

period of Hammurabi and that of Abraham correspond, for the first patriarch, according to Scriptural chronology, immigrated into Canaan in the year 2099.

But I may break off at this point. For I think I have shown with sufficient clearness that the opinion of a leading expert of our day as to the value of the Hebrew historical writings, which formed the starting-point of this paper, will give an impulse towards further investigation. Such studies, I am convinced, can have only one result. Through them the right valuation of the Old Testament historical books will be more and more the object of a kind of research which will weigh the importance of the common factors in the sources, as well as of their differences. This kind of investigation, and this only, deserves to be called purely scientific.

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*SONGS OF THE LORD'S "BELOVED" \**

II.

THE method outlined in the preceding article † implies an approach toward the great question of localising the Odes of Solomon in their true historical environment along two well-defined lines. We must first characterise the Judaism admittedly present in them with relation to the Judaism of 50 B.C. to 100 A.D. If the known conceptions of this age and literature cover all the dominant ideas of the Odist, leaving nothing but the superficial, irrelevant, and incongruous unaccounted for, the inference will be hardly avoidable that the Odes, however manipulated, interpolated, adapted, and interpreted, during their sojourn in the tents of Japhet, are fundamentally a Jewish product. As already noted,

\* Is. v. 1; cf. Ode 3.

† "The Odes of the Lord's Rest," I, EXPOSITOR, March, 1911.

they have no mention of the name or teaching of Jesus, and the supposed allusions to His work, His life, His fate, His resurrection and gift of the Spirit are in all cases doubtful on the score either of interpretation or of authenticity. Neither are there any certain impressions of the life or literature of the Church. Near as is the spiritual affinity, e.g., of the Odist with the Fourth Gospel, no critic pretends to discern any literary dependence here on his part—surely a somewhat significant fact if the Odes are regarded as a product of late second-century Christianity. To this task of characterising the dominant ideas of the Odist with relation to current Judaism we may devote the present article. The second line of investigation must set out from the other terminus. Certain elements of the Odes in their present form are admittedly, almost obtrusively, Christian. What type of Christianity do they represent, and of what date? Are all the Christian elements reducible to this category, or at least to the category of interpolated, incongruous, material whether by a single hand, at some particular date, or by several? Is this material, in whole or in part, of the bone and flesh of the Odist? Or does its employment of his characteristic ideas do injustice to their real meaning, and do its purpose and animus conflict with his? Consideration of this second and converse line of approach must be left to a third and concluding article.

We have already had occasion to note the very marked dependence of the Odist on the characteristic ideas of Isaiah, and more especially Deutero-Isaiah. At the very outset the symbolism of Ode 1 repeated in Ode 5. 9-11 is manifestly a development of Isaiah xxviii. 5 f. as observed by a succession of critics. The canonical prophet compares the luxuriant olive-crowned hill of Samaria with the bleak hill of Zion, whose only beauty was the sanctuary of Yahweh, and compares them to the disadvantage of the former. Samaria

is like the beautiful but fading garlands wherewith men deck the heads of revellers at feasts. Zion is crowned with the unfading "glory" of Yahweh, which overhangs the sanctuary, and inspires her judges and warriors.

Woe to the crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim  
and to the fading flower of his glorious beauty  
On the head of the fat ralley of them that are overcome with wine.

The crown of pride of the drunkards of Ephraim  
shall be trodden under foot :  
And the fading flower of his glorious beauty on the head of the fat  
ralley  
shall be like the first ripe fig before the summer.

In that day shall Yahweh of Hosts be a crown of glory  
and a diadem of beauty to the remnant of His people :  
And a spirit of judgment to him that sitteth on the judgment seat  
and of strength to them that turn back the battle at the gate.

Compare with this the Odist's song of the Lord's inspiring Spirit :—

ODE 1.\* THE LORD OUR DIADEM OF INSPIRATION.

- 1 The Lord is on my head like a crown  
and I shall ne'er be without Him.
- 2 A crown of truth did they weave me,  
and it caused thy branches within me to bud.
- 3 For not like a withered wreath is this which buddeth not :  
but thou livest upon my head,  
and thou hast blossomed on my head.
- 4 Thy fruits are full-grown and perfect,  
they are full of thy salvation.

