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Short Title

Ode Fourteen of the Septuagint

Recks, STM, 1964

AN INVESTIGATION OF ODE FOURTEEN
OF THE SEPTUAGINT

□□□□

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Exegetical Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Sacred Theology

by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Objectives of the Study

The pattern of public worship and what may be associated with it seems rather meaningless to many. Some tolerate a given pattern and accept it rather half-heartedly, while others overemphasize other types of worship and elevate them to a degree just short of perfection. Yet, despite these extremes, public worship still seems devoid of meaning for many worshipers.

A part of a so-called meaningless worship pattern is the Gloria in Excelsis. If one looks in Rahlfs' Septuagint next to the Psalms at the fourteenth ode he will find the basis of the Gloria in Excelsis. It would seem that if the investigator were to study this ode as well as the history of its form and usage, the Gloria should become more meaningful to him. Were he to record his findings others could also benefit.

This paper will pursue a study of the structure, content, and history of the Gloria in Excelsis, and in this way suggest a possible method for giving meaning to other parts of the public worship service. To do this we will especially concentrate on the Septuagint Ode Fourteen and on the English version in the forepart of The Lutheran Hymnal.

The Introduction will give manuscript evidence about the ode, as well as quotations from writers who were contemporaries of the author of the ode. Chapter II will deal with the relation of the ode to New Testament hymns and their evaluation by some individuals. Chapter III will treat the theme of the ode, Luke 2:14. Chapter IV will be a study of the text and theology of the ode. Ancient and modern versions of the ode will be the subject of Chapter V. The final chapter will contain conclusions based on this study. A translation of the Septuagint version of Ode Fourteen concludes this paper.

Manuscript Evidence

A glance at the Septuagint calls attention to several differences between Ode Fourteen and the English version. In the first place the latter has omitted the ode's reference to the Holy Spirit in the second sentence. Furthermore, the English Gloria in Excelsis is equivalent to only the first twenty-eight verses of the forty-six-verse Ode Fourteen. These and other differences make it necessary to study manuscripts containing the ode along with the form, content, and history of Ode Fourteen.

Biblical manuscripts A (Alexandrinus, fifth century), T (Turicensis, seventh century), and Minuscule Fifty-five

(tenth century) contain Ode Fourteen.¹ However, the Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, Bohairic, Sahidic, and Syriac (all fourth century); the Old Latin (fourth to eleventh centuries); all three Psalm translations of Jerome (fourth to fifth centuries); and even the ancient commentator Theodoret (fourth century) fail to treat the Odes.² According to Schneider³ both Origen⁴ and Hesychius⁵ have included the Odes in their writings contrary to Rahlfs.⁶ Also in one manuscript of the Gallican Psalter of Jerome⁷ and in Dreves' list of twenty-one church songs⁸ there are certain extra-Biblical songs, but none that resemble Ode Fourteen.

The first group of odes Rahlfs calls "Nine Odes of the Greek Church."⁹ It might seem at first that the five "Other

¹Alfred Rahlfs, Herausgeber, Septuaginta (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1939), X, 80. Hereafter it will be referred to as LXX RG, X.

²Ibid., pp. 78-9.

³Heinrich Schneider, "Die biblischen Oden im christlichen Altertum," Biblica, XXX (1949), 28-65.

⁴Ibid., p. 51.

⁵Ibid., p. 58.

⁶LXX RG, X, loc. cit.

⁷Ibid., p. 78. Rahlfs' abbreviation "Ga" refers to Jerome's Gallican Psalter (see his "Prolegomena" on p. 17).

⁸Guido Maria Dreves, "Aurelius Ambrosius, der Vater des Kirchengesanges," Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, LVIII (1893), 18.

⁹Alfred Rahlfs editor, Septuaginta, Vol. II: Libri poetici et prophetici (5. Auflage; Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935), p. 164. Hereafter it will be referred to as LXX RS, II.

Odes¹⁰ are to be separated from the first nine, but Rahifs is convinced that all were used regularly in the Greek church.¹¹ By "the Greek church" he probably means the worshipers of the first five centuries, especially those in Alexandria.

Swete¹² and Rahifs¹³ cite various numbering of the Odes. The numbering not only changed in the early Middle Ages¹⁴ (fifth to seventh centuries), but also in the eighth to tenth centuries.¹⁵ In the latter list even the Our Father and the prologue of John (John 1:1-14) are included as odes. This variety may be accounted for by differences in locality and by viewing various stages in the formation of the canon.

The earliest manuscript witness of the ode comes from the fifth-century Codex Alexandrinus.¹⁶ At least one¹⁷ writer dates this codex from the fourth century, however.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 178ff.

¹¹LXX RG, X, p. 78.

¹²Henry Barclay Swete, An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902), p. 253.

¹³LXX RG, X, pp. 79-80.

¹⁴Schneider, op. cit., Table, p. 64.

¹⁵Ibid., Table, p. 489.

¹⁶LXX RS, II, pp. 181-83. See also LXX RG, X, pp. 364-5.

¹⁷Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq editors, "Cantiques," Dictionnaire d'Archeologie chretienne et de Liturgie (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ane, 1925), II, 2, col. 1980.

The writer of this codex closed his collection with a large, two-color colophon: Fourteen Odes.¹⁸ Treating the Odes as an independent, Biblical book, this author ornately illumined the large-size number fourteen of the Alexandrinus, indicating to Schneider what the author of the codex considered to be the canonical number and order of the odes.¹⁹ By establishing the order of the odes a Christian creation was brought about.²⁰

Milne and Skeat²¹ assume that the entire Alexandrinus probably comes from two authors, with the collection of odes written by the second author. Schneider agrees with Milne and Skeat's view, adding that the second writer probably put the odes into the Septuagint since codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus do not have the odes.²² A further indication of two authors appears in the title of Is. 25:1 and Is. 26:1. In each case the first writer put the title "Ode" over the chapters, and in both instances the second writer failed to include these two in his list of odes.²³ Such evidence leads Schneider to conclude that the second writer is more

¹⁸H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat, Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus (London: n.p., 1938), Table 30.

¹⁹Schneider, op. cit., pp. 53-4.

²⁰Ibid., p. 54.

²¹Milne and Skeat, op. cit., p. 91.

²²Schneider, op. cit., p. 55.

²³Ibid., p. 56.

Alexandrian and thus more Greek oriented, while the first writer is more nationalistic and thus more Egyptian or Coptic.²⁴ While Schneider sounds very logical, the arguments are still based on conjecture.

Rahlfs²⁵ and Kenyon²⁶ give the fourth century A. D., as the period when our most ancient complete manuscripts and the last Septuagint revision were finished. A definite date for the Odes' entry into the Septuagint is still uncertain. Green²⁷ is convinced that this date cannot be determined by the present evidence:

The origin and early history of the Septuagint Version, and even its original compass are involved in great obscurity. It is evident from the various merit and ability with which different parts of it are executed, that it was not all prepared at one time nor by one body of translators. No one can tell when the entire translation was finished and put together, nor when and how these other writings came to be associated with it.

The "other writings" to which he refers in the last sentence above no doubt refers to all books outside the Hebrew canon

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Alfred Rahlfs editor, Septuaginta, Vol. I: Leges et historiae (5. Auflage; Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935), p. vi.

²⁶Sir Frederic Kenyon, Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts, revised by A. W. Adams (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), pp. 109-10.

²⁷William Henry Green, General Introduction to the Old Testament, Vol. I: The Canon (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916), p. 127.

of twenty-two books. Cyril of Jerusalem²⁸ refers to the Septuagint in this way when he encourages his catechumens to read the twenty-two books of the Old Testament:

Read the divine Scriptures of the Old Testament, which is to say the twenty-two books interpreted by the two and seventy translators.

The Hebrew canon and the Septuagint canon were the same for Cyril, twenty-two books. The seventy-two translators are the interpreters of the Septuagint.

Unfortunately, with such scant evidence the question of the exact time of writing for the ode we are considering is still unanswered, except that it could have come into the Septuagint any time after Christ, and that it probably was not considered part of the canon. Rahlfs' suggestion that the Odes were appended to the Psalms in the Greek church does not aid us in coming any closer to the solution.²⁹

However, we can make the following observations thus far: first, the ode appears in a fifth-century manuscript; second, the Odes were appended to the Psalms; and third, they were used regularly along with the Psalms in the early church.

Perhaps the Old Testament may suggest more clues to the ode's composition.

²⁸ Wm. Telfer editor, The Library of Christian Classics, Vol. IV: Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesius of Emesa (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1955), p. 116.

²⁹ LXX RG, X, p. 78.

Old Testament Evidence

The pattern for hymns like Ode Fourteen was set by the Old Testament writers. Two such songs occur in the Pentateuch in Ex. 15:1-19 and in Deut. 32:1-43. The first was sung by Moses and the people of Israel (Ex. 15:1); the second, by Moses in the presence of Israel (Deut. 31:30). These congregational songs became part of the tradition of the Old Testament that reached its peak in the Psalms. It is fitting that the Septuagint labelled these two songs odes one and two, indicating that congregational hymns were used by God's people from a very early time.

Moses made a practice of addressing hymns to the **κύριος**. This is indicated in the two odes by an address that is both direct (Ex. 15:6) and indirect (Ex. 15:1; Deut. 32:3). The song in Deuteronomy calls Him by the name of **κύριος** (Deut. 32:4), and even quotes the **κύριος** directly (Deut. 32:37-42).

Because of the close resemblance of prayers to hymns, certain prayers from the Septuagint might also be seen as patterns for the worshiper to follow: the prayer of Hannah (I Kings 2:1-10), of Habakkuk (Hab. 3:2-19), of Isaiah (Is. 26:9-20), of Jonah (Johan 2:3-10), and of Ezekiel (Is. 38:10-20). Together with certain other prayers and songs, these prayers are repeated in the Septuagint in odes three, four, five, six, and eleven respectively.

While the two songs of Moses in odes one and two suggested a pattern for group worship, these prayers indicate the importance of the individual in worship. It seems significant that in the odes both group and individual responses appear side by side, giving each a necessary place in worship of the *κύριος*.

The Old Testament has shown us that songs like the Odes were patterned after previous Old Testament examples, and that several of the odes were taken word for word from the Old Testament itself.

The relation of the Odes to the New Testament will be the subject of Chapter II.

We shall now see what early writers of the Christian century have to say about odes and Christian songs.

Evidence from Early Writers

Hymns like the odes may be found among Bithynian Christians. It is there that Pliny the Younger (A. D. 61-113) was governor. In a letter asking for Emperor Tatian's advice concerning the Christians, Pliny describes their worship. The "they" in the letter are Christians who had defected:³⁰

³⁰Caecilius Plinius, Letters, translated by Wm. Melmoth (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935), II, 10, xcvi. The following quotations and versions of the ode have been divided according to lines as an aid to the reader. This does not necessarily mean that the lines had the same division in the original. The numbering of these "lines" and "verses" refers to their appearance in this thesis only.

Adfirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpae suae
 vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem
 convenire carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum
 5 invicem seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod ob-
 stringers, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria
 committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appel-
 lati abnegarent. Quibus peractis morem sibi discen-
 dendi fuisse rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum,
 10 promiscuum tamen et innoxium; quod ipsum facere de-
 siisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua
 hetaerias esse vetueram.

No doubt the "secum invicem" in lines 3 and 4 above refers to
 some type of antiphonal singing. Pliny reports that the songs
 in Bithynia extolled the Godhead of Christ.

Christian hymn writers receive the approval of Eusebius
 of Caesarea (A. D. 265-340) because they have effectively
 proclaimed Christ as both God and man:³¹

ἦν δ' ἂν πιθανὸν τὸ λεγόμενον, εἰ μὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἀντέπιπτον
 αὐτοῖς αἱ θεῖαι γραφαί· καὶ ἀδελφῶν δὲ τινῶν ἔστιν γράμματα
 πρεσβύτερα τῶν Βίκτορος χρόνων, ἃ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη
 5 ὑπερ τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ πρὸς τὰς πότε αἰρέσεις ἔγραψαν, λέγω
 δὲ Ἰουστίνου καὶ Μιλτιάδου καὶ Τατιανοῦ καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ
 ἑτέρων πλειόνων, ἐν οἷς ἅπασιν θεολογεῖται ὁ Χριστός. τὰ
 γὰρ Εἰρηναίου τε καὶ Μελλίτωνος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τίς ἄγνοεῖ
 βιβλία, θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον καταγγέλλοντα τοῦ Χριστοῦ,
 10 ψαλμοὶ δὲ ὅσοι ᾄδαι ἀδελφῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ πιστῶν γραφεῖσσι
 τῶν λόγων τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Χριστῶν ὑμνοῦσιν θεολογοῦντες;

We note that the terms *ψαλμοί* and *ᾄδαι* in line 9 above
 appear side by side, and that the odes are further described
 as *ᾄδαι ἀδελφῶν* in the same line, indicating that even con-
 temporary hymn writers of the Christian community could be
 said to have composed odes. The repetition of the verb *θεολογεῖσθαι*

³¹ Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical History, translated by
 Kirsopp Lake (London: Wm. Heinemann, 1926), I, 5, xxviii.

in lines 6 and 10 shows the high regard that such early hymns held in Christian circles.

The same Eusebius a little later³² alludes to the importance of psalms and odes. Paul of Samosata is the subject:

5 ψαλμοὺς δὲ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν
 παύσας ὡς δὴ νεωτέρους καὶ νεωτέρων ἀνδρῶν συγγράμματα
 εἰς ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ τοῦ πάσχα
 ἡμέρα ψαλμωδεῖν γυναῖκας παρασκευάξων, ὧν καὶ ἀκούσας
 ἐν τισὶ φρίξειεν...

