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Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors

Volume IV

Orphica

Carl R. Holladay



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VOLUME IV
ORPHICA

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Carl R. Holladay

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To Everett Ferguson

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PREFACE

This fourth volume of *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors* contains Pseudo-Orpheus, a text long regarded as a Jewish composition. In addition, two other fragments that are regularly included in collections of Orphic material are included: *OF* 248 and *OF* 299. While the case for Jewish authorship of these texts is less certain, some scholars have suggested possible Jewish composition. The intent here is to collect in one volume Orphic materials that are possibly Jewish pseudepigrapha.

Once again I acknowledge the generous assistance of Nikolaus Walter, who treated Pseudo-Orpheus in *Der Thoraausleger Aristobulos* (1964) and subsequently made the results of this study available in JSHRZ 4.3. His work remains a definitive starting point, although much has been done since then. My consultations with him regarding this text have been invaluable.

I have also benefited much from the investigation of these texts by C. Riedweg, *Jüdisch-hellenistische Imitation eines orphischen Hieros Logos: Beobachtungen zu OF 245 und 247 (sog. Testament des Orpheus)* (1993). Throughout my work, I have taken this important study into account. Especially beneficial are his analysis of the poetic style and structure of the work and the numerous parallels he adduces from the Greek epic tradition. Because of their value in assessing the literary achievement represented by this text, I have cited them freely. While I have credited this borrowing at each point, I here acknowledge my indebtedness to Riedweg's work as a whole.

Others who have assisted include Todd Penner, as well as other Emory graduate students. Ron Heine, Director of the Institut zur Erforschung des Urchristentums in Tübingen, has also assisted me on a number of technical points, including translation.

Worthy of specific mention are several other resourceful critics who have willingly read parts, and in some cases all, of the manuscript, or who have otherwise been helpful in discussing particular points: Pieter van der Horst, David Aune, Johan Thom, A. J. M. Wedderburn, Al Baumgarten,

and the series editor Martha Himmelfarb. Naturally the responsibility for the many mistakes that remain is mine.

Portions of this work were presented before the SBL Pseudepigrapha Group and seminars at the Universities of Edinburgh, Newcastle, Durham, Tübingen, Bar Ilan—and, of course, my own university, Emory. I am grateful to the hosts of these various groups for their invitations and to the participants for the many comments and suggestions that came out of those discussions.

The bulk of this work was completed during two periods of leave from Candler School of Theology at Emory University—the first, in 1990–91, under the deanship of Jim L. Waits, and the second, in 1994–95, under his successor, Kevin LaGree. I gratefully acknowledge their support of this research.

The completion of this project was made possible by a Fulbright grant that supported my research at Eberhard-Karls Universität in Tübingen during the 1994–95 academic year. I wish to thank the Fulbright Commission for its support of this project, and the members of the Commission staff in Bonn for their efforts in making my stay in Germany both productive and enjoyable.

In the previous volume I have already expressed my gratitude to several Tübinger whose generous hospitality in its various forms enabled me to complete this project.

Finally, I wish to thank the following publishers for permission to reprint texts: Akademie Verlag, Walter de Gruyter & Co., Les Editions du Cerf, and William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co. (Details are listed on pp. 100-102.)

Tübingen
July 18, 1995.

INTRODUCTION

The introduction to the first volume of *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors* still serves to set these fragments in their historical context. It also treats the history of the transmission of the texts, in particular the textual history of Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica*, in which most of these fragments are preserved. Other text-critical matters are also dealt with there.

The following sections describing the manuscripts, text-critical sigla, and text-critical abbreviations have been adapted from the first three volumes to fit the contents of this volume. The bibliographies from the first three volumes, both the Bibliography of Sources as well as the General Bibliography, have been repeated here, but modified, supplemented, and updated. The abbreviation lists have been modified only slightly, but expanded to include additional items and authors referred to in this volume, especially in the apparatus criticus.

Manuscripts

The main pseudo-Orphic text treated here is preserved in several patristic witnesses, whose relevant manuscript evidence is given below. The witnesses are listed in their probable chronological order.

1. Pseudo-Justin *Cohortatio ad Graecos*

A Parisinus graecus 451, 914 C.E. (Arethas)

Apographs of A:

m Mutinensis Misc. graecus 126: α. S.5.9 (= III D 7), early 11th cent. (not used by Otto)
p Parisinus graecus 174, 12th cent. (=Otto's B)
s Argentoratensis graecus 9, 13th or 14th cent. (=Otto's F), possibly an apograph of m
q Parisinus graecus 450, 1364 CE (=Otto's C)
r Parisinus graecus 19, 16th cent. (=Otto's D), an apograph of p
g Gissensis graecus 669, 16th cent. (=Otto's G)

(See M. Marcovich, *Pseudo-Iustinus*, 19–21.)

In addition to the above mentioned MSS, Otto lists the following MS which is cited in a few readings:

E Claromontanus 82, 1541 CE (now Fenwickianus, pp. 28–76)

He also mentions Codex Bononiensis and Codex Florentinus 32 plut. 10, but no readings for *Coh.* 15 are cited from them. He makes occasional reference to two Latin translations of the *Cohortatio*:

P I. (G.) F. Pico, 1507 CE

L Vimariensis, by Dominicus Lampson, 16th cent.

(See J. C. T. Otto, CAC, 3, vii–xxxii.)

2. Pseudo-Justin *De Monarchia*

q Parisinus graecus 450, 1364 CE (=Otto's C)
s Argentoratensis graecus 9, 13th or 14th cent. (=Otto's F)

(See M. Marcovich, *Pseudo-Iustinus*, 83–84.)

In addition to these two manuscripts, Otto lists the following:

E Claromontanus 82, 1541 CE (now *Fenwickianus*, pp. 386–94)

He also designates the Latin translation as follows:

L Vimariensis, by Dominicus Lampson, 16th cent.

(See J. C. T. Otto, CAC, 3, vii–xxxii.)

3. Clement *Protrepticus*

M Mutinensis III D 7 (now No. 126 or S.5.9)
P Parisinus graecus 451
- P* Original reading in P; corresponds to other MSS
- P^1 First hand (Baanes) in P
- P^2 Second hand (Arethas) in P
- P^3 Later hand in P; e.g. the writer of marginal notes

(See Stählin & Treu, GCS 12 [=56], vol. 1, p. 2; Mondésert, SC 2, p. 45.)

4. Clement *Stromateis*

L Laurentianus V 3, 11th cent.
- L^1 The original scribe who corrected many mistakes
- L^2-L^3 Two younger hands who corrected many mistakes

Ath Cod. Athous (Codex Lawra B 113), 11th cent.

(See Stählin-Früchtel, GCS 15 [=52], vol. 2, pp. vii–xv and xvii.)

5. Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica*

A Parisinus graecus 451, 914 CE
B Parisinus graecus 465, 13th cent. (3rd quarter)
C Parisinus graecus 466, 16th cent.
D Parisinus graecus 467, 16th cent. (older than E)
E Parisinus graecus 468, 16th cent.
F Laurentianus Plut. VI 6, 15th cent.
G Laurentianus VI 9, 1344 CE
H Marcianus graecus 343, 11th cent.
I Marcianus graecus 341, 15th cent.
j Marcianus graecus 342, 1470 CE
N Neapolitanus graecus II AA 16, 15th cent.
O Bononiensis Univ. 3643, end of 13th cent.
V Batopedianus 180, 1335 CE

(See Mras, GCS 43.1 [=8.1], vol. 1, pp. XIII–LVIII, esp. p. LIX.)

6. Cyril of Alexandria *Contra Iulianum*

M Marcianus graecus 123, beginning of 14th cent.
V Marcianus graecus 122, 1343 CE
N Marcianus graecus 124, 15th cent.
F Scorialensis Ψ.III.12, 13th cent.
E Scorialensis Ω.III.5, 15th cent.
C Berolinensis graecus 40, ca. end of 15th or beginning of 16th cent.
B Monacensis graecus 65, 16th cent.
P Parisinus graecus 1261, 1537 CE

(See P. Burguière and P. Evieux, *Cyrille d'Alexandrie Contre Julien*, Vol. 1, Books 1–2, SC 322, pp. 80–97, esp. p. 96.)

7. Theodoret *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio*

K Vaticanus graecus 2249, 10th cent.
B Bodleianus Auct. E.II.14., 11th cent.
L Laurentianus X 18, 11th cent.
M Marcianus graecus 559, 12th cent.
S Scorialensis X.II.15, 11th cent.
C Parisinus graecus Coislinianus 250, 11th cent.
V Vaticanus graecus 626, 1307 CE
D Bodleianus Canonicianus 27, 16th cent.

(See P. Canivet, *Théodoret de Cyr. Thérapeutique des maladies helléniques*, SC 57, vol. 1, pp. 88–89.)

8. Tübingen Theosophy

T Tubingensis M b 27, 16th cent.

(See H. Erbse, *Fragmente griechischer Theosophien* [Hamburg, 1941], 1 n. 1, 165.)

Symbols Used in Apparatus Criticus

< >	Conjectural addition (omitted in all MSS)
{ }	Conjectural deletion
[ ]	Lacuna(e) resulting from physical damage (full stops may be used to represent letter-spaces)
⟦ ⟧	Scribal deletion or erasure
` ´	Scribal correction
⌞ ⌟	Non-conjectural lacuna(e), that is, lacuna(e) whose content is known or can be supplied from another source (full stops may be used to represent letter-spaces)
†	Editorial indication of corruption in the text (corrupt phrase enclosed by † †; corrupt word preceded immediately by †)
α̣β̣γ̣δ̣	Letters deciphered with uncertainty
x	Stands in letter-space left by erasure
:	Separates variants within a variation unit; also stands after the unit from the text that introduces the variation unit
|	Separates variation units
?	Indicates editorial uncertainty
(!)	= (sic)
( )	Encloses parenthetical remarks
1 2 3	Designates first, second, third correctors (i.e., B^1, B^2 = B corrected by the original scribe, by the second hand, etc.)
.	Letter absent in MS(S)
*	Beside MS = original MS or MS before correction

(See M. L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique* [Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973] 80–81.)

Abbreviations Used in Apparatus Criticus

abbrev.	=	*abbreviavit*
ac	=	*ante correctionem*
add.	=	*addidit*
aspir.	=	*aspiratus*
c	=	*correctores priores*
cett.	=	*ceteri*
cf.	=	*confer*
cj.	=	*conjecit*
cod.	=	*codex*
codd.	=	*codices*
corr.	=	*correxit*
del.	=	*delevit*
ditt.	=	dittography
ed(d).	=	*editio/-nes; editor/-es*
ed. pr.	=	*editio princeps*
emend.	=	*emendavit*
et al.	=	*et alii*
fort.	=	*fortasse*
frg(s).	=	fragment(s)
κτλ.	=	καὶ τὰ λοιπά
lac.	=	*lacuna*
lin.	=	line(s)
m.	=	*manus*
mg./marg.	=	*in margine*
MS(S)	=	manuscript(s)
mut.	=	*mutavit* or *mutilatus*
n/not.	=	note(s)
om.	=	*omisit*
p(p).	=	*pagina/paginae*
par.	=	paragraph(s)
pc	=	*post correctionem*
praef.	=	*praefatio*
r	=	*correctores recentiores*
ras.	=	*rasura*

rec.(recc.)	=	*recentior(es)*
rest.	=	*restituit*
sq(q).	=	*sequens(-entes)*
ss	=	*supra scripsit*
superscr.	=	*superscripsit*
s.v.	=	*sub voce (verbo)*
transp.	=	*transposuit*
x	=	*rasura*
v.l.	=	*varia lectio*

(See Association Internationale des Etudes Byzantines, *Bulletin d'Information et de Coordination* 4 [1968] 24–31; also B. Aland, et al., *Novum Testamentum Graece* [27th ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1993] 776–79; H. P. Rüger, *An English Key to the Latin Words and Abbreviations and the Symbols of BIBLIA HEBRAICA SUTTGARTENSIA* [Stuttgart: German Bible Society, 1981].)

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Includes texts of most of the authors; reprints Heinichen's text; no translation. Introduction and fairly extensive notes of limited value.

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The most comprehensive collection of fragmentary Hellenistic Jewish authors to date. Useful introduction, texts (pp. 61–228), minimal critical apparatus, indices of biblical references, ancient and modern authors. Useful introductory material and extensive bibliography of each author provided in Denis, *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'ancien testament*. Leiden: Brill, 1970. (=Denis, *Intro.*)

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C. Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica.*

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The earliest edition of the Greek text of *P.E.* Based on MSS D & E. The page numbers of this edition appear in the margins of some subsequent editions.

Vigerus, F. *Eusebii Pamphili Caesareae Palaestinae episcopi Praeparatio Evangelica*. Paris, 1628. (=Viger, Vigier, Viguier, Vig.)

Contains text expertly revised by Viger, also his fresh Latin translation and annotations. His re-division of the chapters was adopted by later editions, especially Mras. The page numbers of this edition, with the additional a-d division, appeared

in the margins of most subsequent editions, and became the most widely used system of reference.

Heinichen, F. A. *Eusebii Pamphili Praeparationis Evangelicae libri XV.* Leipzig, 1842–43. 2 vols. (=Hein.)

Reprints Greek text based on Stephanus and Viger. Underneath the text are printed Viger's critical notes, including textual notes, parallel references, explanations. Indices of authors, topics, and Greek words.

Gaisford, T. *Eusebii Pamphili Evangelicae Praeparationis libri XV.* Oxford, 1843. 4 vols. (=Gais.)

Contains text revised by Gaisford, with full critical apparatus and Viger's Latin translation on each page. Vol. 4 contains Viger's notes (pp. 148–338), two appendices, one on Aristobulus by L. C. Valckenaer (pp. 339–451), another on the Orphic fragments by P. Wesseling (pp. 452–58), as well as indices of authors, biblical passages, names and subjects.

Migne, J. P. *Patrologia Graeca* (21): *Eusebius Pamphili Caesariensis Episcopus* (3): *Praeparatio Evangelica.* Ed. F. Viger. Paris, 1857. (=*PG* 21)

Prints Viger's Greek text, notes, and Latin translation on each page. Greek and Latin in parallel columns. Appendices (cols. 1457–1666) contain notes by Seguier whose French translation of *P.E.* appeared in 1846. Indices of authors, names, and subjects.

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Vol. 1 treats the Babylonian and Persian periods; Vol. 2 treats the Jews under Seleucid rule and the Maccabean period (til 133 BCE); Vol. 3 contains misc. discussions, esp. notes and excursuses on different aspects of the period (see esp. pp. 436–579 on Egyptian Judaism). Vol. 3 also contains an index to all three volumes, and designates the first volume as "A," i.e. the earlier history, volume 2 as "I" and volume 3 as "II."

Each volume appears under the above title. Apparently by the end of the work, Herzfeld decided to include all three volumes under the title: *Geschichte des Volkes Jisrael von Vollendung des zweiten Tempels bis zur Einsetzung des Mackabäers Schimon zum hohen Priester und Fürsten.* A rather confusing arrangement resulted: the comprehensive title *Vollendung* is divided into two parts: Part 1 consists of the first two volumes of *Zerstörung*; Part 2 consists of the third volume of excurses. Thus *Vollendung*, Vol. 1 =*Zerstörung*, Vols. 1 & 2; *Vollendung*, Vol. 2 =*Zerstörung*, Vol. 3.

Herzfeld also published a condensed one-volume version of the above three-volume work, under the title: L. Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Jisrael von der Zerstörung des ersten Tempels bis zur Einsetzung des Mackabäers Schimon zum hohen Priester und Fürsten, aus seinem dreibändigen Werke des gleichen Titels kürzer dargestellt und überarbeitet*. Leipzig: O. Leiner, 1870.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY ABBREVIATIONS

ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
ANCL	Ante-Nicene Christian Library
ANET	J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers
ANRW	W. Haase and H. Temporini, eds., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
AnthGr	*Anthologia Graeca*
APOT	R. H. Charles, ed., *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*
ATAbh	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
BAGD	W. Bauer, W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and F. W. Danker, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BFCT	Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie
BHH	B. Reicke and L. Rost, eds., *Biblisch-Historisches Handwörterbuch*
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*
BKV	O. Stählin, et al., eds., Bibliothek der Kirchenväter
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	Beihefte zur *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
BZNW	Beihefte zur *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
CA	J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*
CAC	Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Saeculi Secundi
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly—Monograph Series
CIJ	*Corpus inscriptionum judaicarum*
Coll. Alex.	J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*

CPJ	V. Tcherikover and A. Fuks, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum*
CRINT	Compendia rerum iudaicarum ad novum testamentum
CSHB	*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*
DB	*Dictionnaire de la Bible*
EHBS	Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδαιῶν = *Annuaire de l'Association d'Etudes Byzantines*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EncJud	*Encyclopaedia Judaica*
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses*
FGrH	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*
FHG	C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*
FHJA	C. R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GCS	Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
GLAJJ	M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*
HAW	Handbuch der Altertums Wissenschaft
HDB	J. Hastings, ed., *Dictionary of the Bible*
HERE	J. Hastings, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*
HJC	H. Conzelmann, *Heiden—Juden—Christen*
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HRK	P. Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zum Judentum und Christentum*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
HUCM	Monographs of the Hebrew Union College
IDB	*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*
JAC	Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JE	*Jewish Encyclopedia*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JHP	P. W. van der Horst, *Joods-hellenistische poëzie*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JSHRZ	W. G. Kümmel, et al., eds., Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KP	*Der Kleine Pauly*

LAW	*Lexikon der Alten Welt* (Zürich/Stuttgart: Artemis, 1965)
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LPNF	Later Post-Nicene Fathers
LSJ	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon with Supplement*
LTK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*
MGWJ	*Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums*
NJKA	*Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum*
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum, Supplements
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OCD	*Oxford Classical Dictionary*
ODCC	*Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2d ed., 1974
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, ed., *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*
OTP	J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*
PAAJR	*Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research*
PAMR	J. H. Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research* (1976)
PAMRS	J. H. Charlesworth, *The Pseudepigrapha and Modern Research with Supplement* (1981)
PG	J. Migne, *Patrologia graeca*
PL	J. Migne, *Patrologia latina*
PW	Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RE	J. J. Herzog and G. L. Plitt, eds., 2d ed.; A. Hauck, ed., 3d ed., *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*
RealEncJud	J. Hamburger, ed., *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*
RGG	*Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*
RheinMus	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
RHPR	*Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RJ	W. Bousset and H. Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter*
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLDS	SBL Dissertation Series
SBLMS	SBL Monograph Series

SBLSCS	SBL Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSP	SBL Seminar Papers
SBLTT	SBL Texts and Translations
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SH	H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, eds., *Supplementum Hellenisticum*
SIG	W. Dittenberger, ed., *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
ST	*Studia theologica*
Supp. Hell.	H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons, eds., *Supplementum Hellenisticum*
SVF	H. von Arnim, ed., *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti pseudepigrapha
TDNT	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, eds., *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*
ThĒE	A. Martinos, ed., *Thrēskeutikē kai Ēthikē Egkuklopaideia* (*Theological and Ethical Encyclopedia*). 12 vols. Athens, 1962-68.
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TrGF	B. Snell and R. Kannicht, eds., *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*
TRu	*Theologische Rundschau*
TSK	*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
TWNT	G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, eds., *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*
VC	*Vigiliae christianae*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungun zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*
ZWT	*Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*

Other Abbreviations

Abbreviations throughout the work, for the most part, conform to those suggested in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* "Instructions for Contributors" (cf. American Academy of Religion/Society of Biblical Literature *Membership Directory and Handbook 1993*, 383-400). For the classical authors and sources, abbreviations in Liddell-Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon with Supplement* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968) and Lewis and Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1879; repr. 1969) have been used, with some minor modifications for the sake of clarity. The most frequently cited sources are abbreviated as follows:

Ag. Ap.	Josephus *Against Apion*
Ant.	Josephus *Antiquities*
H.E./ *Hist. eccl.*	Eusebius *Historia Ecclesiastica*
J.W.	Josephus *Jewish War*
P.E.	Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica*
Protr.	Clement *Protrepticus*
Strom.	Clement *Stromateis*

The names of persons frequently referred to, usually editors, are abbreviated as follows:

Denis	A.-M. Denis
Dind.	Dindorf (of whom there are several; cf. Bibliography of Sources for the Collection)
Dübner	F. Dübner
Freu.	J. Freudenthal
Gais.	T. Gaisford
Giff.	E. H. Gifford
Hein.	F. A. Heinichen
Horst	P. W. van der Horst
Jac.	F. Jacoby
Jacobson	H. Jacobson
Kuiper	K. Kuiper
Lloyd-Jones	H. Lloyd-Jones
Ludwich	A. Ludwich
Marc.	M. Marcovich
Mras	K. Mras
Müll.	C. Müller (=K. Müller)
Parsons	P. Parsons
Phil./ Philippson	L. M. Philippson

Riessler	P. Riessler
Snell	B. Snell
Stearns	W. N. Stearns
Steph.	R. Stephanus/Estienne/Etienne/Stephens
Strugnell	J. Strugnell
Sylburg	F. Sylburg
Vig.	F. Viger/Vigerus/Vigier/Viguier
Walter	N. Walter
Wieneke	J. Wieneke
Wilam.	Wilamowitz-Möllendorff (see Stählin-Früchtel, GCS 15 [=52], vol. 2, p. 2)

PSEUDO-ORPHEUS

The poetic fragment called Pseudo-Orpheus, which in its longest recension contains forty-six lines of hexameter verse,[1] is widely regarded as a Jewish composition. Since it is ascribed to Orpheus by all of the patristic witnesses in which it is preserved, it has traditionally been included in standard collections of Orphic material but treated as a Jewish pseudepigraph.[2]

It is an oversimplification to refer to the work as a single poem; it is rather a piece of floating poetic tradition that existed in two or three, perhaps more, recensions. It has been preserved in various forms by Christian authors, though one of them, Eusebius, says that a version of the poem was cited by Aristobulus, the Jewish philosopher who flourished in Alexandria in the mid-second century BCE. In all of its forms, the poem has retained the basic structure of an address by Orpheus to his son Musaeus.[3]

Patristic Witnesses

The poem is preserved in the following Christian authors, listed in their probable chronological order:

1. ***Clement of Alexandria*** (d. ca. 215).

Portions of the poem, ranging from single lines to larger sections, are quoted by Clement in the following passages: *Protrepticus* 7.74.4–5 (vv. 1, 3–9a, 10–12); *Stromateis* 5.12.78.4–5 (vv. 10, 11b, 12 and 21–23); and *Stromateis* 5.14.123.1 (vv. 6–9a), 123.2 (vv. 27–31), 124.1 (vv. 33–36, 38–40, 43–44), 126.5 (vv. 14 and 16), 127.2 (vv. 35, 36a, 34b), and 133.2 (v. 17).

As is evident from this list, some of the verses are quoted twice (vv. 6–9a, vv. 10–12, vv. 34–36), the latter two sets in different forms. The forty or so verses that Clement quotes (some only partially, one conflated) represent thirty-one different verses of the forty-six verses that eventually became part of the poem.

Clement's quotations include virtually all of the poem found in Pseudo-Justin (see below), but they also include a section about a "Chaldean" astrologer, commonly designated the "Abraham section" (vv. 27–31), and portions of the concluding section (vv. 38–40, 43–44).

2. ***Pseudo-Justin*** (late third–early fourth century).

The poem is quoted in two pseudonymous works attributed to Justin Martyr. The first of these, *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 15 (=*Coh.*), dated in the second half of the third century,[4] quotes the poem as a single piece consisting of vv. 1, 3, 4–8, 10–12, 14, 16–17, 21–22, 24, and 33–37 (v. 6 is repeated at the end of §15). In the second work *De Monarchia* 2 (=*Mon.*), difficult to date but certainly prior to 311–12,[5] the poem is quoted again with a few minor textual variations but without vv. 1 and 3.

In both works the piece is attributed to Orpheus and (in *Mon.* explicitly) is cited as proof that he renounced polytheism and accepted belief in the one God.[6] In *Mon.* the poem is said to have been taken from the Orphic tractate Διαθῆκαι.[7]

These two quotations comprise forty verses, representing twenty-one separate lines from the poem. Pseudo-Justin's version, which constitutes the "core" poem, focuses primarily on the one God, the transcendent, invisible ruler of the universe, although it also mentions the divine Logos as the infallible guide who leads the earnest inquirer to this God.

As already noted, with the exception of a few verses (vv. 24, 37), the poem that appears in Pseudo-Justin is included among Clement's scattered quotations. Its concluding section (vv. 33–36, but not v. 37) it shares with Clement. It does not, however, contain the "Abraham" section (vv. 27–31).

3. ***Eusebius of Caesarea*** (d. 339).

The poem is quoted in two sections of Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica*. In the first, *P.E.* 13.12.5, it occurs in a quotation that Eusebius attributes to Aristobulus (=EusA). It is introduced by Aristobulus as deriving from the Ἱερὸς Λόγος of Orpheus,[8] and it is cited as proof that God both created and controls all things. What follows is a unified piece consisting of forty-one verses.

EusA includes virtually all of the verses found in Pseudo-Justin (Pseudo-Justin's vv. 22, 24, and 37 are absent) and Clement (Clement's vv. 22 and 23 are absent). It also includes Clement's "Abraham" section (vv. 27–31) but enclosed by new verses (vv. 25–26 and 32). It also contains other verses not found in Clement or Pseudo-Justin: vv. 2, 9b, 15, 18–20, 41–42, and 44b–46. Especially significant are those that appear to refer to Moses (vv. 41–42) and the Mosaic law (vv. 2, 9b, perhaps 25), although none of them mentions Moses by name. These "Moses" sections

not only introduce new motifs into the poem but along with other redactional changes may also alter the way the "Abraham" section is read. If so, these combined changes could give EusA's version of the poem a pervasive Mosaic overlay.

Portions of the poem are also quoted in *P.E.* 13.13.50–51, 53–54, in the section of *P.E.* (13.13.1–65) where Eusebius reproduces verbatim large portions of Clement's *Stromateis* (5.14.89.1–96.2=*P.E.* 13.13.1–17; 5.14.98.1–134.1=*P.E.* 13.13.18–65). In these sections (=EusC), all of the quotations that appear in *Strom.* 5.14.123–133 are repeated in virtually the same form. These include (in the order of their appearance) vv. 6–9a; vv. 27–31; a single quotation comprising vv. 33–36, 38–40, 43–44a; vv. 14 and 16 (as a single quotation); vv. 35, 36a+34b (as a single, two-verse quotation), and v. 17. The verses that are cited twice by Clement in two different forms—first as three-verses comprising part of a longer quotation in *Strom.* 5.14.124.1 (vv. 34–36), and then as a two-verse quotation in *Strom.* 5.14.127.2 (v. 35 and v. 36a+34b)—are repeated in the same form in EusC (*P.E.* 13.13.51 and *P.E.* 13.13.54 respectively).

This latter group of Clement quotations preserved by Eusebius (EusC) does not appreciably alter the Clementine tradition. In some instances they help provide useful text-critical information. They provide at least one case (v. 14) where EusA and EusC preserve fundamentally different versions of a verse. Like Clement, Eusebius does not attribute any of the quoted verses to Aristobulus; instead, they are all attributed directly to Orpheus himself.

4. ***Cyril of Alexandria*** (d. 444).

Two sections of the poem are quoted in Cyril *Contra Iulianum* 1.35. The first section comprises vv. 1, 3–8, 10–12; the second section comprises vv. 33–37. In all, Cyril quotes fifteen verses. It is clear from the form of the poem quoted by Cyril that he depended directly on Pseudo-Justin *Coh.*, since he quotes vv. 1 and 3, which are omitted in *Mon.* He also quotes v. 37, which previously occurs only in Pseudo-Justin (both *Coh.* and *Mon.*) and is later included in TTu (see below). Essentially, Cyril quotes the first ten and last five verses of *Coh.*[9] There is only slight evidence suggesting that Cyril depended on either Clement or Eusebius for his version of the poem.[10]

5. ***Theodoret*** (d. 466).

Two sections of the poem are also quoted in Theodoret *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio* 2.30–31. The first section, comprising six verses (vv. 10–12 and 21–23), corresponds to the section quoted by Clement in *Strom.* 5.12.78.4–5; the second section contains seven (vv. 33–36 and 38–40) of the nine verses quoted by Clement in *Strom.* 5.14.124.1. Because Theodoret's section divisions correspond so closely to those in Clement and because he quotes one verse (v. 23) that is found previously only in Clement,[11] his dependence on Clement is certain.[12] Three of his verses (vv. 10 and 40; also, v. 11a, which is absent in *Strom.* 5.12.78.4), however, agree with EusA over against Clement, suggesting that he at least knew EusA or its underlying recension.[13]

6. ***Tübingen Theosophy*** (fifth century).

The fullest version of the poem occurs in a collection of oracles stemming from a fifth-century work entitled Θεοσοφία. Since these oracles are preserved in the sixteenth-century manuscript Tubingensis, they (as well as the larger work from which they derive) have come to be called the Tübingen Theosophy or some variation thereof.[14] Composed by an unknown author,[15] this work contains a section of miscellaneous religious-philosophical, mostly oracular, texts whose aim was to show the harmony between the best of pagan wisdom and the Jewish-Christian tradition. Monotheism and the doctrine of the Trinity are given special attention. Included among the texts is a version of the Pseudo-Orphic poem with forty-six verses introduced by a paragraph directly attributing the work to Orpheus but also noting his conversion from polytheism to monotheism and the wisdom of the Chaldeans.

Unlike previous witnesses which omit at least some verses found in all other witnesses, the Theosophia Tubingensis (=TTu) omits no material from the other witnesses;[16] instead, it is a comprehensive compilation of all previous verses. It even includes a new verse (v. 13), which is actually a variation of a verse that occurs earlier in Pseudo-Justin (v. 21). The text reflects clear conflationary tendencies, sometimes combining in a single verse readings from previous patristic witnesses, thus producing an entirely new form of the verse. EusA has served as the primary source for TTu, since many of their readings agree. However, there are some instances which demonstrate TTu's direct dependence on Pseudo-Justin (v. 24) and probably Clement (v. 13).[17] There is no clear indication that TTu knows the version of the poem in Cyril and Theodoret.[18]

Testimony of Theophilus of Antioch

Orpheus is mentioned briefly by Theophilus of Antioch in *Ad Autolycum*, dated ca. 180 CE. In Book 3, § 2, Theophilus lists numerous Greek writers from Homer onward and briefly characterizes "their useless and godless notions." Included among them is Orpheus who at the end of his life is said to have rejected the 365 gods whom he had earlier propounded. He is also said to have written in his *Testaments* that he professed belief in the one God.[19] The similarity between this brief testimony and the introductory section to the poem in *Mon.* suggests that one directly depended on the other or that both witnesses drew on a common tradition.[20]

Summary Observations about the Patristic Witnesses

As to the relative value of these patristic witnesses for understanding the textual history, the following observations can be made:

First, Cyril's exclusive dependence on Pseudo-Justin makes his testimony derivative, and consequently his version contains neither readings nor information that significantly illuminate our understanding of the tradition history of the poem. It is useful, however, in illustrating the fluid manner in which the text could be cited and appropriated by patristic authors.

Second, Theodoret's primary dependence on Clement and secondary dependence on EusA makes his version of little independent value, although it does perhaps explain why TTu included v. 13 as a revised form of v. 21 (see Recension D commentary v. 13).[21] As was the case with Cyril, Theodoret's version of the poem represents yet another configuration based mainly on Clement and illustrates once again the fluidity of the tradition.

Third, in spite of its conflationary tendency the Tübingen Theosophy in some places appears to preserve earlier—and better—readings than any of the previous witnesses. At the very least, it proves helpful in ascertaining earlier readings. Thus even though it is late and contains many secondary readings, it is still valuable for reconstructing earlier stages of the textual tradition.

Fourth, since they are the earliest as well as the primary witnesses, the three remaining witnesses—Pseudo-Justin, Clement, and Eusebius (and to a lesser extent, TTu)—are the most important sources for reconstructing the textual history of the poem and for doing critical analysis of its contents.[22]

Fifth, because of the peculiar configuration of the evidence in Clement and its critical role in determining the textual history, its distinctive features should be noted. In *Protr.* and the (mostly) scattered quotations in *Strom.*, Clement's verses mainly resemble those in Pseudo-Justin; but in the rather lengthy, extended quotation in *Strom.* his verses mainly resemble those in EusA. For the most part the former group of verses comes from the first half of the poem, while the latter group is from the second half.[23]

Sixth, Theophilus' dependence on Pseudo-Justin *Mon.* seems certain and thus his testimony, though brief, is secondary.[24]

Textual History

One of the fundamental problems facing the interpreter of Pseudo-Orpheus is its extremely complicated textual history. This results from several factors: (1) the number of patristic witnesses in which the text is preserved; (2) the various forms in which the text is preserved, ranging from scattered pieces or sections to more unified wholes of varying lengths; (3) the degree to which the manuscript readings for one witness have been influenced by other patristic witnesses (e.g., some readings in the MS tradition for Pseudo-Justin appear to reflect knowledge of Clement or Eusebius).

To state the problem succinctly, in the Pseudo-Orpheus poem we are not dealing with a single, relatively static text with many variants but a *fluid* text preserved in *different* forms in *several* witnesses, each with *many* variants.

In the history of scholarship on the poem there have emerged two options for explaining its textual history. The first, which might be described as a *multilinear* view, envisions either a single prototype or a loose collection of Orphic and pseudo-Orphic sayings or verses from which various recensions might have developed (more or less) independently.[25] The second view might be designated as *unilinear*. According to this view, an original text, perhaps derived from different (Orphic?) sources, underwent various modifications and expansions in some genealogical fashion and retained a (more or less) single, identifiable form.

Over the last two centuries the latter view has predominated as scholars have sought to construct a plausible developmental scheme to account for the many complex features of its textual history. Numerous recensional theories have resulted. In spite of their different designations

and their varying degrees of complexity, they have yielded something of a consensus concerning the basic developmental scheme used for discussing the poem. Still debated, however, is the number of recensions and their relationship to each other.

Two recensions. Some scholars have adopted a two-recension scheme, which essentially sees a "short" recension represented by Pseudo-Justin and a "long" recension represented by EusA (and TTu), with Clement in a mediating position reflecting knowledge of both.[26]

Three or more recensions. Other scholars, however, have adopted a recensional scheme consisting of three or more recensions that roughly correspond to the primary patristic witnesses—Pseudo-Justin, Clement, EusA (and TTu). These recensions have been variously designated,[27] but for the purposes of the following discussion (and for my presentation and analysis of the poem), I have adopted Walter's designations A, B, C, and D.[28]

The recensions may be characterized as follows:

Recension A, the shortest recension, with some minor qualifications is basically reflected in Pseudo-Justin and those portions of Clement's quotations that agree with Pseudo-Justin.[29]

Recension B, an expanded version of Recension A, is distinguished by its addition of the "Abraham" section (vv. 27–31) and concluding material about God (vv. 38–40, 43–44). It is reflected primarily in Clement, especially those portions that agree with EusA.[30] But since it incorporates Recension A, it is also reflected in those portions of Clement that agree with Pseudo-Justin.[31] Because it is later incorporated into Recension C, it is obviously reflected to some extent in EusA as well. Still, Clement provides the primary window through which it can be viewed.

Recension C, an expanded version of Recension B, is distinguished by its addition of the "Moses" portions (esp. vv. 2, 41–42, possibly 25), but other redactional expansions as well (vv. 15, 18–20, 25–26, 32, 44b–46). It is primarily reflected in the poem attributed to Orpheus by Aristobulus that is cited by Eusebius (EusA). However, since it incorporates previous recensions, signs of it are visible in Pseudo-Justin and Clement as well.

Recension D, the longest recension, contains all of the verses from previous recensions plus an additional verse (v. 13). It is especially distinguished by Christian redactional changes in vv. 17–20 that reinterpret these verses as a reference to the Incarnation.[32]

Relationship between the recensions. Because Recension D is undeniably the final stage, the debate has focussed on the interrelationship between Recensions A, B, and C. Two basic positions have emerged to explain the relationships among the several recensions. They may be stated formulaically as A–C–B and A–B–C.[33]

Valckenaer. The first position (A–C–B) received its classic statement by Valckenaer.[34] In response to Hody's charge that the fragments attributed to Aristobulus were Christian forgeries from the second century CE, Valckenaer argued that they were written by the Jewish author Aristobulus in the second century BCE. Naturally this meant that the Orphic poem cited by Aristobulus belonged to the same period. Valckenaer assigned responsibility for this version of the poem to Aristobulus himself or possibly one of his Jewish contemporaries. In fact, Valckenaer regarded Aristobulus (or one of his Jewish contemporaries) as the author not only of the forged verses he cites (this version of the Orphic poem, as well as the "sabbath verses" attributed to Hesiod, Homer, and Linus), but also of the various "monotheistic" poetic fragments attributed to the Greek tragic and comic poets.[35] He thought that Aristobulus (or one of his Jewish contemporaries) likely produced other such texts.

As for the composition of the Pseudo-Orphic poem that appears in Eusebius, Valckenaer envisioned two stages: an earlier poem—a Pythagorean piece that belonged to the Orphic Ἱερὸς Λόγος—which was preserved by Pseudo-Justin (=our Recension A). This "uninterpolated version" constituted the "core" poem, which was then expanded by Aristobulus (or one of his Jewish contemporaries). Thus, according to Valckenaer, Aristobulus was not responsible for the entire poem that appears in Eusebius but only for the verses not found in the original Pseudo-Justin version. Only in this qualified sense did Valckenaer make Aristobulus responsible for the expanded version of the poem (=our Recension C) that was eventually cited by Eusebius. Valckenaer also believed that Clement knew this expanded version (Recension C) but that he abbreviated it by omitting sections that he thought were too "Jewish." Among the verses he thought Clement's readers might find incredible were vv. 2, 9b, 25, 41–42. Thus, in Valckenaer's scheme, the EusA version (Recension C) gave way to the shorter version represented in Clement (Recension B).[36] Furthermore, Valckenaer thought Clement was mistaken in applying the "Chaldean section" (vv. 27–30) to Abraham. Instead, he thought all of the portions interpolated by Aristobulus focussed on Moses.

Lobeck and Elter. The second position (A–B–C), first articulated by Lobeck[37] but then elaborately developed by Elter,[38] also regards the short text in Pseudo-Justin (Recension A) as the earliest form of the poem. Proponents of this position also agree that as the poem was transmitted it gradually acquired accretions—first the "Abraham" section and a fuller conclusion (both reflected in Clement), and at a later stage the "Moses" portions. This last form (Recension C) finally appeared in EusA.

Elter's analysis was the first to take into account TTu, which had come to light only a few years earlier.[39] What especially distinguishes Elter's analysis is his extraordinarily detailed theory of recensions, which may be summarized as follows:[40]

(1) ca. 180 CE the author of *Mon.* composed (along with the forged poetic verses) the short form of the poem (the "justinische" recension, i.e., our Recension A);

(2) this was then taken over by another author who composed *Coh.*, on which Cyril later drew;

(3) between the time of the author of *Mon.* and Clement the poem was expanded by two "Pseudo-Hecataean" editors who added the Abraham material and made other changes (the "hekatäische" Recension, i.e., our Recension B);

(4) Clement then used these several versions of the poem as the basis for his quotations;

(5) between the time of Clement and Eusebius the poem underwent additional expansion by two "Aristobulus" editors who added the Moses portions (vv. 25, 41–42, which then changed the sense of vv. 43–44) and reworked the poem "in maiorem Mosis gloriam"; with these changes it acquired a new viewpoint: "extra Mosaicam legem salus non esse" (this "aristobulische" recension corresponds to our Recension C);

(6) Eusebius then used this reworked "Aristobulus" version; Theodoret copied two sections of the poem from Clement but made some corrections based on the Eusebius version;

(7) finally, TTu, drawing especially on an earlier Hecataeus version but also on one of the Aristobulus versions with the Moses verses, wove together the many previous strands into a comprehensive whole, making numerous changes himself.

In all, Elter distinguishes sixteen separate stages in the textual history of the poem.

Several things should be noted about Elter's position. First, the recension history from start to finish occurs between the second and fifth centuries CE. Since it is fundamentally a part of Christian tradition history, the various authors are Christians using pseudonyms.[41] Second, although his complicated history of recensions has not been accepted,[42] his proposal that the "Moses" redactions occurred between the time of Clement and Eusebius has found acceptance.[43] Third, his fundamental scheme (A–B–C) has been widely accepted, although his dating of the scheme has not.

Erbse. With some modifications, Elter's scheme was accepted in its basic form by Erbse.[44] Erbse agreed with Elter that TTu represents an older, better recension that existed prior to both Clement and Eusebius but known to neither of them. He disagreed with Elter, however, by arguing (1) that Clement used five different recensions and (2) that Clement knew Recension C but omitted the "Moses" portions to make it conform to the earlier Recension B.

Walter. In his work on Aristobulus, Walter also provided a detailed treatment of Pseudo-Orpheus in which he adopted a simplified version of Elter's A–B–C scheme.[45] Like Erbse, Walter eliminated many of Elter's intermediate stages and rightly avoided the latter's tendency to attach every variant to an identifiable interpolator or recensional stage.

Several features especially distinguish Walter's work. First, he argues that Clement had two recensions before him—one that conformed to Pseudo-Justin and another that contained the Abraham sections.[46] Second, he proposes a hypothetical Recension X, an intermediate Stoicizing recension of the poem that occurred between Recension A and Recension B.[47] Third, he accepts Elter's proposal to date Recension C between the time of Clement and Eusebius.[48] Fourth, he makes cautious use of TTu. Whereas Elter and Erbse believe that TTu's readings should be weighted more heavily because it represented a better recension that preceded Recension C, Walter is unwilling to give it this priority. He is convinced, however, that with careful use it is helpful in providing or ascertaining better readings in the earlier recensions in spite of its late date and conflationary tendency.[49] Fifth, he does not think that the poem at any stage had any connection with Pseudo-Hecataeus, either Elter's Christian author or Schürer's Jewish author.[50]

This recensional scheme (A–B–C–D) is adopted by Zeegers-Vander Vorst,[51] Schürer,[52] and Collins,[53] although each modifies it especially with regard to the date of the recensions.

LaFargue. A third option (D/C/B–B/A) has been proposed by LaFargue.[54] Although it operates with a two-recension theory, it nevertheless represents a fundamentally different proposal. According to this view, the "short" recension (roughly equivalent to our Recension A), most fully represented in Pseudo-Justin but also reflected in those portions of Clement that agree with Pseudo-Justin (C^1), is the *last* stage in the recensional history. This "short" recension derived from the "long" recension, which is primarily reflected in EusA and TTu (roughly equivalent to our Recensions C and D, but Recension B partially). Rather than seeing the textual history as an evolutionary process where a short form of the poem was gradually expanded, LaFargue thinks the long form of the poem was earlier. Because of its dramatic elevation of Abraham and Moses to divine status, he believes that once it entered the Christian tradition it was abbreviated for theological reasons. The "short" recension is thus a "cleaned-up, orthodoxizing version of an originally longer text."[55]

Not only is this proposal based on an idiosyncratic way of reading the longer recension, it also fails to explain certain problematic theological features that remain in the shorter recension, the most notable being the attribution of evil to God in v. 14 and the retention of the name Zeus in v. 24.[56] (For further discussion, see Recension A commentary vv. 14 and 24; Recension B commentary vv. 33–36.)

Riedweg. The theory of textual transmission proposed by Riedweg offers yet another alternative.[57] Riedweg rejects the widely held view of two (or more) separate recensions,[58] challenging in particular Walter's four-stage recensional history.[59] Instead, he prefers to speak of an original version of the poem, which he designates the "Urfassung" (="A" in his stemma), and an extensively reworked, expanded version, which he calls the "aristobulische Überarbeitung." The latter is the version that appears in the quotation from Aristobulus preserved in Eusebius *P.E.* 13.12.5. Riedweg argues that this expanded version was actually composed by the Jewish author Aristobulus himself sometime in the mid-second century BCE.[60] According to Riedweg, all the ancient witnesses to the text can be traced to these two versions.

Using the various witnesses, Riedweg reconstructs these two versions of the poem. On the basis of his reconstruction he argues that the "Urfassung" ("A") is a Jewish composition from the end of the third century BCE that is based on an earlier pagan model—an Orphic ἱερὸς λόγος. As reconstructed and emended by Riedweg, this text is a sophisticated poetic composition reflecting close familiarity with the Greek epic

tradition and presenting a thoroughly Stoic theological-philosophical outlook. The Aristobulus revision, by contrast, does not exhibit the same level of poetic sophistication, at least not in the editorial expansions and revisions. The author was clearly more philosopher than poet! The net effect of the editorial expansions and changes is a distinctive shift in philosophical outlook from a Stoic to a much more clearly defined Platonic-Aristotelian outlook.

Using this framework of an early and an expanded version, Riedweg envisions two streams of development—one leading to Aristobulus through whom the long, "expanded version" of the poem is transmitted separately to Clement and Eusebius, and another stream where the shorter version, the "Urfassung," is transmitted in one direction to Ps.-J. *Mon.*, then *Coh.*, and finally to Cyril, but in another direction to Clement as well. The two streams eventually converge in the fifth-century compilation Theosophia Tubingensis.

Although eschewing the notion of two separate recensions and preferring to speak instead of versions or "Fassungen," Riedweg's textual theory is still quite conventional in its fundamental conception.[61] He works with a "shorter" and "longer" form of the poem that are genetically connected. In this respect his model does not differ radically from that of many of his predecessors.

In other respects, however, Riedweg's theory of the history of the tradition offers some fresh suggestions. Perhaps one of the most innovative features is his separation of Pseudo-Justin *Mon.* and *Coh.* Here he revives a distinction made earlier by Elter who proposed that the unknown author of *Mon.* composed the short form of the poem, the "Justinian recension," and that this was then taken over by another unknown author who composed *Coh.*[62] But whereas Elter regarded both authors as Christian, Riedweg believes *Mon.* was a Jewish composition dated sometime between the first century BCE and the first century CE.[63] He accepts the more commonly held view that *Coh.* was a Christian work (perhaps written by Marcellus of Ancyra) from the early fourth century CE. Riedweg thinks that the poem appears in *Mon.* perhaps as early as the first century BCE and from there moves in two directions—to Theophilus *Ad Autolycum* (ca. 180 CE), which shows faint traces, but more directly to *Coh.* where it is preserved more or less unchanged. The version in *Coh.* serves as the basis of the lines quoted by Cyril of Alexandria (ca. 441/2 CE).

Another distinctive feature is Riedweg's construal of the relationship between Clement and the "Urfassung." Like his predecessors, Riedweg

takes seriously the close correspondence between the *Mon./Coh.* version of the poem and the various quotations that occur in Clement.[64] Of one thing Riedweg is certain: these correspondences do *not* point to a separate "Clement recension." He thinks Kern, and before him Abel, erred grievously when they (following Lobeck) pulled all of Clement's quotations together and arranged them as a separate recension. Accordingly, he is convinced that later scholars, e.g., Walter and those who have followed him, have also erred in thinking that all of these Clement quotations taken together point to a separate recension of the poem used by Clement (=Walter's Recension B). Instead of seeing the Clement quotations as pointing to, or constituting, a separate recension, Riedweg is willing to use the Clement material only as *indirect evidence* for both the "Urfassung" and the Aristobulus revision. For him this is a critical distinction.

Riedweg readily acknowledges that Clement's quotations show close similarities with the *Mon./Coh.* version of the poem. But he thinks Clement got this set of distinctive readings not from *Mon.* directly but from an earlier copy of the "Urfassung" (designated as "α" in his stemma). Although Riedweg does not use the term, one might think of "α" as a proto-*Mon.* version. Even though "α" is a hypothetical version, Riedweg is required to posit it because the aforementioned cluster of Clement quotations preserves several readings that are better than their counterparts in *Mon.*[65]

Thus, like Valckenaer, Riedweg thinks Clement knew the longer EusA version of the poem (as well as the Pseudo-Justin version mediated through "α") but omitted the "Moses" verses. At one point, he takes up Valckenaer's suggestion that Clement may have found the "Moses" verses too bold in what they posited of Moses and thus incredible to his Christian readers.[66] Riedweg takes special exception to various arguments from silence which claim that had Clement known this longer EusA version he most certainly would have used it. Riedweg responds that our knowledge of the tradition-history of the poem is incredibly sketchy to begin with and that Pseudo-Justin and Clement quoted only portions of it. He insists that if certain verses known from other sources do not appear in a particular author, one can only conclude that these verses for some unknown reason escaped that author's attention or that he simply did not bother with them. Why, he asks, was Clement obliged to quote every verse of the poem when his pattern of citation was to give only snippets here and there?

