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THE TEXT NEWLY REVISED FROM ALL THE MSS.

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NOTES, APPENDIX, AND INDICES

BY

HERBERT EDWARD RYLE, M.A.,  
HULSEAN PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY; PROFESSORIAL FELLOW OF KING'S COLLEGE,  
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καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος ἦν ἐν ἱεροσολήμῃ ὡς ὄνομα συμεών,  
καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος δίκαιος καὶ ἐλάβῃς, προσδεχόμενος παρὰ-  
κλήσιν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ πνεῦμα ἦν ἄγιον ἐπ' αὐτόν.

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TO THE  
RIGHT REVEREND BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D.,  
LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM,  
THE FIRST HONORARY FELLOW OF KING’S COLLEGE,  
CAMBRIDGE,  
THIS BOOK  
IS DEDICATED BY  
TWO FRIENDS  
MEMBERS OF THE SAME SOCIETY.

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## PREFACE.

THE *raison d'être* of this book is to be sought for partly in the fact that the Psalms of Solomon recently formed one of the subjects selected for the Theological Tripos by the Special Board of Theological Studies in the University of Cambridge, and partly in the fact that existing editions and commentaries were in many respects unsatisfactory, and difficult of access. It is hoped that the present edition will meet the needs of English students, at all events until the publication of the long-promised work of Dr Oscar von Gebhardt.

To the Syndics of the University Press we would express our sincere thanks for the publication of our book. We wish it were more worthy of the privilege thus accorded to it.

In respect of our other obligations, we have great pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to the help we have received from Dr Chr. Bruun, Librarian of the Royal Library at Copenhagen, from the Archimandrite Wladimir, of Moscow, and from M. l'Abbé Pierre Batiffol, of Paris. Our obligations to previous writers upon the Psalms of Solomon we have endeavoured to express in our Introduction.

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The text of this edition is based on collations of three MSS. unknown to previous editors, together with a fresh collation of the two remaining authorities. Passages in which the LXX. version appears to have suggested words or phrases are printed in uncial type.

The translation aims at being literal.

The notes are intended to be useful to students of a not very advanced type. We venture to hope that the Indices will be found serviceable. The somewhat full Table of Contents is intended to obviate the necessity of an *Index Rerum*.

A joint Editorship, while productive of most real pleasure, is yet peculiarly favourable to the survival of errors of the press. For such of these as remain uncorrected in the present work we would apologise to our readers.

H. E. RYLE.  
 M. R. JAMES.

KING'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,  
*March, 1891.*



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## INTRODUCTION.

### § i. *Editions.*

THE eighteen Psalms contained in this book have already been edited in one form or another some ten times, and to each of these ten editions we propose to devote a few words.

The Editio Princeps appeared in 1626 at Lyons. Its editor was one John Louis de la Cerda, a Spaniard, of the Society of Jesus, born at Toledo cir. 1560, died at Madrid 1643. His magnum opus was a commentary on Virgil in three folio volumes. The work with which we are concerned is entitled ‘Adversaria sacra, opus varium ac veluti fax ad lucem quam multorum locorum utriusque Instrumenti, Patrumque et Scriptorum quorumcunque: Christianae antiquitatis et sacrorum rituum pancarpia: politioris denique literaturae thesaurus multiplex. Accessit eodem autore Psalterii Salomonis ex Graeco MS. codice pervetusto Latina versio et ad Tertulliani librum de pallio commentarius auctor.’ The Adversaria are 187 chapters devoted to the discussion and illustration of obscure words occurring in the Vulgate and Latin Fathers. Among Cerda’s favourite authors are Tertullian and St Aldhelm.

By way of appendix to this he adds two tracts, one the Psalterium Salomonis, the other Tertullian de Pallio. The latter is presented in an amended text, and is furnished with critical notes. We are only concerned at present with the former.

It is entitled simply ‘Psalterium Salomonis.’ In a short note ‘Ad Lectorem,’ Cerda merely says that he received the Psalms from the Rev. Father Andreas Schott, and that they had been recently found ‘in membranis antiquissimis Bibliothecae Augustanae.’ These words taken by themselves leave it an open question whether Cerda actually had the ms. in his hands or only a copy of it. From some of Cerda’s ‘Scholia,’ however, one would rather gather that he had the ms. before him; see e.g. on ii. 4, iv. 19 (‘obscure in meo Graeco Codice’), 21,

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v. 16 ('in Codice quem vidi'); vii. 9 ('vix permittit Graecum legi') etc. Fabricius, however (p. 973), says that Cerda 'apographum se accepisse profitetur' from Schott. On the further history of the MS. see section iii., p. xxvii.

On the merits of Cerda's edition it may be well to say something. His MS. was either in a damaged condition or had been defectively copied for him, and his conjectures are not often convincing. In some few passages his Greek text gives one reading and his Latin version adopts another, because, probably, he had imperfectly revised the former. His view of the book is this:—that if not the work of Solomon, the great objection to such a view being the silence of ages concerning the document, it is at any rate the production of a man well learned in the Scriptures. He rejects the idea that it is a forgery, or that the author was a real Solomon, distinct from the king. His explanation of what he considers it to be is not easy to understand, 'quia induceret illum (Solomonem) loquentem et psallentem, ac parens David fortasse etiam accederet ut ipse auctor diceretur Solomon, nisi id fecisset Nepos episcopus,' etc. Elsewhere he speaks of himself as kindly inclined to the hypothesis of genuine Solomonic origin.

His notes are not very suggestive; he quotes from the classics a good deal, and interprets allusions occasionally. Psalm ii. is referred to a king of Babylon. He designedly assimilates his Latin version to the language of the Vulgate, which he has evidently studied with great care.

