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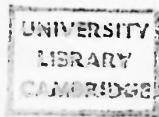
Ph.D. 10489

THE PROVENANCE OF THE ODES OF SOLOMON

~~A study in Jewish and Christian symbolism~~

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Cambridge.



A Dissertation Submitted to the University
of Cambridge for the Degree of Doctor of
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'The Provenance of the Odes of Solomon':

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In the first Chapter of this thesis, the basic problem of the Odes of Solomon, which has led to very different accounts of their provenance since their discovery in 1909, is discussed: the vagueness of the language which the odist employs.

In the second Chapter, the worship of the community and the pattern of ministry within it are discussed: although the odist's ministry is unparalleled in other communities, a study of the reminiscences of the Old Testament in the Odes shows that he is aligned with second-century Christian writers.

In the third Chapter, a series of comparisons of the Odes with other literature suggests that they 'fit' well into second-century Christianity. Their links to the literature of Qumran, to the canonical gospels and Johannine literature, to Ignatius, and to gnostic literature, are discussed.

In the fourth Chapter, the theological isolation of the odist is discussed by means of a study of the use of individual nuptial imagery in the Odes and a study of the christological language he uses; but their links to second-century Christianity are seen in a study of Odes 27 and 42:1f.

The conclusion drawn from this study is that previous attempts to identify the provenance of the Odes concentrated too much on links to one body of literature while ignoring other significant parallels. It is only when they are considered as part of the whole spectrum of intertestamental Judaism and early Christianity that their provenance can be assessed. The conclusion of the thesis is that they are best dated in the second quarter of the second century A.D.

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This thesis presents work done by myself, and not in any degree in collaboration with others.

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METHOD OF CITATION

The Odes of Solomon are cited in the enumeration of J. H. Charlesworth, The Odes of Solomon, Oxford 1973, throughout this dissertation.

TRANSLATIONS

Translations from the scriptures and from 2 Esdras are taken from The Revised Standard Version (the Common Bible), London 1973. Translations of the Odes of Solomon and of all other texts are my own, except where explicitly mentioned in the footnotes.

ABBREVIATIONS

(I) Texts

Asc. Isa.	Ascension of Isaiah
Ep. Ap.	Epistula Apostolorum
Ep. Diogn.	Epistle to Diognetus
Ev. Pet.	Gospel of Peter
GPhil	Gospel of Philip
GThom	Gospel of Thomas (Nag Hammadi)
Mart. Polyc.	Martyrdom of Polycarp
Ode(s)	Odes of Solomon
Orac. Sib.	Sibylline Oracles
Par. Jer.	Paralipomena Jeremiou
Prot. Jac.	Protevangelium of James
Pss. Sol.	Psalms of Solomon
Test. ...	Testament of ...

Texts from Qumran and Nag Hammadi are referred to in the conventional manner.

ABBREVIATIONS

(II) Patristic and Other Texts

Clement, <u>Exc. Theod.</u> <u>Paed.</u> <u>Strom.</u>	<u>Excerpta ex Theodoto</u> <u>Paedagogus</u> <u>Stromateis</u>
Epiphanius, <u>Pan.</u>	<u>Panarion</u>
Eusebius, <u>H.E.</u>	<u>Ecclesiastical History</u>
Hermas, <u>Sim.</u> <u>Mand.</u> <u>Vis.</u>	<u>Similitude(s)</u> <u>Mandate(s)</u> <u>Vision(s)</u>
Hippolytus, <u>Ref.</u>	<u>Refutatio (Elenchus)</u>
Ignatius, <u>Eph.</u> <u>Magn.</u> <u>Philad.</u> <u>Polyc.</u> <u>Rom.</u> <u>Smyrn.</u> <u>Trall.</u>	<u>Ephesians</u> <u>Magnesians</u> <u>Philadelphians</u> <u>Polycarp</u> <u>Romans</u> <u>Smyrnaeans</u> <u>Trallians</u>
Irenaeus, <u>Adv. Haer.</u> <u>Dem.</u>	<u>Adversus Haereses</u> <u>Demonstration</u>
Josephus, <u>Ant.</u>	<u>Antiquities</u>
Justin, I <u>Apol.</u> <u>Dial.</u>	<u>First Apology</u> <u>Dialogue with Trypho</u>
Melito, <u>Hom.</u>	<u>Peri Pascha</u>
Philo, <u>Leg. Alleg.</u> <u>Vita Cont.</u>	<u>Legum Allegoria</u> <u>De Vita Contemplativa</u>
Photius, <u>Ep.</u>	<u>Epistles</u>
Pliny, <u>Ep.</u>	<u>Epistles</u>
Polycarp, <u>Phil.</u>	<u>Philippians</u>
Ps.-Cyprian, <u>Adv. Jud.</u>	<u>Adversus Judaeos</u>
Tertullian, <u>Adv. Marc.</u>	<u>Adversus Marcionem</u>

ABBREVIATIONS

(III) Modern secondary literature

<u>BJRL</u>	<u>Bulletin of John Rylands Library</u>
<u>CBQ</u>	<u>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</u>
<u>ExpT</u>	<u>Expository Times</u>
<u>Hist. Rel.</u>	<u>History of Religions</u>
<u>JBL</u>	<u>Journal of Biblical Literature</u>
<u>JEH</u>	<u>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</u>
<u>JSJ</u>	<u>Journal for Study of Judaism</u>
<u>JSS</u>	<u>Journal of Semitic Studies</u>
<u>JTS</u>	<u>Journal of Theological Studies</u>
<u>NovT</u>	<u>Novum Testamentum</u>
<u>NTS</u>	<u>New Testament Studies</u>
<u>Rev. Bib.</u>	<u>Revue Biblique</u>
<u>RQ</u>	<u>Revue de Qumrân</u>
<u>RThPh</u>	<u>Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie</u>
<u>TWNT</u>	G. Kittel and G. Friederich (eds.), <u>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</u> , 10 vols., Stuttgart 1939-74.
<u>Vig. Chr.</u>	<u>Vigiliae Christianae</u>
<u>ZNW</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</u>
<u>ZThK</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</u>
ET	English translation
ns	new series

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM OF THE ODES OF SOLOMON

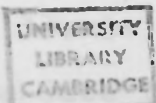
The intention of this dissertation is to examine the Odes of Solomon and to identify their provenance. In this first Chapter, I shall discuss the basic problem of the Odes, which has led to widely different suggestions about their provenance, and discuss the methodology I employ.

The footnotes are gathered at the end of the thesis. The argument is carried in the text of the Chapters, but the footnotes are an indispensable support to this argument. Their ampleness is dictated by the problems raised by the texts discussed (see Section II of this Chapter).

CHAPTER I

Section I:

The Problem



I

The clearest way to set out the problem posed by the Odes of Solomon is to discuss the interpretation proposed in 1910 by Adolf Harnack.¹

Harnack begins with the observation that the Odes do not belong to mainstream Christianity, for there is no mention of the name of Jesus, of the cross and passion, of the word and example of Jesus, of sin and repentance, of forgiveness, or of baptism. Although three Odes at least must be Christian (19, 27, 42:1-3), the presence of Odes 4 and 6, in which the Temple is the aim of the water (6:8),² must indicate that the Odes of Solomon are basically a Jewish work: 'auch ein Judenchrist, mag man ihn sich noch so jüdisch denken, kann daher unser Verfasser nicht sein'.³ The present state of the Odes is the result of Christian interpolation of a Jewish text, though (as in the case of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs) an interpolation that is not stylistically different from the Grund-schrift, so that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the two.

The Odes fall into four groups. (i) There are two Odes that are certainly Jewish, 4 and 6. (ii) There are Odes about which one may be at first sight uncertain: 1, 5, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 26, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, and 40. (iii) There are two Odes that are certainly

Christian, 27 and 19. (iv) There are Odes the nature of which is problematic: 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 17, 22, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 31, 36, 39, 41, and 42.

Harnack begins to deal with the fourth group by considering the uses of the expressions 'Son of God' and 'Messiah'. He eliminates all of the former as interpolations: in Ode 3, v. 7b is an interpolation, for elsewhere in this Ode the poet speaks only of God: "'Der Sohn" kommt wie aus der Pistole geschossen'.⁴ Similarly, nothing prepares the reader for the mention of the 'Son' at 7:15b and 23:18. At 23:22, the mention of the Son comes in a doxological interpolation. The mention of the son at 36:3 is an inappropriate insertion, involving a change of subject. 41:13 and 42:15 are each parts of larger Christian interpolations. The passages in which the word ~~Jesus~~ is used yield the same results to Harnack's analysis. 9:3 is an interpolation in an Ode which has nothing to do with a Messiah. At 24:1, the 'Messiah' is a Christian interpolation. In 36:6, it is the odist who says, 'He anointed me', not a messianic figure. 39:11 is an interpolation, for this Ode speaks not of the Messiah but of God. In Ode 42, vv. 3.25 are part of a larger Christian interpolation. We are left with 17:15, where it is unclear whether we have to do with a Jewish or a Christian Messiah. To sum up: 'the son' is spoken of only in Christian interpolations, and the same is true of the Messiah;

it is possible that in Odes 17 and 24 a Jewish Messiah is meant, but even these occurrences may very well be interpolations, for if a Jewish text spoke of the Messiah, we should expect to find more than these two references. Since groups (ii) and (iv), like group (i), have no messianism, we must suppose that they are originally Jewish, and look for their background to the Old Testament.

Anything Christian that remains in the Odes can best be explained on the hypothesis of an interpolator. For example, in Ode 7, vv. 3c-6b break the flow of the narrative, which ought to go from v. 3b to v. 7a:

'He has made himself known to me ungrudgingly
in his simplicity: [...]
the Father of knowledge ... '.

The passage referring to the Incarnation is gratuitously introduced; or, if not quite gratuitously, since it may have been suggested by v. 3b, certainly it has completely altered the original sense of the Ode. Similarly, v. 12 has been introduced to give the Ode a further reference to the Incarnation: the continuity should run from v. 11 to v. 13:

'For it is he who is incorrupt,
the perfection of the worlds and their Father. [...]
For he has set his way towards knowledge ... '.

Accordingly, Ode 7 is a compilation of Jewish and Christian materials, as are Odes 31, 41, and especially 42. In Ode 10, vv. 1-3 are from the same background as the rest of the odist's work,

but y. 6c (cf. also 31:12b) is a Christian interpolation. Vv. 4-6b are probably also Christian: God is called 'father' tout court only at 9:4, which may be a Christian addition. Accordingly, the whole passage, speaking of the Gentiles (vv. 4-6), is a Christian addition which has nothing to do with the earlier part of the Ode. The same problems occur in Ode 17. Here, as in Ode 10, we have a hymn of thanksgiving which suddenly becomes a hymn of rejoicing by Christ after his victory. Harnack proposes that vv. 9b-16 must be Christian, and refer to Jesus: such repeated use of 'I', 'my', and 'mine', cannot be ex ore odistae; y. 17 is a Christian doxology. The same process of making a thanksgiving hymn a christological hymn has occurred in Ode 29.

In all, one-eighth of the Odes must be obelised as Christian interpolation.⁵ Harnack suggests that it is probable that the Odes are the composition of one poet, since they are so closely inter-related. They are certainly Jewish, because the two certainly Jewish Odes, 4 and 6, both use the same sort of language as the rest. The interpolations were therefore not made in already-existing Christian hymns. Harnack says that little can be said of the provenance of the Grundschrift. The author did not belong to a Jewish gnostic group, nor to the Essenes. He sits lightly to ceremonies and the Law. He is no hermit, nor ascetic: he belongs in a group.

But he shows no strong attachment to the people of God and their history: it is the interpolator who mentions the patriarchs and people (Odes 10 and 31).

However, in some ways the odist is very close to 'Johannes'. The Odes have nothing in common with the teaching of the Jesus of the synoptic gospels, but in their characteristic themes (light, truth, living water, love, life, etc.) they show a non-messianic anticipation in late Judaism of the characteristic themes of Johannine theology. The achievement of 'Johannes' was to melt the synoptic Jesus into, and ground him in, this religion of light, life and love. And this was a Jewish, not a Hellenistic, religion: the 'word' of the Odes is the Old Testament 'word', not a Hellenistic *logos*. The distance of the Odes from Jesus or John the Baptist or Paul is seen in their silence about sin, repentance, or forgiveness. The only indication of the date of the Odes is that the Temple is still standing when the odist writes. The interpolator has not added anything that is specifically Judaeo-Christian or gnostic: all is 'grosskirchlich im vollen Sinn des Worts'.⁶ However, the date of the interpolation is earlier than A.D. 100, because the Odes are earlier than the Johannine writings: 'Man hat hier den Steinbruch vor sich, aus dem die johanneischen Quadern gehauen sind!'⁷

Harnack's hypothesis found many supporters; in particular, F. Spitta argued for the presence of more

interpolations.⁸ Some objections to the hypothesis were proposed by R. H. Connolly, who believed that the Odes were a Christian whole. Connolly argued that the suggested interpolations were integrally part of the text and intimately linked to the themes of the whole collection: for example, the descensus-theme is found not only in Odes 42 and 17, but also in Ode 22 which Harnack thought Jewish. Further, it was highly improbable that there should exist independently a Jewish author and a Christian interpolator who so closely shared a 'Johannine' outlook that the interpolations fit smoothly into the Grundschrift.⁹

To this objection, it might be replied that Harnack has suggested an implausible closeness of author and interpolator, but that his basic insight, that the Odes are a Jewish work, can stand. F. Nau, in a review of Ungnad's edition of the Odes,¹⁰ argued that they were the work of a 'faussaire', a Christian who deliberately assumed a Jewish mantle to insinuate his ideas into Jewish audiences.¹¹ This argument might be adapted, to suggest that the Christian interpolator carefully chose the style of the Jewish Grundschrift in order to introduce his own ideas. We need not then say that he came from a background influenced by the same ideas as the original odist.

Another type of objection to Harnack's hypothesis must be discussed briefly: that his approach was

coloured by his own religious convictions. The most outspoken critic of Harnack on this ground was Alfred Loisy. Loisy suggested that Harnack's intention was to show that Johannine mysticism was pre-Christian, so that his result would be that 'Le Christ du protestantisme libéral est encore une fois sauvé'.¹² The Jesus of the synoptic gospels is not found in the Odes, so he cannot be harmed by their discovery; but it does not matter if in the process we jettison the fourth gospel. This criticism is not without justification;¹³ to point out that Harnack's interpretation of the Odes is not disinterested is not, however, to disprove it. Two questions must be asked: first, are Harnack's proposed interpolations truly interpolations? Second, are these controverted passages susceptible only of a Christian interpretation?

If we interpret the 'Son' of Ode 3:7b as a Christian interpolation, what are we to make of the other titles in this Ode? It is possible to find indications that the Messiah was called 'the Beloved', 'immortal', and 'the life'; there is no clear-cut case of such occurrences in definitely pre-Christian Jewish literature, but nothing suggests that such titles would be impossible in a Jewish text.¹⁴ The 'Son' in v. 7b need not be an expression implying a trinitarian theology: as in Ode 19:2, the 'Son' is the Son of the Lord, and there is evidence of the idea of the Messiah as God's Son in Jewish texts.¹⁵ All four titles in 3:7-9 stand or fall together:

they could be found in either a Christian text or a Jewish text, and there is no necessity to obelise v. 7b. It is not easy to point to a true parallel to this cluster of messianic titles in a Jewish text; nevertheless, one's decision about whether Ode 3 is Jewish or Christian will depend on one's decision about the Odes as a whole.¹⁶

Harnack suggests that Ode 10 is a compilation of Jewish material (vv. 1-3.6a) and Christian material (vv.4f.6bc). As in the case of Ode 3, we may question whether there is any need to speak of interpolation in this Ode, or indeed to divide it as J. H. Charlesworth does into a part ex ore odistae (vv. 1-3) and a part ex ore Christi (vv. 4-6).¹⁷ It is much more natural to see the whole poem as one piece, spoken ex ore Christi. The 'Lord' of v. 1 would then be God, who has opened the mouth of his Messiah and caused his eternal life to dwell in him, so that he may proclaim peace. Such a claim seems more appropriately put on the lips of the Messiah than on the lips of an odist. We must now ask the second question. Is this Ode, considered as a whole, patient only of a Christian interpretation? There is nothing in this Ode that a Jewish Messiah could not have said; the use of the past tense in vv. 4-6, speaking of the conversion of the Gentiles as an accomplished event, may seem an indication that this is a hymn spoken by Jesus, but we should compare the proleptic use of past tenses in apocalyptic (e.g., in

the visions of Revelation). We have no parallels to Ode 10 considered as a Jewish messianic hymn; but it is equally true that we have no parallels to Ode 10 considered as a Christian messianic hymn. In itself, the language can be read in either way.

With all of Harnack's proposed excisions, these arguments can be used. A case can be made out that there is no need to argue for the presence of an interpolation; that good sense can be made of the Ode as a whole; and that the Ode so considered is not inescapably Christian, but can make sense as a Jewish ode. Language such as that of Odes 19 and 23:22 is admittedly only with difficulty to be classified as the work of a Jewish author: but it is extremely difficult, in our uncertain knowledge of the Judaism of c. 100 B.C.-c. A.D. 100, to state with assurance what a Jew could not have said. In the same way, the Christianity of the first two centuries is so variegated that, with certain obvious exceptions such as the claim that there are two Messiahs, or the formula Ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς (cf. 1 Cor 12:3), it is difficult to state with assurance what a Christian author could not have said.¹⁸

There does not seem to be anything in the Odes that a Christian could not have said. The absence of the name of Jesus is not in itself a problem, for he is not mentioned by name in a number of Christian writings. 3 John may be thought irrelevant to this question because of its brevity;

in the epitaph of Avircius of Hierapolis, the author's desire to preserve his incognito as a Christian leads him to use metaphors to speak of Jesus and of the Christian life.¹⁹ More importantly, there are two second-century works, intended for internal reading by Christians, in which Jesus is never named, the Shepherd of Hermas and 2 Esdras 1-2. In 2 Esdras 1-2, the motive for this omission may be to preserve the pseudepigraphic fiction;²⁰ in Hermas, and in the Odes, the motive may simply be that there was no need to make explicit what everyone knew. In the Christian community, there would be no need to refer explicitly to Jesus, for periphrases such as 'the Son of God' (cf. Odes 36:3, 42:15; Hermas, Sim. IX 13:7; 2 Esdras 2:47) could refer only to him. Both Hermas and the odist delight in using images: neither is happy to call a spade a spade. The same ambiguity is present in the odist's language when he speaks of water: does he refer to baptism, and if so, to a Christian baptism?²¹ The indirectness of language makes its point for those who belong to the odist's community and who therefore know the referent of the language.

Does the odist say anything about the Saviour²² which could refer only to Jesus?

It is possible to argue that the concepts of the pre-existence, virginal conception, walking on the water, doing good to all men, suffering, and exaltation of the Messiah did exist within Judaism

in the period of the birth of Christianity, though the existence of none of these concepts can be established with any certainty.²³ The language of Odes 27 and 42:1f. presents greater difficulties for the proponent of a Jewish provenance, but the difficulties are perhaps not insuperable.²⁴ In the end, simply taking the language of the odist as it stands, it must be concluded that there is nothing impossible for a Christian or for a Jew.

II

CHAPTER I

Section II:

Methodology

The only way to resolve the problem of the Odes of Solomon is by comparing them with the adjacent Jewish and Christian literature. The Odes are canonical in character and are found in the Syriac Peshitta. The Odes are found in the third quarter of the second century. The Odes are found in the Syriac Peshitta. The Odes are found in the Syriac Peshitta. The Odes are found in the Syriac Peshitta.

It is possible to give too much reliance to individual parallels.²⁶ It is the clustering of several parallels in the same text that suggests a common provenance. The argument in the next three Chapters of this thesis therefore proceed in a cumulative manner, not putting too much weight on individual parallels, but building up a case that the best 'fit' for the Odes of Solomon is in mid-second-century Christianity. The ground here is extremely treacherous: every text of this period poses problems which cannot simply be brushed aside as irrelevant to the question of the provenance of the Odes. Nevertheless, though it is not possible to prove that the provenance of the Odes has been correctly determined,²⁷ I would argue that, taken together, the evidence presented here makes a very strong case that, in the present state of our knowledge, the Odes are to be dated to the period of Herpes, Valentinus, Valentinus, and the author of

II

The only way to resolve the problem of the Odes of Solomon is by comparing them with the adjacent Jewish and Christian literature. Their place as canonical scripture in the mid-third-century *Pistis Sophia* suggests that they cannot be much later than the third quarter of the second century; the vagueness of their christological ideas also suggests a date earlier in that century rather than later.²⁵

It is possible to place too much reliance on individual parallels.²⁶ It is the clustering of several parallels in two texts that suggests a common provenance. The arguments in the next three Chapters of this thesis therefore proceed in a cumulative manner, not putting too much weight on individual parallels, but building up a case that the best 'fit' for the Odes of Solomon is in mid-second-century Christianity. The ground here is extremely treacherous: every text of this period poses problems which cannot simply be brushed aside as irrelevant to the question of the provenance of the Odes. Nevertheless, though it is not possible to prove that the provenance of the Odes has been correctly determined,²⁷ I would argue that, taken together, the evidence presented here makes a very strong case that, in the present state of our knowledge, the Odes are to be dated to the period of Hermas, Polycarp, Valentinus, and the author of

2 Esdras 1-2.

In Chapter II, the nature of what the odist tells us of his community is discussed. In Chapter III, a series of comparisons is made: with the Dead Sea Scrolls, with the gospels, with Ignatius, and with the gnostic literature. In Chapter IV, the question of asceticism is discussed, the christological language of the odist is considered, and an analysis is made of Odes 27 and 42:1f.

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNITY IN THE ODES OF SOLOMON

The community is one of the prominent concerns of the odist, being mentioned or implied in most of the Odes: the exceptions are Odes 1 (which may be incomplete), 5, 16, 21, 25, 27, 28, 29, 35, and 37. In speaking of the community, he gives us information that helps to locate him. In this Chapter, I shall discuss three topics: first, the worship of the community; second, the information the odist gives about ministry in the community; and third, the use made by the community of the Old Testament.

That the setting for which the Odes of Solomon were composed?

CHAPTER I I

Section I:

The Worship of the Community

The issue of whether it is correct to discuss in Section II of this Chapter: here we note that ten of the Odes end with a word of exhortation or praise: 7:26, 11:24, 16:29, 17:17, 18:16, 20:10, 21:9, 29:17, and 39:11; and that in the Syriac all the Odes end with the word 'Hallelujah'. Plural imperatives are found at 3:1-3.20, 9:1-2.3.11, 11:1-3, 23:4, 30:1ff., 31:6f., 33:6-10, 34:8, and 35:8 (cf. also 41:1-7). Is it possible more closely to define this liturgical setting?

First, there is nothing in the Odes to suggest that the edist knew of eucharistic worship or that the Odes were composed specifically for this.

Second, there are significant differences between the Odes and what Pate tells us in the De Vita Contemplativa about the hymns composed for the worship of the Therapeutae (Vita Cont. 60, 83-89).² The hymn-singers of the Therapeutae followed the exposition of the scriptures by the prophet, and took the form of solo singing, or the alternation of a cantor and choral response. Then followed the ritual meal, which led

I

That the setting for which the Odes of Solomon were composed was liturgical is indicated, not only by the hymnic nature of the Odes themselves, but also by the frequency of the theme of the praise of the Lord and confession of his works, and by the frequency of plural imperatives. The theme of praise is discussed in Section II of this Chapter; here we note that ten of the Odes end with a word or exhortation of praise: 7:26, 11:24, 16:20, 17:17, 18:16, 20:10, 21:9, 29:11, and 39:13; and that in the Syriac all the Odes end with the word 'Hallelujah'. Plural imperatives are found at 3:11, 8:1-5.20, 9:1-2.5.11, 13:1-3, 23:4, 30:1f., 31:6f., 33:6-10, 34:6, and 39:8 (cf. also 41:1-7). Is it possible more closely to define this liturgical setting?

First, there is nothing in the Odes to suggest that the odist knew of eucharistic worship or that the Odes were composed specifically for this.¹

Second, there are significant differences between the Odes and what Philo tells us in the De Vita Contemplativa about the hymns composed for the worship of the Therapeutae (Vita Cont. 80, 83-89).² The hymn-singing of the Therapeutae followed the exposition of the scriptures by the proedros, and took the form of solo singing, or the alternation of a cantor and choral responses. Then followed the ritual meal, which led

into singing modelled on the singing of the children of Israel after the crossing of the Red Sea under the leadership of Moses for the men and Miriam for the women. We are told no details of their hymns, but we may infer from the reference to Moses and Miriam that, like the hymn sung in heaven at Rev 15:3f., the hymns were thanksgivings to God for his mighty works of deliverance. Another clue is given at Vita Cont. 80, where Philo tells us that the proedros may sing a hymn of his own composition or ἀρχαῖόν τινα τῶν πάλαι ποιητῶν. Earlier, at Vita Cont. 29, we are told that the founders of the Therapeutae had left them writings to guide them in the true allegorical interpretation of the scriptures (cf. also Eusebius, H.E. II 17:9-11). It seems possible that the hymns, like the writings, were expositions of the scriptures, or at least (like the hymn at Rev 15:3f.) based on scriptural themes. The Odes of Solomon, however, are not an exposition of the scriptures, and although scriptural themes occur in them, it cannot be claimed that they are based on these themes.³

A more important point against identifying the Odes as Therapeutic hymns is that we are told by Philo that these hymns were composed in many metres, 'processional hymns, for libations, for the altar, for choral song when standing and when dancing, with metre well patterned to the complicated turnings' (Vita Cont. 80; cf. 84). There is no evidence that the Odes

were composed in a variety of metres. Nor is there any indication that the Odes were composed to be sung while dancing: the unequal lengths of lines and the often highly irregular distribution of syllables would certainly rule out dance of the sort used in classical Greek drama, which is what Philo has in mind for the Therapeutae.⁴ Further, the great majority of the Odes are written primarily in the first person singular and there is no refrain that might be used as an antiphon (as, e.g., Ps 67:3.7 or the second hemistich of the verses of Ps 136), unless the 'Hallelujah' was intended thus. Finally, while it is true that we can infer very little about the doctrines of the Therapeutae from Philo, that little is sufficient to make it most improbable that they produced the Odes of Solomon: the most obvious point of difference is in messianic doctrine, which is prominent in the Odes but wholly absent from the De Vita Contemplativa and (if this be Therapeutic) the Apocalypse of Zosimus.

Third, we must consider the possibility that the liturgical setting of the Odes is connected with Temple worship; or, at least, that there is evidence that the Odes were written while the Temple stood, by an odist who approved of the Temple worship. The language of Odes 4 and 6 was decisive evidence for Harnack of the basically Jewish provenance of the Odes.⁵

The observation, first made by Alfred Loisy,⁶

that there is no adequate justification for interpreting the reference to the Temple in Ode 6 literally while taking other passages in the Odes, the language of which is no less concrete than this, as metaphorical, seems sound. The 'temple' is best understood as the community of those who have received the knowledge of God. The giving of this knowledge brings men into the community: this is the meaning of the statement at 6:8 that the stream (which symbolises the knowledge of God)⁷ broke through all opposition and 'brought [everything] to the Temple'.⁸ Similarly, the references in Ode 4 to 'the holy place' (הַמְּקוֹדֶשׁ) in v. 1, הַמְּקוֹדֶשׁ in v. 2) do not speak of the Temple and its pre-existence in the mind of God, but of the community of 'thy believers' (v. 3), to whom God has given his 'fellowship' (v. 9), a gift that is irrevocable because he knew what the outcome would be before he gave it (vv. 11-15).

The choice of the Temple as a symbol tells us little about the odist's background. There is some evidence that the community at Qumran regarded itself as a Temple;⁹ but the thought at Ode 4:1-3 is very similar to that of Paul also at 1 Cor 3:16f. We may note further that two second-century Christian writers, both extremely hostile to the Jews, and neither of whom knew of a Temple at Jerusalem, build elaborate series of metaphors on the Temple to speak of the Christian community and its relationship to God: cf. Ignatius,

Eph. 9:1, and GPhil 76, 125. The imagery is transmitted in the common Jewish and Christian inheritance, and its occurrence is of little value by itself in determining the provenance or date of the Odes.

The same seems to be true of the use of sacrificial language in the Odes. In Ode 20, the odist calls himself a 'priest' (‏ ‏, v. 1), who offers 'the sacrifice of the thought' of the Lord (v. 2),¹⁰ a sacrifice explained in v. 4 as 'righteousness and purity of heart and lips'.¹¹ His hearer is to offer an inward sacrifice 'without blemish' (v. 5; this phrase occurs also at 13:4 and 39:6 and is, of course, in origin sacrificial terminology from the cult: cf. Exod 29:1, etc.). The noun ‏ is not found elsewhere in the Odes.¹² There are many passages in Jewish and Christian literature which offer a spiritualised interpretation of the cult (e.g., Sir 35:1-11, Matt 5:23f., Rom 12:1), which yet do not imply that this Temple cult has been superseded by a more 'inward' worship and which undeniably pre-date its physical destruction.¹³ Hence we cannot infer from the spiritualisation of cultic language that the odist must be writing after A.D. 70.¹⁴

It is arguable, however, that the reference in 20:3 to 'those who worship according to the flesh'¹⁵ is indicative of the odist's view that the Temple worship has been superseded. This verse need not carry this full meaning, however. One of the few Jewish texts to claim that an interior religion has

superseded the Temple cult is Judith 16:16, yet in the supposed historical situation of this book the Temple has recently been rebuilt (4:3), and the great fear of the Jewish people is lest the Temple be captured by the forces of Nebuchadnezzar (cf. 4:2.12, 8:21.24, 9:8.13). Indeed, Judith's song is sung on the road to the sanctuary, and when they arrive, they offer the burnt offerings (v. 18) deprecated in v. 16. It is possible that vv. 1-17 are an interpolation by a later author, to expand the reference to song at 15:13;¹⁶ however, if the hymn comes from the same hand as the narrative,¹⁷ it is probable that the author intended 16:13-17 as a doxology to the main part of the thanksgiving hymn. These verses are a cento of Old Testament texts: but it is noteworthy that there is no precise parallel in the Old Testament to v. 16. If these verses are included by the conscious choice of the author, v. 16 cannot be meant as a rejection of sacrifice: it must be a hyperbolic way of making the point that sacrifice is not acceptable to God in the absence of interior dispositions. This seems to be the sense of 2 Enoch 45:3 also, if we interpret it in the light of 59:2.¹⁸

It is possible, therefore, that Ode 20:3 is not an outright rejection of sacrifice in the Temple. Even if this does mean a rejection of the Temple, however, we are not enabled to locate the odist, for we can find partial parallels both in the literature

of Qumran and in the literature of Judaeo-Christianity; the closest parallel seems to be in the speech of Stephen in Acts 7:18ff. However, the freedom with which this kind of language is used in the texts discussed here suggests that we cannot press the odist too far in the direction of theological clarity. By itself, his language is ambiguous, and he provides no clues in Odes 4, 6, and 20 to how we might resolve the ambiguity.

Fourth, it has been suggested that the liturgical setting of the Odes was baptismal. This was first proposed by J. H. Bernard in 1910.¹⁹ Bernard's starting-point was a comparison with the thirteenth Hymn on the Epiphany of St Ephrem, a baptismal hymn using many expressions found also in the Odes. Bernard noted that many metaphors used by patristic writers such as Cyril of Jerusalem and Basil to speak of baptism are used by the odist: e.g., we have the language of illumination (Odes 36:3, 34:2, 32:1, 41:6), the mention of white robes (21:3; cf. the imagery of 25:8), and the crown which symbolises the baptismal garland (Odes 1, 5, 9, 17, 20). In Ode 6, the language is drawn from Ezek 47, but the odist does not intend to speak of the Temple in Jerusalem: as early as Barnabas (11:10), this passage was seen as a prophecy of baptism. To the objection that the water in the Odes is to be drunk, Bernard replies that Ephrem gives a baptismal interpretation to scriptural passages which speak of drinking water

(Num 20:14ff., Jn 4:14: cf. Ephrem, H. Epiph. 7).
 Everywhere the Odes abound in language with baptismal associations: in the images of bearing fruit, of circumcision, of rest, and of dew. The 'seal' is baptism, as in Hermas, Sim. IX 16:3ff., 2 Clement 8:6, and many later texts; Ode 4:8, where we are told that the angels possess the seal, presents no problem for this interpretation, for we find the Valentinian idea of the baptism of the angels in Clement, Exc. Theod. 22.²⁰ The killing of the dragon (Ode 22:5-7) is likewise to be interpreted baptismally, in the light of the use made of this image in eastern baptismal liturgies. The Temple of Ode 4 is the church, where the faithful are baptised and receive milk and honey (v. 10, a reference to the early Christian baptismal rite of the administration of a chalice containing milk and honey).

Bernard's baptismal interpretation of the Odes was accepted by a number of scholars.²¹ Before the passages in the Odes are considered in detail, however, two methodological observations must be made.

First, the conservatism of religious language, and especially of liturgical language, is well known: but conservatism of language is not incompatible with a radically altered understanding of the language. Even if it could be demonstrated that Ephrem and Moses bar Kepha did know the Odes and were consciously commenting upon them, all this proves is that at some period the Odes were understood as baptismal hymns.

This does not establish that the Odes were written as baptismal hymns, any more than the fact that Mal 1:11 was understood as a prophecy of the eucharist (cf., e.g., Didache 14:3) proves that this passage was intended by the prophet as a prophecy of the eucharist.

Second, the metaphorical status of the language of the Odes must be considered. The Fathers may call baptism 'enlightenment';²² but does that mean that 'enlightenment' was so exclusively a baptismal term that it must have this meaning wherever it is found in a writing attributed to a Christian author (e.g., at Heb 6:4)? Similarly, the image of milk and honey in Ode 4 need not be traced to a Christian baptismal rite; both this passage and the rite can be traced (independently) to the Old Testament use of the image.²³

Nevertheless, after these cautions have been expressed, and even if it is granted that Bernard claimed too much for his baptismal hypothesis, and that it is highly unlikely that the Odes are simply a hymnal for the baptismal rite,²⁴ the question of a baptismal setting or at least of a reference to the ritual of initiation in some of the Odes must be investigated.

There are several passages in which water-symbolism occurs which clearly are not baptismal:

18:11, in which ignorance is compared to *σῆμα ἰσο*
ἡ; 12:2 and 40:2, which compare the odist's

pouring forth of truth and praise to the flowing of water; 26:13 which compares the work of the odists to the flowing of waters that bring relief.²⁵ This leaves us with 4:10, 6:8ff., 11:6f., 30:1ff., and 35:1; in addition to these, there are passages in Ode 11 and elsewhere which speak of initiation in language that may conceivably reflect ritual practice.²⁶

In each of the five Odes speaking of water, we may judge that whereas a baptismal interpretation is undeniably possible, it is not definitely required by the context. The ~~waters~~ of 4:10 and 35:1 may be the waters of baptism: but, as in the case of the river of 6:8ff. and the fountain of 30:1ff., it is at least equally possible that the odist is speaking in this metaphor of the knowledge of the Lord: 'knowledge' is explicitly mentioned at 6:6 and alluded to at 30:6.²⁷ However, none of the Odes can satisfactorily be interpreted in isolation from the others, and a strong case can be made that when the odist speaks in Ode 11 of his initiation, the source of his language is ritual. He speaks of circumcision (vv. 2f.), of receiving knowledge (y. 4), of water (vv. 6-8; cf. also y. 22b Greek), of a change of clothing (vv. 10f.), of light (vv. 11.13f.19), and of entering paradise (y. 16). So also in Ode 6:8ff., the odist employs images which he uses elsewhere to speak of his initiation: refreshment of the lips (cf. 11:2), holding-back from death (cf. 29:4), physical healing (cf. 21:4, 40:3), and the giving of light and life (cf.,

e.g., 15:1-3.8-10).

Despite the parallels adduced by Bernard,²⁸ it may be argued that these are common metaphors of the spiritual life, drawn ultimately from the Old Testament or Jewish apocalyptic, and that even if some (such as circumcision) derive from ritual, they are used in Ode 11 in a purely metaphorical fashion.²⁹ However, the very profusion in this Ode of metaphors which either derive from ritual or at anyrate are known to have become attached to rituals to help express their religious significance (e.g., light, paradise) strongly suggests that at least in Ode 11, when the odist speaks of his acquisition of knowledge, he draws on liturgical practices with which he is familiar as the source of metaphors. This is not to say that the Odes may be described as 'baptismal': nothing in them suggests that they were written as part of a baptismal liturgy.³⁰

The discussion in this Section has underlined the ambiguity of the odist's language: there is little that can be said with precision about the liturgical setting for which the Odes were composed. More help is given us by an examination of the ministry in his community.

II

CHAPTER I I

Section II:

Ministry in the Community

The text is very faint and illegible, appearing to be a preface or introduction to the chapter.

The words 'Ministry in the Community' are themselves used in a religious text: 'The Ministry of the Church, however, is not its primary religious function is the community of the office, for they bring the 'order' with which they have been entrusted to the 'paradoxical life' and 'paradoxical will'. They do not seem to operate primarily within an established community: rather, their function is to create the community by bringing the knowledge of the Lord. In other words, their ministry is that of missionaries.

Nothing in the language of these words suggests any sense of separation or isolation. It witnesses to the fact that the Christian life is a life of communion with the Church and with the world which it serves.

II

Ode 6:8ff. speaks of the spread of a river over the whole surface of the earth, carrying away all opposition. At vv. 13-18, a beatitude is pronounced upon 'the ministers of that drink, who have been entrusted with his water'. The noun ~~ⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ~~, from the root ~~ⲁⲓⲛ~~, renders *διάκονος* in the Peshitta (e.g., Phil 1:1, 1 Tim 3:8), and the Coptic of Ode 6 has the loan-word *ΔΙΑΚΩΝ*. Are we to infer that here ~~ⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ~~ has the technical sense of ministers within the odist's community?

The words ~~ⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ~~ and *διάκονος* in themselves need not have a ministerial significance when used in a religious text: cf., e.g., Mk 10:45. The ~~ⲓⲛⲁⲓⲛⲁⲓ~~ of Ode 6:13, however, do fulfil a most important religious function in the community of the odist, for they bring the 'water' with which they have been entrusted to the 'parched lips' and 'paralysed will'. These men do not seem to operate primarily within an established community: rather, their function is to create the community by bringing the knowledge of the Lord. In other words, their ministry is that of missionaries.

Nothing in the language of these six verses enables us precisely to identify the missionaries. We know of settled Christian and Jewish communities in which itinerant ministers played a role (cf. Didache

11:3-6; Acts 19:13), but here we have to do simply with missionaries who found communities, and we are in a period when Jewish missionary activity, seen for example in the conversion of the royal house of Adiabene (cf. Josephus, Ant. XX 17-48),³¹ was conducted beside Christian missionary activity. The word ~~ἱεροδίακονος~~/δίακονος is not exclusively a Christian ministerial term: it is used to describe a ministry at the cultic meal of the Therapeutae similar to the ministry of the νεώτεροι or νεαυίσκοι of Acts 5:6.10 (cf. Philo, De Vita Cont. 81).

It is when we turn to the question of what the odist says of his own ministry and its importance for his community that we find materials which are helpful in locating the provenance of the Odes of Solomon. The only ministry within the community of which the odist speaks is his own,³² and it is a ministry vital to the believers: the odist has the inspiration of the Spirit to safeguard the faith of his community, and his ministry has an eschatological orientation.³³

The Spirit has two principal functions in the Odes, the first in the initiation of the believer, the second in the life of praise. He³⁴ is mentioned in Ode 19 as instrumental in the birth of the Son, and similarly he plays an important role in the coming to faith of the odist and his community. A parallelism of function may be observed: it is through the Holy Spirit that the Son is given to the world (19:2ff.), and it is through the Holy Spirit that the believer comes to the

Lord (11:2.16). The Spirit 'teaches the sons of men to know his [i.e., the Lord's] ways' (3:10). Insofar as we may distinguish between the work of the Spirit and the work of the Son (for the Spirit is 'the Spirit of the Lord' [3:10], which may mean the Spirit of the Father or the Spirit of the Son),³⁵ it seems that for the odist the coming of the Son was an event in the past the importance of which is that it brought the definitive knowledge of God, which in the present is communicated to believers through the work of the Holy Spirit. It is the Spirit, not the Son, who 'circumcises' him (11:2).³⁶

Once he has come to God, the life into which the believer enters is characterised above all by praise of the Lord. This is one of the most common themes in the Odes of Solomon.³⁷ The Spirit is himself the recipient of praise (6:7, 13:2; cf. also the trinitarian formula at 23:22), but, more importantly, he is the initiator of praise. He speaks through the odist, on whom he plays as on a stringed instrument (6:1f.), acting at the prompting of the Lord who gives his Spirit to men so that they may offer him praise. Hence, at 14:7f. the odist prays that he may be taught the odes:

'Teach me the odes of thy truth,
that I may bear fruits to thee,
and open to me the harp of thy Holy Spirit
that with every note I may praise thee, O Lord'.

Similar language is used at 6:7:

'And he has given us his song to his name;
our spirits praise his Holy Spirit'.

Here, therefore, as in the process of initiation, the Spirit mediates the Lord to men and brings men into the presence of the Lord. This intimacy of the Lord's spirit with the human spirit, of which the odist speaks at 6:7 and 13:2, is evident also in 28:1-8, which may be written ex ore Christi:

'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 ...
and eternal life embraced me
and kissed me:
and from it is the Spirit (or, spirit) that is in me,
and it cannot die because it is living'

(reading at v. 8b *mu* with H against the *mu* of N).³⁸ In a special way the odist shares this intimacy, for if all human praise is empowered by the Spirit of the Lord, a fortiori this is true of the composition of the Odes. At 36:1f., the odist writes:³⁹

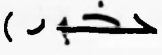
'I rested on the Spirit of the Lord,
and she lifted me up to the height,
and set me on my feet in the height of the Lord,
before his perfection and his glory,
while I praised him in the making of his odes'.

Just how exalted a conception of the office of odist is involved in this description, may be seen from a comparison with Ode 17, where the Saviour says,

'And he glorified me in his kindness
and raised my understanding to the height of truth'

(v. 8), and goes on to speak of his work of liberation (vv. 9-16). The language of 36:1f. and 17:7f. is strikingly similar: a figure is elevated to the heights and given a task to accomplish on earth. The two

figures are not equated: it is clear that the Saviour is not to be thought of as a mere man,⁴⁰ while the odist never claims that he is more than a man. But the authority which comes from God to authenticate the mission of the Saviour and the ministry of the odist is the same.

The union with the Saviour of which the odist speaks in Ode 3 is not simply a matter of his personal spiritual life, but has consequences for his ministry of teaching. The ministry of the odist is significant both for the whole world and for the narrower community. His duty is to make vocal the inarticulate praise which is the duty of all creation. God's works give him glory by obeying his laws (16:13-17), but the occupation () of the odist is 'the psalm of the Lord in his hymns' (v. 1), making explicit the mute praise of creation (cf. v. 20). The contrast is not simply between the created world and man, but is carried further in vv. 1-5 where the odist places his ministry above that of the ploughman or ship's helmsman: for although their work may be necessary, his comes directly from the Lord. The sequence of thought here is akin to that at Sir 38:24-39:11.

The privileged position of the odists over other men is also expressed in Ode 26, a hymn of exultation in this ministry:

'Who may write the odes of the Lord,
or who may read them? ...
For it suffices to know and be at rest,
for the odists stand in serenity'

(vv. 8.12).

Ode 7, which recounts man's place in the created order and the sending of the Saviour to bring true knowledge of the creator, speaks of the work of the odists and concludes:

'And let there not be anything that breathes
that is ignorant or dumb:
for he has given a mouth to his creation
to open the voice of the mouth towards him
and to praise him.
Confess his power
and show forth his grace'

(vv. 24-26). The grace of knowledge is given, ignorance is destroyed (cf. v. 21), and so the odists must sing and thereby 'open the voice of the mouth' of the world towards the Lord, taking up the hymn of praise. Their praise is the rendering of mankind's duty to its creator, a rendering made possible by the generosity of God just as man's love for God is made possible by God's gift (cf. 3:3f.).

The ministry of the odist is not confined to a liturgical setting. The Sitz-im-Leben of the Odes is most plausibly interpreted as liturgical, and praise is a prominent theme, but not all are intended primarily as hymns of praise. Ode 18 discloses more of the teaching function of the odist. At v. 4 he writes,

'Lord, do not, for the sake of those in need,
dismiss thy word from me'.

The following verses make clear the nature of the responsibility of the odist towards his community which this verse implies. He prays that the 'works' of the community will not prevent God from bestowing his

'perfection' on him; and v. 6,

'Let not light be conquered by darkness,
nor truth flee from falsehood',

suggests that the odist needs God's word to combat those of 'darkness', i.e., those of 'falsehood'. In other words, he fears that because there is heresy about, God may withhold his word, which alone has the power to help those hard beset. The progress of this heresy is described in vv. 11ff.: it overcame the 'foolish', but when it tried to overcome the 'wise', it failed, because they were 'in the purpose of the Lord' (cf. also 9:4f.). Here the odist speaks proleptically: the prayer at 18:4-7 for present deliverance must imply that the Lord has not yet destroyed the error. The odist looks forward to victory on the part of the God who has nothing to do with error (v. 10) and preserves his own in the truth (cf. v. 15). He expects to play his own part in the struggle, since his ministry as odist is given him 'for the sake of those in need', those tempted to fall from the truth, and is to be used in consolidating the kingdom (cf. v. 3).

The danger of heresy is never far from the mind of the odist, so that it may be argued that all the foes of the community are heretics.⁴¹

In Ode 4, we are told of those who wish to overturn the 'holy place'. V. 3 says:

'The ancient one shall not be overturned by those
that are younger than it:
thou hast given thy heart, O Lord, to thy believers'.

