted. Since at least some of their ritual acts are intended to influence the gods and other spirits, those acts are themselves attempts to effect a change in the world." Ahern (1979), 4.

[110] Bell (1992), 43.

[111] Bell (1992), 43.

To take an example: in a Catholic Mass the sole purpose of the *canon* is not to bind the community together, and the wording is not mainly aimed at that (especially not in the *canon* from before 1969, which the congregants would not even hear) – the purpose is to effect the Eucharistic transubstantiation of bread and wine into flesh and blood.[112] To lay a meta-layer of "objective" or "real" analysis as a raster upon this might do more harm to the analysis than good.

But performance theory, taken together with its Austinian sense can still, I believe, be a useful way forward, as the Austinian idea that words are efficacious – something which is very true of liturgical language – may help offset some of the assumptions coming together with the theatre paradigm that would suggest that liturgy is therefore, in some sense, "just a play", to be put up. The theological worlds of earlier and present generations need to be taken seriously in this study, but many paradigms for how to understand such dimensions of ritual life have been problematic.[113] In this thesis, I rely on the perspective I set out earlier, in which Ricoeur's description of reading as a creative "mimetic arc" presents a way for understanding what liturgy does in presenting a world: it suggests a sequence, and an order (albeit not straightforward or univocal), a grid through which life experiences, and biblical texts, taken to be revealed

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[112] One examples here could be the "secret names" in the prayer *Ana b'Khoach*, traditionally said by Jews on Friday night, which are meaningless to a human but assumed to have theurgic efficacy. Other examples could include the Sinhalese *mantras* discussed by Tambiah, which are a jumble of different languages, not understood by the ritual participants, but assumed to be intelligible for the demons they are addressed to; Tambiah (1968)

[113] See, for example, the stubborn division in ritual studies between thought and action, criticised by Bell (1992). She writes: "Theoretical descriptions of ritual generally regard it as action and thus automatically distinguish it from conceptual aspects of religion, such as beliefs, symbols, and myths ... Likewise, beliefs, creeds, symbols, and myths emerge as forms of mental content or conceptual blueprints: they direct, inspire, or promote activity, but they themselves are not activities. Ritual, like action, will act out, express, or perform these conceptual orientations." Bell (1992), 19.

There is also a clear priority in this differentiation: beliefs are seen as the "content" while ritual acts are seen as vessels. To find "what it's all about", you turn to the underlying belief system. She quotes the sociologist Edward Shils (1910–1995), who argues that "ritual and belief are intertwined and yet separable, since it is conceivable that one might accept beliefs but not the ritual activities associated with them. He concludes that logically, therefore, "beliefs could exist without rituals; rituals, however, could not exist without beliefs." Bell (1992), 19.

The Protestant assumptions barely need pointing out. What matters is the belief and with that in place, expressions may vary or even be absent. One need not go further than to Jewish rituals to see the absurdity of this logic. Solomon Schechter, in his study of Jewish theology, while criticising the prevalent view that Judaism altogether lacks belief content, still writes in his introduction: "In speaking of dogmas it must be understood that Judaism does not ascribe to them any saving power. The belief in a dogma or a doctrine without abiding by its real or supposed consequences (eg. the belief in *creatio ex nihilo* without keeping the Sabbath) is of no value." Schechter (1911), 147.

The orthopractic dimensions of Jewish life have often been noted but even in Christianity practice does not easily mirror belief; take Augustine who in *De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione* sees infants being baptised and draws the conclusion that they therefore need to be saved from original sin. The later Western church then, drawing on Augustine, drew the conclusion that infants need to be baptised, because they suffer from original sin! See Schaff (1886), 108; Hammar (2009), 56. My thanks to Simon Hedlund for drawing my attention to this example.

Scripture in that liturgy, can make sense. What the Austinian performance paradigm adds here is that, as long as the conventions are upheld, these worlds are, in some sense, in effect: to say that you sing with the angels is to uphold a world in which angels sing. Even if individually, that is not one's perspective on the world, it is still belief as an act expressed by doing it. As it would be all but impossible to capture the relationship between practice and theology in Jewish life without this perspective, [114] and would hamper the analysis of Christian traditions too, I think this is an important lens through which to view these liturgical practices.

Performance theory, however, is not the only tool I take away from ritual studies. Another is the concept of "thick description", used by the influential anthropologist Clifford Geertz, mentioned earlier. This concept originally comes from Gilbert Ryle, who writes

> You hear someone come out with 'Today is the 3rd of February'. What was he doing? Obviously the thinnest possible description of what he was doing is, what would fit a gramophone equally well, that he was launching this sequence of syllables into the air. A tape-recording would reproduce just what he was doing, in this thinnest sense of 'doing'. But we naturally and probably correctly give a thicker description than this. We say that he was telling someone else the date… There are, of course, alternative possible thick descriptions of what the utterer of the noises might have been trying to do. For he might have been lying… or he might have been an actor on the stage…[115]

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[114] Take for example the popular conception that there is no Jewish theology, which goes back to a certain interpretation of Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786). In his *Jerusalem* from 1783, he writes: "I consider this an essential point of the Jewish religion and believe that this doctrine constitutes a characteristic difference between it and the Christian one. To say it briefly: I believe that Judaism knows of no revealed religion in the sense in which Christians understand this term. The Israelites possess a divine legislation … but no doctrinal opinions, no saving truths, no universal propositions of reason." Mendelssohn (1983), 89-90.

The Torah for Mendelssohn is not a vessel for truth, since truth cannot be expressed in words but available to all; Eisen (1990), 253. What sets Jewish tradition apart is not its truth claim but its communicative strategies: "The truths useful for the felicity of the nation as well as of each of its individual members were to be utterly removed from all imagery; for this was the main purpose and the fundamental law of the constitution [the Torah]. They were to be connected with actions and practices, and these were to serve them in place of signs, without which they cannot be preserved. Man's actions are transitory; there is nothing lasting, nothing enduring about them that, like hieroglyphic script, could lead to idolatry through abuse or misunderstanding. But they also have the advantage over alphabetical signs of not isolating man, of not making him to be a solitary creature, poring over writings and books. They impel him rather to social intercourse, to imitation, and to oral, living instruction." Mendelssohn (1983), 119.

These behavioural signs are obscure; the rituals do not have one clear idea each as their content, but rather excite and stimulate contemplation. See Mendelssohn (1983), 118-119; Kepnes (2007), 33-42. It is ironic that Mendelssohn is often taken to be the father of the Jewish Reformation and its ritual reduction when in his system it is impossible to get rid of practice while retaining the truths this practice is meant to communicate; Feiner (2010), 170; Eisen, (1990), 254. While Mendelssohn's legacy has often been reduced to mean "there is no such thing as Jewish theology, only Jewish practice", the consequences of his reasoning are much more subtle. Mendelssohn is not claiming that there is no such thing as Jewish theology – rather that there is no such thing as disembodied Jewish theology.

[115] Ryle (1971), 484.

Geertz picks up this concept in an anthropological setting, and points out that even the most elementary sort of description of a culture will have to be extraordinarily "thick" in order to conveniently relay information.

> The point is that… ethnography is thick description. What the ethnographer is in fact faced with … is a multiplicity of complex conceptual structures, many of them superimposed upon or knotted into one another, which are at once strange, irregular, and inexplicit, and which he must contrive somehow first to grasp and then to render.[116]

Geertz, for whom culture is something that can be "read", and which has a semantic content, uses thick description to pinpoint an efficient style of presentation, not to try and be a detached objective observer but to be a competent interpreter of another culture, to have and to be able to convey enough literacy to be able to understand the culture in question. While I am not doing ethnography, the concept of thick description is important, as liturgy or its uses of the Bible has never taken place in a vacuum – it has had a cultural, political and material context – and describing that context is important for understanding how the liturgy works. It is because of these considerations that historical context is given in the chapters.

Focus and choice of material

In this thesis I look at the ritual reception of the Hebrew Bible, in this case of Isaiah 6:1-5, taking into account not just ritual texts but also performed ritual itself. Text is one important part, to be sure, but so is art, law, architecture, choreography, music and so on. It is some little glimpse of this that I am trying to capture in the format of a written academic text. As with a concert, the critic will never be able to match the performance, and should not try. Rather, she should try to convey, in a very different medium, some of what is going on in performance in order to analyse it. Now, this rather lofty aim has to be qualified in more than one way, for practical reasons. One such delimitation is that what is of interest here is *liturgy*, not the whole field of ritual life, which is more or less impossible to demarcate or define. Another is that a comprehensive view of all the contexts in which Isaiah 6 has been used is impossible – some biblical texts can be isolated and treated comprehensively, but this is not one of those. I would like to stress this, as this is not a historical survey. Rather, I have identified certain moments in the life of this text that I have deemed to be of importance, and will analyse these.

The Rabbinic *qedushah* traditions are omnipresent in modern Jewish liturgy, and are emblematic of so much of Second Temple and Rabbinic theology that they cannot be left out. Their treatment of Isaiah 6 has had an enormous influence on how we understand the text today

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[116] Geertz (1973), 9-10.

and are in and of themselves fascinating examples of liturgical practice. As the most important part of a Jewish service, it is both symptomatic of, and highly unusual when compared with, the rest of Jewish liturgy. The main tradition here will be that of traditional Ashkenazi liturgy which, while not differing much from other liturgical traditions, represents the numerically largest and culturally most influential iteration of Jewish liturgy. I will however draw parallels to other rites where relevant.

The *Sanctus* of the medieval Roman Rite is the starting point for my discussion of Christian liturgy. Here there are extraordinary overlaps with Jewish liturgy as well as specifically Christian expressions, as the *Sanctus* frames the Mass and is tightly caught up with its theology and practice. My focus will be on the Roman Rite due to its enormous significance for church life, both Catholic and Protestant. The reader should keep in mind the plethora of liturgical rites that characterised medieval Europe, however, even if I have yet to discover any significant differences when it comes to the *Sanctus*.

This medieval *Sanctus* was changed in more than one direction during the tumultuous religious conflicts of the Reformation.[117] Two Protestant traditions will therefore be used as instructive cases of comparison. The first of these is the Lutheran liturgical tradition. While this is first exemplified by the two liturgies Martin Luther himself wrote, my main example will be the Lutheran Church of Sweden. The reasons for this choice are a few. First of all the Church of Sweden is the largest Lutheran church in the West, which in and of itself makes it interesting to bring to attention.[118] It has furthermore, and as distinct from many of the German Lutheran churches, had a stable history, making the development of its liturgy easily traceable. Thirdly, as part of the state structure of the Swedish Empire, it has had a significant influence on the other Nordic churches, most obviously Finland, which up until 1809 was part of Sweden, as well as the Baltic countries.[119] Furthermore, due to the mass emigration of the nineteenth

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[117] This is not to imply that the *Sanctus* in its medieval form is not relevant after the Reformation; it did, after all, survive in the Roman Catholic Church until the 1960s when it together with the Tridentine Mass became the extraordinary form. It still survives, as in many Protestant liturgies, in a reformed version in the modern ordinary form of Mass of the Roman Catholic Church.

[118] Up until a couple of years ago it was the largest worldwide, before being overtaken by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Tanzania. (https://www.lutheranworld.org/country/tanzania; https://www.lutheranworld.org/country/sweden 17.05.2017)

[119] Denmark is the other major source of influence in the Nordic countries, primarily in Norway, Iceland and Greenland. As Danish scholar Torben Schousboe writes, on Protestant music: "The music of the Protestant church in the Nordic countries has developed mainly within two national blocks, one consisting of Denmark, Norway and Iceland (and, up to 1660, also the southern part of Sweden), the other of Sweden and Finland" Schousboe (1974), 611. Owing to these political circumstances, much of ecclesiastical affairs were dictated in either Sweden or Denmark, and this was hardly restricted to issues of church music.

century, it has been one of the most important traditions in the formation of American Lutheran liturgies.[120]

The Church of Sweden also makes for an interesting comparison with the second Protestant tradition we will look at: the Church of England. This goes both for their similarities – both were national churches which retained the episcopacy and apostolic succession, for example – and their differences – Sweden never experienced any iconoclastic destruction. It is an example both typical and atypical of Lutheran liturgy, as we will see, and one in which we can see many of the medieval assumptions retained, reworked and reformed.

The Church of England will be my main example of Reformed Protestant Christianity, as it is one of few Reformed traditions to keep the *Sanctus*. Through the different early editions of the *Book of Common Prayer*, which due to its pivotal role in Anglican worship will be taken as our example, we will also see these Reformed influences come into play. I will not include later colonial contexts or modern Anglican liturgies, as I focus on those liturgical decisions which have had the most direct impact on the history of reception, and here the *Book of Common Prayer* and England is the most instructive example.

Since I will be looking at *influential* examples of ritual reception, this also means that other fascinating examples will fall outside of the scope of this study: the use of Isaiah 6 in Eastern Orthodox traditions, for example, or in Freemasonry or esotericism. Very few biblical scholars have their religious backgrounds in these traditions, at least not to the extent that it has had an impact on the field, and so they have had to be left to the side.

Outline of the Study

With these considerations in mind, let us turn to the structure of the thesis.

In the next chapter, the nature of which is also introductory, I will present the liturgical traditions that form the core of this inquiry: the Jewish *qedushot* and the Christian *Sanctus*. These are the most influential examples of Isaiah 6 in the liturgy and will be introduced, together with some notes on the similarities and differences between Jewish and Christian worship.

In the first main chapter, my goal is to show how the identity of the creatures mentioned in the biblical text, the *seraphim*, has been defined by Jewish liturgical and theological traditions, and

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[120] Reed (1947), 124-5.

how that has influenced us today. Similarities and differences between Jewish and medieval Christian angelic theology will be highlighted, as will the reduction of angels in the liturgy during the Reformation, with the example of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

The second chapter deals with the function of Isa. 6:3 itself and how it has been understood in Jewish tradition as a heavenly, dangerous liturgy, and in medieval Christianity as a Trinitarian hymn inseparable from Christological considerations. A peculiar Swedish use of the text will also be dealt with, as it breaks some of our normal assumptions of what the text means.

The third chapter is devoted to the idea of Divine presence, which plays out very differently in Jewish, Lutheran and Anglican liturgical traditions, which will be analysed and compared. The different liturgical expressions here are highly indicative of the perspectives of these respective traditions, and make for important examples when put in the context of the ongoing scholarly debate on Divine presence in the Hebrew Bible.

Lastly I will be drawing some conclusions from the analysis, as well as pointing forward to some of the implications of the study for the broader issues of biblical research.

The model I have set out in this chapter has been based on the mimetic arc of Ricoeur, taking liturgy as a creative mimetic "reading", of everyday life as well as of biblical texts, which restructures our life outside of liturgy. Based on Gadamer I have applied some of these factors to the broader perspective of how we as a community of scholars are part of the reception of the Bible. Our reconstructions of the past, influenced by all those "reading" experiences, including liturgy, which reconfigure our understanding of the biblical text, are one step in the creative endeavour that is biblical research. In order to capture what makes liturgy unique and sets it apart from, say, purely textual forms of reception, I have drawn upon theatre and performance studies to give me tools to analyse extra-textual dimensions of a performed "script", and Austinian performativity to include some of the unique forms of language that liturgy employs. This perspective also makes it possible to take theological worldviews seriously, without falling into a belief-practice dichotomy. Lastly, Geertz's concept of "thick description" will be used to give historical, political and material context for the liturgies I will be looking at.

With these theoretical and methodological factors in mind, I will give a basic introduction to the main liturgical traditions that use Isaiah 6: the Jewish *qedushot* and the Christian *Sanctus*.

Introduction, Part II: Liturgical Material – *Qedushah* and *Sanctus*

Isaiah 6 is one of those biblical texts that have firmly entered the public consciousness and can be counted on as a familiar reference in many Western contexts. One, if not the, major reason for this is because it has had an extraordinarily rich liturgical history. In both Jewish and Christian worship, Isa. 6:3 is used in "apex" moments in the liturgy; as part of the *qedushah deAmidah* it is the culmination of Jewish prayer, and as the *Sanctus* it opens up the Eucharistic section of Christian worship, shifting the focus of a service from Scripture to Mass. In this chapter, these liturgical frameworks are introduced, together with some remarks on the dynamics of these different liturgical traditions.

Jewish Liturgy

Jewish liturgy needs introducing, as it is often poorly understood and frequently described as the Jewish counterpart of Christian liturgy. While this characterisation is to some extent true, as these two religious traditions have much in common both historically and today, it risks warping the understanding of liturgy within Jewish religious life.[121] That Jewish religion can be represented in peculiar ways in academic writing can be gleaned from, for example, James Charlesworth, who in his historical overview of Jewish liturgy apparently does not know that the *Amidah* and the *Sh'mone Esrei* are the same prayer (a mistake as basic as thinking that *Pater noster* and *The Lord's prayer* are different prayers).[122] Unfortunately, such mistakes are not as rare as one might wish.

Lack of knowledge aside, one problem is the tendency to refer to Jewish liturgical acts through etic, Christian designations; the *Shema'* is a "creed", the *parashat haShavuah* a "lectionary", and various parts can garner the epithet "doxology." Some of these (the *Shema'* as creed) are simply incorrect, and many of them obfuscate more than they illuminate. Stefan Reif has even

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[121] One way of putting it would be that *tefillah* is the closest Jewish equivalent of "prayer" but that it is perhaps best left untranslated to preserve its uniquely Jewish connotations and meanings. See, also, Simon Pulleyn, who argues against a cross-cultural definition of prayer; Pulleyn (1997), 1-2. Yehuda Septimus, too, deals extensively with the problems of equating Jewish and Christian "prayer"; Septimus (2015), 1-5, 21-35, 44. My thanks to Reuven Leigh for valuable input on this topic.

[122] Charlesworth (1986), 425. Bryan Spinks, too, shows a lack of understanding of the most basic of Jewish liturgical concepts, the *b'rakhah*, when he consistently calls the ברוך אלהינו section of the *Uva le-Tziyon go'el* prayer a "benediction", seemingly not understanding to what extent a "benediction" is a technical term. See Spinks (1991), 44.

pointed out that the designation of Jewish worship as "liturgy" might be unhelpful, arguing that "liturgy" implies that it can be understood as a neat parallel to Christian worship.[123]

A third problem is the assumption that prayer inhabits the same position in Jewish and Christian life. Richard Sarason refers to this when he quotes Lutheran theologian Friedrich Heiler, who writes that "prayer is the central phenomenon of religion, the very heartstone of all piety."[124] Sarason points out that while this may hold true for Christianity, it cannot be said of Jewish religious life, where study and the everyday observance of commandments are the overarching and central forms of worship. He writes:

> To be sure, prayer is an important mode of Judaic worship and piety (more important in some forms of Judaism than in others), but the central and generative phenomenon of Rabbinic Judaism is to be located in Torah, and most forms of rabbinic piety relate back to Torah.[125]

The context of Jewish prayer is the overarching halakhic system, and "it would be incorrect to view the rabbinic regulation of prayer in isolation from the structure of Judaism as a whole ... The rules governing prayer are simply a subset of the rules governing all of Jewish life..."[126] Jewish liturgy, while important, is not a central locus of prayer and meditation. Rather, it is a bricolage of acts and commandments, a convenient opportunity to fulfil diverse halakhic duties.[127] The major duties are those of prayer (fulfilled through the *Amidah* morning, afternoon and evening) and the recitation of *Shema'* (morning and evening). Other duties that one fulfils during the course of liturgy are the study of Torah, saying Psalm 145 thrice daily, mourning the temple, remembering the exodus, laying *tefillin*, sanctifying Shabbat, counting the '*Omer* between Pesaḥ and Shavuot, hearing the book of Esther on Purim, and more. Jewish liturgy is emphatically *not* one singular act and while naturally it can be interpreted structurally, it does not form one unified whole.[128] While Christian worship, too, is of a somewhat composite nature (the division between the liturgy of the Word and the liturgy of the Eucharist being the most obvious one), it is frequently seen as one unified arc.[129] This assumed, and experienced, unity has also frequently led to the liturgy being reproduced to accentuate this. This should be apparent from almost all Christian liturgical revision during the twentieth century, most dramatically of the Roman Rite.[130]

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[123] Reif (1993), 10, 96-102.
[124] Sarason (1983), 49.
[125] Sarason (1983), 51.
[126] Sarason (1983), 56. Sarason himself concedes, though, that "in the modern period among nontraditionalist Jews, Judaic worship has in fact been confined to prayer – a situation which reflects the internalization by Jews of the modern Protestant religious ethos expressed by Heiler..." Sarason (1983), 65, n. 25.
[127] Sarason (1983), 52.
[128] Contra Schonfield (2006), 42, 47-63.
[129]This was apparent, for example, during the Second Vatican Council. See Zimmerman (1988), 29.
[130] O'Malley (2008), 129-141.

Another important distinction is the extent to which Jewish liturgy can be said to be "credal." The idea that liturgical expression and theology need to be in concert is not apparent from modern Jewish history.[131] Whereas all major Christian denominations of the Western Rite have revised their liturgies in the twentieth century, the revisions that have been made in Jewish liturgy, outside of Reform circles, have been negligible.[132] Even moderate modifications have sometimes led to new *siddurim* being rejected, even when the reforms are in line with the values of the people rejecting them.[133] It would appear the need for "updating" the liturgy to conform to one's theological worldview is felt much less in Jewish circles than in Western Christian ones.[134]

These factors should be kept in mind when discussing liturgy, which will be treated as part of larger halakhic considerations, not as a self-enclosed system. They may furthermore enjoin a certain humility concerning the issue of whether Jewish liturgy and beliefs are in accord in a given setting. As the liturgy tends to stay the same throughout changing theological trends, we can frequently only discuss how the liturgy has been interpreted, for example in theological and halakhic works, rather than assume that the liturgy would be updated to reflect new worldviews.

The Qedushah deYotzer

In Jewish liturgy, Isa. 6:3 features in no less than three distinct segments, so-called *qedushot*.[135] These are the *qedushah deYotzer* in the morning liturgy, the *qedushah deAmidah* morning and

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[131] For a discussion about *lex orandi, lex credendi* in a modern Roman Catholic context, see Zimmerman (1988), 4, 28. This observation might not apply to Eastern Church rites.

[132] One example here could be the influential Conservative American *Siddur sim Shalom*, first published in 1985, and supposed to be a liturgy in which the liberal beliefs and standpoints of the Conservative movement in America are expressed. This has meant, in practice, that it contains prayers for the Israeli *Yom ha'Atzma'ut* and *Yom haShoah*, occasionally gives the feminine grammatical form for first-person prayers, and the three morning benedictions, in which one blesses God for not having been created a slave, a heathen or a woman, have been changed to blessing God for having been created free, Jewish and in God's image. Also, some of the sacrificial readings in the morning liturgy have been omitted or modified. See Harlow (1985).
This is not to say that Jewish liturgy has been static – the effect of the printing press on the *siddur*, for example, has been considerable. But compared to Western Christian liturgical reforms, the core Jewish liturgy has been remarkably stable. See Reif (1979); (1993), 248-251; 262-293.

[133] It should also be noted, for example, that Conservative congregations in the United Kingdom and Israel have typically used *siddurim* by Orthodox publishers (the prayerbook of the United Synagogue, and *Rinat Yisrael*, respectively); Reif (1993), 320.

[134] Many of the liturgical reforms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have also been reversed in recent decades within all major non-Orthodox denominations; Reif (1993), 295, 304-8, 321-8.
For a general discussion, see Sperber (2010).

[135] Historically this is probably due to the strong liturgical tendency that Jakob Petuchowski has characterised as: "*When the choice is between one or more versions of a prayer, the usual decision is to say them all*." Petuchowski (1998), 155. He mentions the example of the benedictions said over Torah study, where no less

afternoon, and the *qedushah deSidra'* on weekday mornings and Shabbat afternoons. In this study I will mainly focus on the first two, as these are more discursive and descriptive than the third, the *qedushah deSidra'*, which mostly concatenates biblical texts. The first of the two I will look at is also the first in the course of the daily liturgy: the *qedushah deYotzer*, the "sanctification of the Creator."[136] It forms part of the core liturgy, being one of the benedictions framing the recitation of the *Shema'* in the morning. After the call to worship (*Barekhu*), the first benediction of the *Shema'* is the *Yotzer 'Or*, the benediction over God as the continuous creator of the world, and especially light and darkness. Woven into this theme of light renewed is a description of the choirs of heavens bursting into song in response to this creative act. The core part of the text describes a scene full of "holy ones", "ministers" who "stand above, in the heights of the universe", *seraphim* who sing, in fear and awe, the *qedushah*, answered by the *'ophannim* and the "holy beasts" with Ezek. 3:12, a text which in Jewish liturgy is the steady companion of Isa. 6:3.

תִּתְבָּרַךְ צוּרֵנוּ מַלְכֵּנוּ וְגוֹאֲלֵנוּ בּוֹרֵא קְדוֹשִׁים. יִשְׁתַּבַּח שִׁמְךָ לָעַד	Be blessed, our rock, our king, and our redeemer, creator of holy ones. May your name be praised forever, our king, shaper of the ministers, his ministers who all stand above, in the heights of the universe,
מַלְכֵּנוּ יוֹצֵר מְשָׁרְתִים וַאֲשֶׁר מְשָׁרְתָיו כֻּלָּם עוֹמְדִים בְּרוּם עוֹלָם.	letting themselves be heard in awe, in unison voice, the words of the living God and king of the universe. All of them are beloved, all of them pure, all mighty, and all do, in fear and in awe, the will of their maker. And all of them open their mouths in holiness and in purity and in song and in hymn and bless and praise and glorify and revere and sanctify and declare
וּמַשְׁמִיעִים בְּיִרְאָה יַחַד בְּקוֹל. דִּבְרֵי אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים וּמֶלֶךְ עוֹלָם: כֻּלָּם אֲהוּבִים. כֻּלָּם בְּרוּרִים. כֻּלָּם גִּבּוֹרִים. וְכֻלָּם עוֹשִׂים בְּאֵימָה וּבְיִרְאָה רְצוֹן קוֹנָם:	
וְכֻלָּם פּוֹתְחִים אֶת פִּיהֶם בִּקְדֻשָּׁה וּבְטָהֳרָה. בְּשִׁירָה וּבְזִמְרָה. וּמְבָרְכִים וּמְשַׁבְּחִים וּמְפָאֲרִים וּמַעֲרִיצִים וּמַקְדִּישִׁים וּמַמְלִיכִים:	the name of the great, mighty and awesome God and king, holy is he.
אֶת שֵׁם הָאֵל הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגָּדוֹל הַגִּבּוֹר וְהַנּוֹרָא[137]. קָדוֹשׁ הוּא. וְכֻלָּם מְקַבְּלִים עֲלֵיהֶם עֹל מַלְכוּת שָׁמַיִם זֶה מִזֶּה. וְנוֹתְנִים בְּאַהֲבָה רְשׁוּת	And all of them accept upon themselves the yoke of the kingdom of heaven, this one from that one, and in love give permission, this one to that one, to sanctify their shaper in gentle spirit, with clear speech and sacred melody, all of them as one, responding and saying in awe: "*Holy, holy, holy, is Y-HWH of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory!*" (Isa. 6:3)
זֶה לָזֶה לְהַקְדִּישׁ לְיוֹצְרָם בְּנַחַת רוּחַ. בְּשָׂפָה בְרוּרָה וּבִנְעִימָה קְדֻשָּׁה כֻּלָּם כְּאֶחָד. עוֹנִים וְאוֹמְרִים בְּיִרְאָה:	
קָדוֹשׁ קָדוֹשׁ קָדוֹשׁ ה' צְבָאוֹת. מְלֹא כָל הָאָרֶץ כְּבוֹדוֹ:	

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than three versions were included, but the same could be said for the six versions of the *Qaddish* regularly used; Petuchowski (1998), 155-157.

[136] Since medieval times it has been recited daily, after probably only having been said on Shabbat. This seems to be the case in the *siddur* of Sa'adia Gaon. See Reif (2006), 89.

[137] Deut. 10:17. See also the *Amidah*.

וְהָאוֹפַנִּים וְחַיּוֹת הַקֹּדֶשׁ בְּרַעַשׁ גָּדוֹל מִתְנַשְּׂאִים לְעֻמַּת שְׂרָפִים.

And the 'ophannim and the holy beasts, with a sound of a mighty rumbling, raising themselves towards the seraphim, give praise and say: "Blessed is the glory of Y-HWH from its place!" (Ezek. 3:12)

לְעֻמָּתָם מְשַׁבְּחִים וְאוֹמְרִים:

בָּרוּךְ כְּבוֹד ה' מִמְּקוֹמוֹ:

The *Yotzer* then, after some poetic material, returns to the theme of light, and ends with the benediction over God "who forms the luminaries."

Historically, the *qedushah deYotzer* has considerable parallels with Qumranic and earlier traditions, as has been noted by several scholars. Moshe Weinfeld, to name one, has in two studies suggested linguistic and thematic parallels between the *qedushah deYotzer* and the *Hymn to the Creator* in 11QPs[a] (and ben Sira).[138] According to him the *qedushah* liturgy can thus be traced to the Second Temple period.[139] Carol Newsom, too, writes that

> The special association of the Sabbath with angelic worship is also evident in the use of the Qedushah in the synagogue liturgy. Even though no form of the Qedushah appears in the *Sabbath Songs*, the content and style of the blessing in which the Yoṣer Qedushah is embedded is strikingly similar to the *Sabbath Songs*. The origin of the Qedushah as part of the synagogue worship is disputed, although it is possible that its origins go back to the Second Temple period, and perhaps even to recitation within the Temple itself.[140]

That the *qedushah* might originate in temple times, either in the temple itself or in other circles, is mentioned by Joseph Heinemann and reiterated more recently by Bilhah Nitzan.[141] It shares with Qumran texts some noticeable features, especially with what John Strugnell in 1959 dubbed "the angelic liturgy", now often called the "songs of the Sabbath sacrifice."[142] In these liturgical texts, imagery culled from both Ezekiel and Isaiah frame a world similar to the one in the *Yotzer*; one heavily populated with angels serving God in a number of roles,[143] and in imagery familiar from 1 Enoch or Revelation they are performing their own liturgy, close to or

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[138] Weinfeld (1975-6); (1995).
[139] Weinfeld (1975-6), 15; (1995), 135. See, also, Kimelman, who writes that "[m]ost of its elements can be accounted for by a combination of Qumran and Temple liturgies." (2001), 88-90. This is also the position of Gruenwald (1988), 169-170.
[140] Newsom et al (1999), 10.
[141] Elbogen (1993), 60; Nitzan (1994), 368.
[142] This text, written no later than 100 B.C.E., may have been a composition by the Qumran community or an earlier text which they copied, but it seems in any event to have been a cherished text at Qumran, as it is found there in no fewer than nine copies; Newsom (1999), 4. The text is not clearly sectarian in content or style, and has furthermore also been found at the Masada, so it is hard to know its precise social and ritual background.
[143] Wassén (2007), 502-515.

in the direct presence of God.[144] Now, these beliefs are hardly unique – in fact, John J. Collins has characterised the community's "view of the angelic world" as "not especially distinctive."[145] They were very much part of general trends at the time. It should not come as a surprise, therefore, to find more parallels than these: the repetitive, mantra-like language of the *Yotzer* is reminiscent not just of the *Songs* but also of Merkavah material.[146] This language may also give us a hint as to its original function, as the repetitive style of other Merkavah texts is usually the result of them being used as incantations to allow the practitioner to "descend into the merkavah." While embedded in the Rabbinic liturgy and its understanding of liturgy, the material, so reminiscent of Merkavah and earlier mystical or even magic material, seems to have originated in other ritual settings. Though we cannot be sure whether the *Yotzer* is from the late Second Temple period or the early Tannaitic, it would seem to be of considerable age.[147]

The Qedushah deAmidah

If the *qedushah deYotzer* is the *qedushah* of the first section (*Shema'*) of the core liturgy, the *qedushah deAmidah* is the one for the second (the *Amidah*).[148] One of the important factors to

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[144] Newsom (1999), 6-7. A helpful characterisation of the style of the songs is the one by Cecilia Wassén (2007), 505-506: "In sublime, rhythmic language, using strange syntax, the songs evoke the transcendent, celestial world and allow the worshippers, the chanters, to participate in the angelic praise. Possibly, the mysterious, poetic language is meant to imitate the secret language of the angels." See, also, Wassén (2011).

[145] Collins (2000), 13. Much of it is also shared with Enochian literature, portions of which have also been found at Qumran. See Davidson (1992), 315-316.

[146] Hoffman (1979), 60-62. See, also, Winkler (2002), 115-121, who enumerates a range of Merkavah texts with this combination.

This is hardly surprising; Merkavah traditions were not in isolation from the Rabbinic movement but rather in intense interaction with – if not part of – it; Hoffman (1979), 61.

[147] Already Saul Lieberman suggested that it "seems to reflect a liturgical custom similar to that of the Essenes". Quoted in Weinfeld (1995), 142-3. See, also, Ezra Fleischer, who has noted that the early Palestinian *piyyutim*, so-called *yotzerot*, elaborating upon *Yotzer* typically include allusions to the *qedushah*; Fleischer (1969), 270 – Fleischer's main argument, however, is more complicated – see p. 266). See also his monograph on the *yotzerot* (1984). Fleischer (1969), 270, has also argued that the Shabbat *piyyut* אל אדון is early, while Weinfeld has, convincingly in my view, shown strong parallels between the acrostic segment אל ברוך גדול דעה and 11QPsa; Weinfeld (1975-6), 19. See, also, Fleischer (2008).

Some kind of *qedushah* – with Ezek. 3:12 – is first mentioned in t.*B'rakhot* 1:9 and later in y.*B'rakhot* 5:3 and b.*B'rakhot* 21a, but all references are somewhat unclear; Fiensy (1985), 226. It is, however, taken for granted and so cannot have been introduced as a novelty; Werner (1945-6), 298. While mentioned in the Tosefta, it is not found in the Mishnah, which does not even once touch upon the subject of angels.

[148] Like the *Yotzer*, the *qedushah deAmidah* is hard to date. As with the *Yotzer*, Weinfeld has argued that the *qedushah* of the *Amidah* also finds parallels to Qumranic material; the "Hymn to the Creator" in 11QPsa: גדול וקדוש ה׳ קדוש קדושים לדור ודור. Weinfeld notes how all parts of this verse are to be found in the *qedushah* or the actual benediction of the *Amidah*, in its current form or in Genizah fragments, and concludes that it stems from the Second Temple period; Weinfeld (1995), 132-3, 157. It should be noted, however, that the language is quite generic and does not necessarily indicate literary dependency (and that the range of sources Weinfeld reads allows for a number of parallels to be drawn to other Hebrew texts). Like the *Yotzer*, it is hard to know whether this *qedushah* dates to Tannaitic or Second Temple times. See Heinemann (1977), 24.

keep in mind when discussing this liturgical sequence is that, for many Jewish worshippers, this is the primary referent for the word "*qedushah*." It is at the very epicentre of the Jewish liturgical drama, as part of the prayer leader's public repetition of the *Amidah*, the silent prayer consisting of nineteen benedictions. The *Amidah* opens with a so-called *b'rakhah petiḥa*, an opening benediction framing the whole prayer, and continues with a set of benedictions on different themes, all introduced with poetic formulations. The third of these is the *qiddush Hashem*, the sanctification of the Name (God). In the individual *Amidah*, said silently by each worshipper separately, the introduction to the third benediction is short: אתה קדוש ושמך קדוש וקדושים בכל יום יהללוך סלה, "you are holy and your name is holy and holy ones praise you all day. Selah."[149] In the presence of a *minyan*, a quorum of ten adult Jews, this introduction is replaced with the *qedushah* in the so-called *ḥazarat haShatz*, the communal repetition of the *Amidah* by the prayer leader, after everyone has said the *Amidah* on their own. The *ḥazarat haShatz* is one of the "holy" parts of the liturgy, meaning it requires a *minyan*.[150] It is thus part of "public" liturgy, together with the *Barekhu*, Torah reading, *Qaddish* and a few other liturgical acts that one cannot do on one's own.

The first thing to note about the *qedushah* is that it is perhaps the most halakhically privileged moment in the entire liturgy. The *Amidah* is already the pinnacle of the liturgy;[151] in Rabbinic terminology it is synonymous with prayer itself.[152] Since in Jewish services people are often praying at their own pace and go through different parts of the liturgy at any given moment, a hierarchy has been established to regulate the behaviour when the prayer leader is at one point in the liturgy, and the individual worshipper at another.[153] The importance of the *Amidah* is such that one may not normally interrupt it for anything else, even certain life-threatening situations.[154] It is thus important that one of the few reasons one may interrupt one's praying the *Amidah* is to respond to the *qedushah*.[155] That the *qedushah deAmidah* is regarded as the climax of the whole liturgy is not just a halakhic prescription but also popular opinion, as is

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[149] Note that this introduction uses the root קדש thrice, pointing to the *qedushah*. This is even clearer in the Siddur Sa'adia Gaon, where the actual word קדוש is used three times, apart from the mention of קדושים. See Spinks (1991), 43.

[150] Not even all occurrences of the *Amidah* merit the repetition, – it is not done in the evening, since this is not a strictly mandatory prayer. (b.*B'rakhot* 27b)

[151] Sperber (2010), 135.

[152] Elbogen (1993), 24.

[153] Langer (1998), 192.

[154] The classical examples being a king asking a question or a snake winding its way up one's leg. (m.*B'rakhot* 5:1). In the Talmud (b.*B'rakhot* 32b) and among medieval commentators (Rashi on b.*B'rakhot* 33a, *Aval Akrav*, Tosafot *ad loc*, rabbeinu Yonah, b.*B'rakhot* 21a, *ve'afilu*) this is somewhat softened, but it does point to its importance. One may also, according to some authorities, interrupt it to avoid some distraction (Rema on *Oraḥ Ḥayim* 104:3, *Magen Avraham* 104:3 and, possibly, *Mishnah Berurah*, 104:1)

[155] Rashi on b.*Sukkah* 38b, *hu omer barukh* and *Shulḥan Arukh*, *OḤ* 104:7, but see Tosafot on b.*B'rakhot* 21a.

evident from contemporary Jewish religious writers.[156] With this in mind, let me briefly outline the structure of the *qedushah deAmidah*.

The Prefaces

The *qedushah* of the *Amidah* is introduced through one of three prefaces, which frame and control the biblical verses that form its centrepiece: Isa. 6:3, Ezek. 3:12 and, unique to the *Amidah*, Ps. 146:10. The shortest preface (נקדש) is the one used in the Ashkenazic rite on weekdays, as well as on Shabbat and festival afternoons.[157] As the נקדש preface is used for the majority of *qedushot* throughout the year, it is the preface that Ashkenazic religious Jews will be most familiar with.[158]

נְקַדֵּשׁ אֶת שִׁמְךָ בָּעוֹלָם. כְּשֵׁם שֶׁמַּקְדִּישִׁים אוֹתוֹ בִּשְׁמֵי מָרוֹם. כַּכָּתוּב עַל יַד נְבִיאֶךָ: וְקָרָא זֶה אֶל זֶה וְאָמַר:	We will sanctify your name in the world, like the sanctifiers in the high heavens, as is written by the hand of your prophet: *And this one called to this one and said...* (Holy…)

While the most frequent, the נקדש preface is the also the tersest of the three; it does not, for example, identify the מקדישים, "sanctifiers" that the worshippers are imitating. One gets a more suggestive picture in the oldest known preface, which is the one found in Ashkenaz on *mussaf* (the additional *Amidah* for Shabbat and festivals).[159]

נַעֲרִיצָךְ וְנַקְדִּישָׁךְ[161] כְּסוֹד שִׂיחַ שַׂרְפֵי קֹדֶשׁ[160] הַמַּקְדִּישִׁים שִׁמְךָ בַּקֹּדֶשׁ כַּכָּתוּב עַל יַד נְבִיאֶךָ	We will revere you and sanctify you according to the secret speech of holy *seraphim* (or: the speech of the assembly of holy *seraphim*), who sanctify your name in the holy (or: the temple), as is written by the hand of your prophet...

In this preface the scene is more elaborate: the worshippers will join in the company of the *seraphim* who are already sanctifying God by reciting Isa. 6:3. These two are the only prefaces

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[156] For one example, see Sir Jonathan Sacks' comment in *The Koren Siddur* (2013): "The Kedusha is the supreme moment of holiness in prayer." In it "we reach the summit of religious experience." (112-113)

[157] In the Romaniote rite it is used on Shabbat and festival mornings.

[158] Elbogen (1993), 57.

[159] It is mentioned already in *Soferim* 16:12. It is probably of Palestinian, early geonic origin. See Heinemann's supplement to Elbogen (1993), 60. But also, see Weinfeld (1995), who argues that it, like the *Yotzer*, contains echoes of qumranic material.
In Sephardic and Roman liturgy, it is used on all occasions *except* for *mussaf*.

[160] In the Chassidic rite this been slightly modified: נַקְדֵּשׁ וְנַעֲרִיצָךְ כְּנֹעַם שִׂיחַ סוֹד שַׂרְפֵי קֹדֶשׁ. הַמְשַׁלְּשִׁים לְךָ קְדֻשָּׁה. כַּכָּתוּב עַל יַד נְבִיאֶךָ. "We will sanctify you and revere you according to the sweet words of the assembly (סוד) of holy *seraphim*, who thrice repeat the *qedushah* to you, as it is written by the hand of your prophet..."

[161] The word order of the Sephardic version instead opens with נַקְדִּישָׁךְ וְנַעֲרִיצָךְ, alluding to Isa. 29:23. Maimonides' suggestion in the *Mishneh Torah*, *Seder haTefillah* 2, used in Yemen, reads: נקדישך ונמליכך ונשלש לך קדושה משולשת כדבר האמור על יד נביאך, "we will sanctify and crown you and thrice repeat the three-fold *qedushah*, according to the word said by the hand of your prophet."

that Ashkenazic Jews will be familiar with, but outside of Ashkenaz, where this is the ordinary preface, the *mussaf* preface instead reads:[162]

כֶּתֶר יִתְּנוּ לְךָ[163] ה' אֱלֹהֵינוּ מַלְאָכִים הֲמוֹנֵי מַעְלָה, עִם עַמְּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל קְבוּצֵי מַטָּה[164] יַחַד כֻּלָּם קְדֻשָּׁה לְךָ יְשַׁלֵּשׁוּ כַּדָּבָר הָאָמוּר עַל יַד נְבִיאֶךָ[165]	To you, Y-HWH our God, shall the angels, the multitudes above, together with your people Israel assembled beneath, give a crown – all as one shall thrice repeat the *qedushah* to you, according to the word spoken through your prophet...

In this preface, using more royal language, we see the idea that Israel and the angels join together in sanctifying and, indeed, crowning God. Here, as well as in the non-Ashkenazic versions of the נעריצך preface, there is also a certain self-refentiality as the "three-fold *qedushah*" is mentioned in the *qedushah* itself.[166] All three prefaces paint the picture of angelic throngs above sanctifying God through their own liturgy, available to the human worshipper through Isa. 6:3. In all prefaces humans join them by quoting the prophetic verse, sanctifying the name of God in a shared liturgical moment.

In the weekday *Amidah*, this is then followed by a short bridge, Ezek. 3:12, Ps. 146:10 and a set closing benediction.

Further variations for festivals and the additional (*mussaf*) *Amidah* for Shabbat will be discussed as relevant, but this, then is the basic outline of the *qedushah deYotzer* and the *qedushah deAmidah*.

Christian Liturgy

Let us now turn to Western Christian worship. A certain sensitivity to the similarities and differences between Jewish and Christian liturgical traditions is needed here so as not to assimilate them into one single mode of thinking. While there are many obvious similarities between the liturgies I am examining, it is important to keep in mind that the role of worship in Jewish and Christian life, respectively, is still somewhat different. While generalisations are always fraught with risk, it might be helpful to think of Jewish liturgy as halakhic, and

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[162] This preface is mentioned in the *Maḥzor Vitry* as the "great *qedushah*" and so seems to have been a part of Ashkenazic liturgy. A sensible conclusion would be that the Ashkenazic use is the younger.
This version was used daily in Rome before being replaced by נקדש, according to Elbogen for Kabbalistic reasons; Elbogen (1993), 37.

[163] In Rome: לָך.

[164] In Rome: הֲמוֹנֵי מַעְלָה עִם קְבוּצֵי מַטָּה.

[165] In Rome: כְּמָה שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר עַל יַד נְבִיאָך. In Baladi liturgy: וְכֵן כָּתוּב עַל יַד נְבִיאָך.

[166] In the Sephardic and Chassidic rites we have: הַמְשַׁלְּשִׁים לְךָ קְדֻשָּׁה, while Baladi Yemenites, following Maimonides, say: וּנְשַׁלֵּשׁ לְךָ קְדֻשָּׁה מְשֻׁלֶּשֶׁת.

traditional Christian liturgy as sacramental. Jewish liturgy, in this characterisation, is rooted in a life of Torah and its observance, as we saw above. To draw a theoretical line between liturgical worship and everyday halakhically informed life is almost impossible. Most of traditional Christian liturgy, on the other hand, is more readily understood as based on a strong sense of Divine agency through a set of ritual acts, sacraments, minimally baptism and the Eucharist.[167] Western Christian liturgy is, however, well-known for its dramatic rupture in the sixteenth century, and this severely complicates the picture of what Christian worship is and how it functions. I will return to some of those changes, but will start by introducing the medieval liturgy here, since it forms the basis of later revisions and reformations.