We notice in this quote that ψαλμοὺς in line 1 above refers to church music written by Paul's contemporaries. In line 4 the verb ψαλμωδεῖν combines both psalms and odes in its form.

In his psalm commentary Eusebius³³ urges congregational participation as he comments on Psalm 65.³⁴ In the same paragraph³⁵ his use of ψαλμός and ᾠδή appears to be an explanation of the superscription and does not aid in our search for the early Christian understanding of "psalm" and "ode."

However, we have come up with certain evidence about early hymns in the Christian church. They were an integral part of the regular worship of early Christians in Bithynia

³²Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical History, translated by J. E. L. Oulton (London: Wm. Heinemann, 1942), II, 7, xxx.

³³Eusebius, "Commentaria in Psalmos," Patrologiae: Patrum Graecorum, edited by J. P. Migne (Paris: n.p., 1857), XXIII, 648.

³⁴Each psalm reference given in this paper will be according to the Septuagint numbering.

³⁵Eusebius, "Commentaria in Psalmos," op. cit., p. 648.

as well as Alexandria. These hymns were highly esteemed by the Christians, and their composers held in great honor. The terms "psalm" and "ode" became part of the regular vocabulary of hymnody. The hymns were, finally, congregational and congregational participation was strongly encouraged by using them and the Psalms. This agrees with Rahlfs' statement quoted earlier in part:³⁶

Den Psalmen werden in der griech. Kirche die Oden angehängt, d. h. andere Lieder, meist aus dem A. T., welche gleich den Psalmen regelmässig im Gottesdienste gebraucht werden.

These pieces of evidence lead one to believe that, though the evidence is scant, a predominating theme in early worship was worship in song, and that it held a noteworthy position for the early Christians.

We shall now turn to the New Testament to get an even more complete picture.

³⁶ LXX RG, X, p. 78.

CHAPTER II

THE RELATION OF ODE FOURTEEN TO NEW TESTAMENT HYMNS

When Ode Fourteen is compared with passages in the New Testament, a person notices that many parallel the ode. Besides Paul's references to "psalms, hymns, and spiritual odes" (Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16) there are a number of songs in the Gospel of Luke (Luke 1:46-55, 68-79; 2:14, 29-32; 19:38) and Revelation (Rev. 4:8-9, 12-13; 5:9; 14:3; 15:3ff.), as well as other possible New Testament hymns (1 Tim. 6:15; 2 Tim. 2:11-13).

The Nestle text of 1 Tim. 3:16 has one such verse in poetic form:

Καὶ ὁμολογουμένως μέγα ἐστὶν τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστήριον·
ὅς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί,
ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι,
ᾤφθη ἀγγέλοις,
5 ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν,
ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ,
ἀνελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ.

After a close examination we notice that excluding the first phrase no line contains over four words. Each of those lines ends with a dative. Each unit is complete in itself, but a combination of several or all of the units suggests a close resemblance to Semitic parallelism.

But what to do with the first line. By redividing the word to read ὁμολογοῦμεν ὅς, the term "without controversy" reads "we confess that," and becomes an introductory

formula for what follows. The entire verse amounts to a confession of faith, either spoken or sung.

Another example appears in Phil. 2:6-11, which might be constructed as follows:

- ὃς ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ
 ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἀρπαγῶν
 ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ,
- 5 ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν
 μορφὴν δούλου λαβὼν
 ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος·
- 10 καὶ σχήματι εὑρεθεὶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος
 ἐταπείνωσεν ἑαυτὸν
 γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου,
 θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ.
- 15 διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσεν
 καὶ ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα
 τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα,
- 20 ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ
 πᾶν γόνυ καμύξῃ
 ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων,
- καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται
 ὅτι ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ
 εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς.

The opening **ὃς** in line 1, the use of participle and aorist tense, and the creed-like affirmation in **ἐξομολογήσεται** in line 22 above parallel 1 Tim. 3:16 with its similar introduction, grammatical forms, and cognate verb **ὁμολογέω**. Line 12 seems to be explanatory to line 11, and would not seriously disturb the three-line scheme. Line 20 has three parts within the line, presenting a valid objection to a strict adherence to this structure. Suggested by A. B.

Macdonald,¹ the structure has similarities with rhythmic and poetic constructions, but does not fit the scheme of poetry in every respect as we think of it. However, the verb *ὁμολογέω* and its compound *ἐξομολογέω* give one the impression that these two "confessions of faith" have some connection with a congregational setting.

Because a number of things have been written about the subject of "confession of faith" and its relation to the early church, we shall look at two writers who have treated this subject in detail, Otto Michel and Henry Joel Cadbury.

Otto Michel

Because the early church functioned in a Hellenistic culture, Otto Michel assumes a Hellenistic influence on the early Christian community. Following the logic of J. Berger,² Michel proposes the following in his commentary on Hebrews.

The early church in its preaching followed traditional Palestinian and Hellenistic forms, often analogous to the rabbinic method of teaching. Especially in Alexandria the Hellenistic synagogue encouraged Christians to follow the Greek system of education. A Hellenistic Christianity

¹Alexander B. Macdonald, Christian Worship in the Primitive Church (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1934), p. 119.

²J[ohann] Berger, [Einleitung in das Neue Testament] (Göttingen: Göttinger theologische Bibliothek, 1797), III, 1, pp. 449-59.

arose, as a result, whose Greek form and ancient rhetoric appeared in preaching. "Das Liturgische, Bekenntnismässige, Kultische findet hier seinen besonderen Ausdruck."³ Michel elaborates on this a little later:⁴

Die Übereinstimmung des Hb mit fest geprägten Wendungen des I Clem führt zu der Vermutung, dass bestimmte liturgische Traditionen beiden Briefen gemeinsam sind, dass sich die verwandten at.lichen Zitate auch am besten aus dem Gebrauch der Gemeindeliturgie erklären lassen. Auffallend ist allerdings, wie die Zitate gewöhnlich das entscheidende Stichwort für die nachfolgende Untersuchung abgeben, dass sie auch bestimmte Berührung haben mit Begriffen, die als festes liturgisches Gut der Gemeinde bezeugt sind.

Michel seems to emphasize first, that Christianity was influenced by its Hellenistic culture; second, that influence was felt in the form which preaching took; and third, the Palestinian-Greek form could best be observed in a public worship service composed of certain liturgical, confessional, and cultic elements.

He explains in much greater detail:⁵

Schon damit ist die religionsgeschichtliche Stellung des Briefes gekennzeichnet: der jüdische Gedanke kleidet sich in hellenistische Form, ja mehr noch: er passt sich dem hellenistischen Gedanken an. Weiterhin gilt
5 auch für den Hb wie für den hellenistisch-jüdischen Traktat überhaupt, dass er seine Verbindung mit der

³Otto Michel, Der Brief an die Hebräer übersetzt und erklärt in kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament, begründet von Heinrich August Wilhelm Meyer (10. Auflage; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1957), XIII, 4.

⁴Ibid., p. 7.

⁵Ibid., pp. 7-8.

damaligen rabbinischen Spekulation und der allgemeinen orientalischen Gnosis nicht verloren hat, so dass wir annehmen dürfen, dass rabbinische und spekulative Einflüsse durch die Lehrtradition der hellenistischen Synagoge übernommen und weitergegeben sind. Hat die religionsgeschichtliche Forschung wieder auf die Bedeutung des Diasporajudentums für das entstehende Urchristentum hingewiesen, so macht die gemeinsame urchristliche und jüdische Tradition auf die geistige Größe der hellenistischen Synagoge aufmerksam; diese besitzt die Verbindung mit dem Rabbinat und ist selbst Mittelpunkt der verschiedenen geistigen Kreise. In diesem Sinn ist auch Philo nur Vertreter der hellenistischen Synagoge, in diesem Sinn setzt auch der Hb die Existenz der hellenistischen Synagoge voraus: er hat selbst in ihrem Denken gestanden und hat es überwunden; das Interesse am at.lichen Kultus und an der rabbinischen Spekulation steht bei ihm im Dienst einer neuen Sache. Damit ist die wichtige religionsgeschichtliche Voraussetzung geklärt, die mit der literarischen Frage zusammenhängt: IV Makk, Philo und Hb entstammen der geistigen Sphäre der hellenistischen Synagoge, zeigen uns den hellenistischen Synagogenvortrag. Aber inhaltlich hat der Hb die alte Schulung überwunden.

Here Michel has pointed out that in the book of Hebrews

(1) Jewish concepts are clothed in Hellenistic form; (2) the author accommodates himself to Hellenistic concepts; (3) neither has he lost his association with rabbinic speculation nor with universal, oriental "gnosis"; (4) both rabbinic and oriental influences came from the Hellenistic synagogue; (5) that synagogue is the center of all these diffuse elements; (6) the author is in the midst of the thought pattern of the Hellenistic synagogue, but has overcome it; (7) Fourth Maccabees, Philo, and the letter to the Hebrews arose from the spiritual sphere of the Hellenistic synagogue, and show us the sermon delivery of that synagogue.

The difficulty in understanding the entire passage lies

in the interpretation of two catch phrases: "er passt sich . . . an" in lines 3 and 4 above, and "überwunden" in lines 22 and 30. In what sense does he "accommodate" and "overcome"? If there is one without the other, would this not result in a mixture or a synthesis?

Before answering these questions, we should look at the treatment by Henry Joel Cadbury. Since the next chapter will treat the theme of the ode, Luke 2:14, it would be well to study Cadbury's statements on Luke to apply them directly to the ode.

Henry Joel Cadbury

Cadbury calls attention to a custom among ancient historians like Luke of inserting speeches of leading characters into the narrative that were to enhance the rhetorical style of the author, but were not necessarily a direct quotation, except in a general way. He refers especially to Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Thucydides: Dionysius, in one-third of his historical work; Thucydides, in one-fifth of his. The speeches were to be appropriate to speaker and occasion.⁶

At this point Cadbury quotes Thucydides. The original reads:⁷

⁶Henry Joel Cadbury, The Making of Luke-Acts (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927), pp. 184-85.

⁷Carolus Hude editor, Thucydidis Historiae (Lipsiae: in Aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1903), I, 1, xxii.

καὶ ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἶπον ἕκαστοι ἢ μέλλοντες πολεμήσειν
ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ ἦδη ὄντες, χαλεπὸν τὴν ἀκριβείαν αὐτῶν τῶν
λεχθέντων διαμνημονεῖσαι ἦν ἔμοι τε ὧν αὐτὸς ἤκουσα
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοθεν ποθεὶν ἔμοι ἀπαγγέλλουσιν· ὡς δ' ἂν
ἔδοκουν μοι ἕκαστοι περὶ τῶν αἰεὶ παρόντων τὰ δέοντα
μάλιστα εἶπεῖν, ἔχομένῳ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς ἑμπέσεως
γνώμης τῶν ἀληθῶς λεχθέντων...

Thucydides is making the point that perhaps not all the statements or speeches he makes in his history will be accurate. Where material was lacking, he supplied a speech or narrative that would say in general what might have been said or done.

Cadbury concludes, after having quoted Lucian in a similar passage, that ancient writers and readers considered speeches in the body of a book more as editorial and dramatic comment than actual historical tradition. Neither the form of direct quotation nor appropriateness of words to a particular occasion guaranteed knowledge of what was said, or even that there was an actual speech. If a writer did not use contemporary history, the difficulty was increased, for he either invented those speeches or rewrote fictitious reports of his predecessors. Even contemporary historians probably relied on their imagination and sense of fitness rather than on knowledge, oral memory, or written record. Even published speeches, like those of Caesar and Cicero, were regularly omitted, either because they were available to the reader or because the author wanted to keep a uniform style throughout.⁸ Cadbury sums up his statements:⁹

⁸Cadbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 184-85.

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 185-86.

Contrary as it seems to modern standards, it may be confidently affirmed that many an ancient writer paraphrases without acknowledgment the narrative of his source, but when he professes to report the speech of a general or statesman he deliberately rejects the same source's earlier version, whether authentic or inauthentic.

Cadbury further includes Josephus as an example of keeping the content of the original, but varying the form either according to Hellenistic style or long, prosy, moral expositions.¹⁰ This is what Luke has refrained from doing with the traditions of Jesus' words. Rather Luke has reported accurately the speeches of Jesus, for the evangelist's underlying material has determined its ultimate form.¹¹

For the songs or canticles in Luke in the first two chapters, Jewish writings provide better parallels than Greek. There are examples in Old Testament narratives that are older than the narrative, and some are by the author of the narrative himself. Later Jewish literature shows the tendency for such insertions like the "Prayer of Jonah" and the "Song of the Three Children" (odes six and eight in the Septuagint respectively), the First Book of Maccabees, Baruch, and Tobit. Most of these examples show an imitation of earlier phrases, many parts of which are dependent on the older liturgy.¹²

¹⁰Ibid., p. 153.

¹¹Ibid., p. 154.

¹²Ibid., p. 192.