Here, v. 3b follows directly on v. 3a with no break in

thought. The odist means that those who do not believe in the truth (that is, those who belong to 'younger' communities than his own)⁴² have no chance of overturning the community of those who do believe in the truth, since it is to these latter that God has given himself; and God's 'heart is greater than all wisdom' of men (28:20).⁴³ Ode 4 speaks of a settled world where evil simply has no power over the truth: 'Thou, O Lord, hast made all' (v. 15). Later Odes are, perhaps, more 'realistic' in speaking of the dangers.⁴⁴ The persecutors of Odes 5 and 25 are not described in detail; but if it is correct to understand the spread of the river in Ode 6 as a symbol of the spread of the knowledge of the Lord, then 'those who restrain water' (v. 9) must be motivated in their opposition by a theological reason, of which no details are given. The wars of Ode 9 are 'because of the crown', which is identified in v. 8 with truth (cf. also 1:2); the reference to 'war' in 8:7 should most probably be understood in the same sense, in view of the words of the Saviour at vv. 8ff. about his 'mystery' and his 'knowledge'. Similarly, 34:5 speaks contemptuously of 'those in whom there is no knowledge' (cf. also 7:21.24, 11:8, 18:11, and 28:14).⁴⁵

There is certainly no passage in the Odes speaking of human enemies which implies persecution by a hostile state; and no passage which cannot be understood as speaking of the dangers from heresy. Heresy is

explicitly the theme of Odes 33 and 38. Apart from the occasions when he speaks of christological errors, the odist never gives any concrete details of the heresy (or heresies) which menace his community. He does, however, tell us something of his own role in the combat.

The odist receives his odes from the Lord, not only as a means of expressing praise, but also as a means of safeguarding the faith of his community. In Ode 38, the personified Truth leads the odist on a journey in the course of which he is shown 'all the poisons (or, drugs) of error' (v. 8) and the heresiarch himself (vv. 9ff.). The odist himself is preserved from error on this journey (v. 5), and he knows that he will not 'fall into the hands of the deceivers' (v. 16). This revelation is not given for his private information, but so that he may tell his brethren and thus keep them from heresy: this is the point of vv. 17-22 which speak of the odist bearing fruit to the glory of the Lord (cf. 14:7, 16:2), in imagery reminiscent of Ps 80:8ff. where the psalmist speaks of the growth of the vine Israel. Once again, as in Ode 36, we find an exceedingly exalted conception of the ministry of odist: it is on his singing of the odes that the growth of God's community depends. To enable him to sing, he is given this vision in which all is explained to him (v. 7). It is this purpose which explains in part the passages written ex ore Christi also: they are revelations given to the odist so that he may preserve his community from error.⁴⁶

The ministry of the odist may have an eschatological orientation. This is suggested at 7:16b-19:

'The Most High will be known by his holy ones:
to announce to those who have odes of the coming
of the Lord,
that they should go out to meet him and sing to him
with joy and with the many-toned harp.
The seers shall go before him
and shall be seen before him,
and they shall praise the Lord in his love
because he is near and sees'.

This is the only passage in the Odes of Solomon in which we find the language of a futurist eschatology.⁴⁷ This interpretation, however, is doubtful.

It is possible to take Ode 7 as speaking here of the coming of the Lord at the end of the world, but it is also possible to take it as speaking here of the coming on earth of the intermediary figure whose sending into the world is described earlier in the Ode. We should then understand the odist to say that the 'holy ones', i.e., the community,⁴⁸ are to make known to the seers, i.e., the odists,⁴⁹ that the Son is coming, so that they will go out to meet him.

The problem with this interpretation is that it must assume that the community existed before the coming of the Saviour, and there is scarcely any evidence in favour of this in the Odes. 7:9 contains the idea that the Lord knew what the odist would do before he was born, an idea that may be compared with Ps 139:13ff.; Ode 8:13ff. has the idea of the election of the community before time (cf. 2 Esdras 6:55, 9:13; Eph 1:4), but there is nowhere anything like the full pre-existence predicated of the Church in the second century (cf.

2 Clement 14:1; Hermas, Vis. II 4:1). The Odes which speak of the sending of the Saviour speak of his creating a community (e.g., 17:12ff., 24:13f.); the only passage which might possibly suggest that he found a community already awaiting him is 10:3 which speaks of 'those who wish to come to him'.⁵⁰ However, it is overwhelmingly probable that these people wish to come in response to the proclamation mentioned in v. 2: elsewhere in the Odes, when men go towards the Lord or the Saviour, it is after the proclamation of his knowledge (cf. 15:6, 42:15) rather than before. The reference to Israel at 31:12f. might be regarded as evidence that the odist believed a community had existed before the coming of the Saviour, a community into which the Gentiles are now admitted (cf. 10:5f.);⁵¹ the 'holy ones' of 7:16 might then be the prophets of the Old Testament.⁵² Against this suggestion, it may be argued that 31:12f. is no evidence for the existence of a community of believers before the coming of the Saviour: for he says that he must redeem and instruct⁵³ his people, and if they need instruction, they surely cannot be already his believers. In this case, it would be preferable to understand 7:16b-19 in a futurist-eschatological sense.

The argument seems to me to be difficult to resolve, in view of the scanty evidence for either final eschatology or the existence of a community of believers before the coming of the Saviour. In either

case, the odists have the important role of going out to meet him and praise him, and it may be allowed that this passage at least hints at an eschatological orientation of the odist's ministry.⁵⁴

The geographical extension of this ministry must now be discussed. When the odist speaks of a plurality of odists, in Odes 7 and 26, does he imply that within his own community he is one of a number of men exercising this ministry (perhaps their chief?), or that there exist several communities like his own, in each of which an odist exercises a ministry similar to his? There are several passages which suggest that the odist is conscious of being part of a more than local community of faith: cf. 6:8ff., where he speaks of the spread of the river 'over the face of the whole earth', and 23:17, where he says that 'all the regions were gathered into one'. If heresy is a world-wide phenomenon (33:3, 38:12), so must truth be (cf. 38:19). The coming of the Saviour has brought the Gentiles within the range of salvation (10:5).⁵⁵ The description at 26:5-7 may simply be exultant praise of the splendour of the Lord, but it too may speak of the geographical extension of the community of faith 'from the east and as far as the west ... from the south and as far as the north ... from the crest of the heights and as far as their end'. If Ode 7 is to be interpreted in a futurist-eschatological sense, it may be taken to speak of a gathering to meet the Lord when he comes (cf. 2 Thess 2:1).

It is clear that the odist agrees in faith with these communities geographically separated from his own, and it seems unlikely that, holding such a high view of his own ministry and its role in the dispensation of salvation, he would have been happy to acknowledge the faith of a community which differed from his own in its ministerial structure. We may therefore infer that he knew of other communities in which ministries like his were exercised; it does not seem likely that a single group would have contained more than one person exercising such a ministry, but the references to odists in Odes 7 and 26 do not rule out this possibility.

Is there anything which can locate this archipelago of groups directed by inspired odists more firmly in time and space?

There is no other community, as far as is known, within Judaism or Christianity which was organised like the community implied in the Odes of Solomon, with one single ministry.⁵⁶ This means that although what is said of ministers in other texts may provide parallels to what the odist says of himself, the contexts in which we understand these ministers to have operated are very different from that which we may discern in the Odes.⁵⁷ In the case of the Hymns Scroll of Qumran (1QH), we may correct the impression it gives about the ministerial pattern at Qumran by a comparison with other documents; but in the case of the Odes, we have no other writings recognisably from

the same group. Even if we discount as hyperbole language that suggests a wide geographical distribution of communities like that of the odist, our problem remains: whether because the Odes present a defective or biased picture of the ministerial structure of the community, or because the community really was organised in this idiosyncratic way, we have insufficient materials to enable us to locate the Odes by means of what they say about ministry.

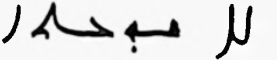
However, an important pointer to the provenance of the Odes is furnished by a consideration of the polemic which the odist directs against heresy.

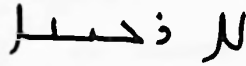
'Light' ($\int \dot{\iota} \mu$ or $\int \dot{\iota} \mu$) is an extremely common image in the Odes. Only in one passage does the odist use this terminology to speak of the opposition of true believers and heretics:

'Let not light be conquered by darkness,
nor truth flee from falsehood'

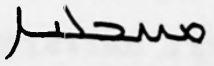
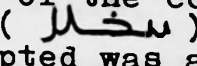
(18:6). The turning from darkness to light is a symbol of initiation into belief (cf. 11:19, 15:2, and 21:3 where both terms are used; cf. also 6:17, 7:14, 10:1.6, 11:11, 25:7, 29:7, 42:16). Here, however, darkness does not signify ignorance (as, e.g., at 5:4ff.), but symbolises active opposition to the truth on the part of those who promote heresy. This imagery was used both within Judaism (cf. especially 1QM, the War Rule) and within Christianity (cf., e.g., 1 Thess 5:4f., 1 Jn 1:6f.), and there is nothing sufficiently distinctive about its use in the Odes to help us identify their provenance.

More help is provided by the odist's use of the theme of 'knowledge'. This is a universal religious concept, and there is nothing sufficiently distinctive in its use in contexts where the odist speaks of initiation into belief⁵⁸ to enable us more precisely to identify his theological background. There is, however, a passage which has been mentioned earlier in this Section, 34:5, speaking of 'those in whom there is no knowledge', which merits consideration.

If 'knowledge' is the characteristic of those who are members of the odist's community, those to whom the 'mystery' is given (8:10), should we infer that 'ignorance' () is characteristic of those outside the community, and hence that the Odes are gnostic? The question of the relationship between the Odes and gnosticism is discussed more fully in Chapter III, Section IV; here one point may be made. In the speculative systems developed in second-century philosophical gnosticism, soteriology is controlled by a deterministic view of the origin of man: in Valentinianism, the three classes of men have been ordained by the demiurge and they cannot change at will.⁵⁹ In the Odes, however, although there is pre-election (cf. 8:12ff.), there is no evidence of pre-determination: men may not only come to knowledge, they may also reject it after accepting it (cf. 38:13ff.). Both the corruptor and the virgin in Ode 33 address their appeal to all the world; and although the odist

feels contempt for those who have no knowledge (cf. 5:4ff., 28:14.17ff., 34:5), this attitude is not carried to the position of rejecting those whom the Acts of John describe as 'outside the mystery' (ch. 100). Rather, 'the Lord yearned that those things be known which have been given to us in his grace' (Ode 6:6), and sent out ministers to spread his knowledge (6:8ff., especially v. 18a). This contempt for the ignorant, therefore, is not the contempt felt by gnostics for the irredeemable, but the contempt felt by one who knows the truth for heretics. This heresy is indeed described as 'ignorance' at 18:11; similarly, the  into which the believers fall when they are corrupted by the 'deceiver' and 'vomit up their wisdom and their knowledge' (38:12ff.) is not simple ignorance but dangerous heresy. In Odes 18 and 35, then, the problem is not an ignorance which may be open to conversion, but a heresy which aims to subvert the community. The important point here is that it is an 'ignorance' which the heretics have themselves chosen; the odist's language here does not indicate gnosticism.⁶⁰

A more positive clue to the Odes' origins is given in Ode 38, when the odist is shown a vision of the heresiarch:

'And the corruptor () of the corruptor
 ()
 I saw when the bride who is corrupted was adorned,
 and [I saw] the bridegroom who corrupts and
 [in his turn] is corrupted.
 And I asked Truth, "Who are these?"

And he said to me, "These are the deceiver and
the error,
and they imitate the Beloved and his bride.
And they lead the world astray and corrupt it,
and they invite many to the wedding-feast,
and they give them wine to drink that causes
their intoxication:
and they vomit up their wisdom and their knowledge.
And they make them senseless
and then they abandon them,
and they go to and fro like men mad and corrupted"

(vv. 9-14). The narrative seems to speak of the Saviour, who is the 'corruptor' (*مفسد*) of the heresiarch who is himself the 'corruptor' (*مفسد*) of his bride.⁶¹ As in Ode 18, this picture of victory is proleptic: the contest lies in the future, but the odist does not doubt the outcome. The 'deceiver' and the 'error' pervert men and then send them out as missionaries; so the heresy spreads until the whole world is led astray (cf. v. 11b).

The description of the heresiarch as a bridegroom accompanied by a bride, who together 'imitate the Beloved and his bride', is very important. The title 'Beloved' occurs elsewhere in the Odes as a title of the Saviour (*محبوب*, 38:11 and 8:22; *محبوب*, 3:5.7, 7:1), but this is the only passage in which corporate nuptial imagery is employed to describe the relationship between the Saviour and the saved.⁶² The significance of this is that, whereas nuptial imagery is found in the New Testament and is widely used in second-century Christian literature,⁶³ there is no evidence of the existence in pre-Christian Judaism of the concept of the Messiah as the bridegroom of God's people.

If this statement about pre-Christian Judaism⁶⁴ is correct, we should have here an obvious pointer to a Christian provenance of the Odes; the evidence in favour of the existence in pre-Christian Judaism of such a concept must therefore be reviewed.

There is some evidence that what we might call the materials from which Christian nuptial imagery was constructed did exist within Judaism. The title 'the Beloved' is possibly a Jewish title. The normal use of this word is to signify Israel: cf. Jer 11:15, 12:7; in the LXX, the masculine ἠγαπημέρος translates 'Jeshurun' at Deut 32:15, 33:5.26, and Isa 44:2; the feminine is found in the translation of Hos 2:23 at Rom 9:25. This is the meaning at Paralipomena Jeremiuou 3:8 also.⁶⁵ However, the title is clearly messianic in the passage from Enoch quoted at Barnabas 4:3;⁶⁶ a further example is Isa 26:17 LXX, where the translator has rendered as follows:

καὶ ὡς ἡ ὠδίνουσα ἐγγίξει τοῦ τεκεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὠδίῳ αὐτῆς ἐκέκραξεν, οὕτως ἐγενήθημεν τῷ ἀγαπητῷ σου διὰ τὸν φόβου σου, κύριε.

Nothing in the MT corresponds to τῷ ἀγαπητῷ σου. This rendering suggests the idea of a saviour born from the community (cf. 1 Enoch 90:37, 1QH III 6-18).⁶⁷ Further support for the idea that the Messiah was called 'the Beloved' within Judaism may be derived from the New Testament narratives of the baptism (Matt 3:17, Mk 1:11, Lk 3:22) and transfiguration (Matt 17:5, Mk 9:7, 2 Pet 1:17), where the words of the heavenly

voice may be translated, 'my son, the Beloved'; the messianic significance of this title in the gospels is confirmed to some extent by the interchangeability of ἀγαπητός and ἐκλελεγμένος in the translations of Isa 42:1 at Matt 12:18 and in the LXX.⁶⁸ It is possible also that the influence of theological reflection on the figure of Isaac may have contributed to the messianic significance of this title.⁶⁹

The title 'Beloved' occurs frequently in early Christian literature as a title of Jesus: it is found at Eph 1:6, Barnabas 3:6 (cf. also 4:8), twenty times in the Ascension of Isaiah,⁷⁰ at Acts of Paul 1, and in the writings of Valentinus, apud Clement, Strom. V 16; cf. also Ignatius, Smyrn. inscr., and Hermas, Sim. IX 12:5. It never became a technical term which could refer only to God's Messiah: its normal meaning is simply 'one loved' (cf., e.g., Abraham at Prayer of Azariah 12, Stachys at Rom 16:9). But in certain contexts it did carry the meaning of the one who was beloved above all by God, the Messiah. In Christian texts, it may be suspected that the title also signifies the Christian's love for Christ.⁷¹ In the Jewish texts in which it occurs, however, there is nothing to suggest that it signifies Israel's love for the Messiah.

One passage in the LXX may possibly be an exception to this statement, viz., the superscription to Ps 45 (44), ὡδὴ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ. In the

original epithalamium, a princess is to marry the king; in the interpretation in the Midrash, vv. 10ff. refer to Israel,⁷² and hence here 'a song about the Beloved' means 'a song about Israel'.⁷³ However, in Christian use of this psalm, vv. 10ff. are taken to speak of the relationship of the Church to Christ,⁷⁴ and 'the Beloved' is understood to refer to him: see, e.g., Origen, De Princ. IV 5. In this understanding, vv. 2ff. are addressed to Christ. There is one Jewish text which applies the language of the first part of Ps 45 to a messianic figure, Testament of Judah 24:1; the earliest Christian use is at Heb 1:8f. Is the superscription in the LXX therefore evidence of the existence of messianic nuptial imagery in Judaism? I would conclude that, in view of the lack of evidence that anyone, either in pre-Christian Judaism or in first-century Christianity, thought of combining a messianic understanding of the first part of Ps 45 and a corporate understanding of the second part to speak of the nuptials of the Messiah and his community, the most that can be said is that the Greek translator opened the way to the development of messianic nuptial imagery.⁷⁵ By itself, the superscription proves nothing.⁷⁶

There are, however, two other texts which suggest that messianic nuptial imagery may have been current in first-century A.D. Judaism. The first is in 2 Esdras 3-14, from the end of the century. At 9:38ff., Ezra has a vision of a woman in great grief,

who tells him that she is in mourning for her only son:

'When he grew up and I came to take a wife for him, I set a day for the marriage feast. But it happened that when my son entered his wedding chamber, he fell down and died'

(9:47-10:1). After Ezra attempts to comfort her, she is transfigured and becomes 'an established city'.

An angel explains to him that the woman in Zion, her son the Temple, and his death 'the destruction which befell Jerusalem' (10:48). It might be thought that the choice of the image of an only son who dies in his wedding chamber could be based on the idea of a Messiah born of the community who weds Israel.

However, if we take 9:43ff. as speaking of the Messiah, we must ask whom he is to marry. It cannot be Zion, as in Revelation (a book contemporary with 2 Esdras 3-14), for Zion is his mother. This would be to interpret the passage as if it were a detailed allegory in which every component had a precise symbolic value: but in fact, only the figures of the mother, the son, and the death have symbolic value, and are explained by the angel. The detail of the 'wedding chamber' (not explained by the angel) is added to heighten the tragedy, for it draws on the proverbial association of marriage and death.⁷⁷ It provides no evidence for the messianic use of nuptial imagery within Judaism.

The second text to be considered is the logion of Jesus in which he calls himself 'the bridegroom' (Mk 2:19, Matt 9:15, Lk 5:34; cf. GThom 104, Jn 3:29). If this logion is authentic,⁷⁸ must we not infer that if Jesus could call himself 'the bridegroom' tout

court, then this must have been a recognised designation of the Messiah within Judaism? Against this, it has been noted that the logion reflects a very odd wedding ritual, for wedding-guests do not fast when the bridegroom departs. No satisfactory explanation has been given of this saying, which seems to make no more sense against a Jewish background than it does in the context of the early Church. I suggest that the explanation is analogous to that of the bridegroom of 2 Esdras 9. The first half of the logion (Mk 2:19 pars.) is simply a proverbial saying: guests do not fast when the bridegroom is with them.⁷⁹ From this, the thought moves to death, which is proverbially linked with marriage, and Jesus prophesies that after his death his disciples will fast (Mk 2:20 pars.). The logion therefore does not require a messianic interpretation of 'the bridegroom' to make sense, and provides no evidence that the Messiah was customarily called 'the bridegroom' within Judaism; this logion, whether authentic or not, is in fact the earliest example of messianic nuptial imagery.

It certainly cannot be claimed that messianic nuptial imagery is intrinsically foreign to Judaism: the materials are all there. However, we have no unequivocal evidence that anyone before Christ did so employ this imagery. The use of nuptial imagery quickly became established within Christianity, and was seen as an essential aspect of the Christian

understanding of Christ.⁸⁰ There is, therefore, prima facie a strong probability that when the odist speaks in Ode 38 of 'the Beloved and his bride', he is speaking of Jesus Christ and his Church. The deceiver and his 'bride', who is described, like the Church in so many second-century writings, in the traits of Ps 45,⁸¹ are a deadly counterfeit of Christ and the true Church: just as they invite men to the true wedding-feast,⁸² so the Antichrist and his community invite men to the sham wedding-feast where they become drunk and forfeit their knowledge. Here, then, we have an indication of a Christian origin of the Odes, and of a date in the second century.⁸³ This discussion of the nuptial imagery of Ode 38 will be complemented by a discussion in Chapter IV, Section I, of the odist's use of individual nuptial imagery to speak of his relationship with the Saviour.

CHAPTER II

Section III:

Use of the Old Testament

The word 'Old Testament' is used in various ways in the Bible. It is used to refer to the entire Bible, to the Hebrew Scriptures, or to the Greek Septuagint.

In the majority of these passages, we have to do with stylistic features like metonymy, the choice of vocabulary, and certain very common phrases like that of trust in the Lord, which are ultimately derived from the Old Testament. These passages give us clue to the provenance of the Glos. For these scriptural references were available to Jew and Christian alike; they are not discussed here.

In such passages, however, the edict is not simply expressing the commonplaces of Jewish and Christian piety, but makes important christological statements in Old Testament language. As with the commonplace, when we compare his language with the versions, we find no exact parallel. Yet, unlike the commonplace, these passages do help to locate the provenance of the Glos.

III

The odist never quotes from the Old Testament, but in numerous passages his language is highly reminiscent of Old Testament texts, especially from the Psalter.⁸⁴ It is not possible to argue that he is aligned especially with any of the versions, MT, LXX, Peshitta, or Targum,⁸⁵ against the others; it is difficult to discern any consistent pattern in the odist's employment of these scriptural reminiscences, such that we could obtain with any objectivity redaction-critical criteria of his use of sources.⁸⁶

In the majority of these passages, we have to do with stylistic features like parallelismus membrorum, the choice of vocabulary, and certain very common themes like that of trust in the Lord, which are ultimately derived from the Old Testament. These passages give no clue to the provenance of the Odes, for these scriptural resources were available to Jew and Christian alike; they are not discussed here.⁸⁷ In some passages, however, the odist is not simply expressing the commonplaces of Jewish and Christian piety, but makes important christological statements in Old Testament language. As with the commonplaces, when we compare his language with the versions, we find no exact quotation. But, unlike the commonplaces, these passages do help to locate the provenance of the Odes.

First, Ode 28:14. Here the Saviour speaks of his persecutors, and says:

'And they surrounded me like mad dogs,
those who in ignorance attack their masters'.

This passage uses an image ultimately traceable to Ps 22:16, 'Dogs are round about me; a company of evildoers encircle me'.⁸⁸ With Ode 28:14 we must consider 28:18, where the Saviour says,

'And in vain did they cast lots against me'.

Again, this image is ultimately traceable to Ps 22:18, 'They divide my garments among them, and for my raiment they cast lots', a verse which may be echoed remotely at Ode 31:9, where the Saviour says,

'And they divided my spoil'.⁸⁹

Christian christological use of this psalm is very early: apart from its use in passion narratives,⁹⁰ cf. Heb 2:12, 1 Clement 16:5f., Barnabas 5:13, 6:6, Justin, I Apol. 35, 38, Dial. 97-106, Irenaeus, Dem. 79-80, Adv. Haer. IV 20:8, 33:12.

Second, Ode 28:9. In this passage, referring to the astonishment which his vindication caused, the Saviour says,

'Those who saw me were amazed,
because I was persecuted'.

The same thought is expressed at 17:6,

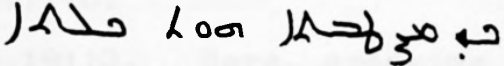
'And all who saw me wondered,
and I seemed to them like a stranger'.

With these two passages, we should compare Isa 52:14f., 'As many were astonished at him, his appearance was so marred, beyond human semblance, and his form beyond

that of the sons of men - so shall he startle many'.⁹¹
 This verse is little used in early Christian literature, but the three texts in which it occurs in second-century literature (Justin, I Apol. 50, Dial. 13; Irenaeus, Dem. 68) quote it in the course of more extensive citation from this Servant Song, which was very frequently employed christologically.⁹²

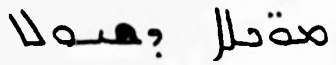
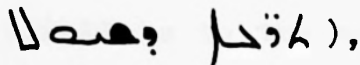
In these cases, the odist uses language to speak of the sufferings of the Saviour, the ultimate literary sources of which are Old Testament passages frequently used by early Christian writers to speak of the sufferings of Jesus. A third case in which the odist's language is paralleled in early Christian writers is Ode 38:9, when, in the course of his description of the heretic and his 'bride', he says,

'And the corruptor of the corruptor
 I saw when the bride who is corrupted was adorned'.

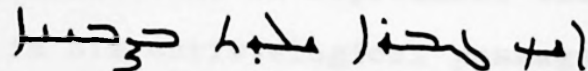
This text has been discussed in Section II of this Chapter. Ps 45:10ff. was applied to the Church, considered as the bride of Christ, by several second-century writers;⁹³ it is arguable that the odist's use of the words  is ultimately to be traced to the influence of Ps 45:13f.⁹⁴ A link with Isa 61:10 is also possible.⁹⁵ Here, the odist's language about the heretical community as 'adorned' in the presence of her husband is precisely similar to the use of Ps 45 by second-century Christian authors.

To these passages, we should add Ode 17:10,
 'I shattered the bars of iron',
 reminiscent of Ps 107:16, 'For he shatters the doors

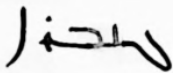
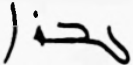
of bronze, and cuts in two the bars of iron'.⁹⁶ It is possible to read Ode 17 either as a description of the harrowing of hell or as an extended metaphor describing the sending of the Saviour on earth from the Father's side to redeem men who are spiritually dead. This is discussed in Chapter III, Section II; it is unimportant here, since whatever the odist means by this language, it is highly probable that he is drawing on an image associated with the descensus of the Saviour. It is difficult to find an early use of this psalm in the context of the descensus;⁹⁷ the earliest writer to apply it to Christ's descent into hell is Tertullian, De Resurrectione 44:7.

However, we should note the suggestion by Robert Murray that when Tatian rendered the πύλαι "Ἄδου of Matt 16:18 by  (rather than by ) , 'he intended an allusion to Christ's victory over death, shared in by the Church', in the light of Ps 107.⁹⁸ It is certainly not impossible that this understanding of Ps 107 is to be seen as underlying Ode 17:10.

Fifth, Ode 19:10. Here, speaking of the virgin who gives birth to the Son, the odist writes,



The obscurity of this line is diminished if we compare it with Ps 19:5, where we are told of the sun that 'it comes forth like a bridegroom leaving his chamber, and like a strong man runs its course with joy',⁹⁹ and note that this verse was regarded by two

second-century Christian writers as a prophecy of the Incarnation of Jesus: cf. Justin, I Apol. 54, Dial. 64, 69; and Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. IV 33:13. GThom 104 has the logion found at Mk 2:19 pars. in a form that strongly suggests the influence of Ps 19:5. If the suggestion of W. Emery Barnes that we read  instead of  in Ode 19:10 be accepted,¹⁰⁰ we may render this line, 'She brought [him]¹⁰¹ forth like a strong man by the will [of the Father]'. If it is correct to interpret this verse in the light of an incarnational understanding of Ps 19, it is interesting to note that whereas for Justin and Irenaeus the bridal-chamber is heaven, for the odist it must be the womb of the virgin herself: this would be the earliest example of such an interpretation of Ps 19:5.¹⁰²

How are we to account for the clustering of parallels to the odist's language in christological Odes in second-century Christian writers?¹⁰³ We should note that there are no significant Jewish parallels to these passages in the Odes of Solomon.¹⁰⁴

As with the commonplaces, it may simply be the case that the odist has so 'internalised' the words of the Old Testament that he reproduces them unconsciously in his christological passages. But, when we compare the abundance of parallels in second-century Christian literature, it becomes highly implausible to maintain that there is no connection between these other writers and the odist, who purely fortuitously hits on the same scriptural texts.

This need not imply that the odist consciously makes use of the Old Testament texts in the way that Justin or Irenaeus does; but at anyrate, some kind of control is operating to select texts. If this control is not the deliberate theological purpose of the odist, it must be the kerygma proclaimed to the odist and his community: a kerygma which included not only a recital of the events which brought salvation, but also the scriptural texts which those events were believed to have fulfilled, and in the light of which the events were to be understood.

The contents of this kerygma are discussed further in Chapters III and IV. At this point, it can be concluded that prima facie, the study of the Old Testament reminiscences in the Odes shows that the odist is definitely aligned with second-century Christian writers.

CHAPTER III

THE ODES AND PARALLEL TEXTS

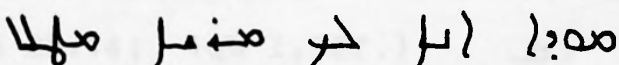
In this Chapter, detailed comparisons of the Odes of Solomon with other texts provide information which helps further to locate the provenance of the Odes. In the first Section, their relationship to the literature of Qumran is considered; in the second, their relationship to the canonical gospels; in the third, their relationship to the epistles of Ignatius of Antioch; and in the fourth, their relationship to the literature of gnosticism. A concluding Section assesses the results of these comparisons, and an Appendix offers an interpretation of Ode 41:15, 'The Messiah in truth is one'.

I

The hypothesis of influence from the Qumran sect on the author of the Odes of Solomon, first proposed by Daniélou¹ and by Testuz,² has been argued in detail by Jean Carmignac³ and by J. H. Charlesworth.⁴

Carmignac presented in his first study a translation of Ode 11 into Hebrew, which he regarded as the original language of the Odes, with an annotation of abundant parallels from the Scrolls. He concluded that although the odist knew theological ideas not found in the Scrolls, such as the concept of immortality, he showed a closeness to Qumran much greater than could be acquired from a simple study of the Qumran literature. The author must therefore have been 'un Qumrânien, converti au christianisme';⁵ in all probability, he had known personally the redactor of the fourth gospel. In his second study, Carmignac pointed to a number of passages in which the odist makes use of terminology which is characteristic of Qumran.

The first of these is Ode 5:1,

... ? 

This incipit is found only once in the Old Testament, at Isa 12:1,⁶ and not at all in Davidson's collection of 31.302 Jewish piyyutim.⁷ However, it is found frequently in the Hodayoth (1QH II,20.31, III,19.37, IV,5, V,4.20, VII,6.26.34, VIII,4; cf. XI,3.15, XIV,23), and twenty-three times in the Qaraite

literature.⁸ The presence of this incipit in Ode 5 cannot be thought 'un simple hasard'.⁹

Second, a number of passages in the Odes display polemic against Essene beliefs. 41:15, 'The Messiah in truth is one', is polemic against the expectation of two Messiahs (cf. 1QS IX,11, CD XII,23-XIII,1, XIV,9, XIX,10f., XX,1); the references to war (8:7, 9:6) are meant to make clear to Essenes that their expectation of an eschatological war (cf. especially 1QM) has been confounded by the peace which Christ brings; and at 10:2ff., with an allusion to Jn 11:52, the odist proclaims that Christ has been made ritually impure by contact with the Gentiles and has thus broken the Qumran Rule (cf. 1QS V,1f.10.14-20, VIII,13, IX,16f.).

Third, Carmignac lists concepts found both in the Odes and in the Scrolls: living water (Odes 12:2, 36:7; 1QH VIII,16); abundance of kindness (Odes 14:9, 16:7, 19:7; 1QS IV,3, 1QH XIII,17, IV,32, VII,27, XVIII,14); nothing outside the Lord (Ode 16:8; 1QH I,8.20, VII,32, X,2.9); abysses (Ode 24:5; 1QH III,16-18); waves (Ode 38:2, 1QH III,10); deliverance from Sheol (Ode 29:4, cf. 36:1; 1QH III,19f.); lack of intelligence (Ode 28:14; 1QH I,22f.); כ (Ode 36:4) and ד'גב (1QS); the face lit up (Odes 40:4, 41:6; 1QH III,3, IV,5.27). Carmignac admits that each parallel taken by itself proves little, for these expressions may have been widely current, and it may be fortuitous that they survive only at Qumran; but taken together, they present an argument "par

convergence" that the odist was 'un Qumrâno-Chrétien'.¹⁰ An Essene converted to Christianity would have been able to retain much of his former belief: the new beliefs (i.e., the divinity of Jesus, the Trinity, the universality of salvation by faith) did not represent a denial of Judaism. Certain passages in the Odes speak of the opposition the odist encountered because of his conversion, e.g., 28:13-18¹¹ and 41:8. The central reality for the odist was the Incarnation, central not only for his spiritual experience but also in his polemic against his former confrères: for from this insight come three ideas which manifest a reaction against the spirituality of Qumran - joy in God, love for God, and personal immortality.

The general objection can be made to these arguments that none of the parallels presented by Carmignac involves a concept so distinctively Essene that their occurrence or even their clustering requires us to postulate some direct relationship between the Odes and the Scrolls. For example, while it is true that Ode 5:1 is reminiscent of the formula ... 'אדון' כ' of the Hodayoth, it is a unique formula in the Odes of Solomon and so is no more typical of them than is Isa 12:1 of the hymns of the Old Testament. Further, if the Odes are indeed Christian, it is difficult to rule out the possibility of influence from the prayers of

Jesus: cf. Matt 11:25 and Lk 10:21, and Jn 11:41.¹²

The plural formula is found in early Christian prayers (e.g., Col 1:12, Rev 11:17, Didache 9:1-3, 10:2-4; cf. Acts of John 109). The formulae

... ' כַּיְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵיכֶם and ... ? 

must be seen in the wider context of prayer-formulae transmitted in the common Jewish and Christian

tradition. The same point can be made about

Carmignac's list of shared concepts.¹³ The passages

which he suggests are polemic against Essene beliefs

may be understood in this way, but as with all

proposed identifications of polemic in poems so

obscure as the Odes, one will be convinced of the

existence of this polemic only if one is convinced

antecedently on other grounds that the provenance of

the Odes has been correctly located. Carmignac

does not provide sufficiently strong evidence of the

Essene origin of the Odes to warrant acceptance of

his identification of the polemic.

Charlesworth seeks to provide this evidence in

his two studies of the relationship between the Odes

and Qumran. Apart from a number of proposed

parallels, none of which has greater substance than

those proposed by Carmignac,¹⁴ he points to two

important themes shared by both bodies of literature:

first, a cosmic dualism, and second, the concept of

the community.

'As one reads through the Odes he is confronted by a belief in two spirits, one good [...], the other

bad'.¹⁵ Charlesworth claims that this dualism is portrayed most clearly in Odes 33 and 38. Thus, in Ode 33 we have pairs of opposites as follows:

the perfect virgin (<u>v.</u> 5)	//	the corruptor (<u>vv.</u> 1.7), the evil one (<u>v.</u> 4)
ways of truth (<u>v.</u> 8), my ways (<u>v.</u> 13)	//	ways of corruptor (<u>v.</u> 7)
obey me (<u>v.</u> 10)	//	all who obeyed him (<u>v.</u> 4)
be saved and blessed (<u>v.</u> 11)	//	destruction (<u>vv.</u> 8f.)
possess incorruption in new world (<u>v.</u> 12)	//	perish (<u>v.</u> 9)

This 'dualism' is compared to the passage concerning the two spirits in 1QS III,13-IV,26 and to such passages as 1QH IV,11f. Charlesworth speaks also of the 'pervasiveness' and 'centrality' of the light-darkness paradigm in the Odes,¹⁶ and compares this with the light-darkness paradigm in the Scrolls.

Even if it be granted that 'dualism' is a term that may be appropriately used in speaking of the Odes of Solomon, however,¹⁷ this is not the clear-cut ethical bipolarity of Qumran. The Qumran doctrine of the two spirits is one example of a formal pattern of Jewish and Judaeo-Christian paraenesis: the same pattern may be seen in Test. Asher 1:3-9, Didache 1-6, Barnabas 18-20, and Hermas, Mand. VI 2:1ff.¹⁸ There is no trace of this catechetical pattern in the Odes.¹⁹ It is only at Qumran that this doctrine of ethical bipolarity is truly dualist, in that it is pre-destinarian: for these other writers, as for the

author of Ps 1, one may choose which path to follow. Similarly, the odist believes that men may choose either to accept the Saviour or to reject him; and even after they have found faith in him, they may still reject him.²⁰ When the odist speaks in Odes 33 and 38 of the choice open to men, his language is not dualist, and to speak of 'dualism' is to impose a misleading 'grid' on the Odes, which cannot be categorised in this way.

The second important area in which Charlesworth suggests that the Odes show influence from Qumran is that of their concept of the community itself, where four images are common to Odes and Scrolls: the 'holy ones', the 'rock', the 'plantation', and the 'way'. A comparison of the contexts in which these images occur, however, casts considerable doubt on this suggestion.

In the Odes, ⲉⲛⲏⲏⲓ (7:16, 22:12, 23:1) is a title of the community.²¹ In the Scrolls, ⲉⲛⲏⲏⲓ is never used tout court as a title of the community; at 1QS XI,8 it is a title of the angels.²² The closest parallel in the Scrolls to the odist's use of ⲉⲛⲏⲏⲓ is 1QS IX,8, ⲁⲛⲏⲏⲓ ⲁⲛⲏⲏⲓ. The odist and Qumran are certainly close here, but nothing suggests influence from Qumran on the odist.²³

Second, Charlesworth compares Ode 22:10, ⲉⲛⲏⲏⲓ ⲁⲛⲏⲏⲓ ⲁⲛⲏⲏⲓ with 1QH VI,25f.,

ⲉⲛⲏⲏⲓ ⲁⲛⲏⲏⲓ ⲁⲛⲏⲏⲓ

Ode 22:10 is discussed further in Section II of this

Chapter; here I make two points. First, whereas the odist is speaking of the community's being founded on a rock, the author of the Hodayoth is speaking of his own experience of security in 'thy truth', and when he speaks of the 'rock', it is part of an extended metaphor in which he compares himself to a fortified city. Second, if Charlesworth proposes a Christian provenance for the Odes, he raises the possibility that the dominical logia about the 'rock' (Matt 7:24f., Lk 6:47f.; Matt 16:18) have influenced the odist.²⁴

Third, Charlesworth compares the use of the image of 'plantation' at Ode 38:19 with 1QH VIII,5 and 1QS VIII,5, 1QH VI,15. This imagery is so common in the intertestamental and early Christian period, however, that it is better to speak of a drawing on shared Old Testament resources (e.g., Ps 80:8ff., to which allusion may be made at Ode 38:19 and 1QH VIII,5ff., and Dan 4:10-12) than to speak of direct influence from the Scrolls on the odist.²⁵ Similarly, the use of paradisaic imagery is too common in this period to warrant an explanation in terms of the dependence of Ode 11 on 1QH VI,15f., VIII,5ff.

The fourth, and potentially most significant, of the parallels Charlesworth proposes is that between the use of the expression, 'the way', in the Odes (11:3f., 7:13) and its use in the Scrolls (1QS IX,17f., XI,11). Charlesworth does not develop his point, but the thrust of his argument is as follows. The use of

ἡ ὁδός in Acts (9:2, 19:9.23, 24:14.22) as a technical term for the Christian community has no direct precedent or parallel apart from the Essene use of ךךך :²⁶ if this phrase, 'the way', were used by the odist to speak of his community, we should have an indication that he made use of Qumran language.

Unfortunately for this argument, the odist never employs ךךך in this absolute sense, as a technical term for the community. ךךך tout court, with no pronominal suffix or other qualifier, occurs only four times in the Odes. At 11:3b, the sense is not completed until v. 3c, 'in the way of truth' (cf. 33:8c).²⁷ The other occurrences of ךךך are in christological passages, where the meaning is clearly that the Saviour has opened a path for those who believe in him (cf. 22:7, 39:7.13). This is, of course, a 'path' with a religious connotation; but there is nowhere any illumination to be shed on the odist's language by supposing him to mean by ךךך the community itself.²⁸

The criticisms I have offered of the arguments of Carmignac and Charlesworth are not intended to refute the idea of any relationship between the Odes and Qumran. My intention has been to suggest that the account they give of the relationship is too superficial. The language and theology of the Odes are not directly influenced by Qumran. Nevertheless, this discussion has shown that many concepts are held

in common, and there are two important areas in which a detailed comparison of the Odes and the Hodayoth helps further to locate the provenance of the Odes: first, the self-understanding of the singer, and second, the literary genre and structure of the hymns.

The self-understanding of the singer.

In Chapter II, Section II, it was argued that the author of the Odes of Solomon has an exalted conception of his ministry, as the recipient of hymns of praise taught by the Holy Spirit so that he may safeguard the faith of his community and oppose false teaching. In the Hodayoth, written ex ore Magistri if not actually by the Teacher of Righteousness himself,²⁹ we find a number of passages in which a similar self-understanding^{is} expressed.

No man can recount the wonders of the Lord (1QH XI,24), but the Teacher has been given wisdom:

'These things I know
by the wisdom which comes from Thee,
for Thou hast unstopped my ears
to marvellous mysteries'

(I,21),³⁰ and so he is able to praise the Lord (X,14-16) in hymns taught by the Lord (XI,32-34, XVIII,10ff.; cf. 1QS X,8.12f.); this praise is the duty of all men (1QH I,27ff., III,23). The Teacher's ministry has a double function:

'To the elect of righteousness
Thou hast made me a banner [...]
to the interpreters of error
I have been an opponent'

(II,13f.). This ministry is described in some detail. He imparts his knowledge to the men whom he brings into the community (cf. XIV,20f.), on whom he lays the 'yoke' of his testimony (VI,19). To these men he is a 'father' (VII,20).

'All those who are gathered in Thy covenant
inquire of me,
and they hearken to me
who walk in the way of Thy heart'

(IV,24). The Teacher plays an integral role in the building-up of the community:

'Thou, O God, hast put into my mouth
as it were rain for all [those who thirst]
and a fount of living waters which shall not fail [...]
By my hand Thou hast opened for them
a well-spring and ditches [...]
But if I take away my hand
it shall be like a thistle [in the wilderness]'

(VIII,16-26).

The importance of the Teacher's role is seen vividly when his enemies prevent him from teaching his disciples:

'The tongue has gone back which Thou didst make
marvellously mighty within my mouth;
it can no longer give voice.
[I have no word] for my disciples
to revive the spirit of those who stumble
and to speak words of support to the weary.
My circumcised lips are dumb'

(VIII,35f.). The 'teachers of lies' (IV,7.9)

'withhold from the thirsty the drink of knowledge
and assuage their thirst with vinegar,
that they may gaze on their straying'

(IV,11f.).³¹ All of this, however, is within God's plan, for he has 'hidden the fountain of understanding and the counsel of truth' (V,25f.; cf. IX,24) until the day when the Teacher is vindicated:

'I will reply to him who slanders me
and I will rebuke my oppressor;

I will declare his sentence unjust
and declare Thy judgment righteous'

(IX,8f.). This vindication restores him to his ministry of proclaiming the truth and opposing wickedness (cf. XIV,8-11), and the Hodayoth end with a portrait of this ministry:

'[that he might be], according to Thy truth,
a messenger [in the season] of Thy goodness;
that to the humble he might bring
glad tidings of Thy great mercy,
[proclaiming salvation]
from out of the fountain [of holiness
to the contrite] of spirit,
and everlasting joy to those who mourn'

(XVIII,14f.).

These passages require little commentary: the similarity of the portrait of the Teacher in the Hodayoth to the portrait of the odist in the Odes is obvious. The differences in detail in the passages presented so far may be attributed simply to the biographical facts of the Teacher's life.³² These striking parallels bring the Odes and the Hodayoth extremely close to one another: yet there is a fundamental difference between them, which is reflected in what each poet has to say about his ministry. This is a difference in their anthropology which is so profound that, on the psychological level if not in terms of the functions they perform, there is a wide gulf between the two poets.

The Teacher speaks often of the knowledge of God's mysteries which has been given to him, but he speaks equally often of his own sinfulness:

'But what is flesh (to be worthy) of this?

this in the Odes of Solomon. The odist never speaks of man's innate incapacity to obey the Lord, and nothing suggests that he could have made his own the passages of the Hodayoth in which the Teacher expresses his profound understanding of the frailty of man and of the need for repentance.

We do find parallels to the Hodayoth in the Shepherd of Hermas. In this book, a response to the problem of post-baptismal sin, the question of sin and of the possibility of repentance is very prominent. At Vis. III 4:3, the Church says to Hermas, Οὐχ ὅτι σὺ ἐκ πάντων ἀξιώτερος εἶ, ἵνα σοι ἀποκαλυφθῇ. ἄλλοι γὰρ σου πρότεροί εἰσιν καὶ βελτίονές σου, οἷς ἔδει ἀποκαλυφθῆναι τὰ ὄραματα ταῦτα. Indeed, Hermas is a sinner, who has sinned in sexual matters (cf. Vis. I 1:1ff.), and in the matter of διψυχία, which is the worst sin of the Christian community (cf., e.g., Sim. VIII). As in the Hodayoth the thought of the Teacher passes from God's revelation to his own sinfulness, so in the Shepherd sin and revelation are linked constantly: cf. Vis. III 1:5ff., 2:2f., 8:10f., 10:9, IV 1:4.7, Mand. III 3-5,³⁴ IV 2:1-4, Sim. V 4:2f., VI 1:2ff. (διψυχία), 5:2, VII 1-4; cf. also Vis. III 6:7.

The context in the Shepherd is, of course, very different from that in the Hodayoth. Hermas' awareness in mid-second-century Rome of the contrast between the revelation he receives (cf. Vis. I 3:3, ἤκουσα μέγας καὶ θαυμαστῶς, ὃ οὐκ

ἰσχυρὰ μνημονεύσαι) and his own sinfulness must be understood in the context, not of a dualistic anthropology which was basically pessimistic about man's chances of salvation, but in the context of the concrete dilemma of the presence of sin within a community which claimed to uphold an extremely high moral ideal. The problem is seen already in the New Testament period (cf. Heb 6:4ff., 10:26f.; 1 Jn 5:16f.), and in the second century various solutions were proposed, ranging from an extreme perfectionism as in the Montanists, through ideas like the repeated baptisms of the Elchesaites, to an extreme libertinism as in the Carpocratians.³⁵ Hermas' solution was that God had set aside a day of repentance when sinners would be given their last chance (cf. Mand. IV 3:1ff., Sim. VIII and IX). His interest, therefore, is not to offer a general reflection on man's sinfulness (though the Mandates come close to this), but to confess his sin and urge his hearers to repent.