The inspiration of the judge and warrior is no longer the chief function of Yahweh's Spirit. For our Odist it is that of the singer, whose songs are due to the overshadowing presence of the Lord.

This living chaplet "which the Lord promised to them that love Him" is repeatedly referred to by New Testament writers,† but here the Isaian basis is manifest, and there

\* Coptic only.

† 1 Pet. v. 4, Jas. i. 12, Rev. ii. 10 (1 Cor. ix. 25).

is no sign of dependence on the New Testament. The outward, living wreath of the Lord's Spirit has inward, living branches, which bud and bring forth; and their fruit is songs of praise whose theme is the Lord's "Salvation." This "fruit of the lips," a commonplace of the Odes,\* is again an Isaian phrase,† again reproduced in the New Testament,‡ But while this representation of the poet's sense of his calling, which so appropriately prefaces the collection, might seem at first to be intensely individual, we shall discover that this apparently personal "I" has the Isaian characteristic of merging in that of the "remnant of Yahweh's people," "Jacob His Servant and Jeshurun His Chosen.§ Ps. xxiii., as we readily recognise, when we ask ourselves the derivation of its beautiful symbolism, appropriates the figures of Isaiah xl. 11, xlix. 9 f. concerning Yahweh's leading Israel like a flock across the desert, till He caused them to rest in the green pastures of His own land. Now just as Psalm xxiii. for all succeeding generations has become a typical expression of individual and personal dependence on the loving care of God, so here the Odist's personal pronouns are in a transition state between the national and the individual application. We are continually forced to ask the Eunuch's question evoked by the Deutero-Isaian poem of Yahweh's suffering servant: "Of whom speaketh the prophet this? Of himself, or of some other"?|| This is quite apparent even as regards his gift of song in the beautiful Ode 6 already reproduced. The praise of the Lord's name which in strophe i. (ver. 1-4) is a product in the poet's mem-

\* Odes 8. 1-3, 12: 11. 14: 16. 1-3.

† Is. lvii. 19; cf. Hos. xiv. 2.

‡ Heb. xiii. 15.

§ Is. xlv. 1.

|| Acts viii. 34. Cf. Wellhausen, *op. cit.* "Das Ich welches in den Oden redet geht leicht in Wir über; die einzelne erlöste Seele spricht zugleich im Namen der Gesamtheit."

bers of the Lord's Spirit, becomes a calling of the whole community he represents in strophe ii. (ver. 5-6), and the final strophe (ver. 12-17) congratulates them on this beneficent mission.\* In Ode 12 we have a much broader and more philosophical treatment of this mission; the revelation is treated from the cosmic standpoint. The poet seems to be inspired by the sublime antithesis of Ps. xix. between the glory of God as declared by the voiceless host of heaven, and as declared by the written revelation; but he is clearly affected also, like the Wisdom of Solomon whose phraseology he borrows, by the Stoic doctrine of the Logos. Nor does he stop even here. The distinctive characteristic of the Johannine Logos-doctrine which marks it off as Christian from mere Greek metaphysics is its ethical quality. The essence of the Johannine Logos is not, as in Heracleitus and the Stoics, rationality (*νοῦς*), but *love* (*ἀγάπη*). So in the later Jewish literature Wisdom, which in *Sap. Sal.* approaches identification with the Logos, is the redemptive as well as the creative effluence of God.

For Wisdom is more mobile than any motion;  
Yea, she pervadeth and penetrateth all things by reason of her pure-  
ness.

For she is a vapour of the power of God,  
And a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty;  
Therefore can nothing defiled find entrance into her.  
For she is an effulgence from the everlasting Light  
And an unspotted mirror of the working of God,  
And an image of His goodness.

\* Ode 10 again speaks of this mission in the singular, "The Lord gave me to speak the fruit of His peace: to convert the souls of them who are willing to come to Him," etc. The use of the first person singular even leads Harris to observe: "Christ must himself be accounted the speaker through the mouth of his prophet." It is indeed a mission to "gather together the Gentiles who were scattered abroad," and cannot be conceived as the work of an individual. But why must Christ be the speaker any more than in Ode 20, "I am a priest of the Lord," etc. These are simply the functions of Jeshurun the Servant of Yahweh in Dt.-Isaiah (Is. xlix. 1-6, lii. 13-15, lv. 1-5, etc.). In the Odes we have first "I," then "We" of the same functions. On this mission of the Servant cf. *Sap.* xviii. 4.