The Psalms appeared next in the *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* of Jo. Alb. Fabricius, Hamburg and Leipsic, 1713, pp. 914—999. Fabricius, whose services to Apocryphal literature can hardly be over-estimated, gives us here merely a reprint of Cerda's text version and scholia, prefixing an extract from Huet (*Demonstr. Evang.* iv. p. 397), and adding a few notes of his own. Some errors of the press are to be found in his reprint; his conjectures, which are few in number, can only be sustained, it seems to us, in two cases (iv. 2 σημειώσαι and xviii. 4 νιός). The rest may be seen in our Apparatus Criticus.

The next two appearances of our Psalter were in translations. The first is Whiston's, which is to be found in that curious person's *Authentick Records*, Vol. i. p. 117—161. (London, 1727.)

We have here a version made, it seems, more on the authority of Cerda's Latin than on that of the original Greek. Its value is, as nearly as possible, nothing. But Whiston's theory of the authorship of

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the Psalms is so eccentric as to deserve mention. He regards them as the work of a certain Solomon, distinct from the king of Israel, of whom he finds mention made in 4 Esdr. x. 46, 'and after thirty years Solomon built the city and offered sacrifices' [thirty being here a misreading for three thousand]. Solomon, then, was an otherwise unknown leader who lived during the period of the Persian Captivity, in the days of Artaxerxes Mnemon.

The one service which Whiston has rendered seems to be that of introducing our book to English readers: but we cannot find that his work had much effect. He is also the first (and only) editor who calls attention to the passage from Lactantius (see p. xxiii.).

Geiger (p. 6) cites Fabr. *Bibl. Gr.* xiv. p. 162, as mentioning a German translation of these Psalms which appeared in 1716 at Leipzig.

Here may be also mentioned the French version inserted in Migne's *Dict. des Apocryphes*, Vol. i. col. 939—956 (1856). Nothing but a short prefatory note accompanies the translation, which is not particularly faithful.

Dr Akibon (mentioned by Geiger, p. 6) produced a German version in 1857.

All these editors had only Cerda's text to go upon. We now come to a series of editions which aim at presenting an emended text.

First come the two editions of Hilgenfeld, which are practically identical. The first appeared in his *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie* xi. pp. 133—168 and 356. The second in his *Messias Judaeorum*, Leipzig, 1869, pp. xi.—xviii., 1—33.

His text is based on Cerda, and on Jos. Haupt's collation of the Vienna ms. He introduces also a good many emendations of his own, and some of Dr Paul de Lagarde's. Many of his own conjectures are ingenious, many very wild; all will be found in our Apparatus Criticus, but not many have been adopted into our text. Those by Lagarde are nearly always interesting, some, e.g. *ἐπευκτῇ* viii. 18, seem to us undoubtedly right. This great scholar is, it may be incidentally mentioned, a believer in a Hebrew original of the Psalms (Hilg. on ii. 23).

Hilgenfeld's views may be shortly summarized here. He places the date shortly after Pompey's death in 48 B.C., and regards the book as an original Greek composition. The writer, he thinks, made use of the Wisdom of Solomon and the 3rd Book of the Sibylline Oracles. The writer of 4 Esdras, on the other hand, made use of the Psalms. Lastly, Hilgenfeld believes them to have been written in Egypt.

The next edition is that of Father Edward Ephraem Geiger, of the Convent of St Stephen at Augsburg. This book appeared in 1871

J. P.

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at Augsburg. It is an octavo of 168 pages, *Der Psalter Salomo's herausgegeben und erklärt*, etc. (Prolegomena, pp. 1—25. Text and German translation, pp. 28—79. Critical notes, pp. 80—94. Commentary, pp. 95—166.) His text is based on the same materials as Hilgenfeld's, but he does not adopt many of H.'s conjectures. He devotes much of his Introduction and Notes to the consideration of the Hebrew original, in which he is a firm believer. His general view of the date and situation agrees with that of Hilgenfeld and others: on certain questions, such as the relation of Ps. xi. to Baruch, he says little or nothing. On the whole, his book is a valuable and instructive one, and considerable use has been made of it in this edition.

Fritzche, in his *Libri V. T. Pseudepigraphi selecti* (1871) has presented our book in a most convenient and accessible form (pp. 1—21). We have here a Greek text simply, with a short prefatory note. The editor is conscious of Hilgenfeld, but apparently not of Geiger. He uses no more mss. than his predecessors. His collation of Cerda is not complete; the conjectures which he adds are not as a rule successful in our judgment, and he often prefers patent error in Hilgenfeld's company to possible correctness along with the mss.

The last edition produced by Hilgenfeld calls for some remark. It is in the form of a translation with critical notes, and is to be found in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie* for 1871, pp. 383—418. The immediate occasion for it was the appearance of Geiger's edition, and his strong advocacy of the Hebrew original of the Psalms. Hilgenfeld, disbelieving in this Hebrew original, takes occasion to review Geiger's arguments in critical notes attached to each Psalm. There is, further, a second set of critical notes, in which Geiger's readings are reviewed, and new conjectures of Hilgenfeld or of other scholars are added. This second set of notes is, in our opinion, the most important part of this edition, and the best of the new conjectures are by Maur.-Schmidt; Hilgenfeld gives us no reference to any article or publication in which these conjectures may have been advanced, so that we are left to conclude that they were communicated privately to the editor. These conjectures are three in number:

i. 2. εἶπα Ἀκούσεται.

xvi. 2. νᾱρκᾱν.

xvii. 38. ἐλέγξει for ἐλέησει.

All these are remarkable, and it is much to be wished that Mr Schmidt should have occupied more time in elucidating the text of our book.

The new conjectures advanced by Hilgenfeld himself cannot be



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INTRODUCTION.

