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THE ODES AND PSALMS
OF
SOLOMON

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THE ODES AND PSALMS
OF
SOLOMON

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE
SYRIAC VERSION

BY

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D

ΠΛΗΡΟΥΣΘΕ ἘΝ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙ, ΛΑΛΟΥΝΤΕΣ ἑαυτοῖς ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις
καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς, ᾄδοντες καὶ ψάλλοντες τῇ καρδίᾳ ὕμνων τῷ
κυρίῳ.

Ad Ephes. v. 19.

οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ βρωσικὴ καὶ πόσις, ἀλλὰ δικαιοσύνη
καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ χαρὰ ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ.

Ad Rom. xiv. 17

PREFACE

IT is not easy to produce a satisfactory edition of a work which has come down to us in a single document, especially when the document itself is late in date, and represents not the original text, but a version of the same, made by some unknown hand. Obscurities are sure to exist in a text so scantily attested and of such an uncertain tradition. In spite, however, of these inherent difficulties, I hope that the translation and editing of these new *Odes of Solomon* (with their associated and already known *Psalms of Solomon*) will be satisfactory ; for, although late in date, the text is very well preserved, and the translation from the Greek into the Syriac appears to have been carefully and conscientiously made. If we could come across some more traces of the newly-recovered work in the writings of the Fathers, or if, by good hap, we might find the lost Latin or a copy of the original Greek, much that is obscure in our presentation of the Odes would disappear. Meanwhile we have done our best with the material as we found it and as we were able to reinforce it : our thanks are due to scholarly friends who have assisted us with their keen revising eyes or their nimble emendating brains. My learned lady friends Mrs Lewis and Mrs Gibson have given me much assistance with the proofs : Mr Glover has criticised obscure passages and inadequate arguments : and Professor Nestle has made some brilliant suggestions for the betterment of the text, and traces of his skilled hand may be seen at several points, of which I note especially Ode 7, 12, Ode 38, 14, Ps. v. 16, Ps. vii. 4, and Ps. xvii. 31. I think it is very likely that a skilled Coptic scholar could also do something to improve either the text or the translation in those Odes which have been transferred to the text of the *Pistis Sophia*.

RENDEL HARRIS.

CHETWYND,

SELLY OAK.

October, 1909.

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INTRODUCTION

The present volume contains an important addition to our knowledge of the literature which immediately anticipates or directly follows the time of Christ. It contains, on the one hand, a hitherto unknown version of the Psalms of Solomon, a collection which has often been studied, from the standpoints both of the higher and lower criticism, and which is, by common consent, referred to the middle of the first century B.C. ; and on the other hand it presents a new collection which I have called, for the sake of distinction, and in harmony with the references in ancient writers, by the name of the Odes of Solomon ; they are here edited and translated from a Syriac MS. in my own possession : and it will probably be no rash prediction to say that their value and antiquity will be at once recognized by students and critics, and that they will be assigned, either wholly or in part, to the first century of the Christian era. The reasons for this belief will appear presently, but, apart altogether from the question of a half-century more or less in the dating of a document, it lies outside controversy that the new Odes are marked by a vigour and exaltation of spiritual life, and a mystical insight, to which we can only find parallels in the most illuminated periods of the history of the Church. They differ, in this respect, by the whole breadth of the firmament, from the extant Psalms of Solomon, with which they are associated in our MS. In these there is little originality, and not much hope: the hard experiences through which Jerusalem passed at the hands of the Romans in the Invasion of Pompey have left a gloom over the sky even in the moments of temporary relief and in the time of exultation over the fall of the great oppressor: what life and light there is may be traced to the

severe morality of the traditional Pharisees, and to the Messianic hopes for whose development their times of affliction were the appropriate and necessary nidus; and so far are they from religious originality in the expression of personal or national experience, that many of the Psalms in question are little more than centos and expansions from the canonical Hebrew Psalter. In the Odes, on the other hand, we have few quotations or adaptations from previous writings, whether Jewish or Christian; there is little that can be traced to the Old Testament, almost nothing that is to be credited to the Gospels or other branches of the Christian literature. Their radiance is no reflection from the illumination of other days: their inspiration is first-hand and immediate; it answers very well to the summary which Aristides made of the life of the early Christian Church when he described them as indeed 'a new people with whom something Divine is mingled.' They are thus altogether distinct from the extant Psalms of Solomon which are bound up with them in our MS. Whatever we may have to say of these latter is limited to the interest which arises in the discovery of an Eastern Version of a book whose Greek text is peculiarly difficult to edit, and whose original Hebrew text has altogether disappeared. We shall show that the new Syriac version is itself a translation of the Greek; we shall point out in what ways, if any, it serves to the betterment of the Greek text, and whether it gives any assistance to the detection of the lost Hebrew text.

Our chief interest, however, will be with the Odes. We shall discuss the quotations and fragments of these which are found in early Christian writers: we shall try to determine the limits of time within which the composition of the Odes must lie, as well as the locality or Church from which they emanate: we shall try to find out also how they became attached to the Psalms, and whether they were originally composed in Greek; and we shall add a brief commentary and notes to the Odes as translated. In this way we hope to clear up some perplexities in the historical tradition, while leaving, no doubt, a number of unsolved problems to those who shall follow after us.

The MS. from which our texts come is a paper one of quite a late period: its age may be between three and four hundred years: but as it is imperfect both at the beginning and ending, and so has lost both its preface and

colophon, we cannot tell how it was described by the person who made the copy, nor can we say anything definite about the date. It has been lying on my shelves for some time, perhaps for as long as two years, along with a heap of leaves from various Syriac MSS. written on paper, which came from the neighbourhood of the Tigris. In spite of its relatively late date, the text is a good one: it is carefully, if somewhat coarsely written, and is furnished with occasional vowels in the Nestorian manner, to which there have been added, probably by a later hand, sundry Greek vowels in the Jacobite manner. As we have said it is incomplete both at the beginning and the end: we can, however, make out pretty clearly what the original MS. was like.

The book is arranged in quires of ten leaves: of the first quire three leaves are missing: these three leaves contained the first and second Odes and the beginning of the third Ode. The Odes then run continuously till the fourth quire, where they stop on the verso of the fourth leaf: thus the Odes occupy roughly thirty-four leaves. Then the extant Psalms begin: they occupy the remaining six leaves of the fourth quire (say six leaves *plus*), the fifth quire, and the sixth quire, of which the last leaf is gone, *plus* whatever was needed to complete the book from a seventh quire: and since the extant portion of the Psalms in our Syriac MS. takes us up to Ps. xvii. 38 there is not much to add from a seventh quire. Suppose we say that the Psalms occupied twenty-six leaves, and that four more leaves are required to complete the text, we have then approximately

Odes = 34 leaves
 Psalms = 30 leaves
 or Psalms and Odes = 64 leaves.

Now let us turn to the accounts given us by ancient writers of the extent of the books in question: first of all we know that the 18 Psalms of Solomon once stood in the great Codex Alexandrinus: for in the index to the MS. we find as follows:

Psalms
 and Odes
 compared.

Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου
 Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολὴ α΄
 Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολὴ β΄
 ὁμοῦ βιβλία—
 Ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος ιη΄.

Here the eighteen Psalms stand just outside the accepted Christian books of the N.T., in the very penumbra of canonicity. Next turn to the *Synopsis Sanctae Scripturae* which passes under the name of Athanasius: here we find as follows, after the enumeration of the *Antilegomena* of the Old Testament:

σὺν ἐκείνοις δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἠρίθμηνται·
 Μακκαβαϊκὰ βιβλία δ'
 Πτολεμαϊκά
 Ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδὴ [1. ᾠδαί] Σολομῶντος
 Σώσαννα.

Here we find the Psalms in the company of the Odes, and forming a part of the disputed writings of the Old Testament: from the supplementary manner in which they are introduced, following an unknown book on Egyptian history, we may perhaps describe their position as the penumbra of uncanonicity, or, rather of deutero-canonicity. The Psalms and Odes are here (say in the sixth century) definitely grouped together.

Next take the Stichometry of Nicephorus, the Patriarch of Constantinople in the beginning of the ninth century: here we find as follows:

1. Three books of Maccabees.
2. The Wisdom of Solomon.
3. Ecclesiasticus.
4. The Psalms and Odes of Solomon, containing 2100 verses (στίχοι ,βρ').
5. Esther.
6. Judith.
7. Susanna.
8. Tobit.

Here we find our two books again grouped together, and very well placed amongst the Apocrypha of the Old Testament: they do not seem to have lost any dignity between the sixth and ninth centuries; and they have been carefully measured, after the manner of books which are likely to be transcribed and whose contents must therefore be estimated on some recognized scale.

In the same connexion we have a list of books which is found attached to the *Questiones et Responsiones* of Anastasius

the Sinaite, and is commonly known as the Catalogue of the Sixty Books. After the sixty canonical books, we have a list of nine deutero-canonical books, and then a list of twenty-five definitely apocryphal writings; amongst these last we find

8. Ἀνάληψις Μωϋσέως.
9. Ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος.
10. Ἡλίον ἀποκάλυψις. etc.

Here we cannot be certain whether Psalms means Psalms and Odes, nor is any estimate made of the extent of the composition. The book is not in such good company as it is in the Catalogue of Nicephorus.

Assuming the correctness of the statement that the Odes and Psalms contain 2100 verses, let us now turn to the Greek texts of the eighteen Psalms, and see what the scribes say about their compass. The Vatican MS. (Cod. R of Gebhardt's edition of the Psalms) says that the book contains $\sigma\tau\iota\ \psi\nu'$: the Copenhagen MS. (Cod. H) says ἔπη α; and the Paris MS. (Cod. P) says ἔπη τριάκοντα. Here, as Gebhardt says, Cod. P has misread Α as Λ; so we have two statements as to the length of the book. One statement says *verses*, the other *verses of Homer*, but since that is what verses mean in a stichometric reckoning, there is no discrepancy here except in the numbers. If we imagine that the scribe of Cod. R has misread the sign for 900, Ϡ, as ψ, we have 950 verses for R which agrees closely with the reckoning in Cod. H. Suppose we say then that the 18 Psalms equal 950 verses. But then we are told by Nicephorus that the Psalms and Odes together make 2100 verses: we have then the ratio of Odes to Psalms 1150 to 950 or 23 to 19. Our estimate of the relative lengths in the Syriac was 34 to 30 or 17 to 15. The former estimate is 1·21 to 1, the latter 1·13 to 1, which is sufficiently exact to make the verification that our new Odes are those of which Nicephorus and the other Canonists speak.

It will be observed that Nicephorus has divided the Solomonian literature into two parts, the Canonical books, viz.: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Canticles, and the Antilegomena which include the Wisdom of Solomon, perhaps Ecclesiasticus, and the Psalms and Odes of Solomon; that is, there are three canonical books of Solomon, and at least two sub-canonical books. We put

it in that way, because there is evidence in some quarters that Ecclesiasticus was also reckoned amongst the books of Solomon. If, however, it is not so reckoned, we have five books of Solomon.

Now let us turn to the Cheltenham Stichometry as published by Mommsen¹.

Here we have the Solomonic writings introduced as follows :

Psalmi David CLI. $\overline{\text{ver.}} \overline{\text{v.}}$

Salomonis $\overline{\text{ver.}} \overline{\text{v}} \text{ D.}$

profetas maiores $\overline{\text{ver.}} \overline{\text{xvi.}}$ CCCLXX. numero IIII.

This is a little perplexing ; at first sight it seems as if the Cheltenham list had only one book of Solomon, or several books reckoned as one, and that the total extent of this book or books is 5500 verses (reading $\overline{\text{vD}}$ for $\overline{\text{v}} \text{ D.}$). But, as Preuschen² has suggested, the real reckoning for Solomon has got into the next line, and we should read

The five
Solomonic
Books of
the Church.

Salomonis. lib. v. $\overline{\text{ver.}} \overline{\text{vii.}}$ CCCXX.

profetas maiores numero IIII.

If this restoration be correct, we should have the Cheltenham list in evidence for five books of Solomon, but without any clue to the identification of the five books, or any means of comparison with the stichometry of the Psalms and Odes as given by Nicephorus.

Now, that Preuschen is correct as regards the numbers may be seen from the fact that the figure 7320 agrees with the count which we find in Vulgate MSS.³ For here we have

Proverbs	1740	verses
Ecclesiastes	800	„
Canticles	280	„
Wisdom	1700	„
Ecclesiasticus	2800	„
Total	<u>7320</u>	

This justifies Preuschen's restoration, and shows that five books of Solomon were reckoned amongst the Canonical and deutero-canonical books, but the Psalms and Odes of Solomon

¹ Mommsen, *Zur lateinischen Stichometrie* in *Hermes*, Bd xxi. pp. 142—156. Cf. Sanday in *Studia Biblica*, iii. pp. 217—303.

² Preuschen, *Analecta*, p. 138 ff.

³ Sanday, *l.c.* p. 266.

are not amongst the five. For our purposes, therefore, we may dismiss the Cheltenham catalogue. The date of this catalogue is soon after A.D. 359, and it is North African in origin: we may say that at this date the Psalms of Solomon were not recognized in Carthage.

The very same thing follows from the consideration of the list of Canonical Scriptures contained in the Acts of the Council of Carthage in 397, for the entry in the list of Canonical Books,

Salomonis libri quinque

can hardly be referred to any other grouping than that which we have already described. The tradition of the Church is steady that there are *five* books of Solomon. Thus we find in Innocentius, writing at the beginning of the fifth century,

‘prophetarum libri sexdecim, *Salomonis libri quinque*,
Psalterium¹’

and in Cassiodorus, writing at the end of the fifth century²,

‘Psalterium librum unum; Salomonis libros quinque
i.e. Proverbia, Sapientiam, Ecclesiasticum, Ecclesiasten,
Canticum Canticorum’;

and so in other places. Isidore, of Seville, in the early part of the seventh century, divides the five Solomonic writings into groups of three and two respectively, and explains that the two which he detaches (Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus) were really the works of Jesus the son of Sirach, but have been credited to Solomon on the ground of style³:

‘Duo quoque illi egregii et sanctae institutionis libelli,
Sapientiam dico et alium qui vocatur Ecclesiasticus;
qui dum dicantur a Jesu filio Sirach editi, tamen propter
quandam eloquii similitudinem Salomonis titulo sunt
praenotati.’

There are no further references that I know of to the Psalms or Odes of Solomon in the lists of canonical books which have come down to us, unless there should be a cryptic allusion to them in the new book of Psalms written for Marcion, which the Muratorian Canon condemns (Saec. ii.—iii.), or the *ψαλμοὶ*

¹ *Ad Exsuperium* (Galland, *Bibl.* vol. viii. pp. 561 ff.).

² *De instit. div. litt.* c. xiv.

³ Isidore, *De ordine libb. S. Script.*, .P.L lxxxiii. 155 ff.

ἰδιωτικοί which the Council of Laodicea (c. 360 A.D.) prohibits from being used in the Church¹. In the latter case we have the opinion of John Zonaras in favour of the identification. But Zonaras in the twelfth century was probably, like ourselves, engaged in speculation. On the other hand, if we might describe ψαλμοὶ ἰδιωτικοί as meaning Psalms of personal experience, the term would exactly suit our collection of Odes.

Having now proved that we have the two books of Solomonic Psalms and Odes in substantially the same compass that they were known to the ancient Stichometers, we now pass on to consider what light is thrown on the matter by actual quotations from the book of Odes which are extant. We begin with a passage from Lactantius, which was first noticed by the learned Whiston². In the *Divine Institutes* (Bk iv. c. 12) we have the following passage:

‘Salomon ita dicit: Infirmatus est uterus Virginis et accepit foetum et gravata est, et facta est in multa miseratione mater virgo.’

And in the *Epitome* of the *Divine Institutes* the passage is introduced by the words *Apud Salomonem ita scriptum est*; to this quotation there was added in the MSS. of Lactantius the words *in Ode undevigesimo*³ or *in Psalmo undevigesimo* or *in Psalmo vigesimo*. These references to a 19th Psalm or Ode or to a 20th Psalm betray a knowledge of the book from which the quotation was taken: on turning to the 19th Ode in our collection we find the very words quoted by Lactantius, the actual Syriac text being as follows:

כֹּה־לֵב־הַיְהוָה בְּעַלְמֵהּ
 .הַיְהוָה כֹּה־לֵב־הַיְהוָה
 .כֹּה־לֵב־הַיְהוָה כֹּה־לֵב־הַיְהוָה כֹּה־לֵב־הַיְהוָה

¹ Origen's Canon, as contained in Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 25, has an entry of three Solomonic books, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and Canticles; with regard to this last he says Ἄσμα ἄσματων, οὐ γὰρ ὡς παραλαμβάνουσι τινες, Ἄσματα ἄσματων. But this is only an alternative title which Origen condemns; it has no suggestion in it of other Songs or Canticles. Origen is expressly enumerating the twenty-two books of the Hebrew Canon. The alternative title for Canticles is actually found in the *Synopsis* of Chrysostom, in John of Damascus (*De fide orthodoxa* iv. 17) and elsewhere.

² *Authentic Records*, i. 155.

³ So in the Cambridge MS. Gg. 4. 24; but in the MS. Kk. 4. 17 of the same University the reference is wanting.

The only discordance is in the first word of the passage, which is certainly wrong in the Latin¹, and very difficult to interpret in the Syriac. It is clear, however, that Lactantius² is working from a book of Odes arranged in the same order as ours: if he had both Psalms and Odes in his collection, then the Odes preceded the Psalms. And further, since Lactantius quotes in Latin, the book was extant in a Latin translation in his time; for when Lactantius quotes Greek books, as in the case of the Sibylline verses, he quotes in Greek and does not offer a translation. From which it appears that by the beginning of the fourth century the Odes of Solomon must have been translated into Latin³.

Ryle and James in their edition of the eighteen Psalms of Solomon drew attention, following Whiston, to this passage of Lactantius, and made the correct inference from it that there must have been more Solomonic matter at one time accessible to Christian scholars than the eighteen Psalms. And since the Ode quoted by Lactantius is undoubtedly Christian, they suggest that the original collection of Psalms of Solomon was fitted with an Appendix of Odes of Solomon, the added matter being approximately equal in length to the original collection, and either Christian or marked by distinctly Christian interpolations. So far they were undoubtedly right, as our MS. incontestably shows. Only our book presents the matter of the Appendix in a different light: here it is the Odes that have the first place and the Psalms that are appended; and possibly this was also the case with Lactantius' book of Solomon. We shall show, presently, that there is reason to believe that the two books came together in both orders, in different lines of tradition, and that there was current not only a book of Odes and Psalms but also a book of Psalms and Odes⁴.

¹ I am inclined to believe it is simply a mistake for 'insinuatus.' Just above Lactantius says, 'Descendens itaque de caelo sanctus ille spiritus dei sanctam virginem cujus utero se *insinuaret* elegit.'

² It is possible that these references to the number of the Psalm may be glosses on the original text: in that case not Lactantius, but at least two early scribes of Lactantius, had the book in the order in which we read it.

³ We shall show later that there is some probability that Lactantius has been influenced by our fourth Ode in a passage of *Div. Inst.* iv. 27.

⁴ Note that the five apocryphal Psalms published by Wright from the Syriac in *Proc. S. Bibl. Arch.* for 1887 have nothing to do with our collection.

In the MSS. of Lactantius there is some fluctuation between the numbers 19 and 20 for the quoted Psalm: an error of this kind is quite natural; one has only to miss a Psalm in enumerating or drop a number in counting. If a special motive for the mistake were to be sought, I should look for it in the Psalm itself, which is very abrupt and discontinuous at the point where Lactantius begins to quote. Can it be that two Psalms have been joined at this point? If so, the fluctuation in the numbering would be easily explained. It is not, however, a point of any great importance.

And now let us pass on to a more interesting question, the existence of extracts from the Odes of Solomon in that curious Gnostic book, preserved in the Coptic (or more exactly, Thebaic) language, and known as the *Pistis Sophia*. These extracts will be important, not only because they give us, in the form of a version, a good deal of matter that coincides with what we have recovered from the Syriac, but because they present this matter at an earlier time than that of Lactantius, from whom our first quotation was made, and the writer who made these quotations in the latter part of the third century was not only quoting from the Odes of Solomon, but from those Odes as forming a part of his accepted Biblical text. We shall endeavour to make these points clear, and also to show that in the Biblical text from which the writer quoted the Odes of Solomon were preceded by the Psalms of Solomon. If we can establish these points, the antiquity of the Odes will be made out, for it is on the one hand clear that they are traditional companions of the Psalms of Solomon for a considerable length of time and on the other hand it is quite improbable that a book written, say, as late as the end of the second century, should be a part of the accepted Egyptian canon in the latter part of the third century. To get into the canon at all, in any of the great centres of Christian life, a book must have a measure of antiquity on its side: those books which secured such canonicity, Clement's *Epistle*, or Barnabas' *Epistle* or the *Shepherd* of Hermas, obtained their position by the presumption of antiquity, and even then were not easily rooted in the positions that they acquired, as the history of the Canon will show. Let us, then, try to establish the points to which we have referred above: and first with regard to the

The Odes and
the Pistis
Sophia.

date of the *Pistis Sophia* from which the extracts have been made.

The best investigation into the *Pistis Sophia* is the one made by Harnack in Bd vii. of his *Texte u. Untersuchungen* in 1891. His treatise is divided into five sections: (i) the relation of the *Pistis Sophia* to the N.T.; (ii) the relation of the *Pistis Sophia* to the O.T.; (iii) the biblical exegesis of the author; (iv) its general Christian and catholic elements; and (v) a discussion of the character, origin, time and place of production of the work in question. Under this last head Harnack comes to the conclusion that the book is of Egyptian origin, and that it was written in the second half of the third century; that its Gnosticism is Ophite in character, and betrays an origin in a Syrian rather than an Egyptian school; *i.e.*, it is an imported Gnosticism developed on Egyptian soil, and that the actual school from which it emanated can be detected from allusions made by Epiphanius in his treatise on Heresies. He tells us of certain Gnostics who had a Gospel according to Philip, from which he makes a quotation which is quite in the manner of the *Pistis Sophia*, in which Philip appears as the principal scribe of the discourses; they had also *inter alia*, books called the *Longer* and *Shorter Questions of Mary*: and as a large part of the *Pistis Sophia* is taken up with questions addressed to Jesus by Mary Magdalene and her women friends, it is natural to regard at least a part of the *Pistis Sophia* (as we call it) as coinciding with the books spoken of by Epiphanius. But since Epiphanius gives us an extract from the *Longer Questions* which cannot be identified with the *Pistis Sophia* (it is in fact, to judge from the extract, an obscene book, though it has many points of contact with the *Pistis Sophia*, which definitely contradicts its obscenity), we are led to the conclusion that the *Pistis Sophia* is identical, either wholly or in part, with the *Shorter Questions of Mary*.

In discussing these Gnostic heretics, Epiphanius tells us that in his early youth he came under their influence in Egypt, and that he was mercifully preserved from entanglement with them. He read their books, understood the sense of them, and then, like the virtuous Joseph from the house of Potiphar, he made his escape from their seductions and denounced the sect to the

bishops of the province, and had the heretics expelled from the city in which he had met them. (See Epiphanius, *Haer.* 26, c. 17, 18.)

We thus succeed in locating in Egypt a group, or rather two related groups of heretics, who may be described as Ophites or as Sethites (Epiphanius uses several names to describe the same groups); to one of these bands of Egyptian heretics the *Pistis Sophia* may be referred: and we thus get a fairly accurate idea of the place, time and character of the people to whom the book must be referred.

It must not be supposed that all of Harnack's arguments under these heads are valid. For instance on p. 101 he shows that the Gnostic writer uses an Egyptian calendar, for he makes Jesus to be transfigured before His disciples on the 15th of the month Tybi, when the moon is full; this suggests the use of an Egyptian calendar: and then he goes on to say that Egypt is also betrayed by the fact that the book quotes the Gnostic *Odes of Solomon*, which are probably of Egyptian origin, and allude to the inundation of the Nile. It is instructive to enquire how the *Odes of Solomon* came to be suspected of Gnosticism, and of references to Egyptian events.

Amongst the passages quoted by the Coptic writer from the *Odes of Solomon* there is one which can be identified at once with the sixth Ode in our collection; it describes a great overflow or inundation of the water of life, which has for its first objective point, if not its actual point of departure, the Temple at Jerusalem, and which flows out over all lands, bringing healing and strength.

The Psalm is a very beautiful one, and thoroughly Christian. But because it happens to describe the breaking out of the waters by the Greek word *ἀπόρροια*, which the Coptic has carefully transliterated, and because this is a favourite word in the *Pistis Sophia* to describe a Gnostic Emanation, it has been assumed that the Ode was Gnostic and that the illustration of the efflux was borrowed from the rising waters of the Nile. In support of this it may be urged that the waters were fought by a professional class of water-restrainers, and that those who drank of them were, according to the Coptic, a people who lived

The Odes
not Gnostic
and not
Egyptian.

on the dry sand. It might, therefore, be maintained that this language suited Egypt better than Palestine. It is difficult, however, to see how Jerusalem comes in, if the scenery of the Ode is Egyptian, and it would have been better to express the matter more cautiously, as was done by Ryle and James in their first attempt on the problem of the Odes. Their language was as follows¹: 'Ode iii. (*i.e.* the third of the quoted Coptic Odes) is also Christian, and the employment of the term *ἀπόρροια* seems to stamp it as Gnostic. But we cannot see that there is anything unmistakably Gnostic in the doctrine. The imagery employed is that of Ezek. xlvii., and of our Lord's words concerning the living water: and the thing described appears to be the preaching of the Gospel, which no human effort can avail to hinder, and which brings life and health to a thirsty heathen world. If our theory of these Odes is correct, we have here a hymn of the second century at latest, and one filled with Johannine phraseology and ideas.'

Thus far Ryle and James; and I think we must say that their judgment is a sound one. There is no reason to take *ἀπόρροια* in a Gnostic sense, nor do the remaining Psalms of our collection encourage the belief in a Gnostic origin: they are as Gnostic as the New Testament, no more and no less. Of course I do not mean that the author of the *Pistis Sophia* will take this colourless view of *ἀπόρροια*. His business is to write a book dealing with Gnostic philosophy, and with the Effluxes and Emanations that cause the different strata of the spiritual world: so he will naturally employ the word *ἀπόρροια* in his own sense, and will build a castle of cloudy words upon it. But we have no reason to follow him in any such architecture nor even to accept his foundation. Consequently we do not regard Harnack's case as made out with regard to the Gnostic character of the Odes of Solomon. If Gnostics could write such beautiful praises of God as we have in our recovered volume, we can only say 'Would God all the Lord's people were Gnostics!' But this they never were nor ever can be in the Valentinian, or Ophite or Sethian sense. With this deduction from the argument, Harnack's general inferences from the Ode which we have been discussing are so just that we are tempted to examine his analysis a little more closely.

¹ *L.c.* p. 160.

Let us, in view of the importance of the matters at issue, set down a translation of the sixth Ode as it stands in Syriac, and see what Harnack says by way of interpretation.

The sixth
Ode not
Gnostic.

‘As the hand moves over the harp, and the strings speak, so speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord, and I speak by his love. For he destroys everything foreign, and everything that is bitter: thus it was from the beginning and will be to the end, that nothing should be His adversary, and nothing should stand up against Him. The Lord has multiplied the knowledge of Himself, and is zealous that those things should be known, which by His Grace have been given to us¹. And the praise of His name He gave us: our spirits praise His holy Spirit.

‘For there went forth a stream and became a river great and broad: it flooded and broke up everything, and it brought [water] to the Temple: and the restrainers of the children of men were not able to restrain it, nor the arts of those whose business it is to restrain waters: for it spread over the face of the whole earth and filled everything; and all the thirsty upon earth were given to drink of it: and thirst was relieved and quenched: for from the Most High was the draught given. Blessed then are the ministers of that draught who are entrusted with that water of His: they have assuaged the dry lips and the will that had fainted they have raised up: and souls that were near departing they have caught back from death; limbs that had fallen they straightened and set up: they gave strength for their coming (?) and light to their eyes: for every one knew them in the Lord and they lived by the water of life for ever. Hallelujah.’

The first thing that we notice when we transcribe the Ode is that the passage in the *Pistis Sophia* is only an extract; nearly half of the Ode has been neglected. Consequently the word *ἀπόρροια*, which is supposed to be the key to the character of the Psalm, is not in its opening sentence at all, but has been caught up by the Gnostic writer out of the middle of it. It is certainly not the key-word. The Psalmist (or Odist) is telling in very beautiful language the power of the Lord and the scope of His Gospel. There is nothing Gnostic about this living

¹ Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 12.

water : there is not, even, anything Ecclesiastic about it, though Harnack wished to interpret it of the water of Baptism : one might as well say the fourth chapter of John's Gospel was Gnostic and that when the Lord promised the Samaritan woman the water of life, he wanted to baptise her ! I submit that the interpretation of the Ode is affected (i) by regarding it in its entirety, (ii) by regarding it in connexion with the main body of the Odes : and that when this is done, the supposed Gnosticism of the Ode vanishes away. Harnack, in fact, did not positively commit himself on the point, and the greater part of his judgment is valid : thus on page 43 he says :

‘Das Lied ist ohne Zweifel christlichen Ursprungs und damit ist auch die christliche Herkunft der vier übrigen Oden, als zu einer Sammlung gehörig, erwiesen. [I should not go quite so far, nor quite so fast as that.] Ferner weist die Ode auf Ägypten : denn offenbar hat der Verfasser das Bild der grossen Fluth von der Überschwemmung des Nils genommen, der bis über die Häuser steigt, und das durstige Wüstenland tränkt. [This, as I have said, is extremely doubtful : Harnack tries to make it easier by suggesting that *vaós* should be corrected to *λαός*, which would get rid of the Temple at Jerusalem, but it is not a necessary emendation. The Temple is, as we shall see elsewhere, very much in the field of view of the Odists.] Endlich scheint mir auch der gnostische Ursprung sehr wahrscheinlich, wenn auch nicht sicher. [Here Harnack is wisely hesitant.]’

Again on page 45 Harnack sums up the case for the five Odes incorporated in the *Pistis Sophia* : (i) that the composer found them in his collection of Old Testament writings ; (ii) that they are of Gnostic origin : but he adds at once that the Gnostic character does not stand out clearly, and that the Christian piety of the Ode is powerfully expressed and not discoloured by Gnostic language : a statement which is much strengthened when we read the Ode in its entirety and not merely the part excerpted in the *Pistis Sophia*.

Further Harnack admits (p. 46) that if the Odes are Gnostic, their Gnosticism is separated by a deep gulf from that of the *Pistis Sophia* ; which is certainly a just statement : and that, since at the time of the composition of the *Pistis Sophia* the Odes must have been of considerable antiquity, we may perhaps refer

The Odes
probably
Christian.

them to the first half of the second century. With this I have little fault to find; only I suggest that they may be 50 years earlier than Harnack's upper limit¹.

In order to understand more clearly what the writer of the *Pistis Sophia* has been doing with the matter that he has borrowed from the Odes of Solomon, we must try to get a better understanding of the Gnostic book itself. At first sight this is a very repellent task, for the book appears to be mere useless jargon. Harnack evidently thought as much when he first began to study it, for he says:

‘In der That kann man kaum etwas Verwirrteres und Ermüdenderes lesen als diese mit den Ausgeburten der gnostischen Phantasie bedeckten Blätter, die bei flüchtigerem Studium zum Zwecke der Verbreitung des systematischen Blödsinns geschrieben zu sein scheinen.’

The impression that the writer is busied with the propagation of systematic imbecility is certainly the result of a cursory or preliminary study; but there is method in the madness and meaning in the aberration, and after a while one begins to pick up threads of continuity and to see what the writer is aiming at. And then the underlying Christianity begins to assert itself through its Gnostic superincumbent weight. Let us see if we can get at the writer's argument.

Jesus is sitting with His disciples, male and female, on the Mount of Olives. It is the twelfth year after the Resurrection; for eleven years Jesus has been teaching His disciples the mysteries of the Kingdom of God: at the end of that time He has ascended to the place of the Prime Mystery (which is the Gnostic expression for the Supreme God); this ascension took place while they were sitting with Him on the Mount of Olives. He was suddenly transfigured before them. A Light-Power, or Glory of the Supreme Being, descends from the twenty-fourth or highest

¹ The same arguments are repeated by Harnack in his *Chronologie der altchrist. Literatur*, ii. 193, where he discusses the date of the *Pistis Sophia* and the related Gnostic writings in the Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae. Here again he dates the *Pistis Sophia* in the second half of the third century, following the lines of his previous investigation. He remarks again on the use of the Odes of Solomon as an ancient book ranking with the Old Testament, but says they are of Gnostic origin: ‘Die fünf Oden Salomos, die das Buch neben den alt-testamentlichen Psalmen zitiert, sind selbst gnostischen Ursprungs, und werden doch wie alten Urkunden behandelt. Wir haben hier also einen Gnostizismus, der über einem alteren aufbaut ist.’

mystery and surrounds Jesus with splendour. The disciples were amazed and terrified at the sight. While they gazed on Him, Jesus ascended into Heaven. After a while Jesus, out of compassion for their fears, for they thought the end of all things was at hand, descended again and appeared to the disciples. He begins to teach them further the secrets of the Kingdom. He explains to them their own miraculous births, the miraculous birth of John the Baptist and His own incarnation. He tells them the story of His ascent through the various heavens and the orders of spiritual beings, 'thrones, dominations, principedoms, virtues, powers.' They proceed to interrogate Him on various points. The company consists of Peter, John, Andrew, Philip, Thomas, Matthew, James, Bartholomew and Simon the Kanaanite: Mary the Magdalene and Mary the Mother of Jesus, Martha and Salome are all mentioned. The chief place is given to the enquiring women, especially to Mary Magdalene, the lowest place to Simon Peter. Between Mary Magdalene and Peter there is something like a feud. Peter complains that the women talk too much and that the men don't get a chance: and Mary complains that Peter hates our sex and wants to suppress us. Jesus mediates gently between them: advises Mary to make place for the brethren; but when the dispute breaks out again, Jesus definitely takes the side of the women, and Peter is suppressed¹. The meaning of this is that there has been a conflict over the place of women in the ministry of the Church: it is even possible that the hostility of Peter may imply the attitude of the Roman Church towards the prophesying woman of the early centuries. At all events there has been an acute situation created, which has found its reflection in the Gnostic circles in which our book was produced.

Jesus answers a number of enquiries as to the worlds through which He has passed, and then we come to what is The sorrows of Sophia. the kernel of the first part of the book, the account of the sorrows of Sophia, or, as she is called in the book, *Pistis Sophia*. Jesus relates how He found Sophia sitting below the

¹ The crisis in the feud between the men and women will be found in *P.S.* 161. 'Progressa Maria dixit: mi domine, meus *vous* est *voeros* omni tempore, ut progrediar omni vice: dicam solutionem verborum, quae dixit, ἀλλὰ timeo Petrum, quod ἀπειλει mihi et odit nostrum genus. Haec δὲ quum locuta esset, dixit ei primum *μυστηριον*: unumquemque qui impletus fuerit *πνευματι* luminis, ut progressus proferat solutionem horum, quae dico, nullus *κωλυσει*.'

thirteenth Aeon. She was mourning over her inability to rise further. Her path was blocked by fearful forms, named *προβολαὶ αὐθαδοῦς* or *Emanations of the Self-willed*. They and the rulers of the upper regions prohibit her advance and ascent. One of them had the face of a lion, half flame and half darkness. They chase poor Sophia back into Chaos. But in the midst of her affliction, she sees Jesus passing by, and to Him she addresses a series of Repentances and Hymns. Jesus relates these successively to His disciples. The method of the composition must now be carefully studied: we shall find the key in the lock.

Sophia makes her penitence, let us say, from one of the canonical Psalms. But in using this, she carefully alters every possible term in a Gnostic sense: instead of God, she says Prime Mystery or Light of Truth; instead of my adversaries, she says the Emanations of the Self-willed; by a series of substitutions of this kind she turns the Psalm into a Gnostic Targum, in which you can only detect the original by the expressions which remain unaltered and by the general tenor of the confession. When Jesus has reported to the disciples what Sophia has said, He turns to the disciples and asks, 'Who knows what Sophia said?'* It is a game of guessing. Mary Magdalene or some other of the company springs forward, begs permission to speak, and then says, 'This is what your Light-Power (the Light-Power is a substitute for the Divine Name) prophesied through David in the 69th Psalm,' or whatever the portion of Scripture may be that has been selected for disguise. Jesus gives an approbation and a blessing to the successful guesser. Sometimes, to make the matter still clearer, the Gnostic Targum is gone over again in detail with the text and explained sentence by sentence, so that we have the matter treated three times over: viz. the LXX. text, the Gnostic Targum, and the detailed commentary upon the text with the Targum. It is of the utmost importance that the method of the composition should be clearly grasped: if this is understood, the major part of the *Pistis Sophia* will become intelligible. To make this quite clear we will transcribe a short passage: here is an extract from one of the first prayers of repentance which Sophia utters¹:

Gnostic Targums in the *Pistis Sophia*.

substitutions of this kind she turns the Psalm into a Gnostic Targum, in which you can only detect the original by the expressions which remain unaltered and by the general tenor of the confession.

¹ P. S. ed. Schwartz and Petermann, p. 50 of MS.

Serva me propter ἀρχοντας, qui oderunt me: nam tu scis afflictionem meam et cruciatum meum, et fractam meam vim, quam abstulerunt a me. Sunt coram te qui plantarunt me in haec mala omnia. Χρω iis κατα voluntatem tuam. Vis mea prospicit e medio χαους atque e medio tenebrarum. Exspectavi meam συζυγον, ut veniens pugnaret pro me, et haud venit. Atque exspectaveram, ut veniens daret mihi robur, et haud reperi eam. Et quum quaererem lucem, dederunt mihi caliginem: et cum quaererem meam vim, dederunt mihi ὕλην. Nunc igitur, lumen luminum, caliginem et ὕλην duxerunt super me προβολαι αὐθαδους. Suntο iis insidiae et involvuntο eas; et retribuas iis, ut σκανδαλιζωσιν, ne veniant in τοπον sui αὐθαδους. Manento in tenebris, ne videant lucem. Contemplantor χαος omni tempore, neve intuentor in altitudinem. Adduc in eas suam vindictam et apprehendito eas tuum iudicium.

Probably without the aid of the Virgin Mary, who in this case is the successful guesser, one could have identified the following verses of the 68th (96th) Psalm:

19. ἔνεκα τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου ῥύσαί με·

20. σὺ γὰρ γινώσκεις τὸν ὀνειδισμόν μου· καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην μου καὶ τὴν ἐντροπήν μου. ἐναντίον σου πάντες οἱ θλίβοντές με·

21. ὀνειδισμόν προσεδόκησεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν· καὶ ὑπέμεινα συλλυπούμενον, καὶ οὐχ ὑπήρξεν, καὶ παρακαλοῦντα καὶ οὐχ εὔρον.

22. καὶ ἔδωκαν εἰς τὸ βρῶμά μου χολήν, καὶ εἰς τὴν δίψαν μου ἐπότισάν με ὄξος.

23. γενηθήτω ἡ τράπεζα αὐτῶν ἐνώπιον αὐτῶν εἰς παγίδα· καὶ εἰς ἀνταπόδοσιν καὶ εἰς σκάνδαλον.

24. σκοτισθήτωσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν· καὶ τὸν νῶτον αὐτῶν διὰ παντός σύγκαμψον.

25. ἔκχεον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὴν ὀργὴν σου. καὶ ὁ θυμὸς τῆς ὀργῆς σου καταλάβοι αὐτούς.

Now if we go over the Penitence of Sophia, with these texts from the Psalms, we shall easily pick up out of the Penitence the *dissecta membra Psalmistae*.

I have italicized some of the words, which are either unchanged or almost unchanged. The rest, as I have said, is Gnostic Targum.

The importance of the underlying equivalence of the

Targum and text is evident. We are dealing with Biblical matter; Psalm after Psalm is treated in this way, and sometimes short passages of the Gospels are similarly treated. It is not even necessary that the discourse be limited to a single Targum. Sometimes two or three occur of short passages. For us, however, the important thing is that the Odes of Solomon are treated just like the Canonical Psalms, with which they stood in an equal honour in the Bible of the author of the *Pistis Sophia*. This position of unassailed honour and undoubted confidence marks the antiquity and the prestige of the Odes of Solomon. And as there is no such thing as a Gnostic Bible, these Odes cannot be Gnostic Odes, as was at first surmised.

It is clear, moreover, that in editing the portions of the Odes which occur in the *Pistis Sophia* we shall have to edit the Targums as well as the texts. We must print the excerpted matter in double form, and in cases where there is a detailed commentary, in triple form. And in this way we can finally make a Coptic apparatus to the Syriac text of the Odes.

One curious result will be arrived at almost immediately.

The missing
first Ode
recovered.

The second of the passages taken from the Odes of Solomon by the author of the *Pistis Sophia* is definitely stated to be from the nineteenth Ode.

It does not find any place in our collection. Neither does it agree, except in its opening sentence, with its Targum. On the other hand the Targum does agree with the fifth of the Syriac Odes. It is easy to see what has happened. The Targum was made on the fifth Ode, but when the author came to transcribe the Ode on which he had been commenting, he took out of his Psalter another Ode with a similar opening. This must, then, be one of the missing Odes at the beginning of our book. And since it is numbered 19, it will be the first of our collection, and will have followed directly on the eighteen extant Psalms of Solomon. The Gnostic author had, therefore, both the Psalms and the Odes in his Bible; and the Psalms stood before the Odes, and not as in our MS. and perhaps in Lactantius' Bible, after the Odes: this is an important discovery, and the study of the text with its Targum has led to the recovery of part of the missing matter at the beginning of our MS.

To make this clear I transcribe the Targum side by side with the Syriac text, in order to show their coincidence:

The Hymn of Sophia as contained
in the Gnostic Targum of
the *Pistis Sophia*, 115, 116.

Incepit ὑμνευειν vis εἰλικρινῆς
luminis, quae in σοφία. Ὑμνεουσα
δε meae vi luminis, quae est *corona*
eius capiti, cecinit ὕμνον δε dicens,
Lumen est corona meo capiti et
haud ero absque ea, ut ne privent
me προβολαι αὐθαδους et, *quum*
motae fuerint ἴλαι omnes, ego δε haud
movebor, et quum perierint meae
ἴλαι omnes, ut maneat in chao,
quas videbunt προβολαι αὐθαδους,
ego δε haud peribo, quod lumen est
mecum, atque etiam ego ero cum
lumine.

The Syriac Odes of Solomon,
Ode 5, ad fin.

For my hope is upon the Lord,
and I will not fear: and because
the Lord is my salvation, I will
not fear: and he is a garland on
my head, and I shall not be moved:
Even if everything should be
shaken, I stand firm, and if all
things visible should perish, I
shall not die: because the Lord
is with me and I am with Him.

Hallelujah.

Remembering the method of composition of the Targum, there can be no doubt that it is the fifth Ode which is being commented on. It is equally clear that the Ode which is set as the text to the Targum and which is introduced as the 19th Ode of Solomon does not coincide with it.

It runs as follows¹:

Dominus super caput meum sicut corona, neque ero absque eo (ea). Plexerunt mihi coronam veritatis, et ramos in me germinare fecit. Nam non similis est coronae aridae quae non germinat; sed vivis super caput meum, et germinasti super caput meum: fructus tui pleni et perfecti sunt, pleni salute tua.

Clearly this is not the right Psalm, except as regards the opening sentence. Probably the mistake arose in the first instance with the Targumist who copied a line out of a wrong Ode, and thus made the way for copying the whole Ode from a wrong place. The inference is that we have recovered the missing first Ode.