The poetic material of Luke's nativity stories belongs to the same category. Not only does their setting have Old Testament precedents, like the Song of Hannah (ode three in the Septuagint), but also the style and thought reminds one of the older hymnology.¹³ Perhaps Cadbury is thinking of the Psalms under "older hymnology" and "older liturgy." The material is in Luke's own vocabulary, though only on occasion "does he return to the poetic and Biblical lyric style."¹⁴ Examples of this style Cadbury gives as Luke 7:16, 19:42-44, 23:28-31, parts of Luke 21, Acts 4, the rebuke in Acts 8:20-23, the farewell in Acts 20, and the commission in Acts 26:16-18. Examples of this style with Old Testament quotations are Luke 4:18, Acts 2:19, 8:21-23, and 15:18, as well as here and there in the canticles of Luke's gospel.¹⁵

In the following quote Cadbury comes close to agreeing with Michel:¹⁶

It is, of course, not impossible that the Benedictus, the Magnificat, the Gloria in Excelsis and the Nunc Dimittis came from a Greek source like the sayings of Jesus, from a Semitic source as is the case apparently with the lyrics of 1 Maccabees, or from oral tradition. The relative merits of such alternative explanations can be settled, if at all, only by detailed study of the text. If they are older than Luke they are nevertheless illustrative of the literary craftsmanship of

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 192-93.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 193.

later Judaism and early Christianity. If, as seems to me at present more likely, they are mainly the evangelist's own composition, they illustrate, as do the speeches and letters, how the author conforms to the customs of his literary inheritance--customs often quite different from our own.

Cadbury is presupposing that the collection he calls Luke-Acts is not uniquely different from other Greek literature. In this, too, he resembles Michel. Cadbury also assumes that the hymns and songs in Luke-Acts are possible insertions by the evangelist himself. This statement could allow for a margin of error on the part of the evangelist. The statement also suggests that poetic structure in itself might not be genuine.

Such assumptions seem strange in a discussion of history, where the very subject involves establishing the facts as reported by the observer. Allowing some but not all of the evidence to stand seems to obscure the entire historical data. Naturally, if one allows that the Scriptures are not uniquely different from other literature, and that the author of Luke-Acts, no less than Thucydides, was subject to possible errors in his text, these assumptions might not seem out of place.

We will do better justice to the evidence if we follow another suggestion of Cadbury above in making a detailed study of the text:¹⁷

¹⁷Ibid.

The relative merits of such alternative explanations can be settled, if at all, only by detailed study of the text.

This principle must be upheld. It will be lost or obscured if one invalidates the history that has produced the text. Such invalidation takes place when part of the history is bypassed in favor of another part. Not only would the researcher have to spend precious moments trying to decide what is genuine and what is not, but he would prepare the way for a conclusion that would fall far short of what the full weight of evidence could give him. With such a small amount of evidence to work with as it is, it becomes even more important to make the best use of the facts at one's disposal.

Should no distinction, then, be made between one form and another in poetry and prose? The form itself has created a distinction. Perhaps the designation "poetic" has a certain distasteful sound, either because of its peculiarity or its abuse. That it is poetic, however, should not make that form less authentic either for Cadbury or Michel. It does call for determining how much of the uniqueness of God's revelation is affected, and what measures may be taken to preserve that uniqueness.

With reference to Ode Fourteen or to any piece of literature whether part of the canon or not, it is important to let the text speak to the researcher as its own primary evidence. Supporting material may be brought in to back up this

primary evidence, but supporting evidence should remain supporting evidence. All the evidence, especially in the Scriptures, should be allowed to speak for itself.

In the following chapter we shall examine primary evidence for the ode that appears in Luke 2:14.

CHAPTER III

AN INTERPRETATION OF LUKE 2:14, THE THEME OF THE ODE

The ode begins by quoting Luke 2:14:

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.

This quotation introduces a long exposition and looks much like what we would call a topic sentence. As we look at it with no punctuation except for the final period, it is difficult to tell how many parts it contains. If there are three parts, it would probably read:

**Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ
καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη
ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.**

If there are only two, the division might be

**Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη
ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία,**

or possibly

**Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ
καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.**

There seems to be something akin to Hebrew parallelism here, but the question is what is in parallel. Structurally, the **ἐν ὑψίστοις** agrees best with **ἐν ἀνθρώποις**. If this is the correct combination, there would be a possible contrast between the heavenly and earthly realms. The nouns **δόξα** and **εἰρήνη** would then agree in case, and either be synonymous or in contrast with one another. But what about the third part?

Would ἐπὶ γῆς be synonymous with ἐν ἀνθρώποις ? If not, what would be its relation to either of the other two phrases? Furthermore, which concept does the author wish to emphasize: δόξα , εἰρήνη , εὐδοκία , or all three?

However, the verse may not consist of three parts, but only of two. Then would δόξα and εἰρήνη be parallel to or contrasted with εὐδοκία ? Or does the stress rather lie on the two realms, heaven and earth?

Its parallel in 19:38 reads:

εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος,
ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν δόματι κυρίου·
ἐν οὐρανῷ εἰρήνη
καὶ δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις.

In this passage δόξα is used with ἐν ὑψίστοις as in 2:14, but εἰρήνη appears with ἐν οὐρανῷ rather than ἐπὶ γῆς . There is no equivalent for ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία . Of importance is the term ὁ ἐρχόμενος in line 1 above which has Messianic overtones as in Ps. 118:26 and in John 6:14 and 11:27.

At this point it might be well to ask: What is the relation between δόξα and εἰρήνη in Luke 2:14, as well as between ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία and ἐν ὑψίστοις ? To avoid a hasty decision that might only result in further difficulty, we shall examine Luke 2:14 in detail.

δόξα

The first term in the ode is δόξα. This term suggests brightness and radiance, magnificence, fame, or beings that

possess these qualities.¹ Such brightness appeared at Bethlehem (Luke 2:9), and on the mount of transfiguration (9:31).²

That brightness is reminiscent of the brightness of the $\Upsilon\Upsilon\Omega\text{ } \overset{\text{q}}{\text{q}}$ that appeared in a cloud to the Children of Israel in the wilderness (Ex. 16:10), and on Mount Sinai (24:16-17). While the cloud covered the tent of meeting, the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle, not permitting Moses to enter (40:34-35).

However, the Lord was determined not only that the tabernacle, but that the whole earth be filled with that glory (Num. 14:21). The seraphim in the temple at Isaiah's inaugural vision declared that all the earth was full of His glory (Is. 6:3). The return from Babylon would show this glory to the whole earth (Is. 40:5). Isaiah also indicates that the glory of the Lord would announce Someone to come (60:2).

St. John understands the glory of God to apply to the entire life of Christ (John 1:14). It was the glory of the

¹William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich editors, " $\delta\delta\epsilon\alpha$," A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, a translation and adaptation of Walter Bauer's Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur, 4. verbesserte Auflage, 1952 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 202-3.

²See Gerhard Kittel, " $\delta\delta\epsilon\alpha$," Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1935), II, 252.

Lamb of God that dies for the sins of the world, the glory of the Good Shepherd who dies for His sheep that they may have life and have it more abundantly, the glory of the Crucified. It was the glory of a perfect love, a glory which only the eyes of faith could see. His glory is not manifest in the church, which is His body, nor in the world over which He rules, but is a hidden glory, "hid with Christ in God" (Col. 3:3). The glory of the enthroned Christ is the glory of His love, a glory which only those who are loved by Him and love Him know and can adore. We confess in our creed: "And He shall come again with glory to judge the living and the dead." Believers shall appear with Him in glory (Col. 3:4). The believer longs for that coming (Rev. 22:20), and that glory to be revealed to the believer (Rom. 8:18).

But the **דְּבָרָא** does not remain with God. It is also God's people's response to Him. Israel is to give the Lord the glory due His name (Ps. 95:9). They behold His glory, the very presence of God. The shepherds reflected that glory announced by the angels at Bethlehem by recognizing that the message came from the Lord (Luke 2:15), and then glorifying and praising God for what they had heard and seen (2:20).

Glory is at the same time what God is and God's people's response to what He is. The people's response to what He is is more than respect, greater than honor, more lasting than fame. Giving God **סִבְעָא** is nothing less than man's worship,

imperfect though it may be, of the God who is the superlative of all perfection.

ὕψιστοις

The term ὕψιστοις is the object of ἐν, and can be either masculine or neuter plural dative. In Luke 19:35 it seems to be neuter because it is used in parallel with οὐρανός. In Ps. 148:1 the plural ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν is in parallel with ὕψιστοις. The absolute use of ὕψιστοις in Matt. 21:9 and Mark 11:10 suggests either masculine or neuter. An interesting expression comes from 1 Clem. 59:3 ὁ ὕψιστος ἐν ὕψιστοις, where the singular ὕψιστος appears with the dative plural. This sounds very much like Is. 57:15, where ἐν ὑψηλοῖς is used rather than ἐν ὕψιστοις. In 1 Clement the singular ὁ ὕψιστος appears to be a circumlocution for God.³ This can also be seen in the phrase ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὕψιστος (Mark 5:7, Luke 8:28, Acts 16:17, and Heb. 7:1).

The phrase ἐν ὑψηλοῖς seems to contain a clue for understanding the entire passage in Luke 2:14. In Ps. 92:4 ἐν ὑψηλοῖς is associated with the κύριος. However Ps. 112 is an even better example of the use of ἐν ὑψηλοῖς. It may very well be that this psalm is the one the writer of Ode Fourteen had before him. First of all the ὄνομα κυρίου is praised

³George Foot Moore, Judaism in the First Centuries of the Christian Era, the Age of the Tannaim (eighth impression, 1958; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927), II, 430.

(vv. 1-3). The κύριος is high (ὕψις) above all nations, and His δόξα above all οὐρανοῦς (v. 4). God is the One who resides ἐν ὑψηλοῖς (v. 5), His permanent residence (κατ' οὐκῶν).

However, it might not seem that ὑψιστοῖς and ὑψηλοῖς are synonymous, because the former is the superlative degree while the latter is not. Yet, if any distinction is intended, it is not clearly expressed.

The term ὑψιστοῖς appears to be a realm or sphere of activity in Luke 2:14.

εἰρήνη

The word εἰρήνη⁴ is the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew שָׁלוֹם,⁵ suggesting soundness, wholeness, and health. The Old Testament term, שָׁלוֹם, is used both as a greeting (Judg. 19:20) and a farewell (Judg. 18:6). It is contrasted with evil (Ps. 34:14; Jer. 29:11), as well as with war (1 Sam. 7:14). It is the description of the new covenant (Is. 54:10; Ezek. 34:25; 37:26) whose Initiator is called the Prince of Peace (Is. 9:6). The act of conferring this peace on another is associated with the act of bringing the covenant to that person or persons: proclaiming (Is. 52:7;

⁴Arnât and Gingrich, *op. cit.*, "εἰρήνη," p. 226.

⁵Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, editors, "שָׁלוֹם," A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 1022-23.

Nahum 1:15); speaking peace to the heathen (Zech. 9:10); proclaiming peace to those far off and those near (Is. 57:19). It is the Lord who blesses His people with peace (Ps. 29:11). The covenant of life and peace (Mal. 2:5) described in the Old Testament was proclaimed at Bethlehem (Luke 2:14), ushering in the new covenant. The Lord Jesus Christ is our peace (Eph. 2:14-15), and claims this peace as His (John 14:27) which He gives to His disciples. His greeting to the disciples after the resurrection is very likely His offer of the covenant again to those who had broken it the night of the arrest, trial, and crucifixion (John 20:19, 21, 26). It may not be impossible that the greeting of the apostles at the beginning of their letters is not merely a conformity to the standards of politeness, nor merely a Jewish greeting, but God's assurance to them that the new covenant is meant for all peoples. Indeed, *εἰρήνη* is to be spoken to the *λαός* (Ps. 84:9), to Israel (Ps. 124:5; 127:6), and to the heathen (Zech. 9:10). Proclaiming peace is a feature of messianic salvation (Is. 52:7; Nahum 1:15; Acts 10:36; Eph. 2:17). Perhaps the proclamation of peace at Bethlehem is an echo of Isaiah and Nahum and signals the coming of the Messianic kingdom in the person of Christ.

εὐδοκία

Hunzinger⁶ has shown that the term *εὐδοκία* in the New

⁶Claus-Hunno Hunzinger, "Neues Licht auf Lc. 2:14,"

Testament always has God as the subject. Relating the term **εἰδοξία** to other literature, he found a corresponding expression **קִיָּצָה** in the literature from the Dead Sea community (Hymn iv, 32f.). This is confirmed by Habermann.⁷ However, Vogt⁸ has found another example of **קִיָּצָה** in Hymn xi, 9. In both instances **קִיָּצָה** refers to the electing and predestining will of God, a will that must be done (Manual of Discipline v, 1, 10; ix, 13ff., 23), be loved (ix, 24), and be searched for (v, 9).

What does this have to do with Luke 2:14? The question to be decided is whether the correct reading should be **εἰδοξία** or **εἰδοξίας**. Evidence for the former might be listed as follows:

the entire Koine tradition--Eighth to tenth century
 Koridethi--Ninth century
 most witnesses
 Bohairic--Ninth century
 Syriac tradition--Fourth to fifth century
 quoted by Origen in part--Died A. D. 254
 Eusebius--Died A. D. 340
 a marginal reading in Westcott-Hort.

Evidence for **εἰδοξίας** is the following:

Vaticanus, the first hand--Fourth century
 Sinaiticus, the first hand--Fourth century

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, XLIV (1952-53), pp. 85-90.

⁷A. M. Habermann, Megilloth Midbar Yehuda (Israel: Machbaroth Lesifruith Publishing House, 1959), p. 151.

⁸Ernest Vogt, The Scrolls and the New Testament, edited by Krister Stendahl (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), p. 117.

Beza--Fifth to sixth century
 a few others
 the entire Latin tradition--Fourth to thirteenth
 century
 quoted in Latin by Irenaeus--Second century
 quoted by Origen in part--Died A. D. 254
 Gothic--Eighth to tenth century
 Latin church fathers--Third to fifth century.