Affective Piety

The peculiar piety of the high and late Middle Ages had several distinguishing traits, one of which was its focus on sensory experiences: incense, bells, paintings and processions all involved the worshipper in a very palpable sense.[168] Creeping to the cross on Good Friday, carrying around the consecrated host on Palm Sunday, offering candles on Candlemas was part and parcel of the medieval worshipper's experience of the liturgy. Sometimes the theatricality of this was striking, as in the ritual of pulling a figure of Christ up through a hole in the church ceiling on Ascension Day. After the Christ figure disappeared above, noise would be produced to represent a battle in heaven between the forces of good and evil. A devil doll would then be thrown through the hole down onto the ground together with burning paper to show Satan, cast out of heaven.[169] This dramatic mode of Christian worship has been called "affective piety" by Caroline Walker Bynum, originally in the context of Cistercian monastic life.[170] In an English context, Eamon Duffy's groundbreaking work *The Stripping of the Altars* from 1992 has vividly described the engaging intensity of medieval piety. Others who have pushed this point are the researchers contributing to Klaus Schreiner's and Marc Müntz's collection of essays from 2002. In the introduction, Schreiner writes:

> Frauen und Männer [in the High and Late Middle Ages], die leben und leiden wollten wie ihr Heiland, trugen an ihren Körpern die Wundmale Christi. Bilder sollten Gottes Heilsabsichten verständlich und

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[167] Sometimes to the point where the tendency goes full circle and constrains Divine agency, as in the principle of *ex opere operato*. See Fahey (2009)
[168] Karant-Nunn (2010), 63-5; (1997), 107-108.
[169] Scribner (1988), 128-130.
[170] Karant-Nunn (2010), 63.

erfahrbar machen. Kurzum: Frömmigkeit hatte in der Zeit des Mittelalters eine gesellschaftliche, visuelle und körperliche Dimension.[171]

He uses the terms "somatische Frömmigkeit" or "spirituelle Sinnlichkeit" to capture this visually intense, physically engaging religious devotion.[172] In this culture, one specific ritual was the pivotal point of both worship and theology. In the twelfth century Mass, in which Christ is seen as miraculously present in bread and wine, became the Christian rite par excellence, steeped in this mode of somatic piety.[173] While this theology of physical presence was rarely a point of real disagreement for earlier writers,[174] it erupted into a controversy in the eleventh century, when for example Berengar of Tours (999-1088) after advocating a less literalist view of Christ's presence in the Eucharistic elements, was forced to make a profession of faith before the Synod of Rome (1059), asserting

> that the bread and wine placed on the altar are, after consecration, not only a sacrament but also the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; that they are truly and physically handled and broken by the priest, not just sacramentally, and are ground by the teeth of the faithful.[175]

According to the medieval understanding of Mass, with its elaborate doctrine of so-called transubstantiation, the Real Presence of Christ was central, and as Miri Rubin has shown, led to a whole range of new devotional practices, art traditions and theological debates fuelled by the conviction that Christ was literally present in the host.[176] But the high Middle Ages also saw the Roman push for a sacerdotal model of worship which meant that the role of the laity in the liturgy diminished considerably. After the fierce Investiture Controversy priests, rather than laity, were put at the centre of Christian worship and Mass became something to be seen, rather than received.[177] The priest sacrificed on behalf of the people, distant from them, often hidden behind a screen, facing *ad orientem*, speaking Latin, and whispering the most important part to himself. All masses were more or less private, with one communicant, the celebrating priest (if several priests formed a community together, they would each say their own mass), and on Sunday, they would have an audience in the form of a congregation.[178] It is in this

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[171] Schreiner & Müntz (2002), 9.
[172] Schreiner & Müntz (2002), 14.
[173] Rubin (1991), 12-82; Thibodeau (2006), 220, 235.
[174] Early Christian thinkers understood this in a number of different ways, from the more metaphorical, a tradition often traced to Augustine of Hippo (354-430), to the absolutely literalist, traced to Augustine's teacher Ambrose of Milan (ca. 340-397). See Rubin (1991), 16.
[175] Thibodeau (2006), 234.
[176] Rubin (1991).
[177] Rubin (1991), 12-13; Thibodeau (2006), 216-17, 225-6.
[178] Harper (1991), 110, 113-114.

medieval mode of worship that we get the full form of the modern Western *Sanctus*, which forms the basis of the later developments I will analyse in later chapters.

The *Sanctus*

The Christian ritual in which Isa. 6:3 figures most prominently is undoubtedly the *Sanctus*, the introduction to the Eucharistic or anaphoral prayer, also called the *Canon*, which forms the centrepiece of traditional Christian liturgy. It is found in almost all classical anaphoral prayers, East and West, from an early stage, albeit with a number of variations.[179] In the Latin Rite,

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[179] Spinks (1991), 1. The early exception is the anaphora of Hippolytus of Rome; Jungman (2012), II:132.
The origin of the *Sanctus* is a fascinating issue and while it is safe to say it is a well-ploughed field, what Bryan D. Spinks wrote in 1980 still holds true, that "[n]o one who is involved in the study of Eucharistic liturgy should need to be reminded that the origin of the Sanctus in the anaphora remains an unsolved puzzle…" Spinks (1980), 168. Already such seminal figures as Gregory Dix dealt with it, and it is from him that we get one of the first origin theories, as he locates it to Alexandria before 230 CE. See Dix (2005), 165. The central work here would, however, be that of Spinks (1991). Spinks contests the Egyptian lineage, arguing that it is not clear that any of the Christian occurrences of Isa. 6:3 before the fourth century are liturgical; Spinks (1991), 1-4. While Isa. 6:3, or close parallels, is mentioned in both Revelation 4 and in 1 Clement 34, and these could mirror an early Christian liturgical use, they by no means have to, as argued as early as 1951 by Willem Cornelis van Unnik. It is only in the *Euchologion*, the sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis (ca. 330-360) that we find a clear mention of the *Sanctus*. See Barrett-Lennard (1993), 25.
Against the Egyptian theory, Spinks argues for a Syrio-Palestinian background; Spinks (1991), 116, 194. One who was working simultaneously on the same issue was, however, Robert Taft who in 1991 and 1992 published a two-part article in which he points out that it is the Egyptian tradition that has a unique form of the *Sanctus* integral to the rest of the Eucharistic prayer, leading him to revive the Egyptian theory. See Taft (1992), 118-121; Spinks (1991), 116. Taft's argument is that the *Sanctus* was a late second-century Egyptian invention, growing out of Alexandrian Jewish exegesis. At the beginning of the fourth century this then spread to Palestine and Syria where its present form was influenced by the *Yotzer*; Taft (1992), 118-121).
The origin of the *Sanctus* is bound to raise questions whether it has Jewish antecedents. Here, answers diverge. While it is hard to pinpoint direct parallels it is hard to imagine an early Christian community, which we now know to have been perforated by Jewish influences, to have created their own liturgy using Isa. 6:3 and prefaces, without there having been some awareness of Jewish uses. For example, John Chrysostom felt the need for delivering his *Adversus Iudaeos* homilies as late as the end of the fourth century, in an attempt to persuade Christians to stop going between church and synagogue. He, and much of the state apparatus of the Byzantine Empire, could be shockingly anti-Jewish, but we have ample evidence that this did not always filter down to the general populace. In Sardis, for example, we have reason to believe that Jews and Christians lived amicably side by side, respecting each other's religious symbols and buildings while defacing pagan images, up until Sardis was destroyed in the seventh century; Crawford (1999), 190-198. There is also a case to be made for a shared interest in angels in Palestine and Syria, as many of our texts and rituals are likely to come from there: the *qedushah deYotzer*, the *Sanctus* (following Spinks), and the texts of Pseudo-Dionysius, may all have their origin in this area. This would not be the only topic on which Antiochian Christian and Jewish communities stayed in close contact; take the Syrian architectural tradition of having a *bima*/*bema*, a reading lectern, in the church, as in a synagogue. It is also clear that they shared some texts, such as the *Peshitta*. See Spinks (1980), 178.
Gabriele Winkler, too, traces the *Sanctus* to Syria, and thinks that "ein genetischer Zusammenhang zwischen der jüdischen Qedušša … un dem christlichen "Sanctus" mit dem "Benedictus" vorliegt." Winkler (2002), 113.
There are countless studies on the interconnectedness of Jewish and early Christian worship. See, for a general overview, Bradshaw & Hoffman (1991), and for the synagogue specifically, Fine (1999), and Olsson & Zetterholm (2003). I find it untenable to view the *Sanctus* as an originally Christian composition, and at the very least it should be clear that the *Sanctus* springs from the same Jewish theological and liturgical soil as the *qedushah* liturgies.
What should be apparent from the discussions about the origin of the *Sanctus* is that we should mind the advice of Paul Bradshaw, who writes that "we know much, much less about the liturgical practices of the first three centuries of Christianity than we once thought we did. A great deal more is shrouded in the mists of time than

which forms the basis for the other liturgies we will encounter, the *Sanctus* is introduced with a dialogue between the priest and the congregation, known as *sursum corda*, an exhortation to "lift up (your) hearts", followed, as in Jewish liturgy, by a preface, of which there are several versions, local and "proper", that is, specific to certain parts of the liturgical year. Then follows the *Sanctus*, and the so-called *Benedictus*.[180]

Priest: Dominus vobiscum	Priest: The Lord be with you.
Congregation: Et cum spiritu tuo.	Congregation: And with your spirit.
P: Sursum corda.	P: Lift up your hearts.
C: Habemus ad Dominum.	C: We lift them unto the Lord.
P: Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.	P: Let us thank the Lord our God.
C: Dignum et iustum est.	C: It is meet and right.
P: Vere dignum et iustum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus	P: It is very meet, right, just, and salutary, that we should at all times and in all places give thanks, holy Lord, almighty Father, eternal God,

<div align="center">Proper preface</div>

Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth.[181]	Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Sabaoth.
Pleni sunt cæli et terra gloria tua.	Heaven and earth are full of your glory.
Hosanna in excelsis.	Hosanna in the highest.

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we formerly imagined, and many of our previous confident assertions about 'what the early Church did' now seem more like wishful thinking or the unconscious projections back into ancient times of later practices." Bradshaw (2002), x. See, also, Reif, who wrote in the 1990s that "even the most basic facts about the early liturgical relationship between Jews and Christians must be rethought." Reif (1993), 10.

[180] Note that the *Sanctus* is a paraphrase, rather than a direct quote, of Isa. 6:3. It is in the second person, adds a "Deus" and has God's glory filling not just earth, but heaven too, while dropping the "whole." It should be pointed out that there seems to have been some fluidity in early Jewish uses of Isa. 6:3 (and Ezek. 3:12), which could lead to this. In Rev. 4:8 we find a paraphrase rather than a quote, and the second part of the paraphrase, with the added "heaven", is found already in the *Apostolic Constitutions* 7.35.3, in a thoroughly Jewish liturgical sequence, including the Ezek. 3:12 response: "and the holy seraphim, together with the six-winged cherubim, who sing to You their triumphal song, cry out with never-ceasing voices, *Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts! heaven and earth are full of Your glory*, and the other multitudes of the orders, angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, authorities, and powers cry aloud, and say, *Blessed be the glory of the Lord out of His place*." (Grisbrooke's translation) The same ending can be found in Asterius the Sophist's (d. c. 341) *Homily* 29. He also connects it to Ezek. 3:12, in another homily, as we will see. This latter half of the paraphrase would seem to accord with the Targumic translation. It can also be found in Serapion as well as in Theodore's text in the Mar Eshaya manuscript of the liturgy of Addai and Mari, which is from the eleventh or twelfth century but which records an Aramaic (Syriac) use of the phrase. See Spinks (1991), 117; Deiss (1979), 158; Cutrone (1973). Note also how in the Mozarabic rite, as in the *Te Deum*, "maiestatis" is also added.
The added "Deus" can be found in the Vulgate, which reads "Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus, Deus exercituum", but it does not have the second person address, nor does it add "heaven." The second person address would seem very hard to trace. For a full discussion on the form of the *Sanctus*, see Spinks (1991), 116-120.
[181] There are variants to this. In the Mozarabic Rite, for example, we find:
Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth.
Pleni sunt cæli et terra gloria maiestatis tuæ.
Hosanna filio David.
Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.
Hosanna in excelsis.
Hagios, hagios, hagios Kyrie o Theos.

Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.	Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord.
Hosanna in excelsis.	Hosanna in the highest.

This is then followed by the *Te igitur* prayer, which leads to the consecration of bread and wine. It should be noted that the practical performance of the *Sanctus* used to look different than in Protestant liturgies or the modern ordinary form of Roman Catholic Mass. Whereas the early performance of the *Sanctus* had continued the dialogical format of the *sursum corda* and been sung by the congregation in response to the priest, continuing in most cases the melody of the preface – making it a simple, recitative performance – in the eleventh century, after the general push for sacerdotal, rather than lay or charismatic, influence in the church, trained choirs or clerks took over much of the singing.[182] This is, not incidentally, when we see the melodies of the *Sanctus* develop into much more elaborate pieces.[183] We also know from sources such as Durand (IV:34.10) that the organ, if there was one, would sound during the *Sanctus*. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries came the introduction of the "Sanctus bells", which were rung thrice, for each "holy."[184] The congregation, who up until then tended to mind their own business in private prayer and devotion, would be aware that the miracle of Mass was about to happen. This all made for a dramatic point in the liturgy, emphasised further by the choreography of the medieval *Sanctus*, which involved bowing and making the sign of the cross for the *Benedictus*. In many of the medieval English rites, including Sarum, the priest would raise his arms for *Sanctus*, and then make the sign of the cross for *Benedictus*.[185] In the Roman liturgy, the priest would bow for *Sanctus* and stand for *Benedictus*.

One thing, however, that may strike someone used to modern Catholic and Protestant liturgies as peculiar is how in practice the medieval *Sanctus* was used to cover, rather than introduce, the Canon. The Canon, which was said inaudibly by the priest with his back turned towards the congregation, over time became overlaid with the choir singing the *Sanctus*, up to the actual words of institution, at which the priest, starting in the twelfth century, would elevate the bread and the cup, and bells would be rung.[186] Then, after elevation, the choir would sing the *Benedictus*.[187] This means that in practice, medieval worshippers might not immediately have connected the two, and in any event their whole experience of the Canon would be framed by

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[182] Couratin (1951); Jungmann (2012), II:120, 128-130; Keck (1998), 37.
[183] Jungmann (2012), II:130.n.10.
[184] Jungmann (2012), 131.n.22.
[185] Maskell (1846), 75.
[186] Duffy (1992), 95-96.
[187] See Jungman (2012), II:137.

the *Sanctus* and the *Benedictus*, as most medieval worshippers did not communicate but rather viewed elevation, during which the congregation would adore the consecrated host, as the high point of the liturgy.[188]

The prefaces

One of the most obvious points of contact – apart from Isa. 6:3 – between Jewish and Christian liturgy is the presence of a preface. We saw how in Jewish liturgy the prefaces provided an interpretative framework for Isa. 6:3 which differed depending on liturgical time and context. This is just as true of Christian worship, in which prefaces have played an important role in giving the biblical passages poetic and dogmatic context. While in Jewish liturgy there are three extant prefaces for the *qedushah deAmidah*, there is in the Western Church[189] an abundance of prefaces.[190] As it is mainly through the prefaces that we get an interpretative key to the *Sanctus*, it is surprising therefore to find in spite of this liturgical richness "the absence of any special preface for Sundays."[191] Typically, Sundays instead followed the preface of the last festival. After Pentecost, in the so-called Ordinary Time, there was a variety of prefaces. Josef Jungmann, writes:

> [I]n the eleventh century the prescription supposedly written by Pelagius II finally prevailed everywhere, and thus evidently the *praefatio communis* was at first used on Sundays, since it had already acquired this role at Rome perhaps as early as the sixth century, and generally took the lead among all the prefaces. Since the thirteenth century, however, the Trinity preface began to be used for Sundays. But it was not prescribed by Rome till 1759.[192]

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[188] Duffy (1992), 95.
[189] Not so in the East, where the Anaphora is usually fixed.
[190] The earliest extant liturgical book available to us, the *Sacramentarium Leonianum* from about the seventh century, has no less than 267 proper prefaces, one for each possible Mass, and the *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, which is only slightly younger, lists fifty-four, while the later *Gelasianum* in the St. Gall manuscript has 186, many of them on feasts of martyrs. This was heavily reduced over time until we get to the Gregorian sacramentary, which was sent by Pope Adrian I to Charlemagne and which contained only fourteen prefaces. Later these would be further reduced, to only seven. This short list then grew somewhat longer again later on in the Middle Ages, although a standard number of eleven proper prefaces seems to have become the norm. See Jungmann (2012), II:118-121). William Durand, writing in the thirteenth century, notes that while "in the past, there were innumerable Prefaces, today there are only ten that are canonically approved." (*Rationale*, IV.33.35). He writes that there were nine he believes were written and approved by Pope Pelagius; the ones for Easter week, Ascension, Pentecost, Christmas, Epiphany, The Dispersion of the Apostles, Trinity Sunday, the Feast of the Cross, and Lent. He then adds: "But Pope Urban added a tenth Preface, for the Blessed Virgin Mary…" (IV.33.36). To this, however, there were plenty of regional and temporary exceptions. The Ambrosian Rite of Milan, for example, still has over two hundred prefaces.
[191] Jungmann (2012), II:121.
[192] Jungmann (2012), II:123.

These two prefaces, the so-called *praefatio communis* and the preface for Trinitytide, warrant a brief presentation here. The *praefatio communis*, which can be seen as the "standard" preface, picks up after the introduction *Vere dignum* and reads:

per Christum Dominum nostrum, per quem maiestatem tuam laudant angeli, adorant dominationes, tremunt potestates, cœli cœlorumque virtutes ac beata Seraphin socia exultatione concelebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti jubeas deprecamur, supplici confessione dicentes…	through Christ our lord, through whom angels praise your majesty; Dominions adore, Powers tremble, Heavens and the Powers of the Heavens, and the blessed *seraphim*, with united gladness celebrate you. With whom we beseech you that we may be admitted to join our humble voices saying…

Here, as in Jewish prefaces, we are presented with a number of different creatures, this time culled not just from the Hebrew Bible but New Testament passages too (Eph. 1:21 and Col. 1:16). These creatures, "dominions", "powers" etc., praise God *per Christum Dominum nostrum*, and Christian worshippers can join them in this. This preface then culminates in the actual *Sanctus*.

While there are several other prefaces,[193] the other important one for us is the preface for Trinitytide, the long period between Trinity Sunday in the summer, and Advent in late autumn or winter. Francis Procter and Walter H. Frere trace the development of Trinity Sunday to the English Sarum (Salisbury) traditions, and the eleventh century.[194] As Jungmann mentions, it rose to prominence around the thirteenth century, and merits quoting in full, as it may be one of the clearest expressions of dogmatic meticulousness in Western liturgy, and one that bears directly on the reception of Isa. 6:3:

Qui cum Unigenito Filio tuo et Spiritu Sancto unus es Deus, unus es Dominus: non in unius singularitate personæ, sed in unius Trinitate substantiæ.	Who with your only-begotten Son and Holy Spirit are one God, one Lord, not in the unity of a single person, but in a Trinity of one substance.
Quod enim de tua gloria, revelante te, credimus, hoc de Filio tuo, hoc de Spiritu Sancto, sine discretione sentimus.	For that which you have revealed to us of your glory that we also believe of your Son, that also of the Holy Spirit,

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[193] Like the *Et ideo* preface: "Et ideo cum Angelis et Archangelis cum Thronis et Dominationibus cumque omni militia cœlestis exercitus hymnum gloriæ tuæ canimus, sine fine dicentes…"

[194] Proctor & Frere (1902), 548. Jungmann, however, writes that it "could have originated in Spain and thus be dated back to the 7th century." Jungmann (2012), II:120. n. 28.

Ut in confessione veræ sempiternæque Deitatis,	so that, in confessing the true and eternal Godhead,
et in personis proprietas,	we adore the distinction of persons,
et in essentia unitas,	and their oneness in being,
et in maiestate adoretur æqualitas.	and their equality in majesty.

Quem laudant Angeli atque Archangeli,	Which angels and archangels praise,
Cherubim quoque ac Seraphim,	*cherubim* too and *seraphim*,
qui non cessant clamare quotidie, una voce	who never cease to cry out each day,
dicentes…	and acclaim with one voice…

This medieval preface, the standard one throughout the longest period of the liturgical year, mentions, on the one hand, the theology of Trinitarianism with God carefully defined as one Deity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and on the other, a whole host of celestial beings praising God. In the *praefatio communis* we find a list including "Dominions", "Powers" and "*seraphim*", and in the Trinity preface there are also "angels", "archangels" and "*cherubim*."

In the following chapter, this heavily populated heaven is what I will be focussing on, as I examine how Jewish and Christian liturgical traditions have interpreted the creatures of Isa. 6:3, and the celestial companions they are thrown together with in the history of the reception of this text.

Chapter 1. Holy the Hideous Human Angels – The Identity of the *Seraphim*

In Charles Taylor's 1823 edition of French Benedictine scholar Antoine Augustine Calmet's (1672-1757) *Dictionary of the Holy Bible*, the entry "SERAPHIM" reads:

> SERAPHIM, שרפים, *burning, full of fire ;* from שרף *sharaph, to burn :* or *flying serpent…*
>
> I.   ZERAPHIM, צרפים, is used to signify goldsmiths or founders…
>
> II.   SERAPHIM, or SARAPHIM, is the name given to those fiery serpents, which destroyed the Israelites in the desart [sic], Numbers xxi. 6…
>
> III.   SERAPHIM, שרפים *Sheraphim*, Isaiah, vi. 2, denotes a kind of angels, around the throne of the Lord : each had six wings; with two of which he covered his face, with two he covered his feet, and flew with the two others. They cried to one another, and said ; *Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts! the whole earth is full of his glory!* The word *Seraphim*, in this place, is wrote with שׁ *shin* ; but the signification is the same as if it had been wrote with צ *tzade*. In the distinction of angels, *Seraphim* are put first ; above *Cherubim*.[195]

If this passage sounds familiar, it is because modern readers of the Bible tend to still understand these creatures along similar lines. Apart from the dubious coupling with צרפים, many researchers today would, for example, make a certain distinction between the occurrence of the word שרף in Isaiah 6 and the rest of the Hebrew Bible. While they might not go unchallenged if they were to argue explicitly for *seraphim* being angels, there is a marked resistance to relating their identity to what the rest of the Hebrew Bible seems to suggest about the term שרף. If we look at every single other occurrence of the word outside of Isaiah 6 (Num. 21:6-8, Deut. 8:15, Isa. 14:29 and Isa. 30:6), it always refers to a snake, and is often even used in parallelisms with the words נחש and אפעה.[196] In all other passages except Isaiah 6 and Isa. 14:29,[197] they are to be found in the desert,[198] and in all passages, except (perhaps) Isaiah 6, they are dangerous to humans.[199] Yet a distinction is often made between the *seraphim* of Isaiah 6 and elsewhere. Centuries after Calmet, we find Brevard S. Childs in his commentary on Isaiah draw the same line of distinction as he writes on the *seraphim* in Isa. 6:2: "Only in this passage do such seraphim appear."[200] He adds, somewhat impatiently:

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[195] Taylor (1823).
[196] Morenz & Schorch (1997), 366-8.
[197] Which does not specify geography.
[198] Hartenstein (2007), 164.
[199] Morenz & Schorch (1997), 367. In all mentions in Isaiah they fly.
[200] Childs (2001), 55.

> Using ancient Near Eastern parallels, scholars have found some apparent antecedents, especially from Egypt, of ferocious, serpent-like guardians of the sacred precincts. However, the parallels do not aid greatly in the interpretation of chapter 6 and provide, at best, some distant background.[201]

What makes us assume that the *seraphim* in Isaiah 6 are any different from the unambiguously snake-like *seraphim* of other passages? And what makes it so easy, as we see Calmet do, to segue from these creatures to the *cherubim*, as we see in a number of contemporary commentaries?[202] Professional researchers aside, it should be clear to any reader that most people associate "seraphs", together with "cherubs", with angels in general. Why is that?

These are questions that will guide this chapter. Calmet effortlessly connects the *seraphim* and the *cherubim*, and in this he is far from alone. When discussing Isaiah 6 liturgically, we step into a long tradition of relating it to other biblical passages – from Ezekiel to New Testament sources – and a rich web of intertextual references that gives the *seraphim* context. This chapter will deal with the question: what are the *seraphim*? What do they look like, apart from their wings? How many are they? Are they a throng or are they as few as two? Does the etymology of the word שרף give any clues to their nature? And what is their relationship to other creatures mentioned in the Bible, such as *cherubim* and angels? It is far from clear how to understand the identity, nature or function of these creatures in their biblical context. In this chapter I look at their identity in Jewish and Christian liturgy, and the theological backgrounds to these liturgies, as they have determined the popular conception of *seraphim*.

"Heav'n, and All This Mighty Host" – S*eraphim* & Company
Glimpsing Heaven in the *Qedushot*

That identifying these creatures has not been an easy task can be seen throughout history. We can see, however, that they were already at an early stage incorporated into new theological contexts which still have some influence today. When connecting *seraphim* with a host of other beings from the Hebrew Bible, we do so in a tradition that is already well established in the *qedushah deYotzer*. Here, at the break of dawn, "all of" the *seraphim* "accept upon themselves the yoke of the kingdom of heaven" and give one another permission to say, "all of them as one", the exclamation of Isa. 6:3. In this they are far from alone: "the '*ophannim* and the holy creatures, with a sound of a mighty rumbling" respond, with Ezek. 3:12. The *Yotzer* describes a world heavily populated with different beings that engage in a liturgical call and response on

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[201] Childs (2001), 55.
[202] See Wildberger (1972), 246-7, and Blenkinsopp (2000), 225.

high.[203] The *Yotzer* is not the only example of this. The Second Temple period in general and the centuries following it saw Jews, and later Christians, intensely curious about the heavenly realms, and imagery similar to the *Yotzer* can be found in material such as 1 Enoch 71:7-8, 3 Enoch 39-40, and in aggadic material found in the Talmud.[204] And this is not just theological imagery, it is also textual re-imagining: the specific combination of Isaiah and Ezekiel to enrich, perhaps even engender, this scene can also be found in much early material, including 1 Enoch and the Book of Revelation, again suggesting a rich, commonly shared set of ideas.[205]

In all these texts, we find a heavenly court, in which different creatures participate in a celestial liturgy. The creatures in question are culled from different biblical passages, especially Isaiah 6 and Ezekiel 1-3, but already at an early historical stage one can notice shifts. One such shift is that they are all subsumed under the general category "angels", making it possible to put many of the diverse mythical creatures of the Hebrew Bible into one more or less coherent system. While Jewish theology did not develop a monolithic system of angelic species or hierarchies, it did, in effect, transform the concept of heavenly creatures to all fit into one framework.[206] It is in this era and in these liturgies that we first find the concept of *seraphim* – and *cherubim* et al. – being angels, all part of the same system. Rowland writes that

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[203] The Amidah, too, involves at least two groups of creatures responding to each other. Between Isa. 6:3 and Ezek. 3:12 is a short bridge. In the Ashkenazic and Roman rites this (in the נקדש preface) is לְעֻמָּתָם בָּרוּךְ יֹאמֵרוּ, "Those facing them say 'Blessed'", and in the Sephardic, Romaniote and Chassidic rites it is לְעֻמָּתָם מְשַׁבְּחִים וְאוֹמְרִים, "Those facing them praise and say..." In the Baladi Yemenite rite it is מְשַׁבְּחִים וְאוֹמְרִים, "They praise and say..." So here we have another group, apart from the first, reciting Ezek. 3:12 back at the first group, which recites the *qedushah*. These short descriptions are probably all abridged versions of the one used on Shabbat and festivals, where the first group is identified as *seraphim*. In this version, the bridge between Isa. 6:3 and Ezek. 3:12 reads: אָז בְּקוֹל רַעַשׁ גָּדוֹל אַדִּיר וְחָזָק מַשְׁמִיעִים קוֹל מִתְנַשְּׂאִים לְעֻמַּת שְׂרָפִים לְעֻמָּתָם בָּרוּךְ יֹאמֵרוּ, "Then, with a sound of a mighty rumbling, mighty and strong, they make their voice heard and, raising themselves towards the *seraphim*, they say over against them 'Blessed'."
Presumably, this group responding to the *seraphim* are the creatures of Ezekiel's vision, judging both by the quote and the fact that the language of Ezek. 3:12 (קול רעש גדול [ב]) is worked into this bridge. We saw above that where this bridge is used in the *qedushah* of *Yotzer*, the *'ophannim* and the "holy creatures" are explicitly identified. The end, לעמתם ברוך יאמרו, is what is left in the Ashkenazic weekday version and it has clear echoes in the other rites as well, all seeming to presuppose this lengthier formulation.
[204] See b.*Ḥullin* 91b-92a. See also b.*Ḥagigah* 13b. Hedegård, 1951. 47-9. Connections between Enochian material and Qumranic has been noted by, for example, Schiffman (1991), 127-8, and Gruenwald (1988), 166-7.
[205] In 1 Enoch 39:5-13, we find both the combination of Isa. 6:3, a "blessed" formula and the idea of countless singers. The expression "Lord of spirits" is likely an interpretation of צבאות. See Black (1985), 198. That there is some variation between Ezek. 3:12, the liturgical formulation ברוך שם כבוד מלכותו לעולם ועד, as well as other, related forms, is noted by Odeberg, 1928. 118. Dating 1 Enoch is hard, but Schiffman argues that it is "a composite of materials, mostly from the second century B.C.E., the final redaction of which must be dated after the completion of the Parables section (chaps. 37-71) sometime in the late first century C.E." Schiffman (1991), 128. Similar material on angels can be found both in- and outside of chapters 37-71.
[206] Kuhn (1948), 219. Maimonides, ever the categoriser counts ten angelic classes, in descending order: *ḥayyot haQodesh*, *'ophannim*, *'erelim*, *Ḥashmalim*, *seraphim*, *malakhim*, *Elohim*, *b'nei Elohim*, *cherubim* and *ishim*. (*Mishneh Torah, Yesodei haTorah* 2:7) Interestingly, Maimonides concurs with the *Corpus* in that he sees angels as immaterial, and ranked according to their knowledge about the Divine. (2:3-8)

> The living creatures have an important part to play in Jewish and Christian angelology. In later Jewish works we find that angelic status is also given to other parts of the divine throne-chariot. Thus, for example, the hubs (*ophannim*) of the chariot have become a class of angels in the heavenly world. This has happened already in 1 Enoch 71:7, where the *ophannim* along with the *cherubim* and *seraphim* guard the throne of glory.[207]

In most of these instances, the creatures are described as numerous, perhaps inspired by Dan. 7:10, and while there is no explicit mention of numbers in the *Yotzer*, the כל צבא מרום, "the whole host on high", of the Shabbat version אל אדון and the repeated כלם, "all of them", suggests that the *Yotzer* is part of a tradition that describes vast angelic choirs. Whereas the biblical text does not specify the number of *seraphim*, Jewish liturgy comes down firmly on the side of large numbers. This is also evident from the כתר יתנו לך preface to the *qedushah deAmidah* which mentions "the angels, the multitudes above" (מלאכים המוני מעלה).[208] Across the Jewish and early Christian spectrum, a system developed in which the *seraphim* were not understood in isolation but tied to creatures from other biblical passages. One could reasonably claim that one of the factors contributing to the rise of this concept of angelic divisions comes from the very intertextual linking of Isaiah 6 and Ezekiel 1-3. Through linking these two together, some harmonisation became necessary, giving rise to further speculation. We see this in, for example, Rev. 4:6-8,[209] where the creatures of Ezekiel's vision are literally combined with the *seraphim* of Isaiah 6:

> In the center, around the throne, were four living creatures, and they were covered with eyes, in front and in back. The first living creature was like a lion, the second was like an ox, the third had a face like a man, the fourth was like a flying eagle. Each of the four living creatures had six wings and was covered with eyes all around, even under its wings. Day and night they never stop saying: "'Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God Almighty,' who was, and is, and is to come."[210]

Why Isaiah 6 and Ezekiel 3 came to be recited and interpreted together is not altogether clear but I would argue that one reason is theological.[211] These were both seen as reports of the

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[207] Rowland (1982), 88.

[208] The only Rabbinic source, to my knowledge, which describes the *seraphim* as being as few as two is *Pirqei deRabbi Eliezer* IV, a text which is hard to date because of its many redactions but which contains many parallels to 1 Enoch; Friedlander (1916), xxvii-xxxvi. According to Gerald Friedlander the final redaction could be as late as the ninth century, but it seems to contain material from before the first century CE.; Friedlander (1916), liii-liv.

[209] A chapter that "shows no evidence at all of Christian influence, and, treated in isolation ... is entirely Jewish in its inspiration." (Rowland (1982), 222-223. In general, there is a fairly stable consensus that Revelation in general is a Jewish apocalypse with added Christian material. See Massyngberde Ford (1975). For the many connections to Aramaic Jewish material in Rev 4:8, see Spinks (1991), 48-49, and for possible connections to Jewish (albeit perhaps not "Christian") liturgical practices, see Mowry (1952).

[210] New International Version translation.

[211] David J. Halperin, however, points to parallels in the texts themselves: a prophet, whose mouth becomes prepared for prophesying, sees winged creatures associated with fire and rumbling attending a throne, giving cryptic but suggestive exclamations. According to him, the intermingling of the sound of the creatures in

Divine throne and so had to be consonant with each other. In b.Ḥagigah 13b the Rabbis assume that "all that which Ezekiel saw, Isaiah saw", and that these two prophets cannot contradict each other, with Isaiah being "like a king" and Ezekiel "like a peasant." Presumably, the Divine messages they receive cannot be contradictory. The reason these two texts are combined then, is that they are seen as unique records of the Divine world, the only first-hand glimpses into the liturgy of the angels.[212]

Liturgical Communion: A *Qedushah* is a *Qedushah* is a *Qedushah*?

I noted how in the prefaces to the *qedushah deAmidah*, especially outside of Ashkenaz, there were references to a "three-fold *qedushah*" (קדושה משולשת). I will explore this in further depth in the next chapter but this idea, that there is a heavenly liturgy said by the *seraphim*, also bears directly on how angels have been perceived in Jewish liturgical life. The *Yotzer* seems to have Qumranic parallels which are especially clear when it comes to the connection between creation (specifically of light) and angelic praise.[213] But the *Amidah*, too, shows some affinity for beliefs also found at Qumran. While Collins, above, accentuated the "mainstream" nature of much of qumranic angelic theology, he also points out that certain aspects do seem to be more Qumran-specific: "One of the most distinctive features of the Qumran sect was the belief that the members of the community were *ipso facto* companions to the hosts of heaven and so living an angelic life, even on earth."[214] Björn Frennesson has characterised this as "liturgical communion with angels."[215] He points out that while the concept of angelic praise in heaven seems biblical, "the idea of them performing a priestly sacrificial service would be a later

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Ezekiel with the sound of the wheels opposite them, suggests another parallel to the antiphonal call of the *seraphim* in Isaiah 6. He notes that the parallels are stronger with the text as we have it today, with ברוך in Ezek. 3:12; Halperin (1988), 45.

[212] Another example of an attempt at harmonising these two prophetical accounts can be seen in the discussion *ad loc* concerning the number of wings in the two passages. The interpretative problem is that while Isaiah sees six-winged *seraphim*, Ezekiel sees four-winged creatures. The explanation of the Rabbis is that the six-winged *seraphim* of Isaiah's vision lost a pair of wings with the fall of the temple, so that Ezekiel sees creatures with only four wings (Ezek. 1:6). Apparently, all angels are assumed to have the same number of wings (rather than the two creatures being combined, as they are in Revelation 4)
On a sidenote should be added that Daniel 7, while often alluded to, does not seem to inhabit this privileged position, possibly because it is not from the Prophets.

[213] This comes out clearly in the *Hymn to the Creator* (11QPsᵃ) where the angels sing as God separates light from darkness. (v. 4-5) The tight connection between creation and angels can also be found in the 4QJubᵃ which according to Raija Sollamo represents "one of the first steps towards depictions of a heavenly temple service with a priestly hierarchy of the angels, a development which is seen one step further in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice…" Sollamo (2006), 276-7. She traces these ideas to texts across the Jewish spectrum in the third and second centuries BCE; Sollamo (2006), 289-90. James Davila notes that there are many parallels between the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and Merkavah literature as well as Revelation; Davila (2000), 12; 91.

[214] Collins (2000), 23. While the uniqueness of this may be somewhat overstated, as it depends on some early version of later Rabbinic liturgy not already being used, this is a sentiment that is found frequently in Qumran texts. But some shared human-angelic celebration of the Shabbat also seems to be the case in Jubilees 2:17-24.

[215] Frennesson (1999), 37.

innovation."[216] He continues: "This goes also for the notion that men actually 'join the angels in their praise', a notion which is 'first made explicit in the writings of the Qumran sect.'"[217] This is an idea that comes out with full force in the *Amidah* and here performance is the key to understand both theology and textual interpretation. The texts of the *qedushah deYotzer* and the *qedushah deAmidah* are similar: they both describe *seraphim*, interacting with other creatures in a shared liturgy consisting of Isa. 6:3 and Ezek. 3:12. But the way they are performed in the liturgy sets them apart. While superficially similar these rituals are, in fact, almost each other's opposites.

While the *qedushah deYotzer* has undergone a series of changes, especially during the Middle Ages, it is known as the *qedushah deYeshivah*, "the sitting *qedushah*", for a reason. It does not have a choreography, format or melodic pattern of its own. Modern non-Ashkenazic *halakhah* is that one must sit for it, even if one was previously standing, clearly downplaying its status, and even the somewhat less prescriptive stance of Ashkenazim is that it is preferable to sit. [218] This is in stark contrast to the rich choreography of the *qedushah deAmidah*, to which the *qedushah deYotzer* stands in a dialectic halakhic relationship. For the *qedushah* of the *Amidah* one must stand with one's feet together, mimicking the straight legs of the creatures of Ezekiel.[219] In the preface, which the congregation usually reads before or along with the prayer leader, there is an unwritten but widely spread custom to turn one's face to the left and then to the right at the words זה in וקרא זה אל זה ואמר, imitating the call and response of the *seraphim*. When responding one rises on one's toes once for every קדוש of Isa. 6:3, as well as for ברוך of

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[216] Frennesson (1999), 37-38.

[217] Frennesson (1999), 38. In part quoting Weinfeld (1983), 429. See also, Chazon (2000); (2003).

[218] Halakhically, there have been many different positions on the status of the *Yotzer*. Sa'adia Gaon (882-942) and Moses Maimonides (c.1135-1204) hold that the *qedushah* of *Yotzer* is included among the "holy" segments of the liturgy. (*Mishne Torah, Hilkhot Tefillah* 7:17. See m.*Megillah* 4:3) The thirteenth-century Ashkenazic glosses on Maimonides, *HaGaḥot Maimoniyot* 90 and Asher ben Yehiel, the "Rosh" (c.1250-1327), *Ad Megillah* 3:7 (*beSof*), however, are of the opinion that one may say it on one's own. Throughout medieval times the debate of the nature and importance of this *qedushah* has raged, (See for example Rosh on *B'rakhot* 3:18 (*beSof*), and rabbeinu Yonah on *B'rakhot* 13a) leading the author of the incomparably influential sixteenth-century legal code the *Shulḥan Arukh* (*OḤ* 59:3) to present both opinions and eventually settle for a compromise: one may say it on one's own, but one should say it according to its cantillation, so that one only "reads" it as from a Bible, and does not actually "pray" it. The *Rema*, the Ashkenazic glosses on the *Shulḥan Arukh*, lessens its status further, denying it holy status altogether. This seems to be the position of later halakhic works. (*Mishna Berurah* 59:12, *Magen Avraham* 59:2, *Sharei Teshuvah* 59:3, *Ben Ish Ḥai* (*Shemot* 2). *P'ri Etz Ḥayyim* (*Ḥazarat Amidah* 4) and *Kaf HaḤayyim* 59:20 extend this to *Uva LeTziyon*. According to *Halakhah Berurah* 59:11 one should sit, even if one was standing before.

[219] *Shulḥan Arukh, Oraḥ Ḥayyim* 125:2. This is mentioned in the first major legal code, the *Arba'a Turim*, written by Yaakov ben Asher (1270-c.1340), *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* 125. He also mentions a difference in Sephardic and Ashkenazic custom, in that Sepharadim would lower their eyes when reciting the *qedushah*, while Ashkenazim would raise them. Interestingly, Yaakov ben Asher finds support for this custom in *Heikhalot* writings.
The idea of angels having stiff legs is found in the Talmud (b.*B'rakhot* 10b), based on Ezek. 1:7. Rashi, on Isa. 6:2, bases himself on the *Midrash Tanḥuma'* and writes that the *seraphim* use their wings to cover their legs, which are straight like that of calves, so as not to remind God of the sin of the Golden Calf.

Ezek. 3:12 and ימלֹךְ of Ps. 146:10, which caps off the *qedushah* liturgy.[220] All this is to physically enact the flight of the angels.[221] The lines are frequently blurred between joining the angels and representing them, but it would seem that the liturgical enactment minimally creates a moment in which worship, and the worshipping community itself, is seen as being shot through with the presence of angels. The whole crux around the halakhic debates concerning the performance of the *qedushot* of the *Yotzer* and the *Amidah* is a theology of angelic presence. While in the *Yotzer*, the consensus arrived at assumes that the worshippers are one step removed from the angelic liturgy, in the *Amidah* they are in the midst of it.[222] As Jewish religious practices have generally been regulated by different forms of aniconism, there is not much art that depicts the celestial hosts. Instead, the worshippers themselves are, for a short liturgical moment, the most tangible representation of the angels. The choreography of the *qedushah*, and the antiphonal format, is the closest the choir invisible comes to visibility.[223] In the *Amidah*, the worshippers are not just *describing* the angelic praise, but are actively *participating* in it. Ruth Langer writes, on the *qedushah*:

> The theophanies of Isaiah and Ezekiel presented to the world tantalizing glimpses of the workings of the heavenly realms. Subsequent generations understood these visions to represent an ongoing reality, one that mystic adepts might themselves perceive. Even simple people, under proper circumstances, might regularly participate in the angelic praise of God by ritual recitation of the words these prophets heard.[224]

Note that this also implies that the *seraphim* are anthropomorphic, at least enough so that it makes sense for human worshippers to use their bodies to represent them.

This attention to the presence of angels and the function of the performance also applies to the third *qedushah*, the *qedushah deSidra'*, which is of less interest to us but contains some

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[220] *Beit Yosef* and Rama on *Oraḥ Ḥayyim* 125:2, quoting midrashic material, *Mishnah Berurah* 6. For earlier sources for this custom, see the material listed by Gruenwald (1988). 168, n. 101. The first clear mention seems to be the *Midrash Tanḥuma, Tzav* 13, which would seem to be from between the fifth to seventh century. While originally this seems to have been the custom only while reciting Isa. 6:3, the custom of raising one's heels also for Ezek. 3:12 and Ps. 146:10 is mentioned by rabbi Yeshayahu haLevi Horowitz (c.1565-1630), in his *Sh'ney Luḥot haB'rit* (*Masekhet Tamid, Ner Mitzvah*) where he says that he has received that tradition. An earlier custom seems to have been to bow for these two verses and then straighten before the Divine name, just as for the other liturgical bows in the *Amidah*, where one bows for the beginning of the benediction but not for the Divine name. This custom is mentioned in the *Mishnah Berurah* in the name of the Maharil (Yaakov ben Moshe Levi Moelin, c.1365-1427), but the author (Yisrael Meir Kagan, 1839-1933) notes that it was not performed like that in his day. (*Mishnah Berurah* 125:1:2)

[221] An especially quaint alternative explanation is the one given in the thirteenth-century *piyyut* commentary *Arugat haBosem*, purportedly citing the Palestinian Talmud, which explains that the angels get so excited when the Jews say the *qedushah* that they start jumping to catch a glimpse of the Divine face. The Jews, then, need to stand tiptoe in order to see anything from "the back row." See Gruenwald (1988), 168. My thanks to Eliezer Kaunfer for this source.

[222] For an investigation into the relationship between the *qedushah* of Israel and the angels, see Costa (2016).

[223] Hoffman writes, on the Merkavah traditions and the format of the liturgy itself: "antiphony was selected with deliberate intent, because it represented the conscious patterning of human praise after Isaiah's description of the way the angels praise God." Hoffman (1987), 160-161.

[224] Langer (1998), 188.

important peculiarities.[225] That too (a sequence said towards the end of the morning liturgy as a "denouement" to the *Amidah*) is said sitting, without any particular choreography.[226] It is the remnant of a study section, rather than prayer,[227] and again, the main issue concerning its performance seems to be the interaction with angels. One influential argument, cited in the *Beit Yosef*, written by Joseph Karo (1488-1575), the author of the *Shulḥan Arukh*, is that of rabbi Yonah,[228] who writes that here one is only learning verses about the angelic liturgy, one is not actually performing them, and so this is not a holy matter which would require a *minyan*.[229] As with the *Yotzer* we see the halakhic discussion homing in on a theologically pregnant issue: where are the angels in the liturgy? When the worshippers are reciting these verses, are they doing so together with them?

The performative side of all *qedushah* liturgies is regulated by a keen awareness of an invisible presence of angels, and this has not only come to influence choreography and melodies but the very language of the liturgy, or at least the understanding of it.[230] One peculiarity of the *qedushah deSidra'* is that each of the biblical verses (Isa. 6:3, Ezek. 3:12 and Exod. 15:18,

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[225] It is explicitly mentioned in the Talmud, b.*Sotah* 49a. According to Elbogen, this *qedushah* is older than that of *Yotzer* and of Babylonian origin; Elbogen (1993), 61-2. I do not find this convincing, however, as Elbogen seems to have underestimated the age of the *Yotzer*.

[226] This was not the case among medieval sources: both Sa'adia (in the case of *qedushat haYotzer*), Maimonides (*Mishne Torah*, *Qriyat Sh'ma* 7:17) and the *Zohar* (*Yitro* 34a, quoted by *Beit Yosef*) hold that these *qedushot* are holy and that a *minyan* is required for their recitation. Ran on b.*Megillah* 13b holds that the *qedushah* of *Yotzer* should only be said in a *minyan*, while the *qedushah deSidra'* is not holy and can be said by an individual. The same position is held by Nachmanides (*Likutim*, Beginning of *B'rakhot* s.v. *VaAni Evin, Shulhan Arukh* 59:3, Rabbeinu Yeruḥam (3:3), and Rivevan on b.*B'rakhot* 45b. See also *Masekhet Sof'rim* 16:12.

[227] Reif (2006), 77. There is also a tradition to read it after scriptural texts, such as Ps. 90:17-91:15 on Saturday night, after the scroll of Esther on Purim and the book of Lamentations on Tisha b'Av; Liebreich (1948), 203; Elbogen (1993), 70. This is the understanding of Rashi, too, on b.*Sotah* 49a, where he sees this section as being designed to let the average Jew get at least a minimum of Torah study every day.
See, Reif (2006), 81: "The study of Torah makes its appearance [in the siddur] both as one of the observant Jew's duties and in the form of texts that are cited from rabbinic literature. These are so successfully welded into the body of the prayer-book that they are effectively treated as liturgy rather than education."

[228] *Ad* b.*B'rakhot* 13a (*veniqdashti*).

[229] For the issue of what type of act this recitation is, and what it means for mistakes, repetition and liturgical setting, see the very helpful discussion in Langer (1998), 188-244.