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said to add much to the value of the work. The best is perhaps ἐπὶ  
 ὀρίων ii. 30, for ἐπὶ ὀρέων. Others, not so good, are

- iv. 15. ἐντατῇ for ἐν ταύτῃ.
- viii. 9. ἐν παρορισμῷ for ἐν παροργισμῷ.
- xii. 3. παροινία...φλογὶ ζήλους for παροικία...φλογιζούσης.
- xvi. 8. ὑποκαιόμενου for ὑποκειμένου.
- xvii. 14. ζήλους for κάλλους. 37. ἀσπίδας for ἐλπίδας.

One passage is puzzling, viz. iv. 11 ἀλλήλων. Hilgenfeld's note here is 'ἀγγίλων ändere ich in ἀγγέλων (vgl. 2 Kön. (Sam.) 14, 20).' We have been unable so far to find any trace of a reading ἀγγίλων in either MSS. or editions, nor are we able to suggest what meaning could attach to it if it existed. On the other hand the alteration into ἀγγέλων is an extremely obvious but also a very important one, and is adopted by Wellhausen. It would therefore be very desirable to know the precise history of the reading.

Lastly in his *Zeitschrift* for 1876, pp. 140—2, Hilgenfeld reviews Wellhausen's translation of the Psalms with the approval it deserves, and takes occasion to defend once more his theory of the Greek original. None of the arguments he adduces in this article seem quite worth repeating.

The translation and notes which Wellhausen has given as an appendix to his book *Die Pharisäer und Sadducäer*, 1874, Greifswald, form by far the most important contribution to the study of this book which recent years have supplied. Some of Wellhausen's conjectures are exceedingly felicitous; all will be noticed in their proper places. But the great feature of his work is the view which he gives of the historical and religious position of the writer of the Psalms.

He speaks of having made a Hebrew version of the book, but we gather from Professor Robertson Smith, who was kind enough to communicate with him on the subject, that he has not committed it to writing.

The most recent edition of the Psalms is that by the Rev. Bernhard Pick, Ph.D., of Alleghany, Penn., which appeared in the *Presbyterian Review* for October, 1883, pp. 775—813. The form of this edition is extremely convenient; we first have a short Introduction (taken largely from Hilgenfeld, Geiger and Wellhausen) and a Bibliography taken chiefly from Schürer. Then from pp. 785—812 we have the text and English translation of the Psalms in parallel columns. The Apparatus Criticus and text of course depend on the work of previous editors, though the former is by no means complete, and no conjectures are advanced on Dr Pick's own responsibility. But the weak point of the

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whole is the translation, and the defects of this seem to emanate partly from an imperfect knowledge of English, and partly from the fact that he sometimes prints one text and translates another. A few instances will serve to show this :

- i. 4. διελθοι εἰς filled.
- ii. 2. κατεπάτουν. They have walked up and down in it. 6. ἐν ἐπισήμῳ ἐν in the sight of. 7. ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπεν. That He left them. 13. ἀντὶ πορνῶν. Because of the prostitutes. 15, 6. For all these things my heart mourns. 26. They will bring this to an end. 28. ἐν ἀρπάγματι like furies. 35. κοιμίζων stilling.
- iii. 6. He looks out, where will come etc.
- iv. 2. surpassing in words, surpassing in indolence all. ? insolence. 11. ἀλλήλων of others. 13. succeeded to scatter.
- v. 3. After having called to Thee. 6. against thy discrimination. παρὰ τὸ κρίμα σου. 7. wilt (ix. 19). 9. we shall not cease.
- viii. 1. ἡχοῦσης, calling to. 2. great pillar of fire. 7. fut. in txt, pres. in trans. 13. away from all kinds of impurity. 15. ἐπέρασεν sent upon them. 16. the Hardstricker. 36. μὴ ὄντος λυτρουμένου, irretrievably.
- ix. 6. τῶν ὁσίων σου. Thy pious.
- xi. 8. ἐλάλησεν ἀγαθόν, has promised salvation.
- xii. 4. συγχέαι, to bring together.
- xiv. 4. Who loved the day in the participation of their sins.
- xv. 7. every substance of sinners. 6. as a persecuting hunger. 15. ἐλεηθήσονται, shall be pitied.
- xvi. 1. I almost fell into a stupefaction. 8. nor of any who is controlled by unprofitable sin.
- xvii. 16. As the heathen do for their idols. 32. He will exalt the Lord exceedingly in all the earth.
- xviii. a gift beyond price.  
etc. etc.

We cannot, in the face of this, affirm that Dr Pick has contributed much that is valuable to the study of these Psalms, though he has undoubtedly done a good work in bringing them before the notice of a fresh circle of students in a convenient and accessible form.

Had Dr Oscar von Gebhardt given his promised edition to the world, there would probably have been neither room nor demand for ours. But it may well be the case that English students will be glad to have an edition in their own language, which shall unite as far as possible all the results of criticism on the important document before us. No doubt Dr von Gebhardt will have many valuable solutions of critical and historical problems to offer: we heartily hope that he may be more successful than we have been in dealing with some of them.

We must now attempt to enumerate the principal notices of the Solomonic Psalms other than separate editions.

The first writer after Cerda who says anything much about them

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is, we believe, John Eusebius Nieremberg, S. J. In his work *De origine S. Scripturae*, Libri xii. fol. Lyons, 1641, et al. he devotes some space to a notice of our book; lib. ix. c. 37 (pp. 337—342). He prints Pss. i. and xviii. in Greek and Latin, and Ps. xvii. 23—51 in Latin only. He also gives a list of the headings. He decides against the Solomonic authorship, alleging, exempli gratia, two points from the Psalms he selects. (i) The mention of ‘persecution’ in Ps. i.; (ii) the *χριστὸς κύριος* in Ps. xviii.; and he adds the mention of a battering-ram in Ps. ii. 1, and the fact that no father alludes to the book at all.