Overall, Riedweg thinks previous scholarly efforts to explain the textual history have overestimated the significance of Clement's omissions

and underestimated Eusebius' assignment of the poem to Aristobulus in the second century BCE.

In certain respects Riedweg's theory of textual transmission represents a reworking of Valckenaer. Like Valckenaer, Riedweg thinks the EusA version of the poem should be assigned to the Jewish author Aristobulus who thus serves as the earliest independent witness to the poem. Moreover, like Valckenaer, Riedweg thinks Aristobulus himself wrote this version of the poem in the sense that he expanded and reworked the earlier "Urfassung" ("A"). As for the earlier version, both Valckenaer and Riedweg recognize that it is primarily mediated through the Pseudo-Justin tradition, although Riedweg is willing to date it as early as the late third century BCE. Similarly, both think that Clement knew the EusA version of the poem but did not cite the "Moses" verses perhaps for theological reasons. Unlike Valckenaer, however, Riedweg does not feel obliged to explain their omission—they may have been omitted for no reason at all.

Riedweg differs from Valckenaer, however, in his construal of the Pseudo-Justin tradition. He not only distinguishes between *Mon.* and *Coh.* and attributes the former to a Jewish author as early as the first century BCE, but he also posits the existence of a proto-*Mon.* copy of the "Urfassung" ("α"). Here he is much closer to Elter who envisioned several intermediate stages. But unlike Elter, Riedweg sees the earlier stages as the work of Jewish rather than Christian authors.

Fundamental issues in the textual history. As the history of scholarship on the poem has shown, in developing any recensional scheme certain questions are fundamental:

First, whether the form of the poem in Pseudo-Justin (Recension A), which is the shortest, is also the earliest, and thus whether the other forms derive in one way or another from it.[67]

Second, whether the form of the poem which Eusebius says was cited by Aristobulus actually existed as early as the mid-second century BCE, and, if so, how it relates to the poem in Pseudo-Justin (Recension A) and the quotations in Clement.[68]

Third, how to construe the evidence in Clement. In one sense, this is the most critical decision in reconstructing the textual history. It involves a number of questions, such as the nature and number of recensions at Clement's disposal and whether (and how) he used one, two, or more recensions.[69] But two other questions are also fundamental: (1) What is the relationship between Clement and Pseudo-Justin? and (2) What is the relationship between Clement and EusA?

As to the first question, there are the well-known similarities between certain portions of the quotations in Clement and the form of the poem in Pseudo-Justin (see earlier discussion).[70] There is no clear evidence that one depended directly on the other, although there is some evidence that in other regards Pseudo-Justin *Mon.* knew Clement *Strom.*[71] Perhaps the safest conclusion to draw is that Clement and Pseudo-Justin reflect a common recension (Recension A).

The second question can be reformulated quite simply: which came first, Recension B or Recension C?

Because Eusebius says that the "Moses" version of the poem (Recension C) was found in Aristobulus (second century BCE), the initial presumption is that Recension C was quite early, that it existed long before Clement's time and thus preceded the recension(s) (Recension B, possibly Recension A) reflected in Clement. Accordingly, Clement could have used it (or at least known it), especially since portions of his quotations bear close resemblance to the version of the poem found in EusA and since he made use of the writings of Aristobulus in other respects.[72] This would then mean that Recension B (understood roughly as the combined set of quotations cited by Clement, but certainly a version of the poem with the "Abraham" section) somehow derived from Recension C.

But there are difficulties with this explanation. First, as already noted, the version of the poem in EusA (Recension C) contains elements that are absent in Clement's quotations, most notably the statement in vv. 41–42 where Orpheus acknowledges the Mosaic origin of the theology he unfolds to Musaeus in the poem. Since Clement's clear purpose throughout this section of *Stromateis* (5.14.89.1–141.4) is to demonstrate that the best of pagan thought was "stolen" from Jewish traditions, it is difficult to imagine that he knew these "Moses" portions of the poem but did not use them. Thus, if Recension C existed prior to Clement, it seems unlikely that he knew it.

Second, it is difficult to see how certain readings in Recension B could have derived from Recension C. The most notable example is v. 14, which in Clement's version (Recension B; also in Recension A) attributes evil to God, but which in EusA (Recension C) denies the claim and thereby exonerates God. Here, it is easier to imagine that in v. 14 Recension C has corrected Recension B in order to produce a theologically suitable form of the verse than to think that Recension B's theologically problematic form of the verse has been derived from Recension C (see Recension C commentary v. 14).

On the basis of the large number of readings where Clement's text (Recension B) diverges significantly from EusA (Recension C), Zeegers-Vander Vorst also concludes that Recension B could not have been derived directly from Recension C.[73]

Thus there are strong reasons for believing that Recension C reflects a later stage than Recension B.

Summary of arguments for the A–B–C(–D) recensional scheme. In addition to the above mentioned considerations, there are other arguments that favor the A–B–C(–D) recensional scheme.

First, *literary structure and thematic coherence*. Of the four recensions, Recension A is the most thematically coherent. Its central theme is the transcendent God, and its overall structure is logically coherent. There are no clear signs that any verses are extraneous or were added later.[74] The later recensions, however, are not as singly focussed and are less coherent structurally.[75] Especially in Recension B, the structural break on both sides of the "Abraham" section (vv. 27-31) suggests that it is a later interpolation (see Recension B commentary vv. 27–31, also v. 33). These literary seams persist in both Recensions C and D, although they are smoothed out to some degree (see Recension C commentary vv. 28b–32). Similarly, in the final recensions (Recensions C and D), the "Abraham" and "Moses" sections reveal certain tensions; indeed, read a certain way, Recensions C and D may not have Abraham in view at all. By contrast, reading the "Chaldean" section (vv. 27–30) in Recension B, one would scarcely think of applying it to anyone other than Abraham. Thus some recensional scheme is required that can make sense of these different elements. The "gradual growth" hypothesis provides such a scheme.

Second, *treatment of particular motifs*. Somewhat related to the argument from literary structure is the way individual problems or motifs are treated in the various recensions. The aforementioned treatment of Abraham and Moses in Recensions B, C, and D helps strengthen the argument for the B–C–D stages of the recension. For the early stages, however, it should simply be noted that the form of v. 14 attributing evil to God also occurs in Recension A. Thus a plausible explanation is that it was introduced in Recension A, retained in slightly modified but still problematic form in Recension B, and finally corrected in Recension C.

Another example is the treatment of Zeus who is mentioned in v. 24 of Recension A. In the poem's earliest form where there is very little if any demonstrable Jewish influence, such an explicit reference is quite

expected. Yet the verse disappears in Recensions B and C, and the gap is accommodated by appropriate (though not always smooth) redactional changes. As one might expect, it reappears in Recension D but in a neutralized form (see Recension A commentary v. 24).

Third, *editorial additions*. In trying to determine the sequence of recensions, it is naturally important to explain the configuration of verses in the various witnesses/recensions. Quite obviously, Recension B contains verses that are absent in Recension A; and Recension C contains even more additional verses that are present in neither of the others. Thus, it has been argued that the fuller form of the poem in EusA is likely later than the earlier, shorter forms of the poem. Naturally, this type of explanation presumes that later editors tend to add rather than omit verses.[76] Generally speaking, I find this argument convincing, but it should be noted that the absence of verses in and of itself is not a decisive criterion in determining sequence, at least not in every case. For example, if one assumes an A–B–C order, there are verses in A (v. 37; in a sense, v. 24) that are omitted in both B and C. Thus, at these points A, the presumably earlier recension, is actually longer. On the other hand, if one assumes a C–B–A order, there are verses in EusA (Recension C, vv. 2, 25–26, 41–42, et al.) that are omitted in both B and A. In fact, there is at least one verse in each of Recensions A, B, or C that is absent in the other two. More important than noting the mere presence or absence of verses is trying to account for overall patterns of editorial change.

Date

It is theoretically possible to separate the question of the relationship between the recensions from the question of their date. I am more confident, for example, that the A–B–C–D developmental scheme is plausible as a theoretical construct than I am in attaching precise dates to each of the developmental stages. Having achieved some clarity about the scheme itself, we can now try to place it within some historical framework.

Before doing so, however, a preliminary observation is in order: it is most likely that the poem had its own origin and history quite independent of its later citation by Christian authors. Thus it is important to distinguish between the date of the recensions and the date of the patristic witnesses in which these survive. This is an important consideration in determining priority and dependence. It is sometimes assumed, for example, that Recension C must have occurred after Clement because he shows no awareness of it. Yet, it is altogether conceivable that an *early* recension

occurs in a *late* patristic witness. So, for example, even though Pseudo-Justin might be later than Clement, it is still plausible to think that Recension A, which is reflected in Pseudo-Justin, was earlier than the recension(s) reflected in Clement.[77]

We can begin by stating what we know for certain concerning the chronological limits of each Recension:

A — no later than Pseudo-Justin (mid– to late third century CE);

B — no later than Clement (late second–early third century CE);

C — no later than Eusebius (early fourth century); (assuming that C is dependent on B, no earlier than Clement);

D — no later than TTu (fifth century).

As these data show, the critical question is not how late but how early the recensions originated. It is difficult to find a satisfactory answer because there are no allusions in any of the recensions to historical events or persons that suggest a specific historical context. As a result, it is necessary to rely on indirect evidence and construct plausible hypothetical explanations based on the textual tradition itself.

In trying to establish the historical context for the textual history of the poem, three positions have emerged: one arguing for an early date, another for a late date, and a third for a mediating position.

Early date. The first position has its strongest advocate in Valckenaer, but it is also adopted with varying refinements by Denis,[78] Collins,[79] and Riedweg;[80] it is also allowed by Schürer.[81] Essentially, it places the formative recensional history, i.e., the development from Recension A to Recension B (and possibly Recension C), in the Hellenistic period, its earliest stage perhaps as early as the late third century BCE but more likely in the second century BCE.

Late date. According to the second position (argued most comprehensively by Elter),[82] the primary recensional development (A–B–C) occurred much later, specifically between the second and fourth centuries CE. Although Lobeck leaves open the question of the dating of Recension A, he believes that subsequent redactors (our Recensions B and C) did their work in the time of Clement and Eusebius.[83]

Mediating position. A third position is represented by Walter who dates Recension A relatively early (mid– to late first century BCE), Recension B (also his Recension X) somewhat later (prior to the time of Clement), and Recension C in the third century CE, i.e., between the time of Clement and Eusebius.[84]

There is a major difficulty with each position. With respect to the first, it is difficult to account for the three- to four-hundred year period during which the poem was not cited and thus perhaps unknown.[85] Proponents of the second position, by contrast, must explain how a fully developed version of the poem gets assigned to the time of Aristobulus by Eusebius and thus given a second-century BCE origin. The major difficulty of the third position is that it must account for the late origin of the "Moses redaction" and explain how such a redaction, presumably made by a Jewish author, came to be known, accepted, and adopted by Christian authors.

Issues relating to the dating of the recensions. Each of these difficulties can be considered in connection with two basic issues relating to the dating of the recensions: (1) Clement's failure to mention the "Moses" sections,[86] and (2) Eusebius' explicit connection of the "Moses" recension with the name of Aristobulus.

First, how does one account for the absence of the "Moses" portions (Recension C) in Clement? There are three possibilities: (1) he knew them but did not use them; (2) he did not know them because they were composed after his time; (3) they existed before his time but he was simply unaware of them.

As we saw earlier, the first is not likely. Since Clement tends to cite whatever he has and knows, especially when it advances his literary purpose, had he known them, he almost certainly would have used them.

The second is unlikely because it is difficult to imagine a plausible set of circumstances in which the "Moses" portions might have been added. If they were made by a Jewish redactor, presumably the poem would have somehow passed from Christian circles, where it had been known and used by Clement, to Jewish circles where the Mosaic redactions would have occurred, and then by the time of Eusebius passed back to Christian circles, either by then attached to the name of Aristobulus or with such an attachment being made by Eusebius himself.[87]

Or, should we imagine that the version(s) of the poem known by Clement continued to circulate among Christians and that a Christian redactor added the Moses portions? This too seems unlikely because it is difficult to imagine the motivation for doing so. Is it likely that a Christian in the third or fourth century would have made such bold claims for Moses? A debate about the respective roles of Abraham and Moses in gaining privileged access to knowledge of God seems much more likely to have occurred within Jewish circles.[88]

Thus we are left with the third option—that the recension with the "Moses" portions existed prior to Clement's time but that for some reason it was not known to him. Adopting this option is made difficult because of Clement's explicit mention of Aristobulus.[89] But if he knows of Aristobulus' existence and mentions him in the same general context as the Orphic quotations, why does he not connect him with the Orphic poem as Eusebius does? One possible answer is that the identification of the Orphic poem with Aristobulus occurred within a tradition independent of the one through which Clement knew his recension(s). Or, if Clement knew and used a version of the poem that appeared in Aristobulus—which seems likely—he must have known only the "Abrahamic" version, not the "Mosaic" version.

In spite of its problematic features, this third option has the fewest difficulties. It only requires imagining that different recensions might have existed concurrently and that a single author, such as Clement, may not have known every recension.

Second, how does one explain the presence of the poem within the portion of Aristobulus' work quoted by Eusebius?

Following Keller, Walter argues that the "Moses" recension of the poem in EusA does not actually support Aristobulus' claim that God is creator and sustainer of the universe; instead, its theme is the one, transcendent God.[90] He also observes that Aristobulus' introductory comments make no mention of Moses nor any other motif that explicitly connects this particular version of the poem to Aristobulus' work. He thus proposes that another Orphic poem celebrating the oneness of God might have been cited by Aristobulus[91] and that the "Moses" portions were later added to the poem between the time of Clement and Eusebius.[92] This would mean that either prior to its citation by Eusebius this longer recension made its way into the Aristobulus tradition, replacing the other Orphic text that was already there, or that this substitution was made by a later editor working with the Eusebius material.

But it must be asked whether this basic contention can be sustained. In terms of the difference between what was promised and what was delivered, it should be noted that the "Moses" recension found in EusA refers to God as the "maker of the universe" (v. 8) and asserts that "all things are brought to completion by him" (v. 10). Moreover, in the concluding portions God is portrayed as the enthroned, heavenly God who "brings all things to completion" (v. 39), indeed controls "their beginning, middle, and end" (v. 40), and "rules over everything in order"

(v. 44). Depending on how one interprets the problematic verses 31–33, these themes may be elaborated even more fully. (See Recension C commentary vv. 28b–32.)[93]

Walter offers two other reasons why the EusA version of the poem does not fit the context. First, Aristobulus says that he wants to quote from the Ἱερὸς Λόγος of Orpheus but he actually quotes from the Διαθῆκαι. Second, just after the quotation (Frg. 4.7) Aristobulus announces that in the verses he quotes from Aratus and Orpheus, he has altered the name "Zeus" to "God." Yet his version of the Orphic poem does not include v. 24 from the Recension A, which mentions Zeus, nor does it contain a reference to God that represents such a change.[94]

The first consideration is certainly an important one. But given the fluidity of the Orphic tradition and the titles used to designate the various pieces, this may be a less significant objection than it appears.[95] As to the second, it is by no means certain that Aristobulus' remark in Frg. 4.7 applies to both the Orphic fragment and the Aratus quotation. But if it does, one might argue that the EusA version of the poem most aptly fits Aristobulus' remark since it omits the problematic v. 24 which mentions Zeus.

Thus the "Moses" recension may actually fit the context rather well. Since it appears to support Aristobulus' overall contention, Eusebius has good grounds for claiming that Aristobulus cited this particular version of the poem. And even if we agree with Elter (and Walter) that the "Moses" recension occurred after the time of Clement, that does not necessarily mean that the "Abraham" recension (Recension B) is late. It certainly does not mean that Recension A is late. In neither case does the content require a date as late as the second or third century CE; in fact, similarities with themes and traditions from the mid-second century BCE support a dating in the time of Aristobulus.[96] For these reasons, Aristobulus' citation of Recension A appears certain, Recension B probable, and Recension C possible.[97]

Summary. Based on the previous analysis, I think it is possible that Recension C existed prior to Clement's time and quite likely that one of the longer recensions, either Recension B or C, belongs to the time of Aristobulus. This would obviously push the date for Recension A to the early second, or perhaps the late third, century BCE.

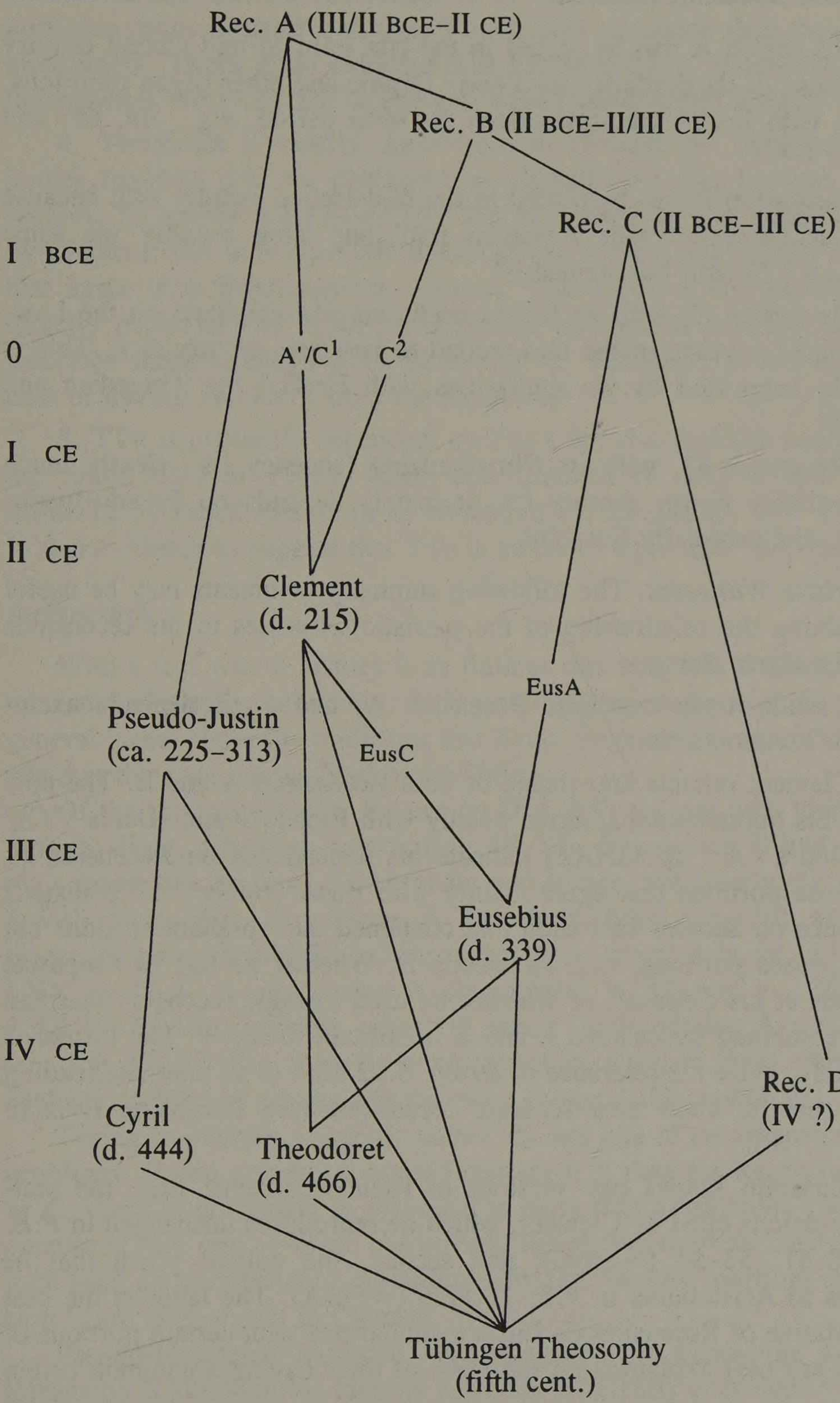
Not only does such an early date seem possible, but it also appears plausible, given the content of the fragments. Recension A contains various motifs, e.g., the opening formula (vv. 1–2a) and the reference to θεῖος

λόγος (v. 6), that can be documented in other sources in roughly the same period or earlier. There are similarities with *Sib. Or.*, especially Frg. 3.1–45, which should probably be dated in the first century BCE. There are also similarities (e.g., v. 15) with the main corpus, especially Book 3, which should probably be dated earlier in the second century BCE.[98] The occurrence of the three-part "beginning, middle, end" formula (v. 40), in one form in Recension B and in a more conventional form in Recension C, is better explained the closer the poem is placed to the Derveni papyrus (ca. fourth century BCE), an indisputably Orphic document that also mentions the well-known formula.[99] Both the "Abraham" and "Moses" sections bear strong resemblance to other traditions from Jewish authors of this period. Specifically, the vision of Moses in Ezekiel the Tragedian (vv. 69–82 and 83–89=*FHJA* 2, Frgs. 6 and 7) bears remarkable resemblance to the portrayal of Abraham and Moses in Recensions B and C. Also, the use of θεῖος λόγος in reference to divine revelation received by Moses (v. 6, esp. Recension C) has a remarkable counterpart in Ezekiel the Tragedian (v. 99=*FHJA* 2, Frg. 9, line 5).[100] The resonances between the all-encompassing role of the Mosaic law in Pseudo-Orpheus (v. 2, Recension C) and similar claims in Sir 24:23, which stems from the same period (though not the same place), might also be mentioned.[101]

Clearly, one of the difficulties in sustaining an early date is the simple fact that this poem is known only in Jewish and Christian traditions and is neither cited nor otherwise alluded to by other pagan authors. Even Clement himself, when listing the works attributed to Orpheus, does not include a reference to the Διαθῆκαι (see *Strom.* 1.21.131.3–5).[102]

Proposed Stemma and Dating

In my analysis, I adopt Walter's recensional model but for the aforementioned reasons allow for an earlier set of dates for each recension. Thus my proposed stemma is as follows:


II BCE
I BCE
0
I CE
II CE
III CE
IV CE
V CE
Rec. A (III/II BCE–II CE)
Rec. B (II BCE–II/III CE)
Rec. C (II BCE–III CE)
A'/C1
C2
Clement
(d. 215)
EusA
Pseudo-Justin
(ca. 225–313)
EusC
Eusebius
(d. 339)
Rec. D
(IV ?)
Cyril
(d. 444)
Theodoret
(d. 466)
Tübingen Theosophy
(fifth cent.)

Comments on the Stemma.

1. Recension A can be placed in the late third to mid-second century BCE because of its similarity with early Orphic and other pagan traditions, and also with Jewish traditions from the same period, e.g., *Sib. Or.* and *Ep. Arist.*[103]

2. Recension B can be placed in the mid-second century BCE because of similarities with other Abraham traditions from roughly the same period, e.g., Pseudo-Eupolemus.[104]

3. Recension C, with its Moses traditions and emphasis on the Law, can be dated anytime in the mid-second to late first century BCE. This is especially supported by its similarities with Ezekiel the Tragedian and Sirach.[105]

4. Recension D, with its Christianizing tendency, is clearly much later, probably fourth century CE. It mainly depends on Pseudo-Justin, Clement, and especially Eusebius.

Patristic Witnesses. The following summary comments may be useful in explaining the relationship of the patristic witnesses to the recensions within the above stemma:

1. Pseudo-Justin transmits Recension A, and Cyril depends exclusively on Pseudo-Justin.

2. Clement reflects knowledge of both Recensions A and B. The portions of his quotations that agree mainly with Pseudo-Justin (Denis' "C^1" and Walter's "A'" in JSHRZ) indicate his dependence on Recension A, while those portions that agree mainly with EusA (Denis' "C^2") suggest dependence on another recension that contained the Abraham portions but not the Moses portions, i.e., Recension B. Whether he had two separate recensions at his disposal, or whether he used a single recension that had already combined Recensions A and B is difficult to say.[106] The former is more likely, since his reference in *Strom.* 5.12.78.4 to an alternate reading implies that he knew two separate recensions (see Recension B commentary v. 10).

3. Eusebius knows two versions of Pseudo-Orpheus: first, the scattered quotations cited by Clement, which he reproduces unchanged in *P.E.* 13.13.50–51, 53–54 (=EusC); and second, the unified poem that he attributes to Aristobulus in *P.E.* 13.12.5 (=EusA). The latter is the best representative of Recension C. EusA's similarities with certain portions of Clement are best explained on the basis of their having a common origin

(Recension B); EusA's differences from Clement (the additional "Moses" portions) occur because it derives from a later recension than the one Clement knew. There is no evidence that Eusebius knew Recension A in an independent form nor that he knew or used Pseudo-Justin directly.

4. Theodoret is clearly dependent on Clement not only because he quotes readings that are distinctive to Clement but also because the two sections he quotes correspond (for the most part) to two sections quoted by Clement. But in at least two instances (vv. 10 and 40), he quotes verses that agree with EusA against Clement. This suggests that he was either directly dependent on EusA or otherwise had access to a recension that mediated these readings from Recension C. Theodoret shows no awareness of having known or used Pseudo-Justin.

5. TTu is primarily dependent on EusA but also includes readings that are found only in Pseudo-Justin and Clement (v. 13). It also reflects influence by Pseudo-Justin in its version of vv. 22–24, 36–37.[107] Yet there is also evidence to suggest that TTu is aware of Cyril and Theodoret.

Authorship

With a text whose history is as fluid as this one, it is difficult to think in terms of single authorship. It is possible, however, to think in more general terms about the traditions that likely produced the recensions, i.e., whether they are pagan, Jewish, or Christian.

Of the four recensions, Recension D is the only one with identifiable, though slight, Christian motifs (vv. 17–20). Recensions B and C, with their respective sections on Abraham and Moses, are clearly the result of Jewish redactions. Recension A has long been regarded as Jewish primarily because biblical influence has been detected in vv. 33–34 (cf. LXX Isa 66:1; see Recension A commentary v. 34) and vv. 36–37 (cf. LXX Isa 63:19b; possibly other OT texts; see Recension A commentary vv. 36b–37).[108] But there is some question whether these phrases are exclusively biblical echoes and therefore demonstrably Jewish.[109]

Trying to identify a specific author for any one of the recensions poses problems. If one assumes a second century BCE date for Recension A, B, or C, there is no reason in principle to deny that Aristobulus could have composed any one of them. As already noted, the most serious difficulty with such an attribution is explaining why the "Moses" portions in Recension C are later absent in Clement.

Pseudo-Hecataeus has also been suggested as a possible author of Recension B although his identity has been differently conceived.[110]

Given the similarity between certain features of Pseudo-Orpheus and Ezekiel the Tragedian, it is conceivable that the poem should be attributed to Ezekiel.[111] Admittedly Ezekiel's is a different style of poetry, but his facility with the Greek poetic tradition is undisputed. Ezekiel is said to have composed "tragedies." Since the term "tragedy" could mean any serious form of poetry other than comedy,[112] the reference may simply mean that he composed other non-comic poetic works.[113] The material similarities are certainly quite striking. Among the equally striking verbal similarities, perhaps the most notable is their common reference to *θεῖον λόγον* used in connection with Moses.[114]

The poem also bears certain similarities with the Sibylline Oracles where the question of authorship is equally elusive.

Provenance

There is very little dispute that the poem originated in an Alexandrian setting.[115] This is especially strengthened by the fact that it is cited by Aristobulus.

Genre

Both Abel and Kern classify the fragments under the heading *Διαθῆκαι*.[116] In doing so, they have the support of Pseudo-Justin *Mon.* where the poem is introduced as follows: *Ὀρφεύς. . . ἐν τῷ Διαθῆκαι ἐπιγραφομένῳ βιβλίῳ*. Probably depending on *Mon.*, Theophilus *Ad Autolycum* 3.2 reports the same title: *Ὀρφέα. . . ἐν ταῖς Διαθήκαις αὐτοῦ λέγων. . . .* These are the only two places in the tradition where the work is described as a "testament."

The poem is introduced by Aristobulus as "verses from a collection of sayings attributed to him (Orpheus) entitled 'Concerning the Holy Word'" (*Ὀρφεὺς ἐν ποιήμασι τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἱερὸν Λόγον αὐτῷ λεγομένων*).[117]

In the Orphic writings listed by Clement in *Strom.* 1.21.131.3–5, reference is made to the "Sacred Discourse" (*ἱερὸς λόγος*), but no mention is made of *Διαθῆκαι*.

Scholars have long recognized the difficulty of classifying the poem, in any of its versions, as a "testament."[118] It does not exhibit the literary features typical of testaments in the Jewish tradition, e.g., reference to the speaker's impending death. It is, however, couched in the form of an address by Orpheus to his son Musaeus.[119]

Rather than seeing the poem as a "testament" delivered by Orpheus to his son Musaeus, Riedweg thinks it exhibits the formal structure of a

ἱερὸς λόγος that originally derived from the cultic setting of mystery initiation rites.[120] He thus believes that the shorter version of the poem—the "Urfassung"—is a Jewish composition imitating an earlier Orphic ἱερὸς λόγος and that it was later expanded by Aristobulus into the longer version. Accordingly, the shorter version exhibits a distinctive formal structure. The opening lines employ formulaic language used in such settings to address initiates. They constitute a formal address (πρόρρησις), which has the effect of excluding the uninitiated from the initiation rite. The next section (vv. 2-7a) asks the initiate to abandon old ways of thinking and seek true guidance from the divine Logos. Since ridding the mind of erroneous thoughts serves as a form of purification, Riedweg sees this section as a καθαρμός. Then follows the transmission of the tradition (παράδοσις, vv. 8-21) where the initiate receives instruction in the "holy word" (ἱερὸς λόγος). The instruction consists of two parts: learning about the character of the one, inscrutable God (vv. 8-16), and being given a picture of his universal sovereignty (vv. 17-21). As Riedweg reconstructs the "Urfassung," a concluding section (vv. 21a-c) underscores the gravity and secrecy of what has been transmitted.

Significance

1. ***Theology of Hellenistic Judaism***. Even if one accepts Walter's dates of the late first century BCE for Recension A and a later date, sometime prior to Clement, for Recension B, Pseudo-Orpheus is an important testimony to the theology of Greek-speaking Jews in the Graeco-Roman period. If Recension A is a Jewish composition, it shows one way of appropriating pagan views of God. Its monotheism is clearly articulated albeit in a syncretistic form. This monotheistic outlook it shares with *Sib. Or.* but it does not possess the polemical edge of the latter. Neo-Pythagorean and Platonic strands of thought can also be detected. The shift in Recension B towards a more immanent God knowable through natural revelation suggests Stoic, perhaps Middle Platonic, influence and shows close similarities with basic features of Philo's thought.[121] There are both structural and conceptual similarities with certain forms of theological reflection in the New Testament, most notably the Areopagus speech in Acts 17.[122]

2. ***Jewish use of mystery traditions***. This text has figured centrally in scholarly efforts to assess the significance of the language of the Greek mystery religions within Jewish texts. Several features of the text have

especially been noted. These include the opening formula, which is undeniably associated with Greek mystery cults, and the concluding motif of Musaeus' quaking before the heavenly mystery. The choice of genre itself is also remarkable, as is the invocation of the mystical authority of the figure Orpheus. The presence of such language is freely admitted; what is debated is its function—whether the language is realistic or metaphorical. The former option is represented (in different forms) by Cerfaux, Goodenough, Collins, and LaFargue;[123] the latter by Walter who in the tradition of A. D. Nock sees the language as a "literary dress."[124]

3. ***Orpheus in Jewish thought***. Similar to the reference in Artapanus that equates Moses with Musaeus as the teacher of Orpheus (Frg. 3.4= *FHJA* 1.209), the poem illustrates one way of appropriating Orpheus in Jewish apologetic literature. Here the poet is not quite as blatant, yet Orpheus does acknowledge the unique status of Abraham (and Moses in Recension C) in knowing the one God. This is to be contrasted with other traditions, such as the one later represented at Dura-Europos and in other artistic settings, where Orpheus is linked with David.[125]

4. ***History of tradition and pseudonymity***. Perhaps one of the most intriguing features of the poem is its tradition-historical significance. Because it was preserved in several forms by several patristic witnesses, it is possible to identify its various stages of development and to do so with some confidence. If the consensus view of its recensional scheme is fundamentally correct, then the poem clearly shows how an essentially pagan text was adopted by Jewish and later Christian redactors. Tracing the textual history becomes an exercise in history of doctrine. The fact that it is a poetic text that undergoes editorial changes makes it an illuminating parallel for similar biblical texts, such as New Testament hymns, especially the Johannine prologue.

A related question is the poem's pseudonymity. In contrast to many other Jewish pseudepigraphical texts written under the names of heroic figures of the Jewish past, this one claims a well-known pagan figure as its author. This in itself says something about the criteria for credibility that were operative during the (late) Hellenistic period. In this regard, Pseudo-Orpheus has its closest counterpart in the *Sibylline Oracles*.

INTRODUCTION: NOTES

1. In my treatment of the Pseudo-Orphic poem, I adopt the verse-numbering scheme first proposed by Erbse and later adopted by Walter and Denis. Erbse, *Theosophien*, 15–22, 180–82, adopts a system based on the longest version of the poem found in the Tübingen Theosophy, which contains forty-six verses (see note 14 below); similarly, Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 203 n. 1 and JSHRZ (4,3), 222; and Denis, *Frag.*, 163–67. Zeegers-Vander Vorst, "Les versions juives," numbers the verses according to the version of the poem found in Eusebius *P.E.* 13.12.5, and consequently in some instances her verse numbers do not correspond to the system used here; similarly, LaFargue, *OTP* 2.795–801. Elter, *Gnomologiorum*, uses a different numbering scheme; cf., e.g., cols. 155–56. Riedweg, *Imitation*, also uses a different numbering system. Since he numbers the verses of the "Urfassung" and the Aristobulus revision consecutively, the same verse might have a different number in each version. For example, his v. 13 in the "Urfassung" (p. 26) becomes v. 16 (p. 32) in the Aristobulus version.

2. The poem is included as Frgs. 4–7, under sect. 3 ΔΙΑΘΗΚΑΙ, in Abel, *Orphica* (pp. 144–48); as Frgs. 245–47 in Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, under sect. 6 ΔΙΑΘΗΚΑΙ (pp. 255–66). In Kern it is presented in three forms: (1) Frg. 245, Redactio Iustiniana, the text from Pseudo-Justin *Coh.* and *Mon.*; (2) Frg. 246, Redactio Clementina (Hecataei falsarii?), a summary of the relevant material from Clement *Protr.* and *Strom.*; and (3) Frg. 247, Redactio Aristobuliana, the version of the poem in Eusebius *P.E.* 13.12.5, within which are included numerous readings from Theosophia Tubingensis (=TTu). See Diels–Kranz, *Vorsokr.* 1.9 (Orpheus B.7 [13]).

Kern's arrangement implies that the Clement quotations constitute a single recension, rather than reflecting two (or more) other recensions; adopted by Schürer, *Geschichte*, 3.600–701; idem, *History*, 3(1).663. See the critique by Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 210; idem, JSHRZ (4,3), 220 n. 23. Kern's text of Frg. 247 is influenced by Elter's view that TTu reflects an early, reliable recension; accordingly, the Eusebius text is emended to conform to TTu. This has the practical effect of presenting Eusebius and TTu as a single recension (see Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 210). His openness to the possibility that the Clement recension was composed by (a) Pseudo-Hecataeus (see p. 260) also derives from Elter, 178–79.

These texts (along with other texts attributed to Orpheus by patristic writers) are collected and arranged according to patristic sources under the

heading Διαθῆκαι by Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 1.438–65. Although he recognizes their Jewish pseudonymous character (447–48), he identifies early pagan features, esp. the opening formula (pp. 448–55). Their pseudonymity was naturally implied by early proponents of Aristobulus' pseudonymity, e.g., Simon, *Histoire* (1685), Bk. 2, ch. 2, p. 189; Hody, *Bibliorum* (1705), 53–54; Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca* (1790), 164. Even though Valckenaer, *Aristobulo*, 11–16, 73–85, defends the authenticity of Aristobulus' work, he too recognizes the pseudonymity of the version of the Orphic poem cited by Aristobulus.

Its Jewish pseudonymity is widely accepted, though with genuine Orphic features, perhaps even the basic substructure; so Ziegler, "Orphische Dichtung," PW 18.2 (1942) 1398–1400; Speyer, *Fälschung*, 161–62, 249; West, *Orphic Poems*, 33–35, who thinks Frg. 299 (Kern, *Fragmenta*, p. 313) is probably Jewish, though possibly Hermetic.

Kern, *Fragmenta*, pp. 265–66, also includes Frg. 248 (Clement *Strom.* 5.14.125.1=Eusebius *P.E.* 13.13.52–53) under Διαθῆκαι, but its explicit polytheism makes its Jewish origin doubtful; so Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 111 n. 1; 202 n. 1; similarly, West, *Orphic Poems*, 35–36, who, however, characterizes the poem as a syncretistic work reflecting Jewish influence (see also p. 267). Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 2.174 n. 40, while acknowledging that Frg. 248 should not be included among the Διαθῆκαι, nevertheless thinks it is "equally of Jewish origin."

3. Technically, Orpheus addresses Musaeus as "my child" for the first time in Recension C (vv. 19 and 45), even though this language is used earlier to introduce the poem in *Coh.*

For a discussion of how this relates to the determination of genre, see Riedweg, *Imitation*, 48, who argues against seeing the poem as a "testament" and thus differently construes the significance of the references to Musaeus as the son of Orpheus. See note 119 below.

For further discussion, see commentary on Recension A vv. 3b–4a, and Recension C v. 19.

4. See Marcovich, *Pseudo-Iustinus*, 4, noting Harnack's dating between 225–302 CE (see Harnack, *Geschichte* 2.2: *Chronologie*, 151–58, 545–58); similarly, Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 104, n. 2; idem, JSHRZ, 217, n. 4, ca. 250–300.

5. So, Marcovich, *Pseudo-Iustinus*, 82; Harnack is less certain in *Geschichte* 2.1: *Chronologie*, 512, where he allows a dating earlier than 311-12; he qualifies this in *Die Überlieferung der griechischen Apologeten des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, TU 1.1–2 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1882) 154–55. See Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 217 n. 4; also, idem, *Thoraausleger*, 104 n. 2;

172 n. 1. Hengel, "Anonymität," 294 n. 2, dates it at the end of the second or the beginning of the third century CE. Riedweg, *Imitation*, 6, 24, suggests an earlier dating for *Mon.*, sometime during the first century BCE or the first century CE.

6. Similarly, *Coh.* 36; also Theophilus *Ad Autolycum* 3.2 (see below).

7. Also, Theophilus *Ad Autolycum* 3.2; Clement, however, does not include Διαθῆκαι among the Orphic writings listed in *Strom.* 1.21.131.3–5. See Ziegler, "Orphische Dichtung," 1399. On the testament genre, see Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 448–50; esp. E. Fascher, "Testament, Altes u. Neues," PW 5A.1 (1934) 860–61. See discussion of genre below.

8. Or, depending on how one construes κατὰ τὸν Ἱερὸν Λόγον, from a work entitled "Concerning the Holy Word." For bibliography on Ἱερὸς Λόγος, see Denis, *Introduction*, 233 n. 26; also Walter JSHRZ (4,3), 219 n. 13; Riedweg, *Imitation*, 44–55. See note 117 below.

9. Cyril's dependence on Pseudo-Justin is especially seen in v. 11, where a majority of the witnesses read περιγί(γ)νεται with Pseudo-Justin over against Clement and EusA (περινίσσεται is read in MSS EP F; see Riedweg, *Imitation*, 13 n. 43). Similarly, the form of v. 36 in Cyril agrees with Pseudo-Justin (both *Coh.* and *Mon.*) over against the rest of the tradition. V. 33 offers similar evidence, although not as clear-cut: Cyril reads ἐς οὐρανὸν with Pseudo-Justin *Coh.* over against the rest of the tradition; *Mon.* reads ἐπ' οὐρανὸν. Cyril's dependence on Pseudo-Justin is also reflected in a number of distinctive readings they have in common, which are also shared with either Clement or EusA. See Appendix 5. Riedweg, *Imitation*, 12, also sees evidence of Cyril's dependence on *Coh.* in his introduction to the poem. On Cyril's dependence on Pseudo-Justin, see Elter, *Gnomologiorum*, 157.

In a number of places, however, Cyril's text diverges from Pseudo-Justin: v. 3, φαεσφόρε instead of φαεσφόρου (although the latter is read in CB V); also, Μνήμης instead of Μήνης; v. 5, στήθεσι (στήθεσσι C^{pc}) instead of στήθεσσι (στήθεσι qp^{ac}); v. 7, κῆτος (κύτος CB V) instead of κύτος; also, εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε instead of εὖ τ' ἐπίβαινε; v. 8, μόνον (μοῦνον C V) instead of μοῦνον; v. 11, the metrically unsuitable ἐν δ' αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς instead of the metrically correct ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς; v. 33 αὐτός instead of οὗτος; v. 34 εἰνί instead of ἐνί; also γαίῃ instead of γαίης; also, cf. v. 35, ἐπὶ τέρματα (τερματ' C VB) instead of ἐπὶ τέρματος. See Elter, *Gnomologiorum*, 177; most of these are noted by Riedweg, *Imitation*, 13, but he attributes them to Cyril's (or a copyist's) carelessness; accordingly, they are not significant enough to raise serious doubts about his dependence on *Coh.*

10. This may be suggested by some readings where Cyril agrees with either Clement or Eusebius against Pseudo-Justin: v. 7, *εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε*; possibly v. 34, *εἰνὶ*; v. 34, *γαιῃ*.

11. The verse does appear, however, in one MS (s) in Pseudo-Justin *Mon.* See commentary on Recension B vv. 21–23.

12. His dependence on *Strom.* 5.14.124.1 is also seen in two instances. In v. 33, *αὐτὸς δ' αὖ* is read in the majority of Theodoret MSS (*αὐτὸς δὴ* is read in V) with *Strom.* 5.14.124.1 (also in EusC) against EusA, which reads *αὐτὸς δὴ*. In v. 35 *περὶ τέρμασιν* is read with *Strom.* 5.14.124.1 (also in EusC) against EusA. See Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 206–7; Riedweg, *Imitation*, 19.

13. The reporting of the evidence pertaining to Thdrt's dependence on Clement in Schürer, *History*, 3(1).663 n. 259 (and idem, *Geschichte*, 3.600 n. 187), needs slight correction. Of the first three verses quoted by Thdrt (vv. 10–12), only v. 10 agrees with Eusebius against Clement; v. 11 agrees with both Clement and Eusebius; v. 12 agrees with Clement against Eusebius. Thdrt's v. 40 appears to agree with both Clement and Eusebius because Stählin emended Clement to conform to Eusebius. The MS for Clement (L) has a different reading (see Recension B commentary v. 40). Actually, EusC and EusA transmit two different forms of the verse.

14. Tubingensis (Tub. gr. Mb 27) is a 186-page MS prepared by B. Hausius in 1580 for his teacher M. Crusius of Tübingen. It contains several different texts, but in fol. 53–87 are three texts that were transcribed by Hausius from Codex Argentoratensis graecus 9 (13th or 14th cent.): two works attributed to Justin Martyr—*λόγος πρὸς Ἕλληνας* (fol. 53v.–56v.) and *πρὸς Διόγνητον* (fol. 56v.–66r.), and a third work entitled *Χρησμοὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν* (fol. 67r.–87r.). The Strassburg MS from which Hausius copied was later destroyed by fire in 1870.

The long extract in fol. 67–87, whose full title is *χρησμοὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν καὶ τὰς λεγομένας θεολογίας τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις σοφῶν*, was identified in 1880 by K. J. Neumann as an excerpt from a *Θεοσοφία*, portions of which G. Wolff had earlier identified in other MSS (see Buresch, *Klaros*, 89–91).

From the opening sections of this excerpt, it is possible to deduce that the full work from which it originally derived consisted of two parts: books 1–7, a writing entitled *περὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως*, and books 8–11, which appeared under the title *Θεοσοφία*. The *χρησμοί* were contained in books 8–9 of the second section, which concludes with a chronicle from Adam until the time of the Emperor Zeno (474–91), thereby establishing

the date of the work. Thus, strictly speaking, the title Θεοσοφία, and hence our abbreviation TTu, only applies to this second section which contained the χρησμοί. However, a more comprehensive piece of the Θεοσοφία from which the Tübingen extract stemmed was discovered by K. Mras in another MS; on which, see K. Mras, "Eine neuentdeckte Sibyllen-Theosophie," *Wiener Studien* 28 (1906) 43–83.

For a compact description of TTu, see Denis, *Introduction*, 231, esp. n. 20 for bibliography; also, Schürer, *History*, 3(1).628–29, 663. For a more extensive treatment, see Buresch, *Klaros*, 89–94; K. von Fritz, "Theosophia," PW 2d ser. 5.2 (1934) 2248–53; Erbse, *Theosophien*, 1–52, esp. 1–3.

15. The author is sometimes identified as the Manichean Aristocritus, to whom is attributed a work entitled Θεοσοφία designed to "demonstrate that Judaism, Paganism, and Christianity and Manichaeism are one and the same doctrine" (Lieu, "Formula," 189). The possibility that the Θεοσοφία, which served as a source for the collection of oracles preserved in TTu, and this work attributed to Aristocritus, are the same work was proposed by Brinkmann, "Theosophie" (1896). This has been accepted by various scholars, e.g., Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (1922), 263; J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages hellénisés* (Paris: Société d'Edition "Les belles lettres," 1938; repr. 1973) 1.216–17; 2.360, 363–64; Zeegers-Vander Vorst, "Les versions juives" (1970), 481 n. 13; idem, *Les citations*, 194 n. 3; and J. R. Hinnells, "The Zoroastrian doctrine of salvation in the Roman World," in E. J. Sharpe and J. R. Hinnells (eds.), *Man and his Salvation. Studies in Memory of S. G. F. Brandon* (Manchester; Manchester University Press, 1973) 126, 128, 133.

This identification was seriously questioned early on by Schürer, *Geschichte* (1909) 3.568 (see idem, *History*, 3[1].629 n. 201); Schmid–Stählin, *Geschichte* (1920), 1.612 n. 1; see 2.976; Fritz, "Theosophia," PW (1934) 2252–53, and Erbse, *Theosophien* (1941), 1. Fritz provides detailed discussion, including comparison of the two documents. Among the more notable objections is the absence of any identifiable Manichean features in TTu. In more recent scholarship, the suggestion is usually mentioned only to be dismissed. See Denis, *Introduction* (1970), 231; Lieu, "Fragment" (1983), 213; Schürer, *History* (1986), 3(1).629 n. 201; Riedweg, *Imitation* (1993), 8.

16. To distinguish between the generic term "Tübingen Theosophy" and the manuscript Tubingensis, I use "T" to designate the manuscript itself. This was the MS symbol adopted originally by Buresch and later used by Erbse. I use the abbreviation "TTu" to designate the "Tübingen Theosophy." For my purposes, this general designation is sufficiently

distinctive yet broad enough to include Erbse's "θ" (the χρησμοί, the collection of sayings found in T) and "Θ" (the original Theosophy from which the χρησμοί derived). See Erbse, *Theosophien*, 1–2.

17. See Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 240. Riedweg, *Imitation*, 19 n. 66, proposes, on the basis of evidence in other parts of TTu, that Pseudo-Justin *Coh.*, not *Mon.*, is its source.

18. The clearest indication of TTu's dependence on Cyril is the similarity of wording in their respective introductions to the poem; so, Riedweg, *Imitation*, 20. TTu's addition of v. 13 is slightly more plausible if one assumes dependence on Theodoret. See Recension D commentary v. 13.

19. Τί γὰρ ὠφέλησεν. . . Ὀρφέα οἱ τριακόσιοι ἑξήκοντα πέντε θεοί, οὓς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ βίου ἀθετεῖ, ἐν ταῖς Διαθήκαις αὐτοῦ λέγων ἕνα εἶναι θεόν; (R. M. Grant, *Theophilus of Antioch Ad Autolycum*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970, p. 101.)

20. Because both witnesses give the name of the work as *Testaments* and "the one God" is a prominent feature of the version of the poem in *Mon.*, Riedweg, *Imitation*, 13–14, thinks Theophilus' testimony is dependent on *Mon.* (noting similar views by Valckenaer, 75; Elter, 153, 177), which he attributes to a Jewish author in the first century BCE or the first century CE. Since Riedweg regards Theophilus' testimony as derivative, he disregards it as evidence for classifying the poem as a "testament." See *Imitation*, 46. See discussion of genre below.