[230] One of the weaknesses of earlier research on Jewish liturgy is the tendency to ignore magically or mystically inclined ritual expressions. Angels are very much present in Jewish worship: take the invocation of Michael, Gabriel, Uriel and Raphael during the bedside *Shema'*, the silent meditation on Zevadyah in the Hallel in many Sephardic and Arabic rites, the invocation of the angel Af-B'ri in the Prayer for Rain on *Sh'mini Atzeret*, or the Talmudic practice of taking leave of the angels before entering the privy. That these aspects of Jewish prayer received little attention before the work of Gershom Scholem and, decades after him, the recent boom in research on Jewish mysticism, is not surprising. Take Elbogen, who writes of the so-called Ḥasidei Ashkenaz that "the whole movement was one of unhealthy extremes; the period was deficient in clear and prudent thinking" and of the kabbalistic traditions that they "spelled a fateful regression in the history of the Jewish religion." Elbogen (1993), 290, 291. Zunz too writes, of the influence of Lurianic kabbalah, that "no rite was spared… Innumerable prayers beginning with "May it be Your will," names of angels, and sefirotic bombast immortalized superstition and spirit worship. What was significant in public worship was pushed to the background, and in its place came charms and talismans filling the prayer books and the heads of the masses." Zunz (1859), 149-150, in Elbogen (1993), 293. For this tendency to denigrate (and edit out) mystical poetry in favour of biblical and Talmudic material in the liturgy, see Reif (1993), 269-271

which replaces Ps. 146:10) is followed by its Aramaic Targum translation.[231] This is strange, as the Rabbis were generally not in favour of praying in Aramaic, even stating that the angels do not understand Aramaic and so cannot deliver such prayers to God.[232] In the seminal kabbalistic work the *Zohar* (2:129a-b), there is a fascinating explanation of how these three *qedushot* work together in the liturgy: in the *qedushah deYotzer* the Jewish worshippers are praising and flattering the angels to convince them to let the worshippers through the supernal spheres until they reach the level of holiness at which they can actually participate in the *qedushah*, in the *Amidah*. Then, after the *Amidah*, the worshippers say one final *qedushah*, but followed by the Aramaic translation so that the angels will not detect it. Thus, the Jews surpass the angels in piety, without incurring their wrath. According to this medieval understanding, then, humans are not cooperating with the angels here – quite the contrary, as they try to outperform them under their noses, speaking a language the angels will not understand.

Jewish liturgy, then, stands in a close relationship to a celestial liturgy. This liturgy is described as well as assumed in the *Amidah*. The main difference between the *qedushah* of the *Amidah* and the other two is, however, that this *qedushah* is not about *recounting* this praise but to *participate in* it. The liturgy is designed to enact it on earth. The physical enactment is thus an act of biblical interpretation, lived out in the worship shared with these creatures – the *seraphim* – thought of as present among, and represented by, the worshipping community. This all presupposes that the *seraphim* can be invisibly present among humans, that they are not bound to a temple or the immediate Jerusalem-based presence of God, that they are, in fact, invisible (far from obvious in Isaiah 6!) and that they stand in a liturgical relationship to humans.

Christian Angelology and the *Sanctus*

Going from Jewish to Christian liturgy and the *Sanctus* is a rather unproblematic matter. This is so because there is a remarkable consensus on the issue of angels, at least in liturgical expression. In the fourth-century *Apostolic Constitutions*, in a passage generally held to be of Jewish origin,[233] we find a *Sanctus*, in which there is a very lengthy preface mentioning how God as the creator, through his "only-begotten Son"

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[231] For a good overview of the *Uva leTziyon go'el*, see Liebreich, 1948, although I do not share his conclusions that it was originally a *b'rakhah*.
[232] See b.*Shabbat* 12b; b.*Sotah* 33a.
[233] For a thorough discussion, see Fiensy (1985). He is of the opinion that it is no later than third century. (227)

made before all things the cherubim and the seraphim, the aeons and the hosts, the powers and authorities, the principalities and thrones, the archangels and angels, and after all these you made through him this visible world and all that is in it. For you are the one who set up heaven as an arched vault, and stretched it out like the covering of a tent, and founded the earth on nothing by will alone; who fixed the firmament, and prepared night and day, bringing light out of your treasures, and by dimming it brought forth darkness for the repose of the living creatures that move in the world; who arranged in heaven the sun for the ruling of the day and the moon for the ruling of the night, and inscribed in heaven the choir of stars to praise your magnificence … You do the innumerable hosts of angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, authorities and powers, your eternal armies, worship. The cherubim and the seraphim with six wings, with two of which they cover their feet, with two their heads, and with two they fly, together with thousand thousands of archangels, and ten thousand times ten thousand angels, cry aloud without ceasing and without hesitating, and let all the people together with them say: Holy, holy, holy [is] the Lord of hosts, the heaven and the earth are full of his glory: blessed are you for ever: Amen.[234]

The extraordinary parallels with this early witness to Christian liturgy and the Jewish *qedushah deYotzer* can hardly be overlooked: *seraphim*, *cherubim* and others, joined in angelic choirs; the praising of God as creator; an intense focus on the creation of light; and an understanding that humans can participate in this liturgy of heaven.[235]

But there are also important differences when it comes to theological background. Calmet could, as we saw at the beginning of this chapter, confidently write that "In the distinction of angels, *Seraphim* are put first; above *Cherubim*." Here it is easy to see a Catholic theological background, as he writes this based on a specific understanding of the angelic worlds, shaped by the early and high Middle Ages, to which it is now time to turn.

The Celestial Hierarchy

I noted above that there never developed, in Jewish theology, a systematic theology of angels. This holds true for the early Church too. Ellen Muehlberger, in her *Angels in Late Ancient Christianity*, looks back at earlier research on the role of angels in the Church:[236]

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[234] *Apostolic Constitutions* 8.12.8-9,27.Grisbrooke's translation.

[235] Especially as it would seem the *Apostolic Constitutions* are Syrian in origin this might be an important bridge between Jewish and Christian worship; Spinks (1991), 53, 76-77.
Earlier in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, 7.35.3., we find that the angels' response to the *Sanctus* is Ezek. 3:12. See Tuschling (2007), 192. This connection between Isa. 6:3 and Ezek. 3:12 is also made by for example John Chrysostom in a sermon: "I mounted to the heavens and gave you as proof the chorus of angels as they sang: 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth, good will among men.' Again, you heard the seraphim as they shuddered and cried out in astonishment: 'Holy, holy, holy, the Lord God of hosts, all the earth is filled with his glory.' And I also gave you the cherubim who exclaimed: 'Blessed be his glory in his dwelling.' Quoted in Spinks (1991), 117.

[236] Take Erik Peterson, whose first sentence could make one blush: "The Church's road leads from the earthly to the heavenly Jerusalem; from the city of the Jews to the city of angels and saints." Peterson (1964), viii.

In contrast to these previous studies, which considered both early Christianity in general and early Christian thought on angels specifically to be monolithic, bound by orthodox scriptural traditions, this book offers a different perspective by arguing that Christian ideas about angels were tremendously diverse, especially in the century following the legalization of Christianity.[237]

While angels were to become part of scholastic university theology, Muehlberger shows the diversity of early angelic theology.[238] Comparing the contemporaneous fourth-century writers Evagrius of Pontus and Augustine of Hippo, she finds two very different perspectives. Evagrius describes all rational beings (angels, humans and daemons) as being in flux; having fallen from a perfect state into different levels of materiality, they are progressing back to their Divine source. This is far from the position of Augustine. This world may be malleable, Augustine argues in *De civitate Dei*, but there is another, unchanging polity: the City of God, where the citizens – the angels – never experience the uncertainties of this world. Like Evagrius, he believes in a primeval angelic Fall, but whereas for Evagrius this distinction is fluid, as angels too are on the road to betterment, for him this fall has forever fixed the spirits as either daemons or angels.[239]

This diversity does, with time, fade away in favour of the work that would come to dominate the subject: the sixth-century *Corpus Dionysiacum*. It is hard to overstate the significance of these texts. Diarmaid MacCulloch has called the author "one of the most important thinkers in the history of Christian Churches, in both east and west",[240] and Feisal G. Mohamed, writes:

Indeed, it is difficult to find a medieval theologian who does not make use of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* – Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) is one of those rarities – and it is commonplace among scholars of the Middle Ages that aside from the Pauline letters and the works of Boethius no texts were more widely

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[237] Muehlberger (2013), 8.

[238] This realisation may also help remedy a certain nitpicky approach that sometimes seems to afflict the study of the *Sanctus* under which researchers seem to give up on parallels and/or genealogies as soon as the angels listed in liturgies and texts do not neatly correspond to one another. Spinks almost falls into this trap – see (1980), 176-178 – but sidesteps it.

[239] Muehlberger (2013), 31-55.

[240] MacCulloch (2016), 26; Pelikan (1987), 21. While commented on already by John of Scythopolis (ca. 536-550) and Maximus the Confessor (ca. 580-662), the real golden age of the *Corpus* began in 827 when the Byzantine Emperor Michael II sent a copy to King Louis the Fair. In the ninth century, there were no less than three Latin translations, and in the twelfth and thirteenth century it took centre stage in the debates of the day. See Leclercq (1987), 26-30. The earliest Latin translation, by Hilduin, Abbot of Saint Denis, in 832 was somewhat compromised in its dissemination due to Hilduin's infamously bad handwriting, and was overshadowed by John the Scot Erigena's translation of 852. See Mohamed (2008), 6.

An indication of his importance can be seen in that Thomas Aquinas quotes him no less than 1,700 times; Pelikan (1987), 21. Bonaventure, too, delivered his *Collationes in Hexaemeron* in Paris in 1273, which was an extensive survey of the hierarchical theology; Luscombe (1978), 229.

read and written upon than those attributed to Dionysius. The importance of the Pseudo-Areopagite's thought in this period is frequently likened to that of Augustine and of Aristotle.[241]

So what are these texts? The author, professing to be Dionysius the Areopagite, converted by Paul (Acts 17:34), employs Neo-Platonic thought[242] to present a mystical theology of the ineffability of God, the iconic status of the Church, and the hierarchies of angels.[243] It is the angelic theology, presented in *The Celestial Hierarchy* (CH), that I am primarily interested in. This text presents a system of nine hierarchies of angelic beings, divided into three groups, in falling order: *seraphim*, *cherubim*, thrones; dominions, powers, authorities; principalities, archangels and, lastly, angels.[244] Each of these groups enjoys different degrees of proximity to the ineffable Godhead and transmits some of their knowledge downwards in good Neo-Platonic fashion.[245] They are mirrored by a hierarchy on earth, originating in the sacraments (τελεταί),[246] which diffuses Divine knowledge and grace from clergy down to those yet to be baptised.[247] As with Augustine, his is a remarkably static vision, in which each rank is caught within its own current position – the stability of the angelic hierarchies is the stability of the ecclesiastical hierarchies on earth.[248]

For Pseudo-Dionysius, an angel is an icon of God mediating knowledge of the Divine:[249] "The angel is an image of God. He is a manifestation of the hidden light … So, then, there is no evil in angels."[250] Angels are epistemically superior to humans and are the first to learn about the Incarnation, facilitating its unfolding.[251] The word "angel" (ἄγγελος) itself refers both to the lowest rank and to all the creatures above them; a *seraph*, like an angel, is angelic in that they both minimally draw Christian clergy to knowledge of God, and both "enter into communion

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[241] Mohamed (2008), 7.

[242] The parallels to Proclus were noted in the nineteenth century by Hugo Koch and Josef Stiglmayer – see Stang (2009), 11. Alexander Golitzin points out that there is a difference between Proclus' henads and the Dionysian hierarchies in that the hierarchies mediate knowledge and grace, but not ontology; Golitzin (1994), 145.

[243] In fact, it is from the *Corpus Dionysiacum* that we get the word ἱεραρχία; Luibheid & Rorem (1987), 1.

[244] *CH*. VI:1-3. Pseudo-Dionysius was not the first author to systematise the angels; his antecedents include Ignatius who in the Letter to the Trallians refers to "heavenly things, the ranks of the angels and the hierarchy of principalities", and Clement of Alexandria who writes of *Protoktistoi*, archangels and angels. Irenaeus refers to angels, archangels, thrones, illuminations, principalities, powers and virtues. Other suggestions include eight orders (Gregory of Nyssa) as well as eleven (Gregory of Nazianzus). See Arthur (2008), 44-45.

[245] Mohamed (2008), 3-4.

[246] The treatment of the liturgy in the *Corpus* is similar to that of Theodore of Mopsuestia; Louth (1989), 57, 60.

[247] *EH* II-VI. See especially, if somewhat cryptically stated, V:3.

[248] See Arthur (2008), 20-23. Unfortunately she, slightly out of taste and clearly out of her depth, identifies this as a legalistic Jewish influence, and comments that his "concept of justice might seem to be more in keeping with the God of the Old Testament than the Christian God of mercy and love". Arthur (2008), 21.

[249] Golitzin (1994), 143-144.

[250] *The Divine Names*, IV.22. 724B. Translations from the *Corpus* are from Luibheid & Rorem (1987).

[251] *CH* IV.4. 181B. See Lk. 1:11-20, 26-39; Mt. 1:20-25, Lk. 2:8-14. This they do because angels and archangels are active in the world and in the salvation of humans. See Golitzin (1994), 146; Peers (2001), 5.

with the light coming from God."[252] On the topmost rung Pseudo-Dionysius puts the *seraphim* who in the trickle-down economy of salvation are the first receivers of Divine *gnosis*. Turning to the etymology of שרף, he describes them as "fire-makers" and "carriers of warmth," who "stamp their own image on subordinates by arousing and uplifting in them too a like flame." This rank "[s]imply and ceaselessly… dances around an eternal knowledge of him."[253] The role of the *seraphim* is set out in this passage, which again brings together Isa. 6:3 and Ezek. 3:12:

> Knowing many divine things in so superior a fashion it can have a proper share of the divine knowledge and understanding. Hence, theology has transmitted to the men of earth those hymns sung by the first ranks of the angels whose glorious transcendent enlightenment is thereby made manifest. Some of these hymns, if one may use perceptible images, are like "sound of many waters" (Ezek. 1:24; Rev. 14:2, 19:6) as they proclaim: "Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his place." (Ezek. 3:12) Others thunder out that most famous and venerable song, telling of God: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts. The whole earth is full of his glory." (Isa. 6:3)[254]

On Earth as it is in Heaven: Angels in the Liturgy

In Pseudo-Dionysius and many other early writers, it is not just the Church's thought but also its liturgy that is shot through with angelic presence.[255] In this theology, angels belong in the liturgy.[256] There, the bishop at the altar surrounded by priests "present us now with a likeness

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[252] *CH* V. 196C. Even human hierarchs partake to some small extent in this revelation (*CH* XII. 292C-293B)

[253] *CH* VII.4. 212A. Note that Pseudo-Dionysius is adamant about angels being immaterial. In an almost comically polemical passage he describes how we "cannot, as mad people do, profanely visualize these heavenly and godlike intelligences as actually having numerous feet and faces. They are not shaped to resemble the brutishness of oxen or to display the wildness of lions. They do not have the curved beak of the eagle or the wings and feathers of birds." (*CH* 2.1 137A-137B). For this debate, see Peers (2001), 2-3, 24.

[254] *CH* VII.4. 212A-212B

[255] It is easy to forget just how important angels were in the early Church; the importance of Michael, for example, occasionally overshadowed even that of Christ; Peers (2001), 8-9. That this was so already at an early stage in some communities may be indicated by the Pauline writings warning against angel worship. (Col. 2:18) Here, Colossae was something of a centre, and in the 360s the Council of nearby Laodicea felt it necessary to condemn angelolatry as anathema, while Theodoret of Cyrrhus also felt the need to criticize angel worship. See Peers (2001), 10. Against Fred O. Francis' view that the "worship of angels" in Col. 2:18 is referring to the worship that the angels are giving God, see Arnold (1995), 9. See, also, Lukyn Williams (1909).

[256] This aspect of the *Corpus* has been brought to scholarly attention by many researchers. Andrew Louth makes this a central consideration in his treatment of the *Corpus* (1989), as does Paul Rorem (1984). For a research overview of the liturgical aspects of the *Corpus*, see Rorem (1984), 7-8.
See also Alexander Golitzin (1999) who notes the mystagogical character of much of the Dionysian writings.

of this supreme order" of the *seraphim*, which one sees with "unworldly eyes".[257] In this, Pseudo-Dionysius is far from alone. Cyril of Jerusalem, for example, writes: [258]

> After this we call to mind heaven, the earth, the sea, the sun and the moon, the stars, every creature both rational and irrational, visible and invisible, the Angels, the Archangels, the Dominions, the Principalities, the Powers, the Thrones and the many-faced Cherubim, saying in effect with David: "Bless the Lord with me" (Ps 33.4 [34.3]). We also call to mind the Seraphim, whom Isaiah was inspired by the Holy Spirit to see standing round God's throne, using two wings to cover his face, two his feet, and two to fly, saying all the time: "Holy, holy, holy, Lord Sabaoth." For the reason why we recite this doxology which the Seraphim taught us is to share in the singing of the celestial armies..[259]

The presence of angels was taken very seriously; in the sixth-century monastic manual *Regula Magistri*, priests are warned not to blow their noses when serving near the altar, so as not to dirty the angels standing there.[260] William Durand (c. 1230-1296), Bishop of Mende, writes, in words which could have been written by John Chrysostom or Cyril of Jerusalem: "The priest names the choir of Angels because there is no doubt that the Angels assist with this liturgical office, and to note that the Church must make company with the Angels in order to be pleasing to God."[261] So we see that in Christian worship, as in Jewish, human participation with the angels was an important factor in how worshippers thought about and experienced the liturgy. In Christian theology, however, this was highly systematised, with far-reaching consequences for church politics and the role of priests as liturgists. It was not just a question of purely theoretical "metafiddlesticks"[262] but also of cult and tied into larger issues of salvation and the nature of creation.[263] When Christians recited the *Sanctus* they did so prefacing it with beings

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[257] *EH* IV.3.6 480D. Golitzin (1999), 159. See, also, Louth (2009), 62.

[258] See also John Chrysostom who writes: "Just also here when the sacrifice is brought forth and Christ, the Lord's sheep, is sacrificed, when you hear 'Let us all pray together,' when you see the curtain drawn up, then consider that heaven is opened on high and the angels are descending." (*Homilies on Ephesians* 3:5)

[259] *Mystagogic Catechesis* 5:6-7. Yarnold (2000), 183. See also his *Catechetical Lectures* 23.6.

[260] *Regula Magistri* 48:7. Quoted in Muelhberger (2008), 123. Similar views on angelic presence can also be found in Didymus the Blind, Theodore of Mopsuestia and Narsai of Edessa, as well as Sarapion of Thmuis; Muehlberger (2008), 119-128; Danielou (1956), 130-131; Barrett-Lennard (1993), 21.

[261] *Rationale*, IV.33.11

[262] Sassoon (1936), 169.

[263] It also had consequences for church politics, as Jean Leclerq points out: "In any survey of Dionysian influence, we cannot bypass the area of ecclesiology, and all its links with politics, for in this realm the impact of Dionysius was very strong from the thirteenth century on." Leclerq (1987), 30. MacCulloch writes that "[o]ne reason why those mediaeval Western clerics embraced Dionysius with such enthusiasm was that he had designed his hierarchy as a parallel to the sublunary world of ecclesiastical sacraments and offices in the Church." MacCulloch (2016), 27. He points out that "[o]bsession with angels thus frequently lined up with hyper-clericalism." (Ibid.) Church politics in the Dionysian world is ontologically grounded; the episcopal system was not the result of a crass political evolution but mirrored the kingdom of God. Leclerq continues: "What is deemed to be the case with the celestial hierarchy is considered to have a counterpart in the structure of the Church. Supporters of a pontifical theocracy concluded, therefore, that the Pope held power over all … Some of Dionysius's ideas thus served as a key to interpreting canon law, and traces of opposing explanations remained in political-religious disputes until recent times." Leclerq (1987), 31. The church is thus imbued with

drawn from patristic theology, where the *Corpus Dionysiacum* dominated the field, especially during the Middle Ages.[264] But the Middle Ages were a time of considerable importance for another reason: its art, often drawing on the *Corpus*, is one of the most lasting contributions of Christian worship to the reception of Isaiah 6.

Seeing the Invisible – Representing Angels in Art

When discussing Jewish and Christian liturgies, it would be impossible not to go into one of the major dividing lines, namely their attitudes towards visual representation. When we say that angels were everywhere in the Middle Ages that is also meant literally. They were all over medieval churches, in stained glass, walls and sometimes, such as in East Anglia, soaring above as carved beams in angel roofs, or climbing the church façades as in Bath Abbey.[265] They were represented in popular drama, such as the York mystery plays, and visited in shrines and chapels.[266] They were part of royal pageantry, as when in 1464 about 900 peacock feathers were used as angel wings for the coronation of Elizabeth Woodville.[267] In Norwich Cathedral, an angel figure would swing down from the ceiling to cense the congregation.[268] One particularly impressive example of this art tradition is the octagonal dome of the St. John Baptistery in Florence, where we find all the Dionysian hierarchies represented, with the *seraphim* and the *cherubim* conflated (Figure 1.).

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an iconic status, and this theology puts the organisation itself front and centre of Christian life. It has been pointed out that Dionysius' "path to God leads through the Church"; Georges Florovsky, quoted in Golitzin (1999), 139. This ontologically grounded, angelically impregnated, ecclesiology of the *Corpus* may also have contributed to its downfall in the sixteenth century.

[264] The prefaces together mention nine orders, all taken from the *Corpus*, except the *cæli*, "heavens" of the *praefatio communis*, which do not appear. That medieval writes saw Pseudo-Dionysius as the main authority, however, is clear from how Durand feels obligated to explain that *cæli*, in fact, refers to the "thrones" of Pseudo-Dionysius, supporting this with Isa. 66:1: *Cælum sedes mea*, "Heaven is my throne." (Rationale IV.33.34). Note, however, that his own enumeration is based on Innocent III, *De missarum mysteriis* 2.62. (Durand, 2013. 405) Durand, furthermore, explains that the *praefatio communis* itself does, in fact, refer to the whole range of angelic beings, *coeli colorumque virtutes* being a shorthand for all other angels. (IV.33.30). In Milan, on the other hand, the *praefatio communis* was simply adjusted to the Dionysian hierarchies.

[265] For angel roofs, see Rimmer (2015).

[266] Furthermore, they invoked in all sorts of magical practices. See Kieckhefer (2000), 72-73, 100, 167, 169-170.

[267] Rimmer (2015), 18.

[268] Rimmer (2015), 19.
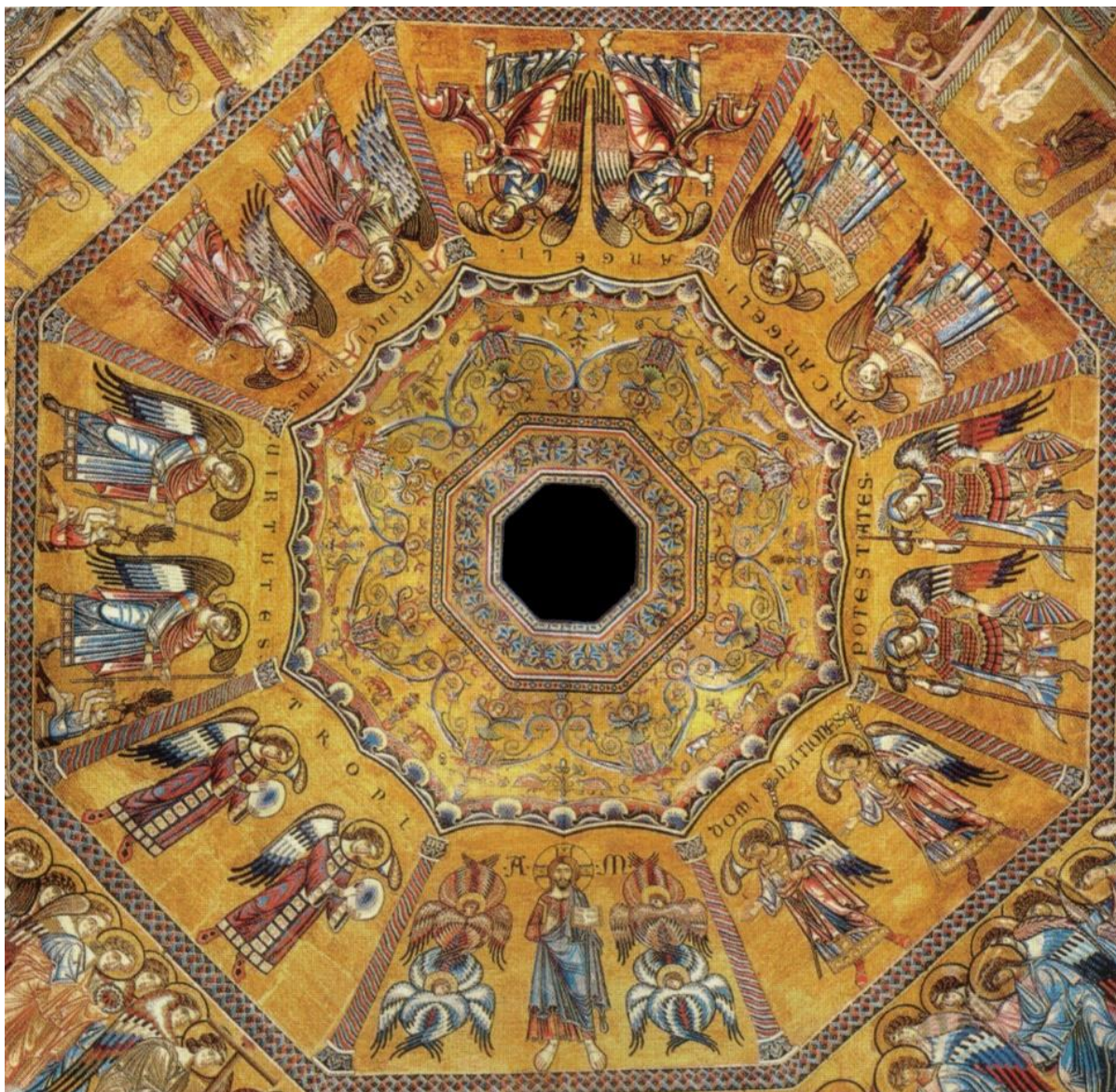
Figure 1. Baptistery of St. John, Florence (eleventh century). Wikimedia Commons.

Another striking example is that of Thomas Goisman of Hull, "who left in his will of 1502 £10 to the Holy Trinity chapel, for the construction of a machine by which angels would descend from the roof at the elevation, and ascend after the end of the *Pater noster*".[269] The *Corpus* even influenced architecture itself, as Suger (ca. 1081-1151), Abbot (fittingly) of Saint-Denis,[270] inaugurated Gothic architecture with his new building project, bolstering the effort with Dionysian arguments for a church filled with light.[271] It is from this art tradition that most Christian worshippers would have derived their ideas of angels. Even without contraptions like the one in Hull, angels thronged in medieval churches and were often depicted in liturgical

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[269] Rubin (1991), 62.

[270] Which in Suger's time had come to be understood as being the same person as the Areopagite.

[271] Echoes of Dionysian theology do not only appear subtly in the aesthetics of the Gothic – Abbot Suger even turns to these categories in the inscription in the nave of St Denis. See Thibodeau (2006), 221-222.

roles; they were equipped with thuribles, lyres, organs, and arranged in choirs. In the parish church of St Mary in Bury St Edmunds, the angel rafters form a liturgical procession with incense bearers, thurifers, taperers, sub-deacons with bibles and priests with chasubles.[272] David Keck writes: "The illiterate person's image of how an angel might appear would have been molded less by the words of Scripture directly than by the art and architecture of medieval Europe."[273] If Jewish liturgy suggests that the *seraphim* might be anthropomorphic, through human representation of them, Christian liturgy sets this in stone, making a visual imprint that still lives on today.

How to represent them artistically was not self-evident; angels had after all been part of the crisis of Iconoclasm in the Eastern Church, and sometimes their presence in art and architecture led to debate.[274] The main, and somewhat unique, concern when it came to angels was that they, as opposed to Christ and the Saints, did not have bodies. In Christian theology, already in Pseudo-Dionysius but also in medieval thought, the non-corporeality of angels meant that any representation of them was bound to be at best tolerated as an artistic representation, rather than an actual depiction; in this, angels partook of another type of iconicity than most other church art.[275] This iconography eventually settled into the familiar androgynous winged youths, often deliberately anonymous. Already early on this seems to have been a common way of conceiving angels, as this art tradition may date to the third century, and by the end of the fourth century wings were already the standard – though not exclusive – attribute of angels.[276] One may speculate that the mention of wings in Isaiah and Ezekiel may have stimulated this development, but the impulse is also pagan, with the similarities between Christian angels and pagan winged Victories being well-known.[277] As Glenn Peers has pointed out, however, "individual elements used in depictions of Christian angels belie any generalizations about unmediated transmission of iconography from pagan to Christian art."[278]

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[272] Rimmer (2015), 76-80.

[273] Keck (1998), 30.

[274] Peers (2001), 13.

[275] Peers (2001), 16-17. Theologians were quick to point out the allegorical nature of these depictions. Durand (IV.33.16) stresses that angels do not actually have wings; wings represent their swiftness in doing God's will (an old patristic explanation which is repeated in countless texts). See, also, Isidore, *Etymologies* VII.5.3.

[276] Peers (2001), 19, 23. There were exceptions, though; we find bearded angels as late as the fifth century, and occasionally non-angels, like Christ and John the Baptist, are represented as winged; Peers (2001), 23-24.

[277] Peers (2001), 25-26. There may be a biblical as well as a Jewish background, however, as Gabriel is described as flying in Dan. 9:21, and the Talmud (b.*Berakhot* 4b) discusses which angel flies the fastest: Michael, Gabriel or the angel of death.

[278] Peers (2001), 26. He draws attention to the fact that whereas Victories are always female, wearing the female body-length garment *peplos*, angels are invariably male. On the late fourth-century Sarigüzel sarcophagus, for example, the angels, while similar to Victories, wear tunic and *pallium*.

In medieval art the iconography for angels was fairly set, and useful for distinguishing them from saints.[279] Unique here were the *seraphim* and the *cherubim* who sometimes would be

Figure 2. Chapel of Tears, Mont Sainte-Odile, Alsace. Wikimedia Commons.

depicted according to scriptural descriptions; brimming with wings and eyes and heads, as in the case of the peculiar iconography of the tetramorphic cherub.[280] One thing to note is that while the *seraphim* and the *cherubim* are often set apart from the other angelic hierarchies, they are rarely distinguished from each other, as can be seen at the St John Baptistery. The tight connection between Isaiah 6, Ezekiel and, in this case, Revelation 4, seems to have created a sense that these creatures may be somewhat distinct from the rest, but the line between them was on the other hand blurred.

Art, of course, flows in both directions; many ordinary church-goers did (and do) believe angels to be winged androgynous men. Here, liturgical and dramatic representations of angels would inevitably feed back into the imagination of medieval Christians; whereas Jews portray angels

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[279] Keck (1998), 30.
[280] Peers (2001), 19.

themselves through the choreography of the *qedushah deAmidah*, Christians took their cues from church art around them and imagined angels in ways that are still influential today, although wholly dependent on this particular reception of the Bible, as these texts themselves tell us next to nothing about the appearances of angels.

Changing Theologies, Changing Practices: The Effects of the Reformation

In his commentary on the Mass, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, William Durand writes

> The Church hopes to be in the company of Angels and Archangels – something that has already been mentioned in the Prefaces – so immediately after the Preface, she joins herself with the angelic chants, singing this hymn: "Holy, Holy, Holy," etc., whose chanting Pope Sixtus I[281] established … When the priest finishes his praise or the Preface, the whole choir, which represents the Church, then sings the angelic hymn together, so that one uniform glory, praise and honor can be sung to the Father, Son and Holy Spirit.[282]

Durand neatly sums up the medieval perspective on the *Sanctus* as the hymn which humans sing, with the angels, to the Trinity. The Middle Ages were a period in which angels were ubiquitous. In what is perhaps the main work in the field, *Angels and Angelology in the Middle Ages*, David Keck draws attention to just how full the medieval world was of angels:

> From the great shrines dedicated to Michael the Archangel at Mont-Saint-Michel and Monte Gargano to the elaborate metaphysical speculations of the great thirteenth-century scholastics, angels permeated the physical, temporal, and intellectual landscape of the medieval West. Sculptures, stained glass, coins, clerical vestments, and pilgrim's badges all bore images of the celestial spirits.[283]

The Christian Middle Ages were intensely focussed on angels, and on how they fit into the theology of creation and salvation, as well as philosophy.[284] Angels were also active in the world of the medieval Christian; they were thought to heal the sick, battle daemons, move the celestial spheres and not least show themselves to the faithful.[285]

But a modern worshipper standing in an English church will have a very different concept of the world and of her interaction with angels. She will most probably see white-washed walls, no angels or celestial choirs, and will hear a brief mention of "angels and archangels" that does not point to any elaborate angelic theology that she would feel familiar with. And among

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[281] *Liber Pontificalis*, Chapter 8.
[282] *Rationale* IV.34.1. Durand (2013).
[283] Keck (1998), 3.
[284] For a helpful overview of the role of angels in scholastic discussions on materiality, see Chapter VII, "The Angels", in Gilson (1993).
[285] Keck (1998), 29.

Protestants, she is one of few who would even hear angels mentioned in the regular liturgy at all. A modern Catholic co-religionist may also feel estranged from the medieval world of angels, as Catholic liturgy too has lessened the roles of angels since the 1960s. Angels and their role in the liturgy is one of the subjects that changed drastically in the tumultuous period we call the Reformation,[286] and in order to understand why many Christians of today would not immediately relate to the universe that their medieval predecessors inhabited we need to look at these changes. My example will be the changes that took place in England as these are instructive both because of the conservatism of English liturgy, and the radicalism of English church politics.

The Book of Common Prayer (1549); Evacuating the Heavenly Choir

Much has been written recently on the role of angels in the early modern period. Two especially helpful contributions are Feisal Mohamed's *In the Anteroom of Divinity: The Reformation of the Angels from Colet to Milton* (2008) and Peter Marshall's and Alexandra Walsham's collection of essays, *Angels in the Early Modern World* (2006).[287] The width of this field, and the rapidly expanding field of research on angels, means that it is impossible to give a comprehensive idea of what happened to the *Sanctus* in the Reformation. Furthermore, the localised nature of Protestant politics meant that every country, often every city-state, in which the 'New Learning' of Martin Luther, Philipp Melanchton and others took hold, underwent its own unique liturgical changes. One example can be brought up, however, both because of its influence and its interesting use of earlier liturgical sources: the *Book of Common Prayer*. This liturgy, first published in 1549 by Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury between 1533 and 1556, set out a clearly Reformed agenda for the English Reformation as England broke with Rome. As in the rest of northern Europe, the medieval supra-national church order could not hold in England in the face of the centralising, dynastic ambition of monarchs. Sometimes this was highly theologically charged, and sometimes it was not, but when it comes to liturgy – the dominion of trained clergy – changes are easy to trace theologically.[288] While Cranmer

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[286] For a thorough discussion of the terms to use in this period, see O'Malley (2000). One helpful perspective is offered by Carlos M. N. Eire, who writes: "it is far more accurate to think of the changes that took place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as Reformations, in the plural, rather than as the Reformation or the Counter-Reformation… no individual reform movement in this era can be fully understood in isolation from all the others." Eire (2016), x-xi.

[287] When it comes to specifically English developments, see Raymond (2010), and Sangha (2012).

[288] The English Reformation did not come out of nowhere. English liturgy had been highly localised and the effort to make the Sarum (Salisbury) use universal throughout the Church provinces of York and Canterbury in 1543 was challenged already in May 1544, when Cranmer wrote the English litany, first sung on St Luke's Day, Sunday 18 October 1545, in St Paul's Cathedral. See Johnson (1990), 156; Jeanes (2006), 21-23.

was not able to push for any serious reforms during Henry VIII's reign, under the much less liturgically conservative (and, more importantly, younger!) Edward VI, many reforms were made in the span of a few years: processions were banned in 1547, as were *sanctus* bells, and biblical readings were to be conducted in English rather than Latin.[289] That was also the year in which the Chapel Royal began its liturgical experiments in earnest, with the singing of *Compline* in English on Easter Monday, just a couple of months after Edward VI's coronation.[290] During the opening Mass for Parliament on the fourth of November, *Gloria*, *Credo* and *Agnus Dei* were sung in English.[291]

It was in this rapidly changing environment, the reign of "king Josiah", that the *Book of Common Prayer* was published.[292] While we do not actually know who composed it, Cranmer's hand can be clearly felt throughout it and it does betray his Reformed agenda.[293] Liturgically, it is remarkably conservative: even rubrics such as "offertory" and "Canon" are kept, signalling a clear adherence to traditional language.[294] It should come as no surprise, then, to learn that the *Sanctus* is more or less intact. The structure of *sursum corda*, preface, *Sanctus* and *Benedictus* is kept. It is also clear that the language is more or less a translation of the Latin preface: *Vere dignum* and *Et ideo* are easily recognisable in "It is very mete" and "Therfore

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While litanies had been composed on occasions of war and hardship for over 150 years, this was the first English version. To say that Henry VIII commissioned Cranmer, however, might be overstating the king's involvement: the letter from the king to Cranmer appears, in fact, to have been written by the Archbishop himself; Johnson (1990), 155. Needless to say, Cranmer was happy to oblige.

[289] Duffy (1992), 97, 452; Spinks (2010), 180-181.

[290] Frere (1900), 230.

[291] Frere (1900), 231. In 1548, many of the ceremonies around Candlemas and Holy Week were prohibited, while English entered the liturgy proper through devotions in the Mass; it was also the year that the Comfortable Words and the Prayer of Humble Access, so closely associated with the Book of Common Prayer, saw the light of day; Jeanes (2006), 23.

[292] Heal (2003), 157-8. It should be noted that it was not the first liturgy in English; a number of experimental English services had already been produced locally by individual clergymen, as has been preserved in manuscript form. See Frere (1900), 229-246.

[293] We know the names of at least five bishops and four divines at the conference in Chertsey Abbey in 1548, where its precursor, the *Order of the Communion*, an English liturgy to be inserted into the Latin Mass, was written. The majority of them were in favour of further reforms, but attendants such as George Day, Bishop of Chichester, and John Redman, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, represented the old guard, making the committee a theologically diverse group; Cuming (1969), 66-67. Cranmer was one of the members of the committee, but much points to the bulk of the material already having been written, presumably by him, before the conference; Jeanes (2006), 26; Brightman (1915), lxxii; Proctor & Frere (1902. 46. The question of authorship becomes further muddled when we take into account that in the parliamentary debate that followed in December of that year, many members of the committee turned against the liturgy, including three of the bishops present; Cuming (1969), 67-68. What this means is that while much has been written of Cranmer's skill as a liturgist, we should bear in mind that we do not know to what extent the first Book of Common Prayer is the result of one person's theological views and to what extent it is a compromise and amalgam of different, sometimes conflicting, views. See MacCulloch (1996), 414.

[294] Proctor & Frere (1902), 450. The actual Canon, however, is drastically changed. The influences upon the liturgy are many as Cranmer was a widely read scholar. While Reformed thought has always had an influence on Anglican liturgy, much of the first Prayer Book follows Lutheran influences: those of the conservative Lutheran liturgies of Brandenburg-Nuremberg, and of von Wied. See Spinks (2010), 175; Wendebourg (2010).

with". The most noticeable difference between the traditional liturgy and the first Prayer Book is the addition of "Glory to thee O lorde in the highest", a light paraphrase of the angelic song taken from Luke 2:14, most famously used in the *Gloria*.[295]

Priest: The Lorde be with you.

Congregation: And with thy spirite.

P: Lift up your heartes.

C: We lift them up unto the Lorde.

P: Let us geve thankes to our Lorde God.

C: It is mete and right so to do.

P: It is very mete, righte, and our bounden dutie that wee shoulde at all tymes, and in all places, geve thankes to thee, O Lorde, holy father, almightie everlastyng God…

Proper preface

P: Therfore with Angels and Archangels, and with all the holy companye of heaven: we laude and magnify thy glorious name, evermore praisyng thee, and saying:

Holy, holy, holy, Lorde God of hostes: heaven & earth are full of thy glory: Osanna in the highest.

Blessed is he that commeth in the name of the Lorde: Glory to thee O lorde in the highest.

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[295] This version is, as far as I am aware, an invention first seen in the liturgy of 1549. It is not taken from the earlier Primers nor the manuscript in the British Museum (Brit. Mus. MS 34191) which otherwise coincides with parts of the Book of Common Prayer in both its 1549 and 1552 editions. There the *Sanctus* (which might be lacking a reply to the "The Lord be with you" in the dialogue) reads "Holy art thou, Holy art thou, Holy art thou, O Lord God of hostes: Heven & earth are replenished with thi glory. Osanna in the hyest (2). Blessed is he that commeth in the name of the lord: Osanna in the hyest (2)." See Frere (1900), 235.

This could also be seen as a paraphrase of the traditional Osanna in Benedictus, but I find this unlikely. First: why would one "Osanna" be transliterated and the other "translated"? Second, there is no precedent for this in any biblical translation, and in fact, all English translations from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries translate Ps. 118:26 literally: "Helpe now" (The Coverdale Bible, the Matthew Bible, and the Great Bible, which Cranmer himself was involved in), "I pray thee nowe saue" (Bishop's Bible), "Make thou me saaf" (Wycliffe), "Saue now, I pray thee" (King James' Version), "I pray thee, save now" (Geneva Bible). There does not seem to be any tradition in the English language to understand "Osanna" as praise, at least not in Bible translations. As for Matt. 21:9, all these translations transliterate it as "Osanna"/"Hosanna"/"Hosianna." While liturgical translations tend to be less literal than scholarly Bible translations, it seems more likely that Cranmer chose the *Gloria* passage both because of its traditional association with the Incarnation (see below) and because of its textual affinity to the *Osanna*, as both end with "in the highest." That it is slightly paraphrased does not seem too odd in a liturgical passage where the other two biblical quotes are already paraphrased.

One of the changes when compared to the medieval Mass is that the angelology has been simplified.[296] This stands out even clearer since the preface in other respects has been remarkably well preserved. In the English preface there are no *seraphim*, Thrones, Powers or Dominions – perhaps, one could speculate, because the function and status of these in the New Testament texts are far from unambiguous. In fact, only the biblically grounded "Angels and Archangels" survive, together with "the holy companye of heaven." These "Angels and Archangels" have eclipsed all others, but as the *Sanctus* is still attributed to them, we can see how "angels" were seen to be more or less synonymous with *seraphim* and other heavenly creatures which are mentioned in the Bible. Isa. 6:3 is explicitly put in the mouth of angels, and the harmonisation that we saw in Jewish liturgy has gone even further, to the point where "angels" are taken to include or replace all others. This simplification of angelic hierarchies is a tendency that can be seen in many Protestant liturgies and one can note a marked "depopulation" of the heavenly realms.[297] The hierarchies of the *Corpus* seem to disappear from sight during the Reformation: no Protestant liturgy is keen on using the whole medieval system, and, until the twentieth century, Anglicans were among the few Protestants who would have references to angels at all in the *Sanctus* prefaces. Formal, church-based theological interest in angels also seems to wane across the Western church spectrum in this period, not just in Protestant churches but in Roman Catholic circles as well, though the prefaces there are left intact – until the twentieth century, when the same tendency of simplification makes its forays into Roman Catholic liturgy.[298] In many respects, Dionysian angelology had had its heyday.

The Transformation of Angelology

What led to this? The Church of England was not, after all, alone in this evacuation of angels – we will see Protestant liturgies in which they disappear altogether. In fact, as far as I am aware no Protestant liturgy retained the whole Dionysian heritage, and when angels are mentioned, they lack systematic context. Coming out of an age of ever more embellishment, we seem to reach an era of simplification. The process leading up to this is complex but had a direct impact on the liturgies that were created in the sixteenth centuries.

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[296] Dix (2005), 663.
[297] Marshall & Walsham (2006), 13-14.
[298] Spinks (1993), 178-9.

Theological Factors

One part of this development was the changing theological perspectives of the late Middle Ages and early Modern world. As Euan Cameron writes:

> In the sixteenth century, beliefs about spirits came in for the same intense scrutiny and debate as every other aspect of religion. On the face of it, there was no immediate need for ideas about spiritual creatures to undergo any great transformation in the wake of the Reformation. By and large, until the mid-seventeenth century the prevailing assumptions about the metaphysics of invisible spiritual beings remained the same as they had been for several centuries. However, in important ways the Reformation inflicted what one might term collateral damage on beliefs about the spirit realm.[299]

One factor was the Protestant focus on God's direct providential control, which in a sense "reduced the need for, or explanatory usefulness of, quasi-autonomous spiritual intelligences."[300] Another factor which undermined much of the legendary lore that more popular angelology had rested upon was the widespread scepticism towards ecclesiastical tradition.[301] A marked cautiousness set in among many Reformers towards speculating beyond Scripture.[302] Both Swiss Reformers Heinrich Bullinger and Jean Calvin were highly sceptical of improper curiosity when it came to the angels, and Luther too preferred to stick close to the scriptural "evidence."[303] This has often led to modern scholars in the wake of C. A. Patrides to view the Renaissance and Reformation as "the decline of a tradition", in which the Dionysian worldview gave way to rationalism.[304] It would be a gross mistake, however, to characterise this as the modern-day inclination among Protestants, in Rudolf Bultmann's terms, to "demythologize" the world.[305] A telling example of this tendency is that of Karl Barth, who writes in his *Church Dogmatics* concerning angels that "[t]hey cannot … be made the theme of an independent discussion … They are essentially marginal figures."[306] That this does not hold true for medieval Christians should be evident by now, but furthermore, it did not hold true for the reformers either. Cameron writes, on earlier scholarship:

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[299] Cameron (2013), 18.
[300] Cameron (2013), 18.
[301] Cameron (2013), 18-19.
[302] Cameron (2013), 35.
[303] Cameron (2013), 36. This tendency is common in Protestant writings: the Schmalkald Articles, written by Luther in 1537, for example, caution against addressing prayer to angels; Marshall & Walsham (2006), 13.
[304] Mohamed (2004), 559.
[305] Bultmann (1961). The Weberian notion of a "disenchantment of the world" has been forcefully challenged by Robert Scribner, who argues that "nineteenth-century concerns were projected onto historical understanding [sic] of religion in the Reformation." Scribner (1993), 492. He points out that this not only holds true for Luther but also the second generation of reformers: "Far from further desacralizing the world, Calvin and the reformed religion intensified to an even higher degree the cosmic struggle between the divine and the diabolical." (483)
[306] Barth (1960), 371.