Of the two next authorities we have not been able to furnish any account from personal inspection. They are (1) Lud. Ferrandus, who makes some mention of the Psalms of Solomon in his commentary on the Psalter, Paris 1683, and (2) G. Janenski, who wrote a special dissertation *de Psalterio Solomonis*, published under the auspices of J. G. Neumann, Wittenberg, 1687.

Huet (Pet. Dan.), Bp of Avranches, the well-known critic, has a notice of our book in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, iv. p. 397, which Fabricius quotes. He attributes it to a Hellenist familiar with the LXX., living not long after our Lord; and he doubts whether any imposture was intended.

Probably other notices might be found in the works of eighteenth century scholars, but the next whom we are able to cite is Ernest Bengel, who, in his posthumous *Opuscula Academica*, Hamburg, 1834, examines the views of our writer on (1) the future life, p. 178, (2) the Messianic hope, p. 394. He gathers from Pss. ii. and xi. that the date of composition was posterior to the destruction of Jerusalem, and mentions a theory of Bretschneider’s that the Psalms, originally written in Hebrew after the Exile, were rendered into Greek after A.D. 70.

An article by Movers in Herder’s *Kirchenlexicon*, 1847, s.v. *Apokryphen* (revised by Kaulen for the recent edition by Wetzer and Welt), marks an epoch in the history of the criticism of our book. Movers is the first to assign the period of Pompey’s invasion as the date of it, and, further, he believes in the Hebrew original. He speaks of the book as a pearl among Apocryphal documents.

Ewald in his *History of Israel* (followed by Stanley, *Jewish Church*, iv. 303), assigns the book to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Elsewhere he suggests the probability that some of the Psalms, e.g. i. and ii., are wrongly separated, and offers at least one conjecture on the text (xvii. 13).

Grimm (C. L. W.), in his *Erste Buch der Maccabäer*, p. xxvii.,

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agrees in this view of the date, and mentions with favour the idea of a Hebrew original.

Hitzig, *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, p. 502, attributes the book to a Sadducaean author. Among his reasons for adopting this singular position are these, (1) that the description of the menpleasers in Ps. iv. resembles that of the Pharisees in the Gospels, (2) that the doctrine of freewill expressed in Ps. ix. 7 is Sadducaean, (3) that the Davidic Messiah of Ps. xvii. owes his revival to the existence of the Asmonean house.

Geiger (Abr.) in the *Jüd. Zeitschr. f. Wissensch. u. Leben*, vi. fasc. iii. 240, 1868, quoted by Hilgenfeld, calls the book a colourless production of the controversy between Pharisees and Sadducees—colourless, in the sense that it is difficult to date precisely.

Langen, *Judenthum im Zeit Christi*, p. 64, devotes some space to enunciating views which are practically those of Movers, and opposes Ewald's position.

Delitzsch, on the Psalter, ii. 381, and Keim, *Jesu v. Nazara*, i. 243, name the reign of Herod the Great, or the time of his accession, as the probable date.

Dillmann, in Herzog's *Realencyklopädie*, s.v. *Pseudepigraphen d. A. T.*, has a notice on the subject. Since the publication of the first edition this critic has altered his views. At that time he supported Ewald's theory of the date. In the more recent editions he adopts Wellhausen's results. Oehler in the same work, s.v. *Messias*, has a short notice.

Carrière (Aug.) has written a special dissertation in Latin, Strasburg, 1870. We have not been able to see a copy of it.

Vernes (Maurice) in his *Histoire des Idées Messianiques*, 1874, 121—139, discusses the book at length with reference to his main subject, the doctrine of the Messiah. We are indebted to him for some few references.

Grätz, *Gesch. d. Jud.*, iii. 489, assigned the Psalms to a Christian author, on the very slightest grounds. In the latest editions the statement is omitted.

Drummond, *The Messiah*, 1877, 133—142. This book gives a useful summary of previous criticisms, and a statement of the author's own view, which agrees for the most part with that of Movers, etc.

Stanton (Professor V. H.), *The Jewish and Christian Messiah*, Cambridge, 1884, has a short notice: he does not attempt to determine the date of the Greek version.

Schürer, *Palestine in the time of our Lord*, Eng. Trans., iii. 17, gives

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by far the best and fullest account that has yet appeared of the book, its MSS. and editions. He gives a list of references to authors who have written on the subject: of these, most have been noticed in the preceding pages; a few remain whom we have not been able to consult.

Dr Edersheim (*Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, I. p. 79, 146) gives an appreciation of the book, and contributes a suggestion that the successive Psalms should be read in connection with the correspondingly numbered Psalms in the Davidic Psalter.

Holtzmann (Oscar), (*Gesch. d. Volkes Israels*) in part 153 of the Berlin *Allgemeine Geschichte*, edited by W. Oncken, pp. 448—56, gives an excellent résumé of the character and contents of the Psalms. He adopts the standpoint of Wellhausen, and quotes copiously from his translation.

A Montauban programme by M. Jules Girbal (Toulouse, 1887) seems intended to prepare the way for a new French edition of these Psalms, but offers little that is new towards the understanding of them.

§ ii. *History of the book.*

The history of the Psalms before us, so far as it is to be gathered from early criticisms, 'testimonies,' or quotations, is very short and scanty indeed. Of passages where direct and undoubted mention is made of the collection, we have but six in all, and four of these are mere lists of books, while the two others form practically but a single one, for they are couched in identical words. Of passages where the reference is doubtful, or only by implication, we have three. It will be as well, we think, to put together these passages at once, and see what information we may fairly deduce from them. We will divide them into two classes, those whose reference is clear and unmistakable being placed in the first, those of less certain import in the second.

First come three well-known catalogues of Canonical and Uncanonical books, that called by the name of Athanasius (Synopsis S. Scripturae), that of Nicephorus (A.D. 806—814), and that which may be conveniently cited as the list of the Sixty Books.

