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978-1-107-62396-5 - ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ Psalms of the Pharisees, Commonly Called  
the Psalms of Solomon: The Text Newly Revised from All the Mss.

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by Herbert Edward Ryle and Montague Rhodes James

Excerpt

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## ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΣΑΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ.

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ᾠ. ψαλλμὸς τῷ σαλομών.

**I.** Ἐβόησα πρὸς κύριον ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαι με εἰς τέλος,  
πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ ἐπιθέσθαι ἁμαρτωλοῦς.

**1** Inscriptio Cod. A, Ψαλλμὸς τῷ Σαλομών α', abest a V, K, P, M.

Ps. I. *Argument.* The False Security.  
1, 2a. Zion's Prayer, when assailed by 'sinners' and threatened with war.

2b—5. Zion's Confidence. She was confident that her prayer would be heard, because she was 'righteous'; and of her 'righteousness' she thought she had a pledge in her material prosperity, and in the multitude and wealth of her sons.

6—8. Zion's disappointment. But her confidence has proved to have been misplaced: her children have abused the blessings of prosperity by 'secret' sin, and especially by violation of 'the holy things.'

The Psalm here breaks off. The reader is left to supply the conclusion, viz. that Zion, having forfeited her righteousness, could no longer hope for a favourable answer to her prayer for help.

That the Psalmist impersonates Zion or the true Israel seems to be clear from ver. 3 ἐν τῷ εὐθνηῆσαι με καὶ πολλὸν γενέσθαι ἐν τέκνοις.

The allusions contained in the Psalm are therefore to matters of national interest.

The circumstances under which the Psalm was written must depend upon the explanation given of vv. 1, 2a, 7, 8 (see notes, esp. on ver. 1). But the close correspondence both in thought and language with Ps. S. viii. 1—14 is in our opinion convincing proof that the two Psalms refer to the same historical incidents, and suggests the probability of their having been written by the same author. (See Introd. to Ps. viii.)

**1** The absence of the heading 'A Psalm of Solomon' in four out of the five MSS. is probably due to the fact that the general title 'Psalms of Solomon' rendered it unnecessary to preface the opening Psalm with an inscription to the same effect. The first canonical Psalm, similarly, has no heading. It is also a question how far any of the titles of our Solomonic collection are genuine.

Ἐβόησα... ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαι με. The language of this clause seems to be based on 2 Sam. xxii. 7; Ps. xvii. (xviii.) 7, but there is no exact reproduction of the LXX. The words πρὸς—με, however, occur literally in Ps. cxix. (cxx.) 1.

ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαι με = ʾלְיָגֵב, cf. Heb. Ps. iv. 2, lxv. (lxvi.) 14, cv. (cvi.) 44, cvi. (cvii.) 6, 19, 28; Isai. xxv. 4; Hos. v. 15. εἰς τέλος, i.e. 'utterly,' 'completely.'

The translation of ʾלְיָגֵב and ʾלְיָגֵב by εἰς τέλος is very common in the LXX. [e.g. Ps. ix. 32 (x. 11), xii. (xiii.) 2, xliii. (xliv.) 24, xlvi. (xlix.) 10, lxvii. (lxviii.) 17, lxxiii. (lxxiv.) 1, 10, 19, lxxviii. (lxxix.) 5, lxxxviii. (lxxxix.) 47, cii. (ciii.) 9] with the meaning of 'in æternum'; this is also the meaning of the other rendering εἰς νῆκος (e.g. Jer. iii. 5). The rendering 'perfectly,' 'completely,' which has sometimes been defended, is improbable even in such a passage as Ps. xiii. 1, and is unsupported by the analogy of the other instances where the word occurs.

Accordingly in this passage where the

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## PSALM I.

*A Psalm of Solomon.*

I I cried unto the LORD in my sore distress, *even* unto God when sinners assailed.

sense 'for ever' is unsuitable, *eis τέλος* will not represent לְעֶלְמָיִם. The suggestion that *eis τέλος* is out of its place and should be compared with *eis τὸ τέλος* in the Inscription of Ps. liv. (lv.) (where the LXX. blundered over לְמִנְצָה 'For the Chief Musician'), deserves to be mentioned. But the phrase probably interprets some intensive, such as לְכֹלָה (2 Chron. xii. 12), or עַד לְכֹלָה (2 Chron. xxxi. 1), both of which are rendered by *eis τέλος* in the LXX. Cf. 1 Thess. ii. 16 ἔφθασεν... ἡ ὀργὴ εἰς τέλος.