> Considering the impact of the reformers' theological doubts on beliefs about spiritual creatures, it is easy to see why earlier generations of theological historians saw this subtle narrowing of the scope of supernatural activity in the world as a harbinger of a "disenchanted" world, one where all forms of causation other than the physical and psychological were excluded. It has long been clear, however, that a simple portrayal of the Reformation as a force for modernity or even secularism cannot and should not be sustained.[307]

This is both due to the fact that rational metaphysics hardly was anything new, and to the fact that "the theology of the Reformation certainly did not exclude direct interventions of the sacred in the world, even if it might restrict the ways in which they happened."[308] Mohamed argues that, while "the tradition of the ninefold hierarchy of angels associated with the Pseudo-Dionysius suffered serious injury at the hands of the Renaissance and Reformation", "[s]uch an open-and-shut presentation of sixteenth-century Dionysiana … ignores several factors."[309]

Many Reformers showed simultaneous scepticism and enthusiasm for angels, and the range of ideas was wide; Calvin, while not denying the existence of angels, exhibits a rather cool attitude towards the subject whereas Luther cares deeply about it.[310] As was often the case, however, Luther and other Reformers grew increasingly sceptical, not of the existence of angels, but of their appearance and intervention in the life of humans.[311] In a Michaelmas sermon in Coburg, Luther describes the invisible battle going on between good and evil angels where, in effect, every healthy cow, non-aching tooth and barn still standing bears testimony to the protection of angels.[312] But in his Lectures on Genesis, given in Wittenberg during a ten year long period from 1535, he expresses deep scepticism towards the Dionysian hierarchies and cautions silence on the issue of angels.[313] While angels were an important part of his worldview, then, it would also seem he was not sure when it came to reliable sources on them. This ambivalence did not, however, only come from theological considerations. Something happened to Dionysius in this period: he became Pseudo-Dionysius.

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[307] Cameron (2013), 19.
[308] Cameron (2013), 19-20.
[309] Mohamed (2004), 559, 560.
[310] Soergel (2006), 65-67.
[311] Soergel (2006), 67-73. There is the rather well-known prayer of Luther's imploring God *not* to send him an angelic messenger.
[312] Soergel (2006), 73-74. See, in general, Luther's *Sermon von den Engeln*
[313] Soergel (2006), 76-79.

Textual Factors

Humanism and Reformation scholarship is another factor that would drastically change the impact of the *Corpus*. The most significant of the changes was that initiated by Italian Humanist Lorenzo Valla (c.1407-1457). Valla (who had already refuted the *Donation of Constantine*) was the one who suggested that the *Corpus* could not have been written by the Areopagite.[314] In a lecture of his, *Encomium Sancti Thomae Aquinatis*, held before the Dominicans in Rome, he noted that not a single early Latin or Greek father mentions the *Corpus* and in another context he dismissed the author's claim in *Letter 7* to have witnessed a solar eclipse at the time of the crucifixion as pure fiction.[315] Both of these remarks, however, drew little attention, and Valla never published anything on it.[316] It was only when Desiderius Erasmus returned from his second visit to England in 1504 and decided to publish Valla's *Annotations on the New Testament*, that Valla's position became widely known. In his famous Greek edition of the New Testament from 1516 Erasmus inserted a note on Acts 17:34 which repeated the argument, "adding the improbability of connecting the Dionysian ceremonies with the apostolic Church and rejecting the attribution to Apollinaris."[317] He repeats this in the dedication of his *Paraphrase of the Corinthian Epistles* from 1519. Erasmus was not the only sceptic – he gave equal credit for his discovery to his friend William Grocyn in England, who had already in the autumn of 1501 delivered a lecture in St Paul's on *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* in which he stated that he did not believe the *Corpus* to be Dionysian.[318]

The impact of this criticism was considerable. The dean of St Paul's, John Colet, who had written commentaries on *The Celestial Hierarchy* and *The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* and took the Dionysian worldview very seriously, seems to have lost interest after Grocyn's refutation of its authorship.[319] The reformers' interest in the *Corpus* dwindled significantly too:[320] based on Erasmus, Huldrych Zwingli brushed it aside and Melanchthon dismissed Dionysius as "*novus auctor et fictus.*" Calvin and Luther both talked about Dionysius, "whoever he may be",

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[314] Although he was not the first – Nicolas of Cusa and Peter Abelard had both had their doubts about the dating of the *Corpus* – he was to become the most important sceptic. See Froehlich (1987), 38; Mohamed (2004), 560.

[315] Froehlich (1987), 38.

[316] In fact, the text of the *Encomium* remained unknown until published in 1886. Pico della Mirandola, Marsilio Ficino and William Grocyn were all aware of his position, however.

[317] Froehlich (1987), 39. Valla had suggested, based on Greek scholars, that the author may have been Apollinaris of Laodicea.

[318] Froehlich (1987), 39.

[319] Arnold (2007), 25, 28, 46-55; Froehlich (1987), 40. For a comprehensive introduction and critical edition of John Colet's writings on the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchies*, see Lochman & Nodes (2013). The older view of Colet as a "proto-reformer" or humanist has been laid to rest by, for example, Eugene Rice (1952), instead showing the stern, almost hyper-sacerdotal side of Colet.

[320] Froehlich (1987), 40.

and Luther, in the *Babylonian Captivity*, stated that "Dionysius is most pernicious; he platonizes more than he Christianizes."[321]

It is important to note this, since it is easy to only think of dogmatic factors influencing the liturgy when, in fact, this is an example of how such relatively dry endeavours as philology and text-criticism can have a remarkable impact. While a theological focus on God's sovereign providential care certainly influenced the development, it was also the re-classification of texts earlier held to be canonical or quasi-canonical that led to the undermining of the theological worldview in which the medieval prefaces were at home. This could not happen without having an impact on the intense reassessment of the liturgy that was going on in the sixteenth century.

Liturgical Consequences

As we saw above with the *Book of Common Prayer* liturgical texts changed in this time, but one should bear in mind that many of the more drastic changes in the liturgical experience were not, in fact, always textual. Music, architecture, clothes and choreography were all brought under scrutiny and sometimes done away with, kept or intensified. The Reformation, as a liturgical phenomenon, is the fascinating story of change amalgamated with continuity. All of the Western churches implemented some changes during this period, either in the direction of reduction, as was the case in many Reformed circles, or a deepened focus on splendour through Baroque aesthetics, as was often the case in what we now call the Roman Catholic church.[322] Architecture, music, and liturgy were influenced by the increasingly felt divides; the cool white interior of the Westerkerk in Amsterdam stands at one pole, and the sumptuous Michaelskirche, built by Jesuits in Munich, at the other.[323] The changes in architecture often reflected theological considerations – in a sense, art became credal.[324] The Reformed insistence on table bread rather than wafers, the elimination of altars, vestments and visual church art was all based

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[321] Froehlich (1987), 40-44. This was not the only textual source of angelology that suffered in the Reformation: the general Protestant de-canonisation of the Book of Tobit (the only scriptural mention of the angel Raphael), was part of the same limiting of authoritative textual resources on angels. See Marshall & Walsham (2006), 13.
[322] Fisher (2007), 386-7. See the excellent collection of essays in Hall & Cooper (2013). O'Malley (2013), 29, notes, however, that while lavish Baroque became associated with Catholic revival, scepticism towards art as such could also be found in Catholic circles, going back to Erasmus.
[323] For the Michaelskirche as a paradigm of assertive, militant Catholic revival, see Smith (2002), 57-101.
[324] The very understanding of what liturgy was supposed to achieve also changed for the Reformers, from a mystically and sacramentally oriented medieval understanding, to a didactic, pedagogical and dogmatically acceptable expression of theology. See Karant-Nunn (2010), 71. That this was not necessarily the focus of the medieval liturgy is clear from the conservative Bishop of Winchester Stephen Gardiner's letter to Cranmer in 1547 in which he points out to the Archbishop how the laity was not *supposed* to hear or understand what the priest was saying at the altar, as they were there to pray silently of their own. See Targoff (2001), 14.

on certain theological ideas of sacramentality, the Christian community, and the role of liturgy.[325] But it was also a way to distinguish a Reformed service from a Lutheran or Catholic equivalent in a time when "Papist" aesthetics was enough to make a certain practice appear suspect.[326] Music was another area where confessional identity came to expression; again, to rely on the extremes set out above, on the one hand the singing of metrical psalms, or no singing at all, in Reformed churches, and on the other the spectacular music following Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and other composers during the Catholic Reformation.[327] However different they may seem, most of the paths taken by the church communities during the Reformation were based on medieval precedents, but taken in vastly different direction.[328]

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[325] Karant-Nunn (2010), 67, 69, 102-3.

[326] The Lutheran example is illuminating, as Lutherans frequently came to understand themselves as a *via media*; Karant-Nunn (2010), 60-62. Lutheran liturgical reforms did in general turn away from pomp, following in Luther's own footsteps, but Lutherans did not immediately or everywhere do away with things that became anathema in Reformed circles, such as incense and candles. Magdeburg long kept their vestments, and Brandenburg, the liturgically most conservative part of the Lutheran German-speaking area, retained very traditional elements such as elevation and vestments long after these had been abolished in Wittenberg; Karant-Nunn (1997), 116. Latin survived, and even experienced a revival towards the end of the sixteenth century. (119) Church art was often retained in Lutheran circles. The nature of the art in question, however, changed. Whereas the purpose of medieval images was to elicit an emotional response; horror before the Passion or death of martyrs, or gratitude before the Virgin, "[t]he purpose of those that remained, as of those that were added after the Reformation had begun, was to teach the basic precepts of the faith." Karant-Nunn (2010), 67. The famous altarpiece by Lucas Cranach the Elder in Wittenberg from 1547 clearly exhibits a soberer, more didactic approach to church art than the blood-sweating Christ writhing in pain found in much late medieval church art. The crucified Christ is much calmer than in pre-Reformation and later Catholic art, with a minimum of blood and damaged flesh. (71) In general, even though Lutheran churches did stay closer to medieval practices than their Calvinist, Zwinglian and Anabaptist counterparts, a more general shift did take place. Karant-Nunn writes how "the adherents of evangelical forms of belief were made aware, by means of ritual and the decoration of Lutheran sanctuaries, that along with the late-medieval Catholic Christianity, emotion-oriented piety was at an end, or at least to be severely curtailed and redirected." (65. Karant-Nunn herself later problematizes this). One other defining traits of Lutheran reform that had an enormous influence on the liturgical experience of the common worshipper was the changes in, and drastic proliferation of, communal singing. Luther himself, "die Wittenbergische Nachtigall", famously loved music and "had a fine tenor voice, played the lute and flute, and had a decent understanding of music theory", leading to him penning both simple communal songs and elaborate polyphonic hymns for choirs; Fisher (2007), 388-9. His enthusiasm for congregational singing started a trend which would define Lutheran worship over and against both Catholic and Reformed traditions.

[327] Fisher (2007), 394, 398-400.

[328] See Karant-Nunn (2010), 11: "Virtually every aspect of the programs for spiritual apprehension that were held out to the pious by the respective subdivisions within post-Reformation European Christianity could be found in late-medieval Catholicism."

The debate concerning how to understand the Reformation is complex, and has gone from the Protestant triumphalism of A.G. Dickens' classic work *The English Reformation* (1964) to the revisionism of Christopher Haigh (1987), in his own peculiar way John Bossy (1985) and, most importantly, Duffy (1992); see also (2001). Whereas pre-revisionism research often assumed the lifelessness of the medieval world, such as when Dickens (1964), 384, commented matter-of-factly on the "exceptional religious and cultural sterility" of the reign of Mary I (no doubt alluding to the Queen's own childlessness), revisionist historians showed how the medieval world had been a thriving religious culture. The Reformation had in many ways been forced upon an unwilling population, rather than come as a liberation from an oppressive medieval Christendom (understood to be more or less the same as Catholicism). This corrective reading has, in turn, been further problematized by among others G.W. Bernard (2012) and Duffy himself (2006); (2012), as it has become clear just how complex and drawn-out processes of reform and traditionalism were in the sixteenth and even seventeenth centuries. Rather than asking "who was right?", research has shifted its focus to the processes themselves, with their

The Hearing Ear

The auditory experience changed drastically, through language but also through other means. In 1547 the English Church prohibited *sanctus* bells for *Sanctus* and consecration of the Eucharistic elements, and were only kept for ringing before the sermon. Whereas new liturgical music flourished in Lutheran circles, the influence of Reformed and specifically Zwinglian tradition took the Church of England in a different direction. Choirs were dealt a severe blow in 1549, which Duffy has described as "the silencing of all but a handful of choirs and the reduction of the liturgy … to a monotone dialogue between curate and clerk."[329] In most parish churches, the service became a spoken, rather than sung, activity.[330] The music that the congregation would be used to – elaborate choir song "full of notes", as Cranmer himself put it – was changed.[331] English church music was either simplified, or done away with. The first attempt at English Protestant music is interesting in the case of the *Sanctus*. When the Book of Common Prayer was first published in 1549 it lacked instructions for musical performance, but already the year after this was corrected through John Merbecke's *The booke of Common praier noted* from 1550.[332] In terms of musical embellishment, this was a heavy simplification: Merbecke rarely gives more than one note to any syllable in the prayer texts, and a clear presentation of the words is given high priority, rather than elaborate melodies.[333]

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compromises, complexities and contradictions. See Duffy (2012), 3-14; MacCulloch (2016), 239-255; Litzenberger (1997), 2-4. While many of these trends have taken place in Anglophone research and concern the English Reformation, they have clear counterparts in continental and Scandinavian Reformation research. See Nyman (2002); Berntson (2010).

[329] Duffy (1992), 465.

[330] Leaver (2006), 40. And even more so after 1552, when the *Sanctus* was to be said and not sung, and organs were taken out of service, such as the one in St Paul's in September 1552. See Cuming (1969), 108.

[331] Leaver (2006), 39.

[332] Cuming (1969), 69.

[333] Merbecke's music did not survive 1552, when it became obsolete, whereupon followed the Marian restoration. It did not see a general renaissance until the nineteenth century; Leaver (2006), 42-43. It and other early Protestant initiatives did leave a mark, however, on what Anglican music should sound like.
The following years, of course, turned out to be tumultuous even for those not engaged in church or state politics. During the Marian restoration the liturgy reverted back to the Sarum use, and then under Elizabeth, it re-reverted to the Book of Common Prayer, in its 1559 version. Elizabeth, with her firm control over the Chapel Royal, encouraged composers such as Thomas Tallis, William Mundy, Orlando Gibbons and even the Catholic William Byrd to write polyphonic "services", and church music saw a revival, at least in her later reign. See Fisher (2007), 395; Cuming (1969), 128-9; Johnson (1990), 160-161. Elizabeth's own aesthetic preferences did not reform church music all at one time, nor did it affect the whole realm: "Outside of the Chapel Royal and its satellite churches, however, the zeal of reformers tended to limit elaborate church music, as musical expenses were reduced and organs were neglected or, in some cases, done away with entirely." Fisher (2007), 396. John Day's translation of the Book of Psalms from 1562, based on Calvin's format of congregational singing of metrical Psalms, were more popular in the countryside and, also in 1562, there was a motion brought before the Congregation by those who returned from exile during the Marian reign to ban organs and "curious music", which was defeated only by a slim majority. In fact, it would not be until after the Commonwealth period that music regained an unthreatened position in English ecclesiastical life. (Johnson (1990), 159; 164-5.

In Merbecke's musical setting, another change – apart from the general simplification, which most definitely affected the earlier elaborate choir performances – was signalled in the *Sanctus* which would survive in many liturgical enactments. In many of the medieval English rites, including Sarum, the priest would raise his arms for *Sanctus*, and then make the sign of the cross for *Benedictus*.[334] In the Roman liturgy, the priest would bow for *Sanctus* and stand for *Benedictus*. The choir would then continue singing the *Sanctus* during the prayers said by the priest at the altar, fall silent during the actual consecration, and then continue with *Benedictus*, clearly signalling a break between the two segments. In the Book of Common Prayer, however, there is an instruction after the "Glory to thee O lorde in the highest" which reads "This the Clerkes shall also syng", referring to the whole *Sanctus* cluster, including *Benedictus* and Luke 2:14. In Merbecke's setting, *Sanctus* and *Benedictus* are sung to the same melody without interruption, tying them closely together experientially. There must have been less of a perceived "seam" between the *Sanctus* and the *Benedictus*/Luke 2:14.

And the Seeing Eye

Yet another change in the liturgical experience had started already in the 1520s, but would become much more pronounced later on, owing to Puritan religious enthusiasm during the Civil War: iconoclasm.[335] This particular Reformed tendency in Anglican history should not be overlooked: whereas Luther had been opposed to Andreas Karlstadt's iconoclastic initiative in Wittenberg 1522 while he was away, Zwingli, Calvin and Bucer all supported the eruptions of iconoclasm sweeping northern Europe during the *Bildersturm*. Zürich (1523), Denmark (1530), Münster (1534), Geneva (1535), Augsburg (1537) and Scotland (1559) were all affected by it, and in the Low Countries, the *Beeldenstorm* of 1566 set off the Dutch Revolt against Catholic Spain. Looking at the dates and places mentioned, it is clear that most of the areas affected were leaning towards Calvinism rather than Lutheranism, and here England was no exception. Already in the Royal Injunctions of 1536 there was a general scepticism in England towards the veneration of images, and in 1538 the Injunctions actively turned against "candles and tapers to images or relics, or kissing or licking the same". The whole cult of images was to be severely simplified, with much of it being outright prohibited.[336] In the Injunctions of 1547 this was extended to command the clergy to "take down, or cause to be taken down and destroy"

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[334] Maskell (1846), 75.
[335] Duffy (1992), 381.
[336] Duffy (1992), 406-8.

any "such images as they know in any of their cures to be or have been abused with pilgrimage or offering of anything made thereunto, or shall be hereafter censed unto." It even ordered the destruction of images on stained-glass windows.[337] In 1550 a bill called for the destruction of "images of stone, timber, alabaster or earth, graven carved or painted, which heretofore have been taken out of any church or chapel, or yet stand in any church or chapel."[338] Soon, church walls were limewashed, and more and more church art destroyed, to such an extent that it could not be fully restored during the reign of Mary.[339] Over time, this would flare up again in the Puritan iconoclasm of the 1640s, leading to England being one of the most aggressively purged areas of Protestant Europe.[340]

What this means for the purposes of this study is that over time the visual stimulus that church art had provided was often drastically lessened, if not completely removed. What physical stimulus Jewish liturgy provides through the bodily movements of the *qedushah*, medieval Christian liturgy provided through visual art in the church buildings themselves. When the angels literally disappeared from sight, and the elaborate choir music of the Middle Ages was simplified with pedagogical concerns in mind, the experience of the words altered. The idea of participating in the song of the angels simply does not carry the same force if one cannot see any angels – human or painted – when looking around and one is not, in fact, even singing. The *Sanctus* spoken in a mid-/late sixteenth century English church was indeed quite unlike the one sung in a fifteenth century one, even though the text itself underwent fairly cautious editing.[341] It might therefore be a mistake to characterise the English Reformation as gentle or conservative, as this may mainly be true in terms of liturgical texts and episcopal structure. With the overall worship experience so drastically changed, and access to paraliturgical activities such as visiting shrines to St. Michael, it would seem the Dionysian world was dead.

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[337] Duffy (1992), 451.
[338] Spraggon (2003), 5.
[339] Cuming (1969), 98-99; Spraggon (2003), 5-6.
[340] See Aston (1988); Phillips (1973); Spraggon (2003).
[341] Whether the reformers' didactic focus on the liturgy being an opportunity to teach correct Christian doctrine was always successful could also be debated. In the uprising in the West in response to the 1549 liturgy, in which the Book of Common Prayer was said to be "but lyke a Christmas game", the rebels say that "we the Cornyshe men (wherof certen of us understand no Englysh) vytterly refuse thys newe Englyshe." Duffy, (1993), 206). For a fair number of Cornish and Welsh subjects, English would not have been much more familiar than Latin, so the pedagogical precision of the new liturgy must have been lost on them.

Complicating the Picture

There are factors, however, which complicate the narrative of a "decline of a tradition", an idea that has come under serious criticism.[342] The most obvious of these is that the Dionysian legacy did not die overnight – during the Counter-Reformation, angelic iconography and devotion was drafted into the revival of a newly fortified Catholic Church, although rarely with formal Dionysian theology underpinning it.[343] The *Corpus* had definitely been demoted from its former sub-apostolic status but was still Patristic and when the dust had settled even Protestants would sometimes return to it. Martin Bucer, for example, was comfortable using it, as were other Reformers in the latter half of the sixteenth century such as Martin Chemnitz and Georg Calixt.[344] Thomas More, in his *Confutation of Tyndale*, argued that the authorship of the Dionysian texts is secondary to their quality: "what great harme and losse where there in the matter … though it somtyme happed the boke of one good holy man to be named the boke of an other."[345]

To say that there was a decline does not do justice to the situation, especially when writing in English, seeing how popular angels would become in England, through the occultism of John Dee and Edward Kelley, the politics of Richard Hooker, and the poetry of Edmund Spenser, John Donne and – last but certainly not the least – John Milton.[346] Perhaps displacement, rather than removal, is a better characterisation of the process, as angels became the domain of theologically trained men of learning. Angels did, however, not even completely leave the church buildings. While statues of them were often removed, they did often survive in inaccessible places: the magnificent angel roofs of East Anglia, for example, were often left intact in the otherwise violent iconoclasms of England. Sometimes, they would even reappear. The high churchman John Cosin (1594-1672) decorated both Durham Cathedral and the chapel at Peterhouse, Cambridge, with an abundance of angels – the Puritan iconoclast William Dowsing reports how he afterwards had "pulled down 2 mighty great Angells with wings, and

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[342] In fact, much of Mohamed (2008) is a sustained critique of this view. One reason is that Renaissance and humanist scholarship also worked in favour of the *Corpus*: humanist enthusiasm about text criticism led to a burst of new editions, and scepticism towards scholastic theology led to Platonism and mysticism being brought in, often through Dionysian texts; Froehlich (1987), 35-36. French theologian Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (c.1455-1536), for example saw Dionysius as an example of early, unadulterated Christianity and an important source for reform-minded Christians; Froehlich (1987), 36-37. Perhaps as an illustration of the complexities of this development, it could be pointed out that in the same lecture that Valla denied the Areopagitic authorship of the *Corpus*, he also describes Dionysius "as playing the flute in a celestial symphony before the throne of God." Mohamed (2004), 560.

[343] Marshall & Walsham (2006), 21-31.

[344] Froehlich (1987), 45-46.

[345] Cited in Mohamed (2004), 561. See Harkness (1999), and Raymond (2011).

[346] For a helpful overview, see Mohamed (2008).

divers other Angels & … about a hundred Chirubims and Angels" from the Peterhouse chapel.[347] Furthermore, at least one new tradition concerning angels entered post-Reformation Lutheran church buildings: in seventeenth and eighteenth century Germany and Scandinavia the tradition of "Taufengeln", baptismal angels, goes in the opposite direction of the trend. One variant of this motif was the statue of a human-sized angel decorating the baptismal font.[348] The more common type, however, was the carved statue of a font-bearing angel which hung suspended from the ceiling and would be lowered during baptism.[349]

It should be noted, however, that the hold of Dionysian theology on angelology seemed to have been, if not broken, then at least loosened; the authors after the Reformation often seem to feel free to use the angelic hierarchies in less precise ways, and the Taufengel tradition does not seem to reflect any particular angelological speculation. Instead, they seem to be more purely decorative.[350] No Protestant liturgy after the Reformation deals with the Dionysian heritage either. So while I agree with Mohamed and Cameron that it is too much to speak of a "decline", I still think it can be argued that the Renaissance and the Reformation led to an *unravelling* of formal angelology, though not of a general belief in angels. When angels show up after the Reformation – which they frequently do – it is not in the context of a complete system of angelology.[351] Nor is angelology directly tied to liturgy. The much looser, perhaps more cautious, approach of *The Book of Common Prayer* is typical of the new times that the Reformation brought on, one in which much less precision was applied to the subject of angels.

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[347] Raymer (1981), 315, 346.

[348] Such as in Christianskirken in Skien in Norway, and Marmorkirken in Copenhagen, or Söderbärke kyrka in Smedjebacken, Sweden. There is also one in the Gasthuiskerk in Dutch Doesburg. The most famous baptismal angel would probably be those made by Bertel Thorvaldsen, one of which stands in Vor Frue Kirke in Copenhagen and the other one in Nationalmuseum in Stockholm.

[349] See the Norwegian "dåpsengler" in Hosanger kirke in Osterøy, Dolstad kirke in Mosjøen and Voss kirke. In Sweden, "dopänglar" can be found in for example Bjurbäcks kyrka in Mullsjö, Kungslena kyrka, Vättaks kyrka and Daretorps kyrka in Tidaholm, Nässjö gamla kyrka and Hakarps kyrka in the municipality of Jönköping. For an overview of German Taufengeln in Nordelbien (from the Elbe to the Danish border) see de Cuveland (1991).

[350] As the theology of guardian angels generally survives the Reformation one could perhaps link them with that tradition.

[351] Visions of angels seem to have been fairly commonly reported in Protestant areas, but were rarely endorsed by clergy. See Soergel (2006), 64-65. On the sometimes intense anxiety over angelic apparitions and the threat of daemonic deceit, see Copeland & Machielsen (2013). MacCulloch (2003), 581, has argued that angels to some extent took over after saints in Protestant areas. Marshall and Walsham, however, write: "There is clearly something to this: these celestial creatures were occasionally the instrument of miraculous cures, a prerogative of the saints in pre-Reformation times. But we should resist the temptations of tidy functionalist substitution here. Saints and angels had played complementary rather than identical roles in late medieval religion, and the latter did not simply expand their repertoire upon the demotion of the former. Other than in some extremely 'avant-garde' ceremonialist circles, angels did not become an emotional focus for personal devotion in territories where the Reformation took hold. Protestant apparitions of angels, unlike those of saints, did not lead to the sacralisation of space, the establishment or validation of shrines and sites of pilgrimage. Nor were there mechanisms for subsuming a recognition of angelic roles into institutional Church structures by the establishment of special feasts or liturgies." Marshall & Walsham (2006), 21.

While there are plenty of exceptions and complications, it can be said that the angels seem to have left church politics in the fifteenth century, and did not seem to frequent Protestant services too often either.[352]

Conclusions

If then, like the Reformers, we are to turn "back to the Bible", where does this leave us on the subject of the *seraphim*? In tracing angelic liturgies across centuries, religions and cultures, I have only had the chance to briefly note some characteristics. Jews and Christians alike have lived liturgical lives in which "angels" – including *seraphim*, *cherubim* and a host of other creatures – have played an important role as celestial "co-religionists." In Jewish worship, this focus on liturgical communion is especially intense, and manifests itself in a choreography designed to represent the angels themselves. In medieval Christianity, Dionysian angelology had an enormous impact on theology, liturgy and church art, contributing even to the rise of the Gothic itself. This highly systematised angelic world would transform, and lose some of its contours under the pressure of Humanist scholarship and Protestant critique. In many cases, angels were physically removed from churches, where before they would have informed the worshippers' understanding of various biblical creatures and passages.

Through the cultural history of Isa. 6:3 there have been certain breaks but more continuity. If we are to return to where we started, that is, to encyclopaedias, we find for example the *Dictionary of the Bible*, originally complied by Scottish Presbyterian scholar James Hastings, which in its second 1963 edition reads: "The seraphim are mentioned in only one passage in Scripture (Is 6[2ff]). In Isaiah's inaugural vision these constitute the celestial adorants who sing the Trisagion in antiphonal chorus."[353]

A couple of assumptions are at play here: that there is something unique about the use of the word שרף in this passage, that these creatures are celestial – that is, belonging to the heavens – and that they are singing "adorants." All of these fit rather neatly with traditional perspectives,

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[352] If anything, they seem to have migrated into elite occultist circles: Ficino, Mirandola, Johannes Trithemius, Reuchlin, Cornelius Agrippa, Knorr von Rosenroth, Giordano Bruno, Dee and others were all deeply invested in angelic theology, and communication, but this was the private projects of highly educated individuals, rather than anything public or liturgical. See Marshall & Walsham (2006), 32-33.
In Catholic circles, of course, while not much more was written on the Dionysian texts, angels were very much used after the Tridentine Reformation, which led to a remarkable comeback for angels in Catholic iconography and art towards the end of the sixteenth century; Marshall & Walsham (2006), 22-26.
[353] Hastings, Grand & Rowley (1963), 896.

even if we do not say outright that they are angels.[354] And even when there is explicit awareness of the possible implications of the other occurrences of the term, thinking about these issues may still slide back into the angelic framework. Take the example of Otto Kaiser:

> The heavenly king does not appear alone to the prophet. [Y-HWH] is surrounded by the seraphim (v. 2), ministering spirits, in considerable numbers,[355] just as an earthly ruler is surrounded by his followers and courtiers… According to Isa. 14.29; 30.6 and Num. 21.6; Deut. 8.15, the seraphim must be thought of as naked winged serpents with human faces and hands… The attitude of the angelic beings emphasizes the infinite distance between God and every creature, and recalls the holiness of God to Isaiah.[356]

The identity of the *seraphim* in Isaiah's encounter – and their relationship to *seraphim* outside of Isaiah 6 – is an issue which tells us something about interpretational assumptions. While generally scholarship has shifted away from seeing them as angels, there still seems to be a lingering reluctance towards simply reading all occurrences of the word שרף as referring to the same type of creature – evidenced, for example, by Childs above. Why this hesitation? It becomes even more curious when seen against the shifts that *have* taken place in scholarship on these creatures. While originating before her, the argument that the *seraphim* are serpent creatures was made quite forcefully by Karen Randolph Joines, who in 1967 argued that the *seraphim* – two, in her view – are winged serpent-beings. In this she does, in part, rely on the other occurrences of the word.[357] She points out that it is unlikely that the Hebrew שרף would be referring to snakes in one instance, and to another being in another:

> The earliest and the latest OT usages of *saraph* date probably in the same one-hundred-year time span; that the word would alter meanings for Isaiah in this relatively short period is unlikely.[358]

But she also turns to extra-biblical evidence: in 1 Enoch 20:7, for example, Gabriel is, somewhat oddly, said to preside "over serpents, over paradise and over the cherubim", making her draw the conclusion that these serpents may be a reference to the *seraphim*.[359] She relies mostly on Egyptian iconographic material, however. According to her the possible Egyptian cognate *seref* means "flying serpent" and suggests an Egyptian background to the *seraphim* in

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[354] One might also wonder whether the tendency to describe the *seraphim* as angelic might have been even stronger, had not the Reformation cut some of those connections. One should note the general lack of interest in angels and angelology in research and academic theology up until very recently. While a popular subject now for historians, this was not the case even ten or fifteen years ago. The *Corpus* is experiencing a remarkable revival – see Coakley (2009), 1 – but it is not mainly *The Celestial Hierarchy* that has generated or benefited from this, and this lack of interest that is only now being corrected may itself result from the elimination of angels from many Protestant liturgies.

[355] He thinks that verse 6 "shows that in any case there were more than two." Kaiser (1972), 76. n. B.

[356] Kaiser (1972), 76.

[357] The mention in Isa. 14:29 and 30:6 of a flying *seraph*, a שרף מעופף, also helps this case.

[358] Randolph Joines (1967), 411.

[359] On this theme, note Black (1985), 163.

the Egyptian mythological creature the *uraeus*. Many *uraei* found in Egyptian tombs sport hands, faces and often wings, in at least two instances two pairs of wings, and the creature itself was closely connected to royal power. She notes that most of the biblical occurrences of the term are from a period of heavy Egyptian influx in Israel and Judah and that archaeological finds of both two- and four-winged *uraei* have been made in Israel/Palestine, at Megiddo, Gaza, Beth Shemesh and Lachish, so that we can safely say that "*Israel was acquainted with the symbol of the winged serpent* and, apparently, incorporated it into its royal symbolism."[360]

She also notes that while the Egyptians used "the crawling serpent as an emblem of chaos and evil", "the uraeus is always standing", like the *seraphim*.[361] The *uraeus* belched fire to protect the Pharaoh, while the *seraphim* fill the temple with smoke.

The strength of this theory is that it fits well with the rest of the other occurrences of the term and would explain the etymology. The intercultural explanation also makes historical sense.[362]

It would seem that the serpent hypothesis is, at least, the path of least resistance, interpretation-wise. But while few would argue that the *seraphim* are angels, the resistance towards describing them as serpents might be explained by the fact that it would take quite a bit of mental recalibration to go from centuries of church art and liturgical conditioning over to Egyptian iconography, which does not strike a familiar chord with anyone today. But many *are* comfortable taking the question in another direction. Take Engnell, who writes:

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[360] Randolph Joines (1967), 414. Her italics.

[361] Randolph Joines (1967), 414. That could be an explanation for why the "standing" is mentioned at all, though it is not uncommon for servants to "stand" by their masters

[362] Even so, this hypothesis is not entirely unproblematic. Against the winged serpent theory stands another suggestion, proposed by Ludwig Morenz and Stefan Schorch. They argue that the Egyptian srf/sfr (the latter being a euphemistic avoidance of the former in their view) does not, in fact, refer to a winged serpent but rather a griffin. Their argument against the winged serpent theory is a little weak, as they note that while two- and four-winged *uraei* have been found in Israel/Palestine, so far no six-winged variant has been. This is on the one hand an argument from silence, but furthermore it presupposes that the ancient Israelites had virtually no imagination of their own and could not think of adding a pair of wings to a creature which already had an unusual number of them. But their own suggestion is thoroughly based in Egyptian iconography, as there is evidence of six-winged griffins and sphinxes. They point out that griffins in Egyptian mythology lived in the desert and had something daemonic about them; only later are they "domesticated" by gods and kings and made into fire-spewing guardians of the throne. They read biblical passages such as Ps. 104:4 in light of this *srf*-creature, taking it to mean that the Israelite deity domesticates beings of wind and fire and makes them his servants in the same way Egyptian gods domesticates the *srf*-creatures. Their own conclusion reads: "Zusammenfassend läßt sich feststellen, daß im Ägypten des Mittleren Reiches ein Greif mit der Bezeichnung *srf* (und – euphemistisch? – *sfr*) belegt is, der, ursprûnglich wohl ein (dämonisches) Wüstentier, vermutlich sekundär in den Dienst der Gottheit gestellt wurde und die Funktion eines "Wächters des Thrones" innehatte." Morenz & Schorch (1996), 381.

It may suffice to state that the שרפים are of course not snake demons, as has been asserted with reference to Num. XXI: 6. They are, conceivably, like the *Cherubim*, fire- and light beings…[363] At the same time they are represented by cult symbols, and in both cases they are preponderatingly of human type – though winged – as they have a face, feet, and, evidently, hands, since one of them can handle a pair of tongs."[364]

See, also, the line of reasoning taken by George W. Wade, which shows many of these strands coming together:

These celestial attendants of the Lord are only mentioned here, the word elsewhere denoting "fiery" or "burning" serpents, real or figurative… as serpents in various places have been considered in the light of guardians of sacred localities, it has been thought that the seraphim were at first the serpent-guards of the abode of the Lord. In Egypt, winged griffins, represented as protecting tombs, were actually called *serefs*. But comparison with the *cherubim*, which attend or convey the Lord in Ezek. X., points to a different explanation: for as the conception of the *cherubim* seems to have been derived from the wind or the clouds (Ps. xviii. 10), so that of the *seraphim* may have come from the serpentine lightning. Here, however, the association of them with serpents or a serpent-like shape seems to have disappeared, the description suggesting gigantic winged human figures, inasmuch as they have hands, feet, and voice.[365]

This is repeated decades later, by R. B. Y. Scott, who, writing in George Arthur Buttrick's *Interpreter's Bible*, explains the *seraphim* as follows:

Attendants of the heavenly throne, comparable to the four "living creatures" of Ezek. 1:5-25; Rev. 4:6-8, and the members of the "heavenly host" (cf. Dan. 7:10). The word means "burning ones" in the transitive sense; the fact that it is used to describe the serpents in the wilderness (cf. Num. 21:6, 8) has led some commentators here to the illogical conclusion that the seraphim of the vision were serpentine in form. Actually, like the cherubim and "living creatures," they belong to the category of unearthly beings – human only in part – which in the art and literature of the ancient world are commonly represented as attendants upon the gods and their sanctuaries… The seraphim… have hands, faces and voices of men, and stand upright; and they have three pairs of wings. But the primary characteristic lies in their name… they symbolized lightning, as the cherub symbolized the thundercloud.[366]

While there seems to be some resistance towards the serpent hypothesis, there is little to no resistance to – or even an awareness of the problems of – a *cherub* hypothesis. At least, many scholars seem to be very comfortable with the idea that there is something cherubic about the *seraphim*.[367]

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[363] Note that he cannot help but associate them with "attendant angels" and is of the opinion that they must be connected to the two *cherubim* in the Holy of Holies; Engnell (1949), 34-35.

[364] Engnell (1949), 33.

[365] Wade (1911), 39.

[366] Buttrick (1956), 208.

[367] See also more popular commentaries, such as Watts (1985), 74. The mirror tendency can also be seen in research on Ezekiel – take the example of Daniel Block, who in his commentary on Ezekiel 1 goes from the

This conflation is noteworthy in and of itself. Although the *seraphim* and the *cherubim* never appear together, neither in the Hebrew Bible nor the New Testament, they are often closely associated in research. One reason for this might be the Jewish and the Dionysian hierarchical systems in which they were both set. Another, stronger reason, may be Christian iconography. These creatures, while usually seen as related but distinct in classical theological writings, tend to get blurred in church art and popular imagination; sometimes they are also harmonised or conflated, as we saw. This tendency to think of *seraphim* and *cherubim* together is persistent also in modern research. Often, they are discussed simultaneously, even by researchers otherwise highly sensitive to interpretative issues and nuances in the text, such as Friedhelm Hartenstein's article from 2007, "Cherubim and Seraphim in the Bible and in the light of Ancient Near East sources." Hartenstein's work here and elsewhere stands out due to its quality and intellectual rigour, and the article itself is insightful and well-researched. But what is noteworthy is the ease with which Hartenstein assumes that the two go together in an article.[368] Although he mentions "the parallelism of Cherubim and Seraphim in later Jewish writings" he apparently has no trouble investigating these "Mischwesen" at the same time.[369] He explicitly writes about Isaiah 6 and Ezekiel 1-3, 8-11 that

> These chapters, dealing, among other things, with the call of the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel, were the primary sources for the rendering of angelic beings in texts such as the Sabbath Songs from Qumran (4Q405 20-21-22:8), Sir 49:8; ApocMos 33; ApocAbr 18:12; 1En 61:10; 71:7…[370]

Hartenstein never suggests that either of the two types of creatures are angels, or angelic, but it is noteworthy how dutifully he follows the Jewish association of Isaiah 6 and Ezekiel 1-3, an association that we will see enforced in Chapter 2, where it would seem it has had an influence on the *Sanctus-Benedictus* sequence. This association, and the Christian iconography which picks up on it by conflating the two creatures (based, presumably, in how they are combined already in Revelation 4) visually, while often setting both apart from the rest of the Christian system of angels, seems to be very strong even today.

"living creatures" to the *seraphim* of Isaiah 6; Block (1997), 97. Note also Randolph Joines above, who assumes that in a list including the *cherubim*, *seraphim* too will be included.

[368] For a very helpful article on how the *cherubim*, specifically, have been envisioned throughout history, see Eichler (2015). One might hope similar work would be written on the *seraphim*.

[369] Hartenstein (2007), 156; 157. A rare example to the contrary is that of Tryggve Mettinger, who in his two entries, "Cherubim" and "Seraphim", in van der Toorn, van der Horst & Becking (1998). *The Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. Brill, does not conflate or even connect the two. Note, however, that is the same scholar writing about both!

[370] Hartenstein (2007), 155.

Sometimes, in the search for the identity of the *seraphim*, some researchers even go so far as to conflate the creatures entirely. In a short article Ernest Lacheman suggests that the question of what the *seraphim* are is not very complicated: it is simply the case that the golden *cherubim* of the Holy of Holies, when lit up by sunlight from the outside, would appear to burn (hence; שרפים, "burning ones").[371] *Seraphim* are simply *cherubim*. While this explanation may be tempting, if nothing else for its simplicity, it begs the question of how to read the other occurrences of שרף in the Hebrew Bible, and it again shows a strong tendency among researchers to relate the two creatures to one another.[372]

The association between these two passages is not in any way unreasonable, but in the rest of the Bible, there does not seem to be many points of contact between the creatures mentioned in them. If we take the חיות of Ezek. 1-3 to be *cherubim*, which they are later called, in Ezek. 10, there would not seem to be much overlap between these creatures, mentioned throughout the Hebrew Bible as guardians, of Eden, of the Ark of the Covenant, of the Temple, and as the puller of God's chariot, and the *seraphim*, which in all other occurrences seem to be dangerous serpents in the wilderness. It would seem it is only in these two passages that they perform similar duties, so to connect them throughout, and without arguing for it, seems unwarranted. There does seem to be something in Jewish texts and liturgy, New Testament texts, and Christian art, however, which persistently connects the *seraphim* and the *cherubim* and would seem to make it easier to imagine the *seraphim* as somehow cherubic, and bring the two together even in modern research.

Another view which is repeated frequently in commentaries, as can be seen above, is the description of the *seraphim* as "adorants" or "singers" or that they are part of a "choir." There are two sides to this, which I want to mention before moving on to the next chapter. The first is that a duet is hardly a choir: this imagery presupposes more than two *seraphim*. This would seem to connect Isaiah 6 with passages in the Hebrew Bible which describes a divine assembly (see 1 Kings 22:19-23, Ps. 82:1, 86:6-9, Neh. 9:6). While one key word which might suggest such a connection is צבא, "host", used in the Divine title in Isa. 6:3, these parallels are somewhat weakened by research pointing to many of the other relevant passages concerning other *deities*, not angelic figures.[373] It would seem one would first have to establish that the *seraphim* are

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[371] Lacheman (1968), 71-72.
[372] Another difficulty is that it stands or falls on the *seraphim* being only two.
[373] For a succinct overview, see Spinks (1991), 11-13.

part of these assemblies, rather than assume so. The other side of the choir imagery is the function of the *seraphim*: a choir sings. Note, however, that the *seraphim* are not described as singers in Isaiah 6, nor are the verbs used related to song. Biblical Hebrew does not lack synonyms for song and singing, as the Book of Psalms amply shows, but none of these is used here. There is not much to indicate any liturgical role for the *seraphim*. While the role of *seraphim* as guardian beings is discussed, as we have seen, the idea of them as a liturgical choir does seem to return again and again. But let us now turn from the "singers" to the "song", as this takes us to the content of what the *seraphim* are supposed to sing, namely the thrice-holy cry itself, and what function that has been given in liturgy, and in scholarship.

Chapter 2. Hymning the Eternal Father – the Function of Isaiah 6:3

In 1809, the Archbishop of Uppsala, Jacob Axelsson Lindblom, presented before the priestly Estate of the Riksdag, the Swedish Parliament, his thoughts on a new church handbook, seeing as the old liturgy, which had not changed much since 1571, was felt to be in need of revision. The timing of the Archbishop can easily be explained: 1809 was the year that Sweden had lost Finland to Russia. The liturgically conservative king Gustav IV Adolf had as a result of this been forced to abdicate in March, and already in June the priestly Estate began reworking the church handbook. One of the goals of the handbook was to standardise an increasingly diverse liturgy in local parishes; another was to improve communication among churchgoers which since the Reformation had been very low: in fact, up until the latter half of the twentieth century, a recurring problem had been that mass under the church regulations of Archbishop Laurentius Petri (1499-1573) could scarcely be celebrated due to a constant lack of communicants.[374] This work resulted in the church hand book of 1811, which has one particularly interesting feature, namely its introit.

Whilst the introduction to the Swedish mass since the Reformation had been heavily penitential, the mass of 1811 opens with a liturgically unique text, written by Johan Adam Tingstadius (1748-1827), later Bishop of Strängnäs, a noted author and Hebraist at the time, who had been translating Hebrew poetry into Swedish and was in 1786 appointed to the Bible committee, charged with translating anew the Bible into Swedish.[375] The new introit, written in 1799 and which followed an introductory hymn, was intended by Tingstadius to be "an oratorium in the style of David to be performed on holidays together with music", and reads as follows:[376]

Helig, Helig, Helig, Herre Gud Allsmägtige. Fulle äro himlarna och jorden av din härlighet. Vi prise och äre dig: Vi tillbedje dig: Vi tacke dig	Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty. Full are the heavens and the earth of your glory. We praise you: We worship you: We give thanks to

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[374] Martling (1992), 90. The mass in Swedish congregations has been strongly associated with penance and required confession on Saturday night. Without parishioners who had stated their intent to communicate and been examined, no mass could be held.

[375] The Bible from 1703 had been a revised version of Olaus Petri's and Laurentius Andreae's translation from 1541, known as *Gustav Vasas Bibel*, and it would take until 1917 for the new Bible committee to finish its work. Tingstadius' own translations include Psalms, Isaiah, Job, an assortment of poetic excerpts, and Habakkuk. See Nyberg (1953), 287-326.

[376] Baelter (1838), 233. Martling (1992), 186, is wrong, however, to attribute this report to Sven Baelter, who died in 1760 – it is part of the material added by Anders Erik Knös in the second edition of 1838 and originally comes from Pehr Olof Gravander's eulogy for Tingstadius; Bexell (1988), 235.

för dina under. O, Herre Gud, Himmelske Konung, Gud Fader Allsmägtig. O, Herre, den Allrahögstes enfödde Son Jesu Christe. O, Helige Ande, fridens, sanningens och nådens Ande.

Dig, evige Gud, lova alla dina verk: evig, så som du, är din makt: oföränderlig din godhet. Se, evige Fader, med mildhet till ett folk, samlat i din helgedom, att tillbedja dig, tacka dig för dina välgärningar och anropa din nåd för sitt andeliga och lekamliga väl. Upplys vårt förstånd i din kunskap, och lär våra hjärtan att bära dig heliga offer av en sann lydaktighet. Tryckte under bördan av våra synder, nedfalle vi inför dig i stoftet och bedje om nåd och förlossning av dig, o Gud, vår Frälsare. Mild och god är Du: stor i nåd och förbarmande. Hör nådigt de förenade suckar, som här höjas till din tron.

you for your wonders. O, Lord God, Heavenly King, God Father Almighty. O, Lord, the only-begotten Son of the All-highest, Jesu Christ! O, Holy Spirit, Spirit of peace, truth and grace.

All thy works praise you, everlasting God: eternal as you are, so is your might, unchangeable your goodness. Look, eternal Father, with gentleness to a people, gathered in your sanctuary, to worship you, thank you for your good deeds and to beseech your grace for their spiritual and bodily welfare. Enlighten our understanding in your knowledge, and teach our hearts to bear unto you holy offerings of true obedience. Bowed beneath the burden of our sins, we fall down before you in the dust, and ask for your grace and deliverance, O God, our Saviour. You are gentle and good: great in grace and compassion. Graciously hear the conjoined sighs that are here lifted up to your throne.