Although, therefore, the language of Hermas is prima facie similar to that of the Hodayoth, he does present a true parallel. A better parallel is 2 Esdras 7:62-69, where the seer responds to the revelation of God's judgment by saying, 'All who have been born are involved in iniquities, and are full of sins and burdened with transgressions' (v. 68). The link between the seer and the sinful men of whom

he speaks is, however, denied by the Lord when he says to Ezra, 'You have often compared yourself to the unrighteous. Never do so! But even in this respect you will be praiseworthy before the Most High, because you have humbled yourself' (8:47-49). The seer in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch never makes the link between revelation and sin in the manner of the Hodayoth; the closest to this is 54:9,

'For what am I among the sons of men,
or why am I reckoned among those who are
more excellent than I,
that I have heard all these marvels
from the Most High,
and good tidings for which words are not adequate
from him who created me?'

Here, however, the sentiment is the conventional one of the humility of the seer (cf. 75:4) and is not to be compared to the mediation⁺ of the Teacher on sin.

A comparison with the extant literature which speaks of revelations shows, therefore, that when the author of the Hodayoth expresses his consciousness of solidarity with the sinfulness of men and his unworthiness of the revelation he has received, he occupies a position that is relatively isolated. It is clear, however, that both Odes and Hodayoth must be considered in relation to this larger body of literature before their relationship one to the other can be properly assessed. The evidence from this literature suggests that the Odes must be seen as an example of revelation-narratives.

Only at two places does the odist speak of the actual experience of receiving revelation, and in

each case he carries us in medias res without any preliminary such as an account of fasting.³⁶ At 19:1, he writes,

'A cup of milk was offered to me,
and I drank it in the sweetness of the kindness
of the Lord'.

He then develops this idea of the 'cup' (cup) to speak of the coming of the Saviour, as the cup into which the milk of the Father was poured. An extremely interesting parallel to this is 2 Esdras 14:38-41:

'And on the next day, behold, a voice called me, saying, "Ezra, open your mouth and drink what I give you to drink." Then I opened my mouth, and behold, a full cup was offered to me; it was full of something like water, but its colour was like fire. And I took it and drank; and when I had drunk it, my heart poured forth understanding, and wisdom increased in my breast, for my spirit retained its memory: and my mouth was opened, and was no longer closed'.

The result of this drinking of the cup is that Ezra is enabled to dictate the ninety-four books to his scribes and thence to communicate them to the people and to the 'wise' (vv. 45f.). These two passages cannot be related to any scriptural parallels; the closest to them is the account in Ezek 2:8-3:3 of the prophet's eating the scroll (cf. also Rev 10:8-11). A possible parallel is in Irenaeus' account of the Valentinian magician Marcus (Adv. Haer. I 13:2):³⁷

Ποτήρια οἴνω κεκραμένα προσποιούμενος
εὐχαριστεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ πλεον ἔκτεινων τὸν
λόγον τῆς ἐπικλήσεως, πορφύρεα καὶ ἐρυθρὰ
ἀναφαίνεσθαι ποιεῖ· ὡς δοκεῖν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν

Ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα Χάριν τὸ αἶμα τὸ ἑαυτῆς
 στάζειν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ποτηρίῳ διὰ τῆς
 ἐπικλήσεως αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὑπεριμείρεσθαι τοὺς
 παρόντας ἔξ ἐκείνου γεύσασθαι τοῦ
 πόματος, ἵνα καὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐπομβρήσῃ
 ἢ διὰ τοῦ μάγου τούτου κληϊζομένη χάρις.
 Πάλιν δὲ γυναῖξιν ἐπιδούς ἐκπτώματα
 κεκραμένα, αὐτὰς εὐχαριστεῖν ἐγκελεύεται,
 παρεστῶτος αὐτοῦ...

There follows an account of Marcus' sleight-of-hand with the cups, and the formulae with which he encourages the women to prophesy and seduces them. There are, of course, great problems in assessing this passage: it is difficult to determine to what extent Irenaeus has unconsciously or consciously distorted his picture of Marcosian worship.³⁸ In view of his statement that the Marcosians are a local phenomenon (I 13:7), it seems reasonable to infer that he writes from first-hand acquaintance with their practices. If this is correct, we have a third text which speaks of the drinking of a cup as the preliminary to revelation and to the communication of this revelation in inspired speech. The contexts of Ode 19, 2 Esdras 14, and the Marcosian liturgy are different, but taken together they appear to attest the same practice.

In Ode 38, the second Ode in which the odist speaks of his experience of receiving revelation,

two features are paralleled elsewhere. First, the revelation takes place on a journey, as in 1 Enoch, Rev 17:1ff., the Ascension of Isaiah, the Testament of Abraham, Greek Baruch, the Paralipomena Jeremiou, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the Apocalypse of Zosimus. These may be journeys from earth to heaven, or from one part of the earth to another. In Ode 38, the odist is taken over the earth and is set 'on the arms of eternal life' (v. 3)³⁹ during his journey. He says that he 'ascended into the light of truth as into a chariot' (v. 1). The chariot (ζῆμα) is the vehicle on which Abraham makes his journey over the earth and up to the place where souls are judged in Test. Abr. A 10-15;⁴⁰ at 1 Enoch 70:2, Enoch is translated to heaven 'on the chariots of the spirit'.⁴¹ The 'chariot' is ultimately to be traced to 2 Kg 2:11.⁴²

The second parallel in Ode 38 to this larger body of literature is in the conversation between the odist and Truth. 'Everything that I did not understand he showed me' (v. 7). When the odist sees the false bridegroom and bride,

'I asked Truth, "Who are these?"
And he said to me, "These are the deceiver and
the error ... "'

(v. 10). This pattern of question from the seer ('Who is this?', 'What does this mean?') and answer from the agent of revelation ('This is ... ', 'This means ... ') is extremely common.⁴³ It is the entirely conventional way of passing from the

account of a vision to the interpretation of its obscurities, and has precedents in the prophets: cf. Zech 1:19ff., 4:4.11, 5:6, 6:4, Dan 7:16.19, 8:15. Ode 38:10 is a typical example of this dialogue-pattern.

A third parallel is implicit in Ode 38, not clearly stated. A standard conclusion to accounts of revelation is the command to communicate what has been told: e.g., 'Go, tell my people how great and many are the wonders of the Lord God which you have seen' (2 Esdras 2:48). Here, an entire book is closed with the command to make known the revelation: cf. also the endings of the Gospel of Matthew (28:16ff.), 2 Esdras 3-14 (14:45ff.), and the Apocryphon of John (P. Berol. 8502, p. 75,15ff.). So important is this that when Hermas protests that his memory is too poor, the aged lady gives him her book to copy (Vis. II 1:3f.). The command to make the revelation known is not explicitly given in Ode 38. However, I have argued in the last Chapter, Section II, that the final verses of this Ode (vv. 17ff.) speak of the role of the ministry of the odist in building up his community through the singing of the odes, and if this is correct, we may relate these verses to the conventional injunctions to make known what the seer has seen.

The content of the vision of Ode 38 is, of course, unparalleled in detail in other writings, although we do find warnings against those who lead

communities astray (cf. Rev 2:6.15.20ff., Asc. Isa. 3:22ff.). But when it is considered from the formal point of view, there is nothing to distinguish Ode 38 from other accounts of visions in intertestamental and early Christian writings.

How then may we describe the relationship of the 'I' of the odist to the 'I' of the Teacher? The similarities between what each has to say of his ministry are undeniable. However, in terms of literary genre, the Odes display affinities both with the Hodayoth and with the revelation-discourses of apocalyptic; there is nothing in the Hodayoth which could be compared with these revelation-discourses as the Odes may be compared. It is possible that we should understand the Hodayoth too as related to this body of literature: for it is arguable that had the apocalyptists spoken at length about their own ministry, they would have said the same sort of thing as the odist and the Teacher. In the prayer of the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch 54:1ff. (quoted in part above), a seer gives thanks to God for the wonders that have been revealed to him, and for his singling-out among men: unlike the odist and the Teacher, however, Baruch does not speak in his prayer of a ministry of teaching exercised within a community. It would be unwise, in view of the large role played by chance in the transmission of so many of these texts, to assert that the odist and the Teacher were the only men to reflect on the

soteriological significance of their teaching. I would argue, therefore, that there is a great risk of misunderstanding the relationship between the Odes and the Hodayoth if we take them in isolation from this body of apocalyptic literature with which the Odes have such clear links. There is no passage where we need postulate dependence of the odist upon the Teacher's expression of his self-understanding. Rather, both poets must be seen as sharing a concern with the person of the seer which puts them at one end of the spectrum of literature speaking of revelation, at the other end of which we find works like the Three Steles of Seth (CG 7) and the Apocalypse of Elijah, in which the concern is to transmit the revelation and no interest is shown in the person of the seer.

The literary genre and structure of the poems.

In the introduction to his edition of the Greek version of Ode 11, Testuz drew attention to three stylistic features of the Odes which were paralleled in the recently-published Hodayoth: the occurrence of verses and strophes of irregular length, of paronomasia, and of poetic parallelisms.⁴⁴ In the first of his articles devoted to the Odes, Carmignac developed these suggestions by means of a detailed commentary on his Hebrew translation of Ode 11, and argued that the Odes had been composed in Hebrew

'selon le système poétique des Hymnes'.⁴⁵ Although this view has been questioned, no substantial arguments have been brought against it.⁴⁶

This argument from poetic technique is important, for if it is correct to say that the odist employed so distinctive a technique of strophic construction, must he not have been influenced by the Hodayoth? Four points may be made in reply to this.

First, Carmignac's arguments derive much of their force from his supposition of a Hebrew Grundschrift of the Odes. It is certainly arguable that such a Hebrew text would exhibit the same metrical and strophic patterns as the Hodayoth: cf. the metrical patterns in the Hebrew Grundschrift of the first three of the five Apocryphal Syriac Psalms (11QPs^a).⁴⁷ However, failing new manuscript discoveries, what we have to deal with in the Odes is a collection of Syriac poems; metrical and strophic patterns in the putative Hebrew must be to some extent matter for speculation.⁴⁸

Second, the question of division into strophes is very difficult to determine in the Odes. In the Hodayoth, Carmignac identifies the beginnings of fifty strophes by the presence of what he calls 'pronoms-vedettes':⁴⁹ e.g., in 1QH IV, such pronouns are found in lines 6.9.13.16.18.22. The definition of such a 'pronom-vedette' is that it is not required by the syntax of the phrase, and that it is placed at the beginning of its phrase for emphasis:

the pronouns beginning phrases such as אֲנִי וְיְהוָה
 or אֲנִי וְיְהוָה are therefore not 'pronoms-vedettes'. Such pronouns are extremely rare in the Odes. True 'pronoms-vedettes' are found at 22:6, 28:16, 31:10, 35:4, and 42:19; apart from 22:6, the pronoun is אֲנִי. Each of these verses could be the beginning of a new strophe.⁵⁰ This is especially true of 22:6, where, if we accept the emendation of Harris and Mingana of the second-person singular verb in v. 5b to a third-person singular, in line with the Coptic ἀγαθῶν, the אֲנִי of v. 6a makes a violent break in the syntax and establishes the direct address to God which continues for the rest of the Ode.⁵¹ It is true also of 28:16, 31:10, and 35:4, where the thought passes from the fury of his opponents to the calm of the Saviour; and of 42:19 where the odist moves from the words of the souls (vv. 15ff.) to the response of the Saviour. Apart from these five christological passages, however, such a use of pronouns does not occur in the Odes; Carmignac does not introduce any into his Hebrew translation of Ode 11.⁵² In this respect, the Odes are very different from the Hodayoth. Lacking any firm stylistic criterion like this, we can say little about strophic division of the Odes that can be an objective judgment.⁵³

Third, Carmignac notes parallels in the poetry of the Old Testament to the Hodayoth, and suggests that further research may establish whether 'toute

la poésie biblique est inspirée par cet unique système'.⁵⁴ To attempt to discuss the poetic techniques of the Old Testament would take this discussion of the problem posed by the similarities of the Odes to the Hodayoth too far afield;⁵⁵ what can be said, however, is that Carmignac has surely identified here the solution to the problem: viz., that both poets draw on the techniques of the poems of the Old Testament.⁵⁶ The forms used by the odist are extremely restricted: most Odes could be classified as individual or communal Danklieder or Loblieder.⁵⁷ As the Teacher's use of the inherited forms is shaped by his particular concerns, so the odist's use is shaped by his experience of salvation in the Saviour. As with the expression of the poets' self-consciousness, it is better here to understand the two poets as sharing the same techniques but as part of a broader literary spectrum. In the case of this reworking of Old Testament forms, the Teacher and the odist must be seen as partners with the authors of the Psalms of Solomon, of the hymns in Sirach,⁵⁸ of the hymns of the Therapeutae (cf. Philo, Vita Cont. 80), of the hymns contained in Revelation and the Testament of Job, and of the Apocryphal Syriac Psalms. In their various ways, all of these authors create fresh material on the traditional lines of canonical hymns. The hymns of the Teacher and the odist do admittedly stand together, considered against the background of these

other hymns, but this is because of their concern with the person of the poet, discussed above: in their employment of formal techniques, they do nothing exceptional. At least from the Maccabaeian period onwards, this extensive exploitation of established forms was carried on, whether for literary midrashic purposes (as in the hymns of the Testament of Job, or the Prayer of Manasseh) or to speak of new political circumstances (as in the hymns of 1 Maccabees).⁵⁹ The odist stands within this continuous literary practice, though at its very end. If this is correct, a fourth point may be made.

It could be objected that, even if it is unnecessary to say that the odist is dependent on Qumranic precedents, yet it is unlikely that a Christian writing in the middle of the second century should make use of Old Testament techniques. There is no parallel to this,⁶⁰ and surely the polemic against Jews in Barnabas and the Dialogue of Justin must make it unlikely. Must the odist not therefore be dated in the first century, like the authors of the hymns in Revelation and the infancy narratives of Luke, at a period before the split between Christianity and Judaism? And if the odist wrote in the first century, may he not very likely have known the literature of Qumran?

Against this, it must be remembered that despite mutual excommunications, Christianity and Judaism remained extremely close in the second century, as

inheritors of a common tradition. There is nothing implausible in the suggestion that a Judaeo-Christian poet should have composed his hymns in the style of the Old Testament, when we remember that a mid-second-century Christian put his polemic against the Jews into the mouth of no less a figure than Ezra: the style of 2 Esdras 1-2 is throughout that of the Old Testament and Jewish apocalyptic, and the name of Jesus is never mentioned, nor the Christian sacraments - yet the import of the polemic is no less clear than that of Barnabas or Ps.-Cyprian, Adversus Judaeos.⁶¹

Besides this, we can point to two second-century Christian poets who adopted the techniques of Jewish poetry.⁶² The first is the author of the Christian Sibyllines, who expressed his christology and his hatred of Rome in a poetic form and style borrowed ultimately indeed from pagan Sibyls but directly from the precedent of Jewish Sibyllines.⁶³

The second, rather more surprisingly,⁶⁴ is the author of the Hymn of Jesus in Acts of John 94-96. The narrative tells how, before his arrest, Jesus gathered his disciples and set them in a ring, holding one another's hands, while he stood in the middle and sang a hymn to which they sang 'Amen' as an antiphon at the end of each verse. At the end of the hymn, the disciples stopped dancing, and Jesus went forth to his passion. There is no known parallel to this liturgical dance or antiphonal hymn in first- or second-century Christian literature.⁶⁵

There is, however, a striking parallel in Test. Job 43:1ff., not in terms of theological content or imagery, but in the mise-en-scène. After the condemnation of Elious, King Eliphaz sings a hymn:

ἀναλαβὼν Ελιφας πνεῦμα εἶπεν ὕμνον,
ἐπιφωνούντων αὐτῷ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων καὶ τῶν
στρατευμάτων πλησίον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου

(43:2f.). After the hymn, the narrative continues:

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ παύσασθαι Ελιφαν τοῦ ὕμνου,
ὑποφωνούντων αὐτῷ πάντων καὶ κυκλούντων
τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἀναστάντες εἰσῆλθομεν εἰς
τὴν πόλιν... (44:1).⁶⁶

There is no response or antiphon in this hymn to correspond to the 'Amen' in the hymn of the Acts of John.⁶⁷

However, the word ἐπιφωνούντων does suggest a liturgical form similar to that of the Hymn of Jesus (cf. the use of this verb at 2 Macc 1:23); and if we understand κυκλούντων to mean, 'going round in a circle', as at Ps 25:6 LXX, then we have a liturgy precisely similar to that of the disciples and Jesus. It is very difficult to date the Testament of Job, but there is no question of influence from either text on the other. Here, then, we have an author who seems virtually unaware of the existence of Jews or of an Old Testament, employing a liturgical form found also in a Jewish text. It is interesting, further, to note a formal parallel to the series of antitheses which Jesus proclaims ('I will to be saved, and I will to save; I will to be loosed, and

I will to loose ... '), in the treatise Bronte (or, The Thunder, the Perfect Mind; CG VI): 'I am unwise and I am wise', 'I am the war and the peace'.

Gilles Quispel has argued that Bronte is a product of first-century B.C. Egyptian Judaism.⁶⁸ If this is correct, the hymn in the Acts of John may be even more closely related to Jewish poetry.

There is nothing implausible, therefore, in dating the odist's use of scriptural poetic techniques in the second century, if such a date commends itself for the Odes on other grounds. It is true that, as far as is known, he had no Christian contemporaries who used such poetic techniques, but the same is true of the authors of the Christian Sibyllines and the Hymn of Jesus in the Acts of John. This is not an argument positively favouring a second-century provenance for the Odes; but it does suggest at least that this particular argument for a first-century date lacks convincing force.

In conclusion, it may be said that the arguments of Carmignac in favour of dependence of the odist on the poetic techniques of the Hodayoth are not strong enough. Certain features to which he points, such as the presence in the Odes of paronomasia and parallelism, are found in all Semitic poetry and are ultimately to be traced to scriptural models; and his argument from strophic division lacks the firm basis in the Odes which he can demonstrate in

the Hodayoth. It is much simpler to regard both the odist and the Teacher as representatives of the larger group of poets who used Old Testament forms. There is no need to speak here of dependence of the odist on Qumran.

I believe that the evidence presented in this discussion, while not underestimating the closeness of the odist to the Teacher, has indicated that the correct approach to understanding this closeness is to see both writers as sharing the same background, the same literary techniques, and to a large extent the same interest in the person of the poet himself as recipient of divine revelation. There is no evidence that compels the conclusion that the odist was directly influenced by Qumran, or that he wrote polemically against Qumran.⁶⁹ In the course of this discussion, more evidence has been brought forward to locate the Odes in relation to wider bodies of Jewish and Christian literature: in the next Section, the Odes will be compared with the New Testament writings.

CHAPTER III

Section II:

The Odes and the New Testament

(i) The career of the Saviour

(ii) The Odes and the Johannine literature

(xx. 40-41) as scholars have noted, however,⁷¹
 this language may equally well be understood to
 speak of the earthly ministry of the Saviour,
 language which other writers characteristically
 employ to speak of his ascension into Heaven is used
 here by the poet to speak of the earlier 'ascent'
 from the Most High to the earth (cf. xx. 7-9a, and
 Ode 7:3-5.12). The parallel is later written in
 the poet's language, especially in 17:10a, favouring
 the ascension interpretation. In favour of the
 earthly interpretation is the character of xx. 1-6,
 a poem of thanksgiving for redemption,⁷² and of the
 theology in p. 17 - there is no reason to suggest
 that we are to understand the reference in p. 17 as a

II (part i)

If we examine three Odes which, according to a 'maximalist' estimate of the interest of the odist in the historical career of the Saviour, deal with this career, Odes 17, 39, and 24, we find that a 'maximalist' estimate is difficult to sustain.

At 17:6-16, the Saviour speaks of his victory in language which, with its reminiscence of Ps 107:16, sounds like traditional descensus-language:⁷⁰

'And I opened the doors which were closed,
and I shattered the bars of iron,
for my own fetters (literally, my own iron)
grew hot and melted before me.
And nothing appeared closed to me,
because I was the opening of everything.
And I went towards all of mine who were held,
to release them,
that I might leave no one bound or binding ... '

(vv. 9b-12). As scholars have noted, however,⁷¹ this language may equally well be understood to speak of the earthly ministry of the Saviour. Language which other writers characteristically employ to speak of his descensus into Sheol is used here by the odist to speak of the earlier 'descent' from the Most High to the earth (cf. vv. 7-9a, and Ode 7:3-6.12). The parallels in later writers to the odist's language, especially to 17:10a, favour the descensus interpretation: in favour of the earthly interpretation is the character of vv. 1-5, a poem of thanksgiving for redemption,⁷² and of the doxology in v. 17 - there is no reason to suggest that we are to understand the speaker in v. 17 as a

saves them from death. Second, the motif of imitatio Christi is present in Ode 39; this is the only passage in the Odes where it is suggested that the believer will find salvation by doing what the Saviour has done before him and for him.⁷³ Third, there is an intentional double entente in the choice of metaphor in v. 10b: lmo in 27:3 and 42:2 signifies the cross,⁷⁴ and here the verb pol adds the nuance of the lifting-up of the cross; possibly the noun lA} in v. 7 conveys something of the same signification.⁷⁵ In other words, the thought moves from the basic image of raging waters to the salvific action of the Saviour in crossing these waters: but these are the waters of death (vv. 1-3.8b.10a.12), and it is in the lmo that the Saviour has overcome these waters.⁷⁶ This Ode, therefore, contains a rich symbolism speaking of redemption, and the image of the Saviour's walking on the waters is presented, not for its 'historical' significance, but because of its symbolic potential.

Ode 24 begins with language suggestive of the gospel narratives of the baptism of Jesus:

'The dove flew over the head of our Lord Messiah,
because he was her head:
and she sang over him,
and her voice was heard'

(vv. 1f.).⁷⁷ The scene changes, however:

'And the inhabitants feared,
and the sojourners were shaken.
The bird flew,
and every creeping thing died in its hole.
And the deeps were opened and closed,
and they were seeking the Lord like women that
give birth:

and he was not given to them for nourishment,
because he did not belong to them.
And the deeps were submerged in the submersion
of the Lord ... '

(vv. 3-7a).⁷⁸ This language, as commentators have noted,⁷⁹ is more appropriately used to speak of the descensus of the Saviour, whom Sheol tried to hold (cf. 42:11-13), than to speak of his baptism; yet the odist does not lose sight of the baptism, for one of the uses of the noun *מִטְבִּיל* is to speak of the baptismal 'submersion'. So we have a picture of the cosmic effects of the submersion of the Saviour, with the thought of the poet oscillating between the first submersion of his baptism and the second submersion of his descensus. The remaining verses of Ode 24 continue the theme of the destruction of the deeps, but again the thought shifts:

'And the Lord destroyed the purposes
of all those without truth;
for they were lacking in wisdom,
those who exalted themselves in their heart ... '

(vv. 10f.). Here, while it is still possible to understand the odist to speak of the bafflement of Sheol, and vv. 13f. as speaking of the gift of life to the souls in Sheol (cf. Ode 42), it seems more probable that he is speaking of the general effects on men of the coming of the Saviour: truth is proclaimed and error destroyed. The progress of the poet's thought in this Ode is therefore from the initial picture of the baptism of the Saviour to his descensus into Sheol, and thence to the coming of

truth and holiness among men through the revelation of the Lord. Again, however, as with Odes 17 and 39, it is possible to understand the odist to speak in Ode 24 simultaneously of all three events.

It would be wrong to absolutise the difference between this treatment of the ministry of the Saviour and the treatment of the ministry of Jesus in the canonical gospels: the evangelists, or their sources, are undoubtedly influenced by theological considerations in their presentations of the career of Jesus.⁸⁰ Yet, when due allowance is made for such influence, it remains true that the evangelists are telling a story about Jesus. This is not the odist's intention in Odes 17, 24, and 39. It is not that he is uninterested in the history of revelation: Ode 23 is best understood as a meditation on the coming of the Saviour into the world, and the long ex ore Christi in which the Saviour speaks of his imparting of revelation and of his career show the odist's concern with the Heilsgeschichte. But in the three Odes which have been considered here, the odist is concerned to speak of the general significance of the coming of the Saviour: individual events of his career can be seen as each a manifestation of the import of the whole. Hence, the centre of attention in Ode 24 can oscillate freely between the baptism and the descensus and conclude by speaking of the giving of

the truth to men, because each of these is revelatory of the whole of the 'Christ-event'.⁸¹

There is a universal tendency in Christian literature to take individual actions of Jesus as points of departure for meditation on the significance of his coming as a whole. A precise parallel to this allegorising technique of the odist cannot be found in first-century Christian literature, but may be seen in three second-century writers, Ignatius, Melito, and Heracleon.

At two places in Ephesians, Ignatius offers an interpretation of events in the life of Jesus. At 18:2, he writes, ἔβαπτίσθη, ἵνα τῷ πάθει τὸ ὕδωρ καθάρσιον, and at 17:1, διὰ τοῦτο μύρον ἔλαβεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ὁ κύριος, ἵνα πνέῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀφθαρσίαν. In each passage, Ignatius speaks of an incident in the light of an interpretation of the whole, so that the salvific efficacy of the passion and cross is seen as proleptically present in the baptism and anointing.⁸²

In the fragment of his treatise on Baptism, Melito writes, Εἰ δὲ ὁ ἥλιος σὺν ἄστροις καὶ σελήνῃ λούεται ἐν ὠκεανῷ, διὰ τί ὁ Χριστὸς ἐν Ἰορδάνῃ οὐ λούεται; Βασιλεὺς οὐρανῶν, καὶ κτίσεως ἡγεμῶν, ἥλιος ἀνατολῆς, ὃς καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἄδου νεκροῖς ἐφάνη καὶ τοῖς ἐν κόσμῳ βροτοῖς, καὶ μόνος ἥλιος οὗτος ἀνέτειλεν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ.

In this passage, Melito draws an analogy between the sun, which daily descends into the bath of the ocean, and Christ, the true sun, who descends into the bath of the Jordan: from this, the thought moves to the descensus of Christ, who in his dying went down among the dead and arose again.⁸³ The sequence of thought is the same as in Ode 39, aided by the same association of water with death, although this association operates in a different way in each text. In Ode 39, the image of the waters as death-bearing has been presented in vv. 1ff., so that the 'bridging' of these waters by the Saviour can be readily perceived to signify the conquering of death. In the Peri Loutrou, the thought is that the waters extinguish the light of the sun before it rises again: so his death extinguishes the light of Jesus before he rises. But as the sun's light is not lost in itself, but lost only to those on earth, so Jesus' light is not lost in itself, but appears to those in Hades. The important connection for Melito is not directly that between water and death, but that between water and the extinction of light. Even if the theological intention is different, however, the literary technique employed by Melito and by the odist is the same.⁸⁴

If we wish to identify the principle of interpretation of the events of the life of Jesus which may be observed in these passages in the Odes, Ignatius,

and Melito, we may say that one event may stand as the symbol of another, since each is the manifestation of the basic process of man's redemption. This principle is clearly used by Heracleon in his commentary on the fourth gospel.⁸⁵

In his exegesis of Jn 2:12, κατέβη εἰς Καφαρναοῦμ αὐτός, he writes,

τὴν Καφαρναοῦμ σημαίνειν ταῦτα τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ κόσμου, ταῦτα τὰ ὑλικά εἰς ᾧ κατήλθεν

(fr. 11); on Jn 4:40, ἠρώτων αὐτὸν μείναι παρ' αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐκεῖ δύο ἡμέρας, he writes,

"Παρ' αὐτοῖς" ἔμεινεν καὶ οὐκ "ἐν αὐτοῖς". καὶ "δύο ἡμέρας", ἦτοι τὸν ἐνεστῶτα αἰῶνα καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα τὸν ἐν γάμῳ, ἢ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ χρόνον καὶ τὸν μετὰ τὸ πάθος, ὃν παρ' αὐτοῖς ποιήσας πολλῶ πλείονας διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου λόγου ἐπιστρέψας εἰς πίστιν ἐχωρίσθη ἀπ' αὐτῶν

(fr. 38). Fr. 13 is a long exegesis of the cleansing of the Temple (Jn 2:13-16), in which Heracleon speaks as follows of the whip of Jesus:

εἰς ξύλον ἐδέδετο τὸ φραγέλλιον· ὅπερ ξύλον τύπον (ἐκλαβῶν) εἶναι τοῦ σταυροῦ (φησί) τούτῳ τῷ ξύλῳ ἀνηλωσθαι καὶ ἠφανίσθαι τοὺς κυβευτάς ἐμπόρους καὶ

πᾶσαν τὴν κακίαν ... (φησὶν) ἔκ δύο
 τούτων πραγμάτων φραγέλλιον
 κατασκευάσθαι, οὐ γὰρ ἔκ δέρματος νεκροῦ
 ἐποίησεν αὐτό, ἵνα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν
 κατασκευάσῃ οὐκέτι ληστῶν καὶ ἐμπόρων
 σπήλαιον, ἀλλὰ οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.

This exegesis, speaking of Jesus' intention to purify the church, is reminiscent of Ignatius' interpretation of the anointing of Jesus. The 'wood' of the whip (as Origen notes, this is an addition of Heracleon's) suggests the wood of the cross, and the driving out of the merchants suggests the driving out of sinners. In these three passages, we see the consistent application by a skilled exegete of the principle formulated at the beginning of the last paragraph. This principle is not applied consistently throughout the fragments we have of the commentary; the only other example is fr. 15, on Jn 2:19, in which the 'third day' of the narrative is explained as the day of 'the resurrection of the church' and the three days explained as the three days of the three classes of men.⁸⁶ This principle is one of the allegorical tools which Heracleon uses to expound the text of the gospel.

The importance of Heracleon is that, as far as is known, he was the first theologian to offer a detailed commentary of a gospel. In other aspects of his allegorisation, he is paralleled in

contemporary literature;⁸⁷ in this principle of the symbolic equivalence of events, his closest parallels are to be found in the texts we have discussed.

In the case of Heracleon, we know that he wrote with a written text of the gospel before him.⁸⁸ Can this be said of the odist?

If we take a 'maximalist' view of the 'historical' details given by the odist,⁸⁹ we can put together the following account of the career of the Saviour. He descended from on high (22:1), he was born of a virgin (19:6ff.), a dove flew over his head (24:1), he did good to all men (28:13), he walked on the water (39:9ff.), he was persecuted (Odes 28, 31, 35 if ex ore Christi, 42), he was condemned (31:8) and his spoil divided (31:9), he was crucified (this to be inferred from 27:1ff. and 42:1f.),⁹⁰ he descended into Sheol (Odes 17 and 42), and he rose (~~Also~~, 42:6). Although we are not told that he taught during his ministry, it is arguable that the odist knew at least two logia of Jesus: two passages, 22:12 and 34:4, are with some plausibility to be seen as echoes of logia.

The account that can be put together from these various passages in the Odes has a clear affinity to the gospels' accounts of the career of Jesus. When one considers the details of what the odist says in these christological passages, however, one discovers

Matt 16:18 on which the church is built is either Peter or his faith that Jesus is the Messiah. It is not clear what the 'rock' of Ode 22:12 signifies. Nothing in the context positively favours the interpretation of the 'rock' as a metaphor for the faith of the community, or for the leader of the community, and it makes better sense in context to take it as an evocation of solidity, like the 'rock' on which the odist is established at 11:5 (cf. also Matt 7:24f., Lk 6:48), and not try to identify a more precise signification.⁹⁶

A second difference between Ode 22 and Matt 16 is that in Matthew the church is built upon the rock, while in Ode 22 it is the kingdom that is built upon the rock. This may be due to a wholly realised eschatology,⁹⁷ but since the odist nowhere else uses the concept of the kingdom to speak of the community,⁹⁸ there are insufficient grounds for suggesting that here he has consciously altered a traditional logion. The initial plausibility of the suggestion that the odist does allude here to Matt 16:18 seems to me to be weakened by these considerations; while we cannot rule out the possibility that the طرس of Ode 22:12a is meant to make us think of the Cephas of the gospel story, I would conclude that there is no weighty reason to suppose it to mean anything more than the صخر of 11:5.

In a few passages, the details given by the

odist of the Saviour's career are found in other writers. At 19:9, we are told that the virgin 'did not require a midwife'. This tradition is found also at Asc. Isa. 11:7-14, Prot. Jac. 19:1-3, and Acts of Peter 24.⁹⁹ At Ode 31:10, the Saviour says, 'I endured and held my peace and was silent, that I might not be disturbed by them'. At Ev. Pet. IV 11, we are told of Jesus that 'he was silent, like one who feels no pain'; cf. also Orac. Sib. VIII 292f., where we are told of Jesus that he kept silence during his passion lest his persecutors should discover his true origin.¹⁰⁰ At least to some extent, we are dealing here with floating traditions: there is no reason to suggest that the odist depends on these other writers. It has been suggested that the details of the allusion to the baptism in Ode 24:1-3 may be traced to a gospel other than the canonical four.¹⁰¹ While this cannot be ruled out, I should prefer to attribute the parallels to the use of common traditions.¹⁰²

In one passage, the language of the odist is reminiscent of a logion of Jesus found in a number of second-century texts. With Ode 34:4,

'The likeness of that which is below
is that which is above',

may be compared 2 Clement 12:2, GThom 22, Gospel of the Egyptians (apud Clement, Strom. III 91), GPhil 69, and Acts of Peter 38.¹⁰³ The fullest versions of this agraphon are those in the Gospel of Thomas and

the Acts of Peter. GThom 22 reads, ¹⁰⁴

'Jesus said to them, "When (ὅταν) you make the two one, and when you make the inner as the outer and the outer as the inner and the above as the below, and so (ἵνα) make the male and the female into a single one, so that the male will not be male and the female (not) be female, when (ὅταν) you make eyes in the place of an eye, and a hand in the place of a hand, and a foot in the place of a foot, an image (εἰκόν) in the place of an image (εἰκόν), then (τότε) you shall enter [the kingdom]"'.

In the Gospel of Thomas and the Gospel of the Egyptians, this logion is a powerful statement of sexual encratism: the division of mankind into male and female must be removed before the kingdom can come.¹⁰⁵ This interpretation of the logion is rejected by Clement of Alexandria, who does not reject the logion itself (though cautioning that it is not handed down in the four Gospels), but says that those who take it to speak of human sexuality have failed to see that when the Lord speaks of 'male and female' he is speaking of wrath and lust.¹⁰⁶ A more thorough-goingedulcoration is found in 2 Clement 12:2-6: the ἔξω and the ἔσω, which the authors of the Gospel of Thomas and the Gospel of the Egyptians take to mean the sexual organs, are 'spiritualised' to mean the body and the soul, which must be made one by abolishing hypocrisy. The encratism of the logion is not altogether removed, however.

There is no encratism in the version of the agraphon found in Acts of Peter 38. Peter, on the

cross, speaks of Adam's fall and the restitution in Christ:

'The first man, whose race I bear in my appearance [...] established all this dispensation [...] in which he showed the things of the right as left and the things of the left as right, and changed all the marks of their nature, so that men would take what was not good to be good, and what was in reality evil to be good. Concerning this, the Lord said in a mystery, "Unless you make the right as the left and the left as the right, and the upper as the lower, and that which is behind as that which is in front, you shall not know the kingdom"'. .

As Jonathan Z. Smith has argued,¹⁰⁷ Peter here speaks of the radical remaking of man and the world accomplished in Christ. The language here is not encratite; but given that we have in this passage a different analysis of anthropology and soteriology from that in the Gospel of Thomas and the Gospel of the Egyptians, we have a picture of a transformation no less complete. For this author, the fall is the birth of Adam head-downwards, which establishes a mirror-world in which nothing is what it seems to be. The redemption is the setting-upright in the cross of Christ of this upside-down world, so that things can be seen to be what they are in truth. Underlying both theologies is the idea of Christ as second Adam. Each uses the agraphon of Jesus to make its point.

Of these five variants of the agraphon, three speak of making the upper as the lower: the forms in the Gospel of Thomas, the Acts of Peter, and the Gospel of Philip. This detail is found also in Acts

of Philip 140, dependent on the Acts of Peter. It is difficult to determine whether these words form part of the original agraphon: it may be that the shorter form attested in 2 Clement and the Gospel of the Egyptians is closer to the original form.¹⁰⁸

The original meaning of the agraphon concerns the abolition of sexuality as a precondition of entry into the kingdom, but this meaning could be toned down, as in 2 Clement and by Clement of Alexandria, or simply ignored, as in the Acts of Peter.

What, then, of Ode 34:4? There is no hint in this Ode of sexual encratism.¹⁰⁹ The tone is set by v. 1,¹¹⁰

'There is not a hard way where there is a
simple heart,
nor barrier in upright thoughts',

and is continued to v. 6:

'Grace has been revealed for your salvation.
Believe and live and be saved'.

V. 4 is set in the description of the man of 'simple heart', who is contrasted with those who lack knowledge:

'Where the good man is surrounded on every side,
there is nothing divided in him.
The likeness of that which is below
is that which is above.
For everything is above,
and there is nothing below;
but it is supposed to be so by those in whom
there is no knowledge'

(vv. 3-5). The words *فليس هو احد* (v. 3b) seem an indication of a genuine link with the agraphon, which spoke of making the two one in the removal of sexual differentiation. Here, the odist

speaks of a single-mindedness which will not be distracted from that which is above, i.e., the things of God who surrounds the odist,¹¹¹ by that which is below, i.e., earthly things which have no real significance. The true significance is not to be found in the world, as the ignorant think (v. 5c), but in the revelation of grace (v. 6). There is no sign here that the odist is writing polemically against a false interpretation of words of the Saviour, as were the authors of 2 Clement and the Gospel of Philip, and Clement of Alexandria; the contrast is simply between the 'enlightened thought' (v. 2) and 'those in whom there is no understanding'.

The link between the language of Ode 34 and the agraphon of Jesus was first suggested by W. C. van Unnik,¹¹² who interpreted the contrast between the things below and the things above in the light of Platonism. It seems to me preferable to make the link in the light of the second-century Christian concern for oneness, which is discussed in the Appendix to this Chapter. If the suggestion is correct, we may note that the reminiscence of the agraphon functions in the same way as the reminiscences of christologically-significant Old Testament passages discussed in Chapter II, Section III. These reminiscences are worked into the texture of the Odes so that they do not interrupt the poems in any way. Talk of the sufferings of the Saviour suggests certain Old Testament passages, and talk of single-

mindedness suggests the words about the necessity of overcoming divisions in man.¹¹³ This reminiscence is unparalleled elsewhere in the Odes: this isolation suggests caution in identifying the source of the image in 34:4 as the agraphon of Jesus. Yet the parallel language of second-century writers who do use this agraphon, and in particular the parallel of 2 Clement 12 where it is made the basis of paraenesis, seems to me to lend weight to van Unnik's suggestion.

There is, therefore, some evidence that the odist knows extra-canonical traditions about Jesus, and it is possible that unparalleled details such as those in Odes 24 and 42 are similarly derived.¹¹⁴ It is more likely, however, that these details, like the meditations in Odes 10, 17, 25, 28, 31, and 35, are the creation of the odist himself as he reflects on the basic kerygmatic account of the career of the Saviour. This account may be derived from the canonical gospels; there is, however, another possibility.

From the Odes, one can put together the following summary of the career of the Saviour: he descended from on high, was born of a virgin, was baptised, did good to all men, walked on the water, was persecuted, was condemned, was crucified, descended into Sheol, and rose and was exalted to heaven. This summary is reminiscent of a number of

summaries of the career of Jesus which we find in second-century writers.¹¹⁵ These are (i) Asc. Isa. 3:13-17; (ii) Asc, Isa. 11:2-33; (iii) Ep. Ap. 3-5 and 9; (iv) Orac. Sib. I 324-382; (v) Orac. Sib. VI 1-28; (vi) Orac. Sib. VIII 264-336; (vii) Acts of Peter 7; (viii) Acts of Thomas 47;¹¹⁶ (ix) fragmentary summaries in Melito, Hom. 70, 72 (cf. also 78, and 89-90), and in the Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions I vi 2:2-4 (explicitly a pre-resurrection summary). (x) Much shorter kerygmatic summaries, perhaps more akin to credal formulae, are presented by Ignatius (Eph. 18:2; Trall. 9; Smyrn. 1:1-2) and by Justin (I Apol. 13, 21:1, 31:7, 42:4, 46:5; Dial. 63:1, 85:2, 126:1, 132:1).¹¹⁷ The line between 'kerygmatic summary' and 'creed' is ill-defined; in particular, the summary Justin gives at I Apol. 31:7 has the same structure and details as the others in summaries (i) to (ix).

These summaries are set out in tabular form in n. 118. The summary of the career of the Saviour that can be assembled from the Odes of Solomon is clearly of the same character as these kerygmatic summaries. Is it possible that the odist's knowledge of his Saviour was derived from such a summary presentation? One point that may be made in favour of this suggestion is the fact, discussed in Chapter II, Section III, that the odist's allusions or reminiscences of the Old Testament in

christological passages correspond closely to those of second-century Christian writers. If this reflects use of a common scheme of testimonia, tied to a kerygmatic summary of the career of Jesus, as seems not implausible, then we may reasonably argue from the similarities between the odist's account and the kerygmatic summaries found in second-century Christian documents that here too there is evidence of drawing on a common pattern.

Against this, it may be pointed out that the pattern I have discerned in the Odes is only a reconstruction. The odist nowhere gives us a neat summary of the kerygma he and his community had received. It is therefore a precarious task to attempt to base an argument upon similarities between this reconstructed scheme and schemes which are set out straightforwardly. Further, although the schemes noted above do have certain features in common,¹¹⁸ the differences are so many that it is difficult to argue from these summaries to a common pattern. Any summary of the career of Jesus is bound to follow a certain basic pattern which is dictated by tradition. In the second century, this tradition is mediated both orally and by the written word, both through kerygmatic patterns used in preaching and through written records, chief among which are the gospels. The evidence presented here does not permit us to infer securely that there was a dominant pattern of kerygmatic summary in the

second century, and that the odist drew on this. Nevertheless, such an inference seems at least possible from the evidence.

It is not possible to demonstrate precisely how the odist's knowledge of the Saviour's career came to him. Nor is it possible to demonstrate the earliness or lateness of the Odes on the basis of his use of summary or gospels: the use of one does not exclude the use of the other. However, the brief discussions in this first part of Section II of this Chapter, of the odist's allegorical technique and of the nature of his sources, do provide further evidence that the Odes 'fit' well into the second century. Little weight can be attached to this evidence by itself, but as a part of the whole case for a second-century Christian provenance for the Odes it has its value.

II (part ii)

The question of the relationship between the Odes of Solomon and the Johannine literature is the subject of the forthcoming doctoral dissertation of Mr Alan Morrison.¹¹⁹ In view of Mr Morrison's full treatment of this subject, I shall limit myself here to a discussion of those aspects which bear most directly on the problem of the provenance of the Odes.¹²⁰

A recent article by J. H. Charlesworth and R. A. Culpepper lists twenty-six examples of verbal similarities between the Odes and the Johannine literature.¹²¹ Their list is not intended to be exhaustive: as they note, other scholars have suggested the identification of further parallels.¹²² As with the parallels suggested between the Odes and the Dead Sea Scrolls, discussed in Section I of this Chapter, none of these parallels has by itself a probative character: frequently, one may account for the similarity in expression by postulating a shared background.¹²³

More important is what Charlesworth and Culpepper call 'evidence of a conceptual relationship' between the odist and 'John'. The principal piece of evidence for such a relationship is the concept of the 'Word'.

In the Odes, the nouns *λογος* and *Λαλο* are used interchangeably to signify both the spoken word¹²⁴ and the hypostatized Word of God. It is clear from the parallelismus membrorum of 41:11 that this Word, 'who was at the first' in 'his Father' (vv. 13f.), is the Saviour:

'And his Word is with us on all our way,
the Saviour who gives life and does not reject us'.

The ideas in this passage, of the Word who was in the Father *παρ πα*, from whom light shone, who is the Saviour who gives life 'by the truth of his name', are highly reminiscent of the ideas in the Johannine Prologue of the Word who was in God *εν αρχη*, in whom was light that shines in the darkness, and who made those who believed in his name children of God (vv. 1.4f.13). A further parallel to the ideas of the Johannine Prologue is Ode 12:12,

*οσι (ου) εσ λογος? εμυ λεωω
οσι βαω σι εωω*

'For the dwelling-place of the Word is man
(or, is a man),
and his truth is love'.

This is reminiscent of Jn 1:14, *ο λογος σαρξ
εγενετο, και εσκηνωσεν εν ημιν... πληρης χαριτος
και αληθειας.* Neither Ode 41 nor Ode 12 provides an exact parallel to the language of the Prologue;¹²⁵ but the parallel in christological conceptions is very close.¹²⁶ A third Ode provides a parallel to the Prologue: 7:7, 'The Father of knowledge is the Word of knowledge', seems to express the same idea as

Jn 1:1, θεὸς ἦν ὁ Λόγος.¹²⁷

The 'Word' of Ode 41 is undeniably a word-made-man;¹²⁸ similarly, at 39:9, if we are to translate σ Λα with a capital letter, this must refer to the Saviour, if it has been correctly argued that this Ode alludes to the walking on the water.¹²⁹ The reference to the 'Word' at 32:2 seems best interpreted as a reference to the Saviour.¹³⁰ This is not an especially prominent christological idea in the Odes of Solomon; but it is important in the attempt to determine their provenance, for the only significant parallel to this christological idea is in the Prologue to the fourth gospel.¹³¹

The second important parallel to Johannine ideas is in Ode 3:

' ... and he loves me.
For I should not have known how to love the Lord
had he not loved me ...
and where his rest is, there also am I ...
For he who is joined to him who is immortal
shall also become immortal,
and he who delights in the Life
will become living.
This is the Spirit of the Lord without deceit,
who teaches the sons of men to know his ways'

(vv. 2b-3.5b.8-10).¹³² Charlesworth and Culpepper note the following Johannine parallels:¹³³

to vv. 2b-3: 1 Jn 4:19 (+ Jn 14:21, 1 Jn 4:10,
Jn 15:16);

to v. 5b: Jn 14:2f., 17:24;

to v. 9: Jn 11:25 (+ 1:4, 5:26.40, 10:10.28,
14:6);

to v. 10: Jn 14:17, 15:26, 14:26.