**ἐπιθέσθαι.** A word of frequent occurrence in these Psalms. Cf. vii. 1, ix. 16, xvii. 6.

**ἁμαρτωλοῦς.** This adjective, occurring 32 times in these Psalms, is used with especial significance. It may be noticed that it is not found in Pss. v.—xi., xviii. The ἁμαρτωλοῖ are especially distinguished from the δίκαιοι (e.g. ii. 38, iii. 13, 14, iv. 9, xiii. 5, 6, 7, 10), οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον (iii. 16, iv. 26, xv. 14, 15), and ὅσιοι (xii. 8, xiv. 2, 4). By this term the Psalmist probably refers to the Sadducees. In the days of the Maccabean Rebellion it had been used of Hellenising Jews, 1 Macc. ii. 48.

In view of its special application in our book, the reference in the present passage to 'sinners' must be understood to denote the irreligious (i.e. Sadducaic) Jews, and not the Romans or the heathen.

Wellhausen sees in these verses an epitome of a whole century of Jewish history; the 'sinners' are the heathen, and the allusion is to the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes; the 'war' is the Maccabean rebellion; this led to the temporary independence of the Jews, extended their material power, and established the glory of the Asmonean house: their prosperity is only external: Zion sees, only too late, the sin that underlies the increase of power, and predicts the doom of those who do not shrink from profaning the most sacred things.

Perhaps no convincing test can be applied to this hypothesis, but is not the general impression conveyed by the Psalm that of one special crisis, not of a long development? The other Psalms in this collection give no support to Wellhausen's view. So far as they are historical, they express the emotions consequent upon the recent occurrence of important events. To summarize in a Psalm the survey of a century's history implies a philosophical attitude natural enough in modern times, but foreign to the simplicity of thought of our Psalmist.

We have already mentioned that a comparison of Ps. i. with Ps. viii. 1—14 shows a striking identity of situation (see note on viii. 7). In that Psalm Pompey's entry into Jerusalem is unmistakably described, and the historical allusions of the present Psalm may be assigned to the same period.

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ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΣΑΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ.

[I. 2

<sup>2</sup> ἔξάπινα ἠκούσθη κραγῆ πολέμου ἐνώπιόν μου·  
ἐπακούσεται μου, ὅτι ἐπλήσθη δικαιοσύνης.

<sup>3</sup> ἔλογισάμην ἐν καρδίᾳ μου ὅτι ἐπλήσθη δικαιοσύνης,  
ἐν τῷ εὐθηνῆσαί με καὶ πολὺν γενέσθαι ἐν τέκνοις.

<sup>4</sup> ὁ πλοῦτος αὐτῶν διέλθοι εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν,  
καὶ ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.

<sup>5</sup> ὑψώθησαν ἕως τῶν ἀστρων,  
εἶπαν· οὐ μὴ πέσωσιν.

<sup>6</sup> καὶ ἐξύβρισαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς αὐτῶν,  
καὶ οὐκ ἠνεγκαν·

<sup>7</sup> αἱ ἁμαρτίαι αὐτῶν ἐν ἀποκρύφοις,  
καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ᾔδειν·

<sup>2</sup> Conj. M. Schmidt, ap. Hilg.<sup>2</sup> εἶπα Ἀκούσεται. <sup>4</sup> Fabr.conj. διήλθε.  
<sup>5</sup> εἶπαν Codd. A, V, K, M. εἶπον P, Hilg. conj. (Fritzsch. Pick.). Fabr. conj. ὅτι post εἶπαν. πέσωσι P, M. <sup>6</sup> Cerda ἀγατοῖς.

**2** κραυγῆ πολέμου. This expression recalls the *קְרָאָה עַל מַלְחָמָה* of Jer. iv. 19, xlix. 2 Heb. Cf. also viii. 1.

The sudden outbreak of war here referred to should probably be identified with the conflict between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus which arose on the death of Alexandra (69), or with the hostilities commenced by Aristobulus against Pompey, while the latter was marching upon Jerusalem (63). See *Introd.*

**ἐπακούσεται.** It is noticeable that in 2 Sam. xxii. 7 *עָשָׂה* is rendered by *ἐπακούσεται*, where the LXX. give a wrong rendering of the tenses. Our translator possibly borrows from the LXX. of that passage. But here we should in any case probably rightly render it by the future, since the clause is to be regarded as a soliloquy following upon the entreaty. Schmidt's conjecture *εἶπα ἀκούσεται* is ingenious and gives the full sense of the passage. Against it however is to be set the fact that the 1st Per. Sing. in Ps. S. viii. 3 is *εἶπον* not *εἶπα*.

**δικαιοσύνης.** Cf. Ps. xvii. (xviii.) 21 *καὶ ἀναποδώσει μοι κύριος κατὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην μου* and 2 Sam. xxii. 21. The character of the 'righteousness' here spoken of will be best understood from the description of the 'righteous man,' e.g. in Psalm iii.