It is not uncommon in our book of Odes for the openings to be similar or to be repeated. The most striking example will be the short 27th Ode, which appears again almost bodily at the

¹ Schmidt's rendering in *Texte u. Untersuch.* vii. 2. 37.

beginning of the 42nd Ode. The coincidences are important, as suggesting the same hand at different parts of the book.

As our object is not so much the interpretation of the *Pistis Sophia*, as the elucidation of the Syriac Odes, we must collect the matter which is quoted from the Odes in the *Pistis Sophia*, in order that the texts may be compared. It will be convenient to do this in one place, rather than under the heading of the separate Psalms that may be quoted. For the text of the Odes, we have two translations, that of Schwartz-Petermann, and that which is emended from the original translation (Woide-Münter) by Schmidt, and is given in Harnack's *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, Bd vii. We may quote these as S.-P. and W.-M.-S. We print these translations side by side. It is to be observed that Schmidt did not revise the Gnostic Targums when correcting the text of the Odes for Harnack, no doubt because their importance was not sufficiently recognized. But he went on to publish a complete translation into German of the *Pistis Sophia*, as well as of other Gnostic books preserved in Coptic. We shall have to refer to this enlarged and emended translation, but I do not think it necessary to give the German text of the quoted and commented Odes in full¹.

ODE I.

The text is introduced as follows :

Respondens δε Maria, mater Jesu, dixit : Mi domine, tua vis luminis ἐπροφητευσε de his verbis olim per Salomonem in eius decima nona ode et dixit :

S.-P. p. 116.

Dominus super meum caput sicut corona, neque ero absque eo. Plexerunt mihi coronam ἀληθειας. Et fecit tuos κλαδους germinare in me, quod non tulit coronam aridam, haud germinantem, ἀλλα vivis super meum caput et progerminas super me : tui καρποι pleni sunt et perfecti, pleni sunt tua salute.

W.-M.-S. pp. 37, 38.

Dominus super caput meum sicut corona, neque ero absque eo (ea). Plexerunt mihi coronam veritatis, et ramos tuos in me germinare fecit. Nam non similis est coronae aridae, quae non germinat, sed vivis super caput meum, et germinasti super caput meum : fructus tui pleni et perfecti sunt, pleni salute tua.

¹ There has also been a French edition by Amélineau, which has been employed by Mead in his English edition of the *Pistis Sophia*. But as Amélineau is

ODE 5.

The Gnostic Targum on the closing verses of this Ode has been already given: I repeat it for completeness below: the Targum on the rest of the Ode, and the text corresponding to it, are also found in the *Pistis Sophia*, as indicated. The text is introduced as follows:

Factum δὲ est, quum Jesus finisset dicere haec verba suis μαθηταις, progressa Salome dixit: mi domine, mea vis ἀναγκαζει me ad dicendam solutionem verborum, quae dixit πιστις σοφια. Tua vis ἐπροφητευσεν olim per Salomonem dicens:

S.-P. p. 114.

W.-M.-S. p. 37.

Manifestabo me tibi, domine, quod tu es meus deus. Ne sine me, domine, amplius, quod tu es mea ἐλπις: dedisti mihi meum ius gratis [P tuum iudicium] et servor a te: labuntor persequentes me, neve vidento me. Nubes caliginis obtegito eorum oculos atque nebula ἀερος, esto caligo iis, neve vidento diem, ut ne prehendant me: esto impotens eorum consilium, et quae deliberarunt, veniunto in eos: meditati sunt consilium neve esto [P et non factum est] iis. vicerunt [P et vicerunt] eos validi, et quae pararunt collapsa sunt infra eos. Est mea ἐλπις in domino, et haud timebo, quod tu es meus deus, meus σωτηρ.

Gratias tibi agam, quia tu es deus meus. Ne relinquo me, domine, quia tu es spes mea. Dedisti mihi iudicium gratis, et liberatus sum a te. Cadant persequentes me, et non videant me. Nubes fumi tegat oculos eorum et nebula aeris obtenebret eos, neve videant diem, ne prehendant me: consilium eorum fiat inefficax, et quae consularunt, veniant super eos: meditati sunt consilium, neve succedat illis. Et vicerunt eos potentes¹, et quae praeparaverant malitiose, descenderunt in eos. Spes mea est in domino, et non timebo, quia tu es deus meus, servator meus.

ODE 5.

The Gnostic Targum. S.-P. p. 113.

Cecinit ὕμνον et clamavit sursum ad me dicens: ὕμνευσω sursum ad te, lumen, quod volo venire ad te, ὕμνευσω tibi, lumen, nam tu es meus servator. Ne sine me in chao, libera me, lumen impossible in his paleography, and, I believe, an unsafe guide in other respects, I do not refer to him. I am not engaged upon the *Pistis Sophia*, except indirectly.

Schmidt's German edition appeared in 1905 under the auspices of the Prussian Academy of Sciences, with the title *Koptisch-Gnostische Schriften*.

¹ Schmidt, 'Und sie sind besiegt, obwohl sie mächtig sind.'

altitudinis, *nam tu es, cui ὕμνευω. Misisti mihi tuum lumen a te et servasti me. Duxisti me in τοπους superiores chaus. Collabuntor [P delabuntor] igitur in τοπους inferiores chaus προβολαι αὐθαδους, quae persequuntur me, neve veniunto in τοπους superiores ut videant me. Et magna caligo obtegit eas, et venito iis obscura caligo; neve vidento me in lumine tuae vis, quam misisti mihi ad servandam me: ut neprehendant iterum me; et eorum consilium quod excogitarunt ad auferendam meam vim, ne fiat illis, et sicut [P κατα modum, quo] dixerunt mihi, auferre meum lumen mihi, aufer suum quoque loco mei; et dixerunt auferre meum lumen totum, neque poterant auferre id, quod tua vis luminis est mecum, propterea quod consilium ceperunt sine tuo statuto, lumen, propter hoc non potuerunt auferre lumen meum, quod ἐπιστευσα lumini, non timebo, et lumen est meus servator, neque timebo.*

S.-P. 115, 116.

Ἵμνευουσα δε meae vi luminis, quae est corona eius capiti, cecinit ὕμνον δε dicens; Lumen est *corona meo capiti, et haud ero absque ea*¹, ut ne privent me προβολαι αὐθαδους et, *quum motae fuerint ὕλαι omnes, ego δε haud movebor, et quum perierint meae ὕλαι omnes, ut maneant in chao, quas videbunt προβολαι αὐθαδους, ego δε haud peribo, quod lumen est mecum, atque etiam ego ero cum lumine.*

ODE 6.

The text of this Ode is introduced as follows:

Progressus Petrus dixit: mi domine, de solutione verborum quae dixisti, tua vis luminis ἐπροφητευσε olim per Solomonem in eius ᾠδαις.

S.-P. 131.

Egressa ἀπορροια facta est magnum flumen latum: attraxit eos omnes, et conversam super templum haud potuerunt capere in clausis et in locis aedificatis, neque potuerunt capere eam τεχναι capientium illos. Duxerunt eam super terram totam, atque prehendit eos omnes. Biberunt ver-

W.-M.-S. *l.c.* p. 38.

Egressa est emanatio et facta est magnum flumen dilatatum. Attraxit eos omnes et conversa est super templum². Non potuerunt eam capere in locis munitis et aedificatis: neque potuerunt eam capere artes eorum qui intercipiunt (aquas). Duxerunt³ eam super omnem terram, et ipsa

¹ Schmidt, 'und nicht werde ich von ihm weichen.'

² Schmidt, 'gegen den Tempel.'

³ Schmidt, 'er wurde...geführt.'

santes super arenam aridam. Eorum sitis soluta est et exstincta, quum dedissent iis potum ab excelso. Μακαριοι sunt διακονοι potus illius, quibus concredita est aqua domini. Converterunt labia arida, sumserunt vigorem animi [P in me] hi, qui erant soluti: prehenderunt (i.f. confirmarunt) ψυχας, eicientes halitum, ut ne morentur: exerunt μελη collapsa: dederunt robur suae παρρησιαι, atque dederunt lucem suis oculis, quod isti omnes cognovere se in domino, atque servati sunt aqua vitae usque ad aeternum.

comprehendit eos omnes. Bib-erunt qui habitabant in arena arida: sitis eorum soluta est et exstincta, cum daretur illis potus ab Altissimo. Beati sunt diaconi potus illius, quibus credita est aqua domini. Converterunt labia, quae arida erant, accipiebant gaudium cordis, qui soluti erant: comprehenderant animas, halitum immittentes, ne morentur. Restituerunt membra quae ceciderant, dederunt robur parrhesiae eorum, et lucem oculis eorum. Nam omnes illi se cognoverunt in domino et salvati sunt per aquam vitae aeternam¹.

ODE 6.

The Gnostic Targum. S.-P. pp. 128—130.

Ego igitur et altera vis, exiens a me, necnon ψυχη quam accipi a Sabaothe αγαθω, venerunt ducentes se invicem, factae sunt απορροια una luminis, existens lumen quam maxime. Vocavi Gabrielem desuper ab αιωσιω atque etiam Michaelē per κελουσιω mei patris, primi μυστηριου introsipientis, dedi eis απορροιαν luminis, feci eos descendere in chaos, ut βοηθωσι πιστει σοφια et uti ferrent vires luminis, quas abstulerunt ab ea προβολαι αυθαδους, ut auferrent eas ab illis et darent πιστει σοφια; et tempore, quo duxerunt απορροιαν luminis desuper in chaos, resplenduit quam maxime in chao toto et dilatata est in eius [P eorum] τοποις omnibus; et quum vidissent magnum lumen απορροιας illius προβολαι αυθαδους, timuerunt super se invicem, atque απορροια illa extraxit iis vires omnes luminis, quas abstulerunt a πιστει σοφια neque ετολμησαν προβολαι αυθαδους prehendere απορροιαν luminis illius in chao tenebrarum, neque prehenderunt eam τεχνη αυθαδους dominantis in προβολας. Et Gabriel et Michael attulerunt απορροιαν luminis in corpus υλης πιστεως σοφιας et iniecerunt in eam lumina eius omnia, quam [P quae] abstulerunt ab ea, atque accepit lumen totum σωμα

¹ Schmidt, 'Wasser ewigen Lebens.'

ύλης [P + eius]: atque etiam acceperunt lumen eius vires omnes, quae in ea, hae quae acceperunt suum lumen et cessarunt indigere luminis; nam acceperunt suum lumen, quod abstulerunt ab iis, *propterea quod dederunt lumen iis a me*. Et Michael et Gabriel, qui *δηκονησαν* mihi, duxerunt *ἀπορροϊαν* luminis in chaos daturam iis *μυστηρια* luminis: *his concredita est ἀπορροϊα* luminis: hanc, quam dedi iis, intuli in chaos. Et Michael et Gabriel non sumserunt quidquam luminis sibi in luminibus *πιστεως σοφιας*, quae abstulerunt a *προβολαις ἀθαδους*. Factum igitur est, quum *ἀπορροϊα* luminis intulisset in *πιστιν σοφιαν* suas vires omnes luminis, quas abstulerunt [P abstulit s. abstulerat] a *προβολαις ἀθαδους* facta est lux tota, atque etiam vires luminis, quae sunt in *πιστει σοφια*, quas haud abstulerunt *προβολαις ἀθαδους*, hilares redditae sunt iterum et impletae sunt luminis, et lumina, quae iniecerunt in *πιστιν σοφιαν*, vivificarunt *σωμα* eius *ύλης*, in qua nullum lumen, *haec quae peritura* est aut haec quae perit, et *constituerunt* eius vires omnes, *quae erant solvendae*, et dederunt iis vim luminis¹. Factae sunt iterum, sicut erant ab initio. Atque etiam exaltatae sunt in *αίσθησει* luminis, et vires omnes luminis *σοφιας cognovere se invicem* per *ἀπορροϊαν* luminis, *et servatae sunt* a lumine *ἀπορροϊας illius*.

I have indicated some of the points where the Ode crops out: the broad stream of water has been replaced by an *ἀπορροϊα* of light, and this makes it difficult to follow the sequence of the Ode, satisfied thirst having been replaced by illumination. But the detailed commentary which follows will make it all clear.

ODE 6.

The Detailed Commentary. S.-P. 131—135.

Peter explains the meaning of a prophecy which the *vis luminis* had formerly made through Solomon.

Audi igitur, mi domine, proferam verbum in *παρρησια* *κατα* modum quo tua vis *ἐπροφητευσε* per Solomonem: "*ἀπορροϊα egressa facta est magnum flumen latum*," quod est *ἀπορροϊα* luminis dilatata est in chao, in *τοποις* omnibus *προβολων ἀθαδους*; atque verbum iterum, quod tua vis dixit per Salomonem, "*attraxit eos omnes, duxit eos super templum*," quod est hoc, attraxit vires omnes luminis a *προβολαις ἀθαδους* quas abstule-

¹ Schmidt, 'und sie nahmen sich eine Lichtkraft u.s.w.'

runt in [a] *πιστει σοφια*, et iniecit eas in *πιστιν σοφιαν* altera vice; atque verbum rursus, quod tua vis dixit, "*haud potuerunt capere eam [loca] clausa neque loca aedificata*" quod hoc est: *προβολαι αυθαδους* haud potueruntprehendere *απορροιαν* luminis in septis tenebrarum chaos, atque verbum iterum, quod dixit: "*duxerunt eam¹ super terram omnem, et implevit res omnes,*" quod hoc est: quum Gabriel et Michael duxissent eam [P eam super] *σωμα πιστεως σοφιας*, intulit in eam lumina omnia, quae abstulerunt ab ea *προβολαι αυθαδους* atque splenduit [pr. factum est lumen] *σωμα* eius *υλης*; atque verbum, quod dixit: "*biberunt versantes in arena arida,*" quod est, acceperunt lumen quae sunt omnia in *πιστει σοφια* quorum lumen abstulerunt (*i.e.* abstulerunt) prius² (*i.e.* antehac); atque verbum quod dixit "*sitis eorum soluta est et extincta,*" quod hoc est: eius vires cessarunt indigere luminis, quod abstulerunt, [P om. quod abstulerunt] *quoniam dederunt* (*i.e.* datum est) *iis* lumen [P + suum], quod abstulerunt ab iis. Atque iterum *κατα* modum [P + quoque] quo dixit tua vis, "*dederunt iis potum³ ab excelso,*" quod hoc est: dederunt lumen iis ex *απορροια* luminis, quae exiit a me, primo *μυστηριω*, et *κατα* modum, quo dixit tua vis: "*μακαριοι sunt διακονοι potus illius,*" quod est verbum, quod dixisti: Michael et Gabriel, *διακονησαντες*, duxerunt *απορροιαν* luminis in chaos, atque etiam duxerunt eum sursum. Dabunt iis *μυστηρια* luminis altitudinis, *quibus concredita est απορροια* luminis, atque etiam *κατα* modum, quo dixit tua vis: "*verterunt labia arida,*" quod hoc est: Gabriel et Michael haud sumserunt sibi e luminibus *πιστεως σοφιας*, quae eripuerunt *προβολαις αυθαδους*, *αλλα* iniecerunt ea in *πιστιν σοφιαν*; atque iterum verbum, quod dixit: "*acceperunt vigorem⁴ in me qui sunt soluti,*" quod est hoc: aliae vires omnes *πιστεως σοφιας*, quas haud abstulerunt *προβολαι αυθαδους*, valde praeditae sunt vigore⁵ et impletae lumine a suo socio lumine, quod iniecerunt ea in illas. Et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*vivificarunt ψυχας eiicientes halitum, ut ne morerentur,*" quod hoc est: quum iniecissent lumina in *πιστιν σοφιαν* vivificarunt *σωμα* eius *υλης* a quo lumina sua abstulere prius, hoc, quod erat perituum. Atque iterum verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*constituerunt μελη quae collapsa sunt, aut ut ne collaberentur,*" quod

¹ Schmidt, 'er wurde...geführt.'

² Schmidt, 'früher genommen war.'

³ Schmidt, 'es wurde...gegeben.'

⁴ Schmidt, 'Herzensfreude.'

⁵ Schmidt, 'sind sehr fröhlich geworden.'

hoc est: quum intulissent in eam eius lumina, constituere (*i.e.* erexere) eius vires omnes, quae erant dissolvendae; atque etiam *κατα* modum, quo tua vis luminis dixit: "*dederunt robur earum παρρησια*"; quod hoc est: receperunt iterum illorum lumen atque factae sunt, sicut fuerunt prius: atque etiam verbum, quod dixit "*dederunt lumen eorum oculis*," quod hoc est: acceperunt *αἰσθησιν* in lumine et cognoverunt *ἀπορροϊαν* luminis, quod pertineat ad altitudinem. Atque etiam verbum, quod dixit: "*isti omnes cognoverunt se in domino*," quod hoc est: vires omnes *πιστεως σοφιας* cognovere se invicem per *ἀπορροϊαν* luminis: atque etiam verbum, quod dixit, "*servati sunt aqua vitae usque ad aeternum*¹," quod hoc est: servatae sunt per *ἀπορροϊαν* luminis totius: atque verbum, quod dixit: "*attraxit eos omnes ἀπορροϊα luminis et attraxit eos super templum*²," quod est: quum *ἀπορροϊα* luminis accepisset lumina omnia *πιστεως σοφιας*, et quum eripuisset ea a *προβολαις ἀβθαδους*, iniecit ea in *πιστιν σοφιαν*, atque conversa est, exiit a chao,³ ascendit in perfectionem [P vel "super te"] quod tu es templum³. Haec est solutio verborum omnium, quae dixit tua vis luminis per oden Salomonis. Factum igitur, quum primum *μυστηριον* audisset haec verba, quae dixit Petrus, locutum est ei: *εὐγε, μακαριος* Petre, haec est solutio verborum quae dixerunt [*i.e.* dicta sunt].

ODE 22.

This Ode is introduced as follows:

Respondens *δε* primum *μυστηριον* dixit: *κελευω* tibi, Mathaeae, ut proferas solutionem *ὑμνου*, quem dixit *πιστις σοφια*. Respondens *δε* Mathaeus dixit: de solutione *ὑμνου* quem dixit *πιστις σοφια* tua vis luminis *ἐπροφητευσεν* olim in *ῥῶδη* Salomonis:

S.-P. pp. 155—156.

W.-M.-S. p. 39.

Qui deduxit me in locis excelsis super caelum, et duxit me sursum in locis quae in fundamento inferiori: qui abstulit ibi haec, quae in medio, et docuit me ea, qui dispersit meos inimicos, et meos *ἀντιδικους*, qui dedit mihi

Is, qui duxit me deorsum e locis altis, coelestibus, et duxit me in loca, quae in fundamento inferiori. Is, qui abstulit ibi haec, quae in medio sunt, et docuit me ea. Is, qui dispersit inimicos meos et adversarios meos. Is,

¹ Schmidt, 'Wasser ewigen Lebens.'

² Schmidt, 'riss alles an sich, und zog (?) es über den Tempel.'

³⁻³ Schmidt, 'und kam über Dich, der Du der Tempel bist.'

ἐξουσιαν super vincula ad solvenda ea, qui ἐπαταξε serpentem cum septem capitibus meis manibus. Constituit me super eius radicem, ut evellerem eius σπερμα atque tu eras mecum, adiuvans me, in omni loco circumdedit me tuum nomen. Dextra tua perdidit venenum huius, qui dicit malum. Tua manus stravit viam tuis πιστοῖς. Redemisti eos e ταφοῖς et transtulisti eos e mediis cadaveribus. Sumsisti ossa mortua, induisti iis σωμα et qui haud movent se, dedisti eis ἐνεργειαν vitae. Via tua facta est perniciem expers, atque tua facie duxisti [P tua facies. Duxisti] tuum αἰωνα in perniciem, ut dissolverentur omnes et fierent novi, et uti tuum lumen sit duplicatum [P fundamentum] iis omnibus. Construxisti tuam opulentiam per eos et facti sunt habitaculum sanctum.

qui dedit mihi potestatem super vincula ad solvenda ea. Is qui percussit serpentem septem capita habentem manibus meis: constituit me super radicem eius, ut exstingerem semen eius. Et tu eras mecum, adsistens mihi. Omni in loco circumdedit me nomen tuum. Dextra tua perdidit venenum male loquentis. Manus tua planavit viam fidelibus tuis. Liberasti eos e sepulcris et transtulisti eos e medio cadaverum. Accepisti ossa mortua, induisti iis corpus, et, qui non movent se, dedisti eis ἐνεργειαν vitae. Via tua facta est expers perniciem, et etiam facies tua: duxisti aeona tuum in perniciem¹ ut dissolverentur omnes et renovarentur. ²Et ut lumen tuum duplicaretur iis omnibus,³ superstruxisti divitias tuas super eos, effecti sunt habitaculum sanctum³.

ODE 22.

The Gnostic Targum. S.-P. 153—155.

Pergens de adhuc πιστις σοφια, ὕμνευσε rursus ad me dicens: “ὕμνευω sursum ad te hoc. Tuo statuto *eduxisti me ab aivoni excelso, qui supra caelum, et deduxisti me ad τοπους inferiores*, atque etiam tuo statuto liberasti me e τοποις inferioribus, et per te abstulisti ὕλην ibi, quae est in meis viribus luminis, et vidi eam, atque *tu dispersisti a me προβολας ἀυθαδους*, quae affligebant me et erant inimici mihi, atque *dedisti mihi ἐξουσιαν ut solverer e vinculis προβολων* Adamae, et *ἐπαταξας serpentem basiliscum cum septem capitibus*. Proiecisti [P eiecisti] eum *meis manibus, et constituisti me super eius ὕλην*. Perdidisti eam, ut ne σπερμα suum surgeret inde ab hoc tempore, atque *tu es qui eras mecum*, dans mihi vim in his omnibus, et tuum lumen *circumdedit me in*

¹ Schmidt, ‘Du hast Deinen Aeon über das Verderben geführt.’

²⁻² Schmidt, ‘und Dein Licht ihnen allen Fundament sei.’

³ Schmidt, ‘Du hast Deinen Reichtum auf sie gebaut.’

τοποις omnibus, et per te reddidisti *προβολας* omnes *αυθαδους* impotentes, quod abstulisti vim sui luminis ab eis *et direxisti meam viam* ad educendam me ex chao, et transtulisti me e tenebris *υλικαις* et abstulisti meas vires omnes ab iis, ¹quarum lumen abstulere¹. Iniecisti in eas lumen purum, et meis *μελεσι* omnibus, quibus nullum lumen, dedisti lumen purum ex lumine altitudinis, et direxisti viam iis, et lumen tuae faciei *factum mihi est vita, perniciie vacua*. Duxisti me sursum super chaos, locum (*τοπον*) chaus et perniciiei, *ut dissolverentur omnes υλαι*, quae in eo, quae sunt in *τοπω* illo, *et uti fiant novae* meae vires omnes tuo lumine, et *ut tuum lumen sit in iis omnibus*. Posuisti lumen tuae *απορροιας* in me. Facta sum lumen purgatum." Hic iterum est secundus *υμνος* quem dixit *πιστις σοφια*.

ODE 22.

The detailed Commentary.

Matthew then goes on to show in detail the parallelism between the Ode of Solomon and the hymn of the *Pistis Sophia*.

S.-P. pp. 156—160.

Haec, igitur, mi domine, est solutio *υμνον* quem dixit *πιστις σοφια*. Audi igitur, dicam eam ingenue. Verbum quod tua vis dixit per Solomonem: "*qui deduxit me e locis excelsis quae super caelum, atque etiam duxisti me sursum in locis, quae in fundamento inferiori,*" ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: *υμνεω* sursum ad te hoc. Tuo statuto duxisti me ex hoc *αιωνι* excelso, qui super caelum, et duxisti me in *τοπους* inferiores, atque etiam servasti me tuo statuto, duxisti me sursum in *τοποις* inferioribus. Et verbum, quod tua vis dixit per Solomonem: "*qui abstulit ibi haec, quae in medio, et docuit me ea,*" ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: atque etiam per te abstulisti² *υλην* quae in media mea vi, et vidi eam: atque etiam verbum, quod tua vis dixit per Solomonem: "*qui dispersit meos inimicos et meos αντιδικους,*" ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: et tu es, qui dispersisti a me *προβολας* omnes *αυθαδους* quae affligebant me, et quae erant inimici mihi; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*qui dedit mihi suam σοφιαν super vincula ad*

¹⁻¹ Schmidt, 'deren Licht genommen war.'

² Schmidt, 'hast...reinigen lassen.'

solvenda ea": ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*; [+ et P] dedit mihi suam *σοφιαν* ut solverer e vinculis *προβολων* illarum; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*qui ἐπαταξε serpentem cum septem capitibus meis manibus et constituit me super eius radicem,*" *ut evellerem eius σπερμα,*" ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: et *ἐπαταξας* serpentem cum septem capitibus meis manibus et constituisti me super eius *ὕλην*, perdidisti eum, ut ne eius *σπερμα* surgeret inde ab hac hora; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*et tu mecum eras, adiuvabas me,*" ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: et tu eras mecum, dans vim mihi in his omnibus; et verbum quod tua vis dixit: "*et tuum nomen circumdedit me in omni loco,*" ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: et tuum lumen circumdedit me in eorum locis omnibus; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*et tua dextera perdidit venenum huius qui dicit malum,*" ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*; et per te factae sunt impotentes *προβολαι αὐθαδους*, quod abstulisti lumen vis suae ab iis; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*tua manus stravit viam tuis πιστοις,*" ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*; direxisti meam viam ad educendam me e chao, quod *ἐπιστευσα* tibi; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*redemisti eos e ταφοις et transtulisti eos e mediis cadaveribus,*" ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: et redemisti me e chao et transtulisti me e tenebris *ὕλκαις* quae ipsae sunt *προβολαι* caliginis, quae in chao, e quibus suum lumen abstulisti; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*sumsisti ossa mortua, induisti eis σωμα, et hi, qui non movent se, dedisti iis ἐνεργειαν vitae,*" ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: et abstulisti meas vires omnes, in quibus nullum lumen, et [om. et P] indidisti eis lumen purum, et meis *μελεσιν* omnibus, in quibus nullum lumen movetur, dedisti eis lumen vitae tuae altitudine; et verbum quod tua vis dixit: "*tua via facta est perniciem vacua et tua facies,*" ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*; et direxisti viam [+ tuam P] mihi, et lumen tuae faciei facta¹ mihi est vita, perniciem vacua; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*duxisti tuum αἰωνα in perniciem, ut dissolverentur ut fierent novi omnes,*" ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*; ²duxisti me, tuam vim, in chaos et in perniciem², ut dissolverentur *ὕλαι* omnes,

¹ factum P.

²⁻² Schmidt, 'Du hast mich, Deine Kraft, über das Chaos hinaufgeführt und über das Verderben.'

quae sunt [+ sursum P] in $\tau\omicron\pi\omega$ illo, et ut fierent novae meae vires omnes lumine; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit, "*et tuum lumen duplicatum [P. fundamentum] est¹ iis omnibus*": ipsum est verbum, quod dixit $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\sigma\omicron\phi\iota\alpha$: et tuum lumen est in iis omnibus: et verbum quod tua vis luminis dixit per Solomonem: "*posuisti² tuam opulentiam³ in eo, et factus est habitaculum sanctum*": ipsum est verbum, quod dixit $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\sigma\omicron\phi\iota\alpha$: firmasti lumen tuae $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\rho\rho\iota\alpha\varsigma$ super me, et facta sum lumen purum. Haec igitur, domine mi, est solutio $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\nu\omicron\upsilon$, quem dixit $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\sigma\omicron\phi\iota\alpha$.

ODE 25.

The text of this Ode is introduced as follows:

Respondens $\delta\epsilon$ primum $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ dixit Thomae: $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\omega$ tibi, ut proferas solutionem $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\nu\omicron\upsilon$, quem $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\nu\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$ sursum ad me $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\sigma\omicron\phi\iota\alpha$. Respondens $\delta\epsilon$ Thomas dixit: mi domine, de $\acute{\upsilon}\mu\nu\omega$ quem dixit $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma$ quod liberata est a chao: tua vis luminis $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\rho\phi\eta\tau\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$ olim per Salomonem, filium Davidis, in eius $\omega\delta\alpha\iota\varsigma$:

S.-P. p. 150.

Servatus sum e vinculis. Fugi ad te, domine, quod fuisti mihi dextra servans me, atque servans me et adiuvens me, $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omega\lambda\upsilon\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ pugnantes contra me, neque apparuerunt, quod tua facies mecum erat servans me tua $\chi\alpha\rho\iota\tau\iota$. Affecta sum ignominia coram multitudine, atque proiecerunt me. Fui sicut plumbum coram iis. Facta mihi est vis a te adiuvens me, quod posuisti lucernas ad dexteram mihi et ad sinistram mihi, ut ne quidquam circa me esset luminis expers. Ἐσκεπασας me sub umbra tuae misericordiae et fui super vestes pelliceas. Tua dextra exaltavit me et abstulisti infirmitatem a me: Factus sum validus tua veritate, purgatus tua $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\sigma\upsilon\nu\eta$. Remoti sunt a me pugnantes contra me,

W.-M.-S. *l. c.* p. 39.

Liberatus sum e vinculis. Fugi ad te, domine: quia fuisti mihi ad dextram, salvans me. [Et salvans me] et adiuvens me, prohibuisti adversarios meos, neque se manifestaverunt, quod tua facies mecum est, liberans me gratia tua. Acepi contumeliam coram multitudine, et eiecerunt me: fui sicut plumbum coram iis. Fuit mihi robur per te adiuvens me. Quia posuisti lucernas ad dextram meam et ad sinistram meam, ne neutra parte luminis expers essem. Textisti me sub umbra gratiae tuae et ²superavi vestimenta pellicea³. Dextra tua exaltavit me, et abstulisti infirmitatem porro a me. Fui corroboratus veritate tua, purgatus a me adversarii mei, et iustificatus

¹ Schmidt, 'ist ihnen allen Fundament (geworden).'

²⁻² Schmidt, 'Deinen Reichthum.'

³⁻³ Schmidt, 'ich wurde überhoben den aus Fellen gemachten Kleidern.'

et iustificatus sum tua *χρηστοτητι*, sum iustitia tua, quia requies tua nam tua quies est ad aeternum est in saecula saeculorum. aeternitatis.

ODE 25.

The Gnostic Targum. (S.-P. 148—149.)

Pergens δε iterum in sermone primum *μυστηριον* dixit *μαθηταις*: Factum est, quum duxissem *πιστιν σοφιαν* sursum in chao, exclamavit iterum dicens: “*Servata sum* in chao, et soluta e *vinculis* caliginis. *Veni ad te*, lumen, quod fuisti lumen ex omni parte mihi *servans me*, et *adiuvans me*. Et *προβολας αυθαδους* quae *pugnant contra me*, *εκωλυσας* tuo lumine, et *haud potuerunt adpropinquare mihi*, quod erat tuum lumen *mecum*, et *servabat me* tua [P me in tua] *απορροια* luminis, quoniam γαρ *προβολαι* [P+ *αυθαδους*] affligentes me abstulerunt meam vim a me, *iniecerunt me* in orcos (chao Plur.) nullum lumen habentem. *Fui sicut υλη* gravis *coram iis*. Atque post haec vis *απορροιας* venit mihi *a te servans me*. Splenduit *ad sinistram mihi* et *ad dextram mihi*; et circumdabat me, ex omni parte mihi erat, *ut ne ullum μέρος* quo fui, essem [P *esset*] *sine lumine*, et obtexit [P *obtexisti*] *me* lumine tuae *απορροιας* et purgasti in me omnes meas *υλας* malas, et *fui super* meas *υλας* omnes propter tuum lumen.¹ et tuam *απορροιαν* luminis. *Ista exaltavit me*¹ et *abstulit me* *προβολαις αυθαδους θλιβουσαις* me. Atque fui confisa tuo lumini, nec non lumen purum [P lumini puro] tuae *απορροιας*, et *remotae sunt a me* *προβολαι αυθαδους* quae affligebant me, et facta sum lux tua magna vi, quod tu servas omni tempore.

ODE 25.

The detailed Commentary.

Thomas explains that he will interpret openly the words of the Pistis Sophia, and proceeds to speak *εν παρρησία*, as follows:

S.-P. 150—153.

Verbum igitur, quod tua vis luminis dixit per Salomonem: “*Servatus sum e vinculis. Fugi ad te, domine*,” ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: soluta sum e vinculis caliginis,

¹⁻¹ Schmidt, ‘und Dein Lichtabfluss ist es, der mich erhöht...hat.’

veni ad te, domine [P lux]: et verbum, quod dixit tua vis: "*Fuisti mihi dextra servans me et adiuvans me*"; ipsum iterum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: factus es lumen ex omni parte mihi et adiuvans me: et verbum quod tua vis luminis dixit "*ἐκωλυσας pugnantes contra me, et haud apparuerunt*" ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: et *προβολας ἀθραδους* quae pugnant contra me, *ἐκωλυσας* tuo lumine, et haud potuerunt adpropinquare mihi: et verbum, quod tua vis dixit, "*quod tua facies mecum erat servans me tua χαριτι*," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: quod tuum lumen erat mecum servans me tua *ἀπορροια* luminis: et verbum quod tua vis dixit, "*1contemnor eorum multitudine et proiecerunt me*," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*; afflixerunt me *προβολαι ἀθραδους* et abstulerunt meam vim a me, et contemta sum coram iis et proiecerunt me in chao expertem luminis. Et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*fui sicut plumbum coram iis*," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: quum abstulissent mea lumina a me, facta sum sicut *ύλη* gravis coram iis. Et verbum, [+ rursus P] quod tua vis dixit, "*et facta mihi est vis a te adiuvans me*," ipsum [+ quoque P] est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: et post haec vis luminis venit mihi a te servans me: et verbum quod tua vis dixit: "*posuisti lucernas ad dextram mihi et ad sinistram mihi, ut ne quidquam circa me esset luminis expers*," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*, Tua vis luminis [P + splenduit] ad dextram mihi et ad sinistram mihi et circumdans me ab omni parte, ut ne quidquam circa me esset luminis expers: et verbum quod tua vis dixit: "*ἐσκεπασας me umbra tuae misericordiae*," ipsum iterum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: et obtexisti me lumine tuae *ἀπορροιας*; et verbum quod tua vis dixit: "*2fui super vestes pelliceas*," ipsum iterum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: et eiecerunt a meas *ύλας* omnes malas, et *3elevavi eas* tua lumine; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit per Salomonem: "*tua dextra exaltavit me et abstulit infirmitatem a me*," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: et tua *ἀπορροια* luminis haec est, quae exaltavit me tuo lumine, et abstulit a me *προβολας ἀθραδους θλιβουσας* me; et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*factus sum validus tua veritate et purgatus tua δικαιοσυνη*,"

¹⁻¹ Schmidt, 'ich wurde verachtet im Angesichte vieler und hinausgestossen.'

²⁻² Schmidt, 'ich wurde überhoben der aus Fellen gemachten Kleidern.'

³⁻³ Schmidt, 'ich erhob mich über sie.'

ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: facta sum valida tuo lumine et sum lumen purgatum tua *ἀπορροια*: et verbum, quod tua vis dixit: "*remoti sunt a me pugnantes mecum*," ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: remotae sunt a me *προβολαι ἀθαδους*, hae quae affligebant me, et verbum quod tua vis luminis dixit per Salomonem: "*et iustificatus sum tua χρηστοτητι, quod tua quies est ad aeternum aeternitatis*": ipsum est verbum, quod dixit *πιστις σοφια*: servata sum tua *χρηστοτητι* quod tu servas unumquemque. Haec igitur, o mi domine, est solutio tota *μετανοιας* quam dixit *πιστις σοφια* quum servata esset in chao et soluta est e vinculis caliginis.

These, then, are the extracts and comments on the Odes of Solomon which are contained in the Pistis Sophia.

We will now examine what light they throw on the original form of the text, and we will also enquire as to the language in which the book was originally circulated.

Original
language of
the Odes.

We begin by comparing the Odes quoted in the Coptic book with their Syriac equivalents.

The presumption is that the Coptic is a direct translation from the Greek: the number of Greek words that are embedded in the Coptic at once suggests this, and it is natural to carry back these Greek words into the text from which the Coptic is derived.

A little caution is necessary, for it will be remembered that Greek words are often used in the Coptic to redeem the language from its linguistic poverty, and it will also be found that the Coptic does not always directly transliterate a Greek word: it sometimes translates by another and more familiar Greek word. But with some reserve of this kind, the Greek elements in the text are sufficient evidence that the book was taken from the Greek to the Egyptian language; and we know that the Psalms and Odes had a wide circulation amongst Greek speaking peoples. The *Pistis Sophia*, in which the Odes are imbedded, dates from the third century, and the author of the *Pistis* had, as we have shown, the Odes bound up with his Canonical Psalter; at the time intimated there was no Coptic [Thebaic] Bible from which the extracts could have been made; so we may be sure the Odes were taken from a Greek Bible, and, with almost equal certainty, that the *Pistis Sophia* itself was a Greek book. Detailed examination leads to the same result.

Suppose we examine the parts of the sixth Ode which we have preserved both in Coptic and in Syriac: this is the Ode in which Harnack thought we could detect both Gnostic and Egyptian elements, the supposed Gnostic feature being the use of the word *ἀπόρροια*, and the supposed Egyptian feature being a sudden inundation, which sweeps over a whole country and defies professional attempts to regulate it. Near the end of the Ode is a beautiful passage describing the way in which the ministers of the water of life have assuaged the thirst of the world: they have given ease to dry lips, strength to paralysed wills and weak limbs. Then the writer adds

“Members which had fallen they made straight and set up. They gave strength for their coming and light to their eyes.”

There is something awkward about this word ‘coming’: and when we turn to the Coptic we find

“Restituerunt membra quae ceciderant. Dederunt robor *παρρησία* eorum et lucem oculis eorum.”

This is almost as unintelligible as the former; what does he mean by ‘strength for freedom of speech’? However we have found out that the Greek behind the Coptic read *τῇ παρρησίᾳ αὐτῶν*; and it is not difficult to infer that the Syriac has rendered a Greek text *τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτῶν*. Now which of these is correct? Neither of them makes good sense. But if we write

τῇ παρέσει αὐτῶν or *τῇ παραλύσει αὐτῶν*
 “they gave them strength for their paralysis,”

we can make the passage intelligible, and explain both the Coptic and Syriac readings¹.

This suggests that the Syriac as well as the Coptic has a Greek text behind it. We shall examine this point more in detail presently.

We are not limited to the occurrence of the single Greek word *παρρησία* (whether it be the right word or only a corruption); nor to the favourite word *ἀπόρροια* which the Pistis Sophia has caught at, on account of its Gnostic associations.

¹ The key to the passage is Is. xxxv. 3=Heb. xii. 12; *ισχύσατέ...γόνατα παραλελυμένα* (Is.), and cf. *τὰ παραλελυμένα γόνατα ἀνορθώσατε* (Heb.).

The Syriac tells us that the flood could not be restrained by the professional restrainers, nor by the arts of those who make the management of floods their business. The Coptic text tells us

haud potuerunt capere in clausis et in locis aedificatis, neque potuerunt capere eam *τεχναι* capientium illos.

Here the Syriac is somewhat at variance from the Coptic, but it is clear that 'capere' stands for the Syriac 'restrain,' and that *τεχναι* is the Greek word for the Syriac 'arts of the restrainers.'

The Gnostic Targum has also worked in *τεχναι* in the following form:

neque *ἐτολμησαν*.....prehendere *ἀπορροϊαν*.....neque
prehenderunt eam *τεχνη*.....

Here 'prehendo' is the same as 'capio,' and stands for the Syriac 'restrain.' *Τεχναι* seems to come from the original Greek. I should have said that *ἐτολμησαν* came from the same source, if it were not that the text and the comment have 'potuerunt' in harmony with the Syriac.

Another bit of the original Greek is picked up in the clause which answers to the Syriac,

'Blessed are the ministers of that draught.'

Here the Coptic gives us, *Μακαριοι* sunt *διακονοι* potus illius, and the Comment, as well as the Targum, explains that the ministers are Michael and Gabriel, *οἱ διακονήσαντες*. So that we can restore the words *Μακάριοι εἰσιν οἱ διάκονοι οὗτοι* to the Greek. And so in other cases.

But this raises the question whether the Greek is the last stage. Were the Odes written in Greek? Or may we say, as for the eighteen Psalms, that they were translated into Greek from an original Hebrew? The possibility must at all events be kept in mind. But we can only advance by slow stages. The next step should be to confirm the suggestion that the Syriac has been translated from a Greek base by discussing the case for the eighteen Psalms.

Here we should naturally expect dependence on the Greek.

The Syriac of
the 18 Psalms
depends on the
Greek.

For it is now clearly made out, as Ryle and James have shown, that the original Hebrew of these Psalms was done into Greek at a very early period.

For the Greek version of the 11th Psalm is used by the author

of the book of Baruch in his fifth chapter, and this chapter is quoted at length by Irenaeus. So it would be unreasonable to put the Greek of the eighteen Psalms later than the middle of the first century, when it is employed by Baruch writing, probably, not later than the end of the first century.

So the Greek of these Psalms is available for translation into Syriac at a very early date; we have to determine from the evidence before us whether it was so translated from the Greek. Let us see whether the Syriac confirms any conjectures either in Greek or in Hebrew that the editors have thought necessary to the understanding or betterment of the text. It does not confirm Hilgenfeld's brilliant suggestion of ὀρίων for ὀρέων in Ps. ii. 30: the Syriac has 'mountains' and agrees with the Greek tradition. In Ps. ii. 20 Gebhardt's emendation of κατέσπασεν to κατεσπίασθη is confirmed by the Syriac ܡܫܬܩܐ, which is rather a free translation. In Ps. v. 4 Gebhardt conjectures

οὐ γὰρ λήψεται [τις] σκῦλα παρὰ ἀνδρὸς δυνατοῦ

and the word added is confirmed by the Syriac, which adds ܟܨܝܘ (a son of man, a man): but then the Copenhagen MS. has σκῦλα ἄνθρωπος, and the Syriac might just as well be a translation of this.

In Ps. viii. 3 Hilgenfeld's emendation

καὶ εἶπα [ἐν] τῇ καρδίᾳ μου

is not confirmed by the Syriac, which follows the MSS. in omitting ἐν.

In Ps. x. 1 Fritzsche made a striking emendation to the first couplet,

Μακάριος ἀνὴρ οὗ ὁ κύριος ἐμνήσθη ἐν ἐλεγμῷ,
καὶ ἐκυκλώθη ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ πονηρᾶς ἐν μᾶστιγι

by reading ἐκωλύθη for ἐκυκλώθη.

The Syriac confirms this conjecture, which Gebhardt has discarded in favour of a misunderstood Hebrew text. If this is not a successful emendation on the part of a scribe, the Syriac at this point takes precedence of the existing Greek texts: but that does not mean that it is not dependent on a Greek text.

In Ps. xvi. 9 the Greek text

τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν μου κατεύθυνον ἐν τόπῳ σου

is altered in the Syriac to ἐνώπιόν σου which seems a better, as well as an easier reading.

In Ps. xvii. 16 where Gebhardt has emended

[καθὼς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι] τοῦ σθένους αὐτῶν

for τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῶν of Cod P the Syriac reads 'the cities of their gods' with the rest of the Greek MSS:

In Ps. xvii. 23 Gebhardt emends

εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ὃν εἶλου σύ, ὁ θεός

for the current Greek

εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ὃν εἶδες [ἴδες, οἶδες, οἶδας].

The Syriac has ܕܝܟ ܩܘ, which answers most nearly to εἶδες.

This is one of the places where Felix Perles found a trace of the original Hebrew, which had been corrupted from תָּדַע to תָּדַע, *i.e.* from 'thou hast appointed' to 'thou hast known.' Most of the proposed emendations seem to me to be more ingenious than necessary. The Syriac, at all events, does not endorse them.