21. See note 18 above.

22. Because of the special value of these three witnesses for doing comparative work on the poem, they are presented in parallel columns in Appendix 2.

23. This alignment of Clement's verses is as follows:

(1) Verses that basically agree with Pseudo-Justin: *Protr.* 7.74.4–5 (vv. 3–4, 8, 10, 12); *Strom.* 5.12.78.4 (v. 12), 78.5 (v. 22); 5.14.123.1 (v. 8), 126.5 (vv. 14 and 16), 127.2 (vv. 35, 36a), 133.2 (v. 17). Total: 12.5 verses.

(2) Verses that basically agree with EusA: *Protr.* 7.74.5 (v. 11); *Strom.* 5.14.123.2 (vv. 27–31), 124.1 (vv. 33–36, 38–40, 43–44); *Protr.* 7.74.4 and *Strom.* 5.14.123.1 (v. 9a). Total: 16.5 verses.

(3) Verses that basically agree with both Pseudo-Justin and EusA: *Protr.* 7.74.4 (vv. 1, 5–7); *Strom.* 5.12.78.4 (v. 11b), 78.5 (v. 21); 5.14.123.1 (vv. 6–7). Total: 7.5 verses.

(4) Verses that show affinities with both Pseudo-Justin and EusA: *Strom.* 5.12.78.4 (v. 10); 5.14.127.2 (v. 34b). Total: 1.5 verses.

(5) Material unique to Clement: *Strom.* 5.12.78.5 (v. 23).

Various shorthand devices have been used to designate these groups and sub-groups, all in the interest of simplifying the discussion. Erbse, *Theosophien*, 16, designates the passages as follows:

Protr. = *Protr.* 7.74.4–6
Sa = *Strom.* 5.14.126.5–127.2
Sb = *Strom.* 5.14.123.1
Sc = *Strom.* 5.12.78.4–5
Sd = *Strom.* 5.14.123.2–124.1
Se = *Strom.* 5.14.133.1–2.

Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 202–4, draws on Erbse's system but modifies it. In *Thoraausleger*, Walter designates the verses in Pseudo-Justin as A^1 (i.e., the primary form of Recension A), the verses in Clement that basically agree with Pseudo-Justin as A^2 (i.e., a secondary form of Recension A), and the verses from the long section of Clement (*Strom.* 5.14.123.2–124.1), some of which are not found in Pseudo-Justin (e.g., the "Abraham" section), others that differ markedly from Pseudo-Justin (vv. 33–36), as B.

In JSHRZ (4,3), 217–18, Walter modifies these sigla. Designating the verses in Pseudo-Justin as Recension A, he now identifies a smaller group of verses where Clement agrees with Pseudo-Justin, calling these A' (parts of *Strom.* 5.12.78.4–5; *Strom.* 5.14.126.5, 127.2, 133.2). Accordingly, he assigns a larger group of Clement's verses to Recension B: he reassigns *Protr.* 7.74.4–5 and *Strom.* 5.14.123.1, as well as the alternate form of *Strom.* 5.12.78.4, to Recension B; he remains undecided whether to assign *Strom.*. 5.12.78.5 to A' or B.

Denis, *Frag.*, 164, uses C^1 to designate the verses where Clement agrees with Pseudo-Justin, and C^2 for the verses where Clement agrees with EusA. Similarly, LaFargue, *OTP* 2.795. For Denis' description of this evidence, see *Introduction*, 232–33. Denis' scheme essentially conforms to Walter's earlier scheme in *Thoraausleger*. This scheme is also followed by Zeegers-Vander Vorst, "Les versions juives," 502 n. 105.

Even though Riedweg, *Imitation*, does not use the Clement material as evidence of a separate recension, he nevertheless classifies Clement's passages according to whether they tend to align with Pseudo-Justin or with EusA. He essentially adopts the scheme used by Denis (and LaFargue), even though he does not use their designations C^1 and C^2. See his stemma, *Imitation*, 24.

None of these classifications, including mine above, agrees fully with the other. Given the elusiveness of the textual evidence, judgments about

these agreements are bound to change. To keep from complicating the discussion further, I have generally avoided using these designations either in the discussion or the tables. I have, however, attempted to summarize them at the beginning of Appendix 2. I have prepared Appendix 3 to assist the reader in understanding how Walter, Denis, and LaFargue assign the Clement passages, as well as how they designate the different recensions.

24. Riedweg, *Imitation*, 13–14, following Valckenaer and Elter.

25. The main proponent of this first view is Schürer, *Geschichte*, 3.518, 601, who envisions an original archetype that appeared in later authors in different forms. Since he conceives the process of citation and preservation as quite haphazard, he thinks any witness at any given point might preserve a better reading. Unlike Lobeck and Elter, Schürer does not think the Pseudo-Justin version of the poem preserves the most original version of the poem from which later versions developed in simple genealogical succession. He proposes Pseudo-Hecataeus as the common source to which all the various recensions can be traced. This view is modified in Schürer, *History*, 3(1).664, which envisions as one possibility a "large pool of Pseudo-Orphic verses collected by earlier Jewish apologists" from which the various Christian authors selected their material. However, in *History*, 3(1).664–65, the Lobeck–Elter–Walter model is proposed as the most likely. See Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 218, n. 2. Hengel, "Anonymität," 295, envisions a florilegium of poetic citations as the source for the pseudonymous verses quoted in Pseudo-Justin *Mon.*

26. So, Denis, *Frag.*, 164: (1) Recension A, the shorter recension, consisting of Pseudo-Justin (J) and those portions of Clement similar to Pseudo-Justin (C^1), and (2) Recension B, the longer recension, consisting of those portions of Clement closely aligned with EusA (C^2), the longer version of the poem in Eusebius–Aristobulus (E), and the longest version of the poem in the Tübingen Theosophy (T). It should be noted, however, that Denis, *Introduction*, 233, sketches a more confusing picture. There he seems to distinguish four recensions: Aristobulus–Clement (perhaps our Recension B), Aristobulus–Eusebius–Tübingen Theosophy (perhaps our Recensions C and D), Pseudo-Justin (perhaps our Recension A), Pseudo-Justin–Clement *Strom.* (Clement's agreements with Pseudo-Justin, i.e., C^1; perhaps our Recension B). See Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 220 n. 23.

For the sake of clarity, I note here Denis' abbreviations for the various witnesses: J (Justin), C (Clement), C^1 (passages in Clement agreeing with Pseudo-Justin), C^2 (passages in Clement agreeing with EusA), E (Aristobulus poem in Eusebius, or Eus.–Aristobulus), T (Tübingen Theosophy), Eus.–Cl. (Clement passages [*Strom.* 5.14.123–17] cited by Eusebius).

Denis' former scheme is adopted by LaFargue *OTP* 2.795–96, who speaks rather of the "short recension" and the "long recension" instead of designating them A and B. The short recension he calls J, the long recension E, although in his stemma (p. 796) the short recension is designated "S," the long recension "L," and J, C (C^1 and C^2), E, and T stand for Justin, Clement, Eusebius, and Tübingen Theosophy respectively. Like Denis, he uses C^1 and C^2 to differentiate between the Clement quotations. He is, however, careful to use terminology that distinguishes between the recensions and the patristic witnesses. Working with a two-recension scheme, LaFargue makes the novel proposal that the long recension (as represented in Eusebius and TTu) preceded the short recension (as represented in Pseudo-Justin and C^1), and that the latter was shortened for theological reasons. See further discussion below.

Riedweg, *Imitation*, distances himself from those who hold to a two-recension scheme, in particular, Denis (p. 1) and LaFargue (pp. 10, 23 n. 84). Accordingly, he characterizes the current dominant view of the theory of the textual history of Pseudo-Orpheus as one that envisions "two independent recensions" that finally converged in the TTu synthesis (p. 102). Since he earlier sketches Walter's four-recension theory in some detail and characterizes it as having reached virtually canonical status (pp. 73–79), it is odd that he would describe the dominant view as a two-recension model.

Even so, what finally emerges in Riedweg's stemma (p. 24) is a two-recension scheme. On the one hand, he posits an "Urfassung" (which he designates "A"), comprising some twenty-five verses, that was essentially preserved in the Pseudo-Justin tradition (including Theophilus of Antioch, and Cyril). Knowledge of it is mediated to Clement through "α", an earlier copy of the poem used in *Mon.* On the other hand, he posits a reworked version of the "Urfassung," comprising forty-one verses. This revision, which he calls the "Aristobulische Überarbeitung," is the version of the poem that appears in the Aristobulus quotation cited by Eusebius, and Riedweg proposes Aristobulus himself as the author of this version of the poem. This longer version of the poem is mediated to Eusebius, through whom it is known by Theodoret and TTu. It is also known to Clement and reflected in the long quotation in *Strom.* 5.14.123.2–124.1.

Thus, although there are several distinctive features of Riedweg's scheme, which will be noted in more detail below, it is basically a two-recension scheme. Accordingly, it belongs to the same tradition as Denis and LaFargue.

27. As noted earlier, Denis, *Introduction*, 233, sketches four recensions (see note 20 above). Collins, *Athens and Jerusalem*, 204–7, uses the patristic abbreviations to name the recensions: Recension J (Pseudo-

Justin), Recension E (Eusebius–Aristobulus), Recension T (Tübingen Theosophy). He does not designate Clement's quotations as a separate recension, but basically speaks of three recensions: the J recension (=our Recension A), the "Abrahamic" recension (verses found in Clement but not in Pseudo-Justin, roughly our Recension B), and the "Mosaic" recension (found only in Eusebius and the Tübingen Theosophy, i.e., our Recensions C and D). Schürer, *History*, 3(1).661–67, simply speaks of three separate recensions found respectively in (1) Pseudo-Justin and Cyril, (2) Eusebius–Aristobulus and the Tübingen Theosophy (the Mosaic recension), and (3) Clement and Theodoret (the Abrahamic recension). The Tübingen Theosophy is clearly envisioned as a separate, Christian recension.

28. So, *Thoraausleger*, 202–7; idem, JSHRZ (4,3), 217–18, 222–26, 235–43; similarly, Zeegers-Vander Vorst, "Les versions juives," 502–5.

29. See note 23 above.

30. See note 23 above.

31. See note 23 above.

32. Walter also proposes another recension, Recension X, to designate an admittedly hypothetical—because it is reflected in no single patristic witness—intermediate recension that occurred between Recensions A and B. He thinks the redactional changes in Recension X's expansion of Recension A reflect a Stoicizing tendency. See *Thoraausleger*, 225–33, 260; idem, JSHRZ (4,3) 223–24, 238.

Since these redactional changes obviously appear in Recension B, in my analysis I have not followed Walter in seeing a separate recension between Recensions A and B. Rather, I have treated the elements he identifies with Recension X, e.g., Stoicizing redactional changes to Recension A, in my comments on Recension B.

See Riedweg, *Imitation*, 75.

33. Zeegers-Vander Vorst, "Les versions juives," 482, 485, 498, appears to argue against a C–B–A scheme, but it is difficult to find an actual proponent of this view. She attributes this view to Valckenaer (482, n. 14), but Valckenaer actually thought that the version in Pseudo-Justin (Recension A) preceded Aristobulus' version (Recension C). See Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 106 n. 1, 207–9. Schürer, *Geschichte*, 3.601, insists that Recension A cannot be first but does not propose that it derived from Recension C through Recension B. As Schürer, *History*, 3(1).664, notes, a strict chronological ordering of Aristobulus–Clement–Pseudo-Justin would obviously produce such a scheme.

34. Valckenaer, *Aristobulo*, 11–16, 73–85 (=Gaisford, *P.E.* 4.351–56, 406–17); summarized in Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 207–9.

35. Also accepted by Gfrörer, *Philo*, 2.85.

36. Zeller, *Philosophie*, 3(2).278–79, adopts Valckenaer's A–C–B scheme, although he does not designate the recension used by Clement as Recension B.

37. *Aglaophamus*, 1.438–65; summarized by Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 209–10; also, see Schürer, *Geschichte*, 3.601.

38. *Gnomologiorum*, 149–205, esp. 152–87; summarized by Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 210–18; also see 104 n. 1; also summarized in Schürer, *Geschichte*, 3.517–18; see idem, *History*, 3(1).584.

39. See note 14 above.

40. Elter summarizes his results in *Gnomologiorum*, 177–87. My summary here basically follows Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 211–14.

41. Since Elter's investigation extended over several years, he actually modified this position somewhat, later conceding that one of the "Aristobulus" editors might have been Jewish (*Gnomologiorum*, 184). See Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 215, esp. n. 3; also 116.

42. In fact, it has been widely criticized. See Wendland's review in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 7 (1898) 445–49, esp. 447–48; especially, Schürer, *Geschichte*, 3.518, 601; idem, *History*, 3(1).584. See Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 217–18.

43. Especially by Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 215–16; idem, JSHRZ (4,3), 218–19; and, in turn, by Denis, *Introduction*, 233; Zeegers-Vander Vorst, "Les versions juives," 504.

44. Erbse, *Theosophien*, 15–22. Erbse's position is summarized by Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 218–20.

45. See *Thoraausleger*, 202–59. The results of this earlier research appear (slightly modified) in his introduction, translation, and annotations in JSHRZ (4,3).

46. Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 234–37. This sharply distinguishes him from Elter and Erbse, on the one hand, who argued that Clement had as many as five recensions before him, and Schürer and Kern, on the other hand, who essentially treated all the Clement quotations as a single recen-

sion. This "two recension" theory had earlier been proposed by J. M. Gesner (so *Thoraausleger*, 209). As noted above, these two recensions are designated by Walter in *Thoraausleger* as A^2 and B respectively; in JSHRZ (4,3), the contents of A^2 is modified and renamed A'.

47. See note 32 above.

48. *Thoraausleger*, 237–39.

49. *Thoraausleger*, 257.

50. *Thoraausleger*, 173–77, 195–200; idem, JSHRZ (4,3), 220; see Elter, *Gnomologiorum*, 178–79; Schürer, *Geschichte*, 3(1).601 (a connection with Pseudo-Hecataeus is denied in *History*, 3[1].665); see Denis, *Introduction*, 237. Also, Bousset, *Schulbetrieb*, 227; Cerfaux, "Mystères," 75.

51. "Les versions juives," 502–5.

52. I.e., *History*, 3(1).664–65.

53. Collins, *Athens and Jerusalem*, 204–7.

54. *OTP*, 2.795–96; also see "Jewish Orpheus," *SBL 1978 Seminar Papers*, 2.137–43.

55. *OTP* 2.795.

56. There is wide agreement that the form of v. 14 in Recension C is secondary to its earlier form in Recension A. See, e.g., Schürer, *Geschichte*, 3.599–600; Peterson, ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ, 298–99; Erbse, *Theosophien*, 18; Hengel, "Anonymität," 293; Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 488–89; Riedweg, *Imitation*, 8–9.

57. Riedweg's position is well summarized in *Imitation*, 102–6. But, see also pp. 1–5, where he defines his investigation over against previous scholarly investigations; on pp. 6–8 he lists and dates the various witnesses and on p. 24 he presents his stemma.

58. Presumably he means by this "independent" recensions. See *Imitation*, 102.

59. *Imitation*, 73–79.

60. Here Riedweg resurrects Valckenaer's earlier proposal that the Jewish author Aristobulus composed the EusA version of the poem in the sense that he expanded and reworked the earlier Ps.-J. version. See dis-

cussion above. Of course, Lobeck had earlier suggested that Aristobulus composed the EusA version of the poem, but Lobeck's "Aristobulus" was a second century Christian author.

61. In challenging the notion of separate recensions, Riedweg especially has in mind Denis (*Imitation*, p. 1, n. 3) and LaFargue (*Imitation*, p. 10, n. 32; p. 23, n. 84), but also earlier scholars from Lobeck onward.

62. Elter, *Gnomologiorum*, 177-87.

63. Riedweg's views on the setting and authorship of *Mon.*, as well as *Coh.*, are worked out in his Habilitationsschrift, *Ps.-Justin, Ad Graecos de vera religione (bisher 'Cohortatio ad Graecos'). Einleitung und Kommentar* (Schweiz. Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft), scheduled for publication in 1994. I have not seen it.

64. Riedweg basically adopts the schematization of Denis and does not take into account the changes in Walter's classification of these correspondences that occurred between *Thoraausleger* (1964) and JSHRZ (1983).

65. *Imitation*, 18 n. 61.

66. *Imitation*, 17 n. 56.

67. See Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 446–47; Denis, *Introduction*, 234, e.g., thinks it the earliest; Schürer, *Geschichte*, 3.601, thinks not; similarly, Riedweg, *Imitation*, in positing a third century BCE "Urfassung" that is transmitted in the Ps.-J. tradition, although seeing only the EusA expanded version as deriving directly from it.

68. This is essentially the question Valckenaer tackles. As noted above in the review of the history of scholarship, Valckenaer and Riedweg think EusA should be attributed to the Jewish author Aristobulus in the mid-second century BCE, while Walter does not.

69. See note 46 above. As seen above, a fundamental question is whether one sees the Clement quotations as evidence of a separate recension (e.g., Lobeck, Kern, Walter) or only as indirect evidence of other recensions (Riedweg).

70. See note 23 above. Noting and summarizing this evidence has become a standard feature in critical discussions. See Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 203–4; Denis, *Introduction*, 232–33; LaFargue, *OTP*, 2.795 nn. 3–4.

71. Marcovich, *Pseudo-Iustinus*, 82, suspects that *οἱ ἀνθρωποπαθεῖς ἡγούμενοι τῶν ὅλων δεσπόται* in *Mon.* 6.4–5 is an imitation of *οἱ ἀνθρωποπαθεῖς θεοί* in *Protr.* 2.36.1 and *Strom.* 5.14.116.3. Elter, *Gnomologiorum*, 142, 150, 165, thinks *Mon.* was earlier than Clement. See Zeegers-Vander Vorst, "Les versions juives," 501 n. 100. Riedweg, *Imitation*, 18, 24, dates *Mon.* earlier than Clement but sees no direct connection; rather, the Pseudo-Justin version of the poem is mediated to Clement through "α", a copy that preceded *Mon.* If Marcovich's suggestion is correct, then obviously Riedweg's early dating of *Mon.* cannot be correct.

72. Clement specifically mentions Aristobulus in *Strom.* 1.15.72.4; 1.22.150.1; 5.14.97.7; 6.3.32.5. He quotes portions of Aristobulus in *Strom.* 1.22.150.1–3 (Frg. 3.1) and 6.3.32.5–33.1 (Frg. 2.14–15). The following passages also reflect Clement's dependence on Aristobulus: *Strom.* 5.14.99.3 (Frg. 4.4), 5.14.107.1–4 (Frg. 5.13–16); 6.16.137.4–138.4 (Frg. 5.9–11); 6.16.141.7b–142.1 (Frg. 5.11); 6.16.142.4b (Frg. 5.13); also, probably 5.14.101.4b (Frg. 4.7) and *Protr.* 7.73.2a (Frg. 4.7). See Valckenaer, 69–73; Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 106–8; idem, JSHRZ (4,3), 219; Denis, *Introduction*, 234, n. 31.

From this list, Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 107, notes in particular the close similarity between *Protr.* 7.73.2a; *Strom.* 5.14.101.4b, and Aristobulus' phraseology in *P.E.* 13.12.7 (Frg. 4.7). It is interesting to note, however, that Aristobulus in the section he quotes from Aratus alters the name Δίς to Θεός, whereas Clement does not (cf. *Strom.* 5.14.101.2).

73. "Les versions juives," 482–85. The basic thesis of this article is that the versions of the poem in Pseudo-Justin and Clement could not have derived from EusA, thus that the scheme C–B–A (or that B and A derived separately from C) is untenable. Although her analysis is heavily indebted to Walter, it complements his work especially in terms of the text-critical evidence she adduces. So, Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 220 n. 25.

74. So, Schürer, *History*, 3(1).664.

75. So, Zeegers-Vander Vorst, "Les versions juives," 499.

76. So, Zeegers-Vander Vorst, "Les versions juives," 482; Schürer, *History*, 3(1).664.

77. See Schürer, *History*, 3(1).584, "It is perverse to assume that (the Orphic poem's) first recorded use, in the late second to early third century A.D., coincided with its creation. The hazards of textual transmission account for the preservation of a more correct text in a later author (Ps.-Justin) than an earlier one (Aristobulus)."

78. Denis, *Introduction*, 237–38, dates the earliest recension ca. 200 BCE but follows Walter in dating Recension C after the time of Clement (see p. 233).

79. Collins, *Athens and Jerusalem*, 204–7, appears to uphold an early date for the "Abrahamic recension" (our Recension B). He accepts the consensus view that Recension A is the oldest and argues that even if Recension C occurred after Clement, the case for an early date for Recension B can be made on other grounds. Noting the conceptual similarities between Recension B and certain features of *Sib. Or.*, but especially Ezekiel the Tragedian, he concludes that "the Abrahamic hymn also *represents a strand of Judaism* that dates back to the second century BCE, or possibly even the late third" (p. 206).

80. Even though he operates with a different recensional scheme, Riedweg places the definitive compositional stages quite early: the composition of the "Urfassung" as early as the late third century BCE; its citation by *Mon.* between the first century BCE and first century CE; the Aristobulus revision of the "Urfassung" in the mid-second century BCE.

81. Schürer, *History*, 3(1).665–66, is relatively confident in dating Recension A prior to Aristobulus in the second century BCE. He admits that Recension B can only be dated with certainty between the second century BCE and the time of Clement. He proposes that Recension C may be dated "any time after the Abrahamic recension and before Eusebius," though finally noting that "a Hellenistic date is not ruled out by its content."

82. *Gnomologiorum*, 177–83.

83. *Aglaophamus*, 447–48.

84. Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 219–20, 229, is convinced that even in its oldest form (Recension A), the poem (or the tradition it represents) cannot be traced to the second century BCE. Rather, the closest conceptual affinties, e.g., the mixing of Stoic pantheism with purer forms of transcendent monotheism, which appear to represent neo-Pythagorean, esp. neo-Platonic, strands of thought, are to be found around the time of Philo in the late first century BCE or early first century CE. Its similarities with certain portions of *Sib. Or.* also suggest the same period for him. (Though he does not suggest a date for Recension X, its Stoicizing features would presumably locate it in the mid- to late first century CE.) As for the later recensions, Walter dates Recension B (and his Recension X) prior to the time of Clement, and (following Elter) dates Recension C between the

time of Clement and Eusebius. So, *Thoraausleger*, 260–61; idem, JSHRZ (4,3), 229–30.

Walter's dating is basically followed by Zeegers-Vander Vorst, "Les versions juives," 502–5. See West, *Orphic Poems*, 34 n. 103; Hengel, "Anonymität," 293–94.

85. This is less of a problem for Riedweg, since he insists that Aristobulus himself should be considered the first textual witness. Furthermore, his early dating of *Mon.* as early as the first century BCE significantly reduces this gap. See *Imitation*, 6, 24.

86. See Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 109; Denis, *Introduction*, 235.

87. So, Schürer, *History*, 3(1).666, noting the difficulty of imagining the circumstances in which a "Jewish forgery of the third century A.D. would have been accepted by Christian writers at so late a date."

88. So, Zeller, *Philosophie*, 3(2).61.

89. See references in note 72 above. As it is now common to point out (Walter, JSHRZ [4,3], 218–19; see Schürer, *History* [4,3],666; Collins, *Athens and Jerusalem*, 204), this crucial piece of evidence was overlooked by Lobeck who claimed that because Clement omitted the Moses portions of the poem found in EusA, Aristobulus must have lived after Clement sometime in the third century CE. Elter refines the proposal and suggests that Pseudo-Aristobulus was a Christian author who composed the poem in the name of Orpheus.

90. Keller, *Aristobulo*, 80–82; Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 109. Zeegers-Vander Vorst, "Les versions juives," 500, speaks of "un hiatus flagrant" between Aristobulus' introductory comments and the poem.

91. E.g., Orphic Frg. 168,1–10; 169,1–5; perhaps Frg. 21a or Frg. 298 (Kern, *Fragmenta*; so, Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 112–14; idem, JSHRZ (4,3), 219, esp. n. 15. Keller, *Aristobulo*, 80–82, admits that Aristobulus might have cited Recension A.; similarly, Zeegers-Vander Vorst, "Les versions juives," 500.

92. Following Elter, *Gnomologiorum*, 179–83.

93. This would seem to call for some modification of the statement by Zeegers-Vander Vorst, "Les versions juives," 500, that the poem "ne fait pas allusion à la parole creátrice de Dieu, mais contient principalement une louange à Moïse et Abraham."

My critique of Walter (and Keller) at this point agrees with that of Riedweg, *Imitation*, 76–79.

94. See JSHRZ (4,3), 219.

95. See esp. Riedweg, *Imitation*, 44–55.

96. As indicated below, there are clear similarities with other works from the mid-second century BCE, most notably Ezekiel the Tragedian. Riedweg, *Imitation*, 89–95, is especially struck by the similarities between the EusA version of the poem, which he assigns to Aristobulus himself in the mid-second century BCE, and Pseudo-Aristotle *De mundo*. While the date for the latter is notoriously difficult to establish, it has been dated as early as the second century BCE. Riedweg (p. 94) is convinced that either both works drew on a common Peripatetic source or, more likely, Aristobulus used Pseudo-Aristotle *De mundo* in composing his version of the Pseudo-Orphic poem. Thus, for Riedweg, EusA serves as an important basis for establishing the date of Pseudo-Aristotle *De mundo* rather than vice versa.

The close similarities with *Sib. Or.* should also be noted (see Commentary on Recension A v. 10). While it is also difficult to date *Sib. Or.*, at least some of the parallels in Pseudo-Orpheus are quite similar to oracles that appear to be quite early. Cf., e.g., the monotheistic claim in v. 10 with *Sib. Or.* 3.629, 760, which come from the main corpus and which Collins dates 163–145 BCE. See *OTP* 1.355; also note 98 below.

97. This position is similar to Collins, *Athens and Jerusalem*, 205. A "most likely" grade for Recension A is supported by Keller, *Aristobulo*, 82–83. Denis, *Introduction*, 234 n. 29, thinks Walter's proposal of another Orphic fragment cited by Aristobulus remains hypothetical.

98. See Collins, *OTP* 1.354–55, 260. See Goodenough, *Light*, 282–89, for comparative analysis of *Sib. Or.* and Pseudo-Orpheus.

99. On the Derveni papyrus, see S. G. Kapsomenos, "The Orphic Papyrus Roll of Thessalonica," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 2 (1964) 3–31; also West, *Orphic Poems*, 68–115, esp. 114–15. The text is given in "Der Orphische Papyrus von Derveni," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 47 (1982) 1-12 (after p. 300).

100. As Collins, *Athens and Jerusalem*, 206, notes; dismissed as inconsequential by Schürer, *History*, 3(1).665. For other verbal similarities with Ezekiel the Tragedian, see note 111 below.

101. Collins, *Athens and Jerusalem*, 206.

102. See Denis, *Introduction*, 235.

103. Similarly, Denis, *Introduction*, 237–38, who dates Recension A ca. 200 BCE; also Riedweg, *Imitation*, 102–3, who dates his Urfassung in the late third century BCE. Zeller, *Philosophie*, 3(2).278 n. 2, dates Recension A ca. 250–150 BCE.

104. See Commentary on Recension B vv. 27–31. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 206, concedes that the Abraham recension (= Recension B) represents a "strand of tradition" that dates to the second, and possibly the late third, century BCE.

105. See note 111 below. Similarly, Riedweg, *Imitation*, 24, 102–3, who dates his "aristobulische Überarbeitung," i.e. the EusA version of the poem, in the mid-second century BCE.

106. Schürer, *History*, 3(1).664–65, allows for the possibility that Clement himself combined the two.

107. See Denis, *Introduction*, 235.

108. Riedweg, *Imitation*, 55–62, makes an especially strong case for the Jewish authorship of the "Urfassung" (=our Recension A). Among the most compelling arguments is his contention that v. 17 constitutes a form of radical monotheism difficult to imagine from a pagan author. See Commentary on Recension A v. 17.

109. On their Jewish origin, see Dähne, *Geschichtliche*, 2.90, who refers to the older literature; also Ziegler, "Orphische Dichtung," 1398; O. Gruppe, "Die rhapsodische Theogonie und ihre Bedeutung innerhalb der orphischen Litteratur," *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie, Supplementband 17* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1890) 687-747, esp. 711-12. Schürer, *Geschichte*, 3.599–600, strongly states the case for Jewish origin; similarly, idem, *History*, 3(1).662. West, *Orphic Poems*, 33–34, expresses no doubts about its Jewishness. Wobbermin, *Studien*, 135–37, detects no documentable Jewish influence in Recension C, adducing pagan parallels for the imagery in vv. 33–34, 36–37. According to Goodenough, *Symbols*, 9.97, Recension A "seems genuinely pagan"; similarly, Zeller, *Philosophie*, 3(2).278 n. 2: "keine Spur von jüdischem Einfluss"; also, Bickerman, *Jews*, 225–26. Whether the mention of Zeus (v. 14) reflects a pagan outlook or simply the Jewish author's pseudepigraphical skill (as, e.g., *Ep. Arist.* 16), is uncertain. See Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 219 n. 14.

110. See notes 25 and 50 above. Denis, *Introduction*, 236, thinks that the Jewish Pseudo-Hecataeus might have joined the various Orphic verses into a single piece. This is a variation of the position stated in Schürer, *Geschichte*, 3.601.

111. Worth noting are certain conceptual and verbal similarities between the two authors. The following may be noted:

(1) *θεῖος λόγος* (Ps.-Orph. 6; EzekT 99=Frg. 9, line 5; in EzekT the phrase is used in connection with Moses, and a similar connection may be present in Ps.-Orph. Recension C);

(2) *βάθος θαλάσσης* (Ps.-Orph. 37; EzekT 228=Frg. 15, line 42);

(3) emphasis on God's invisibility/inscrutability (Ps.-Orph. 11–12, [13], 17b–18a, 21–24, 26; EzekT 101–2=Frg. 9, lines 7–8 *ἰδεῖν γὰρ ὄψιν τὴν ἐμὴν ἀμήχανον | θνητὸν γεγῶτα. . . .*);

(4) trembling before the Divine (Ps.-Orph. 43; EzekT 126=Frg. 12, line 10 *μέλη δὲ σώματος τρέμει*);

(5) *ὑλογενής* (Ps.-Orph. 41, which is probably a reference to the tradition of Moses' being placed in a swamp; EzekT, Frg. 1B, line 3; also v. 17=Frg. 1, line 25: *εἰς ἕλος*. Could Ps.-Orph. have originally read *ἑλογενής*, or perhaps *ἡλογενής*? Cf. Hippocrates *Vict.* 2.49 (LCL 4.322–23) *ὑλονόμος*, f.l. *ἑλονόμος*, "dwelling in marshes" [cf. app. crit. in Joly (Budé), 48]; so LSJ, s.v. *ἑλονόμος*. Also EzekT records the tradition of the etymology of Moses' name (vv. 30–31=Frg. 1, lines 38–39);

(6) God's heavenly throne (Ps.-Orph. 34 [section describing throne, 33–36]; EzekT 68–82=Frg. 6, lines 8–22 [section describing Moses' vision]; 68b–69a *θρόνον μέγαν*; 74 *εἰς θρόνον μέγαν*; EzekT 83–89=Frg. 7, lines 3–9 [section describing Raguel's interpretation]; 85 *μέγαν θρόνον*);

(7) description of cosmic phenomena (Ps.-Orph. 28–31; EzekT 77–81 [=Frg. 6, lines 17–21]);

(8) a slight correlation between the "beginning, middle, end" formula in Ps.-Orph. 40 and Raguel's prediction that Moses will see "things present, past, future" (EzekT 89=Frg. 7, line 9: *ὄψει τά τ' ὄντα τά τε προτοῦ τά θ' ὕστερον*);

Other verbal correspondences occur, but they appear to be common terms and therefore not significant. These include:

(1) *πέφυκεν* (Ps.-Orph. 10 [Recension B]; EzekT 113=Frg. 10, line 3 *οὐκ εὔλογος πέφυκα* (Moses speaking), 253=Frg. 16, line 23);

(2) *εἰσοράω* (Ps.-Orph. 12, 17; EzekT 46=Frg. 2, line 18; EzekT 77=Frg. 6, line. 17 *ἐσεῖδον*; EzekT 87=Frg. 7, line 7 *εἰσθεᾶσθαι*);

(3) *λοιμός* (Ps.-Orph. 16; EzekT 140=Frg. 13, line 14);

(4) *πρίν* (Ps.-Orph. 18; EzekT 97=Frg. 9, line 3);

(5) *ἴχνιον* (Ps.-Orph. 20; EzekT 231=Frg. 15, line 45 *κατ' ἴχνος*);

(6) *κόρη* (Ps.-Orph. 22; EzekT 262–63 [2x]=Frg. 17, lines 11–12);

(7) *δεκάπτυχος* (Ps.-Orph. 25; EzekT 69=Frg. 6, line 9 *μέχρις οὐρανοῦ πτυχός*);

(8) *χθών* (Ps.-Orph. 29, 39; EzekT 135=Frg. 13, line 9]; EzekT 154 =Frg. 13, line 28; EzekT 183=Frg. 14, line 12);

(9) *πυρὸς σέλας* (Ps.-Orph. 32; EzekT 234=Frg. 15, line 48 *ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ δὲ φέγγος ὡς πυρὸς μέγα*);

(10) *ἀποδίδωμι* (Ps.-Orph. 46 [Recension D]; EzekT 29=Frg. 1, line 37; EzekT 166=Frg. 13, line 40);

(11) *φῦλον/φυλή* (Ps.-Orph. 27; EzekT 61=Frg. 4, line 4 *φῦλα*);

(12) *δεξιτερός*, poet. form of *δεξιός* (Ps.-Orph. 35; EzekT 72=Frg. 6, line 12);

(13) *χάρις* (Ps.-Orph. 15; EzekT 162=Frg. 13, line 36);

(14) *κακός* (Ps.-Orph. 14; EzekT 132=Frg. 13, line 6);

(15) *χεῦμα* (Ps.-Orph. 31; EzekT 237=Frg. 15, line 51 *κῦμα. . . μέγα*);

(16) *ἐκφαίνει δὲ πυρὸς σέλατα διαφεγγέα πάντῃ* (Ps.-Orph. 32; EzekT 246=Frg. 16, line. 16) *φέγγος ἐξέλαμψε. . . ὡς στῦλος πυρός*);

(17) *φαίνω* (Ps.-Orph. 32 *ἐκφαίνω*; EzekT 258=Frg. 17, line 7 *ἐφαίνετο*; EzekT 263=Frg. 17, line 12 *ἐφαίνετο*; EzekT 265=Frg. 17, line 14 *ἐφαίνετο*);

(18) *βαίνω* (Ps.-Orph. 7 *ἐπίβαινε*; EzekT 269=Frg. 17, line 18 *ἔβαινε*.

112. So, LSJ, s.v. *τραγῳδία* II.

113. See Eusebius *P.E.* 9.28.1; Clement *Strom.* 1.23.155.1. See *FHJA* 2.302.

114. See note 111 above.

115. Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 229; similarly, Riedweg, *Imitation*, 102.

116. See Abel, *Orphica*, 144–48; Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, 255–66.

117. Aristobulus Frg. 4 (*FHJA* 3.162–63)=Eus. *P.E.* 13.12.4; cf. Clement *Strom.* 5.99.3.

Whether the phrase *κατὰ τὸν* belongs to the title is a disputed point. Riedweg, *Imitation*, 44–45, does not understand Aristobulus' phrase *κατὰ τὸν ἱερὸν λόγον* as a title of Orpheus' work in the first instance but rather as a reference to the Bible; thus, "Orpheus, in verses from his work that is named after the holy Word," (i.e. the Bible). Nevertheless, Riedweg

understands Aristobulus to be implying that Orpheus' works were entitled *ἱεροὶ λόγοι* and that the title itself demonstrated Orpheus' dependence on the "Holy Word" par excellence, the Mosaic scriptures. Thus the Orphic poem would have belonged to a corpus of Orphic works with a title such as *Ἐκ τῶν Ὀρφέως ἱερῶν λόγων* or *Ὀρφέως ἱερὸς λόγος*. He also takes Clement's introductory words in *Protr.* 7.74.3 as an allusion to the same title: *τὸν ἱερὸν ὄντως ὀψε ποτε, ὅμως δ' οὖν ᾄδων λόγον*. Similarly, Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 110 n. 1.

118. Numerous examples are cited in Riedweg, *Imitation*, 46–47, esp. n. 113.

119. Explicit reference to Musaeus as Orpheus' son is absent in Recensions A and B; it occurs for the first time in Recension C, vv. 19 and 45. Even though this explicit language is absent in Recension A, the shorter version of the poem is introduced in *Coh.* as a poem addressed by Orpheus "to his son Musaeus"; similarly, the introduction to the poem in TTu §55. Riedweg, *Imitation*, 48–49, thinks the language of sonship is to be understood within the context of instruction and initiation within the mystery cults rather than within a testamentary setting. Musaeus is thus to be understood as Orpheus' disciple rather than his literal son. See note 3 above.

120. *Imitation*, 50–51.

121. Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 223–24, 229 n. 65.

122. See Lebram, "Aufbau der Areopagrede," esp. 222–26 and 240–42; also "Zwei Bemerkungen."

123. Cerfaux, "Mystères," 71–81; Goodenough, *Light*, 279–82; Collins, *Athens and Jerusalem*, 206: "The 'mystical' character of these Orphic fragments lies in their explicit esotericism and, in the Abrahamic recension, the higher revelation of Abraham's vision." See LaFargue, *OTP* 2.797.

124. Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 226–28; A. D. Nock, "The Question of Jewish Mysteries," *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972) 1.459–68.

125. See Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 230–32, excursus on Orpheus in Hellenistic Judaism, with extensive bibliography.

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PATRISTIC WITNESSES

1. Pseudo-Justin *Cohortatio ad Graecos*
2. Pseudo-Justin *De Monarchia*
3. Clement of Alexandria
4. Eusebius
5. Cyril of Alexandria
6. Theodoret
7. Tübingen Theosophy

Pseudo-Justin *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 15

(15) Ὀρφεὺς γοῦν, ὁ τῆς πολυθεότητος ὑμῶν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, πρῶτος διδάσκαλος γεγονώς, οἷα πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Μουσαῖον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς γνησίους ἀκροατὰς ὕστερον περὶ ἑνὸς καὶ μόνου θεοῦ κηρύττει λέγων, ἀναγκαῖον ὑπομνῆσαι ὑμᾶς. Ἔφη δὲ οὕτως·

Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι
Πάντες ὁμῶς. Σὺ δ' ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε Μήνης,
Μουσαῖ' Ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα· μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν
Ἐν στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ.
Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε,
Ἰθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος, εὖ τ' ἐπίβαινε
Ἀτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο ἄνακτα.
Εἷς ἔστ', αὐτογενής, ἑνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται·
Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περιγίνεται, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
Εἰσοράᾳ θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.
Οὗτος <δ'> ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο κακὸν θνητοῖσι δίδωσι,
Καὶ πόλεμον κρυόεντα καὶ ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα.

A mpsqrg

1 γοῦν: τοίνυν qs | 4 ἀναγκαῖον (ον in ras.) ὑπομνήσαι (ι in ras.) A^{pc}: ἀναγκαίων ὑπομνήσας A^{ac} | 5 δὲ: δὴ q | 6-7 βέβηλοι Πάντες: βέβηλοι πᾶσιν g: βεβήλοις πᾶσιν r (*portis exclude profanos* P) | 8 Μουσαῖ' sg, Sylburg et al. (Otto, Marcovich): Μουσαις A^{ac}: Μουσαῖε A^{pc} et MSS, Steph. et al. | (ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα) Marcovich | 9 στήθεσσι p^{pc} et MSS: στήθεσι qp^{ac} | 10 προσέδρευε A^{pc}: προσεδρεύει A^{ac} | 11 νοερὸν φέγγος (in ras.) ἐπίβαινε s | 12 Ἀτραπιτοῦ: ἀτραπητοῦ g: ἀταρπητοῦ q | 13 Εἷς ἔστ' A: εἷς δ' ἔστ' pr: εἷς δ' ἔστιν g: εἷς ἐστ' (αὐτογενής) Lobeck | ἑνὸς: εὖ s^2 | 14 περιγίνεται A, Otto, Marcovich: περιγίγνεται cett. edd. (cf. Otto, p. 61, n. 10) | 15 ὁρᾶται: ἑορᾶται s | 16 δ' om. A, *Mon.* s: <δ'> Marcovich ex Clem., Euseb., et ed. prin. (Lodoicus): δ' Otto | κακὸν: νοῦν s |

Pseudo-Justin *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 15[1]

(15) At all events, we must remind you what Orpheus—who was, as one might say, your first teacher of polytheism—latterly addressed to his son Musaeus, and to the other legitimate auditors, concerning the one and only God. And he spoke thus:[2]

1[3] I will speak to those to whom it is permitted; shut the doors, you uninitiated,
3 All of you alike. But you, O Musaeus, child of the light-bearing Moon,
4 Listen! For I am about to proclaim the truth. Let not the former
5 Imaginings of your heart deprive you of the blessed life.
6 But look to the divine Word, and adhere to it,
7 Letting it guide your heart's deepest thoughts. And walk unwaveringly
8 Upon the path, looking only to the master of the universe.
10 He is one, self-generated; all things have been brought forth as the offspring of this one;
11 And among them He Himself is superior, and no one among
12 Mortals sees Him, though He indeed sees everyone.
14 And from good does He give mortals evil—
16 Both chilling war and tearful sufferings.

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[1] After criticizing the beliefs of the Greek poets and philosophers, Pseudo-Justin argues for the antiquity and therefore the superiority of Moses. He then asserts that Greeks learned about the Hebrew tradition on visits to Egypt and that this had a transforming effect. This quotation is the first of several testimonies from Greek authors (the Sibyl, Homer, Sophocles, Pythagoras, and Plato) offered to demonstrate Moses' positive influence on the Greek tradition and to support the claim that they adopted Hebrew monotheism.

The English translation that follows is based on that of Dods in ANF 1.279–80, but I have modified it considerably.

[2] Orph. Frg. 245 (Kern, *Fragmenta*, pp. 257–59).

[3] Here, and in the patristic witnesses presented in the rest of the section, the bold numbers in the left margin of the English translation indicate the verse numbers of Pseudo-Orpheus. On the numbering of the verses, see Notes to Introduction, n. 1.

Pseudo-Justin *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 15 (cont.)

Οὐδέ τις ἔσθ᾽ ἕτερος χωρὶς μεγάλου βασιλῆος.
Αὐτὸν δ᾽ οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται.
Πᾶσιν γὰρ θνητοῖς θνηταὶ κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις,
Ἀσθενέες δ᾽ ἰδέειν Δία τὸν πάντων μεδέοντα.
Οὗτος γὰρ χάλκειον ἐς οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται
Χρυσέῳ ἐνὶ θρόνῳ, γαίης δ᾽ ἐπὶ ποσσὶ βέβηκε
Χεῖρά τε δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρματος ὠκεανοῖο
Πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν· περὶ γὰρ τρέμει οὔρεα μακρὰ
Καὶ ποταμοὶ πολιῆς τε βάθος χαροποῖο θαλάσσης.
Καὶ αὖθις ἀλλαχοῦ που οὕτως λέγει·
Εἷς Ζεύς, εἷς Ἀΐδης, εἷς Ἥλιος, εἷς Διόνυσος,
Εἷς θεὸς ἐν πάντεσσι. Τί σοι δίχα ταῦτ᾽ ἀγορεύω;
Καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ὅρκοις δὲ οὕτως·
Οὐρανὸν ὁρκίζω σε, θεοῦ μεγάλου σοφὸν ἔργον,
Αὐδὴν ὁρκίζω σε πατρός, τὴν φθέγξατο πρῶτον,
Ἥνίκα κόσμον ἅπαντα ἑαῖς στηρίξατο βουλαῖς.
Τί βούλεται τὸ λέγειν αὐτὸν
Αὐδὴν ὁρκίζω σε πατρός, τὴν φθέγξατο πρῶτον;

A mpsqrg

18 ἔσθ᾽ p, Otto, Marcovich: ἔστ᾽ A | μεγάλου βασιλῆος: μεγάλοιο ἄνακτος q (et E Otto) | 20 Πᾶσιν rs, ed. prin. (Lodoicus), Otto: πᾶσι A pqg: Πᾶσι<ν> Marcovich | 21 Δία τὸν rg, ed. prin. (Lodoicus), Otto, Marcovich: τὸν διὰ A pqs | Δία τὸν πάντων μεδέοντα: διὰ πάντων τὸν μεδέοντα Burkert ap. Riedweg, *Imitation*, 30. | 22 ἐς A: εἰς s: ἐπ᾽ q | 23 ἐνὶ MSS, Steph., Otto: εἰνὶ Sylburg, et al.: ε<ἰ>νὶ Marcovich | ποσσὶ: ποσὶ p | βέβηκε: βέβηκεν g | 27 που om. prsg | 28 Διόνυσος corr. p: διόννσσος A s | 30 δὲ: δ᾽ q | 31 σοφὸν sm^{pc}, Otto, Marcovich: σοφοῦ A et cett. MSS et edd. | 32 ὁρκίζω: ὁρκίσω r | φθέγξατο ed. prin. (Lodoicus), Otto, Marcovich: ἐφθέγξατο A pqs | πρῶτον MSS, Otto: πρώτην Marcovich | 33-35 Ἥνίκα—πρῶτον om. rg (homoeoteleuton, lin. 32) | 33 ἅπαντα: πάντα p | 35 φθέγξατο ed. prin. (Lodoicus), Otto, Marcovich: ἐφθέγξατο A pqs | πρῶτον MSS, Otto: πρώτην Marcovich |

Pseudo-Justin *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 15 (cont.)

17 And there is no other apart from this great king.
21 Even I do not see Him; for around Him a cloud has been fixed.
22 For all mortals have mortal pupils in their eyes,
24 Too weak to see Zeus the ruler of all things.
33 For He is firmly established in the bronze heaven
34 On a golden throne, and He stands with the earth at His feet.
35 And He stretches out His right hand all the way
36 To the ocean's edge; for around Him tremble distant mountains
37 And rivers, as well as the depths of the hoary, blue sea.

And again in some other place he says:[4]

There is one Zeus alone, one Hades, one Helios,
One Dionysus; and in all things but one God;
Why should I speak to you of them as separate?

And in *The Oaths* he says:[5]

Now I adjure you by heaven,
The wise work of the great God;
And I adjure you by the Father's voice,
Which first He uttered when He stabilised
The whole world by His counsel.

What does he mean when he says:

I adjure you by the Father's voice, which first He uttered?

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[4] Orph. Frg. 239 (Kern, *Fragmenta*, pp. 251–52).

[5] Orph. Frg. 299 (Kern, *Fragmenta*, p. 313). Cf. Cyril *C. Iulianum* 1.46.

Pseudo-Justin *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 15 (cont.)

Αὐδὴν ἐνταῦθα τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὀνομάζει λόγον, δι᾽ οὗ οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ἐγένετο κτίσις, ὡς διδάσκουσιν ἡμᾶς αἱ θεῖαι τῶν ἁγίων ἀνδρῶν προφητεῖαι, αἷς ἐν μέρει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ προσχὼν ἔγνω ὅτι τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ πᾶσα ἐγένετο κτίσις. Διὸ καὶ μετὰ τὸ φῆσαι·

Αὐδὴν ὁρκίζω σε πατρός, ἣν φθέγξατο πρῶτον,
παραυτὰ συνάπτει λέγων·

Ἡνίκα κόσμον ἅπαντα ἑαῖς στηρίξατο βουλαῖς.

Ἐνταῦθα τὸν λόγον αὐδὴν διὰ τὸ ποιητικὸν ὀνομάζει μέτρον. Ὅτι δὲ τοῦθ᾽ οὕτως ἔχει, δῆλον ἀπὸ τοῦ μικρῷ πρόσθεν τοῦ μέτρου συγχωροῦντος αὐτῷ λόγον αὐτὸν ὀνομάζειν. Ἔφη γάρ·

Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε.