And she being one hath grown to do all things ;  
 And remaining in herself, reneweth all things :  
 And from generation to generation passing into holy souls  
 She maketh men friends of God and prophets ;  
 For nothing doth God love save him that dwelleth with Wisdom.\*

Such is also the Odist's conception ; but with still closer approach to Stoic ideas, perhaps even in ver. 8 to the distinction between the Logos *ἐνδιάθετος* and the Logos *τροφορικός*.

ODE 12. THE LOGOS IN NATURE AND IN MAN.

- Odes 6, 10, etc. i. <sup>1</sup> He hath filled me with words of truth ;  
 that I may utter the same ;  
<sup>2</sup> And like the flow of waters flows truth from my  
 mouth,  
 and my lips show forth His fruit.  
<sup>3</sup> And He has caused the knowledge of Him to abound  
 in me,  
 because the mouth of the Lord is the true Logos,  
 and the door (of issue for ?) † His light.
- Ode 41. 15.
- Ode 16 ; Ps. ii. <sup>4</sup> And the Most High hath given it (viz. His light) to  
 His worlds,  
 they that are the interpreters of His own beauty,  
 And the repeaters of His praise and the confessors  
 of His counsel,  
 and the heralds of His thought, and the chasteness  
 of His servants.
- Eth. En.*, xc.  
 22ff. ; *Jubil.*  
 xv. 31, xxxv.  
 17.  
*Sap.* vii. 24 ; Ps. xix. 4.
- iii. <sup>5</sup> For the swiftness of the Logos is inexpressible,  
 and like its expression is its swiftness (?) and force ;  
<sup>6</sup> and its course knows no limit.  
 Never doth it fail, but it standeth sure  
 and it knows not decline nor the way thereof.
- iv. <sup>7</sup> For as its work is, so is its end :  
 for it is light and the dawning of thought,  
<sup>8</sup> And by it the worlds talk one to the other,  
 and in it those that had been silent came unto  
 speech. ‡
- Ps. xix. 2 f. ;  
 Ode 16. 16.

\* *Sap.* vii. 24-28. The comparison of the Logos to a mirror (ver. 26) is the theme of the next succeeding Ode, which begins: "Behold the Lord is our mirror" (Ode 13. 1).

† Wellhausen (of entrance to).

‡ So C. C. Torrey. Harris: "And in the Word were there those that were silent."

- v. <sup>9</sup> And from it came love and concord ;  
 and men spake each to other whatever was theirs ;  
 and they were penetrated by the Logos ;
- <sup>10</sup> And they knew Him who made them  
 because they were in concord ;  
 For the mouth of the Most High spake to them ;  
 and his revelation ran by means of it.
- vi. <sup>11</sup> For the dwelling-place (*σκήνη*) of the Logos is man :  
 and its truth is Love.
- <sup>12</sup> Blessed are they who by means thereof have understood everything  
 and have known the Lord in His truth. Hallelujah.

The relations of Ode 12 to the Johannine writings are almost too pervasive for enumeration. Of the Odist's Logos too it may be said "In Him was life, and the life was the light of men." \* Its outpouring is also "an unction from the Holy One giving knowledge of all things." The Odist feels that he has been "given an understanding to know Him that is true," and that "its truth is Love" (12. 11 f.). And yet his dependence is certainly not on Christian ideas, but on Deutero-Isaiah and Wisdom of Solomon. What second-century fathers inform us was the one essential distinction between their Logos doctrine and that of their heathen contemporaries is precisely the distinction between this Hellenistic-Jewish Logos-doctrine and the Johannine. The Odist betrays no acquaintance with the great Event ; "the Logos *became flesh* and tabernacled among us." So far as this Ode is concerned its relations with the New Testament are indeed of extreme importance, but it would seem as antecedent and not as consequent.