In Ps. xvii. 32 the Syriac renders ἐν ἐπισήμῳ by ܕܝܟܠܐ, which throws light on the same expression in Ps. ii. 6, where the Syriac seems to have left the words untranslated, but there Felix Perles conjectured that they stood for an original Hebrew בְּגִלָּה. The Syriac seems, while itself following the Greek in Ps. xvii. 32, to support this restoration of Perles for the Hebrew in Ps. ii. 6.

In Ps. xvii. 37 Gebhardt has added conjecturally the word λαοῖς in καὶ πολλοῖς [λαοῖς] οὐ συνάξει ἐλπίδας εἰς ἡμέραν πολέμου.

The Syriac has 'and he shall not hope in a multitude for the day of war,' and so does not favour the emendation. So far, then, as these passages go, there is not much ground for taking the Syriac outside the grouping of the Greek MSS., and erecting it into a separate authority. There are one or two passages to be considered in which the Syriac gives us either an independent conjecture, or something nearer to the original text.

In Ps. i. 6 the difficult

καὶ οὐκ ἤνεγκαν

Singular readings of the Syriac.

of the MSS. is replaced by ܐܬܝܢ ܩܝܠܝܢ, and the sentence connected with the previous εἶπαν by omission of the intervening matter, so as to read

'And they spake what they did not understand';

whether this was arrived at in the first instance by substituting *ἔγνωκαν* for *ἤνεγκαν* is not quite clear: but the whole treatment of the text is too drastic to allow us to believe that the Syriac is the original. Another suggestion is that the Syriac translator read *καὶ οὐκ ἔγνω*, and took it for a 3rd person plural instead of a 1st person singular.

In Ps. ii. 29 the difficult

τοῦ εἰπεῖν τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν τοῦ δράκοντος

appears in the Syriac as **ܐܘܨܝܘܢܐ** which makes excellent sense, from whatever quarter it is derived. Perles conjectures that the original Greek was *ταπεινοῦν*: it is just conceivable that the Syriac might stand for a translation of this.

In Ps. ii. 41 for

εὐλογητὸς κύριος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐνώπιον δούλων αὐτοῦ

the Syriac has the equivalent of *ὑπὸ τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ*, and a glance at the previous line of the Greek will show that *ἐνώπιον* has been accidentally borrowed from there, so that we may replace *ὑπὸ τῶν* on the faith of the Syriac, which at this point establishes a better Greek text.

In Ps. iv. 25 for

*καὶ παρώργισαν τὸν θεόν· καὶ παρώξυναν
ἐξᾶραι αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς*

the Syriac reads

*καὶ παρώργισαν [ܐܘܨܝܘܢܐ] τὸν θεόν·
καὶ παρωργίσθη [ܕܝܫܘܕܝܟܐ] ἐξᾶραι κτέ.*

Here the translator seems to have taken a slight liberty with his text, by translating the same word in two different ways, unless we prefer the explanation that *παρωξύνθη* stood in his copy, instead of *παρωργίσθη*.

In Ps. viii. 23 the clause

*ἀπόλεσεν ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν καὶ πάντα σοφὸν
ἐν βουλῇ*

has for its last words

ܟܠܟܘܢܐ ܡܝܫܘܝܐ ܘܢܘܪܐ

‘because he is wise in counsel’;

it is, however, only a blunder in the Syriac text itself: read **ܕܒܘܢܐ** for **ܘܢܘܪܐ** and you have the equivalent of the Greek.

The same thing has happened in Ps. x. 9, where the Syriac reads

‘The salvation of the Lord is upon the house of Israel
for an eternal Kingdom’:

a very slight change restores $\kappa\theta\alpha\sigma\alpha\lambda\alpha$ for $\kappa\theta\alpha\sigma\alpha$ and gives us the Greek *σωφροσύνην* as in Codd. H (R). This must, in its turn, be corrected to *εὐφροσύνην* with Codd. J L C.

Here the Syriac follows a corrupt Greek text, and has itself been corrupted. For more violent changes in the Syriac we may take the following:

Ps. ii. 37

*εὐλογεῖτε τὸν θεόν, οἱ φοβούμενοι
τὸν κύριον ἐν ἐπιστήμῃ·
ὅτι τὸ ἔλεος κυρίου ἐπὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους
αὐτὸν μετὰ κρίματος.*

The Syriac reads *ἐν σχήματι* for *ἐν ἐπιστήμῃ*: but the parallelism shows that the Greek is right, and perhaps the Syriac $\kappa\tau\alpha\omega\kappa$ should be corrected to $\kappa\lambda\alpha\omega$.

In Ps. v. 8 for *μὴ βαρύνῃς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς* the Syriac has

$\mu\omega \gamma\tau\kappa . \dot{\iota}\omega\alpha\delta\eta\delta\iota \kappa\lambda$

‘let not thy hand be delayed from us’;

which appears to answer to

μὴ βαρύνῃς τὴν χεῖρά σου ἀφ’ ἡμῶν,

the error being due to a false transcription of the Greek. For the correctness of the Greek, we may compare Ps. Sol. ii. 24 and the Biblical parallels cited by Ryle and James [Judg. i. 35: I Sam. v. 6: Ps. xxxi. (xxxii.) 4].

In the difficult passage Ps. xv. 8, 9

*λιμὸς καὶ ῥομφαία καὶ θάνατος ἀπὸ δικαίων μακρὰν,
φεύξονται γὰρ ὡς διωκόμενοι πολέμου ἀπὸ ὀσίων,*

the Syriac boldly says in the second clause, that

‘they shall flee as death flees away from life.’

Perles compares Lev. xxvi. 36

καὶ φεύξονται ὡς φεύγοντες ἀπὸ πολέμου

which suggests that *ἀπὸ* has dropped from our text, and gives the original Hebrew.

The Syriac variation is very vivid, but I am afraid it is an evasion of a difficult text: the parallelism would be spoilt by saying that 'death flees from the righteous, as death flees from life.' The Greek seems to be right as it stands, and to mean 'they shall flee from the saints as fugitives of war [are wont to flee].'

In Ps. xvii. 11 Gebhardt edits

*οὐκ ἠλέησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεός.
ἐξερεύνησεν τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῶν
καὶ οὐκ ἀφήκεν αὐτῶν ἕνα.*

The Syriac has a series of imperatives, or of futures equivalent to imperatives: so that we ought to have in the Greek, if that were the original of the Syriac,

*οὐκ ἐλεήσεις αὐτούς, ὁ θεός.
ἐπίσκεψον [ἢ ἐξερεύνησον] τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῶν,
καὶ οὐκ ἀφήσεις αὐτῶν ἕνα,*

and since the MSS. have *ἐλεήσει* and two of them have *ἐξερεύνησον* we may, by the Syriac, bring the Greek into closer agreement with what must have been its original form.

So far, then, our investigation has not taken us sensibly out of range of the Greek MSS. There are one or two obscurities still to be cleared up, but the above are the principal cases. Here is one microscopic, but significant error. In Psalm v. 16 the Syriac translator has definitely blundered over the word *οὐ* in

*καὶ οὐ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐλπίς ἐπὶ σε,
οὐ φείσεται ἐν δόματι.*

Here he reads the first *ου* as a negative, and is obliged to discard the second. Cod. R also reads *οὐκ* for the first *ου*.

We may, then, conclude that the Syriac translator of the Psalms has worked from a Greek text; and we will presently try to find out its nearest affinity amongst the existing MSS.

In one or two cases the translator makes very successful paronomasiae in his translation, such as might almost deceive the very elect into a belief that he had recovered a play on words of the original Hebrew.

For example in Ps. xi. 6, 7,

*οἱ δρῦμοι ἐσκίασαν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ παραδοῇ αὐτῶν,
πᾶν ξύλον εὐωδίας ἀνέτειλεν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεός.*

For the second line the Syriac reads

ܟܘܠܟ ܥܘܠ ܡܝܬ ܟܘܠܟ ܟܘܠܟ ܟܘܠܟ ܟܘܠܟ ܟܘܠܟ

As it does not seem possible that ܡܝܬ can be a direct translation of ἀνέτειλεν we are almost obliged to believe that the writer has introduced a paronomasia: 'every tree of sweet breath God caused to breathe upon them.' It cannot be original, for as Perles points out¹, Baruch read ἐνέτειλεν (cf. Bar. v. 8, πᾶν ξύλον εὐωδίας τῷ Ἰσραὴλ προστάγματι), and this can only be a variant of ἀνέτειλεν.

Another similar case will be found in Ps. ix. 9

ὁ ποιῶν ἐλεημοσύνην θησαυρίζει ζωὴν
αὐτῷ παρὰ κυρίῳ,

which the Syriac renders by

ܟܘܠ ܟܘܠ ܟܘܠܟ ܟܘܠܟ ܟܘܠܟ ܟܘܠܟ ܟܘܠܟ ܟܘܠܟ
ܟܘܠܟ ܟܘܠܟ

As this ܟܘܠܟ ܟܘܠܟ cannot be a Hebrew form of speech, we are obliged to admit that the play on words is due to the ingenuity of the translator.

Now let us see whether we can get a rough idea of the place which the Syriac text of the Psalms of Solomon occupies amongst the Greek MSS.

Relation of
the Syriac
text of the
18 Psalms to
the Greek
MSS.

The edition of Ryle and James is based upon four MSS. of which the chief is the very beautiful Copenhagen MS. But since the other three (at Paris, Vienna and Moscow respectively) have been shown by Gebhardt to be derived from the Copenhagen MS., the text of Ryle and James is reduced to a single authority, for the other three may be neglected.

To this MS. Gebhardt adds four more, one from the Vatican, two from Mount Athos, and one from Monte Cassino. We have thus eight MSS. as follows:

C = Codex Casanatensis 1908.

H = Codex Hauniensis 6: (the Copenhagen MS.).

J = Cod. 555 of the Monastery at Iveron.

L = a MS. in the Monastery of the Laura.

¹ Zur Erklärung der Psalmen Salomos, p. 9.

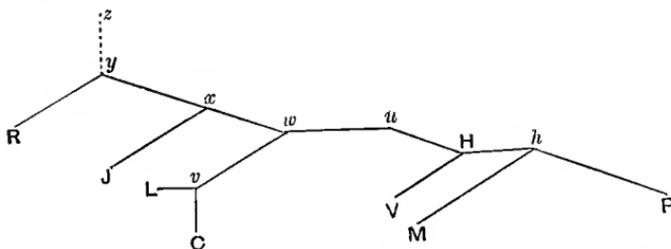
M = a Moscow MS.: Library of the Holy Synod 147.

P = Paris Gr. 2991 A.

R = Vatican Gr. 336.

V = Vienna: Theol. Gr. 11.

The relations between these eight MSS. Gebhardt reduces to the following scheme :



Here z is the archetype: y, x, w are uncial MSS., which make connecting links between the existing texts, and v, u and h are similar links in the shape of minuscule MSS.

The first thing we notice is that in numbering the Psalms, H proceeds as follows:

Psal. Sol. 1 = α'
 2 = β'
 3 = ... thus missing one in the count.
 4 = γ'
 5 = δ'
 6 = ϵ'
 7 = ζ'
 8 = η'
 9 = θ' thus missing a numeral :

after which the count is regular.

This error in the numbering of Ps. 5 has led its copy V astray, which has no number by the first hand, but has a wrong number δ' on the margin by a later hand.

Now turn to the Syriac MS. ; we have

Psal. Sol. 1 = Psalm 43 of the Syriac.
 2 = 44
 3 = 45
 4 = 47
 &c. = &c.

all the numbers being now one in excess.

It will be seen that the Syriac numeration has gone wrong very nearly at the same place as Cod. H, and in correcting an error in one direction, the scribe has made a continuous line of errors in another direction. This suggests that Syr. and H are not very widely removed from one another. Now let us examine some special readings.

In Ps. i. 3 we have

R L	Syr. for	πολλήν	}
J H	for	πολὺν	

In Ps. i. 4 we have

R J L Syr. against H (διέλθοι).

In Ps. ii. 1 we have	L H	Syr. for	κατέβαλε	}
	R J	for	κατέβαλλε	

this suggests that the Syriac comes on the diagram somewhere between *x* and *w*.

In Ps. ii. 22

*ἰκάνωσον, κύριε, τοῦ βαρύνεσθαι χεῖρά σου
ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐν ἐπαγωγῇ ἐθνῶν.*

Here ἐπαγωγῇ is clearly right, but some MSS. have ἀπαγωγῇ: the Syriac has it correctly: thus the MSS. divide R J L and Syr. against H.

In the same connexion it is somewhat perplexing to find both R and Syr. in what seems to be a common error, reading 'Israel' for 'Jerusalem.' One would have expected the same reading to turn up in J, but perhaps it was corrected by the scribe. If Gebhardt's diagram is correct, it looks as if R and Syr. might be the original reading and not an error at all.

In Ps. iv. 3 R and the Syriac are together in reading ἀμαρτωλῶν against J L C H (ἀμαρτιῶν).

In Ps. iv. 9 we have

J L C H Syr. (νόμον μετὰ δόλου)

against R (μόνον μετὰ δούλου).

In Ps. viii. 21 the Syriac seems to involve

â with R against âς of J L C H.

In Ps. viii. 22 Syr. and R are again together in reading ἐμίανεν.

In Ps. xvi. 12 the Syriac omits a clause by homoioteleuton, in company with L.

In Ps. xvii. 8 the Syriac reads ἀλλάγματος with R J L against H (ἀλαλάγματος).

In Ps. xvii. 23 the Syriac reads εἶδες with R J L against H and the rest.

These are the most striking of the non-singular readings of the Syriac, and they show clearly that the version belongs to an earlier strain of text than Cod. H, and that its place is with the group R J L, being perhaps intermediate between J and L. The singular readings and free translations on the part of the Syriac give us no assistance in regard to the grouping of the MSS., and we must leave the matter in the approximate manner explained above.

It must be clear from the foregoing that we cannot expect to get any nearer to the original language of the Psalms by means of the Syriac. The original Hebrew must be sought in the emendations to the Greek text made by Wellhausen, Geiger, Ryle and James, and Perles.

Let us turn in the next place to the Odes, and see whether we can trace their linguistic history. Here we have no Greek text extant, but we have the Coptic text of certain Odes and there are Greek words embedded; we have also traces of a Latin version, which we may assume, provisionally, to have been made from the Greek; and we have the Syriac version.

In Ode 6, v. 16, we have tried to explain the variation between a Coptic = παρρησία and a Syriac = παρουσία by reference to a misread Greek word.

We can frequently detect Greek compounds in their awkward Syriac substitutes; for example, in Ode 7, v. 26, 'excellent beauty of the Lord' is an attempt to render the Greek μεγαλοπρέπεια¹. The constantly recurring ܠܫܘܠܐ, 'without corruption,' stands for ἄφθαρτος and ἀφθαρσία.

A good instance is in Ode 9, v. 3, where the literal rendering

'His thought is everlasting life,
And without corruption is your perfection'

probably stands for

καὶ ἐν ἀφθαρσία τὸ τέλος ὑμῶν,

¹ We may compare with the LXX. of Ps. lxxvii. (lxxviii.) 34 and the Peshitta.

and should therefore be translated,

‘And your end is immortality.’

A somewhat similar case is the frequently repeated ܩܘܘܘܢܐ which stands for the Greek *ἄφθονος, ἀφθότως*¹. An interesting example will be found in Ode 11, v. 6, where we read that ‘speaking waters touched my lips from the fountain of God without grudging’ (*i.e.* abundantly). In the passage just quoted I was at first tempted to emend ‘the speaking waters’ to ‘waters of a flood,’ but it is clear that this must not be done: the expression is the same as in Ignatius *ad Rom.* 7, *ὔδωρ ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν*, which Lightfoot too hastily altered to *ζῶν καὶ ἀλλόμενον* and thus made a direct Johannine parallel. For ‘talking water’ there are sufficient literary and folk-lore parallels.

Lightfoot quotes from Jortin [*Eccl. Hist.* i. 356] the reference to Anacreon 11 (13),

δαφνηφόροιο Φοίβου λάλον πίνοντες ὔδωρ,

for the expression ‘talking water’ and for the prophetic inspiration that was supposed to be produced by drinking it: but objects to Jortin’s inference that, as there was one of these ‘speaking’ fountains at Daphne, the famous suburb of Antioch, Ignatius may have borrowed his image from thence. Lightfoot thinks the reference doubtful, even if the text were correct. It seems clear, from the language of the Ode, that the text, about which Lightfoot hesitated, is correct, and I think we may say that the Greek text lies behind the Syriac²; as to the interpretation, that may require a little further deliberation.

¹ An interesting parallel to this series of translations will be found in Irenaeus (247) where the Latin text shows a double translation: ‘*sine invidia largiter donans hominibus.*’

² Lightfoot was quoting Jortin by way of Jacobson. A reference to Jortin himself shows that Lightfoot has not done justice to Jortin, whose statement of the case for *λαλοῦν* and against *ἀλλόμενον* is admirable. I transcribe a part of it: ‘The expression, *ὔδωρ λαλοῦν*, resembles the *vocales undae* which inspired the Poets and Prophets.

Stadius, *Siv.* i. 11. 6,

Et de Pieriis vocalem fontibus undam.

An oracle of Apollo Delphicus given to Julian, and preserved by Cedrenus :

Εἶπατε τῷ βασιλεῖ, χαμαὶ πέσε δαίδαλος ἀλλά.
Οὐκέτι Φοῖβος ἔχει καλύβαν, οὐ μάντιδα δάφνην,
Οὐ παγὰν λαλεοῦσαν, ἀπέσβετο καὶ λάλον ὔδωρ.

In these verses, which, to do them justice, are elegant, Apollo, to raise Julian’s

We may now pass on to discuss briefly the question of the Unity of Authorship? unity or multiplicity of the authorship of the Psalms. Do they come from a single hand or are they a collection made up out of various authors extending over a period of time? It is natural that we should be on our guard against a too hasty belief that the whole of a collection like the present one comes from a single workshop: for we have before our eyes the example of the traditional authorship of the Canonical Psalter, where the authors to whom the compositions are referred are far too few and where the Psalms are often referred to periods when it is impossible to believe the compositions can have been extant.

In the case before us, however, we can apply a number of tests as to style and matter, and I think it will be evident that the majority of the Odes do come from a single hand. They are so often cast in the same mould, both as regards ideas and expressions, that we are obliged to recognize kinship in the separate compositions¹. Moreover the very elevation of the thoughts of the Odes is an index of a single personality: even if we cannot identify him, we are sure that the writer was a rare spirit, and rare spirits do not agree with multiplied authorship. When our Odist is at his best, he is certainly one and not many. A good way to test for unity of authorship is to group together those Odes which have the same ideas similarly expressed.

For example, we are all familiar with the expression in the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb. xiii. 15) in which we are told to offer to God through Christ the fruit of our lips in a continual

compassion, deplores the silence of his oracles, and of *speaking streams*. In the first line read βασιλῆι.

Anacreon xiii.,

Οὐ δὲ Κλάρου παρ' ὄχθαις
 Δαφνηφόρου Φοίβου
 Δάλον πίνοντες ὕδωρ
 Μεμνηότες βοῶσιν.'

Then after discussing the passage in Ignatius and its variant readings, he shows that the Greek Menaëum had both readings, and goes on to say, against Le Clerc, that 'the λαλοῦν ὕδωρ must not be altered: it is sufficiently confirmed by the citations of Cotelerius in this very note where he is inclined to reject it, and it is more elegant and proper than Le Clerc imagined.' References to Antioch and Daphne follow.

Our seventh Ode shows the fitness of the Ignatian expression. It is not necessary to assume any connexion, either of place or authorship, with the Ignatian letters.

¹ A good parallel case would be the modern recovery of the works of the seventeenth century poet Traherne.

sacrifice of praise. This expression is borrowed from Hosea xiv. 3 according to the Septuagint, or perhaps from the Hebrew of Is. lvii. 19. The expression is one which is already employed in the extant Psalms of Solomon, where we find as follows :

Ps. Sol. xv. 5

*ψαλμὸν καινὸν μετ' ὀδῆς ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ καρδίας,
καρπὸν χειλέων ἐν ὀργάνῳ ἡρμωσμένῳ γλώσσης,
ἀπαρχὴν χειλέων ἀπὸ καρδίας ὁσίας καὶ δικαίας.*

Here the expression has caught the fancy of the Psalmist, who works it into a parallel between 'fruits' and 'firstfruits.'

In the Odes it is a very favourite expression, as the following instances will show :

Ode 8. 'Let your love be multiplied from the heart and even to the lips, to bring forth fruit to the Lord, living fruit, holy fruit, and to talk with watchfulness in His light.'

Ode 12. 'Like the flow of waters flows truth from my mouth, and my lips show forth His fruit.'

Ode 14. 'Teach me the Odes of thy truth, that I may bring forth fruit in thee.'

Ode 16. 'His love has nourished my heart, and even to my lips His fruits He was pouring out.'

The recurrence of the theme 'the fruit of the lips' suggests that this group of Psalms should be credited to a common author.

The sixteenth Ode from which we just quoted is one of a group that begins with a similitude, something like those which we find in the Songs of Degrees in the Canonical Psalter. For instance we have :

Ode 14. 'As the eyes of a son to his father, so are my eyes, O Lord, at all times towards Thee.'

The parallel to this is Ps. cxxiii. 2, 'As the eyes of servants to the hands of their masters, and as the eyes of a maid to the hand of her mistress, so are our eyes to the Lord our God.'

Very similar is Ode 15.

'As the sun is a joy to them that seek for its day-break, so is my Joy the Lord,' with which we may

compare Ps. cxxix. (cxxx.) 6, 'more than they that watch for the morning.'

Ode 16 begins something in the same way :

'As the work of the husbandman is the ploughshare : and the work of the steersman is the guidance of the ship : so also my work is the Psalm of the Lord : my craft and my occupation are in His praises.'

With these three Odes we may probably take Ode 28 :

'As the wings of doves over their nestlings, and the mouths of their nestlings towards their mouths, so also are the wings of the Spirit over my heart.'

Suppose we group these four together, viz. 14, 15, 16, 28 : of these we have already 14 and 16 in the group 8, 12, 14, 16 : so the six Odes 8, 12, 14, 15, 16, 28, belong together and have a common authorship.

Next let us try the association and repetition of ideas : one of the harshest symbols employed by the Odes is the figure of milk from the breasts of God : we have the following coincidences :

Ode 8. 'My own breasts I prepared for them that they might drink my holy milk and live thereby.'

Ode 14. 'With thee are my breasts and my delight.'

Ode 19 contains a parallel in extended form in which Christ is the cup that contains the milk from the breasts of the Father.

With this we must probably take

Ode 35. 'I was carried like a child by its mother, and he gave me milk, the dew of the Lord.'

The same connexion between the milk and the dew of the Lord is found in Ode 4

'distil thy dews upon us and open the rich fountains that pour forth milk and honey.'

Here then is a group of Odes, 4, 8, 14, 19, 35, which appear to belong together : but of these 8 and 14 are in the previous group, which must now be enlarged to

.4, 8, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 28, 35.

In this way then, we may form the Odes into groups, as a preliminary test for authorship. Here are some more suggestions for grouping.

In Ode 6 we begin with

‘As the hand moves over the harp, and the strings speak, so speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord.’

From the use of an opening similitude, it may be suggested that this belongs with the similitudes in Odes already quoted: but the actual figure of the hand and the harp recurs: the very next Ode has

Ode 7. ‘they shall go forth to meet Him and shall sing to Him with the harp of many notes’:

and this Ode also opens with a similitude.

In Ode 14 we have

‘Open to me the harp of thy Holy Spirit, that with all its notes I may praise Thee, O Lord.’

In Ode 26

‘His harp is in my hands and the Odes of His rest shall not be silent.’

These four Odes may be taken together, and attached to the previous group, which now contains

4, 6, 7, 8, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 26, 28, 35.

Ode 7 and Ode 10 are connected by the use of a curious expression, ‘the traces of the Light’; thus

Ode 7. ‘He set over it the traces of His Light.’

Ode 10. ‘The traces of the Light were set upon their heart.’

Ode 4 and Ode 8 are connected by their reference to the seal of God which is set on His creatures:

Ode 4. ‘Who is there that shall put on thy grace and be hurt? For thy seal is known.’

Ode 8. ‘On their faces I set my seal’ &c.

Ode 3 and Ode 8 are connected by the fact that both of them speak of Christ as (*a*) the Beloved, (*b*) the Living One.

Ode 3 and Ode 17 have a common feature in that they speak of believers as the members of Christ.

Ode 1, 5, 9(?), 17 and 20(?) contain the doctrine of the crown of life which does not wither.

Odes 17, 21, 40 and 41 speak of the transfiguration of the face of the believer: *e.g.*

Ode 17. 'I received the face and the fashion of a new person.'

Ode 21. 'The exultation of the Lord increased on my face.'

Ode 40. 'My face exults with His gladness.'

Ode 41. 'Let our faces shine in His light.'

We have now, tentatively, grouped together Odes

1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9(?), 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19,
20(?), 21, 26, 28, 35, 40, 41.

No doubt other coincidences and parallels may be detected: the net result of this is the recognition that the majority of the Odes come from a single hand, or if we prefer it, from the same school. The doubtful member, in my judgment, is Ode 19 which is far too grotesque to be by the same hand as the other compositions. It appears to me to be an imitation of the other Psalms that speak of the breasts of God. It is tritheistic as well as grotesque. There will be some short Psalms that do not readily furnish material for identification, but even these short Odes will sometimes be capable of grouping; thus the figure of the Cross in prayer is found in Ode 27, and reappears in a longer composition Ode 42. It is very difficult, however, to believe that this 42nd Ode belongs to the main body of the collection.

Setting aside such small compositions and such as are late or discordant, I believe it will be found that the internal evidence will throw nearly all the Odes together, and that those which are thus grouped will be found to be Christian compositions, although at first sight many of them might seem to be Jewish, or not definitely marked one way or the other. Their internal parallelisms enable us to say with confidence that they are either Christian or at least Judæo-Christian compositions.

Several of the longer Odes do not admit of grouping with the others: amongst these we note

Ode 22, which contains an account of the victory over the dragon with seven heads.

Ode 23, which records the descent from heaven of a mysterious letter, inscribed with the name of the Trinity.

Ode 38, which records the preservation of the writer from various errors and deceits.

Ode 39, which explains the dangers which attend the rapid rise of great rivers, and how the believers walk firmly on their waves, following the footsteps and example of Christ.

These are also, in all probability, Christian; but the question of their authorship must be reserved and examined in detail.

We now proceed to examine the historical allusions in the book of Odes.

The first thing that strikes us is the poverty of historical background compared with that in the extant Psalms of Solomon. In these known Psalms it is impossible to miss the historical situation which provoked them: they were made under the stress of national exigency, and the troubles stand out from the Psalms with their dates on them. Pompey is written large over several of the Psalms, and when Rome is not expressly mentioned it is distinctly felt. The great dragon of the Psalms of Solomon is a classified specimen. We can tell him a mile away.

Not only so, but when the history is recognized, the theology also becomes patent. The Pharisaism of the Psalms is transparently clear, and the Messianism that went with it. So that it was with justice that some critics labelled the compositions Psalms of the Pharisees. That does not mean that all these Psalms are necessarily by one hand nor that all of them are decidedly marked. Some of them are, in fact, colourless, and in that sense, dateless: but the collection, as a whole, is identified, both historically and theologically. The case of the Odes is very different. If there are any national disasters behind the songs, they have been lost in the songs. There is not a sad note, and there is hardly a vindictive note in the whole collection. And on the theological side, the leading characteristic is experience, and not dogma: and experience is much harder to date than dogma, and shows fewer of the weather-marks of evolution. Sometimes, indeed, the expressions of the Odists rise to such a height that they catch from the object of their

Historical
allusions in
the Odes.

Faith something that is everlasting rather than evolutionary. It is difficult to date a man who has disclosed the fact that he is supremely happy and that God has made his face to shine with the light of heaven. The only way in which we could date such a phenomenon would be to say that, if he is not an isolated specimen, the songs must proceed from some time of general spiritual elevation; and since it is historically verifiable, that the experimental time of the bloom of Church life is the first age (for one hardly expects to find people generally rejoicing with 'an unspeakable and glorified joy,' say, in the time of Constantine), then these hymns or odes must belong to the first days of the Church: but even that way of dating them is somewhat indefinite.

When we go in search of special historical details, we do not get a very rich harvest. The most important cases must be carefully examined. The first case is Ode 4, which has a reference to a proposal or suggestion to change the Sanctuary of God from Jerusalem to some other position, and it is a noble protest from a standpoint, which at least in part is a Jewish standpoint, against the suggestion. The Ode begins as follows:

The proposal
to found
another
Sanctuary.

'No man, O God, changes thy holy place: and it is not possible that he should change it and put it in another place: because he has no power over it: for thy sanctuary was designed before thou didst make other places: that which is the elder shall not be altered by that which is younger than itself.'

Now here it is clear that some change in the value of the Sanctuary at Jerusalem is threatened at the hands of man. The writer does not mean the same thing as the author of the seventh of the extant Psalms of Solomon, where he prays God not to remove His tabernacle from amongst them, lest the enemy should tread the inheritance of the Sanctuary. It is at the hands of man that the Sanctuary is threatened, and the writer is confident that the Lord himself has never changed and never will change.

His thoughts turn to the origin of the holy place. That holy place had a pre-existence and a corresponding eternity: it was a 'Sanctuary from the beginning.' Here we are certainly

face to face with Jewish beliefs ; the writer of the Ode may be shown on other grounds to be a Christian, but on this point he is betrayed as having Jewish sympathies. And his views with regard to the Temple are not merely Jewish in a general sense, but highly evolved.

The first theories of the Heavenly Sanctuary appear to have been almost Platonic in character : there was a pattern in the mount : according to that pattern or idea the visible thing was fashioned ; but the idea was eternal, and pre-existent. This Platonic idea underwent change at the hand of later Rabbins, who came to teach that the actual Sanctuary had been created before other things, and had been caught away to Heaven and disappeared.

Accordingly we find in the Apocalypse of Baruch, c. 4, that the Lord explains the doctrine of the Sanctuary to the prophet, in language which depreciates the earthly sanctuary :

‘Dost thou think that this is that city of which I said, On the palms of my hands have I graven thee? It is not this building which is now built in your midst : it is that which will be revealed with Me, that which was prepared beforehand here from the time when I took counsel to make Paradise, and showed it to Adam before he sinned, but when he transgressed the commandment, it was removed from him, as also Paradise.’

Here, then, we have the view of a first-century writer who is amazed at the desolation of Zion, and like our Odist, is concerned with the problem of the deserted Sanctuary : he concludes that it has been caught away, as Paradise was. The real city of God is that which was made at the beginning ; like Paradise, it was only here temporarily : what is left is not the real thing.

Now our Odist does not go so far in despair as the writer of the Apocalypse, of whom he may have been a contemporary. He believes the Sanctuary was made at the very beginning before other things, but still holds to the belief that Jerusalem is the Holy City and the Temple the true Sanctuary. He does not go so far even as the Epistle to the Hebrews, in drawing a distinction between the tabernacle which the Lord pitched, and that which was made by man.

His position appears to be very closely that of the great

Jewish Rabbis, who taught the pre-existence of the Sanctuary and its priority to the rest of the works of God, and who do not appear to have explained this pre-existence according to the theory of Ideas, for in that case where would the priority have been of the Temple amongst other works of God? Their method of teaching can be seen from

Bereshith Rabbah, 20 :

‘Seven things were created before the world: Torah, Gehenna, the Paradise of Eden, the Throne of Glory, *the Sanctuary*, Repentance and the Name of Messiah.’

Very nearly to the same effect is the dictum of Rabbi Meir in *Pirge Aboth* vi. 10 :

‘Five possessions possessed the Holy One, blessed is He, in His world and they are these: Torah, one possession: Heaven and Earth, one possession: Abraham, one possession: Israel, one possession; *the Sanctuary*, one possession.’

The Scriptural proofs of these statements are important: the case of the Sanctuary is proved as follows :

‘The Sanctuary, whence is it proved? Because it is written, “The place, O Lord, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in, the Sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established” (Exod. xv. 17): and it saith, “And he brought them to the border of his Sanctuary, even to this mountain, which his right hand had possessed”’ (Ps. lxxviii. 54).

That will suffice to show the nature of the Scripture proofs employed: and it is clear that the same beliefs were in the mind of the writer of our Ode. The question then arises as to the situation which provoked his expression of faith.

In the case of the Apocalypse of Baruch, to which we have referred as a parallel, it is clear that it is the desolation of Jerusalem by Titus which is the historical background: and it is some similar situation which is reflected in this fourth Ode. Only the language in this latter case seems to imply that some deliberate suggestion or attempt had been made by man to move the Sanctuary: and against this the writer protests. The agent who makes or suggests the change cannot be the Roman

conqueror: he might carry away the holy vessels, but that does not remove the Sanctuary, any more than it was moved in the days of Nebuchadnezzar. So it must be a suggestion coming from Jewish or quasi-Jewish quarters. And the difficulty lies in this: it is hardly possible that in the time of the last Jewish wars, any body of Jewish believers could have cherished the thought of a temple anywhere else than at Jerusalem. If the temple was gone, it was gone back to Heaven and to God: it was not to be sought elsewhere. It is not easy to believe that in A.D. 70 or in A.D. 135, under the hand of Titus, or at the time of Bar Cochba, the Jews would have thought of another temple.

For this reason I suggest that the writer is referring to an attempt which had been made in earlier days to provide an alternative Sanctuary to that at Jerusalem.

We know of at least three such attempts to change the Holy Place; one, the Samaritan temple on Gerizim, another the Sanctuary at Assouan, whose officials were in friendly relations with both Jerusalem and Gerizim, the third the temple of Onias at Leontopolis in Egypt, said to be actually modelled on the temple at Jerusalem, and designed as a substitute for it. Of these the Sanctuary on Gerizim was destroyed by John Hyrcanus in B.C. 128; the Sanctuary at Assouan was wrecked by the Egyptians, after the retreat of Cambyses; the temple of Onias actually outlasted the temple at Jerusalem, and was destroyed in A.D. 73 by the Roman general Paulinus in consequence of the fears of the Romans that this temple also might become a rallying point for sedition and revolt. And I have suggested that it is the destruction of this temple, and not the Jerusalem temple, that provokes the protest of the fourth Ode. Unless it can be shown that there is a probability that some one actually proposed building a new temple, soon after the great Jewish disasters, elsewhere than at Jerusalem, it seems to me that this is the likeliest solution: and it furnishes an exact historical date.

There can be no doubt as to the writer's affection for the temple at Jerusalem: but he does not wail or lament: he is satisfied with the unchangeableness of God and the immutability of His promises. If he had been a Jew, he could not have displayed such equanimity: compare, for example, the language of the

Apocalypse of Baruch or of Fourth Ezra, to see how the real Jew would feel. It may be inferred that the writer of the Ode is a Judæo-Christian. If his date was not, as I suggest, soon after A.D. 70, the only other possible date seems to be soon after A.D. 135¹.

The importance of the temple at Leontopolis, in connexion with the desecration of the temple at Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes, as a factor in the decentralization of the Jewish religion, is indicated by Harnack in his *History of Dogma*.

‘The spread of Judaism in the world, the secularization and apostasy of the priestly caste, the desecration of the Temple, *the building of the Temple at Leontopolis*, the perception brought about by the spiritualizing of religion in the Empire of Alexander the Great, that no blood of beast can be a means of reconciling God—all these circumstances must have been absolutely dangerous and fatal, both to the local centralization of worship, and to the statutory sacrificial system².’

In view of this luminous statement, it is not difficult to imagine the resentment of a Palestinian Jew against Leontopolis, nor the expression of such resentment in song, when the offensive institution had been swept away.

We shall get a good idea of the theological position of the writer amongst the early Christian sects and schools, if we contrast his position with (i) that of the Ebionites on the one hand, and (ii) that of the author of the epistle of Barnabas on the other. Irenæus tells us, for example, that the Ebionites persevere in the customs of the law and in the Jewish mode of life, and adore Jerusalem as if it were the house of God³. Without pressing too closely the language of Irenæus concerning the Ebionites, which may be coloured by polemical exaggeration, there is certainly a common ground between the writer of the fourth Ode and the Ebionites, in their affectionate religious attachment to the ancient Sanctuary.

Now turn to the sixteenth chapter of the very anti-judaic epistle

¹ The desecration of the Temple by Pompey in B.C. 63 is not a possible situation; for no serious interruption of the Temple Worship took place, and therefore no acute religious problem was provoked. Nor can our Odes be referred to so early a period. We have shown that they belong, almost entirely, if not absolutely, to the Christian period.

² Harnack : *l.c.* i. 69 note, Eng. trans.

³ Iren. (ed. Mass. 105).

which passes under the name of Barnabas. Barnabas begins by telling us that the poor wretches (*sc.* the Jews) are in error about the temple, which they take to be a house of God. They have almost consecrated God in a shrine, as the Gentiles do. He then quotes prophecies to show the vanity of the Jewish belief. In the course of these quotations he has to explain Isaiah xlix. 17, 'Behold those that have destroyed this temple shall build it again,' and affirms that this is actually taking place at the hands of the Romans, who had wrecked the temple because the Jews had made war against them. But instead of drawing the Ebionite conclusion from this (to us) obscure historical allusion, he flies off to prove that the only real temple of God is a redeemed soul. It is clear that the writer of the fourth Ode, while accepting the spiritual interpretation of life, would never express himself like Barnabas.

As Dr Taylor says¹, 'those who felt with Barnabas would have looked with disfavour upon the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem.'

There is another way in which we can see that the position of the writer of the fourth Ode is not that of the normal Christian of Gentile extraction. One of the commonest exercises of the early Christian was the demonstration to the orthodox Jew by means of Testimonies from the Old Testament—that his religion was no longer acceptable to God. From the traces of these early collections of Testimonies which have come to light, it is easy to see that they involved special statements under the heads 'that the Jews were to lose Jerusalem,' and 'that the old temple should pass away and a new one take its place.' The new temple was to be a spiritual one, but whether the new temple was Christ or the believer, is not quite clear. The writer of the fourth Ode is prepared with spiritual interpretations of the older religion, he spiritualizes the priesthood (if it be the same hand as wrote Ode 20) and perhaps the rite of circumcision (*cf.* Ode 11), but he is not prepared to say that the Old Sanctuary was to pass away. His position, therefore, is an intermediate one, not wholly Gentile, though with strong Gentile leanings, and, as we said above, much nearer to the doctrine of the Ebionites than to that of the epistle of Barnabas.

¹ *Pirge Aboth*: ed. ii. p. 153.

In connexion with the foregoing argument, it may be proper to examine the references made in the Odes to the prevalence of wars, and to determine whether the writer is speaking of actual wars or only of spiritual conflicts. When we read the eighteen Psalms of Solomon, the noise of war is common; we can see the engines moved up for the siege, we can hear the thud of the battering rams. These Psalms open in affliction: 'instead of peace,' says the writer, 'there was heard the sound of war.'

'Distress and the sound of wars,' so another Psalm begins, 'mine ears have heard, the sound of the trumpet, and the noise of slaughter and destruction.' When this writer says war he means war, and there is no alternative. But the case is not so clear in the Odes. The references to war are few, and obscure.

In Ode 8 we have:

'The right hand of the Lord is with you, and He is your helper: and peace was prepared for you, before ever your war was.'

How shall we explain this allusion? Does it simply mean that the Divine foresight had seen to the end of the man's spiritual troubles and had designed for him the happy issue out of them? The objection to this is (i) that it is somewhat forced; (ii) that the language is evidently addressed to a community of persons who have passed through affliction together; and are spoken of as those who have been despised, whose righteousness has now been exalted. But if it is addressed to a community, the distresses can hardly be spiritual: and it is possible, though I should not like to affirm it positively, that the persons addressed are those Judæo-Christians at Pella, who escaped from the siege of Jerusalem by flight, in harmony with the evangelic precepts. The Ode to which we have been referring finds a striking parallel in Ode 9, where we have as follows:

'For I announce to you peace, to you His saints: that none of those who hear may fall in war, and that those again who have known Him may not perish.....There have been wars on account of the crown. Put on the crown in the true covenant of the Lord. And all

Possible
reference to
wars which
have occurred.

Predestined
Peace.

those who have conquered shall be written in His book.
For their book is victory.'

Is this spiritual or carnal warfare? the concluding sentences sound like the language of the Apocalypse, 'To him that overcometh,' and in that case, are spiritual. But the opening sentences sound like an exemption from actual strife and its dangers: and this might again be compared with the condition of the Judaeo-Christians at Pella.

When we turn to Ode 29 we have again allusion to victory over one's enemies, and to war made by the word of the Lord. But as this Ode is definitely Christian, and its language is parallel to the vigorous expressions of Paul about the casting down of imaginations and the bringing of every thought into the captivity of obedience to Christ, we may be sure that the warfare and the victories are spiritual. Examine the following sentences:

'From the mouth of death he drew me back, and
I laid my enemies low, and He justified me by His grace:
for I believed in the Lord's Messiah.'

These are certainly spiritual statements: justification by grace through faith in Christ is the record of spiritual experience, and the victories must be interpreted in the same sense: and so must the following:

'He gave me the rod of His power: cf. Ps. cx. 2
that I might subdue the imaginations of the peoples: cf. 2 Cor.
and the power of the men of might to bring them x. 5
low:
to make war by His word,
and to take victory by His power:
And the Lord overthrew my enemy by His word:
and he became like the stubble that the wind carries
away.'

So far, then, as this 29th Ode is concerned, it is a Christian and a spiritual product, and relates to a warfare that is not carnal.

We come now to a much more difficult Psalm of conflict, the story of a triumph over a dragon with seven heads.

The fight with
the Dragon.

In the twenty-second Ode the Lord is praised because

‘He overthrew by my hands the dragon with seven heads:

Thou hast raised me up over his roots, that I might destroy his seed:

Thy right hand destroyed his wicked poison, &c. &c.’

Then follows an account of the raising of an army of dead bodies, something like the scene in Ezekiel's valley of dry bones.

The Ode is a striking one and attracted the attention of the author of the *Pistis Sophia*, who found in the dragon with seven heads one of the Emanations that threatened the upward progress of Sophia. When Sophia escapes from these Emanations, she does it to the music of the ninety-first Psalm, in which it is promised that the believer shall tread on the lion and the dragon. And the *Pistis Sophia* says (p. 140):

‘Conculcabat *προβολην* cum facie basilisci serpentis, *cui septem erant capita*; et conculcabat vim cum facie leonis et cum facie *δρακοντος*. Feci *πιστιω σοφιαν* manere stantem super *προβολην αυθαδους*, quae habet faciem basilisci serpentis, *cui sunt septem capita*.’

and (p. 147)

‘Atque verbum quod tua vis luminis dixit per Davidem: meabis super serpentem et basiliscum..... super hos, qui sunt facie serpentis, et super hos, qui facie basilisci serpentis, *quibus septem sunt capita*.’

And then the Ode of Solomon is quoted and commented on. The *Pistis Sophia*, therefore, has annexed this dragon with seven heads and given him a spiritual interpretation. We may say that the dragon was the cause of the quotation of the Ode. As far as natural history goes, he is a lay figure. But is this the original idea? We remember that in the eighteen Psalms of Solomon, the dragon is palpable and tangible: he is Pompey himself, and not a spiritual force or opposing influence.

Then there is an even closer parallel to our Ode, in the almost contemporary twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse; a dragon with seven heads and ten horns persecutes the woman

who brings forth the man-child. And the same dragon appears to be intended in the seventeenth chapter, where it is ridden by the mystical Babylon that makes war with the saints. The dragon stands for the power of Antichrist¹, exhibited especially in the adverse action of imperial Rome. This, then, is the nearest parallel to the situation in our Ode.

Now the situation cannot be reduced to an actual war, as when Rome subdues Jerusalem under Pompey, for in these wars Rome always wins: so it must be some other form of conflict, either the passive resistance and triumph of the saints in times of persecution, or the conflict between truth and error, which results in the defeat of heretical teaching.