Although it may be argued that the language of the

odist is more directly sexual than that of John,¹³⁴ and although some of the proposed parallels are rather tenuous, it may be admitted that here we find a cluster of ideas which are found similarly clustered in the Johannine literature. As with the 'Word'-passages in the Odes, we find no passages which could establish that one author is dependent upon the other; but we do find a similarity that requires some explanation.

The existence of these parallels¹³⁵ may be accounted for in three ways. First, one may argue that the Odes and John are not directly related, but are epiphenomena of the same currents in piety and theology. Second, one may argue that the formulation in the Odes of the shared concepts is less developed than their formulation in John, and hence that the Odes are earlier and are to be understood as an influence on John.¹³⁶ Third, one may argue that the Odes are, in a qualified sense, dependent on John: that is to say, that the odist's ideas may ultimately be traced to the Johannine literature, whether we speak of direct knowledge of the text of the gospel or of its conjectured sources, or speak of the diffusion of 'Johannine' patterns of catechesis.¹³⁷ Since a number of second-century Christian authors bear the same relationship to the fourth gospel as the odist, and in their cases neither of the first two hypotheses is a plausible statement of the relationship,¹³⁸ the third hypothesis seems to me the most

probable. The texts in question are the Epistle to Diognetus, the Acts of John, the Shepherd of Hermas, and the writings of Justin.

Chs. 89-90 of the Acts of John contain three close parallels to the fourth gospel. In ch. 89, John says of Jesus, ἐμὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἴδια στήθη ἐδέχεται: cf. Jn 13:23, ἦν ἀνακείμενος εἰς ἓκ τῶν μαθητῶν ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, and 21:20, ὅς καὶ ἀνέπεγεν ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος αὐτοῦ. In ch. 90 occur the words, ἐπειδὴ ἐφίλει με : cf. Jn 20:2, τὸν ἄλλον μαθητὴν ὃν ἐφίλει ὁ Ἰησοῦς, and passages in which the verb ἀγαπᾶν is used (13:23, 19:26, 21:7.20). When Jesus rebuffs John's attempt to discover whether he is truly human (Acts of John 90), he says, Ἰωάννης, μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος ἀλλὰ πίστος καὶ μὴ παρέργος: cf. Jesus' words to Thomas, μὴ γίνου ἄπιστος ἀλλὰ πίστος (Jn 20:27). It is difficult to deny the influence of John on this passage of the Acts of John, but the evidence does not permit us to say positively that the author knew the fourth gospel: the first parallel is conceptual rather than verbal, the second uses the rarer verb, and the third (though admittedly in a similar context) has transferred and lengthened Jesus' rebuke to Thomas. The identification of the Beloved Disciple with John goes further than anything explicit in the gospel.¹³⁹ The author makes no use anywhere of Johannine theological ideas, and it is arguable that

he did not know the gospel, but picked up details about the Beloved Disciple transmitted orally.¹⁴⁰

As with the Odes, we cannot define with precision the relationship of the author of the Acts of John to the canonical Johannine literature.

Braun has proposed the identification of a number of parallels in Hermas to John,¹⁴¹ the most striking of which come in Sim. IX 12:1ff. The Shepherd shows Hermas a rock and a gate, which are the Son of God: those who wish to enter the kingdom of God must pass through this gate. ἡ δὲ πύλη ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν· αὕτη μία εἴσοδος ἐστὶ πρὸς τὸν κύριον. ἄλλως οὐδὲ εἰσελεύσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ (v. 6). Apart from the concept of Jesus as πύλη, comparable to that of Jesus as θύρα (Jn 10:9),¹⁴² the soteriological concept of the one entrance to the Father (Sim. IX 12:3.6) is very close to that of Jn 14:6 (and cf. 10:9): ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς ... οὐδεὶς ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα εἰ μὴ δι' ἐμοῦ. It is not impossible that Hermas is directly influenced by the fourth gospel,¹⁴³ but again, as in the Odes and the Acts of John, we find a very close conceptual parallel which is not so close verbally as to imply literary dependence.

Ode 3:3,

ⲙⲓⲃⲉ ⲙⲓⲃⲉ ⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲓⲃⲉ ⲗⲟⲥ
ⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲓⲃⲉ ⲗⲟⲥ ⲗⲟⲥ ⲗⲟⲥ

is strongly reminiscent of 1 Jn 4:19,

ἡμεῖς ἀγαπῶμεν, ὅτι αὐτὸς πρῶτος ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς.

The Epistle to Diognetus expresses the same sentiment:

ἢ πῶς ἀγαπήσεις τὸν οὕτως προαγαπήσαντά σε;

(10:3). Both the odist and the apologist express the same idea, that since God has taken the initiative in loving and saving man, we respond by loving him. Such an idea may at first sight appear too banal to require us to posit some relationship between 1 Jn 4:19 and the odist and the apologist: but in fact the formulation of this idea at 1 Jn 4:19 is without precise parallel elsewhere. The closest to it are passages that speak of mutual love, Cant 2:16a, 6:3a, and Prov 8:17; but there is no evidence of the paraenetic use of these texts earlier than Clement of Alexandria.¹⁴⁴ Here again, therefore, we find a Christian writer of the second century displaying the same sort of relationship to John as the odist, employing a concept that is distinctively Johannine but not employing Johannine vocabulary.¹⁴⁵

In his epistle to the Philippians, Polycarp warns them against docetism: πᾶς γὰρ ὅς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθέναι, ἀντιχριστός ἐστιν· καὶ ὅς ἂν μὴ ὁμολογῇ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ σταυροῦ, ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου ἐστίν (7:1). This passage is reminiscent of two Johannine texts, 1 Jn 4:2, πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ ὁμολογεῖ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστίν, καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ μὴ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐκ τοῦ

θεοῦ οὐκ ἔστιν· καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ τοῦ
 ἀντίχριστου, and 2 Jn 7, πολλοὶ πλάνοι
 ἐξῆλθον εἰς τὸν κόσμον, οἳ μὴ ὁμολογοῦντες
 ἠησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί· οὗτος
 ἐστιν ὁ πλάγιος καὶ ὁ ἀντίχριστος. Again, there
 is no direct quotation. Two points must be made about
 Polycarp's knowledge of the New Testament, before we
 can judge whether this passage is significantly
 parallel to the others that have been briefly
 discussed. First, Polycarp clearly possesses written
 versions of New Testament writings.¹⁴⁶ Second, he
 was a disciple of the Apostle John (cf. Irenaeus,
Adv. Haer. III 3:4, and his letters to Florinus and
 Victor, apud Eusebius, H.E. V 20:4ff., 24:14ff.), and
 while the attribution to the Apostle of the gospel and
 epistles is at the least highly doubtful,¹⁴⁷ the
 possibility cannot be excluded that John and his
 circle were in some way connected with these writings
 and hence that Polycarp may have known them directly.
 However, Polycarp nowhere quotes from the fourth
 gospel,¹⁴⁸ and the balance of the evidence does not
 seem to me to rule out the possibility that Phil. 7:1
 bears the same sort of indirect relationship to the
 epistles of John as the other texts considered here
 bear to the canonical Johannine literature.

Fifth, the writings of Justin display a number
 of interesting parallels to John. At I Apol. 32,
 discussing Gen 49:10, he writes, ἡ δὲ πρώτη
 δύναμις μετὰ τὸν πατέρα πάντων καὶ δεσπότην

θεὸν καὶ υἱὸς ὁ λόγος ἐστίν· ὅς τίνα τρόπον
σαρκοποιηθεὶς ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν: cf. the
Johannine Prologue, especially v. 14. A similar

resemblance to the language of the Prologue is found
at Dial. 63: ὡς τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐξ
ἀνθρωπέου σπέρματος γεννημένου ἀλλ' ἐκ
θελήματος θεοῦ. Cf. Jn 1:13, οἱ οὐκ ἐξ
αἱμάτων οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ
θελήματος ἀνδρὸς ἀλλ' ἐκ θεοῦ ἐγεννήθησαν.

In neither passage does Justin use precisely the
language of the Prologue,¹⁴⁹ but he is undoubtedly
using the same christological vocabulary.¹⁵⁰ In two

passages, he refers to logia of Jesus that are found
only in John: at Dial. 91, to the lifting-up of the
serpent as figure of the cross (cf. Jn 3:14f.), and
at I Apol. 61: καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς εἶπεν· Ἄν μὴ
ἀναγεννηθῆτε, οὐ μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς τὴν
βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν. ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἀδύνατον
εἰς τὰς μήτρας τῶν τεκουσῶν τοὺς ἅπαξ
γεννωμένους ἐμβῆναι, φανερόν πᾶσιν ἐστί.

This is conceptually, though not verbally, extremely
close to the dialogue between Jesus and Nicodemus:

Ἀμην αμην λέγω σοι· ἂν μὴ τις γεννηθῆ
ἄνωθεν, οὐ δύναται ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ
θεοῦ. λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Νικόδημος· πῶς
δύναται ἄνθρωπος γεννηθῆναι, γέρων ζῶν; μὴ
δύναται εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ
δεύτερον εἰσελθεῖν καὶ γεννηθῆναι; (Jn 3:3f.).¹⁵¹

The closeness of these parallels to Jn 1 and Jn 3 is striking, but again, the evidence does not necessarily imply that Justin knew the text of the fourth gospel as we have it. It remains possible that Justin's relationship to the fourth gospel is at one remove distant from direct literary dependence: as with the other four authors, we may plausibly attribute the parallels to an orally-diffused catechesis.¹⁵²

It is, of course, very difficult to discern from these five authors (and the Odes) what patterns such an orally-transmitted catechesis may have taken; to some extent, we might account for the divergences from the fourth gospel by speaking of 'floating' logia which have found their way in variant forms both into the gospel and into these writings.¹⁵³ Where, however, it is in terms of theological concepts rather than in terms of dominical logia that these mid-second-century authors come very close to the Johannine literature, without coming so close verbally that we are obliged to speak of dependence, the possibility of the existence of such types of catechesis must be left open. The simplest account of the relationship of the odist to John is to say that his work is best understood in the same light as that of the author of the Acts of John, of Hermas, of the author of the Epistle to Diognetus, of Polycarp, and of Justin. It is in the framework of this understanding of the relationship that the significance of individual parallels the existence of which has been proposed by scholars must be assessed.

One formal parallel between the Odes of Solomon and the fourth gospel should be discussed briefly: that between the discourses ex ore Christi in the Odes and the first-person discourses of Jesus in John. No consensus exists among scholars about the sources of these discourses, and I prescind here from this question; it suffices to say that there is general agreement that in these discourses in John we do not have the ipsissima verba of Jesus. In what sense may it be claimed that these are a precedent for the passages ex ore Christi in the Odes?

This would be a significant piece of evidence for Johannine influence on the odist. To establish the claim, however, it would be necessary to show that when the odist composed his discourses he was aware of the Johannine parallel. It would not be necessary to show that he was aware that the Johannine discourses were not the ipsissima verba of Jesus; his discourses might be modelled on them taken as genuine words of the Lord. It has been argued in this Section that we do not have sufficient evidence to permit us to say that the odist did know John. Besides this, we have second-century parallels to his discourses ex ore Christi in a liturgical context. The climax of the Homily of Melito of Sardis (chs. 102-103) is a first-person passage which begins, ἐγὼ, φησὶν, ὁ Χριστός, ἐγὼ ὁ καταλύσας τὸν θάνατον... We may compare also the Hymn of the Pearl. I prescind here from any

discussion of the provenance of this highly obscure poem: I simply note that it is formally parallel to the discourses ex ore Christi in the Odes, in that it is an account in the first-person singular by a figure who descends and ascends; its poetic form suggests some kind of liturgical context. Other discourses ex ore Christi in second-century writings (e.g., in the Acts of John, the Epistula Apostolorum, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Apocryphal Letter of James) are not delivered in a liturgical context, and so are not formally parallel to the passages in the Odes: nevertheless, they form part of the background against which such passages as Odes 28 and 42 could be composed and used in the liturgy. We need not look directly to the model of the fourth gospel to explain this.

CHAPTER III

Section III:

The Odes and Ignatius

- (i) ...
- (ii) ...
- (iii) ...
- (iv) ...
- (v) ...
- (vi) ...

III

A number of scholars have drawn attention to verbal parallels between the Odes and the letters of Ignatius, and have inferred from these that Ignatius is dependent on the Odes.¹⁵⁴ If this inference is judged probable, we should have a date before c. 100 indicated for the composition of the Odes of Solomon.

The parallels are the following.

(i) At Ode 38:8 and Trall. 6:2, heretics are said to administer their heresy in the form of a sweet-tasting drink (*ἡλιου, οἶνόμελι*).

(ii) Ode 11:6f. and Rom. 7:2 both speak of water that is 'living' and 'speaking'.

(iii) At Ode 7:21 and Eph. 19:3 we are told that the coming of the Saviour has destroyed ignorance.

(iv) At Ode 17:11, the Saviour says, 'I was the door of everything'; at Philad. 9:1, Ignatius says of Jesus, *αὐτὸς ὢν θύρα τοῦ πατρὸς*.

(v) A parallel sentiment is seen in Ode 41:15, *οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο ἄριστον ἢ ἡμεῖς* and in Magn. 7:2, *ἐπὶ ἕνα Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν*.

(vi) Other parallel sentiments are the concept in Ignatius of the church as a chorus and the stress in the Odes on the work of those who sing (Eph. 4:1f., Rom. 2:2; Ode 41:1ff., and passages discussed in

Chapter II, Section II).

In my judgment, none of these parallels is so close that we must speak of literary dependence of one writer on the other.

(i) *ἡδυσ* in Ode 38:8 need mean only 'sweetness', as at Odes 19:1, 28:16. The idea of the deceitfulness of sweet things is found at Prov 9:17f., 20:17 (and cf. Rev 10:9f.), and is common to both the odist and Ignatius. A further parallel is 1QH IV,11f. (quoted in Chapter III, Section I above); the idea of deceptive sweetness is not present here, but we have the same idea of heresy as a drink.

(ii) If we accept the reading of H at Ode 11:6f.,¹⁵⁵ these verses say,

'And speaking waters touched my lips
from the fountain of the Lord without grudging;
and I drank and became intoxicated
from the living water that does not die'.

Cognate ideas to this passage are found in 1 Cor 12:13,

πάντες ἐν πνεύμα ἔποτίσθημεν ; in the

accusation of drunkenness made against the Twelve on

the day of Pentecost (Acts 2:13); and in the words

of Jesus about intoxication in GThom 13. In Rom.

7:2, the 'water' which says to Ignatius, *Δεῦρο πρὸς τὸν*

πατέρα, is suggested to him as the converse of the

πῦρ φιλέυλου. It must be admitted that even if

the image functions in a different way in the two

texts, there is no significant parallel or antecedent

to this image of 'living' and 'speaking' water.

Nevertheless, the difference in the employment of

the image does not suggest that either author drew it

directly from the other.

(iii) This idea is too common to merit consideration as a significant parallel. Given a soteriology in which stress is laid on the passage from ignorance to knowledge, this idea will be found: cf., e.g., 1 Jn 5:20, 2 Clement 1:3ff.

(iv) The idea of Jesus as 'door' is found in Jn 10:7.9 and in the Hymn of Jesus in Acts of John 95; cf. also the idea of Jesus as 'gate' in Hermas, Sim. IX 12:1ff. (quoted in Section II above). The concern of Ignatius in Philad. 9 is to emphasise, against Judaising opponents, the subordination of the patriarchs and prophets of the old dispensation to Jesus; but also, against opponents of the opposite camp, to emphasise that the patriarchs and prophets have indeed found salvation through Jesus (cf. Magn. 9:2). In Ode 17, the Saviour speaks of his work of liberation, either literally in the harrowing of hell, or metaphorically in his freeing of men bound in error.¹⁵⁶ He is the Lu through whom men pass, and - in a dramatic inversion of the image - he is the opener of all doors (vv. 9b.11) and shatters the bars of iron (v. 10). Both Ignatius and the odist express the same idea as is found in Jn 10; the Hymn of Jesus seems rather to look to Matt 7:7f., Lk 11:9f., but the idea is basically the same. The ultimate source of this image may be Johannine;¹⁵⁷ at anyrate, there is no reason to believe either that

the odist is dependent on Ignatius or that Ignatius is dependent on the odist.

(v) Ode 41:15 is discussed in the Appendix to this Chapter. Ignatius' concern is always to build up the unity of the church in its faith in the one Lord and to focus this unity in the person of the one bishop. Nothing suggests that the phrase in Magn. 7:2 is in any way dependent on the lapidary statement of Ode 41:15.

(vi) The language in Ignatius is purely metaphorical: in the Odes it is intended literally. The origin of Ignatius' language may indeed be liturgical practice (cf., e.g., Col 3:16; Pliny, Ep. X 96), but there is no reason to suppose that this is the liturgical practice of the group which produced the Odes of Solomon.

In conclusion, none of the parallels proposed is such individually, nor are they all such taken together, as to suggest strongly that Ignatius of Antioch was dependent on the Odes of Solomon. The question of the 'spiritual kinship' that it has been suggested exists between the two writers is discussed in the Concluding Section of this Chapter;¹⁵⁸ here, I conclude by noting that the evidence offered of a date before 100 for the Odes is insufficient. The postulation of a common background is sufficient to account for these parallels.

The view of the world of the Odes of
Solomon... first
made by... accepted by a
large...

CHAPTER III

Section IV:

The Odes and gnosticism

The Odes present a view of man and the world
which separates them very clearly from the developed
gnostic systems. There is no interest in the Odes
in metaphysics, no principle of emanations from a
fundamental principle of being. Although angels
are mentioned in the Odes,¹⁶¹ there is no interest
in their powers, nor any idea of a subsistence of
them to that which the powers are based. There
is no idea of man as a prisoner in the world, nor
any trace of asceticism.¹⁶² There is no idea in
the Odes of the pre-determination of man's fate
by the gods. All of the Odes is relative to
salvation, man has indeed his place in the world-order,
but this is a place determined by the good creator
(see Odes 7, 12, 15), who himself has sent the
prisoner to man (see Odes 7, 17, 19, 22, 41, 45,
also Ode 23). The view of man and the world in the
Odes is in direct continuity with the view of the

IV

The suggestion that the author of the Odes of Solomon was a member of a gnostic group was first made by Gunkel in 1910, and has been accepted by a large number of scholars.¹⁵⁹ In this Section, I shall consider first the relationship of the Odes to the developed gnostic systems of the second century and to the more general phenomenon of 'gnosis',¹⁶⁰ and I shall then discuss their relationship to the Gospel of Truth.

The Odes present a view of man and the world which separates them very clearly from the developed gnostic systems. There is no interest in the Odes in cosmogony, no principle of emanations from a fundamental principle of being. Although angels are mentioned in the Odes,¹⁶¹ there is no interest in cosmic powers, nor any idea of a subservience of man to them which the redeemer must break. There is no idea of man as a prisoner in the world, nor any trace of asceticism.¹⁶² There is no idea in the Odes of the pre-determination of men into classes: salvation is offered to all.¹⁶³ For the odist, man has indeed his place in the world-order, but this is a place determined by the good creator (see Odes 7, 12, 16), who himself has sent the redeemer to men (see Odes 7, 17, 19, 22, 41; cf. also Ode 23). The view of man and the world in the Odes is in direct continuity with the view of the

Old Testament, but is remote from the views of the Apocryphon of John and the Valentinian and Naassene writings. The tone of the Odes, with their dominant themes of praise of the Lord and exultation in his love, is very different from the intellectual tone of the literature of second-century gnosticism.

It is true, however, that in their terminology the Odes have much in common with gnostic literature; Bultmann made extensive use of them in his reconstruction of the pre-Christian gnostic myth of the redeemer.¹⁶⁴ What can be said of their relationship to gnosis?

As with the question of the relationship of the Odes to the Johannine literature, discussed in Section II of this Chapter, I shall attempt to identify the framework within which these parallels must be assessed. The phenomena of gnosis have been very variously described by scholars. Very broadly speaking, German scholarship has tended to speak of a pre-Christian gnosticism which can be reconstructed from passages in the New Testament, the writings of the heresiologists, the Mandaean literature, and elsewhere,¹⁶⁵ while Anglo-Saxon scholarship has tended to accept the heresiologists' definition of gnosticism as a Christian heresy, and to be highly sceptical of the worth of the evidence offered of a pre-Christian gnosticism.¹⁶⁶ Two quite different 'grids' are imposed on the same documents, making the whole area of gnosis a potential minefield for the

scholar: there is no sign of any consensus among scholars about how the terms should be defined closely. The criticisms by Colpe of the methodology of the Religionsgeschichtliche Schule have cast considerable doubt on the evidence they presented, and on which Bultmann relied, of a pre-Christian gnostic redeemer myth.¹⁶⁷ Nevertheless, to say that the evidence available does not permit us to speak with too much confidence is not to say that we can dismiss the idea of a pre-Christian gnosticism underlying much early Christian literature.¹⁶⁸

For it seems clear that, whether we speak of gnosis or a gnosticism of some kind, there is a fundamental unity of religious perspective and intellectual apprehension which shows itself in this literature.¹⁶⁹

I would argue that the best account of this unity of religious perspective has been sketched by Jonathan Z. Smith in an article published in 1970.¹⁷⁰ Smith relates the epiphenomena of gnosis to the massive shift of man's understanding of his relationship to the world in the hellenistic period in the Mediterranean area and the near east whereby man came to feel a stranger in an oppressive world: he writes,

'My understanding of gnosticism is that it is a structural possibility within a number of religious traditions in the hellenistic-Mediterranean world, that it is not a new religion, nor a Christian heresy, but rather a structure analogous to mysticism or asceticism'.¹⁷¹

To summarise so concisely his sketch is to risk

superficiality. But it is on these lines, taking into account what can be known of man's perception of the world in the time of the birth of Christianity, that the most satisfactory explanation of gnosis can be given.¹⁷² Whatever may be said of the inter-relation of particular documents, the literature of gnosis as a whole is bonded together in this unity of religious perspective and intellectual apprehension. It is quite clear that the Odes of Solomon have their place within this literature. Their soteriology is expressed primarily in terms of knowledge brought by a redeemer sent from above, who gives his 'mystery' (8:10).¹⁷³

At one point, the language of the odist is the language of the reconstructed pre-Christian myth: at 8:21, the hearers of the Ode are urged to 'abide in the love of the Lord', and are addressed as:

'beloved in the Beloved,
and those who are kept in him who lives,
and saved in him who was saved'.

The third title, ⲉⲓⲁⲛ, is unparalleled as a title tout court in the Odes; the Ethpe^el of ⲉⲓⲁ is used elsewhere of the salvation of men by the Saviour.¹⁷⁴ Is this a salvator salvatus?¹⁷⁵

First, we must ask from what men are saved in the Odes. There is no passage which speaks of their being saved from sin; two themes are prominent, delivery from corruption or chains, and delivery into freedom and truth (see Odes 9, 14, 17, 26, 33, 34, 38). There is no Ode which speaks of

salvation in a context which must mean salvation from ignorance; the closest to this is 15:6, which is written ex ore odistae. The passage in the light of which 8:22c, 25:2.4, and 28:11 should be read is 42:18,¹⁷⁶

'May we also be saved with you,
for you are our Saviour'.

The souls in Sheol ask that they may have the deliverance which the Saviour brings, the deliverance which he himself has received (cf. 28:11). Now that salvation has come, 'immortal life has arisen in the Lord's land' (15:10); it is the corruptor who brings death (38:8ff.; cf. 33:8f.), but life is brought by the Saviour whom death cannot touch (42:17c). So emphatic is this affirmation of the life of the Saviour that the odist can use language which, read at face value, explicitly denies his death.¹⁷⁷

The 'salvation' of the Saviour is his rescue from death. This is not the language of the redeemer myth, in which the redeemer must himself be redeemed from sleep by a heavenly call before he can perform his mission.

Second, there is a parallel to the language of Ode 8:22 in the Hymn of Jesus in the Acts of John, which begins,

σωθῆναι θέλω καὶ σῶσαι θέλω. Ἀμήν.
λυθῆναι θέλω καὶ λύσαι θέλω. Ἀμήν.

(ch. 95). If we ask from what Jesus wills to be saved or set free, there is no obvious answer in the

Acts of John. He is insulated by his divinity from all possible dangers. His appearing on earth, in an insubstantial flesh the appearance of which altered from time to time,¹⁷⁸ is described as 'slavery' (ch. 77), but this is not the 'slavery of the cross' of which Justin speaks (Dial. 134), for the sufferings on the cross are merely a sham which deceives the multitude who are 'outside the mystery' (Acts of John 100). The 'slavery' is the condescension of God in coming among men. The meaning of the Hymn of Jesus is expressed in different terms in the explanation of the cross given in ch. 98 and of the suffering in ch. 101: that Jesus as God penetrates all things and unites in himself all opposites. The use of the verbs $\sigma\omega\theta\eta\eta\alpha\iota$ and $\lambda\upsilon\theta\eta\eta\alpha\iota$ at the beginning of the series of antitheses in the hymn is not directly parallel to the use of the Ethpe^{el} of $\omega\iota\epsilon$ in the Odes; but equally, it cannot be simply explained as the language of the redeemer myth. The redeemer-figure in both the Odes and the Acts of John is 'redeemed', but not in the full gnostic sense.¹⁷⁹

Apart from this there is nothing to suggest direct influence from the reconstructed gnostic redeemer myth: the imagery of the odist may be gnostic in the general sense of Smith's discussion, but there is no necessity to link him more closely to gnosticism.

It has been suggested that the Odes of Solomon are directly related to a gnostic work, the Gospel of Truth.¹⁸⁰ The Gospel of Truth is most probably a Valentinian text.¹⁸¹ The parallels to which Schenke draws attention reinforce the links of the Odes to gnosis, though in my judgment none is so distinctive that we must conclude that the two writings come from the same group. Even the image of the breasts of the Father (Odes 19:2-4, cf. 8:14 where the Saviour speaks; Gospel of Truth 24,9-11) can be paralleled elsewhere.¹⁸² It is only in terms of imagery, however, and not in terms of theology, that the two documents reveal a common background. The character of the two documents is very different.¹⁸³

To conclude, it may be said that if the analysis of Smith is accepted, and gnosis defined as he suggests, it is not particularly helpful to label as 'gnostic' works which are not the product of the second-century schools. Even the second-century schools themselves were not happy to be thought heretical: their claim was that they were Christians (cf., e.g., GPhil 49).¹⁸⁴ In the case of the New Testament or of Ignatius, this label is misleading; and it is highly misleading in the case of the Odes.¹⁸⁵ All it asserts is that the Odes of Solomon share the religious perspective and the intellectual apprehension of man and his world found in the literature of second-century Christianity. This

is undoubtedly an important assertion, and it is discussed in the Concluding Section of this Chapter. But there seems little advantage in using the label 'gnostic' to speak of the Odes of Solomon.

CONCLUSION

The author of the Odes with other bodies of literature... suggested by... the position of their...

CHAPTER III

Conclusion

literary... and have used the... of these parallels as the key to unlock... of the prevalence of the Odes. The problem with using one single key in this way is that it imposes a 'grid' on the Odes that fails to take proper account of significant parallels to other bodies of literature.

The picture that emerges from this Chapter is complex. The Odes share the concern of the author of the Hodayoth with the power and self-consciousness of the seer; they exhibit formal parallels to the literature dealing with revelations; their technique in speaking of the career of the Seer is paralleled in some second-century writers' allegorical handling of the life of Jesus; it is possible that their knowledge of the career of the Seer is derived from a hagiographic summary similar to those that can be reconstructed from second-century writings; the parallels in them to the Johannine literature are directly similar to the parallels to the Johannine literature in early second-century writers. The

CONCLUSION

The comparisons of the Odes with other bodies of literature which have been considered in this Chapter suggest that a neat and tidy solution to the problem of their provenance is unacceptable. The solutions reviewed in this Chapter have focused on the parallels between the Odes and one particular body of literature (e.g., the Dead Sea Scrolls), and have used the existence of these parallels as the key to unlock the mystery of the provenance of the Odes. The problem with using one single key in this way is that it imposes a 'grid' on the Odes that fails to take proper account of significant parallels to other bodies of literature.

The picture that emerges from this Chapter is complex. The Odes share the concern of the author of the Hodayoth with the person and self-consciousness of the seer; they exhibit formal parallels to the literature dealing with revelations; their technique in speaking of the career of the Saviour is paralleled in some second-century writers' allegorical handling of the life of Jesus; it is possible that their knowledge of the career of the Saviour is derived from a kerygmatic summary similar to those that can be reconstructed from second-century writings; the parallels in them to the Johannine literature are formally similar to the parallels to the Johannine literature in early second-century writers. The

parallels in the Odes to Ignatius and to the gnostic literature are not such as to imply on the one hand a literary relationship between Ignatius and the odist, or on the other hand that the Odes are the product of second-century gnosticism. The parallels do not suggest a shared background in the sense that the Odes and Ignatius (or the Scrolls, or the Johannine literature, or the gnostic literature) come from the same group. But they do suggest a shared background in the sense that these parallels are evidence of a shared outlook. There is more here than simply an ultimate dependence upon the Old Testament: the Odes clearly 'fit' with these other writings, in spite of the differences.¹⁸⁶

In the next Chapter, more evidence will be considered that helps to locate the provenance of the Odes more closely.

CHAPTER III

APPENDIX

On Ode 41:15

The text of Ode 41:15 is: "I have seen the face of Jesus Christ, and he has appeared to me in the form of a man." This text is significant in the history of Christian art and literature, as it provides a basis for the representation of Jesus as a man. The text is found in the Book of Odes, which is a collection of hymns and prayers. The text is often used to describe the appearance of Jesus to the apostles and to the people. The text is also used to describe the appearance of Jesus in the form of a man to the people of the world. The text is a key text in the history of Christian art and literature, and it has been used to inspire many works of art and literature. The text is also used to describe the appearance of Jesus in the form of a man to the people of the world. The text is a key text in the history of Christian art and literature, and it has been used to inspire many works of art and literature.

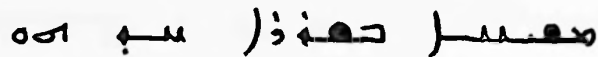
APPENDIX

In Section II of this Chapter, it was suggested that Ode 34:4 be read against the background of second-century Christian use of a saying attributed to Jesus about making the two one.

The theme of oneness is one of the idées maîtresses of second-century Christianity. The ideas of the ΜΟΝΑΧΟC in the Gospel of Thomas, and of the abolition of sexual differentiation expressed in the Gospel of Philip with its rite of the 'bridal-chamber', are epiphenomena of this concern for oneness.¹⁸⁷ In christology, this concern is reflected in the motif of the polymorphia of Jesus: cf. especially the Acts of John, in which the important theological section, chs. 87-end, is introduced by the puzzlement of John's convert Drusiana that Jesus should have appeared to her in the form of John. This polymorphia of Jesus is given a theological explanation in ch. 98: Jesus as God penetrates all things and unites in himself all opposites, so that he may be called Father, Son, or Holy Spirit.¹⁸⁸ The integration of opposites is expressed also in the Hymn of Jesus in chs. 94-96. The polymorphia of Jesus is mentioned also in Acts of Paul 21 and Acts of Peter 22, and a theological interpretation of it is offered in GPhil 26.¹⁸⁹ The setting for the revelation by Jesus in the Apocryphon of John is the questioning of John when he sees the form of Jesus

both as a child and as an old man in the light: Jesus tells him, 'I am [the Father], I am the Mother, I [am the So]n' (P. Berol. 8502, p. 21,19-21). The concern of Ignatius for the role of the monarchical bishop is in its own way another epiphenomenon of this concern for oneness.

The theme of oneness finds christological expression once in the Odes, at 41:15,



'The Messiah in truth is one'.

A variety of explanations of this verse has been proposed, including the suggestions that it is polemic against the Qumran expectation of two Messiahs¹⁹⁰ and that it is polemic against a docetism which would separate the heavenly Christ from the sham earthly Christ.¹⁹¹ In the context of Ode 41:8ff., I suggest that v. 15a is to be taken as saying the same thing as Acts of John 98: that the Saviour unites in himself all opposites. He is the Word who was in the Father from the beginning (v. 14), he is 'from another race' (v. 8b),¹⁹² but he is also

'The man who humbled himself
and was exalted in his righteousness'

(v. 12). I would not agree with Drijvers that this is polemic against docetism; the language of the odist elsewhere is open prima facie to the charge of docetism,¹⁹³ and nothing suggests that he was concerned to refute it by appealing to the oneness of Christ as was Ignatius.¹⁹⁴ The point seems

to be rather that since the heavenly and the earthly (which are opposites, as in Ode 34) are reconciled in the Messiah, he can 'give life to souls by the truth of his name' (Ode 41:15c): he is one 'in whom there is nothing divided' (cf. 34:3b), and so he can give life. There is, then, a christological basis for the oneness which the disciple seeks.¹⁹⁵

It is not possible to substantiate this interpretation of the language of Ode 34 and Ode 41:15a by adducing parallels in other Odes. If, however, we wish to explicate the meaning of 41:15a, it is on these lines that the interpretation may be found.

In this Chapter, three questions are discussed which help to locate the provenance of the Odes: first, the individual nuptial imagery used to speak of the relationship of the believer to the Saviour; second, the christology of the Odes and their relationship to Montanism; and third, the interpretation of Ode 27 and Ode 42:1f.

The image of the ... of the ... and his ...
... of the ... has been ...
... is ...

CHAPTER IV

Section I:

Individual Nuptial Imagery

The ... is the ...
... to the ...
... and ...
... are ...
... apply nuptial
language to this relationship: ... where the
... says,

"I threw over them the yoke of my love,
in the arm of the bridegroom over the bride;
as is my yoke over those who know not
and as the bridal-chamber is spread out in the
house of the bridal pair,
as is my love upon those who believe in me",
and ... where the ... says,

"I am putting on ...
and his members are with him,
and I depend upon them; and he loves me.
For I should not have known how to love the Lord
had he not loved me:
who is able to discover love
but not who is loved?"

I love the Beloved and my soul loves him,
and where his rest is, there also am I,
and I shall be no stranger,
because there is no lack of generosity
with the Lord Most High and merciful.

I have been united, because the lover has found
the beloved;
because I love him who is the Son,

I

The theme of the marriage of the Saviour and his community, implied in the language of Ode 38, has been discussed in Chapter II. Further help in determining the provenance of the Odes is given by a consideration of the odist's use of nuptial imagery to speak of the relationship of the individual to the Saviour.

The theme of personal love is prominent in the Odes. The odist's love for the Lord¹ is the reason for his singing (16:1-3), and love is to be characteristic of all those who are 'loved in the Beloved' (8:1.11.21a).² Two passages apply nuptial language to this relationship: 42:7b-9, where the Saviour says,

'I threw over them the yoke of my love.
As the arm of the bridegroom over the bride,
so is my yoke over those who know me:
and as the bridal-chamber is spread out in the
house of the bridal pair,
so is my love upon those who believe in me',

and 3:1-11, where the odist says,

'I am putting on ...³
and his members are with him,
and I depend upon them; and he loves me.
For I should not have known how to love the Lord
had he not loved me:
who is able to discern love
but one who is loved?

I love the Beloved and my soul loves him,
and where his rest is, there also am I.
And I shall be no stranger,
because there is no lack of generosity
with the Lord Most High and merciful.

I have been united, because the lover has found
the beloved:
because I love him who is the Son,

I shall become a son.
 For he who is joined to him who is immortal
 shall also become immortal,
 and he who delights in the Living one⁴
 shall become living.

This is the Spirit of the Lord without deceit,
 who teaches the sons of men to know his ways.
 Be wise and know and be vigilant.
 Hallelujah!'

These passages of great beauty speak of the reciprocal relationship of the Saviour and the individuals who believe in him⁵ by employing the image of the most intimate human relationship. The importance of this for our inquiry is that, whereas it could be argued that such evidence as was presented in Chapter II permits the supposition that corporate messianic nuptial imagery did exist in pre-Christian Judaism, there is no evidence whatsoever of the use of erotic language to speak of the individual's relationship to the Messiah: this is exclusively a Christian usage.⁶ This use of sexual language is therefore a strong pointer to a Christian provenance of the Odes of Solomon: nevertheless, no precise parallel exists to the manner in which the sexual imagery functions in the Odes.

The language of the Saviour in Ode 42 is reminiscent of Cant 2:6 and 8:3, 'O that his left hand were under my head, and that his right hand embraced me!'; the *ἡ* of v. 9a is best understood, not metaphorically in the light of the various uses of this image discussed above in Chapter II, n. 102, but literally, as the place where the marriage is consummated.⁷ Similarly, the odist's language

expressing his side of the relationship has a distinctly sexual colouring: the verbs $\lambda\upsilon\gamma\omega\kappa\eta\zeta$ (3:7a: literally, 'I have been united') and $\epsilon\upsilon\lambda\alpha\lambda\omega$ (v. 8a: literally, 'joined') are words with clear sexual connotations.⁸

The earliest use of sexual language to speak of the individual's relationship to Christ is in 1 Cor 6:12-20, in which Paul warns against immorality and writes, $\eta\ \o\upsilon\kappa\ \o\iota\delta\alpha\tau\epsilon\ \o\tau\iota\ \delta\ \kappa\o\lambda\lambda\omega\mu\epsilon\o\nu\sigma\ \tau\eta\ \pi\o\acute{\omicron}\rho\gamma\eta\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\ \sigma\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu;$ "Εσονται γὰρ, φησί, οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν. ὁ δὲ κολλώμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν πνεύματι ἐστίν (vv. 16f.). An exact equivalence is established: the body is for the Lord and the Lord for the body (v. 13), and the members of Christ must not be made the members of a prostitute (vv. 15f.). A precisely similar directness of language is found in GPhil 112: the author warns that women who commit adultery will give birth to children who resemble the adulterer, and says that those who are with the Lord will give birth to children who resemble the Lord.

There is nothing in these two passages that is necessarily ascetic,⁹ or that values the marriage with the Lord at the expense of human marriage. Such an evaluation is, however, found very clearly in the Acts of John 113. As he is about to die, John prays,

'Thou who hast kept me until this hour pure for thyself and untouched by union with a woman; who when in my youth I wished to marry didst

The tone of these verses is very far from the stern warning which Jesus gives to the bridal pair in Acts of Thomas 12, that they must avoid having children.

This is extremely important in the attempt to locate the provenance of the Odes of Solomon, for sexual encratism is one of the dominating concerns of second-century Christianity. Asceticism existed in Judaism, in the communities of Qumran and the Therapeutae, and was found in Christianity from the beginning (cf. 1 Cor 7, 1 Tim 4:1ff.), but it is in second-century Christianity that this ascetic strain deepens and widens. Ignatius commends a life of chastity 'to the honour of the flesh of the Lord' (Polyc. 5:2). It has been suggested that this refers to abstinence before receiving communion,¹² but it is doubtful whether at this period the obvious meaning of the phrase, 'the flesh of the Lord' tout court, would have been this: it is more likely, in view of the docetism which Ignatius denounces in Smyrn. 1-3, that the reference in Polyc. 5:2 is to the flesh of Jesus during his earthly life, and that he speaks of an imitatio Christi.¹³ It is clear that Ignatius does not despise marriage, for in this same passage husbands are urged to love their wives 'as the Lord [loved] the Church' (5:1; cf. [NT]Eph 5:25); nevertheless, a life of chastity is in his eyes an approved mode of Christian life. The same is true for the author of 2 Clement: cf. especially ch. 12.¹⁴ Christian ἔγκράτεια is contrasted by the apologists with the gross immorality of pagan society: cf.

Justin, I Apol. 15; Aristides, Apology 15:6; Ep. Diogn. 5:6f.; Tatian, Oratio 33; Athenagoras, Legatio 31-34; Theophilus, Ad Autolyicum III 3, 13.¹⁵

From this approval of continence, some moved to an outright condemnation of matrimony. This is the constant theme of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: converts to Christianity give up sexual relations as a matter of course. This theme is found in all of these early Acts, with the concomitant theme of the persecution of the apostles as men who break up marriages.¹⁶ According to Irenaeus, Saturninus, Tatian, and Marcion all condemned marriage as satanic (Adv. Haer. I 24:2, 28:1); several of the readings in the Diatessaron reflect this position.¹⁷ According to Epiphanius, the followers of Severus regarded woman as the work of Satan and so forbade marriage (Pan. XLV 2-3). The Naassenes forbade marriage because they believed that sexual intercourse was a direct transgression of the proper order of things, since the bisexual God had created man bisexual in his own image, and intercourse emphasised the individual sexuality of men and women (cf. Hippolytus, Ref. V 7:14f.). Another factor influencing those who rejected marriage was the belief that the procreation of children was the means whereby the devil extended his empire in time: the obvious way to thwart his purposes was to practise continence.¹⁸ Another factor may be the proverbial association of marriage and death.¹⁹

This hatred of the flesh was carried by some to its extreme conclusion. In the Acts of John, the apostle, although he rebukes a young man who castrates himself in remorse for a sexual crime (chs. 53-54), recommends castration to Lycomedes as one of the requirements for the man who would be perfect (ch. 29). Castration is permitted also by the Sentences of Sextus 13 (using an argument similar to those at Mk 9:43ff.) and 273 (arguing on the analogy of the amputation of limbs for medical reasons).²⁰ Nor is this approval of castration confined to a rigorist fringe: Justin writes of a young man who petitioned the governor of Alexandria for permission to be castrated by a surgeon. This youth is presented as a shining example of the purity of Christian living (I Apol. 29). A more radical position still is exemplified in the Gospel of Philip, the Gospel of Thomas, and the Gospel of the Egyptians: that the fact of sexual differentiation, the cause of the fall, can be overcome in Christ (cf. especially GPhil 71, 78-79).²¹

This emphasis on continence, and rejection of marriage, is so much one of the idées maitresses of second-century Christianity that it is extremely difficult to find any evidence of opposition to it. The only clear example of an opposing voice is that of Dionysius of Corinth, who wrote to bishop Pinytos of Knossos telling him not to impose chastity on the brethrân, but rather to consider their weakness (cf.

Eusebius, H.E. IV 23:7). Eusebius tells us that Dionysius wrote against the Marcionites (ibid. 23:4), who favoured sexual asceticism (cf., e.g., Tertullian, Adv. Marc. IV 11:8, quoted above, Chapter II, n. 80), and that he wrote to the churches of Pontus 'concerning marriage and chastity' (H.E. IV 23:6), urging that repentant sinners should be welcomed back. It is probable that the point he wished to make was not that Pinytos should not recommend chastity, but that he should not impose it. Pinytos, however, was not convinced, and wrote a highly sarcastic reply (cf. ibid. 23:8). Apart from Dionysius, we have no evidence before Clement of Alexandria of a second-century author who had a positive view of human sexuality.²² The alternatives presented in the evidence we have are puritanism or libertinism (cf. the groups attacked by Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. I 6:3f., and by Clement, Strom. III 2).²³

The polemic against the Valentinians does suggest that what seemed to Irenaeus their libertinism was far from unprincipled. Like the Naassenes, the Valentinians saw man as initially bisexual (cf. Clement, Exc. Theod. 21:2f.), but they did not repudiate sexual intercourse: they held its necessity, as the counterpart of the syzygies in the pleroma (cf. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. I 6:3f., 8:4). The practices of Marcus and his disciples (cf. ibid. I 13:1ff.) may possibly have drawn some justification from this idea.

The unselfconsciousness of the language of the Odes of Solomon appears very odd against this background. The odist shows no evidence of encratism, nor of any reasoned defence of marriage: he is simply in love with the Saviour. The closest parallel to his language is in P. Bodmer XII:

ὑμνήσατε τὸν πατέρα οἱ ἅγιοι,
ἄσατε τῇ μητρὶ παρθένοι.
ὑμνοῦμεν, ὑπερυψοῦμεν, ἅγιοι.
ὑψάθητε, γύμφαι καὶ νυμφῖοι,
ὅτι ἠύρατε τὸν νυμφῖον ὑμῶν Χριστόν.
εἰς οἶνον πίετε, γύμφαι καὶ νυμφῖοι.²⁴

The language here is undeniably patient of an encratite interpretation, if one wishes to press the word παρθένοι in line 2. It seems simpler, however, to take this hymn as an epithalamium for the marriage of the Christian to Christ: like the Church in 2 Cor 11:2, the Christian will be a virgin.²⁵

Line 6 may contain an allusion to Cant 1:2, 'Your love is better than wine', or 5:1, 'I drink my wine with my milk. Eat, O friends, and drink: drink deeply, O lovers!'.²⁶ This fragment is too short to permit us to draw any solid conclusions from it about its author's view of human marriage.

However, if Perler is correct in assigning a mid-second-century date to this hymn, we do have another example of unselfconscious exultation in the love of the Lord, expressed in the same nuptial metaphors.

In the exposition of the meaning of the parable of the wise and foolish virgins (Matt 25:1ff.) which Jesus gives in Ep. Ap. 43-45, he identifies the five wise with five virtues, and says that five virtues slept in the foolish. He himself is the bridegroom, and the bridal-chamber heaven. There is no asceticism in this passage; it is, however, a marriage that will take place in heaven, and so is not parallel to the experience of present union with the Saviour of which the odist speaks.

It will be seen from this survey that the Odes of Solomon are isolated. Their use of individual nuptial imagery aligns the odist with Paul and the authors of the Acts of John and the Gospel of Philip, but the 'climate', so to speak, in which this imagery is used is very far from the 'climate' in which other writers employ it. The only significant parallel is the fragmentary P. Bodmer XII. In view of the evidence presented in this thesis favouring a second-century Christian provenance for the Odes, it is extremely important to note this striking difference from so much of second-century Christian literature.

CHAPTER IV

Section II:

The Christology of the Odes

The Christology of the Odes is... At 10:11, the Saviour speaks of his triumph over persecutions...

'And I did not perish because I was not their brother,
for not even by birth was I like theirs;
and they sought my death and did not succeed
because I was older than their garments;
and in vain did they cast lots against me.
And those who were after me
vainly sought to destroy the memorial of him
who was before them,
because the thought of the Most High cannot be anticipated,
and his heart is greater than all wisdom.'