We have room to consider but two more of the dominant ideas of our poet. Both are closely related, like the preceding, to Deutero-Isaiah and Wisdom of Solomon, and in at least

\* Cf. Ode 16. 3-9. The Spirit of the Lord manifests His glory through the utterance of the singer's heart as his creative Logos manifests it in the light bodies of heaven.

their basic elements seem rather to foreshadow than to presuppose those of the New Testament. They are the ideas of Sonship, and of Redemption. In both cases we are dealing with ideas which passed over from Judaism to Christianity, and through a much more gradual transition than was realised until lately by even the best-informed. Judaism too had its doctrine of spiritual birth, a divine sonship by regeneration in the inward likeness of God, an Adoption of the Spirit constituting a true seed of Abraham as heirs of a renovated world. To this Israel it applied the titles "The Son," "the Beloved," "the Chosen," "the Only-begotten," \* expressly distinguishing its relation to the Creator from that which might be claimed by other members of the race, by the fact that it was a spiritual kinship based upon a relation of reciprocal love. For just as Yahweh had originally chosen Israel and adopted them as his Firstborn out of pure unmerited love (Ex. iv. 22 f., Dt. xxxii. 8 ff., xxxiii. 3-5, 26, Hos. xi. 1-4), so He had given them a law explicitly summarised in the commandment "Thou shalt love Yahweh thy God with all thine heart and with all thy soul, and with all thy might." † Israel, which has made this commandment in the most literal sense its talisman and daily motto, may therefore rightly call itself Yahweh's "Firstborn," His "fervent Lover." ‡ Their relation to Him is not that merely of the Gentiles who cry: "Have we not all one Father, hath not one God created us?" but rather a sonship like that of Isaac "the God-begotten," § since it rests upon "a holy

\* As one out of many examples take II. Esdr. vi. 55-59, especially ver. 58: "We, thy people, whom thou hast called thy Firstborn, thy Only-begotten, and thy fervent Lover." In *Jubil.* xxxi. 20 Israel is "the Beloved."

† Dt. vi. 5. As is well known, these words form the opening clause of the *Shema'*, the Credo of Israel.

‡ II. Esdr. vi. 58.

§ I am unable at present to locate this phrase, which according to a note made long since is applied in "Rabbinic writings" to Isaac. But see e.g. the Targ. Jerus. I. on Esen 22, 1, and Weber, *Lehre d. Talmud*, §§ 56, 2, and 70, 2.

"Spirit" conveyed by Yahweh. This appears in more legalistic form than in the Wisdom literature in *Jubilees* i. 22-26, where God promises to Moses that Israel's perverse disposition shall ultimately be healed in the Great Repentance.

And they shall be converted to me with all their heart and all their soul. And I will circumcise their heart, and the heart of their seed, and will provide them a holy spirit and make them pure, so that they shall no more turn away from me from henceforth forever. And their soul shall cleave to me and to all my law, and they will perform my commandment and I will be to them a Father, and they shall be my children. And they shall all be called children of the living God, and every angel and spirit shall know and recognise that they are my children, and I their Father in steadfastness and righteousness, and that I love them.

Akiba (*ob.* 135 A.D.) makes the distinction clear between Israel's spiritual sonship and that of the Gentiles in the following defence of Israel's right to the title "Beloved" :—

<sup>11</sup> Man is "Beloved" in that he was created "in the likeness" (of God); greater love (was it that it) was revealed to him (i.e. through Moses) that he had been created in the likeness of God, as it is said: "In the image of God made He man" (Gen. ix. 6).

<sup>22</sup> "Beloved" are Israel in that they are called children of God; greater love was it that it was revealed to them that they are called children of God, as it is said, "Ye are the children of Yahweh your God" (Deut. xiv. 1—a command to avoid heathenish practices).

<sup>23</sup> "Beloved" are Israel in that there was given to them the instrument by which the world was created (i.e. Wisdom, identified as usual among the rabbis with the Torah; cf. Ps. civ. 24, Prov. viii. 22 ff., Ecclus. xxiv. 23, *Sap.* vii. 22, ix. 9, Baruch iii. 9-iv. 1), as it is said, I give you good doctrine, forsake ye not my Law (Prov. iv. 2).\*

As in Romans ii. 17-21 the prerogative of the Jew according to Akiba rests upon his knowledge of "the Will" in the revealed Torah. This revelation (if followed) gives him the right to call himself Yahweh's Beloved Son; just as the Christian claims a similar right by being an imitator of God's visible goodness, and walking in love (Eph. v. 1 f.;

\* *Pirge Aboth*, iii. 21-23.