Credner (*Zur Geschichte des Kanons*) investigates the relations of these first two lists. He concludes that the one attributed to Nicephorus is really the earlier, and originated in Syria in 500 A.D., and that the Athanasian one, whatever its date, is an abridged form of this (omitting the *στίχοι*), and is of Alexandrine origin.

Schürer, Vol. III., p. 123, also gives the text of the lists, and a similar estimate of their relations one to another. With reference to

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the 3rd, he adds that it is for the most part a rearrangement of that of Nicephorus. Each has one item peculiar to itself.

Credner's conclusions are traversed by Zahn, with his usual ability (*Gesch. d. Neutest. Kanons* II. i. p. 295, etc.). According to him, Nicephorus's list is a document reduced to its present form at Jerusalem cir. 850, while the *Synopsis* was compiled in the sixth century.

(1) 'Athanasius' (T. II., p. 154 of the Paduan edition) in § 74 of the *Synopsis*, following on an analysis of the Apocalypse, gives a list which is the prototype of that of Nicephorus.

He enumerates (for the second time) certain ἀντιλεγόμενα of the O. T., viz. Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Esther, Judith and Tobit, and adds σὺν ἐκείνοις δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἡριθμῆνται.

Μακκαβαϊκά βιβλία δ'.

Πτολεμαϊκά.

ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδαὶ Σολομώντος. (Fabricius and others read ᾠδαί.)

Σωσάννα.

(2) Nicephorus (Patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 806—814) rearranges this list, and adds the number of στίχοι to each item. He also omits one, the Πτολεμαϊκά (which, as Credner suggests, perhaps = 3 Macc. Zahn would read πολεμικά, and connect the word with Μακκαβαϊκά).

The entry in his *Stichometry* is as follows (v. Westcott *On the Canon of the N. T.*, no. XIX., App.):

καὶ ὅσαι ἀντιλέγονται τῆς παλαιᾶς αὐταὶ εἰσίν.

1. 3 books of Maccabees.

2. Wisdom of Solomon. (Here one MS. inserts no. 4.)

3. Ecclesiasticus.

4. ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδαὶ (v. l. -ῆ) Σολομώντος, στίχοι βρ' (2100).

5. Esther.

6. Judith. 7. Susanna. 8. Tobit.

(3) The list of the 'Sixty Books,' which is found appended to Anastasius Sinaita's *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, has been often printed; from a Royal MS. at Paris by Cotelier, *Patr. Apost.* I. p. 196, from a Coislin MS. by Montfaucon, *Bibl. Coisl.*, p. 194, from the Baroccian MS. no. 206 in Hody *de Bibliorum Textibus*, and Westcott *On the Canon of the N. T.* App. no. XVII., from a Vatican MS. by Pitra *Juris Eccl. hist. et mon.* I. 100, and lastly by Zahn, l. c. p. 289. It contains an appendix to the canonical books in two sections. (1) ὅσα ἔξω τῶν ξ', which consists of nine Deuterocanonical books. (2) ὅσα ἀπόκρυφα, twenty-five pseudepigrapha of Old and New Testament arranged in an order partly corresponding to the dates of the supposed authors.

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No. 8 is Ἀνάληψις Μωϋσέως. No. 9 is Ψαλμοὶ Σολομώντος. No. 10, Ἡλίου ἀποκάλυψις. This list is closely related to that of Nicephorus.

(4) Next in order comes the well-known catalogue of the contents of the Alexandrine ms. Here our book appears in the following connection :

ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου  
 Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολὴ α΄  
 Κλήμεντος ἐπιστολὴ β΄  
 ὁμοῦ βιβλία (number illegible)  
 Ψαλμοὶ Σολομώντος ιη΄.

We may note here that it seems possible that the Sinaitic ms (N) originally contained our book on six leaves now lost at the end. Such is Mr Rendel Harris's conjecture.

(5) The LIXth canon of the Council of Laodicea (c. 360 A.D.) provides ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐδὲ ἀκανόνιστα βιβλία, ἀλλὰ μόνα τὰ κανονικὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης. On this Joannes Zonaras (in 1118) and Theodorus Balsamon (about 70 years later) have the following note (see Beveridge's *Synodicum*, I. p. 480), quoted by Fabricius and others; ἐκτὸς μὲν τῶν ρν΄ ψαλμῶν τοῦ Δαβὶδ εὐρίσκονται καὶ τινες ἕτεροι λεγόμενοι τοῦ Σολομώντος εἶναι καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, οὓς καὶ ἰδιωτικοὺς ὠνόμασαν οἱ πατέρες καὶ μὴ λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ διετάξαντο. Balsamon merely copies Zonaras, as is his wont.

These are all the undoubted references to our book which the united industry of previous editors has been able to collect, and we are unable to add anything to them.

(6) The *second* class of references is headed by the evidence of the book 'Pistis Sophia' (composed in Greek in Egypt during the period 200—250 A.D., and extant in the Thebaic dialect). This evidence must be examined in detail later on; at present it may suffice to say that ᾠδαί of Solomon are mentioned in four places, and in one passage (p. 75 of the Latin, 116 of the Thebaic) a nineteenth ode of Solomon is cited.

(7) Ambrose, *Praef. in Lib. Psalmorum* (quoted by Geiger), 'seems to show a consciousness of uncanonical poems attributed to Solomon,' where he says, 'Salomo ipse David filius licet innumera cantica cecinisse dicatur, unum tamen quod ecclesia receperit canticorum canticum dereliquit.'