(11: 17-20).²⁷ A number of the themes in these verses are found in other Odes. Thus, e. g. 11:1, 'I was not their brother', cf. 11:15.

'All those who see me will be amazed,
because I am from another race.'

With the reference to the Saviour's birth in 11:17, it may be compared the account of the virgin birth of the Son in 10:11. With the statement that the disciples of the Saviour failed to secure his death (10:17-18), we may compare 10:11, 11:10, and 11:11. The theme of the superiority of the 'thought'

II

In this Section, two aspects of the odist's christology are considered: first, whether it is correct to describe his christology as docetic, and second, the interpretation of Ode 33.

Some of the language of the Odes is undeniably open to a docetic interpretation. At 28:17ff., the Saviour speaks of his triumph over persecution:

'And I did not perish because I was not their
brother,
for not even my birth was like theirs;
and they sought my death and did not succeed
because I was older than their garment;
and in vain did they cast lots against me.
And those who were after me
vainly sought to destroy the memorial of him
who was before them,
because the thought of the Most High cannot be
anticipated,
and his heart is greater than all wisdom'

(vv. 17-20).²⁷ A number of the themes in these verses are found in other Odes. With v. 17a, 'I was not their brother', cf. 41:8,

'All those who see me will be amazed,
because I am from another race'.

With the reference to the Saviour's birth in v. 17b may be compared the account of the virginal conception of the Son in 19:6ff. With the statement that the enemies of the Saviour failed to secure his death (28:9f.17ff.), we may compare 31:8ff., 42:5.10, and 25:3ff. The theme of the superiority of the 'thought'

() אֱלֹהִים of God over the designs of men is found also at 9:4f., 18:14, and 38:20ff.

At 28:18b, the manuscripts diverge, with H reading: 'I was older $\text{קָדְמִיךָ} \text{ מִי}$ ', and N reading: 'I was older $\text{קָדְמִיךָ} \text{ מִי}$ '. Nothing elsewhere in the Odes parallels H's reading, but there is an interesting parallel to N at Ode 8:9,

'Your flesh will not understand what I say to you, nor your garment that which I show to you'.

Here the odist uses the word לְבָשׁ . The parallelismus membrorum suggests that the two nouns should be equated: this is also suggested by 25:8,

'And I was covered with the covering of thy
Spirit,
and I lifted from me my garments of skin(s)'.²⁸

The reading of N at 28:18b seems preferable, as reinforcing the docetic tone of the whole passage; the reading of H seems the attempt by a copyist to make sense of the obscurity of the common archetype.

Here, then, is a passage with plainly docetic language: the Saviour did not share the humanity of his persecutors, and so he did not perish. His persecutors did not realise this: hence their amazement at his vindication (28:9, 41:8; cf. 17:6). In order that men may understand his message, it is necessary that a radical change take place, a change symbolised in the image of the change of clothing (cf. 11:10f., 21:3),²⁹ since the 'flesh' cannot understand the words of the Saviour (8:8f.).

The language of Ode 42 is likewise open to a docetic interpretation. The Saviour says,

'And I became useless
to those who did not possess me:
and I will be with those
who love me.
All my persecutors died:
and those who hoped in me sought me,
because I am living [...]
I was not rejected, although I was considered so,
and I did not perish, although they plotted
against me.
Sheol saw me and was shattered,
and Death cast me forth and many with me'

(vv. 3-5.10f.).³⁰ The souls in Sheol say to him,

'We see that our death does not touch you'

(v. 17c). Sheol could not endure the Saviour (cf. v. 13), who 'spoke with living lips' (v. 14b) and 'made a congregation of the living among his dead' (v. 14a).

In Ode 7, the odist speaks of the coming of the Saviour:

'He has made himself known to me in his simplicity,
for his kindness has lessened his greatness.
He became like me that I might receive him,
in form he was considered like me that I might
put him on.

And I did not quake when I saw him,
because he was merciful to me.
Like my nature he became, that I might understand
him,
and like my form, that I might not turn from him'

(vv. 3b-6). It is not God himself who has appeared, but an intermediary, the 'Son' (v. 15) or 'Beloved' (v. 1), so that 'they [i.e., 'those who are his own'] may recognise him who made them' (v. 12b). When the 'holy ones' (cf. v. 16) see the Son, they know their creator: for the Word who imparts knowledge is what the Father who imparts knowledge is (v. 7). When the odist speaks of 'his sacrifice' (v. 10b), it is of the condescension involved in the appearing of the Son, and in the humility of this (cf. v. 3;

(41:12), that he speaks:

'And he who created me before I was
knew what I should do before I came into being.
Therefore he had mercy on me in his abundant
mercy,
and permitted me to ask from him and to receive
from his sacrifice'

(7:9f.).

In keeping with this docetic christology, there is very little evidence in the Odes of an understanding of the sufferings of the Saviour as redemptive.³¹

The only passage which attributes redemptive value to the passion is 31:8-13. These verses are so constructed that the second part of each verse offeers a commentary on the first:³²

'And they condemned me when I stood up:
although I had not been found guilty.
And they divided my spoil
although nothing was owed to them.
But I endured and held my peace and was silent
that I might not be disturbed by them.
I stood undisturbed like a firm rock
that is beaten by waves and endures.³³
And I bore their bitterness because of humility,
that I might redeem my people and
instruct it,
and that I might not make void the promises to
the patriarchs,
to whom I promised the salvation of
their posterity'.

If we ask from what the Saviour redeemed his people in his sufferings, we must reply by interpreting the verb فداه in v. 12b by means of the verb واعظ which accompanies it. The two verbs form a hendiadys: the redemption consists of the instruction of the people. It is quite true that the verb فداه is never used in conjunction with a phrase such as, 'from ignorance';³⁴ here, however, I would argue that if we want to give content to the

verb and to the noun לִמּוֹנָה in v. 13b, we must do so by means of the verb לָמַד . The word is unique in the Odes, so that we have no direct parallels to help us; but in view of the prominence of the concept of knowledge in the Odes,³⁵ it cannot be objected that to take the two verbs in v. 12b as a hendiadys is to propose something foreign to the odist's understanding of salvation.

A different translation of לָמַד is offered by Harris and Mingana, who take it to be from the root לָמַד (first person singular imperfect Pe'al + suffix).³⁶ In favour of this reading, in addition to the occurrence of the same verb in 31:7, is the statement at 23:19 that 'the Son of Truth' 'inherited (לָמַד) everything and possessed (it)'. However, there is something to be said in favour of taking the verb to be from the root לָמַד (first person singular imperfect Aph'el + suffix), as does J. H. Charlesworth.³⁷ The passage from Ode 7:10 which was translated above, '[he] permitted me to ask from him and to receive from his sacrifice', might be translated, '[he] permitted me to ask from him and to learn from his sacrifice'.³⁸ If we take לָמַד to be from the root לָמַד , we can give a content to לָמַד which we cannot give if we take the verb to be from the root לָמַד , and it is a content entirely consonant with the odist's general view. If my translation is accepted, the implication of Ode 31 would be that the sufferings of the Saviour were

salvific because they gave knowledge to men: their value is in the instruction they bring.

To describe the christology of the Odes as docetic is, however, to fail to do justice to the complexity of what they say about the Saviour. It is possible to understand the language of Ode 7, quoted in part above, to mean that the Saviour appeared in a mere simulacrum of humanity, solely in order not to terrify those whom he hoped to convert to 'knowledge' (cf. vv. 12f.). But this would be to lay more weight on the occurrences of χ (vv. 4.6) and of the two nouns which I have translated by, 'form' (λ vv. 4, and λ vv. 6), than they can reasonably be expected to bear. For it is arguable that the use of the verb ϵ in v. 3 implies an actual lessening of the 'greatness' of the Lord, not a mere pretence of lowering himself to the level of the human odist; and that v. 15b, 'And he was pleased in the Son', implies a more than functional subordination of the Saviour to the Father who sent him: for if the odist thinks it necessary to say that the Father 'was pleased in the Son', must it not have been logically possible that the Father should not have been 'pleased in the Son'? And in that case, does it make sense to speak of Ode 7 as docetic?

In the fourth gospel, Jn 1:1, Θ ϵ δ ς η ν δ Λ δ γ \omicron ς , does not rule out the humanity of the Saviour (cf., most obviously, 1:14); should we assume without further argument that 7:7, 'The Father of knowledge is

the Word of knowledge', rules out the humanity of the Saviour in the Odes? The language of Ode 7 is no more necessarily docetic than the occurrences of the nouns *μόρφη*, *δμοιώμα*, and *σχῆμα* in Phil 2:6-11.³⁹ Both can equally well be interpreted to speak of the coming on earth of a fully human figure.

In the case of the Odes, if the only truly definite passage to speak of the humanity of the Saviour were 28:17ff., it would be correct to take Ode 7 as supporting evidence of docetism.⁴⁰ Against 28:17ff., however, we must set other passages in the Odes.

First, even if Ode 28 says that the reason that the Saviour did not perish was because he was not the brother of his persecutors, since his birth was not like theirs, thus implying that he did not die because he was not a human being, elsewhere in the Odes the odist speaks of the action of God in saving the Saviour from dying: cf. 25:3, 'Thou hast restrained those who rise up against me'. One cannot neatly systematise what the odist says about this matter, but against the impression one receives from Odes 28 and 31 of a Saviour who is not really exposed to any danger, and who is fully in control of events, must be seen the Saviour of Ode 25 (and of 8:21c, 28:11) who is delivered by God. The fact that he is delivered by God is certainly no unambiguous evidence of his humanity; but it does permit us to suspect that the language of Odes 28 and

31 is at least to some extent consciously paradoxical. The Saviour did not 'perish' (28:10.17-19, 42:10f.); but this is not to deny that he did die. The language of the descensus in Odes 42 and 17, and in 22:1,⁴¹ implies that the Saviour experienced mortality. God saved him from perishing utterly, but not from death.⁴²

Second, at Ode 41:11f., the titles of the Saviour are listed, including:

'The man who humbled himself,
and was exalted in his righteousness'

(v. 12). V. 12a might also be translated, 'The man who was humbled' (cf. 7:3). The other uses of the verb سجد in the Odes speak of the humbling of men (8:3, 29:5.8), which may suggest that the reference here is to the Incarnation rather than to the descensus of the Saviour; in any case, it is a ساجد who is humbled. One could wish for no clearer statement of the humanity of the Saviour. But, just as the apparent docetism of 28:17ff. is to some extent balanced by 28:11, where we should understand the odist to speak of the deliverance of the Saviour by God, so 41:12 is balanced by the words of the Saviour in v. 8, 'I am from another race'. These words may possibly allude to his pre-existence (cf. vv. 9f.14f.); in the light of the occurrences of this motif of surprise in 28:9 and 17:6, it is most probable that here the Saviour speaks of the surprise of his enemies after his vindication by God. Here, there is a contradiction

between v. 12 and v. 8 which the odist does not trouble to resolve: the Saviour is from another race, and he is also a man.

Third, the odist gives information about the earthly career of the Saviour. This aspect of his christology has been discussed above in Chapter II, Section III, and Chapter III, Section II. There is nothing in what the odist says that is necessarily impossible for a docetist: a docetist could claim that the apparent humanity and human actions of the Saviour were pure sham. But the odist never gives us any warrant to judge that for him the humanity and actions of the Saviour were a sham; and one can see from the parallel in the fourth gospel that the assertion of pre-existence need not exclude the predication of humanity.

That the odist's christological language cannot be tidily classified is seen especially clearly in the passage ex ore Christi in 36:3-5:⁴³

'She [i.e., the Spirit of the Lord: cf. v. 1a] gave birth to me before the face of The Lord, and while I was a man I was named the Light, the Son of God; as I was glorified among the glorious ones and great among the mighty ones. For according to the greatness of the Most High, thus she made me, and according to his newness he renewed me'.

Three things can be said about the christology of these verses. First, it is angelomorphic: the 'glorious ones' and the 'mighty ones' of v. 4 are most plausibly to be interpreted as angels. The status of the Saviour is continuous with these beings: he is the

chief of them, indeed, but one with them. We may compare the angelomorphic christology found in the Shepherd of Hermas,⁴⁴ and elsewhere in early Christianity.⁴⁵ Second, the christology is adoptionist. The speaker was a man, and is given the name of 'the Light, the Son of God'. The Spirit gives birth to him in the Lord's presence, he is made and renewed:

'And he anointed me with his perfection,
and I became one of those who are near him'

(v. 6). The Ode sounds very much like a psalm celebrating the institution of the Saviour to his salvific work of Messiah; cf. the call of the prophet in Isa 6, Jer 1. We may compare the adoptionist views found in early Christianity.⁴⁶ Third, the Spirit gives birth to the Saviour. This idea is found in a number of early Christian texts;⁴⁷ we may compare also the description of the role of the Spirit in the birth of the Son in Ode 19.⁴⁸

If one wishes to use labels, one may conclude from Ode 36, in the light of the parallel texts cited in nn. 44-47, that the christology of the Odes of Solomon is angelomorphic, adoptionist, and influenced by the trinitarian model of Father, Mother, and Son. We see also from the passages discussed at the beginning of this Section that the christology is both docetic and non-docetic. This conclusion suggests that there is little point in attaching labels to the christology of the Odes of Solomon.⁴⁹ The links of the Odes to the approaches of early Christian writers to the problems

of describing the person and work of Jesus are clear: his Saviour is recognisably the same kind of figure, and the same kind of language is used to speak of him. The clustering of parallels in the Odes to such early Christian language is a strong indication of a Christian provenance;⁵⁰ but it is not possible to press the language of Odes with sufficient rigour to tie them more closely to one particular tendency in early Christian christological thinking.⁵¹

In Ode 33, the odist speaks of the conflict between the 'corruptor' and the 'perfect virgin':

'And again Grace sped to dismiss the corruptor,
and descended on him to bring him to nought'

(v. 1). The corruptor stands on a height and calls to all the world to obey him (vv. 3f.):

'But the perfect Virgin stood,
proclaiming and summoning and saying,
"Turn back, sons of men,
and come, their daughters,
and leave the ways of that corruptor
and draw near to me.
And I shall enter into you,
and I shall bring you forth from destruction,
and I shall make you wise in the ways of truth"

(vv. 5-8). The identity of this 'perfect Virgin' is uncertain: it has been proposed that she is the Church, or the word of God, or personified Wisdom.⁵²

The clue to the identification is given in v. 2:

'And he destroyed the destruction before him,
and corrupted all his handiwork'.

We have similar language in Ode 38, speaking of the

same world-wide conflict between the heresiarch and his 'bride' and the Beloved and his bride:

'And the corruptor (ساحل) of the corruptor (مضل)
I saw when the bride who is corrupted was adorned,
and [I saw] the bridegroom who corrupts and
[in his turn] is corrupted'

(v. 9).⁵³ As the corruptor of the مضل in Ode 39 is the Saviour, so in Ode 33 it is the Saviour who destroys the destruction which the مضل has wrought in the world, and corrupts (ساحل) all that the مضل has done. As in Ode 39 the heresiarch and his community offer men a deadly counterfeit of the true Bridegroom and his community, so in Ode 33 the corruptor does not appear as the evil man he is (v. 4), but takes his stand on the heights (like Wisdom: cf. Prov 8:2) and calls men to obey him. The perfect Virgin offers the true obedience (cf. v. 10) which leads to 'incorruption in the new world' (v. 12b), but those who obey the corruptor will be corrupted and perish (cf. v. 9). The two pictures, in Ode 33 and in Ode 39, are identical.

If this interpretation of the imagery of Ode 33 is correct, it explains the oddity of the gender of the verbs in v. 2, which are masculine and seem at first sight to refer to the 'corruptor' of v. 1a. 'Grace' (كسوف) is feminine; but since it is a cipher for the Saviour, who is masculine, the odist unconsciously uses masculine verbs to speak of the Saviour's victory over the corruption.⁵⁴ We may

compare the use of $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$ at Didache 9:6, where it is plausibly to be interpreted as a cipher for Jesus.⁵⁵ The image of the 'perfect Virgin' is suggested, not by a sexual encratism which saw intercourse as 'corruption',⁵⁶ but probably as the direct converse of the image of the 'corruptor'. The virgin is a readily-apprehended symbol of purity and wholeness; cf. 2 Cor 11:2, Ignatius, Smyrn. 13:1, 4 Maccabees 18:7, Avircius, epitaph line 14, Hegesippus apud Eusebius, H.E. IV 22:4, Acts of the Martyrs of Lyons ibid. V 1:45.⁵⁷ The female virgin is chosen as a more obvious symbol of integrity than the male virgin.⁵⁸

There is a striking parallel to this image of the Saviour as the ἡ ἰσχυρὴ Ἄνοδος , in the vision of the Montanist prophetess reported by Epiphanius, Pan. XLIX 1:3: ἐν ἰδέᾳ, φησί, γυναικός, ἐσχηματισμένος ἐν στολῇ λακπρᾶ ἦλθε πρὸς με Χριστὸς καὶ ἐνέβαλεν ἐν ἐμοὶ τὴν σοφίαν.

This parallel was pointed out by F. C. Conybeare, who suggested that the Odes were Montanist.⁵⁹

The most important discussion of the relationship between the Odes and the Montanist movement is by S. A. Fires.⁶⁰ Against Harnack,⁶¹ Fries argues that the Odes must be taken as a literary whole, with no interpolations. In a lecture of 17 May 1910, Fries had proposed that the Odes came from a Montanist group. Harnack wrote to him on 3 June 1910, making two objections to this theory: first, that the language

of the Odes is semitic, and second, that whereas Montanist odes would surely speak of the second coming of Christ, the Odes of Solomon have nothing to say of this. To the first objection, Fries replied that the semitic spirit is inextricably linked in Christian writings to Christian use of the Old Testament, and is not in itself proof of a Jewish origin. To the second objection, Fries replied that all study of Montanism is complicated by the fact that most of our knowledge comes from the caricature, or at least the misunderstanding, of its energetic opponents, and that what we do know shows different points of view within Montanism: thus, Tertullian may not perhaps have had much in common with the movement in Asia or with Montanus himself. In the light of this consideration, Fries argued that there is no evidence that the first Montanists had a definite teaching on the return of Christ. There is certainly talk of the descent of Jerusalem at Pepuza, of judgment, and of a new world; but Fries suggests that the claim of Montanus to be 'the Father, the Son, and the Paraclete'⁶² rules out the necessity of a return of Christ.

Fries turns to positive indications of a Montanist provenance. The identification between the singer and the Trinity (as, e.g., in Ode 41) is characteristic of Montanism; and both the Odes and Montanism have an orthodox trinitarian theology.

Montanist eschatology has inspired Ode 22. We find the Montanist scheme of the threefold division of the ages in Ode 33: first the Father, then the Son, then the Spirit proclaimed by Montanus and his assistants, among them the prophetess Priscilla.⁶³ Fries considers three possible objections. First, Montanus is known to have praised martyrdom and rebuked Christian leaders who fled it (cf. Tertullian, De fuga IX 4): is there any evidence of this in the Odes? Fries replies that this question is complicated by the difficulty of knowing whether the odist is speaking of the death of Jesus or of a martyr; but in any case, the emphasis on immortality in the Odes would not be out of place in a time of persecution. Second, we are told that for the Montanists sexual abstinence was very important (cf. Apollonius, apud Eusebius, H.E. V 18:2). Fries replies that we should not look in a hymnal for concrete rules of church organisation, but that it is noteworthy that there are no Odes speaking of family life, or of occupation in the world; marriage would go ill with the individual mysticism of the Odes. Third, why is there no mention of the 'Paraclete' in the Odes? To this, Fries replies that it is uncertain whether the word 'paraclete' played a large role at the beginnings of Montanism.

Fries concludes by remarking that the emphasis on prophecy in Montanism meant that a written or orally-transmitted word of God became superfluous: so in the Odes there is no question of quotation from

Jesus or the apostles or the scriptures. The ecstatic prophet identified himself with God; and in the Odes it is frequently hard to know whether it is God or the singer who speaks. There is one clue to the identity of the odist, 6:1f.:

'As the ... glides over the harp,⁶⁴
and the strings speak,
so does the Spirit of the Lord speak in my members,
and I speak through his love'.

According to Epiphanius, Montanus said,

ἰδοῦ, ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὡσεὶ λύρα καὶ γὰρ ἐφίπταμαι ὡσεὶ
πλήκτρον· ὁ ἄνθρωπος κοιμᾶται καὶ γὰρ γρηγορῶ

(Pan. XLVIII 4:1). We know from the Muratorian Canon that Marcion and Basilides wrote hymns, and there is no reason why this may not be a collection of hymns by Montanus himself.⁶⁵

There are several weak points in Fries' arguments. First, in the scantiness of our knowledge of Montanism, it is a precarious business to argue that this or that element was a secondary development within Montanism on the basis of its presence in Tertullian and its absence in a group of poems which one wishes to prove Montanist; there is not enough evidence to establish Fries' claims about the development of Montanist eschatology. Second, his positive points can be challenged. It is difficult to discern anything in the eschatology of Ode 22 so distinctively Montanist that one may agree that the Montanist eschatology is here 'vortrefflich ausgedrückt':⁶⁶ is not this unremarkable Christian eschatology? I have discussed in Section I of this

Chapter the absence of convincing evidence of sexual encratism in the Odes. Whether or not the Odes are Montanist, the 'perfect Virgin' of Ode 33 is surely no human prophetess, but the Saviour, as I have argued above.

As with the questions of the relationship of the Odes to the literature of Qumran or to gnostic literature, discussed above, there is not enough evidence here to link the Odes to the Montanist movement. But as the Odes have definite links to the literature of Qumran and gnosticism, so they do have definite links to Montanism; the language of Ode 6:1f. and the imagery of Ode 33 are paralleled strikingly in the testimony of the leaders of the Montanist movement, as Conybeare and Fries noted. It is possible to describe the Odes as 'proto-Montanist',⁶⁷ but, as with the description of the Odes as 'gnostic', this in my judgment is not a helpful characterisation. There are great continuities between second-century groups in which a prophetic ministry was exercised and the Montanists, continuities which the Montanists themselves stressed: cf. the Anonymous writer on Montanism, apud Eusebius, H.E. V 17:3f.⁶⁸ Although the odist never uses the terms 'prophet' or 'to prophesy' of his own ministry, he certainly claims inspiration,⁶⁹ and in this is one with the prophets of the Didache, of the Shepherd of Hermas, and of the communities known to Irenaeus (cf. Adv. Haer. III 11:9): and with the Montanists.

Insofar then as we wish to describe the relationship of the odist to Montanism, we must relate both to the broader spectrum of inspired ministries. Already in the middle of the second century there is evidence of pressure being brought to bear on those who exercised prophetic ministries (cf. the passages in the Didache and the Shepherd in which community regulations for prophets are proposed), and the triumph of the residential ministry of the bishop is foreshadowed in the description of Polycarp: ὁ Θαυμασιώτατος μάρτυς Πολύκαρπος, ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις διδάσκαλος ἀποστολικὸς καὶ προφητικὸς γενόμενος, ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνη καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. πᾶν γὰρ ῥῆμα, ὃ ἀφῆκεν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐτελειώθη καὶ τελειωθήσεται (Mart. Polyc. 16:2). By the 170's and 180's, episcopal opposition to Montanism could rely on the assumption that the authority of the bishop was paramount; cf., e.g., the letter sent by 'a large number of bishops' dealing with the 'New Prophecy' (Eusebius, H.E. V 19:1ff.). The unselfconsciousness of the language of the odist when he speaks of his ministry, the absence of polemic, and the assumption he seems to make of a number of communities in which the same kind of ministry was exercised,⁷⁰ argue strongly for a date well before the conflict between Montanism and the bishops erupted.

I have not attempted in this Section a comprehensive study of the christology of the Odes of Solomon; as with other parts of this thesis, I have wished to indicate the framework within which such a study might be carried out. The odist has statements which align him with 'mainstream' christology of the type of Irenaeus' christology: he also has statements which align him with Judaeo-Christian groups such as the Ebionites, and imagery which is paralleled^e only in Montanism. Such christological unselfconsciousness may be a mark of an early date; but it is questionable whether there ever was, so to speak, a 'free-for-all' in christology, when any kind of language could be used to evaluate the person and work of Jesus without objection. There may have been no agreed way to establish what was orthodox and what not; but the evidence of the Johannine epistles and the epistles of Ignatius shows that there were disputes over christology in the early communities. The unselfconsciousness of the odist's christological language is more probably to be attributed to theological isolation.

The question of the original language of the Odes of Solomon is not studied afresh in this dissertation, for two reasons: first, that there seems insufficient evidence to decide between Greek and Syriac,⁷¹ and second, that whatever the language may have been, the theology is clearly semitic in character. The concept of the Spirit giving birth

to the Saviour (cf. Ode 36) is a concept that does not make sense in Greek: if the Odes were composed in Greek, therefore, it must have been in a milieu open to influence from a theology expressed in Syriac forms. Whether we look to Antioch or to Syria, the Odes of Solomon are part of the evidence which has to be taken into account in the study of the beginnings of Syriac-speaking Christianity. It is possible to exaggerate the theological isolation of early Syriac Christianity: Avircius found the same faith in Syria and Nisibis as in Rome. Nevertheless, the church in Syria was in some senses 'cut off' from 'mainstream' Christianity until the time of Serapion;⁷² and if we wish to find a setting in which the unselfconsciousness of the christology of the odist 'fits', Syriac Christianity provides one. This is the case whether or not the Odes were composed in Syriac; I prescind, therefore, from a detailed discussion of this question.

CHAPTER IV

Section III:

Odes 27 and 42:1f.

*I spread forth my hands
 and followed by Lord,
 for the stretching-out of my hands
 is his sign,
 and my spreading-forth
 is the upright word'.

and Ode 42:1f.

*I spread forth my hands
 and drew near to my Lord,
 for the stretching-out of my hands
 is his sign,
 and my spreading-forth
 is the upright word
 that was lifted up
 as the way of the righteous one'.

*I spread forth my hands
 and drew near to my Lord,
 for the stretching-out of my hands
 is his sign,
 and my spreading-forth
 is the upright word
 that was lifted up
 as the way of the righteous one'.

We see that there is a very close connection between
 the two passages. Similar imagery is found in Ode 35.

III

When we place side by side Ode 27,

פָּתַח אֶת יָדַי	1
וְקִדַּשְׁתִּי אֶת יְהוָה	
כִּי לִפְנֵי מִתְּנֵחַ אֶת יָדַי	2
וְאֶת פְּתִיחַ אֶת יָדַי	
וְקִדַּשְׁתִּי אֶת יְהוָה	3
כִּי לִפְנֵי מִתְּנֵחַ אֶת יָדַי	

'I spread forth my hands
and hallowed my Lord,
for the stretching-out of my hands
is his sign,
and my spreading-forth
is the upright wood',

and Ode 42:1f.,

פָּתַח אֶת יָדַי	1a
וְקִדַּשְׁתִּי אֶת יְהוָה	
כִּי לִפְנֵי מִתְּנֵחַ אֶת יָדַי	1b
וְאֶת פְּתִיחַ אֶת יָדַי	
וְקִדַּשְׁתִּי אֶת יְהוָה	2a
כִּי לִפְנֵי מִתְּנֵחַ אֶת יָדַי	
וְאֶת פְּתִיחַ אֶת יָדַי	2b
וְקִדַּשְׁתִּי אֶת יְהוָה	

'I spread forth my hands
and drew near to my Lord,
for the stretching-out of my hands
is his sign,
and my spreading-forth
is the spread-forth wood
that was lifted up
on the way of the righteous one',

we see that there is a very close connection between
the two passages. Similar imagery is found in Ode 35:

7a ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥
 ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥
 7b ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥
 7c ٥٥٥٥٥ ٥٥٥٥٥

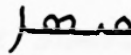
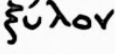
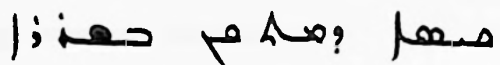
'And I spread forth my hands
 in the ascent of my soul,
 and I stood upright towards the Most High,
 and I was redeemed towards him'.

The metrical patterns of 27:1-3 and 42:1-2a are identical, and we find an identical balance of phrase and structure of thought. The ٥٥٥٥٥ of 42:2b picks up the ٥٥٥٥٥ of 27:3b and reinforces the closeness of the language. Similarly, the picking-up of the verb ٥٥٥٥٥ in the noun ٥٥٥٥٥ , and in the description of the wood as ٥٥٥٥٥ in 42:2a, is a further bond in the poetry; and the shift of meaning between ٥٥٥٥٥ in 27:3b, which is best taken to mean, 'upright', and ٥٥٥٥٥ in 42:2b, where the reference is best taken as personal, to 'the upright man', suggests that we should see the second passage as a development of the first. The idea of the physical uprightness of the wood (27:3) is not lost in 42:1f., for the 'spread-forth wood' is 'lifted up' (v. 2b), and the 'righteous one' is the one who is 'upright' (cf. the Greek $\delta\rho\theta\acute{o}\varsigma$). There is no parallel elsewhere in the Odes to this delicate interplay of the sense of words or measured balance of phrase, and the presence of these features here strongly suggests that these two passages should be

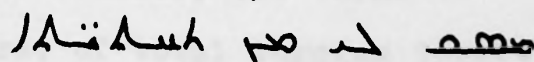
seen as parts of one single poem.

Ode 35:7 presents the same pattern as Odes 27 and 42:1f. The presence of the verb h3;h4 in v. 7b, giving a third use of this root, with a third nuance, suggests that these four lines may be another part of the same poem.⁷³

As these three passages stand in the Odes, 27:1-3 is written ex ore odistae; 35:7 may be either ex ore odistae or ex ore Christi; and 42:1f. is probably ex ore Christi, like the rest of the Ode.⁷⁴ The ambiguity of the language of the whole of Ode 35, which is perfectly comprehensible either as the words of the Saviour or as the words of the believer, is the clue to the basic theme of the poem which I have suggested may be reconstructed from three passages of the Odes: the imitatio Christi. The language of 27:1-3 and 42:1f. is allusive, but the referent is quite clear: the odist prays with hands spread forth because this gesture is the 'sign' of his Lord, symbolising the 'wood that was lifted up on the way of the righteous one'. It is difficult to see in these words anything other than a reference here to the wood of the cross of Christ: cf. Tertullian, De Oratione 14, nos uero non attollimus tantum sed etiam expandimus et dominica passione modulantes et orantes confitemur Christo.⁷⁵ The gesture as such is not specifically Christian (cf., e.g., 1 Kg 8:22), but the language of the odist leaves no doubt that for him

the gesture is deliberately cruciform in imitation of the wood of the Saviour. The employment of  here links the odist to other writers who use  of the cross (cf. Acts 5:30, 10:39, 13:29; Gal 3:13; 1 Pet 2:24); the richness of the typology of the cross suggested by the use of the word 'wood' may be seen in Barnabas 5:13, 8:1.5, 11:6, 12:1.7, and in Justin, Dial. 86:1 and (on the phrase 'from the tree' in Ps 96) I Apol. 41, Dial. 73.⁷⁶ It is probable that in Ode 39:10b, again in a context of the imitatio Christi,  'the wood that is fashioned (or, framed) in truth', is an allusion to the cross.⁷⁷ A further parallel to the language of the odist is in the apocalyptic imagery of the Didache: καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας· πρῶτον σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῶ (16:6).⁷⁸ This explication of 'the sign of the Son of Man in heaven' (Matt 24:30) most probably means the cross, as in Apocalypse of Elijah 3:3.⁷⁹ The combination in Didache 16:6 of 'sign' and 'spreading-forth' is in a quite different context from the same combination in the Odes, but it is probable that we have the same allusion to the cross of Jesus.

The phrase, 'in the ascent of my soul' (Ode 35:7a), is another allusion to the victory of the Saviour, who says of God at 22:1b,



'who caused me to ascend from the regions below'.⁸⁰

This image is used of the believer at Ode 29:4,⁸¹

'He caused me to ascend from the depths of Sheol,
and from the mouth of death he drew me'.

The language in Ode 29, as in Ode 15, is a metaphor which has roots in the Old Testament (cf. 1 Sam 2:6, Isa 38:10ff.), but has a further richness in its evocation of the deliverance of the Saviour (as in Ode 22) and in the harrowing of hell (as in Odes 42 and 17). In Ode 35:7, the spreading-forth of the hands evokes the cross on which the Saviour stood upright towards the Most High and was redeemed (cf. Ode 8:21c) and sent forth his soul (cf. the gospel narratives: Matt 27:50, Lk 23:46, Jn 19:30, Ev. Pet. v 19).⁸²

If this interpretation is correct, and Odes 27:1ff., 42:1f., and 35:7 formed one single poem speaking of the gesture of spreading forth the hands in the imitation of Christ, we must consider briefly how the odist has employed his material. In Ode 27, the original import of the poem is left untouched. In Ode 42, although it is probable that the first two verses are written ex ore Christi, there is still some kind of caesura between them and the rest of the Ode, some awkwardness in the transition of thought. In Ode 35, there is no awkwardness in the transition from vv. 1-6 to v. 7: whether we take the speaker to be the odist or the Saviour, the theme of protection by the Lord, of total turning towards him in the confidence of a child (cf. v. 5), finds its

response in the Lord's favour and the redemption of the speaker (vv. 6f.). In the context of Ode 35, however, the motif of imitatio Christi is not especially prominent in y. 7: if we take the speaker to be the odist, the theme is suggested throughout the Ode and the last verse adds something only if it is read in the light of Odes 27 and 42:1f. If 42:1f. and 35:7 are written ex ore Christi, the motif of imitatio Christi is perceived only by a comparison with Ode 27.

With verses so allusive as these, the danger of reading too much into the words is obvious. The interpretation I have suggested does, however, find some confirmation in a passage from Acts of Peter 38, in the speech of Peter as he is crucified:

προση̅κεν γὰρ ἐπιβαίνειν τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σταυρῷ, ὅστις ἔστιν τεταμένος λόγος, εἷς καὶ μόνος, περὶ οὗ τὸ πνεῦμα λέγει· Τί γὰρ ἔστιν Χριστὸς ἀλλ' ὁ λόγος, ἦχος τοῦ Θεοῦ; ἵνα λόγος ἦ τοῦτο τὸ ὀρθὸν ξύλον, ἐφ' ᾧ ἔσταύρωμαι· ἦχος δὲ τὸ πλάγιον ἔστιν, ἀνθρώπου φύσις· ὁ δὲ ἦλος ὁ συνεχῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀρθῷ ξύλῳ τὸ πλάγιον κατὰ μέσου, ἡ ἐπιστροφή καὶ ἡ μετάνοια τοῦ ἀνθρώπου

'For it is fitting to mount the cross of Christ, who is the word stretched-out, the one and only, of whom the Spirit says, "For what is Christ, but the word, the sound of Gpd?" So that the word is this upright wood on which I am crucified; and the sound is the cross-piece, man's nature; and the nail which holds the cross-piece to the upright wood in the middle is the conversion and repentance of man'.

The language of this speech is textually uncertain,⁸³ and its meaning highly obscure. The presence in Acts of Peter 38 of elements found also in Odes 27, 42:1f., and 35:7, viz. the motif of stretching-out and the phrase, 'the upright wood', and the context in the Acts of Peter of a crucifixion in the imitation of Christ,⁸⁴ suggest that the odist and the author of the Acts of Peter may be drawing on common material. The presence of traditional material in the earlier part of ch. 38, material arguably known also to the odist, has been discussed in Section II of Chapter III (on Ode 34:4). Without the presence of a parallel cluster of themes in the Odes, we should not suspect that the words of Peter drew on earlier material: but the parallel is sufficiently remarkable to suggest that this is the case. I prescind here from a discussion of precisely what Peter's words mean; they continue his description of the state of man redeemed by Christ, which begins in ch. 38 with an Adam-Christ typology drawing on the agraphon discussed in Chapter III, Section II. There is no evidence of literary dependence of one writer on the other: it is to a common source that we should look to explain the parallel.

As with the discussion of Ode 34:4 in Chapter III, the argument in this Section is a matter of inference from the parallels that exist to obscure passages in the Odes: I offer an interpretation that may cast light on the obscurities of the

odist's language. Because of the allusiveness of his language, the argument from literary parallels cannot wholly illuminate: but if the parallels discussed in the Section are admitted as genuinely parallel to the Odes, they provide further evidence that they 'fit' well into the second Christian century. Since this evidence is of a liturgical character, it is of great importance in helping to locate the provenance of a liturgical text.

C O N C L U S I O N

In the study of the Old Testament, the student is often struck by the variety of styles and the richness of the language. The Old Testament is a vast literature, and its study is a task of great magnitude. In the present state of our knowledge, the Old Testament is to be regarded as the product of many hands, and the student is to be prepared to find in it the work of many different writers. The Old Testament is a vast literature, and its study is a task of great magnitude. In the present state of our knowledge, the Old Testament is to be regarded as the product of many hands, and the student is to be prepared to find in it the work of many different writers.

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CONCLUSION

In Section II of Chapter I of this dissertation, discussing the methodology appropriate to the study of the provenance of the Odes of Solomon, I wrote that the evidence presented in this study 'makes a very strong case that, in the present state of our knowledge, the Odes are to be dated to the period of Hermas, Polycarp, Valentinus, and the author of 2 Esdras 1-2' (above, pp. 13-14). I have argued that an examination of the odist's reminiscences of the Old Testament, his concern with his own role as the recipient of revelation, his choice of the poetic style of the Old Testament as his vehicle, the information he gives about the career of the Saviour, his relation to the canonical Johannine literature, his relation to the literature of gnosis, the shared motifs of the odist and Ignatius, and the language of Ode 41:15 and Odes 27 and 42:1f., helps to locate him in this period: at many points, it can be seen that the odist shares the concerns of other writers and uses the same techniques.

An examination of what he has to say of the ministry of his community, of his christology, and of his attitude (insofar as it may be discerned) to

human sexuality, shows that the odist cannot be 'fitted in' neatly to the second quarter of the second century. To some extent, one may account for the theological isolation reflected in his understanding of his own ministry and in the lack of systematisation of his christological language by postulating geographical isolation in Syria; however, when we consider that sexual asceticism was wholly characteristic of Syriac Christianity from its beginnings (cf. the Gospel of Thomas, the Gospel of Philip, and Tatian),⁸⁵ the lack of asceticism in the Odes removes them theologically very far from the milieu where other evidence might suggest they 'fit'.

In the end, it must be concluded that the Odes cannot be tidily classified. Nevertheless, I believe that the evidence brought forward in this thesis does permit us to identify their provenance with as much certainty as is possible in the discussion of Christian origins. In several of the Sections of this thesis, I have stated that it is not my intention to discuss individual questions in detail, but to provide the framework within which an answer may be sought to individual questions. So with this thesis as a whole: many of the problems raised by the Odes of Solomon are not discussed here, but I have sought to answer the basic question of their provenance. It is only when an answer has

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been given to this question that other problems can
be usefully discussed.

Brian McNeil.

NOTES
to Chapter I

1. A. Harnack, *Die Mission und die Kirche* (Berlin, 1924), p. 109 (see also p. 110).
2. *Die Mission und die Kirche*, p. 109.
3. *Die Mission und die Kirche*, p. 109.
4. *Die Mission und die Kirche*, p. 109.
5. The following are the following:

1:20 - 22	24:1
2:10 - 12	25
8:20 - 22	26:7a - 7c + 28a
9:1	31:1 - 11
10:14, 17, etc. (in Greek?)	34:3
17:25 - 27	35:11
19	36:1 - 7 + 38:18
23:18 + 22	41:7 + 12 - 13a

 (= parts of pp. 1-11)
6. Harnack, *op. cit.* (in 1 above), p. 109 (see also p. 110).
7. *Die Mission und die Kirche*, p. 111.
8. 'The Parables of Jesus', *Journal of Theological Studies* (1910), pp. 179-201, II (Greek), pp. 297-304.
9. 'The Gospels of Solomon: Jewish or Christian?', *Journal of Theological Studies* (1912), pp. 295-309.
10. A. Harnack and W. Stead, *The Gospels of Jesus* (London, 1910), p. 109 (Harnack translation).
11. *Journal of Theological Studies* (1910), pp. 148-49 (quotation from p. 449).
12. Review of Harnack, in *Journal of Theological Studies* (1911), pp. 433-434 (quotation from p. 433).

NOTESCHAPTER I

- 1 A. Harnack and J. Flemming, Ein jüdisch-christliches Psalmbuch aus dem ersten Jahrhundert (Texte u. Untersuchungen 35/4), Leipzig 1910.
- 2 On the interpretation of 6:8, see below, Chapter II, Section I, especially nn. 3-9.
- 3 Harnack, op. cit. (n. 1 above), p. 76.
- 4 Ibid., p. 79.
- 5 The interpolated passages are the following:
- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 3:7b | 24:1 |
| 7:3c-6 + 12 + 15 | 27 |
| 8:20-22 | 29:6-7a (? + 8bc) |
| 9:3 | 31:3-13 |
| 10:4.5.6bc (6a Jewish) | 36:3 |
| 17:9b-17 | 39:11 |
| 19 | 41:1-7 + 11-16 |
| 23:18 + 22 | 42:1f. + 12-20a |
| | (+ parts of <u>vv.</u> 3-11). |
- 6 Harnack, op. cit. (n. 1 above), p. 109 (my italics represent spaced word in the original).
- 7 Ibid., p. 111.
- 8 'Zum Verständnis der Oden Salomos', I, ZNW 11 (1910), pp. 193-203, II (Schluss), ibid., pp. 259-90.
- 9 'The Odes of Solomon: Jewish or Christian?', JTS 13 (1912), pp. 298-309.
- 10 A. Ungnad and W. Staerk, Die Oden Salomos (Kleine Texte 64), Bonn 1910 (German translation).
- 11 Revue de l'Orient Chrétien 2nd ser. 5 (1910), pp. 448-49 (quotation from p. 449).
- 12 Review of Harnack, in Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses ns 2 (1911), pp. 493-501 (quotation from p. 493).

- 13 In his preface, Harnack had mentioned his desire to combat spurious presentations of the life of Jesus. See also the criticism by S. Salaville, 'Un hymnaire des premiers siècles', Echos d'orient 14 (1911), pp. 221-23. Loisy himself is not immune from this criticism: his interpretation of the Temple in Odes 4 and 6 as the Church 'au sens le plus large' (art. cit., n. 12 above, p. 499) is not entirely unconnected with his own religious convictions.
- 14 On 'the Beloved', see below, Chapter II, Section II; the Targum to Isa 9:5 says that the Messiah 'remains for ever' (see discussion in my 'The Quotation at John xii 34', NovT 19 [1977], pp. 22-33); if the reading of the MS is accepted (see below, Chapter IV, n. 4), cf. Jn 14:6, or, if we emend to , with J. Rendel Harris and Alphonse Mingana, The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, II, London 1920 (hereafter cited as: Harris & Mingana, The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, II), ad loc., cf. Rev 1:18, GThom 1.
- 15 Cf. 2 Esdras 7:28; 4QFlor I, 10-13.
- 16 The most important discussion of the interpolation-hypothesis is by Gerhard Kittel, Die Oden Salomos: Überarbeitet oder Einheitlich? (Beitr. z. Wiss. v. Alten Testament 16), Leipzig 1914. It is in the light of this study that an interpolation-hypothesis has been generally abandoned. The arguments of Kittel need not be advanced in

- detail here, since my purpose is not primarily to discuss Harnack's hypothesis, but rather to use Harnack as a means of exposing the basic problem which the Odes of Solomon present to the scholar.
- 17 The Odes of Solomon, Oxford 1973 (hereafter cited as: J. H. Charlesworth, The Odes of Solomon), ad loc.
- 18 The most important statement of the variety in early Christianity is Walter Bauer, Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum (Beitr. z. historischen Theologie 10), Tübingen 1934; revised edn., ed. Georg Strecker, 1964; ET, with further corrections, ed. R. A. Kraft and G. Krodel, Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity, London 1972.
- 19 The absence of the name of Jesus in the Legatio of Athenagoras may be due to a somewhat similar motive.
- 20 On 2 Esdras 1-2, see the studies mentioned in Chapter III, n. 61.
- 21 See Chapter II, Section I.
- 22 I use this as a neutral designation for the redeemer-figure in the Odes of Solomon. The noun לויג occurs at Odes 41:11, 42:18.
- 23 Even if it is difficult to find the idea in a Jewish text of the personal pre-existence of the Messiah, it may be argued that it is unjustifiable to draw too sharp a line between this idea and the concept of the pre-existence of the name of the

Messiah and the idea that the Messiah exists in the will of God for Israel: cf. b. Pesahim 53a, and the discussion by Martin Hengel, The Son of God, ET London 1976, pp. 66-76. The idea that the Messiah was active in creation (cf. Ode 8:12ff.) can be paralleled in Col 1:16 and Apocalypse of Elijah 3:66. The most recent editor, Jean-Marc Rosenstiehl, L'Apocalypse d'Elie (Textes & Etudes pour servir à l'histoire du judaïsme intertestamentaire 1), Paris 1972, ^{judges that} this is a Jewish work composed towards the end of the third century A.D., making use of much earlier materials, including an Essene source (I follow Rosenstiehl's verse-divisions); see the review by P. S. Alexander, JSS 19 (1974), pp. 291-93, and Richard Bauckham, 'The Martyrdom of Enoch and Elijah: Jewish or Christian?', JBL 95 (1976), pp. 447-58.

It may be argued that the idea of the virginal conception of the Messiah had been deduced from Isa 7:14 LXX before the birth of Christ; I prescind here from discussion of whether or not it may be said that the accounts of the virginal conception of Jesus in the infancy narratives of Matthew and Luke are theologoumena intended to show that he fulfilled his expectation. The denial of a messianic interpretation of Isa 7:14 by Trypho (Justin, Dial. 67) may be thought either historically inaccurate or else evidence that in face of the Christian use of this text the Jewish

messianic interpretation had been censored.