cf. *Matt.* v. 44 f.). In *Sap. Sal.* xii. 19–21, xvi. 25 f., xviii. 4, 13 this sonship of Israel has not yet become so formal and legalistic as in the period of the scribes, it is still strongly affected by the figure of the suffering Servant of Deutero-Isaiah; in fact the Isaian term ( $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$  = "son," or "servant") is often preferred to that of the earlier prophets as in the following description of "the righteous (people)" by the heathen:

He professeth to have knowledge of God  
 And nameth himself Servant ( $\pi\alpha\iota\varsigma$ ) of the Lord.  
 He became to us (Gentiles) a reproof of our thoughts.  
 He is grievous unto us even to behold  
 Because his life is unlike other men's  
 And his paths are of strange fashion.  
 We were accounted by him as base metal,  
 And he abstaineth from our ways as from uncleannesses.  
 He calleth the latter end of the righteous happy;  
 And he vaunteth that God is his father.  
 Let us see if his words be true,  
 And let us try what shall befall in the ending of his life.  
 For if the Righteous one is God's Son, He will uphold him,  
 And He will deliver him out of the hand of his adversaries.\*

Here, as in the Odes, one can scarcely say whether the righteous Son (or Servant), despised and oppressed by the wicked, is the typical righteous individual, or the Righteous people, "the people of the Saints of the Most High." Only as we pursue the poem to its close in a grandiose description of the Redemption from Egypt does it become apparent that to the author the two are interchangeable. "Upon the destruction of the firstborn, they (the Egyptians) confessed the people to be God's son"; they "deserved to be deprived of light (in the plague of darkness) because they had kept in close ward thy sons, through whom the incorruptible light of the law was to be given to the race of men." † Israel is the Righteous One, who by his knowledge (of God) justifies many. He "knows

\* *Sap.* ii. 13–18.

† *Sap.* xviii. 13, 4.



*Sap. ix. 17 f.* vi. This is the Spirit of the Lord which doth not lie,  
 which teacheth the sons of men to know His way.  
 Be wise and understanding and vigilant. Halle-  
 lujah.

The divine sonship here spoken of is clearly adoptive. It recalls at first the opinion of Harris that

"the writer is explaining his position in a Christian community as a Gentile among Jews."

This Harris infers from the kindred passage Ode 41. 8 ff.:—

All that see me will be astonished,  
 for I am from another race (*ἄλλος*).  
 For the Father of truth remembered me,  
 He who possessed (*περιεποίησε*) me from the beginning;  
 For His bounty begat me.

In reality the Odist is not speaking in either passage of his physical birth, but of the sonship of the Only-begotten, the Beloved (people) in the Rest to which they have been brought by Yahweh. It is a relation which implies immortality because based upon the reciprocal exercise of love, wherein Yahweh's people have been the learners. This immortality, for which the object of Yahweh's love is destined in the glorified land of His Rest, implies a corresponding physical glorification of the redeemed people. Professors Burkitt and Harris are quite right in referring the constant employment by the Odist of figures of "clothing with" glory, or immortality, or a body of light, to this doctrine of transfiguration, which is parallel to that of 2 Corinthians iii. 18, Mark. ix. 2 ff., *Apoc. Petri*, 4–20. Only the inference of Christian influence is quite misleading. *Apoc. Bar.* xlix.–li. has a doctrine of the glorified resurrection body, like that of the angels, even more complete than Paul's and certainly not derived from his. And it is not a Christian but a Jewish foundation on which our poet bases his doctrine of spiritual new birth into the glorified body of immortality. Alongside of the passage from Ode 41 on the astonishment of those

who see the Son begotten of the Father of truth, as one "from another race," must be set Ode 28. 8-15, describing the resurrection of Yahweh's people by virtue of His Spirit within them:—

\* They who saw me marvelled at me  
because I was persecuted, and they supposed that I was swallowed up:  
For I seemed to them as one of the lost.

<sup>14</sup> And I did not perish; for I was not their brother,  
nor was my birth like theirs.