**3** ἔλογισάμην ἐν καρδίᾳ. Cf. Ps. cxxxix. (cxl.) 2, where however the words occur in a different sense.

**εὐθηνῆσαι.** This word is not very frequently used. It is found in the LXX. to represent a *fruitful* vine [Ps. cxxvii. (cxxviii.) 3], where it translates *פְּרִיָּה*. In Job xxi. 9, *οἱ οἴκοι αὐτῶν εὐθηνούσῃ*, the original is *פְּרִיָּה*; in Job xxi. 23, *ὅλος δὲ εὐπαθῶν καὶ εὐθηνῶν*, it is *פְּרִיָּה*, and in Ps. lxxii. (lxxiii.) 12, *οὗτοι οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ καὶ εὐθηνούσῃ*, it is *פְּרִיָּה*; in Jer. xii. 1 *εὐθηνήσαν = פְּרִיָּה*, Lam. i. 5 *εὐθηνούσαν = פְּרִיָּה*.

See also Zech. vii. 7 *εὐθηνούσα = פְּרִיָּה* and Ps. xxix. (xxx.) 7 *ἐν τῇ εὐθηνίᾳ μου = פְּרִיָּה*. From these instances it is seen that the word was used to represent the notion of material prosperity and quiet security.

**πολὺν γενέσθαι ἐν τέκνοις.** The blessing of many children was, according to the promises of the Law, a reward for true obedience. Cf. Ex. xxiii. 25, 26; Dt. vii. 13.

**4** αὐτῶν: referring to τέκνοις. Geiger wrongly understands it of ἁμαρτωλοὶ (ver. 1). For the combination of *δόξα* and *πλοῦτος* he quotes Ps. cxi. (cxii.) 3 *δόξα (ἡ) καὶ πλοῦτος (ἡ) ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ (τοῦ φοβουμένου τὸν κύριον)*.

The general tone of the passage seems to be caught from Ps. lxxii. (lxxiii.) 9—12.

**διέλθοι.** The Optative is a misrendering of the frequentative Imperfect in the Hebrew. Cf. xvii. 10. Both this

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I. 7]

ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΣΑΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ.

5

2 Suddenly the alarm of war was heard before me. *I said*, He will hearken unto me, for I am full of righteousness.

3 I considered in my heart, that I was full of righteousness, because I was prosperous and had become plenteous in children.

4 Their riches were gone<sup>1</sup> forth into all the world, and their glory unto the ends of the earth. <sup>1</sup> Gr. *May their riches*

5 They were lifted up to the stars; they said, We<sup>2</sup> shall never fall. <sup>2</sup> Gr. *They*

6 But they waxed haughty in their prosperity, and were not able to endure.

7 Their sins were in secret; and I knew *it* not.

and the following verse describe the great prosperity of the Jewish people. It is possible that the Psalmist is referring to the period of tranquillity in the reign of Alexandra (78—69), which was followed by the Civil War and the intervention of Rome.

Geiger, who renders the tense by the Future, is mistaken in referring the verse to the violent dispersion of the wealth of the Maccabean Princes by Pompey and their being led in captivity to Rome (*ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς*). This view seems to be shared by Hilgenfeld who adduces this verse, along with xvii. 6, to show how the writer has imitated the Wisdom of Solomon, 'is enim (i. 3 sq.) in Salomonis persona *filiorum fata luget*.' See *Introd.*

But the fact that this verse is followed by *ὕψωθησαν ἕως τῶν ἀστρῶν* should be sufficient to make it impossible that anything calamitous could be intended in the mention of the wide dispersion of Jewish wealth. It is the extent of their commercial undertakings and the fame of their riches, which are alluded to. *Διέλθου* would, besides, be a curiously inappropriate word to describe a violent dispersion of wealth.

5 *ἕως τῶν ἀστρῶν*. In the O. T. this metaphor is only elsewhere found in Jer. li. (xxviii.) 9 *ἐξῆρεν ἕως τῶν ἀστρῶν*, where *ἀστρῶν* renders *שָׁמַיִם* 'skies.' We may compare Isai. xiv. 13 'I will exalt my throne above the stars of God' (LXX. *ἐπάνω τῶν ἀστέρων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ θήσω τὸν θρόνον μου*).

*εἶπαν*. Hilgenfeld's emendation *εἶπον* (1st Pers. Sing.) was intended to get rid of the grammatical difficulty in *οὐ μὴ*

*πέσωσι*, by making the words a soliloquy of the Psalmist. It has apparently the support of the Parisian ms. But the Plural gives a good sense: 'In their exaltation they uttered their boastful cry, that they should never fall,' and receives an apposite illustration from the *καὶ εἶπαν* in Ps. lxxii. (lxxiii.) 11. The use of the 3rd Plur. *οὐ μὴ πέσωσι*, by attraction for *οὐ μὴ πέσωμεν*, presents a little difficulty. But it is probably to be accounted for as a very literal rendering of the Hebrew. Compare for the construction Ps. ix. 21. For the thought of the verse compare Ps. xxix. (xxx.) 7.