(8) Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* iv. 12, *Epit. Div. Inst.* c. xlv., has the following passage: 'Salomon ita dicit; Infirmatus est uterus Virginis,



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et accepit foetum, et gravata est, et facta est in multa miseratione mater Virgo.’ In the Epitome the same words occur thus introduced, ‘Apud Salomonem ita scriptum est.’ So the passage runs in the ordinary text, but several mss. add the source of the citation. In the Paris edition (Le Brun and Du Fresnoy) of 1748 we find the following note, ‘Inter caeteros alii addunt in *Ode undevigesima*; alii in *Psalm undevigesimo*: duo in *Psalm vigesimo*.’ Whether these words should stand in the text or not, they are all-important for our purpose. The fluctuation between *Psalmus* and *Ode* seems to point to the fact that different scribes added the reference from their own knowledge of the source quoted, and by consequence, to show that the words are a gloss. As to the conclusions to be drawn from the whole passage, they will be best reserved till a later period. Whiston (*Auth. Rec.* i. 155) is the first and only editor who called attention to this passage.

(9) That Vigilantius, the adversary of Jerome, who made use of the 4th Book of Esdras, made use likewise of an Apocryph under the name of Solomon seems certain from the following words of Jerome *adv. Vigilant.* (quoted by Geiger): ‘in commentariolo tuo quasi pro te faciens de Salomone sumis testimonium quod Salomon omnino non scripsit, ut qui habes alterum Esdras habebas et Salomonem alterum.’

That this ‘second Solomon’ is to be identified with the book used by Lactantius is at any rate not unlikely. More than this it would hardly be safe to say.

These are all the Patristic references, certain or supposed, to the Psalms of Solomon; what may fairly be adduced from them?

Generally, we may gather that the book attained only a very limited circulation. This is a necessary conclusion from the paucity of Patristic references. On the other hand, where it was read, it seems to have been read with respect. It is the solitary instance of an Old Testament book, which from being merely ἀντιλεγόμενον became ἀπόκρυφον. It is the one book which the scribe of A thought fit to add to the Canon. It is not, we think, possible to draw any instructive conclusion as to the Churches which received it most freely. Our evidence is fairly well scattered: one authority is Egyptian (perhaps two), one Syrian, three Latin, one Byzantine. But if Zonaras is right in his guess that the council of Laodicea had the Psalms of Solomon in their minds when they forbade the use of ἰδιωτικοὶ ψαλμοί in church, we should gain a striking proof of their popularity in Asia in the 14th century. We believe, however, that Zonaras only instances our book because it was the one uncanonical collection of Psalms known to him.

Going more into detail, we gather that the book was existing about



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A.D. 500 in two forms. 'There was, first, the collection now extant, the eighteen 'Psalms of Solomon.' There was also, however, an Appendix to this collection of ᾠδαὶ Σολομῶντος, almost equalling the first part in length, it may be. It is true that the latest editions of the lists of Ps.-Athanasius and Nicephorus read ψαλμοὶ καὶ ᾠδὴ Σ., but against this we have to set the earlier evidence of the Pistis Sophia, which uniformly speaks of the 'Odes of Solomon.' This appendix of Odes was, if not entirely Christian, at any rate interpolated with distinctively Christian matter. We hope to show, later on, that some of the Odes in the Pistis Sophia are, in fact, not necessarily Christian at all; but the passage which Lactantius quotes is unmistakable in its character. It is a curious coincidence that another fragment of the same Ode should be quoted in the Pistis Sophia: in that fragment the Christian element is not so apparent.

The Odes, whatever their origin, were most likely a later addition to the eighteen Psalms. Why were they added? Partly, no doubt, on the strength of the 1005 odes mentioned in the Book of Kings; but also, as we believe, because the original collection was obviously imperfect at the end. We venture to suggest that a possible history of the collection is the following. The original collection, of at least nineteen complete Psalms, and perhaps more, is circulated during the first century in Palestine. With the destruction of Jerusalem it narrowly escapes extinction, and is eventually propagated by the Christian community of Palestine, from an archetype of which the last leaf (or leaves) had disappeared. By way of restoring, or supplementing the gap, certain Odes are added, either Jewish ones already in circulation as detached pieces, or Christian ones composed for the purpose, and into the 2nd part Christian interpolations are introduced to an extent not now discoverable. However, copies of the original eighteen Psalms are still in circulation without the added Odes, and it is from these copies that our present text is derived. The scribe of A, and probably the author of the 3rd List of Books, was in possession of the shorter collection: Nicephorus, Lactantius, and the author of the Pistis Sophia, used the longer one. This is, of course, mere conjecture, and it may be urged that one feature in the particular is not probable, namely, the idea that the copies of the book had at one time all disappeared save one, and that a mutilated one. We should answer that it is most improbable that many copies of the Greek Version of this book were in existence before A.D. 70. The Psalms, according to most critics, were written in Hebrew for liturgical use. They probably would not be so used save in the near neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and in the city

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itself, and the majority of men who knew them at all would not require any Greek version of them. Hence the Greek copies would be few in number, and probably not dispersed over at all a wide area; for the Psalms are strongly Palestinian in character, and would not possess nearly the same amount of interest for a resident at Rome or Alexandria as for one living at or near the centre of political and religious life.

As to the length of the additions to the Psalms, we have only two facts to go upon. Nicephorus gives the length of Psalms and Odes together as 2100 στίχοι. The mss. of the Psalms say that they contain 1000 ἔπη. It has been suggested by previous editors, that the ἔπος is much longer than the στίχος, and therefore that the 2100 στίχοι might be amply accounted for by the eighteen Psalms *plus* the five Odes. Any such hypothesis is, however, put out of court by the investigations of M. Ch. Graux (see his article in the *Revue de Philologie*, &c. n. s. II. 97), who has shown that στίχος and ἔπος are synonymous terms for a fixed quantity, and that the στίχος had an uniform length of 34 to 38 letters. According to him, the stichometry of our book is corrupt. The 18 Psalms contain nearly 24,000 letters; and this means that they would yield about 700 στίχοι. But though the number 1000, given by our mss., may be wrong for our present text, it does not follow that it was necessarily wrong when the calculation was made. It may refer to a slightly longer recension than we possess—one, for example, in which the last Psalm existed in a complete form. Still less can we conclude that the stichometry of Nicephorus is incorrect in allotting 2100 στίχοι to the Psalms *and* Odes of Solomon. This much is clear; that the five Odes in the Pistis Sophia would not nearly make up the difference between 1000 and 2100 lines. Besides this, we must remember that there is nothing to show that the five Odes were all that existed under Solomon's name,—indeed, the evidence points in the other direction. We believe then that the added portion was quite twice as long as our present collection, and it is much to be wished that some further remains of it should be recovered. The number of στίχοι attributed to the whole by Nicephorus gives us a book of the same length as Joshua. The canonical Psalms, according to the same authority, contain 5100 στίχοι.