The Odist refers to the conflict as a personal one carried on from place to place by himself:

‘Thou hast raised me up over his roots to destroy his seed: thou wast there and didst help me; and in every place thy name was blessed by me: thy right hand destroyed his wicked poison.’

This is the story, not of a persecution, but of a conflict between truth and error: and the dragon with seven heads stands, not for a world-power nor an aggressive world-ruler, but for the Antichrist who is spreading the poison of false doctrine and must be confuted from city to city. A parallel situation would be the conflict between Peter and Simon Magus in the Clementine Homilies. Who this Antichrist is, in the mind of the writer, or what is the special form of error that is combated, we have not sufficient information to decide: and for that reason must leave the historical situation somewhat obscure.

The next Ode to be discussed, in the hope of finding some points of contact with history, is the twenty-third: and it is the most difficult of all the Odes to interpret, and quite unlike any of the other compositions in the series.

After some opening sentences, affirming that Joy, Grace and Love are the marks of the elect of God, we are informed that a letter was mysteriously sent down from heaven to earth, as if it had been shot from a

The
mysterious
letter.

¹ Thus Irenaeus, in denouncing the Gnostic leaders, such as Simon Magus, and Carpocrates, calls them expressly the precursors of the dragon, who is by his magic going to cast down from Heaven the third part of the stars; that is, Simon and Carpocrates are rehearsals of the coming Antichrist. See Irenaeus (ed. Mass. 164).

bow. People rushed to read it; but it was talismaned by a seal, which none dared to break. Like the tables of the law, it was wholly written by the finger of God and the name of the Trinity was on it.

A mysterious wheel (?) protects the letter from venturesome or hostile hands. This wheel with the sign upon it went down to the feet, along with the head. Perplexing as this language is, it appears to be explained of Christ's descent into Hades: for in Ode 42, where there is an account of Christ's under-world triumph, we are informed that death cast Him up, and *let go the feet with the head*. Christ is the head, and the feet are those members of His who are imprisoned in Hades. This explains our statement about the head going down to the feet. It seems, then, that the mysterious letter has something in it relating to the *Descensus ad Inferos*.

We may compare it with the little book in Apoc. v., which is sealed so that no one can open it, and read it: here there are seven seals, which are to be broken successively. Another suggestive parallel would be the letter in the Bardesanian Hymn of the Soul, which is sent to rouse the King's Son in Egypt¹.

This letter was also talismaned with a powerful seal:

‘This was my letter, sealed with the King’s own seal
on the cover,
Lest it should fall in the hands of the fierce Baby-
lonian Demons.’

It flew rapidly as an eagle:

‘High it flew as the Eagle, King of the birds of the
heaven,
Flew and alighted beside me, and spoke in the speech
of my country.’

Such flying letters are not uncommon in Apocryphal literature: one such is sent by Baruch to Babylon, and carried by an eagle. The machinery is not unlike that in our Ode.

We have not, however, succeeded in finding a historical situation for this Ode and the implied document.

It does not seem to belong to the main body of the collection; it may, however, be connected with the forty-

¹ See *Acts of Thomas* for the Hymn, and the translation of it in Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*.

second Ode, and both of them may belong to a later period than the rest of the book.

We referred above to the suggestions furnished in Ode 22 of a conflict with Antichrist in the form of **The deceiver and his bride.** some heretical teaching, whose poison was being widely diffused. This suggestion finds some further confirmation in Ode 38, where the writer refers to his pursuit of Truth and the protection which it gave him from the poisons and plagues of Error. He came across a mysterious Bridegroom and Bride, who are corrupting the whole world, and giving them to drink from a cup which, in Circean manner, makes away with their understanding. The Odist escapes by Divine Grace, and by his passion for Truth. But who are these that furnish the blandishments that our writer succeeds in resisting? It cannot be the language of a mere crusader in favour of celibacy, though we know there was a strong tendency in the early Church, especially in the East, to regard all married life as a form of corruption that was to be avoided. But here a mysterious Bridegroom and Bride spread a seductive table before the world, and after they have intoxicated their victims, they forsake them as soon as they have robbed them of their understanding. This can hardly be the language of a general hostility to marriage. And it seems more natural to regard the seducers in the Ode as real people, who are bewitching the world. One thinks of 'thy wife Jezebel' in Apoc. ii. 20, of Simon Magus, and his 'lost sheep' Helena, or some other of the many Antichrists with whom the Church had to contend in the first and second centuries. The description in the Ode is too shadowy for a more exact identification.

In one passage in the Odes the writer speaks of himself in language which suggests that he was by birth **Jew or Gentile?** a Gentile, and that he was looked upon by those to whom he had joined himself with astonishment. The Ode to which we refer is the forty-first, where in the midst of a noble strain of Christian exultation and confession of Christ and the great day that has dawned in Him, we find :

'Let us exult with the joy of the Lord. All that see me will be astonished: for I am from another race: the Father of Truth remembered me.'

The writer is explaining his position in a Christian com-

munity as a Gentile amongst Jews. He explains his faith in a Saviour who 'makes alive and does not reject our souls.'

The language suits the first century better than the second, and the Church in Palestine better than that in Asia Minor, Greece or Egypt.

In another Ode, Christ Himself makes something like an
 Christ receives apology for the reception of the Gentiles. Thus in
 Gentiles. Ode 10:

'I was strengthened and made mighty and took the world captive.....The Gentiles were gathered together who were scattered abroad. *And I was unpolluted by my love.....*They became my people for ever and ever.'

There can be no doubt that this Ode is Messianic, and that, to put it in the lowest possible terms, it is explanatory of the coming in of the Gentiles. No such explanation, or, if we prefer it, apology, would be natural in Corinth or in Ephesus. It belongs farther East, and seems to me to savour, in any case, of the first century. Certainly the Gentile could not feel himself isolated, nor have to be apologized for in the great Churches of the West, nor in the second century, when Gentile bishops began to appear in Jerusalem itself.

There is another direction in which the writers of the Odes
 show a curious contact with Judaism.

The coat of skin. It is well known that the teaching of the earliest Christians and of the philosophically minded Jews of the first century made a special study of the story of creation in the first chapters of Genesis, which they systematically allegorised. We have a statement of Anastasius the Sinaite that all the early Christian exegetes, from Papias onward, interpreted the Hexahemeron, or Six days of Creation, by reference to Christ and the Church¹. And those who did not make this direct mystical reference, especially the great Alexandrines, followed Philo in a general allegorisation of the narrative. Many of these explanations, whether Jewish or Christian, are well known. But there is one case which is more obscure. The clothing of Adam and Eve with coats of skins at the time of their expulsion from Paradise was a point that required explanation, and taxed the ingenuity of Philo himself. In his *Questions upon Genesis* he first apologizes for the homely occupation attributed to the Most

¹ See Routh, *Rel. i.* 15.

High, and argues that at any rate simple leather garb is superior to purple and fine linen, and then he boldly breaks away from the literal explanation and says that the coat of skin simply means the human body, which is the receptacle for the Mind and the Life which God had already created.

Now this interpretation is not confined to Philo¹, for there is a steady stream of Rabbinical opinion which has coloured the folk-lore of Eastern Europe that Adam had before his fall a nature clothed in light, like God Himself 'whose robe is the light,' and that after his fall the light was replaced by the ordinary integument. It will be interesting to trace this belief, which agrees with that of Philo so far as to make the coat of skin to be the human body, and to see whether it has left its mark on early Christian circles of thought.

The origin of the belief appears to be indicated by a various reading of the passage, Gen. iii. 21, which is credited to a MS. belonging at one time to Rabbi Meir², viz. that instead of

כתנות עור = coats of skin

we should read

כתנות אור = coats of light.

We could then translate the passage, 'And for Adam and his wife Jahveh Elohim had made coats of light and had clothed them.' It is quite possible that this may be the origin of the Rabbinical conceit as to the 'Light-Body' of Adam. And the opinion is strongly reflected upon European folk-lore. It appears also in Gnostic circles: for we find in the Bardesanian *Hymn of the Soul* which is embedded in the *Acts of Thomas*, that the Prince who forgets the Imperial Palace whence he came, in his journey to Egypt to find the Pearl of great price, had left behind him in the homeland the robe of glory with which he had been adorned. The account tells us

'They took off from me the glittering robe, which in their affection they had made for me, and the purple toga which was measured and woven to my stature.'

He puts on the disguise of an Egyptian dress and forgets his race and his country. When the young Prince comes to himself

¹ We find it, for example, in the Enkratite Cassianus in the second century, according to the testimony of Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 14), *χιτώνας δὲ δερματίνους ἤγειται ὁ Κασσιανὸς τὰ σώματα.*

² So in Midrash Rabbah:

'In the Thorah of Rabbi Meir they found it written, Coats of light: these are the garments of the first Adam.'

in the far country, he gets possession of the pearl, and promptly strips off from him the filthy and unclean dress in which he was clad. On his way home, the robe came to meet him; it fitted him closely and seemed to be a mirror of himself. It was, in fact, his double, and had grown, with his growth, during his long absence.

Prof. Burkitt points out that this Heavenly Robe represents the Body Celestial, it is 'our house which is from heaven':

'That which St Paul desired was no fixed "house" or "habitation" but a Heavenly Form. So here, too, the Robe is no article of clothing, but a Bright Form. The Syriac word means *The Bright* or *The Shining* thing. It is "put off" and "put on" by the Soul¹.'

Here, then, we have a companion to the belief in the Body of Light which belonged to Adam before he fell from celestial to terrestrial life. The two ideas, that of the pre-existent soul that has to leave heaven for earth, and that of the unfallen creation of God, whose environment is changed from a coat of light to a coat of skin, are evidently worked out on parallel lines.

Now it is not difficult to recognise the traces of the clothing of the Old Adam and the clothing of the original Man, who is also the New Adam, in the New Testament. We have, for example, the instruction to put off the Old Man, and to put on the New Man, or to put on (it is the language of clothing) the Lord Jesus Christ. But what we want now to examine is whether there are any similar traces in our Odes. Is there any doctrine of a Light-Body or of a Skin-Body? Let us see. For instance, in Ode 25, we have

'In me there shall be nothing that is not light: and I was clothed with the covering of Thy Spirit, and I cast away from me *my raiment of skin*.'

Here we have the very figure of the third chapter of Genesis, explained in a spiritual manner of the conversion and regeneration of the Soul.

Something similar to this appears in Ode 21,

'I put off darkness and clothed myself with light.'

Very nearly the same idea is involved in Ode 11,

'I forsook the folly which is spread over the earth, and I stripped it off and cast it from me: and the Lord

¹ Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 215.

renewed me in His raiment (cf. Ps. civ. 2) and possessed me by His light.'

And notice that this re-creating act of God is immediately followed by the statement of Paradise Regained: we are engaged in an allegory of the third chapter of Genesis. I think it will be admitted that the writer (or writers) of the Odes knew the allegorical explanation of the coat of skin with which Adam was clad. If this be conceded, then we must again recognise that we are moving in Jewish circles, for it is very unlikely that, at the early date required for our Odes, a Jewish conceit could have penetrated very far into the Gentile world. The 'coat of skin' is a significant proof of the Jewish or semi-Jewish authorship of the Odes¹.

This allegorical treatment of the particular case in question could not have continued very long in use in the Church, because of the complication with the story of the fig-leaves; if the coat of skin is the human body, what are the fig-leaves? Evidently the allegory will have over-reached itself. It will survive, however, in folk-lore and in Gnosticism.

It may, perhaps, be objected that the interpretation of the coats of skins as equivalent to human bodies might just as well be Gnostic as Judæo-Christian. For instance, we have quoted above the language of Cassian the Gnostic for this very belief². But we have not only detected the equation of the coat of skin with the human body; we have also found traces of the belief in a coat of light which has been lost when the coat of skin was acquired, and have connected this belief with a various reading, or a Rabbinical conceit, in the text of Gen. iii. 21. So that, while it is quite likely that some early forms of Gnosticism depend directly upon Palestinian teaching, we ought also to allow that the language of our Odes on this subject is very near to the source of the Gnosis, which is very nearly the same thing as saying that it is not Gnostic. We will illustrate this by

¹ For the curious developments of this belief in an original light-body of Adam which are current in Eastern Europe, we may consult Dähnhardt, *Natursagen* ii. 225. The coat of light was held to be of the nature of horn, and this bright integument fell away when Adam and Eve sinned. All that remains of it is the human nails!

² We might also have quoted Valentinus, the prince of the Gnostics; for according to Irenæus' account of Valentinus' cosmogony, the Demiurge first fashioned the *ἀνθρώπος χοϊκός* from some invisible and fluid substance, and then clothed him in the 'coat of skin' which is τὸ αἰσθητὸν σαρκίον (cf. Iren. ed. Mass. p. 27).

showing another case of allegorisation of the text of Genesis, which might be claimed as Gnostic, if it were not a recognised fact that the allegorising of these early chapters of Genesis is common to all the early Christian fathers.

In Ode 11 we have a beautiful sketch of the recovery of the lost Paradise, and of the blessedness of those who are planted in that land (being considered as 'trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord') or who live by the fruit of the trees (being considered as those who have returned to the privileges of the unfallen Adam). Incidentally it is stated that such persons 'have turned from wickedness to God's delights, and have turned back the bitterness of the trees from them, when planted in God's land.'

The metaphor is confused; on the one hand the believers are the trees, on the other hand they are the denizens of Paradise, who will have nothing to do with the bitterness of the trees. Disentangling the similitudes we see that the entry into Paradise goes along with an avoidance of certain bitter trees or products of trees. Can we find out what this means?

The early interpreters of Genesis had to face a Divine injunction to eat of every tree in the Garden, with one single exception of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. But this injunction raised the question as to whether all the trees, herbs and fruits were fit to eat. What about the bitter herbs? The answer could only be, either that there were no bitter herbs, or else that they were to be avoided as uneatable, being made for some other uses. The author of the Ode to which we refer evidently takes the latter view: there are bitter herbs, but they are to be avoided. He does not think them useless, for nothing is useless in the Paradise of God. Now this doctrine of the avoidance of the bitter herbs had been credited to our Lord Himself, in a conversation between Himself and Salome, which has been preserved for us by Clement of Alexandria from the *Gospel According to the Egyptians*. The passage is strongly Encratite. Salome asks how long death is to rule over men, and receives the answer that it is as long as women bear children. 'Then,' rejoined Salome enquiringly, 'I did well in not having any children?' to which suggestion our Lord replies, 'Eat every herb, but shun the bitter herb.' It is certain that this reply is based upon the language of Genesis, e.g. Gen. i. 29

Paradise
Regained and
the bitter
herbs.

'Behold! I have given you every herb, whose seed is in itself on the face of the whole earth and all the trees...to you they shall be for food': and Gen. ii. 9 'And the Lord God had brought forth from the ground every tree that was fair to the sight and pleasant to the taste,' &c. It is clear, then, that the language of Jesus in the passage cited from the *Gospel according to the Egyptians*, refers to the Garden of Eden. What, then, is meant by shunning the bitter herb? If we examine the passage in which Clement of Alexandria discusses the meaning (*Strom.* iii. 9), we shall find that he is opposing a school of Encratites, who said that the bitter herb was marriage. Clement, himself, who is Anti-encratite will have none of this: he challenges the opinion and affirms that marriage is not a sin, nor is there anything bitter about the rearing or producing of children. So he rejects the Encratite doctrine. In so doing, he has shown us that the doctrine existed and that it was a wide-spread interpretation. What shall we say, then, of the writer of our eleventh Ode? If he says that the saints restored to the life of Paradise have nothing to do with the bitter trees, must we not allow that he, too, is allegorising and that he holds Encratite views with regard to marriage? Such views were wide-spread in the early Christian Church, and survived in Gnostic circles, as in the Old Syrian Church, and amongst the followers of Tatian, but I do not see that they need to be especially labelled Gnostic, since they spring quite naturally out of the allegorical treatment of the first chapters of Genesis, or attached themselves easily to that particular form of interpretation¹.

This case of the 'bitter herbs' and the previous one of the 'coat of skin,' are the closest points of contact of primitive teaching with Gnosticism. I do not see that we need to definitely attach the Gnostic label.

We shall see presently that the writer of the main body of the Odes does not keep the Sabbath and gives very early Christian reason for his neglect of that Jewish duty.

We may now go on to discuss the traces of Christian Scriptures in our book of Odes, and the dogmatic and ecclesiastical position of the writer or writers involved.

¹ We may compare the *Acts of Thomas*, where the King's son and his bride are persuaded by our Lord to renounce marriage, and 'the care of children, the end of whom is *bitter* sorrow.' The bride explains to her mother, 'I have not had intercourse with a husband, the end whereof is *bitter* repentance.'

When we examine the Odes to see how far they are under the influence of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, we find the problem is quite different from that which presents itself in the eighteen Psalms. In these the use of the Old Testament is patent both in language and in quotation, as one can see by examining the portions of the Psalms which are printed in uncial type by Ryle and James, in order to mark the coincidence of language with the Old Testament. Moreover certain parts of the prophets, especially the latter part of Isaiah, have been closely studied and followed: and it is the recognition of this fact that has suggested to Felix Perles some of his most attractive emendations through the supposed original Hebrew¹.

But in the case of the Odes we are at a loss: we cannot tell what Greek lies behind the Syriac, except in a very few cases: and this makes linguistic identifications difficult and almost impossible: nor does the examination of the ideas which the writer expresses lead to a large harvest of coincidences with the Canonical Psalter or the Hebrew Prophets. Perhaps this is natural, in view of the originality of the writer, with whom it was easier to say inspired things than to report them.

When we turn to the New Testament, the result is equally surprising: the name of the Gospel is not found, nor the name of Jesus: direct historical references are limited to those events which are recorded in the Creed, to which we may perhaps add an oblique allusion to Christ's power to walk on the waters, with a possible allusion to the Dove at the Baptism. Not a single saying of Jesus is directly quoted, though there seem to be one or two indirect references. For instance Christ's yoke is spoken of in Ode 42 ('my yoke was over those that love me') and there is one passage in Ode 22, which looks like a reflexion from the words 'on this rock I will build my church' (Matt. xvi. 18)²: only in this case if coincidence were more than accidental, the Ode has the substitution of Kingdom for Church, which suggests for it priority over the Evangelic language.

Setting aside for the moment the question of the use of Johannine writings, and of the Apocalypse, we find next to

¹ Perles: *Zur Erklärung der Psalmen Salomos*. Berlin, 1902.

² *L.c.* 'That the foundation of everything might be thy rock: and on it thou didst build thy Kingdom.'

nothing from the Pauline Epistles: there is a sentence in Ode 3,

‘The Lord is zealous that those things should be known, which by His grace have been given to us,’

which may perhaps be an echo of 1 Cor. ii. 12 ‘that we may know the things which are freely given us of God.’ We have also some doubtful references to Rom. viii. 35, 36 in Ode 1 (‘I shall not be separated from Him’) and Ode 5 (‘If everything should be shaken, I stand firm’) and Ode 28 (‘The sword shall not divide me from Him, nor the scimitar’), and there are occasional allusions to salvation and justification by Divine Grace. There are also frequent allusions, which have a Pauline ring, to Christ as the Head, to whom believers are the members. The figure is worked out so as to include the souls in Hades, who are Christ’s feet¹.

Frequent allusions to a living crown can be illustrated from 1 Pet. v. 4 and from Jac. i. 12 and Apoc. ii. 10, but no direct quotations can be established. They may all run back into a primitive Logion, ‘I will give thee a crown of life.’

The chief coincidences with the Apocalypse are in the title of ‘the Living One’ (Apoc. i. 17) given to Christ (but this was also at the beginning of the book of Sayings of Jesus²): in some of the expressions of victory over spiritual enemies, and the possession of Paradise and its trees, as well as in the allusion to an opposing dragon with seven heads, and perhaps to the story of the Sealed Book. It is doubtful if any of these parallelisms can be pressed to the point of established quotation: the dragon with seven heads is, perhaps, the best case for an identification: but it will be remembered that dragons are a common feature of apocalyptic machinery in the period to which the Odes must belong.

It is when we come to the Gospel and Epistles of John that we find the community of ideas to be the most pronounced. We have clear statements that Christ is the Word, that He is before the foundation of the world; that He bestows living water abundantly; that He is the door of everything; that He stands to His people in the relation of Lover to Beloved: that

¹ As in Ode 42.

² *I.e.* ‘These are the [wonderful] words which Jesus the Living One spake’: a form of introduction which is imitated in the Coptic Book of Jeu.

they love Him because He first loved them (for so we may interpret the language of Ode 3: 'I should not have known how to love the Lord, if He had not loved me'), that their love to the Christ makes them His friends (Ode 8). These and similar phrases betray a Johannine atmosphere: but do they betray the use of the Fourth Gospel? The problem is, on a wider scale, something like that which arises in the discussion whether Valentinus the Gnostic used the Fourth Gospel. Hippolytus tells us in his *Refutation of Heresies* (p. 185) that Valentinus taught that 'God the Father was all love, but love is not love where there is no object of love. So the Father begat two emanations, *νοῦς* and *ἀλήθεια*¹.' Now is that a case of the Fourth Gospel or not? The serious critic would hesitate to affirm it; yet the language is very like that of our third Ode; and it would probably be wise to hold the judgment in suspense with regard to the use of the Fourth Gospel in the Odes, especially when it is so difficult to trace any other Gospel quotation or incident, or Saying of Jesus. But I think it will be conceded that we are in a Johannine atmosphere.

One coincidence has been detected between the Odes and the Ignatian Epistles, in the allusion to 'talking water'; but there is no need to assume quotation on either side, the language being sufficiently explained by the folk-lore of the time.

The net result of these comparisons is to place the collection of Odes at a very early period in the history of the Christian Church. One or two of them had already been referred to the early part of the second century, on account of the almost canonical use made of them in the *Pistis Sophia*. The main body of the Odes, when studied, takes us in the same direction, only perhaps somewhat further.

We come now to the question of the underlying doctrines which can be traced in the Odes. We have already alluded to Christ's pre-existence², to His pre-eminence in the Church³, and to the spiritual union between Himself and believers⁴. We have also pointed out some references to His yoke, and to the foundation of His Kingdom, and to His power to walk upon the stormy waters.

¹ Ἀγάπη γάρ, φησιν, ἦν ὁλος, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγάπη, ἐὰν μὴ ᾖ τὸ ἀγαπῶμενον.

² As in Ode 28, Ode 41, &c.

³ As in Ode 31, Ode 33, &c.

⁴ As in Ode 3, Ode 42, &c.

One of the strongest expressions with regard to the nature of Christ will be found in Ode 41, where He is called 'the Son of the Most High, who appeared in the perfection of His Father, ...the Word that was before-time in Him, the Messiah *or* Christ who is truly one, and was known before the foundation of the world.' In the words 'The Christ is truly one,' taken in connexion with the other statements as to His pre-existence, we have suggestions of controversy, over a division in the nature of Christ, of which, perhaps, the earliest known trace is in the first Epistle of John¹ (*πάν πνεῦμα ὃ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν*) where the various reading, *λύει* for *μὴ ὁμολογεῖ*, if not primitive, is certainly very early. This Ode cannot come from a Docetic, nor can it easily be referred to an Adoptionist source².

An equally pronounced Christology may be detected in Ode 29 where the writer says,

'I believed in the Lord's Messiah,
And it appeared to me that He is the Lord.'

We must not too hastily assume that all these statements come from one hand, and we must be prepared to find, along with variety of authorship (if that can be made out), a variety also of theological definitions. There are some Odes which are a little hard of explanation on orthodox lines, because they appear to use Adoptionist language³. But if this suggests subordination of Christ to the Father, in another Ode it is the Holy Spirit that is subordinate, for we are told (Ode 24) that 'the Dove fluttered over the Messiah, because He was her head⁴.' Again in the Ode previously quoted (Ode 36) it appears to follow that the Holy Spirit was the Mother of Jesus, which we know to have been a feature of Ebionite belief. These variations suggest that theology had not fixed her landmarks nor laid down her definitions. On the other hand, it is clear that the Odes do not regard Christ as a mere man, but as

¹ 1 John iv. 3.

² Cf. Novatian, *De Trinitate* 30. Irenaeus (*M. 206 et passim*): 'Non ergo alterum Filium novit evangelium nisi hunc qui ex Maria est, qui et passus est, sed neque Christum avolantem ante passionem ab Jesu.'

³ As in Ode 36.

⁴ In later ages this would be known as the heresy of Macedonius, but the language here is innocent of heretical intention.

a pre-existent being and as the Divine Logos. One Ode has the doctrine of the Trinity under a grotesque form worthy of the Middle Ages. But this Ode we are unwilling to class with the rest of the book.

In regard to the points of early Christian belief which occur in the Odes, it is clear that the Crucifixion is definitely alluded to, less clearly the Resurrection; but what surprises us is the extraordinary emphasis upon the Virgin Birth and the Descent into Hades. The former of these is in a state of evolution beyond the Canonical Gospels: the birth is explained as painless¹, and unexpected: we are on the very verge of the details which occur in the apocryphal Gospels of the Infancy.

The other Article of the Creed, the Descent into Hades, is also treated with picturesque detail, very much as in the Gospel of Nicodemus. Just as in the latter gospel² Hades complains of the inward pain which he feels and which intimates an approaching discharge of imprisoned souls, so in Ode 42 we are told that 'Hades saw me and *was miserable*: death *cast me up*, and many along with me.' But the prayer of the Souls in Hades is very fine, and has no vulgar suggestions of Jonah and the Whale about it, such as we find in the byways of Patristic literature.

It will, perhaps, be said that the advanced state of evolution of these two dogmas renders it impossible that the collection should be referred to the end of the first century³. There is,

¹ Here, at all events, we are in the region of folk-lore; the Chinese legend of the birth and conception of Hou-tsi, the founder of the dynasty of Tchū, runs on the same line. His mother brought him forth as a tender lamb without effort, without pain and without pollution. See amongst the Chinese Classics, the *Shi-King* III. ii. 1, which has been Englished as follows:

'Lo! when her carrying time was done,
Came like a lamb her first-born son,
No pains of labour suffered she—
No hurt, no pain, no injury.'

Cf. *Ev. Ps. Matthæi*, c. 13 'Nulla pollutio sanguinis facta est in nascente, nullus dolor in parturiente.'

² Tischendorf, *Ev. Apocrypha*, p. 396 'Contremui perterritus pavore, et omnia officia mea simul mecum conturbata sunt.'

B. H. Cowper, *Apoc. Gospels*, p. 305 'For lo! I see that all I have ever swallowed are in commotion and my belly is in pain' (Jonah ii. 2); which is taken from the Greek *Descensus*, see Tisch. *l.c.* p. 327.

³ The Descent into Hades is a first century doctrine. Harnack says of it: 'the notion of a *descensus ad inferna*...commended itself on the ground of Old Testament prediction. In the first century, however, it still remained uncertain,

however, an alternative suggestion, that the 42nd Ode, for instance, may be a later product: for it has not been demonstrated that all the Odes come from the same hand or time.

The organic life of the Church can hardly be detected in the book of Odes. The Church itself is not mentioned, unless it should be in the reference to a Pure Virgin in Ode 33 who stands and proclaims the invitation of the Gospel. The figure of the Pure Virgin is well known¹ to have been a common one in the first and second centuries, and has influenced the New Testament itself. But the Pure Virgin may equally well be the Divine Wisdom who stands and calls men².

There is also the implication of corporate unity in the figure of the Head and the members³: this may be directly derived from St Paul. Of Church officials there are only, (a) the writer of Ode 20 who calls himself a Priest of God and defines his priesthood as any mystic might, as the offering to God of the sacrifice of his thought, and (b) there are a body of persons engaged in carrying the water of life to the thirsty, who are called Blessed Ministers or Blessed Deacons (Ode 6): we may compare the language of Perpetua concerning 'Tertius and Pomponius, *blessed deacons* who ministered to us,' who bribed the gaolers and obtained us relief. But the writer of the Odes does not necessarily mean anything so highly evolved as the ministry of the African Church at the beginning of the third century. His ministers have a commission to preach the word and are counted happy in so doing.

Of Sacraments the Odes do not seem to know much. The only directions in which one could look for references to Baptism would be (i) the Living Water, (ii) the allusion to the Seal. Of the former it is unnecessary to speak. It is frankly impossible that the living water which the thirsty are invited in the Scriptures to come and take freely can be any outward affusion: but perhaps something ought to be said of the Seal, because although, in the New Testament, this

lying on the borders of those productions of religious fancy which were not at once able to acquire a right of citizenship in the communities.' *Hist. of Dogma*, i. 202, Eng. tr.

¹ e.g. 2 Cor. xi. 2, and cf. Hegesippus in Euseb. *H. E.* iv. 22. In the letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienna (c. 12) the Virgin Mother is the Church (*καὶ ἐνεγίνετο πολλὴ χαρὰ τῆ παρθένω μητρὶ*).

² Cf. Proverbs viii. 1, 2.

³ As in Ode 1, Ode 17, &c.

is a term used of the gift of the Holy Spirit, it is often employed in Patristic writers to denote baptism and the baptised (*e.g.* in the epitaph of Abercius and elsewhere).

In the Odes we have plenty of reference to seals: we have the abysses of Hades sealed up with the Lord's seal in Ode 24: we have the mysterious Letter from Heaven sealed with a magic seal in Ode 23; and we have in Ode 4 a statement of the talismanic power of the Seal of God, which angels as well as men possess and which all creation knows and fears. And in Ode 8 the Lord says He has set His seal upon the faces of His people, just as we have in the Apocalypse (vii. 3, xiv. 1). But in the Apocalypse, as Dr Swete points out, the seal is not sacramental. Perhaps it was a taboo-mark of some Jewish sect.

If there is any scriptural reference in this doctrine of the Seal, it must be sought in Ezekiel ix., and the ink-mark which an angelic scribe is told to set on the righteous¹. This seal is alluded to in the extant Psalms of Solomon (Ps. Sol. xv. 6) where we are told that 'the sign (*σημεῖον*) of God is upon the righteous for Salvation.' It is, therefore, a pre-Christian conception. Here Perles very naturally compared Ezekiel ix. 6 and supplied the Haggadic explanation from Shabbath 55^a, as follows:

'God spake to Gabriel: Go and stamp on the forehead of the righteous a mark of ink, that the destroying angels may have no power over him²: and on the forehead of the hypocrites a mark of blood, that the destroying angels may acquire power over them.'

From this talismanic sign (with which the archangels are here entrusted), there was developed, as is well known, the doctrine of the talismanic virtue of the sign of the cross in baptism. But this development (arising out of an interpretation of the use of the letter Tau as the sign in Ezekiel) is, I think, later than what we have in the Odes³. There does not seem, therefore, to be any definite allusion to Baptism. We can see

¹ In the East it is still common to seal with ink.

² Cf. Ode 4. 7, 8 'who is there that shall put on thy grace and be hurt? for thy seal is known.'

³ We have it in Tert. *Adv. Marc.* iii. 22 where the letter Tau is explained to be 'the very form of the Cross which was foretold to be the sign upon our foreheads.'

the later interpretation very clearly in Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* iv. 27, who says that the gods cannot approach those in whom they see the heavenly mark, nor hurt those whom the sign as an impregnable wall protects, which is very like Ode 4. 7, 8. Perhaps Lactantius has here a reminiscence of the Ode¹.

As to the Eucharist, I can find no allusion whatever: there are no references to the religious use of bread and wine; the writers of the Odes seem to prefer milk and honey; but these are not spoken of sacramentally, but mystically and allegorically.

The allegorical use of the terms 'milk and honey' is natural enough in view of the Old Testament descriptions of the Land of Promise: but it should be remembered that there are traces of a milk-and-honey sacrament in the early Church. For example in the Epistle of Barnabas², we have a question raised as to the meaning of the milk and honey in the Old Testament. And after some preliminary allegorising to show that the believers in Jesus are themselves the good land, he asks, 'Why milk and honey?' And the answer is that 'the young child is first quickened with honey and then with milk.'

Probably this refers in the first instance to a folk-lore custom in connexion with newly-born children, but it seems to have very early developed into a Christian sacrament for new converts, who had been born again into the Kingdom of God³.

It does not, however, seem that the milk-and-honey passages in the Odes will bear the sacramental interpretation. The 19th Ode, for example, has no suggestion of a recent conversion about it. The only one where it seems possible to make connexion with the new-birth is Ode 8, where the Lord says, 'My own breasts I prepared for them that they might drink my holy milk and live thereby'; this might perhaps, in view of the previous reference to the 'seal upon the faces,' be interpreted sacramentally, but it does not seem likely. The baptismal sacrament, as we have shown, is not milk but milk and honey.

¹ 'Sed quoniam neque accedere ad eos possunt, in quibus coelestem notam viderint, nec iis nocere, quos signum immortale munierit, tanquam inexpugnabilis murus.'

² c. 6.

³ Besides Barnabas, we may refer to Tertullian, *De corona*, c. 3 (inde suscepti, lactis et mellis concordiam praegustamus): *Adv. Marc.* i. 14: *Clem. Alex. Paed.* i. 6, p. 128: Coptic Canons, ii. 46, &c.

The only allusion to wine is in the account of the Seducer in Ode 38, who lays plots for the elect and wishes, by an intoxicating cup, to rob them of their reason. So far as the enquiry has gone, the Odes are hardly to be quoted in the history of the Sacraments; they ought, therefore, to belong to an early period of evolution in the organic life of the Church.

There is still something to be said with regard to the missing portions of our MS. The closing portions of the 18 Psalms of Solomon are preserved for us adequately in the Greek, but the lacuna at the beginning of the Odes is serious, and involves the whole of the second Ode, and the beginning of the third Ode.

It has occurred to me that perhaps a sentence from this second Ode may be preserved in Clement of Alexandria. For in his *Protrepticus* (p. 5) we have the following sentence:—
 ὁ δὲ ἐκ Δαβίδ, καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος, λύραν μὲν καὶ κιθάραν, τὰ ἄψυχα ὄργανα, ὑπεριδών, κόσμον δὲ τόνδε, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν σμικρὸν κόσμον τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ψυχὴν τε καὶ σῶμα αὐτοῦ, ἅγιῳ πνεύματι ἄρμουςάμενος, ψάλλει τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ πολυφώνου ὄργανου καὶ προσᾶδει τούτῳ τῷ ὄργανῳ, τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ,

Σὺ γὰρ εἶ κιθάρα καὶ αὐλὸς καὶ ναὸς ἐμός.

Thus according to Clement the Word of God made music of its own, earlier than David and upon a loftier instrument than his harp and lyre; for its music was produced from the macrocosm of creation and the microcosm of the body and soul of man: to this instrument of many strings, it sings and addresses the instrument itself, saying to it:

‘Tis thou my harp, and flute and temple art.’

Now this is a quotation from some poetical composition, and we may infer that it is a fragment of an early Psalm or hymn. Accordingly Potter notes on it as follows:

‘Christi verba, ut videtur, a sacro hymno citata.’

But if it is a hymn, there are two considerations which suggest that it came from the Odes of Solomon: first, it is one of the features of these Odes (often causing no little perplexity) that the singer makes his Psalm, either wholly or in part, in the name of Christ: second, the reference to the harp or flute in describing Christ’s music, and the representation of the mind of man as an ὄργανον πολυφώνου is thoroughly in the manner of

the Odes. Thus in Ode 7 believers go forth to meet the Lord with a harp of many strings: in Ode 14 the writer says:

‘Open to me the harp of thy Holy Spirit,
That with all its notes I may praise Thee,’

and the same spiritual music is in the opening of Ode 6,

‘As the hand moves over the harp...

So speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord.’

Here it is the Spirit that plays upon the human instrument.

So it is quite possible that Clement’s little quotation may be part of the missing matter of our Odes. To which of them shall we refer it? The first Ode is already identified, the third is almost complete, and it is unlikely that Christ should be the speaker in the opening of the third Ode, when He is not so in the closing portion. So the suggestion arises that the sentence comes from the second Ode.

This is a speculation, and must not be taken too seriously, in view of the insufficiency of the evidence. But it can do no harm to record it, with the necessary *Valeat quantum*.

It will, perhaps, be enquired whether the use of the Odes of

The Odes
known to
Irenæus.

Solomon by early writers can be detected in cases where there are no introductory formulae or definite allusions. We have just suggested that a fragment of the second Ode may be preserved in an anonymous quotation by Clement of Alexandria. Are there any similar traces to be identified in the early Patristic literature? The difficulty of making such identifications is well known. We had a case in the use of ‘talking water’ by Ignatius and by the writer of the Odes. Such an expression to us in the present day seems very striking; but a draught from a magical or medical spring is probably a common folk-lore way of obtaining inspiration, and need not imply any dependence of one of the coincident writers upon the other.

Here is a somewhat similar case from Irenæus, in which the evidence is rather in the direction of recognising a quotation on the part of that writer from the Odes. Irenæus discusses¹ the question why God made man and why He chose the fathers and why He called the saints. He begins by the doctrine that God, for His part, had no need of man: ‘non quasi

¹ Lib. IV. c. xxv. (p. 243, Mass.).

indigens hominis, plasmavit Adam.' This sentiment of the Divine independence of His works is in our fourth Ode. It is, however, so common an expression in Greek philosophy and theology, that we should pay no attention to its occurrence in Irenaeus, if it were not that it is the key-note of the section and that he returns to it with an added amplification, which is also found in the fourth Ode. For he says that the less God needs man, the more man needs God and *His fellowship* :

'in quantum enim Deus nullius indiget, in tantum homo indiget Dei communione.'

Here we have the thought of fellowship with God, as the expression of man's need, which we have in Ode 4 :

'Thou hast given us thy fellowship :

It was not that thou wast in need of us,
but that we were in need of thee.'

A little lower down Irenaeus returns to the same thought : God distributed His prophets over the earth to habituate men to the reception of His Spirit and to fellowship with Himself : 'He Himself was in need of no man : *but on those that needed Him, He bestowed His fellowship.*'

Here we have the same thought, in closely coincident terms ; and since it is the fundamental thought of the chapter, we suggest that Irenaeus may be working from a text, and the text is a verse from the Odes of Solomon. The same sentiments recur in Bk v. c. ii. in the following form : 'Nihil enim illi ante dedimus, neque desiderat aliquid a nobis, quasi indigens : nos autem indigemus *eius quae est ad eum communionis* : et propterea benigne effudit semetipsum' ; where the last clause may be compared with what follows in the Ode : 'Distil thy dews upon us and open the rich fountains that pour forth milk and honey.'

There is still, however, something abrupt in the transition from the discussing of the Holy Place and the Holy People to the general question of whether God has any need of man corresponding to the need which man has of God. We may detect the motion of the writer's thought in passing from one subject to the other in the following manner.

From Irenaeus we see that while God has no need of man, man has need of communion with God. The language is, as we

have shown, so closely parallel to that of our Ode as almost to amount to a quotation. But at an earlier time than that of Irenaeus the thought of communion with God was not detached from the thought of communion by means of a Holy Place, and by sacrifice offered there.

We get this thought brought out clearly in the prayer of the priests in 2 Macc. xiv. 15 :

‘Thou, O Lord of the universe, *who in thyself hast need of nothing*, wast well pleased *that a sanctuary of thy habitation should be set amongst us*: so now, O Holy Lord of all hallowing, keep undefiled for ever this house that hath been lately cleansed.’

Here the ‘sanctuary of the Divine habitation’ is an earlier form of the Christian ‘communion with God’ which we find in Irenaeus. When, therefore, the writer of the Ode, who began by chanting the inalienable sanctity of the Temple, says that God, who did not need us, has given us His fellowship, he is still thinking of the fellowship that is associated with one special holy place. He cannot think that this form of communion is abandoned or made void. The opening verses of the Ode make it clear that this is his key-note. The parallel in the New Testament is in Paul’s speech before the Areopagus (Acts xvii. 24, 25), ‘God dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither is worshipped of men’s hands, *as though He needed anything*.’ Our writer would say, ‘He dwells in a Temple, because we need Him.’ And as we have pointed out, the situation is for our writer Judaeo-Christian.

At the same time we see clearly that the writer is not really a Jew, though he is in a Judaeo-Christian environment. We see this in a number of ways, both direct and indirect. First we had his definite statement as to his being of a different race, which must surely mean that he is a proselyte, in the Christian sense, from among the Gentiles to a community of Judaeo-Christian origin. Then we had his peculiar apologetics, in the person of Christ, for love to the Gentiles. But even more striking is his indirect argument against the necessity of the maintenance of the Sabbath. I have drawn attention to this under Ode 16, by pointing out that the sequence of thought in the words

The Author does not accept Jewish customs.

'He rested from His works :

And created things run in their courses and do their works :

And they know not how to stand and be idle :

And His 'heavenly' Hosts are subject to His word'

contain the argument of Justin with Trypho for the non-validity of the Sabbath, on the ground that

'the elements, *στοιχεῖα* (*or more exactly, the heavenly bodies*¹), do not idle or keep Sabbath.'

And Justin tells Trypho that he learnt this from the very old man to whom he owed his conversion, who taught him, in reference to the Sabbath and Circumcision, that he should remain as he was born.. This is very early teaching on the subject of the leading Jewish practices. It does not necessarily mean the abandonment of the Sabbath by Jews. Our author stands where Justin stood, and both of them employ an argument of the more liberal-minded in the primitive Church. He is no more a Jew than Justin is.

It will be asked whether he argues against circumcision as well as against the Sabbath. This is more difficult to answer. It depends upon the interpretation of the opening sentences of Ode 11. If our alternative translation is correct, the writer refers to the work of Divine Grace which he has experienced as a circumcision of the heart, a figure of speech which is justified by the Old Testament references to Israel as 'uncircumcised in heart and ears²,' and by the Pauline affirmation that 'we are the true circumcision,' and that 'he is not a Jew who is one outwardly, nor is circumcision in the letter, but in the spirit.' In this sense our writer may be held to affirm that, although not an Israelite by birth, he is one of the spiritual Israel. And this would agree exactly with the other statements to which we have alluded.

We found no allusions by which we could identify the Gospels used by the Odists.

But if there are no references of a direct character to the Gospels, and only scanty allusions to the historical incidents which make the framework of the Gospels, there is one indirect reference to an early Apocryphal Gospel, which is of the first importance. We have discussed

Trace of an
uncanonical
Gospel.

¹ Gal. iv. 9.

² Cf. Deut. x. 16, 'Circumcise your hearts and be not any more stiffnecked.'

under the 24th Ode the question whether the reference of the Ode is to the Baptism of Jesus or to some other unknown incident connected with His crucifixion, and have decided that the allusion to the fluttering of the Dove over the head of the Messiah must mean the events at the Baptism, although there was in the context matter which seemed to suggest the descent into Hades rather than the Baptism. The reason for this conclusion lies in the coincidence of the expression of the Odist with the language employed by Justin Martyr in his dialogue with Trypho (c. 88). The Syriac of the opening verse is literally

‘The Dove flew upon [*or* over] the Messiah’;

and this curious phrase answers exactly to the word which Justin twice uses in his account of the Baptism. The repetition of the word has long since provoked a suggestion on the part of the critics that we had here a fragment of Justin’s actual gospel, and that it was not one of the canonical Gospels, though Justin himself refers his account to the Apostles of the Lord. And when it was observed that the same peculiar verb turned up elsewhere in Greek Patristic accounts of the Baptism, a very strong case was made out for the use of an actual document of an apocryphal, or, at all events, of a non-canonical character.

When, therefore, we detect the same expression in the Syriac text of the Odes, the coincidence is so striking that we are justified in removing the allusions to the Baptism of Jesus from the matter credited to the canonical Evangelists, and assigning it instead to a lost Gospel of a very early date. It will be convenient to collect¹ under one view the cases in which it may reasonably be held that the Greek word *ἐπιπτῆναι* is used of the Descent of the Dove (Justin Martyr: *Dial.* 88):

ἀναδύντος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος, ὡς περιστερὰν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐπιπτῆναι ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἔγραψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμῶν.