6 *ἐξύβρισαν*. See Gen. xlix. 4; Ezek. xlvi. 5; 2 Macc. i. 28.

*οὐκ ἤνεγκαν*. The most probable explanation of this expression is to be obtained from a comparison with Jer. xx. 9 'I am weary with forbearing, and I cannot contain' (*καὶ οὐ δύναμαι φέρειν* = *לֹא אֶחָזַק*): cf. also Job xxxi. 23; Jer. ii. 13, x. 10; Joel ii. 11.

They could not keep their ambition under control; their arrogance knew no bounds. The Psalmist is referring to the wealthy Sadducees.

Fabricius' explanation 'decimas, primitias, sacrificia offerre omiserunt' has nothing to recommend it; but no doubt gave rise to Whiston's 'have brought no oblation.'

7 *ἐν ἀποκρύφοις*. As in Ps. ix. 30 (x. 9), xvi. (xvii.) 12, lxiii. (lxiv.) 5; Ezek. viii. 12. On the 'secrecy' of the sins against which the Psalmist speaks, see also iv. 45, viii. 9. From these passages it is evident that the allusion is to the immoralities, which the Jewish aristocracy practised in defiance of the Law.

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6

ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΣΑΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ.

[I. 8

<sup>8</sup> αἱ ἀνομίαι αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἔθνη,  
ἐβεβήλωσαν τὰ ἅγια κυρίου ἐν βεβηλώσει.

8 ἀνομίαι V, K, P, M. ἀμαρτίαι A (Cerd., Fabr.).

Β. ψαλμός τῷ σαλομών περι ἱεροῦσαλήμ.

II. ἘΝ τῷ ὑπερφηανεῖσθαι τὸν ἀμαρτωλὸν, ἐν κριῶ  
κατέβαλε τείχη ὄχυρά,  
καὶ οὐκ ἐκάλυψας.

Inscriptio Ψαλμός τῷ Σαλομών περι Ἱεροουσαλήμ β' A et, ut vid., P, a sinistrâ parte B superscriptum in Codd. V et K (Ψαλμός τῷ Σαλομών β' περι Ἱεροουσαλήμ Fabr.): deest in M.

8 τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἔθνη. This expression, if taken in close connection with the previous verse, might lead us to suppose that the *primitive inhabitants* here mentioned were the dwellers in Sodom (Gen. xix.), whose wickedness is surpassed by the sins done 'in secret,' the sensualities introduced into Palestine by the spread of heathen rites. Comp. iv. 4, 5, viii. 9, 10, 14.

On the other hand, if the expression be understood generally, we should compare Lev. xviii. 27, 28; 2 Kings xxi. 9; 2 Chr. xxxiii. 9. These passages offer the most natural illustration of our verse, and in particular the LXX. of Lev. xviii. 27, 28 presents a close parallel, πάντα γὰρ τὰ βδελύγματα ταῦτα ἐποίησαν οἱ ἀνθρώποι τῆς γῆς, οἱ δυντες πρότερον ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐμίανθη ἡ γῆ. καὶ ἴνα μὴ προσοχθίσῃ ὑμῶν ἡ γῆ ἐν τῷ μαινεῖν ὑμᾶς αὐτήν, ἢν τρόπον προσώχθισε τοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῖς πρὸ ὑμῶν.

ἐβεβήλωσαν... ἐν βεβηλώσει. For this construction compare ix. 19. It probably represents the intensive use of the Inf. Absol. with the Finite Verb in the Hebrew.

τὰ ἅγια κυρίου. Cf. ii. 3, viii. 12, xviii. 51.

The phrase βεβηλοῦν τὰ ἅγια κυρίου occurs frequently in the LXX. (e.g. Lev. xix. 8, xxii. 15; Num. xviii. 32; Ps. lxxxviii. (lxxxix.) 40; Ezek. xxii. 26, xxiv. 21, etc.; Zeph. iii. 4; Mal. ii. 11; 1 Macc. iii. 51).

The words of Lev. xix. 8, where the LXX. rendering is ὁ δὲ ἐσθων αὐτὸ ἀμαρτίαν λήψεται ὅτι τὰ ἅγια κυρίου ἐβεβήλωσε, will best explain this concluding sentence of the Psalm. The correspondence of the language is so close that in all probability

it has been borrowed by our translator, and therefore should supply the true interpretation of τὰ ἅγια κυρίου. These words might be taken to mean 'the sanctuary of the LORD,' for which they commonly stand in the LXX.; and this translation is followed by Geiger ('*das Heiligthum*') and Pick ('*the Sanctuary*'). But both in this verse and in ii. 3 the Psalmist is alluding especially to the profane and irreverent action of the Jews, and of their Priests in particular, in the ritual of the sacrifices, as, for example, by approaching the altar when ceremonially unclean, a form of profanation singled out for especial opprobrium in viii. 13, 14. The violation of the Mosaic law under this head represented to the true Pharisee the extreme of impiety, which God would surely not suffer to go unpunished.