Evidence of Jewish expectation of a virginally-conceived Messiah may be seen in the Apocalypse of Adam, in the accounts by the 'kingdoms' of the origin of the Illuminator (CG V 77,27-83,4: see the accounts of the third and fourth kingdoms). In view of the disagreement about whether this is a Jewish gnostic work, these passages cannot be used without qualification. (In favour of a basically Jewish provenance are Alexander Böhlig in the editio princeps, A. Böhlig and Pahor Labib, 'Koptisch-gnostische Apokalypsen aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi im Koptischen Museum zu Alt-Kairo', Wiss. Zeitschrift d. Martin-Luther-Univ. Halle-Wittenberg, Sonderband [1963], pp. 86-117; idem, 'Die Adamsapokalypse aus Codex V von Nag Hammadi als Zeugnis jüdisch-iranischer Gnosts', Oriens Christianus 48 [1964], pp. 44-49; George W. MacRae, 'The Coptic Gnostic Apocalypse of Adam', Heythrop Journal 6 [1965], pp. 27-35. See the criticisms by R. McL. Wilson, Gnosis and the New Testament, Oxford 1968, pp. 135-39; Edwin Yamauchi, Pre-Christian Gnosticism, London 1973, pp. 107-15.)

Whatever judgment is reached about the work as a whole in its present form, it seems to me that the suggestion of MacRae that the author's intention in the section 77,27ff. is to pour scorn on the ideas of the Jews concerning the Illuminator is highly likely; one need not agree with his view

of the work as a whole to agree here. Accordingly, we may use this section as evidence of some authentic first-century A.D. Jewish beliefs about the Messiah, though since they are presented in a *mélange* of fantastic and legendary motifs (e.g., the picture in the account by the fourth kingdom of Solomon as master of the demons: cf. Wisd 7:20, Josephus, Ant. VIII 45-49, Testament of Solomon 1:6f. and passim; see also references to rabbinic, Mandaean, and Nag Hammadi literature in Birger A. Pearson, 'Jewish Haggadic Traditions in The Testimony of Truth from Nag Hammadi', in: J. Bergman et al., eds., Ex Orbe Religionum, I [Suppl. to Numen 21], Leiden 1972, pp. 457-70, at p. 459 n. 1; cf. also the account given by the ninth kingdom, reminiscent in a high degree of what the developed gnostic systems said about the origin of man: cf. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. I 29:4, and the Apocryphon of John) that are meant to excite the scorn of the gnostic reader, caution must be used in judging how far the text reflects actual beliefs. With all due caution, however, I believe that we can use the accounts of the third and fourth kingdoms as evidence of the expectation that the Messiah would be born of a virgin. The ideas expressed in Ode 19:6ff., therefore, are not in principle impossible for a Jewish author. Note, however, that in the one Jewish passage which is most plausibly interpreted as speaking

of the birth of the Messiah from a virgin, Testament of Joseph 19:1ff., the virgin is certainly the cipher for the community, whether of Israel or of Judah: cf. such passages as Amos 5:2, 2 Kg 19:21.

In Ode 39, the odist speaks of the 'foot-prints' of 'our Lord Messiah' on the waters (v. 11). This passage is discussed in Chapter III, Section II (cf. especially n. 76). The image goes back to a creation-myth (cf. Ps 74:13f., 89:10, Isa 51:9). In Testament of Asher 7:3, the patriarch predicts that God will visit the earth, 'crushing the head of the dragon on the water'. In the Apocalypse of Adam, each of the thirteen kingdoms ends its account of the origin of the Illuminator with the words, $\lambda\gamma\omega\ \nu\eta\zeta\epsilon\ \epsilon\lambda\mu\ \pi\iota\mu\omicron\omicron\delta\omicron\varsigma$, 'And so he came on the water'. This picture is found also in Apocalypse of Elijah 2:5f. (see my article mentioned in Chapter III, n. 76). It may safely be suggested that the language of Ode 39 would not be impossible on the lips of a Jewish author speaking of the Messiah.

The statement of the Saviour at Ode 28:13, 'I did good to all men', is reminiscent of Acts 10:38. But obviously this concept is in no sense foreign to Judaism: cf. Jesus' reply to the messengers of John the Baptist who ask whether he is $\delta\ \epsilon\pi\chi\omicron\rho\omicron\mu\epsilon\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ (Matt 11:2ff., Lk 7:18ff.), and the words of the crowd at Jn 7:31.

The question of whether the expectation of a suffering Messiah existed within Judaism before the time of Jesus has been much discussed, but inconclusively. The idea is found in the Targum to Zech 12:10 and in b. Sukkah 52a. I prescind here from a discussion of this question, for it is arguable that much of what the odist says depends ultimately on the kerygmatic account of the Saviour which he has received (see Chapter II, Section III, and Chapter III, Section II). When he writes of the suffering of the Saviour, his meditations arise from the kerygma rather than from christological ideas of what the Messiah will do when he comes.

At Dial. 72, Justin claims that the Jews have excised from Jeremiah a passage speaking of the descensus of the Messiah to preach to the dead in Hades. If we may trust his claim, there would be a Jewish precedent for the language of Odes 17 and 42.

24 See Chapter IV, Section III.

25 The later the Odes are dated, the odder the unselfconsciousness of their christological language becomes in a Christian author; in a Jewish author, such interest in the Messiah is not typical after the failure of the revolt of Bar Kokhba.

26 An example of a striking parallel between writings where no direct literary relationship

is plausible is the use of the phrase, 'the holy of holies', in two second-century writers. Rabbi Aqiba, according to *Yadaim* 3:5, said, 'All the Writings are holy, but the Song of Songs is the Holy of Holies' (ET Herbert Danby, The Mishnah, Oxford 1933). Between Aqiba and the author or redactor of the Gospel of Philip we may not easily suppose any close links, but in GPhil 76 we read, 'The baptism (βάπτισμα) is the holy house, [...] is the holy of the holy, the Holy of Holies is the bridal-chamber (Νυμφῶν)': the three sacraments of initiation are compared in an allegory to the chambers of the Temple (cf. also GPhil 124, 125). The clue to the source of this image may possibly be found in the Simonian teaching that sexual union was 'perfect love and the holy of holies' (apud Hippolytus, Ref. VI 19:5); but it is not possible precisely to pin down and identify the relationship of these texts to each other. An instructive modern parallel is afforded by the Studies of A. Guillaumont; 'Νηστεύειν τὸν κόσμον (P. Oxy. 1, verso, 1.5-6)', Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 61 (1962), pp. 15-23, and Aelred Baker, 'Fasting to the World', JBL 84 (1965), pp. 291-94. No literary relationship of dependence exists between these two remarkably similar texts. The similarities are due to a shared background.

27 Certainty is not possible in an area in which conclusions may be overturned by the discovery of new evidence.

NOTES
to Chapter II

1. I have... *Die Kopten in Ägypten*... *Handbuch der Orientalistik*... suggests a... of the... of... liturgical... of this...
 2. *Die Kopten in Ägypten*... by Frederick G. Stead... *Journal of Theological Studies*, Oxford 1895... by... *Revue de Théologie*, Paris 1963. See also... *Les Égyptiens*... *Revue de Théologie*, Paris 1940;... *Revue de Théologie*, Paris 1963. The... is that... not... a... account... *Journal of Theological Studies*,... *Journal of Theological Studies*,... of... is the... of... which is... to...
 3. The... of the Old Testament is...

- 1 K. Gamber, 'Die Oden Salomos als frühchristliche Gesänge beim heiligen Mahl', Ostkirchliche Studien 15 (1966), pp. 182-95, suggests a eucharistic setting for the Odes, but on the basis of tenuous parallels with considerably later liturgical usages. On this question, see Section II of this Chapter, nn. 33, 46.
- 2 The basic historicity of Philo's account of the Therapeutae is defended by Frederick C. Conybeare, Philo About the Contemplative Life, Oxford 1895; and by Daumas in F. Daumas and P. Miquel, Philo, De Vita Contemplativa (Oeuvres de Philon 29), Paris 1963. See also Marcel Simon, Les Sectes Juives au Temps de Jésus (Mythes et Religions 40), Paris 1960; Pierre Géoltrain, 'Le traité de la Vie Contemplative de Philon d'Alexandrie: Introduction, traduction et notes', Semitica 10 (1968). The problem is that Philo, our only source, does not seek to provide a straightforwardly historical account, but is inspired by apologetical and polemical motives. In 'The Narration of Zosimus', forthcoming in JSJ, I have argued that the Apocalypse of Zosimus in its present form is the superficial Christianisation of a Jewish homiletic midrash on Jer 35 which is most probably to be attributed to the Therapeutae.
- 3 The odist's use of the Old Testament is discussed

- mental offering', referring σ - not to 'the Lord' of y. 1a, but to יהוה .
- 11 This priesthood is discussed in Section II of this Chapter.
- 12 The verb זָבַח probably carries some sacrificial overtones at 31:4, and possibly at 7:22.
- 13 Even if Matthew is later than 70, the situation supposed in ch. 5 is of course before the destruction of the Temple.
- 14 The precariousness of any attempt to use this language to date the Odes may be seen by a comparison with the language of Ep. Diogn. 3:5, which (read at face-value) says that the Jews still offer sacrifices. On this passage, however, see below, Chapter III, n. 65.
- 15 The noun אֹיֵב is used at 10:4 to speak of men hostile to God, where however the Saviour says that he 'captured' it and so nullified its hostility; the only other occurrence of אֹיֵב is at 8:9, where there is also the idea of an opposition to God's truth. 20:3ab may therefore be judged to reinforce the condemnation in 20:3c.
- 16 Cf. the interpolation at Esther 8:12 LXX of the text of the letter of Ahasuerus (Artaxerxes) of which the Hebrew author speaks.
- 17 Parallels to this would be found in the hymnic passages in Daniel and 1 Maccabees; on this, see W. Sibley Towner, 'The Poetic Passages of Daniel 1-6',

- CBQ 31 (1969), pp. 317-26; and below, Chapter III, Section I.
- 18 On this theme, see Harold H. Rowley, 'The Meaning of Sacrifice in the Old Testament', BJRL 33 (1950-51), pp. 74-110.
- 19 'The Odes of Solomon', JTS 12 (1910), pp. 1-31. Bernard expounded this view in greater detail in his commentary, The Odes of Solomon (Texts & Studies 8/3), Cambridge 1912; see also his review of Harris & Mingana, The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, II, in Theology 1 (1920), pp. 288-98.
- 20 The relationship between the Odes and gnosticism is discussed in Chapter III, Section IV.
- 21 See R. A. Aytoun, 'The Mysteries of Baptism by Moses bar Kepha Compared with the Odes of Solomon', Expositor 8th ser. 2 (1911), pp. 338-58; D. Plooij, 'The Attitude of the Outspread Hands ("Orante") in Early Christian Literature and Art', ExpT 23 (1912), pp. 199-203, 265-69; A. J. Wensinck, 'Ephrem's Hymns on Epiphany and the Odes of Solomon', Expositor 8th ser. 3 (1912), pp. 108-12. J. Rendel Harris, 'Ephrem's Use of the Odes of Solomon', ibid., pp. 113-19, suggested that 'the writings of Ephrem now constitute the earliest commentary upon the Odes of Solomon' (p. 119), but he never accepted the thorough-going baptismal interpretation proposed by Bernard.
- 22 Bernard refers to Justin, I Apol. 61; Clement,

- Paed. I 6:25; Gregory of Nazianzus, Oratio 40:4.
- 23 The phrase occurs at Exod 3:8.17, Josh 5:6, Sir 46:8, etc. An occurrence comparable to Ode 4:10 is at 2 Esdras 2:19, where the author draws on traditional imagery of paradise and the promised land to describe the Christian community, and there is no need to posit a baptismal ritual including milk and honey (or roses and lilies: the only passage linking roses and lilies in a liturgical context is in the Psalmoi Sarakōtōn of the Manichaean Psalter, p. 153, where it is not a question of a ritual but part of an elaborate metaphor of the devout life; cf. also Sir 39:13f., 50:8, Testament of Simeon 6:2).
- 24 Bernard suggested that the Odes, though baptismal hymns, never speak explicitly of baptism because this was included under the disciplina arcani (see The Odes of Solomon [n. 19 above], pp. 22-25). However, as was pointed out, e.g., by Alphonse Mingana, 'Quelques Mots sur les Odes de Salomon. II (Schluss)', ZNW 16 (1915), pp. 167-90, there is an historical implausibility in this suggestion: neither Justin nor Tertullian keeps silence about baptism, and Jewish precedents would mean that a Christian writing to Jews would not need to keep silence about this rite.
- 25 Water-symbolism is found in three christological passages: 28:16, 31:11, and 39:1ff. A baptismal interpretation of 28:16 is possible (see Chapter III, n. 114), and the language of Ode 39 may very well

have baptismal overtones (see Chapter III, Section II), but in 31:11 it is implausible to see in the mention of 'waves' more than an extended metaphor: cf. Ps 27:5, 32:6.

- 26 Robert Murray, 'The Exhortation to Candidates for Ascetical Vows at Baptism in the Ancient Syrian Church', NTS 21 (1974-75), pp. 59-80, relates a number of passages in the Odes to passages in later Syriac literature speaking of ritual practices of initiation. As with Bernard's hypothesis, one may recognise the conservatism of Syriac religious language, and the ease with which later writers could have taken the Odes as baptismal, without thereby agreeing that their language, which may be accounted for as metaphor based on the scriptures, is by intention baptismal.
- 27 If 35:1 is written ex ore Christi, as is possible, a baptismal interpretation is most unlikely.
- 28 The Odes of Solomon (n. 19 above), pp. 73-75 (on Ode 11).
- 29 For example, the image of a change of clothing is found very frequently in contexts where no specifically ritual change of clothing is meant: it is a readily-apprehended symbol of radical religious change. The ultimate source of this image in Jewish and Christian literature may well be the wearing of special garments for worship (cf. Gen 35:2, etc.), but it is difficult to discern any

immediately ritual significance in such texts as Baruch 5:1f., Pss Sol 2:19-21, 11:7; Matt 22:11-14, 1 Cor 15:53ff., 2 Cor 5:1-5, Rev 3:5.18; Asc. Isa. 9:9; 2 Esdras 2:45; the teaching of the Naassenes apud Hippolytus, Ref. V 8:44; GPhil 24, 77. It has been suggested that some passages in which this image is employed do speak of a baptismal ritual: see Jonathan Z. Smith, 'The Garments of Shame', Hist. Rel. 5 (1965), pp. 217-38, on logia of the Gospel of Thomas. In the Odes, the language need not be taken baptismally. At 11:10f., when the odist says he puts on a garment, he strips off, not another garment, but 'folly': this suggests that here the image is used to speak of gaining knowledge. Similarly, the effect of drinking the 'speaking waters' is that the odist abandons 'vanity' and acquires knowledge (vv. 6-8; cf. 6:14 where the gift of the knowledge of the Lord refreshes the lips). The effect of the circumcision by the Spirit is that the odist may run in the 'way' of the Most High, which is 'the way of truth' (Vv. 1-3). The result of the odist's entering paradise is that he is given knowledge, in the form of a vision of the trees which symbolise 'those who work good works' (vv. 16ff.). We are not obliged to postulate a ritual origin or understand an allusion to ritual in order to account for these images in Ode 11. At 25:8, however, a ritual origin of the

image seems highly probable (see the comments of Bernard ad loc., op. cit. [n. 16 above], pp. 107-8).

30 The only passages which might fit into a baptismal liturgy are 4:10 and 30:1ff., but here, in my judgment, a reference to ritual (as distinct from some kind of ritual origin of the language) is highly improbable. Otherwise, in the Odes, where we may reasonably suspect an allusion to ritual, it is to a past experience of ritual as in Ode 11. An observation about the significance of this baptismal language for the determination of the provenance of the Odes must be made here. The weighty parallels adduced by Bernard and other scholars come from Christian authors. In the ritual language of the odist, however, it is not easy to discern the differentia of Christian baptism: it is difficult to claim that the hymns of a Jewish baptist group would have had to be substantially different from his. On the Jewish baptist groups, see J. Thomas, Le mouvement baptiste en Palestine et Syrie, Gembloux 1935.

31 It has been suggested that the Syriac Christian veneration of the apostle Addai may be traceable to the memory of this conversion: see Robert Murray, Symbols of Church and Kingdom, Cambridge 1975, pp. 8-9, and references there.

32 The references in Ode 11 to 'workers' (v. 20; v. 22 in Greek only) speak of the community as a whole: the workers are those who 'work good works and turn


from wickedness to thy sweetness'.

- 33 In Ode 20, the odist calls himself a 'priest' (v. 1), but dissociates himself from 'those who worship according to the flesh' (v. 3). The question of the nature of his sacrifice is discussed in Section I of this Chapter; here, we must ask whether in calling himself a priest he is making a claim about his ministerial function in the community. The answer to this seems to be in the negative, for he exhorts his hearer (the imperatives of Ode 20 are all singular) to offer a sacrifice which does not seem in any way distinct from the sacrifice which the odist claims in v. 4 to offer. This Ode, then, is an example of the teaching ministry of the odist; but it provides no evidence that he thought of himself as a priest exercising a priestly ministry distinct from that of anyone else. It is possible that this denial of cultic sacrificial worship implies rejection of the eucharist (cf. also the suggestion of Preserved Smith that since the only mention of wine in the Odes, 38:12, says that it is the heretics who offer it to men, the odist intends to reject the eucharist as heretical: 'The Disciples of John and the Odes of Solomon', Monist 25 [1915], pp. 161-99, at p. 185). However, although there is evidence of belief in the second century that the eucharist was a sacrifice (e.g., Ignatius, Philad. 4; Justin, Dial. 41, 117; Didache 14:1ff.), it is not clear that this belief was so universally held in

the Christian world that anyone rejecting cultic sacrifice was automatically seen as rejecting the eucharist; gnostics who rejected sacrifice celebrated the eucharist (cf., e.g., the Gospel of Philip).

- 34 I use the conventional 'he'. The question of the feminine Holy Spirit in the Odes is discussed in Chapter IV, Section II.
- 35 The title 'Lord' tout court is frequently ambiguous in the Odes. It is applied both to the Messiah (17:17, 24:1 N, 39:11) and to God (cf. 29:6, 9:3, 41:3).
- 36 Note also 25:8, where it is the Spirit who covers the speaker. As with Ode 35, it is difficult to know whether the speaker is the odist or the Saviour.
- 37 In addition to passages discussed here, cf. also 5:1, 16:4, 18:16, 20:9, 21:7-9 (language reminiscent of Ode 36 which is discussed in the text of the Chapter), 29:2.11, 40:2, 41:1.16, and also 10:5 and 17:17 which speak of praise of the Saviour. Many Odes which do not explicitly mention praise (e.g., Ode 15) are, of course, equally hymns of praise. Cf. also the 'Hallelujah' which closes each Ode.
- 38 It is possible that the copyist of N added the Seyame points because he had already copied the word سئل in v. 7. H's reading preserves the ambiguity of the phrase سئل دج.
- 39 I agree with the division made by Charlesworth (The Odes of Solomon, ad loc.) after 36:2. The

composition of the Odes (v. 2) is nowhere else attributed to the Saviour, and it seems that there is a distinction between the speaker of v. 1 who rests on the Spirit and is lifted up to heaven and the speaker of v. 3 to whom the Spirit gives birth in the presence of the Lord. A comparable distinction is observable in Ode 17 between the speaker in v. 4 and the speaker in v. 10.

- 40 See discussion in Chapter IV, Section II.
- 41 If  (14:5) is to be translated, 'from the evil one', we should have evidence of the odist's understanding of a more ultimate source of attack. There is, however, nothing elsewhere in the Odes to support such a personalised translation.
- 42 The 'holy place' here, as in Ode 6, is a symbol for the community of believers, menaced by rival 'holy places'.
- 43 Cf. also 30:1ff., where water comes 'from the heart of the Lord' and men 'did not know it until it was set in the midst'. A similar thought is expressed at Ps 33:10f.
- 44 Two passages, in Odes 23 and 29, are doubtfully to be included here. In Ode 23, when the opponents try to seize the letter in order to read it (vv. 7ff.), are we to infer that the odist is speaking of intellectual opposition to the arrival of truth on earth? This is probably to press the image too hard. In Ode 29, when the odist says that he humbled his enemies 'for I believed in the Lord's Messiah' (v. 6),

this, like v. 10, 'The Lord laid low my enemy by his word', may imply that the enemy were an intellectual enemy to be defeated by right doctrine: but the 'word' here is rather the word of command than the word of knowledge.

- 45 This phrase is discussed below in the text of this Section.
- 46 If this understanding of the role of the odist is correct, much ground is cut away under arguments from the odist's silences and 'omissions': if the Odes are at least to some degree 'occasional' poems which, when dealing with doctrinal matters, are addressing specific problems or heresies, then to argue from the silence of the odist about something that he was ignorant of it is a very precarious proceeding. His silence may mean merely that the matter in question (e.g., the eucharist) raised no doctrinal problems in his community.
- 47 Although the passages in which 'eternal life' is spoken of need not necessarily imply a life beyond the grave, and it is possible that 26:11b sees death as the end even for the odists, and references to the 'end' (6:4) and the 'new world' (33:12) need not be futurist-eschatological, the two Odes which appear to speak of the harrowing of hell, 17 and 42, show that it may be said at least that language involving belief in life after death was not foreign to the odist and his community. On Odes 17 and 42, see below, Section III of this Chapter, and Chapter III,

Section II.

- 48 $\square\prime\omega\text{ITP}/\alpha\gamma\text{IOI}$ occurs as a title of the community both in the Old Testament (e.g., Ps 16:3, 34:9) and in the New (e.g., Acts 9:13, Rom 12:13, Col 1:2); cf. especially Dan 7 where it is arguable that the title is a technical term for a particular group of faithful within Israel. The title is also given to angels: cf. Exod 15:11 LXX, Job 5:1, Jubilees 31:14, 1QS IX 7f. No other passage in the Odes says that angels give revelations to men; at 22:12 and 23:1 صبتل refers to the odist's community, and here the meaning seems to be that the Lord is revealed to his community, who then, so to speak, delegate the singers to go out and meet the Lord when he comes.
- 49 The word is unique in the Odes, but since the duty of the seers here at 7:18 is to praise the Lord, we may reasonably deduce that odists and seers are one and the same.
- 50 I take the whole of Ode 10 to be written ex ore Christi: in this case, אלה means, 'to the Lord'.
- 51 Note, however, the pejorative use of this word at 29:8 and 23:15 N.
- 52 There is no precise scriptural parallel to this interpretation of 'his holy ones'; cf. Lk 1:70, Acts 3:21, 2 Pet 3:2, Rev 22:6.
- 53 The translation of 31:12b is discussed in Chapter IV, Section II.
- 54 Support for a futurist-eschatological interpretation may be found in the realisation that there is very

little evidence in the Odes of expectation of the future duration in time of the community: the only passage that may indicate such expectation is 8:22, 'You shall be found incorrupt in every generation'. The fullest discussion of the eschatology of the Odes is by David E. Aune, The Cultic Setting of Realized Eschatology in Early Christianity (Suppl. to NovT 28), Leiden 1972, pp. 166-94, but his arguments seem to me to tie the referent of the odist's language too closely to the liturgical context in which it was spoken.

- 55 Cf. also 3:6, where לִינוּ may be translated, 'foreigner'.
- 56 Akira Satake, Die Gemeindeordnung in der Johannesapokalypse, Neukirchen 1966, suggests that the community addressed knows only one form of ministry; but see David Hill, 'Prophecy and Prophets in the Revelation of St. John', NTS 18 (1971-72), pp. 401-18. See further, n. 57 below.
- 57 Although there are references to hymn-singing in the New Testament (e.g., Col 3:16), and various passages have been thought to be quotations from early Christian hymns, there is no way of getting into the 'workshop' of any Christian hymn-writer of the New Testament period as we can (to some extent) understand something of how the odist saw his ministry of composing hymns; the same is true of the Therapeutae (the ministerial self-consciousness of the odist is discussed in Chapter III,

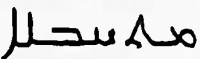
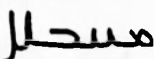
Section I). Second-century Christian texts which give revelations from Jesus do so pseudepigraphically (e.g., the Apocryphal Letter of James, the *Epistula Apostolorum*, the Acts of John, the Apocryphon of John), and claim the sort of authority for their teaching as does Paul at 1 Cor 9:1, 'Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?' The Odes are not pseudepigraphical (the title 'Odes of Solomon' is early, as attested by its use in the third-century P. Bodmer XI and the *Pistis Sophia*, but there is nothing in the Odes themselves to warrant it comparable to the claims in the above-mentioned texts or 2 Esdras 1-2), and they base their claim to authority not on a vision of the Saviour (which is never claimed), but on the direct inspiration of the Spirit who reveals truth to the odist. It has been suggested that Christian prophets are responsible for the creation of logia of Jesus which found their way into the synoptic gospels: the locus classicus is Rudolf Bultmann, The History of the Synoptic Tradition, ET Oxford 1963, pp. 127-28; see also Ernst Käsemann, 'Sentences of Holy Law in the New Testament', in: New Testament Questions of Today, ET London 1969, pp. 68-81, and M. Eugene Boring, 'How may we Identify Oracles of Christian Prophets in the Synoptic Tradition? Mark 3.28-29 as a Test Case', JBL 91 (1972), pp. 501-21, making methodological

proposals. In part, Bultmann based his case on Ode 42:6; but this verse provides no support for the idea of a specifically prophetic ministry in the odist's community, for when the Saviour says, 'I am with them', he refers to 'those who love me' (v. 4), i.e., to the whole community (the noun بحر and the verb بحر do not occur in the Odes). The view of Bultmann has been challenged (see Fritz Neugebauer, 'Geistsprüche und Jesuslogien', ZNW 53 [1962], pp. 218-28; David Hill, 'On the Evidence for the Creative Role of Christian Prophets', NTS 20 [1973-74], pp. 262-74), but even if it be granted that prophetically-composed logia have found a place in the gospel traditions, there is such a wide difference between these short sayings and the lengthy discourses of the Saviour in the Odes, which are not conceivably intended to represent words of the Saviour during his earthly ministry, that this provides us with no useful parallels to the Odes. Similarly, the setting of the discourses of the fourth gospel, during the earthly ministry, is quite different from that in the Odes where the exalted Saviour speaks; and the ministerial pattern in the Christian community supposed in this gospel, legitimated by their faithfulness to the teaching of the Beloved Disciple, has no counterpart in the Odes. Both the Hymns Scroll of Qumran and the Shepherd of Hermas present interesting parallels to the Odes,

in that the former tells us something of the ministerial self-consciousness of another composer of hymns, and the latter tells us something of the ministerial self-consciousness of another man who imparted revealed discourses, but what we know of the ministerial pattern at Qumran/^{or}in the Rome addressed by Hermas (see Lage Pernveden, The Concept of the Church in the Shepherd of Hermas [Studia Theologica Lundensia 27], Lund 1966, pp. 144-55) is very different from what may be deduced from the Odes. These parallels are discussed in Chapter III, Section I.

- 58 3:10, 6:6, 7:13.21, 9:7, 11:4.8, 12:3.13, 15:5, 23:4, 24:14, 30:6, 39:8; cf. also, in christological passages, 3:3, 8:8ff., 17:13, 33:13.
- 59 Cf. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. I 5:1-6:5; Clement, Exc. Theod. 43:2-64:1; Hippolytus, Ref. VI 34:4-8. See also Eric Junod and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, 'Les Traits Caractéristiques de la Théologie des "Actes de Jean"', RThPh 3rd ser. 26 (1976), pp. 125-45, at pp. 134-36. MM Junod and Kaestli are preparing a critical edition of these Acts; I am grateful to M Kaestli for information about the Acts of John.
- 60 One can find 'ignorance' used as a designation for heresy in gnostic texts, functioning in gnostic polemic in the same way as in the odist's polemic: cf. Testimonium Veritatis (CG IX) 31,10 and 38,28.

Here, too, it is an ignorance that seems in principle open to choice; note also the polemic against Valentinus on p. 56. I am grateful to Dr Klaus Koschorke who has kindly allowed me to consult his article, 'Der gnostische Traktat "Testimonium Veritatis" aus dem Nag-Hammadi-Codex IX: eine Übersetzung', forthcoming in ZNW.

- 61 I prefer the reading  of H to the  of N at v. 9b. If the false community is a full counterfeit of the true, then we should expect that as the true bridegroom had saved his bride, so the false bridegroom had corrupted his bride - only then may the false bride herself corrupt (cf. v. 11b).
- 62 Individual nuptial imagery in the Odes is discussed in Chapter IV, Section I.
- 63 In the New Testament, cf. 2 Cor 11:2, Eph 5:23ff., Rev 19:7ff., 21:9ff.; less directly, Rom 7:4, Rev 22:17. I have discussed the second-century texts in 'Avircius and the Song of Songs', Vig. Chr. 31 (1977), pp. 23-34; see also H. J. W. Drijvers, 'Quq and the Quqites', Numen 14 (1967), pp. 104-29.
- 64 By this term I do not mean Judaism before the birth of Jesus, but rather Judaism uninfluenced by Christian theology.
- 65 This is the enumeration of J. Rendel Harris, The Rest of the Words of Baruch, London 1889. In the enumeration of Robert A. Kraft and Ann-Elizabeth Purinton, Paraleipomena Jeremiou (Texts & Translations 1), Philadelphia 1972, this verse is 3:11.

The Armenian speaks of the 'coming' of the Beloved (see Kraft & Purinton, op. cit., p. 17): the Armenian translator, understanding 'the Beloved' to refer to Jesus, has replaced the rather odd expression, 'the gathering of the beloved', by a more natural phrase, linking this passage to the references to the parousia at the close of the work. The original, however, refers to the people (cf. 4:7 Harris/4:6 Kraft & Purinton); for the idea of the gathering of Israel from exile, cf. such passages as Jer 31:7ff., Ezek 34:11ff.

- 66 This passage is not extant in our Enochic corpus, but this does not exclude the possibility that Barnabas attributes his quotation correctly.
- 67 The messianic significance of 1QH III 6-18 has been disputed: see my 'The Quotation at John xii 34', NovT 19 (1977), pp. 22-33, and literature cited there.
- 68 The similar variants in the MSS of Luke's transfiguration narrative (9:35) may be due to scribal assimilation to the other synoptic accounts. In the baptismal narrative of the Gospel used by the Ebionites, the words may be translated, 'You are my son, the Beloved' (apud Epiphanius, Pan. XXX 13:7). It is arguable that the word 'beloved' in the parable of the vinedressers (Mk 12:6, Lk 20:13; not used in Matt 21 or GThom 65, but cf. Hermas, Sim. V 2:6) is meant to carry messianic significance.
- 69 I owe this suggestion to Dr S. P. Brock. Cf. Gen

22:2, τὸν υἱὸν σου τὸν ἀγαπητόν. Philo uses this of Isaac at Leg. Alleg. III 203; Quod Deus Immutabilis Sit 4; De Migr. Abrahami 140; De Somniis 194, 195; De Abrahamo 168, 196; it is always used adjectivally, never as a substantive. On the significance of Isaac, see Geza Vermes, Scripture and Tradition in Judaism, Leiden 1961, pp. 193-227; Roger Le Déaut, La Nuit Pascale (Analecta Biblica 22), Rome 1963, pp. 100-261.

70 1:4.5.7.13 (twice); 3:13.17.18; 4:3.6.9.18 (twice).21; 5:15; 7:17.23; 8:18.25; 9:12. All of these passages are Christian in origin.

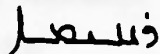

71 See below, Chapter IV, Section I.

72 The theme of Israel as God's bride is found in the prophets from Hosea onwards: cf. the discussion of passages reflecting nuptial ceremonial in J. Paul Sampley, 'And the Two Shall Become One Flesh': a Study of Traditions in Ephesians 5:21-33 (SNTS Monographs 16), Cambridge 1971, pp. 30-61.

73 The masculine gender of 'beloved', however, paves the way for a personalised interpretation which identifies the Messiah with the 'beloved'.

74 See 'Avircius and the Song of Songs' (n. 63 above). The passages in question are: Justin, Dial. 63; Exegesis on the Soul (CG II) 127.18ff.; Acts of the Martyrs of Lyons, apud Eusebius, H.E. V 1:35; Avircius, epitaph line 8; Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. IV 39:2; Clement, Strom. VI 11:92:1, 15:115:4,

Paed. I 7:59:2, II 10:110:2.

- 75 Similarly, it may be said that the Greek translator of Isa 7:14 opened the way to an understanding that the Messiah would be born of a virgin.
- 76 It might be suggested that there is a distinction between ἀγαπητός and ἡγαπημένος : the former is a title of the Messiah, the latter a title of Israel. But examination of the passages requires the abandonment of this view: the 'Israel' passages in the LXX and Par. Jer. 3:8 have ἡγαπημένος , but so does Barnabas 4:3. It is possible that the idea of the Messiah as the personification of the true Israel underlies the use of this title; compare the suggestion by C. F. D. Moule about the theme of fulfilment in Jesus of various 'Israel' ideas (The Origin of Christology, Cambridge 1977, pp. 127-34). A distinction between the two Greek terms would be artificial, as would a distinction between  and  in the Odes.
- 77 Two examples of this in Christian literature are the Lucan version of Jesus' reply to the Sadducees (20:34ff.) and Orac. Sib. II 327-29; cf. also the Arabic version of the Testament of Abraham translated by W. E. Barnes in: Montague Rhodes James, The Testament of Abraham (Texts & Studies 2), Cambridge 1892, p. 138. The image is studied by Margaret Alexiou and Peter Dronke, 'The Lament of Jephthah's Daughter: themes, traditions, originality', Studi Medievali 3rd ser. 12 (1971), pp. 819-63 (I am

grateful to Mrs Hilary Horne for this reference).

See also Ton J. C. van Eijk, 'Marriage and Virginit, Death and Immortality', in: Jacques Fontaine and Charles Kannengiesser (eds.), Epektasis, Paris 1972, pp. 209-35; Alfred C. Rush, 'Death as a Spiritual Marriage: Individual and Ecclesial Eschatology', Vig. Chr. 26 (1972), pp. 81-101.

- 78 The problems are discussed briefly by J. B. Muddiman, 'Jesus and Fasting (Mark ii. 18-22)', in: J. Dupont (ed.), Jésus aux Origines de la christologie (Bib. Eph. Theol. Lov. 40), Louvain and Gembloux 1975, pp. 271-81, with references to earlier discussions.
- 79 The 'wedding' is a symbol of rejoicing: cf. the use of this image at Jer 7:34, 16:9, etc.
- 80 Cf. Tertullian's rebuke to Marcion: Nuptias non coniungit, coniunctos non admittit, neminem tingit nisi caelibem aut spadonem, morti aut repudio baptisma servat. Quid itaque Christum eius sponsum facis? (Adv. Marc. IV 11:8; cf. IV 34:5).
- 81 See the discussion of Ode 38:9b in Section III of this Chapter.
- 82 There is a little evidence to suggest that 'wedding-feast' may have been a recognised metaphor for the Christian faith: cf. the description in the Acts of the Martyrs of Lyons of non-Christians as 'those who had never enjoyed even a vestige of the faith $\mu\eta\delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \alpha\iota\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\iota\nu\ \epsilon\nu\delta\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \gamma\upsilon\mu\phi\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}\upsilon$ nor a conception of the fear of God' (apud Eusebius, H.E. V 1:48); cf.

the ἑνδύμα γάμου of Matt 22:11-14. However, the metaphor of the feast is extremely rare in second-century Christian literature. Clement quotes the Valentinian idea of heaven as a wedding-feast at Exc. Theod. 63:1f.; cf. also the Song of the Bride, Acts of Thomas 6. The rarity of the metaphor may possibly be due to the memory of Cerinthus, who, according to Dionysius of Alexandria, taught that the kingdom of heaven consisted of a wedding-feast (cf. Eusebius, H.E. III 28:2ff., VII 25:3). Since the metaphor is so rare, it is unsafe to judge that its occurrence at Ode 38:12 carries this full significance.

- 83 There is no need to define this Antichrist and his 'bride' as Simon and Helena (cf. the suggestion of J. Rendel Harris, editio princeps, ad loc.). Even if the historicity of this story be accepted (the source is Justin, I Apol. 26), the question of the relation of Simon to Christianity is too unclear to permit us to read out of Ode 38 the assertion that Simon and Helena were the counterfeit of Christ and the Church. On these problems, see Karl Beyschlag, 'Zur Simon-Magus-Frage', ZThK 68 (1971), pp. 395-426; the most recent study, Michael Goulder, 'The Two Roots of the Christian Myth', in: John Hick (ed.), The Myth of God Incarnate, London 1977, pp. 64-86, is too confident of the historical reliability of the sources dealing with Samaritan religion.

- 84 His reminiscences of New Testament language are discussed in Chapter III, Section II. Much of the material in this Section was presented at Professor M. D. Hooker's New Testament Seminar, Cambridge, on 9 November 1976, in a paper entitled: 'The use of the Old Testament in the Odes of Solomon'. I am grateful to the Revd G. M. Styler for permitting me to consult his minutes.
- 85 To compare the language of the Odes with the Peshitta is not necessarily to imply a late date for the odist. The relation of the Peshitta to the Aramaic versions is considered by Arthur Vööbus, Peschitta und Targumim des Pentateuchs, Stockholm 1958; like the Targums, the Peshitta has a literary pre-history which must be taken into account. On the Targums, see John Bowker, The Targums and Rabbinic Literature, Cambridge 1969; Martin McNamara, Targum and Testament, Grand Rapids 1972.
- 86 For example, when he says,
 'For one hour of thy faith
 excels all days and years'
 (4:5), it is possible that he is alluding to Ps 84:10, 'For a day in thy courts is better than a thousand elsewhere', and consciously altering the reference to the Temple to speak of 'thy faith' (see above, Section I of this Chapter). This, however, seems to me to read too much into the odist's words. His relationship to the canonical

Psalter is not like that of Catullus, C. 51 (Ille mi par esse deo uidetur) to Sappho, fr. 31 Lobel (φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν), which though no mere translation is nevertheless a poem very closely modelled on the Greek. The odist does not write with the Psalter in front of him as a model or as a quarry for phrases; rather, he has so entered into the spirit of the canonical Psalter that he is himself, in his own estimation, a psalmist. The noun (26:12) may equally well be translated 'odists' or 'psalmists'; on the odist's claim to inspiration, see above, Section II of this Chapter. He is a poet writing within the tradition of the Davidic psalter; on this, see further, Chapter III, Section I.

87 See Harris & Mingana, The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, II, pp. 110-25.

88 Ode 28:14,

In order to avoid appearing to prejudge the question of the original language of the Odes, the scriptural passages in this and subsequent footnotes are quoted both according to the LXX and according to the Peshitta. Ps 22:16,

ὅτι ἐκύκλωσάν με κύνες πολλοί,
 συναγωγή πονηρευομένων περιέσχου με.

89 Ode 28:18,

כִּי הָיוּ רַבִּי אֲבִיבִיחַ

Ode 31:9,

וְהָיוּ אֲבִיבִיחַ

Ps 22:18,

διεμερίσθη τὰ ἰμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς
καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμὸν μου ἔβαλον κλήρον.

וְהָיוּ אֲבִיבִיחַ
וְהָיוּ אֲבִיבִיחַ

90 Matt 27:35.39.43.46; Mk 15:24.29.34; Lk 23:34f.;

Jn 19:24; Gospel of Peter IV 12, V 19.

91 Ode 28:9,

כִּי הָיוּ רַבִּי אֲבִיבִיחַ
וְהָיוּ אֲבִיבִיחַ?

Ode 17:6,

וְהָיוּ אֲבִיבִיחַ
וְהָיוּ אֲבִיבִיחַ

Iba 52:14f.,

ὄν τρόπον ἐκστήσονται ἐπὶ σε πολλοί... οὕτως
θαυμάσονται ἔθνη πολλὰ ἐπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ
συνέξουσιν βασιλεῖς τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν.

... וְהָיוּ אֲבִיבִיחַ
וְהָיוּ אֲבִיבִיחַ
וְהָיוּ אֲבִיבִיחַ

92 Cf. Lk 22:37; Acts 8:32-35; 1 Pet 2:22-25;

1 Clement 16:3-16; Barnabas 5:2; Melito, Hom.

4.6.8.64.67.69.71; Acts of Peter 24. It is

especially frequent in Justin (I Apol. 50-51;Dial. 13.14.17.32.36.42.43.49.63.68.72.76.85.88.

89.90.95.97.100.102.110.111.114.118.121.126.137)

and Irenaeus (Dem. 68-70; Adv. Haer. II 28:5,

III 5:1, 11:8, 12:8, 19:2, IV 20:2, 23:2, 33:1.11.12,
V 14:3).

93 See n. 74 above.

94 πάντα ἢ δόξα αὐτῆς θυγατρὸς βασιλέως ἔσωθεν
ἐν κροσσωτοῖς χρυσοῖς περιβεβλημένη πεποικιλμένη
אֵל מִן חַסְדֵי לֵיָוָה לְמַעַן שָׂא
כִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל לְעַלְיוֹת

95 ὡς γυμφίῳ περιέδηκέν μοι μίτραν
καὶ ὡς γύμφην κατέκοσμησέν με κόσμῳ
לְמַעַן שָׂא כִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל לְעַלְיוֹת

This passage underlies Rev 21:1 and Hermas, Vis.

IV 2:1 (see also n. 102 below); cf. also the words
of Marcus, apud Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. I 13:3.

96 Ode 17:10, .

לְמַעַן שָׂא כִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל לְעַלְיוֹת
כִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל לְעַלְיוֹת

Ps 107:16,

ὅτι συνέτριψεν πύλας χαλκαῖς
καὶ μοχλοὺς σιδηροῦς συνέκλασεν
לְמַעַן שָׂא כִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל לְעַלְיוֹת

Cf. also Isa 45:2,

θύρας χαλκαῖς συντρίψω
καὶ μοχλοὺς σιδηροῦς συγκλάσσω
לְמַעַן שָׂא כִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל לְעַלְיוֹת

97 The earliest use of either text is at Barnabas
11:4, where Isa 45:2f. is seen as a prophecy of

baptism.

98 Symbols of Church and Kingdom, Cambridge 1975, p. 327.

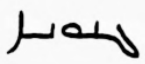
99 καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς νυμφίος ἐκπορευόμενος ἐκ παστού αὐτοῦ,
ἀγαλλιάσεται ὡς γίγας δραμεῖν ὄσον αὐτοῦ.

ܡܘܨܝ ܠܘܟ ܡܘܨܝܐ ܡܘܨܝܐ ܡܘܨܝܐ
ܡܘܨܝܐ ܡܘܨܝܐ ܡܘܨܝܐ ܡܘܨܝܐ

100 'The Text of the Odes of Solomon', JTS 11 (1910),
pp. 573-75. Both Syriac MSS read ܡܘܨܝܐ in
v. 10a, but the two nouns are so close in sound
that the proposed emendation is very slight. Cf.
Ode 15:1 where the Lord is compared to the sun.

101 The object of the verbs in vv. 10f. is the same as
in v. 8a, 'the Son'.

102 The 'bridal-chamber' is frequently found as a
symbol of heaven in second-century Christian
literature: cf. the exegesis of Matt 25:1-13 in
Ep. Ap. 43-45; the teaching of the Valentinians
(apud Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. I 7:1, and Clement, Exc.
Theod. 63:1-65:2); the teaching of the Naassenes
(apud Hippolytus, Ref. V 8:44); GThom 75 (see
W. R. Schoedel, 'Naassene Themes in the Coptic
Gospel of Thomas, Vig. Chr. 14 [1960], pp. 225-34);
GPhil 82, 95 (the 'sacramental' rite of the 'bridal-
chamber', ΝΥΜΦΩΝ or ΠΛΑΤΟΣ, in the Gospel of
Philip [cf., e.g., logia 68, 76, 122] seems best
explained as a rite the object of which was to
abolish sexual differentiation [cf. logion 78] and
which was enacted in a chamber called the 'bridal-

chamber'; see Wayne A. Meeks, 'The Image of the Androgyne: some uses of a Symbol in Earliest Christianity', Hist. Rel. 13 [1973], pp. 165-208, and the discussion of the  of Ode 42:9 in Chapter IV, Section I of this thesis); the third-century epitaph of Flavia Sophe (see G. Quispel, 'L'inscription de Flavia Sophe', in: Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck, S.J., I, Gembloux 1951, pp. 201-14, reprinted in Quispel, Gnostic Studies, I, Leiden 1973). There is an interesting Jewish parallel at Joseph and Asenath 15:7, where we are told of Metanoia: $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\pi\omega\sigma\iota\nu \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\nu$
 $\eta\tau\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\sigma\epsilon \gamma\upsilon\mu\phi\omega\nu\alpha \alpha\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\omicron\nu$ (or, take God as subject and refer $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\nu$ to Metanoia). In view of the extreme difficulty in dating this work, and of the likelihood that it has undergone some degree of Christianisation (however slight), I should judge that one cannot infer from the occurrence of this image in Jos. As. 15:7 that it is in origin a Jewish symbol that has been taken over by second-century Christians: the influence seems to me better accounted for in the opposite direction. The interpretation of Ps 19:5 as speaking of the birth of Christ from Mary is found, for example, in the Advent hymn:

Vergente mundi vespere,
uti sponsus de thalamo
egressus honestissima
Virginis matris clausula.

We should note also the description of the Church in

Hermas, Vis. IV 2:1, as κεκοσμημένη ὡς ἐκ
 νυμφῶνος πορευομένη. This text associates

Ps 19:5 and Isa 61:10 (cf. Tertullian, Adv. Marc. IV 11:7-8, who brings together Ps 19:5, Isa 61:10, 49:8, and Cant 4:8 to demonstrate that Jesus is truly the 'Bridegroom'); the background to this mention of the 'bridal-chamber' may, however, be wider than Ps 19:5 and include the image of Joel 2:16 (cf. also 3 Maccabees 1:18f.).