Ibid :

τὸ πνεῦμα οὖν τὸ ἅγιον καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὡς προέφην, ἐν εἶδει περιστερᾶς ἐπέπη αὐτῷ.

¹ See Resch, *Aussercanonische Paralleltexzte zu Luc.* p. 15.

Celsus (*v. Origen contra Celsum* i. 41):

λουομένῳ, φησί, σοι παρὰ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ [v. l. Ἰορδάνῃ]
φάσμα ὄρνιθος ἐξ ἀέρος λέγεις ἐπιπτῆναι.

Origen (*c. Celsum* i. 40):

ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον, τάχα δὲ καὶ
τῶν λοιπῶν εὐαγγελίων, λαβὼν τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐπιπτώσεως
τῷ σωτῆρι βαπτιζομένῳ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωάννου περιστερᾶς
διαβάλλειν βούλεται.

Origen (*in Joann.* tom. ii. 11):

ὅτε τῷ σωματικῷ εἶδει ὡσεὶ περιστερὰ ἐφίπταται
μετὰ τὸ λουῖτρον αὐτῷ.

Orac. Sib. vii. 64—70:

᾿Α, Συρίη κοίλη, Φοινίκων ὑπατον ἀνδρῶν,
Οἷς ἐπερευγομένη κεῖται Βηρυτιᾶς ἄλμη,
Τλήμων, οὐκ ἔγνωσ τὸν σὸν Θεὸν, ὅς ποτ' ἔλουσεν
Ἰορδάνου ἐν ὑδάτεσσι, καὶ ἔπτατο πνεῦμα ἐπ' αὐτῷ.

Σάρκ' ἐνδυσάμενος, τάχυσ ἔπτατο Πατρὸς ἐς οἶκος.

To the foregoing coincidences from Greek sources, Resch adds a number of suspicious coincidences in Latin:

Tert. adv. Valent. c. 27:

'Super hunc itaque Christum *devolasse* tunc in baptis-
matis sacramento Jesum per effigiem columbae.'

Hilarius *in Ps.* liv. 7:

'Nam et in columbae specie Spiritus in eum *volando*
requievit...ut *volando* requiescat.'

Hilarius *in Matt.* ii. 6:

'post aquae lavacrum et de caelestibus portis sanctum
in nos spiritum *involare*.'

Severi *de ritibus baptismi*, p. 24, ed. Boderianus (Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 363):

'Et Spiritus sanctitatis in similitudinem columbae
volans descendit mansitque super caput filii.'

These references are not of equal value in the determination of the language of a primitive account, but taken together, they

certainly make a very strong impression in favour of the belief in an uncanonical account of the Baptism, and it is to that account that the first line of Ode 24 must be referred.

But what are we to say of the Spirit singing over the Messiah? Is this also from the uncanonical source?

We may sum up the investigation as far as it has gone as follows :

There can be no reasonable doubt of the antiquity of the recovered Book of Odes. That which seems to be the latest composition amongst them is attested already by Lactantius in the beginning of the fourth century as having the place in the collection which it occupies in our Manuscript. The portions of the Odes which have been transcribed by the author of the *Pistis Sophia* towards the end of the third century, are evidently taken from a book which was either canonical in the writer's judgment, or not very far removed from canonicity ; so that it is quite easy to carry the Odes back into the second century, and those who have studied the extant fragments of them before the recovery of our Manuscript have, in fact, referred them to the earlier part of the second century. Our own investigations have shown that the Odes agree in the extent of their composition with the statistical data for their measurement, preserved in the early Stichometries. We have also shown that they agree in sentiment with the beliefs and practices of the earliest Ages of the Church. It came out clearly in the investigation that the writer, while not a Jew, was a member of a Community of Christians, who were for the most part of Jewish extraction and beliefs, and the apologetic tone which is displayed, in the Odes, towards the Gentiles, as a part of the Christian Church, is only consistent with the very earliest ages, and with communities like the Palestinian Churches where Judaism was still in evidence and in control. We think, therefore, that it will be admitted on all hands, that the discovery of this collection of Odes and Psalms is not only valuable for the fact that it presents us, for the first time, with the Syriac version of the extant Psalms of Solomon, but that the Syriac text of the Odes of Solomon is in itself a memorial of the first importance for rightly understanding the beliefs and experiences of the Primitive Church.

We have expressed our belief that in part, at least, the

collection belongs to the last quarter of the first century ; but if it should be objected that this is too early a date, it cannot be very many years in excess. Even if the writings do not fall within the actual time of the composition of the books of the New Testament, they scarcely fall outside the limits of the same, and we may, therefore, be sure that the Christian Church of to-day has been enriched by the discovery of a literary monument of the highest value. Apart, also, from all critical questions concerned with the little less or little more of a determined date, or with the 'Lo! here' or 'Lo! there' of an assigned locality, we have in our Odes the language of Christian experience upon the highest levels of the Spiritual Life, and we should have to go far afield to find such expressions of the Joy of the Lord as recur in almost every one of these Spiritual Songs.

We have no means of knowing who it was that in the first instance ascribed them to Solomon, nor have we any clue at present to their actual authorship, but we may be sure that whatever Solomon did, or did not, in the composing of Odes, with which he has been credited to the number of one thousand and five, according to the insistent accuracy of the Jewish Chronicler, we may say of these new-found compositions, that not even Solomon at his very best could have been spiritually arrayed like one of these.

ODE 1. (*Pistis Sophia* 116.)

¹The Lord is on my head like a crown, and I shall not be without Him¹. ²They wove for me a crown of truth, and it caused thy branches to bud in me. ³For it is not like a withered crown which buddeth not: but thou livest upon my head, and thou hast blossomed upon my head. ⁴Thy fruits are full-grown and perfect, they are full of thy salvation.

ODE 1. This Ode is not in our Syriac text, but in the Coptic version of the *Pistis Sophia*, where it is said to be the 19th Ode. I have identified it with the missing first Ode of our collection, on the supposition that in the collection of Solomonic Psalms known to the author of the *Pistis Sophia*, the eighteen Psalms of Solomon stood first, and not, as in the Syriac collection, in the last place. The question is discussed, more at length, under Ode 5. The argument of the Psalm is that God is the crown of the soul, whose supreme experience is the knowledge of His truth. This crown is of the amarant variety; it fadeth not away. On the contrary, it buds and blossoms and is full of immortal fruit. The similitude is not uncommon in the book of Odes to which we have placed this Psalm as an introduction.

ODE 2. (*Deest.*)

ODE 3. (*Priora desunt.*)

..... I put on: ²And his members are with him. And on them do I hang, and He loves me: ³for I should not have known how to love the Lord, if He had not loved me. ⁴For who is able to distinguish love, except the one that is loved. ⁵I love the Beloved, and my soul loves Him: ⁶and where His rest is, there also am I; ⁷and I shall be no stranger, for with the Lord Most High and Merciful there is no grudging. ⁸I have been united

¹ Or it.

to Him¹, because I shall find love to the Beloved,⁹ and because I shall love Him that is the Son, that I may be a son²; ¹⁰ for he that is joined to Him that is immortal, will also himself become immortal; ¹¹and he who is accepted in the Living One³, will become living⁴. ¹²This is the Spirit of the Lord, which doth not lie, which teacheth the sons of men to know His ways. ¹³Be wise and understanding and vigilant. Hallelujah.

ODE 3. This Psalm, of which the first verses have disappeared along with the leaves that contained the first two Psalms, is evidently a Christian product; the author is a mystic with a doctrine, or rather an experience, of union with the Son. With him his whole nature has become mingled, as water is mixed with wine. In Pauline language, he has been joined to the Lord, and has become one spirit with Him⁵. In Johannine language, because the Beloved lives, he himself lives also⁶. He has, at least in hope and faith, attained immortality through union with the Living One. The name here given to Christ is very ancient, it has been detected by the Revisers of the English New Testament in the Apocalypse ('I am the Living One')⁷, and it is found in the opening sentences of the Sayings of Jesus, recovered in recent years from Egypt: ('these are the words.....which Jesus the Living One spake etc.')

Other Johannine touches are the doctrine that 'we love Him because He first loved us⁸.' For the Psalmist tells us that 'he should not have known how to love the Lord if the Lord had not loved him.'

It would be a mistake to suppose that we have here any direct quotations or that the language necessarily involves acquaintance with the text of the New Testament. In translating the Syriac, I have not tried to distinguish the two words for love which are used: even if it could be inferred that the Greek had used ἀγαπᾶω and φιλεῖω, as in the 21st chapter of John's Gospel, it would be a mistake to indicate this in the translation by a subtlety which is now exploded. For the Syriac makes no such distinction, nor need we imagine it in the original Aramaic spoken by Jesus. When the Syriac translators turn back our Lord's words in John xiv. 21, 'He it is that loveth me, and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father,' although the Greek word is consistently ἀγαπᾶω, they use both the available Syriac words, without distinction, and where they do not distinguish we have no call to over-refinement.

¹ Mingled with (as water with wine); cf. 1 Cor. vi. 17.

² Or the Son.

³ The MS. has 'in life.' Cf. Apoc. i. 17.

⁴ Or the living One.

⁵ 1 Cor. vi. 17.

⁶ John xiv. 19.

⁷ Apoc. i. 17.

⁸ 1 John iv. 19.

ODE 4.

¹No man, O my God, changeth thy holy place; ²and it is not [possible] that he should change it and put it in another place: because he hath no power over it: ³for thy sanctuary thou hast designed before thou didst make [other] places: ⁴that which is the elder shall not be altered by those that are younger than itself. ⁵Thou hast given thy heart, O Lord, to thy believers: never wilt thou fail, nor be without fruits: ⁶for one hour of thy Faith is more precious than all days and years. ⁷For who is there that shall put on thy grace, and be hurt? ⁸For thy seal is known: and thy creatures know it: and thy [heavenly] hosts possess it: and the elect archangels are clad with it. ⁹Thou hast given us thy fellowship: it was not that thou wast in need of us: but that we are in need of thee: ¹⁰distil thy dews upon us and open thy rich fountains that pour forth to us milk and honey: ¹¹for there is no repentance with thee that thou shouldest repent of anything that thou hast promised: ¹²and the end was revealed before thee: for what thou gavest, thou gavest freely: ¹³so that thou mayest not draw them back and take them again: ¹⁴for all was revealed before thee as God, and ordered from the beginning before thee: and thou, O God, hast made all things. Hallelujah.

ODE 4. This Psalm is one of the most important in the whole collection, on account of the historical allusion with which it commences. The reference to an unsuccessful attempt to alter the site of the Sanctuary of the Lord can only be explained by some unknown movement to carry on the Jewish worship outside the desolated and proscribed sanctuary, or by the closing of the Jewish temple at Leontopolis in Egypt, which was, perhaps, itself in the first instance built under the pressure of the situation which resulted in the desecration of the temple at Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes. As the latter explanation leans on fact, rather than on hypothesis, we may accept it provisionally as the real interpretation of our Psalm, which is thus dated soon after A.D. 73 when the temple of Onias was closed and dismantled by the Romans. The writer of the Psalm, if not of Jewish origin is, at least, Jewish in sympathy: he holds the Jewish belief that the Sanctuary at Jerusalem was older than the world in which it stood; it was, according to Rabbinic teaching, prior to all other created things: thus we find in *Bereshith Rabbah* that 'seven things were created before the world, Thorah, Gehenna, the Garden of Eden, the

Throne of Glory, *the Sanctuary*, Repentance and the name of Messiah.' The proofs of these pre-existent creations can easily be made from the Scriptures: e.g. 'the Lord God had planted a garden in Eden *from afore-time*' (Gen. ii. 8)¹, and so on. The matter is discussed with some detail in *Pirqe Aboth* vi. 10 'Five possessions possessed the Holy One, blessed is He, in His world: and these are they: Thorah, one possession; Heaven and Earth, one possession; Abraham, one possession; Israel, one possession; the *Sanctuary, one possession*:.....
...*The Sanctuary*: whence [is it proved]? Because it is written, The place, O Lord, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in, the Sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established (Exod. xv. 17): and it saith, And He brought them to the border of His sanctuary, even to this mountain, which His right hand had possessed (Ps. lxxviii. 54).' This Rabbinical belief has affected the mind of our Psalmist, who comments upon the fall of the Egyptian temple unsympathetically, and evidently has his heart set amongst the ruins of the Sanctuary at Jerusalem. He does not think the covenant between God and the people of Israel is disannulled; all God's promises are irrevocable; His gifts and callings are without repentance on His part. But there are no lamentations on the part of the writer over the ruins of Jerusalem; the temple which is in his thoughts has not developed a wailing-place. God has sealed His own people with the marks of His ownership. All creation, and both worlds, recognise this seal. And He is able to pour out blessings on His chosen, comparable to the dew of heaven, and the milk and honey of the earth. If we please, we may definitely call it a Judaeo-Christian Psalm: and it might very well have been composed by one of the refugees at Pella. It is not easy to see how it could have been written outside Palestine, nor by a purely Jewish hand.

There are no Scripture references; perhaps the nearest parallel is Rom. xi. 29 ('the gifts and calling of God are without repentance,' ἀμεταμέλητα).

The thought that God does not need us, but we need God, is a common religious expression in this period, and is found constantly in Greek literature. We may compare the *Apology of Aristides*, c. 1, and Irenaeus (ed. Mass. 244) 'ipse quidem nullius indigens: his vero qui indigent eius, suam praebens communionem,' which is very near indeed to the language of our Ode, and may almost be taken as a quotation. The opposite sentiment can be illustrated from Schiller:

'Freudlos war der grosse Weltenmeister,
Fühlte Mangel, darum schuf er Geister,
Sel'ge Spiegel seiner Seligkeit.'

Clement of Rome, *Ep. i. ad Cor.*, c. 52, takes an intermediate position: 'The Lord needs nothing...except our praise.'

¹ So Jerome: *a principio*.

ODE 5.

¹I will give thanks unto thee, O Lord, because I love thee ;
²O most High, thou wilt not forsake me¹, for thou art my hope :
³freely I have received thy grace, I shall live thereby : ⁴my
persecutors will come² and not see me : ⁵a cloud of darkness
shall fall 'on' their eyes ; and an air of thick gloom shall darken
them : ⁶and they shall have no light to see : that they may not
take hold upon me. ⁷Let their counsel become thick darkness³,
and what they have cunningly devised, let it return upon their
own heads : ⁸for they have devised a counsel, and it did not
succeed⁴ : they have prepared themselves for evil⁵, and were
found to be empty. ⁹For my hope is upon the Lord, and I will
not fear, and because the Lord is my salvation⁶, I will not fear :
¹⁰and He is as a garland on my head and I shall not be moved ;
even if everything should be shaken, I stand firm ; ¹¹and if
all things visible should perish, I shall not die : because the
Lord is with me and I am with Him. Hallelujah.

ODE 5. The interest of this Psalm lies in the fact that at this point we begin to strike the region of coincidences with the Gnostic book, known as the *Pistis Sophia*. The Ode has been used, apparently, in the composition of two Odes or Prophecies of Solomon, quoted respectively by Salome and the Virgin.

Salome recites nearly the whole of the Ode, with some slight variations and expansions : and it is possible that one or two clauses may be missing in the Syriac and may be capable of restoration from the Coptic.

The remaining portion of the Ode before us appears, at first sight, from the parallelism of the first sentence, to be the same as what is given in the *Pistis Sophia* as the recitation of the Virgin from the 19th Ode of Solomon. And this ascription and numbering led Ryle and James astray, to identify the matter in question with the sentences about the Virgin quoted by Lactantius⁷, as from the 19th Ode of Solomon.

¹ Or, as in the Coptic, do not thou forsake me.

² Or, as in the Coptic, let my persecutors come, etc.

³ Copt. weakness.

⁴ *lit.* and it became not to them.

⁵ *lit.* evilly, as in the Coptic, which expands as follows : *Et vicerunt eos potentes et quae paraverant malitiose, descenderunt in eos.* Cf. the German of Schmidt : '*Und sie sind besiegt, obwohl sie mächtig sind, und was sie höswillig (κακῶς) bereitet haben, ist auf sie herabgefallen.*'

⁶ Copt. quia tu es deus meus, salvator meus.

⁷ *Psalms of Solomon*, p. 160. 'Ode ii. [of the Coptic Odes] should be another fragment of that quoted by Lactantius, the 19th Ode. Here alone is a number

We have, however, shown elsewhere that Lactantius' quotation is really in our 19th Ode, so that Lactantius does not appear in the discussion, having been found in another quarter. And we have suggested that the supposed 19th Ode of the Coptic writer is the first of our collection, and that it followed on the eighteen Psalms of Solomon. The mistake can be traced, by comparing, in the *Pistis Sophia*, the text and the Gnostic comment upon it; it will be found that a wrong Ode has been copied out for the text of the Gnostic comment, in consequence of two Odes, the first and the fifth, having some similar sentences. The difference can be exhibited thus:

Coptic Ode 19
[=our Ode 1]

'The Lord is on my head like a crown, and I shall not be separated from Him: a crown of truth has been woven for me: my branches were planted in me: for they did not bear a crown that was dried up, and without a shoot: but thou livest upon my head: and thou growest upon me: thy fruits are full and perfect: they are filled with thy salvation.'

Syriac Ode 5.

'He is like a crown on my head and I shall not be moved. Even if everything should be shaken, I stand firm: and if all things visible should perish, I shall not die: because the Lord is with me and I am with Him.'

The comment upon the foregoing Coptic Ode follows the text of the Syriac Ode, by an unconscious error of the writer who mistook one hymn for the other.

It is clear, then, that the Coptic 19th Ode and the Syriac 5th Ode are two different Odes, as we have explained above. We thus recover the missing first Ode of our collection.

Whether this fifth Ode is Christian or not, does not appear decisively at the first reading. It opens in a rather Jewish strain of praise, accompanied by prayer for the discomfiture of enemies. If there is a definite Christian feature, perhaps it is the garland upon the singer's head, which appears in several other Odes. In the 17th Ode, for example, we get the same figure, and here the theme is the praise of the Messiah for His triumph over Hades. This must, of course, be Christian.

The crown is a crown of life, that is a living crown or garland: and this meaning is carefully brought out in the Coptic Ode, which explains that the crown does not wither, but (like Aaron's rod), it buds and bears fruit. We have similar allusions and explanations to the crown

given. The Virgin, be it noted, is the reciter here, and the Virgin is the subject of Lactantius' quotation.'

of life in the New Testament, as in 1 Pet. v. 4 'a crown of glory, or glorious crown, which does not fade away.' The close of the Ode is a noble expression of trust in the Lord, amidst adverse circumstances, which one instinctively compares with the close of the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. It may be regarded as a Christian composition, on account of its affinity with other Odes that are certainly Christian, as well as on account of its intrinsic spiritual value.

ODE 6.

¹As the hand moves over the harp, and the strings speak, ²so speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord, and I speak by His love. ³For He destroys what is foreign, and everything that is bitter¹: ⁴for thus it was from the beginning and will be to the end, that nothing should be His adversary, and nothing should stand up against Him. ⁵The Lord has multiplied the knowledge of Himself, and is zealous that these things should be known, which by His grace have been given to us². ⁶And the praise of His name He gave us³: our spirits praise His holy Spirit. ⁷For there went forth a stream and became a river great and broad; ⁸for it flooded and broke up everything and it brought [water] to the Temple⁴: ⁹and the restrainers of the children of men were not able to restrain it, nor the arts of those whose business it is to restrain waters; ¹⁰for it spread over the face of the whole earth, and filled everything: ¹¹and all the thirsty upon earth were given to drink of it⁵; ¹²and thirst was relieved and quenched: for from the Most High the draught was given. ¹³Blessed then are the ministers of that draught who are entrusted with that water of His: ¹⁴they have assuaged the dry lips⁶, and the will that had fainted they have raised up; ¹⁵and souls that were near departing they have caught back from death⁶: ¹⁶and limbs that had fallen they straightened and set up: ¹⁷they gave strength for their feebleness⁷ and light to their eyes: ¹⁸for everyone knew them in the Lord, and they lived by the water of life⁸ for ever. Hallelujah.

¹ Cod. and everything is of the Lord.

²⁻³ 1 Cor. ii. 12.

³ *lit.* His praise He gave us to His name.

⁴ *i.e.* the temple at Jerusalem. Schmidt: wandte sich gegen den Tempel.

⁵⁻⁵ Schmidt: es tranken, die sich auf dem trockene Sande befinden. Cf. Is. xxxv. 1.

⁶⁻⁶ Schmidt: Herzensfreude haben empfangen die Entkräfteten. Sie haben Seelen erfasst, indem sie den Hauch hineinstießen, dass sie nicht stürben.

⁷ Cod. *ex errore* 'for their coming.'

⁸ *lit.* by living water.

ODE 6. In this Psalm again we are fortunate in having a large part of the Coptic text preserved to us: and, as is common in Coptic texts, some Greek words have been also preserved by it. But this very circumstance has led Ryle and James to a wrong supposition as to the existence of Gnostic elements in the Psalm. They recognize that it is a Christian Psalm but suggest, hesitatingly, that the use of the word *ἀπόρροια* may stamp it as Gnostic. It is quite unnecessary to pay this little tribute to Gnosticism. Neither here nor anywhere else is there anything definitely Gnostic in the book. And Ryle and James are right in saying, 'we cannot see that there is anything unmistakably Gnostic in the doctrine.' They are also clearly right in saying that what is described in the Psalm is 'the preaching of the Gospel which no human effort can avail to hinder.' We must also recognize a reference to the waters in Ezekiel which go forth from the temple. But there is a suggestive difference in our Psalm from the parable in Ezekiel: in the Syriac text the stream appears to rise elsewhere than in the temple, and part of its function is to water the temple. It is a river deep and broad before it reaches the temple. If this be what is intended, then the restrainers who build dykes to keep waters out or cisterns to keep them in are very likely the Temple officials themselves, who were often hard put to it to hinder the propaganda of the new religion within the limits of the Holy Place.

The writer is exultant in his universalism; the stream of living water has gone out into all the earth: thirsty souls everywhere have been refreshed by it: dying souls have been revived¹.

The writer is as universal as St Paul. But he is not so detached from Judaism as not to know that the living water was connected with the temple. Perhaps, then, he is a Judæo-Christian of an enlightened type. Ryle and James suggest for him a date not later than the second century, and intimate the presence of Johannine phraseology and ideas. We think the date is too late; the Johannine features do not appear to us to be directly due to the Gospel: if such a long composition had been under Johannine influence, it would have betrayed its ancestry more definitely. Neither here nor elsewhere does it seem possible definitely to convict the Psalms of having borrowed from St John. On the other hand there is one expression which recalls a sentence in 1 Cor., where the writer says that God is zealous 'that those things should be known, which have been given us by His grace': this is very like 1 Cor. ii. 12, 'that we may know the things that have been freely given us of God.' Whether the coincidence

¹ Harnack, who has missed the meaning of this hymn, calls it a Gnostic baptismal hymn (*Hist. of Dogma*, i. 207 note). It is not Gnostic and it has nothing to do with baptism.

should be pressed will depend to some extent upon the existence of further and similar echoes of New Testament speech.

Near the close of the Psalm the Greek word *παρρησία* occurs in the Coptic; but the Syriac 'coming' suggests *παρουσία*. *Παρρησία*, as the *Pistis Sophia* shows, is one of the words which the Coptic transliterates: so we must retain it, or else find a Greek word which may be misread either as *παρρησία* or *παρουσία*. We have suggested that *παράλυσις* is the right word. This is confirmed by the preceding clause, 'Members that had fallen they straightened and set up.' Here the Coptic has *erexere* for the two Syriac words which we render by 'straightened and set up.' The Syriac has been translating a compound verb by two simple verbs; and the original was evidently *ἀνώρθωσαν*. We may now compare Is. xxxv. 3 and Heb. xii. 12; especially note τὰ παραλελυμένα γόνατα ἀνωρθώσατε. We now see the meaning of the words which follow, 'they gave strength to their paralysis'; it is a reflexion from *ισχύσατε, γόνατα παραλελυμένα*. The correctness of the reference to Isaiah may be further seen from the following words 'and light to their eyes,' which are a reflexion from 'then shall the eyes of the blind be opened.' It is clear then that the writer is working from Isaiah and not from Hebrews: and in that case the *ἀπόρροια* of which the *Pistis Sophia* makes so much is the stream of water which, in the prophecy, makes glad the wilderness and the solitary place. We can now explain the variation between the Syriac and Coptic in v. 10. The 'dry sand' is the *ἔρημος διψῶσα* of Is. xxxv. 1, and the Syriac should be 'all upon the thirsty land drank of it.'

ODE 7.

¹As the impulse of anger against evil, so is the impulse of joy over what is lovely, and brings in of its fruits without restraint: ²my joy is the Lord and my impulse is toward Him¹: this is my excellent path: ³for I have a helper, the Lord. ⁴He hath caused me to know Himself, without grudging, by His simplicity: the greatness of His kindness hath humbled me. ⁵He became like me, in order that I might receive Him: ⁶He was reckoned like myself² in order that I might put Him on; ⁷and I trembled not when I saw Him: because He is my salvation³: ⁸like my nature He became that I might learn Him and like my form, that I might not turn back from Him: ⁹the Father of knowledge is the word of knowledge: ¹⁰He who created wisdom is wiser than His works: ¹¹and He who created me when yet I was not knew

¹ *lit.* my running: cf. Cant. i. 3.

² *lit.* in likeness as myself.

³ *lit.* mercy: cf. Luke ii. 30 (Pesh.).

what I should do when I came into being: ¹²wherefore He pitied me in His abundant grace: and granted me to ask from Him and to receive from His sacrifice¹: ¹³because He it is that is incorrupt, the fulness of the ages and the Father of them.

¹⁴He hath given Him to be seen of them that are His, ¹⁵in order that they may recognize Him that made them: and that they might not suppose that they came of themselves²: ¹⁶for He hath appointed to knowledge its way, He hath widened it and extended it; and brought it to all perfection; ¹⁷and set over it the traces of His light, and it goeth from the beginning even to the end. ¹⁸For by Him it was wrought, and it was resting in the Son, and for its salvation He will take hold of everything: ¹⁹and the Most High shall be known in His Saints, to announce to those that have songs of the coming of the Lord; ²⁰that they may go forth to meet Him, and may sing to Him with joy and with the harp of many tones³: ²¹the seers shall come before Him and they shall be seen before Him, ²²and they shall praise the Lord for His love: because He is near and beholdeth, ²³and hatred shall be taken from the earth, and along with jealousy it shall be drowned: ²⁴for ignorance hath been destroyed, because the knowledge of the Lord hath arrived. ²⁵They who make songs shall sing the grace of the Lord Most High; ²⁶and they shall bring their songs, and their heart shall be like the day: and like the excellent beauty⁴ of the Lord their pleasant song: ²⁷and there shall neither be any thing that breathes without knowledge, nor any that is dumb: ²⁸for He hath given a mouth to His creation, to open the voice of the mouth towards Him, to praise Him: ²⁹confess ye His power, and show forth His grace. Hallelujah.

ODE 7. In this Psalm the writer dilates joyfully⁵ on the theme of the Incarnation; and the combination of lowliness and wisdom that are involved therein. The condescension of Christ to human form is not only a sympathetic approach to human conditions, it is a divine welcome. He says 'Come unto me' by coming unto us. 'Like my nature He became that I might learn of Him.'

¹ Gk. *θυσίας*: Nestle conjectures *οθυσίας*: cf. Clem. *Ep.* ii. *ad Cor.* i. *ἠθέλησεν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἶναι ἡμᾶς*: and the verse of the Ode that precedes, 'when I came into being.' Also Ode 8. 16.

² Ps. c. 3.

³ *lit.* voices.

⁴ Gk. *μεγαλοπρέπεια* as in Ps. lxxvii. (lxxviii.) 34.

⁵ The opening sentence about the 'impulse against evil' may be illustrated from Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 8, p. 140 *ἐπεταί τῷ ἀγαθῷ, ἢ φύσει ἀγαθός ἐστιν, ἢ μισοπονηρία.*

But the incarnate Messiah is still the maker and sustainer of all things, in whom all things consist. The knowledge of this revelation produces praise and expectation, praise for those who sing His advent, expectation for those who look for His triumphant rule among men. All evil is to pass away, and all hate. The saints who sing are already exulting in the new life which He has bestowed upon them¹.

For the argument with which the Ode opens we may compare Lactantius, *de Div. Inst.* iv. 26: 'is, qui humilis advenerat, ut humilibus et infimis opem ferret, et omnibus spem salutis ostenderet, eo genere efficiendus fuit, quo humiles et infimi solent, ne quis esset omnino, qui eum non posset imitari.'

ODE 8.

¹Open ye, open ye your hearts to the exultation of the Lord; ²and let your love be multiplied from the heart and even to the lips, ³to bring forth fruit to the Lord, living 'fruit', holy 'fruit'; and to talk with watchfulness in His light. ⁴Rise up, and stand erect, ye who sometime were brought low: ⁵tell forth ye who were in silence, that your mouth hath been opened. ⁶Ye, therefore, that were despised, be henceforth lifted up, because your righteousness hath been exalted. ⁷For the right hand of the Lord is with you: and He is your helper: ⁸and peace was prepared for you; before ever your war was. ⁹Hear the word of truth, and receive the knowledge of the Most High. ¹⁰Your flesh has not known what I am saying to you: neither have Cf. Is.
Ixiv. 4. your hearts² known what I am showing to you. ¹¹Keep my secret³, ye who are kept by it: ¹²keep my faith, ye who are kept by it. ¹³And understand my knowledge, ye who know me in truth. ¹⁴Love me with affection, ye who love: ¹⁵for I do not turn away my face from them that are mine; ¹⁶for I know them, and before they came into being I took knowledge of them, and on their faces I set my seal: ¹⁷I fashioned their members: my own breasts I prepared for them that they might drink my holy milk and live thereby. ¹⁸I took pleasure in them and am not ashamed of them: ¹⁹for my workmanship are they and the

¹ The combination of 'seers' and 'singers' is peculiar, and belongs to a very early period in Church History; it would be best illustrated by the saints in the beginning of Luke's Gospel, who were looking for redemption in Jerusalem, if we could imagine that peculiar religious society continued and extended.

² The MS. by an error of transcription reads, 'your raiment.'

³ *Clem. Hom.* xix. 20; and *Clem. Alex. Strom.* v. 10, apparently from a lost Gospel.

strength of my thoughts: ²⁰who then shall rise up against my handiwork, or who is there that is not subject to them? ²¹I willed and fashioned mind and heart: and they are mine, and by my own right hand I set my elect ones: ²²and if my righteousness had not been before them¹.....and they shall not be deprived of my name, for it is with them. ²³Ask, and abound and abide in the love of the Lord, ²⁴and ye beloved ones in the Beloved: those who are kept, in Him that liveth: ²⁵and they that are saved in Him that was saved; ²⁶and ye shall be found incorrupt in all ages to the name of your Father. Hallelujah.

ODE 8. This Psalm again is Johannine in many of its ideas and expressions. But, even when this is conceded, it is difficult to prove a direct dependence on the Fourth Gospel.

The Psalm is, like a number of others, marked by a sudden transition of personality from the Psalmist or Prophet to the Lord Himself: after the writer has addressed those who have been lifted up out of affliction and have found peace after war, he suddenly in prophetic manner, cries out, 'Hear the word of the Lord,' 'Receive the heavenly knowledge,' and then proceeds to speak in the person of the Lord. The same abrupt transitions are found in the canonical Psalter, and they appear to have characterized the Montanist inspirations. It will be remembered that Montanus describes his own spiritual exaltation in the words: 'Behold! the man is as a lyre, and I sweep over him as the plectrum. The man sleeps and I wake. Behold! it is the Lord, who estranges the souls of men from themselves, and gives men souls.' The same address by the Lord in the first person is in the utterance of Maximilla, the Montanist prophetess, who said, 'I am chased as a wolf from the midst of the flock. I am no wolf; I am word, and spirit, and power.'

The language of Montanus finds a close parallel in the opening of the sixth Psalm, where the writer says, 'As the hand moves over the harp, and the strings speak, so speaks in my members the Spirit of the Lord.' This might easily be claimed as a Montanist utterance, and I can imagine that on account of these and similar sayings, the whole Psalter might be claimed as a Montanist product. But the sentiments are simply Christian, on a high experimental plane; and we must not forget that one of the chief characteristics of Montanism is its attempt to perpetuate the life of the primitive Church. Towards the end of the Psalm the prophet returns abruptly to speech in his own name. There seems to be some breach of continuity in the discourse, as well

¹ Something missing.

as a change of personality, and I have suggested that a sentence has dropped in the Syriac text.

I do not know whether the allusion to an actual war, from which the saints have emerged or escaped, is to be taken literally. If it be a literal, and not a spiritual reference, the choice will lie between the Jewish war under Titus or that under Hadrian; in either case we should be in Judæo-Christian circles. It is, however, quite possible that the 'war' and the 'peace' refer only to spiritual experiences.

The injunction in *v.* 11 to keep the Lord's secret (*μυστήριον ἐμοὶ*) is frequently quoted in the Fathers. A striking instance will be found in Lactantius, *Div. Instit.* vii. 26: 'nos defendere hanc [doctrinam] publice atque asserere non solemus, Deo jubente, ut quieti ac silentes arcanum ejus in abdito atque intra nostram conscientiam teneamus... *abscondi enim tegique mysterium quam fidelissime oportet, maxime a nobis, qui nomen fidei gerimus.*' The last sentence is very like the language of the Ode, 'Keep my secret ye who are kept by it.' These Patristic quotations may be traced ultimately to a variant translation of Isaiah xxiv. 16, which has crept into some texts of the LXX from the Hexapla of Origen. But there are a number of cases where the citation is not directly from Isaiah, but from a saying of our Lord in an uncanonical Gospel. Thus in Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 10 we have οὐ γὰρ φθονῶν, φησί, παρήγγειλεν ὁ κύριος ἐν τινὶ εὐαγγελίῳ· μυστήριον ἐμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ οἴκου μου. Again in *Clem. Hom.* xix. 20 we have, μεμνήμεθα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ διδασκάλου, ὡς ἐντελλόμενος εἶπεν ἡμῖν: τὰ μυστήρια ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς μου φυλάξατε. It seems that the Odist has been working from the same source as Clement of Alexandria and the Clementine Homilist: and if this be the case, the un-canonical Gospel of which he makes use is very likely the same which we shall find quoted in the 24th Ode.

ODE 9.

¹Open your ears and I will speak to you. Give me your souls that I may also give you my soul, ²the word of the Lord and His good pleasures, the holy thought which He has devised concerning his Messiah. ³For in the will of the Lord is your salvation¹, and His thought is everlasting life; and your end is immortality². ⁴Be enriched in God the Father, and receive the thought of the Most High. ⁵Be strong and be redeemed by His grace. ⁶For I announce to you peace, to you His saints; ⁷that none of those who hear may fall in war, and those again who have known Him may not perish, and that those who receive may not be ashamed. ⁸An everlasting crown

¹ *lit.* life.

² *Or,* and without corruption is your perfection.

Is. lii. 7.

Cf. Ps.

lxxxv. 9.

for ever is Truth. Blessed are they who set it on their heads: ⁹a stone of great price is it; and there have been wars on account of the crown. ¹⁰And righteousness hath taken it and hath given it to you. ¹¹Put on the crown in the true covenant of the Lord. ¹²And all those who have conquered shall be written in His book. ¹³For their book is victory which is yours. And she, (Victory) sees you before her and wills that you shall be saved. Hallelujah.

ODE 9. This Psalm is, from a historical point of view, somewhat colourless. The only definite points are the allusions to the Lord's Messiah, or Christ: and a promise of peace and deliverance from war, which is made to the saints. Of the first of these allusions, we may say that while it makes the Psalm a Messianic one, this does not mean that it is not Christian. The promise of everlasting life which follows must be the holy thought of God concerning the Christ. And this seems to definitely mark out the Psalm as Christian.

What then are we to say of the wars and victory to which the Psalm refers; are they spiritual or are they outward, or a mixture of both? We shall have the same problem before us in other Psalms. From the fact that Victory is personified and writes a book, with which we may compare Apoc. iii. 5 ('He that overcometh shall be clothed in white raiment, and I will not blot out his name from the book of life'), we may perhaps conclude that the Victory spoken of is a spiritual one. This is in harmony with the references to redemption by grace and to the will of Victory that the saints should be saved. These are Christian expressions. On the other hand the promise that none of those who obey the Lord's word shall fall in war might have been very strikingly illustrated in the case of the Christians who escaped to Pella. But even then the Psalm is a Christian one, and it remains an open question whether outward allusions may not have been coupled with inward victories.

The alternative rendering for the third verse suggests that the Syriac words answer to a Greek sentence, *καὶ ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ τὸ τέλος ὑμῶν*.

ODE 10.

¹The Lord hath directed my mouth by His word: and He hath opened my heart by His light: And He hath caused to dwell in me His deathless life; ²and gave me that I might speak the fruit of His peace: ³to convert the souls of them who are willing to come to Him: and to lead captive a good captivity for freedom. ⁴I was strengthened and made mighty and took

the world captive; ⁵and it became to me for the praise of the Most High, and of God my Father. ⁶And the Gentiles¹ were gathered together who were scattered abroad. ⁷And I was unpolluted by my love [for them], because they confessed me in high places: and the traces of the light were set upon their heart: ⁸and they walked in life and were saved and became my people for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

ODE 10. In this vigorous little Psalm Christ must Himself be accounted the speaker through the mouth of His prophet; unless we should prefer to say that any of the opening sentences are spoken in the Psalmist's own name, and that after them there is an abrupt alteration of personality, such as we have already referred to. It is certain, however, that the one who gathers the peoples together by his love must be the Messiah: '(unto him shall the gathering of the peoples be²).' And it can be no psalmist or prophet who declares that the Gentiles became his people for ever and ever. The one who goes forth to lead captivity captive is again the Christ: we have in the New Testament (Eph. iv. 8) the Messianic interpretation of Ps. lxxviii. 18, 'He ascended up on high, he led captivity captive'; and the same explanation underlies the Ode before us. The Ode is, therefore, a Christian one: and its soteriology is universal in character. But we are still in the region where apologetic is necessary for the reception of the Gentiles, and where it does not suffice to quote a verse of the Old Testament and say that such reception was foretold. In our Ode Christ explains that the reception of the Gentiles has not polluted Him. Such language does not belong to the Hellenic world, nor, we think, to the second century. But it is quite natural in a Judaeo-Christian community in Palestine in the first century.

The fact that prophets spoke in the person of God or of Christ was a common observation with the early fathers: a good illustration may be seen in Justin's *Apology*³, where Justin explains that the opening sentences of Isaiah ('The ox knoweth his owner...but my people doth not consider') are a case of the kind; and then goes on to explain that the words 'all day long I have stretched out my hands' are to be understood of the prophet speaking in the person of Christ. In the canonical Psalms also the same feature was easily traced, and those who composed the early books of Testimonies against the Jews constantly point out that the real speaker is not the prophet, but One whom he impersonates. It is inevitable that this impersonation should cause difficulties of interpretation, due to the obscurity of personality

¹ Christ has accepted the Gentiles.

² Gen. xlix. 10.

³ 1 *Ab.* 37, 38.

involved in the different parts of the prophecy or psalm. And we must not be surprised if we sometimes find it hard to tell in the text of our Odes who is to be regarded as the speaker.

ODE 11.

¹My heart was cloven¹ and its flower appeared; and grace sprang up in it: and it brought forth fruit to the Lord, ²for the Most High clave 'my heart'² by His Holy Spirit and searched my affection towards Him³: and filled me with His love. ³And His opening⁴ of me became my Salvation; and I ran in His way in His peace, even in the way of truth: ⁴from the beginning and even to the end I acquired His knowledge: ⁵and I was established upon the rock of truth, where He had set me up: ⁶and speaking waters⁵ touched my lips from the fountain of the Lord without grudging: ⁷and I drank and was inebriated with the living water that doth not die; and ⁸my inebriation was not one without knowledge, but I forsook vanity and turned to the Most High my God, and ⁹I was enriched by His bounty, and I forsook the folly which is diffused over the earth; and I stripped it off and cast it from me: ¹⁰and the Lord renewed me in His raiment⁶, and possessed me by His light, and from above He gave me rest in incorruption; ¹¹and I became like the land which blossoms and rejoices in its fruits: ¹²and the Lord was like the Sun shining on the face of the land; ¹³He lightened my eyes, and my face received the dew; and my nostrils⁷ enjoyed the pleasant odour of the Lord; ¹⁴and He carried me to His Paradise; where is the abundance of the pleasure of the Lord; ¹⁵and I worshipped the Lord on account of His glory; and I said, Blessed, O Lord, are they who are planted in thy land! and those who have a place in thy Paradise; ¹⁶and they grow by the fruits of thy trees. And they have changed from darkness to light. ¹⁷Behold! all thy servants are fair, who do good works, and turn away from wickedness to the pleasantness that is thine: ¹⁸and they have turned back the bitterness of the trees from them, when they were planted in thy land; ¹⁹and

¹ Or, circumcised.

² *lit.* clave me or circumcised me.

³ *lit.* revealed my reins: cf. *Sap. Sol.* i. 6: Ps. vii. 9: Ps. lxii. (lxi.) 2: Apoc. ii. 23.

⁴ Or, circumcision.

⁵ Cf. Ignatius *ad Rom.* 7 ὕδωρ ζῶν καὶ λαλοῦν.

⁶ Cp. Ps. civ. 2.

⁷ *lit.* my breathing.

everything became like a relic of thyself, and a memorial for ever of thy faithful works. ²⁰For there is abundant room in thy Paradise, and nothing is useless¹ therein; ²¹I am altogether filled with fruit; glory be to thee, O God, the delight of Paradise for ever. Hallelujah.

ODE 11. This lovely Psalm is altogether personal and experimental: the writer describes the visitations of Divine Grace, which he calls the cutting open² of his heart, and his establishment upon the rock of eternal truth. He is renewed by these visitations, as if he had been newly clad in light and had already reached the eternal rest. He becomes like a land that drinks in the dew of heaven, and brings forth fruit to God. He finds himself at last in the Paradise of God and amongst the fragrant trees of a new creation. He breaks out into exultant praise of the good things which God has prepared for them that love him.

There are no Scriptural references in the Psalm that can be claimed as quotations, however closely the language approximates to that of the ancient Scriptures. Perhaps the nearest parallel would be the promise in Apoc. ii. 7, that the one who overcomes, shall eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God.

ODE 12.

¹He hath filled me with words of truth; that I may speak the same; ²and like the flow of waters flows truth from my mouth, and my lips show forth His fruit. ³And He has caused His knowledge to abound in me, because the mouth of the Lord is the true Word, and the door of His light; ⁴and the Most High hath given it to His worlds, [worlds] which are the interpreters of His own beauty, and the repeaters of His praise, and the confessors of His counsel, and the heralds of His thought, and the chasteners of His servants³. ⁵For the swiftness of the Word⁴ is inexpressible, and like its expression is its swiftness and force; ⁶and its course knows no limit. Never doth it fail, but it stands sure, and it knows not descent nor the way of it. ⁷For as its work is, so is its end: for it is light and the dawning of thought; ⁸and by it the worlds⁵ talk one to the other; and in the Word there were those that were

¹ Or idle = ἀργός.

² perhaps the circumcising.

³ Or, works.

⁴ Cf. Sap. Sol. vii. 24.

⁵ Or possibly, the aeons.

silent; ⁹and from it came love and concord; and they spake one to the other whatever was theirs; and they were penetrated by the Word; ¹⁰and they knew Him who made them, because they were in concord; for the mouth of the Most High spake to them; and His explanation ran by means of it: ¹¹for the dwelling-place of the Word is man: and its truth is Love. ¹²Blessed are they who by means thereof have understood everything, and have known the Lord in His truth. Hallelujah.