Ps. II. *Argument.*

A. Jerusalem's overthrow (1—15).

(i) The Temple defiled by the Gentiles in return for the profaneness of the 'sons of Jerusalem' (1—5).

(ii) The inhabitants of Jerusalem captives in return for their unparalleled wickedness (6—12).

(iii) Their wickedness returns on their own heads (13—15).

B. God's judgement justified (16—23).

(i) He is righteous in visiting the people for their sin (16—19).

(ii) in humiliating the chosen city (20—23).

C. The Intercession of the holy (24—29).

(i) Let not Israel be wholly consumed (24—26).

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II. 1]

ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΣΑΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ.

7

8 Their transgressions were greater than *those of* the heathen that were before them ;

9 The holy things of the LORD they *had* utterly polluted.

## PSALM II.

*A Psalm of Solomon concerning Jerusalem.*

1 When the sinful man waxed proud, he cast down fenced walls with a battering-ram, and thou didst not prevent *him*.

(ii) Let vengeance overtake the oppressors who overthrow Jerusalem with savagery, not judicially (27—29).

D. The Divine Answer (30—35).

(i) The death and dishonour of the Oppressor (30, 31).

(ii) The doom of the would-be king for arrogance and blindness (32—35).

E. The call to recognise the true King (36—40).

(i) The great King (36).

(ii) His mercy and justice (37).

(iii) His lovingkindness (38—40).

F. Doxology (41).

The speaker, who refers to himself only in vv. 24 and 30, does not identify himself with Jerusalem or Zion. The point of view is therefore different from that of the preceding Psalm. The Psalmist is the spokesman of the theocratic party referred to in vv. 37, 38, 40, 41, as those 'that fear the Lord with understanding,' 'the righteous,' 'that call upon Him in patience,' 'His servants.'

The allusions in this Psalm to historical events are of very great importance. Their identification supplies not only a clue to the date of the composition of this particular Psalm, but also a 'terminus ad quem' for the date of the whole collection.

(a) Jerusalem has been at the mercy of invaders, her walls have been battered down, the sacred altar has been profaned (vv. 1, 2). Jews have been enslaved by their oppressors (6, 7).

This agrees with the occupation of Jerusalem by Pompey, with his siege of the Temple which lasted for three months, and its final capture, followed by the massacre of Aristobulus' supporters, and by his removal along with other Jews of distinction into captivity at Rome.

(b) The 'sinful man' (ver. 1), 'the dragon' (29), whose purpose had been to rule the world, who had set his 'greatness' against that of God (33), is pierced and

slain in Egypt (30), his body lies neglected, unburied, on the waves (30, 31).

This description agrees closely with the fate of Pompey. He made a bid for supreme power against Cæsar; he was surnamed 'the Great.' He was treacherously assassinated on the shores of Egypt (Sept. 28, 48 B.C.).

(c) The overthrow of the Oppressor heralds the triumph of the lowly (ver. 35).

It is worth observing that while, as appears from this Psalm, the Jews regarded Pompey as a tyrant, they glorified Cæsar on account of his clemency and consideration towards their own race. The concluding burst of triumph in our Psalm very probably indicates the satisfaction of the patriot Jews at the complete success of Cæsar's arms. After arranging matters in Egypt and overthrowing Pharnaces, king of Pontus, with extraordinary suddenness, he returned to Syria, and in July of 47 was in Antioch, making provision for the good government of the province of Syria and dispensing favours to the states who had supported him during his recent campaigns. The special privileges which he awarded to the Jews are recorded in Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 1—10.

It is to this period of the Dictator's favour that we are inclined to assign the composition of this Psalm.

The Inscription 'concerning Jerusalem' is of such a general nature that it is hardly likely to be original. The mention of the 'walls' in ver. 1, and the frequent occurrence of the name of the city throughout the Psalm (vv. 3, 13, 14, 20, 24), are quite sufficient to account for the title having been added. Jerusalem however is personified throughout. There is no reference to 'πόλις'; even the 'walls' of ver. 1 are not the city walls.

1 Ἐν τῷ ὑπερηφανείσθαι τὸν ἀμαρτωλόν. This opening clause is taken from Ps. ix. 23 (x. 2).

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8

ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΣΑΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ.

[II. 2

<sup>2</sup> ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριόν σου ἔθνη ἀλλότρια,  
κατεπάτου ἐν ὑποδήμασιν αὐτῶν ἐν ὑπερφηφάνῃα.

2 ἔθνη Cerda, sed interpr. 'gentes.'

Pompey, as the representative of the foreign power that had reduced Zion to servitude, is the personification of sin, *the* sinner. Thus while ἀμαρτωλοί may indicate all whether Jews or Gentiles, who do not 'fear God,' this estrangement from God is concentrated in the man, who has been the instrument of Jerusalem's humiliation.