The evidence above favors the latter reading, **εἰδοκίας**, especially by the support of the Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, as well as a larger number of early manuscripts containing that reading. It should be noted that the Syriac tradition unanimously has **εἰδοκία** in Luke 2:14. However, because Syriac is a Semitic language, it is important to remember that when two nouns appear together, the first is in the construct state and the second in the absolute state. The translation in English prefixes the second noun by "of," as "men of the city" (**ܕܗܘܘܢ ܕܥܝܪܐܢܐ**). Even the reading **εἰδοκίας** seems to be a Greek expression of the Semitic construct noun followed by a noun in the absolute state. This construction seems to explain how the two nouns **ἀνθρώποις** and **εἰδοκία** in Luke 2:14 fit together.

The construction **ἀνθρώποις εἰδοκίας** in Luke 2:14 is equivalent to **ܕܗܘܘܢ ܕܥܝܪܐܢܐ** or **ܕܗܘܘܢ ܕܥܝܪܐܢܐ** in the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁹ These Hebrew expressions refer to the men in the Dead Sea community. To them God will give eternal (ii, 24) and bountiful peace (iv, 7). They have been taught the

⁹Hunzinger, op. cit., pp. 87-7.

secret of God's truth and insight into His wonderful mysteries (Hymn xi, 10). In the Manual of Discipline they are called sons of light (i, 9; ii, 16; iii, 131, 24ff.); sons of justice (iii, 20, 22); sons of truth (iv, 5ff.); sons of the eternal assembly (ii, 25); men of holiness (viii, 17, 20; ix, 8); men of the covenant (vi, 19); men of God's destiny (ii, 2); chosen of the way (ix, 17ff.); chosen of the time (ix, 14) of future fulfillment (iii, 18); and chosen of God's good pleasure (viii, 6). Vogt¹⁰ sounds very Lutheran in arguing for reading Luke 2:14 :

ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκίας

. . . the Qumran texts do more than lend decisive support to this reading. They also indicate that "God's good pleasure" here refers more naturally to the will of God to confer grace on those he has chosen, than to God's delighting in and approving of the goodness in men's lives. Thus neither "good will toward men" nor "peace among men with whom he is pleased" is an accurate translation, but rather "peace among men of God's good pleasure," i.e., his chosen ones.

This quotation would be incomplete without adding that the parallel, however close, is not an exact one. Though the men of the Dead Sea community thought of themselves as the chosen ones and interpreted the covenant promises narrowly to include a small set of the elite, God's covenant never intended to be exclusive. It was intended for all nations and all peoples (Luke 2:10, Is. 42:6, 49:6). On the contrary the Lord speaks against an exclusive coming at the end time (Matt. 24:26-28).

¹⁰Vogt, loc. cit.

After examining the above evidence, we might translate Luke 2:14 as follows: "Glory to God in the heights, and on earth peace to men of God's good pleasure."

How this topic sentence is the key to the rest of the ode's structure and theology will be the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

THE TEXT AND THEOLOGY OF THE ODE

The text of the Codex Alexandrinus in Rahlfs' edition of the Septuagint reads as follows:

- 1 Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ
καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνῃ,
ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.
- 5 αἰνοῦμέν σε,
εὐλογοῦμέν σε,
προσκυνοῦμέν σε,
δοξολογοῦμέν σε,
εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι
10 διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν,
κύριε βασιλεῦ
ἐπουράνιε,
θεὸ πάτερ παντοκράτωρ,
κύριε υἱὲ μονογενῆ
15 καὶ ἁγίου πνεύμα.
- κύριε ὁ θεός,
ὁ ἄμωδός τοῦ θεοῦ,
ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς,
20 ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου,
ἔλεησον ἡμᾶς·
ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου,
πρόσδεξαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν·
ὁ καθημένος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρὸς,
ἔλεησον ἡμᾶς.
- 25 ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ μόνος ἅγιος,
σὺ εἶ ὁ μόνος κύριος,
Ἰησοῦς Χριστός,
εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς. ἀμήν.
- 30 καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν εὐλογήσω σε
καὶ αἰνέσω τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τὸν αἶωνα
καὶ εἰς τὸν αἶωνα τοῦ αἵωνος.
καταξέσωσον, κύριε, καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην
ἠναμαρτήτους φυλαχθῆναι ἡμᾶς.
- 35 εὐλογητός εἶ, κύριε ὁ θεός τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν,
καὶ αἰνετὸν καὶ δεδοξαμένον τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τοὺς αἶωνας. ἀμήν.

εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε, διδάξόν με τὰ δικαιώματά σου·
 εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε, διδάξόν με τὰ δικαιώματά σου·
 εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε, διδάξόν με τὰ δικαιώματά σου·
 40 κύριε, καταφυγὴ ἐγενήθης ἡμῖν ἐν γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ.
 ἐγὼ εἶπα Κύριε, ἐλέησόν με,
 ἴασαι τὴν ψυχὴν μου, ὅτι ἤμαρτόν σοι.

κύριε, πρὸς σὲ κατέφυγα·
 διδάξόν με τοῦ ποιεῖν τὸ θέλημά σου, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς μου·
 45 ὅτι παρὰ σοὶ πηγὴ ζωῆς,
 ἐν τῷ φωτί σου ὀψόμεθα φῶς·
 παράτεινον τὸ ἔλεός σου τοῖς γυνώσκουσίν σε.

Upon comparing the above with the English text in The Lutheran Hymnal² it can be seen that verses 1-28 above are the basis of the English Gloria in Excelsis. The remainder of the ode appears in other parts of the Lutheran liturgy. Verses 29-31 are in the Te Deum;³ verses 32-33, in the "Morning Suffrages";⁴ verses 34-35, in the "Evening Suffrages";⁵ and verses 40-41, in "The Suffrages" for morning or evening use.⁶ The last part of the ode is composed of

¹ Alfred Rahlfs editor, Septuaginta, Vol. II: Libri poetici et prophetici (5. Auflage; Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935), pp. 181-83. See also Alfred Rahlfs editor, Septuaginta (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1931), X, 364-5. Hereafter the latter will be referred to as LXX RG X. Microfilm vol. iii, folio 569, ii of the Codex Alexandrinus contains the original. The English translation of the ode may be found in the Appendix.

² The Lutheran Hymnal (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1942), pp. 7-9, 17-19.

³ Ibid., p. 37.

⁴ Ibid., p. 115.

⁵ Ibid., p. 116.

⁶ Ibid., p. 113.

portions from the Psalms: verses 29-31 from Ps. 144-:2; vv. 36-38 from Ps. 118:12; v. 39 from Ps. 89:1; vv. 42-43 from Ps. 142:9-10; and vv. 44-46 from Ps. 35:10-11.

The ode may easily be divided into three parts: verses 1-28; verses 29-35; and verses 36-46.

The first part (verses 1-28) consists of four units which Rahlfs has placed in four sentences.

The first unit is Luke 2:14, which is a kind of topic sentence and forms the theme of the ode.⁷ Each unit that follows depends to a greater or lesser degree on this topic sentence, and seems to develop what the topic sentence has introduced.

The second unit seems to explain what the $\delta\delta\epsilon\alpha$ of the topic sentence means. The response of the people of God is demonstrated by the repetition of the object of worship with $\sigma\epsilon$ (verses 4-7), $\sigma\sigma\iota$ (verse 8), and $\sigma\sigma\upsilon$ (verse 9). Blume⁸ and Brinktrine⁹ believe that verses 4-9 are remnants of old liturgical formulas already in existence by A. D. 150.

Verses 10-15 of the second unit are part of a nominative of address. All forms are vocative except $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho$ in verse 12.

⁷ Supra, chap. III.

⁸ Clemens Blume, "Der Engelhymnus Gloria in excelsis Deo," Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, LXXIII (1907), 57.

⁹ J. Brinktrine, "Zur Entstehung und Erklärung des Gloria in excelsis," Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte, XXV (1927), 309.

The word **παντοκράτωρ** in the Septuagint is most often used of the Lord. It is a translation of **יְהוָה** (Zech. 11:4); **יְהוָה** (Zech. 9:14); **יְהוָה** (in the book of Job, e.g., 5:8, 17; 8:5; 11:7; 15:25); and **יְהוָה** (e.g., 2 Kings. 5:10; 7:25-27; 1 Chron. 17:24; Amos 4:13; 5:27; III Macc. 6:2). It is a title that signifies authority and power (Amos 4:13; 5:27). The Lord uses this title to validate what He is about to say (Amos 3:13; Nahum 3:5; Hag. 1:2, 5, 7, 9). Not only does the word **παντοκράτωρ** indicate that God can do all things, but that He actually does them.¹⁰ This title is applied to God the Father in credal formulations where the phrase **πατέρα παντοκράτορα** appears.¹¹

A special title, **μονογενής**, is given God the Son (verse 13). It is probably best to take this title in the sense of the French Bible translation "unique." In addition it suggests something or someone dear (Tobit 3:15). The idea of "the only one of its kind" is suggested in the lament of the psalmist: **μονογενής καὶ πτωχός εἰμι ἐγώ** (Ps. 24:16). This title sets Christ apart from other "sons" as the unique Son of God, the only son of God who can share the title **κύριος** with God the Father (verses 10, 13).

¹⁰ J. N. D. Kelly, Early Christian Creeds (Second edition; London: William Clowes and Sons, 1960), pp. 136-37.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 182-83, 187, 189-90, 197, 215, 268, 272, 289, 293, 297.

That this hymn is primarily about God the Father and God the Son might explain why there are no corresponding titles for God the Holy Spirit (verse 15). Some manuscripts also read "with the Holy Spirit" after verse 27.¹² In the second unit, the Holy Spirit is mentioned along with the Father and the Son, indicating that although there are no titles, the Holy Spirit is no less esteemed than the other two Persons of the Trinity.

The second unit, then, explains the **ᾄδα** of the topic sentence by applying it directly to the worshipers: they are to worship and adore the Triune God in total obedience.

The third unit seems to describe the **εἰρήνη** of the opening sentence. It is made up of two groups of three: the first three verses go together (verses 16-18), and the last six verses make up a group of three (verses 19-24). This unit is addressed to God the Son. One extra title is given Him: **ὁ ἄμωδός τοῦ θεοῦ** (verse 17). The title **ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς** (verse 18) is a further emphasis of the title in verse 13. This title makes a definite identification between the Father and the Son.

The Son "takes away the sins of the world." This phrase appears twice (verses 19, 21), recalling John 1:29, 36. However, the passage from John reads **ἁμαρτία** where the ode has **ἁμαρτίας**. The plural may be recalling another passage like

¹²LXX RG, X, p. 364.

Is. 53:4a: "Surely he has borne our griefs and carried our sorrows" ¹³ This phrase is really another title, describing what the Son is or does.

Verse 23 is another such description. Sitting at the right suggests either location or position. ¹⁴ It can also suggest power (Ps. 117:15), rescue (Ps. 20:9), or help (Ps. 43:4). With the δεξιὰ the world was created (Is. 48:13). The right hand is the place of good fortune, ¹⁵ honor, ¹⁶ life, ¹⁷ and riches (Prov. 3:16). The sheep on Christ's right side at judgment will receive life (Matt. 25:31ff.). The right hand also refers to the exaltation of Christ (Acts 2:34; 5:31; 7:56; Rom. 8:34; Eph. 1:20; Col. 3:1; Heb. 1:3, 13; 8:1; 10:12; 12:2; 1 Pet. 3:22).

In verse 23 some might ask why ἐν δεξιᾷ is used and not ἐκ δεξιῶν . They may have in mind a phrase like the one in

¹³ Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version.

¹⁴ William F. Arndt, and F. Wilbur Gingrich editors, "δεξιός," A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, a translation and adaptation of Walter Bauer's Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur, 4. verbesserte Auflage, 1952 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 173.

¹⁵ Hermann L. Strack and Paul Billerbeck, Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrash (München: Beck 1922-61), III, 94f.

¹⁶ Ibid., I, 835. See also 1 Kings 2:19.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 980f.

Ps. 109:1: **καθου εκ δεξιων μου** , quoted in the New Testament (Acts 2:34; Heb. 1:3, 13). However, such a questioner forgets that the same author sometimes uses **εκ** and other times **εν** in the same book in referring to Ps. 109:1. The author to the Hebrews uses **εκ** in Heb. 1:3, 13, but **εν** in Heb. 8:1 and 10:12. The last two seem to be indirect quotes; the first two, direct. If we wish to make this a general rule for this psalm, we should keep in mind that there is at least one exception where **εκ** is used outside a direct quote with **δεξιός** (Acts 5:31).

The last unit (verses 25-28) is addressed to Christ. The double occurrence of **μόνος** repeats the idea of **μονογενής** (verse 13). The additional title **ἄγιος** (verse 25) sums up the other titles as one set apart for a special task, to "take away the sins of the world." Because of this God-man the believer asks Christ to "hear us" (verses 20, 24) and "have mercy on us" (verse 22).

The second section is composed of verses 29-35. This seems to be a natural division because of the closing **αμήν** , unaccented in the Septuagint text.

What is interesting about this section is the first person singular in verses 29 and 30. This is a shift from the first person plural of the first section, and a break in a passage that returns to the plural **ἡμεῖς** in verse 33. However, it must not be forgotten that verses 29-31 are a quote from Ps. 144:2. Although the author might have adapted his

pronouns to fit perfectly, he chose to quote the Psalm directly.

In this unit the author seems to be saying that (1) he acknowledges God's lordship over individuals as well as over the whole earth; (2) the Lord can and does protect all people; (3) His chief protection is against *ἀμαρτίας*; and (4) this is a daily protection from which no believer is excluded. This unit is really a brief expression of several petitions of the Lord's Prayer. The worshiper not only asks for forgiveness, but also acknowledges the rule of God over him and God's gracious protection.