It is not difficult to recognise the lineaments of the suffering Servant of Isaiah lii. 14, who, after his restoration becomes a priest-nation in the midst of the peoples, to sprinkle them with purifying drops and to teach them the knowledge of Yahweh. He too is an object of astonishment to the Gentiles because of his changed appearance (Is. lii. 14—liii. 11). The speaker impersonated by the Odist is in like manner "a priest of the Lord" charged with the same mission to the Gentiles (Ode 20). He too has a sonship by virtue of spiritual birth, which clothes him with a body of light like the angels, and makes him a subject of marvel to the heathen (Ode 15. 17. 4-7, 25. 5-8, 36. 3-5). To appreciate this idea in its historical development we need to realise by means of *Sap.* v. 1-5, 15 f. how the Deutero-Isaian conception of the glorified Servant had advanced with the centuries along the road of a doctrine of individual immortality.—

<sup>1</sup> Then (in the Judgment) shall the Righteous One stand in great boldness

Before the face of them that afflicted him,  
And them that make his labours of no account.

<sup>2</sup> When they see him they shall be troubled with terrible fear  
And shall be amazed at the marvel of [God's] salvation.

<sup>3</sup> They shall say among themselves repenting,  
And groaning for distress of spirit:  
This is he whom aforetime we had in derision,  
And as a byword of reproach, 'we fools':

We accounted his life to be madness  
And his end without honour.

<sup>5</sup> How was he numbered among the sons of God ?  
And how is his lot among holy ones ?

<sup>15</sup> But the righteous live forever  
And in the Lord is their reward,  
And the care for them with the Most High.

<sup>16</sup> Therefore shall they receive the crown of royal dignity  
And the diadem of beauty from the Lord's hand.

For the specific forms of the Odist's conception of the resurrection life in the Lord's Rest, as priests in his Sanctuary we have abundant parallels in the later Jewish apocalyptic literature. These leave no doubt as to current ideas regarding the body of light like the angels, and the similar metamorphosis of the Holy Land, now become the Paradise of God's intercourse with man.\* But in respect to the deeper content, our poet stands far nearer to Deutero-Isaiah and Wisdom of Solomon. The regenerating power which effects this transformation of men into sons of God is the spirit of knowledge and obedience, the "wisdom of the just," † the "wisdom which cometh from above." ‡ As we have seen, it remains still a gift of divine grace in *Jubil.* i. 22-26 ; but here it is less legalistic, more like the "wisdom" to which we have referred in the most peculiarly Jewish elements of the New Testament. The Servant, because his relation to God is this inward, spiritual relation, is entitled to be called the Lord's Firstborn, His Beloved, His Only-begotten, though his function is to bring the Gentiles also into a like relation (*Odes* 10, 15, 20).

The last of the great pervasive ideas of the Odist of which we have room to speak, rests, like the others, upon Isaiah, the Psalms and Wisdom ; and it displays the same advance

\* Cf. *Slav. En.* xxii. 8-10, *Ap. Bar.* li. 3, 7-10, etc. Also *Eth. En.* xxxii. 3-6, lx. 8, lxi. 12, lxx. 3 and *Slav. En.* viii. 1-8.

† Luke i. 17.

‡ *Jas.* i. 5, iii. 13-18.

in the direction of individualism. It is the conception of Redemption, an idea so pervasive, that we might easily believe the whole collection to have been formed for purposes of Passover celebration, and might appropriately designate them Songs of Redemption. As in the Songs of the Restoration in Deutero-Isaiah, in many of the canonical Psalms, and in *Ps. Sal.* vi. 5, the conception rests upon the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt, with special allusion to Yahweh's opening of a path through the waters of the Red Sea and Jordan, guiding and protecting them with His "glory," and scattering their enemies. For all these Songs of Redemption the model is of course the "Song of Moses and the Children of Israel" in Exodus xv. 1-21; but in the latest elements of Isaiah, such as Isaiah xxvi. 19-xxvii. 1, there is a strong admixture of the mythologic theme of the destruction of Rahab the abyss-monster. Just as Paul applies the symbolism of baptism, the type of burial and resurrection with Christ, to the passage of Israel through the Red Sea, just as our own hymns, "Guide me, O thou great Jehovah," and the like, apply the imagery of the Exodus to the soul's deliverance from death, so here. The thought of deliverance from the prison house of Sheol, victory over the powers of death, and guidance into Yahweh's paradise of Rest, tends to overshadow the more primitive idea of literal deliverance out of Egypt. Already with Deutero-Isaiah the Restoration is a Redemption so great as to cast the former deliverance into oblivion.\* Just so in certain later expressions of Israel's faith in Yahweh's redemption, it is a "bringing down to the grave and bringing up again." Moreover, the phenomenon noted in previous cases is at least equally conspicuous here, the resurrection accomplished, which at its beginnings in Ezekiel xxxvii. 1-14 is clearly and unmistakably a restoration of the *national* life, becomes gradually individualised. In Isaiah xxvi. 18, xxvii. 1