This was said by the priest at the altar, turned towards the congregation. As is clear from the text, Tingstadius partially relied upon *Te Deum laudamus* but without any references to angels. Instead, a majestic hymn to the Trinitarian God follows upon the *Sanctus* paraphrase of Isa. 6:3,[377] which leads into the confession of Reformer Olaus Petri (1493-1552), "I, poor, sinful human" (*Jag fattig, syndig människa*).[378]

This introit has later been noted in appreciative terms by liturgical historians such as Eric Yelverton and Luther Reed. In its own time, however, it was hotly debated. In later, more ceremonially oriented, research the handbook of 1811 has often been seen as the low point of Swedish liturgy,[379] and in the following debates, the introit was often found at the epicentre of controversy.[380] Already by the 1840s the issue of yet another handbook was discussed frequently in the Riksdag,[381] and a series of committees and proposals followed.[382] Many felt that Tingstadius' triumphant tone was inappropriate for the penitential opening of the liturgy,

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[377] Interestingly, while Tingstadius works his own Psalm translations into the introit, he does not use his own translation of Isaiah, which he had published in 1805. Instead, he uses the traditional *Sanctus* version.

[378] This is, incidentally, still the only place in Swedish liturgy where Isa. 6:3 is given a Trinitarian reading. One background to this could be the eighteenth-century Swedish custom of the priest to introduce the service with the Trinitarian invocation. This tradition had never been officially sanctioned but had been widespread and returns in a later church handbook proposal, that of 1854. See Helander (1939), 277.

[379] Reed (1947), 121-2; Yelverton (1920), 152. See, also Martling (1992), 90. Even one modern researcher describes it as "linguistically turgid and liturgically poor." Bexell (2013), 7.

[380] Helander (1939), 276.

[381] Martling (1992), 102-105.

[382] The proposal of 1854 did away with Isaiah 6:3 altogether and instead opted for a Trinitarian opening, followed by series of biblical verses leading up to confession. The 1857 proposal returned to Isaiah 6:3, and now the actual biblical version, but eschewed any hint of doxology connected to it. It was instead clearly penitential. The 1892 proposal returns to doxology and smoothly transfers to praising God for Divine mercy and then shifts to confession. See Helander (1939), 277, 305, 335).

preceding confession as it did, and others did not want to see Isa. 6:3 outside the context of the actual *Sanctus*. Former royal chaplain Thure Wensioe (1801-1865) held that the worshippers did not "enter the sanctuary as seraphs but as humans, weighed down with sins that they confessed before God."[383] This was also the position of Johan Jacob Hedrén, later Bishop of Karlstad and Linköping, who in a speech in 1821 thought it improper to start the liturgy on the assumption that a human is worthy of singing together with the "holy ones." This sentiment was echoed by Matthias Norberg, Professor in Greek and Oriental Languages at Lund, who found it confusing to first "put the 'holy, holy, holy' of the cherubs in the mouth of the people, then to lower them into the dust with a prayer for the forgiveness of sins."[384] These all thought that the place for doxology was in the *gloria*, after confession, when humans were prepared to join with the heavenly host.[385]

In 1894, after decades of debate, a new liturgy was let through the Riksdag, in which this introit was drastically shortened:[386]

Helig, Helig, Helig är Herren Sebaot! Hela jorden är full af hans härlighet. Herren är i sitt heliga tempel, hans tron är i himmelen; Han är ock nära dem, som hafva en ödmjuk och förkrossad ande. Han hör de botfärdigas suckar och vänder sig till deras bön. Låtom oss därför trösteligen gå fram till hans nådetron och bekänna vår synd och skuld, så sägande…	Holy, holy, holy is the Lord Sebaot! The whole earth is full of his glory. The Lord is in his holy temple, his throne is in heaven. He is also close to those who have a humble and contrite spirit. He hears the sighs of the penitent and turns toward their prayer. Let us therefore with comfort approach his throne of mercy and confess our sin and guilt, saying thusly…

This was then followed by confession. Here, Isa. 6:3 has changed considerably. There is no mention of Trinitarian theology, nor of any of the traditional *Sanctus* understandings of Isa. 6:3. Instead we have a short concatenation of biblical verses: Ps. 11:4, "*The Lord is in his holy*

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[383] Helander (1939), 277-8; 296.

[384] Baelter (1838), 233.

[385] Another, less theologically grounded, objection was that of the German-born Chief conductor of the Royal Orchestra (*hovkapellmästare*) Johann Christian Friedrich Haeffner (1759-1833), who said that this doxology, while impressive on paper, entirely loses its point if "the priest has a thin and womanly voice." He went on to try and counter this by composing a score for the whole sequence, apparently having more faith in priests' singing than in their speaking.

[386] The first introit has had another interesting afterlife, however. After the battle of Poltava in 1709, when Russia got the upper hand in the Baltic region, and a century after that, when Finland became a Russian Grand Duchy, the Russian empire came to encompass a significant number of Lutherans, a number of which were Swedish-speaking. Lutheranism was, in fact, the third largest religious community in Czarist Russia, and while Finland kept its own episcopal structure, things were considerably less tidy in the provinces of Livonia, Estonia, Ösel (Saaremaa) and Ingria, as well as Courland and Piltene. See Petkunas (2011). In 1832, after much discussion and debate, an Imperial agenda was published, and translated into Latvian, Estonian and Swedish (as *Kyrkohandbok för Evangeliskt-Lutherska Församlingarna i Ryska Riket*) in 1834 (it would take until 1872 before a Russian translation was published). This publication, which followed the Swedish format of the church handbook, and was heavily influenced by the 1811 handbook; Petkunas (2011), 40. Tingstadius' introit was used as a *gloria* after the *kyrie*. Hagberg (2011), 3 (according to the facsimile).

temple, his throne is in heaven", a text commonly found in church buildings in Sweden, which in turn is followed by Isa. 57:15, "*He is also close to those who have a humble and contrite spirit.*" In it, one can find what might be termed a "temple theology", that at the outset of the service establishes the church building as the temple of Jerusalem.[387] The 1894 introit picks up on the *context* of Isa. 6:3, in which the prophet enters the temple and sees God attended by *seraphim* and is himself led to contrition. What is important in this liturgical text is to transpose the setting of Isaiah's vision to the worshipping community. The language is all biblical, but reconfigures the individual passages into a new liturgical whole. Employing Isa. 6:3 for confession means another part of its biblical context is activated, namely the prophet's anxiety about his own impurity in verse 5: "*Woe is me; I am ruined. For a man of unclean lips am I, and amongst a people of unclean lips do I live, but my eyes have seen the king, Y-HWH of Hosts!*"

In nineteenth-century Sweden this was the worshipper's main experience of Isa. 6:3, as mass – and with it the *Sanctus* – had become exceedingly rare.[388] For a Swedish worshipper, Isa. 6:3 meant stepping into the temple and being overcome by guilt before the Divine. To many, this may sound almost Ottonian:

> Wir trafen oben auf die seltsame tiefe Antwort des Gemütes auf das erlebte Numinose, die wir 'Kreatur-gefühl' nennen wollten, begleitet von den Gefühlen des Versinkens, Klein- und Zunichtewerdens… 'Ich bin *unreiner* Lippen und aus einem *unreinen* Volke – Herr, gehe von mir hinaus, ich bin ein *sündiger* Mensch'! sagen Jesaja und Petrus, als ihnen das Numinose begegnet und fühlbar wird. Das Eigene in beiden ist das unmittelbar Spontane, fast Instinkt-mäßige dieser selbstabwertenden Gefühlsantwort, die nicht auf Grund einer Überlegung oder nach einer Regel, sondern wie eine unmittelbare und unwillkürliche Reflex-bewegung der Seele gegen das Numinose aus ihr gleichsam aufzuckt.[389]

And in fact, at least one major liturgist in Sweden understood it precisely in those terms: Emanuel Linderholm (1872-1937), a liberal churchman and Professor in Church History at Uppsala University, had collaborated with Rudolf Otto and was asked by Otto to produce a new liturgy, published in 1925 as *Der Hauptgottesdienst*. In this liturgy, and in his own proposed liturgy *Svensk Högmässa* from 1926, he wished to accentuate the Ottonian concept

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[387] This becomes even clearer when we see that Isa. 6:3 (in its *sanctus* variant) is also used as the first prayer at the consecration of a new church building in the Swedish tradition. There, the bishop reads: "*Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Sebaot! The heavens and the earth are full of your glory! Fill now, too, this house and all the hearts of all Christ-loyal with you glory and splendour, for the sake of your holy name!*"

[388] This was, in fact, the argument in favour of keeping the Isa. 6:3 introit made by Johan Vilhelm Beckman (1792-1873), curate of Sankta Klara in central Stockholm, who lamented the fact that without the 1811 introit, Swedish worshippers would almost never get to hear the *Sanctus*, seeing how rarely mass was celebrated; Helander (1939), 296.

[389] Otto (1924), 61.

of holiness in the liturgy, and made those elements in the Swedish introit even clearer, working with this liturgical moment.[390]

What tenor the word "holiness" has, and what that understanding does to one's reading, both of Isa. 6:3 and of the vision of Isaiah 6 in general, is important for one's reading. The subject of this chapter is verse 3 itself, the thrice-holy cry of the *seraphim*, and some of the tendencies in liturgical uses of it. This is a verse often understood in a liturgical sense, as the song of angels, and what role it plays in Jewish and Christian worship varies although, as in the previous chapter, there are important meeting points as well. The questions that will guide this chapter are: is Isa. 6:3 a hymn, a warning, a statement of doctrine? Does it instil fear, awe, or adoration? And as this verse became caught up in the creation of a theological paradigm in the early twentieth century around the concept of holiness, what do broader concepts of holiness mean to how we understand it? I will try to answer them by looking at the *qedushot* and the traditional *Sanctus* and its relationship to the *Benedictus*.

The *Qedushot*: Isa. 6:3 and the Dangerous Business of Liturgy

The idea that Isa. 6:3 is a heavenly liturgy is old. It is hard to follow the history of this idea for the same reason that it is hard to follow the history of Isa. 6:3 as a *human* liturgy; it is easy to get caught up in circular reasoning, where one sees traces of Isa. 6:3 in mentions of angelic liturgy because one has come to think of angelic liturgy as being Isa. 6:3. On the other hand, one cannot dismiss the fact that Isa. 6:3 does seem to leave traces in a number of texts. Where we know the two ideas to coincide early on – a human liturgy expressing the idea of an angelic liturgy, is in the *qedushah deYotzer*. In this *qedushah*, there is a description of a heavenly liturgy. The phrase וקרא זה אל זה זה of Isa. 6:3 is understood in the *Yotzer* as the angels giving each other permission to "sanctify their shaper", by saying the *qedushah*.[391] This angelic *qedushah* is a liturgy which requires both permission and care; in Enochian material the angels are annihilated if they mispronounce any part of the *qedushah*,[392] and in the *Yotzer* the angels do the will of their maker באימה ובידאה, "in terror and in awe." This also translates into human liturgy, where it is not entirely clear whether an individual Jewish worshipper is even allowed

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[390] Linderholm (1926), 28-29; Linderholm (1926:2), 5, 8-12

[391] In his commentary on the *siddur*, Eleazar of Worms mentions the tradition, found already in Enochian and Talmudic material, that there is a supreme angel conducting the liturgy, which the other angels fear; (1992), 254. Rashi reads Isa. 6:3 as the *seraphim* giving each other permission so that they commence the *qedushah* together, lest someone starts on their own and is incinerated as a consequence. He explicitly connects it to the *Yotzer*.

[392] 3 Enoch 40. In 3 Enoch, the correct performance of the *qedushah*, with exact timing and unity, is of utmost importance. See Hedegård (1951), 48.

to recite the *qedushah*. Ruth Langer, in her excellent study of the interaction between *halakhah* and Jewish liturgical custom points out that the sanctity of the *qedushah* has been such that rabbinic authorities have either downplayed its performative function, such as with the *qedushah deYotzer*, or restricted its recitation to a *minyan*, such as with the *Amidah*. While it is hard to see an early distinction between the functions of the *qedushot*, as the *Yotzer* also used to be recited together in the presence of a *minyan*, different strategies for how to incorporate mysticism into the liturgy were employed until we reach the halakhic positions that we have today in which the *Yotzer* can only be recited privately because it does not involve the dangers involved with the "actual" angelic liturgy, performed in the *qedushah deAmidah*. This is further underscored by the fact that if the prayer leader is interrupted or forgets the proper procedure for the *qiddush Hashem* benediction of the *Amidah*, of which the *qedushah* is part, it should not be repeated from the start of the benediction, as would normally be the case. If the actual biblical verses Isa. 6:3 and Ezek. 3:12 have already been recited, the prayer must start from where it was interrupted. Langer writes: "In other words, the sacrality of Isaiah 6:3, the core of the *kedushah*, is so great that it should not be repeated, even if the *sheliaḥ tzibbur* [prayer leader] has erred before completing the entire blessing."[393] She also deals with the ruling in *Masekhet Sof'rim* that a child may not read the *qedushah* on their own, as they cannot be trusted to understand the sanctity of the liturgy.

> An individual adult, on the other hand, could be trusted to understand that, apart from a minyan, his *kedushah deyotzer* must merely be a descriptive recitation of the biblical verses recording the angels' prayer. Unlike the child, an adult could be trusted to meet the prerequisites of purity and knowledge that would shield him from danger if he were to use the angelic liturgy as a platform for more extensive speculation about the heavenly realms.[394]

Apart from the risky business of reciting the *qedushah* unprepared, there may also be, in the *Yotzer*, traces of a noteworthy theological tradition in which the pull of liturgisation draws all of the celestial creatures with it. The sole purpose of these angels is to perform this liturgy: in the *Yotzer*, God is described as בורא קדושים, "creator of holy ones." This language points to a line of thought found in a number of Rabbinic and Enochian texts according to which the angelic host is destroyed at the end of every day. Every morning, the angels are then created anew from a celestial river of fire in order to sing Isa. 6:3 before being destroyed once again. In the Talmud (b.*Ḥagigah* 14a) we read, for example: "Every day ministering angels are

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[393] Langer (1998), 195.
[394] Langer (1998), 202-3.

created from the fiery stream, and utter song, and cease to be, for it is said: *They are new every morning: great is your faithfulness.* (Lam. 3:23)"[395]

It would seem, then, that the angels themselves are part of the renewed world that occasions their praise in the *Yotzer*; they are ephemeral, short-lived creatures that consist for the sole purpose of reciting the heavenly *qedushah*. A much later paraphrase of this, by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882) in his poem *Sandalphon*, may capture the sentiment of this imagery:

> The Angels of Wind and of Fire
> Chant only one hymn, and expire
> With the song's irresistible stress;
> Expire in their rapture and wonder,
> As harp-strings are broken asunder
> By music they throb to express.

This theology is the result of a playful reading of what the חדשים, "new ones" of Lam. 3:23 refer to, but it carries both emotional and theological force, underscoring both the power of the angelic liturgy and the complete and selfless subservience of the angels performing it. The heavens themselves are seen as thoroughly liturgical.

The format of this liturgy is elaborated upon in Merkavah and Talmudic material, as the angels are divided into three divisions, one singing the first "holy", the other the second "holy" and the third "holy is Y-HWH of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory!"[396] The same explanation can also be found in medieval material such as the *Zohar* 2:171a, where the angels raise their wings as the *shekhinah* approaches with their food from the supernal spheres, and sing to her, according to the same pattern. The answer to why there is a threefold "holy", then, is that it is due to the format of the heavenly liturgy itself.[397] A recurring tendency in Jewish literature is to explain Isa. 6:3 itself through various means: the thrice-holy might correspond to the three patriarchs, the three Israelite castes, the three parts of Scripture or other archetypal groupings of three.[398] In the Targum it is translated as: "Holy in the high heavens above is the

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[395] See *Bereshit Rabbah* 78; *Eikha Rabbah ad* Lam. 3:23; *Heikhalot Rabbati* 8:2, 3; and Enoch 35. This is also found in Abudraham (1995), 83. It is based on a reading of Lam. 3:23: חדשים לבקרים רבה אמונתך, where the "new ones" are understood as angels. See Hedegård (1951), 47. Another scriptural source is the river of fire in Dan. 7:10 and, perhaps, the etymology of שרף itself.
The idea of angels being destroyed after having fulfilled their purpose is not unique to this context, but can be found in much Rabbinic material. See, for example, *Bereshit Rabbah* 50.
[396] In b.Ḥullin 91b-92a. See, also *Heikhalot Rabbati* 11. In much Merkavah material, the three divisions of angels are mentioned. See Winkler (2002), 117-121.
[397] See b.Ḥullin 91b-92a, with parallels to *Heikhalot Rabbati* 6, where one division of angels says "*Holy*", another says "*Holy, holy*", and a third says "*Holy, holy, holy...*"
[398] Abudraham (1995), 109. Yaakov Emden understands it in kabbalistic terms, each "holy" refers to a triad of *sephirot* (*Keter, Ḥokhmah, Binah; Ḥesed, Gevurah, Tiferet; Netzaḥ, Hod, Yesod*) while "earth" refers to the

house of his *shekhinah*, holy on earth is the work of his might, holy forever, eternally, evermore, is Y-HWH of hosts, filling all the earth with the brilliance of his glory."[399] Dividing the angels can be seen as scriptural interpretation in the same vein, although, interestingly, none seems to have followed this choreographic description in actual liturgical enactment.

All this adds up to a theology which sees the *qedushah* as something possessing its own ontological integrity: a liturgy, performed by the celestial beings, taking place in the heavens. The idea of angelic liturgy is not novel to the *qedushah* traditions – it can be found already in the Bible (Ps. 29, 103:20-22, 148, Neh. 9:6, and in the G1 recension of Tobit 8:15) but we cannot say for sure whether it is present in Isaiah 6, or Ezekiel 3.[400] Engnell's assumption that Isa. 6:3 is already a liturgical formula, quoted and perhaps expanded in the Hebrew Bible, is interesting, but not obvious from the text.[401] To assume a liturgical character of a phrase uttered in the temple, where the vision takes place, is of course not unreasonable, and the style of Isa. 6:3 could be liturgical,[402] but apart from these considerations nothing in the actual scene seems to speak in favour of a liturgical event.[403] The function of the *seraphim* seems rather to be that of throne guardians, and it is not even clear from the Hebrew whether they utter Isa. 6:3 together. It is not clear from either Isa. 6:3 or Ezek. 3:12 what the function of the statements is, nor is it clear whether they are unique occasions or not. Are they onetime events or are they to be understood as recurring liturgical phrases? In later Jewish tradition, the use of Isa. 6:3 as the prime example of an ongoing heavenly liturgy has become taken for granted.[404] While this idea can also be found in Christian theology, especially with the background of scriptural passages like Revelation 4 and art supporting the idea of an ongoing angelic liturgy, Christian liturgy does not express itself explicitly in terms of this liturgy; the *Sanctus* preface does not exhort the worshippers to join in the *Sanctus*, only to join with the angels. Jewish liturgical language

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sephirah of *Malkhut*. See Emden & Touger (2002), 170. In *Heikhalot Rabbati* 9:3-4, the the breath of the Jews saying the *qedushah* rises to God, and God bends over on the Throne of Glory to a carved image of Jacob, and caresses, embraces and kisses it three times.

[399] קַדִּישׁ בִּשְׁמֵי מְרוֹמָא עִלָּאָה בֵּית שְׁכִינְתֵּהּ. קַדִּישׁ עַל אַרְעָא עוֹבַד גְּבוּרְתֵּהּ. קַדִּישׁ לְעָלַם וּלְעָלְמֵי עָלְמַיָּא ה' צְבָאוֹת מַלְיָא כָל אַרְעָא זִיו יְקָרֵהּ:

[400] See Gruenwald (1988), 145-6. He too, however, assumes that Isa. 6:3 is "a special ceremony" (147).

[401] Engnell (1949), 35.

[402] This is strengthened by its parallels with Ps. 99 and its three mentions of קדש. See Ringgren (1948), 26.

[403] Gerhards (2007), 31. The latter half of the phrase, however, finds a clear liturgical parallel in Ps. 72:19.

[404] An interesting detail in Isa. 6:1-3 is, of course, that "*seraphim* are standing (עֹמְדִים) above him/it... with two (wings) he covers (יְכַסֶּה) his face, and with two he covers (יְכַסֶּה) his feet/genitals and with two he flies (יְעוֹפֵף). And this one calls (וְקָרָא) to that one and says..."

Note the participle and *yiqtol* forms, as well as the consecutive *vav*, all indicating ongoing acts rather than sequential ones. Hartenstein writes that "es geht nicht um punktuelle Ereignisse oder Handlungen, sondern um *ein andauerndes Geschehen im Bereich des Gottesthrons*." Hartenstein (1997), 34. His italics)

After v.3, normal time seems to re-enter the scene, grammar-wise.

does, in that sense, take a peculiar meta-view on itself when it comes to the *qedushah*, based on this strong understanding of the joint human-angelic liturgy.[405]

While this particular concept of angelic praise, represented by Isa. 6:3 and Ezek. 3:12, is post-biblical, the *Yotzer* itself points subtly to what could be a biblical precedent for its theme. Early in the weekday *Yotzer* there is a short biblical quote, taken from Ps. 104:24 (.'מָה רַבּוּ מַעֲשֶׂיךָ ה כֻּלָּם בְּחָכְמָה עָשִׂיתָ. מָלְאָה הָאָרֶץ קִנְיָנֶךָ, "How many are your works, Y-HWH! All of them you made in wisdom. The earth is full of your creations"), which is clearly intended to function as an intertextual reference.[406] Reuven Kimelman's claim that biblical intertexts imply that the liturgy should be understood in light of them finds strong support at this point. While there is nothing in the verse taken on its own that suggests it applicability to this segment of the liturgy, even the briefest of readings of the entire psalm reveals why it was chosen, as a sort of "hyperlink" to the entire Psalm: the theme of creation, light and the cycle of day and night. The brief mention of מלאכים and משרתים, as well as God driving a cloud chariot, all makes sense in Rabbinic angelic theology. It should be noted, of course, that any angelic liturgy is not mentioned in this psalm, otherwise very well chosen for the theme of the *Yotzer*.[407]

The Sanctus: Trinity and Christology

If the Jewish *qedushot* lead us to a set of theological ideas in which great care has to be taken when it comes to Isa. 6:3 as it is "dangerous liturgy," and the purpose of the angelic choirs themselves is to recite this liturgy, Christian liturgy takes us in somewhat different directions. While Jewish and pre-Reformation Christian liturgical uses of Isa. 6:3 share the angelic focus, as we saw in the previous chapter, Christian liturgy also imparts other interpretations of the text.

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[405] This meta-view is not only present in the *qedushah* itself, but also in the *Shomer Yisrael* prayer, where the last stich reads: שׁוֹמֵר גּוֹי קָדוֹשׁ. שְׁמֹר שְׁאֵרִית עַם קָדוֹשׁ. וְאַל יֹאבַד גּוֹי קָדוֹשׁ. הַמְשַׁלְּשִׁים בְּשָׁלֹשׁ קְדֻשּׁוֹת לְקָדוֹשׁ, "Guardian of a holy nation, guard the remnant of a holy people and do not let a holy nation be lost, who thrice repeats the three-fold 'holy' to the Holy One."

[406] While I generally agree with Hoffman's cautioning remark against expecting too much of an original biblical context of a quote, this is clearly a case where a psalm has been "cited metonymically, cited, that is, precisely because the worshiper is expected to recognize the biblical context in which the snippet occurs." Hoffman (2004), 44.

[407] The theme of creation (and the fact that the verse preceding it mentions labour) may also be why this verse is excluded on Shabbat. See Friedman (2006-7), 84-5.

Trinitarian Exegesis

In the most common Roman Latin preface, the one used throughout Trinitytide, the prayer is addressed to God the Father "qui cum Unigenito Filio tuo et Spiritu Sancto unus es Deus… non in unius singularitate personæ, sed in unius Trinitate substantiæ." The preface is carefully worded to adhere with Trinitarian theology, and so opens up the *Sanctus* to a reading according to Trinitarian interpretation – in fact, in the context of Christian theology Isa. 6:3 is a pivotal text, almost routinely caught up in Trinitarian readings. We have several examples of this in the Patristic era. Jerome writes in his *Commentary on Isaiah* (Book 3.4) that

> Hence they show the mystery of the Trinity in one divine nature, and they bear witness that by no means is the temple of the Jews, as before, but *all the earth, filled with the glory* of him who deigned to assume a human body for our salvation and to descend to earth.

In this reading he is joined by Cyril of Alexandria (ca. 376-444), who writes in his *Commentary on Isaiah* 1.4 that

> This demonstrates that the Holy Trinity exists in one divine essence. All hold and confess that the Father exists, along with the Son and the Spirit. Nothing divides those who are named nor separates them into different natures. Just the opposite is true. We recognize one Godhead in three persons.[408]

Fulgentius of Ruspe (sixth century), Ambrose (ca. 340-397) and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (ca. 393-466) can also be mentioned in this list, which is long indeed.[409] One of the reasons behind why Christian exegetes embraced Isa. 6:3 as a Trinitarian banner is the fact that it is incredibly hard to find a Trinitarian theology in the biblical texts themselves.[410] With the exception of Matt. 28:19 – if even there – the Bible is well-known for not giving a clear mandate to the understanding of God, God's Holy Spirit and Jesus as one triune Deity. Here, Isa. 6:3 is a golden opportunity for an exegete to match theology and text with an imaginative, but not outlandish, explanation of why God is described as thrice-holy. It is not just a question of dogma, however, as there are also text-specific issues. Jewish exegetes, too, wanted to explain this peculiarity; Abudraham, as we saw, connects it to the three patriarchs, the three Israelite castes, and the three parts of Jewish Scripture, while the Targum paraphrases it as God being holy in the heavens, on earth, and for all time. It should come as no surprise, therefore, to see Christian exegetes too wanting to explain this verse, and explain it in this particular fashion.

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[408] McKinion (2004), 51.
[409] See McKinion (2004), 49-52.
[410] "The materials for the doctrine of the Trinity are scriptural, though the doctrine is nowhere stated in the Scriptures." Edwards (2011), 80. See, also, the creative exegetical and theological work of Matthew Bates (2015).

In the last chapter I stressed how important the *Corpus Dionysiacum* was in Christian angelic theology, and so for how the *Sanctus* would be interpreted and developed. Pseudo-Dionysius, as a good Neo-Platonist, could not imagine an actual liturgy going on in heaven, and he therefore sees in this seraphic hymn an image, a simile which imparts knowledge to humankind. The language of a liturgy in fact reveals that the *seraphim*, who pass on grace and knowledge, transfer a deep mystery about God:

> And this first group passes on the word that the Godhead is a monad, that it is one in three persons, that its splendid providence for all reaches from the most exalted beings in heaven above to the lowliest creatures of the earth. It is the Cause and source beyond every source for every being and it transcendently draws everything into its perennial embrace.[411]

Adding an exegetical argument to this process, Pseudo-Dionysius writes: "Furthermore, the theologians tell us that the holiest of the seraphim 'cry out to one another,' and, it seems to me, this shows that the first ranks pass on to the second what they know of God."[412] For Pseudo-Dionysius, Isa. 6:3 is the centre of Divine *gnosis*; what is to be known about God is encapsulated in it, recorded by the "theologian" Isaiah. Being the content of the heavenly liturgy, and what creation can know of the Divine, Isa. 6:3, as a relayed Trinitarian *gnosis*, turns out to be a, if not *the*, pivotal scriptural verse in the Dionysian universe.[413]

This popular reading of Isa. 6:3 as dogmatic praise has sometimes been allowed to control the interpretation of the whole scene in Isaiah. If we take the example of Origen of Alexandria (ca. 185-254), we see that he in *De Principiis* i. 3, 4 reads the *seraphim* – taken to be two – as the Son and the Holy Spirit flanking the Father.[414] The issue of correctly understanding how the Trinity fits into Isaiah 6 could become a charged issue:[415] Jerome (ca. 347-420), too, thinks that the *seraphim* are only two, but not that they are the other persons of the Trinity – in fact, so incensed is he by this suggestion that he writes in his *Commentary on Isaiah*: "Therefore a certain individual impiously understands the two seraphim to be the Son and the Holy

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[411] *CH* VII.4. 212C-212D.

[412] *CH* X.2. 273B.

[413] Interestingly, while elevating v. 3 of Isaiah 6, Pseudo-Dionysius simultaneously undermines the rest of the chapter, as he cannot imagine *seraphim* actually interacting with a human; instead this is all done by an angel, acting on behalf of the *seraphim*, like a priest or deacon acting on behalf of his bishop. Isaiah the prophet, then, never meets any *seraphim* at all! (*CH* XIII 300B-308B)

[414] See McKinion (2004), 49.
Isidore of Seville (ca.560-636) in his *Etymologies* VII.5.24. writes that "the Seraphim are a multitude of angels" but also (VII.5.32) that "we read of two Seraphim in Isaiah (6:2); they figuratively signify the Old and New Testaments." Barney et al. (2010), 161-2.

[415] Similar issues can be seen at work in the other Hebrew passage frequently caught up in Trinitarian readings: Genesis 18 and the visit of the three men to Abraham, between Justin Martyr's Christological focus in *Dialogue with Trypho*, and Augustine's Trinitarian, and anti-Arian, focus in *De Trinitate*. See Watson (2002).

Spirit."[416] He even seems to have found Origen's suggestion one of the main stains on his dogmatic integrity, refusing to acknowledge that he himself once translated Origen's *Homilies on Isaiah* into Latin.[417] Writing to Vigilantius in 396, Jerome condemns the errors of Origen, highlighting this particular reading:

> Origen is a heretic, true… He has erred concerning the resurrection of the body, he has erred concerning the condition of souls, he has erred by supposing it possible that the devil may repent, and – an error more important than these – he has declared in his commentary upon Isaiah that the Seraphim mentioned by the prophet are the divine Son and the Holy Ghost.[418]

So while Trinitarianism is taken for granted, one might say to the point of a Christian reader being unable *not* to hear at least echoes of Trinitarian theology when reading Isaiah 6, it is still far from clear how to read the two together, something that the Trinitytide preface navigates through its careful wording. This reading, popular among or even assumed by most church goers, also primes us for another aspect, since among the Persons of the Trinity we have the Son, who is the obvious focal point of the Mass.

Incarnation and Sacrament

The theme that may, in fact, explain why this verse is at all part of this section of the liturgy, before the Eucharistic prayer, is the last part of the verse, "the whole earth is full of his glory", read in the light of the incarnation and presence of Christ. This is read by many as referring to the incarnation, in which angels according to the gospel authors were heavily involved, from the angel Gabriel at the annunciation (Luke 1:26) to the choir singing what has become another "angelic liturgy", the *Gloria* (Luke 2:14). Take, for example Theodoret of Cyrrhus, who writes:

> Because the seraphim use the title *Lord* singularly in this song, but repeat "holy" three times (in reference to the Trinity), we know that they are referring to the one essence of the Deity. The praise "holy, holy, holy" properly indicates the Trinity, and the appellation "Lord of Hosts" indicates the oneness of the divine essence. Furthermore, the seraphim, in their song, praise the eternal essence for having filled both heaven and the entire earth with his glory. This happened through the incarnation of our God and Saviour;

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[416] Book 3.4. Scheck's translation. Origen's interpretation matches that of Irenaeus (c. 130-202), in *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching* 10, something which seems to have been much less controversial, and seems to explain how John 12:41 can ascribe Isaiah's vision to Christ while Acts 28:25-27 ascribes it to the Holy Spirit – an interpretational problem which Jerome himself raises.
[417] Scheck (2015), 881-882.
[418] *Epistle 61.2 to Vigilantius.* Quoted in Scheck (2015), 882.

because after the appearing of the Master, the nations received the illuminating ray of divine knowledge.[419]

Here we see the liturgical *paraphrase* – "heaven and earth" – feed back into the actual text of Isa. 6:3 to make a doctrinal point; that not just heaven, but earth too, is full of God's glory, through the incarnation. Cyril of Alexandria expresses a similar point, without relying on the paraphrase:

> In announcing that the whole earth is full of his glory, the seraphim are predicting the mystery of the economy that will be brought to pass through Christ. Prior to the Word's becoming flesh the world was ruled by the devil… But when the only-begotten Word of God became human, the entire earth was filled with his glory.[420]

This focus on the incarnation may help to explain why Isa. 6:3, in its *Sanctus* paraphrase, is used here in the first place, or at least explain how it has been understood by worshippers. Here the fact that the liturgy is a sequence of actions that relate to one another in a way that yields itself to interpretation, even "narratization", is important. The *Sanctus* comes right before and introduces the Canon of the Mass, the pivotal prayer of traditional Christian liturgy, in which Christ is seen as miraculously becoming present in bread and wine. Keeping in mind the medieval mode of piety, this was often understood in corporeal and visual terms. We have, for example, the vision of Edward the Confessor, in which he sees the Christ child in place of the host, held by Archbishop Wulfstan during his celebration of Mass.[421] In this focal point of the liturgy, the *Sanctus* and so Isa. 6:3, can be made to make sense as a hymn which humans and

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[419] *Commentary on Isaiah 6:3.* McKinion (2004), 51.

[420] *Commentary on Isaiah* 1.4. McKinion (2004), 52. Some earlier researchers also noted this exegetical development, and commented upon in it peculiar ways. Jungmann, for example, explains that "The enlargement of the picture (from Temple to heaven) corresponds to the breakdown of the national narrowness of Judaism and of its cult which was conjoined to the Temple. "The glory of the Lord" which had once dwelt in the Temple, had, in a manner new and unparalleled, pitched its tent on earth in the Incarnation of the Son of God (John 1:14)." Jungmann (2012), II:135. Except, of course, Judaism itself then seems to have transcended the "national narrowness of Judaism", since its use of Isa. 6:3 in the *qedushah* liturgies does not so much as mention the temple, Jerusalem or any national election. How Jungmann, who is himself leaning towards viewing the *qedushah* as an antecedent to the *Sanctus*, can claim that this is in "a manner new and unparalleled" (II:132) is puzzling, to say the least. Another who takes the same path is Peterson who writes that the expansion of Isa. 6:3 outside the context of the temple "remained unknown to Judaism" which "had never relinquished the attachment of the angelic *Sanctus* to the Jerusalem temple." He then brings in its liturgical association with Ezek. 3:12 in the *qedushot* to prove this, unaware that that verse has been used exactly to make the opposite point. See Peterson (1964), 16-17. He furthermore points out that the idea of "the ceaselessness of the praise of God by the angels was unknown to the Jews." (19) One can only marvel at how much Peterson seems to have thought he knew about how little Jews knew.
It may be that they both base themselves on Jerome, who makes a similar reading (and a particularly nasty interpretation of the issue of the smoke and the temple) in his *Commentary on Isaiah*, Book 3.4-5.

[421] Rubin (1991), 118.

angels join in together before the actually present Deity, not unlike the experience of the prophet in the Bible, coming face to face with the Divine.

Benedictus

This theology of incarnation and presence segues us into the last part of the *Sanctus* sequence of the liturgy, the *Benedictus*, and this is where the theology of sacramentality becomes crucial. The *Benedictus* consists of the exclamation "Hosanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis." Like the *Sanctus* itself, this is not a verbatim biblical quote. It has two sources, layered on each other, Ps. 118:26, and Matt. 21:9. Ps. 118:26 reads "blessed is he who comes in the name of Y-HWH; we bless you (ברכנוכם) from the house of Y-HWH." This is preceded by verse 25, which reads "Please, Y-HWH, save us (הושיעה־נא)! Please Y-HWH, grant us success!" In the Gospel of Matthew, when Jesus enters Jerusalem, Psalm 118, part of the festal *Hallel* liturgy, finds a close paraphrase in: "Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord! Hosanna in the highest heaven!"

The *Benedictus*, dropping the "son of David" or adding the "Hosanna" from the verse before, depending on whether one traces this to Matthew or Psalms, falls somewhere between these two.[422] In any event, it is clear that the ritual use has a strong Christological pull, and so is in my opinion better described as being based upon Matt. 21:9. In the Mozarabic Rite, Matt. 21:9 is simply used: "Hosanna filio David. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis." According to Jungmann and many earlier scholars, the *Benedictus* is younger than the *Sanctus*, and seems to originally belong to the more expressive Gallican liturgical tradition,[423] rather than the somewhat soberer Roman use.[424] Spinks and others, however, dispute this, and argue for an dating of the *Benedictus* earlier than sixth-century France, which is textually attested.[425] Spinks suggests that the "blessed" of *Benedictus* may actually have replaced the "blessed" of Ezek. 3:12 in Jewish liturgy, making the *Benedictus* part of the original sequence of the *Sanctus*, taken over from Jewish worship, perhaps in Syria.[426] Tuschling has argued for just this, a Syrio-Palestinian *Sanctus+Benedictus* of Jewish heritage.

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[422] One should note, however, that in Psalm 118, "blessed is he who comes" follows immediately upon verse 26.
[423] Jungmann (2012), II:136.
[424] See Thibodeau (2006), 227-228.
[425] It is mentioned by Caesarius of Arles, and becomes part of the Roman ritual in the seventh century. See Spinks (1991), 121. It is used in all traditional Rites except the Egyptian and Ethiopian Coptic Rites.
[426] Spinks (1991), 117, 120. Furthermore, in 4QBer[a] 7 i 7, there might be allusions to both Isa. 6:3 and Ezek. 3:12, a connection so characteristic of later Rabbinic *qedushah* liturgies, where the angels bless שם קודשכה and שם כבודכה. See Chazon (2003), 40-41. Note also how Pseudo-Dionysius connects the two in *CH* VII.4. 212A-212B, quoted in the previous chapter.

She argues that both mentions of the *Sanctus* in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (7.35.3; 8.12.27) couple the *Sanctus* with a "blessed"; Ezek. 3:12 in one context, and "blessed are you for ever! Amen" (See Romans 1:25) in the other.[427] We have already seen John Chrysostom connecting the two passages. In another Christian text, *Easter Homily* 15 by Asterius the Sophist (d. c. 341), from Cappadocia but with a possible connection to Syria through his purported teacher Lucian of Antioch, we see the same combination, with a Christological reading of Ezek. 3:12:

> Therefore, since the seraphim and the six-winged ones, all the rational spirits who celebrate the liturgy together with them, behold the body of Christ radiating over them, they praise and glorify Christ for the sake of the astounding miracle, not because of the human nature in itself but for the sake of him who bears it – and they sing – holy, holy, holy, Lord Sabaoth. Others cry out, "Blessed be the glory of the Lord from [his] place – that is, from this adored body."[428]

That Ezek. 3:12 could be understood Christologically is also apparent from Jerome, who in his commentary on the Book of Ezekiel writes: "For the place of God is everywhere in which he finds hospitality, for surely the Son is the place of the Father as much as the Father is the place of the Son."[429] It is not altogether unlikely, then, to argue as Spinks, Winkler and Tuschling have all done, that there has been a progression of "blessed" verses, from Ezek. 3:12 and other texts and liturgical responses (especially if one remembers the plethora of "blessed" responses in Enochian and Merkavah literature), until we finally arrive at Matt. 21:9. These would then have been united together, both by the liturgical propensity to conserve certain phraseology, and by the Christological understanding of Ezek. 3:12 among early Christians. Then, Matt. 21:9 fits in quite neatly. This verse, used in Matthew to greet Jesus, coming for his passion, is now used to greet him again as he is coming sacramentally.[430] Here the sacramental dimensions of Christian worship are palpable, and further heightened by the tradition, known at least since the eleventh century, of making the sign of the cross at this point.[431] The deity that Isaiah sees will for Christian readers be triune and part of a theology of incarnation. The very referent

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[427] Tuschling (2007), 192.
[428] Quoted in Spinks (1991), 68. See also Tuschling (2007), 193. See, also, his *Homily* 29, quoted earlier.
[429] Stevenson & Glerup (2008), 23.
[430] This is also represented visually: in a traditional missal, there would be an image of Christ on the Cross before the *Vere dignum*, and the *Vere dignum* itself would be written with a special digraph where the V and the D are joined by a crossbar. On this, Durand comments: "Fittingly, the letter "V," which is closed at the bottom and open at the top, beginning with an elongated line, is a figure of the humanity or human nature of Christ, which had its beginning in the Virgin Mary but will have no end; the "D," which is closed in circular form, His Divinity or Divine nature, which has no beginning or end. The region in the middle of these two letters, where they are bound together, is the cross through which the divine and human realm are joined together and united. This figure is placed at the beginning of the Preface because through the mystery of this union and the Passion of the Lord, men are reconciled with Angels, and human things are joined with the divine in the praise of the Savior." Durand (2013), 272.
[431] Jungmann (2012), II:138.

"Lord" here will be to a triune God, one Person of whom is incarnated in Jesus as Christ and is sacramentally present through his passion.

Conclusions

There are some themes that emerge from this analysis of liturgical texts. The first is that of liturgy, the second that of holiness itself, and lastly, some discussion on the very set ways according to which researchers tend to think about Isaiah 6.

Isa. 6:3 as Liturgy

The predominant theme to arise out of the liturgical material is that of Isa. 6:3 as the liturgy of the angels. Both the *qedushot* and the medieval *Sanctus* express an idea of a heavenly liturgy in which Isa. 6:3 is the centrepiece. This comes out especially clearly in Jewish worship where this liturgy is even mentioned in the human liturgy.

This is also a dominant theme in biblical research, where there is a remarkable consensus. Many biblical researchers assume, as a matter of rote, that Isa. 6:3 is itself liturgical and it is often described as a song even though the text uses the verbs קרא and אמר, which do not preclude but certainly do not specify singing. Read, for example, Childs:

> It is the content of [the seraphs'] hymn that is important… Holiness in the Old Testament is not an ethical quality, but the essence of God's nature as separate and utterly removed from the profane. Holiness, the "glory of his majesty," strikes terror in the unholy and proud (Isa. 2:19), but to his attendants awe and reverence. The seraphim call to one another in a continuous antiphony: "the whole earth is full of his glory." The seraphim offer worship and praise.[432]

In Bernhard Duhm's (1847-1928) seminal commentary *Das Buch Jesaja*, the words of the *seraphim* "klingen" "wie ein Glockenklang"[433] and even the normally cautious Wildberger writes that "Das Trishagion war *zweifellos* Bestandteil der Liturgie des Jerusalemer Kultus."[434] Ringgren writes that "it is obvious that Isaiah's experience is bound up with the celebration of the great annual festival, the enthronization festival of [Y-HWH] in the temple… It is probable that the Trishagion of Is. 6:3 has retained an old liturgical formula from this festival."[435] This,

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[432] Childs (2001), 55.
[433] Duhm (1968), 66.
[434] Wildberger (1972), 248. My italics. See also the opinion that it "must derive from a choral antiphon actually sung in the Jerusalem temple. This strongly points to the prophet's vision having taken place during some act of worship, although it is possible that the account has simply made use of known liturgical features of the Jerusalem temple worship." Clements (1980), 74.
[435] Ringgren (1948), 26.

together with the dubious theory of the New Year enthronement festival, is taken for granted by Ivan Engnell who in an influential article writes that "there is no doubt that the famous *trishagion* of *v. 3.* … constitutes a burden verse, a cultic formula quoted directly from the ritual of the temple in Jerusalem.[436] Kaiser goes even further, and provides us with an example of how these notions can come together:

> Isaiah hears – perhaps as the echo of a hymn which was actually sung on New Year's Day in the temple – the thunderous note of the seraphim's song of praise, at which the doors shake in the foundation stones. One calls it out to another, in a mighty fugue [Isa. 6:3]. Here appears one who alone is worthy of adoration, and who alone is holy… The Holy One is the wholly other, whom man cannot reach by himself, who remains far away and terrible, unless each man turns to him in his free grace, which cannot be forced and cannot be merited.[437]

Now, the assumption that Isa. 6:3 is liturgy is not an unreasonable thought: repetitive language tends to show up in liturgy, and, as some have pointed out, there may be intertextual connections between Isaiah 6 and Psalm 99, where God, enthroned on the *cherubim*, is thrice (vv. 3, 5, 9) called קדוש.[438] But it should also be pointed out that this is not the only time a threefold repetition is used in the Hebrew Bible: the passage in Jeremiah 7:4 warning against trusting those who say הֵיכַל ה' הֵיכַל ה' הֵיכַל ה' הֵמָּה, comes to mind.[439] There is also a debate, though peripheral, concerning whether the threefold repetition in Isa. 6:3 itself is original (as is the case with the threefold repetition in Rev. 4:8).[440]

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[436] Engnell (1949), 35. See also Ivar Seiserstad, quoted in Engnell (1949), 36, and Clements (1980), 74.
[437] Kaiser (1972), 76-77.
[438] See, for example, Ringgren (1948), 26.
[439] See also Jer. 22:29 and Ezek. 21:32 (27).
[440] Norman Walker notes that the 1QIs[a], there is only a "disagion," with two קדוש. His suggestion, based on the Dead Sea Scrolls evidence, is that the original version of Isa. 6:3 was in fact only with one קדוש, the presence of a *paseq* cantillation sign (ן) after the first קדוש in the Masoretic text being a main part of the argument. Assuming the *paseq* to be pre-Masoretic, and having roughly the same function as *puncta extraordinaria*, he calls for some suspicion regarding the present text. In the 1QIs[a], there are several textual corrections, but nothing on this one. Comparing this to 1 Sam. 2:3, Prov. 20:14 and Eccl. 7:24, he takes it to mean "exceeding holy." His hypothesis is that, before the LXX, there existed two traditions, one with only one קדוש, and one with two, "the former being the original, and the latter a pious 'improvement'." "Still later, a scribe of the same period, anxious to preserve both readings, and unwilling to decide between them, placed them side by side, with a Paseq between, thus making a *conflate reading*." Walker (1959), 133. His italics.
Responding to Walker, Burton Leiser argues convincingly for a threefold קדוש being a plausible original reading (pointing, for example, to other verses where a word is repeated thrice). The *paseq* is often used to separate between identical words and need not have another function here. (It could be added that we know quite little about the function and age of the *paseq* in any event) Also, the 1QIs[a] is generally so defective in spelling that it cannot be relied upon as a trustworthy ancient manuscript tradition, and the fact that this has not been corrected might just as well be due to the corrector's insufficient grasp of the Hebrew language, or a plain mistake (Walker responds in a second article in 1961 by defending the copyist). It should also be pointed out that this is the only manuscript that we have with this variant; Leiser (1960), 261-263. He does suggest an explanation of his own, based on earlier Rabbinic exegesis: in his view, Isa. 6:3 is, in fact, a sequence: one *seraph* says קדוש, the other one answers קדוש, and then both sing קדוש יי צבאות. While not relying on the *paseq*, he does try to explain its presence in the text by suggesting it points to this "enactment."

In any event, the liturgical, even hymnal, nature of Isa. 6:3 seems beyond any doubt to many of these authors. While there have been other traditional understandings, such as Pseudo-Dionysius' placing of it as the centre of Divine *gnosis*, these have never overshadowed the liturgical understanding and, more importantly, liturgical use, of Isa. 6:3. Put another way; this perspective is so cemented that Richard Mant's hymn of 1837 would not make many readers raise their eyebrows.