A word as to possible versions of our book in other languages than Greek. We cannot assume the existence of a Thebaic version from the evidence of the Pistis Sophia, for the whole of that book may be a translation from Greek. It will have been noticed, however, that three of the authorities quoted above are Latin writers, and, in particular, the reference supplied by the mss. of Lactantius may very fairly be taken as

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indicating that an old Latin version existed at one time. This is, on other accounts, probable enough : it seems likely from Priscillian's tracts, the Gelasian Decree and other lists, that very obscure apocryphal books were well known in the West. No one would have suspected the existence of a Latin Book of Jubilees or Assumption of Moses ; yet the Milan palimpsest established their existence. We are not aware that a trace of any other version—Ethiopic, Syriac or Armenian—has ever been pointed out.

§ iii. *The MSS.*

There are at present four mss. of the Psalms of Solomon known to exist, and of one, which is lost, we possess a printed edition. Two of these mss. were first noticed by Dr Oscar von Gebhardt, and one by that excellent palaeographer, the late M. Charles Graux. The present edition is the first in which all five authorities have been used.

We proceed to describe the mss.

1. A. Augustanus. This ms., from which the Psalms were first printed by J. L. de la Cerda, was in his time preserved in the Public Library at Augsburg. We first hear of it in a letter from Andreas Schott to Johannes Meursius written in 1615 (*Meursii opera*, ed. J. Lamy, xi. p. 249). Schott says : 'Hoeschelius Graece pollicetur editurum se Cyrilli Alexandrini adversus Julianum παραβάτην libros ; nactum se quoque Salomonis exemplar vetustissimum Constantinopoli adlatum, in quo psalmi xviii Salomonis, hactenus ἀνέκδοτοι et invisī.' Cerda, in his prefatory note to the Psalms, does not tell us even so much as this about the ms. He says : 'Misit adhuc Reuerentissimus Pater Andreas Schottus Societatis nostrae hos Psalmos Salomonis recens in membranīs antiquissimis Bibliothecae Augustanae repertos, Graece solum manu scriptos.' Fabricius says that Cerda professes only to have received a transcript of the ms., but the latter's notes led one to believe that Schott sent him the ms. itself (see p. xiii.). No one has ever seen it since, though Hilgenfeld and Geiger both made enquiries after it. From these extremely meagre accounts we gather that the ms. was a parchment one, of considerable age (the 'vetustissimus' can hardly be pressed), and that it contained some of the other Sapiential books (Schott speaks of it as 'Salomonis exemplar') : from Cerda's notes we gather further that it was difficult to read or damaged in some places ; 'obscure scriptum ut legere nequirem' and similar expressions occur with some frequency.

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If Cerda's reprint is to be trusted, the Augsburg ms. cannot be identified with any of those now known. But on this matter see below.

2. V. Vindobonensis. This ms., which was first used by Hilgenfeld for the text of the Psalms, is mentioned first by Petrus Lambecius in his *Commentarius de Bibl. Caes. Vindob.* III. p. 20; next by Nessel in his catalogue, p. 31. Fabricius (p. 973) notices its existence. Hilgenfeld obtained a collation and description of it from Jos. Haupt (*Mess. Jud.* p. xiii.).

It is numbered as Cod. Gr. Theol. 7 (11 in Nessel), a folio measuring 13½ by 10¼ Vienna inches, of the xth century, written in double columns of 26 lines, 7½ Vienna inches high, in one hand, written in semi-uncials. The ink has faded somewhat, *even* the rubricated titles and initials of the Psalms. The margins of the pages are prepared for Scholia.

The contents of the ms. are as follows :

Job,	with a catena	f. 1.
Proverbs	„ „	34.
Ecclesiastes	„ „	61.
Song of Solomon	„ „	77.
Wisdom, without a catena		86.
Ψαλμοὶ Σολομῶντος		105 b.
Ecclesiasticus		118—166.

Twenty-two leaves are lost between ff. 33—34. The ms. was bought by Augier de Busbecq at Constantinople cir. 1570. Lambecius, in a marginal note, mentions Cerda's work, and recommends the collation of this copy.

We depend on Hilgenfeld's edition for our knowledge of this ms.

[Since the above was written, we have obtained a full collation of V made by Dr Rudolf Beer, which shows that Haupt's was most inaccurate, and materially changes our estimate of the ms.]

3. K. Havniensis. This ms., now preserved in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, was first noticed by M. Charles Graux, who, in the *Revue Critique* for 1877, p. 291—3, in a review of Dr Chr. Bruun's *Aarsberetningen og Meddelelser fra det Store Kongelige Bibliothek*, Pt iii. 1877, describes the ms. briefly and gives a few specimens of its readings. He subsequently gave a fuller description in his *Notices sommaires des MSS. grecs de la Grande Bibliothèque Royale de Copenhague*. Paris, 1879, pp. 1—4. From these sources we gather the following facts.