The reader will be reminded of the reference to the representative of the Roman Empire in 2 Thess. (ii. 3, 4 ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀνομίας, ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, and 8, ὁ ἀνομος). There were obvious reasons why such allusions should be made in guarded terms.

For other probable references to Pompey beside those contained in the present Psalm, compare viii. 16 τὸν ἀπ' ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς, τὸν παῖοντα κραταιῶς κ.τ.λ. and xvii. 13 ἠρήμωσεν ὁ ἀνομος (?) τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν.

τείχη ὄχυρά. Cf. LXX. in Dt. xxviii. 52.

The allusion here is in all probability to the siege of the Temple by Pompey. He had occupied the city of Jerusalem without opposition. But the Temple with precipitous sides on S. and E., with a ravine on the W., strengthened at every point by massive fortifications, was manned by the adherents of Aristobulus, who offered a stubborn resistance. Pompey was compelled to lay regular siege to the Temple. Josephus expressly mentions that Pompey sent for his siege-train from Tyre (προσβαλὼν μηχανὰς καὶ ὄργανα ἐκ Τύρου κομισθέντα ἐπιστήσας καθήρασε τὸ ἱερόν τοῖς πετροβόλοις), *Ant.* XIV. iv. 2. In order to bring his siege-train into play upon the Temple walls, it was necessary to fill up the great dyke which protected the N., the only vulnerable side of the Temple fortifications. This dyke is described by Warren in *Underground Jerusalem* (London, 1876), pages 65, 66, 72. Strabo speaks of it as cut out of the rock, 60 feet deep, 250 wide (xvi. 2).

The allusion to the battering-ram (ἐν κριῶ) becomes a truthful touch. It recalled a memorable scene—the Roman soldiers for the first time in Jerusalem, and plying their 'aries' against the massive masonry

of the Holy Temple.

The capture of the Temple was only effected after a three months' heroic defence; a breach was made in the walls apparently by the destruction of its largest tower; and it was the battering-ram mentioned by the Psalmist that accomplished for the Romans the fatal work against the ὄχυρὰ τεῖχη. The Roman soldiers led by a son of Sulla the Dictator poured in through the breach, and a general massacre ensued. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ μηχανήματος προσαχθέντος σεισθεῖς ὁ μέγιστος τῶν πύργων κατηρέχθη, καὶ παρέόρηξέ τι χωρίον, εἰσεχόντο μὲν οἱ πολέμοι, πρῶτος δὲ αὐτῶν Κορνήλιος Φαῦστος Σύλλα παῖς σὺν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις ἐπέβη τοῦ τεύχους...φόνου δὲ ἦν πάντα ἀνάπλεω. *Ant.* XIV. iv. 4. The 'battering-ram' appears in Assyrian sculptures, and is mentioned in Ezek. iv. 2, xxi. 22, where the Hebrew כִּיָּרָם 'rams' clearly indicate the same weapons as the κριοί and 'aríetes' of the Greeks and Romans. The LXX. however does not reproduce the word in these passages; and apparently only employs κριοῖς to denote an engine of war in 2 Macc. xii. 15. The name seems to appear in classical literature first in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (vii. iv. 1), but the thing is indicated plainly enough as in use at the siege of Plataea, Thuc. II. 76. Vitruvius (x. xiii. 19) describes the various stages of its development, and Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* III. vii. 19. There is a good representation of the machine in use on the Column of Trajan.

The accounts of the capture of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes (which Ewald considers to be here referred to) have nothing corresponding to the historical reminiscence contained in ἐν κριῶ κατεβαλε. (1) Josephus states that Antiochus obtained possession of the city on the first occasion (169) ἀμαχητῆ, and on the second (167) ἀπάτη. (2) The description in 1 Macc. i. 20, 29–31, 2 Macc. v. 11 does not exclude the idea of a regular assault and defence; but certainly implies that the Syrian conqueror met with little serious resistance.

οὐκ ἐκάλυψας. The Psalmist in this



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II. 2]

ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΣΑΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ.

9

2 The heathen<sup>1</sup> went up against thine altar, they trampled<sup>1</sup> Gr. it down, *yea*, with their sandals in their pride, *Strange peoples*

and the following verse addresses the Almighty, but adopts the form of narrative in vv. 3, 4, 5.

Josephus expressly states that the success of the Romans in the siege of the Temple was largely due to the progress they were able to make on the Sabbaths, when the beleaguered Jews in strict conformity with their tradition discontinued their works of defence.

But even such piety was unrewarded; and the Lord 'hindered not' the success of the Gentiles.