> Bright the vision that delighted
> once the sight of Judah's seer;
> sweet the countless tongues united
> to entrance the prophet's ear.
>
> Round the Lord in glory seated
> cherubim and seraphim
> filled his temple, and repeated
> each to each the alternate hymn:
>
> "Lord, thy glory fills the heaven;
> earth is with its fullness stored;
> unto thee be glory given,
> Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord" …

Whereas in the biblical text it is not entirely clear whether Isa. 6:3 is a warning, a hymn, a description, or something else entirely, in research, biblical scholars seem to follow Jewish and Christian liturgical uses closely. It could be argued that their own ears are attuned to the potential liturgical nature of its language by their own liturgical experiences, where Isa. 6:3 is a prominent part and one of the determinants of what liturgical language should sound like! It may be the case that we hear something liturgical in Isa. 6:3 because Isa. 6:3 has shaped what we expect liturgical language to sound like.

Ideas of the Holy

Apart from the issue of Isa. 6:3 as liturgy, there is also a particular discourse around holiness that shows up repeatedly in research, including on Isaiah 6, that I want to bring attention to, and that might have something to do with our first liturgical example in this text, that of the Swedish nineteenth-century introit. I noted above that this liturgical use may sound almost

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For Rev. 4:8, see Massyngberde Ford (1975), 75.

Ottonian and that might be a good point of departure. Here my argument is not so much that Isa. 6:3 has been read in light of liturgy as that a certain understanding of holiness may be traceable to one particular liturgical use of the text: that what happens to this passage in the liturgy may influence the wider field, although with inevitable consequences for the reading of Isaiah 6 itself. With a thrice-holy verse, "holiness", as a concept, is after all unavoidable. Sometimes, we do also see researchers, more based on an Ottonian influence than anything else, comment upon what holiness might mean, both generally and in the context of Isaiah 6. Joseph Blenkinsopp, for example, writes:

> The seraphic acclamation… proclaims the holiness of the One Enthroned… Holiness implies otherness, removal from profane reality, the *mysterium tremendum* of Rudolph Otto's once very influential book *Das Heilige*…[441]

This use of Otto is hardly surprising. He and his idiosyncratic 1917 book *Das Heilige - Über das Irrationale in der Idee des Göttlichen und sein Verhältnis zum Rationalen* cannot be overlooked in this context. As Melissa Raphael points out:

> The twentieth-century history of the concept of holiness is largely unintelligible without reference to that advanced by Rudolf Otto in *The Idea of the Holy*. For nearly eighty years this text has been used as a yardstick against which subsequent studies of holiness have declared and defined their own position.[442]

This is not the place to try and give a thorough introduction to Otto's work, but I think some brief notes may prove useful. It is after all a book that, while sitting uncomfortably between religious studies and theology, has been tremendously popular and takes as its very heart Isa. 6:3. "The Holy" in Otto is neither cultic nor ethical but experiential. It is the experience of dreadful Other, and, in Otto's own words:

> So finden wir es in unüberbietbarer Form in Jes. 6. Erhaben ist hier der hohe Thron, die königliche Gestalt, die wallenden Säume seines Kleides, der feierliche Hofstaat der umgebenden Engelschaft. Während das Fürchterliche allmählich überwunden wird, wird die Verbindung und Schematisierung mit dem Erhabenen stehend und erhält sich als rechtmäßige bis in die höchsten Formen des religiösen Gefühls hinein: ein Hinweis darauf, daß zwischen dem Numinosen und dem Erhabenen eine verborgene Verwandtschaft und Zusammengehörigkeit besteht.[443]

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[441] Blenkinsopp (2000), 225.
[442] Raphael (1997), 1.
[443] Otto (1924), 75.

For Otto, "the Holy" is not anything rational (although it is not necessarily, as Mircea Eliade would have it, *irrational*).[444] Rather, it is a felt response to Divine otherness.[445] And as the prime example of this, he takes Isaiah 6, as a "numinous" moment, a *mysterium* famously characterised on the one hand by *tremendum* and on the other hand by *fascinans*.

Otto's popularity quickly waned after the 1930s – perhaps, as Colin Crowder puts it, because "he was too much a historian of religion for the theologians, and too much a theologian for the historians of religion."[446] But he is still to some extent, as Raphael points out, an obligatory part of the conversation. Much of the early twentieth-century theorizing about "holiness" as a concept is shaped by Otto as well as by two influential articles, one by the then Archbishop of Uppsala, Nathan Söderblom (1866-1931), and one by biblical scholar Helmer Ringgren (1917-2012). Söderblom's "Holiness (General and Primitive)" from 1914 was an entry in James Hasting's landmark *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, published between 1908 and 1927, and anticipates the Ottonian perspective in its opening remarks:

> Holiness is the great word in religion ; it is even more essential than the notion of God. Real religion may exist without a definite conception of divinity, but there is no real religion without a distinction between holy and profane. The attaching of undue importance to the conception of divinity has often led to the exclusion from the realm of religion of (1) phenomena at the primitive stage, as being magic, although they are characteristically religious ; and of (2) Buddhism and other higher forms of salvation and piety which do not involve a belief in God. The only sure test is holiness... Not the mere existence of the divinity, but its *mana*, its power, its holiness, is what religion involves.[447]

Holiness as a power, as something wholly other that breaks into the lives of ordinary humans and necessitates a response, is a key concept in this discourse.

Ringgren's article from 1948, "The Prophetical Conception of Holiness", which has had an enormous influence on later academic discourse on holiness, is in many ways a nuanced treatment of the occurrences of the term in the Hebrew Bible, but it too returns to the concepts of power and otherness and invokes, albeit with some caution, the Ottonian categories of *fascinosum* and *tremendum*.[448] This perspective is one that has fed back time after time into

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[444] Crowder (2003), 38.
[445] Crowder (2003), 30.
[446] Crowder (2003), 32, based on Philip Almond.
[447] Söderblom (1914), 731. For some of Söderblom's international influence, see Sharpe (1990), especially Chap. 7; Jonson (2016).
[448] Ringgren (1948), 13, 24.

how the Bible itself is read. We saw this resurface explicitly in Blenkinsopp but Gerhard von Rad, too, follows in these footsteps when he writes:

> The holy could much more aptly be designated the great stranger in the human world, that is, a datum of experience, which can never really be co-ordinated into the world in which man is at home, and over against which he initially feels fear rather than trust – it is, in fact, the "wholly other."[449]

Again, holiness is taken to be a Divine other which acts upon humans in a way that would (and did) delight Karl Barth.[450] Perspectives that seem more at home in early twentieth-century Protestant theology feed back, not just into a general reading of holiness in the Hebrew Bible, but indeed Isaiah 6, too, a central passage for Otto and many others.[451]

While it would be too simplistic to suggest a direct causal relationship, it should be noted that three major names setting out the influential "Ottonian" perspective – though one of them preceded Otto – did have some connections to the Swedish introit. One was Archbishop of Uppsala, one was an engaged Swedish Lutheran, and Otto himself was at least aware of the introit through his correspondence and liturgical cooperation with Linderholm, who we saw above sent him a version of the Swedish introit. While a scholarly perspective – in this case an idea of holiness as a breaking in of a wholly other deity in the life of the prophet Isaiah, throwing his "creatureliness" into relief, leading to his despair at his own sinfulness – is not formed by a couple of persons alone, these are also seminal figures in the field. Many of the ways in which they unlock the concept of holiness and the text of Isaiah 6 seem to owe their keys to the liturgical enactment that Isa. 6:3 finds in the Swedish introit.[452] I would argue that this particular use of Isa. 6:3 was at least a contributing factor to this influential holiness discourse. Interestingly, though, this can find its way back into Isa. 6:3, but tied to the *Sanctus*, which after all does not seem to lead a reader in these directions. Take the example of Kaiser, who also demonstrates the interrelatedness of liturgy and biblical scholarship:

> The revelation of the holiness of God means at the same time the realization of our own sinfulness – Isaiah underwent this experience of being overpowered in the form of the Old Testament theophany. The experience of being set free to know the true deity of God and his own creatureliness comes to a Christian

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[449] von Rad (1975), 205.

[450] Barth, & Thurneysen (1964), 47. This should not, however, overshadow Barth's later antipathy towards Otto.

[451] As the epithet קדוש ישראל is also characteristic of the whole book of Isaiah, but rare outside of it, any discussion of holiness naturally has some consequences for understanding Isaianic passages. See Ringgren (1948), 7.

[452] I am not arguing that this is the only contributing factor. Already Luther himself set down part of this reading tradition in his commentary on Isaiah, in which he writes that "In short: God alone is holy, but the whole people and whatever the people do are completely defiled… It is necessary that God be hallowed and that I be defiled… The glory be God's; the shame be ours." Pelikan (1969), 70.

in hearing the word of Christ who is crucified for him. There is therefore good reason for the Christian church to sing the hymn of the seraphim before hearing the words of institution in the eucharist, in order to praise the coming of him whose glory fills and sustains the whole world, and from whose grasp men cannot find any place to hide.[453]

Holiness and Ethics

It would seem these two trends, of liturgical praise and of creaturely awareness of sin in the presence of the "Wholly Other" (the latter more evident in some writers than others), are hard to break out of. Given the *embarras de richesses* of biblical scholars who follow this pattern, a counterexample might be more illuminating.[454] Walter Moberly, in an article from 2003,

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[453] Kaiser (1972), 79.

[454] There are of course different ways of understanding holiness, but they are generally interrelated. Philip Jenson identifies sees six main ways of understanding holiness in biblical research: *separation*, *power*, *otherness*, *character*, *realm*, and *presence*; Jenson (2003), 97-110. As I have discussed the *otherness* aspect, I will present the other five.
The idea of *holiness as that which is separated* can be found in a number of works. Walter Eichrodt characterises the holy as "that which is marked off, separated, withdrawn from ordinary use,"; Eichrodt (1961), I:270, while von Rad writes that "[i]f an object or a place or a day or a man is "sanctified," this means to begin with only that it is separated, assigned to God, for God is the source of all that is holy." von Rad (1975), I:205. This idea is based on a putative etymology of the word קדש as "cut" or "separate", which would thus mean that its primary meaning would be something close to "set apart." This idea, however, was criticised already by Ringgren who points out after a survey of the root in Ugaritic, Phoenician, Arabic, Ethiopic and Akkadian that "the idea of withdrawal, or separation, is not always very prominent." Ringgren (1948), 6. But this model has another problem in that it is not a very useful one: Jenson points out that holiness in the Hebrew Bible does after all seem to be a positive, not a negative, attribute. "This seems no different in principle from the necessity for a just judge to shun the taking of bribes (Deut. 16.19), but justice is a positive vision not merely separation from unjust practices." Jenson (2003), 99.
Holiness as a power, is the idea of something which breaks into the lives of the Israelites. It is an experience of the supernatural invading the everyday, and as such it belongs entirely to God. See Milgrom (1996), 65-75. This captures some of the force and agency of the holy God of the Hebrew Bible. But to base the concept of holiness on the experiential would seem to bring its own problems, as holiness also seems to be a legal category, far removed from numinous encounters. It is also an unstable foundation, as we cannot assume that the Israelites were caught up in experiencing the holy in their lives. Jenson writes: "I suspect that in Israel, as in most cultures, the normal interaction that a person had with God and the holy was in ways that can only be described as routine and unexciting." Jenson (2003), 101-2.
Holiness as the very *essence or character or God* can be seen in for example David Wright, who writes that holiness "is defined on the one hand as that which is consistent with God and his character, and on the other as that which is threatened by impurity." Wright (1992), quoted in Jenson (2003), 104. See, also, Milgrom (1991), 730. Instead of seeing holiness as an almost magical power, here it is associated with how God essentially is. How God acts in holiness in the Hebrew Bible expresses who God is. The problem of this approach is that it is a tautology which lacks explanatory value: "God is holy" then means "God is like God."
One approach which Jenson is sympathetic towards is that of seeing *holiness as a realm or sphere*. He uses holiness as a spatial metaphor, basing himself on Paul Tillich: "The sphere of the gods is the sphere of holiness. A sacred realm is established wherever the divine is manifest. Whatever is brought into the divine sphere is consecrated. The divine is the holy." Tillich (1978), 215. He himself writes that holiness "is anything that belongs to God's realm or sphere of existence, over against other places that do not have the same direct relation to it." Jenson (2003), 105. See also Jenson (1992). This approach does have its appeal, but it also risks splitting the "realm" of God from the "profane realm", and risks reintroducing a sense of God's transcendence that may not be present in the P stratum of texts that Jenson is concerned with – and definitely not in J and E strata.
Lastly, Jenson points to the idea of *holiness as Divine presence*. Here the idea is that holiness is a quality imparted on something due to its proximity to the present deity. The holy of holies is the innermost room of the

consciously breaks away from that line and characterises its imagery, not as "Bright the Vision that Delighted" but as "fearful and unsparing and its tenor rather 'I tell you naught for your comfort.' Yet the majesty of God is revealed and his holiness proclaimed so that his people may become what they have already been called to be."[455] He writes:

> [H]oliness is a basic concern in Isaiah 6. The seraphim proclaim [Y-HWH's] holiness at the beginning, Israel is characterised as [Y-HWH's] holy offspring at the end, and the content in between depicts a searing purifying process to transform those of unclean lips into those who embody that holiness which is intrinsically theirs as the people of [Y-HWH].[456]

What is interesting in Moberly's analysis, and which gives it a certain freshness, is how he avoids the line of thought that uncritically assumes Isa. 6:3 to be liturgical praise and rather goes for a model of holiness as sobering, even frightening. In this he does not, however, immediately follow Ringgren, Kaiser, Blenkinsopp and others with them, who go into an Ottonian dichotomy between Divine holiness and human unworthiness which seems more at home in a tradition influenced by Protestant theological concerns. He also steers clear of the dichotomy between ethics and holiness that have plagued especially Protestant biblical researchers of the Hebrew Bible.[457] In this tradition we have for example Walter Brueggemann, who writes in the foreword to John G. Gammie's *Holiness in Israel* (1989):

> The priestly tradition focused on separatedness and cleanness bespeaks the ultimacy, mystery, and unapproachability of God. In Israel, however, a sense of wonder in the face of majesty is never undifferentiatedly religious. The prophetic tradition concerns justice and social caring as the substance of God's holiness. There is no way to harmonize or finally adjudicate between these two tendencies in the God of Israel.[458]

Brueggemann sees a tension between an ethically unconcerned P tradition and an ethically invested prophetic tradition, two tendencies which apparently cannot be brought together.

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tabernacle where God dwells, and many holy things do seem to have some connection to God being present. But it is also an explanation that may betray a Christian theological worldview, where holiness is turned into a vague sense of Divine "thereness" not too dissimilar to the experience of Mass. I will discuss this in the next chapter.

[455] Moberly (2003), 139. Moberly avoids calling Isa. 6:3 anything but a "cry."

[456] Moberly (2003), 138-9.

[457] Here I am speaking of biblical scholars. "Holiness" is a term that in Protestant theologies take on a life of its own as it gets caught up in the Lutheran idea of justification. Holiness, as a life of ethical conduct, is in both Lutheran and Reformed theology often a sign of having been individually saved. See Mursell (2003), 281-4. While for some it meant becoming and behaving like God, for most Protestant thinkers this was impossible. In the Puritan world of John Bunyan (1628-1688), for example, humans do not have any capacity for holiness, and the same goes for Calvin who points out in the *Institutes* 3:6:2 that while humans are to be holy because God is holy (Lev. 19:1), holiness in the form of a moral life is a consequence of God having elected one for salvation. For both thinkers, however, as well as for someone like the Oxford martyr Hugh Latimer (c.1487-1555), the distinction between God and man is absolute, and so in a curious way, the Protestant way of talking about holiness has often lacked a robust concept of the holiness of *God*; Mursell (2003), 289-90.

[458] Brueggemann (1989), xi.

Philip Jenson points out, in a critique of Brueggemann, that "it would be surprising if priests did not have some ethical awareness, just as it is unlikely that the prophets did not see some good in the cult."[459] Brueggemann, while professing an appreciation of both the "holiness trajectory" and the "justice trajectory" writes, however, in his own *Theology of the Old Testament*, on the issue of homosexuality that

> the justice trajectory has decisively and irreversibly defeated the purity trajectory. Thus the purity trajectory of the text may help us understand pastorally the anxiety produced by perceived and experienced disorder, but it provides no warrant for exclusionary ethical decisions in the face of the gospel.[460]

In this conclusion he is in Ringgren's good company, who writes (equally predictably): "One thing should be noted here: the ethical import of holiness is not fully developed until in the New Testament."[461] What holiness ends up conveying for many, then, seems to be a cultic, but ethically irrelevant, system, a primitive technicality to be overcome by some more sublime religious intuition. Jenson warns that "[s]uch criticism is in continuity with the long-standing Protestant bias against the priestly perspective."[462]

Another tendency seems to be a more Ottonian one, suitable, perhaps, to liturgy but not necessarily to biblical exegesis, in which holiness is made entirely non-technical. It is an individual, experiential category of being moved, which works well with vague feelings of the "numinous" or "the wholly other" but which does not shed much light on how to read the biblical text. One might speculate that this phenomenological focus may be influenced by the fact that there is very little sense of "technical holiness" in Western Christian traditions, in distinction to the holiness of Torah scrolls, *tefillin*, or the Temple Mount in Jewish practice. These objects are, after all, cherished by religious Jews and often play a highly positive role in people's religious lives, even while their holiness is decidedly cultic and technical.[463] It would also be hard not to see the ethical implications of the holiness prescriptions surrounding for example a Torah scroll. That a Jewish writer can have a very different perspective on it should

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[459] Jenson, (2003), 113-4.
[460] Brueggemann (1997), 196.
[461] Ringgren (1948), 30. This is ironic, both since he himself points out that in the New Testament it is not just used to imply ethical conduct, and since the material covered in his own article seems to suggest a deep concern for ethics in the Hebrew texts.
[462] Jenson (2003), 119. See, also, 115, on Brueggemann specifically.
[463] See Jenson (2003), 120, who notes that this tendency "is less evident in Jewish scholarship." Note, however, Israel Knohl (1995), who brings these questions to the Pentateuch and finds a similar distinction between the Holiness Code and P!

be evident from what Solomon Schechter wrote on holiness in "The Law of Holiness and the Law of Goodness":

> Holiness is the highest achievement of the Law and the deepest experience as well as realisation of righteousness… In its broad features holiness is but another word for *Imitatio Dei*, a duty intimately associated with Israel's close contact with God… [T]he holiness of Israel is dependent on their acting in such a way as to become God-like.[464]

He further points out that

> the Hebrew term *Kedushah* does not quite cover our term *holiness*, the mystical and higher aspects of it being better represented by the Hebrew term *Chasiduth* (saintliness), for which Kedushah is only one of the preparatory virtues; though the two ideas are so naturally allied that they are not always separated in Rabbinical texts.[465]

This perspective would seem to be quite far from what we have seen so far above.[466] To go back to my counterexample, Moberly, too, stresses that holiness is not something wholly other, leading to a sense of unworthiness in the prophet – this is, after all, the holy God, speaking to a holy people. One might even ask if Isaiah's panic in the face of his God, rather than being an expression of his "Kreatur-gefühl", may be grounded in the (ethically pregnant) concept of cultic impurity.

While the presence of certain liturgical practices and objects, and the absence of others, have led researchers in some directions while making other paths less likely to be taken, it has also forced some important questions about the text. If Jewish liturgy has sharpened the ears of the modern scholar for the possible liturgical poetry of Isa. 6:3, and Christian liturgies have made them more aware of the dynamics of Divine presence and overwhelming holiness present in the passage this is a welcome consequence. Interpretations that break away from those patterns, however, such as Moberly's, may also make a reader more aware of these pre-understandings, especially when (as in the case of seeing Isa. 6:3 as a liturgical statement) those pre-understandings are clearly traceable to worship practices.

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[464] Schechter (1909), 199.
[465] Schechter (1909), 201.
[466] Schechter deals primarily with Rabbinic material (and does accept the etymology of קדש as "separate", see p. 205), but with his characteristic breadth of scope he also discusses biblical material and perspectives.

Chapter 3. The God Approached – Divine Presence in the Liturgy

The Babylonian Talmud relates how the sage rabban Gamliel is challenged on a number of points of philosophy and scripture, having to defend Jewish thought with his wit, rather than scriptural passages. One of these challenges is the following:

> A heretic (כופר, but some manuscripts have קיסר, Caesar) said to rabban Gamliel: You say that everywhere there is (a gathering of) ten, the *shekhinah* rests (m.*Avot* 3:6). How many *shekhinahs* are there?"
>
> Rabban Gamliel called upon (the challenger's) servant, and tapped him on the neck, saying to him: "What is the sun doing in the house of the heretic (or: emperor)?"
>
> He said to him: "But the sun shines on the whole world!"
>
> "So, if the sun – one of a thousand myriads of the servants of Holy Blessed One – shines on the world, how much more so does the *shekhinah* of the Holy Blessed One himself!"

In his own crude way the heretic – perhaps the emperor himself! – puts his finger on a perennial theological problem: where is God to be found? And how to solve the tension between the idea of Divine omnipresence and localised presence? And how that between Divine presence and its concomitant threat, that of Divine absence?[467]

Isaiah 6 is a biblical text in which Divine presence is almost overwhelming, and its different liturgical recontextualisation throughout history has heightened, rather than mitigated, this tension. The mystery of God's whereabouts in Jewish tradition, the troubled confidence about it in medieval Christendom, and the violent debates around it in the Reformation all take the text in very different directions. With it, readers too have been taken in very different directions. From Jewish to Lutheran and Anglican worship, we will in this chapter find God's presence being mystified, affirmed, and denied, all in the context of standing in some sense before that God in worship.

And these liturgical traditions reverberate in modern scholarship – Jewish and especially different Christian conceptions of Divine presence have come into play in for example the categories of the so-called *Shem and Kabod* theologies and the idea of Divine disembodiment in the Hebrew Bible. Anxieties about where God is to be found, generated in and debated through liturgy, continue to influence our reading of biblical texts, as will be shown later in this chapter. But before going into our three liturgies, let us start with the Bible itself.

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[467] Steiner (1989), 39.

Divine Presence in the Hebrew Bible

One thing to note already in the Hebrew Bible is that God is present, but that this presence is anything but simple or unproblematic. The biblical language about G-d is frustrating, and often leaves a blind spot precisely where the inquisitive mind would want to go; it frustrates, rather than satisfies, a reader's desire to know God. The Hebrew Bible is a text in which the reader is encouraged to "seek God's face."[468] But it is also a text in which it is clear that to see God's face is to die. It is a book in which God has a face which cannot be seen (or depicted) and a name which must not be uttered lightly (or later not at all). When the prophet Ezekiel is granted one of the most fully described visions that the Bible has to offer, what he sees is tellingly (Ezek. 1:28) "the likeness (דמות) of a throne and on the likeness of the throne the likeness of something like the image (כמראה) of a man." The qualifiers abound.[469] And the problem is not just how to write about God when God is present: in the Hebrew Bible one can also see a balancing between the sense of Divine presence and its negative reverse. Writing about the perhaps not so successful suggestions of Samuel Terrien,[470] Trevor Hart suggests that "[t]he peculiarity of this sense of presence is… precisely its persistent complication by and compounding with an attendant awareness of the absence, and a sense of isolation from the proximity of God."[471] Divine presence is, emphatically "'elusive' rather than available on tap."[472]

But one must not forget that while this presence is mysterious it is also *localised*. To say that God's presence is unknown, mysterious, or complicated, is not to say that God is not in some way spatially bound. And being spatially bound means, to put it in more demotic terms, having some sort of body. This simple fact about the Hebrew Bible – that its deity can lunch with Abraham, wrestle with Jacob, take evening walks in the garden of Eden and show his back to Moses – has been curiously overlooked until recently. Too often, a notion of Divine disembodiment has been at play, in which God has been assumed to be a spiritual presence, even when performing the most direct physical acts. Often, this has rested upon a false contrast between a disembodied "Old Testament" deity, which has to be understood as purely transcendent for the incarnation of its Christian variant to have a satisfying effect. Benjamin

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[468] For example, Ps. 24:6, 27:8, 105:4; 2 Chron. 7:14
[469] Block (1997), 104. Note, however, that while the description is highly circumscribed, the Divine figure is explicitly anthropomorphic.
[470] Terrien (1978).
[471] Hart (2013), 2.
[472] Hart (2013), 2.

Sommer, in his excellent survey of this pervasive trend in his work on Divine embodiment, quotes Elaine Scarry's *The Body in Pain* (1985) who claims that

> throughout the Old Testament God's power and authority are in part extreme and continual amplifications of the fact that people have bodies and He has no body. It is primarily this that is changed in the Christian revision, for though the difference between man and God continues to be as immense as it was in the Hebraic scriptures, the basis of the difference is no longer the fact that one has a body and the Other has not.[473]

Sommer comments on this:

> One might dismiss the relevance of Scarry's work on the Bible; it is, after all, the product of her having uncritically accepted hackneyed misrepresentations of Jewish scripture that grew out of medieval Christian supersessionism. But her approach, if extreme, is also based on a tendency evident among responsible scholars: the habit of assuming that because we all know the Hebrew Bible's God has no body, evidence to the contrary must be denied or, if that is not possible, explained away.[474]

He then goes on to show how a number of important names, including Eichrodt, Brueggemann and on the Jewish side Menahem Haran, assume that when the Hebrew Bible speaks of God's body or physical presence, it is figuratively, or a deployment of poetical language, or a vestige of earlier, less civilised religious cultures.[475] He points out, however, that the Bible does not once signal that these descriptions are to be taken metaphorically, and that the prohibition against (or description of the consequences of) seeing God (Exod. 33:20) – which also comes up in our Isaianic passage – does not imply a lack of body. Sommer writes:

> Similarly, the statement, "One cannot touch a high-voltage wire and live," does not mean that there is no such thing as a high-voltage wire; on the contrary, high-voltage wires are dismayingly, dangerously real. So is the embodied deity of the Hebrew Bible.[476]

But this is not to say that the Hebrew Bible, taken in its entirety, gives us a simple or simplistic understanding of Divine presence, or location. Sometimes God seems to be in some sense omnipresent, as in Isa. 6:3, sometimes highly localised, as in much temple-related material, and sometimes – and just as revealing – absent. Trying to solve this tension is of course a well-known problem in biblical research, where it has long been acknowledged that different strata express different opinions on the presence of God.[477] The Book of Isaiah and the Book of Ezekiel present rather different ideas, even to a reader living long before von Rad and the

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[473] Scarry (1985), 210. In Sommer (2009), 4-5.
[474] Sommer (2009), 5.
[475] Sommer (2009), 4-10.
[476] Sommer (2009), 3.
[477] For an overview, see Mettinger (1982), 41-45.

solidification of the *Shem* and *Kabod* theologies. Especially the two verses used in the *qedushot*, one expressing the omnipresence of Divine כבוד, while still clearly set in a permanent Temple setting, and the other expressing a mobile, chariot-bound כבוד capable of getting up and leaving the Temple. While the shift between these theologies and the reason for it has been discussed vigorously, the debate has often been around what necessitated it: history, or religious intuitions. On one end of the spectrum we have Tryggve Mettinger, who in his well-known 1982 monograph *The Dethronement of Sabaoth* argues that the destruction of the First Temple, and the sacking of the temple in 597 BCE, was the main catalyst for an abandonment of an older paradigm of Divine presence, reflected in for example Isaiah 6. For him, the desecration of the cherubic throne necessitated a theological response which led to later Deuteronomistic and Priestly views, including that of Ezekiel. On the other end stands Sommer, who in his *The Bodies of God* published in 2009 argues that the shifting theologies of Divine presence are to be traced back to perennial theological questions, and asks that we see the Israelites and other Ancient Near Eastern cultures as more theologically sophisticated than the narrative of them simply reacting to a material change gives them credit for.

The Location of the Vision

But the Temple, as a locus of Divine presence, is important in other ways. One of the discussions around Isaiah 6 concerns its location: does this scene take place in the Temple, or is it a heavenly vision? Is it, as Luther would have us sing, "Jesaja, dem Propheten, das geschah, daß er *im Geist* den Herren sitzen sah"? Or is it rather the case that the prophet sees God in the actual temple?

Here we have, for example, Albert Gerhards who holds that there is nothing in the text to indicate that the scene takes place in heaven, or in a heavenly temple. For him, it takes place in the actual temple in Jerusalem.[478] In Chapter 1 we saw how Lacheman explained away the *seraphim* entirely by pointing to the paraphernalia of the actual temple, in which he imagined the historical prophet Isaiah having a vision.[479] The biographical aspect of this is taken quite far in Engnell, who writes:

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[478] Gerhards (2007), 31.
[479] Lacheman (1968), 71-72.

> That *the scene* of Isaiah's vision is the temple is not an absolutely necessary assumption, it is true, but the most natural one… This does not imply, however … that Isaiah was himself actually in the temple. He may have had his vision in his own house.[480]

He notes how already in the 1940s most scholars came down on the side of the earthly temple but writes that "we should perhaps reckon at the same time also with the heavenly temple, since the consecration of a messanger [sic] of God belongs as such to heaven."[481]

This question – whether Isaiah 6 takes place in the temple or in a heavenly setting – is an issue that I will return to below, but for now it may be worth keeping in mind as we turn to a liturgy that deals with exactly some of the topics that I have discussed, namely the *qedushah*.

Jewish Liturgy and the Mystery of Divine Presence
Elusive Presence between Isaiah 6 and Ezekiel 3

Jewish imagination concerning God's presence can be said to rest on a certain principle of deferred satisfaction.[482] As in the Hebrew Bible, the issue of access to the Divine presence, and essence, is one that is dealt with by frustrating human desire. The Bible refuses to offer up God wholly. This denial of final gratification was carried over forcefully into Rabbinic Judaism, and while it has broken down time and time and again, it has also had a remarkably strong life, in theology, *halakhah*, and in liturgy.

A synagogue building, while offering focal points such as the Holy Ark, does not offer any clear marker of Divine presence. Nor does the liturgy express any clear moments of Divine presence during worship.[483] The liturgy does, on the contrary, express some theologically based confusion concerning where God is to be found. This happens precisely in the *qedushah*. In the interplay between Isa. 6:3, with its proclamation that "the whole earth is full of his glory (כבוד)" and Ezek. 3:12 which blesses God's glory (כבוד), "from its place", some tension arises. Is God's presence localised, so that it is possible to talk about "its place", or is it omnipresent?

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[480] Engnell (1949), 27.
[481] Engnell (1949), 28. n. 1.
[482] Hart (2013), 2.
[483] Now, any worship that can speak of God in the second person presupposes some kind of presence, and Jewish thought does not lack a theology of Divine presence in the worshipping community. See Foot Moore (1922), 57-58). See also the notion that the *shekhinah* is present in front of the worshipper during the *Amidah* and the differences in thinking about the sanctity of the synagogue between Palestine and Babylonia; Ehrlich (1996), (2004), 237-246. But there is a difference between saying that God is "present enough" to, for example, hear prayer, and saying that God is in some way palpably localised.

The liturgy does not try to alleviate this tension but rather tries to heighten it. The bridge between these two passages in the *qedushah* of the *Amidah* on normal weekdays is short. But in the more elaborate *qedushah* for the additional *mussaf Amidah*, which is inserted on Shabbat and festivals, this bridge is replaced by כְּבוֹדוֹ מָלֵא עוֹלָם[484] מְשָׁרְתָיו שׁוֹאֲלִים זֶה לָזֶה אַיֵּה מְקוֹם כְּבוֹדוֹ[485] לְעֻמָּתָם בָּרוּךְ יאמרו, "His glory fills the universe – his ministers ask one another: 'Where is the place of his glory?' Those facing them say: 'Blessed'." This is then followed by the congregational reply, Ezek. 3:12. Here we find a descriptive scene, elaborating on the language of Isaiah 6, where the glory of God fills the universe. The ministering angels, however, though standing in the heavens, do not know the place of God's glory. They ask one another, but they are all equally ignorant. They then get the reply from "them", the *'ophannim* and the holy creatures of Ezekiel's vision, who answer with Ezek. 3:12.[486]

The scene here, in part reproduced on earth by the worshippers themselves through the semi-staged antiphonal format of the liturgy, is theologically fascinating. While the prophet in Isaiah 6 is trembling in anxiety at the overpowering presence of God, here not even God's attendants know where God is to be found! A curious transformation here is that while the *seraphim* and other celestial creatures have stepped into the foreground, the prophet, the temple, and even God, have quietly disappeared. The only *qedushah* to even mention the theologically pivotal divine throne-chariot is the Shabbat version of the *Yotzer*, the אל אדון.[487] This is even more interesting given how important the Divine throne is in texts like Isaiah, Ezekiel and much apocalyptic, Qumranic, Christian, Enochian and Merkavah-related material.

This idea of God's presence being in some sense unknown, even by God's own attendants, is also found in the *Pirqei deRabbi Eliezer* IV, in which we read:

> Two *seraphim* are standing, one to the right of the Holy Blessed One and one to His left, each one with six wings; with two he covers his face, so as not to look upon the face of the *shekhinah*, and with two they cover their legs so as not to be seen in front of the *shekhinah*, in order that the standing of the (Golden) calf should be forgotten. And with two they fly, and they praise and sanctify the great name, this one answers and this one calls and they say "*Holy, holy, holy*..."

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[484] In Baladi liturgy: כְּבוֹדוֹ וְהוֹדוֹ מָלֵא הָעוֹלָם כֻּלּוֹ.

[485] In Maimonides, and in Sephardic and Chassidic liturgy וּלְהַעֲרִיצוֹ is added.

[486] See, also, b.*Ḥagiga* 13b. This curious theological idea, expressed clearly in the excerpt from *Pirqei deRabbi Eliezer* above, may rest on both the theological tension between the omnipresent glory of Isa. 6:3 and the localised glory of Ezek. 3:12, as well as on the somewhat cryptic phrasing of the latter.

[487] אֵל אָדוֹן עַל כָּל הַמַּעֲשִׂים. בָּרוּךְ וּמְבֹרָךְ בְּפִי כָּל נְשָׁמָה. גָּדְלוֹ וְטוּבוֹ מָלֵא עוֹלָם. דַּעַת וּתְבוּנָה סוֹבְבִים אוֹתוֹ: הַמִּתְגָּאֶה עַל חַיּוֹת הַקֹּדֶשׁ. וְנֶהְדָּר בְּכָבוֹד עַל הַמֶּרְכָּבָה, "God, lord of all creations, the blessed, is blessed in the mouth of all that breathes. His greatness and his goodness fills the universe, knowledge and insight surround him. He is dignified above the holy creatures, and adorned in glory above the Chariot…"

> And the creatures stand at the side of the glory and they do not know the place of His glory and
> they answer and in every place where His glory is, there they say "*Blessed...*"

It is clear here that this ignorance is not an empty lack of knowledge, or a simple agnosticism, but rather the expression of a theological sensibility that the presence of God has, ultimately, to be understood in a dynamic, and mysterious, sense. It is not the case that God is simply absent. Rather, this tendency in biblical, and postbiblical, theology can be understood as what the former Archbishop of Canterbury Rowan Williams has called "framed silence." In the Gifford Lectures of 2013 he points out, in his discussion on theological language, that that even when we fall silent, we may still be indicating something. Silence is, in his words, "framed" – it is not the random absence of speech, but a silence pregnant with meaning; the absence of a sign where we would expect one.

> We cannot imagine an 'unframed' or pure silence: we can only imagine the silence in which *we* are not hearing anything, not hearing what we might expect to hear – that is, it will have to do with what has shaped our expectations, our history and fantasy and so forth. Silence for us is always the gap that occurs *here*, in this specific place between words or images. Pictorially, it is like the gap between the two winged creatures in the Jewish Temple which denoted the unrepresentable but not absent God.[488]

Silence, according to this line of thought, is not a simple closing down of speech and understanding. Silence can be acknowledging the difficulties of going on speaking; to say that one is "speechless" is more the naming of a difficulty than a silencing or a rejection of language as such.[489] Through one's speechlessness one says something about what lies beyond, and by resisting the urge to depict, and stabilize, one can picture more. These dynamics seem to be at play in the Hebrew Bible, and are picked up and sharpened in later Jewish tradition, in the sense of leaving a pregnant question mark around where God is.

One of the ways of doing this is through the concept of the *shekhinah*. In Rabbinic tradition the *shekhinah*, the personified presence of God, is a staple of theological thought, and points us back to the problem of Divine presence. On the one hand, "there is no place empty of the *shekhinah* – not even the thornbush", seemingly suggesting Divine omnipresence.[490] On the other hand, the *shekhinah* can go into exile with the Jewish people:[491]

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[488] Williams (2014), 157.
[489] Williams (2014), 163.
[490] *Shemot Rabbah* 2:9.
[491] *Eikhah Rabbati*, *petikhta* 25. See, also, the earliest expression of this theology of the exile of the *shekhinah* in the *Mekhilta*, *Shirata* 3 (cf. b.*Megillah* 29a).

When the *shekhinah* left the holy temple she turned around and embraced and kissed the walls and columns of the temple, wept and said: "Peace upon you, house of my holiness; peace upon you, house of my kingship, peace upon you, house of my glory; peace upon you, from now on, peace be with you.

It is clear, then, that the *shekhinah* can actively *leave* a place, presumable being absent afterwards, and the *Amidah* always ends with a set of three benedictions, starting with the benediction over God "who returns his *shekhinah* to Zion."[492] This is not an uncomplicated theology of omnipresence or panentheism; in *Tanḥuma Naso* 12, for example, the angels worry that when the *shekhinah* descends into the Israelite tabernacle, they will be left without access to the Divine. They are reassured that the *shekhinah* will, in fact, be present both in heaven and in the tabernacle. The *shekhinah*, like the God of the Hebrew Bible, can therefore, at least in some sources, be localised, and there is a tension between Divine omnipresence, presence, and absence.[493] In early sources, as already Gershom Scholem pointed out, the *shekhinah* seems identical with God and does not seem to be a separate hypostasis in any meaningful way.[494] As the *shekhinah* is generally identified with the biblical כבוד, a phrase such as "the whole earth is full of his glory" would be read as "the whole earth is full of God."[495] In later traditions the *shekhinah* becomes more independent and there can thus be interaction within the Godhead; argument, estrangement, sexual relations and so forth. At the same time, the *shekhinah* is generally understood to be an aspect or personality or mode of God.[496] The theology of the *shekhinah*, then, does little to assuage any of the anxieties that may be carried over from the Hebrew Bible – rather it picks up on them and sharpens them further.[497] It is in this context that the liturgical tension of where God's כבוד is becomes intelligible. The כבוד is not understood to be glory or honour or renown but is taken to be the *shekhinah* or embodiment of God and so the two texts are set on a collision course with each other in the liturgy.

It should be noted, however, that this tension may be expected to be resolved. On Shabbat, the short bridge – "and in your holy scriptures it is written, saying" – between Ezek. 3:12 and Ps.

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[492] For some of this tension, see Scholem (1991), 147-149.

[493] There is by now a scholarly consensus that the Rabbis conceived of God as being embodied. See, for example, Goshen-Gottstein (1994), 172.

[494] Scholem (1991), 147-9. In the benediction over the return of the *shekhinah* to Zion, note, also, that the sentence before is: "Let our eyes see how *you* return to Zion in mercy."

[495] For this identification, see Scholem (1991), 154; Sommer (2009), 126. See *Pesikta Rabbati*, chap. 31.

[496] Sa'adia Gaon (*Emunot veDe'ot*, chap. 3, and Maimonides, *The Guide for the Perplexed* I:64, 76) are the most famous proponents of the minority view that the *shekhinah* is a creature, rather than a Divine hypostasis or mode. See also Koester (1989), 71, and Goldberg (1969).

[497] For a discussion on how some of the issues of P and D traditions are carried over into Rabbinic tradition, see Sommer (2009), 126-129. See, also, Schäfer (1992).

146:10 of the *qedushah deAmidah* is replaced with a longer *piyyut*, poetic section, picking up on the royal theme of Ps. 146:10 and integrating it into the sequence:

מִמְּקוֹמְךָ מַלְכֵּנוּ תוֹפִיעַ וְתִמְלֹךְ עָלֵינוּ כִּי מְחַכִּים אֲנַחְנוּ לָךְ: מָתַי תִּמְלֹךְ בְּצִיּוֹן בְּקָרוֹב בְּיָמֵינוּ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד תִּשְׁכּוֹן: תִּתְגַּדַּל וְתִתְקַדַּשׁ בְּתוֹךְ יְרוּשָׁלַיִם עִירְךָ לְדוֹר וָדוֹר וּלְנֵצַח נְצָחִים: וְעֵינֵינוּ תִרְאֶינָה מַלְכוּתֶךָ כַּדָּבָר הָאָמוּר בְּשִׁירֵי עֻזֶּךָ עַל יְדֵי דָוִד מְשִׁיחַ צִדְקֶךָ:

From your place, our king, shine forth, and reign over us, for we wait for you. When will you reign in Zion? Soon, in our days, will you dwell there, and forever more. May you be magnified and sanctified in the midst of Jerusalem, your city, throughout the generations and in all eternity. Let our eyes behold your kingdom, according to the word spoken in the songs of your strength by David, your righteous anointed one.[498]

Picking up the ממקומו of Ezek. 3:12, this *piyyut* imagines an end to the ambiguity of God's whereabouts, requesting that God will return to from this unknown place to Zion, restored to the temple, and rule from there in eschatological kingship.[499] The theme of eschatological kingship seems to be at work in the *Yotzer* also. This eschatological understanding of the *Yotzer,* however, was vehemently opposed by some authorities, including Sa'adia, whose opinion is recorded in the *Siddur Amram Gaon*:[500]

> Anyone who concludes the blessing by saying אור חדש etc. [Ps 136:7, included in current version of the *Yotzer*] makes a mistake, since the Rabbis did not establish this blessing over the future light of the days of the Messiah but over the light of day (or "the light of today") which shines everyday."

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[498] In the *mussaf qedushah* there is a longer, barely integrated, insertion between Ezek. 3:12 and Ps. 146:10, which includes Deut. 6:4. A suggested explanation for this inclusion is that it stems from Byzantine persecutions during which guards for Trinitarian reasons would make sure that the Jews did not recite the *Shema'* or the *qedushah*. When the time for the *Shema'* and *qedushah* had passed the guards would leave. The *qedushah*, together with Deut. 6:4 was then added to the *mussaf* instead, and this custom then took on its own life, explaining the *mussaf qedushah*; Elbogen (1993), 56. The historical veracity of this account is hard to ascertain, since it is something of a trope when it comes to explaining Jewish liturgy: similar explanations are applied to, for example, the additional passage ברוך ה' לעולם אמן ואמן in the *ma'ariv* liturgy and the haftarah reading; Elbogen (1993), 88, 143. Instead of Byzantine persecution, it is sometimes explained by Persian persecution under Yazdegird: Idelsohn (1995), 97. For a fuller discussion of this, see Hoffman (1979), 81-84.

[499] Elbogen, who notes the royal language of this passage, explains the theme of God's rule as originating in the long *mussaf qedushah* for Rosh haShanah, where the theme of God's majesty is liturgically central. According to him, Ps. 146:10 was transposed from there to the everyday service, much like the *Aleinu* prayer concluding all services, which also originally had its place on Rosh haShanah; Elbogen (1993), 56. There are many more examples of liturgy from the high holidays ending up in the everyday liturgy, so this seems plausible, especially seeing that the short closing *piyyut* before Ps. 146:10, used uniquely by ashkenazim for the three pilgrim festivals (Pesaḥ, Shavuot, Sukkot) ends with the same biblical quote (Zech. 14:9) as *Aleinu*.

[500] Hedegård (1951), 19.

He also writes: "One who says [it] takes the name of Heaven in vain." History won out over him, though, as almost all of the substantial Shabbat additions to the *Yotzer* are explicitly eschatological, and use similarly royal language.

A Shift Heavenwards

One thing to note here, apart from issues of where God is (and should be), is also where the whole scene is, *seraphim* and all. As in Revelation 4 and many other texts from the same period, in the *qedushah* liturgies there has been a clear shift away from earth. One noticeable difference between the framework that the *qedushot* give Isa. 6:3 and the framework that the biblical text gives them is the role of the Temple. While in Isaiah 6 the Temple and the direct, overpowering Divine presence are pivotal parts of the text, in the *qedushot* the scene has had its own "Himmelfahrt" and shifted to heaven, while God has faded from sight. In the *qedushah deYotzer*, for example, the angels "all stand above, in the heights of the universe." [501] This is not self-evident from the biblical setting, which in and of itself has generated considerable discussion concerning its location: does Isaiah see the Jerusalem temple or a heavenly version of it? This question, and the implications of it, is at play already in the Targum, where Isa. 6:1 is translated as the prophet seeing "the glory of Y-HWH sitting upon his throne, high, and lifted up unto the highest heavens (בשמי מרומא), and the temple was filled with the brightness of his glory."

This translation, in which the scene is specifically set in heaven, is hardly unique but rather is another expression of a certain trend of "spiritualisation" of Isa. 6:3 that Gerhards has noted, and which the *Yotzer* is also part.[502] Where the *seraphim* are, and the prophet (who seems to disappear entirely in the *qedushot*) are interesting questions. But if we are to stay with the issue of where God (who would, after all, seem to be a central character in the scene!) is, let us turn to a set of liturgical traditions that have some very decisive answers to this question.

Lutheran Liturgy: *Sanctus* and Real Presence

Eucharistic Presence

This biblical and Jewish ambivalence undergoes an enormous transformation (not to say transubstantiation) in Christian worship, which in its medieval shape rallies many earlier Christian practices and theologies to point out exactly where God is present: in the Eucharist.

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[501] Note the use of עֹמְדִים from Isa. 6:2, transposed to "the heights of the universe."
[502] Gerhards (2007), 32.

While Christian thinkers were of course not so simple-minded as to restrict Divine presence to this liturgical moment (nor so simple-minded as to think that God could be present in any non-complicated way, as the many and heated debates surrounding the theology of Real Presence show), the degree to which Divine presence was localised is astounding. A medieval Christian worshipper could point out exactly where God was to be found, if nowhere else: the host, reserved in a ciborium, pyx, sacrament dove or other such vessel, on or near the altar.[503] This theology was very much a literal one: Lotario dei Conti di Segni, before he was elected Pope Innocent III in his treatise *De missarum mysteriis* (IV:9) pondered the serious issue of what would happen if a mouse were to consume the consecrated host – would it be eating Christ himself?[504] And in a legend about Gregory the Great a woman laughs when about to receive the sacrament, pointing out that "the bread that you called the 'Body of the Lord' I made with my own hands." Gregory prays, and the host is then turned into an actual finger, proving that the host is, indeed, the body of Christ.[505]

One might think, therefore, that the best example for exploring Isa. 6:3 in connection to Divine presence in Christian liturgy would be the medieval Mass. But it may be even more revealing to look at what happens to this theology when challenged in the sixteenth century. Two illuminating candidates, to my mind, are two related but very different responses to the changes of this Mass in the Reformation: the Lutheran liturgies of Martin Luther and Olaus Petri on the one hand, and the English liturgy of Thomas Cranmer on the other. These three liturgies were composed precisely in a period in which this theology of presence became a controversial – and politically charged – issue. While they responded to the same changes, and were contributions to the same theological debates, they were diametrically opposed to each other and took the *Sanctus* in very different directions.