The ms. is no. 6 of the old Royal collection. It was bought at Venice in 1699 by Frederick Rostgaard, along with most of the other Greek mss. at Copenhagen. In 1726, Count Danneskjold bought his

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collection, and in 1732 most of it passed into the Royal Library. This volume consists of quires 11—39 of a xth century ms. in folio, written in double columns, with scholia, in a very beautiful hand. It contains :

Job, with a catena.	
Proverbs,	} with Scholia.
Ecclesiastes,	
Song of Songs,	
Wisdom,	} without Scholia.
Psalms of Solomon,	
Ecclesiasticus.	

At fol. 84 is a very fine full-page painting representing Solomon enthroned. A facsimile of this may be seen in M. Bruun's work referred to above. Graux also gives two pages of the Psalms in facsimile. The liberality of the authorities at Copenhagen permitted this precious volume to be sent to the Cambridge University Library in the summer of 1888, and here Professor Ryle collated it for the purposes of this edition. To Dr Bruun in particular, for his great services to us in this matter, we beg to offer a sincere expression of our gratitude.

4. M. Mosquensis. This ms. was discovered by Dr Oscar von Gebhardt in 1879. The discovery is announced in an article by Dr Harnack in the *Theologische Literatur-Zeitung* for 1877, p. 627. No description of the ms. is there given.

We owe our knowledge of this ms. to the very great kindness of the Archimandrite Wladimir who holds the position of *Συνοδικὸς Σκευοφύλαξ καὶ Χαρτοφύλαξ*, to whom we desire hereby to render our warmest thanks. On being asked to furnish us with a collation of the ms. he at once sent a transcript of the entire text, made by himself, and a description of the ms. which we here subjoin. Such signal kindness as this deserves a better recognition than we can give.

Mosquensis Sanctissimae Synodi Bibliothecae Graecae Codex N 147, membranaceus, sec. xiii. fol. 225 (longitudo 13 $\frac{3}{4}$  digitos, latitudo 11 d.), duabus et tribus columnis paginae scriptae sunt, celere caractere. Tituli librorum et litterae initiales minio scripti sunt. Mosquam hic Codex translatus est ex monasterio Iberorum in Monte Atho, ab Arsenio Suchanow anno Christi 1653. Huic Codici in principio adscriptum *Ἀρσενίῳ ἩΓ τῶν Ἱβήρων*. Continet (1) fol. 3—82, *Βίβλος τοῦ Ἰώβ*; habet 33 capita cum catena variorum patrum: Chrysostomi, Dion. Areopagitae, Basilii Magni, Greg. Naz., Olympiodori, Theod. Mops., Polychronii, Didymi, Apolinarii, Origenis, Juliani, Theoph. Alex., et Cyrilli, Severi Antioch., Methodii, et Evagrii. Initium catenae,

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Ἡ χώρα ἡ Ἀυσίτις, χώρα ἦν τῷ Ἡσαῦ. Finis texti in f. 82, οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες πρὸς αὐτὸν φίλοι, Ἐλιφάξ τῶν Ἡσαῦ υἱῶν, Θαιμανῶν βασιλεὺς, Βαλδὰδ ὁ Σαυχαίων τύραννος. Σωφάρ ὁ Μιναίων βασιλεὺς. Ultimum scholium Evagrii, τοῦ Ἐλιφάξ ἦν υἱὸς Σωφάρ καὶ Ἀμαλήκ, etc. (2) f. 83—125, Παροιμίαι Σολομώντος. Init. catenae, Εἰ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ῥητὸν τὸ εὐθεὲς οἱ τῶν Παροιμιῶν ἀποσώζουσι λόγοι. Nomina commentatorum: Apol., Did., Dionys., Cyr., et Marcus. (3) f. 126—142, ἐκκλησιαστῆς cum scholiis anon. quorum init. Εἰ ἐκκλησιαστῆς ὁ λαλῶν, ἐκκλησίας ἄξια τὰ λεγόμενα. (4) f. 142—150 Ἄσμα ῥσμάτων. Nomen auctoris et init. scholii amplius legi nequit, atramentum enim expalluit. (5) f. 151—168 Σοφία Σολομώντος sine scholiis. (6) hic in f. 168—179 leguntur xviii Psalmi et Odae qui [ab] aliis tribuuntur Salomoni, sine titulis, sine divisione in capita et carmina, et sine scholiis. (7) f. 179—225 Σοφία Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σιράχ, sine scholiis. Init. prologi, Πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων. In fol. 224 Προσενχὴ Ἰησοῦ υἱοῦ Σιράχ. Init. ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι, κ.τ.λ.

5. P. Parisiensis. This ms. was also first noticed by Dr O. v. Gebhardt, and the discovery announced in Dr Harnack's article referred to above. In the case of this ms. also we have to acknowledge a debt of gratitude to a scholar who has been kind enough to devote time and thought to furnishing us with a full collation of the text. The Rev. Pierre Batiffol, well known as the discoverer of Codex Φ (Beratinus), and as the editor of the Nicene Canons, and of Études Patristiques, etc., has most generously furnished us with a collation of the ms. in question: and it is with the greatest pleasure that we place on record this instance of his courtesy, and offer him our sincerest acknowledgments. In September of this year (1890) Mr James was able to make a brief inspection of the ms. and to glean a few additional particulars of it.

The ms. is no. 2991A in the National Library at Paris. It is a paper book written in 1419 in 'petit format,' of 495 leaves. The contents are very miscellaneous, but fall for the most part into well-defined groups.

I.

a.	First comes Isocratis oratio ad Demonium.....f. 2
	Oratorum nomina, etc. ....11 b
	Aesopi fabulae aliquot .....12
b.	Next two Byzantine tracts.
	Mich. Attaliotae promptuarium juris, imperfect...14
	Georg. Codini de officiis aulae CP .....65
c.	Then Letters of Basil to Gregory Naz. ....135
	Letters of Libanius and Basil .....143
d.	Niceph. Gregoras, two 'monodiae' and some letters .....154