\* *Is.* xliii. 16-19.

one can hardly say whether an individual resurrection is, or is not, implied. The same is true of the second Blessing of the *Shemoneh Esreh* :—

Thou art mighty forever, O Lord ; thou restorest life to the dead, thou art mighty to save ; who sustainest the living with beneficence, quickenest the dead with great mercy, supporting the fallen and healing the sick, and setting at liberty those that are bound, and upholding thy faithfulness to those that sleep in the dust. Who is like unto thee, O King, who killest and makest alive again, and causest help to spring forth ? And faithful art thou to quicken the dead. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who restorest the dead.

In the pseudo-Isaian fragment repeatedly quoted by Justin Martyr and Irenæus Yahweh's descent into Sheol assumes all the features of the mystery-myth :—

The Lord God remembered His dead people who lay in their graves and He descended to proclaim to them His own salvation.\*

In Ephesians v. 14 Paul himself has quoted a similar redemption-ode in which the light-hero whose epiphany in the gloomy prison-house of death awakens its denizens is " the Messiah " Himself.†

How far the process of admixture from Oriental myths of the conflict of Marduk and Tiamat, or the avatar of Hibil Ziwa, had affected the Jewish epic of Redemption at the beginning of our era remains among the unsolved problems of comparative religion. Its beginnings are clearly traceable in Deutero-Isaiah and Wisdom of Solomon.‡ In Paul the descent and victory of the divine champion is a fixed element of belief.§ The question where to draw the dividing line in the Odes of Solomon, accordingly, between elements

\* Quoted by Justin M. *Dial.* lxxii. as from "Jeremiah," Irenæus in *Haer.* III. xx. 4, as from "Isaiah," in IV. xxii. 1, from "Jeremiah."

† According to Hippolytus this quotation too was found in "Isaiah." Other fathers claim to have found it in the *Apocalypse of Elias*.

‡ Cf. the arming of the light hero in Is. lix. 17 with *Sap.* v. 17-20. In Isaiah the hero is Yahweh Himself (Is. xxvii. 1, lix. 16). In *Sap.* xviii. 15 it is His Logos.

§ Eph. iv. 8-10, v. 13 f., vi. 10-17, 1 Thess. v. 8, 2 Cor. vi. 7.

which may be purely late Jewish, and such as are necessarily Christian, is far from a simple one. It is best approached in such of the Odes as are least open to suspicion of interpolation by reason of logical consistency and intelligibility. As an example of this theme we may take :—

## ODE 22. REDEMPTION FROM SHEOL.

- <sup>1</sup> *Sam. ii. 6 ;  
Ps. xxx. 3.*     <sup>1</sup> He who brought me down from on high,  
brought me up also from the depths below.
- Isa. lii. 7, lvi.  
8.*     <sup>2</sup> For it was He who gathereth together the things  
that are between,  
who also cast me down :
- Ode 17. 8-11.*     <sup>3</sup> It is He who scattered my enemies and my adver-  
saries :  
He who gave me authority over bonds to loose  
them
- Isa. xxvii. 1 ;  
Psa. xcl. 13.*     <sup>4</sup> He that overthrew by my hands the dragon with  
seven heads :
- Test. Lev. xviii.  
26 f.*     <sup>5</sup> and thou hast set me over his roots that I might  
destroy his seed.
- ii. <sup>6</sup> Thou wast there and didst help me,  
and in every place thy Name was about \* me.
- <sup>7</sup> Thy right hand destroyed his wicked poison ;  
and thy hand levelled the way for those who be-  
lieve in thee :
- Ezek. xxxvii.  
1-14.*     <sup>8</sup> And thou didst choose them from the graves,  
and didst separate them from the dead ;
- <sup>9</sup> Thou didst take dead bones and didst cover them  
with bodies ;  
they were motionless, and thou didst give energy  
for life.
- Psa. xc. 2-6.*     iii. Thy way was without corruption,  
and thy face brought thy world to corruption  
That everything might be dissolved and then renewed,  
and that the foundation of everything might be  
thy rock,  
And on it thou didst build thy kingdom ;
- Psa. xc. 1.*     and thou wast the dwelling-place of the saints.  
Hallelujah.