- 103 It is possible that other christologically-significant allusions to the Old Testament are present in the Odes. For example, at Ode 17:10b, after saying that he has 'shattered the bars of iron', the Saviour says, 'for my fetters (literally, my iron) grew hot and melted before me' (the Syriac is quoted in n. 96 above). There may be here a remote allusion to the story of Samson: cf. Judg 15:14, 'The ropes which were on his arms became as flax that has caught fire, and his bonds melted off his hands'. The verb ܐܘܪܐ is rendered in the Peshitta by ܐܘܪܐ (cf. the δieleύθησαν of Alexandrinus); but with the ܐܘܪܐ of Ode 17:10 we may compare the ἐτάκησαν of Vaticanus. However, there is no evidence elsewhere to suggest an interpretation of Samson as a type of the Messiah at a sufficiently early date. More interesting is a comparison of Ode 42:11f. with Isa 14:9, but again, there is no evidence of

sufficiently early date to provide a useful parallel to this passage.

- 104 The only one of these passages for which a messianic interpretation in pre-Christian Judaism has been asserted is the fourth Servant Song. This is discussed in Chapter IV, Section II.

NOTES

to Chapter III

1. *Journal de la Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France*, 1674-1675, pp. 100-101.
2. *Journal de la Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France*, 1674-1675, pp. 100-101.
3. 'Les cartes de la Nouvelle-France de la Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France', *Journal de la Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France*, pp. 71-100; 'De quelques cartes de la Nouvelle-France: L'auteur des Cartes de la Nouvelle-France', *Journal de la Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France* (1674-1675), *Cartes-Problèmes* (Geneva, 1961, No. 42), Paris 1961, pp. 70-71.
4. 'Les Cartes de la Nouvelle-France et les manuscrits de la Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France', *Journal de la Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France*, pp. 340-480; 'Queques, John, and the Case of Solomon', in J. W. Charleworth (ed.), *John and Queques*, London 1972, pp. 107-16. Cf. also J. C. S. Gibson, 'From Queen to Moses', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society* 5 (1953-55), pp. 24-33, where influence from Queen is asserted but not argued. The essays on this question by Bruce and Rudolph are discussed in Section IV of this Chapter.
5. 'Les cartes de la Nouvelle-France' (n. 3 above), p. 96.
6. *Journal de la Compagnie de la Nouvelle-France*, 1674-1675, pp. 100-101.
7. Israel Dore, *Journal of the History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, 2 vols., New York 1916-17.
8. References to specific literature are given in

NOTESCHAPTER III

- 1 Jean Daniélou, Théologie du Judéo-Christianisme, Tournai 1958, p. 42.
- 2 Michel Testuz, Papyrus Bodmer X-XII, Geneva 1959, pp. 56-58.
- 3 'Les affinités qumrâniennes de la onzième Ode de Salomon', RQ 3 (1961), pp. 71-102; 'Un qumrânien converti au christianisme: l'auteur des Odes de Salomon', in: H. Bardtke (ed.), Qumrân-Probleme (Deutsche Akad. Wiss. Berlin 42), Berlin 1963, pp. 75-108.
- 4 'Les Odes de Salomon et les manuscrits de la mer morte', Rev. Bib. 77 (1970), pp. 522-49; 'Qumran, John, and the Odes of Solomon', in: J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), John and Qumran, London 1972, pp. 107-36. Cf. also J. C. L. Gibson, 'From Qumran to Edessa', Annual of Leeds Oriental Society 5 (1963-65), pp. 24-39, where influence from Qumran is asserted but not argued. The essays on this question by Braun and Rudolph are discussed in Section IV of this Chapter.
- 5 'Les affinités ... ' (n. 3 above), p. 99.
- 6 ... אודך 'הוה ב'...
- 7 Israel Davidson, Thesaurus of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry, 4 vols., New York 1924-33.
- 8 References to Qaraite literature are given in

- 'Un qumranien converti ... ' (n. 3 above), p. 80;
he refers also to 1QH X,14, XI,27.29.32.
- 9 'Un qumranien converti ... ' (n. 3 above), p. 80.
10 Ibid., p. 84.
- 11 According to Carmignac, the words, 'I was older
than their memory' (Ode 28:18b H), must mean that
the odist had lived to an age greater than was
the customary Essene life-expectation (ibid.,
p. 107, n. 25).
- 12 Matt 11:25 and Lk 10:21:
Ἐξομολογούμαι σοι, πάτερ, κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
καὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅτι...
...? ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ
Jn 11:41:
Πάτερ, εὐχαριστῶ σοι ὅτι...
...? ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܐ
- 13 For parallels, cf. the following:
Living water: Cant 4:15, Jer 2:13, 17:13, Zech
14:8; Jn 4:10f., 7:38, Rev 7:17.
Abundance of kindness: Ps 51:1, 86:5, 103:8;
Lk 1:78, Eph 2:4, Jas 5:11, 1 Pet 1:3.
Abysses: Ps 69:15, 107:24, Isa 63:13.
Waves: Ps 42:7, 88:7, Jer 5:22, 51:42.55, Ezek
26:3; Jude 13.
Deliverance from Sheol: Ps 18:5 (2 Sam 22:6),
Ps 16:10 (Acts 2:27), 49:15; cf. Matt 16:18,
Jonah 2:2.
Lack of intelligence: Deut 32:28, Job 17:4, Ps
32:9, Prov 6:32, 28:16, Isa 27:11, Jer 4:22,

5:21; Mk 7:18, Matt 15:16.

Face lit up: cf. Exod 34:29f.35; 2 Cor 3:18,

Rev 10:1; Ps 104:15, Eccles 8:1.

This list is confined to the scriptures and has no claim to be exhaustive. The only one of Carmignac's parallels for which no possible Old Testament source exists is that between Ode 16:18,

לשם שבת : לחי מן מן

and 1QH VII,32,

ומן זולתנה

The meaning of both passages is most probably that nothing happens apart from God's will and his creating power (this is said explicitly at 1QS XI,11 and 1QH I,18.20, X,2.9). However, if the expression at 1QH VII,32 and Ode 16:18 is unparalleled elsewhere, the idea is not: cf. Ps 33:6-9 and Jn 1:1-3 (and see Matt 10:29). There is nothing peculiarly Qumranic in this concept. Ode 36:4 is discussed in Chapter IV, Section II.

- 14 Charlesworth does not attempt to relate images used in the Odes and the Hodayoth to their scriptural background. He compares the use of the image of a dragon's venom at Ode 22:5 and 1QH V,10.27, CD VIII,9, XIX,22: however, whereas in the Scrolls this metaphor speaks of men, and is drawn ultimately from Deut 32:33, in Ode 22 the Saviour speaks of the victory God gave him over the devil, who is traditionally described as a dragon (see R. H. Charles, Revelation, I [International Critical Commentary], Edinburgh

1920, pp. 317-26). Similarly, the parallel between Ode 14:8 ('thy Holy Spirit') and 1QH V,6f., XIV,13, XVI,3, XVII,26 (cf. XVI,2.12, IX,32, XVI,7) should be discussed in the light of Ps 51:11 and the New Testament language about the Holy Spirit. Third, Charlesworth suggests that when the odist calls God אלהים; אלה (7:7), he is dependent on Qumran: cf. the expression אל הדיוק (1QS III,15, 1QH I,26, XII,10); but this expression is not peculiar to Qumran, for (as Charlesworth himself notes) there is a parallel at 1 Sam 2:3, אל דיוק , which is the source of the Qumran phrase. Neither phrase is directly parallel to Ode 7:7a, to which indeed there is no parallel in the Scrolls or Old or New Testaments. Fourth, Charlesworth's claim that the odist's use of the sun as an image of the Lord (11:13, 15:1f.) 'prolonge logiquement la pensée essénienne' ('Les Odes ... ', n. 4 above, p. 540), especially in such passages as 1QH VII,25, ignores the direct precedent for the odist's language in Ps 84:11, 'The LORD God is a sun and shield'; with 1QH VII,25 should be compared Ps 27:1, 'The LORD is my light and my salvation' (Ode 5:11 probably contains a reminiscence of this psalm). In none of these cases is the odist necessarily dependent on Qumran. On the parallel proposed by Charlesworth between Ode 8:10 and 1QH

XI,10, see discussion of the Odes and gnosticism in Section IV of this Chapter.

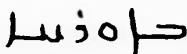

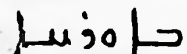
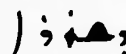
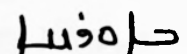
- 15 'Qumran, John ... ', n. 4 above, p. 118.
- 16 Ibid., pp. 130, 131.
- 17 This would certainly be an inappropriate way to speak of the odist's use of the light-darkness paradigm, which is comparable to the Qumranic use only in one passage, 18:6, where 'light' is paralleled by 'truth', and 'darkness' by 'falsehood'. Elsewhere, this imagery is not performing the same functions as in 1QM or 1QS; see above, Chapter II, Section II.
- 18 See J.-P. Audet, 'Affinités littéraires et doctrinales du Manuel de Discipline', Rev. Bib. 59 (1952), pp. 219-38, 60 (1953), pp. 41-82; M. Jack Suggs, 'The Christian Two Ways Tradition: its Antiquity, Form and Function', in: D. E. Aune (ed.), Studies in New Testament and Early Christian Literature (Suppl. to NovT 33), Leiden 1972, pp. 60-74.
- 19 There is no trace in the Odes of the $\kappa\omicron\tau\epsilon\ \dots\ \nu\acute{\omicron}\nu\iota\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$ catechetical pattern found, e.g., at Eph 2:11-22, 5:8, Gal 4:8-10, Rom 7:5f., 11:30. The closest to this Ode 11:20c, but the 'pleasantness' of the Syriac is preferable to the 'kindness' of the Greek, in view of the reference to 'bitterness' in y. 21a. The odist never speaks directly of sin; ܣܚܠܐ (or its converse, $\text{ܣܚܠܐ} \text{ } \text{ܕ} \text{ } \text{ܕ} \text{ } \text{ܕ}$) never has the sense in the Odes of moral

corruption. The transition for the odist is from ignorance to knowledge.

- 20 See discussion in Chapter II, Section II above.
- 21 See above, Chapter II, Section II.
- 22 The author means that God has given to 'his chosen', i.e., the community, 'the lot of the holy ones' and joined them to **בְּנוֹי שָׁמַיִם**. So the community has fellowship with the angels; cf. Col 1:12, Apocalypse of Zosimus 16.
- 23 The other texts to which Charlesworth refers do not support his argument. **הַקְּדוּשִׁים** at CD VI,20 refers to 'holy things' of the community; **בֵּית קוֹדֶשׁ** (1QS VIII,5 IX,6), **קוֹדֶשׁ** (1QS IX,2), and **מֵעֵין קוֹדֶשׁ קוֹדֶשִׁים** (1QS VIII,8) are not paralleled in the Odes directly, although it is arguable that both the community in the Odes and the community at Qumran saw themselves as 'temples' (see discussion of Odes 4 and 6, Chapter II, Section I and n. 9).
- 24 See below, Section II.
- 25 See Shozo Fujita, 'The Metaphor of Plant in Jewish Literature of the Intertestamental Period', JSJ 7 (1976), pp. 30-45. Fujita refers to Pss Sol 14:3-5; 1 Enoch 84:6, 93:5.10; Jubilees 16:26, 36:6; 1QS VIII,5f., CD I,7. Cf. also New Testament passages such as Matt 15:13, 1 Cor 3:9, Jn 15:1ff.
- 26 Documentation in W. Michaelis, art. **ὄδος** in Kittel, TWNT.

27 Cf. the Greek of this verse:

ἘΔΕΔΡΑΜΟΝ ΟΔΟΝ ΑΛΗΘΙΑΣ ΕΝ ΙΡΗΝΗ.

It is possible that the first  (v. 3b) has come in as a scribal error; however, as the text stands in H, there is a rhythmical balance between   and  

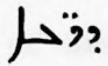
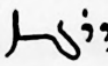
This sort of rhythmical balance is rare in the Odes; there seems no reason to excise it here.

28 The word occurs at 3:10, 7:2.13, 12:6, 17:8, 22:11, 23:15, 24:13, 33:7.8.13, 34:1, 38:7, 41:11, and 42:2, in addition to the three verses mentioned by Charlesworth, and is used in a variety of ways: e.g., at 41:11 it signifies the life of the believer, at 24:13 it signifies the revelation of the knowledge of the Lord. At 23:15 and 38:7 it may be said to have virtually no independent metaphorical significance, as part of a larger metaphor.

29 The consensus of scholars identifies the author with the Teacher of Righteousness, because the ministry described in 1QH best fits this figure. It is not impossible, however, that the Hodayoth should be written ex ore Magistri as some passages in the Odes are written ex ore Christi. For convenience, the author is referred to as 'the Teacher'.

30 ET by Geza Vermes, The Dead Sea Scrolls in English, revised edn., Harmondworth 1968.

- 31 Cf. Ode 38:12-14, and discussion in Section III of this Chapter.
- 32 With these, however, might be compared passages in the Odes which speak of the persecution and vindication of the Saviour, their 'I'-figure.
- 33 Cf. III,19ff., VII,16ff., IX,12ff., X,1ff.34ff., XI,3ff.15ff., XII,11ff., XIII,1ff., XV,10ff., XVI,11ff., XVII,17ff.
- 34 In this section of the Shepherd, it is to the reader that the Shepherd speaks: Hermas stands as a representative Christian. Note the irony of the description of Ἑρμᾶς ὁ ἑγκρατής (Vis. I 2:4), in ^{the}light of what the Shepherd has to say in Mand. IV about sexual purity.
- 35 On the Montanists, cf., e.g., Tertullian, De Pudicitia, who rejects both Callistus' relaxation of penitential discipline (ch. 1; cf. also Hippolytus, Ref. IX 12:20-26) and the Shepherd of Hermas (ch. 20). On the Elchesaites, cf. Hippolytus, Ref. IX 13-17, and Epiphanius, Pan. XIX, XXX. On the Carpocratians, cf. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. I 25:1-6, and Clement, Strom. III 2.
- 36 On fasting as the preliminary to receiving a revelation, cf. the commands to Baruch and his fasting: Syriac Baruch 5:6f., 9:2, 12:5, 20:5 + 21:1, 43:3 + 47:2. Ezra is commanded to fast at 2 Esdras 5:13 and 6:31, but specifically forbidden to fast before a revelation at 9:23. Fasting

- occurs before a revelation in the Shepherd also, at Vis. I 2:1, II 3:2, III 10:6f., and Sim. V 1:1ff. (this Similitude concerns fasting itself: V 2:1-3:9). Cf. also the account in the Muratorian Canon of the composition of John's Gospel; Acts 13:2; Apocalypse of Zosimus 1. This is found in neither Odes nor Hodayoth.
- 37 Cf. also Hippolytus' account of the teaching of the Naassenes (Ref. V 8:6-7).
- 38 It is possible that when he describes the Marcosian sexual orgy, Irenaeus misunderstands the true nature of the Valentinian sacrament of the bridal-chamber (see Chapter II, n. 102, above), in the same way as pagan writers misunderstood the nature of the eucharist and accused Christians of cannibalism. There is also the question of what sources were available to him: on this, see Frederik Wisse, 'The Nag Hammadi Library and the Heresiologists', Vig. Chr. 25 (1971), pp. 205-23.
- 39 At v. 3b, H reads , N reads . The reading of H gives a balanced parallelism with v. 3a, 'And (Truth) became to me a haven of salvation', and may be a reminiscence of Deut 33:27. N's reading does not so well fit the context of the poem, for the odist is not set down anywhere, but goes on a journey with Truth (cf. vv. 5a.7).
- 40 The chariot is mentioned only in the A text;

- in B 8, Michael takes Abraham up 'on a cloud'.
 The cloud is mentioned also in A 10-15, together with angels. On the relationship between the two recensions, see Matthias Delcor, Le Testament d'Abraham, Leiden 1973, pp. 73-78; George W. E. Nickelsburg (ed.), Studies on the Testament of Abraham (SBL Septuagint & Cognate Studies 6), Missoula 1976, pp. 23-137.
- 41 ET by R. H. Charles, The Book of Enoch, London 1917, p. 92.
- 42 Jewish Merkabah mysticism may well be sufficiently early to be considered as part of the background to the 'chariot' of Ode 38. See Gershom G. Scholem, Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition, New York 1960; John W. Bowker, '"Merkabah" Visions and the Visions of Paul', JSS 16 (1971), pp. 157-73.
- 43 Cf. the contexts in which seers ask questions:
 1 Enoch 17:13, 21:4, 22:6.8 (4QEn^d1 xxii 5-7), 23:3 (4QEn^d1 xi 5), 25:1f., 27:1 (4QEn^d1 xii 9), 108:5; Similitudes of Enoch 40:8, 43:3, 46:2, 52:3, 53:4, 54:4, 56:2, 61:2; 2 Esdras 10:37, 12:8, 13:14f.; Syriac Baruch 38:3, 54:6; Greek Baruch 3:4, 4:4, 6:3, 9:3f., 10:7, 12:2; Test. Levi 2:9; Asc. Isa. 7:3, 8:4, 9:3.36; 2 Esdras 2:44-46; Hermas, Vis. II 4:1, III 3:1.4, IV 1:1, and passim; Apocalypse of Peter (Akhmim fragment) 12. Note the reversal of this procedure at Rev 7:13ff. See also Appcalypse of Peter (Nag Hammadi), CG VII 81,5-24.

- 44 Op cit. (n. 2 above), p. 56.
- 45 'Les affinités ... ' (n. 3 above), p. 97. See Carmignac's earlier study, 'Etude sur les procédés poétiques des Hymnes', RQ 2 (1960), pp. 515-32; his views in this article are supported by M. Delcor, Les Hymnes de Qumrân (Hodayot), Paris 1962, pp. 17-19.
- 46 J. H. Charlesworth, A Critical Examination of the Odes of Solomon: Identification, Text, Original Language, Date (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1967), p. 113, affirms that Carmignac's argument 'must be utterly rejected', but his reasoning appears to rest on a misunderstanding of Carmignac's argumentation. 'Les affinités ... ' (n. 3 above) was one of several ^{articles} which Carmignac published opening up 'trial trenches' for investigation into Qumran materials; see also 'Recherches sur la langue originelle des Odes de Salomon', RQ 4 (1963), pp. 429-32. In a letter of 16 May 1977, M. l'Abbé Carmignac has kindly informed me that he has never had the opportunity to follow up his study of the poetic structure of Ode 11 with a study of the Odes as a whole. In 'Un qumrânien converti ... ' (n. 3 above), he suggests that one argument against an interpolation-hypothesis is that to remove 'interpolations' would destroy the strophic pattern of the Odes (p. 78).
- 47 See J. A. Sanders, The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân

- Cave 11 (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan 4), Oxford 1965, pp. 53-76.
- 48 Not entirely so: the Syriac of the third Apocryphal Syriac Psalm is extremely close to the Hebrew of 11QPs^a XXIV,3-17, and preserves its metre: see Sanders, op. cit. (n. 47 above), pp. 72-74.
- 49 'Etude sur les procédés ... ' (n. 45 above), pp. 525-25.
- 50 The 'pronoms-vedettes' in 4:15 and 5:14b cannot be the beginnings of new strophes; similarly, the 'pronom-vedette' in 10:5b occurs in the middle of a connected passage. In Ode 8, the significance of the 'pronoms-vedettes' in vv. 14.18 is unclear, as the basic division of the Ode is into three unequal strophes: vv. 1-7, ex ore odistae; vv. 8-19, ex ore Christi; vv. 20-22, ex ore odistae. Within the middle strophe, it may be the case that vv. 14.18 mark lesser divisions; but this is doubtful. These pronouns are more like the 'pronoms-vedettes' which Carmignac identifies as occurring within strophes at 1QH I,8-9, II,28-29.
- 51 Harris & Mingana, The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, II, ad loc. Note a similar, though much less violent, transition at Ps 67:1-2.
- 52 'Pronoms-vedettes' do survive in translation: note that the pronoun ܘܢܝܢܐ (11QPs^a XXVIII,24) is found both in Syriac (ܘܢܝܢܐ), Apocryphal Ps

- 1:10) and in Greek (ἔγχε , Ps 151:7 LXX). This is the only 'pronom-vedette' in these psalms; the significance of this statistic for our discussion of the relationship of the Odes to the Hodayoth is, however, uncertain. See the suggestion of Patrick W. Skehan, 'Again the Syriac Apocryphal Psalms', CBQ 38 (1976), pp. 143-58, that Pss 152 and 153 were written in Syriac by a Christian in c. the eighth century.
- 53 Divisions within an Ode between material written ex ore Christi and material written ex ore odistae can be discerned with reasonable objectivity, but no other tests of strophic division can be applied securely.
- 54 'Etude sur les procédés ... ' (n. 45 above), p. 530. See his discussion on pp. 528-30.
- 55 There is no consensus among scholars on the question of the basic principles of Hebrew poetic form, and I prescind from such questions here.
- 56 See also discussion of the odist's relationship to the Psalter, Chapter II, Section III above.
- 57 See Hermann Gunkel, Einleitung in die Psalmen, Göttingen 1933. The nearest to^a sapiential psalm is Ode 20.
- 58 Sir 51:13ff. is found in 11QPs^a.
- 59 1 Macc 1:24-28.36-40, 2:7-13, 3:3-9.45.50-53, 7:17.37f., 9:21, 14:4-15. I prescind from the question of whether and to what extent these hymnic passages reflect any actual liturgy; on

- this, see W. Sibley Towner, 'The Poetic Passages of Daniel 1-6', CBQ 31 (1969), pp. 317-26.
- 60 The hymns in the Protevangelium of James (3:1-3, 6:3), though certainly in an Old Testament style, are not intended as part of a liturgy and so do not present a true parallel to a liturgical text such as the Odes of Solomon.
- 61 On the date, see J. Daniélou, 'Le V^e Esdras et le Judéo-Christianisme Latin au Second Siècle', in: J. Bergman et al. (eds.), Ex Orbe Religionum, I (Suppl. to Numen 21), Leiden 1972, pp. 162-71; G. N. Stanton, '5 Ezra and Matthean Christianity in the Second Century', JTS ns 28 (1977), pp. 67-83.
- 62 Cf. also the claim of Tatian, Oratio 33, that Christian hymns are better than Greek poems: it is possible that this is a reference to such poetry.
- 63 See A. Kurfess in Hennecke & Schneemelcher, New Testament Apocrypha, II, ET London 1965, ch. XVII. The most important study remains that of Johannes Geffcken, Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina (Texte u. Untersuchungen 35/1), Leipzig 1902.
- 64 See Junod & Kaestli, 'Les traits caractéristiques de la théologie des "Actes de Jean"', RThPh 3rd ser. 26 (1976), pp. 125-45, at pp. 127-32.
- 65 The hymn of Anna in Prot. Jac. 3:1-3 has a refrain repeated five times: but cf. n. 60 above and n. 67 below. W. C. van Unnik, 'A Note on

- the Dance of Jesus in the Acts of John', Vig. Chr. 18 (1964), pp. 1-5, compares Melito, Hom. 80, and suggests that the dance takes the place in the Acts of John of the Last Supper, and reflects a Jewish passover ritual of dancing. However, it seems more probable that Melito's polemic reflects a traditional accusation against the Jews, rather than an actual liturgical custom: cf. Ps.-Cyprian, Adv. Jud. 40 (Ducebas choreas, Hierusalem, cum interficeretur Christus: faustis uocibus cantus dabas, cum diceres: 'adfige, suspende'), and the remarks of Dirk van Damme, Pseudo-Cyprian Adversus Iudaeos (Paradosis 22), Freiburg Schweiz 1969, pp. 57-63. Such accusations became stereotyped: cf. the remarks of Ep. Diogn. 3:5 on Jewish Temple sacrifices.
- 66 As yet no fully critical edition of the Testament of Job exists, incorporating the Coptic fragments. See S. P. Brock, Testamentum Iobi, Leiden 1967. The state of research is discussed by A.-M. Denis, Introduction aux Pseudépigrapbes Grecs de l'Ancien Testament, Leiden 1970, pp. 100-5.
- 67 Such a response does exist, in the laments at Test. Job 25:1ff., 32:1ff.
- 68 'Jewish Gnosis and Mandaean Gnosticism', in: Jacques-É. Ménard (ed.), Les Textes de Nag Hammadi (Nag Hammadi Studies 7), Leiden 1975, pp. 82-122.

- 69 See further, Concluding Section of this Chapter.
- 70 See above, Chapter II, Section III.
- 71 See, e.g., A. F. J. Klijn, 'The Influence of Jewish Theology on the Odes of Solomon and the Acts of Thomas', in: Marcel Simon (ed.), Aspects du Judéo-Christianisme, Paris 1965, pp. 167-79.
- 72 The case for taking vv. 1-5 as ex ore odistae and vv. 6-16 as ex ore Christi has been put above in Chapter II, n. 39; see also below, Chapter IV, Section II.
- 73 It is possible that this imitatio Christi takes place in the waters of baptism: see n. 84 below.
- 74 See Chapter IV, Section III.
- 75 Cf. the use of)A at 27:2 and 42:1; it is possible that the word may carry the same signification at 29:7 also.
- 76 An Old Testament precedent for a hymn of victory after deliverance from the waters is Exod 15:1ff.; cf. also Ps 124. It is possible that in Ode 39 the image of the Saviour's walking on the water carries overtones of his role in creation, for this image is drawn ultimately from a creation myth in which a battle takes place between the conqueror god and the chaos-monster. Cf. Test. Asher 7:3, where, if the reading $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota} \tau\omicron\upsilon \acute{\upsilon}\delta\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ of MS g be accepted, the patriarch predicts that the Most High will come and 'crush the head of the dragon on the water' (a number of clauses in

this passage are usually excised as Christian interpolations designed to make this a prediction of the Incarnation; among these is the reading $\delta\iota' \text{ ὕδατος}$ of most MSS, which looks like an allusion to baptism). Here, the eschatological conflict in which the power of evil is decisively overturned will be a repetition of the original battle. (See the discussion of this theme in my 'Coptic Evidence of Jewish Messianic Beliefs (Apocalypse of Elijah 2:5-6)', forthcoming in Rivista degli Studi Orientali.) At Ode 22:5, in language reminiscent of Gen 3:15, the Saviour gives thanks to God that he has 'overthrown at my hands the dragon with seven heads'. In the immediate context, this refers to his victory over the forces of evil during his earthly ministry, but the imagery takes us back to the primeval battle with the dragon. On the Saviour's role in creation, cf. Ode 8:12ff., and (if we have a genuine hypostatisation here) Odes 12 and 16.

77 H omits ἰσοστατοῦς , but the pregnant play on words in vv. 1a and 1b in N suggests that we should prefer the longer reading.

78 My translation of v. 4a is designedly ambiguous, to cover either reading: see the note of Charlesworth ad loc. (The Odes of Solomon, p. 99, n. 4).

79 See Charlesworth, ibid., p. 99, n. 8.

- 80 The questions are too complex to be discussed here. Bibliographical information is given by Daniel Alain Bertrand, Le Baptême de Jésus: Histoire de l'exégèse aux deux premiers siècles (Beitr. z. Geschichte der biblischen Exegese 14), Tübingen 1973, ch. 1.
- 81 If this suggestion is correct, it may help to explain the occurrence of the noun λυσιος in Ode 19:11a, 'And she loved with (or, in) redemption': the odist speaks of the virginal conception of the Saviour as the occasion when redemption came, and the Son was given to the world.
- 82 Bertrand, who discusses these two passages (op. cit., n. 80 above, pp. 30-32), suggests that Ignatius empties the baptism and anointing of any historical content or 'valeur intrinsèque'. However, as with the language of the odist, Ignatius' presentation of the symbolic significance of an event need not mean the elimination of its 'historical' character.
- 83 See the discussion by Bertrand, op. cit. (n. 80 above), pp. 102-8.
- 84 Note also the comparison of the Lord to the sun at Odes 11:13, 15:1f. Bertrand suggests (op. cit., n. 80 above, p. 25, n. 4) that one of the influences on the odist and Melito in their association of baptism and descensus is the use of baptism as a metaphor to speak of the death

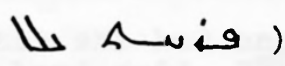
of Christ (cf. Mk 10:38, Lk 12:50). With the odist and Melito, however, the point that is made seems not that the baptism of Jesus is an anticipation of his death (this may possibly be what Ignatius means at Eph. 18:2), but that it is proper to speak of the baptism in terms appropriate to the descensus because one may stand as the symbol of the other. The paraenetic link between baptism and death (cf. Rom 6:3ff., Col 2:11ff.) is, obviously, part of the background against which the link between baptism and descensus may be made by Christian writers, but the two nexus are distinct. It is possible, as suggested in n. 73 above, that these two nexus are brought together in Ode 39, if the 'waters' which believers cross are to be understood in a more literal fashion, as the waters of baptism, rather than in a more metaphorical fashion, as the turbulent waters of the errors of this world (cf. 18:11). This is not, however, a suggestion that can be substantiated with the help of other evidence from the Odes, and so must be judged doubtful.

85 The fragments of Heracleon's commentary are preserved by Origen in his commentary on John; there is a further allusion in Photius, Ep. 134. These fragments are presented and discussed by Yvonne Janssens, 'Héracleon. Commentaire sur

- l'Évangile selon Saint Jean', Muséon 72 (1959), pp. 101-51, 277-99.
- 86 Cf. also fr. 12, on Jn 2:13.
- 87 See Elaine H. Pagels, The Johannine Gospel in Gnostic Exegesis: Heracleon's Commentary on John (SBL Monographs 17), Nashville & New York 1973; however, the most interesting parallel, the long allegorical exposition of the parable of the ten virgins (Matt 25:1ff.) in Ep. Ap. 43-45, is not discussed in this book. Heracleon, the disciple of Valentinus, worked in the third quarter of the second century. His exposition of John is in terms of a Valentinian theology (cf., e.g., fr. 11, quoted in text of the Chapter) which controls his allegorisation.
- 88 On Ignatius, see J. Smit Sibinga, 'Ignatius and Matthew', NovT 8 (1966), pp. 263-83. Melito alludes rather than quotes.
- 89 I am not concerned to argue the 'historicity' of any of these details, but simply to compare the story told about Jesus in the gospels with what can be reconstructed of a story of the Saviour in the Odes.
- 90 See Chapter IV, Section III.
- 91 The only references to this in the New Testament are at 1 Pet 3:19, 4:6.
- 92 The first-person discourses of the fourth gospel do provide in some respects a formal parallel to

these meditations in the Odes, but they are set in the lifetime of Jesus and do not speak of his passion. See the second part of this Section.

- 93 The passage presents slight ambiguities. It seems better to take the)o sh of v. 12a as governed by the ; which governs the two verbs in v. 11c, and so as part of the same purpose-clause. In v. 12c, the second-person singular verb of H seems to fit the context of vv. 11f. les well than N's third-person feminine singular, which makes the 'rock' the dwelling-place of the saints.
- 94 E.g., Harris, editio princeps, ad loc.; Edouard Massaux, Influence de l'évangile de saint Matthieu sur la littérature chrétienne avant saint Irénée (Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis 2nd ser. 42), Louvain 1950, p. 207.
- 95 A brief survey of the problems, which are too complex to be discussed here, is presented by Raymond E. Brown et al. (eds.), Peter in the New Testament, London 1974, pp. 83-101.
- 96 Note the use of the same metaphor at 1QH VI,22-29. Again, there is an ambiguity in the context: is the Teacher himself the 'rock', or does he say no more than that the foundations of his community are solidly established by God as on a rock? On the relationship of this passage to the concept at Matt 16:18, see Otto Betz, 'Felsenmann und

- Felsengemeinde', ZNW 48 (1957), pp. 44-77.
- 97 See the suggestion by Robert Murray, Symbols of Church and Kingdom, Cambridge 1975, p. 240.
- 98 Neither 18:3 nor 23:12 can be read in this sense.
- 99 Dr J. C. O'Neill has suggested to me that this 'tradition' is created on the basis of Isa 66:7, 'Before she was in labour she gave birth; before her pain came upon her she was delivered of a son'.
- 100 Cf. Isa 53:7.
- 101 This was first suggested by Harris, editio princeps, pp. 124-25; see also Hugo Duensing, 'Zur vierundzwanzigsten der Oden Salomos', ZNW 12 (1911), pp. 86-87, and most recently, James H. Charlesworth, 'Tatian's Dependence upon Apocryphal Traditions', Heythrop Journal 15 (1974), pp. 5-17. Apart from the parallel noted by Harris between the language of Ode 24:1 (... ) and the language of Justin, Dial. 88 (ἐπιπτῆναι ἐπ' αὐτόν κτλ), no second-century parallel exists to the details that the dove 'sang' (Ode 24:2) and that 'the inhabitants feared, and the sojourners were shaken' (v. 3); note, however, the suggestion by Charlesworth (art. cit., pp. 14-16), based on the Latin MSS a and g¹, which speak of those who see Jesus' baptism becoming afraid (ita ut timerent omnes ...), that this is a trait of the Tatianic account of the baptism, and that the odist draws on similar traditions to

those used by Tatian. See also Stephen Gero, 'The Spirit as a Dove at the Baptism of Jesus', NovT 18 (1976), pp. 17-35.

- 102 Since I do not believe that a 'maximalist' historical understanding of Ode 24 is tenable (see my discussion in text of the Chapter), I am reluctant to agree with Charlesworth (see n. 101 above) that the reference in v. 3 to fear is truly parallel to the reference to fear in the Latin MSS a and g¹.
- 103 Later forms of this agraphon are found in Acts of Thomas 147 and Acts of Philip 140; see also Aelred Baker, 'The "Gospel of Thomas" and the Syriac "Liber Graduum"', NTS 12 (1965-66), pp. 49-55.
- 104 Compare the form in the Gospel of The Egyptians:
 'When Salome asked when what she had enquired about would be known, the Lord said, "When you have trampled on the garment of shame and when the two become one and the male with the female neither male nor female"'.
 Cf. also GThom 37.
- 105 The encratism of the Gospel of Thomas is discussed below in Chapter IV, Section I, especially n. 21. GPhil 69 is extremely obscure, because lines 30-38 of p. 115 of the MS and line 1 of p. 116 have lacunae which make the sense of the whole impossible to follow. The logion offers an explanation of Jesus' words, in the same manner as GPhil 17, 23, 72, and 97 (cf. also

GPhil 94). The words of Jesus here are clearly the same agraphon as in the four other second-century texts, but while it seems to be the case that the author is offering an explanation in order to counter alternative explanations, it is not possible to say anything with confidence about how those whom he refutes took the agraphon. In the context of his own theology, an encratite interpretation is highly probable.

- 106 The association of the female with 'lust' is itself an indication of how firmly-rooted the sexual interpretation of this logion was.
- 107 'Birth Upside Down or Right Side Up?', Hist. Rel. 9 (1969-70), pp. 281-303. (This article is discussed further in Section IV of this Chapter). It is probable that here Peter speaks in some sense with the voice of Christ: as in the Acts of Thomas, characteristics properly belonging to the redeemer can be attributed to the apostle (for examples, see Rudolf Bultmann, 'Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis des Johannesevangeliums', ZNW 24 [1925], pp. 100-46). So Peter can say that in his own being crucified upside-down, the fall of Adam is reversed.
- 108 The most recent discussion of this is by Karl Paul Donfried, The Setting of Second Clement in Early Christianity (Suppl. to NovT 38), Leiden 1974, pp. 75-77, 152-54. If Donfried's dating

- in the first century is correct, 2 Clement 12:2 is the earliest attestation of this logion.
- 109 See Chapter IV, Section I.
- 110 On the translation of ἰκανοῦ (v. 1), see Charlesworth, The Odes of Solomon, ad loc.
- 111 The passive in v. 3a is a so-called 'divine passive'; cf. Ps 125:2.
- 112 'A Note on Ode of Solomon XXXIV,4', JTS 37 (1936), pp. 172-75.
- 113 The concern for single-mindedness is not a datable theme. The ethical concerns of the odist here and in Ode 20 locate him within a tradition of Jewish and Judaeo-Christian ethical writing: cf. also James, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the Shepherd of Hermas.
- 114 It is possible that the obscurity of Ode 28:16, 'But I was carrying water in my right hand', may be lessened by a comparison with Ep. Ap. 27, in which Jesus seems to say that he descended into Sheol to baptise the dead with the water of his right hand: but the text of the Epistula Apostolorum is itself so obscure here, with variants between Coptic and Ethiopic, that one cannot do more than raise the possibility that in Ode 28 the Saviour carried water in his right hand so that when he descended into Sheol he might baptise the dead (note the reference to the baptism of the dead in Sheol in Hermas, Sim. IX 16:1-7, though there it is the apostles who

descend). Another possibility is raised by GPhil 65, that the water was to be used to put out the flames (of the Saviour's persecutors); but reconstruction of the lacunae in the text here is so difficult that the suggestion that Ode 28:16 be read in the light of this logion cannot be established.

115 Such kerygmatic summaries were not an invention of the second century: see, e.g., C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and its Development, London 1936. But the almost biographical interest of the second-century summaries does not seem to be found in those first-century summaries which can be reconstructed (e.g., 2 Tim 2:8ff.). The most useful parallels to help locate the odist are therefore second-century.

116 Although in its present form the Acts of Thomas is to be dated in the third century, it incorporates earlier material (e.g., the Hymn of the Pearl) which may be used in a discussion of second-century Christianity.

117 These passages are discussed by J. N. D. Kelly, Early Christian Creeds, London ³1972, ch. 3.

118 The table is given on the next page.

The only feature found in all summaries is the cross (The summary in Ps.-Clement is pre-Easter); the descent, virginal conception, healings, raising of the dead, teaching, and resurrection are found in a wide scatter of texts.

Table to n. 118.

	Asc. Isa. 3	Asc. Isa. 11	Ep. Ap.	Orac. Sib. I	Orac. Sib. VI	Orac. Sib. VIII	Acts of Peter 7	Actw of Thomas 47	Melito, Hom.	Justin, I Apol. 31	Ps.-Clémentines	(ODES OF SOLOMON)
descent	x		x	x	x	x	x					x
virginal conception		x	x			x	x		x	x		x
baptism				x	x	x						x
walks on water			x	x	x	x	x					x
healings			x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	
demons cast out			x	x								
lepers cured			x						x		x	
dead raised			x	x	x			x	x	x		
loaves multiplied			x	x	x	x		x				
teaches	x		x	x	x			x			x	
persecution	x	x				x	x			x		x
cross	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
burial	x		x					x	x			
descensus		x				x						x
resurrection	x	x	x			x			x	x		x
sends out gospel	x	x				x				x		
ascension		x				x				x		x

Note: Through error, there are no pp. 245-54:
p. 255 follows p. 244 directly.

With the account of the resurrection in Asc. Isa. 3, cf. the account at Ev. Pet. IX 34ff.: we seem to have the same story presented in a different way; with the reference to Jesus at school in Nazareth in Ep. Ap. 4, cf. the reference in the summary in Acts of Thomas 79 (on the story, see my 'Jesus and the Alphabet', JTS ns 27 [1976], pp. 126-28); with the reference in Acts of Thomas 47 to Jesus' speaking three words to Thomas, cf. GThom 13.

- 119 Mr Morrison is working with Professor C. K. Barrett at the University of Durham. I am grateful to him for the opportunity to discuss the Odes on several occasions and for a summary statement of his conclusions.
- 120 Hence, I shall not discuss the parallels noted in the article mentioned in n. 121 below.
- 121 'The Odes of Solomon and the Gospel of John', CBQ 35 (1973), pp. 298-322.
- 122 See, e.g., H. Gressmann, 'Die Oden Salomos', in: E. Hennecke (ed.), Neutestamentliche Apokryphen, Tübingen ²1924, pp. 437-72; Edouard Massaux, op. cit. (n. 94 above), pp. 209-14.
- 123 For example, the discussion by Charlesworth and Culpepper of the concept of 'living water' (art. cit., n. 121 above, pp. 311-13) does not take sufficient account of this possibility (see n. 13 above).
- 124 ⲓⲛⲓⲛ is used in this sense at 8:8, 9:3, 18:4, 24:9, and 42:12; ⲓⲛⲓⲛ at 10:1, 12:8,

15:9, and 29:9.10.

- 125 Similarly, the language of the odist never provides an exact parallel to the language of the Old Testament: this, however, does not mean that he is uninfluenced by the Old Testament, or ignorant of it. See above, Chapter II, Section III.
- 126 Ode 12 contains further conceptual parallels to the Johannine Prologue: the odist speaks of the role of the Word in giving light to men (vv. 3.7), and his role in creation may be signified in v. 10 (here, however, the pronoun in v. 10b may refer rather to the 'Most High' of vv. 4.11).
- 127 See Chapter IV, Section II.
- 128 See Chapter IV, Section II.
- 129 See above in the first part of this Section.
- 130 The precise meaning of this Ode is extremely obscure, and is only partially clarified by parallels in other Odes. With v. 3a may be compared 10:4a; it is possible that the 'holy power of the Most High' is the Holy Spirit (the only passage in the Odes which might support such an interpretation of الله, however, is 29:9, where the parallelismus membrorum is better understood as equating 'word' - here الله - and 'power'). With 32:3b may be compared 31:11, speaking of the imperturbability of the Saviour in his passion (cf. also 31:10, 35:3f., where the same root is used). 32:2, however, is unparalleled in the Odes, and if it is correctly

rendered, 'the Word of truth who is self-originate' (so Harris, Charlesworth), it is difficult to fit this Ode into the pattern suggested by the other references to the hypostatized Word of the Father.

- 131 The idea of the Word become flesh in a man who is the Saviour is not found earlier than the Prologue to the fourth gospel (I prescind entirely from the questions of whether and to what extent the Prologue as we now have it is the reworking of a Christian or pre-Christian hymn; see n. 137 below). The occurrence of this idea in second-century Christian authors (e.g., Ep. Ap. 39) does not present a significant parallel to the occurrence in the Odes inasmuch as it is implausible to argue that so late an occurrence is wholly independent of Johannine influence (in the case of the Epistula Apostolorum, the implausibility of such a claim is increased by the reference in Ep. Ap. 5 to the marriage at Cana). The fullest discussion of second-century use of John is by F.-M. Braun, Jean le Théologien et son Evangile dans l'Eglise Ancienne, Paris 1959, pp. 69-296. Braun's study is in part a reaction against the study by J. N. Sanders, The Fourth Gospel in the Early Church, Cambridge 1943, but he is aware of the danger of placing too much weight on tenuous evidence (see, e.g., his remarks on p. 173).

- 132 I should prefer to omit the Seyame points on ⲓⲛⲁ; in v. 9a (see below, Chapter IV, n. 4), but here follow the MS reading with Charlesworth and Culpepper.
- 133 Art. cit. (n. 121 above), pp. 302-4.
- 134 See below, Chapter IV, Section I.
- 135 Other parallels might be adduced as evidence of a conceptual relationship: see Charlesworth and Culpepper, art. cit. (n. 121 above), p. 314. On Charlesworth's 'Qumran, John, and the Odes of Solomon', in: J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), John and Qumran, London 1972, pp. 107-36, see below in Concluding Section of this Chapter. Since none of these parallels is significantly different from the two I have briefly discussed, and since these questions are treated by Mr Alan Morrison in his forthcoming dissertation, I have not thought it necessary to discuss them in detail here.
- 136 This is the thesis of Harnack (see Chapter I) and of Bultmann (see Section IV below).
- 137 The evidence would permit us to conclude either that the Odes bear the marks of a relationship with the fourth gospel and first epistle of John as we now have them, or that the Odes bear the marks of a relationship with the written sources incorporated by processes of redaction into the finished Johannine texts we have. (The existence of such written sources is, of course, matter for

- conjecture, and no consensus among scholars may be said to exist on this problem.) Equally, we might conclude that the Odes are influenced by the oral diffusion of Johannine ideas: the evidence is not such as to imply the conclusion that the odist knew written Johannine sources. I hope to demonstrate that the odist has affinities to a number of second-century Christian writers who were influenced by Johannine ideas; but since the manner of the diffusion of these ideas in the early second century is a highly obscure problem, the question of precisely what channel(s) transmitted these ideas to the odist must be left open.
- 138 The implausibility arises from the length of time between the completion of the fourth gospel and the writings of men like Tatian or Irenaeus. On the date of John, see, e.g., Raymond E. Brown, The Gospel According to John, I, London 1971, pp. LXXX-LXXXVI.
- 139 It is, however, probable that Jn 21 identifies the two. In v. 2, we are told that the sons of Zebedee accompany Simon, and when the Beloved Disciple speaks in v. 7 it is assumed that he is on the scene.
- 140 There is some evidence of such an oral tradition. See the references to John's leaning on Jesus' breast and to his wearing priestly vestments in the letter of Polycrates to Victor (apud Eusebius, H.E. V 24:3), and to John's encountering Cerinthus at the baths (Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. III 3:4). At

Quis Dives Salvetur? 42, Clement says explicitly that he is quoting a story handed down orally. Oral tradition may be the source of the allusions to John's discovery of the unreality of flesh in the Adumbrationes of Clement on 1 Jn 1:1, and of allusion in the Hypotyposesis to the story of the baptism of the apostles (apud John Moschus, Pratum Spirituale 176 [PG 87,3:3045]; on this story, see my 'Who Baptised the Apostles? Notes on a second-century Controversy', forthcoming in Elizabeth A. Livingstone [ed.], Studia Patristica [Texte u. Untersuchungen], Berlin).

141 Op. cit. (n. 131 above), pp. 160-70.

142 This parallel is discussed in Section III below.

143 There is no reason to doubt the statement of the Muratorian Canon that the Shepherd was written at Rome in the pontificate of Pius (i.e., in the 140's; pace John A. T. Robinson, Redating the New Testament, London 1976, pp. 319-22, who suggests a much earlier date, largely because of the reference to Clement at Vis. II 4:3); I prescind here from discussion of the suggestion by S. Giet, Hermas et les Pasteurs, Paris 1963, of a process of redaction which has incorporated originally separate works into the Shepherd as we now have it. A Roman provenance does not imply theological isolation: cf., e.g., Jean Daniélou, The Theology of Jewish Christianity, ET London 1964, pp. 36-39, and Section I of this Chapter. Nor

need a Roman provenance at such an early date imply ignorance of John: cf. Braun, op. cit. (n. 131 above), pp. 135-80, and my article mentioned in n. 139 above.