Martin Luther's *Formula Missae*: The Sanctus Transformed

Let us start with Martin Luther himself. This is not so because he was the first to formulate a specifically Protestant liturgy – in fact, more than one German reformer preceded him.[506] But

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[503] Over time, Divine presence came to be even more accentuated through sacrament houses and tabernacles. My thanks to Victoria Raymer for bringing this to my attention.
[504] Thibodeau (2006), 235.
[505] See Durand, IV.41.28.
[506] Spinks (1991), 148. In Luther's own Wittenberg, Karlstadt, a fellow but rather more impatient reformer in Luther's own Wittenberg, published a liturgy, *Ordnung der Stadt Wittenberg*, when Luther was hiding in Wartburg. Thomas Müntzer followed suit the year after. It should be noted that liturgical experimentation was widespread: the Carmelite Prior Kasper Kantz at Nördlingen wrote the first German mass in 1522 while Erasmus wrote a Marian liturgy, *Virginis Matris apud Lauretum cultae liturgia*, in 1523, at the request of

he is by far the most influential, and there is a clear line of descent from him to the Swedish liturgies. Luther produced two liturgies. The first, the Latin *Formula Missae* was written in 1523 at the request of his friend Nicolaus Hausmann and perhaps also in response to reformers such as Andreas Karlstadt, whom he regarded as much too extreme for his cause.[507] This was to be followed, in 1526, by the *Deutsche Messe,* in the vernacular.[508] Both of these liturgies would prove very influential in the development of Lutheran and other Protestant liturgical traditions, although in quite different ways.[509] I will focus on the *Formula Missae*, both because this one preserves the *Sanctus* in a more direct way than the *Deutsche Messe*, and because it gave the basic outline for the Swedish liturgy, in which we see some of the themes come out even stronger. It would also seem to connect more directly with some of the issues of Divine presence than the *Deutsche Messe*.

The *Formula Missae*

Luther's first liturgy, the *Formula Missae*, is presented by Luther himself as a restored Latin liturgy; restored since it has done away with "the wretched accretions which corrupt it" – especially the offertory and the Canon of the Mass, which expressed the doctrine of Mass as a sacrifice.[510] The rest of the liturgy was mostly made up of elements which were *adiaphora*, meaning that they were optional and could be used, but were not necessary for salvation (an important liturgical principle for Luther and later Lutherans).[511] The Mass of the faithful, however, was in Luther's eyes instituted by Christ. As the liturgical scholar and later Archbishop of Uppsala Yngve Brilioth (1891-1959) puts it: "Here, therefore, the pruning-knife must be more rigorously applied: and of the latter half of the service only a torso is left."[512] Luther presents a fairly traditional, albeit shortened and, from a Protestant perspective, purified Latin Mass. It should be remembered, however, that he did not only – or even mainly – publish the *Formula Missae* to take a step forward from the medieval Mass, but also to take a step *back*

Thiébaut Biétry in Porrentruy. See O'Malley (1999), 79-108. A helpful overview of early Protestant Mass liturgies can be found in Bergsma (1964).

[507] Karant-Nunn (1997), 116, 118.

[508] Karant-Nunn (1997), 115. It should be noted that although Luther disliked their liturgies, Karlstadt and Müntzer only followed the principles Luther himself had laid down in his *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium* in 1520. See Brilioth (1930), 112.

[509] It should be pointed out that Luther presented the *Deutsche Messe* with uncharacteristic modesty: in the preface he actively exhorts the potential user not to make it a rigid law but to use it in "Christlichen freyheyt", as long as it is useful; Clemen (1950), 294.

[510] Leupold (1965), 20.

[511] Veit (1986), 19.

[512] Brilioth (1930), 116.

from the liturgies of Karlstadt and Müntzer.[513] It should therefore come as no surprise that much in it follows a clear Roman model.[514]

Priest: Dominus vobiscum.	Priest: The Lord be with you.
Congregation: Et cum spiritu tuo.	Congregation: And with your spirit.
P: Sursum corda.	P: Lift up your hearts.
C: Habeamus ad dominum.	C: Let us lift them to the Lord.
P: Gratias agamus domino deo nostro.	P: Let us thank the Lord, our God.
C: Dignum et iustum est.	C: It is meet and right.
P: Vere dignum et iustum est, equum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, domine sancte, pater omnipotens, aeterne deus, per Christum dominum nostrum…	P: Truly, it is meet and right, just and salutary for us to always and everywhere give thanks to You, holy Lord, almighty Father, eternal God, through Christ our Lord…
Deinde: Qui pridie quam pateretur, accepit panem…	Who the day before he suffered, took bread…"
Words of institution	*Words of institution*
Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth. Pleni sunt cæli et terra gloria tua. Hosanna in excelsis. Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Hosanna in excelsis.	Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God Sabaoth. Heaven and earth are full of your glory. Hosanna in the highest. Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.

The dialogue and *sursum corda* are very traditional, although the preface only includes its first half.[515] But this is also where the major change takes place: rather than leading up to the *Sanctus*, the preface instead leads up directly to the words of the institution. It is only after the words of institution that the *Sanctus* and the *Benedictus* are sung. Concerning the practical performance of the *Sanctus*, Luther writes:

> And while the *Benedictus* is being sung, let the bread and cup be elevated according to the customary
> rite for the benefit of the weak in faith who might be offended if such an obvious change in this rite of

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[513] Brilioth (1930), 119.

[514] Not so in the later *Deutsche Messe*, from 1526, in which there is no *sursum corda* or preface, only an exhortation based on the examples of Strasbourg and Nuremberg. See Brilioth (1930), 123. This is followed by Luther's "German Sanctus", the hymn *Jesaja dem Propheten das geschah*. The "German *Sanctus*" constitutes an interesting example for our purposes, as it is a paraphrase of the biblical text, invoking the memory of what once happened to one of Israel's prophets. Christology, Trinitarianism and medieval angelology have all been jettisoned as the *Sanctus* has been severely trimmed down to its biblical basis – indeed, Luther does not even mention that the *seraphim* are angels (although we can assume he thought they were); so reluctant does he seem to be to engage in Dionysian speculation. This cautious angelology has been noted by Patrice Veit, who in her overview of Luther's hymns, writes: "Alle Aussagen Luthers über die Engel sind direct aus der Heiligen Schrift übernommen und ganz traditionsgemäß." Veit (1986), 150. It would be too drastic to claim that Luther eliminated angelology from the *Sanctus* – after all, it is hardly likely that he could have sung the *Sanctus without* associating it with the celestial choirs of the Dionysian worldview. But for the purposes of liturgical tradition, and for subsequent generations, it should be noted that the *Sanctus* is changed considerably.

[515] One minor innovation is that Luther in the *sursum corda* changes the Roman indicative *habemus* ("we lift") to the subjunctive *habeamus* ("let us lift"). See Serenius (1966), 235.

the mass were suddenly made. This concession can be made especially where through sermons in the vernacular they have been taught what the elevation means.[516]

While the question of the preface has been debated[517] it is clear that the main change (the reduction of the Canon aside!) is the separation of the preface from the *Sanctus*. The preface is no longer prefacing the *Sanctus*, but the words of institution.[518] Brilioth writes:

> The transposition of the *Sanctus* and the words of institution is without doubt one of the least successful of Luther's suggestions for reform. Two reasons are conceivable: either because he was accustomed to attach the real presence to the words of institution, he felt an impropriety in singing the *Benedictus qui venit* at an earlier point; or it may be simply that he found this to be a simple way of making a grammatical connection with the words of institution.[519]

Brilioth's first suggestion relies on the Latin of the *Benedictus* to have been understood in Luther's time as *qui vēnit*, in the preterite tense ("who came"), rather than *qui venit* in the present ("who comes").[520] Understood as such, it would be improper to sing "blessed is he who came in the name of the Lord" until the words of the institution have been said and Christ is present in the Eucharistic elements. There is room, however, to doubt this, since this is clearly not the use of the words (ὁ ἐρχόμενος) in Matt. 21:9, where Jesus is entering Jerusalem very much in the present, and in the Vulgate, it is even translated as *qui venturus est* ("who is [to] come"). Whether Luther would disregard the biblical context is unclear. Nonetheless, the focus does seem to fall on the Christological aspect of the *Benedictus*, rather than the Trinitarian understanding of the *Sanctus*. Finnish scholar Sigtrygg Serenius points out that:

> In the FM 1523 it seems the *Sanctus* has lost the traditionally Trinitarian stamp in favour of a one-sidedly Christological aspect. By the placement of it after the institution narrative, where it is combined with the elevation, it rather seems a hymn of elevation directed towards the sacramentally present Christ. The focal point thus is the *Benedictus*.[521]

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[516] Luther (1965), 28.

[517] Brilioth, for example, writes that "proper prefaces seem to be accepted tacitly, and they were certainly in use long after, when for some reason mass was celebrated in Latin." Brilioth (1930), 117.

[518] In the *Apostolic Tradition*, attributed to Hippolytus, the preface also leads up to the words of institution, with no *Sanctus* or *Benedictus*. See Stewart (2001), 64-65. As the text was lost until the nineteenth century it cannot, however, have been Luther's inspiration: Stewart (2001), 16.

[519] Brilioth (1930), 117.

[520] See Jungmann (2012), II:136, and Hellerström (1940), 185.

[521] Serenius (1966), 260. Serenius does point out, however, that Luther did have a generally Trinitarian interpretation of the Mass, but that this does not find expression in the liturgies; Serenius (1966), 260-261.

This would then shift the focus from the *Sanctus* to the *Benedictus*, although the two are still combined. Brilioth's second suggestion, that the new phrasing avoids a pause or hiatus in the liturgy, could, of course, also be correct.[522]

It is hard, however, not to see this reshuffling of elements as a somewhat odd break with the traditional liturgy. It not only changes the role of the preface but also decisively cuts off the *Sanctus* from any angelic associations. Instead the *Sanctus* has rather become an exclamatory proclamation of the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharistic elements, who has now "come", if we are to follow Brilioth's suggestion. If the *Sanctus* does point to anything other than the Eucharist itself, it would be through the unavoidable association with Trinitarian theology. That language, too, however, is noticeably absent.

Lutheran Liturgy beyond Luther: The *Sanctus* in Sweden

With this background in mind, it is time to look at that Lutheran church tradition which most decisively broke up the traditional sequence, that of Sweden.[523]

Olavus Petri 1531: The Swedish Mass

In Sweden, nation and reformation go hand in hand. The Swedish Reformation – not unlike for example the Dutch – was closely tied to issues of national independence and the revolt against Denmark led by Gustav Eriksson, later known as Gustav Vasa (1496-1560).[524] In fact, before the nineteenth century, the Reformation centenary celebrations in Sweden were not held in commemoration of 1517 as in other Lutheran countries, but 1521; the year Gustav Vasa was elected Protector of the Realm (*rikshövitsman*).[525] Before Gustav Vasa the Nordic countries

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[522] Holte (2004), 28. A third suggestion, however, which need not rule out any of the above, would be based on extratextual considerations: Luther was used to the medieval performance of the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus*, in which it would be sung by the choir over the silent Canon. The *Benedictus* was then already placed after the words of institution, and the words of institution were framed by *Sanctus* on the one hand, and the *Benedictus* on the other. When the Canon was then removed, uncertainty may have arisen as to what to do with the connection between *Sanctus* and the new words of institution. While still an innovation, the moving of the *Sanctus* seems less of a break with the medieval liturgy if one bears in mind that the *Sanctus* was more used to fill an otherwise substantial silence in the liturgy than as a separate act in and of itself. Here one should also remember that many things could take place simultaneously in the medieval liturgy; Helander, Pernler, Piltz, Stolt (2006), 78.
[523] Spinks (1991), 152.
[524] Brilioth (1930), 236.
[525] When the Reformation centenary was held in 1617, by the initiative of clergy in Heilbronn and the elector count Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and (coincidentally) the University of Wittenberg, it involved all Lutheran countries, with the exception of Sweden, which celebrated in 1621. Gustav Vasa, rather than Martin Luther, was seen as the seminal figure and the title of the oration by *rector magnificus* of Uppsala Olaus Laurelius was, tellingly enough, *Suecia gnothi seauten*. Luther was only mentioned parenthetically. Not until the third centenary in 1817 did Luther take a central role on the stage of Swedish historiography (At this point there was

had all formed part of the Kalmar Union, which had been established in 1397 with Denmark as the seat of power, something which had been less than popular with the Swedish subjects throughout the union years, frequently leading to disagreements of the more sanguinary sort. The most infamous of these would be the Stockholm Bloodbath in November of 1520, in which Christian II, after invading Sweden to reassert Danish power, executed around eighty anti-unionist members of the Swedish nobility and clergy, among them the bishops of Skara and Strängnäs.[526] One of the young noblemen who managed to escape the Bloodbath was Gustav Eriksson Vasa.

In the following year he led a revolt against the Danish king and seized power. The pro-unionist Archbishop Gustav Trolle was ousted and fled to Denmark, leaving a severely weakened church behind: in 1523, the year Gustav Vasa was elected king, Sweden had seven dioceses but of those all but two, Linköping and Växjö, were vacant.[527] The episcopal power structure of the church in Sweden was thus already unsettled when Lutheran ideas started to reach Stockholm, a city which did not have its own cathedral and thus fell under the secular influence of the king and German merchants, rather than episcopal jurisdiction.[528]

The first reformed liturgy in Sweden was "The Swedish Mass" (*Then Swenska Messan epter som hon nw holles j Stocholm medh orsaker hwar före hon så hallen warder*), written in 1531 by Olaus Petri,[529] the main proponent of Lutheran ideas in Sweden and brother to the first

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some confusion as to why the earlier celebrations had been held in the twenty-first year of the century, rather than the seventeenth. Archbishop Jacob Axelsson Lindblom thought, for example, that the Swedish tradition celebrated Luther's speech before the Diet of Worms in 1521). See Aurelius (1994), 60-63.

[526] Hagberg (2010), 19.

[527] See Andrén (1973), 163. The bishops of Skara and Strängnäs had been executed in the Bloodbath, and the bishop of Västerås had moved to Denmark, as had Didrik Slagheck, who had been appointed to replace Vincens Henningsson of Skara. In 1522, Arvid Kurck of Åbo (Turku) drowned on his way from Finland; Holte (2004), 17) The only new bishop to be accepted by Pope Leo X was Petrus Magni of Västerås, who was consecrated by Paris de Grassis, Master of Ceremonies to the Pope and Bishop of Pesaro; Hagberg (2010), 21. Incidentally, it was through Petrus Magni that the Swedish episcopacy kept its apostolic succession.

As Michael Roberts notes, the relationship between church and state before the sixteenth century had been "singularly placid", as Sweden functioned according to its own laws, never fully integrated into a feudal system or a church model which could spark controversies such as the Investiture contest; Roberts (1968), 59.

[528] The influence of German burghers in Stockholm should be clear from the law limiting the percentage of Germans in the City Council to 50%! See Stolt (2004), 49.

[529] Olaus, the son of a blacksmith in Örebro in the diocese of Strängnäs, had been a student in Wittenberg in 1516-1518 under Luther and Melancthon during the tumultuous first years of Luther's activity as a reformer, and returned home a devoted follower of Luther's. See Holte (2004), 11. For a number of years, he enjoyed the favour of the king and even became the king's secretary in the City of Stockholm, replacing his own friend Laurentius Andreae, who had fallen out of favour. By the time he wrote *Then Swenska Messan*, however, he had lost that position, and tensions between him and the king had become apparent. In 1540, this would lead to Olaus Petri and Laurentius Andreae becoming sentenced to death on charges of treason, only to be pardoned: most likely an attempt by the king to silence them after they had refused to sign a document extending royal

Lutheran archbishop, Laurentius Petri.[530] *Then Swenska Messan* was his description of how the Mass was celebrated in the Church of St Nicholas (today Storkyrkan), in Stockholm, a practice which probably went back to 1529 or possibly 1527.[531] It has been debated what type of service *Then Swenska Messan* was intended to be. Here, I think it is clear that Brilioth's argument that it was an alternative not to the High Sunday Mass in Latin, which it in any event never replaced, but rather to the Low Mass, has held up with time.[532] It did become obligatory in Stockholm, and seems to have become more and more common on Sundays, which led to its initially primarily spoken format becoming enriched with music, and in 1541 it was republished, without the author's name, indicating it had taken on a more official function, although alongside the Latin High Mass. It is thus hard to see which role the liturgy really had in church life, and to what extent it was received as a replacement or alternative to the High Mass. Content-wise, *Then Swenska Messan* is a gentle revision of the medieval liturgy and Yelverton

[530] power over church affairs; Holte (2004), 21-24. Olaus Petri had at the time of writing no formal position in the church hierarchy, although he had been ordained a deacon in 1520 and enjoyed the right to preach in the Church of St Nicholas and had established himself as a vocal proponent of Lutheran ideas. Another was Nikolaus Stecker, vicar of St Nicholas, like Luther from Eisleben. See Buchholz (2003), 130.

[530] Martling (1992), 16-17. Liturgically speaking, the medieval Swedish Mass was a "fusion of Roman and Gallican elements, which took place during the eighth and ninth centuries in various parts of Europe." Yelverton (1920), 3. There is as far as we can tell not much that distinguished it from other European uses. Looking at the *Sanctus*, one finds in the *Brevarium Lincopense* (1493) the expected sequence of *sursum corda*, preface, *Sanctus, Benedictus* and then the *Te igitur* of the Canon. As in Frankish regions, the sung *Sanctus* survived for a long time in Sweden but in the eleventh to twelfth century there was a tendency in which liturgical song was taken over by professional choirs; Helander, Pernler, Piltz, Stolt (2006), 72-73. It is hard, however, to speak of a uniquely Swedish liturgy in the Middle Ages – for that one has to wait until the Reformation; Martling (1992), 13. Of course there were exceptions: the Vadstena monastery, mother chapter of the Birgittine order, stood for some liturgical innovation, but mainly in the area of the Daily Office. See Hagberg (2008).
An interesting example, from 1536, is the *Missa Lincopensis*, a Reform-friendly Catholic missal making use of both Erasmus' biblical translations as well as Oecolampadius' *Das Testament Jesu Christi*, while staying firmly traditional. See Kjöllerström (1941), 110-111.

[531] Holte (2004), 26. It has sometimes been claimed that the first Mass in Swedish had been celebrated at Olaus Petri's wedding in 1525, but it has become clear that this claim cannot be sustained, owing both to the late date of the report (coming from the Catholic polemicist Johannes Messenius' seventeenth-century chronicles *Chrönika om Stockholm* and *Scondia illustrate*) and to the less than credible consequence that this liturgy must then have predated not only the Nuremberg liturgy, upon which *Then Swenska Messan* is based but also Luther's own *Deutsche Messe*, by a year. Even if the Mass said at the wedding ceremony was not the Mass of 1531, it is hard to imagine that the Mass would have been translated into Swedish before it was even translated into German. Among the last scholars to claim that a Swedish Mass was celebrated in 1525, and that this Mass had some connection to the Mass of 1531, was Åke Andrén (2005), 33, 78. Already Brilioth, however, pointed out the implausibility of that, further backed up by the argument that such an innovation would not have gone unnoticed by the anti-Lutheran Bishop Hans Brask of Linköping, who closely scrutinized ecclesiastical affairs in Sweden before 1527 when he left the country; Brilioth (1930), 237-8.

[532] Brilioth (1930), 237; Holte (2004), 27. It did spread in the 1530s, but does not seem to have been met with too much enthusiasm. In Skellefteå, the Swedish Mass was celebrated on Christmas day 1536, with the comment that it "was not very welcome" (*och var icke myckit välkommen*). Berntson (2010), 229.

quotes favourably the Roman Catholic historian Jules Martin to say that "[t]he Swedish Missal based on that of Olavus is possibly the least estranged from the Roman Catholic Missal."[533]

In *Then Swenska Messan* Olaus Petri followed the format of the *Formula Missae*, and of Andreas Döber's liturgy from the hospital church of Nuremberg.[534] Olaus Petri followed the structure of those liturgies in doing away with the canon, replacing it with the institution narrative and auxiliary prayers. When it comes to the *Sanctus*, he both follows and departs from these two liturgies: the dialogue and the *sursum corda* are kept, but are followed by a set preface written by Olaus Petri himself,[535] which leads to the words of institution and culminates in the *Sanctus* and the *Benedictus*.

Priest: Herren wari med jdher,	P: The Lord be with you.
Congregation: Så och mz thinom anda.	C: So too with your spirit.
P: Vpplyffter idhor hierta til gudh.	P: Lift up your heart to God.
C: Wor hierta vplyffte wij.	C: Our heart we lift up.
P: Lätt oss tacka Gudhi wårom herra.	P: Let us thank God, our Lord.
C: Ther är rätt och tilbörlighit.	C: It is right and meet.
P: Sannerliga är thet tilbörlighit rät och saligt, ath wij alstädhes tacke och loffu tich helighe herre, almechtig fadher ewighe gudh for alla thine welgerninga, och enkannerliga for then tu bewijst oss, thå wij alle for syndene skul så illa vthkompne wårom, at oss, icke annat stodh före vtan fordömelse och then ewighe dödhen, och intit creatur antingen j himmelen eller på iordenne kunde oss hielpa, Thå vtsende tu thin eenfödde son Jesum Christum som war samma gudhoms natur medh tich, lät honom warda en menniskia for wora synder skul, lagde wåra synder	P: Truly, it is meet, right and salutary, that we always thank and praise you, holy Lord, almighty Father, everlasting God, for all your good deeds and especially for the one you did for us when we all for the sake of sin had turned out so badly that nothing but damnation and the eternal death awaited us, and no creature in heaven or on earth could help, that you then sent out your only son Jesus Christ who was of the same divine nature as you, let him become human for the sake of our sins, laid our sins upon him, and let him suffer death lest we would all eternally die, and

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[533] Yelverton (1920), vii. Both Yelverton and Reed, clearly enthusiastic about the Swedish liturgy, write that "the simplicity of the reformed office was a return to the "soberness and sense" of the primitive Roman rite" and that it was "the historic order of worship of the Western church purified and simplified and in the vernacular" respectively. One could here raise the question whether some of the Swedish Lutheran self-image has been internalised by others studying it. This stress on continuity with the past can also be found in Söderblom's remark that, apart from the Church of England, he did not know of another Protestant church with the same continuity with the medieval church as the Swedish, in which the Archbishop of Uppsala still carries the crosier from before the Reformation. See Martling (1992), 150. Even in modern publications, such as that of Carl Henrik Martling (1992), 13, continuity is frequently stressed.

That this was not how it was always seen in the sixteenth century is clear from Dackeupproret, the most violent of religious revolts against Gustav Vasa, in which there is a complaint that churches and monasteries are now so robbed of monstrances and ornaments that "it is soon as pleasant to walk in a desolate forest" and concerning the Swedish Mass that it was so simple and crude that "a child standing by a dung wagon will soon be able to whistle the Mass." Berntson (2010), 245.

[534] Brilioth (1930), 241; Schousboe (1974), 617.

[535] Andrén (1973), 161.

vppå honom, och lät honom lijda dödhen j then stadhen wij alle ewinnerligha döö skulle, Och såsom han offueruan dödhen och stodh vp jgen til lijffs och nw aldrigh meera döör, så skola och alla the som ther vppå förlata sich offueruinna syndena och dödhen och få ewinnerlighit lijff genom honom, Och oss til een formaning at wij sådana hans welgerning til sinnes tagha och icke forgäta skulle, om natten thå han...

Words of Institution

Helig, helig, helig herren gudh Sabaoth, fulle äre himblana och jorden aff thinne herligheet, osanna j högdenne, Welsignat wari han som kommer j herrans nampn, osanna j högdenne.

just as he conquered death and rose again to life and now nevermore shall die, so too shall all who trust therein conquer sin and death and acquire eternal life through him, And as an exhortation for us, that we such a good deed may take to heart and not forget, he, in the night in which he was betrayed…

Words of institution

Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Sabaoth, full are the heavens and the earth of your glory, osanna in the highest, Blessed be he that comes in the name of the lord, osanna in the highest.

The rather long-winded preface (of which Olaus Petri later gave a shortened version)[536] departs from those of both Luther and Döber, who based their prefaces upon the first half of the traditional *praefatio communis*, the *Vere dignum*.[537] Olaus Petri, too, starts with the *Vere dignum* but then departs into a recapitulation of what we today might call the Heilsgeschichte, in the form of a prayer to the Father for the salvation effected by the Son.[538] As among others Luther Reed notes, it is of "strongly penitential character", not too surprising in a church tradition which early on formed a close connection between confession and Mass.[539] With the story of human sinfulness and salvation through Jesus's incarnation, death and resurrection, however, Olaus Petri does accomplish a smoother overall impression than Luther did, since the *Benedictus* can act as a final closing note to the preface, not as an example of angelic song but of Christological greeting. The *Benedictus* as the intertext to (the liturgical version of) Isa. 6:3 does not change, but there is now a decisive departure from earlier Dionysian traditions. As in the case of Luther's *Formula Missae*, Isa. 6:3 is no longer set in the context of angelic singing, nor is it presented in Trinitarian terms. As with the *Formula Missae* the focus shifts away from the *Sanctus* to the *Benedictus*, although one gets no sense of the considerations Luther may

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[536] In the 1541 the alternative is: "Sannerliga är thet tilbörlighit rett och salight, At wij altidh och alstädhes tacke thig helige Herre, alzmechtige Fadher, ewige Gudh, genom Iesum Christum wår Herra, Whilken i then natt...", simply the traditional *Vere dignum* leading into the institution narrative, following the *Formula Missae*.

[537] For a long time, there were no proper prefaces in the Swedish liturgy, although John III tried to introduce nine in his "Red Book", the *Liturgia suecanae ecclesiae catholicae et orthodoxae conformis*, from 1576. The liturgy of 1917 was the last one with only two alternative prefaces, one long and one short. The church handbooks of 1942 and 1986 both have proper prefaces.

[538] It does seem to be partially based on the Latin Easter preface; Brilioth (1930), 242. In the 1894 liturgy, a reference to the "paschal lamb" is reintroduced.

[539] Reed (1947), 113.

have had in mind for this shift, namely the tense of the Latin *qui venit* in the *Benedictus*. In the Swedish "who comes" (*som kommer*), is clearly in present tense and I would thus suggest that Olaus Petri, if he was aware of these considerations, did not care overly much about them, perhaps since he had already followed Luther and Döber in placing the *Benedictus* after the words of institution, the words of which was, to him, "canon enough" (*canon nog*).[540] Where he differs from his sources is in his shaping of the whole reformed "canon", from the preface to the *Benedictus*, into one continuous story of the salvation effected through Christ, in the Mass. Read as one segment, the *Benedictus* becomes the culmination of the preface, focussed on the sacramental presence of Christ. Isa. 6:3 thus becomes overtaken by its intertext and becomes transfigured, from the medieval scene in which the human worshippers would join with the angelic choirs to praise the Trinity, to a remembrance of the history of salvation and perhaps an even sharper sense of conducting the liturgy *coram Deo*.

The Swedish liturgy in context

Although *Then Swenska Messan* never became the official liturgy of the church, the Swedish liturgy which did end up becoming the norm for later developments (much due to the Uppsala Synod in 1593, after John III's liturgical experiment had been dismissed)[541], was that of Olaus' brother Laurentius. Laurentius Petri, since 1531 Archbishop of Uppsala, had, at the time the final version of his liturgy was published in his Church Order of 1571, been working on the liturgy for forty years. Like Olaus, Laurentius Petri based his liturgy on the *Formula Missae* and the Nuremberg liturgy, and also based himself on his brother's Mass.[542] He was, however, even more liturgically conservative than his brother. The Lutheran idea that *adiaphora* could be kept as long as they were harmless is a guiding principle to which Laurentius Petri frequently returns, and he takes a very self-conscious *via media* in liturgical debates, most clearly seen in

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[540] Pahlmblad (2004), 134. We also have no evidence of the *Sanctus* being used to fill in the silence of the Canon. It seems to have been sung as one separate sequence (*Sanctus+Benedictus*), upon which followed the silent Canon. See Helander, Pernler, Piltz, Stolt (2006), 74. This, however, might be an argument from silence. If that is the case, however, Olaus Petri seems to have followed Luther, rather than take into account what may have influenced his choices. But see Laurentius Petri's instructions in *De officiis ecclesiasticis* from 1568, in which he promotes the splitting of the *Sanctus* and the *Benedictus* when a Latin preface is used. The preface and *Sanctus* would then be read, followed by the words of institution, and capped off by the *Benedictus*. See Fransén (1927), 134; Serenius (1966), 234; Kjöllerström (1939).

[541] His liturgy tries to navigate between the medieval liturgy and the format that Luther and Olaus Petri left behind. The preface, with proper variants, leads up to the words of institution, which are in turn followed by *Et ideo*, which leads to the *Sanctus*.

[542] Martling (1992), 24. The situation in Sweden was quite different at this point. That year, Estonia had become part of the realm, all the bishops were of Protestant leanings, and the king himself was trying to re-approach Rome and turn the national church "Reform Catholic."

his *Om Kyrkio Stadgar och Ceremonier* ("Concerning Church Statutes and Ceremonies") from 1566, in which he polemicizes against "Papists" as well as "fanatics, Anabaptists, blasphemers of sacraments, Zwinglians and Calvinists." Laurentius, who studied in Wittenberg between 1528 and 1530, had seen a full-fledged, theologically profiled Lutheran movement, with its own liturgy and leadership structure, its own university syllabus and its own established leaders – Luther, Melancthon and Bugenhagen – under whom he studied, and a network of theologians such as Laurentius' own acquaintance Johannes Brenz, the reformer of Wurttemberg.[543] As Archbishop he carefully trod a conciliatory and synthesizing path marked by a high esteem for *adiaphora* – against the Gnesio-Lutherans and Calvinists on the continent he stressed the importance of tradition, and even went beyond the Philippists in the Adiaphoristic Controversy of the late 1540s and early 1550s and stated that an *adiaphoron* was not only to be tolerated but actively embraced and that it was not automatically to be done away with if misused. Teaching the correct Lutheran theology concerning it, rather than abolishing it, was the solution to a misused rite or object.[544] One of the predictable consequences of this theology, stressed in *Om Kyrkio Stadgar*, was the retention of many old customs; the sign of the cross, chasubles, altar linens, candles, some modest veneration of saints and Eucharistic adoration within the context of communion were all encouraged, and elevation was prescribed.[545]

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[543] Holte (2004), 14-15.

[544] Stolt (2004), 53-57.

[545] Pahlmblad (2004), 135; Stolt (2004), 57. This is not just due to church politics but also Realpolitik. An oft-repeated story of the Reformation and concomitant establishment of royal power in Stockholm is the one presented by Neil Kent, in which Gustav Vasa is presented as a Lutheran king who closes down the monasteries and with popular support turns the country Protestant; Kent (2008), 52-56. This narrative, however, has been largely discredited in Swedish scholarship: Magnus Nyman, taking his cue from Duffy and other revisionist historians of the Reformation, has written a "counter-history", telling the "failed" story of the Swedish Reformation from a Catholic perspective. In this work, he shows that the Reformation in Sweden was a drawn-out and complicated, not to say messy, affair, and it is hard to speak of Lutheran ecclesiastical hegemony before Gustavus Adolphus in the seventeenth century; Nyman (2002), 72, 181. He also points out the curious fact that religiously, the kings tended either towards Catholicism (such as Gustav Vasa himself, John III or his son Sigismund III, or Sweden's most famous Catholic convert, Queen Christina, the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus) or Calvinism (such as Eric XIV or Charles IX); Nyman (2002), 181. Martin Berntson has pointed out that Sweden was seething with religiously motivated revolts under Gustav Vasa, and that the dissemination of Protestant ideas was marginal before the seventeenth century. During the years 1525-1531 there were no less than five revolts, three in the province of Dalarna, which had put Gustav Vasa into power in the first place, one in Småland and Västergötland, and one in the provinces of Småland and Östergötland; Berntson (2010), 13. Gustav Vasa, himself, is no longer seen as a Protestant so much as one tolerant of Protestant ideas. See MacCulloch (2003), 335-336. After some initial ecclesiastical and monetary reforms, he seems in fact to have become one of the major *delaying* factors in the Swedish Reformation; Holte (2004), 31. Berntson draws a parallel between the monarchic interventions in Sweden and England and quotes MacCulloch to say that "[t]he English Reformation was the creation of the English monarchs, more an act of the state than in any other part of Europe apart from Scandinavia." Berntson (2010), 27. Yelverton's judgment, too, is that "conservative feelings in matters of religion was, if anything, stronger in Sweden in the sixteenth century than it was in England, and the Swedish reformers were compelled to respect it considerably more than did Cranmer and his successors." Yelverton (1920), 52. As with England under Henry VIII, the reforms by Gustav Vasa should perhaps not be viewed under the lens of Reformation so much as land grabs, with Vasa successively seizing the property of the

What this means for the purposes of this study is that the aesthetics of the liturgy did not change as drastically in Sweden as it did in most other Protestant countries.[546] And, perhaps most importantly, especially when compared to an English context; there were no iconoclastic outbursts.[547] Often even Marian altars survived, as did almost all church art; Swedish churches are to this day remarkably well-preserved.[548] When looking beyond the liturgical text to the extra-textual dimensions, the worshipper of the late fifteenth century would still find herself in a church building with rich medieval art depicting traditional subjects, and the act of elevation would still be a powerful focalising moment of the liturgy. In a Swedish context, Christer Pahlmblad has written about medieval choreography and utilisation of the church room taken for granted in the reformed liturgy, such as the reading of the epistle from the right side of the altar.[549] While the liturgy was not unchanged, it did retain much of its traditional aesthetics and the church building would still convey the sacramental theology of the medieval world.[550] Laurentius Petri's decisions had an enormous impact; they set out the general liturgical

monasteries to pay back a sizeable debt to the Hanseatic League that he had acquired during the revolt; Hagberg (2010), 20-21. The church owned around 21-24% of taxable land and had the right to tithe, which meant it had larger financial resources than the crown, which owned only 6,1% of land in 1521. See Nyman (2002), 39, 43. In 1560, by the time of Gustav Vasa's death, by contrast, the crown owned 30,5% of land and had the right to collect the surplus of the tithe. The church owned no land whatsoever. See Holte (2004), 20; Martin (1906), 456.

[546] An exception was the Royal Chapel, which was marked by Reformed minimalism, even after attempts by Bishop Erik Emporagrius (1606-1674) and Queen Christina to embellish it. See Lindquist (1944), 9-11.

[547] Kent (2008), 52, mentions iconoclasms in Stockholm and Malmö as examples of grass-root support for Protestant ideas. Malmö was however – as Kent concedes – not yet Swedish but belonged to Denmark where the ideas of Luther's, especially as filtered through Bugenhagen, were much more popularly supported. The iconoclasm of Stockholm, on the other hand, came about at the hands not of Swedish stockholmers but German burghers residing in the city who, inspired by the preaching of the Anabaptist Melchior Hoffman, cut off the noses of saints in the St Nicholas Church in Stockholm. Hoffman was then expelled from the country. See Lindgren (2005), 305-305; Andrén (2005), 36-37. We have no other example of iconoclasm in Sweden – on the other hand, the silver crowns belonging to statues of the Virgin were often defended by parishioners, as were sacramentals such as church bells, which even lead to one major uprising in Dalarna. See Lindgren (2005), 306; Stolt (2004), 51. The conservative approach can to a large extent be explained by a factor that Birgit Stolt has pointed out, namely class. In Sweden, it was mainly in Stockholm, among the German burghers, that Reformation ideas took hold. See Buchholz (2003), 134-7. But in Sweden, unlike feudal Germany, peasants were powerful land-owners, not serfs, and formed an elite that neither king nor clergy could easily go against; Berntson (2012), 109. According to Stolt (2004), 50-51, the ideas of continental reformers primarily answered the needs of an urban merchant class, and did not appeal to the conservative peasant population, necessitating cautious ecclesiastical policies indeed. Laurentius Petri even stated in 1566 that "*omnis mutatio, etiam neccesaria, est periculosa*"! Stolt (2004), 52.

[548] Churches like Kumla kyrka and Sala sockenkyrka in Sala and Helga Trefaldighets kyrka in Uppsala, for example, still have paintings made by Albertus Pictor (c.1440-c.1507), and many churches still have medieval altarpieces. See Brilioth (1941), 690. The only statues of saints to be confiscated during the church visitations by Gustav Vasa's infamous "superintendent of the church", the hard-nosed German Protestant Georg Norman, were those made of valuable metals. See Lindgren (2005), 306. That even ordinary parish churches were richly ornamented is evidenced by the fact that Norman could collect 1,5 tonnes of silver from the provinces of Västergötland and Östergötland in 1540, and another 500 kg of silver from the provinces around Lake Mälaren.

[549] Pahlmblad (2005), 130.

[550] This can even be seen in the liturgical material itself, as the missal from 1557 distinguished between the Liturgy of the Word and that of Mass with a woodcut of the crucifixion before the *sursum corda*, in line with traditional missals. See Serenius (1969), xvi, 10.

structure which was to be repeated in the Swedish church tradition until the twentieth century. In fact, in its light 1693 revision, which in and of itself was a restatement of a 1614 revision, Laurentius Petri's liturgy would not be replaced until 1811.[551] As regards the *Sanctus*, the sequence set down by Olaus Petri and kept by Laurentius was retained up until 1942, with only minor changes.[552]

There are some important factors to take into consideration at this point. One is that although Swedish churches did not change much in terms of art and architecture, another factor did come into play: the frequency of communion. Both Petri brothers had been adamant that Mass could only be celebrated with prepared communicants, and the high respect for the sacrament led to it rarely being received. Between the sixteenth and late twentieth century, Mass was an uncommon ritual indeed, and whereas earlier, medieval worshippers would still see Mass even if they did not communicate, after the Reformation the lack of communicants led to Mass all but disappearing from the normal worship experience. And with Mass, the *Sanctus*, too, became rare; in fact, most worshippers would only have heard it once or a couple of times a year. When they did so, there would be no Trinitarian or angelic context as the Christological theme had entirely taken over, both through the set preface and through the moving of the *Sanctus* to after the words of institution.[553] If there was no Eucharist, there would be no *Sanctus*, so the two would hardly have been separable in the minds of churchgoers. The focus of the whole liturgical sequence shifts from the *Sanctus* towards the words of institution, with the *Benedictus* as the culmination of them. The theology then is firmly based around Christ's

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[551] Martling (1992), 72, 116-117. There had been two innovations between 1571 and 1593, when it was adopted as the official church liturgy. One was the Reformed liturgy of Charles IX, the other the Reform-Catholic liturgy of John III, which triggered the "Liturgical Battle" which was an important step towards explicitly stated Lutheranism among the Swedish clergy. Neither of these, however, left any lasting traces on subsequent liturgical developments, apart from some reactionary decisions: it is often said that the chasuble was kept because Charles IX wanted it abolished, and the surplice was abolished because John III wanted it kept. See Martling (1992), 57.

[552] In the 1811 liturgy, the narrative unity of Olaus Petri's Mass is broken by an insertion of Our Father after the words of institution and before the *Sanctus*. In it, the preface is also changed.
After that, as in many Protestant communities, there has been a turn back to pre-Reformation liturgical traditions, as is evident in the church handbooks of 1942 and 1986.

[553] The preface and the *Sanctus* would not be reunited until 1942, much due to Brilioth's heavy criticism of this practice and the blossoming interest for ecumenical perspectives after the formal communion with the Church of England in 1922 – another one of Brilioth's achievements. See Brilioth (1930), 117; Martling (1992), 149-157. 1942 was not only when the preface (with proper variants) returned to the *Sanctus* – it was also the year the angels returned to the preface. The angelology of the Swedish liturgy is still very simple; it consists of a simple mention at the end of every proper preface "therefore do we, together with your faithful ones of all ages and the whole heavenly host, wish to praise your name and worshipfully sing…" (*därför vill vi med dina trogna i alla tider och med hela den himmelska härskaran prisa ditt namn och tillbedjande sjunga…*)

sacramental presence, and does not even touch upon Trinitarian or angelic issues.[554] For generations of Swedish churchgoers, Isa. 6:3 would simply not have been a frequent liturgical experience and this because of a deeply held respect for Divine presence in Mass.[555]

Real Presence in Luther and The Swedish Mass

In Luther's *Formula Missae* we saw how the *Benedictus* seems to have been the factor that pulled the *Sanctus* to the end of the words of institution, making it the culmination of the new reformed *canon*. Here, the sense of the *Sanctus* being sung in the direct presence of the Divine, in the Eucharistic elements, must have been heightened. The theologies of how and in what way Christ was sacramentally present in the host underwent a series of re-evaluations, definitions and debates during the Reformation, with Luther himself treasuring the medieval understanding of Mass, albeit redefined as a *unio sacramentalis* (or, as later Lutherans would call it, "consubstantiation") rather than a "transubstantiation", where the substance of the bread was not entirely replaced by the presence of Christ.[556] The practical ramifications of these subtleties are hard to evaluate. What was of more importance was the later debate over the presence of Christ in the elements after worship. While the medieval and later Catholic perspective was that the host after consecration stayed wholly and irrevocably Divine, during the Reformation a number of ideas sprung up around when and how and in which contexts the host would have this sacramental status.

Both Petri brothers, like Luther himself, were firm about the theology of the Real Presence, although Laurentius in 1562 in his *Om någor stycken vårs herres Jesu Kristi nattvard anrörandes* seems to suggest that it was only for the duration of the actual service, from consecration until the end of communion. This he writes, in part, as a polemic against the receptionist theology of many continental Lutherans who in the 1560s held that Christ was only sacramentally present in the precise moment of reception.[557] While Laurentius Petri was staunchly opposed to Eucharistic adoration outside of Mass, ridiculing those who "drag the

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[554] This is further strengthened by the proper prefaces introduced in 1942, which are all Christocentric. Since 1942 the *Benedictus* has ceased being the culmination of this sequence, with the return of it and the *Sanctus* to their traditional place before the words of institution; in a sense the background to the Christology of the prefaces is much weakened, but the prefaces still express a theology perhaps more suitable to pre-1942 liturgies.

[555] That is, until 1811, when every Sunday service would start with it, now with an entirely new understanding, as we saw in the previous chapter. When Mass was celebrated, Isa. 6:3 would have occurred twice in the service. While this Introit is still in use, its designation since 1986 as Introit to a Sunday service without Mass has meant that it has dwindled as Mass has become markedly more popular in the last few decades.

[556] Lohse (1999), 308-312.

[557] Pahlmblad (2004), 133-135.

body of Christ hither and thither" he demanded it in the context of Mass itself, prescribing elevation and adoration during the words of institution.[558] The intensity of Divine presence was certainly not diminished – it would be fair to say that in certain ways, the idea of Christ being present in the Eucharistic elements is being brought out even further through this attention to timing, and the Christological focus of the preface.

Anglican Liturgy: *Sanctus* and Real Absence

If Lutheran thought and practice, in the case of the *Formula Missae* and the Swedish Mass, redefined and in some ways sharpened an extremely localised and time-bound experience of Divine presence in Christian liturgy, Reformed liturgies usually did away with it altogether. It is no coincidence that the Christian traditions which denied the Real Presence also jettisoned the *Sanctus* with its associations with the Mass. As most Reformed liturgies did away with either Mass or, at the very least, the *Sanctus*, the Church of England remains one of the few examples of Reformed-influenced worship where one can trace this development liturgically. The story of the diversification of what became Anglican thought from Lutheran theology is a complex one and has been shown most clearly in a collection of essays edited by Dorothea Wendebourg.[559] While it is "impossible to understand the nature of the English Reformation without reference to the theology of Martin Luther"[560], with Cranmer and other Reformers deeply tied to Luther's circles, already "by 1547 Cranmer had reached a theological position on sacraments that was Reformed."[561] This personal shift in Cranmer, which led him away

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[558] Pahlmblad (2004), 135. One modern way of describing this way of framing Divine presence could be through the phenomenological language of "event", as has been developed by for example Jean-Luc Marion (1991) and John D. Caputo (2006). In both these authors, Divine presence is preferred to Divine being, in Marion as the event of gift, closely tied to the Eucharist in which God gives in love, and in Caputo as the event of eschatological justice. Especially for Marion, the significance of this "Christic event" is enormous, both on the New Testament corpus and the Eucharist. See also Sundman (2012).

[559] Wendebourg (2010).

[560] Spinks (2010), 176. Spinks has pointed out, for example, that while Cranmer's two main templates for liturgical reform was the Sarum use and Lutheran sources, these tend to be forgotten; Spinks (2010), 175-176.

[561] Spinks (2010), 186. A similar theological journey was also undertaken by Zwingli, who seems to have accepted the doctrine of transubstantiation in 1522, two years after Luther explicitly rejected it in *De captivitate Babylonica*. By 1525, however, he had reached a symbolic interpretation; Potter (1984), 289, 297-301. The biographical scholarship on Cranmer has suffered from a number of issues. One of those is the tendency towards hagiography, evident from John Strype's (1643-1737) description of Cranmer as "the great instrument under God, of the happy Reformation of this Church of England: in whose piety, learning, wisdom, conduct, and blood, the foundation of it was laid." Quoted in Hall (1993), 3. This tendency is repeated even today, such as when Basil Hall follows up Strype's description with a list of Cranmer's achievements, and comments: "This [Cranmer] obtained not with a haphazard clutter of opinions borrowed from his contemporaries but on the threefold basis of the Bible, the Fathers, and right reason…" Hall (1993), 3. This view of Cranmer, together with its Catholic anti-tradition, is noted in Ridley (1962), 1-12. As part of this trend one sees a stress of "the uniqueness of Cranmer's doctrinal, liturgical and ecclesiological achievements" Hall (1993), 4.

from both Catholic and Lutheran doctrine, also led English liturgy away from them. While the version of the *Book of Common Prayer* that I dealt with when discussing the issue of angels in the liturgy, that of 1549, was a cautiously reformed liturgy, later developments led to a somewhat different *Sanctus*, that has stayed with Anglican worshippers to this day.