A mpsqrg

37 καὶ ἡ πᾶσα: καὶ ἅπασα q: καὶ πᾶσα Maranus (καὶ ἡ πᾶσα corr. Migne) | 39 προσχὼν A, Otto: προσ<σ>χὼν Marcovich | τοῦ om. s | <ἡ> πᾶσα Marcovich | 40 κτίσις MSS, Otto, Marcovich: ἡ κτίσις q et cett. edd. | 41 ἣν A et MSS: τὴν Sylburg, Hutchin, Migne, et al. edd. (Otto) contra MSS: <τ>ὴν Marcovich | φθέγξατο ed. prin. (Lodoicus), Otto, Marcovich: ἐφθέγξατο A pqs | πρῶτον MSS, Otto: πρώτην Marcovich | 42 παραυτὰ MSS, Otto, Marcovich: παρ᾽ αὐτὰ cett. edd. | 43 Ἡνίκα: ἡνία g | 44 <οὖν> τὸν Marcovich | 45-46 μικρῷ—τοῦ μέτρου: μικρὸν. . . τὸ μέτρον g |

Pseudo-Justin *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 15 (cont.)

It is the Word of God which he here names "a voice," by whom heaven and earth and the whole creation were made, as the divine prophecies of the holy men teach us; and to these he himself also paid some attention in Egypt, and understood that all creation was made by the Word of God; and therefore, after he says,

> I adjure you by the Father's voice, which first He uttered,

he adds this besides,

> when by His counsel He established the whole world.

Here he calls the Word "voice," for the sake of the poetical metre. And that this is so is manifest from the fact that, a little further on, where the metre permits him, he names it "Word." For he said:

6 But look to the divine Word and adhere to it.

Pseudo-Justin *De Monarchia* 2

(2) Μαρτυρήσει δέ μοι καὶ Ὀρφεύς, ὁ παρεισαγαγὼν τοὺς τριακοσίους ἑξήκοντα θεούς, ἐν τῷ Διαθῆκαι ἐπιγραφομένῳ βιβλίῳ, ὁπότε μετανοῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ φαίνεται ἐξ ὧν γράφει·

Μουσαῖ'! Ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα· μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν
Ἐν στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ.
Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε,
Ἰθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος, εὖ τ' ἐπίβαινε
Ἀτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο ἄνακτα.
Εἷς ἔστ', αὐτογενής, ἑνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται·
Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περιγίνεται, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
Εἰσοράᾳ θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.
Οὗτος δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο κακὸν θνητοῖσι δίδωσι
Καὶ πόλεμον κρυόεντα καὶ ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα.
Οὐδέ τις ἔσθ' ἕτερος χωρὶς μεγάλοιο ἄνακτος.

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qs

1 παρεισαγαγὼν Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* 1.364; Otto: παρεισαγ<αγ>ὼν Marcovich: παρεισάγων qs: προεισαγαγὼν Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* 1.364 | 2 ἑξήκοντα <πέντε> Marcovich ex Theoph. et Lactant. | δϊαθῆκαι s: Διαθῆκαι Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* 1.440; et Otto, Marcovich: διαθήκαις q cett. edd.: διαθήκης Göz ap. Otto | 4 Μουσαῖ' s, Sylburg, Otto, Marcovich, et al.: μουσαῖε q, Steph., Göz ap. Otto | ἀληθέα qs: ἀληθινὰ q^2 (supra ἀληθέα) | 5 φανέντα qs: ῥηθέντα superscr. q^2 | 6-8 Εἰς—ἄνακτα om. s | 8 Ἀτραπιτοῦ Otto, Marcovich: ἀτραπητοῦ q | 9 αὐτογενής qs: τελής q^2 (supra γενής): αὐτοτελής in *Strom.* 78; EusA, sed αὐτογενής in *Protr.* 7.74.5 | ἑνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτεκται q: ἑνὸς ἔργον ἅπαντα τέτυκται s: αὐτοῦ δ' ὕπο πάντα τελεῖται q^2 (supra ἑνὸς—τέτεκται) ex EusA: ἑνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται Otto, Marcovich | 10 περιγίνεται qs, Otto, Marcovich: περιγίγνεται Maranus et cett. edd. | 11 αὐτὸς—ὁρᾶται q, Otto, Marcovich: αὐτὸς δὲ πάντ' ἐορᾶται s | 12-13 Οὗτος—δακρυόεντα om. s | 12 δ' q, Maranus et al. edd.: {δ'} Sylburg: om. Steph. Göz. ap. Otto | 14 μεγάλοιο ἄνακτος q: βασιλῆος μεγάλοιο s |

Pseudo-Justin *De Monarchia* 2[6]

(2) Even Orpheus, too, who introduces 360 gods, will bear testimony in my favor from the tract called *Testaments*, in which he appears to repent of his error by writing the following:

4 O Musaeus! For I am about to proclaim the truth. Let not the former
5 Imaginings of your heart deprive you of the blessed life.
6 But look to the divine Logos, and adhere to it,
7 Letting it guide your heart's deepest thoughts. And walk unwaveringly
8 Upon the path, looking only to the master of the universe.
10 He is one, self-generated; all things have been brought forth as the the offspring of this one;
11 And among them He Himself is superior, and no one among
12 Mortals sees Him, though He indeed sees everyone.
14 And from good does He give mortals evil—
16 Both chilling war and tearful sufferings.
17 And there is no other apart from this great master.

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[6] This quotation occurs in a series of testimonies from "Greek" authors asserting monotheistic belief. It is preceded by quotations attributed to Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Philemon and is followed by one from Pythagoras. The section that follows then offers a series of testimonies from Greek authors about a future judgment.

The text that follows is Orph. Frg. 245 (Kern, *Fragmenta*, pp. 257–59). The English translation is based on that of Reith in ANF 1.290-91, but I have modified it considerably.

Pseudo-Justin *De Monarchia* 2 (cont.)

Αὐτὸν δ᾽ οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται.
Πᾶσιν γὰρ θνητοῖς θνηταὶ κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις,
᾽Ασθενέες δ᾽ ἰδέειν τὸν διὰ πάντων μεδέοντα.
Οὗτος γὰρ χάλκειον ἐπ᾽ οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται
Χρυσέῳ ἐνὶ θρόνῳ, γαίης δ᾽ ἐπὶ ποσσὶ βέβηκε
Χεῖρά τε δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρματος ὠκεανοῖο
Πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν· περὶ γὰρ τρέμει οὔρεα μακρὰ
Καὶ ποταμοὶ πολιῆς τε βάθος χαροποῖο θαλάσσης.

Καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως φράζει, ὡς αὐτόπτης γεγονὼς τοῦ μεγέθους θεοῦ. Κοινωνεῖ δ᾽ αὐτῷ καὶ Πυθαγόρας ἐν οἷς γράφει. . . .

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qs

16 Πᾶσιν s, Otto, Marcovich: πᾶσι q | 17 ᾽Ασθενέες—μεδέοντα: ante lin. 17 μικραὶ ἐπεὶ σάρκες (τε καὶ marg. mutil.) ὀστέα πεφύασιν add. s ex *Strom.* 78 | τὸν διὰ q, Steph.: τὸν ἀεὶ s: τὸν Δία Göz ap. Otto: Δία τὸν, Sylburg, Otto, Marcovich | 18 οὗτος qs et *Coh.*: αὐτός Cyr. et al. | ἐπ᾽ qs (E ? Otto): ἐς *Coh.* (A) | 19 ἐνὶ s, Otto: εἰνὶ q, Marcovich | γαίης *Mon.* & *Coh.*: γαίῃ, Cyr. et al. | 23 οὕτως q: οὗτος s | 24 θεοῦ q: τοῦ θεοῦ s |

Pseudo-Justin *De Monarchia* 2 (cont.)

21 But I do not see Him; for around Him a cloud has been fixed.
22 For all mortals have mortal pupils in their eyes,
24 Too weak to see the one who rules through all things.
33 For He is firmly established in the bronze heaven
34 On a golden throne, and He stands with the earth at His feet.
35 And He stretches out His right hand all the way
36 To the ocean's edge; for around Him tremble distant mountains
37 And rivers, as well as the depths of the hoary, blue sea.

And he speaks thus concerning these things as if he had been an eyewitness of God's greatness. And Pythagoras agrees with him when he writes. . . .

Clement *Protrepticus 7.74.2b–6*

(2). . . *οὑτοσὶ μὲν ἤδη καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένως ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῖς θεαταῖς παρεισήγαγεν.* (3) *ὁ δὲ Θρᾴκιος ἱεροφάντης καὶ ποιητὴς ἅμα, ὁ τοῦ Οἰάγρου Ὀρφεύς, μετὰ τὴν τῶν ὀργίων ἱεροφαντίαν καὶ τῶν εἰδώλων*
5 *τὴν θεολογίαν, παλινῳδίαν ἀληθείας εἰσάγει, τὸν ἱερὸν ὄντως ὀψέ ποτε, ὅμως δ᾽ οὖν ᾄδων λόγον·*

(4) *φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ᾽ ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι*
πάντες ὁμῶς· σὺ δ᾽ ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε Μήνης,
Μουσαῖε, *ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα, μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν*
10 *ἐν στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ.*
εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε,
ἰθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος· εὖ δ᾽ ἐπίβαινε
ἀτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ᾽ ἐσόρα κόσμοιο ἄνακτα
ἀθάνατον.
15 (5) *εἶτα ὑποβὰς διαρρήδην ἐπιφέρει·*
εἷς ἔστ᾽, αὐτογενής, ἑνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται·
ἐν δ᾽ αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περινίσσεται, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
εἰσορᾷ θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.
οὕτως μὲν δὴ Ὀρφεύς· χρόνῳ τέ ποτε συνῆκεν πεπλανημένος.
20 (6) *ἀλλὰ σὺ μὴ μέλλων, βροτὲ ποικιλόμητι, βράδυνε,*
ἀλλὰ παλίμπλαγκτος στρέψας θεὸν ἱλάσκοιο.

MP

8 *ὁμῶς*: *ὅμως* P* | 9 *μουσαῖε* P[1]: *μούσαις* P* | 11 *προσέδρευ᾽* P | 12 *ἰθύνων* Stählin ex Ps.-J. *Mon. & Coh.*, EusC, EusA, Cyr., TTu: *εἰθύνων* P*: *εὐθύνων* P[2] | 16 *αὐτογενής* P: *αὐτοτελής* *Strom.* 78, EusA | 17 *περινίσσεται* P*M[2], EusA(IN), Thdrt.: *περινίσεται* P[2]M*, EusA(O), TTu: *περιγίνεται* Ps.-J., Cyr. | 18 *εἰσορᾷ* P: *εἰσοράᾳ* Stählin ex *Strom.* 78, Ps.-J., Cyr., EusA, Thdrt. | 19 *τέ* P: *γε* Stählin |

Clement *Protrepticus 7.74.2b–6* [7]

(2). . . In this venturous manner has he[8] brought forth truth on the stage before the spectators. (3) But the Thracian Orpheus, the son of Oeagrus, hierophant and poet at once, after his exposition of the orgies, and his theology of idols, introduces a palinode of truth with true solemnity, though tardily singing the strain:[9]

1 (4) I shall utter to whom it is lawful; but let the doors be closed,
3 Nevertheless, against all the profane. But do thou hear, offspring of
the light-bearing moon,
4 O Musaeus, for I will declare what is true. And let not these things
5 Which once appeared in your breast rob you of dear life;
6 But looking to the divine word, apply yourself to it,
7 Keeping right the seat of intellect and feeling; and walk well
8 In the straight path, and to the immortal King of the universe alone
9 Direct your gaze.

(5) Then proceeding, he clearly adds:[10]

10 He is one, self-proceeding; and from Him alone all things proceed,
11 And in them He Himself exerts his activity: no mortal
12 Beholds Him, but He beholds all.

So much for Orpheus; at last he realized that he had been in error:[11]

(6) But linger no longer, O mortal, full of various wiles,
But turn and retrace your steps, and propitiate God.

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[7] Book 7 of *Protrepticus* contains quotations from Greek poets that are said to confirm (Christian) truth. This quotation is preceded by quotations from Aratus, Hesiod, Euripides, and Sophocles and is followed by testimonies from Menander, Antisthenes, Homer, and Euripides.

The English translation given here is that of Wilson in ANF 2.193, with only minor changes.

[8] I.e., Sophocles.

[9] Orph. Frg. 246 (Kern, *Fragmenta*, pp. 259–60).

[10] Orph. Frg. 246 (Kern, *Fragmenta*, pp. 259–60); ‖ *Strom.* 5.12.78.

[11] *Sib. Or.* 3.624–25.

Clement *Stromateis 5.12.78.3–5*

(3) καὶ ὅταν λέγῃ ἡ γραφὴ "εἰσῆλθεν δὲ Μωυσῆς εἰς τὸν γνόφον οὗ ἦν ὁ θεός," τοῦτο δηλοῖ τοῖς συνιέναι δυναμένοις, ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἀόρατός ἐστι καὶ ἄρρητος, γνόφος δὲ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἡ τῶν πολλῶν ἀπιστία τε καὶ ἄγνοια τῇ αὐγῇ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπίπροσθε φέρεται. (4) Ὀρφεύς τε αὖ ὁ θεολόγος ἐντεῦθεν ὠφελημένος εἰπών·

εἷς ἔστ', αὐτοτελής, ἐνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται
(ἢ "πέφυκεν," γράφεται γὰρ καὶ οὕτως), ἐπιφέρει·
οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
εἰσοράᾳ θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.

(5) σαφέστερον δὲ ἐπιλέγει·

αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται.
πᾶσι γὰρ θνητοῖς θνηταὶ κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις
μικραί, ἐπεὶ σάρκες τε καὶ ὀστέα {ἐμπεφυῖα} ἐμπεφύασιν.

Strom. 5.14.116.2

(2) καὶ πρὸ τούτου Ὀρφεὺς κατὰ τοῦ προκειμένου φερόμενος εἴρηκεν·

υἱὲ Διὸς μεγάλοιο, πάτερ Διὸς αἰγιόχοι.

L

26 ἐπίπροσθε: ἐπιπροσθεῖ {φέρεται} Wilam. | 28 αὐτοτελής L: αὐτογενής *Protr.* (P) | 30 ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περινίσσεται, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν *Protr.* | 31 εἰσοράᾳ L: εἰσορᾷ *Protr.* (P) | 34 πᾶσι L et Ps.-J. *Coh.*(Apqg) & *Mon.*(q) : πᾶσι<ν> Stählin ex Ps.-J. *Coh.*(rs) & *Mon.*(s) | 34-35 ἐν ὄσσοις μικραί Stählin: ἐν ὅσοι σμικραὶ L | 35 {ἐμπεφυῖα} ἐμπεφύασιν Sylburg, Stählin: ἐμπεφυῖα ἐμπεφύασιν L | 38 αἰγιόχοι L: αἰγιόχοι<ο> Stählin |

Clement *Stromateis 5.12.78.3–5* [12]

(3) And when the Scripture says, "Moses entered into the thick darkness where God was,"[13] this shows to those capable of understanding that God is invisible and inexpressible. And "the darkness"—which is, in truth, the unbelief and ignorance of the multitude—obstructs the gleam of the truth. (4) And again Orpheus, the theologian, aided from this quarter, says:[14]

10 One is perfect in Himself, and all things are made the progeny of one,

(or, "are born," for so also is it written). He adds:

11 Him

12 No one of mortals has seen, but He sees all.

(5) And he adds more clearly:

21 Him see I not, for round about, a cloud has settled;

22 For in all mortal eyes are small, and mortal pupils—

23 Only flesh and bones grow there.

Strom. 5.14.116.2[15]

(2) And before him Orpheus said, speaking of the point at hand:[16]

Son of great Zeus, Father of Aegis-bearing Zeus.

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[12] The two quotations from Orpheus cited here by Clement are offered as proof for the overall contention in *Strom.* 5.12 that God is actually inexpressible and incomprehensible. The English translation given here is that of Wilson in ANF 2.463.

[13] Exod 20:21. Cf. *Strom.* 2.6.1; 5.71.5; Philo *Post. C.* 4–5 §§13–17.

[14] Orph. Frg. 246 (Kern, *Fragmenta*, pp. 259–60), for both quotations that follow.

[15] In *Strom.* 5.14 Clement argues that the best of Greek wisdom was stolen from the Jews. This line from Orpheus is cited to reinforce an earlier quotation from Homer *Od.* 9.410–11. The English translation given here is that of Wilson in ANF 2.471.

[16] Orph. Frg. 338 (Kern, *Fragmenta*, p. 335).

Clement *Stromateis 5.14.122.2*

(2) *τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις κἀν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς εὑρήσομεν ὧδέ πως γεγραμμένα·*

πάντας γὰρ κρύψας {καὶ} αὖθις φάος ἐς πολυγηθὲς
ἐξ ἱερᾶς κραδίης ἀνενέγκατο, μέρμερα ῥέζων.

Strom. 5.14.122.4–126.5

(4) *οὐχ οὕτως τις μέγας ἔσται καὶ καθ' Ἕλληνας ὡς ὑπερέχειν τὴν δίκην, οὐδὲ σμικρὸς ὡς λαθεῖν.*

(123.1) *ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Ὀρφεὺς καὶ ταῦτα λέγει·*

εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε,
ἰθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος· εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε
ἀτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο ἄνακτα
ἀθάνατον.

(2) *αὖθίς τε περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀόρατον αὐτὸν λέγων, μόνῳ γνωσθῆναι ἑνί τινί φησι τὸ γένος Χαλδαίῳ, εἴτε τὸν Ἀβραὰμ λέγων τοῦτον εἴτε καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ, διὰ τούτων·*

εἰ μὴ μουνογενής τις ἀπορρὼξ φύλου ἄνωθεν
Χαλδαίων· ἴδρις γὰρ ἔην ἄστροιο πορείης,
καὶ σφαίρης κινήματ' ἀμφὶ χθόνα {θ'} ὡς περιτέλλει

L

41 {*καὶ*} Stählin ex EusC(ION) | 42 *ἱερᾶς* L et EusC (ION): *ἱερῆς* Stählin ex Ps.-Aristotle *De mundo* 7 p. 401 b 7 (*καθαρῆς*; ed. Lorimer, p. 100) | 43 *οὕτως* L et EusC(ION): *οὕτω* Stählin | 46 *δὲ λόγον*: *λόγον δὲ* EusC(IN) | 47 *ἰθύνων* Stählin ex Ps.-J. *Coh. & Mon.*, EusA(BION) et EusC(ION & D) etiam Cyr., TTu: *εὐθύνων* L | 48 *μοῦνον* L: *μόνον* EusC(ION) | *δ'* L, EusC(I): *δὲ* EusC(ON) | *ἄνακτα* L, EusC: *τυπωτὴν* EusA | 54 *ἴδρις* Stählin ex EusA et EusC: *ἴδρης* L | 55 *κινήματ'* L: *κίνημα* EusA et EusC: *κίνημ'* Stählin ex EusA et EusC | {*θ'*} Stählin ex EusA et EusC(IN): *θ'* L: *τ'* EusC(O) | *ὡς περιτέλλει* L et EusA, EusC(IN): *τ' ἐς πέρι* EusC(O) |

Clement *Stromateis 5.14.122.2* [17]

(2) We shall find expressions similar to these also in the Orphic hymns, written as follows:[18]

> For having hidden all, brought them again
> To gladsome light, forth from his sacred heart,
> Solicitous.

Strom. 5.14.122.4–126.5[19]

(4) And so, according to the Greeks, none is so great as to be above judgment, none so insignificant as to escape its notice.
(123.1) And the same Orpheus speaks thus:[20]

> **6** But to the word divine, looking, attend,
> **7** Keeping aright the heart's receptacle of intellect,
> **8** And tread the straight path well, and only to the world's immortal King
> **9** Direct thy gaze.

(2) And again, respecting God, saying that He was invisible, and that He was known to but one, a Chaldean by race—meaning by this either Abraham or his son—he speaks as follows:[21]

> **27** But one a scion of Chaldean race;
> **28** For he the sun's path knew right well,
> **29** And how the motion of the sphere about the earth proceeds,

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[17] For the context of this fragment, see above note 15. The translation given here is that of Wilson in ANF 2.472.
[18] Orph. Frg. 21a (Kern, *Fragmenta*, pp. 91–93).
[19] This extended section from *Strom.* 5.14 contains testimonies from Orpheus. It is preceded by a quotation from Empedocles (5.14.122.3). The English translation given here is that of Wilson in ANF 2.472–73.

These following sections from Clement *Strom.* 5.14.122.4–133.2 are quoted by Eusebius in *P.E.* 13.13.50–62.
[20] Orph. Frg. 246 (Kern, *Fragmenta*, pp. 259–60).
[21] Orph. Frg. 246 (Kern, *Fragmenta*, pp. 259–60).

Clement *Stromateis 5.14.122.4–126.5* (cont.)

κυκλοτερὲς ἐν ἴσῳ τε κατὰ σφέτερον κνώδακα,
πνεύματι δ᾽ ἡνιοχεῖ περί τ᾽ ἠέρα καὶ περὶ χεῦμα.
(124.1) *εἶτα οἷον τὸ "ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος, ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου" ἐπιφέρει·*
αὐτὸς δ᾽ αὖ μέγαν αὖτις ἐπ᾽ οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται
χρυσέῳ ἐνὶ θρόνῳ, γαίη τε ὑπὸ ποσὶ βέβηκεν.
χεῖρα δεξιτερὴν περὶ τέρμασιν ὠκεανοῖο
ἐκτέτακεν, ὀρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις ἔνδοθι θυμοῦ
οὐδὲ φέρειν δύναται κρατερὸν μένος. ἔστι δὲ πάντῃ
αὐτὸς ἐπουράνιος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάντα τελευτᾷ,
ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ μέσων ἠδὲ τελείων.

L

56 *κυκλοτερὲς* L et EusC(ION), EusA(IN): *κυκλοτερὴς* EusA(BO) | *ἐν ἴσῳ τε κατὰ* L et EusC(ION): *ἐν ἴσῳ* (*ἐείσω*), *κατὰ δὲ* EusA: <*τ᾽*> *ἐν ἴσῳ κατὰ* <*δὲ*> EusC (Mras) | 57 *πνεύματι δ᾽* L: *πνεύματι* EusC(IN): *πνεῦμα τ᾽* EusC(O): *πνεύματα δ᾽* Stählin ex EusA(BION) | 58 *οἷον τὸ*: *οἷον* <*παραφράζων*> *τὸ* Stählin ex EusC | 60 *δ᾽ αὖ* L et EusC: *δὴ* EusA | 61 *ἐνὶ* L et EusC1(IO; *ἐνὶ* ND): *εἰνὶ* EusA(BIO et $N^{2mg}D$?; *ἐνὶ* N^{ac} *ἐνὶ* N^{pc}) | *θρόνῳ,* L: *θρόνῳ·* EusC1 et EusA | *τε* L: *δ᾽* Stählin ex EusA, *Strom.* 127 et EusC2 | *ὑπὸ* L et EusC1, EusC2(ON), EusA(BION): *ἐπὶ Strom.* 127 (L), EusC2(I), Cyr. | *ποσὶ* L et *Strom.* 127 (L), EusC2(I): *ποσσὶ* EusA(BION), EusC2(ON), EusC1(ION) | 62 *χεῖρα δεξιτερὴν* L et EusC1(ND), EusC2(O): *χεῖρα* <*δὲ*> *δεξιτερὴν* Stählin ex EusC1(I), *Strom.* 127, EusC2(I[*δεξιωτερὴν*] N), EusA, et al. | *περὶ τέρμασιν* L et EusC1(ION): *ἐπὶ τέρματος Strom.* 127 (L) et EusC2 (ION): *ἐπὶ τέρμασιν* EusA (BION): *ἐπὶ τέρματα* Cyr. | *ὠκεανοῖο Strom.* 124 et 127: *Ὠκεανοῖο* EusC1, EusC2, EusA | 63 *θυμοῦ* L: *θυμῷ* Stählin ex EusA(BION) et EusC1(ION), Thdrt. | 64 *οὐδὲ* L et EusA, Thdrt.: *οὔτε* EusC | *πάντῃ* L et EusC(ION), Thdrt.: *πάντων* EusA (BION; *πάντως* Steph.) | 65 *χθονὶ* L et EusC(IN), EusA(BION): *χθόνα* EusC(O) | 66 *μέσων* L et EusC(I; *μέσσων* ON): *μέσσην* Stählin ex Thdrt. (*μέσ(σ)ην* BMV LCS): *μέσσον* EusA(ION^1D^c; *μέσον* BD*; *μέσσην* N^2), Thdrt.(K) | *τελείων* L et EusC(ION): *τελευτήν* Stählin ex EusA(BION), Thdrt. |

Clement *Stromateis 5.14.122.2–126.5* (cont.)

30 In circle moving equally around its axis,
31 How the winds their chariot guide o'er air and sea.

(124.1) Then, as if paraphrasing the expression, "Heaven is my throne, and earth is my footstool,"[22] he adds:[23]

33 But in great heaven, He is seated firm
34 Upon a throne of gold, and 'neath His feet
35 The earth. His right hand round the ocean's bound
36 He stretches; and the hills' foundations shake to the centre at His wrath
38 Nor can endure His mighty strength.
39 He all celestial is, and all things finishes upon the earth.
40 He the Beginning, Middle is, and End.

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[22] Isa 66:1.
[23] Orph. Frg. 246 (Kern, *Fragmenta*, pp. 259–60).

Clement *Stromateis 5.14.122.4–126.5* (cont.)

ἄλλως οὐ θεμιτόν σε λέγειν· τρομέω δέ τε γυῖα
ἐν νόῳ. ἐξ ὑπάτου κραίνει,
(2) καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις. διὰ γὰρ τούτων δεδήλωκεν πάντα
ἐκεῖνα τὰ προφητικά· "ἐὰν ἀνοίξῃς τὸν οὐρανόν, τρόμος
λήψεται ἀπὸ σοῦ ὄρη καὶ τακήσεται, ὡς ἀπὸ προσώπου πυρὸς
τήκεται κηρός·"
(125.1) καὶ <τὰ> διὰ Ἡσαΐου "τίς ἐμέτρησεν τὸν οὐρανὸν
σπιθαμῇ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν δρακί;" πάλιν ὅταν εἴπῃ·
αἰθέρος ἠδ' Ἀίδου, πόντου γαίης τε τύραννε,
ὃς βρονταῖς σείεις βριαρὸν δόμον Οὐλύμποιο·
δαίμονες ὃν φρίσσουσι{ν}, θεῶν δὲ δέδοικεν ὅμιλος·
ᾧ Μοῖραι πείθονται, ἀμείλικτοί περ ἐοῦσαι·
(2) ἄφθιτε, μητροπάτωρ, οὗ θυμῷ πάντα δονεῖται·
ὃς κινεῖς ἀνέμους, νεφέλῃσι δὲ πάντα καλύπτεις,
πρηστῆρσι σχίζων πλατὺν αἰθέρα· σὴ μὲν ἐν ἄστροις
τάξις, ἀναλλάκτοισιν ἐφημοσύναισ<ι> τρέχουσα·
(3) σῷ δὲ θρόνῳ πυρόεντι παρεστᾶσι<ν> πολύμοχθοι
ἄγγελοι, οἷσι μέμηλε βροτοῖς ὡς πάντα τελεῖται·
σὸν μὲν ἔαρ λάμπει νέον ἄνθεσι πορφυρέοισιν·
σὸς χειμὼν ψυχραῖσιν ἐπερχόμενος νεφέλαισιν·
σάς ποτε βακχευτὴς Βρόμιος διένειμεν ὀπώρας.

L

67 ἄλλως L et EusA(ION): ἀλλ' EusC(ION): ἄλλ<ως> EusC(Mras) | σε L et EusC(ION): δὲ EusA(BION) | τε γυῖα L: γε γυῖα EusC (Mras; ἑ γυῖα O: ἐγυῖα N^1 [ἑ supra ἐ N^2]: ἀγυῖα I: ὑπὸ γυῖα D): γε γυῖα EusA (BION): τελίην TTu: γε λίην TTu(Erbse) |

Clement *Stromateis 5.14.122.2–126.5* (cont.)

43 But to Thee I dare not speak. In limbs
44 And mind I tremble. He rules from on high,

(2) And so forth. For in these he indicates these prophetic utterances: "If Thou openest the heaven, trembling shall seize the mountains from Thy presence; and they shall melt, as wax melteth before the fire;"[24]

(125.1) and in Isaiah, "Who hath measured the heaven with a span, and the whole earth with His fist?"[25] Again, when it is said:[26]

> Ruler of Ether, Hades, Sea, and Land,
> Who with Thy bolts Olympus' strong-built home
> Dost shake. Whom demons dread, and whom the throng
> Of gods do fear. Whom, too, the Fates obey,
> Relentless though they be. O deathless One,
> (2) Our mother's Sire! whose wrath makes all things reel;
> Who mov'st the winds, and shroud'st in clouds the world,
> Broad Ether cleaving with Thy lightning gleams,—
> Thine is the order 'mongst the stars, which run
> As Thine unchangeable behests direct.
> (3) Before Thy burning throne the angels wait,
> Much-working, charged to do all things for men.
> Thy young Spring shines, all prank'd with purple flowers;
> Thy Winter with its chilling clouds assails;
> Thine Autumn noisy Bacchus distributes.

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[24] Isa 64:1–2 (60:1–2 ?).
[25] Isa 40:12.
[26] Orph. Frg. 248a (Kern, *Fragmenta*, pp. 265–66).

Clement *Stromateis 5.14.122.4–126.5* (cont.)

(126.1) *εἶτα ἐπιφέρει, ῥήτῶς παντοκράτορα ὀνομάζων τὸν θεόν·*

ἄφθιτον, ἀθάνατον, ῥητὸν μόνον ἀθανάτοισιν.
ἐλθέ, μέγιστε θεῶν πάντων, κρατερῇ σὺν ἀνάγκῃ,
φρικτός, ἀήττητος, μέγας, ἄφθιτος, ὃν στέφει αἰθήρ.

(2) *διὰ μὲν τοῦ "μητροπάτωρ" οὐ μόνον τὴν ἐκ μὴ ὄντων γένεσιν ἐμήνυσεν, δέδωκεν δὲ ἀφορμὰς τοῖς τὰς προβολὰς εἰσάγουσι τάχα καὶ σύζυγον νοῆσαι τοῦ θεοῦ·* (3) *παραφράζει δὲ ἐκείνας τὰς προφητικὰς γραφάς, τήν τε διὰ Ὡσηὲ "ἐγὼ στερεῶν βροντὴν καὶ κτίζων πνεῦμα," οὗ αἱ χεῖρες τὴν στρατιὰν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐθεμελίωσαν, καὶ τὴν διὰ* Μωυσέως· (4) *"ἴδετε ἴδετε, ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς ἕτερος πλὴν ἐμοῦ· ἐγὼ ἀποκτενῶ καὶ ζῆν ποιήσω· πατάξω κἀγὼ ἰάσομαι· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὃς ἐξελεῖται ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου."*

(5) *αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο κακὸν θνητοῖσι φυτεύει*
καὶ πόλεμον κρυόεντα καὶ ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα

κατὰ τὸν Ὀρφέα.

L

102 δὲ: δ' EusC | *ἀγαθοῖο*: *ἀγαθοῖς* EusC(I) | 103 *καὶ*^{2}—*δακρυόεντα* om. EusC |

Clement *Stromateis 5.14.122.2–126.5* (cont.)

(126.1) Then he adds, naming expressly the Almighty God:[27]

Deathless Immortal, capable of being
To the immortals only uttered! Come,
Greatest of gods, with strong Necessity.
Dread, invincible, great, deathless One,
Whom Ether crowns.

(2) By the expression, "Sire of our Mother" he not only intimates creation out of nothing, but gives occasion to those who introduce emissions of imagining a consort of the Deity. (3) And he paraphrases those prophetic Scriptures—that in Isaiah, "I am he that fixes the thunder, and creates the wind; whose hands have founded the host of heaven";[28] and that in Moses, (4) "Behold, behold that I am He, and there is no god beside me: I will kill, and I will make to live; I will smite, and I will heal: and there is none that shall deliver out of my hands."[29]

14 (5) And He, from good, to mortals planteth ill,
16 And cruel war, and tearful woes,

according to Orpheus. . . .

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[27] Orph. Frg. 248b (Kern, *Fragmenta*, pp. 265–66).
[28] Amos 4:13. For the latter part of the quotation, cf. Hos 13:4; Jer 19:13; Ps 8:4 and *Protr.* 79.2.
[29] Deut 32:39. The quotation that follows is from Orph. Frg. 245 (Kern, *Fragmenta*, p. 267).

Clement *Stromateis 5.14.127.2–3*

(2) *πάλιν ἡμῖν ᾄσάτω ὁ Θρᾴκιος Ὀρφεύς·*
χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρματος ὠκεανοῖο
πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν, γαίη δ᾽ ἐπὶ ποσὶ βέβηκεν.
(3) *ταῦτα ἐμφανῶς ἐκεῖθεν εἴληπται· "ὁ κύριος σώσει πόλεις κατοικουμένας, καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην καταλήψεται τῇ χειρὶ ὡς νεοσσιάν·" "κύριος ὁ ποιήσας τὴν γῆν ἐν ἰσχύι τῇ αὐτου," ὥς φησιν Ἱερεμίας, "καὶ ἀνορθώσας τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ."*

Strom. 5.14.128.3

(3) *ὅ τε Ὀρφεύς·*
ἕν κράτος, εἷς δαίμων γένετο, μέγας οὐρανὸν αἴθων,
ἓν δὲ τὰ πάντα τέτυκται, ἐν ᾧ τάδε πάντα κυκλεῖται,
πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα,
καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις.

Strom. 5.14.133.1–2

(1) *Θεαρίδας δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ φύσεως γράφει· "ἀ ἀρχὰ τῶν ὄντων, ἀρχὰ μὲν ὄντως ἀληθινά, μία· κείνα γὰρ ἐν ἀρχᾷ τέ ἐστιν ἓν καὶ μόνον,"*

(2) *οὐδέ τις ἔσθ᾽ ἕτερος χωρὶς μεγάλου βασιλῆος,*
Ὀρφεὺς λέγει· ᾧ πειθόμενος ὁ κωμικὸς Δίφιλος γνωμικώτατα "τὸν ὄντα πάντων," φησί. . . .

L

105-107 *πάλιν—βέβηκεν* om. EusC2(B) | 106 *δὲ δεξιτερὴν* EusC2(N): *δεξιτερὴν* (om. *δὲ*) EusC2(O): *δὲ δεξιωτερὴν* EusC2(I) | *ἐπὶ τέρματος* L et EusC2: *περὶ τέρμασιν Strom.* 124 et EusC1 | *ὠκεανοῖο*: *Ὠκεανοῖο* EusC2 | 107 *γαίη δ᾽* L et EusC2: *γαίῃ δ᾽ ἔπι* Erbse *Theosophien* 181 app. crit., lin. 25; cf. Cyril | *ἐπὶ* L et EusC2(I): *ὑπὸ* Stählin ex *Strom.* 124 (L) et EusC1(ION), EusA(BION) | *ποσὶ* L et EusC2(I): *ποσσὶ* Stählin ex EusC2(ON) et EusA(BION) | 108 *σώσει*: *σείσει* LXX Isa 10:13 et *Protr.* 79.4 |

Clement *Stromateis 5.14.127.2–3* [30]

(2) Again let the Thracian Orpheus sing to us:[31]

35 His right hand all around to ocean's bound
36a He stretches; (**34b**) and beneath His feet is earth.

(3) These are plainly derived from the following: "The Lord will save the inhabited cities, and grasp the whole land in His hand like a nest";[32] "It is the Lord that made the earth by His power," as saith Jeremiah, "and set up the earth by His wisdom."[33]

Strom. 5.14.128.3 [34]

(3) And Orpheus:

> One Might, the great, the flaming heaven, was
> One Deity. All things one Being were; in whom
> All these revolve fire, water, and the earth.

And so forth.

Strom. 5.14.133.1–2 [35]

(1) Thearidas, in his book *On Nature* writes: "There was then one really true beginning[36] of all that exists—one. For that Being in the beginning is one and alone."

17 (2) Nor is there any other except the Great King,

says Orpheus. In accordance with whom, the comic poet Diphilus says very sententiously, "The One who is of all". . . .

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[30] Between this and the previous quotation occurs a quotation from Archilocus. The English translation is that of Wilson in ANF 2.473.
[31] Orph. Frg. 248 (Kern, *Fragmenta*, pp. 265–66).
[32] Isa 10:14.
[33] Jer 10:12.
[34] Preceding this are quotations from Philemon and Sophocles. It is followed by quotations from Pindar. It is Orph. Frg. 168, vv. 6–8 (Kern, *Fragmenta*, pp. 201–207). The English translation is that of Wilson in ANF 2.473.
[35] This quotation is preceded by quotations from Aeschylus and the Pythian oracle and is followed by a quotation from Diphilus. It is Orph. Frg. 248 (Kern, *Fragmenta*, pp. 265–66). The English translation is that of Wilson in ANF 2.474.
[36] Or, "first principle."

Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica 13.12.4b–5*

(4b) *ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ἐν ποιήμασι τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ἱερὸν Λόγον αὐτῷ λεγομένων οὕτως ἐκτίθεται περὶ τοῦ διακρατεῖσθαι θείᾳ δυνάμει τὰ πάντα καὶ γενητὰ ὑπάρχειν καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων εἶναι τὸν θεόν. λέγει δ' οὕτως·*

(5) *φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι,*
φεύγοντες δικαίων θεσμούς, θείοιο τιθέντος
πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ· σὺ δ' ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε Μήνης
Μουσαῖ'. ἐξενέπω γὰρ ἀληθέα· μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν
ἐν στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ,
εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε,
ἰθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος· εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε
ἀτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο τυπωτὴν
ἀθάνατον. παλαιὸς δὲ λόγος περὶ τοῦδε φαείνει·
Εἷς ἔστ' αὐτοτελής, αὐτοῦ δ' ὕπο πάντα τελεῖται,
ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περινίσσεται, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
εἰσοράᾳ ψυχὴν θνητῶν, νῷ δ' εἰσοράαται.
αὐτὸς δ' ἐξ ἀγαθῶν θνητοῖς κακὸν οὐκ ἐπιτέλλει

BION(D)

6–7 *τιθέντος πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ* BIOND[1] (*πάντες ὁμῶς* Ps.-J., Clem.): *τεθέντος πᾶσι νόμου* D[4] Steph. (cf. Wesseling, *Aristobulo*, 132 [=Gais. 4.455]) 7 *ἔκγονε* B: *ἔγγονε* ION | 8 *Μουσαῖε* BI(post *γὰρ*) ON | *ἐξενέπω* I[ac]ND[1]: *ἐξεννέπω* BI[1]O: *ἐξερέω* D[4 mg] (Ps.-J., Clem.) Steph. | 9 *ἐν* om. I | *στήθεσι* B | 10–13 *εἰς—ἀθάνατον*=EusC (*Strom.* 5.14.123.1 ap. *P.E.* 13.13.50; Mras, GCS 43.2, p. 221, lin. 1–4) ‖ *Protr.* 7.74.4b | 13–22 *παλαιὸς—σοι* om. B | 14 *αὐτοτελής* *Strom.* 78, Thdrt. (praeter S): *αὐτογενής* Ps.-J., *Prot.*, Cyr., TTu | 15 *περινίσ(σ)εται* ION (et Clem., Thdrt.): *περιγί(γ)νεται* Ps.-J., Cyr. (praeter EPF) | 16 *ψυχὴν* I: *ψυχῶν* ON: om. Ps.-J., Clem., et al. | *νῷ* Steph., Mras: *νόῳ* MSS: *νοΐ* ? Mras | 17–19 *αὐτὸς—δακρυόεντα* cf. EusC (*Strom.* 5.14.126.5 ap. *P.E.* 13.13.53; Mras, GCS 43.2, p. 223, lin. 6–7) |

Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica 13.12.4b–5* [37]

(4b) Moreover, Orpheus, in verses taken from the collection of sayings attributed to him entitled "Concerning the Holy Word," also expounds in this way about everything being held fast by the power of God, about the origin of what has come to be, and about God's being over everything. He says as follows:[38]

(5) I will address those whom the law permits, but, you uninitiated, shut the doors,
Since you flee the ordinances of the just, since God has laid them down
For all at once. But listen, Musaeus, you descendant of the light-bearing Moon,
For I will declare the truth. And do not let the former
Imaginings of your heart deprive you of a pleasant life.
For once you have seen into the divine Word, stay close to it,
Guiding aright the intelligent vessel of the heart. Walk unwaveringly upon
The path, and look only toward the immortal one who molds the universe.
An ancient saying sheds light on this matter:
'There is one who is complete in Himself, but all things are completed by Him,
And He Himself moves about in them. No mortal soul
Casts an eye on Him; rather, He is beheld by the mind.'
He himself springs from the good and does not enjoin evil

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[37] This quotation occurs in a section from Aristobulus quoted by Eusebius. It is offered by Aristobulus in support of the claim that Pythagoras, Socrates, and Plato were dependent on Moses in their understanding of how the universe began. The Greek text is taken from Mras GCS (43,2) 8.2, p. 191, lin. 15–p. 194, lin. 10, but adapted somewhat. I have printed Mras's text unchanged in *FHJA* 3.162–69. Here I have given slightly different forms of verses 30, 32, 40, 41, 45, in order to illustrate a different way of rendering the poem.

[38] Orph. Frg. 247 (Kern, *Fragmenta*, pp. 260–65).

Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica 13.12.4b–5* (cont.)

ἀνθρώποις· αὐτῷ δὲ χάρις καὶ μῖσος ὀπηδεῖ·
καὶ πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς ἰδ᾽ ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα·
οὐδέ τίς ἐσθ᾽ ἕτερος. σὺ δέ κεν ῥέα πάντ᾽ ἐσορήσω,
αἴ κεν ἴδῃς αὐτόν· πρὶν δή ποτε δεῦρ᾽ ἐπὶ γαῖαν,
τέκνον ἐμόν, δείξω σοι, ὀπηνίκα {τὰ} δέρκομαι αὐτοῦ
ἴχνια καὶ χεῖρα στιβαρὴν κρατεροῖο θεοῖο.
αὐτὸν δ᾽ οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται
λοιπὸν ἐμοί· ᾽στᾶσιν δὲ δεκάπτυχον ἀνθρώποισιν.
οὐ γάρ κέν τις ἴδοι θνητῶν μερόπων κραίνοντα,
εἰ μὴ μουνογενής τις ἀπορρὼξ φύλου ἄνωθεν
Χαλδαίων· ἴδρις γὰρ ἔην ἄστροιο πορείης
καὶ σφαίρης κίνημα ἀμφὶ χθόνα ὡς περιτέλλει
κυκλοτερές τ᾽ ἐν ἴσῳ, κατὰ δὲ σφέτερον κνώδακα.
πνεύματα δ᾽ ἡνιοχεῖ περί τ᾽ ἠέρα καὶ περὶ χεῦμα
νάματος· ἐκφαίνει δὲ πυρὸς σέλας ἰφιγενήτου.

BION(D)

18 *αὐτῷ* D: *αὐτὼ* I: *αὐτὸς* ON: *αὐτοῖς* Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta* | *χάρις* Steph., Mras: *χάριν* MSS: *κ᾽ Ἔρις* Kern (*τ᾽ ἔρις* K. Schenkl) | 19 *πόλεμος* et *λοιμὸς* Steph., Mras: *πόλεμον* et *λοιμὸν* IO(*λοιμὼν*) N | 20 *ἐσορήσω* Mras: *ἐσόρησο* MSS: *ἐσορήσαις* Steph.: *ἐσαθρήσαις* Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 1.442 | 22 *ὀπηνίκα* Steph., Mras: *ὀπηνίκα τὰ* MSS | 23 *κρατεροῖο* B: *κραταιοῖο* ION | 24 *ὁρόω* ex *ὁράω* B[1] | 25 *λοιπὸν*: *λεπτὸν* Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 1.442 | *᾽στᾶσιν* (=*ἑστᾶσιν*, *νέφος* subj.) Mras: *στᾶσιν* BI(*στάσιν*)ON: *πᾶσιν* Hermann ap. Mras | *δεκάπτυχον*: *δέκα πτυχαὶ* Steph. | 26 *θνητὸν* B | 27–31 *εἰ—χεῦμα*=EusC (*Strom.* 5.14.123.2 ap. *P.E.* 13.13.50; Mras, GCS 43.2, p. 221, lin. 8–12) | 29 *κίνημα* MSS: *κίνημ᾽* Mras | 30 *κυκλοτερές* IN, *Strom.* 123, EusC (ION): *κυκλοτερὴς* (hic) BO | post *κυκλοτερές*: *τ᾽* Mras, *γ᾽* D: om. BION: *τε* post *ἴσῳ* *Strom.* 123, EusC (ION) | *ἐν ἴσῳ* IN, *Strom.* 123, EusC(ION): *ἐείσω* (hic) BO | 31 *περὶ*[2] om. O | 32 *σέλας* Steph., Mras: *σέλας τάδε* IND (*τάδ᾽* ND): *ἐλάτα δὲ* BO | *ἰφιγενήτου* Steph., Mras: *ἰφιγενηθῆ* I: *ἶφι γεννηθῆ* B(*ἴφι*)O: *ἴφι γενήθη* ND |

Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica 13.12.4b–5* (cont.)

15 On mortal men. Grace and hate accompany Him,
16 As well as war, plague, and tearful sufferings.
17 And there is no other God. You would easily have a vision of all
things
18 If you saw Him at that time, once in the past, here on earth.
19 My child, I will show you when I see His
20 Footsteps and the strong hand of the mighty God.
21 But I do not see Him, for in my way a residual, encircling cloud
has been fixed
25 And ten layers of obscurity stand over men's vision.
26 No mortal man would have seen the Lord and ruler
27 Except a certain person, an only son, by descent an offshoot
28 Of the Chaldean race. For he knew the procession of the sun
29 And the movement around the earth of the sphere, turning on its
own axis
30 As it completes the circuit, an even circle.
31 He holds the reins of the winds in their flight over sky and watery
stream
32 And a flame of mighty fire flashes forth.

Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica 13.12.4b–5* (cont.)

αὐτὸς δὴ μέγαν αὖθις ἐπ᾽ οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται
χρυσέῳ εἰνὶ θρόνῳ· γαίη δ᾽ ὑπὸ ποσσὶ βέβηκε·
χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρμασιν Ὠκεανοῖο
ἐκτέτακεν· ὀρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις ἔνδοθι θυμῷ
οὐδὲ φέρειν δύναται κρατερὸν μένος. ἔστι δὲ πάντως
αὐτὸς ἐπουράνιος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάντα τελευτᾷ,
ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ μέσσην ἠδὲ τελευτήν,
ὡς λόγος ἀρχαίων, ὡς ὑδογενὴς διέταξεν,
ἐκ θεόθεν γνώμῃσι λαβὼν κατὰ δίπλακα θεσμόν.
ἄλλως οὐ θεμιτὸν δὲ λέγειν· τρομέω δέ γε γυῖα,
ἐν νόῳ· ἐξ ὑπάτου κραίνει περὶ πάντ᾽ ἐνὶ τάξει.
ὦ τέκνον, σὺ δὲ τοῖσι νόοισι πελάζευ, γλώσσης
εὖ μάλ᾽ ἐπικρατέων, στέρνοισι δὲ ἔνθεο φήμην.