ODE 12. This Psalm rises to a high level of spiritual thoughts, but for that very reason its language is occasionally obscure. The writer describes his own inspiration and how his heart and lips become filled with the words of God. Here, as elsewhere, God's fruit is found in the lips of the faithful, and we are often reminded in these Psalms of the expression which is borrowed in Heb. xiii. 15, from the prophet Hosea, about offering to God the 'fruit of lips that confess to His name.' From the general thought of the words of God, the writer rises to the abstract idea of the Word of God, or Logos, which is the totality of God's revelation and which interpenetrates all things, so that even things that are silent find their speech in it. But especially this Word, which is both truth and love, finds its dwelling-place in man. Happy are they that have come to know Him. Here, perhaps, we are nearer to Gnostic ideas, such as the doctrine of the Word and the Silence, than in any other part of the Psalter: yet there is nothing that can fairly be called Gnostic. We are also very close to the doctrine of the Logos as we have it in John, where the Logos becomes flesh and dwells amongst us: but it is not the Johannine thought of the Incarnation that is imitated or reproduced. The dwelling of the Logos with man is personal and not collective; and we cannot infer from this Psalm a direct statement of the doctrine of Incarnation, for the writer does not go beyond Inspiration; but his thought is noble, even if, as we have said, it is sometimes obscure, at least in a translation.

ODE 13.

¹Behold! the Lord is our mirror¹: open the eyes and see them in Him: and learn the manner of your face: ²and tell forth praises to His spirit: and wipe off the filth from your face: and love His holiness, and clothe yourselves therewith: ³and be without stain at all times before Him. Hallelujah.

¹ Cf. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 9, p. 172 Τὸ ἔσσωπτρον τῷ ἀλοχρῶ οὐ κακόν, ὅτι δεικνύει αὐτὸν οἷός ἐστιν. Cp. Jac. i. 24.

ODE 13. This strange little Psalm is an exhortation to holiness: we are to behold the Lord in the beauty of His holiness, but we are also to see ourselves reflected in God as in a mirror; then we shall behold our natural face in an unexpected glass and know what manner of men we are: and in that glass we shall cleanse the dirt from off our faces, and attain to purity. We are reminded of St Paul's statement that we behold, as in a mirror, the glory of our Lord and are transfigured into the same image; though here the thought is not as high as in Corinthians, where holiness is found by the Vision of God rather than by the scrutiny of ourselves.

We may also in this connexion refer to a remarkable passage which is found in a tract falsely ascribed to Cyprian, and known as *De Montibus Sina et Sion*. We are reminded in this passage first that Christ is the Unspotted Mirror of the Father, as is said of Wisdom in the book called the Wisdom of Solomon¹. Hence the Father and the Son see one another by reflexion. The writer then continues as follows:

“And even we who believe in Him see Christ in us as in a mirror, as He Himself instructs and advises us in the Epistle of His disciple John to the people: ‘See me in yourselves, in the same way as any one of you sees himself in water or in a mirror’; and so he confirmed the saying of Solomon about Himself, that ‘he is the unspotted mirror of the Father.’”

Here we have the doctrine of dual vision in a mirror, as though the mirror saw the observer as well as the observer the mirror; in this way the Father sees himself in the Son and the Son sees himself in the Father: and then we are told of something said by John, speaking in the person of Christ, in a lost epistle, that we are to see Christ in ourselves as in a glass. This is something like the doctrine of our Psalm that we are to see ourselves in Christ. If we could really be sure of the correctness of the reference of the supposed Cyprianic tract to St John, we should have more confidence in saying that here also we are in the region of Johannine ideas: but, even in that case, there would seem to be no question of direct quotation from canonical Johannine writings².

¹ *Sap. Sol.* vii. 26.

² The passage in Ps.-Cyprian is so curious, that for convenience I transcribe the Latin: *De Mont. Sina et Sion* 13: ‘Ita inuenimus ipsum Saluatorem per Salomonem speculum immaculatum patris esse dictum, eo quod sanctus spiritus Dei filius geminatum se uideat, pater in filio et filius in patre, utrosque se in se uident: ideo speculus immaculatus. Nam et nos qui illi credimus Christum in nobis tanquam in speculo uidemus, ipso nos instruente et monente in epistula Iohannis discipuli sui ad populum: “ita me in uobis uidete, quomodo quis uestrum se uidet in aquam aut in speculum,” et confirmauit Salomonicum dictum de se dicentem, “quis est speculus immaculatus patris.”’

ODE 14.

¹As the eyes¹ of a son to his father, so are my eyes, O Lord, at all times towards thee. ²For with thee are my consolations (*lit.* breasts) and my delight. ³Turn not away thy mercies from me, O Lord: and take not thy kindness from me. ⁴Stretch out to me, O Lord, at all times thy right hand: and be my guide³ even unto the end, according to thy good pleasure. ⁵Let me be well-pleasing³ before thee, because of thy glory and because of thy name: ⁶Let me be preserved from evil, and let thy meekness, O Lord, abide with me, and the fruits of thy love. ⁷Teach me the Psalms of thy truth, that I may bring forth fruit in thee: ⁸and open to me the harp of thy Holy Spirit, that with all its notes I may praise thee, O Lord. ⁹And according to the multitude of thy tender mercies, so thou shalt give to me; and hasten to grant our petitions; and thou art able for all our needs. Hallelujah.

ODE 14. In this Psalm the canonical Psalter is somewhat more closely imitated than is generally the case with our collection. The opening sentences recall Ps. cxxiii. 2, 'As the eyes of servants to the hands of their masters, and as the eyes of a maid to the hand of her mistress, so are our eyes to the Lord our God.' The prayer that the Lord will be 'my guide even to the end,' recalls Ps. xlviii. 14, 'This God is our God for ever and ever: he will be our guide even unto death.' But the Psalm is by no means a cento from the canonical Psalter, even though it does not contain anything that could, at the first reading, be definitely labelled as Christian.

ODE 15.

¹As the sun is the joy to them that seek for its daybreak⁴, so is my joy the Lord; ²because He is my Sun and His rays have lifted me up⁵; and His light hath dispelled all darkness from my face. ³In Him I have acquired eyes and have seen His holy day: ⁴ears have become mine and I have heard His truth. ⁵The thought of knowledge hath been mine, and I have been delighted by means of it. ⁶The way of error I have left,

¹ Ps. cxxiii. 2.

² Ps. xlviii. 14.

³ = εὐαρεστέιν, *walk before God*, as Enoch, Gen. v. 24 etc.; cf. Peshitta.

⁴ Cf. Ps. cxxx. 6.

⁵ Or, made me rise up.

and have walked towards Him and have received salvation from Him, without grudging. ⁷And according to His bounty He hath given to me, and according to His excellent beauty¹ He hath made me. ⁸I have put on incorruption through His name: and have put off corruption by His grace. ⁹Death hath been destroyed before my face: and Sheol hath been abolished by my word: ¹⁰and there hath gone up deathless life in the Lord's land, ¹¹and it hath been made known to His faithful ones, and hath been given without stint to all those that trust in Him. Hallelujah.

ODE 15. This beautiful Psalm, like so many others in the collection, opens with a similitude: these openings are characteristic of the book, and betray a single writer. This does not mean that they do not sometimes imitate the opening of the Canonical Psalms. In the present case the 130th Psalm seems to have furnished the key-note, viz. the watchers for the morning. It is an experimental Psalm of the first order: the Sun has risen upon the soul of the writer. Eyes, ears and heart have all been opened. Salvation has been realized: the comeliness of the Lord has been put upon him: death has lost its terrors, the grave its power.

There is one passage which is either obscure, incorrect or extravagant where the writer says that 'Sheol has been abolished by my word.' Unless there has been a transition of personality, this seems extravagant, and invites the correction 'has been abolished at His word.' In any case, I think the Psalm is a Christian one, though the positive or dogmatic identifications are not forthcoming, apart from the victory over death and the grave.

ODE 16.

¹As the work of the husbandman is the ploughshare: and the work of the steersman is the guidance² of the ship: ²so also my work is the Psalm of the Lord: my craft and my occupation are in His praises³: ³because His love hath nourished my heart, and even to my lips His fruits He poured out. ⁴For my love is the Lord, and therefore I will sing unto Him: ⁵for I am made strong in His praise, and I have faith in Him. ⁶I will open my mouth and His spirit will utter in me ⁷the glory of the Lord

¹ = Gk. *μεγαλοπρέπεια*.

² *lit.* traction.

³ *lit.* In His praises is my craft and in His praises my occupation.

and His beauty; the work of His hands and the operation of His fingers: ⁸the multitude of His mercies and the strength of His word. ⁹For the word of the Lord searches out¹ all things, both the invisible and that which reveals His thought; ¹⁰for the eye sees His works, and the ear hears His thought, ¹¹He spread out the earth and He settled the waters in the sea: ¹²He measured the heavens and fixed the stars: and He established the creation and set it up: ¹³and He rested from His works: ¹⁴and created things run in their courses, and do their works: ¹⁵and they know not how to stand and be idle²; and His 'heavenly'¹ hosts are subject to His word. ¹⁶The treasure-chamber of the light is the Sun, and the treasury of the darkness is the night: and He made the Sun for the day that it may be bright, but night brings darkness over the face of the land; and their alterations one to the other speak³ the beauty of the Lord: and there is nothing that is without the Lord; for He was before any thing came into being: and the worlds were made by His word, and by the thought of His heart. Glory and honour to His name. Hallelujah.

cf. Heb.
2.

ODE 16. This Psalm is, in its closing sentences, specifically Christian, and it is clearly from the same author as those that have immediately preceded. The theme is the beauty of God's creation; especially the writer considers the heavens which are the works of God's fingers, he contemplates the 'spacious firmament on high.' We frequently catch refrains from the story of Creation. But curiously the writer appears to avoid the mention of the moon: instead of saying that God appointed the sun to rule the day and the moon to rule the night, he says that 'the treasure of the light is the sun, and the treasure of the darkness is—the night': and he tries to work out this broken parallel by a further statement about the offices of the sun and the darkness. It would be, perhaps, too much to assume that he had some reason for neglecting the moon: but the omission is curious. The Psalm is certainly a beautiful one, especially in its opening verses. These find an appropriate parallel in Clement of Alexandria, who tells us⁴: 'We do not force the horse to plough nor the bull to hunt, but we allure each species of animal to the craft that suits it. So we also invite man to the vision of the open heaven, and to the knowledge of God, because he is of celestial birth.....Plough, indeed, if ploughman thou be, but know

¹ Or, searches out: everything, the invisible and the revealed, (is) his thought.

² Justin, *Dial.* 22.

³ Cod. complete; but read سبحان.

⁴ Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 80.

God while thou plougest: sail, if thou love to voyage the seas, but make thy appeal to the steersman on high.'

The opening verses of this Ode find also a close parallel to Stoic thought in one of its loftiest expressions; for, according to Epictetus, the praise of God is the greatest of occupations: 'Seeing that most of you are blinded, should there not be some one to fill this place, and sing the hymn to God on behalf of all men?...Were I a nightingale, I should do after the manner of a nightingale. Were I a swan, I should do after the manner of a swan. But now, since I am a reasonable being, *I must sing to God; that is my proper work*: I do it, nor will I desert this my post, as long as it is granted to me to hold it: and unto you I call to join in this self-same hymn' (Epictetus, *Discourses*, i. 16). I am almost tempted to believe that our Odist knew this saying of Epictetus, and had Christianised it. It may well have been a popular religious quotation in the latter part of the first century. Stoicism and Christianity were, as is well-known, very near neighbours; and this passage is one of the finest of Epictetus' sayings¹.

On examining the Ode more closely we detect an unmistakeable case of anti-Judaic polemic. The writer after describing the beauty of creation and the Lord's rest from His works, goes on to say something which shows that he does not mean to deduce the Jewish Sabbath from the statements in Genesis. 'Created things run in their courses, and *do their works and know not how to stand or be idle*.' Suppose we turn to Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*, c. 22, where Justin is arguing with Trypho for the non-necessity of circumcision and the Sabbath: 'I will declare to you and to those who may wish to become proselytes,' says Justin, 'a divine word which I heard from the old man to whom I owe my conversion. He said, "you observe that the heavenly bodies *do not idle nor keep sabbath*". Remain, therefore, as you were born, do not keep sabbath nor practise circumcision."'

It is clear, then, that the 16th Ode means to say that the Sabbath is not kept by the Heavenly bodies; and as it goes on to say 'and the [Heavenly] hosts are subject to His word,' it follows that God is regulating the motions of the worlds on the Sabbath days as well as on the week-days: a point which Justin expressly makes in c. 29, 'God undertakes the regulation of the world on this day, exactly as on other days².'

The writer then is a Christian of the type of Justin Martyr, who

¹ T. R. Glover (*Conflict of Religions*, p. 165) refers to this saying of Epictetus and remarks that 'Stoicism was never essentially musical. Epictetus announces a hymn to Zeus, but he never starts the tune.' Certainly the language of the Ode is much loftier and more musical than that of Epictetus.

² *l.c.* τὰ στοιχεῖα οὐκ ἀργεῖ οὐδὲ σαββατίζει.

³ ὁ θεὸς τὴν αὐτὴν διοίκησιν τοῦ κόσμου ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πεποιήται καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀπάσαις.

accepts the Gospel without the obligation of the Law, and makes a quiet intimation of the position which he takes towards the stricter Judaism. But we notice, further, that the argument which underlies his verse is older than Justin Martyr; it is contained in the reply of the ancient Christian whom Justin consulted on the question of sabbath and circumcision; he calls it a Divine Word or Oracle (*θεῖον λόγον*). It may, then, have come from some early Christian handbook; but, whether this be the case or not, it is a dictum of the first century; for the very old man who talked with Justin was not inventing a solution for immediate perplexities, but giving him a rule which prevailed in the Church to which he belonged.

So it seems clear that the Ode is really Christian, and that its Christianity is of a very early type, to judge from the arguments involved in it.

ODE 17.

¹I was crowned by my God: my crown is living: ²and I was justified in my Lord: my incorruptible salvation is He. ³I was loosed from vanity, and I was not condemned: ⁴the choking bonds were cut off by her¹ hands: I received the face and the fashion of a new person: and I walked in it and was saved; ⁵and the thought of truth led me on. And I walked after it and did not wander: ⁶and all that have seen me were amazed: and I was regarded by them as a strange person: ⁷and He who knew and brought me up is the Most High in all His perfection. And He glorified me by His kindness, and raised my thought to the height of 'His' truth. ⁸And from thence He gave me the way of His precepts² and I opened the doors that were closed, ⁹and brake in pieces the bars of iron; but my iron melted and dissolved before me; ¹⁰nothing appeared closed to me: because I was the door of everything. ¹¹And I went over all my bondmen to loose them; that I might not leave any man bound or binding: ¹²and I imparted my knowledge without grudging: and my prayer was in my love: ¹³and I sowed my fruits in hearts, and transformed them into myself: and they received my blessing and lived; ¹⁴and they were gathered to me and were saved; because they were to me as my own members and I was their head. Glory to thee our head, the Lord Messiah. Hallelujah.

¹ Query his?

² *lit.* steps.

ODE 17. This Psalm is one that we alluded to above in connexion with 'the crown of life' that has been put upon the writer's head. That it is a Christian Psalm is evident: the Messiah or Christ is definitely referred to, and he is spoken of as being to believers in the relation of the head to the members. But we have again in this Psalm the peculiar change of personality: this time it comes so imperceptibly that we might be tempted to doubt the reality of the transition, if it were not for the abruptness of the return from it at the close of the Psalm. The breaking of the bars of iron must surely refer to the Messiah: it need not be an allusion to the descent into Hades; for the problem of liberation of souls is stated in general terms: all men are to be free; there is to be no more one that binds and one that is bound. The transformation of believers into Christ's nature is also referred to; 'I transformed them into myself.....they became my own members.'

ODE 18.

¹My heart was lifted up in the love of the Most High and was enlarged: that I might praise Him for His¹ name's sake. ²My members were strengthened that they might not fall from His strength. ³Sicknesses removed from my body, and it stood to the Lord by His will. For His Kingdom is true. ⁴O Lord, for the sake of them that are deficient do not remove thy word from me! ⁵Neither for the sake of their works do thou restrain from me thy perfection! ⁶Let not the luminary be conquered by the darkness; nor let truth flee away from falsehood. ⁷Thou wilt appoint me to victory; our Salvation is thy right hand². And thou wilt receive men from all quarters, ⁸and thou wilt preserve whosoever is held in evils: ⁹Thou art my God. ³Falsehood and death³ are not in thy mouth: ¹⁰for thy will is perfection; and vanity thou knowest not, ¹¹nor does it know thee. ¹²And error thou knowest not, ¹³neither does it know thee. ¹⁴And ignorance appeared like a blind man⁴; and like the foam of the sea, ¹⁵and they supposed of that vain thing that it was something great; ¹⁶and they too came in likeness of it and became vain; and those have understood who have known and meditated; ¹⁷and they have not been corrupt in their imagination; for such were in the mind of the Lord; ¹⁸and they mocked at them that were walking in error; ¹⁹and

¹ *Cod. my.*² *Or, To Victory may thy right hand bring our Salvation.*³⁻³ *Perhaps Falsehood and the like.*⁴ *Or by a slight change, And I appeared like a blind man without knowledge.*

they spake truth from the inspiration which the Most High breathed into them; Praise and great comeliness¹ to His name. Hallelujah.

ODE 18. The writer of this Psalm speaks as a prophet, who has known the Divine visitation, and has felt its effect both on mind and body, in the dispelling of error and the healing of disease. He prays for a continuance of the heavenly gift for the sake of the needy people to whom he gives his message. He has evidently been regarded by them as a light and foolish person, whose talk is like the foam on the wave of the sea. But there are others who are inspired like himself, and who mock at the unbelievers for their stupidity and ignorance. We catch the echo of some serious controversy upon religious matters, but the subject of the dispute is unknown. There are no definitely Christian features in the Psalm.

ODE 19.

¹A cup of milk was offered to me: and I drank it in the sweetness of the delight of the Lord. ²The Son is the cup, and He who was milked is the Father: ³and the Holy Spirit milked Him: because His breasts were full, and it was necessary for Him that His milk should be sufficiently released; ⁴and the Holy Spirit opened His² bosom and mingled the milk from the two breasts of the Father; and gave the mixture to the world without their knowing: ⁵and they who receive in its fulness are the ones on the right hand. ⁶[The Spirit]³ opened the womb of the Virgin and she received conception and brought forth; and the Virgin became a Mother with many mercies; ⁷and she travailed and brought forth a Son, without incurring pain; ⁸and because she was not sufficiently prepared⁴, and she had not sought a midwife, (for He brought her to bear), she brought forth, as if she were a man, of her own will; ⁹and she brought Him forth openly, and acquired Him with great dignity, ¹⁰and loved Him in His swaddling clothes⁵, and guarded Him kindly, and showed Him in Majesty. Hallelujah.

ODE 19. Fantastic as this Psalm is, it might at first sight have been discarded as being out of harmony with the lofty spiritual tone of the

¹ Gk. μεγαλοπρέπεια.

² MS. her bosom.

³ Lact. *Div. Instit.* iv. 12; *Epit. Div. Instit.* c. 44. The original Greek was perhaps ἐνεκοιλίσθη (= Aram. ܩܕܝܫܐ).

⁴ perhaps: and because there was not (pain) she was sufficient.

⁵ Reading ~~κλιθιας~~ for κλιθιας.

rest of the collection. But it happens to be attested by Lactantius, and in the MSS. of his *Divine Institutes* we have not only a quotation from the Psalm in regard to the painless delivery of the Blessed Virgin, but we have also the number of the Psalm given, either as 19 or 20. So it was found in the collection known to Lactantius.

The harshness of the opening figure with regard to the bosom of the Father does not necessarily detach it from the rest of the collection; for we have had already allusion to the breasts of God. Thus in Psalm 8, the Lord is represented as saying: 'My own breasts I prepared for them that they might drink my holy milk and live thereby.' The eighth and the nineteenth of our Psalms appear therefore to be connected together by a common authorship. For the figure of the breasts of God in the literature of the early Church we may refer to Clement of Alexandria who, in the *Paedagogus* (*lib.* 1. c. 6, p. 124), has a long discussion of the milk with which Christ's babes are nourished. Our nourishment, he says, is the Divine Word, it is '*the milk of the Father*, by which only the babes are fed.' Through the Word 'we have believed in God, to whose care-allaying breast we have fled.' And again (p. 125) 'to the babes, who seek for the Word, the breasts of the Father's kindness supply the milk' (*τοῖς ζητοῦσι νηπίοις τὸν Λόγον αἱ πατρικαὶ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας θηλαὶ χορηγοῦσι τὸ γάλα*). So Clement comes very near to the figurative language of the Ode, without its crudity of expression. The harshness of the figures employed and the tritheistic character of the theology may be paralleled in writers of the middle ages, whose repute in the Church is very wide. For is it not St Bernard who expounds the Evangelic statement that the beloved disciple leaned on Jesus' breast in the words 'hausit de sinu Unigeniti quod de paterno hauserat ille'? but if John imbibed from the breast of the Only-begotten what He had imbibed in like manner from the Father, we can only say that a very lofty theology is presented in a very harsh metaphor; but we cannot dismiss St Bernard as unworthy of further notice. And if it comes to tritheism, with which all the Christian Ages are more or less discoloured, where shall we find it more pronounced than in John Tauler's great sermon on the coming of the Bridegroom, where God the Father presides over the nuptials of Christ and the Church, and where the Holy Spirit acts as cup-bearer at the feast: a representation which is not so very remote from what we have in our Psalm, when wine has been substituted for milk. But I am afraid the matter is past apologetic. Further than this, we must admit that it is in many ways perplexing: the doctrine seems too highly evolved to allow us to reckon the Psalm to the same period of production as the rest of the book. When the writer speaks of milk from the two breasts of God, he evidently means the two covenants, or testaments. But that exegesis implies that the writer is no Marcionite

rejecting an old covenant in the interests of a new, or else he wishes us to understand that he is no Jew, clinging to an old covenant to the neglect of the new covenant. And he seems to imply that the Christians whom he represents are distinguished from some other body of believers by being on the right hand of Christ. Is it the Jews from whom he wishes to be distinguished or is it the Marcionites? The Ode must be, at the earliest, a product of the second century. It is conceivable that the allusion to the Cup of Milk may cover an early Milk-Eucharist. Wine is nowhere mentioned in the religious language of our Psalter.

Turn in the next place to the account of the Virgin Birth, which follows the parable of the cup of milk, and can almost be detached as a separate composition. It certainly presents the miraculous conception and birth in a form which has already undergone considerable development: that the birth was painless was a very early corollary to the statement that it was supernatural; in the commentary of Ephrem on the Gospel there was a statement that 'it was indecent that she who had been a habitation of the Spirit should bring forth with pains and curses'¹; and this must have been a very early reflection upon the statement of the Virgin Birth. But our writer goes much further than that: he dispenses with the usual aids to child-birth, and introduces details for which we find parallels in the Apocryphal Gospels of the Infancy. And it is frankly impossible that the doctrine of the Miraculous Birth should have become so highly evolved in the first century. So that the doubts raised by the first part of the Psalm are reinforced by a study of its latter half. As far then as this Psalm is concerned, it seems as if we must refer it to a later date than the majority of those which we have been discussing. We detected something like polemical tendency in the first half of the composition, as if the writer turned aside to rebuke either Jews or Marcionites: if we might assume tendency in the latter half, it must be directed against persons who did not believe in the Virgin Birth. Palestine and especially trans-Jordanic Palestine would furnish opponents of all the classes mentioned; so that, if we should be obliged to depress the date to the second century, we have no reason to remove the composition to another locality than that which has already been suggested.

ODE 20.

¹I am a priest of the Lord, and to Him I do priestly service: and to Him I offer the sacrifice of His thought. ²For His thought is not like 'the thought of' the world nor 'the thought of'

¹ J. R. Harris, *Ephrem on the Gospel*, p. 31.

the flesh, nor like them that work carnally. ³The sacrifice of the Lord is righteousness, and purity of heart and lips. ⁴Present your reins before Him blamelessly: and let not thy heart do violence to heart, nor thy soul to soul. ⁵Thou shalt not acquire a stranger by [the price of thy silver¹], neither shalt thou seek to devour thy neighbour², ⁶neither shalt thou deprive him of the covering of his nakedness³: ⁷But put on the grace of the Lord without stint; and come into His Paradise and make thee a garland from its tree, ⁸and put it on thy head and be glad; and recline on His rest, and glory shall go before thee, ⁹and thou shalt receive of His kindness and of His grace; and thou shalt be flourishing⁴ in truth in the praise of His holiness. Praise and honour be to His name. Hallelujah.

ODE 20. This Psalm is a mixture of ethics and of mysticism, of the golden rule and of the tree of life. The writer, whether Jew or Christian, is wholly detached from external ritual; he calls himself a priest of God, but explains that this means the thinking of God's thought, and that the sacrifice he offers is the pure heart and life. He might be an Essene, one of that strange company who did not frequent the temple because they had purer sacrifices of their own. He drops a few ethical maxims, such as we find in the Pentateuch, protests against the owning of slaves (another Essene tenet) and against taking the neighbour's garment in pledge. Then he leaves morals and is away in search of the honey-dew and milk of Paradise. There glory waits the soul that enters into the Divine rest.

It is a beautiful Psalm, but one could not say of it, taken by itself, that it was necessarily Christian; though its affinities are with Psalms that are definitely Christian. For the sacrifices which the good man offers to God we may compare Lactantius, *Div. Instit.* vi. 25 'Donum est integritas animi; sacrificium, laus et hymnus: si enim Deus non videtur, ergo iis rebus coli debet, quae non videntur. Nulla igitur alia religio est vera, nisi quae virtute et justitia constat.'

ODE 21.

¹My arms I lifted up to the Most High, even to the grace of the Lord: because He had cast off my bonds from me: and my Helper had lifted me up to His Grace and to His Salvation: ²and I put off darkness and clothed myself with light, ³and my soul acquired a body⁵ free from sorrow or affliction or pains. ⁴And

¹ I correct the Syriac, which is faulty.

² Cf. Exod. xxii. 24.

³ Exod. xxii. 26.

⁴ *lit. fat.*

⁵ *lit.* there became members to my soul, etc.

increasingly helpful to me was the thought of the Lord, and His fellowship in incorruption: ⁵and I was lifted up in His light; and I served before Him, ⁶and I became near to Him, praising and confessing Him; ⁷my heart ran over and was found in my mouth: and it arose upon my lips; and the exultation of the Lord increased on my face, and His praise likewise. Hallelujah.

ODE 21. This Psalm is short, and somewhat obscure. The reason for this lies in the fact that the writer is assuming a mystical explanation of the 'coats of skin' in the third chapter of Genesis, which are held to represent the ordinary human body which has replaced a body originally clad in light. See Ode 25 where the same idea of the acquisition of a Light-Body, and of its freedom from pain is more definitely expressed. It is impossible to decide definitely from the reading of the Psalm whether it is Christian or Jewish: if he was a Christian, he was a very joyous Christian; if he was a Jew, he knew the salvation of Israel that comes out of Zion, and had the dew of Heaven upon his vineyard.

ODE 22.

¹He who brought me down from on high, also brought me up from the regions below; ²and He who gathers together the things that are betwixt is He also who cast me down: ³He who scattered my enemies and my adversaries: ⁴He who gave me authority over bonds that I might loose them; ⁵He that overthrew by my hands the dragon with seven heads¹: and thou hast set me over his roots that I might destroy his seed. ⁶Thou wast there and didst help me, and in every place thy name was blessed by me. ⁷Thy right hand destroyed his wicked poison; and thy hand levelled the way for those who believe in thee: ⁸and thou didst choose them from the graves and didst separate them from the dead. ⁹Thou didst take dead bones and didst cover them with bodies; ¹⁰they were motionless, and thou didst give [them] energy for life. ¹¹Thy way was without corruption, and thy face brought thy world to corruption: that everything might be dissolved², and then renewed, ¹²and that the foundation for everything might be thy rock³: and on it thou didst build thy Kingdom; and thou wast the dwelling-place of the saints. Hallelujah.

¹ Cf. Apoc. xii. 3: and *Pistis Sophia*: see Introd. pp. 61—63.

² Cf. 2 Pet. iii. 11.

³ Cf. Matt. xvi. 18.

ODE 22. In this Psalm we seem to be nearer to the known Psalter of Solomon than elsewhere. There is a pointed reference to a dragon with seven heads whose seed is to be destroyed, and whose wicked poison has found its antidote in the Divine power. We think at once of the description of Pompey as the great dragon in the second of the published Psalms of Solomon. But dragons generally are difficult to identify. Who, for instance, is the dragon in Ps. lxxiii. (lxxiv.) 14 whose heads are broken? Is it Tiamat the Babylonian cosmic monster or the Leviathan whom the faithful are to eat in the last day, or is it a real person? In Ezekiel xxix. 3 it is Pharaoh of Egypt that is called the great dragon in the midst of the waters, but it might not be so easy to say which Pharaoh: any political monster may be a beast or a dragon: so in the present case we have to hunt around among the fallen gods to find him. There has evidently been a great slaughter of Jews for the writer uses the imagery of the Valley of Dry Bones in Ezekiel, in order to show that God can raise up His people from the gates of death: the ruin of all things becomes the occasion for a new Kingdom founded upon the rock.

The Psalm is one of those which are transferred to the pages of the *Pistis Sophia* where it is recited by Matthew from an Ode of Solomon. It is suggested by Ryle and James that the opening sentences are of a Gnostic character, from the allusion to things above and things below and things between. But the whole tenor of our Psalms is foreign to Gnosticism, and I do not see any reason to introduce it as a factor in the interpretation. If the Psalm is really the expression of some person triumphing over a fallen tyrant, or of Israel personified in such a situation, we have to search the political crises for such a time of trial and recovery. It is not easy to find the solution. The Hadrianic wars are too late, and they were followed by no recovery on the part of the Jews in Palestine. Antiochus Epiphanes is too early, in every respect. The next cases to examine are those of Pompey and Titus. Pompey is already known as the dragon, and the destruction of the dragon is historical. Titus on the other hand is a triumphant dragon without a subsequent collapse: nor does there seem to be in his case a sufficient recovery of Judaism to justify the triumphant language of the Psalm. The statement that God levelled the way for those who believe in Him seems to imply a return from exile, in greater or less degree; but this also is not easy to justify from a historical point of view. We leave the question for the present unsolved, under a general sense that the situation described is one of the many collisions between the Jews and the Roman power. If this is the wrong direction in which to look, we should have to try the *Descensus ad Inferos*.

There is, however, nothing definitely Christian about the Psalm, except that it is found in the company of Christian Psalms. It seems to be a Jewish product, or at least the work of a Judæo-Christian.

ODE 23.

¹Joy is of the saints! and who shall put it on, but they alone? ²Grace is of the elect! and who shall receive it except those who trust in it from the beginning? ³Love is of the elect! And who shall put it on except those who have possessed it from the beginning? ⁴Walk ye in the knowledge of the Most High without grudging: to His exultation and to the perfection of His knowledge. ⁵And His thought was like a letter; His will descended from on high, and it was sent like an arrow which is violently shot from the bow: ⁶and many hands rushed to the letter to seize it and to take and read it: ⁷and it escaped their fingers and they were affrighted at it and at the seal that was upon it. ⁸Because it was not permitted to them to loose its seal: for the power that was over the seal was greater than they. ⁹But those who saw it went after the letter that they might know where it would be loosed, and who should read it and who should hear it. ¹⁰But a wheel received it and came over it: ¹¹and there was with it a sign of the Kingdom and of the Government: ¹²and every thing which tried to move the wheel it mowed and cut down: ¹³and it gathered the multitude of adversaries, and covered the rivers and crossed over and rooted up many forests and made a broad path. ¹⁴The head went down to the feet, for down to the feet ran the wheel, and that which was a sign upon it. ¹⁵The letter was one of command, for there were included¹ in it all districts; ¹⁶and there was seen at its head, the head which was revealed, even the Son of Truth from the Most High Father, ¹⁷and He inherited and took possession of everything. And the thought of the many was brought to nought, ¹⁸and all the apostates hasted and fled away. And those who persecuted and were enraged became extinct.

¹⁹And the letter was a great volume², which was wholly written by the finger of God: ²⁰and the name of the Father was on it, and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, to rule for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

ODE 23. This is the most difficult of all the Psalms in the collection, and I have almost despaired of being able to explain it. It describes the descent from heaven of a sealed document, with a message from

¹ *lit.* gathered.

² *Or* tablet.

God in it. The description is something like that of the little sealed book in the Apocalypse, which no one can open, except the triumphant Lamb¹. If the allusion in the Apocalypse is to some previous document which the author has incorporated, perhaps the same thing may be true here. Some book may have been published, claiming Divine Authority. What can it have been? A Gospel? An Apocalypse? It appeared suddenly, unexpectedly, and met with opposition rather than with universal acceptance. It came from the head and it went down to the feet. If we may use the language of a later Psalm in which the saints in Hades are called the feet of Christ, we should say that the mysterious little book conveyed a message to those below from one above, and that it interpreted the region below to include the invisible world. Was the little book then a 'Descensus ad Inferos'? It is impossible to decide with certainty. It contained some pronounced statement concerning the Trinity, for we are expressly told that it had the name of Father, Son and Holy Ghost upon it. When any one writes in cipher, about a document which itself appears to have been written in cipher, for that is the natural meaning of a sealed book, we ought not to be surprised if it is not quite obvious, two thousand years later, what the writer meant or what he was referring to.

ODE 24.

¹The Dove fluttered over the Messiah, because He was her head; and she sang over Him and her voice was heard: ²and the inhabitants were afraid and the sojourners were moved: ³the birds dropped their wings, and all creeping things died in their holes: and the abysses were opened which had been hidden; and they cried to the Lord like women in travail: ⁴and no food was given to them, because it did not belong to them²; ⁵and they sealed up the abysses with the seal of the Lord. And they perished, in the thought, those that had existed from ancient times; ⁶for they were corrupt from the beginning; and the end of their corruption was life³: ⁷and every one of them that was imperfect perished: for it was not possible to give them a word that they might remain: ⁸and the Lord destroyed the imaginations of all them that had not the truth with them. ⁹For they who in their hearts were lifted up were deficient in wisdom, and so they were rejected, because

¹ Another parallel would be the letter sent from the home-land in Bardesanes' *Hymn of the Soul* in the Acts of Thomas.

² Or perhaps, Because that which was non-existent belonged to them.

³ Or, was the life of all; and whatever of them, etc.

the truth was not with them. ¹⁰For the Lord disclosed His way, and spread abroad His grace: and those who understood it, know His holiness. Hallelujah.

ODE 24. The Psalm opens with a reference to the Baptism of the Lord, when the Holy Spirit descended in the form of a Dove on the head of the Messiah. The occasion was one of great dread to all created things, man and beast and creeping things shared the terror. The abysses, personified as living creatures, cried out in pain. They were sealed up and ended, as belonging to the order of non-existent things. Men also whose hearts were proud were rejected, when the way of the Lord was revealed and His holiness known.

In this Psalm with its reference to the abysses, and the things which are not and are brought to nought, we seem to be nearer to the world of Gnostic ideas: but it would be difficult to say that any of the catch-words or peculiar terms of Gnosticism are here. If we are right in referring the Psalm to the Baptism of the Lord, we are only furnishing one more proof of the extraordinary prominence given to that event in the early Church, for which it was the beginning of the Gospel: and we need not be surprised that the event should be treated in many ways, both theological and hymnological.

If it is not the Baptism that is alluded to, it must be the Crucifixion, and in that case we must assume an unknown incident connected with the Crucifixion, comparable with the appearance of the Dove at the Baptism. In that case the plaint of the abysses is another allusion to the descent into Hades.

But there is a special reason why I feel sure that the Baptism must be the incident to which reference is made: I think we can say that a written Gospel has here been employed, but not a Canonical Gospel. It will be remembered that Justin Martyr in his *Dialogue with Trypho*, c. 88, takes his account of the Baptism from a source which is either uncanonical: or, if canonical, is interpolated. When Jesus went down into the water, a fire was kindled in the Jordan, and when He came up from the water, the Holy Spirit, like a dove, *fluttered upon Him* (ἐπιπτήναι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς περιστερὰν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα): and Justin says expressly that this was recorded by the Apostles of our Christ (ἔγραψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ τούτου τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡμῶν). This 'fluttering down' of the dove is very near indeed to the language of our Ode.

It is well-known that the account of the Baptism by Justin has been the centre of serious controversy, on account of the apocryphal expansions of the narrative, especially the reference to the Fire which appeared at the Jordan: and it has been argued, reasonably enough, that Justin cannot have used our Canonical Gospels, or at least must have used an uncanonical Gospel with them. The same difficulty turns

up in the descent of the Dove, for the word *ἐπιπτῆναι*, which recurs in Justin, must come from the written source which the author is using. A reference to Resch, *Aussercanonische Parallele zu Luc.* p. 15, will show the wide diffusion of the account from which Justin is working¹. The word *ἐπιπτῆναι* can be traced in Celsus and in Origen and in the seventh book of Sibyllines, as well as in a number of Latin authors. The inference, therefore, is that a very early written Gospel is responsible for the detail: and it is this early Gospel that has been employed by the writer of the Ode. We conclude, then, that the reference is to the Baptism and that it is taken from a lost primitive Gospel.

There is, however, a possible suggestion that the Psalm may refer to the Descent into Hades, and to the Baptism, as events happening in close connexion. I mean that it is not out of the region of reasonable criticism to suggest that in the earliest times the Baptism of Christ was the occasion of His triumph over Hades. We find suspicious hints of this in the *Descensus ad Inferos*. Thus in c. xx² we have a statement made by Seth concerning his father Adam that he will receive the oil of healing from Paradise in the last days: 'veniet enim amantissimus dei filius de caelis in mundum, et baptizabitur a Johanne in Jordane flumine, et *tunc* recipiet pater tuus Adam de hoc oleo misericordiae et omnes credentes in eum.'

And in c. xxi we find Jesus talking to John the Baptist concerning his Descent into Hades: 'Ego Johannes vocem patris de caelo super eum intonantem audivi et proclamantem, Hic est filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacuit. *Ego ab eo responsum accepi quia ipse descensurus esset ad inferos.*'

Here are two curious references connecting the Baptism and the Descent into Hades. And the question arises whether this 24th Ode may not look in the same direction. The evidence is, of course, inadequate, but the statement of the case may perhaps lead to the discovery of fresh evidence in the same direction.

ODE 25.

¹I was rescued from my bonds and unto thee, my God, I fled: ²for thou art the right hand of my Salvation and my helper. ³Thou hast restrained those that rise up against me, ⁴and I shall see him no more: because thy face was with me, which saved me by thy grace. ⁵But I was despised and rejected in the eyes of many: and I was in their eyes like lead³,

¹ See Introd. pp. 84, 85.

² Tischendorf, *Ev. Apoc.* p. 425.

³ Cf. *Sap. Sol.* ii. 16 *εις κίβδηλον ελογισθημεν αὐτῷ.*

⁶and strength was mine from thyself and help. ⁷Thou didst set me a lamp¹ at my right hand and at my left: and in me there shall be nothing that is not bright²: ⁸and I was clothed with the covering of thy Spirit, and thou didst remove from me my raiment of skin³; ⁹for thy right hand lifted me up and removed sickness from me: ¹⁰and I became mighty in the truth, and holy by thy righteousness; and all my adversaries were afraid of me; ¹¹and I became admirable by the name of the Lord, and was justified by His gentleness, and His rest is for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

ODE 25. In this Psalm we are back again in the region of personal experience, and there is no allusion to any definite historical event. The writer, whether Christian or Jew, has been brought out of spiritual bondage into liberty: he has had to face contempt and scorn, but the Lord has filled him with brightness and covered him with beauty, and given him health of mind and body: his enemies have turned back, and his portion is with the justified saints of the Most High. It is possible that this Psalm may be meant to express the experience of the Messiah, emerging from His conflicts into victory: in that case it need not be the Christian conception of the Messiah, but it might conceivably be such a human representation as we find in the Psalms of the Pharisees (*e.g.* Ps. 17, which is our Ps. 60). But our collection, as to its first block of Psalms, is certainly of a later period than the Pharisee Psalms, so we ought to hesitate before ascribing the same Messianic ideas to the two parts of the hymnal. For the allusion to the 'coat of skin,' see *Introd.* pp. 66—70, and cf. *Ode* 21.

ODE 26.

¹I poured out praise to the Lord, for I am His: ²and I will speak His holy song, for my heart is with Him. ³For His harp is in my hands, and the Odes of His rest shall not be silent. ⁴I will cry unto Him from my whole heart: I will praise and exalt Him with all my members. ⁵For from the east and even to the west is His praise: ⁶and from the south and even to the north is the confession of Him: ⁷and from the top of the hills to their utmost bound is His perfection. ⁸Who can write the Psalms of the Lord, or who read them? ⁹or who can train his

¹ Ps. cxxxii. 17.

² *lit.* light.

³ Cp. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 6, p. 117 τῆς κακίας ἐκδυσάμενοι τὸν χιτῶνα and Gen. iii. 21.

soul for life, that his soul may be saved,¹⁰ or who can rest on the Most High, so that with his mouth he may speak? ¹¹Who is able to interpret the wonders of the Lord? ¹²For he who could interpret would be dissolved and would become that which is interpreted¹. ¹³For it suffices to know and to rest²: for in rest the singers stand, ¹⁴like a river which has an abundant fountain, and flows to the help of them that seek it³. Hallelujah.

ODE 26. This beautiful song of praise recounts the goodness and greatness of the Lord. All within the writer magnifies the great Name, but all within is insufficient to tell out what waits to be told. His praise is widespread to the utmost bound of earth and beyond the bound of the everlasting hills. The creature cannot express God's praise perfectly; if he could, he would be no longer a creature: he would be the Word, and not the interpreter of the Word. So it suffices to know and to rest, while at our feet the river of grace rolls on, an unchanging flood:

Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis aevum.

It is impossible to say whether the Psalm, as detached from the rest of the collection, is Jewish or Christian.

ODE 27.

¹I stretched out my hands and sanctified the Lord: ²for the extension of my hands is His sign: ³and my expansion is the upright tree (*or* cross).

ODE 27. This tiny Psalm is Christian, and is based upon the early Christian fondness for finding the Cross everywhere in the outward world: in the handle of the labourer's plough, in the mast and yards of the seaman's ship; and in the human body, when the man stands erect in the act of prayer with outstretched arms. There can, therefore, be no doubt that this is a Christian Psalm, and the figurative language which it employs is characteristic of the second century and not unknown in the first century. Justin Martyr, for example, sees the

¹ Cf. Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* praef.: 'there would be no difference between God and man, if human thought could reach to the counsels and arrangements of that eternal Majesty.'

² Cf. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 6 (p. 115) ὥστε ἡ μὲν γνώσις ἐν τῷ φωτισματι· τὸ δὲ πέρας τῆς γνώσεως, ἡ ἀνάπανσις.

³ Cf. Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* iv. 30 'Si quis aquam vitae cupiat haurire, non ad detritos lacus deferatur, qui non habent venam, sed uberrimum Dei noverit fontem, quo irrigatus perenni luce potiatur.'

Cross, in the outspread arms of Moses in the battle against Amalek; but so does Barnabas also: and the same thought is involved in the conclusion of the Teaching of the Apostles, where an outspread cross in the sky is one of the signs of the Advent and answers to the Sign of the Son of Man in Matthew. So it is very likely that the figure in our Psalm is one of the oldest forms of Christian symbolic teaching. We shall find it used again in the 42nd Psalm which may, therefore, be by the same hand as the present one: otherwise it would be an imitation of it.

Those who care to have a Gnostic example of the use of this widespread Christian figure, will find one in Schmidt, *Unbekanntes altgnostisches Werk* (l.c. p. 336): "Die Haare seines Gesichtes sind die Zahl der äusseren Welten, und die Ausbreitung seiner Hände ist die Offenbarung des Kreuzes."