The Book of Common Prayer (1552): Count Your Blessings

As is well known, the 1549 Prayer Book was less than popular.[562] Already in 1552 a new version was published and this time, the resulting liturgy was to a further extent the result of Cranmer's own writings, and displayed a much clearer Reformed ethos.[563] Many of the changes in the liturgy were dictated by doctrinal controversies, since at this point Cranmer was aware of many diverse reactions to the liturgy: he had received feedback on the 1549 liturgy from the more radical reformist Martin Bucer, then Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and had also had to battle the clever criticism of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.[564] Bucer's *Censura*, his criticism of the first Prayer Book, exhibits an unmistakably Reformed understanding of what Mass was supposed to be in its recommendations for more careful wording:

> [W]e know that still today this prayer is twisted by Anti-Christ into a means for maintaining and confirming the infinitely wicked and blasphemous dogma of the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ. The doctrine of transubstantiation is the principle basis of bread-

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One important corrective to this (literally) insular approach to Cranmer, which has often made its utmost to see differences between Cranmer and Protestant thinkers on the Continent, is MacCulloch's biography from 1996, which firmly places Cranmer in a European context. Writing on this "unAnglican Cranmer", MacCulloch later writes: "His Reformation was part of a larger event, and its nearest relative was the Strassburg of Martin Bucer. Cranmer had no affectation for much of what gives Anglicanism its particular character; he showed no affectation for cathedrals and their music, and would have been unenthusiastic about choral evensong… He had no time for ideas of apostolic succession of the episcopate… He would have been shocked by the idea of a *via media* between Rome and Protestantism." MacCulloch (2016), 276. Cranmer does, after all, seem like a fairly standard early Reformed thinker, and many of the differences between him and continental Reformers can be explained by the fact that he was not running a city-state – a difference that becomes all the clearer when compared to the equally cautious Laurentius Petri. For a helpful overview of biographical work on Cranmer, see MacCulloch (2016), 246-278. The insular attitude towards Cranmer is also evident from Jasper Ridley, who writes: "Few characters in history have aroused as much controversy as Thomas Cranmer." Ridley (1962), 1. I doubt any historian outside of the British Isles would agree.

[562] It gave rise to more than one rebellion, was refused by Princess Mary, who simply ignored it as well as Oxford colleges, who used it for less than six months, while Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, was forced to use it, which he did "sadly and discreetly." Cuming (1969), 96. For the dissemination of the Prayer Book in Elizabethan and early Stuart England, see Maltby (1998). She points out how in the 1640s, however, the Prayer Book had ceased to be seen as an innovation but was rather seen by conformists as ancient; a primitive Christian liturgy, purged of "Corruptions and Romish Superstitions." Maltby (1998), 113-115.

[563] Duffy (2005), 472-3.

[564] Cuming (1969), 106, 110; MacCulloch (1996), 411-412.

worship in which the worship due to Christ is offered to bread, and God, as though he were present, is made use of for all human necessities.[565]

Where the *Censura* had met with approval and in fact heavily influenced the second Prayer Book, the comments by Gardiner were disastrous for Cranmer.[566] Gardiner, in his *Explication and assertion of the Catholic Faith*, had used the text of the 1549 liturgy to show, mockingly, how it asserted traditional theological standpoints on the Real Presence of Christ in the Mass as well as other issues. Gardiner's "approval" of the Book of Common Prayer – in service of his own support of traditional doctrine – was met with both Cranmer's savage counterattack, *An Answer to a crafty and sophistical cavillation devised by Stephen Gardiner*, and a new liturgy which made sure to remove *all* those passages which had been cited by Gardiner.[567] The new liturgy had to be a truer expression of Protestant theology than the former one, owing both to positive influence from the Reformed flank (Bucer) and negative from the traditionalist one (Gardiner). This time around, it seems, the language of Protestant liturgy would be theologically waterproof.

It is in the Prayer Book of 1552 that we find the *Sanctus* as it has looked since. The dialogue ("The Lorde be with you" – "And with thy spirite") has been removed but the *sursum corda* retained, the "holy" has been removed from the "holy company of heaven" and the *Benedictus/Hosanna* has been completely replaced with Luke 2:14.[568]

As the Prayer Book of 1552 was more overtly Protestant, and released in a political milieu in which traditional sensibilities did not enjoy the same respect as a few years before, it is to be expected that it expresses the new doctrines more clearly. In the *Sanctus*, we find that the *Benedictus* has been completely removed, as Brian Cummings writes, "perhaps because of the tradition of turning to the altar and making the sign of the cross at this point in the liturgy."[569] The turning towards the altar had been debated in the House of Lords in 1548, and now it was removed, together with the whole *Benedictus* segment. Geoffrey Cuming's explanation is that the *Benedictus* "might suggest a corporeal presence" of Christ in the Eucharistic elements.[570] Cranmer is famous for his vision of a gradual reformation and his own changing views concerning the Real Presence in Mass.[571] Phasing out the *Benedictus* in two steps would

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[565] Whitaker (1974), 54.
[566] MacCulloch (1996), 505-6. For another evaluation of Bucer's influence, see Amos (1999).
[567] MacCulloch (1996), 487, 506; Spinks (1993), 179-180.
[568] The only difference between the 1552 version and the 1662 is an added "Amen" after Luke 2:14.
[569] Cummings (2011), 701n.
[570] Cuming, (1969), 108.
[571] MacCulloch (1996), 182; 410-411.

therefore fit his general strategy for how to reform England. By 1552, however, his views were clear, which could also be seen in the material culture surrounding the communion service and its performance. Altars had been replaced by tables, chasubles had been removed, and an added rubric reads: "And to take awaye the superstition, whiche any person hath, or myghte have, in the breade and wyne, it shall suffice that the breade be suche as is usual to be eaten at the table … And yf anye of the breade or wyne remaine, the Curate shall have it to hys owne use." This is to be contrasted with 1549 where unleavened wafers were still recommended.[572]

At the last minute, the 1552 Prayer Book was also furnished with the famous so-called Black Rubric.[573] According to the Black Rubric (named so because of it having been printed separately with black, rather than red, ink on slips to be inserted into the already printed Prayer Books), kneeling at communion is permitted, against the advice of reformer John Knox, who had been asked to advise the Privy Council in this matter.[574] It is, however, strictly defined "for a sygnificacion of the humble and gratefull acknowledgyng of the benefites of Chryst". It is worth quoting the last part of it, as it can be seen as a revealing statement of Cranmer's theological views (and his cautious ways of implementing them, not just in the face of traditionalists but also in the face of more radical reformers like Knox):

> Leste yet the same kneelyng myght be thought or taken otherwyse, we dooe declare that it is not ment thereby, that any adoracion is doone, or oughte to bee doone, eyther unto the Sacramentall bread or wyne there bodily receyved, or unto anye reall and essencial precence there beeyng of Christes natural fleshe and bloude. For as concernynge the Sacramentall bread and wyne, they remayne styll in theyr verye naturall substaunces, and therefore may not be adored, for that were Idolatrye to be abhorred of all faythfull christians. And as concernynge the naturall body and blood of our saviour Christ, they are in heaven and not here. For it is agaynst the trueth of Christes true natural bodye, to be in moe places then in one, at one tyme.[575]

The theology here is as black and white as the ink of the rubric upon the paper: Christ is emphatically absent in the Eucharistic elements.[576] When, according to the 1549 liturgy, bread

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[572] Cummings (2011), 140. In real life different practices were tolerated by, for example, the later Archbishop Matthew Parker. See Cummings (2011), 733-734n.
[573] Thereafter removed in the 1559 version, only to be reinstated in a new form in 1662, again at the last minute, due to kneeling being associated with Laudianism. See Cummings (2011), 774.
[574] MacCulloch (1996), 528-9. See, also, Dawson (2016), 72-74.
[575] Cummings (2011), 667.
[576] In this Cranmer was not alone; French reformer Guillaume Farel (1489-1565) had railed against the "*esculentus Deus*" or "*impanatus Deus*" that was preached. See Potter (1984), 301. In Zwingli's liturgy, communion has been entirely reworked and carries little resemblance to its medieval predecessor; Lescrauwaet, (1957), 239-242. Nor was Christ the only one vacated from the liturgy: we saw how the angelic choirs were heavily reduced, and Duffy has shown in an article how the community of Christians changed in the Reformation to exclude the dead. In 1549 the funeral service still addressed the dead: "I commende thy soule to god the Father Almighty and thy body to the grounde, earth to earth." Duffy (1993), 214. "By 1552 the dead

was distributed the priest would have said, based on the medieval liturgy: "The bodie of our lord Jesu Christ which was geven for thee, preserve thy body and soule into everlasting life." Now he was to clarify what the bread was by instead saying: "Take and eate this, in remembraunce that Christ died for thee, and feede on him in thine heart by faith with thankesgevyng."[577]

This Reformed "theology of absence" grows from a number of considerations, as Ingolf U. Dalferth has drawn attention to in his discussion of Zwingli's and Luther's approaches to the Eucharist. He points out that one of Zwingli's arguments is *hermeneutical*, that the words of Jesus are normally taken to be metaphorical, rather than literal, so that "This is my body" is to be read like other statements such as "I am the vine" or "I am the way." From this it is clear that exegetical assumptions are active in this liturgical re-assessment of Mass. Another is a theological understanding of spatiality.

> [A]fter the ascension the body of Christ is ›located‹ at the ›right hand of the Father‹. If the resurrection was truly a resurrection of the body, and if bodies can be present in only one place at a time, then the risen body must be in heaven and cannot still be present here on earth, under the elements of bread and wine.[578]

In a sense, therefore, "[b]read and wine are signs not so much of the present as of the absent Christ."[579] Signification is important in this debate, which also turned out to be a heated subject among the Reformers themselves, between Luther's Wittenberg and Zwingli's Zürich – and within the circle of Reformed thinkers.[580] Karlstadt, for example, argued in a series of pamphlets from 1524 that when Jesus says, during the last supper, "This is my body", he is in

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have been finally distanced, no prayers are offered on their behalf, and the priest at the moment of committal turns away from the corpse to address the mourners: the dead have disappeared from the human community, and can no longer be spoken to, but only spoken of, in the third person." (Ibid.) In none of these examples we see a full evacuation, however: the angels are still mentioned, the funeral liturgy still expresses a belief in the afterlife, and mass is still celebrated, albeit in a way that consciously distances it from earlier doctrines and practices.

[577] In 1559 they were, somewhat awkwardly, simply combined; Cummings (2011), 733.

[578] Dalferth (2006), 87.

[579] Dalferth (2006), 87. This can be contrasted with Luther's view, which was based on his doctrine of the "ubiquity of the risen body of Christ", according to which Christ does not sit at the right hand side of the Father like "a bird sitting in a tree" but it is rather *this* statement, if anything, that should be read metaphorically to imply that Christ now participates in the Father's omnipresence, power, wisdom and so on. He uses scholastic categories to discuss three modes of presence: the local, definitive and repletive modes. Local presence is spatial, delimited presence in the normal way we think about these things. Definitive presence is one in which two substances can coexist without sharing spatial position, such as in the case of Christ in the Eucharist – or angels on a pinhead. The third, repletive mode of presence is when a thing is omnipresent and cannot be measured in terms of the space it occupies – the presence of God, and the risen Christ through hypostatic union. See Dalferth (2006), 87-88; Lohse (1999), 173-4. Calvin, who believed that Christ was present in heaven but robustly connected to the elements through a resignification, in which "the body of Christ" refers to the bread, may perhaps be seen as a mediating position here. (*Institutes*, IV:17.10-11). See Larson (2007).

[580] For a helpful overview of this debate, see Greschat (2004), 70-77.

fact pointing to his actual body, not the bread. In November the same year the position of Dutch humanist Cornelis Hoen was made known in Strasbourg, which was that the "is" in "This is my body" should be read as "signifies" – it *referred* to the crucified Christ, but did not *embody* him.[581]

This resignification was of course a complete overhaul of what the medieval Eucharistic liturgy was all about. While focussing on one mode of presence – the bodily presence of the risen Christ in heaven – another mode – the bodily presence in bread and wine – was neglected, or even counteracted. The hermeneutical decisions here, of reading "sits on the right hand of God the Father" literally, at the expense of "this is my body", have had tremendous consequences for Christian religious life, and the *Sanctus* has gotten pulled, with the *Benedictus*, into the fray. And as the *Benedictus* changed, so too did, inevitably, the *Sanctus*.

The *Benedictus* is itself pointing to the coming of Christ to Jerusalem and his passion which, after all, is the narrative underlying the institution of Mass. In the eyes of Reformed theology, its practice and its phrasing was, in this liturgical context, hostage to fortune and in need of clarification. When Cranmer first supplemented the *Benedictus* with his light paraphrase of Luke 2:14 in 1549, he seems to have done so in order to "flesh out" Ps. 118:26/Matt. 21:9 with an angelic verse that could complement the *Sanctus*. But when Luke 2:14 later replaced Ps. 118:26/Matt. 21:9, I would argue that Cranmer was relying on the liturgical function of the *Benedictus* to be visible through the new biblical quote used in place of Ps. 118:26/Matt. 21:9. In a sense one could claim that it is still a "*Benedictus*" of sorts, but carefully redefined.[582] Luke 2:14 is now used to praise Christ with angelic song, but as it is a new scriptural passage in this

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[581]Trying to reconcile Wittenberg and Strasbourg, Bucer tended to end up somewhere in between. He vehemently argued against Karlstadt's suggestion, also on grounds of grammar, but embraced, together with Zwingli, Hoen's explanation. See Greschat (2004), 72. For Luther this was unacceptable, as it would mean that one could not even trust Jesus to speak clearly. For him, the Sacrament is acceptable because the Word says so. He did, however, break with the idea of a mystical communion; the worshippers did not join together with one another in the Body of Christ but only in the actual eating of Christ at the same time; Karant-Nunn (1997), 115.

[582] While we can be sure that Cranmer at this point actively wanted to eliminate certain traditional ways of understanding Mass by simply cutting certain interpretative routes, in word and in liturgical action, something else may also have been at work. He may have been doing something similar to the *Benedictus* what Luther did to the traditional Roman blessing at the end of Mass, the short *Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sancti*. Luther, in the *Formula Missae*, gave Num. 6:24-26, the priestly blessing, as one of three alternatives (the others being the Roman blessing and Ps. 67:6-7) and in the *Deutsche Messe* Num. 6:24-26 had completely replaced the Roman blessing. See MacDonald (2012), 300-301. When Luther replaced the traditional Trinitarian phrase with a biblical citation, which he read according to Trinitarian theological assumptions (based on the three-fold mention of the Tetragrammaton), he did not simply erase the traditional liturgical phrase. Nathan MacDonald has argued that a more sophisticated dynamic is at work here: "To use the language of textual criticism, the priestly blessing is not glossed in a Trinitarian manner. Rather, Luther relies on worshippers having in mind the Roman blessing. This utilization is a sort of liturgical palimpsest with the traditional Trinitarian blessing scraped away, but still perceivable under the priestly blessing that has been written over it." MacDonald (2012), 311.

context it did not have the same immediate sacramental associations; its context points to the incarnation, rather than the passion, and while fulfilling the function of binding the *Sanctus* to Christology, it was a safer route to take, theologically. But it also casts the *Sanctus* in a new light. While the preface may have been emptied of its elaborate angelic hierarchies, the reading of Isa. 6:3 as an angelic hymn is strengthened by its new intertext, Luke 2:14. The whole sequence now form a whole of angelic praise, rather than a proclamation of Divine presence.[583]

Tense Presence: Some Conclusions

So, to return to the present; where does this leave us? If we see how, broadly speaking, Jewish liturgy problematizes the presence of God in exactly the liturgical moment where two suggestive and pregnant statements about it are put together, and the medieval Western church focusses heavily on explicating and clarifying it, we should remember how according to both, Divine presence is unsettling. While Jewish liturgy tends to uphold a certain degree of deliberate agnosticism, and Christian liturgy has tended to emphasise the very "thereness" of Divine presence while at the same time becoming engulfed in heated debates and drastic reforms, they both respond to a biblical heritage. It can be said, however, that much of the finely calibrated ambivalence of Jewish liturgy breaks down into one of two answers throughout Christian history: one is the medieval, Catholic and Lutheran answer of God's immediate presence in Mass, further underscored in the traditions of Luther and the Petri brothers where the *Sanctus* becomes caught up in the words of institution. The other is the Reformed and English answer where one of the main points of the new liturgy is to make impossible the experience and thought of God being present – the 1552 revision was made to cut just that association. In both these trajectories, the answer is either affirmative or negative, while not unproblematically so in either case.

The imprint of Christian theologies, and liturgies, of presence is clear on biblical research. Terrien, for example, tried in the 1970s to shift the basic paradigm of biblical theology from a model of covenant to a model of presence – a strongly antinomian, Protestant presence, it should be pointed out – clearly favouring a category that reflects modern Christian concerns rather than Jewish ones.[584] The assembly of scholars who have tried to probe the issue of Divine

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[583] Dix mentions a controversy around this in the early Roman rite, where the *Gloria* (in its actual liturgical sequence) was favoured over the *Sanctus* as an angelic hymn; Dix (2005), 456.
Note that in the *Common Worship* liturgy, there are alternatives allowing for the *Benedictus*.
[584] Terrien (1978).

presence in the Bible also shows an overwhelming number of people with a Christian background – I have already mentioned Terrien but one could add many of the essays in the 2013 collection by MacDonald on the subject. With the exception of Sommer, Jews seem, generally speaking, to have taken very little interest in this subject, and this also goes beyond the pages of the Bible, as it is not a subject discussed much in modern Jewish theology – to my knowledge, there is no major Jewish work on the topic. It is also not an experience which is fostered by Jewish liturgy; while Christian worshippers of non-Reformed traditions will usually have some regular experience meant to signify concrete Divine presence, Jews do not.[585] The very idea might make modern, post-Maimonidean Jews uncomfortable.[586] This is clear from a certain avoidance of the issue of Divine embodiment among Jewish researchers, such as Yehezkel Kaufmann who, while admitting that God is described in anthropomorphic terms in the Hebrew Bible, still maintains that God has no body. One quote is illuminating enough:

> Biblical literature … attributes a form to God without feeling any discomfort … [Yet] Israelite religion overcame anthropomorphism in one fundamental and decisive respect: it imagined God as having no connection to the matter of the world. God has no material aspect whatsoever, and He is beyond nature and its matter. God is "spirit and not flesh," He is not a "body."[587]

Unsurprisingly, Kaufmann brings no prooftext to this statement. Rather, it would seem that it is the sheer theological impossibility of God having a body that leads him to assert this.

Models of Presence and Absence in Biblical Research

Just as in the Reformation debates, the issue of Divine presence may unlock a whole way of thinking about the interpretation of the Bible. Zwingli founded the real absence of Christ in the Eucharist on his idea of Christ's real presence in heaven, and this theology finds an analogue view in how modern scholars sometimes treat the theologies of Divine presence in the Hebrew Bible. Take, for example, von Rad, whose *Studies in Deuteronomy* from 1947 brought the *shem* and *kabod* theologies to the centre of discussions on Divine presence. In the essay

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[585] It could also be argued that even within Anglicanism, traditional Eucharistic theology is not hard to find, and that this theology overshadows the, after all fairly subtle, liturgical markers to the contrary. Karant-Nunn's remarks that sometimes it made little psychological difference if the theology behind some ritual acts had been altered – more important in changing people's religious experience were shifts such as art, the type of bread, whether there was an altar or a table, and other similar factors. People would, after all, continue to decipher traditional images and gestures in traditions ways, often until these are physically abolished or radically changed. See Karant-Nunn (1997), 132-3.

[586] Sommer (2009), 8, 72.

[587] Kaufmann. (1937-56), I:226-7. Quoted in Sommer (2009), 71.

"'Deuteronomy's 'Name' Theology and the Priestly Document's 'Kabod' Theology", von Rad describes the two basic modes of Divine presence in Deuteronomy and in the Priestly material, one – the Deuteronomistic *shem* school – in which it is not God "himself who is present at the shrine, but only his name as the guarantee of his will to save"[588] The one that is of more interest when discussing Isaiah 6 is of course the *kabod* theology, discussed normally through Priestly sources rather than Isaiah but with obvious repercussions for that text.

For the P traditions, God's כבוד – its preferred term – is something much more robust. It is the actual presence of God. But after stating this dissimilarity from the D traditions, scholars, Jewish as well as Christian, often flinch from the implications. Too radical a locality to the priestly conception of God's presence seems to make more than one scholar uncomfortable. Take Nahum Sarna, who writes on Exod. 25:6 for the *JPS Torah Commentary*:

> Thus the sanctuary is not meant to be understood literally as God's abode, as are other such institutions in the pagan world. Rather, it functions to make perceptible and tangible the conception of God's immanence, that is, of the indwelling of the Divine presence in the camp of Israel, to which the people may orient their hearts and minds.[589]

Another variant is the "rendezvous-theology" of Mettinger's, in which the *kavod* is present on earth but skirts in and out of the tabernacle/temple, a view held also by Eichrodt and von Rad. This theology, however, seems to fail to match the textual evidence, as Sommer has convincingly shown.[590] Rather than the Temple being a place where God perpetually 'comes' to the people and any "tendency to regard [Y-HWH]'s presence in the temple as fixed and static can only be regarded as a loss of the true significance of the temple", as per Clements,[591] permanence may be the heart of P's vision of Divine presence. It would seem that the *kavod* descends, on Sinai, then moves into the tabernacle, later the temple, and then stays there until, in Ezekiel, it moves out.[592] I follow Sommer when he writes that: "Indeed, *a central theme of priestly tradition – perhaps* the *central theme of priestly tradition – is the desire of the transcendent God to become immanent in the world that this God has created*."[593]

Thus it would seem that even when God explicitly says in the biblical text "I will dwell among them", there are ways to avoid the implications of this – one such way has been to argue that

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[588] von Rad (1953), 38-39.
[589] Sarna (1991), 158.
[590] Sommer (2009), 228-229. n. 03.
[591] Clements (1965), 63-64.
[592] This is following Sommer, who collapses P traditions and Ezekiel in this account.
[593] Sommer (2009), 74. His italics.

the verb שכן denotes a temporary or ephemeral mode of dwelling ("tabernacling"), as opposed to permanently residing, a view held by for example Sarna. This particular understanding was, however, decisively put to rest by Mettinger.[594] Another way, which demonstrates the same reluctance to let the God of the Hebrew Bible live on earth, seems to be to separate the *kavod* and God – a tradition that, as we saw, goes all the way back to the Jewish Middle Ages.[595] Passages in which the two seem to be identical, however, can hardly be ignored.[596] Indeed, it would not be absurd to argue, as Sommer does, that the *kavod* can be imagined in terms of God's body.[597]

That modern Jews and Protestants would be uncomfortable with this is hardly surprising – for many of them, a transcendent God as per the D hypothesis seems much more familiar.[598] For Jews this would probably stem from a reluctance to see God as embodied at all, while for Christians, we have already seen Scarry and the tendency to disembody God in the Hebrew Bible in order to emphasise the incarnation of Jesus in the New Testament. A robust immanence already in the Hebrew Bible seems to be something that both Jews and Christians have come to associate with Christianity. Take, for example, Oswalt who echoes several patristic writers when he asserts:

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[594] Mettinger (1982), 90-97

[595] See Maimonides, *Guide*, I:64, III:7. See also I:25.

[596] Sommer (2009), 72-73.

[597] Sommer (2009), 68-73. See, also, in Gen 49:6, where כבדי is used in parallel to נפשי, to denote one's self.

[598] When it comes to this understanding of D, Mettinger and Sommer show full agreement, and Sommer exemplifies this view when he writes: "Deuteronomic texts emphasize that God dwells in heaven and nowhere else. On earth God places His *shem*, in the one place He chooses for it (viz., the Jerusalem temple). So insistently do deuteronomic traditions maintain that God is not on earth that it becomes clear that for them the *shem* is only a sign of divine presence, not a manifestation of God Himself." Sommer (2009), 62. As with Cornelis Hoen, it would seem that signs referring heavenwards can sometimes be more comfortable than earthly presence. For Deuteronomy does not lack in startling images of Divine intimacy with Israel, as Stephen L. Cook has recently pointed out. Indeed, he asks, why, if God is not even present on Sinai, does God need to be shielded by a cloud, so insistently described in Deut. 4:11? See Cook (2013), 135. Cook asks us to reconsider the scholarly consensus that insists on Deuteronomy firmly placing God in heaven, while leaving a "marker" in the *shem* on earth. The textual data does not simply support such a clear-cut characterisation. Rather, according to Cook, the Deuteronomic school, through passages such as Deut. 4:35-37, 1 Kings 8 and 19:8-15 – for some of the textual complications of this passage, see Sommer (2009), 62 – tries to enhance the enigma of God's presence; Cook (2013), 123-124; 133-135. One should perhaps also be aware of the somewhat scholarly nature of the neat division *shem/kavod* itself, as we have other sources, for example Ps. 72:19 and Neh. 9:5 where we find them combined in the expression שם כבוד. This challenge – which to my mind would suit a wider biblical insistence on the complications of Divine presence rather than its simplicity – is, however, directed at a fairly set scholarly consensus, which neatly follows lines of thought first developed during the Reformation, where issues of Divine presence were at the centre of not just ritual practice but also scriptural interpretation. That debate did not rage over Deuteronomy but Mass and so Isa. 6:3 and Ps. 118:26/Matt. 21:9 which framed it and later introduced it (as well as New Testament accounts of the Last Supper!). What to read literally and what to read metaphorically, what to read as actual presence and what to read as a sign referring on to something signified, is a debate that in this particular iteration has flowed from Mass. Here the *Sanctus* and the *Benedictus* have constituted a powerful liturgical expression of standing before God and so can give us a key, not just how to read Isa. 6:3, but other parts of the Hebrew Bible too, as well as some New Testament texts.

> So the glory of God is not an ephemeral aurora, but an expression of his stunning importance and reality. The ultimate expression of God's glory is Christ (John 1:14), through whom God means to share his glory with us (Col 1:27).[599]

This is written in the context of Isaiah, rather than the Pentateuch, but the idea that the *kavod* belongs to a story of Divine dwelling on earth which is somehow incomplete before the incarnation of Jesus, is something with roots both in patristic writings and in the liturgy, where the *Benedictus* does fulfil just that role: Isa. 6:3 is bound up with a Christological postponement of Divine embodiment, so that it can only hint at it, but not exemplify it. Naturally, this is not a step one sees Jewish biblical scholars take.

There is, however, one element in the seeming permanent dwelling of the *kavod* that may be off-putting even to researchers from a Catholic or high-church Protestant background, who might be assumed to be somewhat more relaxed about the idea of radical Divine immanence. P would seem to share with D's *shem* theology one assumption: that God can only be in one place at the same time. As the *kavod* seems to be identical or semi-identical with God, the *kavod*'s descent and dwelling on earth would be God's dwelling on earth. For D, God has one body in heaven, while for P it would seem to be located on earth, at least ideally.[600] Sommer's own main argument is that for J and E, God has multiple localised presences, multiple bodies, a perspective which may, in a certain sense, be a better fit for the set of theologies that espouse Real Presence in Christian liturgy.[601] That theological tradition, too, does after all wrestle with a variant of the question put to rabban Gamliel: "How many *shekhinahs* are there??"

Here Isa. 6:3 seems to keep its theological force, if we are to understand its mention of *kavod* as at all related to how the word is used P traditions, in that it asserts a *kavod* filling the land, or the earth. Hartenstein notices the *Leitwort* מלא in this Isaiah 6: as God's skirts fill (מלאים) the temple, and the temple is filled, or fills itself, (ימלא) with smoke, so the earth is filled with God's *kavod*.[602] He even argues that מְלֹא, in v. 3, should be understood as a noun, and translates the latter half of the verse as "die Fülle der ganzen Erde ist sein *kābōd*."[603] He sees in this a certain temple-based perspective, since "[d]ie implizite Kosmologie der vorexilischen jerusalemer Kulttradition hatte in Tempel und Kult eine selbstverständiche symbolische Vermittlungsinstanz für die Anwesenheit JHWHs in der Welt" – the temple is the centre, but

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[599] Oswalt (1986), 181.
[600] This also ties into the discussion of whether it is permissible to depict God. See Sommer (2009), 78. Halbertal & Margalit (1992), 36-66. See also MacDonald on the problem of idols in D; MacDonald (2003), 198.
[601] Sommer (2009), 76-77.
[602] Hartenstein (1996), 35, 101-102.
[603] Hartenstein (1996), 35, 99-100.

in an inclusive rather than exclusive sense, as an emblem of the whole land.[604] For Hartenstein, this *"Fülle"-formel*, is not unique to Isaiah 6 but taken over from other earlier sources – he points to the examples of Num. 14:21 (וְיִמָּלֵא כְבוֹדוֹ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ), and Ps. 72:19 (וְיִמָּלֵא כְבוֹד־ה׳ אֶת־כָּל־הָאָרֶץ), כֹּל הָאָרֶץ), where similar language is used.[605] It is used, exactly at a point when God, according to Hartenstein, is about to leave – the filling of the smoke signifies, as in Ezekiel, the emptying of God's *kavod* from temple and land.[606] One of the strengths of Hartenstein's suggestion is that God, who through a very robust presence in the temple, is also, in extension, filling the land or earth (or uses it as God's *kavod*). While not flinching from a strong sense of Divine presence in the Jerusalem temple, Hartenstein also manages to sidestep the problem of Divine locality, as the temple is the *central*, rather than *exclusive*, site of God's *kavod*. This perspective of Divine presence, while not tied to Jewish liturgy, may find some resonance with the Jewish propensity for describing the intensification of Divine locality, through the language of the *shekhinah*, in tormented un-knowing, rather than by confident assertion. It is not that God is not present in a sense that we may call embodied (for a disembodied God of Israel we have to, again, wait for Maimonides). But Divine localisation in one place may not mean (though it can!) Divine absence in another, with the drama of the Jerusalem temple as the main narrative for these theological dynamics.[607]

The Location of Isaiah 6

This perspective leads to a related theme, which is not just where God is, but where the temple vision itself is. This is an area where Jewish liturgy, together with Revelation 4 and the *Sanctus*, has been enormously influential in shifting the scene from earth to heaven – together with God, the *seraphim* and perhaps even the prophet himself have been propelled to heavenly spheres. The trend of spiritualisation, and of turning the scene into a heavenly, rather than an earthly, occasion, is so pervasive that many do not even seem to think of it. Even when the vision itself is not transposed to heaven, the dualism may still be there, as in the case of Kaiser's comments on the passage:

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[604] Hartenstein (1996), 100.
[605] Hartenstein (1996), 101-102.
[606] See his conclusions; Hartenstein (1996), 224-250.
[607] Here one should remember that the *shem* and *kabod* model, while dominating the discussion, is not the only way to understand Divine presence in the Hebrew Bible; Middlemas (2013), 183. See, for example, the notion of the רוח which is also mentioned in a broader swathe of biblical literature; MacDonald (2013), 95-97.

> As vv. 4 and 6 show, there is no doubt that the prophet saw his God in the earthly sanctuary, the temple of Jerusalem. Of course, God's permanent dwelling is in heaven; but he appears to those who seek him in the earthly sanctuary.[608]

We also have Wade, who writes: "The imagery is initially that of the Jerusalem temple – doorposts, smoke, altar – but these are shortly transformed into a heavenly scene."[609]

But perhaps trying to define once and for all where the vision takes place is not the most fruitful way of thinking about the issue. One of the more helpful suggestions on the issue of whether the text describes an earthly or a heavenly vision is that by Hartenstein, who writes that the whole question is most probably inapplicable. A core idea of the theology of "the mountain of God", of which Isaianic traditions partake, is that on that mountain there are no clear boundaries between earth and heaven, and that the question of whether it takes places in heaven or earth is not a question of "oder" but rather "sowohl als auch."[610] He quotes Mendel Metzger, writing "Mit dem Thron Jahwes ragt die himmlische Welt in das Heiligtum hinein" and Othmar Keel: "Tempelinneres und Himmel sind ... [sic] in Jes 6 zusammengeflossen."[611] He even asks "ob die Jerusalemer Kulttradition der vorexilischen Zeit den Wohnort JHWHs ausdrücklich mit dem Himmel verbunden hat."

> Solange Heiligtum und Gottesthron durch die Bergvorstellung aufs engste aufeinander bezogen waren, bestand in diesem Vorstellungsbereich vielleicht gar kein Anlaß, den Himmel als eigenständigen Wohnort JHWHs zu thematisieren.[612]

He points out that the word "heaven" is absent from Isaiah 6, and that it is predominantly in early post-exilic (Deuteronomistic) and post-biblical periods that "der kosmischen Region des Himmels eine immer eigenständigere und wichtiger Bedeutung ... einräumte."[613]

This helps make sense, also, of texts such as Ps. 11:4: ה' בְּהֵיכַל קָדְשׁוֹ ה' בַּשָּׁמַיִם כִּסְאוֹ, "Y-HWH is in his holy temple, Y-HWH is on his heavenly throne." While this may be read as a statement of two parallel realms, with a heavenly temple up above,[614] it could also mean that these two realities overlap, with earth being the predominant one in earlier sources. The idea of parallel

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[608] Kaiser (1972), 74.

[609] Childs (2001), 55. See also Wade (1911), 39; Clements (1980), 73.

[610] Hartenstein (1996), 11-12.

[611] Hartenstein (1996), 12. He himself problematizes this view, however, found in Mettinger and Metzger among others, and goes on to supplement it with a "Symbolik des Zentrums", based on Eliade, where the centre (the temple) encapsulates the whole, i.e. the world; Hartenstein (1996), 22-23.

[612] Hartenstein (1996), 21.

[613] Hartenstein (1997), 19, 20.

[614] Hartenstein mentions the example of Ps. 11:4, but his argument is that the mention is a synthetic, rather than synonymous, parallelism: the latter half complements the first. See Hartenstein (1996), 58.

realities, in which the temple mirrors, rather than blends into, the heavenly realm, is expressed in for example Clements, concerning Ps. 11:4:

> The earthly abode was a counterpart of the heavenly abode of [Y-HWH] … The temple referred to here is probably that on Mount Zion, not the temple in heaven, but in either case the psalm presupposes that the two share a mysterious identity. The one is the symbol and the counterpart of the other.[615]

The very idea of a heavenly temple, however, has been called into question. Mettinger, for example, argues that the idea of an earthly temple, mirroring a heavenly counterpart, while common in later Jewish and Christian literature, is an early post-exilic idea, and foreign to a pre-exilic worldview of Isaiah 6 in which heaven and earth overlap in one temple.[616]

It may seem, therefore, that this particular debate is generated by perspectives that, while theologically familiar for both Jews and Christians, may actually be of later origin, and reinforced through theologies with Second, rather than First, temple roots, and the perspectives on *that* temple, rather than its predecessor.

One reason why the location of the vision matters is because it does tie into larger issues of where God is present – is God present in the temple, and if so; how robustly? That the God of the Hebrew Bible lives in the temple in a complicated, but most definitely physical, manner, is a notion that has met with some opposition, such as with the example of Kaiser above, and it is often obscured in earlier scholarship and classical commentaries. Along with the push towards disembodiment of the God of the Hebrew Bible that we have seen at work, the temple naturally gets evacuated too, and so the vision of Isaiah must be thought of in spiritual terms, or as a vision of a heavenly temple. As the temple loses its tenant, so the text seems to lose part of its tenor, and takes on other nuances, with other implications: everything seems to happen in heaven, rather than on earth, in a shift that both Jews and Christians, for different reasons, seem to be more comfortable with, either to preserve the uniqueness of the theology of the incarnation or to preserve a post-Maimonidean sense of Divine transcendence.

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[615] Clements (1965), 66.
[616] Mettinger (1982), 30.

Conclusions

It would seem that to the making of a book there is after all an end. But in the course of this study, the continuing presence of another Book has hopefully become clear. Jewish and Christian worship traditions are suffused with the Hebrew Bible and in these liturgies, the text morphs and undergoes permutations that influence our interpretations, sometimes even our emendations, of it. Liturgy actualises and prioritises certain passages, strings them together in different way, and in this kaleidoscopic reconfiguration of texts, certain meanings emerge from them. Through liturgy, some key issues of biblical interpretation have been fought: issues of what the heavenly realms are like, which relationship humans have to angels, what God's holiness is, and where God is to be found. And these liturgical decisions then feed back into how the Bible should be interpreted. These are no peripheral topics.

In the entangled web of traditions that the *qedushot* and the *Sanctus* variants form, one sometimes labours hard to spot the subtle nuances among very similar practices. On other occasions, one struggles to find points of contact between markedly different interpretations. Liturgy is not a commentary – it is very far from being a "civil servant of the biblical text."[617] It has led people to vandalism, rebellion and war. In less fraught times, it can still instil feelings of wonder, solemnity or other parts of the range of human emotion, in a way that few biblical commentaries can. It has also had a significant role in many cultures, being publicly displayed in centrally located churches and synagogues. Many debates have thus been funnelled into liturgy, as during the Christian Reformation. Then and now, politics, theology, social dynamics and many other aspects have been tied to liturgy.

I have argued that this area of reception is central to how we understand the biblical texts today, and have taken Isaiah 6 as my example. I believe I have demonstrated some of these issues in previous chapters. As this dissertation is about ritual reception – rather than Isaiah 6 itself – I now want to take the opportunity to shed some light on broader interpretational issues, drawing on material from the chapters. The main argument of this dissertation has been that liturgy impacts the way we read biblical texts. This has been demonstrated in how the *seraphim* are understood, in how holiness as a concept has been altered, and in the dynamics of understanding Divine presence. As this is the obvious main argument, and one I have been making, throughout, I will want to focus on three other, more specific issues. There are three main points I would like to make here, based on what we have seen before: that *liturgy changes*

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[617] Moore & Sherwood (2010), 212.

our sense of what is liturgical; that *liturgy changes how texts interact* and, lastly, that *liturgy changes the biblical text itself.*

The first aspect of liturgical reception, which might act as a meta-point about the whole project, is that liturgy determines what is seen as liturgical within the Hebrew Bible. One powerful line of reception is that of Isa. 6:3 as in and of itself liturgical. This assumption, repeated *ad nauseam* in secondary literature is not unreasonable. But one should also bear in mind that the style and language of both Jewish and Christian liturgy is shaped by the style and language of the Bible, its liturgical and its non-liturgical sections. Our liturgical language is, in part, a *product* of the presence of biblical passages in it. It may not be that Isa. 6:3 sounds liturgical to us because there is something inherently liturgical in its style, it may simply be because our concept of what liturgy sounds like is shaped by, among other texts, Isa. 6:3!

But it is not just the case that Isa. 6:3 entered the liturgies of Jews and Christians as any other biblical source drawn upon to create the weave of words and phrases of which these liturgies are made. It is the liturgy of angels, glimpsed by the prophet Isaiah. This idea of Isaiah being granted a vision of the liturgy of heaven is so pervasive that it seems to seep into almost all commentaries, and is often taken for granted. So liturgy may make us "liturgicize" the sources that we draw upon: a number of texts, from both the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament, may either be read as examples of liturgy, or may garner special attention because of their liturgical prominence, e.g. Deut. 6:4, Matt. 6:0-13/Luke 11:2-4 or Luke 2:14.

A second theme is how liturgical intertexts determine biblical reading. Here, an illuminating example from the liturgies I have analysed is the identity of the *seraphim*. Through liturgical enactment, the *seraphim* have been caught up in a set of related Jewish and Christian worldviews which have envisaged heavenly spheres filled with angels, of which the *seraphim* are one type. Through this lens, from the late Second Temple onwards, they have been understood together with other creatures mentioned in the Hebrew Bible (and the New Testament). This has not just influenced the imagination one brings to the text – how one mentally pictures the scene which, as we saw, seems quite indebted to the liturgy, as many readers have thought of humanoid crowds – it has also determined which intertexts are relevant. The other occurrences of the term in Numbers, Deuteronomy and Isaiah have been

downplayed, while the parallels with Ezekiel 1-3 have been highlighted, as per Jewish liturgy. The *seraphim* have, time after another, been read together with the *cherubim*, and this has also determined how they are perceived. It would seem that while few would argue that they are angelic, few are also prepared to go down the shortest explanatory path and just read the text as describing snake-like creatures. Here I would say that liturgy has set the pattern for which intertexts will most readily come to mind, which alters the rest of interpretational endeavour.

Thirdly, liturgy can also contribute to changing the actual biblical *text* itself, as a material object. One example I have already mentioned is how the Masoretic Bible is cantillated and so already shaped by liturgy at the most basic level. But another example is that of Deut. 6:4, the core of the *Shema'*. Because of Jewish liturgy, the letters 'ayin of שמע and *dalet* of אחד in Deut. 6:4 are enlarged, making the verse literally more noticeable: its centrality in liturgy has made it more central on the page.[618]

The Bible is still in the making, and one should not lose sight of the fact that the ink of the Bible has not yet dried. The Bible, unlike the *Enuma Elish*, has not been hidden from us to emerge, from a (more or less) complete manuscript. Rather than being a text, the Bible is a set of *textual traditions*.[619] This is something that still needs to be reiterated, as it is not just the case that the Bible was fluid in the Second Temple period.[620] Whether looking at manuscripts or printed editions, it should be clear that the Bibles of today still retain some pluriformity.[621] One example of how we remake the Bible even today is through emendations, and in this case we have some interesting dynamics in one the core texts that we have described: Ezek. 3:12. In many Christian Bible translations this verse is translated along lines similar to the New International Version: "Then the Spirit lifted me up, and I heard behind me a loud rumbling sound as the glory of the LORD rose from the place where it was standing."

This translation is based on a modern solution first suggested by the Italian Jewish scholar Samuel David Luzzatto (1800-1865), who recommended emending ברוך in Ezek. 3:12 to ברום, seeing as these two letters are similar in the Paleo-Hebrew script.[622] Interestingly, however, no

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[618] See MacDonald (2014).
[619] Unsurprisingly, I owe this formulation to an archaeologist, Akshyeta Suryanarayan.
[620] See Beal's critique of how to draw the line for when the Bible was finished – and which text to call "the Bible"! Beal (2011), 368.
[621] For some of these issues, see Dunkelgrün (2016).
[622] Kirchheim (1851), 107-8. For his handwritten explanation, see http://www.hebrewmanuscripts.org/hbm_1998.pdf (21/04/2015). It should be noted that ברוך must have been in place already at the time of the LXX, and that there are no manuscripts suggesting the version.

major Jewish Bible has been printed with this emendation, nor has a translation based on ברום been preferred. It is not unreasonable to suggest that this may be because of the constant use of ברוך in the *qedushah* liturgies, through which the phrase has become normalised and, to some extent, given a theologically reasonable explanation. It is, after all, hard to emend or, in Christian settings, even re-translate core liturgical texts.[623] Here we can see how, although the suggestion was first made by a Jewish scholar, Jews and Christians occasionally even use somewhat *different biblical texts*, and I would argue that liturgy is one of the main factors that have shaped this particular difference – Christians, who have no liturgical experience of Ezek. 3:12, tend to emend a cryptically phrased passage, whereas Jews, who have both a liturgical explanation to and a liturgically based normalisation of this verse, do not. Here, worship has changed (or preserved) the actual Bibles we have in front of us.

There are a number of particular points that can be made here, on how liturgy has asserted itself in debates around angelic theology, holiness, Divine presence and so on. These are, to be sure, no peripheral parts of Jewish and Christian theological worlds. But the larger interpretational issues – how the liturgy echoes in our minds when we read the Bible, how it shapes the intertextual connections we are wont to make, and how liturgy reinforces, reflects and influences theological perspectives, as well as the actual text – may be even more important.

Perhaps I can go back to my own image of biblical scholars as the latest growth ring on the tree of biblical reception. Rather than being woodpeckers trying to hack through the layers, we may need to see how our own reading of the text is built upon earlier readings. These readings not only influence our interpretative lenses – sometimes they also influence how we edit and produce the text, thus changing the study object itself. And among these readings we have liturgical uses. One thing that has become clear to me during the course of this study is how the lines of continuity go deep, some of them back to the Second Temple. To say that some understandings of a text – for example, that Isa. 6:3 is of a liturgical nature – are very old

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As is apparent from the letter, Luzzatto became increasingly uncomfortable with emendations (especially in the Pentateuch), and took a dim view of scholars who were too eager to solve interpretational issues by emendation. It is perhaps ironic that it was a Jewish biblical scholar who provided Christians with a popular emendation, while being ignored by Jewish editors and printers.

[623] See the endurance of the Gallican Psalter in the Vulgate over Jerome's translation from the Hebrew; Graves (2014), 271. I would argue that one decisive factors here was the fact that the Gallican Psalter survived because of its liturgical monastic use. Most Christian communities face similar challenges when retranslating familiar texts, such as the Lord's Prayer or Psalm 23 – texts where the King James Version is still very much alive, for example.

neither supports nor disqualifies it. My aim has not been to rip off accretions to reach a pure original meaning of the biblical text. Rather, I have tried to catch biblical scholars "mid-flight", to demonstrate how liturgy plays a significant role in how we interpret the biblical text. Liturgy, as a pre-understanding or set of prejudices, both opens certain aspects of the text, and closes down others. Like other forms of reception, liturgy is not scales that need to fall from our eyes – rather it is a lens that brings certain features into focus, while blurring others. I am sure there are some lines of reception that we have inherited that would be very similar to how an ancient Israelite would have understood the text. I am equally sure that we have sometimes managed to "break free" of certain long-standing interpretations and arrived at something more akin to what this hypothetical ancient Israelite would recognise. But here we may need a dose of Gadamerian caution, in that there is no viable way for us to separate ourselves from this historical process and see ourselves as flying above the horizon, as it were. We cannot reconstruct our ancient Israelite without the thousands of years of history in between, and so the line between their "original" understanding and our "reception" is blurred. But both in continuity and in discontinuity it is fruitful to reconstruct our genealogy. I have done this with respect to one strand of biblical reception that has been curiously overlooked, and this means that there is much more work to be done. My contribution has shown the importance of the ritual reception of the Bible, as the issues covered have included some very central ones. But more needs to be done generally when it comes to investigating liturgy as a highly influential genre of biblical reception.

Lastly, I would also like to point out another meta-layer to this study. Why did I go for Isaiah 6, and why had so much research already been done on it? Why have so many given this passage new contexts in music, fiction and poetry, from Dante to Anne Carson, Edmund Spenser to William Empson, John Donne to Allen Ginzberg and Leonard Cohen? I would venture to say that this interest – including my own – comes from the liturgical use of this text. Just as some other liturgical texts, such as Deut. 6:4, have been prioritised in biblical research due to their liturgical use, so, I would argue, has Isaiah 6 been prioritised because of the familiarity with it that liturgy breeds. A telling example could be how, when discussing my research, most Jews I have spoken to have said "oh, you're writing about the *qedushah*?" and most Christians have said "oh, you're writing about the *Sanctus*?" For both, the liturgical reference was the first that came to mind – even in speaking about this text, people do so through their liturgies. I have argued in these chapters how, in liturgy, the Bible is materialised – together with such ethereal ideas as angels, holiness and, depending on who you ask, God.

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