BION(D)

33–39 αὐτὸς—τελευτήν=EusC (*Strom.* 5.14.124.1 ap. *P.E.* 13.13.51; Mras, GCS 43.2, p. 221, lin. 15–21) | 34 εἰνὶ BION$^{2\ mg}$ D^{1} (ἐνὶ D^{ac}): ἐνὶ N^{1}: ἐνὶ N^{2} | γαίης δ᾽ ἐπὶ Ps.-Justin | 34–36 γαίη— ἐκτέτακεν=EusC1 (*Strom.* 5.14.124.1 ap. *P.E.* 13.13.51; Mras, GCS 43.1, p. 221, lin. 16–18); cf. EusC2 (*Strom.* 5.14.127.2 ap. *P.E.* 13.13.54; Mras, GCS 43.2, p. 223, lin. 13–14) | 34 γαίης δ᾽ ἐπὶ Ps.-J. | 35 ἐπὶ (et Ps.-J., *Strom.* 127, EusC2, Cyr.): περὶ *Strom.* 124, EusC1, Thdrt. | ἐπὶ τέρματος EusC (=*Strom.* 127) | 36 δὲ B Thdrt.: τε IO: om. ND | 37 πάντως Steph., Mras: πάντων MSS: πάντη *Strom.* 124, EusC, Thdrt. | 39 μέσσην N^{2}, Mras: μέσ(σ)ην Thdrt. MSS: μέσσον ION^{1}: μέσον BD*(σ^{2} add. D^{1} ?); cf. EusC | 40 ὑδογενὴς Scaliger (cf. Valckenaer, *Aristobulo*, 75 [=Gais. 4.407–408] et Wesseling, *Aristobulo*, 133–34 [=Gais. 4.456]), Mras: ὑλογενὴς BION | 41 γνώμησι BO: γνώμοσι IN | 42–43 ἄλλως—κραίνει=EusC (*Strom.* 5.14.124.1 ap. *P.E.* 13.13.51; Mras GCS 43.2, p. 221, lin. 22–23) | 42–45 ἄλλως—φήμην om. B | 44 πελάζεο Steph. | γλώσσης Dind., Mras (γλώσσην Steph.): μηδ᾽ ἄπο γε ION | 45 μάλα I |

Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica 13.12.4b–5* (cont.)

33 There, to be sure, God Himself is established firm over the vast heaven
34 On a golden throne, and earth is under His feet.
35 He has stretched out His right hand upon the ends of the ocean,
36 And the base of the mountains trembles furiously within,
38 Nor can it endure His mighty force.
39 But He Himself is in every way heavenly, and brings everything on earth to fulfillment
40 Because He controls their beginning, middle, and end.
41 So the word of the ancients, so the one born in the water set it forth,
42 After receiving the teaching from God in statements on the two-table law.
43 It is forbidden to speak in any other way about God, and, as a matter of fact, I am trembling in body
44 And soul. From the heights He rules over all in order.
45 But you, O child, draw near with your mind, after gaining full mastery over your tongue, and
46 Lay this account in your heart.

Cyril of Alexandria *Contra Iulianum 1.35*

(35) Ὀρφέα μὲν οὖν τὸν Οἰάγρου δεισιδαιμονέστατόν φασι γενέσθαι τῶν ἄλλων καὶ φθάσαι μὲν τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν, ἅτε δὴ καὶ ἐν χρόνοις ὄντα πρεσβύτερον, ᾠδὰς δὲ καὶ ὕμνους τοῖς ψευδωνύμοις ἐξυφῆναι θεοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἀθαύμαστον ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὴν δόξαν ἐλεῖν, εἶτα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δογμάτων κατεγνωκότα, συνέντα τε ὅτι μονονουχὶ τὴν ἁμαξιτὸν ἀφεὶς ἐν ἐκβολῇ γέγονε τῆς εὐθείας ὁδοῦ, μεταφοιτῆσαι πρὸς τὰ βελτίω καὶ τοῦ ψεύδους ἀνθελέσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, φάναι τε οὕτω περὶ Θεοῦ·

Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι
Πάντες ὅμως· σὺ δ' ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε Μνήνης,
Μουσαῖ'· ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα· μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν
Ἐν στήθεσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ.
Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας, τούτῳ προσέδρευε,
Ἰθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος, εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε
Ἀτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο Ἄνακτα·
Εἷς δ' ἔστ' αὐτογενής, ἐνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται,
Ἐν δ' αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς περιγίγνεται· οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
Εἰσοράα θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.

MN(+CB) EP F V

10 *φαεσφόρου* CB V, Aubert (*PG*), Burguière: *φαεσφόρε* MN EP F | Μνήμης MSS Aubert (*PG*): *μήνης* Burguière (Orphica) | 12 *στήθεσι* MSS: *στήθεσσι* C^{pc} Aubert (*PG*) Burguière | 14 *κύτος*: *κῆτος* MN EP F | 15 *μοῦνον*: *μόνον* MN B EP F | 16 Εἷς δ' ἔστ': Εἷς ἐστ' Burguière | 17 *αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς* MSS Burguière: *αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς* Aubert (*PG*) (Orphica) | *περιγίγνεται* C VB Aubert (*PG*): *περινίσσεται* EP F (-*γίνεται* F^{2mg}): *περιγίνεται* Burguière |

Cyril of Alexandria *Contra Iulianum 1.35* [39]

(35) Now therefore it is said that Orpheus, son of Oeagrus, was the most religious of the others, that he preceded the Homeric poetry (since he was earlier chronologically), and that he composed odes and hymns that were attributed to the gods, and, quite remarkably, in doing this gained glory; then having condemned his own teachings, decided that he should abandon the highway he had travelled and move over to the straight path towards better things and choose truth over error; he thus speaks thus concerning God:

1 I will speak to those to whom it is permitted; shut the doors, you uninitiated,

3 All of you alike. But you, O Musaeus, child of the light-bearing Moon,

4 Listen! For I am about to proclaim the truth. Let not the former

5 Imaginings of your heart deprive you of the blessed life.

6 But look to the divine Logos, and adhere to it,

7 Letting it guide your heart's deepest thoughts. And walk unwaveringly

8 Upon the path, looking only to the master of the universe.

10 He is one, self-generated; all things have been brought forth as the offspring of this one;

11 And among them He Himself is superior, and no one among

12 Mortals sees Him, though He indeed sees everyone.

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[39] In *Contra Iulianum* Cyril develops the well-known themes of Greek plagiarism of Moses and the correspondence between the best of Greek thought and the biblical tradition. This quotation from Orpheus, which is offered to illustrate Greek belief in monotheism, is followed by quotations from Homer (§36).

Cyril of Alexandria *Contra Iulianum 1.35*

Καὶ μεθ᾽ ἕτερα πάλιν·

Αὐτὸς γὰρ χάλκειον ἐς οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται
Χρυσέῳ εἰνὶ θρόνῳ, γαίῃ δ᾽ ἐπὶ ποσσὶ βέβηκε·
Χεῖρά τε δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρματα ᾽Ωκεανοῖο
Πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν· περὶ γὰρ τρέμει οὔρεά τε μακρά,
Καὶ ποταμοί, πολιῆς τε βάθος χαροποῖο θαλάσσης.

Ἕνα τοίνυν, καὶ τοῦτον αὐτογέννητον, διὰ πάντων τε καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ὀνομάζει Θεόν, καὶ θρόνον μὲν αὐτῷ φησιν εἶναι τὸν οὐρανόν, κεῖσθαι γε μὴν ὑπὸ πόδας τὴν γῆν, τὸ ἀπεριόριστον, οἶμαι, τούτῳ τῆς ἀκηράτου φύσεως κατασημῆναι θέλων, καὶ τὸ διὰ πάντων ἥκειν αὐτὴν καὶ πάντα πληροῦν· ὅτι δὲ τοῦ παντὸς περιδράττεται ὑπεμφήνειεν ἂν τὸ καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς τοῦ ᾽Ωκεανοῦ τέρμασι περιτετᾶσθαι τὴν χεῖρα, τρεμόντων καὶ ὀρῶν καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ ἁπαξαπλῶς τοῦ κόσμου παντός. Ὡς γάρ φησιν ἡ θεόπνευστος Γραφή· "Πᾶσα ἡ γῆ τὴν ἀλήθειαν καλεῖ, καὶ οὐρανὸς αὐτὴν εὐλογεῖ, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα σείεται καὶ τρέμει." Τὰ μὲν οὖν ᾽Ορφέως ἐν τούτοις.

MN(+CB) EP F V

20 *χάλκειον*: *χάλκεον* MN EP F | *ἐς*: *εἰς* VB | 21 *ποσσὶ*: *ποσὶ* C B | 22 *τέρματα* Aubert et edd.: *τέρματ᾽* C VB: *τέρματος* Burguière | 23 *ἐκτέτακεν*: *ἐκτέτακε* MN V EP F | *οὔρεά τε* vel *ὄρεά τε* MN V EP F edd.: *οὔρεα* Aubert (*PG*), Burguière | 30 *τοῖς*: *εἶ* E: om. MN P F | 33 *καὶ* + *ὁ* MN E F |

Cyril of Alexandria *Contra Iulianum 1.35* (cont.)

And again a little later:

33 For He is firmly established in the bronze heaven
34 On a golden throne, and He stands with the earth at His feet.
35 And He stretches out His right hand all the way
36 To Ocean's edge; for around (Him) tremble distant mountains
37 And rivers, as well as the depths of the hoary, blue sea.

So, then, he names God "One," says that He is self-begotten and is through all things and over all things. He also says that heaven is His throne, that the earth is situated beneath His feet, that He is without limits (I suppose, wanting thereby to signify His pure nature), and that His nature reaches through all things and fills all things. And that the universe is in His grasp he perhaps indicates when he says that He stretches out His hand to Ocean's edges, while the mountains tremble, as well as the sea, and the whole world in general. For thus says the inspired Scripture: "The whole earth calls upon truth, and heaven blesses her; all God's works quake and tremble."[40] So then these things from Orpheus.

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[40] 1 Esd 4:36.

Theodoret *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio 2.30-32*.

(30) Ὁ δὲ Ὀδρύσης Ὀρφεύς, καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφικόμενος, τὰ περὶ τοῦ ὄντος οὕτω πως μεμάθηκε καὶ βοᾷ·

Εἷς ἔστ' αὐτοτελής, αὐτοῦ δ' ὑπὸ πάντα τελεῖται·
ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περινίσσεται, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
εἰσοράᾳ θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.
Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται·
πᾶσι γὰρ θνητοῖς θνηταὶ κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις,
μικραί, ἐπεὶ σάρκες τε καὶ ὀστέα ἐμπεφύκασιν.

(31) Καὶ πάλιν·

Αὐτὸς δ' αὖ μέγαν αὖτις ἐπ' οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται
χρυσέῳ ἐνὶ θρόνῳ, γαίη δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ βέβηκε·
χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν περὶ τέρμασιν Ὠκεανοῖο
ἐκτέτακεν· ὀρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις ἔνδοθι θυμῷ·
οὐδὲ φέρειν δύναται κρατερὸν μένος· ἔστι δὲ πάντῃ

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3 αὐτοτελής KBLMCVD et *Strom.* 78, EusA: αὐτογενής S et Ps.-J., *Protr.*, Cyr. | 4 περινίσσεται MSS et *Protr.*, EusA: περιγι(γ)νεται Ps.-J., Cyr. | 5 θνητῶν MSS et Ps.-J., *Protr*, *Strom.* 78, Cyr.: ψυχὴν θνητῶν EusA (I; ψυχῶν θνητῶν ON) | αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται MSS (ὁρᾷ MC) et Ps.-J., *Protr.*, *Strom.* 78, Cyr.: νόῳ (νῷ) δ' εἰσοράαται EusA | 6 δ': δ' αὖ V | ὁρόω: ὁρῶσι CVM^{mg} | 7-8 πᾶσι—ἐμπεφύκασιν MSS et *Mon.* (s), *Strom.* 78: om. EusA | 10 δ' αὖ MSS (praeter V) et *Strom.* 124, EusC: δὴ V et EusA | αὖτις MSS (praeter M) et *Strom.* 124, EusC: αὖθις M et EusA | 11 γαίη δ' ὑπὸ MSS et *Strom.* 124 (τε), EusC1, EusC2 (ON), EusA,: γαίης δ' ἐπὶ Ps.-J.: γαίη δ' ἐπὶ *Strom.* 127, EusC2 (I), Cyr. | 12 περὶ τέρμασιν MSS et *Strom.* 124, EusC1: ἐπὶ τέρμασιν EusA | Ὠκεανοῖο: Ὠκεανοῖς EusC1 (I) | 13 δὲ MSS: τε EusA (IO; om. ND) | θυμῷ MSS et EusC1, EusA: θυμοῦ *Strom.* 124 | 14 οὐδὲ MSS et *Strom.* 124; EusA: οὔτε EusC | κρατερὸν: κάρτερον SV Mγρ. | 14 πάντῃ MSS et *Strom.* 124, EusC: πάντων EusA(MSS): πάντως Steph., Mras |

Theodoret *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio* [41]

(30) And Orpheus the Odrusean, indeed the one who travelled to Egypt, in the same manner learned things about the One Who Is, and he exclaims:

10 He is one, complete in Himself, and all things are brought to
completion by Him;
11 But among them He Himself circulates, and Him no one among
12 Mortals sees, though He indeed sees everyone.
21 Even I do not see Him; for around Him a cloud has been fixed;
22 For all mortals have mortal pupils in their eyes,
23 Too small, since they are set within flesh and bones.

(31) And again he says:

33 And He Himself on the other hand is firmly established hereafter
over the vast heaven
34 On a golden throne, and earth stands under His feet;
35 And He stretches out His right hand around the extremities
36 Of the ocean; and the base of the mountains trembles furiously from
within;
38 And it is not possible to endure His mighty force; but in every way

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[41] This quotation follows a discussion of Plato and Homer and the derivation of their wisdom from Egypt. It is followed by a discussion showing the similarity of Plato's and Orpheus' actions.

Theodoret *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio 2.30-32* (cont.)

15 *αὐτὸς ἐπουράνιος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάντα τελευτᾷ,*
ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ μέσσον ἠδὲ τελευτήν.

(32) *Ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως καὶ ταῦτα παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκώς, οἳ παρ᾽ Ἑβραίων μαθήματά τινα τῆς ἀληθείας παρέλαβον, παρέμιξε τοῦ πλάνου τῇ θεολογίᾳ τινὰ καὶ τῶν Διονυσίων καὶ*
20 *Θεσμοφορίων τὰ δυσαγῆ παραδέδωκεν ὄργια, καὶ οἷόν τινι μέλιτι περιχρίσας τὴν κύλικα, τὸ δηλητήριον πόμα τοῖς ἐξαπατωμένοις προσφέρει.* (33) *Ταὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Πλάτων πεποίηκεν*· . . .

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15 *χθονὶ* MSS: *χθόνα* EusC(O) | 16 *μέσσον* K (*μέσον*) et EusA (*μέσσον* ION[1]: *μέσον* BD*(σ[2] add. D[1] ?): *μέσων Strom.* 124, EusC(I): *μέσσων* EusC(ON): *μέσσην* BMV et EusA(N[2]): *μέσην* LCS | *τελευτήν* MSS et EusA: *τελείων Strom.* 124, EusC (ION) |

Theodoret *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio* (cont.)

39 He Himself is heavenly and on earth brings all things to completion,
40 Since He controls their beginning, as well as their middle and end.

(32) But, nevertheless, even having learned these things from the Egyptians, who had received such truthful teachings from the Hebrews, he mixed some error in with his theology and transmitted some of the impious orgies of the Dionysians and Thesmophorians, and then as if he smeared the cup with some honey, he offered the noxious drink to those who were beguiled.

(33) And this same thing Plato has also done. . . .

Theosophia Tubingensis

(55) Ὅτι Ὀρφεύς, ὁ Οἰάγρου τοῦ Θρᾳκός, πρότερον μὲν ὕμνους τινὰς εἰς τοὺς ἐξαγίστους θεοὺς ἐξυφάνας καὶ τὰς μιαρὰς γενέσεις αὐτῶν διηγησάμενος, εἶτα συνεὶς ὥσπερ τὸ δυσσεβὲς τοῦ πράγματος, μετέθηκεν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ μόνον καλὸν καὶ τὸν ὄντως ὑμνῶν θεὸν καὶ τὴν τῶν πάλαι Χαλδαίων σοφίαν, δηλαδὴ τὴν τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, ἐπαινῶν παραινεῖ τῷ ἰδίῳ παιδὶ Μουσαίῳ τοῖς μὲν φθάσασι μυθευθῆναι μὴ πείθεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ῥηθήσεσθαι μέλλουσι προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν. ἔστι δὲ τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα·

(56) Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε, βέβηλοι,
φεύγοντες δικαίων θεσμοὺς θεῖόν τε νόημα
πάντες ὁμῶς. σὺ δ' ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἔγγονε Μήνης,
Μουσαῖ'· ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα, μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν
ἐν στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ.
εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε
ἰθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος· εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε
ἀτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο τυπωτὴν
ἀθάνατον. παλαιὸς δὲ λόγος περὶ τοῦδε φαείνει·
εἷς ἔστ' αὐτογενής, ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται,
ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περινίσεται οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν

T

12 ἔγγονε T et EusA (ION): ἔκγονε *Coh.*, *Protr.*, EusA(B), Cyr. | 13 Μουσαῖε T | μὴ δέ σε T | 17 τυπωτὴν T et EusA (BION): ἄνακτα Ps.-J. *Coh. & Mon.*, *Protr.*, *Strom.* 123, EusC(ION), Cyr. | 18 παλαιὸς: ὁ τοῦ Μωσέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προφητῶν T^{mg} | 19 <ἑνὸς> ἔκγονα Buresch, Erbse: <τοῦ δ'> ἔκγονα Kroll ap. Kern, 262 | 20 περινίσεται T et *Protr.* (P^*M^2: περινίσεται P^2M^*), EusA(IN: περινίσεται O), Cyr. (EPF), Thdrt.: περιγί(γ)νεται *Coh.*, *Mon.*, Cyr. ($MNCBF^2$ V) |

Theosophia Tubingensis [42]

(55) (That) Orpheus, the Thracian, son of Oeagrus, at one time composed certain hymns to the abominable gods and related their unseemly beginnings. Then, as soon as he realized the impiety of what he had done, he turned himself towards that which alone is good—to the God truly worthy of hymns. And then, praising the ancient wisdom of the Chaldeans, especially that of Abraham, he recommends to his own son Musaeus not to be persuaded by these stories that were told earlier but to turn his attention to the things destined to be told. And these things are (told as) oracles:

1 (56) I will speak to those to whom it is permitted; shut the doors,
you uninitiated,
2 Since you flee the ordinances of the just as well as the divine
purpose,
3 All of you together. But you, O Musaeus, child of the light-bearing
Moon,
4 Listen! For I am about to proclaim the truth. Let not the former
5 Imaginings of your heart deprive you of the blessed life.
6 But look to the divine Logos, and adhere to it,
7 Letting it guide your heart's deepest thoughts. And walk unwaver-
ingly
8 Upon the path, looking only to the maker of the universe,
9 The immortal one. An ancient saying sheds light concerning this
one:
10 'He is one, self-generated, and all things have come into being as
His offspring,
11 And among them He circulates; but Him no one among

---

[42] This quotation occurs in a list of oracles collected to show the agreement between Greek thought and belief in monotheism and the Christian doctrine of the Trinity.

Theosophia Tubingensis (cont.)

εἰσοράει θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.
αὐτὸν δ᾽ οὐχ᾽ ὁρόωσι· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται.
οὗτος δ᾽ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν θνητοῖς κακὸν οὐκ ἐπιτέλλει
ἀνθρώποις, αὐτοῖς δὲ κ᾽ ἔρις καὶ μῖσος ὀπηδεῖ
καὶ πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς ἰδ᾽ ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα.
οὐδεὶς ἔσθ᾽ ἕτερος, τῷ κεν ῥέα πάντ᾽ ἐσορῆται.
οὔκουν ἴδης αὐτόν, πρὶν δήποτε δ᾽ ἐπὶ γαῖαν,
τέκνον ἐμόν, δείξω σοι, ὀπηνίκα δέρκομαι αὐτοῦ
ἴχνια καὶ στιβαρὴν χεῖρα κρατεροῖο θεοῖο.
αὐτὸν δ᾽ οὐχ ὁρόω, περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται·
πᾶσι γὰρ θνητοῖς κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις

T

21 εἰσοράει T: εἰσοράᾳ cet. | 22 αὐτὸν—ἐστήρικται: {αὐτὸν—ἐστήρικται} Erbse (cf. lin. 30=v 21) | 23 οὗτος T et *Coh.*, *Mon.*: αὐτός *Strom.* 126; EusC(BION), EusA(BION) | 24 αὐτοῖς T: αὐτῷ EusA(D; αὐτὼ I): αὐτὸς EusA(ON) | κ᾽ ἔρις T et Buresch, Kern (κ᾽ Ἔρις. . . Μῖσος. . . Πόλεμος. . . Λοιμὸς): χάριν EusA(BION; χάρις Steph., Mras): τ᾽ ἔρις K. Schenkl ap. Erbse: κἔρις Erbse | 25 καὶ πόλεμος, καὶ λοιμὸς, ἰδ᾽ ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα T: καὶ πόλεμον καὶ λοιμὸν ἰδ᾽ ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα EusA(IO[λοιμὼν] N; πόλεμος. . . λοιμὸς Steph., Mras): καὶ πόλεμον κρυόεντα καὶ ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα *Coh.*, *Mon.*, *Strom.* 126: καὶ πόλεμον κρυόεντα EusC(BION) | 26 οὐδείς T et Buresch: οὐδέ τις cet. (et Erbse) | 26–27 τῷ—δήποτε: σὺ δέ κεν ῥέα πάντ᾽ ἐσόρησο (ἐσορήσω), | αἴ κεν ἴδῃς αὐτόν· πρὶν δή ποτε EusA: σὺ δέ κεν ῥέα πάντ᾽ ἐσαθρήσαις πρίν κεν ἴδῃς αὐτόν· πλὴν δή ποτε Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 1.442 n. i. Cf. Kern, p. 262 n. 15 | 27 οὔκουν ἴδης T: οὔ κεν ἴδοις Buresch, Erbse: αἴ κεν ἴδῃς Aristobulus ap. Euseb. *P.E.* 13.12.5 | πρὶν: πρὸ τοῦ σαρκωθῆναι, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆν ὀφθῆναι T^{mg} | πρὶν δήποτε δ᾽ ἐπὶ γαῖαν (γαίαν) T: πρὶν δή ποτε δ<εὖρ>᾽ ἐπὶ γαῖαν corr. Buresch (et Erbse) ex EusA(ION) | 28 ἐμόν, δείξω T (et Erbse): ἐμὸν δείξω Buresch | ὀπηνίκα T, Buresch (et EusA): ὀπήνικα Erbse | 29 ἴχνια: ὅτε τῶν θυρῶν εκλεισμένων ἔδειξε τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας T^{mg} (cf. John 20:26) | στιβαρὴν χεῖρα T ("b" supra στιβαρὴν et "a" supra χεῖρα): χεῖρα στιβαρὴν Buresch et Erbse | 31 θνηταὶ ante κόραι add. Buresch (et Erbse) ex *Coh.*, *Mon.*, *Strom.* 78, Thdrt. |

Theosophia Tubingensis (cont.)

12 Mortals sees, though He indeed sees everyone.'
13 And they do not see Him, for around Him a cloud has been fixed.
14 And He Himself out of good things does not enjoin evil on mortal
15 Men. Even so strife and hatred accompany them,
16 As well as war, plague, and tearful sufferings.
17 There is no other one, and He easily sees all things.
18 You certainly could not see Him, until at length on earth
19 My child, I show you, when I see His
20 Prints and the strong hand of the mighty God.
21 Even I do not see Him; for around Him a cloud has been fixed;
22 For all mortals have pupils in their eyes

Theosophia Tubingensis (cont.)

μικραί, ἐπεὶ σάρκες καὶ ὀστέα ἐμπεφύασιν.
ἀσθενέες τ᾽ ἰδέειν τὸν δὴ πάντα μεδέοντα.
λοιπὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσι δεκάπτυχον ἀνθρώποισιν·
οὐ γάρ κέν τις ἴδοι θνητῶν μερόπων κρείοντα,
εἰ μὴ μουνογενής τις ἀπορρὼξ φύλου ἄνωθεν
Χαλδαίων· ἴδρις γὰρ ἔην ἄστρων τε πορείης
καὶ σφαίρης, ἥτ᾽ ἀμφὶς ὀχῆος ἀεὶ περιτέλλει
κυκλοτερὴς ἴση τε κατὰ σφέτερον κνώδακα.
πνεύματι δ᾽ ἡνιοχεῖ περί τ᾽ ἠέρα καὶ περὶ χεῦμα,
ἐκφαίνει δὲ πυρὸς σέλατα διαφεγγέα πάντῃ.
αὐτὸς δὴ μέγαν αὖθις ἐπ᾽ οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται

T

32 τε ante καὶ add. Buresch (et Erbse) ex *Strom.* 78 (et Thdrt.) | 33 τὸν δὴ πάντα μεδέοντα T: Δία τὸν πάντων μεδέοντα *Coh.* (rg): τὸν διὰ πάντων μεδέοντα *Coh.* (Apqs), *Mon.* (q et Steph.): τὸν ἀεὶ πάντων μεδέοντα *Mon.* (s) | 34 λοιπὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσι δεκάπτυχον ἀνθρώποισιν T: λεπτὸν ἐμοὶ (μὲν) πᾶσιν δὲ δέκα πτυχαὶ ἀνθρώποισιν Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 1.442 n. i: λοιπὸν ἐμοί· ᾽στᾶσιν (Mras; στᾶσιν BON στάσιν I; πᾶσιν Hermann) δὲ δεκάπτυχον ἀνθρώποισιν EusA | λοιπὸν: ἀντὶ τοῦ, καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις T^{mg} | δεκάπτυχον: ἡ μωσαϊκὴ δεκάλογος διδάσκαλος ἔσται T^{mg} | 35 κρείοντα T: κραίνοντα EusA | 37 Χαλδαίων: ὁ γὰρ τὴν δεκάπτυχον γράψας Μωσῆς, τῶν Χαλδαίων ἔμπειρος ἦν καὶ τῆς ἀστρονομίας T^{mg} | ἄστρων τε πορείης T: ἄστροιο πορείης *Strom.* 123, EusC(ION), EusA(BION) | 38 ἥτ᾽: ἥτις ἐξ ἀμφοτέρωθεν τοῦ ὁρίζοντος, ἢ τοῦ ἄξονος ἀεὶ κινεῖται Tmg | 38–39 καὶ—κνώδακα T: καὶ σφαίρης κίνημ{α} (κινήματ᾽) ἀμφὶ χθόνα {θ᾽} ὡς περιτέλλει | 39 κυκλοτερὲς ἐν ἴσῳ, κατὰ δὲ (τε, κατὰ Clem.) σφέτερον κνώδακα EusA et *Strom.* 123 | 40 πνεύματι T (et Erbse) et *Strom.* 123, EusC(IN): πνεύματα Buresch et EusA(BION): πνεῦμα τ᾽ EusC(O) | ἡνιοχεῖ: εὐτάκτως ἄγει <περὶ> τὸν ἀέρα, ἢ <καὶ> τὰ τῆς γῆς πέρατα, τὸ ὕδωρ T^{mg} | 41 πυρὸς: τῆς θεότητος ἀπαυγάσματα T^{mg} | πυρὸς σέλατα: *in antigr.* πυροσέλευτα T^{mg} | 42 αὐτὸς δὴ T et EusA(BION), Thdrt(V): αὐτὸς δ᾽ αὖ *Strom.* 124, EusC(ION), Thdrt. (MSS praeter V) |

Theosophia Tubingensis (cont.)

23 Too small, since they are implanted in flesh and bones;
24 Too weak to see the one who indeed rules all things.
25 There remains both for me and for all men a ten-fold layer of obscurity;
26 For no one among mortals could see the ruler of men,
27 Except a certain person, a unique figure, by descent an offshoot
28 Of the Chaldean race; for he was expert in the movement(s) of the stars
29 And of the sphere(s), which always rotates around its axle,
30 A perfect circle, all on their respective axes.
31 And with wind He creates currents around both air and stream
32 And He brings forth flames of fire, lighting up the whole sphere.
33 He indeed is firmly established hereafter over the vast heaven

Theosophia Tubingensis (cont.)

χρυσέῳ εἰνὶ θρόνῳ· γαίη δ᾽ ὑπὸ ποσσὶ βέβηκε,
χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρμασιν ὠκεανοῖο
πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν, ὀρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις αὐτὸν
ἐν θυμῷ πολιῆς τε βάθος χαροποῖο θαλάσσης
οὐδὲ φέρειν δύναται κρατερὸν μένος. ἔστι δὲ πάντῃ
αὐτὸς ἐπουράνιος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάντα τελευτᾷ
ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων, ᾗ δ᾽ αὖ μέσον, ᾗ δὲ τελευτήν,
ὡς λόγος ἀρχαίων, ὡς ὑλογενὴς διέταξεν
ἐκ θεόθεν γνώμην τε λαβὼν καὶ δίπλακα θεσμόν.
ἀλλ᾽ ὡς οὐ θεμιτὸν δὲ λέγειν, τρομέω δὲ τελίην—
ἐκ νόου ἐξ ὑπάτου κραίνει περὶ πάντ᾽ ἐνὶ τάξει.
ὦ τέκνον, σὺ δὲ σοῖσι νόοις πέλας ἴσθι ἐς αὐτόν
μηδ᾽ ἄπογος μάλ᾽ ἐπικρατέων στέρνοις θεοφήμην.

T

43 *χρυσέῳ*: *in ant.* *χρυσέων* T^{mg} | *γαίη δ᾽ ὑπὸ* T et EusA(BION), *Strom.* 124 (*τε*), EusC1(ION), EusC2 (ON) Thdrt.: *γαίης δ᾽ ἐπὶ Coh.*, *Mon.*: *γαίη δ᾽ ἐπὶ Strom.* 127, EusC2(I); *γαίῃ δ᾽ ἐπὶ* Cyr. | 44 *ἐπὶ τέρμασιν* T et EusA(BION): EusA(BION): *περὶ τέρμασιν Strom.* 124, EusC1(ION), Thdrt.: *ἐπὶ τέρματος Strom.* 127, EusC2(BION), *Coh.*, *Mon.*: *ἐπὶ τέρματα* Cyr. | 45 *πάντοθεν—αὐτὸν* T: *πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν· περὶ γὰρ τρέμει οὔρεα μακρὰ Coh.*, *Mon.*, Cyr.: *πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν, γαίη δ᾽ ἐπὶ (ὑπὸ) ποσ(σ)ὶ βέβηκεν Strom.* 127, EusC2: *ἐκτέτακεν, ὀρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις ἔνδοθι θυμοῦ (θυμῷ) Strom.* 124, EusC1, EusA | 47 *πάντῃ* T et *Strom.* 124, EusC(ION), Thdrt.: *πάντων* EusA(BION; *πάντως* Steph., Mras) | 49 *ᾗ δ᾽ αὖ μέσον, ᾗ δὲ τελευτήν* T: *καὶ μέσ(σ)ων ἠδὲ τελείων Strom.* 124, EusC: *μαὶ μέσ(σ)ον (-ην) ἠδὲ τελευτήν* EusA, Thdrt. | 50 *ὑλογενὴς* T et EusA(BION): *ὐδογενὴς* Scaliger, Mras | *ὑλογενὴς*: *ὁ τὴν τῶν ἐνύλων γένεσιν γράψας Μωσῆς* T^{mg} | 51 *δίπλακα*: *forte*, *δυσί· διὸ γὰρ ἔλαβε τὸν νόμον ἐν πλαξί* T^{mg} | 52 *ἀλλ᾽ ὡς* T et Buresch (*ἀλλ᾽—ὡς*), Erbse (*—ἀλλ᾽ ὣς*): *ἄλλως Strom.* 124.1, EusA(ION): *ἀλλ᾽* EusC(ION) | *δέ*^{1} T et EusA: *σε Strom.* 124, EusC(ION): *με* Buresch, Erbse | *τρομέω*: *φρίττω τὸ μυστήριον λογιζόμενος* T^{mg} | 52 *δὲ τελίην* T et Buresch: *δέ γε λίην* Erbse: *δέ τε γυῖα Strom.* 124: *δὴ ἐγυῖα* EusC(N^1; *ἑ* supra *ἐ* N^2): *δ᾽ ὑπὸ γυῖα* EusC(D): *δὲ ἑ γυῖα* EusC(O): *δὲ ἀγυῖα* EusC(I): *δέ γε γυῖα* EusA | 53 *πάντ᾽ ἐνὶ*: *in antig.* *πάντες* T^{mg} | 55 *ἄπογος* T: *ἀπόδος* corr. Buresch (et Erbse) |

Theosophia Tubingensis (cont.)

34 On a golden throne, and earth stands under His feet.
35 And His right hand to the extremities of the ocean
36 He stretches out on every side, and the base of the mountains trembles before Him
37 In fury, as well as the depth(s) of the hoary, blue sea,
38 And it is not possible to endure His mighty force. But in every way
39 He Himself is heavenly, and on earth brings all things to completion,
40 Since He controls its beginning, but also its middle, as well as its end.
41 As a word of the ancients, as the one born in the undergrowth set it forth,
42 Having received utterance from God, indeed the two-table law.
43 But as it is not allowed to speak, I tremble throughout—
44 With reason, from the heights He rules over everything in order.
45 O child, be near to Him in your thoughts,
46 And do not abandon this divine message, but rather preserve it in your heart.

RECENSIONS

Recension A

1 Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι
3 Πάντες ὁμῶς. Σὺ δ' ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε Μήνης,
4 Μουσαῖ'! Ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα· μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν
5 Ἐν στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ.
6 Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε,
7 Ἰθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος, εὖ τ' ἐπίβαινε
8 Ἀτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο ἄνακτα.
10 Εἷς ἔστ', αὐτογενής, ἑνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται·
11 Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περιγίνεται, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
12 Εἰσοράᾳ θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.
14 Οὗτος δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο κακὸν θνητοῖσι δίδωσι
16 Καὶ πόλεμον κρυόεντα καὶ ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα.
17 Οὐδέ τις ἔσθ' ἕτερος χωρὶς μεγάλου βασιλῆος.
21 Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται.
22 Πᾶσιν γὰρ θνητοῖς θνηταὶ κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις,
24 Ἀσθενέες δ' ἰδέειν Δία τὸν πάντων μεδέοντα.
33 Οὗτος γὰρ χάλκειον ἐς οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται
34 Χρυσέῳ ἐνὶ θρόνῳ, γαίης δ' ἐπὶ ποσσὶ βέβηκε·
35 Χεῖρά τε δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρματος ὠκεανοῖο
36 Πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν· περὶ γὰρ τρέμει οὔρεα μακρὰ
37 Καὶ ποταμοὶ πολιῆς τε βάθος χαροποῖο θαλάσσης.

Recension A

1 I will speak to those to whom it is permitted; shut the doors, you uninitiated,

3 All of you alike. But you, O Musaeus, child of the light-bearing Moon,

4 Listen! For I am about to proclaim the truth. Let not the former

5 Imaginings of your heart deprive you of the blessed life.

6 But look to the divine Logos, and adhere to it,

7 Letting it guide your heart's deepest thoughts. And walk unwaveringly

8 Upon the path, looking only to the master of the universe.

10 He is one, self-generated; all things are brought forth as the offspring of this one;

11 And among them he himself is superior, and no one among

12 Mortals sees him, though he indeed sees everyone.

14 And from good does he give mortals evil—

16 Both chilling war and tearful sufferings.

17 And there is no other apart from this great king.

21 But I do not see him; for around him a cloud has been fixed.

22 For all mortals have mortal pupils in their eyes,

24 Too weak to see Zeus the ruler of all things.

33 For he is firmly established in the bronze heaven

34 On a golden throne, and he stands with the earth at his feet.

35 And he stretches out his right hand all the way

36 To the ocean's edge; for around him tremble distant mountains

37 And rivers, as well as the depths of the hoary, blue sea.

RECENSION A: COMMENTARY

Vv. 1 & 3a

Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι | Πάντες ὁμῶς.

I will speak to those to whom it is permitted; shut the doors, you uninitiated, | all of you alike.

The opening line employs formulaic language used in various settings to introduce esoteric religious-philosophical instruction.

The formula in whole or in part is attributed to, or associated with, Orpheus, as, e.g., in the passages where the Pseudo-Orpheus fragments are quoted (Ps.-J. *Coh.* 15, *Mon.* 2; Clement *Protr.* 7.74.3–4; Eusebius *P.E.* 13.12.4–5; Cyril *Contra Iulianum* 1.35), but also by other Christian authors, viz., Tatian *Oratio ad Graecos* 8.4; Theodoret *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio* 1.86, 115. A similar (partial) phrase is associated with Orpheus in Plutarch, *Quaest. conviv.* 636D.

Especially noteworthy is the occurrence of the latter part of the opening line in the Derveni papyrus (probably late fourth century BCE). The papyrus contains a prose composition consisting of an allegorical commentary on Orphic verses that are cited throughout the work. As reconstructed by West, the opening line of the Orphic poem that serves as the basis for the commentary is as follows: [*Ἀείσω ξυνετοῖσι—*] *θύρας δ' ἐπίθεστε βέβηλοι—*. See West, *Orphic Poems*, 68–115, esp. 82–84, 114–15 (text); also, *ZPE* 47 (1982) 1–12 (after p. 300); Riedweg, *Imitation*, 47, esp. nn. 116–18. On this form of the line, see below.

The exact line is cited by Porphyry, *Περὶ Ἀγαλμάτων* (=*De imaginibus*), Frg. 1 (see J. Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre, le philosophe néoplatonicien, avec les fragments des traités* *Περὶ Ἀγαλμάτων et De regressu animae.* Recueil de travaux publiés par la faculté de philosphie et lettres, 43. Gand: Université de Gand, Librairie scientifique E. van Goethem; Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1913. Frg. 1 is located on page 1* of the Appendices section.). It is attributed to Porphyry by Eusebius, *P.E.* 3.7.1, then used by Eusebius himself in *P.E.* 3.13.4.

A variation of the formula (*ἀείσω ξυνετοῖσι, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βεβήλοι*) is used in connection with, and attributed with varying degrees of probability to, Pythagoras (cf. Stobaeus, *Flor.* 3.1.199 [ed. Hense,

3.150–51] and 41.9 [ed. Hense, 3.759]. *Flor.* 3.1.199= Plutarch, Frg. *202, LCL 15.375–77). This fragment, cited by Stobaeus under the title Πυθαγορικά, has been attributed to Plutarch (by Wyttenbach) and to Aristoxenus' Πυθαγορικαὶ Ἀποφάσεις (by Meineke). *Flor.* 41.9, Πυθαγόρου. Ἀείσω συνετοίσι, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι, is cited in Kern, *Fragmenta*, as Frg. 334, in section 37 "Incertae Sedis." It is the first part of this phrase, ἀείσω ξυνετοῖσι, to which Plutarch (see above) refers in *Quaest. conviv.* 636D.

A similar formulation is used and put to different use by Horace in *Od.* 3.1.1 (see Kiessling, *Q. Horatius Flaccus*, part 1, "Odes and Epodes," pp. 250–51, who also notes Prop. 4.6.1). See also G. Williams, *The Third Book of Horace's Odes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 29–30.

While this exact saying does not occur in Plato, it—or one similar—appears to underlie the metaphor used in *Smp.* 218B (also cf. *Tht.* 155E).

Cf. Empedocles, Frg. 3(4), (ad Musam) ἄντομαι ὧν θέμις ἐστὶν ἐφημερίοισιν ἀκούειν (Diels–Kranz, *Vorsokr.* 10th ed., 1.309–10=Sextus Empiricus *M.* 7.125 [=*Adv. Log.* 1.125; LCL 2.68–69]).

It eventually becomes detached from the name of Orpheus (and apparently any other figure) and acquires proverbial status, e.g., Lucian, *Sacr.* 14; Aelius Aristides, *Or. Plat.* 2.129 (ed. Dindorf, 2.173, sect. 46, §129; English translation in Behr, *Aelius Aristides*, 1.159; also see note on 1.461, referring to Behr's *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*, 45 n. 18, and his "Studies on the Biography of Aelius Aristides," §4 in *ANRW* Bd. II, 34 [forthcoming], on Aristides' conceit concerning the "mysteries of oratory").

The phrase "close the doors" develops metaphorically at least two variations: close the doors on one's ears, i.e., refrain from listening to esoteric, sacred teaching (Philo, *Cher.* 42); similarly, Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Comp.* 25 (LCL 2.210–11); Galen *UP* 12.6 (ed. Helmreich [Teubner], 2.196; also cf. *UP* 7.14); Libanius *Epist.* 475 (=Ep. 561 in R. Foerster, *Libanii Opera* [Teubner], 10.527); close the doors on one's mouth, i.e., be quiet (Theognis 421 [ed. Diehl (Teubner), p. 27]; Philo *Abr.* 191; Plutarch, *Fac. lun.* 940F; *Soll. animal.* 965B.

On excluding the uninitiated from the sacred mystery rites, cf. Aristophanes *Ranae* 353–71; also *h.Cer.* 480–82; Callimachus *Ap.* 2; Virgil *Aen.* 6.258; Iamblichus *VP* 32.227 (ed. Deubner & Klein [Teubner], p. 122,4); *Suda* s.v. βέβηλος No. 218 (ed. Adler, 1.465).

On the metaphor, cf. Euripides *Hipp.* 882; Aristophanes *Ranae* 838; LXX Ps 140:3; also Homer *Od.* 6.19; Hesiod *Op.* 719; *A.P.* 11.304.5 (LCL, vol. 4, p. 210).

See Kroll, *De Oraculis Chaldaicis*, 59–60 n. 2; Kern, *Fragmenta*, Frg. 245 (esp. p. 258); Frg. 334 (p. 334); also p. 143 (re Frg. 50);

Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 450–55; Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 485, n. 26; Walter, JSHRZ 4.3, 235 n. b–b; LaFargue, *OTP*, 2.799 n. a; Canivet, *Histoire d'une entreprise apologétique*, 182, §37, also n. 1. On mystery initiation formulas, see N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974) 312–15.

βέβηλοι | πάντες. *βεβήλοις | πᾶσιν* Ps.-J., *Coh.* (r); cf. Tatian, *Orat.* 8.4. Cf. Sophocles *Fr.* 147 (Nauck, 2d ed., p. 164); Euripides *Fr.* 648 (Nauck, 2d ed., p. 564); *AP* 9.298 (also cf. *AP* 8.25; ap. LSJ s.v. *βέβηλος*). On the language of purification used in the formula, esp. *βέβηλος*, see A. J. Festugière, "La religion grecque," in *Histoire générale des religions*, 1.691-705, esp. 489–90. Also, L. Moulinier, *Le pur et l'impur dans la pensée des Grecs d'Homére à Aristote*. (Etudes et Commentaires, 12. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1952), esp. 110–32, 270–99.

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 64–65, notes the following epic constructions:

φθέγξομαι. *φθέγγομαι*, in various forms, at the beginning of a verse frequently in Homer; e.g., *Il.* 10.67, 85, 457; 18.218; 21.341; *Od.* 22.329, etc.; also Hesiod *Theog.* 168 and 831.

οἷς θέμις ἐστί. Cf. *ἣ θέμις ἐστί* and similar phrases in *Il.* 2.73; 9.33, 276; 11.779; 14.386; 23.44, etc.; *Od.* 3.45; 3.187 & 10.73 (in the same position in the verse); Hesiod *Theog.* 396; *Sc.* 447; and *h.Ap.* 541 (in the same position in the verse).

θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι. Cf. *Il.* 14.169; *Od.* 21.45; *h.Ven.* 60, 236 (in the same position in the verse) *θύρας (δ') ἐπέθηκε φαεινάς*; *Od.* 23.194 *κολλητὰς δ' ἐπέθηκα θύρας, πυκινῶς ἀραρυίας*; Hesiod *Theog.* 732 (in the same position in the verse) *θύρας δ' ἐπέθηκε Ποσειδέων | χαλκείας*.

πάντες (*-ας*) *ὁμῶς* at the beginning of a verse: *Od.* 4.775; 23.332; *h.Bacch.* 52. Also, cf. *πᾶσιν ὁμῶς* at the beginning of the verse in *Il.* 15.98; Hesiod *Theog.* 672.

Vv. 3b–4a

Σὺ δ' ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε Μήνης, | Μουσαῖ'! Ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα·

But you, O Musaeus, child of the light-bearing Moon, | Listen! For I am about to proclaim the truth.

v. 3b. *Σὺ δ' ἄκουε. . . Μουσαῖ'*. On Musaeus as the disciple of Orpheus, see Kern, *Fragmenta*, T 18 *Ὀ. Θρᾳ̂ιξ ἐγνωρίζετο· τούτου*

μαθητὴς Μουσαῖος *ὁ Εὐμόλπου υἱός*. . . .; also T 97, 166–72. Cf. Artapanus Frg. 3.4, where Moses=Musaeus is the teacher of Orpheus (*FHJA* 1.208–9, 232 n. 45). Cf. also Plato *Plt*. 2.364E: *Μουσαίου καὶ Ὀρφέως, Σελήνης τε καὶ Μουσῶν ἐγγόνων* (so Lobeck, 454; Wobbermin, 134). See Riedweg, *Imitation*, 49, esp. n. 123.

ἔκγονε Ps.-J. *Coh. & Mon.*, EusA (B), Cyril: *ἔγγονε* EusA (ION), TTu. Cf. *τέκνον*, vv. 19 & 45 (Recension C). *ἔκγονε Μνήμης* Cyril MSS.

v. 4a. *ἐξερέω* Ps.-J. *Coh. & Mon.*, Clem. *Protr.*, EusA ($D^{4\ mg}$, Steph.), Cyril, TTu: *ἐξε(ν)νέπω* EusA.

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 64, notes the following epic constructions:

σὺ δ' ἄκουε. In the same position in the verse in Hesiod *Op*. 213 *Ὦ Πέρση, σὺ δ' ἄκουε δίκης μηδ' ὕβριν ὄφελλε*; also, Empedocles 31 B 17,26 *σὺ δ' ἄκουε λόγου στόλον οὐκ ἀπατηλόν*. Cf. B 1 Diels–Kranz, *Vorsokr.* *Παυσανίη, σὺ δὲ κλῦθι, δαίφρονος Ἀγχίτεω υἱέ; σὺ δ' ἄκουσον* at the end of the verse in *Od*. 12.37; similarly, *Il*. 6.334; *Od*. 15.318; 16.259; 18.129; also Parmenides 28 B 2,1 D.–K.

ἔκγονε. *ἔκγονος*, or *ἔκγονον εἶναι* at the end of the verse in *Il*. 20.206; *Od*. 11.236; and *h.Ven*. 284.

Μήνης. Also at the end of the verse in *Il*. 19.374 (23.455 *μήνη*).

ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα. Cf. *ἀληθέα πάντ' ἀγορεύ(σ)ω*, *Od*. 3.254; 16.61; and *h.Cer*. 433; further, *ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι* in *Il*. 6.382; *Od*. 14.125; 17.15; 18.342; and *h.Cer*. 121; *ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι* in Hesiod *Theog*. 28; *ἐξερέω* frequently in Homer (in two-thirds of the cases in the same position in the verse in the expression *ὧδε γὰρ ἐξερέω*).

Vv. 4b–5

μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν | ἐν στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ.

Let not the former | imaginings of your heart deprive you of the blessed life.

Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 485–86: "les vers 4–5 amalgament du vocabulaire homérique et hésiodique." Cf. Homer *Il*. 22.58 *αὐτὸς δὲ φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμερθῇς*; Hesiod *Sc*. 331 *εὖτ' ἂν δὴ Κύκνον γλυκερῆς αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃς*. These uses convince Walter, JSHRZ, 236 n. d, that *αἰών* should be understood in its ordinary sense, "Lebenszeit, Leben." Mras, GCS 43,2, p. 192: "das Ewige Leben." On Orphic eschatology, see Freeman, *Pre-Socratic Philosophers*, 14–17; Dieterich, *Nekyia*, 72–83.

Goodenough, *Symbols*, 9.96, hears Pythagorean echoes in *φίλης αἰῶνος*, which he renders as "blessed number ten," adducing Iamblichus *Theol. arith.* 59 (Teubner, ed. de Falco & Klein, 79–80).

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 65, notes the following epic constructions:

μηδέ σε in the same position in the verse in *Il.* 2.33; 20.108; Hesiod *Op.* 491.

τὰ πρὶν. *πρὶν* at the end of the verse in *Il.* 9.250; 11.236; 13.161; *Od.* 2.167; 3.408. (*τὸ πρὶν* more often in other positions: *Od.* 3.265; 4.32, 518; 21.32; *Il.* 24.543.)

ἐν στήθεσσι at the beginning of a verse in *Il.* 1.83; 9.610; 10.90; 15.322; 17.470; *Od.* 2.125, 304; 17.47; *h.Ap.* 519.

φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ. Here Riedweg gives the same parallels mentioned above by Zeegers-Vander Vorst, noting its position at the end of the verse; also its probable influence on Empedocles 31 B 158 D.–K. = Katharmoi Frg. 4 Zuntz *αἰῶνος ἀμερθεὶς | ὀλβίου*. He also notes *ἀμέρσαι* at the end of the verse in *Il.* 16.53.

Vv. 6–8

Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε, | Ἰθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος, εὖ τ' ἐπίβαινε | Ἀτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο ἄνακτα.

But look to the divine Logos, and adhere to it, | letting it guide your heart's deepest thoughts. And walk unwaveringly | upon the path, looking only to the master of the universe.

v. 7. Cf. Plato *Ti.* 44: *καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἅπαν κύτος* (so, Erbse, 180 n. on line 28; Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 486).

v. 8. *ἄνακτα* Ps.-J. *Coh.* & *Mon.*, Clem. *Protr.*, *Strom.* (EusC), Cyril: *τυπωτὴν* EusA, TTu.

vv. 7b–8. Cf. *Sib. Or.* Frg. 1.24.

Riedweg, *Imitation,* 65, notes the following epic constructions:

εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε | ἀτραπιτοῦ. *ἐπιβαίνειν* in the same position in the verse in *Il.* 5.666; 8.285; 15.387; *Od.* 5.399; 9.83; 12.434; 22.424; 23.52. *ἀτραπιτός* at the beginning of a verse in Homer *Od.* 13.195 *ἀτραπιτοί τε διηνεκέες*. Cf. Apoll. Rhod. 4.1173 *ἀτραπιτοὶ πεδίων*.

ἐσόρα. *ἐσορᾶν* in the same position in the verse in *Od.* 16.29.

κόσμοιο ἄνακτα. Cf. *Il.* 1.502 *Κρονίωνα ἄνακτα*; 15.8 *Ποσειδάωνα ἄνακτα*; 2.405, and often, *Ἰδομενῆα ἄνακτα*, etc.

V. 10

Εἷς ἔστ', αὐτογενής, ἐνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται·

He is one, self-generated; all things have been brought forth as the offspring of this one,

εἷς ἔστ' Ps.-J. *Coh.* A (Otto, Marcovich), *Mon.*, Clem. *Protr.*, *Strom.*, EusA, Thdrt, TTu (Erbse): εἷς ἐστ' Ps.-J. *Coh.* (Lobeck), Cyril (Burguière), TTu (Buresch): εἷς δ' ἔστ' (-ιν) Ps.-J. *Coh.* (prg), Cyril MSS (Aubert).

On the use of ἔστ' in expressing existence or possibility, see Smyth, §187b.

Εἷς ἔστ'. Cf. *Sib. Or.* 3.11–12 εἷς θεός ἐστι μόναρχος ἀθέσφατος. . . αὐτοφυὴς ἀόρατος (Geffcken, 47); *Sib. Or.* Frg. 1.7, 32 εἷς θεός, ὃς μόνος ἄρχει, ὑπερμεγέθης ἀγένητος (Geffcken, 227); =*Sib. Or.* Prol. 94–95; also, cf. the monotheistic claims with similar wording in *Sib. Or.* 3.629, 760; *Sib. Or.* Frg. 1.16; also *Sib. Or.* 2.126; 8.377 (so Kern, *Fragmenta*, p. 258).

On monotheism in the Pythagorean tradition, cf. Ps.-Pythagoras' poem on monotheism ap. Ps.-J. *Mon.* 2 (Thesleff, *Texts*, 174; Marcovich, 90).

For a comparison of *Sib. Or.* 3 proem and Ps.-Orph., see Goodenough, *Light*, 283–84.

αὐτογενής Ps.-J. *Coh. & Mon.* (qs), Clem. *Protr.*, Cyril, Thdrt (S), TTu: αὐτοτελής Ps.-J. *Mon.* (q^{2} superscr.), Clem. *Strom.*, EusA, Thdrt (KBLMCVD).

τέτυκται Ps.-J. *Coh. & Mon.* (τέτεκται q), Clem. *Protr.*, *Strom.* (also πέφυκεν), Cyril, TTu: τελεῖται Ps.-J. *Mon.* (q^{2} superscr.), EusA, Thdrt. Cf. Diels–Kranz, *Vorsokr.* 1.8 (=Orpheus Frg. 6), app. crit. on lin. 9, where similar variants occur in the textual tradition for the "beginning, middle, and end" formula in Orph. Frg. 21a.

ἐνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται Ps.-J. *Coh. & Mon.* (with some variations in q and s), Clem. *Protr.*, *Strom.*, Cyril, TTu (ἐνὸς om.); αὐτοῦ δ' ὑπὸ πάντα τελεῖται Ps.-J. *Mon.* (q^{2} superscr.), EusA, Thdrt.

αὐτογενής. . . τέτυκται. From the above text-critical evidence, it should be noted that the consistency of the metaphor is maintained in Ps.-J. *Coh. & Mon.*, Clem. *Pr.*, Cyril, TTu. The metaphor shifts (αὐτοτελής. . . τελεῖται) in Ps.-J. *Mon.* q^{2} (superscr.), EusA, Thdrt (NB: Theodoret agrees with EusA against Clement; see Schürer, *History*, 3(1).663 n. 259). It is mixed (αὐτοτελής. . . τέτυκται) in Clement *Strom.* (also Thdrt S in reverse), which perhaps explains why he adduces the alternate reading πέφυκεν (apparently from a different recension).

αὐτογενής. Cf. *Sib. Or.* Frg. 1.17 *αὐτογενὴς ἀγένητος*; *Sib. Or.* 3.12 *αὐτοφυής*; also cf. *Sib. Or.* 8.429 *αὐτογένητος*; also *Sib. Or.* Frg. 1.7 *ὑπερμεγέθης ἀγένητος*.

τέτυκται. *τεύχω*, freq. in Homer, absent in LXX and NT, which prefer *ποιεῖν* and *κτίζειν* in describing God's creative activity. See Walter, JSHRZ, 236, n. f. Cf. Kern, *Fragmenta*, Frg. 168,2 *Ζεὺς κεφαλή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται*.

On the "one God" and "all things" in Orphic traditions, cf. Kern, *Fragmenta*, Frg. 239b *εἷς Ζεὺς. . . εἷς θεὸς ἐν πάντεσσι*; Frg. 168,6–7 *(Ζεύς) μέγας ἀρχὸς ἁπάντων | ἓν δὲ δέμας βασίλειον, ἐν ᾧ τάδε πάντα κυκλεῖται*; Frg. 169,1–2 *ἓν κράτος, εἷς δαίμων γενέτης μέγας, ἀρχὸς ἁπάντων, | ἓν δὲ δέμας βασίλειον, ἐν ᾧ τάδε πάντα κυκλοῦται*; Frg. 21a,2 *Ζεὺς κεφαλή, Ζεὺς μέσσα· Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τελεῖται* (so Walter, JSHRZ, 236 n. f).

Cf. Porphyry ap. Eusebius *P.E.* 3.9.1–2. For Wobbermin, 136–37, these parallels illustrate the commonality with Orphic as opposed to specifically Jewish traditions.

Walter, JSHRZ, 236 n. f, distinguishes the "syncretistic-inclusive" monotheism of this formula (and the related Orphic formulas) from the more radical monotheism of Pseudo-Sophocles, and esp. *Sib. Or.* 3.11–12, *Sib. Or.* Prol. 94–95, *Sib. Or.* Frg. 1,7, etc. On the relationship between the Hellenistic Jewish monotheistic formula and its Jewish antecedents as well as its Christian appropriation, see literature cited by Walter, JSHRZ, 236 n. f.

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 66, notes the following epic constructions:

πάντα τέτυκται. Same phrase in *Od.* 12.280; cf. *Il.* 14.246 *Ὠκεανοῦ, ὅς περ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται*. The verb occurs frequently at the end of a verse, e.g., *Il.* 24.354 *ἔργα τέτυκται*; Hesiod *Op.* 745 *μοῖρα τέτυκται*; cf. *h.Cer.* 140 *ἔργα τέτυκται*, 269 *χάρμα τέτυκται*.

Vv. 11–12

Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περιγίνεται, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν | Εἰσοράᾳ θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.

And among them he himself is superior. No one among mortals | sees him, though he indeed sees everyone.

v. 11. *περιγί(γ)νεται* Ps.-J. *Coh. & Mon.*, Cyril (MN(?)F $^{2\,mg}$ C VB): *περινίσ(σ)εται*: Clem. *Protr.*, EusA, Cyril (EP F), Thdrt, TTu.

Walter, JSHRZ, 236 n. g, prefers the less common *περινίσσεται* ("he revolves, circulates, goes about among") to *περιγίνεται* ("he is superior to, prevails over, overcomes") on the justifiable grounds that the latter makes little sense, especially with *ἐν αὐτοῖς*. While this is certainly true, the notion of superiority, or perhaps primacy, inherent in *περιγίνεται* would be a natural consequence of God's creative role expressed in v. 10. It would also be more compatible with the overall emphasis on God's transcendence throughout this recension, which a later Stoicizing redactor might well have found offensive and accordingly corrected by emending *περιγίνεται* to *περινίσσεται*.

vv. 11–12. *οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν | εἰσοράᾳ θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται*. Cf. *Sib. Or.* 3.12 *αὐτοφυὴς ἀόρατος ὁρώμενος αὐτὸς ἅπαντα* (Geffcken, 47); *Sib. Or.* Frg. 1.8–9 *ἀόρατος ὁρώμενος αὐτὸς ἅπαντα, | αὐτὸς δ' οὐ βλέπεται θνητῆς ὑπὸ σαρκὸς ἁπάσης* (Geffcken, 228); *Sib. Or.* 4.12 *ὃς καθορῶν ἅμα πάντας ὑπ' οὐδενὸς αὐτὸς ὁρᾶται* (Geffcken, 92); also cf. *Sib. Or.* 3.17; *Sib. Or.* Frg. 1.10–11; *Sib. Or.* 4.10–11 (so Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 487 n. 34; Walter, JSHRZ, 236 n. h).

With some minor variations, v. 12 reads the same in all of the witnesses except EusA, which reads: *εἰσοράᾳ ψυχὴν* (I; *ψυχῶν* ON) *θνητῶν, νόῳ* (MSS; *νῷ* Mras) *δ' εἰσοράαται*. Thus (with 11b), either "no one of (among) mortal souls sees him, for he is seen with the mind," or "no one of (among) mortals sees him with respect to (in ?) the soul, for he is seen with the mind." Mras, GCS 43,2, p. 192, n. on line 10, sees the latter reading as anticipating the *ψυχικός-πνευματικός* antithesis in 1 Cor 2:14. On the alternative translations, see Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 479 n. 10.

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 66, notes the following epic constructions:

οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν | εἰσοράᾳ θνητῶν. Cf. Hesiod Frg. 17a,10 Merkelbach-West [*τὴν δ' οὔ πώ τι*]*ς ἰδεῖν δύνατο θνητῶν ἀνθρ*[*ώπων*.

εἰσοράᾳ. *εἰσορόων* at the beginning of a verse in *Il.* 8.52; 11.82, 601; 22.321; 24.632; *Od.* 21.393.

πάντας ὁρᾶται. Cf. *Il.* 24.291 . . . *ὅς τε* (viz., Zeus) *Τροίην κατὰ πᾶσαν ὁρᾶται*; *ὁρᾶται* at the end of a verse in Hesiod *Op.* 534.

Vv. 14 & 16

Οὗτος δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο κακὸν θνητοῖσι δίδωσι | Καὶ πόλεμον κρυόεντα καὶ ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα.

And from good does he give mortals evil— | both chilling war and tearful sufferings.

v. 14. *ἀγαθοῖο* Ps.-J. *Coh. & Mon.*, Clem. *Strom.* (also EusC in BON): *ἀγαθοῖς* EusC (I): *ἀγαθῶν* EusA, TTu.

κακὸν all witnesses: *νοῦν* Ps.-J. *Coh.* (s).

δίδωσι Ps.-J. *Coh. & Mon.*: *φυτεύει* Clem. *Strom.* (also EusC): *οὐκ ἐπιτέλλει* EusA, TTu.

Whether v. 14 ascribes evil to God in an unqualified sense depends, among other things, on how one understands *ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο*: from among the good, from a good motive, perhaps for a good (pedagogical) purpose (cf. Prov 3:11–12). See Walter, JSHRZ, 236 n. i, who proposes "instead of good" ("anstelle von Gutem"), or perhaps "aus guter Absicht" (both possibilities given by Gfrörer, *Philo*, 2.81). Riedweg, *Imitation*, 27, 29, following Häuser, proposes "(unmittelbar) nach Gutem," or "auf Gutes." Thus, God bestows good, then evil. Riedweg, 29, takes issue with Walter's proposal, noting that "instead of good" would be rendered *ἀντ' ἀγαθοῖο* (citing *Sib. Or.* 14.315).

Clearly, v. 14 offended sensibilities, since corrective tendencies are evident not only in the revised form of the verse in EusA *αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν θνητοῖς κακὸν οὐκ ἐπιτέλλει* (followed by TTu) but perhaps in the choice of *φυτεύει* instead of *δίδωσι* in Clement *Strom.* and EusC. Another solution is attempted in the Ps.-J. *Coh.* textual tradition, where MS s reads *νοῦν* instead of *κακόν* (so Otto [CAC 3] 2.61 n. 12).

The difficulty spills over into vv. 15–16 in Recensions C and D, where similar fidgeting is displayed in the textual tradition. But at least in Recension A, the accusative forms in v. 16 are appropriate and the choice of images consistent.

Perhaps this enigmatic verse is intended to recall (or suggest knowledge of) the *Rhapsodies*, the poem ascribed to Orpheus in which Zeus destroys the Titans as punishment for their murder of Dionysus. Thereafter, Zeus then creates a new race of men who have within them a spark of the divine Dionysus but also the evil nature of the Titans. Thus v. 14 may be saying that God (Zeus) "from the good one," i.e., Dionysus, gives to mortals an evil impulse as well (from the Titans). See Rusten, "Derveni," 123–24.

Vv. 14 & 16 stand well within the Homeric tradition where God is understood as the one who afflicts humankind with ills (*Il.* 15.109; *Od.* 20.199–203; cf. *Il.* 2.419–20; *h.Cer.* 147, 216), or as the giver of both good and evil (*Od.* 4.236–37; 8.62–63; 15.488–89; cf. *Il.* 16.250–51). The Homeric view is captured especially well in the moral allegory where Zeus is portrayed as having two jars, one from which he dispenses ills, the other blessings (*Il.* 24.525–33); or, according to one tradition, three jars, two filled with evil gifts, the other with blessings. (The allegory of the jars of Zeus is variously appropriated, e.g., Plutarch *Mor.* 24B, 105C,

600D; Pindar *P.* 3.80–82. The theme recurs in Hesiod *Op.* 90–104. See N. Richardson, *The Iliad: A Commentary. Volume 6: Books 21–24.* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993] 330–32).

On Zeus as the one who sends various natural phenomena—rain, storms, etc.—as well as the one who sends both good and evil, see additional references in Wachsmuth, "Zeus," *KP* 5 (1975) 1522; also, Riedweg, *Imitation*, 9 n. 24. On this dualistic tendency, see Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 236–37 n. j, also noting its Stoic manifestations, e.g. Zeno ap. Tatian *ad Graec.* 3 in *SVF* 1.42 (Frg. 159).

The Homeric viewpoint is also well represented among other poets, including Theognis (esp. 133; also 155–58, 171–72, 230–32, 463–64, 591–92; cf. 165–66); Mimnermus (Frg. 2.15); Pindar (*Isthm.* 5.52); Aeschylus (*Niobe* Frg. 154a.15); *TrGF* 2,488; 2,489; and Menander (*Epit.* 1085–86).

In Hesiod, even though the gods are "givers of good things" (*θεοί δωτῆρες ἐάων*, *Theog.* 633, 664), nevertheless, both good and evil are under their aegis (*Op.* 667–69; *Th.* 218–20, 900, 905). They can afflict humans with various ills, e.g. poverty (*Op.* 638, 717–18), especially as retribution of wrongdoing (*Op.* 213–47). Also, cf. *Catalogues of Women*, 68 (II.13–14; LCL, 201).

This view is sharply criticized by Plato (*Resp.* 379A–E), who insists that God, being only good, cannot be the source of evil: ". . .for the good we must assume no other cause than God, but the cause of evil we must look for in other things and not in God" (379C). Citing Homer's use of the allegory of the jars of Zeus as erroneous poetic folly, Plato rejects the saying (not found in Homer) that "Zeus is dispenser alike of good and of evil to mortals" (*Ζεὺς ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε τέτυκται*); similarly, *Tim.* 29E-30A; cf. Pseudo-Plato, *Epin.* 978A.

Among the Stoics, Chrysippus is credited with siding with Hesiod's judgment that Zeus sends calamities upon mortals (*Op.* 242–43), though insisting that the gods use such events to punish the wicked, thereby providing a lesson for everybody else (Plutarch *Moral.* 1040B–C; cf. *Moral.* 1048E–F; 1049A–B; 1049D–E; 1050C–D).

The Jewish tradition reflects a similar pattern. Like the Homeric tradition, in the OT Yahweh is presented as source of both good and evil. Clement *Strom.* 5.14.126.4 cites Deut 32:29 to show how vv. 14 & 16 are resonant with the biblical tradition. But numerous OT passages could be cited as well, e.g., Isa 45:7; Amos 3:6b; Job 2:10; 5:17–18; 9:17; 10:8; 12:13–25; 13:26; cf. Exod 4:11.

However, the biblical theme is played out in various ways within the Jewish tradition. In *Sib. Or.* Frg. 1.32–35 various natural disasters, e.g., earthquakes, famines, etc. (along with showers and winds) are attributed

to the one God but in order to make the theological point that God exercises universal control of nature. The Hesiodic position is echoed in *Sib. Or.* Frg. 3.16–20, which reflects traditional theology of retribution: God rewards the good and punishes the evil (similarly *Sib. Or.* 2.23–24; also cf. Sir 39:25). In *Sib. Or.* 3.601–7 God inflicts evil on all mortals, but as punishment for worshipping idols (so Kern, *Fragmenta*, p. 258; Geffcken, 231, n. on lines 17–20; Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 487 n. 34).

The Platonic critique of the Homeric view has its counterpart in *Ep. Arist.* 205 (cf. 231), but especially in Philo, who consistently distances God from evil in any form (*Qu. Gen.* 1.100; *Sacr.* 17 §63; *Det.* 32 §122; *Post. C.* 23 §80; *Conf.* 31 §161, 35–36 §§179–81; *Fuga* 13 §70, 15 §§79–80; *Mut.* 39 §221; *Opif.* 24 §75; *Spec. leg.* 4.35 §187; *Prov.* 2.53; cf. *Prob.* 12 §84 [of the Essenes]; however, cf. *Leg. alleg.* 3.34 §§104–6). Similarly, *1 Enoch* 98:4; Irenaeus' letter to Florinus entitled *περὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι τὸν θεὸν ποιητὴν κακῶν* (Eusebius *H.E.* 5.20.1).

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 9–10, places the negation of the claim in vv. 14 & 16 by EusA (Recension C) within the tradition of philosophic critique represented by Plato, and later by Hellenistic Jewish authors, such as *Ep. Arist.* and Philo. He also observes (p. 56 n. 155) that vv. 14 & 16 would not be foreign to Stoic theology, yet the polemical edge to Plutarch's report makes it difficult to assess the views of Chrysippus in this regard.

For other ascriptions of evil to God, cf. Porphyry *Ad Marc.* c. 24. For God as the source of good in the NT, cf. James 1:17; Matt 7:11; Luke 11:13. Also, cf. Maximus of Tyre, treatise # 41 *τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ποιοῦντος, πόθεν τὰ κακά* (ed. Hobein [Teubner], pp. 472–84); reference supplied by P. W. van der Horst.

On the related problem whether God is responsible for human evil, see D. Winston, "Freedom and Determinism in Greek Philosophy and Jewish Hellenistic Wisdom," *Studia Philonica* 2 (1973) 40–50; and "Freedom and Determinism in Philo of Alexandria," *Studia Philonica* 3 (1974–75) 47–70.

Though many of the passages Riedweg, *Imitation*, 66, cites as epic constructions are included in the above discussion, they are given here for the sake of comparison:

ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο κακὸν θνητοῖσι δίδωσι. Cf. *Il.* 24.527–28 *δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει | δώρων οἷα δίδωσι κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἑάων*; *Od.* 4.236–37 . . . *ἀτὰρ θεὸς ἄλλοτε ἄλλῳ | Ζεὺς ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε διδοῖ· δύναται γὰρ ἅπαντα.*

The two adjectives are juxtaposed in Hesiod *Theog.* 219 . . . *αἵ δε* (viz., Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos) *βροτοῖσι | γεινομένοισι διδοῦσιν ἔχειν ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε* (similarly 906); cf. further *Od.* 8.63 *δίδου δ' ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε*; Hesiod *Theog.* 585 *καλὸν κακὸν ἀντ' ἀγαθοῖο*, 602 *κακὸν ἀντ' ἀγαθοῖο*; *Op.* 669 *ἀγαθῶν τε κακῶν τε.*

For *κακὸν . . . δίδωσιν*, cf. also *Od.* 17.287 (= 474) ἥ (viz., *γαστήρ*) *πολλὰ κάκ' ἀνθρώποισι δίδωσι.*

For *κακὸν θνητοῖσι* in this position in the verse, cf. Hesiod *Theog.* 600 *ὣς δ' αὖτως ἄνδρεσσι κακὸν θνητοῖσι γυναῖκας | Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης θῆκε*; *Op.* 88 . . . *μή πού τι κακὸν θνητοῖσι γένηται.*

θνητοῖσι δίδωσι at the end of a verse in *h.Cer.* 489; cf. Hesiod *Op.* 638 *τὴν* (viz., *κακὴν πενίην*) *Ζεὺς ἄνδρεσσι δίδωσιν*; further, *Od.* 1.348–49 *ἀλλά ποθι Ζεὺς αἴτιος, ὅς τε δίδωσιν | ἀνδράσιν ἀλφηστῆσιν ὅπως ἐθέλῃσιν ἑκάστῳ.*

καὶ πόλεμον κρυόεντα καὶ ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα. Cf. Hesiod *Theog.* 936 (at the beginning of a verse) *ἐν πολέμῳ κρυόεντι* (here recalling the idea in *Il.* 4.84=19.224 Zeus as *ἀνθρώπων ταμίης πολέμοιο*); further, *Theog.* 227–28 (*Ἔρις στυγερὴ τέκε. . . .*) *Λήθην τε Λιμόν τε καὶ Ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα | Ὑσμίνας τε Μάχας. . . .* (which probably inspires *Sib. Or.* 3.603 *καὶ πόλεμον καὶ λοιμὸν ἰδ' ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα* [Geffcken, 79];=*Sib. Or.* Frg. 3.20 [Geffcken, 231]).

V. 17

Οὐδέ τις ἔσθ' ἕτερος χωρὶς μεγάλου βασιλῆος.

And there is no other apart from this great king.

μεγάλου βασιλῆος Ps.-J. *Coh.*, Clem. *Strom.*, EusC: *βασιλῆος μεγάλοιο* Ps.-J. *Mon.* (s): *μεγάλοιο ἄνακτος* Ps.-J. *Coh.* (q), *Mon.* (q) |

Cf. v. 8 *ἄνακτα*. Ps. 47:3; 95:3, et al.

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 61–62, regards v. 17 as a sure sign that the author was Jewish: "im Munde eines nichtjüdischen Griechen unvorstellbar" (p. 61). For him it goes well beyond pagan affirmations of God's oneness (examples, p. 61 n. 185) and is much more closely aligned with radical monotheism of such biblical texts as Exod 20:3; Deut 32:39; Isa 44:6. But, cf. the fragment attributed to Hesiod in Clement *Protr.* 7.73.3: "For he alone is king and lord of all the undying gods, and no other vies with him in power" (*αὐτὸς γὰρ πάντων βασιλεὺς καὶ κοίρανός ἐστιν ἀθανάτων τέ οἱ οὔ τις ἐρήρισται κράτος ἄλλος*) (LCL, 276–77).

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 66, notes the following epic constructions:

οὐδέ τις ἔσθ'. Same phrase at the beginning of the verse in *Od.* 12.120; cf. Hesiod *Theog.* 637 *οὐδέ τις ἦν κ.τ.λ.* (*οὐδέ τις* often stands alone at the beginning of a verse in epic poetry).

χωρὶς μεγάλου βασιλῆος. The combination *διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος* occurs at the end of a verse in *Il.* 4.338; 5.464; 24.803; *Od.* 4.44; also

Hesiod *Theog.* 992; *θείου βασιλῆος* occurs in *Od.* 4.621 and 16.335; *κλειτοῦ βασιλῆος* occurs in Hesiod *Sc.* 473 (cf. also *Sib. Or.* 3.56 and 499 [also at the end of the verse] *θεοῦ μεγάλου βασιλῆος*; as well as 12.118 *πατέρος μεγάλου βασιλῆος*); *βασιλῆος* frequently occurs alone at the end of a verse in epic poetry, e.g. *Il.* 13.643; *Od.* 8.257; etc.

Vv. 21–22 & 24

Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται. | *Πᾶσιν γὰρ θνητοῖς θνηταὶ κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις,* | *Ἀσθενέες δ' ἰδέειν Δία τὸν πάντων μεδέοντα.*

But I do not see him; for around him a cloud has been fixed. | For all mortals have mortal pupils in their eyes, | too weak to see Zeus the ruler of all things.

v. 21. *νέφος*. Cf. Ps 18:12; 105:39, recalling Exod 13:21–22; 14:19–20. In Recension C, this becomes a reference to Sinai (Exod 19:16–25).

ἐστήρικται. Cf. v. 33. Cf. Luke 16:26. On *νέφος* as the subject of (*περι-*) *ἐστήρικται*, see Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 492 n. 50.

v. 24, which occurs in Ps.-J., *Coh. & Mon.*, is a special feature of Recension A. It does not occur in Clement, *Protr. & Strom.* 124 (thus not in EusC), EusA, Cyril, or Theodoret. Instead, Clement, *Strom.* 5.78.5, followed by Theodoret, reads v. 23: *Μικραί, ἐπεὶ σάρκες τε καὶ ὀστέα ἐμπεφυῖα ἐμπεφύσαιν*, "Too small, since they are implants set within flesh and bones." Cf. *Sib. Or.* Frg. 1.13–14 *θνητοὶ γεγαῶτες* | *ἄνδρες, ἐν ὀστείοισι φλέβες καὶ σάρκες ἐόντες.*

Typical of its conflationary tendency, TTu includes both vv. 23 & 24. Interestingly, a similar tendency is already reflected in the Ps.-J. tradition in *Mon.* (s), which also includes v. 23, hence aligning it more closely with the recension preserved in Clement.

On the inability of mortal eyes to see God, cf. *Sib. Or.* 3.17 *τίς γὰρ θνητὸς ἐὼν κατιδεῖν δύναται θεὸν ὄσσοις*; (Geffcken, 47); similarly, *Sib. Or.* Frg. 1.9–14, esp. 10–11; also *Sib. Or.* 4.10–11 (inability to see God's heavenly dwelling); *Sib. Or.* Frg. 3.15. Also, cf. Xenophon *Mem.* 4.3.13–14; Stobaeus 2.15.5–10 (ed. Wachsmuth); *b. Ḥull.* 59b–60a (ed. Epstein, *Babylonian Talmud, Ḥullin*, 1:328); *Barn.* 5.10; Theophilus *Ad Autolycum* 1.5; Minucius Felix 32.6–9; Irenaeus *Adv. haer.* 2.2.4; Clement *Protr.* 6.71 (refs. in Geffcken, 229, n. re line 13). Also cf. Ezekiel the Tragedian, Frg. 9 (vv. 101–2), *FHJA* 2.371 and 456 n. 106.

v. 24. *Δία τὸν πάντων μεδέοντα*. The difficulties with this phrase are clearly reflected in the textual tradition. To simplify the discussion below, I will number the options as follows:

(1) *Δία τὸν πάντων μεδ.* Ps.-J. *Coh.* rg (Otto, Marcovich), *Mon.* (Sylburg, Otto, Marcovich), TTu (Erbse):

(2) *τὸν διὰ πάντων μεδ.* Ps.-J. *Coh.* Apqs, *Mon.* q (Steph.; *τὸν Δία* Göz ap. Otto):

(3) *τὸν δὴ πάντα μεδ.* TTu (*πάντα* T: *πάντων* Buresch):

(4) *τὸν ἀεὶ πάντων μεδ.* Ps.-J. *Mon.* s:

(5) *διὰ πάντων τὸν μεδ.* Burkert ap. Riedweg, *Imitation*, 30.

As we can see, most modern editors read No. 1, in spite of its weak MS support. No. 2, the reading with the strongest MS support, is metrically unsuitable. Nos. 3 and 4 provide metrically suitable alternatives to No. 2, and are thus clearly secondary.

No. 5, Burkert's emendation, has the advantage of retaining all of the words of the reading with the strongest textual support (thus taking *διὰ* as a preposition), yet through rearrangement supplying a metrically acceptable phrase. Riedweg, *Imitation*, 30, accepts it as the original reading, and thus as another indication of the text's strongly Stoic cast. Moreover, he suggests that the text's likely Jewish authorship (because of the seemingly exclusive monotheistic claim made in v. 17) would explain the avoidance of the name Zeus.

Here I accept the reading of the editorial majority. Clearly, No. 2 is the more difficult reading, metrically speaking; and, the other readings can be seen as attempts to smooth out this difficulty. But the reference to Zeus in No. 1 might also have been construed as a theological difficulty. No. 2 would then be seen as an attempt to solve this, even if it meant disturbing the metre. Then Nos. 3 and 4 would still be seen as further corrective solutions.

This explanation is supported by the fact that this seems to have been the pattern in the later tradition; thus, all of v. 24 is omitted by Clement, or Recension B, which supplies v. 23 as a suitable substitute. Then both vv. 22 and 23 (and obviously v. 24 as well) are later omitted by Recension C.

Moreover, the mention of Zeus would seem to fit the context. The "great king" is introduced in v. 17; vv. 21–22 and 24 underscore his inscrutability and the corresponding inability of mortal eyes to see him; vv. 33–37 then depict what would appear to be Zeus' majestic, heavenly enthronement.

Nor would the mere mention of the name Zeus disqualify the author from being Jewish; cf. *Ep. Arist.* 16 (and, comments by Hadas, *Aristeas*, 101–2, n. 16, noting Eusebius *P.E.* 13.12.7).

It might also be noted how this problem relates to LaFargue's argument that the shorter recension (represented in Ps.-J.) results from a tendency to protect Christian orthodoxy. If No. 1 is the accepted reading, then LaFargue's argument is more difficult. Burkert's reading, however, would lend weight to LaFargue's argument.

For discussion of the text-critical problem, see, besides Riedweg, *Imitation*, 30; Buresch, *Klaros*, 114 n. 24; Erbse, *Theosophien*, 19 n. 47a.

The expression *Δία τὸν πάντων μεδέοντα* has Homeric echoes; *μεδέων* is used (only) in the *Iliad* as an attribute for Zeus. On its use with *πάντων*, cf. Euripides *Frg.* 912,1 (Nauck, *TGF* 2d ed., p. 655): *σοὶ τῷ πάντων μεδέοντι* (so, LSJ s.v. *μεδέων*). Also cf. *Sib. Or.* Frg. 1.8 *παντοκράτωρ* (Geffcken, 228).

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 67, notes the following epic constructions:

αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω. Cf. (also at the beginning of a verse) *Od.* 17.373 *αὐτὸν δ' οὐ σάφα οἶδα*. *ὁρόω* occurs in this same position in the verse in *Il.* 11.651 and *Od.* 11.141.

περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται. Cf. *Il.* 15.153 *ἀμφὶ δέ μιν* (viz., Zeus) *θυόεν νέφος ἐστεφάνωτο*; further, also 16.66 *νέφος ἀμφιβέβηκε*; 16.350 and *Od.* 4.180 *νέφος ἀμφεκάλυψεν*; Hesiod *Op.* 555 *μή ποτέ σ' οὐρανόθεν σκοτόεν νέφος ἀμφικαλύψῃ*; *Il.* 17.243 *νέφος περὶ πάντα καλύπτει*. *νέφος* also in the same position in the verse in *Il.* 4.274, 275; 5.751=8.395; 14.343; 23.133, 366.

περὶ γὰρ in the same position in the verse in *Il.* 1.236; 5.566; 9.433, etc.

πᾶσιν γὰρ θνητοῖς. Cf. *h.Merc.* 576 *πᾶσι δ' ὅ γε θνητοῖσι. . . .*; also *Il.* 12.242 *ὃς πᾶσι θνητοῖσι*. Also, *θνητοῖς* in the same position in the verse in the expression *ἀνδράσι γε θνητοῖσι* in *Il.* 10.403; 17.77; 20.266; *Od.* 10.306.

θνητοῖς θνηταί. Cf. Hesiod *Sc.* 6 . . . *ἃς* (viz., *γυναῖκας*) *θνηταὶ θνητοῖς τέκον εὐνηθεῖσαι*.

ἐν ὄσσοις. *ὄσσοις*, or *ὄσσε* at the end of the verse in *Il.* 13.616; 14.438; 15.607, often.

ἰδέειν in the same position in the verse in *Il.* 22.47 (*οὐ δύναμαι ἰδέειν*), 24.36 and Hesiod *Frg.* 58,12 Merkelbach-West (the infinitive form is widespread in Homer, e.g. *Il.* 17.643; *Od.* 7.76; 8.410; 11.567, etc.)

μεδέοντα. At the end of the verse in *h.Ven.* 292; *h.Hom.* 10,4 and Hesiod *Theog.* 54; *μεδέων* in other positions in the verse in *Il.* 3.276, 320; 7.202; 16.234; 24.308; *h.Merc.* 2=*h.Hom.* 18,2; cf. further at the end of the verse *ὑψιμέδοντος*, esp. *-ι* (Hesiod *Theog.* 529 and Frg. 156 Merkelbach-West) as well as *μέδοντες* in the frequent formula *ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες* (e.g., *Il.* 2.79; 9.17; 10.301, etc.)

Vv. 33–34

Οὗτος γὰρ χάλκειον ἐς οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται | Χρυσέῳ ἐνὶ θρόνῳ, γαίης δ' ἐπὶ ποσσὶ βέβηκε.

For he is firmly established in the bronze heaven | on a golden throne, and he stands with the earth at his feet.

v. 33. *ἐς οὐρανὸν* Ps.-J. *Coh.* A (Otto, Marcovich), s (*εἰς*), Cyr (*ἐς* MNC EP F; *εἰς* VB): *ἐπ' οὐρανὸν* Ps.-J. *Coh.* (q) & *Mon.*, Clem. *Strom.*, EusC, EusA, Thdrt, TTu.

Walter prefers the latter reading, thus "er hat unwandelbar seinen Platz *über dem ehernen Himmel*."

vv. 33–34. *χάλκειον ἐς οὐρανὸν. . . Χρυσέῳ ἐνὶ θρόνῳ.* Cf. Hesiod *Th.* 778 *ἀμφὶ δὲ πάντη κίοσιν ἀργυρέοισι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται* (ap. Kern, p. 259).

On the imagery of Zeus enthroned in the heavens, cf. Kern, *Fragmenta*, Frg. 23. Wobbermin, 137, also cites a number of Orphic passages to show that the language of kingship and enthronement found here is not specifically Jewish. Cf. Kern, *Fragmenta*, Frgs. 29, 96, 101, 102, 107, 108, 156, 208, 248a. Also, see H. P. l'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World* (Oslo: H. Aschehong; Cambridge: Harvard, 1953).

Compare the cosmic clothing attributed to God in the riddle on God's name in *Sib. Or.* 1.137–46.

v. 34. *γαίης δ' ἐπὶ ποσ(σ)ὶ βέβηκε(ν)* Ps.-J. *Coh.* & *Mon.*: *γαίη δ' ἐπὶ ποσ(σ)ὶ βέβηκε* Clem. *Str.* 127 (L), Eus C2=*Str.* 127 (I): *γαίῃ δ' ἐπὶ ποσ(σ)ὶ βέβηκε* Cyril: *γαίη τε (δ') ὑπὸ ποσ(σ)ὶ βέβηκε(ν)* Clem. *Str.* 124 (L), Eus C1=*Str.* 124, Eus C2=*Str.* 127 (BON), EusA, Thdrt, TTu.

The phrase is clearly problematic as seen in the various corrective attempts of the later witnesses (see Buresch, 115 n. 34). The distinction between *γαίη* and *γαίῃ* should be noted. Walter prefers the latter, which he renders: "auf der Erde steht er mit den Füßen." Adopting the late

poetic form *γαίη* perhaps produces the most intelligible reading: "and the earth rests at his feet." Doubtless *ὑπὸ ποσ(σ)ί* reflects biblical influence, esp. LXX Isa 66:1 *ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου*. Also, cf. *Sib. Or.* 1.139 *γαῖα δέ μοι στήριγμα ποδῶν*. Possibly the phrase echoes Homer *Il.* 4.443 (Ἔρις) *οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει*, or *Il.* 13.17b–18 *καὶ ὕλη | ποσσὶν ὑπ' ἀθανάτοισι Ποσειδάωνος ἰόντος* (so Geffcken, 12, n. on lines 137–40; Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 496 n. 83).

On the text-critical problem as it relates to the authenticity of the fragment, see Wobbermin, 135–36, who argues that the Ps.-J. reading is secondary and that Isa 66:1 influenced the *Christian* transmission of the verse. He thinks *γαίη δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ βέβηκε* is the more original reading and shows no sign of biblical influence. Moreover, he adduces various pagan parallels to argue for the authenticity of the fragment, e.g., the Orphic fragment preserved in Eusebius *P.E.* 3.9.1–2 (=Kern, *Fragmenta*, Frg. 168), specifically lines 29–30 *πυμάτη δὲ βάσις χθονὸς ἔνδοθι ῥίζαι | τάρταρά τ' εὐρώεντα καὶ ἔσχατα πείρατα γαίης*. Similarly, the oracle of Sarapis in Macrobius *Sat.* 1.20.17: *εἰμὶ θεὸς τοιόσδε μαθεῖν, οἷόν κ' ἐγὼ εἴπω· | οὐράνιος κόσμος κεφαλή, γαστὴρ δὲ θάλασσα, | γαῖα δέ μοι πόδες εἰσί, τὰ δ' οὔατ' ἐν αἰθέρι κεῖται, | ὄμμα δὲ τηλαυγὲς λαμπρὸν φάος ἠελίοιο* (ed. Willis [Teubner], 1.115). Also noted by Geffcken, *Orac. Sib.*, p. 12; Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 496 n. 82. Also, see A. Dieterich, "Papyrus Magica," in *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie*, Suppl. 16 (1888) 747–829, esp. 808,30–32; in Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae*, vol. 2, p. 74 (= XII, 242–44): *ὁ παντοκράτωρ θεός. . . οὐρανὸς μὲν κεφαλή, αἰθὴρ δὲ σῶμα, γῆ πόδες, τὸ δὲ περί σε ὕδωρ, ὠκεανός*.

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 68, notes the following epic constructions:

οὗτος γὰρ. At the beginning of the verse in *Il.* 7.172 (*οὗτος* with *γ'* or *δ'* often at the beginning of the verse, e.g. *Il.* 3.178, 200, 229, etc.

χάλκειον. A Homeric epithet for heaven (cf. Lucian *Sacr.* 8 . . . *καὶ ὅτι μὲν χαλκοῦς ἐστιν τὰ ἔξω* [viz., *ὁ οὐρανός*], *καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν τοῦ Ὁμήρου λέγοντος ἠκούσαμεν*; Proclus in Plato *Tim.* 23D–E, I p. 143 Diehl); *Il.* 17.425 *χάλκεον οὐρανὸν*; *Il.* 5.504 and *Od.* 3.2 *οὐρανὸν ἐς πολύχαλκον*.

ἐς οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται. Cf. Hesiod *Theog.* 777–79 concerning the Styx . . . *νόσφιν δὲ θεῶν κλυτὰ δώματα ναίει, | μακρῇσιν πέτρῃσι κατηρεφέ· ἀμφὶ δὲ πάντη | κίοσιν ἀργυρέοισι πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται* (*ἐστήρικτο* at the end of the verse in *Il.* 16.111; *h.Merc.* 11; Hesiod *Sc.* 218; *ἐστήρικται* in Empedocles 31 B 27,3 D.–K.; Apoll. Rhod. 4,816 *ἐστήρικται* at the end of the verse; Aratus *Phaenom.* 230, 274, 351, 500; Orph. *Hymn.* 11,13); cf. further *Il.* 4.442 concerning Ἔρις: *ἥ τ' ὀλίγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα | οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ*

χθονὶ βαίνει (similarly, Vergil *Aen.* 4.176 concerning Fama: *parva metu primo, mox sese attollit in auras | ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit*).

χρυσέῳ εἰνὶ θρόνῳ. Cf. Homer *Il.* 8.442 αὐτὸς δὲ χρύσειον ἐπὶ θρόνον εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς | ἕζετο, τῷ δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ μέγας πελεμίζετ' Ὄλυμπος.

χρυσέῳ occurs at the beginning of the verse in *Il.* 1.15, 374; 4.2; 24.285; Hesiod *Op.* 129.

εἰνὶ θρόνῳ in the same position in the verse in *Il.* 8.199 (the subject is Hera) σείσατο δ' εἰνὶ θρόνῳ and 15.150 ἕζετο δ' εἰνὶ θρόνῳ.

βέβηκε. At the end of the verse in *Il.* 16.69 and 23.481 (βεβήκει, among others, in *Il.* 1.221; 6.313, 495; 16.751, and often.

Vv. 35–36a

Χεῖρά τε δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρματος ὠκεανοῖο | Πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν·

And he stretches out his right hand all the way | to the ocean's edge;

v. 35. ἐπὶ τέρματος Ps.-J. *Coh.* & *Mon.*, Clem. *Strom.* 127 (also EusC2): ἐπὶ τέρμασιν EusA, TTu: ἐπὶ τέρματα (-ματ') Cyril: περὶ τέρμασιν Clem. *Strom.* 124 (also EusC1), Thdrt.

ἐπὶ τέρματος ὠκεανοῖο. Lit. "upon (or to) the boundary of the ocean." This seems sensible enough, even if the image of the ocean as a river encircling the earth's disc is in view (cf. LSJ s.v. Ὠκεανός). The latter image, however, may account for the later witnesses' preference for a plural form of τέρμα, or for the use of περὶ, which would presumably yield something like: "around ocean's boundaries."

Some editors prefer the capitalized form Ὠκεανοῖο, thus understanding this as a reference to Oceanus, god of the primeval waters. So, Marcovich (Ps.-J.), Mras (Eus.C1 & C2, EusA), Burguière (Cyril), Canivet (Theodoret), Buresch (TTu). So understood, it would complement the reference to Zeus in v. 24, thus giving it a more authentically pagan ring.

v. 36. πάντοθεν. Lit. "from all quarters, from every side" (LSJ s.v. πάντοθεν).

On the imagery, cf. LXX Ps 71:8; 88:26.

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 68, notes the following epic constructions:

χεῖρα τε δεξιτερὴν. Cf. *Od.* 1.121 χεῖρ' ἕλε δεξιτερήν, similarly *Il.* 7.108; 14.137; *Od.* 18.258; 21.410.

Ὠκεανοῖο often occurs at the end of the verse in Homer and Hesiod, e.g. *Il.* 5.6; 7.422, etc.

πάντοθεν. At the beginning of the verse in *Il.* 13.28; 16.110; 21.364; 23.112, 689; *Od.* 17.171; Hesiod *Op.* 625.

Vv. 36b–37

. . . περὶ γὰρ τρέμει οὔρεα μακρὰ | Καὶ ποταμοὶ πολιῆς τε βάθος χαροποῖο θαλάσσης.

. . . for around (him) tremble distant mountains | and rivers, as well as the depths of the hoary, blue sea.

v. 36b. *περὶ γὰρ τρέμει οὔρεα μακρὰ*. Cf. Homer *Il.* 13.17b–18 *τρέμε δ' οὔρεα μακρὰ καὶ ὕλη | ποσσὶν ὑπ' ἀθανάτοισι Ποσειδάωνος ἰόντος* (so Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 496). Cf. LXX Isa 63:19b (so Clement *Strom.* 5.14.124); also LXX Ps. 17:8; 1 Esdr 4:36 (so Cyril *C. Iul.* 1.34).

vv. 36b–37. Cf. LXX Job 26:12; 41:23–24; Ps 45:3–4; also Luke 21:25.

v. 37. *πολιῆς*. *πολιός*, in Homer, frequently as an attribute of the sea (LSJ s.v. *πολιός*).

On the abrupt ending of Recension A, see Walter, JSHRZ, 237, n. w.

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 69, notes the following epic constructions:

περὶ γὰρ τρέμει οὔρεα μακρὰ. Cf. *Il.* 13.18–19 *. . .τρέμε δ' οὔρεα μακρὰ καὶ ὕλη | ποσσὶν ὑπ' ἀθανάτοισι Ποσειδάωνος ἰόντος*; *h.Hom.* 27,6–9 (re Artemis as huntress . . . *τρομέει δὲ κάρηνα | ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων, ἰαχεῖ δ' ἐπὶ δάσκιος ὕλη | δεινὸν ὑπὸ κλαγγῆς θηρῶν, φρίσσει δέ τε γαῖα | πόντος τ' ἰχθυόεις*; similarly, also Hesiod *Theog.* 835 *ὑπὸ δ' ἤχεεν οὔρεα μακρά* (*οὔρεα μακρὰ* at the end of the verse in *h.Hom.* 19,12 *διέδραμεν οὔρεα μακρά*; cf. also Hesiod *Theog.* 129); further *Il.* 8.443 (Zeus) *τῷ δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ μέγας πελεμίζετ' Ὄλυμπος* (similarly Hesiod *Theog.* 842).

καὶ ποταμοὶ. At the beginning of the verse in *Il.* 3.278 (*καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ γαῖα*) and Hesiod *Theog.* 109 (*καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ πόντος ἀπείριτος οἴδματι θυίων*; cf. 348 *καὶ Ποταμοῖς*), further in the Orphic poem in the Derveni Papyrus col. XII,5 (*καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ κρῆναι ἐπήρατοι ἄλλα τε πάντα κ.τ.λ.* Cf. *OF* 167b,4 *καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ πόντος ἀπείριτος ἄλλα τε πάντα*); Hesiod *Theog.* 348 *καὶ ποταμοῖς*.

πολιῆς τε βάθος χαροποῖο θαλάσσης. Cf. *Il.* 4.248 and *Od.* 11.75 πολιῆς ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης; *Od.* 22.385 πολιῆς ἔκτοσθε θαλάσσης; 6.272 πολιὴν. . . θάλασσαν (similarly, *Sib. Or.* 3.223 οὔτε βάθος χαροποῖο θαλάσσης Ὠκεανοῖο).

For χαροποῖο, cf. Hesiod *Theog.* 321 χαροποῖο λέοντος (χαροποῦ τε λέοντος *OF* 79; the adjective χαροπός is used in Homer and Hesiod mainly in reference to lions); Χαρόποιό τ' ἄνακτος in *Il.* 2.672 as a proper name.

θαλάσσης. Found frequently in epic at the end of the verse, e.g., Hesiod *Sc.* 207 ἀμαιμακέτοιο θαλάσσης; *Theog.* 413 and 728 ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης; *Op.* 648 πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης (the same construction in Homer *Il.* 2.209; 6.347, etc.).