The phrase *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος*

(verses 30b-31) is peculiar to the Psalms (Ps. 9:6, 37; 44:18; 47:15; 71:19; 118:44; 144:1, 2, 21; and 148:6).

It is a translation of the Hebrew טָוֹךְ עַד עַד and the same expression without the prefix: טָוֹךְ עַד . Literally this could be translated: "to eternity and until." The Greek expression is equivalent to the ending on collects in Latin: "in saecula saeculorum," which in English probably should not be expressed "world without end," but "forever and ever."

The third sentence in this unit, verses 34-35, is identical with Ode 7:26 and 14:34. Such a formula of blessing had its beginning with Shem (Gen. 9:26), Abram (Gen. 14:19), and Abraham (Gen. 24:27). The phrase "Lord God of our fathers" (verse 34) is also connected with a blessing in 2 Esdras 7:27 and Tobit 8:5. This expression can be traced

to Ex. 3:15 where the phrase is explained:¹⁸

God also said to Moses, "Say this to the people of Israel, 'The Lord, the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, has sent me to you': this is my name for ever, and thus I am to be remembered throughout all generations."

The worshiper is again called on to give God's name praise (cf. verses 4, 30) and glory (cf. verses 7, 28). The final unaccented **αμην** concludes this section as it had with the first section (verse 28).

The final section is composed of verses 36-46. Verses 36-38 repeat Ps. 118:12 three times; verse 39 is a quotation of Ps. 89:1; verses 40-41, of Ps. 40:5; verses 42-43, of Ps. 142:9-10; and verses 44-46, of Ps. 35:10-11. The final section, then, is made up entirely of psalm verses. Each unit is addressed to the **κύριος**. Each is a reminder of the covenant God made as can be gathered from such terms as statutes (36-38), a place of safety (39, 42), mercy, or covenant love (40, 46), teaching (36-38, 42), life (44), and light (45). The prayer in verse 43 "teach me to do Thy will, for Thou art my God" might be viewed as another way of saying "teach me to glorify Thee."

What thoughts bind these three sections of the ode together? There are several. Because sin threatens the covenant relationship (vv. 19, 21, 33, 41), the worshiper looks to God's **ελεος** (vv. 20, 24, 46) to help in time of need.

¹⁸Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version.

The worshiper is encouraged to praise (vv. 4, 30, 35), bless (vv. 5, 29, 34, 36-38), bow before (v. 6), glorify (vv. 7, 28, 35), give thanks to (v. 8), and do the will of (v. 43) the **κύριος**. It is the **κύριος** (vv. 10, 13, 16, 26, 32, 34, 36-40, 42) and the **θεός** (1, 12, 16, 17, 24, 28, 43) that bind the ode firmly together. These thoughts express the theology of the ode, which is really the theology of the New Testament. Confessing Christ as **κύριος** becomes the true essence of New Testament theology. It is the title **κύριος** that

expresses as does no other the thought that Christ is exalted to God's right hand, glorified, and now intercedes for men before the Father. In designating Jesus as the Kyrios the first Christians declared that he is not only a part of divine Heilsgeschichte in the past, nor just the object of future hope, but a living reality in the present--so alive that he can enter into fellowship with us now, so alive that the believer prays to him, and the Church appeals to him in worship, to bring their prayers before God the Father and make them effective. Both the individual Christian and the gathered Church experience in faith the fact that Jesus lives and continues his work. The Church as the Body of Christ is founded on faith in the exalted Christ who still intervenes in earthly events. The first Christians expressed this deep conviction in their confession of faith Kyrios Jesus, 'Jesus is Lord.'¹⁹

This ode made such an impact on the people who heard it that it was translated into various languages from that moment on. It is these versions, both ancient and modern, that we now wish to examine.

¹⁹Oscar Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, translated by Shirley C. Guthrie and Charles A. M. Hall (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1929), p. 195.

CHAPTER V

VERSIONS OF THE ODE

Ancient

Ancient versions of Ode Fourteen appear in Syrian, Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Armenian manuscripts.

The Syrian church does not have the Gloria in Excelsis except in the Nestorian liturgy.¹ A German translation of the Syriac by Jungmann² reads as follows:

- Ehre Gott in der Höhe
und auf Erden Friede
und gute Hoffnung den Menschen!
- 5 Wir beten dich an,
Wir verherrlichen dich,
Wir erheben dich,
Du Wesen, das von Ewigkeit ist,
Verborgen und von unbegreiflicher Natur,
Vater, Sohn und Hl. Geist,
10 König der Könige und Herr der Herren,
Der du in erhabenem Lichte wohnst,
Den kein Menschenkind gesehen noch sehen kann,
Der du allein heilig bist,
Allein mächtig, allein unsterblich.
- 15 Wir bekennen dich durch den Mittler unserer
Lobpreisungen
Jesus Christus, den Erlöser der Welt
Und den Sohn des Allerhöchsten.

¹John Julian editor, A Dictionary of Hymnody (Second edition; London: John Murray, 1907), col. 458. See also the Takhsa, the Syriac daily missal (1890), and the Odham-u-wathar, the book of daily offices (1892).

²Josef A. Jungmann, Missarum Sollemnia (Wien: Verlag Herder, 1949), I, 430.

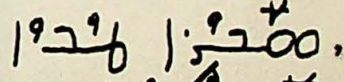
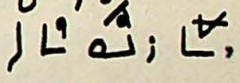
20 O Lamm des lebendigen Gottes,
Der du hinwegnimmst die Sünden der Welt,
Erbarme dich unser!

Der du sitztest zur Rechten des Vaters,
Nimm auf unser Flehen!

25 Denn du bist unser Gott
Und du bist unser Herr
Und du bist unser König
Und du bist unser Erlöser
Und du bist der Vergeber unserer Sünden.

30 Die Augen aller Menschen hangen an dir,
Jesus Christ.

Ehre Gott, deinem Vater
Und dir
Und dem Hl. Geiste
35 In Ewigkeit. Amen.

Wordiness is characteristic of this version: verses 7-8, 10-12, 14-18, 19 "lebendigen," 23-35. Verses 7-8, 11-12, and 14 seem to be a defense against Arianism. Furthermore, the emotionalism of the Syrians is betrayed in verse 23: "Nimm auf unser Flehen!" Probably the most interesting variant is the substitution of "Hoffnung" in verse 3 for "Wohlgefallen," the German equivalent of *εὐδοκία*. This particular variant may be explained by examining the Syriac New Testament at Luke 2:14. The phrase , "a good hope" appears where we might expect , "reconciliation, good will." Although a Syriac palimpsest does have the latter reading, it appears to be an attempt to harmonize with the Greek.

The Gloria in Excelsis also appears in the Apostolic

Constitutions,³ a manuscript that Mercer⁴ dates from the fourth century, and a document that according to Baumstark⁵ represents liturgical forms that are not Syrian, but quite definitely Egyptian. The version from the Apostolic Constitutions reads:

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ
καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη
ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.

- 5 αἰνοῦμέν σε,
ὕμνοῦμέν σε,
εὐλογοῦμέν σε,
δοξολογοῦμέν σε,
προσκυνοῦμέν σε
10 διὰ τοῦ μεγάλου ἀρχιερέως,
σὲ τὸν ἕντα θεὸν ἀγέννητον ἕνα,
ἀπρόσιτον μόνον,
διὰ τὴν μεγάλην σου δόξαν,
15 κύριε βασιλεῦ ἐπουράνιε,
θεὸ πάτερ παντοκράτορ.

- κύριε ὁ θεὸς
ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀμάμου ἀγνοῦ,
ὃς αἶρει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου,
20 πρόσδεξαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν,
ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν κερουβίμ.
ὅτι σὺ μόνος ἅγιος,
σὺ μόνος κύριος Ἰησοῦς,
Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ πάσης γεννητῆς φύσεως,
τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν,
25 δι' οὗ σοι δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ σέβας.

³Franciscus Xavierus Funk, Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum (Faderbornae: in Libraria Ferdinandi Schoeningh, 1905), I, 7, xlvi.

⁴Samuel A. B. Mercer, The Ethiopic Liturgy (Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Company, 1915), pp. 47-8.

⁵Anton Baumstark, "Aegyptischer oder Antiochenischer Liturgietypus in AK I-VII," Oriens Christianus, VII, 388 to 407.

Two manuscripts, of the fourteenth and eleventh to twelfth centuries respectively, have the same reading as the Codex Alexandrinus,⁶ but it seems that these two late manuscripts do not carry enough weight to be used as primary evidence. The occurrence of this reading in the two manuscripts helps to show how much influence the Alexandrinus had already by this time.

There is a close tie to the book of Hebrews in certain terms from the Apostolic Constitutions like ἀρχιερέως (verse 10), ἀμώμου (verse 17), and the reference to the mercy seat in the phrase ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ (verse 20). In Hebrews Ps. 109 is connected with the work of Christ as high priest.⁷ The term ἀμώμου describes Christ's high priestly work as well (Heb. 9:13-14). The mercy seat of the Old Covenant (Heb. 9:5), shadowed by the Cherubim of glory, only pointed to the Mercy Seat to whom all believers are encouraged to come boldly (4:14-16).

If Baumstark is correct in assuming that the Apostolic Constitutions have Egyptian influences, we can also cite a second example of the Gloria from the Egyptian monastery at Schenoudi:⁸

⁶Funk, op. cit., pp. xxviii-xxix, 456.

⁷Oscar Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, translated by Shirley C. Guthrie and Charles A. M. Hall, (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959), pp. 89ff.

⁸Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq editors, "Hymnes," Dictionnaire d'Archeologie chretienne et de Liturgie (Paris: Librairie Letoyzey et Ane, 1925), VI, 2, cols. 2891-92.

δοξα εναι υψισ(τοις) θεω και επει γησ ηρινησ εν ανθρωποις
 (ευδοκιασ) ενουμεν σε ευλουμε(ν σ)ε υμνουμεν σε προσκυνουμεν
 σε (δοξολογουμεν σε) ευχαριστουμεν σε: δια την μ(εγ)αλην σου
 5 δοξα* κυριε βασιλευ επου(ρανιε θεε πατερ παν) τοκρατω* κυριε
 υιε μονογενησ ιησου χριστε και αγιον πνευμα κυριε ο θεοσ ο
 αμνοσ (του θεου ουσιος του πατροσ ο) αιρον* την αμαρτιαν τ(ο)υ
 κοσμου ελεησον ημ(ασ) ο αιρον τ(α)σ αμαρτιασ (του κοσμου)
 προσδεξε ο θεοσ την δεησιν ημων ο καθημενοσ εν δεξια του
 10 πατροσ (και ελεησον ημασ) οτι συ μονοσ αγιοσ συ μονοσ κυριοσ
 ιησου χριστου συν αγιον πνευμα εισ δ(οξ)αιν θεου πατροσ αμην
 (καθεκασταν) ημεραν ευλογισω σε και αινεσω το ονομα σου εισ
 τον αιωνα και εισ τον αιωνα (του αιωνοσ κατα)ξιουσιν κυριε και
 την ημερα ταυτη(ν) αναμαρτητουσ φυλαχτηναι η(μασ ευλογητοσ ει)
 15 κυριε ο θεοσ των πατερων ημων και αινετο και δεδοξασιμενον
 το ονομα σου (εισ τουσ αιωνασ) αμην γενοιτο κυριε το ελεοσ
 σου εφ ημασ καταπερ ηλπισαμεν (επι σε) ευλογητοσσει κυριε
 διδαξον με τα δικαιωματασου ευλογητοσσει κυριε (διδαξον με)
 τα δικαιωματα σου: ευλογητοσσει κυριε συνετισον με τα δικαιωματα
 20 σου: κυριε (καταφυγη εγενηθησ) ημιν εν γεννεα και γεννεα εγω
 ειπα κυριε ελεησον με ιασε την ψυχην μου οτ(ι ημαρτον σοι κυριε
 προσ σε) καιταφυγα διδαξον ε(μ)ε του ποιην το τελημασου οτι συ
 ο θεοσ μου οτι παρα (σοι πηγη ζωησ εν τω φωτι σου) οψαμετα φωσ
 παρατινον το ελεοσ (σου) τοισ γινωσκουσιν σε κυριε το ελεοσ σου
 25 εισ τ(ον αιωνα) μη παριδησ τα εργα τον χειρον σου: συ πρεπει
 αινοσ: συ πρεπει υμνοσ (σοι πρεπει) δοχα τω πατρι και τω υιω
 και του αγιου πνευματοσ εισ τουσ αιωνασ των αιωνων (αμην)

This sixth-century version above betrays a previous acquaintance with the Septuagint version. Verses 1-23a are synonymous with Ode Fourteen. The final sigma in *εις* (verse 24) may be an error in the French dictionary since the other occurrences (verses 10, 11, 12, and 26) are spelled *εισ*. This characteristic is shown on all words that end in sigma. The bracketed words indicate lacunae in the manuscript and are probably Cabrol and Leclercq's reconstruction.

Verses 23b-26 from *κύριε* in verse 23 to the end is in addition to the Septuagint Ode Fourteen. It is similar to the Te Deum. As far as Cabrol⁹ is concerned Ode Fourteen

⁹Ibid., "Doxologies," IV, 2, col. 1534.

itself has resemblances to the Te Deum. Verses 23b-26 may have been considered part of the ode by Egyptian Christians. These verses may also have been placed with Ode Fourteen because of their similarity.