ODE 28.

¹As the wings of doves over their nestlings; and the mouth of their nestlings towards their mouths, ²so also are the wings of the Spirit over my heart: ³my heart is delighted and exults: like the babe who exults¹ in the womb of his mother²: ⁴I believed; therefore I was at rest; for faithful is He in whom I have believed: ⁵He has richly blessed me and my head is with Him: and the sword shall not divide me from Him, nor the scimitar; ⁶for I am ready before destruction comes: and I have been set on His immortal³ pinions: ⁷and immortal life will come forth and give me to drink, and from that life is the spirit within me, and it cannot die, for it lives. ⁸They who saw me marvelled at me, because I was persecuted, and they supposed that I was swallowed up: for I seemed to them as one of the lost; ⁹and my oppression became my salvation; and I was their reprobation because there was no zeal in me⁴; ¹⁰because I did good to every man I was hated, ¹¹and they came round me like mad dogs⁵, who ignorantly attack their masters, ¹²for their thought is corrupt and their understanding perverted. ¹³But I was carrying water in my right hand⁶, and their bitterness I endured by my sweetness; ¹⁴and I did not perish, for I was not their brother nor was my birth like theirs, ¹⁵and they sought for my

¹ Or, leaps.

² Cf. Luke i. 41.

³ lit. pinions without corruption.

⁴ perhaps because I was not a Zealot.

⁵ Ps. xxii. 16.

⁶ query "that I might put out their flame."

death and did not find it : for I was older than the memorial of them ; ¹⁶and vainly did they make attack upon me¹ and those who, without reward, came after me² : ¹⁷they sought to destroy the memorial of him who was before them : ¹⁸for the thought of the Most High cannot be anticipated : and His heart is superior to all wisdom. Hallelujah.

ODE 28. This exquisite Psalm has the music in it of the 'Quis separabit?' of Romans viii. Nor sword nor scimitar divide the believer from the Lord. In some respects the Psalm appears to be Messianic in a Christian sense, for the writer concludes his exulting strain over enemies who had come round him like mad dogs and had left him for dead, with the remark that it was not possible for them to blot out the memory of one who existed before them, and who was of a different birth from theirs. He also speaks of their attacks as having been directed against his followers as well as himself. Perhaps, then, the writer is speaking, in these verses, as if in the person of Christ.

ODE 29.

¹The Lord is my hope : in Him I shall not be confounded. ²For according to His praise He made me, and according to His goodness He gave unto me : ³and according to His mercies He exalted me : and according to His excellent beauty He set me on high : ⁴and brought me up out of the depths of Sheol : and from the mouth of death He drew me : ⁵and I laid my enemies low, and He justified me by His grace. ⁶For I believed in the Lord's Messiah³ : and it appeared to me that He is the Lord ; ⁷and He showed him⁴ His sign : and He led me by His light, and gave me the rod of His power ; ⁸that I might subdue the imaginations of the peoples ; and the power of the men of might to bring them low : ⁹to make war by His word, and to take victory by His power. ¹⁰And the Lord overthrew my enemy by His word ; and he became like the stubble which the wind carries away ; ¹¹and I gave praise to the Most High because He exalted 'me' His servant and the son of His handmaid. Hallelujah.

ODE 29. Some one wrote this Psalm, who was a follower of the Christ and had recognised Him to be the Lord. Out of great conflicts

¹ *the margin suggests, slaughtering me.*

² *Or, who came after me. To no purpose they sought, etc.*

³ *Or, Christ.*

⁴ *query me?*

he had been brought into the place of victory: his enemies had become like the straw before the wind: he has passed through deep distresses, which he speaks of figuratively as the pains of Sheol and the gates of death. But for the reference to the Lordship of the Messiah and to faith in Him, we might have imagined this Psalm to belong to the ancient Psalter: we shall be justified in regarding it as a Judaeo-Christian composition.

ODE 30.

¹Fill ye waters for yourselves from the living fountain of the Lord, for it is opened to you: ²and come all ye thirsty, and take the draught; and rest by the fountain of the Lord. ³For fair it is and pure and gives rest to the soul. Much more pleasant are its waters than honey; ⁴and the honeycomb of bees is not to be compared with it. ⁵For it flows forth from the lips of the Lord, and from the heart of the Lord is its name. ⁶And it came infinitely and invisibly: and until it was set¹ in the midst they did not know it: ⁷blessed are they who have drunk therefrom and have found rest thereby. Hallelujah.

ODE 30. The Psalm is an invitation to the thirsty, somewhat in the manner of Isaiah lv. The water of life, which here is explained to be the teaching of the Lord, is flowing from an open fountain, whose waters, to use the language of the 19th Psalm in the canonical Psalter, are 'sweeter than honey and the honeycomb.' The Ode is not so far removed from Old Testament thought and expression that we can positively call it a Christian composition. The writer is fond of the similitude of honey and the honeycomb: we find it, for instance, again in our fortieth Ode, where we have it for the opening similitude:

'Like the honey that drops from the comb of the bees.....so is my hope on thee, O God.'

But this Psalm, also, appears, at first sight, to be destitute of specific Christian colouring.

The fountain, however, whose waters come without limit, and invisibly, corresponds to the unexpected appearance of Christ and Christ's teaching in the world, when there stood in the midst One whom they knew not.

ODE 31.

¹The abysses were dissolved before the Lord: and darkness was destroyed by His appearance: ²error went astray and

¹ *lil.* given.

perished at His hand: and folly gave no path to walk in, and was submerged by the truth of the Lord. ³He opened His mouth and spake grace and joy: and He spake a new song of praise to His name: ⁴and He lifted up His voice to the Most High, and offered to Him the sons that were with Him¹. ⁵And His face was justified, for thus His holy Father had given to Him. ⁶Come forth, ye that have been afflicted and receive joy, and possess your souls by His grace; and take to you immortal life. ⁷And they made me a debtor when I rose up, me who had not been a debtor²: and they divided my spoil, though nothing was due to them. ⁸But I endured and held my peace and was silent³, as if not moved by them. ⁹But I stood unshaken like a firm rock which is beaten by the waves and endures. ¹⁰And I bore their bitterness for humility's sake: ¹¹in order that I might redeem my people, and inherit it, and that I might not make void my promises to the fathers⁴, to whom I promised the salvation of their seed. Hallelujah.

ODE 31. The Psalm is Messianic, and records how the Christ fulfilled the promises which, in a pre-existent state, He had made to the fathers. He has closed the abysses and banished error and vanity. With a new song in His mouth, He appears before God with the children whom God has given Him. His similitude is the rock against which the waves had beaten in vain. It stands firm, whether the waves advance or retire. Here Christian speech comes near to the language of the Stoics. One thinks of Marcus Aurelius, and his advice to 'be like the promontory against which the waves continually break, but it stands firm and tames the fury of the water around it⁵.' One thinks also of Ignatius, and his advice 'to stand steady like the beaten anvil⁷.' For the opening sentences about the destroying of the abysses, we must compare the language of the 24th Psalm of our collection, where the abysses cry out in pain at the time of the Baptism of the Lord. These Psalms are by the same Christian hand.

ODE 32.

¹To the blessed there is joy from their hearts, and light from Him that dwells in them: ²and words from the Truth, who was

¹ *lit.* in His hands. Cf. Is. viii. 18; Heb. ii. 13.

² 2 Cor. v. 21.

³ 1 Pet. ii. 23.

⁴ Rom. xv. 8; Luke i. 55.

⁵ *Medi.* iv. 49.

⁶ *ad Polyc.* 3.

self-originate¹: for He is strengthened by the holy power of the Most High: and He is unperturbed for ever and ever. Hallelujah.

ODE 32. Joy, Light, Inspiration, Strength and Calmness belong to the believer through Him that dwells within.

ODE 33.

¹Again Grace ran and forsook corruption, and came down in Him to bring it to nought; ²and He destroyed perdition from before Him, and devastated all its order; ³and He stood on a lofty summit² and uttered His voice from one end of the earth to the other: ⁴and drew to Him all those who obeyed Him; and there did not appear as it were an evil person, ⁵but there arose a perfect virgin³ who was proclaiming and calling and saying, ⁶O ye sons of men⁴, return ye, and ye daughters of men, live ye: ⁷and forsake the ways of that corruption and draw near unto me, and I will enter in to you, and will bring you forth from perdition, ⁸and make you wise in the ways of truth: you shall not be destroyed nor perish: ⁹hear ye me and be redeemed. For the grace of God I am telling among you: and by my means you shall be redeemed and become blessed. ¹⁰I am your judge; and they who have put me on shall not be injured: but they shall possess the new world that is incorrupt: ¹¹my chosen ones walk in me, and my ways I will make known to them that seek me, and I will make them trust in my name. Hallelujah.

ODE 33. Apparently this Psalm is Messianic, though Christ is not named. He must be the one that rises from the dead and sends forth his triumphant voice to the ends of the earth. A virgin also stands and proclaims, who must be either the Divine Wisdom (the language is very like that of the eighth chapter of Proverbs) or the Church⁵. She promises salvation by Divine Grace and immortality in a new world to those that walk in her ways.

¹ Glk. *αὐτοφυής*, as in the oracular reply to the enquiry as to the Divine Nature, *αὐτοφυής, ἀδίδακτος, ἀμήτωρ, ἀστυφέλικτος*. See Lact. *De Div. Inst.* i. 7.

² Prov. viii. 2.

³ Prov. viii. 1.

⁴ Prov. viii. 4.

⁵ Cf. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 6 (p. 123) *μία δὲ μόνη γίνεται μήτηρ Παρθένος*. 'Ἐκκλησιαν ἐμοὶ φίλον αὐτὴν καλεῖν. See also *Intro.* p. 77.

ODE 34.

¹No way is hard where there is a simple heart. ²Nor is there any wound where the thoughts are upright: ³nor is there any storm in the depth of the illuminated thought: ⁴where one is surrounded by every beautiful place, there is nothing that is divided, the likeness of what is below: ⁵He is the one that is above; for everything is above: what is below is nothing but the imagination of those that are without knowledge. ⁶Grace has been revealed for your salvation. Believe and live and be saved. Hallelujah.

ODE 34. All the hard things are easy, where the soul itself is right: no storms invade the hidden place of communion with God. Evil itself becomes unreal, and that which is beneath exists not before that which is above.

ODE 35.

¹The dew of the Lord in quietness He distilled upon me: ²and the cloud of peace He caused to rise over my head, which guarded me continually; ³it was to me for salvation: everything was shaken and they were affrighted; ⁴and there came forth from them a smoke and a judgment; and I was keeping quiet in the order of the Lord: ⁵more than shelter was He to me, and more than foundation. ⁶And I was carried like a child by his mother: and He gave me milk, the dew of the Lord: ⁷and I grew great by His bounty, and rested in His perfection, ⁸and I spread out my hands in the lifting up of my soul: and I was made right with the Most High, and I was redeemed with Him. Hallelujah.

ODE 35. The dew lies on the branch of the man that sings this Psalm: Divine Peace guards him like a sheltering cloud. The Lord is his sure defence in the day of evil. Mother's arms are his place and mother's milk his portion. 'No cradled child more softly lies than I: Come soon, eternity.'

ODE 36.

¹I rested on the Spirit of the Lord: and 'the Spirit' raised me on high: ²and made me stand on my feet in the height of the Lord, before His perfection and His glory, while I was

praising "Him" by the composition of His songs. ³"The Spirit" brought me forth before the face of the Lord: and, although a son of man, I was named the Illuminate, the Son of God: ⁴while I praised amongst the praising ones, and great was I amongst the mighty ones. ⁵For according to the greatness of the Most High, so He made me: and like His own newness He renewed me; and He anointed me from His own perfection: ⁶and I became one of His neighbours; and my mouth was opened, like a cloud of dew; ⁷and my heart poured out as it were a gushing stream of righteousness, ⁸and my access "to Him"¹ was in peace; and I was established by the spirit of His government. Hallelujah.

ODE 36. This is a perplexing Psalm, from a theological point of view. It is almost impossible to determine whether the Psalmist is speaking in his own name, or in that of the Messiah; or whether it is an alternation of one with the other. It seems almost a necessity, when the Holy Spirit is spoken of as a Mother, that the offspring should be the Son of God: and that such was the theology of certain early believers we know from the fragment of the Ebionite Gospel, in which Christ speaks of being taken by the hair of His head by His mother, the Holy Spirit, and carried to Mount Tabor. If this be the right interpretation, then the Illuminated Son of God is Christ. But the latter part of the Psalm seems to be in too low a strain for this interpretation: to be one of those who are near to God is certainly not orthodox theology, though it may conceivably be Adoptionist: and the heart that pours out righteousness and makes its offering in peace seems rather to be the language that describes one of the pious in Israel.

ODE 37.

¹I stretched out my hands to my Lord: and to the Most High I raised my voice: ²and I spake with the lips of my heart; and He heard me, when my voice reached Him²: ³His answer came to me, and gave me the fruits of my labours; ⁴and it gave me rest by the Grace of the Lord. Hallelujah.

ODE 37. A colourless Psalm, something like one of the shorter and more elementary Psalms of the Hebrew Psalter. The writer has cried to God: his prayer has been heard: his heart has appealed, and an answer has come. His work has been followed by Divine blessing.

¹ Or perhaps, my offering.

² *lit.* fell to Him.

ODE 38.

¹I went up to the light of truth as if into a chariot: ²and the Truth took me and led me: and carried me across pits and gulleys; and from the rocks and the waves it preserved me: ³and it became to me an instrument of Salvation: and set me on the arms of immortal life: ⁴and it went with me and made me rest, and suffered me not to wander, because it was the Truth; ⁵and I ran no risk, because I walked with Him; ⁶and I did not make an error in anything because I obeyed the Truth. ⁷For Error flees away from it, and meets it not: but the Truth proceeds in the right path, and ⁸whatever I did not know, it made clear to me, all the poisons of error, and the plagues which announce the fear of death: ⁹and I saw the destroyer of destruction, when the bride who is corrupted is adorned; and the bridegroom who corrupts and is corrupted; ¹⁰and I asked the Truth, 'Who are these?'; and He said to me, This is the deceiver and the error: ¹¹and they are ² Joh. 7. alike in the beloved and in his bride: and they lead astray and corrupt the 'whole' world: ¹²and they invite many to the banquet, ¹³and give them to drink of the wine of their intoxication, and remove¹ their wisdom and knowledge, and 'so they'¹ make them without intelligence; ¹⁴and then they leave them; and then these go about like madmen corrupting: seeing that they are without heart, nor do they seek for it. ¹⁵And I was made wise so as not to fall into the hands of the Deceiver; and I rejoiced in myself because the Truth went with me, ¹⁶and I was established and lived and was redeemed, ¹⁷and my foundations were laid on the hand of the Lord: because He established me. ¹⁸For He set the root and watered it and fixed it and blessed it; and its fruits are for ever. ¹⁹It struck deep and sprung up and spread out, and was full and enlarged; ²⁰and the Lord alone was glorified in His planting and in His husbandry: by His care and by the blessing of His lips, ²¹by the beautiful planting of His right-hand²: and by the discovery of His planting, and by the thought of His mind. Hallelujah.

ODE 38. The Psalm opens with a beautiful description of the power of the truth over those that surrender to it. Truth becomes to them guidance in all difficult and rough and dangerous places. But

¹ *lit.* they vomit up.

² Is. lx. 21.

the Psalm is not merely a Psalm of the Truth, it is a Psalm concerning Truth and Error. They appear to stand like Christ and Antichrist. We are tempted to believe that the writer had at one time been brought face to face with some special outbreak of erroneous teaching, one of the many Antichrists of the first century. There are some things which suggest Simon Magus and his Helena, who went about to mislead the faithful. It is, however, useless to try and define the situation more closely. Whatever form the attractions of Truth and Error took to the Psalmist, he tells us that he escaped the Circean blandishments, and sailed past the Sirens. His foundations were in the holy mountain; his growth was in God and of God. God planted, God watered, God gave the increase. The Father was the husbandman.

ODE 39.

¹Great rivers are the power of the Lord¹: ²and they carry headlong those who despise Him: and entangle their paths: ³and they sweep away their fords, and catch their bodies and destroy their lives. ⁴For they are more swift than lightning and more rapid, and those who cross them in faith are not moved; ⁵and those who walk on them without blemish shall not be afraid. ⁶For the sign in them is the Lord; and the sign is the way of those who cross in the name of the Lord: ⁷put on, therefore, the name of the Most High, and know Him: and you shall cross without danger, for the rivers will be subject to you. ⁸The Lord has bridged them by His word; and He walked and crossed them on foot²: ⁹and His footsteps stand "firm" on the water, and are not injured; they are as firm as a tree that is truly set up. ¹⁰And the waves were lifted up on this side and on that, but the footsteps of our Lord Messiah stand firm and are not obliterated and are not defaced. ¹¹And a way has been appointed for those who cross after Him and for those who perfect the course of faith in Him and worship His name.³ Hallelujah.

ODE 39. When I first read this Psalm I thought that we had another historical landmark, in the allusion to some great accident connected with the sudden rise of one of the great Oriental rivers. But upon reflection, I have come to the conclusion that the writer is speaking of disasters generally, under the natural figure of a rising and

¹ Isaiah xliiii. 2.

² Matt. xiv. 25.

³ Cf. Matt. xiv. 28.

rushing river. In such times of flood the unbelievers find no footing and are swept away: believers on the other hand walk the waters like their Lord and with their Lord. Perhaps there is a reference to Isaiah xliii. 2, 'When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee.' The same promise appears to be quoted in Psalms of Solomon vi. 5, 'When he passeth through rivers, yea, through the surge of the sea, he is not affrighted.' Their feet stand firm where His feet had stood unmoved. Here the background of the teaching is the account of our Lord's walking on the sea of Galilee. The reference is valuable¹, for we have hardly any other allusion to events recorded in the Gospel, beyond the Birth, Baptism and Crucifixion, to which we have already referred. The paucity of parallels to the New Testament in the new Psalter should be one of the strongest reasons for believing that, as regards the major part of the collection, we are dealing with very early material.

ODE 40.

¹As the honey distils from the comb of the bees, ²and the milk flows from the woman that loves her children²; ³so also is my hope on Thee, my God. ⁴As the fountain gushes out its water, ⁵so my heart gushes out the praise of the Lord and my lips utter praise to Him, and my tongue His psalms. ⁶And my face exults with His gladness, and my spirit exults in His love, and my soul shines in Him: ⁷and reverence confides in Him; and redemption in Him stands assured: ⁸and His abundance is immortal life, and those who participate in it are incorrupt. Hallelujah.

ODE 40. An exquisite Psalm from what St Bernard would call the 'anima sitiens Deum.' Praise flows out of his life and from his lips as honey drops from the comb or milk from the breast. God's gladness makes his face without to shine, and his soul within to be radiant. If mortality is not quite swallowed up of life, it is irradiated by it. There is assurance of faith and the confident hope of immortality.

ODE 41.

¹All the Lord's children will praise Him, and will collect the truth of His faith. ²And His children shall be known to Him.

¹ Moreover, if Peter's walking on the sea is involved in the reference of the Odist, it is not Mark's gospel that is being quoted, nor any of the canonical four except Matthew.

² Cf. Clem. Alex. *Paed.* i. 6 (p. 119) *φιλοστόργους πηγάζουσα μαστοῖς.*

Therefore we will sing in His love : ³we live in the Lord by His grace : and life we receive in His Messiah : ⁴for a great day has shined upon us : and marvellous is He who has given us of His glory. ⁵Let us, therefore, all of us unite together in the name of the Lord, and let us honour Him in His goodness, ⁶and let our faces shine in His light : and let our hearts meditate in His love by night and by day. ⁷Let us exult with the joy of the Lord. ⁸All those will be astonished that see me. For from another race am I : ⁹for the Father of truth remembered me : He who possessed me from the beginning : ¹⁰for His bounty begat me, and the thought of His heart : ¹¹and His Word is with us in all our way ; ¹²the Saviour who makes alive and does not reject our souls : ¹³the man who was humbled, and exalted by His own righteousness, ¹⁴the Son of the Most High appeared in the perfection of His father ; ¹⁵and light dawned from the Word that was beforetime in Him ; ¹⁶the Messiah is truly one¹ ; and He was known before the foundation of the world, ¹⁷that He might save souls for ever by the truth of His name : a new song ^{arises} from those who love Him. Hallelujah.

ODE 41. This Psalm, again, is Messianic, but certainly not in the prophetic sense. The writer knows that the Son of God is come. The glorious day of which prophets spoke has dawned : the dayspring from on high has become the noontide glory. Christ who was humbled is now exalted ; the Word, who existed before the foundation of the world, has appeared. The language finds its nearest parallel in the Johannine theology.

It is not, at first sight, quite clear what the writer means by being sprung from another race². Is it that he is of Gentile origin and persuaded to dwell in the tents of Shem ? That would agree well with the general Palestinian origin of the Psalms. In that case he has become sufficiently Hebraized to sing Zion's songs in a Zionite manner : and to praise God night and day, where a Gentile would naturally have done it by day and night.

ODE 42.

¹I stretched out my hands and approached my Lord : ²for the stretching of my hands is His sign : ³my expansion is the outspread tree which was set up on the way of the Righteous One. ⁴And I³ became of no account to those who did not

¹ Cf. Ign. *ad Magn.* γ εἰς ἔστω Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.

² But see *Introd.* pp. 65, 66.

³ Christ speaks.

take hold of me ; and I shall be with those who love me. ⁵All my persecutors are dead ; and they sought after me who supposed that I was alive : ⁶and I rose up and am with them ; and I will speak by their mouths. ⁷For they have despised those who persecuted them ; ⁸and I lifted up over them the yoke of my love ; ⁹like the arm of the bridegroom over the bride, ¹⁰so was my yoke¹ over those that know me : ¹¹and as the couch that is spread in the house of the ²bridegroom and bride², ¹²so is my love over those that believe in me. ¹³And I was not rejected though I was reckoned to be so. ¹⁴I did not perish, though they devised 'it' against me. ¹⁵Sheol saw me and was made miserable : ¹⁶death cast me up and many along with me. ¹⁷I³ had gall and bitterness⁴, and I went down with him to the utmost of his depth : ¹⁸and the feet and the head he let go, for they were not able to endure my face : ¹⁹and I made a congregation of living men amongst his dead men, and I spake with them by living lips : ²⁰because my word shall not be void : ²¹and those who had died ran towards me : and they cried and said, Son of God, have pity on us, and do with us according to thy kindness, ²²and bring us out from the bonds of darkness : and open to us the door by which we shall come out to thee. ²³For we see that our death has not touched thee. ²⁴Let us also be redeemed with thee : for thou art our Redeemer. ²⁵And I heard their voice ; and my name was heard over their heads : ²⁶for they are free men and they are mine. Hallelujah.

ODE 42. This Psalm concludes the collection of Odes ascribed to Solomon : what follows is the extant book of Solomonic Psalms. The collection up to the present point is marked in each case with a final Hallelujah. The remaining Psalms, with one accidental exception, are not marked this way. So we may add the editorial remark at the end of this Psalm, that 'the Odes of Solomon, the Son of David, are ended.'

The concluding Psalm is Christian and Messianic : its main theme is the descent of Christ into Hades in order to liberate the imprisoned souls of the fathers : and it should be read along with the extant apocryphal books that deal with this subject.

¹ Matt. xi. 29.

²⁻² *lit.* bridegrooms.

³ *Cod.* He.

⁴ Cf. *Descensus ad Inferos* 4 'They crucified him, and gave him gall and vinegar to drink. Be ready, therefore, to hold him firmly when he cometh.'

Almost the whole of the Psalm is *ex ore Christi*: the writer begins, as in the short 29th Ode, with the statement that his lifted hands make the figure of the Cross of the Righteous One. But he soon diverges into the harrowing of hell. The imprisoned souls cry out for release to Him over whom death, which binds them, has no power. A congregation of saints is gathered in the place of the dead. They become Christ's free men. Incidentally an expression is used of their relation to the Lord which appears to be employed elsewhere: they are called, not the members, but the feet of the Lord. Hades disgorges both the head and the feet: the head is, of course, Christ; and the feet are the saints of old time¹.

The Psalm is too highly evolved, in its imaginary treatment of the Descent into Hell, to be reckoned as belonging to the same period as the main body of the collection. Still it cannot be very much later, for its mystical language is in close agreement with many of the most beautiful of the Psalms before us: and the union of Christ with the Church, under the figure of the Bridegroom and the Bride, is expressed with great beauty. Incidentally the textual critic will find something suggestive for his New Testament apparatus. The writer speaks of 'the couch that is spread in the house of the bridegrooms,' marking the plural by dots in the usual Syriac manner: it is evident that he means 'in the house of the bridegroom and the bride.' Perhaps, then, the curious Western reading of Matt. xxv. 1, 'went out to meet the bridegroom and the bride,' may be due to a more accurate interpretation of an Aramaic original than what we find in the received and edited texts.

¹ Cf. Ode 23.

PSALM 43 = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 1.

¹I cried unto the Lord, when I was in affliction at my end; and to God when sinners set upon me: ²for suddenly there was heard before me the sound of war: for He will hear me, because I am filled with righteousness: ³and I reckoned in my heart that I was filled with righteousness: in the day that I became rich and was with the multitude of my children. ⁴Their wealth, however, has been given to the whole earth: and their glory as far as the ends of the earth. ⁵They were lifted up as high as the stars: and they said, ⁶speaking without knowledge.... ⁷For their sins were in secret, and I knew them not: ⁸and their wickedness exceeded that of the nations that had been before them: and they defiled the sanctuary of the Lord with pollution.

PSALM 44 = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 2.

¹In the insolence of the sinful man, he cast down with battering rams¹ the strong walls and thou didst not restrain him. ²And the Gentile foreigners went up on thy altar, and were trampling on it with their shoes in their insolence. ³For the children of Jerusalem had polluted the Holy House of the Lord: and they were profaning the offerings ²to God² with wickedness. ⁴Wherefore He said, Remove them, cast them away from me. ⁵And He did not establish with them the beauty of His glory: it was rejected before the Lord: and they were utterly torn in pieces. ⁶Her sons and her daughters were in bitter captivity: and on their neck was put the sealed yoke of the Gentiles: ⁷according to their sins, so He dealt with them: for He suffered them to pass into the hand of him that was stronger than they: ⁸for He turned away His face from His mercy: young men and old men

¹ *lit.* great beams.

²⁻² *lit.* of God.

and their children together : ⁹because they also had worked evil together, that they might not hearken unto me : ¹⁰and the heaven was mightily angered, and the earth rejected them : ¹¹because none in the earth had done therein like their doings : ¹²and that the earth may know all thy righteous judgments, O God. ¹³They set up the sons of Jerusalem for mockery within her, in the place of harlots ; and every one that transgressed¹, was transgressing as if before the sun : while they made sport in their villainies. ¹⁴For as they were used to do, in the face of the sun they made a show of their villainies. And the daughters of Jerusalem were polluted according to thy judgments ¹⁵for they had polluted themselves in lustful intercourse. My belly and my bowels are pained over these things. ¹⁶But I will justify thee, O Lord, in the uprightness of my heart ; because in thy judgments is thy righteousness, O God. ¹⁷For thou dost reward sinful men according to their deeds : and according to their wicked and bitter sins. ¹⁸Thou didst disclose their sins, in order that Thy judgment might be known : ¹⁹and Thou didst blot out their remembrance from the earth. God is a judge and righteous, and accepteth no man's person. ²⁰For the Gentiles reproached Jerusalem, in their wickedness, and her beauty was cut off from the throne of His² glory. ²¹And she was covered with sackcloth instead of beauteous raiment : and there was a rope on her head instead of a crown. ²²She cast off from her the dazzling³ glory which God had put upon her : ²³and in contempt her beauty was cast away on the ground. ²⁴And I beheld and I besought the face of the Lord, and I said : Enough ! Thou hast made thy hand heavy, O Lord, upon Israel, by the bringing in of the Gentiles : ²⁵for they have mocked and not pitied, in anger ; ²⁶and in reproach they are consumed, unless thou, O Lord, shalt restrain them in thy wrath. ²⁷For it was not in zeal that they did [this], but in the lust of the soul : ²⁸that they might pour out their wrath upon us in plundering us. But thou, O Lord, delay not to recompense them upon their own heads : ²⁹to cast down the pride of the dragon to contempt. ³⁰And I delayed not until the Lord showed me his insolence smitten on the mountains of Egypt : and despised more than him that is least on land and on sea : ³¹and his body coming on the waves in much contempt, and none to bury

¹ Or, passed by.

² Gk. her.

³ Gk. her diadem of glory.

him'. ³²Because He had rejected him with scorn. For he did not consider that he is a man. And his end shall not be esteemed. ³³For he said ; I will be lord of land and sea : and he knew not that the Lord is God, great and mighty and powerful, ³⁴and He is King over Heaven and over Earth : and He judges kingdoms and princes, ³⁵He who raiseth me up in glory and layeth low¹ the proud in contempt, not temporal but eternal ; because they knew Him 'not'.

³⁶And now, behold, ye great ones of the earth, the judgment of the Lord, for He is a righteous King, and judges what is under the whole heaven. ³⁷Bless ye the Lord, ye who fear the Lord reverently : for the mercies of the Lord are on them that fear Him with judgment, ³⁸to separate between the righteous and the sinful, and to reward the sinful for ever according to their deeds : ³⁹and to be gracious to the righteous after their oppression by sinners : and to reward the sinful for what he has done that is right : ⁴⁰because the Lord is kind to those that call upon Him in patience, to do according to His mercy to His saints : to cause them to stand before Him at all times in strength. ⁴¹Blessed is the Lord for ever by His servants.

PSALM 45 = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 3.

¹Why sleepest thou, my soul, and dost not bless the Lord ?
²Sing a new song to God and keep vigil in His watch. For a psalm is good 'to sing' to God out of a good heart. ³The righteous will ever make mention of the Lord : in confession and in righteousness are the judgments of the Lord. ⁴The righteous will never neglect², when he is chastened by the Lord : because his will is always before the Lord. ⁵The righteous stumbles and justifies God : he falls and I wait³ what the Lord will do to him. And he looks to see from whence his salvation comes. ⁶The stability of the righteous is from God their Saviour : for in the house of the righteous there does not lodge sin upon sin : ⁷because He always visits the house of the righteous to remove the sins of his transgressions. ⁸And He delivers his soul, in whatever he has sinned without knowledge, by fasting and by humiliation : and the Lord purifies every holy man and his house.

¹ Gk. κοιμίζων and so Syr.

² =Gk. ὀλιγωρήσει: cf. Prov. iii. 11; Heb. xii. 5.

³ Read, 'and he waits.'

⁹But the sinner stumbleth and curseth his own life, and the day in which he was born : and the birth-pangs of his mother ; ¹⁰and he adds sin upon sin to his life : he falls, and because his fall is grievous, he rises not again : ¹¹for the destruction of the sinner is for ever : and He will not remember him when He visits the righteous : ¹²this is the portion of sinners for ever. But those who fear the Lord shall rise to eternal life : and their life shall be in the light of the Lord, and he will not fail any more. [Hallelujah¹.]

PSALM 46 (47) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 4.

¹Why sittest thou, O wicked man, in the congregation of the righteous: and thy heart is far removed from God ; and by thy wickedness thou provokest to anger the God of Israel, ²exceedingly by thy words, and exceedingly by thy 'outward' signs, more than all men ? He who is severe in his words in his condemnation of sinners in judgment, ³and his hand is the first to be on him, as though 'he acted' in zeal : and he is guilty himself of all kinds of sinful crimes : ⁴his eyes are upon every woman immodestly : and his tongue lies when he answers with oaths. ⁵In the night and in the darkness, as if he were not seen by the eyes of man, he talketh with every woman in the cunning of wickedness : ⁶and he is quick to go into every house with joy, as if he had no wickedness. ⁷God shall remove those who judge with respect of persons : but He lives with the upright, in the corruption of his body and in the poverty of his life. ⁸God will disclose the deeds of those who are men-pleasers : in scorn and derision are his works : ⁹and let the saints justify the judgment of their God, when the wicked shall be removed from before the righteous : ¹⁰the accepter of persons who talks law with guile, ¹¹and his eyes are on a house, quietly like a serpent, to dispel the wisdom of each one by words of villainy : ¹²his words are with an evil intent, with a view to the working of the lust of the wicked : ¹³and he does not remove until he has scattered in bereavement, and has desolated the house because of his sinful lust. ¹⁴And he supposes in his words that there is none that sees and judges : ¹⁵and he is filled with this sinfulness ; and his

¹ This is an addition by the scribe, under the influence of the Odes of Solomon, which he has been copying.

eyes are on another house to devastate it with words of prodigality: and his soul is, like Sheol, never satisfied. ¹⁶For all these things, let [his portion¹], O Lord, be before thee in dishonour; let his going out be with groans and his coming in with curses: ¹⁷in pains, and in poverty and in destitution, O Lord, let his life be: let his sleep be in anguish and his waking in vexation: ¹⁸let sleep be removed from his eyelids by night: let him fall from every work of his hands in dishonour; ¹⁹and let him enter his house empty-handed: and let his house be destitute of everything that can satisfy his soul: ²⁰and from his offspring let not one draw near unto him: ²¹let the flesh of the hypocrites be scattered by wild beasts; and the bones of the wicked be before the sun in dishonour: ²²let the ravens pick out the eyes of those who are men-pleasers: ²³because they have laid waste many houses of men in dishonour: and have scattered them in lust: ²⁴and they remembered not God; nor feared God in all these things; ²⁵and they provoked God, and he was angered to destroy them from the earth; because with crafty intent they had played the hypocrite with innocent souls. ²⁶Blessed are they that fear the Lord in their innocency: ²⁷and the Lord will save them from all the cunning and wicked men². ²⁸May God destroy all them that work fraud with pride³: for a strong judge is the Lord our God in righteousness; ²⁹let thy mercy, O Lord, be upon all them that love thee.

PSALM 47 (48) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 5.

¹O Lord my God, I will praise thy name with exultation, amongst those that know thy righteous judgments. ²For thou art gracious and merciful, and the place of refuge of the poor. ³When I cry unto thee, be not thou silent unto me. ⁴For one does not take spoil from the strong man: ⁵or who shall take ought from what thou hast made, unless thou give it him? ⁶Because he is man, and his portion is before thee in the balance: and he shall not add ought to better it apart from thy judgment, O God. ⁷In our afflictions we call thee to our help: and thou hast not turned away our petition: for thou art our God. ⁸Delay not thou thy hand from us: lest we be strengthened

¹ Syr. let him.

² Gk. ἀπὸ παντὸς σκανδάλου παρανόμου.

³ *lit.* excess.

to sin: ⁹and turn not away thy face from us, lest we remove away from thee: but to thee we will come: ¹⁰for if I should be hungry, O Lord, unto thee will I cry, O God: and thou wilt bestow. ¹¹For the fowl and the fish thou dost feed. When thou givest rain in the desert to cause the grass to spring up, ¹²to prepare food in the wilderness for every living thing, and if they shall be hungry, unto thee will they lift up their faces: ¹³kings and rulers and peoples thou dost provide for, O God: and the hope of the poor and the miserable, who is it except thyself, O Lord: ¹⁴and thou wilt answer him, because thou art kind and gentle: and thou wilt satisfy his soul by opening thy hand in mercy. ¹⁵For the kindness of a man is with parsimony; to-day and to-morrow; and if it should be that he repeats his gift and does not grumble, 'well!' that is a wonder! ¹⁶But thy bounty is plenteous in kindness and in wealth; and there is no expectation towards thee that He will be sparing in gifts¹. ¹⁷For over all the earth is thy mercy, O Lord, in kindness. ¹⁸Blessed is the man whom the Lord shall remember in poverty: for that a man should exceed his measure means that he will sin. ¹⁹Sufficient is a low estate with righteousness²: ²⁰for those that fear the Lord are pleased with good things: and thy grace is on Israel in thy Kingdom: ²¹blessed be the glory of the Lord, for He is our King.

PSALM 48 (49) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 6.

¹Blessed is the man whose heart is prepared to call upon the name of the Lord: ²and when he shall remember the name of the Lord, he will be saved. ³His ways are directed from before the Lord: and the works of his hands are preserved by his God: ⁴and 'in' the evil vision of the night his soul shall not be moved, because he is His: ⁵and his soul shall not be affrighted in the passing through the rivers, and in the tumult of the seas. ⁶For he rose from his sleep and praised the name of the Lord, ⁷and in the quiet of his heart he sang psalms to the name of the Lord: and he made request from the face of the Lord concerning all his house: ⁸and the Lord hears the prayer of every

¹ The Gk. οὐ ἔστιν ἐπὶ σε has been misread as οὐ ἔστιν κτέ.

² The Syriac has omitted a sentence of the Greek by a common transcriptional error. Add 'and herein is the blessing of the Lord that a man be satisfied in righteousness'.

one that is in his fear, and every petition of the soul that trusts in him; and the Lord fulfils it. ⁹Blessed is he who doeth mercy upon them that love Him in truth.

PSALM 50 (49) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 7.

¹Remove not thy tabernacle from us, O Lord, lest those rise up against us who hate us without a cause: ²for thou hast put them away, O God, that their foot may not tread the inheritance of thy sanctuary. ³Thou in thy good pleasure chasten me and deliver us not over to the Gentiles. ⁴For if thou shouldest send death, it is thou who givest it command against us; ⁵for thou art the Merciful One, and wilt not be angry so as to consume us utterly. ⁶For because of thy Name that encamps amongst us, mercies shall be upon us: and the Gentiles shall not be able to prevail against us, ⁷for thou art our strength: and we will call upon thee and thou wilt answer us: ⁸for thou wilt be gracious to the seed of Israel, for ever, and thou wilt not forget him¹: ⁹thou wilt establish us in the time of thy help, to show favour to the house of Jacob, in the day that is prepared for them.

PSALM 51 (50) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 8.

¹Distress and the sound of war mine ears have heard, the sound of the trumpet, and the noise of slaughter and destruction: ²the sound of much people like a mighty and frequent wind: like the tempest of fire which comes over the wilderness. ³And I said to my heart: where will he judge him? ⁴I heard a sound in Jerusalem, the Holy City; ⁵the bonds of my loins were loosed at the report²: and my knees trembled, ⁶and my bones were moved like flax. ⁷And I said, They will make straight their paths in righteousness and I remembered the judgments of the Lord, from the creation of the heaven and the earth: and I justified God in all His judgments from the beginning³. ⁸But God laid bare their sins before the sun: and to all the earth was made known the righteous judgments of the Lord. ⁹For in

¹ The Syriac has dropped the sentence: 'and we are under thy yoke for ever, and under the scourge of thy chastening.'

² Gk. *aads*: and my heart was afraid.

³ *lit.* from eternity.

secret places of the earth were they doing evil; ¹⁰the son had connexion with the mother and the father with the daughter: ¹¹and all of them committed adultery with their neighbours' wives: and they made solemn covenants amongst themselves concerning these things: ¹²they were plundering the House of God's Holiness, as if there was none to inherit and to deliver. ¹³And they were treading His sanctuary in all their pollutions, and in the time¹ of their separation they polluted the sacrifices, as common meat: ¹⁴and they left no sins which they did not commit, and even worse than the Gentiles. ¹⁵For this cause God mingled for them a spirit of error, and caused them to drink a living cup for drunkenness: ¹⁶He brought him from the other side of the world, the one that afflicts grievously: ¹⁷and he decrees war against Jerusalem and against her land: ¹⁸and the judges of the land met him with joy: and they said to him: thy path shall be ordered, come, enter in peace. ¹⁹They levelled the lofty paths² for his entering: they opened the doors against Jerusalem: and they crowned the walls. ²⁰And he entered like a father into the house of his children, in peace: and he set his feet ³there in great firmness: ²¹and they took possession of the towers and the walls of Jerusalem. ²²For God brought him in assurance against their error: ²³and they destroyed their princes because he was cunning in counsel: and they poured out the blood of the dwellers in Jerusalem like the water of uncleanness: ²⁴and he carried off their sons and daughters, who had been ⁴born in pollution, ²⁵and had wrought their pollution even as also their fathers had done. ²⁶And Jerusalem defiled even those things that were consecrated to the name of God: ²⁷and God was justified in His judgments upon the nations of the earth, ²⁸and the saints of God were as innocent lambs in their midst. ²⁹God is to be praised who judges all the earth in His righteousness. ³⁰Behold, O God, thou hast shown us ⁵thy judgments in thy righteousness, ³¹and our eyes have seen thy judgments, O God: and we have justified thy name that is honoured for ever.

³²For thou art a God of righteousness: who judgest Israel with chastening. ³³Turn thy mercy towards us and be gracious to us: ³⁴and gather the dispersion of Israel, in mercy

¹ *lit.* blood.

² *lit.* paths of elevation.

³ Cod. om.

and in kindness: ³⁵for thy faithfulness is with us: and we are stiff-necked, and thou art our chastener: ³⁶do not desert us, O our God! lest the Gentiles should swallow us up, as though there were none to deliver: ³⁷and thou art our God from the beginning, and upon thee is our hope, O Lord: ³⁸and we will not depart from thee, for thy judgments are good; ³⁹upon us and upon our children is thy good will for ever, O Lord God, our Saviour, and we shall not be shaken again, for ever. ⁴⁰The Lord is to be praised for His judgments by the mouth of His saints: and blessed is Israel from the Lord for evermore.

PSALM 52 (51) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 9.

¹When Israel went forth into captivity to a strange land, because they departed from the Lord their Saviour: ²then were they cast out from the inheritance that God gave them: amongst all the Gentiles was the dispersion of Israel, according to the word of God, ³that thou mightest be justified, O God, in thy righteousness over our wickedness: ⁴for thou art a just Judge over all the peoples of the earth. ⁵For there will not be hidden from thy knowledge any one who doeth wickedness: ⁶and the righteousnesses of thy upright ones, O Lord, are before thee. And where shall a man be hidden from thy knowledge, O God? ⁷For we work by free-will and the choice of our own souls to do either good or evil by the work of our hands: ⁸and in thy righteousnesses thou dost visit the children of men. ⁹For he who does righteousness lays up a treasure of life with the Lord: and he who does wickedness incurs judgment upon his soul in perdition.

¹⁰For His judgments are in righteousness upon every man and his house. ¹¹For with whom wilt thou deal graciously, O God, unless with them that call upon the Lord? ¹²For he purifies the sins of the soul by confession, ¹³because shame is on us and our faces because of all these things. ¹⁴For to whom will He remit sins except to those that have sinned? ¹⁵For the righteous thou dost bless, and dost not reprove them for any of their sins; for thy grace is on those that have sinned when they have repented. ¹⁶And, now, thou art our God: and we are thy people whom thou hast loved: behold and have mercy, O God of Israel; for thine are we: remove not thy compassions

from us, lest the Gentiles should set upon us: ¹⁷for thou hast chosen the seed of Abraham rather than all the Gentiles, ¹⁸and thou hast put on us thy Name, O Lord: and thou wilt not remove for ever. ¹⁹Thou didst surely covenant with our fathers concerning us: and we hope in thee, in the repentance of our souls. ²⁰The mercies over the house of Israel are of the Lord, now and evermore.

PSALM 53 (52) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 10.

¹Blessed is the man whom God remembers with reproof: and He has restrained him from the way of evil by stripes: so as to be purified from his sin, that he may not abound ¹therein¹. ²For he who prepares his loins for beating shall also be purified: for He is good to those that receive His chastening. ³For the way of the righteous is straight, and His chastisement does not turn it aside. ⁴For the face¹ of the Lord is upon them that love Him in truth, and the Lord will remember His servants in mercy. ⁵For the testimony is in the law of the everlasting covenant: the testimony of the Lord is in the ways of the children of men, by ¹His¹ visitations. ⁶Righteous and upright is our God in all His judgments: and Israel will praise the name of the Lord with joy. ⁷And the saints shall give thanks in the congregation of the people: and on the poor the Lord will have mercy, in the gladness of Israel. ⁸For God is kind and merciful for ever: and the congregations of Israel shall praise the name of the Lord: ⁹for of the Lord is the salvation upon the house of Israel, unto the everlasting kingdom².