Recension B

1 Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι
3 Πάντες ὁμῶς. Σὺ δ' ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε Μήνης,
4 Μουσαῖ'! Ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα· μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν
5 Ἐν στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ.
6 Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε,
7 Ἰθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος, εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε
8 Ἀτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο ἄνακτα.
9 Ἀθάνατον. <παλαιὸς δὲ λόγος περὶ τοῦδε φαείνει·>
10 Εἷς ἔστ', **αὐτοτελής**, ἑνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα **πέφυκεν**·
11 Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς **περινίσσεται**, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
12 Εἰσοράᾳ θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.
14 **Αὐτὸς** δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο κακὸν θνητοῖσι **φυτεύει**—
16 Καὶ πόλεμον κρυόεντα καὶ ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα.
17 Οὐδέ τις ἔσθ' ἕτερος χωρὶς μεγάλου βασιλῆος.
21 Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται.
22 Πᾶσι γὰρ θνητοῖς θνηταὶ κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις
23 Μικραί, ἐπεὶ σάρκες τε καὶ ὀστέα {ἐμπεφυῖα} ἐμπεφύασιν,
24 [ ]
27 Εἰ μὴ μουνογενής τις ἀπορρὼξ φύλου ἄνωθεν
28 Χαλδαίων· ἴδρις γὰρ ἔην ἄστροιο πορείης,
29 Καὶ σφαίρης κινήματ' ἀμφὶ χθόνα {θ'} ὡς περιτέλλει
30 Κυκλοτερὲς ἐν ἴσῳ τε κατὰ σφέτερον κνώδακα.
31 Πνεύματι δ' ἡνιοχεῖ περί τ' ἠέρα καὶ περὶ χεῦμα.
33 **Αὐτὸς δ' αὖ μέγαν αὖτις ἐπ'** οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται
34 Χρυσέῳ ἐνὶ θρόνῳ, **γαίη τε ὑπὸ πο(σ)σὶ** βέβηκεν.
35 Χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν **περὶ τέρμασιν** ὠκεανοῖο
36 Ἐκτέτακεν· **ὀρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις ἔνδοθι θυμοῦ**
37 [ ]
38 Οὐδὲ φέρειν δύναται κρατερὸν μένος. ἔστι δὲ πάντῃ
39 Αὐτὸς ἐπουράνιος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάντα τελευτᾷ,
40 Ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ μέσσην ἠδὲ τελευτήν,
43 Ἄλλως οὐ θεμιτόν σε λέγειν· τρομέω δέ τε γυῖα
44 Ἐν νόῳ· ἐξ ὑπάτου κραίνει <περὶ πάντ' ἐνὶ τάξει>.

Key:

Underline: new material, not previously found in Recension A
Bold: changes made in Recension A
[ ]: lines dropped from Recension A
< >: encloses material supplied from Recension C

Recension B

I will speak to those to whom it is permitted; shut the doors, you uninitiated,
All of you alike. But you, O Musaeus, child of the light-bearing Moon,
Listen! For I am about to proclaim the truth. Let not the former
Imaginings of your heart deprive you of the blessed life.
But look to the divine Logos, and adhere to it,
Letting it guide your heart's deepest thoughts. And walk unwaveringly
Upon the path, looking only to the master of the universe,
The immortal one. <An ancient saying sheds light concerning this one.>
He is one, **self-complete**, and all things **are by nature** the offspring of this one;
And among them he himself **circulates**, and no one among
Mortals sees him, though he indeed sees everyone.
And **he himself** from good **brings forth** evil for mortals—
Both chilling war and tearful sufferings.
And there is no other apart from this great king.
But I do not see him; for around him a cloud has been fixed.
For all mortals have mortal pupils in their eyes,
Too small, since they are {implants} set within flesh and bones,
[ ]
Except a certain person, a unique figure, by descent an offshoot
Of the Chaldean race; for he was expert in following the course of the sun
And the movements of the spheres around the earth, as it rotates
In a circle regularly, all on their respective axes.
And with wind, he creates currents around both air and stream.
And he himself on the other hand is firmly established **hereafter over the vast** heaven
On a golden throne, and **earth stands under his feet.**
And he stretches out his right hand **around the extremities**
Of the ocean; **and the base of the mountains trembles furiously from within**
[ ]
And it is not possible to endure his mighty force. But in every way
He himself is heavenly, and on earth brings all things to completion,
Since he controls their beginning, as well as their middle and end.
For me to say anything other than this is not permissible for you—and in fact I shudder
At the very thought. From on high he rules <over everything in order>.

RECENSION B: COMMENTARY

Introductory Remarks.

Recension B expands Recension A by including new material about Abraham (vv. 27–31) and by adding a conclusion (vv. 38–40 and 43–44). It is primarily reflected in the portions preserved by Clement, although traces of it are also seen in Eusebius.

Vv.1 and 3–8 (See Recension A)

V. 9

'Αθάνατον. <παλαιὸς δὲ λόγος περὶ τοῦδε φαείνει·>

(Looking only to the master of the universe,) |
The immortal one. <An ancient saying sheds light concerning this one.>

'Αθάνατον. Only this word from v. 9 is preserved in Clement (*Protr.*, *Strom.* 123 [=EusC]). Though its position is problematic, it appears to have been part of the quoted material attributed to Orpheus. The rest of the line is preserved only in EusA (and later by TTu), yet Clement's use of ἀθάνατον suggests that he may have known the rest of the line. Thus Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 238, includes the whole line as part of Recension B. Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 487, however, doubts that Clement knew it, arguing that, had he known it, he would have interpreted παλαιὸς λόγος as a reference to divine (biblical) revelation and used it to prove that the Greeks derived their wisdom from Moses. Riedweg, *Imitation*, 26, 28, includes the entire verse in his "Urfassung" (= Recension A).

Cf. Homer *Il.* 2.741 ἀθάνατος Ζεύς.

παλαιὸς λόγος. Cf. Plato *Lg.* 715E–716A, where the three-part "beginning, middle, end" formula describing Zeus is attributed to an "ancient saying." It is later identified by a scholiast on the text as Orphic. See below on vv. 38–40. Cf. Pseudo-Aristotle *De mundo* 6.397b10 ἀρχαῖος λόγος.

Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 240 n. g, discusses the phrase in connection with Recension C, noting that in that context it is probably a reference to Exod 3:14; also Deut 6:4; Isa 44:6; 45:5–6 (cf. Mark 12:32).

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 65, notes the following epic parallels:

ἀθάνατον. Forms of the word occur frequently in Homer at the beginning of the verse, e.g. *Il.* 21.380 *ἀθάνατὸν θεὸν*; also, 24.464, etc.

φαείνει. In this form at the end of the verse in Hesiod *Theog.* 372 and *Op.* 528; cf. *Od.* 12.383 *φαείνω*, and 385 *φάεινε*; also, Aratus *Phaen.* 148, 450, etc.

Vv. 10–12

Εἷς ἔστ', **αὐτοτελής**, ἑνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα **πέφυκεν**· | Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς **περινίσσεται**, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν | Εἰσοράᾳ θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.

He is one, **self-complete**, and all things **are by nature** the offspring of this one; | and among them he himself **circulates**, and no one among | mortals sees him, though he indeed sees everyone.

v. 10. Even though these three verses also occur in Recension A, we should elaborate here on the variant at the end of v. 10, already noted in the previous commentary. The verse is cited by Clement in both *Protr.* and *Strom.* 78, but in the latter instance, after quoting the verse which concludes with *τέτυκται*, he adds parenthetically ἢ "*πέφυκεν*," *γράφεται γὰρ καὶ οὕτως*. The form is nowhere else attested. This clearly suggests that he either had two recensions before him, one with each reading, or at least knew a reading from another recension. (Or, does this indicate that he knows the variant from the textual tradition concerning Orph. Frg. 21a Ζεὺς. . . Διὸς δ' ἐκ *πάντα τέτυκται*, where *τέτεκται* and *πέφυκεν* are given as alternate forms? Cf. Diels–Kranz, *Vorsokr.* 1.8 [Orpheus Frg. 6a app. crit.].) Walter thus assigns *τέτυκται* to A', Clement's form of Recension A that most closely resembles Ps.-J., and *πέφυκεν* to Recension B, the second (longer) recension known to Clement.

v. 11. As noted earlier in the commentary on v. 11, Clement *Protr.* 7.74.5 reads *περινίσσεται* instead of *περιγίνεται*, which is read by Ps.-J. Since it occurs in the "*τέτυκται*" form of the quotation, it is difficult to tell whether it too is a reading Clement derives from Recension B. (The word is part of an omitted phrase in the quotation in *Strom.* 5.12.78.4.) As noted earlier, *περινίσσεται* has the effect of bringing God closer to

creation and thus may have been a Stoicizing corrective of *περιγίνεται* (so, Heinze, *Lehre*, 187). As such, it could have entered the tradition as part of Walter's Recension X. Or, the change may have been made by Clement himself. In any case, *περινίσσεται* is read later by EusA, but his form of vv. 10–12 corresponds to neither *Protr.* nor *Strom.* Instead EusA reads *αὐτοτελὴς. . . τελεῖται. . . περινίσσεται*, which would appear to be a conflation of the two Clement readings *αὐτοτελής* and *περινίσσεται*, but with the additional change that EusA employs *τελεῖται* as the more appropriate verb form corresponding to *αὐτοτελής*.

The term *αὐτοτελής*, which occurs with *τέτυκται/πέφυκεν* in *Strom.* 5.12.78.4, is also taken here as a new element in Recension B, replacing Recension A's *αὐτογενής*. Like *περινίσσεται*, it probably reflects a Stoicizing tendency. Cf. Plutarch *Comp. arg. Stoic.* 1056B (=*SVF* 2.997) where Chrysippus denies that *εἱμαρμένη* is a "cause sufficient of itself" (*αὐτοτελῆ*); *Comp. arg. Stoic.* 1055F (=*SVF* 2.994), used with reference to *φαντασία*.

Also, Diog. Laert. 7.63 (of *λεκτόν*); similarly, Sextus Empiricus *Adv. math.* 8.12, 70 (=*Adv. dogm.* 2.12, 70). Also, cf. Plutarch *De tuenda san. praec.* 122E). Accordingly, Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 240 n. h, "gewiss auch mit dem Nebensinn der göttlichen Autarkeia."

v. 12. As noted earlier, v. 12 has the same form in Recensions A and B; it differs only in Recension C. See earlier commentary.

Vv. 14 and 16

Αὐτὸς δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο κακὸν θνητοῖσι φυτεύει. | ***Καὶ πόλεμον κρυόεντα καὶ ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα.***

And **he himself** from good **brings forth** evil for mortals— | both chilling war and tearful sufferings.

The form of vv. 14 and 16 discussed earlier as part of Recension A was the form reflected in Ps.-J. The same two verses are quoted in Clement *Strom.* 5.14.126.5. The lines are virtually identical except for the first and last words in v. 14: instead of *οὗτος* Clement has *αὐτός*, and instead of *δίδωσι* he reads *φυτεύει*. EusC (*P.E.* 13.13.53) faithfully transmits Clement, although MS I reads *ἐξ ἀγαθοῖς* (sic), whereas MSS BON read *ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο*.

The major interpretive question is whether the form of the verses (esp. v. 14) in Clement represents any attempt to soften the force of the form of

the verse in Recension A. In EusC, the grammatically incorrect attempt by MS I to substitute the plural *ἀγαθοῖς* for *ἀγαθοῖο* may represent such an attempt; perhaps "from good motives," i.e., for a good (pedagogical) purpose. Greater success is achieved by EusA (and TTu), which read *ἐξ ἀγαθῶν*.

It is not immediately obvious how *φυτεύει* is any softer than *δίδωσι*; if anything, the metaphor of "planting" or "begetting, engendering" may imply greater intentionality on God's part (cf. LSJ s.v. *φυτεύω*). Its main advantage is that it provides metaphorical consistency with *πέφυκεν* in v. 10. Riedweg, *Imitation*, 29, sees Homeric influence, citing *Il.* 15.134; *Od.* 5.340; 15.178=17.159; 14.110=17.27; 14.218. Theologically, the verse remains problematic.

V. 17 (See Recension A)

Vv. 21–23 (24)

Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται. | *Πᾶσι γὰρ θνητοῖς θνηταὶ κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις* | *Μικραί, ἐπεὶ σάρκες τε καὶ ὀστέα {ἐμπεφυῖα} ἐμπεφύασιν.*

But I do not see him; for around him a cloud has been fixed. | For all mortals have mortal pupils in their eyes, | too small, since they are {implants} set within flesh and bones.

Vv. 21–22 are identical in Ps.-J. and Clement. The major change occurs with respect to vv. 23–24. As noted in the earlier commentary on vv. 21–22 and 24, Clement replaces v. 24 with v. 23. Thus, whereas Ps.-J. reads *ἀσθενέες δ' ἰδέειν Δία τὸν πάντων μεδέοντα*, Clement reads *μικραί, ἐπεὶ σάρκες τε καὶ ὀστέα {ἐμπεφυῖα} ἐμπεφύασιν.*

In the earlier commentary (Recension A vv. 21–22 and 24), we have already noted the text-critical problems within the Ps.-J. tradition, and their possible implications. It should also be noted that vv. 22–23 are read in Theodoret, but not in EusA, thus showing Theodoret's dependence, at least at this point, on Clement. See Schürer, *History* 3(1).663 n. 259.

Here we can note a minor variant in v. 22 that occurs only in the Clementine tradition: *ἐν ὅσοι* is read by L, but Stählin properly emends L's reading to *ἐν ὄσσοις* in conformity with Ps.-J. (followed by Theodoret

and TTu). Thus in this instance we accept the editorial emendation instead of L's reading.

The form of v. 23 is problematic in two respects. L reads *σμικραί*, which Stählin emends to *μικραί*. Platt, *Journal of Philology* 26 (1899) 229 proposes *μαῦραι* as an alternative reading. L also reads *ἐμπεφυῖα* before *ἐμπεφύασιν*, but for metrical reasons the editorial tradition (Sylburg, Stählin) has correctly proposed its deletion. It is also omitted by Theodoret and TTu. The translation ". . . since they are implants set within flesh and bones" attempts, however awkwardly, to render L.

In spite of these textual difficulties, the replacement of v. 24 by v. 23, by effectively eliminating the reference to Zeus and providing an adequate sequel to v. 22, clearly represents a corrective redaction. As before, it is difficult to determine whether this had already occurred in the recension transmitted to Clement or whether Clement himself composed the substitute verse. In one sense, vv. 21–22 can stand alone without v. 23, and it is conceivable that Recension B could have responded to the offensive v. 24 simply by omitting it.

In any case, this is an instance where it is difficult to imagine that Recension A has derived from Recension B.

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 67, gives the following epic parallels:

σάρκες τε καὶ ὀστέα. In the same position in the verse in *Od.* 9.293 *ἔγκατά τε σάρκας τε καὶ ὀστέα μυελόεντα* and 11.219 *οὐ γὰρ ἔτι σάρκας τε καὶ ὀστέα ἶνες ἔχουσιν*. Plural forms of *σάρξ* alone in the same position in the verse in *Il.* 8.380; 13.832; *Od.* 18.77; Hesiod *Theog.* 538. *ὀστέα* alone in the same position in the verse in *Il.* 4.174, 521; 7.334; 13.616; 20.406; *Od.* 1.161; 12.414; 24.76.

ἐμπεφύασι. In other positions in the verse in *Il.* 8.84 (at the end of the verse in Apollonius of Rhodes 3.201 *ἐκπεφύασιν*, and in Orph. *Lithica* 294.

Vv. 27-31

Εἰ μὴ μουνογενής τις ἀπορρὼξ φύλου ἄνωθεν	*Χαλδαίων· ἴδρις γὰρ*	
ἔην ἄστροιο πορείης,	*Καὶ σφαίρης κινήματ' ἀμφὶ χθόνα {θ'} ὡς*	
περιτέλλει	*Κυκλοτερὲς ἐν ἴσῳ τε κατὰ δὲ σφέτερον κνώδακα.*	
Πνεύματι δ' ἠνιοχεῖ περί τ' ἠέρα καὶ περὶ χεῦμα.		

Except a certain person, a unique figure, by descent an offshoot	of the	
Chaldean race; for he was expert in following the course of the sun	and	
the movements of the spheres around the earth, as it rotates	in a circle	

regularly, all on their respective axes. | And with wind, he creates currents around both air and stream.

These verses, preserved in *Strom.* 5.14.123.2 (and repeated in EusC, i.e. *P.E.* 13.13.50), constitute one of the major additions reflected in Recension B. They are also found in EusA. Although their referent is disputed, they appear to refer to Abraham, hence the common designation of Recension B as the "Abrahamic recension."

These verses constitute a single quotation in Clement. They are immediately preceded by vv. 6–9 and immediately followed by another quotation comprising vv. 33–36, 38–40, 43–44. The immediately preceding verses (vv. 25–26) are not quoted by Clement, and vv. 21–23 are quoted much earlier in *Strom.* 5.12.78.5.

Yet in spite of this seeming lacuna, it is not at all certain that verses are omitted from the recension at Clement's disposal since vv. 27–31 can sensibly be understood as a sequel to vv. 21–23. Admittedly, the seam is awkward, just as it is at the end of the Abraham section—both indications that the Abraham section has not been smoothly integrated into the previous recension.

Actually, the transition is smoother from v. 22 to v. 27, which may be further indication that Clement himself composed the substitute v. 23. Thus the recension would have run:

21 Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται.
22 Πᾶσι γὰρ θνητοῖς θνηταὶ κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις
27 Εἰ μὴ μουνογενής τις ἀπορρὼξ φύλου ἄνωθεν
28 Χαλδαίων·. . . .

21 But I do not see him; for around him a cloud has been fixed.
22 For all mortals have mortal pupils in their eyes
27 Except for a certain person, a unique figure, by descent an offshoot
28 Of the Chaldean race. . . .

v. 27. *μουνογενής*. Epic and Ionic form of *μονογενής*, "the only member of a kin or kind," hence, generally, "only," "single," esp. of children (e.g., son, Plutarch *Lyc.* 31.4; Josephus *Ant.* 20.2.1 §20; BAGD s.v. *μονογενής*; also, "unique," e.g., of deity; cf. Parmenides 8.4 (*τὸ ὄν*; Diels, *Poetarum Philosophorum Fragmenta*, p. 65; cf. D.–K., *Vorsokr.* 1.235, Frg. 8, lin. 5 *οὐλομελές*; also discussion in app. crit.); Plato *Ti.* 31B; Preisigke, *Sammelbuch* 4324.15 (vol. 1, p. 326); so LSJ s.v. *μονογενής*). Its understandable association with Isaac (cf. Josephus *Ant.* 1.13.1 §222; Heb 11:17) may account for Clement's indecision whether

the referent is Abraham or Isaac (see *Strom.* 5.14.123.2). If, however, the sense here is "unique" (cf. Cornutus *Theol. Graec.* 27 p. 49,13 [ed. Lang]; Plato *Ti.* 92C, both with reference to the cosmos), it would be an appropriate way to underscore Abraham's unparalleled experience in doing what even Orpheus could not do—see God. Hence our translation "unique figure"; similarly, Riedweg, *Imitation*, 37, with additional discussion. Perhaps, "the lone exception" would capture the sense. See BAGD s.v. *μονογενής*, with ample treatment (and bibliography), esp. on the well-known Johannine use of the term, e.g., John 1:13 al.

On Israel as the "one who sees God," cf. Philo *Praem.* 7 §§43–46; also see Goodenough, *Light*, 177; Collins, *Athens and Jerusalem*, 238 n. 39.

vv. 27–28a. *ἀπορρὼξ φύλου ἄνωθεν | Χαλδαίων*. Lit., "an offshoot by descent of the tribe of Chaldeans." *ἀπορρὼξ*, "broken off," by extension "a branch" (LSJ s.v. *ἀπορρώξ*); perhaps a reference to God's command to Abraham to leave his Chaldean home (so Walter, JSHRZ, 238 n. e). *ἄνωθεν*, lit. "from above," is understood here as "by descent" (e.g., Theoc. 15.91; cf. 22.164; Callimachus *Aet.* 3.75,32 (LCL vol. 2, p. 60); see LSJ s.v. *ἄνωθεν* II.1. "From heaven" is also a well established meaning (see BAGD s.v. *ἄνωθεν*), and its ironic usage in Johannine circles well-known (e.g., John 3:3, 7). Georgi, *Opponents*, 54, understands the term temporally: "the *former* branch of the tribe of the Chaldaeans." Riedweg, *Imitation*, 37, "ursprünglich."

While the reference is almost surely to Abraham (cf. Philo *Virt.* 39 §212; *Abr.* 15 §§69–71; also Josephus *Ant.* 1.7.2 § 158, Berossus, speaking of Abraham, "in the tenth generation. . . a Chaldean. . . a just man, versed in celestial lore"), it should be noted that Philo uses similar language of Moses in *V. Mos.* 1.2 §5: *Μωυσῆς γένος μέν ἐστι Χαλδαῖος*. Also, the TTu scholium identifies the Chaldean as Moses. In the introductory section to §55, however, TTu characterizes the poem as praising "the ancient wisdom of the Chaldeans, especially that of Abraham" (see Riedweg, *Imitation*, 86–87). See Recension D commentary vv. 27–28. Also see further commentary below on vv. 28–30; also Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 242 n. y; Riedweg, *Imitation*, 85–86, noting Dähne's observation, *Geschichtliche*, 102 n. 72, that Abraham here serves as a paradigm for everyone's capacity to know God through nature.

Cf. *Sib. Or.* 3.218–19, which identifies "the land of Ur of the Chaldeans" as the origin of the Jews, "a race of righteous men."

v. 28. *ἴδρις γὰρ ἔην ἄστροιο πορείης*. On the poetic use of *ἄστρον* for the sun, cf. Pindar *O.* 1.6; Plato *Def.* 411B (LSJ s.v. *ἄστρον*). Perhaps, "for he was knowledgeable in the procession of the sun." Stählin (BKV 2d ser.) 4.220: "die Sonne." Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 238: "denn

kundig war es des Umlaufs des Gestirns," possibily a reference to Sirius (cf. n. f). Similarly, TTu: *ἄστρων πορείης*.

v. 29. *σφαίρης κίνηματ'*. *σφαῖρα*, "sphere," sing., but "in the Ancient Physics, from the time of Anaximander, of the *spheres* believed to revolve round the earth carrying the heavenly bodies. . . ." (LSJ s.v. *σφαῖρα*); hence, the translation "the movement of the spheres," presumably a reference to the stars and other heavenly bodies. Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 238: "des Himmelsgewölbes" (cf. n. g).

κίνημα (*-μ'*) *Strom.* Stählin, EusC (ION, Mras), EusA (MSS, Mras): *κινήματ'* *Strom.* L.

v. 30. *κυκλοτερὲς ἐν ἴσῳ Strom.*, EusC (*κυκ. <τ'> ἐν ἴσῳ* Mras), EusA (IN): *κυκλοτερὴς ἐν ἐείσω* EusA (BO): *κυκλοτερές γ' ἐν ἴσῳ* EusA (D): *κυκλοτερές τ' ἐν ἴσῳ* EusA (Mras). Here we read *κυκλοτερές* with *Strom.* L et al. and take it with *ἄστρον* (possibly with *κίνημ'*). Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 239 n. h, reads *κυκλοτερής*, to be taken with *σφαῖρα*. On the adverbial use of the adjective, see Smyth §1042.

ἐν ἴσῳ, lit. "equally" (LSJ s.v. *ἴσος* IV.2), here understood as "regularly," i.e., (the sun) in regular rotation.

κατὰ δὲ σφέτερον κνώδακα. The use of *σφέτερος*, the possessive adjective of the 3d per. plu., suggests that both the movement of the sun and the spheres (stars ?) is in view (see LSJ s.v. *σφέτερος*). Accordingly, *κατά* with the acc. is taken distributively. *κνώδαξ*, "pin" or "pivot," is thus understood as the axis on which planetary bodies revolve (cf. LSJ s.v. *κνώδαξ*).

v. 31. *πνεύματι Strom.* (L), EusC (IN), TTu (T, Erbse): *πνεύματα Strom.* (Stählin), EusC (Mras), EusA (MSS), TTu (Buresch): *πνεῦμά τ'* EusC (O).

Here we read *πνεύματι*, even though the editorial tradition (Stählin, Mras, Buresch) has tended to make the Clementine tradition conform to EusA. Our translation of v. 31 is admittedly awkward, but it attempts (however unsuccessfully) to make sense of *πνεύματι*. This is clearly the more difficult reading primarily because of the difficulty in finding a suitable subject for *ἡνιοχεῖ*—Abraham (v. 27–28), the spheres (v. 29), Moses (so Elter, 179). See Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 239 n. k. If Abraham, it would yield something like, "And through the wind (spirit ?) he navigates a course around the air and around the stream." So, LaFargue *OTP* 2.799, "He rides in spirit through the air and through the water of the stream." Assuming that *πνεύματι* is read, the other possibility is to see a shift in referent and take God as the subject of *ἡνιοχεῖ*. This is the solution adopted by Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 239, hence: "Durch (seinen Schöpfer-) Geist lenkt er Luft und Strömung umher." He correctly notes that a similarly abrupt shift appears to occur in v. 33, when a series of state-

ments is made whose subject is presumably God. This interpretation also requires a shift in the meaning of *πνεῦμα* from its natural sense of "wind" to the more theologically laden "spirit."

Accordingly, an alternative solution has emerged in the tradition: read *πνεύματα*, take it as the subject of *ἡνιοχεῖ*, and understand v. 31 as a further example of the extent of Abraham's astronomical knowledge. Thus, "(and he was expert in how) the winds direct their course around the air and the stream." Stählin (BKV 2d ser.) 4.220, follows this option, but understands "the sun" (v. 28) as the subject of *ἡνιοχεῖ*: ("und wie sie (die Sonne) Winde [*πνεύματα*] regiert in der Luft und über das Meer hin").

In either case, the remainder of the verse remains problematic, both in terms of the unusual use of the twofold *περί*, and how to understand the meaning of *ἀήρ* and *χεῦμα*. See Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 239 n. l. Georgi, *Opponents*, 54: "(how) the winds travel around the air and around the flood of water." (His final phrase includes *νάματος* from the beginning of v. 32.)

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 92–93, sees in *πνεύματι* a reference to the *δύναμις* permeating the world in Pseudo-Aristotle *De mundo* 5.396b29. He finds the Stoic understanding of *πνεῦμα* as a force permeating the world as a less likely source of influence than LXX Gen 1:2 (see p. 93, n. 288). Behind the use of *ἡνιοχεῖ* he sees the frequently occurring image of the divine charioteer (cf. Plato *Phdr*. 246E; Philo *Som*. 1.25 §157; 2.44 §294; *Aet*. 16 §83; *Decal*. 29 §155, etc.). Especially noted is Philo *Heres* 20 §§98–99, where Abraham's conversion to knowledge of the true God is described as trusting "Him who rides on the heaven and guides the chariot of the whole world, even God."

On Zeus's controlling the wind, cf. Homer *Od*. 5.303–305; also K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (2d ed. 2 vols. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1974) vol. 2, p. 75 (=XII, 244–57), esp. 248–49 *ὃν καὶ τρέμουσιν οὔρεα σὺν πεδίοις, πηγῶν ποταμῶν τε τὰ ῥεῖτρα καὶ βῆσσαι γαίης καὶ πνεύματα, πάντα τὰ φύντα*. References in Friedman, *Orpheus*, 26. Also, cf. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch* 4324.15 (vol. 1, p. 326): *θεός, ὁ μονο[γ]ενής, ὁ ἐξαλεύων τὸν βυθόν, ἐξαποστέλλων ὕδατα καὶ ἀνέμους, ἔξαφός τὰ πνεύματα τῶν δαιμόνων τούτων, ὅπου μοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ πυξίς. . . .*

On the terminology used to describe the composition of the cosmos, "sphere," "axes," etc., cf. Pseudo-Aristotle, *De mundo* 2.391b10–25.

On traditions of Abraham's ascent, cf. *Apoc. Abr.*, esp. chs. 15-29, *T. Abr.*, Pseudo-Philo *Bib. Ant.* 18:5; see Collins, *Athens and Jerusalem*, 237 n. 37; E. P. Sanders, "Testament of Abraham," *APOT* 1.880.

On Abraham's knowledge of the heavens, cf. Pseudo-Eupolemus Frg. 1.2 (*FHJA* 1.170–73; 180 n. 12). On Philo's depiction of Abraham where such knowledge is viewed negatively, see Riedweg, *Imitation*, 87 n. 262; on Abraham as the father of astrology, see Trencsényi-Waldapfel, 410–11.

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 88–92, identifies the philosophical tradition behind the portrait of Abraham in vv. 27–31 as Aristotelian. In particular, he thinks the image of Abraham as one who comes to knowledge of God through his expert knowledge of the heavens reflects an Aristotelian view of natural revelation where one gains an understanding of God by observing the natural order, especially the movement of the stars. The evidence he adduces for this, however, comes mainly from Pseudo-Aristotle *De mundo*. To be sure, a view of natural revelation motivates the redactor's portrayal of Abraham, but it is not at all clear that it is identifiably Aristotelian. If anything, it stands much closer to Stoic views of natural revelation.

In Riedweg's view (p. 92), the "Urfassung" (Recension A) is devoid of any notion of divine transcendence. Instead, the portrait of God is pervasively Stoic—an immanent presence in the world. The "Aristobulus revision" (our Recension C), by contrast, presents a thoroughly transcendent view of God with a distinctive Platonic-Aristotelian stamp. This modification is achieved by suppressing the Stoic elements of the earlier version.

But it should be noted that this way of viewing Recensions A and C depends heavily on two critical emendations in Recension A (vv. 11 and 24; see earlier commentary). Moreover, it is not at all certain that the Aristobulus revision exhibits such a pervasively Platonic-Aristotelian cast.

Vv. 33–37

V. 32, which appears only in EusA (and TTu), is omitted by Clement. Vv. 33–36, which constitute the first four verses of the next quotation in *Strom.* 5.14.124.1, also occur in Ps.-J. and EusA. But in numerous respects, they bear closer resemblance to EusA than Ps.-J., and for this reason are assigned to Recension B. An abbreviated form of the quotation (vv. 35, 36a, 34b) also occurs in Strom. 5.14.127.2, but its various features are closer to Recension A. This provides further, even more definitive, evidence that Clement has before him two separate recensions.

V. 37, which occurs in Ps.-J (and later in Cyril and TTu), does not occur in either Clement or Eusebius.

Vv. 33–36 (37)

Αὐτὸς δ' αὖ μέγαν αὖτις ἐπ' οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται | Χρυσέῳ ἐνὶ θρόνῳ, **γαίη δ' ὑπὸ ποσ(σ)ὶ βέβηκεν.** | Χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν **περὶ τέρμασιν** ὠκεανοῖο | Ἐκτέτακεν· **ὀρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις ἔνδοθι θυμοῦ**

And he himself on the other hand is firmly established **hereafter over the vast** heaven | on a golden throne, and **earth stands under his feet.** | And he stretches out his right hand **around the extremities** | of the ocean; **and the base of the mountains trembles furiously from within** |

v. 33. The variants pertaining to ἐπ' *οὐρανόν* have already been noted in the discussion of v. 33 in Recension A. We can now note the two different forms of the verse within the textual tradition: *οὗτος γὰρ χάλκειον ἐς οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται* Ps.-J. *Coh.* and *Mon.*, Cyril: *αὐτὸς δ' αὖ μέγαν αὖτις ἐπ' οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται Strom.* (also EusC), EusA (δὴ instead of δ' αὖ and *αὖθις* instead of *αὖτις*; also TTu), Theodoret (generally).

The significance, if any, of the changes is not altogether clear. In Recension A, *γὰρ* is appropriate in v. 33, since the verse immediately preceding (v. 24) refers to the universal reign of Zeus. It would also be appropriate if Clement's replacement verse (v. 23) immediately preceded. But with the insertion of the Abrahamic section, *γάρ* no longer serves as an appropriate transitional conjunction.

Instead, *αὐτὸς δ' αὖ* appears to mark the shift from Abraham to God, indeed to contrast the two; thus, "But he himself (i.e., God), on the other hand ..." (*αὖ* following *δέ*, see LSJ s.v. *αὖ* II.2). This introductory phrase would have the same function (and be equally sensible) regardless of whether v. 31 (*Strom.* 5.14.123.2) or v. 32 (EusA) immediately precedes.

The point is that even though Abraham enjoyed a unique position in having heavenly knowledge, God nevertheless remains enthroned in the heavens where he enjoys universal dominion. Or, the point may be that it is precisely Abraham's unique endowment of astronomical knowledge that makes him privy to the councils of this heavenly enthroned God. This may also account for the alteration from "bronze heaven" to "vast heaven," i.e., that Abraham's astronomical knowledge introduces him to the vastness of God's cosmic dominion.

The significance of *αὖτις* is less clear, whether it is to be understood as "again," "anew," (Georgi, *Opponents*, 55), or "hereafter," i.e., ever after, eternally. See LSJ s.v. *αὖθις* II.3. Walter, JSHRZ [4,3], 239, "wiederum." LaFargue, *OTP* 2.800, "after this."

In any case, the transition is not smooth, and the difficulties inherent in v. 33 merely serve to highlight the literary break between the

Abrahamic insertion and the earlier recension. The presence of this seam is one of the reasons Walter proposes that an intermediate recension (Recension X) occurred between Recensions A and B (see Walter, JSHRZ, 239 n. k).

On the other hand, it is precisely the literary awkwardness and interpretive ambiguity with reference to the antecedent of *αὐτός* that makes it possible for LaFargue, *OTP* 2.799–800, to see the passage as a description of Abraham's heavenly ascent. Accordingly, he sees Abraham as the subject of *ἡνιοχεῖ* in v. 30, and thus renders the verse: "He rides in spirit through the air and through the water. . . ." V. 32 is then read as the appropriate sequel: "Yes he after this (i.e., his apotheosis) is established in the great heaven (on a golden throne etc.)," and the following verses are seen as a description of Abraham's cosmic reign.

v. 34. Here *γαίη δ' ὑπὸ ποσ(σ)ὶ βέβηκεν* replaces *γαίης δ' ἐπὶ ποσσὶ βέβηκε* of Recension A. For text-critical discussion of *γαίη δ' ὑπὸ ποσ(σ)ὶ βέβηκεν*, see earlier commentary on Recension A. Here *γαίη* is read instead of *γαίῃ*. As noted earlier, the influence of Isa 66:1 is more evident here (*ὑπὸ ποσσί*) than in Recension A, and thus it may be possible to detect two separate stages in the tradition, one that was virtually, perhaps totally, free from Jewish/biblical influence, and another, later stage where signs of Jewish appropriation and re-interpretation are more evident. Moreover, in this particular case, both stages appear to be preserved in Clement, the one (*Strom.* 5.14.127.2) more closely aligned with Ps.-J., the other (*Strom.* 5.14.124.1) more closely aligned with EusA.

v. 35. *δέ*. This replaces *τε* in Recension A. While *δέ* is omitted in *Strom.* 124 L, it is present in *Strom.* 127 L, thus correctly supplied by Stählin to the former. (It is needed to complete the first metron.) It is present in both instances in EusC.

As before, this verse suggests Clement's reliance on two separate recensions. Recension A (Ps.-J. and *Strom.* 127) reads *ἐπὶ τέρματος*, whereas Recension B (*Strom.* 124) reads *περὶ τέρμασιν*. EusA reads *ἐπὶ τέρμασιν*, thus Recension C at this point appears to be a conflation of A and B. According to Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 239 n. q, the reading in B (*περί*) suggests an image of God's holding *ὠκεανός* in his hand.

v. 36. *πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν* Ps.-J. *Coh.* and *Mon.*, *Strom.* 127 (also EusC2), Cyril, TTu: *ἐκτέτακεν Strom.* 124 (also Eus C1), EusA, Theodoret.

While this is further evidence of the two recensions, the picture is complicated by the different endings of v. 36 in Recension A. In *Strom.* 127, instead of the phrase about the mountains trembling, Clement uses v. 34b to provide the second half of v. 36. His form of 36b also appears to be a conflation: *ἐπί* from Recension A and *γαίη* from Recension B.

By contrast, B's version of v. 36, especially the last phrase, is quite different from A. A's *περὶ γὰρ τρέμει οὔρεα μακρὰ* becomes in B: *ὀρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις ἔνδοθι θυμοῦ*. EusA reads the same, except that the final *θυμοῦ* becomes *θυμῷ*. The alteration reinforces our earlier suggestion (see comments on v. 34) that explicit biblical influence becomes especially discernible in Recension B. V. 36b, which as we saw earlier, is almost a verbatim phrase from Homer, now appears in a form that resonates with biblical imagery. Cf. *ὀρέων. . . βάσις* with *τὰ θεμέλια τῶν ὀρέων* of LXX Ps 17:8 (also cf. 17:16); also cf. LXX Ps 143:5 *ἅψαι τῶν ὀρέων* (references in Walter, JSHRZ [4,3], 239 n. r). Similarly, the addition of *θυμοῦ* (*θυμῷ*), which does not occur in Recension A, appears to recall LXX Ps 17:8 *ὅτι ὠργίσθη αὐτοῖς ὁ θεός*; also 17:9 *ἀνέβη καπνὸς ἐν ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ*.

v. 37. The omission of v. 37 in Recension B is the second instance (also v. 24) where a verse from Recension A drops out of the subsequent recensions (i.e. B and C). It later occurs verbatim in Cyril, which confirms Cyril's direct dependence on Ps.-J. (or at least Recension A). Typically, it appears in TTu in a conflated form, with *ἐν θυμῷ* being drawn from Recensions B and C, and *πολιῆς τε βάθος χαροποῖο θαλάσσης* drawn from Recension A.

Vv. 38–40

Οὐδὲ φέρειν δύναται κρατερὸν μένος. ἔστι δὲ πάντῃ | Αὐτὸς ἐπουράνιος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάντα τελευτᾷ, | Ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ μέσσην ἠδὲ τελευτήν,

And it is not possible to endure his mighty force. But in every way | he himself is heavenly, and on earth brings all things to completion, | since he controls their beginning, as well as their middle and end.

v. 38. Since the volcanic motif is introduced in v. 36, this verse forms a natural sequel.

πάντῃ Strom. (L), Thdrt, TTu: *παντη* EusC: *πάντων* EusA (MSS; *πάντως* Steph., Mras).

L's reading is retained here. On the adverbial use of *πάντῃ*, "in every way," "altogether," see LSJ s.v. *πάντῃ* II.

v. 39. *ἐπουράνιος*. In Homer, an attribute of the gods. Cf. *Od.* 17.484, *Il.* 6.129, 131 al. (LSJ s.v. *ἐπουράνιος*). Also, cf. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch* 4166 (vol. 1, p. 290) *Ζεὺς ἐπουράνιος*; also, LXX, cf. Ps 67:15; 3 Macc 6:28; 7:6; *Sib. Or.* 4.51, 135 (so BAGD s.v. *ἐπουράνιος* 1.a.α).

v. 40. *ἀρχὴν. . . μέσσην. . . τελευτήν.*

The first part of the verse poses no text-critical problems, but the second and third parts of the triad do.

μέσ(σ)ων Strom. (L), EusC (ION): *μέσ(σ)ον* EusA (BION^{1}D), Thdrt (K), TTu: *μέσ(σ)ην Strom.* (Stählin), EusC (Mras), EusA (N^{2}), Thdrt (BMV LCS).

τελείων Strom. (L), EusC (ION): *τελευτήν Strom.* (Stählin), EusC (Mras), EusA, Thdrt, TTu.

Note: TTu's rendering of the whole phrase is *ἦ δ' αὖ μέσον, ἦ δὲ τελευτήν.*

Several observations are in order. It should be noted that Eusebius transmits two different forms of the phrase. *Strom.* (L) reads *μέσων ἠδὲ τελείων*, and the manuscript tradition of EusC (ION) faithfully transmits this reading. In EusA, however, the reading is *μέσ(σ)ον ἠδὲ τελευτήν*, with some minor variations (see above). The latter is read by Theodoret, which shows his direct dependence on EusA (see Schürer, *History* 3(1).663 n. 259; also cf. v. 10). In this instance, TTu basically follows EusA but charts an independent course with *ἦ δ' αὖ μέσον, ἦ δὲ τελευτήν.*

It is tempting here to retain the problematic reading from *Strom.* (L) and thus read v. 40 in Recension B as follows: *ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ μέσων ἠδὲ τελείων.* If this problematic form of the verse originally appeared in Recension B, then Recension C's reading—the form of the verse in EusA—would be a clear corrective. This would suggest that Recension C either preserves a reading from an independent tradition or corrects an ostensibly nonsensical reading which it received from Recension B.

Interestingly, the editorial tradition (Stählin, Mras) has tended to correct the Clementine tradition by making it read *μέσσην ἠδὲ τελευτήν* and thus bringing it into conformity with EusA. There is actually very little support for *μέσσην* (N^{2}), although *τελευτήν* is uncontested.

Even though the Clement MS tradition reads *μέσων ἠδὲ τελείων*, in this instance I have adopted the editorial emendation *μέσσην ἠδὲ τελευτήν.* It is very difficult to make sense of the genitive plurals *μέσων* and *τελείων* in conjunction with the expression *ἀρχὴν . . . ἔχων.* One might render the latter "having control," understanding *ἀρχή* in its more extended sense (see LSJ s.v. *ἀρχή* II.5). Since *μέσος*, esp. in the gen. pl., is used as an astronomical term (see LSJ s.v. *μέσος* III.6), it is tempting to see the phrase in those terms, but there appears to be no corresponding use for *τελείων.* One possibility might be to render *μέσων ἠδὲ τελείων* as "means and ends," which would be consistent with the claim in the previous verse that even though he is altogether a heavenly figure, his power nevertheless extends to the earth where he "completes all things," i.e., has the power

to achieve his purposes; thus, "since he himself has control of both means and ends." But this stretches the sense of both terms. One other possibility would be to emend *μέσων* to *μέρων*, and understand *μέρων ἠδὲ τελείων* as a pair of opposites, i.e., "partial and complete," thus ". . .having control of (all) things, incomplete and complete."

But if the problematic form of the verse as given in *Strom.* (L) were retained and understood in any of these senses, this form of v. 40 in Recension B would not be an example of the well-known "beginning. . . middle. . . end" formula associated with Orphic circles, although it might represent one variation of such a formula. Obviously the form of the verse in Recension C more closely approximates the formula.

As for the unusual form of the verse in TTu, the double use of the relative pronoun *ἥ* is perhaps intended to emphasize the last two items: ". . . he himself having (being) the beginning, and thereby, on the other hand, the middle and end as well." On the use of *ἥ*, see LSJ s.v. *ἥ*; Smyth §346 D2.

On the three-part formula, in Plato *Lg.* 4.715E an "ancient tradition" (*παλαιὸς λόγος*) is cited about God, who is said to be *ἀρχήν τε καὶ τελευτὴν καὶ μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἁπάντων ἔχων*. A scholium renders the reference more specific, attributing it to Orpheus: *θεὸν μὲν τὸν δημιουργὸν σαφῶς, παλαιὸν δὲ λόγον λέγει τὸν Ὀρφικόν, ὅς ἐστιν οὗτος· Ζεὺς ἀρχή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται. | Ζεὺς πυθμὴν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος*. The scholiast further explains: *καὶ ἀρχὴ μὲν οὗτος ὡς ποιητικὸν αἴτιον, τελευτὴ δὲ ὡς τελικόν, μέσα δὲ ὡς ἐξ ἴσου πᾶσι παρών, κἂν πάντα διαφόρως αὐτοῦ μετέχηι. . . .* (Both of these are cited as Orph. Frg. 21, Kern *Fragmenta*, pp. 90–91; see W. C. Greene, *Scholia Platonica* [Haverford, Pa.: American Philological Society, 1938] p. 317).

This form of the three-part formula is cited frequently by later authors who usually attribute it to Plato *Lg.*; so, Ps.-Archytas, *De Sap.*, ap. Iamblichus *Protr.* 4 (ed. Pistelli [Teubner] 23,3–5); also see H. Thesleff, *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period* (Acta Academiae Aboensis, Ser. A Humaniora, vol. 30, no. 1. Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1965) pp. 44–45; also J. Nolle, *Ps.-Archytae Fragmenta* (Tübingen: H. Laupp, 1914) p. 8; Ps.-Aristotle *De mundo* 7.401b25 (ed. Lorimer, 102); Plutarch *De exilio* 601B; *Adv. Colot.* 1124F; Albinus *Didasc.* 28.3 (ed. Louis, 137); Stobaeus 1.3.55a (ed. Wachsmuth 64,16–65,2); Proclus *in R.* 1.101,23 (ed. Kroll; ed. Festugière 1.119); Aratus Scholia (ed. Maass, 338,26–339,1; ed. Martin [Teubner] p. 57); Hermias *in Phdr.* 173 (ed. Couvreur, 206,1); *Suda* s.v. Πλάτων No. 1709 (ed. Adler 4.142,34–143,1).

A variant of the formula occurs in the hymn to Zeus cited as Orph. Frg. 21a (Kern *Fragmenta*, p. 91): *Ζεὺς κεφαλή, Ζεὺς μέσσα· Διὸς δ' ἐκ*

πάντα τελεῖται. The source of Frg. 21a is Ps.-Aristotle *De mundo* 7.401a25, which attributes the hymn to "the Orphics" (διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς οὐ κακῶς λέγεται). It is this version that occurs in the Derveni papyrus, a fourth century BCE text that provides an allegorical commentary on portions of the Orphic *Rhapsodies*. The line occurs in col. 13, line 12, and is introduced with the words: σημαίνει δ' ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τ[οῖσδε. A slight variation is cited again (col. 15, line 10): Ζεὺς βασιλεύς, Ζεὺς δ' ἀρχὸς ἁπάντων ἀργικέραυνος. The Derveni papyrus thus confirms Ps.-Aristotle's claim that the text is Orphic (so, H. Strohm, *Aristoteles: Meteorologie; Über die Welt. Aristoteles Werke in deutscher Übersetzung*, vol. 12. [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1970] 351 n. on 259,13.).

The latter form (with slight variation) is cited by Plutarch *De def. orac.* 436D, introduced as a "common generality" (τὸ κοινόν): Ζεὺς ἀρχή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα πέλονται. Stobaeus 1.5.22 (ed. Wachsmuth 83,13–15) quotes the version in Ps.–Aristotle *De mundo*, acknowledging the latter as its source.

Cf. also Pausanius 10.12.10, reporting the acclamation to Zeus by the priestess of Dodona: Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἐστίν, Ζεὺς ἔσσεται· ὦ μεγάλε Ζεῦ (so Wachsmuth, "Zeus," *KP* 5 [1975] 1524).

Depending on its date, the Pseudo-Orpheus poem may be one of the earliest Jewish texts in which the formula occurs. In Wis 7:18, Sophia reports that God has given her knowledge of ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος καὶ μεσότητα χρόνων. It is more closely reproduced in Josephus *Ag. Ap.* 2.22 §190 θεὸς ἔχει τὰ σύμπαντα, παντελὴς καὶ μακάριος, αὐτὸς αὑτῷ καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτάρκης, ἀρχὴ καὶ μέσα καὶ τέλος οὗτος τῶν πάντων ("The universe is in God's hands; perfect and blessed, self-sufficing and sufficing for all, He is the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things" LCL). Cf. also *Ant.* 8.11.2 §280.

Cf. also the tradition attributed to R. Simeon b. Laqish that אמת ("truth") symbolizes God because "An *alef* stands at the beginning of the alphabet, a *mem* stands at the middle, and a *tau* stands at the end (both of the word and the alphabet). . . to indicate that 'I am the first'. . . and 'I am the last' (Isa 44:6)" (*y. Sanh.* 1.1 [IV.W] in J. Neusner, *Talmud of the Land of Israel* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984], vol. 31, p. 14). Reinach (LCL Josephus, 1.369 note) suspects that these three Hebrew letters are the transcriptions of ἀρχή, μέσον, τέλος. For further discussion, see H. Kosmala, "Anfang, Mitte und Ende," *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute* 2 (1963) 108–11; T. Holtz, *Die Christologie der Apokalypse des Johannes*. TU 85. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962) 149–50. Also, see E. Lohmeyer, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (HNT, 16; 2d ed. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1953) 168.

On its use in Christian authors, who usually cite Plato *Lg.* 715E as its source, cf. Irenaeus *Adv. Haer.* 3.25.5; Clement *Protr.* 6.69.4; *Strom.* 2.22.132.2; Hippolytus *Refut.* 1.19.6; Origen *Cels.* 6.15; Pseudo-Justin *Coh.* 25.4; Eusebius *P.E.* 11.13.5; Cyril of Alexandria *Contra Iulianum* 3 §80 (*PG* 76.624A–B); Theodoret *Graec. aff. cur.* 6.26; Methodius *De Resur.* 2.10.5

Both forms are quoted in Ioannes Philoponus *De aetern. mundi* 6.18 (ed. Rabe [Teubner], 179,3–9); also 4.13 (ed. Rabe 88,16–19); 18.10 (ed. Rabe 645,6–8).