The spelling in the Egyptian document is probably to be explained as a southern dialect in words like επει in line 1 for ἐπί, ενουμεν (verse 2) for αἰνοῦμεν, and in combinations like εὐλογητοσσει (verses 16-18) for εὐλογητὸς εἶ, δικαιωματᾶσσου (verse 17) for δικαιώματά σου, and τελημασσου (verse 21) for θέλημα σου. Also ηρινησ (verse 1) for εἰρήνη may be synonymous, but the final sigma is still unexplainable, unless it serves to heighten the alliteration.

The ἅγιον πνεῦμα is mentioned in verses 5 and 10. In both verses the three Persons of the Trinity appear. The occurrence in verse 10 follows Minuscule Fifty-five of the Septuagint at this point.¹⁰ It may be that there is some relationship between this minuscule and the Egyptian manuscript above. Schneider¹¹ refers to the sixth-century Coptic manuscript Vindobonensis that contains nothing but the Biblical Odes. The Coptic may also be related to the manuscript from Schenoudi and to Minuscule Fifty-five.

¹⁰ Alfred Rahifs, Septuaginta (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1931), X, 364.

¹¹ Heinrich Schneider, "Die biblischen Oden im christlichen Altertum," Biblica, XXX (1949), p. 53.

F. E. Warren¹² acquaints us with a Latin manuscript representing the Celtic liturgy¹³ from the monastery of Bangor in Ireland. He dates the following Latin form A. D. 680-91:¹⁴

AD VESPERUM ET AD MATUTINAM

gloria in excelsis deo
et in terra pax
hominibus bonae voluntatis:.,

5 laudamus te
benedicimus te
adoramus te
glorificamus te
magnificamus te..,

10 gratias agimus tibi
propter magnam misericordiam tuam
domine rex caelestis
deus pater omnipotens:.,

15 DOMINE filii unigenite ihesu christe
sancte spiritus dei
et omnes dicimus amen..,

DOMINE filii dei patris
agne dei
qui tollis peccatum mundi
20 miserere nobis:.,

SUScipe orationem nostram
qui sedes ad dexteram dei patris
miserere nobis:.,

Quoniam tu solus sanctus

¹²F. E. Warren, The Antiphonary of Bangor (London: Harrison & Sons, 1893), pp. viii, fol. 33 recto, cols. 1-2.

¹³Fernand Cabrol, Les Origines Liturgiques (Paris: Letouzey et Ane, 1906), p. 120.

¹⁴Warren, op. cit., pp. xi-xv.

25 tu solus dominus
 tu solus gloriosus
 cum spiritu sancto
 in gloria dei patris amen:.,

The Celtic liturgy prescribes the above "for evening and for morning" (verse 1). The punctuation marks appearing at the end of each section are either sectional dividers or instructions for the choir. Since an antiphonary is a collection of music for use by the choir, the capitalized word, "Domine" (verses 14, 17), and syllable, "sus" (verse 21), may also be musical shorthand for a reciting tone or musical divisions. The "tu solus gloriosus" (verse 26) seems to be an equivalent for **Ἰησοῦς Χριστός** that can be seen in Ode Fourteen. Verse 27 harmonizes with Minuscule Fifty-five, the Coptic Vindobonensis, and Schenoudi manuscript.¹⁵ It is also significant that beginning with the Bangor document the Gloria in Excelsis as we know it today has separated from the rest of the ode that we find in the Septuagint. We should note before leaving this manuscript the substitution of "misericordiam" for "gloriam" in verse 11, the addition "magnificamus te" in verse 9, and the additional rubric in verse 16 "et omnes dicimus amen." It is impossible to say whether these changes could be traced to a different locality, or whether there was a change because the sound of certain syllables with a particular musical setting fit more naturally

¹⁵Supra, pp. 49-51.

together. The writer reverted to John 1:29, 36 in verse 19 with the singular "peccatum," and so bypassed the plural in the Codex Alexandrinus.

The next Latin form comes from a tenth-century manuscript:¹⁶

Gloria in excelsis Deo.
Et in terra pax hominibus bonae voluntatis.

5 Laudamus te,
Benedicimus te,
Adoramus te,
Glorificamus te,
Hymnum dicimus tibi,
Gratias agimus tibi
Propter magnam gloriam tuam.

10 Domine Deus Rex coelestis,
Deus Pater omnipotens,
Domine Fili unigenite Jesu Christe altissime,
Domine Deus,
Agnus Dei,
15 Filius Patris,
qui tollis peccata mundi,
miserere nobis.

20 Qui tollis peccata mundi
suscipe deprecationem nostram;
qui sedes ad dexteram Patris,
miserere nobis,
quoniam tu solus sanctus,
tu solus Dominus,
tu solus Altissimus Jesu Christe
25 cum sancto Spiritu
in gloria Dei Patris.

The additional phrase "Hymnum dicimus tibi" is synonymous with *ὑμνοῦμέν σε* of the Apostolic Constitutions, except that in the latter the phrase occurred after the equivalent

¹⁶ Joannis Bonae, "Missa Latina," Patrologiae: Patrum Latinorum, edited by J. P. Migne (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1880), CXXXVIII, col. 1314. Hereafter Migne's edition will be referred to as MPL and to the Greek fathers as MFG.

of verse 3 above. Following the Alexandrinus "gloriam" appears in verse 9 as contrasted to "misericordiam" in the Bangor manuscript. In the above tenth-century manuscript for the first time verses 10-12 become detached from the second sentence and have joined to the third sentence. In verse 11 there is an additional "Deus," probably for added emphasis.

Another first is the omission of "sancte spiritus dei" after verse 12, but the inclusion of "cum sancto Spiritu" in verse 25. The Iconoclastic Controversy (A. D. 725-842), described by Wellesz¹⁷ may account for this omission.

The use of "altissime" (verse 12) and "Altissimus" (verse 24) with "Jesu Christe" may be based on Jerome's Vulgate, which reads "altissimus" for "excelsis" in Luke 2:14.

The substitution of "deprecationem" for "orationem" (verse 19) does not seem to change the basic meaning of the sentence.

The plural "peccata" reflects the Alexandrinus and emphasizes it by its double use (verses 16, 18).

Probably originating about the same time is the Ambrosian Antiphony, described in two installments of a musical

¹⁷ Egon Wellesz, A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography (Second edition; Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1941), pp. 169-70.

Journal in volumes v18 and VI,¹⁹ and quoted by Cabrol and
Leclercq as follows:²⁰

Gloria in excelsis deo
et in terra pax
hominibus bone voluntatis.

- 5 laudamus te.
hymnum dicimus tibi.
benedicimus te.
glorificamus
adoramus te.
10 gratias tibi agimus
propter magnam gloriam tuam.
domine rex celestis
deus pater omnipotens
ihesu xpiste
sancte spiritus
15 domine deus
filius patris.

- Agnus dei
qui tollis peccata mundi
20 suscipe deprecationem nostram.
qui sedes ad dexteram patris
miserere nobis.

- Miserere nobis
subveni nobis
dirige nos
25 conserva nos
munda nos
pacifica nos.

- Libera nos
ab inimicis,
30 a temptationibus,
ab haereticis,
ab arianis,
a schismaticis,
a barbaris.

¹⁸"L'antiphonaire ambrosien, addit. 34209," Paleo-
graphie musicale, V (1895), 266-67.

¹⁹Ibid., VI (1900), 316-20.

²⁰Cabrol and Leclercq, op. cit., "Doxologies," IV, 2,
cols. 1533-34.

- 35 Quia tu solus sanctus;
tu solus Dominus,
tu solus

 cum sancto spiritu
40 in secula seculorum. Amen.

Verse 5 follows the same order as its equivalent in the Apostolic Constitutions: ὑμνοῦμέν σε . This relationship illustrates a further resemblance between the Ambrosian and the oriental liturgies.²¹

A special mark of this manuscript is the Latin transliteration "ihesu" for the Greek Ἰησοῦ , and a complete transliteration of "xpiste" for Χριστέ (verse 13). "Agnus dei" (verse 17) is excluded from the second sentence. This probably marks the beginning of hymns like The Lutheran Hymnal's "Agnus Dei."²² The sentence structure of the second sentence above (verses 4-16) is probably a pattern also followed by The Lutheran Hymnal in its morning worship.²³

The series of prayers in verses 22-27 seems to be an amplification of verse 21. It also serves as a bridge to the next special prayer (verses 28-34). This prayer is the first specific mention of the Arians by name, although the

²¹Ibid., cols. 1535-36.

²²The Lutheran Hymnal (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1942), Hymn 147. Hereafter it will be referred to as TLH.

²³Ibid., pp. 7-9, 17-19.

Syriac Gloria in Excelsis seemed to be a defense against the same heresy.²⁴

Verse 38 has dropped out, but probably was also a continuation of verse 37. The last group (verses 35-40) closes the entire Gloria as a prayer with an ending like the collects: "in secula seculorum." Since the date of this antiphony is unknown, it may well have set the pattern for the collects that followed in the sacramentaries of the Middle Ages.

Perhaps getting closer to those sacramentaries is the Armenian form that we have in a Latin translation:²⁵

Gloria in excelsis Deo
et in terra pax
hominibus bonae voluntatis.

Laudamus te.

5 Hymnis te celebramus,
te benedicimus,
gloriamus te,
adoramus te,
per magnum pontificem.

10 Te Deum ingenitum,
inaccessum,
solum,
propter magnam gloriam tuam.

15 Domine,
Rex coelestis,
Deus Pater omnipotens.

²⁴Supra, Syriac version, pp. 46-47.

²⁵Gabriel Avedichian, Origines et Raison de la Liturgie Catholique suivies de la Liturgie Armenienne, in Encyclopedie Theologique, traduite par l'Abbe J. B. E. Pascal, publiees par M. l'Abbe Migne (Paris: Aux Ateliers Catholiques, 1863), VIII, col. 506.

Domine Deus,
 Pater Christi
 Agni immaculati,
 20 qui tollit peccatum mundi,
 suscipe deprecationem nostram.

Qui sedes super Cherubin,
 quoniam tu solus Sanctus;
 Tu solus Dominus
 25 Jesu Christi
 Dei omnis naturae creatae,
 Regis nostri
 per quem tibi
 gloria,
 30 honor,
 veneratio.

The Armenian version follows the Apostolic Constitutions in the order of verses 4-9 above. Verse 9 has the reading "pontificem" for the first time, where the Apostolic Constitutions read ἐπίσκοπος. Verses 10-31 are a very careful translation of the Apostolic Constitutions by a Doctor Grancelas²⁶ probably of the Armenian church. On certain festivals there were a few variations. On the festival of the Blessed Virgin after the words "quoniam tu solus sanctus" (verse 23) was said "Mariam sanctificans"; after "Tu solus Dominus" (verse 24), the response "Mariam gubernans"; and after "Tu solus altissimus Jesu Christi"²⁷ (verse 25), "Mariam coronans."²⁸ On a day of dedication or on an

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid. This response is in the version of Cardinal Bona, but not in the one quoted.

²⁸ Ibid.

anniversary following "adoramus te" (verse 8) were said the following words: "Omnipotens, adorande, colende, tremende, venerande."²⁹

Tradition about the authorship of the ode is varied. Since Alcuin (A. D. 800) the ode has been ascribed to Hilary of Potiers.³⁰ Avedichian³¹ has also suggested as possible composers Pope Telesphore (second century), Pope Symmachus (died A. D. 514), and Hilary (died A. D. 368). With Avedichian it is difficult to understand Alcuin's statement that the middle and end of the ode are attributed to Hilary, but that Pope Telesphore introduced it into the mass in the second century.³² The church fathers at the Fourth Council of Toledo attributed the verses following the opening words to the "ecclesiastical doctors."³³ Perhaps we should heed the advice of Avedichian in another place about the authorship of any hymn:³⁴ "Le venerable Bede, saint

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Bruno Stublein, "Gloria in excelsis Deo," Musik im Geschichte und Gegenwart (Kassel und Basel: im Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1956), V, col. 304.

³¹Avedichian, op. cit., col. 504.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid., "Hymnes," col. 660.

Bernard, Abailard et quelques autres moins connus, ont réussi dans ce genre de composition."

There are many other references to the Gloria in Excelsis and to the Odes. Among them Ambrose³⁵ has a vague reference in his psalm commentary: "Quam jucundum inchoare ab hymnis et canticis, a beatitudinibus quas in evangelio legis." The tract "De Virginitate,"³⁶ a spurious writing of St. Athanasius,³⁷ prescribes the Gloria in Excelsis for the morning. Schneider³⁸ refers to this use of the Gloria in Excelsis, as well as to its appearance in the mass at Rome beginning with the sixth century. The Gloria and the Odes were preserved in varying forms through local liturgies and even private libraries.³⁹

Some fragments recall part of the ode. One fragment from Zaghouan⁴⁰ reads:

GLORIA IN EX(selsis)

³⁵Ambrose, "In Psalm. CXVIII," MPL, KV, col. 1479.

³⁶St. Athanasius, "De Virginitate," MPG, XXVIII, col. 276.

³⁷John Julian, A Dictionary of Hymnody (London: John Murray, 1907), col. 459.

³⁸Schneider, op. cit., pp. 57, 270.

³⁹C. Blume, "Der Engelhymnus 'Gloria in excelsis Deo,'" Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, LXXIII (1907), 43-44.

⁴⁰Cabrol and Leclercq, op. cit., "Doxologies," IV, 2, col. 1528.