For Hilgenfeld's theory that this verse is quoted in 4 Esdr. iii. 8 (*Vers. Arab.*), see *Intro.*

The thought of this clause is expressed in 4 Esdr. iii. 29—31 'et excessit cor meum, quoniam vidi, quomodo sustines eos peccantes et pepercisti impie agentibus et perdidisti populum tuum et conservasti inimicos tuos et non significasti nihil nemini, quomodo debeat derelinqui via hæc. Numquid meliora fecit Babylon quam Sion?' It was a very natural question to arise in the mind of the pious Jew. How was it that, however sinful and rebellious the sons of Jerusalem might be, God had suffered the yet more sinful Gentiles to trample her down?

See also *Apoc. Bar.* xi. 2, 3 'nunc vero ecce dolor infinitus, et gemitus sine mensura, quia tu (Babylon) ecce prosperata es, et Sion desolata. Quisnam erit iudex de istis? aut cuiquam conqueremur de iis quæ acciderunt nobis? O Domine, quomodo sustinuisti?'

2 ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριόν σου ἔθνη ἀλλότρια. The language in this and the following verse is an echo of Ps. lxxviii. (lxxix.) 1 and Lam. i. 10.

At the capture of the Temple the Roman soldiers bursting in cut down the priests, who continued to occupy themselves at the altar in their sacrificial duties to the very last. The scene is vividly given by Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* xiv. iv. 3 οἱ πολέμιοι μὲν εἰσπεσόντες ἔσφαττον τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ· οἱ δὲ πρὸς ταῖς θυσίαις οὐδὲν ἤττον ἱερουργοῦντες διετέλουν, οὔτε ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου τοῦ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς οὔτε ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν ἤδη φονευομένων, ἀναγκασθέντες ἀποδρᾶναι, πᾶν δὲ ὅ τι δεοῖ παθεῖν τοῦτο παρ' αὐτοῖς ὑπομείναι τοῖς βαμοῖς κρείττον εἶναι νομίζοντες ἢ παρέλ-

θεῖν τι τῶν νομίμων.

But the event which impressed itself most deeply upon the mind of the Jews was the entry of Pompey and his companions not only into the sacred precincts reserved for the priests, but even into the Holy of Holies, which none but the High Priest might enter, and then but once a year after special and solemn ceremonial acts of purification. This disregard of their deepest religious sentiments was never forgiven by the Jews. At the same time Pompey does not seem to have stopped the worship or rifled the treasures of the Temple. Cicero *pro Flacco* 67 'Cn. Pompeius captis Hierosolymis victor ex illo fano nihil attigit.' It is noteworthy that the Psalmist makes no particular reference to this violation of the Holy of Holies, but the fact does not militate against the hypothesis of a Pompeian date. If anything, it serves to show that the fear of Rome was so strong that any more detailed allusions were felt to be dangerous.

*Tac. Hist.* v. 9 Romanorum primus Cn. Pompeius Judæos domuit, templumque jure victoria ingressus est, inde vulgatum nulla intus deum effigie vacuum sedem et inania arcana. Muri Hierosolymorum diruti, delubrum mansit.

Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.* xiv. iv. 4) *παρηνομήθη δὲ οὐ μικρὰ περὶ τὸν ναόν, ἄβυσσόν τε ὄντα ἐν τῷ πρὶν χρόνῳ καὶ ἀβάτον· παρήλθε γὰρ εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς ὁ Πομπήσιος καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγοι, καὶ εἶδον ὅσα μὴ θεμιτὸν ἦν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἢ μόνους τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν.* 'Ὀντων δὲ τραπέζης τε χρυσῆς καὶ λυχνίας ἱερᾶς καὶ σπονδείων καὶ πλήθους ἀρωμάτων, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς ἱερῶν χρημάτων εἰς δύο χιλιάδας ταλάντων, οὐδενὸς ἤψατο δι' εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀξίως ἔπραξεν ἀρετῆς. Τῇ τε ὑστεραία καθαίρειν παραγγέλλας τὸ ἱερὸν τοῖς ναοδόλοις καὶ τὰ νόμμου ἐπιφέρειν τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀπέδωκεν Ἴρκανῳ κ.τ.λ.

θυσιαστήριον. This and not *βωμός* is the word preferred in the LXX. to translate the altar (בִּזְבֹּחַ) of God. We find *βωμός* used frequently of 'high places,' perhaps from the similarity of sound with 'bāmōth' [see *Isai.* xv. 2, xvi. 12; *Jer.* vii. 30, xxxii. (Gr. xxxix.) 35, xlvi. (Gr. xxxi.) 35; *Hos.* x. 8; *Am.* vii. 9], and

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10

ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΣΑΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ.

[II. 3

<sup>3</sup> ἀνθ' ὧν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐμίαναν τὰ ἅγια κυρίου,  
ἐβεβήλουν τὰ δῶρα τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ἀνομίαις·

<sup>4</sup> ἔνεκεν τούτων εἶπεν· ἀπορρίψατε αὐτὰ μακρὰν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ·

3 δῶρα V.

of heathen altars (Ex. xxxiv. 13; Num. xxiii. 1, 2, 4, &c.; Dt. vii. 5, xii. 3; 2 Chron. xxxi. 1; Is. xvii. 8, xxvii. 9; Jer. xi. 13). The word is also used of the disputed altar in Jos. xxii. Exceptions are Ecclus. l. 12, 14; 2 Macc. ii. 19, xiii. 8, where the altar at Jerusalem is called βωμός.