PSALM 54 (53) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 11.

¹Blow ye ¹the trumpet¹ in Zion, the certain trumpet of the saints: ²proclaim in Jerusalem the voice of the heralds, because God is merciful to Israel in His visitation. ³Stand up on high³, Jerusalem, and behold thy children, who are all being gathered from the East and the West by the Lord: ⁴and from the North they come to the joy of their God: and from the far-away islands God gathereth them. ⁵Lofty mountains has He humbled

¹ Gk. mercy (ἐλεος).

² Gk. gladness, εὐφροσύνην.

³ Baruch c. 5, 5—8.

and made plain before them; and the hills fled away before their entrance: ⁶the cedar¹ gave shelter to them as they passed by: and every tree of sweet odour God made to breathe² upon them: ⁷in order that Israel might pass by in the visitation of the glory of their God. ⁸O Jerusalem, put on the garments of thy glory; and make ready thy robe of holiness. For God speaks good things to Israel, now and ever. ⁹May the Lord do what He hath spoken concerning Israel: and concerning Jerusalem: may the Lord raise up Israel in the name of His glory. May the mercies of the Lord be upon Israel, now and evermore.

PSALM 55 (54) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 12.

¹O Lord, save my soul from the perverse and wicked man and from the whispering and transgressing tongue, that speaks lies and deceit. ²For in the response of his words is the tongue of the transgressor³: for he shows like one whose deeds are fair, and kindles fire among the people. ³For his sojourning is to fill⁴ (set fire to) houses by his lying talk: for the trees of his delight he will cut down with the flame ⁵of his tongue⁵ that does lawlessly. He has destroyed the houses of the transgressors by war: ⁴and the slandering⁶ lips God has removed from the innocent, the lips of transgressors: and the bones of the slanderer shall be scattered far from those who fear the Lord. ⁵By flaming fire He will destroy the slanderous tongue from among the upright, and their houses. ⁶And the Lord shall preserve the soul of the righteous who hateth them that are evil: And the Lord shall establish the man that makes peace in the house of the Lord. ⁷Of the Lord is salvation upon Israel His servant for ever: and the sinners shall perish together from before the face of the Lord: and the saints of the Lord shall inherit the promises of the Lord.

PSALM 56 (55) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 13.

¹The right hand of the Lord has covered us: the right hand of the Lord has spared us: ²and the arm of the Lord has saved

¹ Gk. *οι δρυμοί*, the groves.

² Gk. *ἀνέτειλεν*, caused to rise.

³ The Greek of this passage is obscure.

⁴ The translator read *ἐμπλήσαι* for *ἐμπρήσαι*.

⁵⁻⁵ Cod. om.

⁶ *litt.* whispering.

me from the spear that goes through and from famine and the pestilence of sinners. ³Evil beasts ran upon them: and with their teeth were tearing their flesh; and with their jaw-teeth were breaking their bones. But us the Lord has delivered from all these things. ⁴But the wicked man was troubled on account of his transgression: lest he should be broken along with the evil men. ⁵Because dread is the fall of the wicked: but to the righteous not one of these things shall be reckoned. ⁶For one cannot compare the chastening of the righteous who have 'sinned' ignorantly with the overthrow of evil men who sin 'knowingly'. ⁷For the righteous is chastened¹ so that the sinner will not exult over him. ⁸For the righteous will inherit Him as His beloved son²; and his chastening is like that of the first-born: ⁹for the Righteous One will spare His saints, and their transgressions He will blot out by His chastisement. For the life of the righteous is for ever. ¹⁰But sinners shall be cast into perdition: and their memorial shall no more be found. ¹¹But upon the saints shall be the mercy of the Lord. He will cherish all them that fear Him.

PSALM 57 (56) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 14.

¹The Lord is faithful to them that love Him in truth: even to them that abide His chastening: to them who walk in righteousness in His commandments: He has given us the Law for our life: ²and the saints of the Lord shall live thereby for ever. The Paradise of the Lord, the trees of life, are His saints: ³and the planting of them is sure for ever; nor shall they be rooted up all the days of the heaven. For the portion of the Lord and His inheritance is Israel. ⁴Not so are the sinners and evil men, those who have loved a day in the participation of sin: for in the brevity of wickedness is their lust; ⁵and they did not remember God; that the ways of the children of men are open before Him continually: and the secrets³ of the heart He knoweth before they come to pass: ⁶therefore their inheritance is Sheol, and Perdition and Darkness: and in the day of mercy upon the righteous they shall not be found. ⁷For the saints of the Lord shall inherit life in delight.

¹⁻¹ Or perhaps: For the righteous is chastened secretly. (See Ryle and James, ad loc.)

² Corr. 'He will cause the righteous to inherit Him.'

³ *lit.* secret places.

PSALM 58 (57) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 15.

¹In my affliction I called on the name of the Lord, and for my help I called on the God of Jacob: and I was delivered, because thou, O God, art the hope and the refuge of the poor. ²For who that is strong will praise thee in truth? and what is the strength of a man, except that he should praise thy name? ³A new song with the voice in the delight of the heart: the fruit of the lips with the instrument attuned to the tongue: the firstfruit of the lips from a heart that is holy and just. ⁴He that doeth these things shall never be moved by evil: the flame of fire and the anger of sinners shall not touch them, ⁵when it goeth forth against the sinners from before the Most High to root up all the roots of sinners: ⁶because the sign of the Lord is upon the righteous for their salvation: ⁷death and the spear and famine shall remove from the righteous; for they shall flee from them, as death flees from life: ⁸but they shall pursue after the wicked and catch them: and those who do evil shall not escape from the judgment of the Lord: ⁹for they will get before them like skilled warriors: for the sign of destruction is upon their faces. ¹⁰And the inheritance of sinners is Perdition and Darkness: and their iniquity shall pursue them down to the lower hell. ¹¹And their inheritance shall not be found by their children: for their sins shall lay waste the houses of sinners: ¹²and sinners shall perish for ever in the day of the Lord's judgment: when God visits the earth with His judgment. ¹³And upon those who fear the Lord there shall be mercy therein; and they shall live in the compassion of our God: and sinners shall perish unto eternity¹.

PSALM 59 (58) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 16.

¹When my soul declined a little from the Lord, I had almost been in the lapses of the sleep of destruction; and when I was far away from the Lord, ²my soul had almost been poured out to death, hard by the gates of Sheol along with the sinners: ³and when my soul declined from the God of Israel, unless the Lord had helped me by His mercy which is for ever—! ⁴He

¹ *lit.* the time of eternity.

pricked me, like the spur of the horseman, according to His watchfulness: my Saviour and Helper at all times is He: He saved me: ⁵I will praise thee, O God, because thou hast helped me with thy salvation: and hast not reckoned me with sinners for destruction. ⁶Withdraw not thy mercy from me, O God: and let not the remembrance of thee remove from my heart until I die: ⁷save me, O Lord, from the wicked sinful woman, and from every wicked woman who sets traps for the simple: ⁸and let not the beauty of a wicked woman lead me astray, nor any sin that is, ⁹and establish the work of my hands before thee: and preserve my walk in the remembrance of thee. ¹⁰My tongue and my lips in words of truth do thou establish: anger and unreasonable passion do thou remove from me: ¹¹grumbling and little-mindedness in affliction do thou remove from me: for if I shall sin when thou hast chastened me, it is for repentance: ¹²but by thy good-will establish my soul: and when thou shalt strengthen my soul, whatever has been given shall be sufficient for me: ¹³for if thou strengthenest me not, who can endure thy chastening in poverty? ¹⁴for a soul shall be reprovèd in his flesh and by the affliction of poverty: ¹⁵and when a righteous man shall endure these things, mercy shall be upon him from the Lord.

PSALM 60 (59) = PSALMS OF SOLOMON 17.

¹O Lord, thou art our King, now and for ever: for in thee, O God, our soul shall glory. ²And what is the life of man upon the earth? for according to his time, so also is his hope. ³But we hope on God our Saviour: for the stronghold of our God is for ever according to mercy: ⁴And the Kingdom of our God is over the Gentiles for ever with judgment. ⁵Thou, O Lord, didst choose David for king over Israel: and thou didst swear to him concerning his seed, that their kingdom should not be removed from before thee. ⁶But for our sins sinners rose up against us: and they set upon us, and removed me far away: they to whom thou gavest no command have taken by violence, ⁷and have not glorified thy honourable name with praises: and they have set up a kingdom instead of that which was their pride. ⁸They laid waste the throne of David, in exultation of their change¹. But thou wilt overthrow them, and wilt remove their

¹ reading ἀλλάγματος.

seed from the earth: even ⁹when there shall rise up against them a man that was a stranger to our race. ¹⁰According to their sins, thou wilt reward them, O God: and it shall befall them according to their works. ¹¹And thou wilt not have mercy upon them, O God. Command their seed, and do not leave a single one of them. ¹²The Lord is faithful in all His judgments which He has done upon the earth. ¹³The wicked man¹ has devastated our land, so that there is none to dwell therein. They have destroyed both young and old and their children together. ¹⁴In the splendour of his wrath he sent them away to the West, and the princes of the land to mockery without sparing. ¹⁵In his foreign way the enemy exults, and his heart is alien from our God. ¹⁶And Jerusalem did all things² according as the Gentiles did in their cities to their gods. ¹⁷And the children of the covenant took hold of them in the midst of the mingled Gentiles: and there was none amongst them that did mercy and truth in Jerusalem. ¹⁸They that love the assemblies of the saints fled away from them: and they flew like sparrows who fly from their nests: ¹⁹and they were wandering in the wilderness, in order to save their soul from evil: and precious in their eyes was the sojourning with them of any soul that was saved from them. ²⁰Over all the earth they were scattered by the wicked. Therefore were the heavens restrained that they should not send down rain upon the earth, ²¹and the everlasting fountains were restrained, both the abysses, and from the lofty mountains: because there was none among them who did righteousness and judgment; from their ruler to the lowest of them they were sinning in everything. ²²The king was in transgression, and the judge in wrath, and the people in sin. ²³Behold, O Lord, and raise up to them their king, the Son of David, according to the time which thou seest, O God: and let Him reign over Israel thy servant, ²⁴and strengthen Him with power that He may humble the sinful rulers: ²⁵and may purify Jerusalem from the Gentiles who trample her down to destruction, ²⁶so as to destroy the wicked from my inheritance: and to break their pride like a potter's vessel: to break with a rod of iron all their firmness: ²⁷to destroy the sinful Gentiles with the word of His mouth: at His rebuke the Gentiles shall flee from before His face: and to confute sinners by the word of their

¹ Gk. *ἀνομος*, not *ἀνεμος*.

² Gk. = *ὅσα ἐποίησεν Ἱερουσαλήμ*.

heart : ²⁸that He may gather together a holy people that shall exult in righteousness : and may judge the tribes of the people whom the Lord His God sanctified : ²⁹and He shall not any more suffer sin to lodge amongst them ; and no more shall dwell amongst them the man that knoweth evil. ³⁰For He knoweth them that they are all the children of God, and He shall divide them according to their tribes upon the earth : ³¹and the sojourner and the foreigner shall not dwell with them : for He will judge the Gentiles and the peoples in the wisdom of His righteousness : ³²and He shall possess a people from among the Gentiles : and they shall serve Him under His yoke : and they shall praise the Lord openly over all the earth : ³³and He shall purify Jerusalem in holiness, as it was of old time : ³⁴that the Gentiles may come from the ends of the earth to behold His glory : bringing her sons with them as an honourable gift ; those who were scattered from her, ³⁵and to see the glory of the Lord wherewith He hath glorified her : and He the righteous king, taught of God, is over them : ³⁶and there is no wicked person in His days amongst them, because they are all righteous, and their king is the Lord Messiah : ³⁷for He will not trust on horsemen nor on chariot ; nor on the bow : nor shall He multiply to himself gold and silver for war : nor shall He rely on a multitude in the day of war : ³⁸for the Lord —.

(Caetera desunt.)

ERRATA

- p. א, l. 6 for $\leftarrow madi$ read $\leftarrow mdi$
- p. א, l. 8 for $\leftarrow iro$ read $\leftarrow iro$
- p. ב, l. 3 from end, for $\leftarrow iix$ read $\leftarrow iix$
- p. ג, l. 4 for $\leftarrow hta$ read $\leftarrow hta$
- p. ד, l. 6 for $\leftarrow mif$ read $\leftarrow mif$
- p. ט. Add to note ^a: 'which seems to answer to $\leftarrow iix$ '
- p. ט, l. 1 for $\leftarrow hta$ read $\leftarrow hta$

ἡνὶ κτίσαντες αὐτοὺς . . . θεοὶ ἐν ἡμῶν ἰσχυροὶ²⁶
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Caetera desunt

^t Gk. ὑπόστασιν. Cf. Ps. xv. 7.

^u vid. sup. Ps. xvi. 14.

^v Gk. οὐ ἀφηγήσεται.

^x The translator read ʿēti as ʾōti.

^y Gk. λαοὺς ἐθνῶν.

^{z-z} The Gk. is φέροντες δῶρα τοὺς ἐξησθηγκότας υἱοὺς αὐτῆς. The Syriac seems to render a Gk. ἐξωσθέντας, which is a better reading, though perhaps it may be a conjecture.

רלו כסו אל כחיקי ונעילו . כחילי כחצו אש
 אר , יבא אבא . כחילי כחצו כחילי¹⁵ . כחילי
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^k The translator read ἐποίησεν [- ἐν] Ἱερουσαλήμ and omits ὄσα.

¹ Reading τοῖς θεοῖς or τοὺς θεοὺς with J LH for which Gebhardt conjectured τοῦ θένους.

^m This agrees with Gebhardt's reading οὐκ ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁ ποιῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ ἔλεος καὶ ἀλήθειαν. The Gk. MSS. vary between ὁ ποιῶν ἐν μέσῳ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐν and ὁ ποιῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐν μέσῳ. May it not, however, be the case that the Syr. אש¹ stands for ἐν μέσῳ ἐν αὐτοῖς? For אש¹ the MS. has אש¹ (?).

ⁿ The translator has referred ἐπλανῶντο to the sparrows.

^o For παροικίας ψυχὴ the translator read παροικία ψυχῆς. Cf. note ⁱ on previous page.

^p Gk. ἐν ἀπειθείᾳ.

^q Gk. εἶδες (JL). Gebhardt conjectures εἴλου.

^r = Gk. καθαρῖσαι.

^s Gk. adds ἐν σοφίᾳ, ἐν δικαιοσύνη: probably by an eye-error to v. 31.

אֲנִי־בְּחַיָּה ^g . כְּשֶׁבַח , יְבִיחַ , כְּחֵסֶד . כְּחֵסֶד־הַיְיָ . כְּחֵסֶד־הַיְיָ
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^g Gk. adds *ἐν ἀπορίᾳ*. ^h Gk. omits. ⁱ Gk. *ἡσύχιον*. ^k Gk. omits.

PSALM 13 (= Ps. 56).

אֲנִי־בְּחַיָּה ² . כְּשֶׁבַח כְּחֵסֶד־הַיְיָ . כְּחֵסֶד־הַיְיָ . כְּחֵסֶד־הַיְיָ . כְּחֵסֶד־הַיְיָ
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^a i.e. Gk. *ἀσεβής* as in Codd. and not *εὐσεβής* as Wellhausen conjectured.
^b Perhaps for *יָבוֹשׁ* (= Gk. *συμπαρηλημφθῆ*). ^c Cod. *יָבוֹשׁ*
^d = Gk. *ἐν περιστολή?* ^e Syr. begins verse here. ^f Gk. *νουθετήσει*.
^g Gk. *ὁ κύριος*.

αικ εια κθισωϊ κθιτω γρο . ασωκκτ σθισωκ
 κθι κθισωϊ⁶ . σωκ λσασ γασ κωϊ κτω⁵ . κωκ
 λσασ . σσσ ριζι τσ ασωκκ λλ κτω⁷ . σωκκω γρο
 λλσ . κωκκ σωκ^d κωκκ κωκκ κωκκ
 ασωκκτ σθισωκκθι κωκκωκ . λκτωκ ικωκ
 κλκωκ κωκκ . σθισωκκθι κωκκω κλκτωκ κωκκ⁸
 κωκ⁹ λκτωκ κθιτω λλσ κωκκτ λλσ . σθισωκκ
 λσ . λκτωκ λ λλστ ρωκ κωκ ικωκ⁹ . κωκκ
 σθισωκκθι κωκκω . λκτωκ κωκκ κωκκ . κλκτωκ
 . κωκκ κωκ^f λκτωκ λ κωκκτ , κωκκωϊ

^c Gk. οἱ δρῦμοι.

^d Gk. ἀνέτειλεν, (= Syr. σωκ?).

^{e-e} Gk. εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι = Heb. ַנְּוּ דְּלַגְּל ut supra.

^{f-f} Gk. as in note ^{e-e}.

PSALM 12 (= Ps. 55).

γρο . κλκωκ κωκκω κωκκ γρο κωκκ κωκκ¹
 . κλκωκ κθισωκκ λλστ . κωκκω ικωκ . κωκκωκ κωκκ
 . κωκκω ικωκ κωκκτ κωκκ , κωκκωκ . κλκωκτ κωκκ κωκκωκ²
 . κωκκω κωκκω κωκκω . κωκκ ικωκτ σθω κωκκτ κωκκω
 κωκ^c . κλκωκ κωκκωκ κθω κλκωκ^b κωκκ κωκκωκ³
 κθω κωκκω^{e4} . κωκκωκ ικωκτ κωκκωκ^d κωκκωκτ κωκκωκ
 σωκκ . κθισωκκω κθισωκκω^f . κωκκω κωκκω λ . κωκκω

^a The Syriac translator has had difficulty, as every one else, with this passage: but it seems clear that he had a text very near to the Gk. ὡσπερ ἐν λαφῷ πῦρ ἀνάπτον καλλόνην αὐτοῦ. It seems natural to correct this to ὡσπερ ἐν αἴλῳ πῦρ ἀνάπτον καλάμην with the Copenhagen MS. But the Syr. is clear for λαφῷ, and it suggests καλλόνην αὐτοῦ by the clause which it prefixes (κωκκω).

^b i.e. ἐμπλήσαι (H) for ἐμπρήσαι (RJLC).

^c Gk. ἐκκόψαι.

^{d-d} Gk. ἐν φλογὶ παρανόμου?

^e Gk. συγγέαι.

^f Cod. κθισωκω

PSALM 10 (= Ps. 53).

,מַלְאָכָא^b .כְּחַיִּימַרְאָא^a כְּמִלְכַּא מִיַּדְיָתָא קִיבְלַד ,מַעֲבָדⁱ
 רַבִּי מִחַיִּימַרְאָא בְּרַחֲמֵי יְהוָה .כִּי־יִצְחַק .כְּחַיִּימַרְאָא כְּמִלְכַּא בְּרַחֲמֵי
 .כְּמִלְכַּא אֶל כִּי־יִצְחַק מִיַּד מִחַיִּימַרְאָא יְהוָה אֱמִן² .כְּחַיִּימַרְאָא
 יְהוָה ,כִּי־יִצְחַק³ .כְּחַיִּימַרְאָא מִלְכַּא מִלְכַּא^e יְהוָה אֱמִן אֶל
 מִחַיִּימַרְאָא^d .מִחַיִּימַרְאָא מִלְכַּא מִלְכַּא מִלְכַּא .כְּמִלְכַּא מִיַּדְיָתָא
 יַדְיָתָא .כִּי־יִצְחַק מִלְכַּא מִלְכַּא אֱמִן אֶל כְּמִלְכַּא יְהוָה
 כְּמִלְכַּא יְהוָה כְּחַיִּימַרְאָא⁵ .כְּמִלְכַּא ,מִחַיִּימַרְאָא כְּמִלְכַּא
 כְּמִלְכַּא בְּרַחֲמֵי מִחַיִּימַרְאָא כְּמִלְכַּא מִחַיִּימַרְאָא .כְּמִלְכַּא מִיַּדְיָתָא
 .^f ,מַעֲבָד .מִלְכַּא^e מִלְכַּא מִיַּדְיָתָא אֱמִן כְּמִלְכַּא⁶ .כְּמִלְכַּא מִיַּדְיָתָא
 אֱמִן כְּמִלְכַּא⁷ .כְּחַיִּימַרְאָא כְּמִלְכַּא מִיַּדְיָתָא מִיַּדְיָתָא מִיַּדְיָתָא
 מִיַּדְיָתָא כְּמִלְכַּא⁸ מִיַּדְיָתָא מִיַּדְיָתָא אֱמִן כְּמִלְכַּא
 .כְּמִלְכַּא מִיַּדְיָתָא אֱמִן כְּמִלְכַּא⁹ .כְּמִלְכַּא מִיַּדְיָתָא מִיַּדְיָתָא מִיַּדְיָתָא
 .כְּמִלְכַּא מִיַּדְיָתָא^h .כְּמִלְכַּא מִיַּדְיָתָא מִיַּדְיָתָא

^a Cod. כְּחַיִּימַרְאָא . Gk. ἐν ἐλεγμῶ.
^b l. ἐκωλύθη as suggested by Fritzsche, for ἐκυκλώθη of the MSS.
^c Gk. adds ὁ κύριος. ^d Gk. τὸ ἔλεος (= שאו, cf. 14⁶).
^e Gk. ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν.
^f Gk. ἐν κρίμασιν αὐτοῦ and adds εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. ^g Gk. ὁ θεός.
^h Perhaps we should read כְּחַיִּימַרְאָא answering to the Gk. σωφροσύνην.

PSALM 11 (= Ps. 54).

מִלְכַּא מִיַּדְיָתָא² .כְּמִלְכַּא מִיַּדְיָתָא^a כְּמִלְכַּא מִיַּדְיָתָאⁱ
 .מִלְכַּא מִיַּדְיָתָא מִיַּדְיָתָא מִיַּדְיָתָא .כְּמִלְכַּא מִיַּדְיָתָא מִיַּדְיָתָא
 בְּרַחֲמֵי מִיַּדְיָתָא בְּרַחֲמֵי מִיַּדְיָתָא ,מִיַּדְיָתָא מִיַּדְיָתָא מִיַּדְיָתָא³
 מִיַּדְיָתָא מִיַּדְיָתָא⁴ .כְּמִלְכַּא מִיַּדְיָתָא^b מִיַּדְיָתָא מִיַּדְיָתָא

^a Gk. σημασίας. ^b Gk. εισάπαξ (= Heb. 1177).

חַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ. ⁵ וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח לְבָבְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲנִי אֲדַבֵּר בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהֵינוּ. ⁶ וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח לְבָבְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲנִי אֲדַבֵּר בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהֵינוּ. ⁷ וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח לְבָבְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲנִי אֲדַבֵּר בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהֵינוּ. ⁸ וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח לְבָבְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲנִי אֲדַבֵּר בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהֵינוּ. ⁹ וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח לְבָבְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲנִי אֲדַבֵּר בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהֵינוּ. ¹⁰ וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח לְבָבְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲנִי אֲדַבֵּר בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהֵינוּ. ¹¹ וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח לְבָבְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲנִי אֲדַבֵּר בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהֵינוּ. ¹² וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח לְבָבְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲנִי אֲדַבֵּר בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהֵינוּ. ¹³ וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח לְבָבְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲנִי אֲדַבֵּר בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהֵינוּ. ¹⁴ וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח לְבָבְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲנִי אֲדַבֵּר בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהֵינוּ. ¹⁵ וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח לְבָבְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲנִי אֲדַבֵּר בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהֵינוּ. ¹⁶ וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח לְבָבְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲנִי אֲדַבֵּר בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהֵינוּ. ¹⁷ וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח לְבָבְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲנִי אֲדַבֵּר בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהֵינוּ. ¹⁸ וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח לְבָבְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲנִי אֲדַבֵּר בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהֵינוּ. ¹⁹ וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח לְבָבְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲנִי אֲדַבֵּר בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהֵינוּ. ²⁰ וְלֹא יִשְׁכַּח לְבָבְךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 אֲנִי אֲדַבֵּר בְּכֹחַ אֱלֹהֵינוּ.

b. Gk. adds κυρίου. c. Gk. adds ἐν ἐξαγορίαις.
 d. Gk. εὐθυεῖς. e. Gk. χρηστότης. f. Cod. אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 g. Gk. om. h. i.e. οὐ καταπαύσεις, as in Cod. R.
 i. Gk. εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι = Heb. לעלם ועד.

. אַתְּ הוֹדִיתָ אֱלֹהִים וְיָרָא אֱלֹהִים אֲדַבְּרָה^{m25} אֲדַבְּרָה
 מִלֵּל אֱלֹהִים וְיָרָא אֱלֹהִים אֲדַבְּרָהⁿ²⁶
 . אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה²⁷ . אֲדַבְּרָה
 : אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה²⁸
 . אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה²⁹
 . אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה³⁰
 אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה³¹ . אֲדַבְּרָה
 אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה³² . אֲדַבְּרָה
 . אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה
 . אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה³⁴ . אֲדַבְּרָה
 אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה³⁵ . אֲדַבְּרָה
 אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה³⁶ . אֲדַבְּרָה
 אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה³⁷ . אֲדַבְּרָה
 אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה³⁸ . אֲדַבְּרָה
 אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה³⁹ . אֲדַבְּרָה
 אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה⁴⁰ . אֲדַבְּרָה
 אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה⁴¹ . אֲדַבְּרָה

^m Cod. אבבא

ⁿ Gk. ἐμίαναν, (not as in Cod. R ἐμίανεν).

^o Cod. om. τὸ κρίμα σου.

PSALM 9 (= Ps. 52).

אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה¹ . אֲדַבְּרָה
 אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה² . אֲדַבְּרָה
 אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה^a . אֲדַבְּרָה
 אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה³ . אֲדַבְּרָה
 אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה אֲדַבְּרָה⁴ . אֲדַבְּרָה

^a Gk. κύριος.

ἡμῶν ἰὺ καὶ ἰσὺ ἰσὺ ἰσὺ¹⁷ . καθῆκα ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν
 , μαρτυροῦν καὶ ἰσὺ , μαρτυροῦν¹⁸ . καθῆκα ἡμῶν
 καὶ ἰσὺ ἰσὺ ἡμῶν¹⁹ . καθῆκα ἡμῶνⁱ καὶ ἡμῶν^h
 ἡμῶν²¹ .¹ καθῆκα ἡμῶν^k ἡμῶν²⁰ . ἡμῶν ἡμῶν
 ἡμῶν ἡμῶν καθῆκα ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν , μαρτυροῦν ἡμῶν
 ἡμῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν ἡμῶν , ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν²² . ἡμῶν ἡμῶν
 ἡμῶν .

^h Gk. θεός.

ⁱ Gk. συμμετρία ἀνταρκείας.

^k Gk. τὸ μέτρον.

¹ Syr. omits by ὁμοιοτέλετον the words καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἢ εὐλογία τοῦ κυρίου εἰς πλησμονὴν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ.

PSALM 6 (= Ps. 49).

. καὶ ἡμῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν , μαρτυροῦνⁱ
 ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν³ . ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν²
 ἡμῶν⁴ . ἡμῶν ἡμῶν , ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν . καὶ ἡμῶν ἡμῶν
 ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν . ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν
 ἡμῶν⁶ ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν . καθῆκα ἡμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν^{b5}
 ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν⁷ . καὶ ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν
 ἡμῶν ἡμῶν , μαρτυροῦν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν . καὶ ἡμῶν^c ἡμῶν
 ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν⁸ . ἡμῶν ἡμῶν
 ἡμῶν⁹ . καὶ ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν
 . καὶ ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν

^a The text is in confusion : we should read καθῆκα, and add ἡμῶν after ἡμῶν . The words ἡμῶν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν are missing in the Greek.

^b Cod. καθῆκα

^c Gk. τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ.

^d Gk. adds θεοῦ.

^e Cod. *ex errore* : bis ἡμῶν .

.κωλκα, μαλτασ οσω μκλφσα .κίσιτ μετρε
.κω αικ οπρ ασηκ^c .ινα κωμ φσ⁴ .κθαλασ
πτο λθωκ .κθωαβεθι κίσαε ασησ μθικ κλο^{d5}
κωβεσ ωθίκοσ ωσ⁶ .κθιμλ κωβεσ οίφγκω .κίσι
.κκωθι κωθω κίω, μαλκ μεσ ασησ .κίσι
αικ αίκα φσ : ασησ ββε κωμ ασησ γκ⁷
φ, μαθκ ιμ γκ⁸ : ασησ γκω μκω κωκω
κθωεσ φσ⁹ .κωσκ ασησ κωβκ κέφ, μακωί
θκωθικω¹⁰ .μακωεσ κλκ κωσκ^e αικ ακ οβε
ββε κλκ φσ¹¹ αικ θωλεσ κίκα .κθωίσι κωε
ασησ κίκα κίθω¹² .οσω γκω κίκα κίκα
κωσφ κλκίκα : ωθίκοσ ασησ¹³ .κωλκ ωθίκοσ
κωσ κίκα .κωσ κίκα κω κλκ .κθωί .κω
ασησ κωσ κωσ κωσ κωσ κωσ κωσ κωσ κωσ
ασησ κωσ κωσ κωσ κωσ κωσ κωσ κωσ κωσ¹⁴
.γκω γκω μκλφθικ κλκίκα : ωθίκοσ ασησ
κωσ κωσ κωσ κωσ κωσ κωσ κωσ κωσ κωσ¹⁵
.κίσι γκω κίκα κω κω¹⁶ .κωσ κωσ κωσ κωσ
φσ¹⁷ .κωλκ γκω κωσ κωσ κωσ κωσ κωσ κωσ κωσ

^c A double translation to express ἀπορίψατε...μακράν.

^d Here the division of the sentences follows the Greek MS: οὐκ εὐδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὸ κάλλος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ· ἐξουθενώθη ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. For the emendation (Hilgenfeld's) of the passage (οὐκ εὐδοκῶ ἐν αὐτοῖς· τὸ κάλλος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ [so Syr., not αὐτῆς]) see Gebhardt in loc. The Syriac κωσ appears to be a rough translation of εὐδωκεν.

^e The Syriac has twice κωσκ for εἰσάπαξ, the Greek word which is found in Daniel as the rendering of כחקה: εἰσάπαξ must mean 'together,' and the Syriac must have very nearly restored the original word employed by the Psalmist.

.מחללתי צדקתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות
 קללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות⁶
 קללתי⁸ .מחללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות⁷
 .מחללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות

ODE 37.

.מחללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות¹
 .מחללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות²
 .מחללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות³
 .מחללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות⁴
 .מחללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות

ODE 38.

מחללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות¹
 מחללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות²
 מחללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות³
 מחללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות⁴
 מחללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות⁵
 מחללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות⁶
 מחללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות⁷
 מחללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות⁸
 מחללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות⁹
 מחללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות¹⁰
 מחללתי מן המצות .מחללתי מן המצות¹¹

ODE 25 [= *Pistis Sophia*, pp. 148—153].

חַפְצֵי² . מְלִיכָה חֲפִיצָה יְהוֹלֵהוּ , יִשְׁמַח בָּהֶן חֲפִיצֵי¹
 מִלְּבָב³ חֲפִיצָה . מִלְּבָב רִיבֵי⁴ רִיבֵי⁵ חֲפִיצָה
 חֲפִיצָה⁵ . יְהוֹלֵהוּ לְ כֹהֵן מִיָּדָה אֵת כֹּהֵן
 חֲפִיצָה אֲמִינִים חֲפִיצָה . אֲמִינִים חֲפִיצָה⁶ . רִיבֵי⁷
 חֲפִיצָה . יְהוֹלֵהוּ לְ כֹהֵן מִיָּדָה אֵת כֹּהֵן
 חֲפִיצָה⁸ . רִיבֵי⁹ חֲפִיצָה . יְהוֹלֵהוּ לְ כֹהֵן
 חֲפִיצָה¹⁰ . יְהוֹלֵהוּ לְ כֹהֵן מִיָּדָה אֵת כֹּהֵן
 חֲפִיצָה¹¹ . יְהוֹלֵהוּ לְ כֹהֵן מִיָּדָה אֵת כֹּהֵן
 חֲפִיצָה¹² . יְהוֹלֵהוּ לְ כֹהֵן מִיָּדָה אֵת כֹּהֵן .
 חֲפִיצָה .

^a Cod. רִיבֵי

ODE 26.

חֲפִיצָה¹ חֲפִיצָה חֲפִיצָה חֲפִיצָה חֲפִיצָה² . חֲפִיצָה
 חֲפִיצָה³ חֲפִיצָה חֲפִיצָה חֲפִיצָה חֲפִיצָה⁴ . חֲפִיצָה
 חֲפִיצָה חֲפִיצָה חֲפִיצָה חֲפִיצָה חֲפִיצָה⁵ . חֲפִיצָה
 חֲפִיצָה⁶ חֲפִיצָה חֲפִיצָה חֲפִיצָה חֲפִיצָה⁷ . חֲפִיצָה

Ode 25, v. 8. Copt. 'et textisti me sub umbra gratiae tuae et superavi vestimenta pellicea.'

v. 10. Copt. 'remoti sunt.'

v. 11. Copt. om.

חסדו¹⁹ . אפיהו אהוהו הוהו אהוהו . אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו
 אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו . אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו
 אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו . אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו
 אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו . אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו

ODE 24.

חסדו¹ אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו . אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו
 אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו² . אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו
 אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו³ . אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו
 אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו⁴ . אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו
 אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו⁵ . אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו⁶
 אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו⁷ . אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו
 אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו⁸ . אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו
 אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו⁹ . אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו
 אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו¹⁰ . אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו
 אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו . אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו
 אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו . אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו אהוהו

^a Cod. אהוהו אהוהו^b Cod. אהוהו ut videtur^c Cod. אהוהו

ODE 20.

מלך . כן אַ מַּבַּר אֶת מֶלֶךְ , הִנֵּה כִּי־נִתְּנָה לְךָ¹
 חַסְדֵּיךָ . כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ² . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע
 לְךָ . כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ .
 . . . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ³ . הִנֵּה כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע
 לְךָ . כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ⁴ .
 מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ
 כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ⁵ . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ
 מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ , מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ⁶ . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ
 כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ⁷ . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ
 כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ⁸ . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ
 מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ
 מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ⁹ . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ
 מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ
 כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ

ODE 21.

, יִשְׁמַע לְךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ¹
 מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ² . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ
 . . . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ³ . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ
 כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ⁴ . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ
 מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ⁵ . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ
 כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ כִּי־תִּשְׁמַע לְךָ⁶ . מִתְּבַרְכֵּיךָ

^a Cod. הַכ

6. מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ. כִּי כִּי אֶת־כֹּחַ אֶת־כֹּחַ. מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ
 אֶת־כֹּחַ. מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ אֶת־כֹּחַ. מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ
 ,מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ אֶת־כֹּחַ⁸. מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ
 אֶת־כֹּחַ אֶת־כֹּחַ אֶת־כֹּחַ⁹. מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ
 אֶת־כֹּחַ אֶת־כֹּחַ¹⁰. מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ
 אֶת־כֹּחַ¹¹. מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ
 אֶת־כֹּחַ¹². מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ
 אֶת־כֹּחַ¹³. מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ
 אֶת־כֹּחַ¹⁴. מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ
 אֶת־כֹּחַ¹⁵. מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ
 אֶת־כֹּחַ¹⁶. מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ
 אֶת־כֹּחַ¹⁷. מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ
 אֶת־כֹּחַ¹⁸. מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ
 אֶת־כֹּחַ¹⁹. מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ
 אֶת־כֹּחַ²⁰. מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ
 אֶת־כֹּחַ.

ODE 17.

1. מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ². מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ
 אֶת־כֹּחַ³. מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ
 אֶת־כֹּחַ⁴. מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ
 אֶת־כֹּחַ⁵. מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ
 אֶת־כֹּחַ⁶. מִיָּדָהּ אֶת־כֹּחַ
 אֶת־כֹּחַ⁷.

כְּחַדְשֵׁי הַיָּרֵךְ וְהַיָּדָיִם יִלְכָּדוּ כִּימָיו . מַצְרַח כְּבָרִים יִלְכָּדוּ
 כְּחֵדְשֵׁי אֲדָמָה . לְעַד יִשְׁׁלַח כֹּחַ כְּרִיכָה⁸ . מִדְּבַר
 . כְּחֵדְשֵׁי אֲדָמָה כְּחֵדְשֵׁי הַיָּדָיִם מַצְרַח⁹ . אֲדָמָה מִצְרַח אֲדָמָה
 אֲדָמָה¹¹ : אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה הַיָּדָיִם יִשְׁׁלַח כֹּחַ כְּרִיכָה⁸
 אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה¹⁰ . כְּחֵדְשֵׁי אֲדָמָה
 חֲפָצִים . כְּחֵדְשֵׁי אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה¹¹ . כְּחֵדְשֵׁי אֲדָמָה
 אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה¹² . אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה
 . אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה . אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה

^a Cod. add in marg.

ODE 13.

. אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה . אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה¹
 כְּחֵדְשֵׁי אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה² : אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה
 אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה : אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה . אֲדָמָה
 . אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה³ . אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה

ODE 14.

אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה . אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה¹
 אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה² : אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה
 אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה . אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה³ . אֲדָמָה
 אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה . אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה⁴ . אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה
 אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה⁵ . אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה . אֲדָמָה
 . אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה⁶ . אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה
 אֲדָמָה⁷ . אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה . אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה

ODE 10.

יִצְחָקוֹ .מִיָּמָיו לְבַב שׁוֹפֵן .מִחֵלֶּבֶת כִּי־יָצָא צִדִּיק¹
 .מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְבָרְכֵנוּ² .כִּי־יָצָא לְךָ ,מֵאִי־יָם
 כְּעַבְדְּךָ .מִחֵלֶּבֶת כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ ,הִצֵּא־נָא אֶמְצִיק³
 חֲסֵדֶךָ חֲסֵדֶיךָ חֲסֵדֶיךָ⁴ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ כִּי־יָצָא
 .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא מִחֵלֶּבֶת לְבָרְכֵנוּ⁵ .כִּי־יָצָא
 לְפָנֶיךָ⁷ .וְעַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִצְחָקוֹ אֶמְצִיק⁶
 חֲסֵדֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ .וְעַתָּה יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִצְחָקוֹ
 אֶמְצִיק⁸ חֲסֵדֶיךָ לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ
 .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ

ODE 11.

יִצְחָקוֹ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ .מִחֵלֶּבֶת לְבָרְכֵנוּ¹
 .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִצְחָקוֹ² .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ
 לְפָנֶיךָ³ .מִחֵלֶּבֶת לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ
 לְפָנֶיךָ .מִחֵלֶּבֶת לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ
 .מִחֵלֶּבֶת לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ⁴
 .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ⁵
 לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ⁶
 .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ⁷
 .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ⁸
 .מִחֵלֶּבֶת לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ⁹
 .מִחֵלֶּבֶת לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ
 .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ¹⁰
 .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ¹¹
 .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ .כִּי־יָצָא לְפָנֶיךָ

קִּי כִּי לֵב הָיָה כִּי¹⁰. כִּי לֵב הָיָה : אִמְתָּא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא
 כִּי לֵב הָיָה אֲמַתְּבֵינָא . אֲמַתְּבֵינָא לֵב הָיָה . כִּי לֵב הָיָה
 לֵב הָיָה כִּי לֵב הָיָה . אֲמַתְּבֵינָא¹¹ . כִּי לֵב הָיָה
 אִמְתָּא , אֲמַתְּבֵינָא לֵב הָיָה אֲמַתְּבֵינָא¹² . כִּי לֵב הָיָה
 אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא¹³ . אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא : אִמְתָּא
 אֲמַתְּבֵינָא כִּי לֵב הָיָה¹⁴ . אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא , אֲמַתְּבֵינָא
 אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא¹⁵ . אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא
 אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא לֵב הָיָה אֲמַתְּבֵינָא¹⁶ . אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא
 אֲמַתְּבֵינָא : אֲמַתְּבֵינָא¹⁷ . אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא
 אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא . אֲמַתְּבֵינָא . אֲמַתְּבֵינָא

ODE 7.

אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא . אֲמַתְּבֵינָא לֵב הָיָה אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא¹
 אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא לֵב הָיָה אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא
 אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא . אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא²
 אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא . אֲמַתְּבֵינָא לֵב הָיָה אֲמַתְּבֵינָא³
 אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא אֲמַתְּבֵינָא⁴ . אֲמַתְּבֵינָא

Ode 6, v. 10. The Syriac seems to have abbreviated slightly; for the Coptic Targum has 'biberunt versantes in arena arida,' and the text has 'biberunt qui habitabant in arena arida.'

v. 13. The Coptic shows some variation: the comment has 'acceperunt vigorem in me hi qui sunt soluti,' and the text has 'accipiebant gaudium cordis, qui soluti erant.'

v. 16. The Syriac has *παρουσία* where the Coptic has *παρηγορία*. Neither Greek word makes very easy reading. Perhaps the Greek was *παρέσει αὐτῶν* or *παρὰλύσει αὐτῶν*, in which case we translate 'they received strength for their paralysed state and light for their [darkened] eyes.'

v. 17. The Syriac 'lived by,' answers to the Coptic 'were saved by': the Greek being *ἐσώθησαν* or *ἐσώζοντο διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς*.

ילך אשכנז⁸ : אמרתי בך ופאמא אשכנז
 אשכנזא דכרמא דהדחא : אמל דחמ כלו אשכנז
 בך. ⁹ בך אשכנז אשכנז ילך אשכנז. אשכנז.
 אשכנז אשכנז אשכנז אשכנז אשכנז אשכנז.

ODE 6 [=Pistis Sophia, pp. 131—135].

אשכנז² אשכנז אשכנז אשכנז אשכנז אשכנז
 אשכנז אשכנז אשכנז אשכנז אשכנז אשכנז

^a Cod. אשכנז ^b Cod. אשכנז

Ode 5, v. 8. The Coptic expands the second clause thus: 'et vicerunt eos potentes, et quae paraverant malitiose, descenderunt in eos.'
 Ode 6, v. 8. I should suggest an emendation to the Syriac, אשכנז for אשכנז, but it is not borne out by the Coptic, which has in the Targum 'et duxit eos super templum,' and in the text 'et conversa est super templum.' 'Duxit' would answer to the Syriac אשכנז, but an object to the verb is wanting.
 v. 9. The Coptic text suggests that a line has dropped in the Syriac: the comment has 'haud potuerunt capere eam [loca] clausa neque loca aedificata,' and the text has 'non potuerunt eum capere in locis munitis et aedificatis.'

ODE 4.

,מאמלאמלא רל² .,מלכ רל קדש יחיד קדש יחיד¹
 .קילפאז ,מאל חולת חלף .קדש קדש קדש ,מאמלאמלא
 קדש⁴ .קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש³
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^a Cod. קדש

ODE 5 [= *Pistis Sophia*, pp. 113—117].

קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש¹
 קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש²
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 קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש⁵
 קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש⁶
 קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש קדש⁷

ਕਹਿਣਾ
ਕਹਿਣੀਆਂ
: ਅਲੇਖ