From Carthage⁴¹ is this remnant:

GLORIA IN
+
DEO EZ(xcelsis)

From Ammaedera (Haidra) on two cornices of a column in a
Christian basilica:⁴²

GLORIA IN EXCEL	H O M N I B
SIS AO ET IN TE	BONE BOLV
RRA PAX	MTATIS

From Chusira (Kessera) on a marble slab:⁴³

(Gloria in exc)ELSYS DO ET IN TERR(a) PAX P In Numidia
on the door of a church:⁴⁴

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO ET IN
TERRA PAX HOMINIBVS BONAE VOLON
TATIS -- HAEC EST DOMVS DEI

In the ruins of a church near Henchir Abdallah, close to Ain
Beida:⁴⁵

GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO
PAX IN TERRA HOMINIBVS
BONE VOLVM(tatis) SPES IN
DEO SEMPER

A palmette from Bordj el Amri (twenty-eight kilometers from
tunis) has this inscription on the tip:⁴⁶

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid., col. 1529.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid., cols. 1529-30.

D(onus) D(ei Glor)IA INESCE(isis Deo et inter)RA PAX

From Dra ben Joader:⁴⁷

GLORIA IN (ex)SELSIS DEO

From Uppenna (Henchar Chigarnia) is a mosaic discovered in the ruins of a Christian basilica:⁴⁸

GLORIA IN ESCE
LSIS DEO ET IN TERA PACS OMNIBVS

From El Barah is this fragment:⁴⁹

†ΑΘΑΝΥΥΙΕΤ(ο)ΙΕ ΚΑΙΕΝΙΤΗΕΙΡΩΝΙΑΙΕΝ

However, it should not be forgotten that these particular fragments may merely be recalling Luke 2:14 without any intended reference to the ode or to the Gloria in Excelsis.

These ancient versions of the ode prepared the way for the modern versions of Ode Fourteen.

Modern

All modern versions of Ode Fourteen are based on these early versions.

The Roman Missal of the past century follows the same pattern as today:⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Ibid., col. 1530.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ The Roman Missal for the Use of the Laity (London: Burns & Lambert, 1852), p. 119.

Gloria in excelsis Deo;
et in terra pax
hominibus bonae voluntatis.

5 Laudamus te;
benedicimus te;
adoramus te;
glorificamus te.

Gratias agimus tibi
propter magnam gloriam tuam.

10 Domine Deus,
Rex coelestis,
Deus Pater omnipotens.

Domine Fili unigenite
Jesu Christe;
15 Domine Deus,
Agnus Dei,
Filius Patris,
qui tollis peccata mundi,
miserere nobis:
20 qui tollis peccata mundi,
suscipe deprecationem nostram:
qui sedes ad dexteram Patris,
miserere nobis.

25 Quoniam tu solus sanctus:
tu solus Dominus:
tu solus altissimus,
Jesu Christe,
cum Sancto Spiritu,
in gloria Dei Patris. Amen.

The Roman Missal basically follows the Codex Alexandrinus of the Septuagint. Verse 10 adds "Deus" as did the tenth-century mass of Joannis Bonae, and the Latin version of the Armenian liturgy. Verses 10-12 did not follow the Latin precursor of the tenth century. Instead of being part of verses 4-9 these verses split into a sentence by themselves. The next two verses (vv. 14-15) in the Alexandrinus belong with verses 4-9 also. However, in the Roman Missal they have been joined to verses 15-23. There is no reference to

the Holy Spirit as we had in the Alexandrinus and in the Bangor document following verse 14 and before verse 15. The "deprecationem nostram" (verse 21) also follows the tenth-century Latin instead of following the "orationem nostram" of the Bangor manuscript. The "tu solus altissimus" (verse 26) and the "cum Sancto Spiritu" match the tenth-century Latin, with the latter appearing also in the Greek Minuscule Fifty-five.

The version in The Lutheran Hymnal reads:⁵¹

Glory be to God on high:
And on earth peace,
good will toward men.

5 We praise Thee,
We bless Thee,
We worship Thee,
We glorify Thee,
We give thanks to Thee,
for Thy great glory.

10 O Lord God,
heav'nly King,
God the Father Almighty.

O Lord,
the only-begotten Son,
15 Jesus Christ;
O Lord God,
Lamb of God,
Son of the Father,
That takest away the sin of the world,
20 have mercy upon us.

Thou that takest away the sin of the world,
have mercy upon us.

Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father,
have mercy upon us.

⁵¹TLH, pp. 7-9, 17-19.

25 For Thou only art holy;
Thou only art the Lord.

Thou only, O Christ,
with the Holy Ghost,
art most high

30 in the glory of God the Father. Amen.

Verses 1-3 give the theme of the ode. Unfortunately for some Christians it is not the King James wording of Luke 2:14. Although the wording we have above was probably done for metrical reasons, the difference between it and the King James Version has no doubt kept many worshipers from recognizing that verses 1-3 are identical with Luke 2:14.

Verses 4-9 match the ode exactly. Verses 10-12 are a nominative of address. But they have been broken off from verses 4-9 and like the Roman Missal are now in a sentence by themselves. In this half-way position they could go either with what precedes (verses 4-9) or with what follows (verses 13-20). Because verse 10 begins at the top of page eight in the hymnal, many worshipers may feel that verses 10-12 go with the latter. If this were the case verse 18 "Son of the Father" would have no meaning if applied to the Father and the Son.

Verses 13-20 have one missing ingredient, a reference to the Holy Spirit, which we should expect to come between verses 15 and 16. With this reference missing, verses 10-12 were stranded, and verses 13-15 were attached to verses 16 to 20. This runs counter to the composition of the ode, which treated verses 4-15 plus the reference to the Holy

Spirit as one sentence.⁵²

Verses 16-24 follow the ode. However, like verses 4-15 they have been split into sections instead of being one sentence. Splitting verses 16-24 is not as serious as the partition in verses 4-15 because of the repetition in verses 19-20, 21-22, and 23-24. Verse 23 is longer than its Greek counterpart, whose translation would read: "Thou that sittest at the Father's right." The translation in verse 23 creates the longest verse in the entire Gloria.

Verses 25-26 are accurate translations of the ode. Yet, they too have been broken off from verses 27-30. The content of verses 26-27 is an expansion of the Greek ode that might be translated: "Thou only art the Lord, Jesus Christ." Verse 28 follows Minuscule Fifty-five exactly.⁵³ Verse 29 is most puzzling. Julian⁵⁴ regards the words "art most high" (verse 29) as spurious. The words may be related to the Latin mass of the tenth century where "altissimus" appears both times Jesus Christ is mentioned by name;⁵⁵ in The Lutheran Hymnal these would be verses 15 and 26-27. The use of "most high" may be connected with Jerome's use of

⁵² Supra, Chapter IV.

⁵³ Alfred Rahlfs editor, Septuaginta (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1931), X, 364.

⁵⁴ Julian, op. cit., col. 425.

⁵⁵ Joannis Bonae, "Missa Latina," MPL, CXXXVIII, col. 1314.

"altissimus" for "excelsis" in the Vulgate at Luke 2:14.

Verse 30 reproduces the ode substantially.

It is very likely that Joannis Bonae's Latin mass or its direct descendent greatly influenced the form found in The Lutheran Hymnal.

Not only literal versions of the ode, but also paraphrases appeared especially in the Reformation century.

Paraphrases of the Ode

One of the more familiar paraphrases is the German "Allein Gott in der HÖh sei Ehr'" of Decius, written about 1525:⁵⁶

- Allein Gott in der HÖh sei Ehr'
 Und Dank für seine Gnade
 Darum dass nun und nimmermehr
 Uns röhren kann kein Schade.
 5 Ein Wohlgefall'n Gott an uns hat,
 Nun ist gross' Fried ohn' Unterlass,
 All' Fehd' hat nun ein Ende.
- Wir loben, preis'n, anbeten dich
 Für deine Ehr'; wir danken.
 10 Dass du, Gott Vater, ewiglich
 Regierest ohn' alles Wanken.
 Ganz ungemess'n ist deine Macht,
 Fort g'schieht, was dein Will' hat bedacht;
 Wohl uns des feinen Herren!
- 15 O Jesu Christ, Sohn eingebor'n
 Deines himmlischen Vaters,
 Versöhner der'r die war'n verlör'n,
 Du Stiller unsers Haders,
 Lamm Gottes, heil'ger Herr und Gott,
 20 Nimm an die Bitt' von unsrer Not,
 Erbarm' dich unser aller!

⁵⁶W. G. Polack editor, The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1942), p. 177.

O Heil'ger Geist, du höchstes Gut,
 Du allerheilsamst' Tröster,
 Vor's Teufels G'walt fortan behüt',
 25 Die Jesus Christ erlöset
 Durch grosse Mart'r und bitterm Tod,
 Abwend all unsern Jamm'r und Not!
 Darauf wir uns verlassen.

It is interesting to see that the first stanza has brought out Luke 2:14 and interpreted it for the worshiper. Verses 1, 5, and 6 especially bring out this first sentence of the ode. Verses 8-9 express the first part of the ode concisely. The single verb "Regierest" (verse 11) expresses the noun *Παντοκράτωρ* of the ode as the God who is in action and who still carries out His will (verse 13). Verses 15-21 consider the sentence about Christ's work. The titles "Sohn eingebor'n Deines himmlischen Vaters" (verses 15-16), "Versöhner" (verse 17), "Lamm Gottes, heil'ger Herr und Gott" (verse 19) mirror the ode. Verse 21 renders *ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς* of the ode. The section verses 22-28 is an expansion of the ode. The author of this paraphrase felt he had to give the Spirit an equal place in the hymn. Especially prominent are the tasks of Comforter (verse 23) and Protector (verse 24). For Decius the Gloria was made up of the first part of the ode and no more.

Some differences in German hymnals as "g'schicht" for "g'schieht" (verse 13), "für's" for "Vor's" (verse 24), and "darzu" for "Darauf" (verse 28)⁵⁷ are residues of Early New

⁵⁷Kirchen-Gesangbuch für Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinden (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1880), p. 1.

High German.

At about the same time another Nikolas, Nikolas Selnecker wrote a version similar to the one just cited:⁵⁸

- Allein Gott in der höh sey ehr',
 Und dank sey seiner gnade.
 Er sorget, dass uns nimmermehr
 Gefahr und unfall schade.
- 5 Uns wohlzuthun ist er bereit,
 Sein rath ist unsre seligkeit.
 Erhebet ihn mit freuden.
- Ja, Vater! wir erheben dich
 Mit freudigem gemüthe.
- 10 Du herrschest unveränderlich
 Mit weisheit und mit güte.
 Unendlich gross ist deine macht
 Und stets geschieht, was du bedacht.
 Wohl uns, dass du regierest.
- 15 O Jesu Christ, des Höchsten Sohn!
 Dich seinen Eingebornen,
 Dich sandte Gott vom himmelsthron
 Zur rettung der verlornen.
- 20 Du Mittler zwischen uns und Gott,
 Hilf uns im leben und im tod
 Erbarm' dich unser aller!
- O heil'ger Geist, Du geist von Gott,
 Erleuchte, bess're, trüste,
 Die Jesus Christ durch seinen tod
- 25 Zum dienst des Herrn erlös'te.
 Auf deinen beistand hoffen wir:
 Verlass uns nicht, so sind wir hier
 Und auch einst ewig selig.

Selnecker's version is basically the content of Decius' composition. Verses 1-7 of Decius seem to express Luke 2:14 more clearly. The accent of Selnecker on "Mittler" (verse 19)

⁵⁸Neuestes Gemeinschaftliches Gesangbuch zum gottesdienstlichen Gebrauch der Lutherischen und Reformirten Gemeinden in Nord-Amerika (New York: A. Liebenroth und von Auw, 1861), pp. 16-17. Selnecker's dates are approximately 1530-90.

could indicate that he had ἐπιπέσει of the Apostolic Constitutions before him. But it is very likely that he merely reinterpreted Decius' version in his own words that often could not surpass that version, and so repeated it or made very minor changes.

Another paraphrase by an anonymous writer in the sixteenth century is called "All' Ehr' und Lob soll Gottes sein." W. G. Polack has translated this paraphrase in The Lutheran Hymnal as follows:⁵⁹

- All glory be to God alone,
 Forevermore the Highest One,
 Who doth our sinful race befriend
 and grace and peace to us extend.
 5 Among mankind may His good will
 All hearts with deep thanksgiving fill.
- We praise Thee, God, and Thee we bless;
 We worship Thee in humbleness;
 From day to day we glorify
 10 Thee, everlasting God on high.
 Of Thy great glory do we sing,
 And e'er to Thee our thanks we bring.
- Lord God, our King on heaven's throne,
 Our Father, the Almighty One,
 15 O Lord, the Sole-begotten One,
 Lord Jesus Christ, the Father's Son,
 True God from all eternity,
 O Lamb of God, to Thee we flee.
- Thou dost the world's sin take away;
 20 Have mercy on us, Lord, we pray.
 Thou dost the world's sin take away;
 Give ear unto the prayer we say.
 Thou sitt'st at God's right hand for aye;
 Have mercy on us, Lord, we pray.
- 25 Thou only art the Holy One;
 Thou art o'er all things Lord alone.

⁵⁹TLH, Hymn 238.

O Jesus Christ, we glorify
Thee only as the Lord Most High;
Thou art, the Holy Ghost with Thee,
30 One in the Father's majesty.

Amen, this ever true shall be,
As angels sing adoringly.
By all creation, far and wide,
Thou, Lord, art ever glorified;
35 And Thee all Christendom doth praise
Now and through everlasting days.

The translator of the German paraphrase comes closest to expressing the content of Ode Fourteen in English. Verses 1-6 express the first sentence of the Gloria, namely Luke 2:14. "The Highest One" (verse 2) describes Christ as the tenth-century Latin version had done. The extending of peace (verse 4) suggests the bringing of the covenant of peace. It is God's good will (verse 5) that all hearts are filled with thanksgiving (verse 6).