In 1 Maccabees βωμός (i. 59, ii. 23, 24, 25, 45, v. 68) is always used of a heathen altar. The distinction appears in a striking manner in 1 Macc. i. 59 'they did sacrifice upon the idol altar which was upon the altar of God' (θυσιάζοντες ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου). With this agrees the usage of the N. T.

ἔθνη ἀλλότρια. This phrase in the LXX. occurs, we believe, only in Ecclus. (xxxvi. 2, xxxix. 5, xlix. 6). The very similar expression ἀλλότριοι λαοὶ is found in Isai. i. 7, as the rendering of אֲנִי, which was probably the word used in the original of the present passage.

κατεπάτων. The change of tense from aor. to impf. should be observed here and in ver. 3.

The clause is identical in meaning with ver. 20 ὠνείδισαν γὰρ ἔθνη Ἱερουσαλήμ ἐν καταπατήσει, where the verb and substantive change places. The verb καταπατεῖν may be illustrated by Is. lxiii. 18; Dan. viii. 13; 1 Macc. iii. 46, 52, iv. 60; 3 Macc. ii. 18. The expansion of the image by the words ἐν ὑποδήμασιν does not appear to have any parallel in the O. T. The 'locus classicus' in the O. T. showing that to remove the shoes on approaching a sanctuary was necessary is Ex. iii. 5; cf. Test. Zab. § 3.

For 'the trampling under foot', compare Apoc. Bar. xiii. 11 'nunc autem vos, populi et gentes, debitores estis, quia toto hoc tempore conculcastis terram &c.'

ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ. Cf. xvii. 15. It is very characteristic of the style of our Greek translator to close a clause with the preposition ἐν and an abstract subst. Cf. in this Psalm vv. 3, 20, 29, 32, 35, 37, 40.

3 οἱ υἱοὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ. For this expression, which occurs also in ver. 20, we

hardly find any parallel in the O. T. except Joel iii. 6 'the children also of Judah and the children of Jerusalem have ye sold unto the sons of the Grecians.' (LXX. τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἱερουσαλήμ.)

On the 'daughters of Jerusalem' see note on v. 14.

ἐμίαναν τὰ ἅγια κυρίου. In this and the following clause the language is based upon passages in Leviticus and Ezekiel. The Greek of this clause closely resembles the LXX. version in Ezek. v. 11 ζῶ ἐγὼ λέγει κύριος ἢ μὴν ἀνθ' ὧν τὰ ἅγια μου ἐμίανας ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς βδελύγμασι σου, κἀγὼ ἀπόσωμαί σε, xxiii. 38 ἕως καὶ ταῦτα ἐποίησάν μοι, τὰ ἅγια μου ἐμίαναν, καὶ τὰ σάββατά μου ἐβεβήλουν. In both passages the term τὰ ἅγια μου translates ὡֹשֶׁרֶת 'my sanctuary.' In the present passage we are of opinion that, as in i. 8, τὰ ἅγια κυρίου refers not to the Temple buildings but to the sacrifices and worship. Our reasons are (1) ver. 3 gives the explanation (ἀνθ' ὧν) of the dishonour to the 'altar' described in ver. 2: (2) the term is here employed as a parallel to τὰ δῶρα τοῦ θεοῦ: (3) it is the expression used by the LXX. to render the technical Levitical phrase 'the holy thing of the LORD' (הַקֹּדֶשׁ הַלֵּוִי) applied to sacrificial offerings, e.g. Lev. xix. 8 ὁ δὲ ἔσθων αὐτὸ, ἁμαρτίαν λήψεται, ὅτι τὰ ἅγια κυρίου ἐβεβήλωσε.

τὰ δῶρα τοῦ θεοῦ. This expression is used by the LXX. version to render 'the

bread of God' (הַמֶּלֶח הַקֹּדֶשׁ) in Levit. xxi. 6 ἅγιοι ἔσονται τῷ θεῷ αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐ βεβηλώσουσι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῶν· τὰς γὰρ θυσίας κυρίου δῶρα τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῶν αὐτοὶ προσφέρουσι, καὶ ἔσονται ἅγιοι, and vv. 8, 17, 21—23, xxii. 25.

Both clauses therefore appear to be based upon the Levitical laws relating to the priests. It is natural to conclude that the Psalmist, though speaking of 'the sons of Jerusalem,' is pointedly referring to the malpractices and laxities of the priests. And it is to be remembered that the Sadducees were very numerous among the Priests, since the High-