In this Ode as in Odes 15, 17, 25 and 42, Redemption

\* Coptic. Schulthees.

signifies the breaking of the prison house of Sheol. Yahweh's servant is "called in righteousness . . . for a light of the Gentiles, to open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison house." \* He "breaks in pieces the doors of brass and cuts in sunder the bars of iron," † but the deliverance is more extensive than from Egypt or Babylon. The broken gates are the gates of Sheol. The scattered enemies are the great Adversary and his helpers, the powers of darkness. Rahab the great dragon of the abyss, who is still only Pharaoh in Ezekiel xxix. 3, and is smitten at the smiting of the Red Sea in Isaiah li. 9 f., Psalm lxxxix. 9 f., is here, as in Isaiah xxvi. 19–xxvii. 1, smitten and spoiled in Sheol itself. It may be true that certain elements such as Ode 42. 13–26 are, as the editor assures us, "too highly evolved in (their) imaginary treatment of the Descent into Hell, to be reckoned as belonging to the same period as the main body of the collection." We are unquestionably well advanced upon the road toward the medieval doctrine of the Harrowing of Hell. But the basis even here is still Jewish. The Deliverer is not Jesus, but Yahweh or the Servant, at most the Messiah. The poetic model is the smiting of Rahab when Israel was led through the rivers and the Sea. In Ode 39, as already pointed out, this, and not "our Lord's walking on the sea of Galilee," is in the poet's mind. The "sign" in the midst of the rivers and seas, which "is the Lord," and constitutes "the way of those who cross in the name of the Lord" (Ode 39. 6) is the sign of Isaiah lxvi. 19, in later Jewish phrase the Schechinah. It is Yahweh Himself in the glory which became Israel's "rereward" at the crossing (Is. lviii. 8),

\* Is. xlii. 6 f.

† Is. xlv. 2, Ps. cvii. 16; cf. Ode 17. 8–12. As Harris remarks, *ibid.*, this "need not be an allusion to the descent into Hades; for the problem of liberation of souls is stated in general terms." But cf. the following, and Odes 24, 25, 42.

it is "His Holy Spirit" which "He put in the midst of them," which "led them through the depths." It is Yahweh Himself who "brought them up out of the sea together with the shepherds of his flock" (Is. lxviii. 11-14).\*

In order to deal fairly with the question: Jewish or Christian? we must take account of this unquestionably Jewish basis in the poet's conception of Redemption as in the previous instances. When in this as in the other dominant controlling ideas we have clearly located the Odes with reference to later Judaism, with its transcendentalised Messianism and its large admixture from Persian and Greek speculation, we shall at least have done something toward giving them their true place in the history of our religion. It is possible that thereafter we may be able to distinguish authentic material from interpolation, and pronounce a verdict on the collection as a whole.

B. W. BACON.

### DID ST. PAUL SPEAK LATIN?

THE question whether St. Paul spoke Latin or not is one which, like most questions connected with the New Testament, may have been the subject of a special discussion somewhere, but if it has, I am unaware of the fact, and I think that in any case the matter is of sufficient interest to deserve a fresh consideration. The existence of undisputed epistles written in semi-colloquial Greek is adequate evidence that he spoke Greek, and the Acts narrative shows that he spoke Aramaic.<sup>1</sup> There is enough evidence to suggest

\* On pre-Christian forms of the doctrine of the Harrowing of Hell, see Bigg's comments on 1 Pet. iii. 19 (*Intern. Crit. Comm.*, p. 163) with the references; especially the two citations from *Bereshith Rabba*: "But when they that are bound, they that are in Gehinnom, saw the light of the Messiah, they rejoiced to receive Him," and "This is that which is written: We shall rejoice and exult in Thee. When? When the captives climb up out of hell and the Shechinah at their head."

<sup>1</sup> Acts xxi. 40.