Verses 7-12 express the small units of the ode in the same order: praise, bless (verse 7), worship (verse 8), glorify (verse 9), and give thanks (verse 12). Verses 9-10 seem to indicate an acquaintance with verse 29 of the ode: "Day by day I will bless Thee, and I will praise Thy name forever and ever."

Verses 13-18 treat the Persons of the Trinity to whom the ode is addressed. Unfortunately the translation does not include a reference to the Holy Spirit. The translator may be depending on the Latin version of the tenth century rather than the Alexandrinus in verses 13-18. Verse 18 is similar to verse 42 of the Alexandrinus "Lord, to Thee I flee."

Verses 19-24 paraphrase the third sentence of the ode. This paraphrase repeats "Thou dost the world's sin take away" (verses 19, 21) and "Have mercy on us, Lord, we pray" (verses 20, 24) the same number of times and at approximately the same places as the ode.

Verses 25-30 reproduce the fourth sentence of the ode. The form resembles the tenth-century "altissimus" in verse 28, and "the Holy Ghost with Thee" (verse 29). "The *δοξα* of God the Father" of the Alexandrinus can be seen in the term "majesty" (verse 30).

Verses 31-36 speak as though the translator were Luther himself. By discussing the "amen" at this point, the translator may have the Ambrosian Antiphony in mind with its similar ending: "in secula seculorum. Amen."

The same translator of "All' Ehr' und Lob" summed up the Gloria in Excelsis this way:⁶⁰

No metrical version, however, no matter how ingeniously constructed can take the place of the ancient canticle, which has the sanction of time and usage and which should be retained as a part of our rich liturgical heritage of the past. Though we know not its author, the Gloria in Excelsis, as an orthodox confession of faith, every statement of which has a firm Scriptural basis, is such a sublime canticle, such a rich outburst of praise and thanksgiving in honor of the Father and His creation and reconciliation, in adoration of the Son as the Redeemer, and in the glorification of the Triune God in the fulness of His majesty, that the entire hymn represents practically a unit of surpassing power and loveliness.

⁶⁰W. G. Polack, Hymns from the Harps of God (New York: Ernst Kaufmann, Inc., 1940), p. 26.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

One worship pattern that is meaningless to many people is the Gloria in Excelsis. It would seem that by studying its history, form, and usage, and by recording the results, those who examined this evidence carefully would be able to overcome some of this apparent meaninglessness.

The original of the Gloria in Excelsis is probably the fourteenth ode of Rablfs' Septuagint. This paper attempted to compare that ode with the version in the forepart of The Lutheran Hymnal. This paper also attempted to study the history, form, and usage of the Gloria in Excelsis and record the results to give this worship form more meaning.

The Gloria in Excelsis is preserved in early Greek, Latin, Syrian, Coptic, and Armenian manuscripts from the fifth through the tenth centuries. Origen and Hesychius also commented on the Odes.

The earliest manuscript witness of Ode Fourteen is the fifth-century Codex Alexandrinus. This collection is illuminated by a large, two-color colophon: Fourteen Odes. To Schneider the writer was giving the entire collection canonical status and a Christian stamp of approval. Schneider believed in dual authorship for the entire Alexandrinus, with the second author responsible for the Odes.

When the Odes came into the Septuagint is uncertain. Their appearance in the Codex Alexandrinus is the earliest and most definite evidence.

The Old Testament set a pattern for hymns like the Odes in two songs of Moses (Ex. 15:1-19 and Deut. 32:1-43), which could be looked on as congregational songs. They have become odes one and two of the fourteen odes. However, individual worship is also stressed in prayers like those of Hannah, Habakkuk, Isaiah, Jonah, and Ezekiel. These prayers are odes three, four, five, six, and eleven respectively.

Early writers like Pliny the Younger and Eusebius are witnesses to hymns like the odes in their communities. This worship in song became prominent in Christian communities from very early.

The New Testament followed the pattern set by the Old Testament in songs recorded by Luke and the book of Revelation, as well as some possible hymns in First and Second Timothy. Paul's reference to "psalms, hymns, and spiritual odes" (Eph. 5:19; Col. 3:16) are probably best illustrated in 1 Tim. 3:16 and Phil. 2:6-11, early confessions of faith.

Otto Michel and Henry Joel Cadbury treat the subject of confessions of faith more fully. Michel assumes a Hellenistic and rabbinic influence on the church service and preaching. The worship pattern of the early Christians to him had a Palestinian-Greek form. More than that, the content of the preaching was somehow related to the influences from

Hellenistic and rabbinic association. Jewish concepts had a Hellenistic form, and even Hellenistic and rabbinic concepts were not absent from the Christian worship service. The synagogue was the melting-pot for rabbinic, oriental, and Hellenistic elements. The author to the Hebrews is pictured as writing to that kind of a synagogue situation. He is described as accommodating himself to Jewish and Hellenistic concepts and overcoming them.

Cadbury mentions a custom among historians of inserting speeches of leading characters in a narrative to satisfy the ego of the writer. This was especially true of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Thucydides. Thucydides points out that not all reports in his history are accurate, for where material was lacking, a speech or description of what might have happened is supplied to give a general impression of the circumstances. Cadbury does not say that Luke follows this pattern of Thucydides completely, for Luke does quote the speeches of Jesus accurately. This leaves the possibility that other parts of Luke and Acts were invented by Luke. In the songs Luke imitates older hymnology. The Gloria in Excelsis could possibly come from a Greek source or from oral tradition, but to Cadbury it is more likely that it is the author's own composition and conforms at least in that respect to Luke's predecessors and contemporaries of history.

Cadbury insists that the question of source and dependence can only be settled by a careful study of the text.

This is a principle that must be upheld. If this is done the accompanying task of demonstrating the uniqueness of Christianity will also be carried out. The latter seems to have been neglected by both Michel and Cadbury. All the textual evidence should be allowed to speak for itself.

The theme of Ode Fourteen is Luke 2:14. God's glory is both what God is and God's people's response to what He is. This response is nothing less than worship of the true God. The highest is probably a reference to a realm or sphere of activity. Psalm 112 (113 in English) seems to be an excellent commentary on Luke 2:14. Peace is related to the new covenant. Proclaiming or conferring peace on another seems to be an act of bringing the covenant to them and of proclaiming the Messianic kingdom. This proclamation was done by angels at Bethlehem, as well as by Christians since then. Good will is God's good will, proclaimed for all people.

The text of the ode is in Rahlfs' editions of the Septuagint. Verses 1-28 form the basis for the English version of the Gloria in Excelsis. Verses 29-35 and 40-41 are also included in the liturgy in various orders of service for morning and evening worship. Verses 29-31, 36-39, and 42-46 are from the Psalms.

The ode may be divided into three parts: verses 1-28; verses 29-35; and verses 36-46. The first part (verses 1-28) consists of four units. The first unit (verses 1-3)

is Luke 2:14, the topic sentence and theme of the ode. The second sentence (verses 4-15) describes the *δοξα* of the first sentence: both what God is and the response of the people of God to what He is. The third unit (verses 16-24) seems to explain the *εἰρήνη* of the topic sentence: the bringing of a new covenant through Christ, who removes the barrier to that covenant, *ἁμαρτίας*. The fourth unit (verses 25-28) is addressed to Christ.

The second section of the ode is composed of verses 29-35. The unaccented *αὐτῷ* marks the end of this section.

The final section (verses 36-46) closes the ode.

The ode is bound together by the concept of sin threatening the covenant relationship, but the Lord's mercy and help overcoming that barrier. The worshiper is encouraged to respond to this God, the *κύριος*. This title sums up the theology of the ode and of the entire New Testament.

Versions of the ode appear in ancient and modern form. Ancient versions of Ode Fourteen appear in Syrian, Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Armenian.

The Syrian form is found in the Nestorian liturgy. The topic sentence follows the Syriac New Testament, the entire document being characterized by wordiness.

The Apostolic Constitutions is more Egyptian than Syrian. It appears to have a close tie to the book of Hebrews.

The sixth-century document from the monastery of

Schenoudi in Egypt follows the Septuagint version quite closely. The ending has echoes of the Te Deum. The reading $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu \alpha\gamma\iota\omicron\nu\nu \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ follows Minuscule Fifty-five.

The seventh-century Antiphonary of Bangor from Ireland is a representative of the Celtic liturgy. It also follows the reading of Minuscule Fifty-five like the document from Schenoudi.

The tenth-century Latin mass of Joannis Bonae begins to resemble the form with which we are familiar today. The Father and the Son, but not the Holy Spirit are directly addressed in the Gloria. The final form of this Latin mass may be the result of the Iconoclastic Controversy, as well as a dependence on Jerome's translation of Luke 2:14.

The Ambrosian Antiphonary is related to oriental liturgies and probably also to Minuscule Fifty-five. Interesting is its prayer against heretics, Arians, schismatics, and barbarians.

The Armenian form is related to the Apostolic Constitutions, except that the "greater pontiff" is the one through whom praise to God is to go.

Tradition ascribes the authorship of this ode to Hilary of Potiers, to Pope Telesphore, or to Pope Symmachus.

Many references to the ode, direct and indirect, are given by church fathers, local liturgies, or private libraries. Possible fragments of the hymn appear throughout North Africa and Egypt, but these fragments may only be

remnants of Luke 2:14 rather than of the entire ode.

Modern versions appear in the Roman Missal and The Lutheran Hymnal, among others. A serious discrepancy in the latter is the omission of the Holy Spirit in the address to the Father and the Son, as well as the fragmentation of the entire composition.

Paraphrases of the ode occur in hymns like "Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr'" of Decius and Selnecker, and in the translation of the anonymous hymn, "All' Ehr' und Lob soll Gottes sein" into English by W. G. Polack, "All Glory Be to God Alone." the latter seems to betray references to other parts of the ode besides the Gloria in Excelsis proper.

History shows that a great variety of changes has taken place in the ode from the first writing in the Codex Alexandrinus. It has revealed that the ode as first written addressed the Trinity, where modern versions only have an address to the Father and the Son. This seems to do the Holy Spirit an injustice, as well as make the entire Gloria less meaningful. It would seem that this would call for a version in which this Person of the Trinity is recognized not only at the end of the Gloria, but also the first time the Father and the Son are addressed (verses 10-15).

The sentence structure has not followed that of the Septuagint in the English version. This will probably be corrected if the Holy Spirit is put back in the address to the Father and the Son. Then verse 16 may rightly begin a

new sentence with the words, "O Lord God, Lamb of God. . . ."

Furthermore, some effort should be made to make the worshiper aware that the version in The Lutheran Hymnal and other modern versions like the Roman Missal are only a small part of the entire composition as it was first written. The debt of this rich composition to the Te Deum, the Morning and Evening Suffrages, and to The Suffrages for either morning or evening use ought not pass beyond the worshiper's notice or understanding. It is still a question for further research to determine whether the Septuagint version of Ode Fourteen in its entirety should replace the present modern version with which we are acquainted.

Whatever formal changes this may have pointed up, it may also involve composing a musical setting that will express what the ode says. This is also for further research to determine.

The examination of the ode has revealed above all its rich Scriptural basis. This seems to be overlooked when we acquaint someone with the liturgy. To study this ode with an eye on Scripture passages which it helps illumine would greatly aid the worshiper to see that the Gloria in Excelsis does have meaning. But it requires the earnest, devoted study of Christians who know their Scriptures and are willing to make the effort to let those holy writings speak to them where they are. Some avenues of exploration would be a careful study of Luke 2:14 which this paper only began, a

comparison of Psalm 112 (113 in English) with the Gloria, a study of various hymns and songs in Luke and in the rest of the Old and New Testaments, and perhaps a course in the first hymn book, the Psalms, with related lessons that pointed to various hymns in use today. What about taking any portion of the liturgy and in Bible class or a special class relating it to the Old and New Testaments? Someone, if available, who has written hymns or made translations could be invited to speak to a church group on principles of his work and on making the worship life more meaningful. But the pastor and people themselves should be challenged to make their own individual study and search as far as their talents permit, share this information with one another either formally or informally, and never try to substitute these forms for the reading of the Scriptures themselves from which the forms were taken.

The Gloria in Excelsis can be meaningful if it speaks to people today as an expression of their worship to God and if it points to the Scriptures as its source. It is up to the worshiper to see both happen.

APPENDIX

MORNING HYMN

ODE FOURTEEN

Glory in the heights to God,
And on earth peace
To men of God's good will.

5 We praise You,
We bless You,
We worship You,
We glorify You,
We thank You
For Your great glory,
10 O Lord,
Heavenly King,
God, the Father, Ruler of All,
O Lord, the only Son,
Jesus Christ,
15 And O Holy Spirit.

O Lord God,
The Lamb of God,
The Son of the Father,
Who takes away the sins of the world
20 Have mercy on us;
Who takes away the sins of the world,
Receive our prayer;
Who sits at the Father's right,
Have mercy on us.

25 For You alone are holy,
You alone are Lord,
Jesus Christ,
To the glory of God, the Father. Amen.

30 Day by day we bless You,
And we praise Your name
Forever and ever.

Grant, Lord, that also this day
We may be kept from sin.

35 Blessed are You, Lord God of our fathers,
And praised and glorified be Your name forever. Amen.

Blessed are You, Lord; teach me Your commandments.
Blessed are You, Lord; teach me Your commandments.
Blessed are You, Lord; teach me Your commandments.

Lord, You have been our Refuge from generation to
generation.

40 I said, "Lord, have mercy on me,
Heal my soul, for I sinned against You."

Lord, to You I flee;
Teach me to do Your will, for You are my God.

45 For with You (is) the source of life;
In Your light shall we see light.

Extend Your mercy to those who know You.

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