144 I have discussed the second-century christological use of the Song of Songs in 'Avircius and the Song of Songs', Vig. Chr. 31 (1977), pp. 23-34. The closest to an ethical or paraenetic use is by Clement, Paed. I 5 (alluding to Cant 2:9); he quotes Prov 8:17 in a paraenetic context at Strom. II 83:2.

145 Again, I must specify precisely what I believe the evidence suggests. It is quite possible that the idea found at 1 Jn 4:19, Ode 3:3, and Ep. Diogn. 10:2f. was widely diffused as a moral axiom; it is also possible that all three authors depend on a lost written source (cf., e.g., the suggestion of J. C. O'Neill, The Puzzle of 1 John, London 1966, pp. 54-60, that this section of 1 John is reworking a pre-Christian source; a cognate idea is expressed in the Letter of Aristeas 229). The discovery of such a source, or of wider attestation of the axiom, would, of course, overturn my argument. In the present state of knowledge, the best explanation of this parallel seems to me that the odist and the apologist depend ultimately on 1 John.

146 The closeness of his allusions varies; but he alludes to written letters at Phil. 3:2, 11:3,

- thus making it improbable that the same sort of oral diffusion of patterns of catechesis based on Paul or 1 Peter can be invoked to explain the parallels here as can be invoked to explain the parallels to John in early second-century authors.
- 147 This attribution is first found in Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. III 1:1, and in the Muratorian Canon. A brief survey of the modern discussion is in Brown, op. cit. (n. 138), pp. LXXXVII-CIV.
- 148 It has been suggested, both by Sanders (op. cit., n. 131 above, p. 14), and by Braun (op. cit., n. 131 above, pp. 284-85), that Phil. 5:2 alludes to Jn 5:21.25, 6:44; Braun sees further allusions, at Phil. 1:2 and 12:3 to Jn 15:5, and at Phil. 2:2 to Jn 14:21.31, 15:10. He admits, however, that the evidence of literary dependence is insufficiently strong (op. cit., p. 285). These parallels would need to be taken into account in an exhaustive study of the relationship of Polycarp to John; here, as with the parallels in Hermas to John (see n. 141 above), I prescind from any discussion of them to concentrate on the much more significant parallel at Phil. 7:1.
- 149 No Greek manuscript has a singular verb in Jn 1:13. Irenaeus may have known a text with a singular verb (cf. Adv. Haer. III 16:2, 19:2, V 1:3), but since he does not claim to be quoting the scriptures in these three passages, it is perhaps more likely that he has deliberately altered the Johannine text

for christological purposes. Similarly, if we judge it probable that Justin knew the text of John, we must leave open the question of which verb he read.

150 The concept of logos is extremely important for Justin: see, most recently, Eric Francis Osborn, Justin Martyr (Beitr. z. historischen Theologie 47), Tübingen 1973.

151 One other parallel merits attention. At Dial. 88, speaking of the baptism of Jesus, Justin quotes John the Baptist's denial that he is the Christ:
 Οὐκ εἰμι ὁ Χριστός, ἀλλὰ φωνὴ βοῶντος.

We may compare Jn 1:20.23. This passage, however, cannot simply be attributed (at whatever level of knowledge) to the influence of the fourth gospel: we have the extra-canonical tradition of the fire being kindled in the Jordan, a quotation from Ps 2:7, and reminiscence in the Baptist's speech of Matt 3:11 (+ Mk 1:7, Lk 3:16). The influence of oral traditions about Jesus cannot be ruled out.

152 By using the word 'plausibly', I do not intend to assert that this hypothesis is the correct one; only, that it does remain a possible explanation of the relationship.

153 A parallel would be logia which are found both in the synoptic gospels and in John (cf. Jn 13:16 and Matt 10:24, Lk 6:40; Jn 13:20 and Matt 10:40), or both in the synoptic gospels and in the Gospel of

Thomas (this seems to me better explained by 'floating' traditions than by direct use of the gospels by the redactor of Thomas). P. Egerton 2 may provide some evidence for the 'floating' of logia found in John, but the precise relationship of this text to the canonical gospels is difficult to determine: see H. Idris Bell and T. C. Skeat, Fragments of an Unknown Gospel, London 1935, and G. Mayeda, Das Leben-Jesu Fragment: Papyrus Egerton 2 und seine Stellung in der christlichen Literaturgeschichte, Berne 1946. On extra-canonical logia, see Joachim Jeremias, Unbekannte Jesusworte, Gütersloh ³1963; see the cautions of Aelred Baker, 'Justin's Agraphon in the Dialogue with Trypho', JBL 87 (1968), pp. 277-87. The suggestion by Gilles Quispel of links between John and the Gospel of Thomas glides casually over so many highly-complicated problems in the field of Christian origins that no confidence may be placed in it (see 'Gnosis and the new Sayings of Jesus', in: idem, Gnostic Studies, II, Leiden 1975, pp. 180-209, and 'Qumran, John, and Jewish Christianity', in: J. H. Charlesworth [ed.], John and Qumran, London 1972, pp. 137-55, reprinted as 'John and Jewish Christianity' in Gnostic Studies, II, pp. 210-29). The occurrence of such 'floating' logia implies no literary connection between the texts which quote them: so, for example, the presence of the agraphon discussed in the first part of this

- Section in five writers (and possibly in Ode 34) of the second century does not in itself imply anything about the inter-relationship of the texts.
- 154 J. de Zwaan, 'Ignatius and the Odist', American Journal of Theology 15 (1911), pp. 617-25; Harris & Mingana, The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, II, pp. 40-49; C. F. Burney, The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel, Oxford 1922, pp. 159-66; R. M. Grant, 'The Odes of Solomon and the Church of Antioch', JBL 63 (1944), pp. 363-77; Virginia Corwin, Saint Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch, New Haven 1960.
- 155 The Greek MS reads, 'I drank and I became intoxicated with the immortal water': the verbal parallel to Ignatius here is therefore not so close as in the Syriac. The meaning is identical, however, and since the significant thing is not that the water is 'living' but that it is 'speaking' (ἁλλοῦν, λαλοῦν), this variant does not seriously affect the status quaestionis. Both Ode 11:6 Greek and Ignatius use the participle λαλοῦν.
- 156 See discussion in Section II of this Chapter.
- 157 It is, however, arguable that all four writers depend ultimately on a logion of Jesus transmitted to each independently.
- 158 The phrase is de Zwaan's (art. cit., n. 154 above), p. 625.

- 159 Hermann Gunkel, 'Die Oden Salomos', ZNW 11 (1910), pp. 291-328. References to later writers are given by J. H. Charlesworth, 'The Odes of Solomon - Not Gnostic', CBQ 31 (1969), pp. 357-69, at pp. 357-59, nn. 2-13.
- 160 The Messina Colloquium on Gnosticism in 1966 proposed a distinction between 'gnosticism' and 'gnosis', reserving the former term for the developed systems of thought and using the latter for the movement in thought which emphasised 'knowledge of the divine mysteries reserved for an elite': see U. Bianchi (ed.), Le Origini dello Gnosticismo (Suppl. to Numen 12), Leiden 1967, p. xxvi.
- 161 4:8; on 36:4 see Chapter IV, Section II.
On 14:5, see Chapter II, n. 41.
- 162 See Chapter IV, Section I.
- 163 See Chapter II, Section III.
- 164 'Die Bedeutung ... ' (n. 107 above). See also Jack T. Sanders, The New Testament Christological Hymns (SNTS Monographs 15), Cambridge 1971, pp. 101-20.
- 165 See, e.g., Bultmann, art. cit. (n. 107 above); Kurt Rudolph, 'War der Verfasser der Oden Salomos ein "Qumran-Christ"?', RQ 4 (1964), pp. 523-55, linking especially the Odes, the Scrolls, and the Mandaean literature.
- 166 The cautions of R. McL. Wilson, Gnosis and the New Testament, Oxford 1968, are representative of

- this school. It is perhaps fair to say that this book is an example of the aporia in which the Anglo-Saxon scholar is liable to find himself when confronted with the problems of gnostic literature.
- 167 Carsten Colpe, Die Religionsgeschichtliche Schule: Darstellung und Kritik ihres Bildes vom gnostischen Erlösermythus (FRLANT, ns 60), Göttingen 1961.
- 168 The ease with which Edwin Yamauchi, Pre-Christian Gnosticism, London 1973, makes this move is quite unjustifiable.
- 169 See, e.g., Charles H. Talbert, 'The Myth of a Descending-Ascending Redeemer in Mediterranean Antiquity', NTS 22 (1975-76), pp. 418-39 (his discussion includes the Odes). The study of R. Abramowski, 'Der Christus der Salomooden', ZNW 35 (1936), pp. 44-69, remains valuable despite the change in our knowledge of gnosis and gnosticism resulting from the Nag Hammadi discovery.
- 170 'Birth Upside Down ... ' (n. 107 above).
- 171 Ibid., p. 285, n. 12. See his discussion on pp. 293-99.
- 172 A sociological analysis of the adherents of gnostic groups would be valuable; but the study by Henry Alan Green, 'Suggested Sociological Themes in the Study of Gnosticism', Vig. Chr. 31 (1977), pp. 169-80, suggests that we do not have the materials even to begin answering the

- necessary questions.
- 173 Cf. 1QH XI,10; but, pace Rudolph (art. cit., n. 165 above), Charlesworth is surely correct to argue that the knowledge offered by the Saviour in the Odes is not a gnostic knowledge of the self, but the revelation of God (art. cit., n. 159 above).
- 174 Cf. 8:21, 9:5.12, 14:5, 17:15, 26:9, 31:12, 33:10f., 34:6, 38:2.17, 42:18, and the occurrences of יְהוָה, 41:11, 42:18, and of יְהוָה, 5:11, 11:3, 15:6, 18:7, 31:13, 34:6, 35:2, 38:3, 40:5 (on 19:11, see n. 81 above). On 17:2.4, see Chapter II, n. 39; at 25:2.4 and 35:7, the speaker may be the Saviour, but may equally well be the odist.
- 175 So Alfred Adam, Die Psalmen des Thomas und das Perlenlied als Zeugnisse vorchristlicher Gnosis (BZNW 24), Giessen 1959, p. 34, n. 13.
- 176 יְהוָה in v. 18a is ambiguous. A similar ambiguity is found in the יְהוָה of 10:6c, where, however, the context speaks of the salvation of the Gentiles (vv. 4-6) and suggests the translation, 'my people'. In 42:18, we could translate, 'May we your people be saved'. In the context, salvation means deliverance from Sheol: the souls see that the Saviour is not touched by death and ask to be taken out (vv. 16f.). The translation, 'May we also be saved with you', seems to fit the context better.

- 177 See 28:17-19, 42:10, and discussion in Chapter IV, Section II.
- 178 The polymorphia of Jesus is discussed in the Appendix to this Chapter.
- 179 The primary text on which discussion of the 'redeemed redeemer' focuses is the Hymn of the Pearl. For a brief discussion of the literature, see Yamauchi, op. cit. (n. 168 above), pp. 95-98.
- 180 Hans-Martin Schenke, Die Herkunft des sogenannten Evangelium Veritatis, Göttingen 1959, pp. 26-29. The study by Eric Segelberg, 'Evangelium Veritatis - a confirmation homily and its relation to the Odes of Solomon', Orientalia Suecana 8 (1959), pp. 3-42, argues for a kinship between the two texts, but takes the Odes to be baptismal and the Gospel of Truth to be a homily drawing its images from the rite of chrismation in the course of which it was spoken. The question of a ritual referent for the language of the Odes has been discussed in Chapter II, Section I; in the case of the Gospel of Truth even more caution is necessary, for its liturgical character is not obvious, and the parallels which Segelberg adduces to establish his case are drawn from very much later liturgical practices. It is difficult to place much confidence in his arguments, in view of the scantiness of our knowledge of second-century initiation rites.
- 181 The question is briefly discussed by Wilson, op.

cit. (n. 166 above), pp. 88-92.

182 Cf. Clement, Paed. I 6.

183 This is not only because the hymns are poetic and the Gospel of Truth a discursive meditation in which it is very difficult to follow the argument. The differences are discussed by F.-M. Braun, 'L'Enigme des Odes de Salomon', Revue Thomiste 57 (1957), pp. 597-625, at pp. 609-12, 620-24. Braun clearly demonstrates the gulf between the Odes and the Valentinians. F. G. Untergabmair, Im Namen Jesu (Forschung zu Bibel 13), Stuttgart 1974, argues against a close link between the Odes and the Gospel of Truth. (I am grateful to M. l'Abbé P.-H. Poirier for this reference. I have been unable to consult this work; but cf. K.Grayston, 'Foreign Theological Literature Survey 1976-77', ExpT 88 [1977], pp. 339-42, at p. 340.)

184 Cf. also Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. III 15:2.

185 The terminology of Heinrich Schlier, Religions-geschichtliche Untersuchungen zu den Ignatius-briefen, Giessen 1929, seems unhelpful, in its claim that Ignatius^{and the Odes} are both gnostic, though in different senses; cf. also the remarks of Bultmann in his commentary ad Jn 1:1, that the Odes manifest a modified oriental gnosticism (The Gospel of John, ET Oxford 1971, p. 29). This sort of labelling seems to me unnecessary.

- 186 J. H. Charlesworth, 'Qumran, John ...' (n. 4 above), concludes his study of dualism in the Odes, the Scrolls, and John, by saying that the Odes and John come from the same milieu, influenced by the Essenes. The similarities which his study discloses could be better and more simply accounted for on the hypothesis of a shared conceptual background, without postulating direct influences. The nuanced study of Braun (art. cit., n. 183 above) provides a better general approach to this question, though his proposal to identify the author of the Odes as Bardaisan is improbable (this was first proposed by W. R. Newbold, 'Bardaisan and the Odes of Solomon', JBL 30 [1911], pp. 161-204; see H. J. W. Drijvers, Bardaisan of Edessa, Assen 1966, pp. 209-12).
- 187 On the Gospel of Thomas, see Chapter IV, Section I; on the Gospel of Philip, see Chapter II, n. 102.
- 188 Note also the contrast between Jesus (τῆ πολυ-
μόρφῳ σου ὄψει, ch. 82; πολυπρόσωπον
ἐνότητα, ch. 91) and the crowd (ὁ δὲ περὶ τὸν
σταυρὸν μονοειδῆς ὄχλος, ch. 100).
- 189 Polymorphia is prominent in the Acts of Thomas also. It is possible that in GPhil 32 we have the same sort of polymorphia predicated of Mary, understood as Sophia (on Mary as Sophia, see Yvonne Janssens, 'L'Évangile selon Philippe', Museon 81 [1968], pp. 79-133).
- 190 So Carmignac: cf. n. 3 above.

- 191 This was suggested by H. J. W. Drijvers in:
 'Die Oden Salomos und die Polemik mit den
 Markioqitem im syrischen Christentum', a paper
 read at the Second Symposium of Syriac Studies,
 Chantilly, 14 September 1976.
- 192 See Chapter IV, Section II.
- 193 See Chapter IV, Section II.
- 194 Ignatius' arguments for unity in the church in
Magn. 7:1-2 are based on the oneness of Christ;
 cf. his arguments in Smyrnaeans.
- 195 Compare the idea in later Syriac writers of the
 ܐܘܢܘܨܘܬܐ: on this, see Robert Murray, Symbols
 of Church and Kingdom, Cambridge 1975, pp. 12-16.

NOTES

to Chapter IV

- 1 In regard to the... 'I shall be with those who love us'.
- 2 The restoration proposed by J. H. Charlesworth (The Odes of Solon, at line 1. *John*... fits the context of Ode 2 very well.
- 3 MS B reads, *John*, 'the life'. I follow the... (The Odes and Poems of Solon, II, at line 1 to *John*, as in I, 70 (and cf. Rev 1:16), which makes the same statement of identity between the Saviour and the poet as in II, 70.8.
- 4 This reciprocity is expressed in Ode 12 in I, 4: 'and I shall be with those who love us'.
- 5 Prov 8:17, 'I love those who love me', speaks of a reciprocity of relationship similar to that spoken of in the farewell discourse of John (cf. 14:19, 21-23, 25, 15:12, 15:17). Other Jewish texts speak of wisdom as a bride (cf.

Sir 15:2, Wisd 8:2-18), and may in some degree constitute an antecedent of the Christian language of personal love for Jesus. Such language is in fact rare in the New Testament: apart from the Johannine discourses, it is found at Eph 6:24 and 1 Pet 1:8 (cf. also Philemon 5; 1 Jn 5:1; the use of the verb in the account of the rehabilitation of Peter in Jn 21:15-17 is comparable to its occurrence at Ode 19:11); cf. also Ignatius, Eph. 15:3. It is not such language that is significant, however, so much as the use of erotic language to express a relationship with the Messiah: this is unparalleled in pre-Christian Judaism.

- 7 So Robert Murray, Symbols of Church and Kingdom, Cambridge 1975, p. 132, n. 3.
- 8 It is possible that 28:5 should be added to these two passages: see Walter Baumgartner, 'Das trennende Schwert: Oden Salomos 28:4', in: W. Baumgartner et al. (eds.), Festschrift Alfred Bertholet zum 80. Geburtstag, Tübingen 1950, pp. 274-81. It seems to me more likely, however, that the odist has in mind the same idea as Paul in Rom 8:35 (without being influenced directly by Paul).
- 9 In the context of the Gospel of Philip, however, this language is ascetic, and should be related to the teaching of GPhil 31 on the children of

the 'perfect' (cf. the very similar idea in Acts of Thomas 12).

- 10 The presence of encratism in the Odes has been argued by Jean Daniélou, The Theology of Jewish Christianity, ET London 1964, p. 32, and by Arthur Vööbus, Celibacy, a Requirement for Admission to Baptism in the Early Syrian Church (Papers of Estonian Theol. Soc. in Exile 1), Stockholm 1951, pp. 21-23. Against this, there is no evidence at so early a date of the use of 'holiness' (Ode 13:3) as a technical term for married continence; cf. the misgivings of Robert Murray, 'Recent Studies in Early Symbolic Theology', Heythrop Journal 6 (1965), pp. 412-33, at p. 424. Daniélou's interpretation of Ode 11:21, من ذاك النبات is presumably influenced by the words of Jesus to Salome in the Gospel of the Egyptians about the 'plant which has bitterness' (apud Clement, Strom. III 66), though he does not make this link explicit in his argument. The Gospel of the Egyptians, however, is a work so clearly encratite that the meaning of these words of Jesus is unambiguous: nothing in the Odes positively commends this interpretation of the phrase in 11:21. I would suggest very tentatively that if the Seyame points be removed, we might see an allusion to the tree of Gen 2:17, 3:1ff.: when the believers enter paradise (cf. Ode 11:16) and are 'planted' (vv. 16a-f.21), they turn from that

- tree which brought death to the tree which brings life (cf. 20:7ff.) and so themselves bear fruit (cf. 11:16a, 1:2.5, etc.).
- 11 The context of Ode 28 as a whole, dealing with the sufferings of the Saviour, makes it improbable that v. 2b contains any allusion to Lk 1:41-44.
- 12 Henry Chadwick, Alexandrian Christianity, London 1954, p. 34.
- 13 Virginia Corwin, St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch, New Haven 1960, pp. 50, 224-25, suggests that he is speaking of an order of celibates within the church. However, the teaching here is based on the Pauline paraenesis in 1 Cor 7, and there is no necessity to make this deduction.
- 14 Jacques Liébaert, Les enseignements moraux des pères apostoliques, Gembloux 1970, argues that the whole of 2 Clement 8-14 is περὶ ἑγκρατείας.
- 15 There are, of course, Jewish precedents for this motif in Josephus, Contra Apionem, and Philo, De Vita Contemplativa.
- 16 For examples, cf. Acts of John 63, Acts of Paul 9, Acts of Peter 34, Acts of Andrew 23, Acts of Thomas 16.
- 17 See Vööbus, op. cit. (n. 10 above), pp. 17-20; L. W. Barnard, 'The Heresy of Tatian - Once Again', JEH 19 (1968), pp. 1-10.
- 18 This idea underlies GPhil 112 and Acts of Thomas 12.
- 19 See above, Chapter II, especially n. 77.
- 20 Sentence 230a permits the devout to abandon

marriage; but in any case, 'let the marriage of believers be a rivalry *περὶ ἑγκρατείας*' (Sentence 239).

- 21 This is the purpose of the rite of the 'bridal-chamber' in the Gospel of Philip (see above, Chapter II, n. 102). The texts of the Gospel of the Egyptians are discussed by W. Schneemelcher in: Hennecke & Schneemelcher, New Testament Apocrypha, II, ET London 1965, ch. IV.

In the Gospel of Thomas, the prominent theme of the ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ seems best understood to refer to the one who has achieved the abolition of sexuality (cf. GThom 22): see H. C. Kee, 'Becoming a Child' in the Gospel of Thomas', JBL 82 (1963), pp. 307-14. M. Harl, 'A propos des Logia de Jésus: le sens du mot ΜΟΝΑΧΟΣ', Rev. des Etudes Grecques 73 (1960), pp. 464-74, speaks of 'ce thème éminemment néoplatonicien qu'est l'unification de l'âme intérieure'; though this idea is doubtless part of the conceptual background, it seems clear from a consideration of the Gospel of Thomas as a whole that the primary signification of this word is the disciple who has overcome sexual differentiation. For the duality of man must be overcome (GThom 11) by making the two one, so that the disciples will become 'sons of man' (GThom 106): GThom 49 promises the kingdom to 'the single ones and the elect', because they came from the kingdom in the first place, and

Jesus says that it is only the single ones who will enter the bridal-chamber (GThom 75): the $\psi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau$ here (in GThom 104 the loan-word $\nu\sigma\mu\phi\omega\upsilon\upsilon$ is used) is the symbol of eschatological repose. When he refuses to settle a dispute over an inheritance (GThom 72; cf. Lk 12:13-15), and says to the disciples, 'I am not one who divides, surely ($\mu\acute{\eta}$)?', a deeper meaning is intended: Jesus is the one who unites, and those whom he chooses become one (cf. GThom 23).

There is also the idea in GThom 22 of the abolition of sexuality expressed in terms of the unmaking of sexual differentiation. This is most clearly stated in GThom 114, when Jesus tells Peter that he will make Mary become a male, and says that this is a requirement: 'For every woman who makes herself male will enter the kingdom of heaven'. GThom 22 completes the picture by teaching that men must lose their maleness also.

The significant thing about this teaching in the Gospel of Thomas is that the abolition of sexuality is conceived of as taking place, not at the end of life - there would be nothing particularly novel in such a view, for it is plain to second-century writers that sexuality is terminated by death along with all other specifically this-worldly attributes of humanity (cf. Clement, Exc. Theod. 21) - but during this earthly life. It is precisely this that makes

the work a 'gospel', the offering of the good news of salvation. The Gospel of Thomas has an 'inaugurated' eschatology: Jesus' disciples have not yet made the two one (GThom 22) or trampled on their garments (GThom 37), but they are now children (GThom 21, 22), and 'Whoever among you becomes like a child shall know the kingdom' (GThom 46). The image of the child is linked in GThom 21 and 37 with that of undressing, and has the same significance: the abolition of sexuality is the recovery of man's prelapsarian state, when Adam and Eve lived in an asexual, childlike nakedness (see Irenaeus, Dem. 14). Jonathan Z. Smith, 'The Garments of Shame', Hist. Rel. 5 (1965), pp. 217-38, argues that the primary reference of the image of undressing in the Gospel of Thomas is to the Christian baptismal rite in which the things of this world are stripped off. As with the language of clothing and unclothing in the Odes (see above, Chapter II, Section I), a ritual reference or an ultimate source in ritual cannot be ruled out: but the link with the image of the child points to the theme of the abolition of sexuality (see Kee, art. cit.). An interesting parallel is in the Apocalypse of Zosimus, which depicts the Rechabites as living in a prelapsarian state, in nakedness untroubled by sexual desires (on this text, see my 'The Narration of Zosimus', forthcoming in JSJ). Christian parallels are

- found in P. Oxy. 655 and the Gospel of the Egyptians apud Clement, Strom. III 92.
- 22 The judgment of Clement is nuanced in a way that the judgments of other writers are not: in his view, it was not the sexuality of Adam and Eve in itself that brought death into the world, but rather their premature use of it (cf. Strom. III 103). See Jean-Paul Broudéhoux, Mariage et Famille chez Clément d'Alexandrie, Paris 1970.
- 23 W. Foerster, 'Die Grundzüge der Ptolemaeischen Gnosis', NTS 6 (1959-60), pp. 16-31, argues that the accusations of sexual immorality made against the Valentinians by Irenaeus are incompatible with the high ethical tone of the Letter of Ptolemy to Flora. On the question of the accuracy of such denunciations, see Frederik Wisse, 'The Nag Hammadi Library and the Heresiologists', Vig. Chr. 25 (1971), pp. 205-23, and 'The Epistle of Jude in the History of Heresiology', in: Martin Krause (ed.), Essays on the Nag Hammadi Texts in Honour of Alexander Böhlig (Nag Hammadi Studies 3), Leiden 1972, pp. 133-43.
- 24 Text as reconstructed by Othmar Perler, Ein Hymnus zur Ostervigil von Meliton? (Paradosis 15), Freiburg Schweiz 1960, but reading οἶνον in line 6 with the MS (see below, n. 26).
- 25 Compare the epithalamium of Thecla in the Symposium of Methodius of Olympus (XI 2).
- 26 In view of this possible allusion, it is better to retain the MS reading than to follow Perler's

emendation to $\alpha\lambda\iota\nu\omicron\nu$. A partial parallel is in GPhil 111, but the lacuna in p. 125,35 makes the interpretation of the beginning of this logion very difficult.

- 27 The reading in v. 18b is discussed below in the text of the Chapter.
- 28 N has the singular, H the plural. There is a reminiscence in this verse of Gen 3:21. כַּיִן כִּי
 לֵב is rendered by $\chi\iota\tau\omega\nu\alpha\varsigma \delta\epsilon\rho\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ in the LXX, and by $\text{ܠܒܘܬܐ} / \text{ܠܒܬܝܗܘܢ}$ in the Peshitta; both MT and Peshitta use the verb lbš. It is difficult to decide whether N or H is original.
- 29 The meaning of such language is discussed in Chapter II, Section I, and Section I of this Chapter.
- 30 In v. 3, N reads,

'And I became useless to those who know me
because I shall be hidden to those who did
not possess me'.

To make sense of this reading, a ܘ must be inserted in v. 3a. Since emendation is required, and the words disturb the simple antithesis in the reading of H between those who did not possess the Saviour and those who love him, H seems the preferable witness.

- 31 A strong statement of the absence of this idea in the odist's christology is my 'The Odes of Solomon and the Sufferings of Christ', a paper read at the Second Symposium of Syriac Studies, Chantilly, 14 September 1976, forthcoming in the Proceedings of the Symposium (.Orientalia Christiana Periodica),

Rome, pp. 143-49. Apart from Ode 31, discussed in the text of the Chapter, a possible exception to this statement might be Ode 9:9b-10,

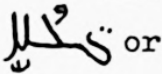
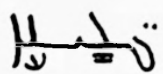
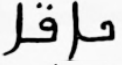
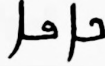
'the wars were on account of the crown [= truth].
And Righteousness has taken it,
and given it to you'.

Military imagery is used in the New Testament to speak of the sufferings of Jesus (cf. Col 2:15), and ἡ ἀλήθεια is used as a christological title at Ode 8:15. However, the connection between vv. 9 and 10 of Ode 9 is not such that we may regard v. 10a as an expansion of v. 9b (as, e.g., v. 7b is an expansion of v. 7a). Accordingly, we have no warrant to assume that 'the wars' referred to were the sufferings of the Saviour; the more simple interpretation is that the 'wars' in the past were temptations to fall away from truth. Now that the Saviour has given truth to those who are in his 'true covenant' (v. 11), they will not fall in the final war to test them (v. 6). This future war is referred to also at 8:7, and at 29:9 where the initiative in the war will be with the odist rather than with his enemy.

32 A narrative may be followed in the a-verses; cf. 25:1-12 for a partial parallel to this technique.

33 So H: صم تزلزل. N reads: صم طارق تزلزل
J. H. Charlesworth (The Odes of Solomon, ad loc., and see pp. 117f., n. 10) emends N to طارق تزلزل
and translates, 'by columns of waves'. G. R.

Driver, 'Notes on two Passages in the Odes of

Solomon', JTS ns 25 (1974), pp. 434-37, emends N to  or , and translates, 'by rolling rocks'. Pace Charlesworth, who suggests that 'it is easier to understand why it was lost than it is to explain why it was added' (loc. cit., p. 118), it seems arguable that the copyist of N wrote  in y. 11b because he had copied the singular  in y. 11a. As it stands, N has the difficilior lectio, but since it requires emendation to make it comprehensible, I prefer the reading of H.

- 34 See above, Chapter III, Section IV.
- 35 See above, Chapter II, Section II, and Chapter III, Section IV.
- 36 The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, II, ad loc.
- 37 The Odes of Solomon, ad loc., and see p. 118, n. 13; however, he gives no reason for translating as he does.
- 38 The Aph^{el} here would have the same sense as the Pa^{el}.
- 39 The consensus of scholars since Ernst Lohmeyer, Kyrios Jesus. Eine Untersuchung zu Phil. 2,5-11 (Sitzungsb. d. Heidelberger Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., 1927/28, 4), has identified these verses as an already-existing hymn incorporated by the author of Philippians into his text. There is no consensus about its provenance or about the extent to which the original form of the hymn is preserved in the epistle. On the literature, see

Ralph P. Martin, Carmen Christi (SNTS Monographs 4), Cambridge 1967, and Philippians (New Century Bible), London 1976, pp. 109-16. On the meaning of μόρφη and σχήμα in this hymn, see (for a non-docetic view) the note by Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, ET London 1952, pp. 192-93.

- 40 Pierre Batiffol emphasised the importance of Ode 19 as evidence of docetism. He reconstructed from vv. 8b-10 a sixfold hymn, with the same structure as 1 Tim 3:16; v. 10b, in his Greek translation (ἐγέννησεν ἐν ὁμοιώματι), was for him the most significant part of this hymn, for here the odist said that this birth had only the appearance of a birth. See J. Labourt and P. Batiffol, Les Odes de Salomon, Paris 1911 (the republication of articles in Rev. Bib. 7 [1910], pp. 483-500, 8 [1911], pp. 5-59, 161-97). This passage certainly speaks of an extraordinary birth, in which God is fully at work so that the Virgin feels no pain (vv. 6-9; it is certainly possible that the subject of the verb in v. 9b is 'the Son' of v. 8a); but the language is not necessarily docetic. On v. 10a, see above, Chapter II, Section III. At 28:17b, I have followed the reading of H,

ⲓⲟⲥⲏⲁⲛ ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲓ ⲓⲛⲓ ⲙⲁⲓ

in preference to that of N,

ⲛⲟⲩⲛⲁⲓ ⲁⲓⲟⲥⲏⲁⲛ ⲓⲛⲓ ⲙⲁⲓ

which looks like an attempt by the copyist to eliminate the docetism of the archetype. This,

however, is not a consistent policy by the copyist of N: see my discussion of the variants at v. 18b in the text of the Chapter.

- 41 On the interpretation of the language of Ode 17, see Chapter III, Section II. An exaltation from Sheol seems to be implied in the antithesis of 22:1,

It is arguable that here the antithesis may be not so much between heaven and Sheol as between heaven and earth: cf. Jn 8:23,

'You are from below,
 I am from above:
 you are of this world,
 I am not of this world':

in this passage, it is clear that 'the things below' (Peshitta,) and 'this world' are equivalent.

However, the use of the word , 'the things in the middle', in 22:2 makes this interpretation questionable. This term is used in gnostic writings, in particular in Valentinian texts and in the Pistis Sophia. According to Irenaeus, the 'middle' was the 'supra-heavenly place' where Achamoth dwelt (Adv. Haer. I 5:4) and to which the souls of the psychic aspired (ibid. I 7:5). It seems to have had a quite different sense in the teaching of Heracleon (cf. fr. 40), and certainly has a wholly pejorative sense in GPhil 63 and 107: here the 'middle' is 'evil according

to this world which is indeed evil' (the Coptic has the loan-word ΜΕCΟΤΗC), and as the earthly bridal-chamber represents the heavenly bridal-chamber, so there is an earthly 'middle' which must be avoided if the gnostic is to avoid the eternal 'middle'. In the Gospel of Truth, p. 17,28ff., the term seems to correspond to the use in the Testament of Abraham A 11 (and cf. B 9), i.e., an intermediate stage between salvation and damnation (or between pneumatikoi and hylikoi). A parallel to this is Philo, Leg. Alleg. I 93: ἡ δὲ παραίνεσις πρὸς τὸν μέσον, τὸν μήτε φαῦλον μήτε σπουδαῖον (cf. ibid., I 95, II 64).


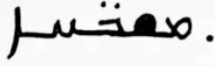
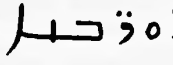
While it is certainly possible to relate the use of the word موتنا at Ode 22:2 to any of these uses of the concept of the 'middle', it seems simplest in the context, when the Saviour speaks of his coming down from the height and his rising from the depths, to take the 'height' to be heaven, the 'depths' to be Sheol, and the 'things in the middle' to be the earth: in other words, the odist presents a 'three-decker' view of the universe. (Cf., e.g., Philo, Leg. Alleg. III 99: γῆν δὲ τὸν μέσον χώρον λαχοῦσαν.) At Ode 30:6, the word انهم means only, 'in their midst'.

I conclude that it is probable that 22:1 does speak of a descent into Sheol.

with Jesus as its object. In Heb 5:7, it clearly speaks of a salvation from death; Jn 12:27 shows Jesus expressly refusing the temptation to ask for deliverance from dying: *καὶ τί εἶπω; Πάτερ, σῶσόν με ἐκ τῆς ὥρας ταύτης; κτλ.* The continual insistence in the New Testament on the death of Jesus as the act which brings forgiveness of sins has, however, no counterpart in the Odes of Solomon: they have no suggestion that he saves by his death.

The theme of vindication goes back to the Servant Songs of Deutero-Isaiah; the Odes stand in the line of Jewish and Christian texts which speak of God's deliverance of his chosen one (see Benjamin W. Bacon, 'The Odes of the Lord's Resf', Expositor 8th ser. 1 [1911], pp. 193-209, 'Songs of the Lord's "Beloved"', ibid., pp. 319-37, 'The Odes of Solomon: Christian Elements', Expositor 8th ser. 2 [1911], pp. 243-56, for discussion of this theme). The question of the existence in pre-Christian Judaism of a messianic interpretation of the Servant Songs, especially the fourth, is difficult to resolve, and I prescind from it here except to note that there is some indication in the Targum that a messianic interpretation of the fourth Servant Song has been censored (on the date of material in this Targum, see Pierre Grelot, 'L'Exégèse Messianique d'Isaïe, LXIII, 1-6', Rev. Bib. 70 [1963], pp. 371-80, and my 'The Quotation at John xii 34', NovT 19 [1977], pp. 22-33). There is nothing here that a Jewish odist

could not have said; ^{but} apart from Testament of Benjamin 3:8, which speaks of the salvific death of a coming figure (and in this is not directly parallel to the Odes), the parallels to the language of the odist are Christian.

- 43 See Chapter II, n. 39. At v. 4a, H reads, , N reads, . Whichever reading is preferred, the meaning of this noun and of  in v. 4b seems clearly to be the angels.
- 44 See Halvor Moxnes, 'God and His Angel in the Shepherd of Hermas', Studia Theologica 28 (1974), pp. 49-56; Lage Pernveden, The Concept of the Church in the Shepherd of Hermas (Studia Theologica Lundensia 27), Lund 1966, pp. 58-64.
- 45 See discussions in: Adolphine Bakker, 'Christ an Angel? A study of early Christian docetism', ZNW 32 (1933), pp. 255-65; Joseph Barbel, Christos Angelos (Theophaneia 3), Bonn 1941; Martin Werner, Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas, Berne and Tübingen 1941; Wilhelm Michaelis, Zur Engel-christologie im Urchristentum, Basel 1942; Jean Daniélou, The Theology of Jewish Christianity, ET London 1964, pp. 117-46; my own 'The Quotation ...' (n. 42 above).
- 46 The value of the patristic evidence is discussed by A. F. J. Klijn and G. J. Reinink, Patristic Evidence for Jewish-Christian Sects (Suppl. to NovT 36), Leiden 1973, pp. 3-73. For the views of

- Cerinthus, cf. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. I 26:1; Hippolytus, Ref. VII 33:1f. (cf. ibid. VII 35:1f. for the earliest testimony to the views of the Ebionites and of Theodotus). Cf. also Epiphanius, Pan. XXVIII 1:17.
- 47 Cf. the Gospel of the Hebrews, apud Origen, In Johannem, II 12, and apud Jerome, Commentary on Isaiah IV, ad Isa 11:2; GPhil 17 (on this logion, see my 'New Light on Gospel of Philip 17', forthcoming in JTS ns 29 [1978]); cf. also the words of Jesus in the Apocryphon of John, 'I am [the Father], I am the Mother, I [am the So]n' (P. B̄Erol. 8502, p. 21,19-21).
- 48 Cf. also the role of the Spirit in the initiation of the believer: see above, Chapter II, Section II.
- 49 See discussion by Henry Chadwick, 'Some Reflections on the Character and Theology of the Odes of Solomon', in: P. Granfield and J. A. Jungmann, eds., Kyriakon, ^{I,} Münster 1970, pp. 266-70.
- 50 The clustering of even as many parallels as this does not constitute proof of a Christian provenance. Compare the case of the Similitudes of Enoch: J. T. Milik, The Books of Enoch, Oxford 1976, pp. 89-98, argues for a Christian provenance; see however the cautions of Joseph A. Fitzmyer, 'Implications of the new Enoch Literature from Qumran', Theological Studies 38 (1977), pp. 332-45. The case of the Odes is discussed in the Conclusion to this Chapter.

- 51 The apparently contradictory christological statements may well be deliberately intended by the odist as, so to speak, a fence around the mystery of the being of the Saviour, into which men should not enquire too closely.
- 52 J. H. Charlesworth, The Odes of Solomon, p. 121, takes the Virgin to be the Church; he refers to the suggestion by C. Bruston, Les plus anciens cantiques chrétiens, Paris 1912, that the Virgin is the Word (I have been unable to consult this work; cf. the summary of Bruston's thesis in idem, 'Quelques observations sur les Odes de Salomon', ZNW 13 [1912], pp. 111-16); U. Wilckens, Weisheit und Torheit (Beitr. z. historischen Theologie 26), Tübingen 1959, pp. 135-39, interprets the language in the light of Jewish wisdom-literature.
- 53 See discussion of this passage in Chapter II, Sections II and III.
- 54 Compare the use of masculine pronouns with πνεῦμα in Jn 14:26, 15:26. Here this may be because of the proximity of the noun παράκλητος, but cf. 16:13f., ἐκεῖνος, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας...
- 55 Possibly 'Grace' at Ode 34:6 is a title of the Saviour also.
- 56 So Arthur Vööbus, op. cit. (n. 10 above).
- 57 At Rev 14:4f., however, sexual encratism is clearly present.
- 58 Compare, however, the use of the phrase, 'the male virgin', in the Nag Hammadi Gospel of the

- Egyptians (the Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit).
- 59 'The Odes of Solomon Montanist', ZNW 12 (1911), pp. 70-75. The suggestion of a Montanist provenance was made first by W. Emery Barnes, 'An Ancient Christian Hymn Book', Expositor 7th ser. 10 (1910), pp. 52-63.
- 60 'Die Oden Salomos. Montanistische Lieder aus dem 2. Jahrhundert', ZNW 12 (1911), pp. 108-25.
- 61 See Chapter I, Section I. That issue of ZNW was a Festschrift for Harnack.
- 62 Apud Didymus, De Trinitate III 41, 1; cf. Epiphanius, Pan. XLVIII 11 :9.
- 63 The age of the Father is to be understood as preceding the events of which Ode 33 speaks: this is indicated in the word 'Again' in v. 1a. 'Grace' in v. 1 refers to Christ, 'the perfect virgin' in v. 5 to Priscilla.
- 64 Harris restored the missing letters as:) [𐤀𐤃] (editio princeps, ad loc.). J. H. Charlesworth's restoration,) [𐤃𐤀] , for which he argues in The Odes of Solomon, pp. 30-31, n. 1, seems equally possible.
- 65 Harris & Mingana, The Odes and Psalms of Solomon, II, p. 60, present evidence of the existence of a Montanist collection of Odes.
- 66 Fries, art. cit. (n. 60 above), p. 114.
- 67 I owe to Fr Robert Murray the suggestion that the links between the Odes and Montanism would

prove worth investigation. J. Massingberd Ford, 'A Note on Proto-Montanism in the Pastoral Epistles', NTS 17 (1970-71), pp. 338-46, claims to discern 'proto-Montanism' in these epistles, but it is questionable whether the use of such terminology brings any genuine clarification to the study of writings which may very well be dated to the first century rather than the second (I prescind here from discussion of this dating, but note the reservation about her hypothesis suggested by the question of dating).

- 68 The Montanists claimed that they stood in the tradition of the four daughters of Philip (cf. Acts 21:9), of Quadratus, and of Ammia of Philadelphia. The links of Montanists to their Christian Umwelt are discussed by J. Massingberd Ford, 'Was Montanism a Jewish-Christian Heresy?', JEH 17 (1966), pp. 145-58; see also G. S. P. Freeman-Granville, 'The Date of the Outbreak of Montanism', JEH 5 (1954), pp. 7-15; J. G. Davies, 'Tertullian, De Resurrectione Carnis LXIII: a Note on the Origins of Montanism', JTS ns 6 (1955), pp. 90-94. On second-century Christian prophecy, cf. Didache 11-13, Hermas, Mand. XI; see J. Reiling, Hermas and Christian Prophecy (Suppl. to NovT 37), Leiden 1973.
- 69 See discussion in Chapter II, Section II, above.
- 70 See Chapter II, Section II, above.

- 71 A Syriac origin is proposed by J. A. Emerton, 'Some Problems of Text and Language in the Odes of Solomon', JTS ns 18 (1967), pp. 383-98, and 'Notes on Some Passages in the Odes of Solomon', JTS ns 28 (1977), pp. 507-19; and by J. H. Charlesworth, A Critical Examination ... (see n. 46 to Chapter III), and The Odes of Solomon. The most recent arguments in favour of a Greek original are by S. P. Brock in his review of Charlesworth, The Odes of Solomon, in Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies 38 (1975), pp. 142-43. Earlier literature is discussed in Charlesworth's thesis, pp. 67-138. It is perhaps significant that Alphonse Mingana, the only Syriac-speaker who wrote on the Odes, took the original language to be Syriac (see 'Quelques Mots sur les Odes de Salomon', ZNW 15 [1914], pp. 234-53, 'Quelques Mots sur les Odes de Salomon, II (Schluss)', ZNW 16 [1915], pp. 167-90; on Mingana see, however, J.-M. Fiey, 'Auteur et date de la Chronique d'Arbèles', L'Orient Syrien 12 [1967], pp. 265-302).
- 72 See discussion of the beginnings of Syriac Christianity in Robert Murray, Symbols of Church and Kingdom, Cambridge 1975, pp. 4-27, and literature cited there.

73 Similar language is found at Ode 37:1,

אֶפְרַיִם (אֶפְרַיִם) 1a

הָרַחֵם הַלֵּל

הָרַחֵם הַלֵּל 1b

הָרַחֵם הַלֵּל

'I spread forth my hands
towards the Lord,
and towards the Most High
I raised my voice'.

This may be part of the same poem, or an imitation of its style; in content it is not sufficiently important to merit the same attention as the other three passages.

74 I owe this suggestion to the papers of August Vogl. His commentary on Odes 17, 22, 24, and 42, edited by myself, is forthcoming in Oriens Christianus.

75 The link of the language of Ode 27 to this Christian posture of prayer was first noted by D. Plooiij, 'The Attitude of the Outspread Hands ("Orante") in Early Christian Literature and Art', ExpT 23 (1912), pp. 199-203, 265-69.

76 On the background to this New Testament use, see Max Wilcox, '"Upon the Tree" - Deut 21:22-23 in the New Testament', JBL 96 (1977), pp. 85-99, suggesting a prior link between this passage from Deuteronomy and the Akedah. I prescind from the question of how far it may be true to claim that Justin or Barnabas drew on a collection of 'wood' or 'tree' testimonia. The 'tree' (עֵץ) of Ode 20:7c may possibly allude to the cross,

- but more probably the primary reference is to the tree of life in paradise (as in Rev 2:7, 22:2.14.19): cf. the picture of trees in paradise in Ode 11.
- 77 See the discussion of Ode 39 in Chapter III, Section II.
- 78 This parallel was first suggested by Harris, editio princeps, ad Ode 27.
- 79 I do not intend to imply by the word 'explication' that the Didachist or his source meant to offer an explanation of the text of Matthew, but simply that a traditional motif is being made more explicit. On the relationship between Matthew and the Didache, see J.-P. Audet, La Didachè, Paris 1958.
- 80 On the interpretation of this Ode, see Chapter IV, n. 41 above.
- 81 This is one of the most difficult Odes to interpret, as the odist oscillates between language that sounds as if it must refer to the Saviour (cf. vv. 5.8-10.?11b) and language that must refer to himself (cf. v. 6). It is probable that in Ode 29 it is the odist who speaks throughout: cf. Rev 2:27 where a psalm (2:8f.) which was interpreted messianically (cf. Rev 12:5) is applied to those who 'keep the word' of the Messiah: a messianic interpretation of a scriptural text, or the application to the Messiah of particular language, need not exclude the application to a believer.

- 82 On Ode 22, see above, n. 41; on Ode 17, see Chapter III, Section II.
- 83 See Lipsius' text and apparatus, in: R. A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet, Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, I, Leipzig 1891, pp. 96-97.
- 84 See Chapter III, n. 107, and discussion of this passage of the Acts of Peter in the text of Chapter III, Section II.
- 85 See Völsch, op. cit. (n. 10 above); Murray, op. cit. (n. 7 above), ch. 1; Barnard, art. cit. (n. 17 above).

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