References in W. L. Lorimer, Aristotle, *De mundo* (Paris: Société d'Edition "Les belles lettres," 1933) nn. on 401 a 25 and 401 b 25, addenda p. 121; E. des Places, *Platon Oeuvres Complètes*. Vol. 11. *Les Lois* 3–6. (Paris: Société d'Edition "Les belles lettres," 1951), vol. 2, p. 65 n. 2 on *Lg.* 4.715E; also his "La tradition indirecte des *Lois* de Platon (livres I–VI)," in *Mélanges-Jean Saunier*, Bibliotheque de la Faculté Catholique des Lettres de l'Université de Lyon, vol. 3; Lyon, 1944), 27–40, esp. 34–35; reprinted in E. des Places, *Etudes Platoniciennes (1929–79)* (Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire Romain, vol. 90; Leiden: Brill, 1981) 199–212, esp. 206–7. Also, see Zeegers-Vander Vorst, "Les versions juives," 486–87; Marcovich, *Pseudo-Iustinus*, 58.

Also, see Lohmeyer, *Offenbarung*, 179 (noting its occurrence in *Bhagavadgita* 10.21); Holtz, *Christologie*, 143–47; W. C. van Unnik, *Het godspredikaat 'het begin en het einde' bij Flavius Josephus en in de Openbaring van Johannes* (Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde. New ser. 39,1. Amsterdam, Oxford, and New York: B.V. Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1976) 1–84; L. Moulinier, *Orphée et l'Orphisme a l'époque classique*. (Paris: Sociéte d'Edition "Les belles lettres," 1955) 76–79. Additional bibliog. in Walter, JSHRZ (4,3) 228 n. 59.

Vv. 43–44

Ἄλλως οὐ θεμιτόν σε λέγειν· τρομέω δέ τε γυῖα, | Ἐν νόῳ· ἐξ ὑπάτου κραίνει <περὶ πάντ' ἐνὶ τάξει>.

For me to say anything other than this is not permissible for you—and in fact I shudder | at the very thought. From on high he rules <over everything in order>.

v. 43. *λέγειν*, usually with dat. (BAGD s.v. *λέγω* I.3). Conceivably, the verse could be rendered, "Otherwise it is not possible for you to speak," i.e., the hearer is forbidden either to pass on this esoteric revelation or to contradict these teachings about God. But the verse recalls the opening formula (*θέμις*, v. 1), and the restrictions are doubtless self-imposed by the speaker. The problem is smoothed out in Recension C which replaces *σε* with *δέ*.

δέ τε γυῖα Strom. (L): *δὲ ἑ γυῖα* EusC (O): *δὴ ἐγυῖα* EusC (N^1): *δὲ ἐγυῖα* EusC (N^2): *δὲ ἀγυῖα* EusC (I): *δ' ὑπὸ γυῖα* EusC (D): *δέ γε γυῖα* EusC (Mras), EusA (MSS): *δὲ τελίην* TTu (Buresch): *δέ γε λίην* TTu (Erbse).

Here we follow the reading in MS L, which has obviously created puzzlement, especially in the textual tradition of EusC. Typically Mras solves the problem by giving priority to EusA. The first phrase of the next verse (*ἐν νόῳ*) forms an awkward sequel and may suggest that v. 43 stood alone.

Literally, "I tremble in my limbs"; *γυῖα*, cf. Hippocrates *Loc. Hom.* 6 (Littré, vol. 6, p. 286); 30 (Littré, vol. 6, p. 322); perhaps "in my body"; on *γυῖον* for "the whole body," cf. Pindar *N.* 7.73; Hippocrates *Epid.* 6.4.22 (Littré, vol. 5, p. 312); see LSJ s.v. *γυῖον*. On the use of the accusative of respect with parts of the body, see Smyth §1601. For *δέ τε* with *τρομέω*, cf. Homer *Il.* 15.627 *τρομέουσι δέ τε φρένα ναῦται*.

v. 44. *ἐν νόῳ*. The translation here follows Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 239 n. u, who suggests that *νοῦς* here be understood as "thought," "idea," rather than in its more usual sense "mind" (as is the case in v. 12). So, LSJ s.v. *νόος* II. Thus, his translation: "bei (solchem) Gedanken." Otherwise, Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 480, "je tremble des genoux, en pensée."

v. 44. In Recension B, the verse breaks off with *ἐξ ὑπάτου κραίνει*, at which point Clement begins his comments on the verses (*Strom.* 5.14.124.1). The rest of the verse is supplied by EusA, which is also repeated by TTu.

κραίνει. Here *κραίνω* is taken in its absolute sense "exercise sway," "reign" (LSJ s.v. *κραίνω* III), although it could as well be rendered in its primary sense "accomplish," "fulfill," thus "from on high does he accomplish all his purposes in an orderly fashion."

Recension C

Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι,
Φεύγοντες δικαίων θεσμούς, θείοιο τιθέντος
Πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ· σὺ δ' ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε **Μήνης**
Μουσαῖ'. **ἐξενέπω** γὰρ ἀληθέα· μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν
Ἐν στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ,
Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε,
Ἰθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος· εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε
Ἀτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο **τυπωτὴν**
Ἀθάνατον. παλαιὸς δὲ λόγος περὶ τοῦδε φαείνει·
Εἷς ἔστ' **αὐτοτελὴς αὐτοῦ δ' ὕπο πάντα τελεῖται,**
Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περινίσσεται, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
Εἰσοράᾳ **ψυχὴν** θνητῶν, **νῷ δ' εἰσοράαται.**
Αὐτὸς δ' ἐξ **ἀγαθῶν θνητοῖς κακὸν οὐκ ἐπιτέλλει**
Ἀνθρώποις· αὐτῷ δὲ χάρις καὶ μῖσος ὀπηδεῖ·
Καὶ **πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς** ἰδ' ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα·
Οὐδέ τίς ἐσθ' ἕτερος. **σὺ δέ κεν ῥέα πάντ' ἐσορήσω,**
Αἴ κεν ἴδῃς αὐτόν· πρὶν δή ποτε δεῦρ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν,
Τέκνον ἐμόν, δείξω σοι, ὁπηνίκα δέρκομαι αὐτοῦ
Ἴχνια καὶ χεῖρα στιβαρὴν κρατεροῖο θεοῖο.
Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται
[ ]
[ ]
Λοιπὸν ἐμοί· **'**στᾶσιν δὲ δεκάπτυχον ἀνθρώποισιν.
Οὐ γάρ κέν τις ἴδοι θνητῶν μερόπων κραίνοντα,
Εἰ μὴ μουνογενής τις ἀπορρὼξ φύλου ἄνωθεν
Χαλδαίων· ἴδρις γὰρ ἔην ἄστροιο πορείης
Καὶ σφαίρης **κίνημ'** ἀμφὶ χθόνα ὡς περιτέλλει
Κυκλοτερὲς ἐν ἴσῳ, κατὰ δὲ σφέτερον κνώδακα.
Πνεύματα δ' ἠνιοχεῖ περί τ' ἠέρα καὶ περὶ χεῦμα
Νάματος· ἐκφαίνει δὲ πυρὸς σέλας ἰφιγενήτου.
Αὐτὸς **δὴ** μέγαν **αὖθις** ἐπ' οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται
Χρυσέῳ **εἰνὶ** θρόνῳ· γαίη δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ βέβηκε·
Χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρμασιν ὠκεανοῖο
Ἐκτέτακεν· ὀρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις ἔνδοθι **θυμῷ**
Οὐδὲ φέρειν δύναται κρατερὸν μένος. ἔστι δὲ **πάντως**
Αὐτὸς ἐπουράνιος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάντα τελευτᾷ,
Ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ **μέσ(σ)ον** ἠδὲ τελευτήν,
Ὡς λόγος ἀρχαίων, ὡς ὑλογενὴς διέταξεν,
Ἐκ θεόθεν γνώμῃσι λαβὼν κατὰ δίπλακα θεσμόν.
Ἄλλως οὐ θεμιτὸν **δὲ** λέγειν· τρομέω δέ **γε** γυῖα,
Ἐν νόῳ· ἐξ ὑπάτου κραίνει περὶ πάντ' ἐνὶ τάξει.
Ὦ τέκνον, σὺ δὲ σοῖσι <νόοις πέλας ἴσθι ἐς αὐτόν,>
<Μηδ' ἀπόδος> μάλ' ἐπικρατέων στέρνοις <θεοφήμην>.

Underline: new material, not previously found in Recensions A or B
Bold: changes made in Recension B
[ ]: lines dropped from Recension B
< >: encloses material supplied from Recension D

Recension C

I will speak to the lawful ones; uninitiates, shut the doors,
Since you flee the ordinances of the just, God having laid them down
For all at once. But you, O Musaeus, child of the light-bearing Moon,
Listen! For I **speak** the truth. Let not the former
Imaginings of your heart deprive you of the blessed life,
But look to the divine Logos, and adhere to it,
Letting it guide your heart's deepest thoughts; and walk unwaveringly
Upon the path, looking only to the **molder** of the universe,
The immortal one. An ancient saying sheds light concerning this one:
He is one, **complete in himself, and all things are completed by him,**
But among them he himself circulates, and him no one among
Mortals sees **with the soul, but he is seen with the mind.**
And he himself **out of good things does not enjoin evil on mortal**
Men; but grace and hatred accompany him,
As well as war, plague, and tearful sufferings.
And there is no other. **And you would easily understand all things,**
If only you could see him; but until then, here on earth,
My child, I will show you, when I see his
Footprints and the strong hand of the mighty God.
But I do not see him; for around him a cloud has been fixed
[ ]
[ ]
Remaining in my way; and it stands tenfold for other men.
For no one among mortals could see the ruler of men,
Except a certain person, a unique figure, by descent an offshoot
Of the Chaldean race; for he was expert in following the sun's course
And the **movement** of the spheres around the earth, as it rotates
In a circle regularly, all on their respective axes.
And the winds he drives around both air and stream
Of water. And he brings forth a flame of mighty fire.
He **indeed** is firmly established **hereafter** over the vast heaven
On a golden throne, and earth stands under his feet.
And he stretches out his right hand upon the extremities
Of the ocean; and the mountain base trembles from within **with rage**
And it is not possible to endure his mighty force. But **in every way**
He himself is heavenly, and on earth brings all things to completion,
Since he controls their beginning, as well as their **middle** and end,
As a word of the ancients, as one born in the undergrowth proclaimed
Having received God's teaching in statements on the two-tablet law.
Now to say anything other than this is not allowed, **indeed** I shudder
At the very thought; from on high he rules over everything in order.
O child, be near to him in your thoughts,
And do not abandon this divine message, but rather preserve it in your heart.

RECENSION C: COMMENTARY

Introductory Remarks.

Recension C, which is preserved in Eusebius *P.E.* 13.12.5, includes most of the material in Recension B, but expands it by adding verses at several points throughout the poem. These new verses, which are included in neither Ps.-J. nor Clement, include vv. 2, 9b, 15, 18–20, 25–26, 32, 41–42, and 45–46. Especially prominent among them are vv. 41–42, which apparently refer to Moses (*ὑλογενής*) and the "two-tablet law" (*δίπλακα*), and these in turn clarify other references in the new verses that seem to refer to the Mosaic law (*θεσμός*, v. 2; *δεκάπτυχον*, v. 25; perhaps *παλαιὸς λόγος*, v. 9). Conceivably, vv. 27–31, the "Abrahamic section" of Recension B, are also encompassed within this new interpretive perspective and thus are perhaps to be read in reference to Moses. Because of the presence of these new verses and the altered perspective they give to the poem, this recension is often referred to as the "Mosaic recension."

Besides these new verses, several words and phrases from previous recensions, especially Recension B, have undergone changes, some of them significant. Some of these changes are made to accommodate new material, e.g., linking new verses with old. Others are more substantive, perhaps the most notable being v. 14, which reverses the previous attribution of evil to God. And, as was the case with Recension B, in Recension C some previous verses drop out (vv. 22–23).

Vv. 1–4a

*Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι, | Φεύγοντες δικαίων θεσμούς, θείοιο τιθέντος | **Πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ**· σὺ δ' ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε Μήνης | Μουσαῖ'. ἐξενέπω γὰρ ἀληθέα·*

I will speak to the lawful ones; uninitiates, shut the doors, | since you flee the ordinances of the just, God having laid them down | **for all at once.** But you, O Musaeus, child of the light-bearing Moon, | listen! For I **speak** the truth.

vv. 2–3a. The addition of v. 2 is achieved by linking the participle *φεύγοντες* with *βέβηλοι* and altering the beginning of v. 3. This has the effect of rendering the character of the *βέβηλοι* more precisely: they flee, perhaps actively oppose, "the ordinances of the just." The next phrase *θείοιο τιθέντος | πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ* then serves to describe these ordinances more specifically. At the beginning of v. 3 in Recensions A and B, *πάντες ὁμῶς* simply amplifies the addresses (all of them alike, or together, are to be excluded). The change to *πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ* now relates the phrase to the "divinely given ordinances" rather than to the "uninitiated."

With the addition of v. 2, and the resulting change to v. 3a, several interpretive problems emerge. They mainly have to do with the phrase *δικαίων θεσμούς*. Mras, GCS 43,2, 191–92, proposes that it be understood as "human statutes," which are then contrasted with the divinely given statutes; thus, "flieht *Menschen*satzungen, da jetzt die *Gott*heit allen zugleich Satzungen gibt." Thus, the author is calling upon "the gentiles to flee men's laws because God had established His own Law for all" (Bickerman, *Jews*, 226; similarly, Kraus Reggiani and Brisson; so Riedweg, *Imitation*, 80 n. 234).

Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 238; JSHRZ (4,3), 225, 240 n. a, understands the phrase as Torah's requirements for the pious: "die ihr die Satzungen der Frommen flieht, obwohl doch die Gottheit (sie) allen miteinander gibt."

In connection with Walter's interpretation, we should note the textual evidence: *θείοιο τιθέντος πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ* BIOND[1]: *θείοιο τεθέντος πᾶσι νόμου* D[4], Steph. Even though the reading in D[4] is secondary, its explicit reference to the law reflects an early tendency to extend the Mosaic reading to the entirety of the poem. In any case, it would eliminate any doubt that *δικαίων θεσμούς* was to be understood as a reference to the Mosaic law.

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 81–82, prefers to take *δικαίων* in a more neutral sense and render the phrase "the statutes of the just" ("die Satzungen des Rechts"). This ambiquity would then mean that vv. 2–3a could be construed in various senses. For the Jewish redactor (or reader), it was specific enough to suggest Torah, widely understood in this period as ordinances given by God to promote righteousness and ultimately intended for all (e.g., Philo *Heres* 35 §168). On the other hand, it could also be construed in a more purely philosophical sense as referring to the divine, cosmic law (e.g., Empedocles 31 B 135,1 D.–K. *τὸ μὲν πάντων νόμιμον*; Plato *Lg.* 716A *θείου νόμου*; Cleanthes Hymn *SVF* 1.537,22). In either case, with these changes, *βέβηλοι* no longer has reference to those uninitiated in the mysteries but has taken on a more specific moral sense (as, e.g., in Philo *Plant.* 12 §53; *Som.* 1.43 §253); now the godless and

wicked are being addressed: "Die Türen aber schliesst, ihr Ruchlose, die ihr die Satzungen des Rechts flieht, obwohl sie doch das Göttliche allen in gleicher Weise setzt!" (p. 33).

θεσμός. Cf. 4 Macc 8:7.

v. 3. *ἔκγονε*. *ἔγγονε* is read in EusA (ION) and TTu. See commentary on Recension A.

v. 4. *ἐξεν(ν)έπω*. Read only in EusA textual tradition; elsewhere the future form *ἐξερέω*. See commentary on Recension A. The change does not appear significant. Neither term occurs in LXX. Cf. Pindar *N.* 4.33, *O.* 8.20; also Apollonius of Rhodes 1.764.

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 70, gives the following epic parallels:

φεύγοντες. Repeatedly at the beginning of a verse in Homer, e.g. *Il.* 8.344; 15.2, 63, etc.

θείοιο. In the same position in the verse in *Il.* 10.243; 14.230; 19.296; *Od.* 1.65; 4.395.

τιθέντος. *τιθέντες* at the end of the verse in *Il.* 5.384; 11.413; *Od.* 24.419 (different finite three-syllable forms of *τίθημι* at the end of the verse in *Il.* 4.83; 11.392; 16.262; 17.750; 22.490; *Od.* 9.404; 17.269; 24.476; *h.Cer.* 249; Hesiod *Op.* 518).

ἐξενέπω. Replaces *ἐξερέω* (in Recensions A and B). The change is probably influenced by Homeric *ἔννεπε* (*Od.* 1.1; but also *Il.* 2.761; 8.412; *h.Ven.* 1; *h.Hom.* 19,1).

Vv. 4b–9

. . . μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν | Ἐν στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ, | Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε, | Ἰθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος· εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε | Ἀτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο τυπωτῆν | Ἀθάνατον. παλαιὸς δὲ λόγος περὶ τοῦδε φαείνει·

Let not the former | imaginings of your heart deprive you of the blessed life, | but look to the divine Logos, and adhere to it, | letting it guide your heart's deepest thoughts; and walk unwaveringly | upon the path, looking only to the **molder** of the universe, the immortal one. | An ancient saying sheds light concerning this one:

vv. 4b–9a. These verses correspond to Recension B except for the use of *τυπωτήν*, which replaces *ἄνακτα* in both Recensions A and B. This is the only reference given in LSJ for the masculine form *τυπωτής*, literally, "one who forms or moulds" (so LSJ s.v. *τυπωτής*).

As Riedweg, *Imitation*, 82–83, notes, the change from ἄνακτα to τυπωτήν effectively shifts the emphasis to God's role as creator. As such, this version of the poem specifically supports Aristobulus' introductory description of the Orphic verses as an exposition about "everything (τὰ πάντα) being held fast by the power of God . . . the origin of what has come to be, and . . . God's being over everything" (Frg. 4.4=*P.E.* 13.12.4).

Because of the prominence of τυπόω within the Greek philosophical tradition, most notably in connection with the Demiurge's role in shaping pre-existent matter, Riedweg sees resonance here with philosophical cosmogonies rather than with the biblical account of creation. Thus a specific image of God is in view: "Gott erscheint als Demiurg, der die Welt aus der wohl präesistent gedachten Materie nach bestimmten Mustern (den Ideen) geformt hat" (pp. 82–83). Accordingly, it stands close to Philo's conception (e.g. *Migr.* 18 §103; *Som.* 2.6 §45).

v. 9. As already noted in the commentary on Recension B, it is not certain whether παλαιὸς—φαείνει was already present in Recension B. On the celebrated Orphic phrase παλαιὸς λόγος and its various appropriations, see Recension B commentary vv. 38–40, also v. 9. The main question here is whether in this new context the phrase acquires a biblical overlay and thus recalls such biblical passages as Exod 3:14; Deut 6:4; Isa 44:6; 45:5–6, etc; also, cf. Mark 12:32 (references in Walter, JSHRZ [4,3], 240 n. h).

Vv. 10–11a

Εἷς ἔστ' αὐτοτελής, αὐτοῦ δ' ὑπὸ πάντα τελεῖται, | Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περινίσσεται. . . .

He is one, complete in himself, and all things are brought to completion by him, | but among them he himself circulates. . . .

v. 10. The main change that occurs here is that ἑνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται/πέφυκεν, which has characterized Recensions A and B, now becomes αὐτοῦ δ' ὑπὸ πάντα τελεῖται, thereby giving metaphorical consistency to the use of αὐτοτελής.

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 83, sees the change from αὐτογενής to αὐτοτελής, and the accompanying change in the rest of v. 10, as a further indication of a significant shift in philosophical outlook. Whereas the former is more resonant with the old Orphic theogony (p. 49), the latter he

sees as a distinguishing element of Platonic-Pythagorean discussions of the highest principle (references in n. 248).

Cf. Aeschylus *A.* 973–4 *Ζεῦ τέλειε κ.τ.λ.*

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 70, notes that *πάντα τελεῖται* occurs in Homer six times at the end of a verse in the set phrase *τὰ (δὲ) δὴ νῦν πάντα τελεῖται* (*Il.* 2.330; 14.48; *Od.* 2.176; 5.302; 13.178; 18.271).

Vv. 11b–12

. . . οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν | Εἰσοράᾳ ψυχὴν θνητῶν, νῷ δ' εἰσοράαται.

. . . and him no one among | mortals sees with the soul, **but he is seen with the mind**.

v. 12. As noted earlier in the commentary on Recension A, except for EusA the form of v. 12 is the same (with minor variations) in all of the witnesses: *εἰσοράᾳ θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.* In EusA, however, MS I reads *ψυχὴν θνητῶν*, whereas MSS ON read *ψυχῶν θνητῶν*. Mras reads *ψυχὴν*, whereas Kern (followed by Walter, JSHRZ [4,3], 240 n. j) reads *ψυχῶν*. According to Mras (GCS 43,2, 192), *ψυχὴν* should be read as an adverbial accusative (see Smyth §§1607 and 1608), thus "in der Seele." Accordingly, two modes of seeing God are here being contrasted: "with the soul" (which is impossible) and "with the mind" (which is possible). He sees this antithesis anticipating the *ψυχικός-πνευματικός* distinction in 1 Cor 2:14 and later Christian circles (e.g., Montanus). Similarly, Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 479 n. 10.

Here we adopt Mras's reading, because *ψυχῶν θνητῶν* seems a redundant expression. The sense of the line seems to require some form of contrast between two different modes of seeing God. This is what makes Mras's suggestion convincing. Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 240, renders it "von der sterblichen Seelen." LaFargue, *OTP*, 2.799, "But no one has seen him | with the souls mortals have. . . ."

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 83–84, also accepts Mras's suggestion, and renders the phrase "doch keiner der Sterblichen | erkennt ihn in der Seele" (p. 33). This verse is then read as a further indication of a shift in the direction of Platonic-Aristotelian thought. In particular, the notion of seeing God with the *νοῦς* is seen as distinctively crucial in Platonic-Pythagorean discussions (numerous references pp. 83–84, n. 249; also, see p. 52).

νῷ EusA (Steph., Mras): *νόῳ* EusA (MSS): *νοΐ* ? Mras.

For *νοΐ*, cf. 1 Cor 1:10; Aristides *Or.* 35(9).26 (LSJ s.v. *νόος*). On *νῷ* and *νόῳ*, see LSJ s.v. *νόος* 1; esp. Herodotus 3.51 *νόῳ λαβεῖν τι*. The term *νοῦς* is used in a different sense in v. 44 (see Recension B commentary).

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 70, notes the following epic parallels:

ψυχὴν. Read in the same position in the verse in *Il.* 9.322; 16.505; *Od.* 11.205; 24.15.

εἰσοράάται. *εἰσοράάσθαι* (middle), six times in Homer at the end of a verse (*Il.* 14.345; *Od.* 3.246; 9.324; 10.396; 24.252; *h.Ap.* 264; cf. also Xenophanes 21 B 36 D.–K.; *εἰσοράάσθε* in *Il.* 23.495.

Vv. 14–16

Αὐτὸς δ' ἐξ ἀγαθῶν θνητοῖς κακὸν οὐκ ἐπιτέλλει | Ἀνθρώποις· αὐτῷ δὲ χάρις καὶ μῖσος ὀπηδεῖ· | Καὶ πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς ἰδ' ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα·

And he himself **out of good things does not enjoin evil on mortal** | men; but grace and hatred accompany him, | **as well as war, plague, and** tearful sufferings.

As noted earlier in the commentary on Recension A (also see commentary on Recension B), the form of v. 14 in Recensions A and B appears to attribute evil to God quite directly. Even though Recension A's *δίδωσι* is changed to *φυτεύει* in Recension B, the verse remains theologically problematic.

Even though various attempts to grapple with this problem are already evident within the textual tradition (e.g., in Ps.-J. *Coh.* (s) *κακόν* is changed to *νοῦν*; the verse is simply omitted in *Mon.*), it is thoroughly resolved in Recension C by (a) changing the form of v. 14b so that it becomes an emphatic denial; (b) adding v. 15, which supplies *ἀνθρώποις* as an appropriate complement to *θνητοῖς*, and introduces a further explanatory phrase (v. 15b), which becomes problematic in its own right; and (c) altering the form of v. 16 to accommodate these changes.

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 9, 85, interprets this change in light of the tendency within the Greek philosophical tradition, most notably Plato, to correct the Homeric view. He notes especially *Rsp.* 379D; *Tim.* 29E; 42D–E; Pseudo-Plato, *Epinomis* 978A. A similar tendency is noted within the Hellenistic Jewish tradition, most notably *Ep. Arist.* and Philo. See earlier discussion in the commentary on Recension A vv. 14 and 16.

v. 14. *ἐξ ἀγαθῶν*. The gen. plu. (changed from *ἀγαθοῖο*) perhaps widens the interpretive possibilities ("from good motives" ?), but was probably made for metrical reasons to accommodate *οὐκ ἐπιτέλλει*.

ἐπιτέλλει. Literally, "enjoin," "prescribe," "command" c. dat. pers. et acc. rei (LSJ s.v. *ἐπιτέλλω*). The choice of this term (with *οὐ*) has the effect not only of reversing the previous claim but also shifting its emphasis. Thus Recension C is not merely denying that God "gives mortals evil from good (things)," but suggests something more: either that God (even from good motives?) does not command mortals to do evil, or that God does not prescribe requirements for mortals that are not good for them. In either case, the form of the verse here has legislative overtones that recall *δικαίων θεσμούς* (v. 2), perhaps *παλαιὸς λόγος* (v. 9), and anticipate the subsequent references to Moses and the Mosaic legislation (vv. 41–42, also vv. 25–26). Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 241: "Nicht er bürdet anstelle von Gutem Schlechtes den sterblichen Menschen auf."

v. 15b. The remainder of the verse is problematic in two respects: *αὐτῷ* and *χάρις*.

αὐτῷ D (Mras): *αὐτὼ* I: *αὐτὸς* ON: *αὐτοῖς* TTu (Kern, following TTu).

Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 241 n. m, rejects *αὐτῷ* as nonsensical, reading *αὐτοῖς* instead. Admittedly, MS D is probably a later attempt to make sense of MS N, but MS I appears to support, at least orthographically, the dat. sing. form. Clearly, *αὐτός* (ON) is nonsensical, and TTu a later correction. But, depending on how one construes v. 16, it may be possible to see *αὐτῷ* as a reference to God. (See following discussion).

χάριν EusA (MSS): *χάρις* Steph., Mras: *κ᾽ ἔρις* TT*v* (Buresch, Kern, Mras ?): *τ᾽ ἔρις* TTu (Schenkl ap. Erbse): *κἔρις* TTu (Erbse).

Even though the EusA manuscript tradition reads *χάριν*, here we have followed Stephanus's emendation to the nom. form, which is read by Mras. Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 241 n. n, is quite right to observe that the acc. is nonsensical with *ὀπηδεῖ*. However, he follows Kern's inclination to follow TTu here, thus opting for *κ᾽ ἔρις*.

Here, however, we have retained the MS term, albeit in the nom. form, as well as *αὐτῷ*, and have sought to render v. 15 (and v. 16) accordingly. Thus, the sense would appear to be that God does not prescribe evil for mortals, perhaps for good reasons, or from his store of blessings, and yet he finds that his course is not unobstructed, for both grace (kindness), as well as hatred, accompany him, i.e., he is met with both acceptance and rejection in trying to carry out the divine will.

v. 16. Naturally, how one understands vv. 14 and 15 affects one's reading of v. 16. Here, again, as with *χάριν*(*ς*), the problem is with the case. In Ps.-J. *πόλεμον κρυόεντα καὶ ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα* was quite

appropriate grammatically, standing in apposition with *κακόν* in v. 14. Thus it is correctly reported in Ps.-J. *Coh.* and *Mon.*, similarly in Clement *Strom.* 126 (also in EusC), since they both retained the basic form of the verse. But in EusA (Recension C), certain changes have occurred (the introduction of v. 15, change in the form of v. 16 from *πόλεμον κρυόεντα καὶ* to *πόλεμον καὶ λοιμόν ἰδ'*), yet the acc. case from the previous recension(s) has still been retained. Accordingly, the MS tradition for EusA is more or less uniform: *πόλεμον καὶ λοιμὸν* IN: *πόλεμον καὶ λοιμῶν* O. Once again, TTu corrects the problem, changing the acc. to the nom.: *πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς*. Stephanus and Mras have altered EusA accordingly, which of course gives a grammatically correct reading.

Here, because of the impossibility of giving an intelligible translation of the accusative forms (*χάριν, πόλεμον, λοιμόν*), we have followed this editorial decision and read nominatives in each case.

As already noted, *κ' ἔρις* is read instead of *χάρις(ν)* in TTu. Considering the several problems already discussed, especially if one also reads *αὐτοῖς* instead of *αὐτῷ*, this produces the smoothest translation of all: "(. . . God does not prescribe evil for mortal men). Yet (in spite of God's good intentions) strife and hatred accompany *them*, as well as war, plague, and painful sufferings." So, Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 241: "doch sind <ihnen> Streit und Haß (ständige) Begleiter | und Krieg und Pest sowie tränenbringende Leiden."

But this is precisely the smoothing out one would expect in a later recension, and for this reason we have retained the more uneven set of readings in Recension B. They represent a first-stage attempt to resolve the theological problem posed by v. 14 in the earlier recensions, but these changes have not yet been well integrated into the text.

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 70, notes the following epic constructions:

ἐπιτέλλει. Cf. *ὡς* (or *ὣδ'*) *ἐπιτέλλω* at the end of a verse in *Il.* 2.10; 9.369; *Od.* 17.9.

ἔρις καὶ μῖσος. Cf. in the same position in the verse *Il.* 21.513 *ἐξ ἧς* (viz., Hera) *ἀθανάτοισιν ἔρις καὶ νεῖκος ἐφῆπται* and *Od.* 20.267 . . . *ἵνα μή τις ἔρις καὶ νεῖκος ὄρηται*; similarly Hesiod *Theog.* 782; the combination *ἔρις καὶ νεῖκος* also in Frg. 43a,36 Merkelbach-West.

ὀπηδεῖ. Cf. *Il.* 17.251 *ἐκ δὲ Διὸς τιμὴ καὶ κῦδος ὀπηδεῖ*, and above all Hesiod *Op.* 230 *οὐδέ ποτ' ἰθυδίκῃσι μετ' ἀνδράσι λιμὸς ὀπηδεῖ | οὐδ' ἄτη* (the verb in Homer is always at the end of the verse, e.g., *Il.* 2.184; 24.368; *Od.* 7.181, etc.; Hesiod *Theog.* 80; *Op.* 142, 313, 326).

καὶ πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς. Cf. *Il.* 1.61 *εἰ δὴ ὁμοῦ πόλεμός τε δαμᾷ καὶ λοιμὸς Ἀχαιούς*.

Vv. 17–20

Οὐδέ τίς ἐσθ᾽ ἕτερος. **σὺ δέ κεν ῥέα πάντ᾽ ἐσορήσω,** | Αἴ κεν ἴδῃς αὐτόν· πρὶν δή ποτε δεῦρ᾽ ἐπὶ γαῖαν, | Τέκνον ἐμόν, δείξω σοι, ὁπηνίκα δέρκομαι αὐτοῦ | Ἴχνια καὶ χεῖρα στιβαρὴν κρατεροῖο θεοῖο.

And there is no other. **And you would easily understand all things,** | if only you could see him; but until then, here on earth, | my child, I will show you, when I see his | footprints and the strong hand of the mighty God.

v. 17a. The first part of the verse is unchanged from Recensions A and B.

v. 17b. ἐσορήσω Mras: ἐσόρησο MSS: ἐσορήσαις Steph.: ἐσαθρήσαις Lobeck, 442: ἐσορῆται TTu.

v. 18. πρὶν. . . ποτε, here rendered as "until then." πρίν, a temporal adverb, "before," "formerly," but it can also have a future referent, thus "until that time," "meanwhile"; cf. Bacchylides 13(12).114; 16(15).13 (ed. Snell [Teubner]; see LSJ s.v. πρίν A.II.3); also Smyth §2383C. ποτε, "at some time," i.e., some unknown point of time, either in reference to the past, i.e., "once," or future, i.e., "at some time" (LSJ s.v. πότε, esp. III.2). A more cumbersome way of rendering the phrase would be, "but meanwhile, until that time (when you do see him). . . ." LaFargue, *OTP* 2.799 n. g, "but before that. . . sometimes," i.e., before Abraham's heavenly ascent.

δεῦρ᾽. Understood here as an adverb of place, thus "here" (so LSJ s.v. δεῦρο). Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 241, apparently takes it temporally: "Doch zuvor, wohlan, will ich einmal auf Erden, mein Kind. . . ."

v. 19. τέκνον ἐμόν. Musaeus is addressed as Orpheus' child here for the first time; also, v. 45 below. Even though *Coh.* introduces the poem as addressed by Orpheus "to his son Musaeus and the other legitimate auditors" (πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Μουσαῖον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς γνησίους ἀκροατὰς), Musaeus is not explicitly addressed as "son" or "child" in the lines that follow; nor in *Mon.*, either in the introductory material or the poem itself. The same holds for the Clement material, as well as Cyril and Theodoret. In TTu, the poem is introduced as an address by Orpheus to his son Musaeus (παραινεῖ τῷ ἰδίῳ παιδὶ Μουσαίῳ), which is reinforced by the retention of τέκνον in vv. 19 and 45.

On Musaeus as Orpheus' son, cf. Musaios 2 A 7 D.–K. = Vergil *Aen.* 6.667; Musaios 2 A 9 D.–K. = Diod. Sic. 4.25.1; Kern, *Fragmenta*, Frg. 61 (p. 144); Testimonia 166–72, esp. 168 and 171). References in Ried-

weg, *Imitation*, 48 n. 121, noting Ziegler PW 18.1 (1939) 1221–22; also Walter, *JSHRZ*, 236.

ὁπηνίκα, "at what point of time," "at what hour," "on what day," a more precise term than ὁπότε (so LSJ s.v. ὁπηνίκα). The sense would seem to require something like, "I will show you his footprints and handprints *whenever* I see them," but given the specificity implied in ὁπηνίκα, a more definite revelatory moment may be in view, e.g., Sinai, or at least the revelation Orpheus presumably later receives from Sinai via Moses. Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 241: "bei welcher Gelegenheit."

Mras, GCS (43,2), 193, n. on line 2, renders these verses as follows: "Wärest du bei Gott im Himmel, würdest du das All leicht überblicken; vorher aber (d.h. solange du noch auf der Welt bist) will ich dir sein Walten zeigen, nicht ihn selber." See Georgi, *Opponents*, 79 n. 163.

v. 20. Cf. LXX Ps 76:20; 135:11–12.

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 71, notes the following epic constructions:

σὺ δὲ κεν. The phrase occupies the same position in the verse in *Il.* 3.417 σὺ δέ κεν κακὸν οἶτον ὄλῃαι and *Od.* 4.547 σὺ δέ κεν τάφου ἀντιβολήσαις.

ῥέα. In the same position in the verse in *Il.* 5.304=12.449=20.287.

αἴ κεν ἴδῃς αὐτόν. Likewise at the beginning of the verse in *Il.* 4.98 αἴ κεν ἴδῃ Μενέλαον (at the end of the verse *Il.* 17.652 αἴ κεν ἴδηαι | ζωὸν ἔτ' Ἀντιλοχον).

δεῦρ(o). In the same position in the verse, among others, in *Il.* 2.138; 4.193; 14.43; 15.54, etc.

ἐπὶ γαῖαν. At the end of the verse in *Il.* 23.226; *Od.* 2.364; 4.417; *h.Ap.* 456; Hesiod *Op.* 11 and *Sc.* 370.

τέκνον ἐμόν. Relatively frequent in Homer at the beginning of a verse, e.g. *Il.* 11.786; 19.8; *Od.* 1.64; 11.155, etc. Cf. v. 45 below ὦ τέκνον.

δείξω. In the same position in the verse in *Od.* 6.194 and 13.344.

ἴχνια. At the beginning of the verse in *Il.* 13.71 and 23.764; cf. also the formula employed four times in the *Odyssey*; . . . ὁ δ' ἔπειτα μετ' ἴχνια βαῖνε θεοῖο (2.406; 3.30; 5.193; 7.38).

χεῖρα στιβαρὴν. Cf., among others, *Il.* 12.397 χερσὶ στιβαρῇσιν; 13.505 στιβαρῆς ἀπὸ χειρός; 14.455 χειρὸς ἄπο στιβαρῆς; *Od.* 5.454 χεῖράς τε στιβαράς, etc.

κρατεροῖο θεοῖο. Cf. Hesiod *Theog.* 824 κρατεροῦ θεοῦ.

Vv. 21 and 25 (22–23)

Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται | Λοιπὸν ἐμοί· ᾽στᾶσιν δὲ δεκάπτυχον ἀνθρώποισιν.

But I do not see him; for around him a cloud has been fixed | remaining in my way; and it stands tenfold for other men.

In this unit, v. 21 remains unchanged from previous recensions. Its sequel (v. 22) which describes the inability of mortal eyes to see God and which was present in both Recensions A and B, has dropped out. Recension B's v. 23, which is Clement's replacement verse for v. 24, has also dropped out.

In their place, Recension C has v. 25. Its first phrase continues the thought of v. 21, whereas the latter part of the verse introduces a new element. Both parts present problems.

v. 21. Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 241 n. t, proposes that *νέφος* now acquires a Mosaic overlay. What had previously been a relatively neutral image describing God's hiddenness now recalls the biblical account of the giving of the Law at Sinai, with all of the accompanying imagery: clouds, thunder, lightning, smoke (cf. Exod 19:16–19). This anticipates the reference to *δεκάπτυχον* in v. 25.

v. 25. *λοιπὸν ἐμοί*. The sense of *λοιπόν* is admittedly difficult. On the one hand, the fundamental sense of *λείπω* may predominate and thus yield "remaining"; or, it could acquire an adverbial, probably temporal, sense, and thus mean "hereafter" or "then" (see LSJ s.v. *λοιπός*, esp. 5). Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 241, opts for the latter, "alsdann." Lobeck, 442, proposed the emendation *λεπτόν*, "thin," "fine," "delicate" (LSJ s.v. *λεπτός* 3), thus yielding something like, "for around him is a cloud, thin for me, but for (all other) men it is (stands) ten times thicker." This reading is also adopted by Georgi, *Opponents*, 54 and 78 n. 160; also LaFargue, *OTP* 2.799 n. h.

We have retained *λοιπὸν ἐμοί* because the problems it presents are not insurmountable, and it is consistent with the claim made in the following verse (so Mras GCS [43,2], 193). The phrase merely underscores that Orpheus himself experiences God's inscrutability. The phrase might be rendered: "for in my way a residual, encircling cloud has been fixed" (B. Fiore).

στᾶσιν BON: *στάσιν* I: *᾽στᾶσιν* (=*ἐστᾶσιν*) Mras: *πᾶσιν* Hermann.

Here we follow Mras's emendation and proposal (GCS 43,2, 193 n. on line 7) that *νέφος* be read as the subject of *᾽στᾶσιν*. Similarly, Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 241 n. v. Georgi, *Opponents*, 78 n. 160, follows Hermann

in reading *πᾶσιν*, on the grounds that *'στᾶσιν* "belabors the syntax and voids the meaning." Hermann's proposal is attractive and might well be adopted without also accepting *λεπτόν*, thus, "for around him there is fixed a cloud that remains in my way, and for all (other) men it is ten times as thick."

δεκάπτυχον. "with ten folds," metaphorically "comprised in ten tablets" (LSJ s.v. *δεκάπτυχος*, citing this as the only ref.). Collins, *Athens and Jerusalem*, 238 n. 40: "manifold." Walter, JSHRZ (43,2), 241 n. w, thinks it a likely reference to the Decalogue, anticipating v. 42 (or perhaps an allusion to LXX Ps 17:12). Stephanus' proposed emendation *δέκα πτυχαί* is followed by Lobeck, 442 n. i.

If this is an allusion to the Decalogue, it must be asked in what sense it is to be understood. Presumably the Mosaic interpolator would want to emphasize the revelatory function of the Law rather than its opacity. Yet, here the implication seems to be that it somehow obscures the vision of "all other men," although not as much for Orpheus. One possibility is that the Mosaic interpolator is positioning Orpheus to be the recipient of divine revelation from Moses, which he in turn transmits to "all other men." If so, this would anticipate the tradition that appears more full-blown in Artapanus (Frg. 3.3–4, *FHJA* 1.208–209 and 232 n. 45) where Orpheus is portrayed as the disciple of Moses=Musaeus.

Vv. 26–28a

Οὐ γάρ κέν τις ἴδοι θνητῶν μερόπων κραίνοντα, | *Εἰ μὴ μουνογενής τις ἀπορρὼξ φύλου ἄνωθεν* | *Χαλδαίων·*

For no one among mortals could see the ruler of men, | except a certain person, a unique figure, by descent an offshoot | of the Chaldean race. . . .

As noted earlier in the commentary on Recension B (vv. 27–31), it is conceivable that vv. 22–23 functioned to introduce the "Abrahamic section." With these verses missing in Recension C, another transitional line is needed to connect the "Abrahamic section" with the newly construed vv. 21 and 25 discussed previously. This is now provided by v. 26, which functions to underscore even more the unique revelatory role of "the Chaldean." With the Mosaic motifs that have already surfaced in the poem and the more explicit references that occur later, it is not as certain that vv. 27–31 can now refer exclusively to Abraham. As we noted earlier

(Recension B commentary v. 27), in other traditions Moses is described in similar terms. Thus in this Mosaic version the image of Moses may actually preempt the Abrahamic image. The other possibility, of course, is that vv. 27–31 still refer to Abraham but that the emphasis of the poem is now bifocal: no longer is Abraham the sole mediator of divine knowledge but now shares this role with his successor Moses.

v. 26. *ἴδοι*. aor. 2 opt. act. (see Smyth p. 119 §384). The use of the optative here appears unusual. The translations by Georgi and LaFargue seem unacceptably firm—"no one has seen." Smyth §1829 discusses the use of the opt (with *ἄν*, i.e., *κέν*) in pres. and aor. as being used with reference to the past (rare).

μερόπων. Cf. Homer *Il.* 1.250 *μερόπων ἀνθρώπων* (also *Il.* 2.285); Hesiod *Op.* 109. The etymology of *μέροψ* is uncertain but (used only in the plural) came to function as an equivalent for *ἄνθρωποι*. So, LSJ s.v. *μέροψ*.

κραίνοντα. Cf. v. 44 (commentary on Recension B).

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 71, notes the following epic constructions:

οὐ γάρ κε(ν). At the beginning of the verse in *Il.* 23.606; 24.565; *Od.* 9.304; 12.107.

κέν τις. In the same position in the verse in *Il.* 7.456; *Od.* 14.504; 16.257.

τις ἴδοι. In the same position in the verse in *Od.* 24.491.

μερόπων. Followed by *ἀνθρώπων*, in the same position in the verse in *Il.* 1.250; 3.402; 9.340; 11.28, etc.

εἰ μὴ. Very often in epic, mostly at the beginning of the verse; cf. *Il.* 2.156, 261, 387, 491, etc.

μουνογενής. In the same position in the verse in Hesiod *Theog.* 426 (Hecate; cf. 448).

ἀπορρὼξ. Repeatedly in Homer, nevertheless, not in the sense here, "scion," "descendant." (*Il.* 2.755 and *Od.* 10.514, "tributary" of the Styx; *Od.* 13.98; cf. 9.359.)

Vv. 28b–32

*. . . ἴδρις γὰρ ἔην ἄστροιο πορείης | Καὶ σφαίρης **κίνημ'** ἀμφὶ χθόνα ὡς περιτέλλει | Κυκλοτερὲς ἐν ἴσῳ, κατὰ δὲ σφέτερον κνώδακα. | **Πνεύματα** δ' ἠνιοχεῖ περί τ' ἠέρα καὶ περὶ χεῦμα | Νάματος· ἐκφαίνει δὲ πυρὸς σέλας ἰφιγενήτου.*

. . . for he was expert in (following) the course of the sun | and the **movement** of the spheres around the earth, as it rotates | in a circle

regularly, all on their respective axes. | **And the winds** he drives around both air and stream | Of water. And he brings forth a flame of mighty fire.

This section exhibits only minor changes in comparison with Recension B, except for the new verse (v. 32), which functions as a further attempt to integrate this otherwise extrinsic section into the poem. V. 32 occurs only in EusA and TTu.

vv. 28b–30. On Moses' knowledge of "the Chaldean science of the heavenly bodies," cf. Philo *V. Mos.* 1.23–24; also, *Migr.* 32 §§176–81, esp. 180–81, reporting Moses' views of the heavens vis-à-vis the Chaldeans; cf. *Spec. leg.* 1.3 §§13–14. Also, cf. the "Oracle of Apollo" cited by Porphyry *Philos. ex Orac.* 1.128–40 (ed. Wolff, pp. 139–41) and preserved in Eusebius *P.E.* 9.10.4, which groups Chaldeans and Hebrews together as those who (exclusively) discovered the true knowledge of God. Noted by Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 242 n. y. The TTu scholium identifies the Chaldean as Moses. See Recension D commentary vv. 27–28.

v. 29. *κίνημ'*. As noted earlier in the Recension B commentary (v. 29), the MS tradition for Clement reads *κινήματ'*, whereas the subsequent tradition (both EusC and EusA) changes it to the singular form *κίνημα* (*κίνημ{α}* EusC Mras; *κίνημ'* EusA Mras). The substitution of the singular for the plural is thus seen as a change that occurs in Recension C as an attempt to correct Recension B.

v. 31. *πνεύματα*. Similarly, the text-critical evidence for *πνεύματι/πνεύματα* has been presented earlier (Recension B commentary v. 31). Essentially, the more problematic *πνεύματι* was read in the Clementine tradition (preserved, with minor variation, in EusC). Stählin and Mras make it conform to the reading in EusA *πνεύματα*, which is clearly a more satisfactory reading, as we have already noted. Accordingly, we regard *πνεύματα* as Recension C's correction of Recension B.

v. 32. *σέλας ἰφιγενήτου* Steph., Mras: *σέλας τάδε ἰφιγενηθῆ* I: *σέλας ταδ' ἴφι γενήθη* ND: *ἐλάτα δὲ ἴφι γεννηθῆ* B: *ἐλάτα δὲ ἶφι γεννηθῆ* O: *σέλατα διαφεγγέα πάντῃ* TTu.

Here we read Mras's text, which is based on Stephanus' twofold emendation: (1) *σέλας* instead of *σέλας τάδε* (IND) and *ἐλάτα δε* (BO), and (2) *ἰφιγενήτου* instead of *ἰφιγενηθῆ* (I), *ἴφι γενήθη* (ND), *ἴφι γεννηθῆ* (B), *ἶφι γεννηθῆ* (O). It has the merit of producing a line that is both sensible and metrically suitable. By contrast, all of the versions in the EusA manuscript tradition contain too many metra, and in certain cases they contain forms that are either unknown (the adjectival form *γεννηθής*) or unintelligible (*ἐλάτα*). Its main disadvantage is that it is conjectural and the second element lacks support within the textual tradition, either EusA or TTu.

Accordingly, Walter offers an alternative proposal which has much to commend it. Since the first word of the line (*νάματος*) is lacking in TTu, he proposes that it entered the tradition as a marginal gloss on *χεῦμα*, the last word of the previous line. Thereby the Mosaic interpolator intended to signify that *χεῦμα* should be understood as a reference to Exod 17:6. Without *νάματος*, the line would then read: *ἐκφαίνει δὲ πυρὸς σέλατα· {τά}δε ἴφι γεν(ν)ήθη*, which he renders "er läßt auch Feuerstrahlen erscheinen—das (alles) wurde (von ihm) gewaltig erschaffen." While he admits that his proposal is by no means free of problems, he correctly insists that it is at least closer to the textual tradition, both EusA and TTu.

So reconstructed, v. 32b would then be understood to apply to the three previously mentioned natural activities—the movements of the heavenly bodies, the winds, and the flashes of lightning. Walter adduces Homer *Il.* 17.738–39 as a possible influence: *(πῦρ). . . ἐξαίφνης φλεγέθει, μινύθουσι δὲ οἶκοι | ἐν σέλαϊ μεγάλῳ· τὸ δ' ἐπιβρέμει ἴς ἀνέμοιο*. Moreover, it would then function as an appropriate transition to v. 33.

See Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 242, esp. nn. z and bb, and the detailed discussion in *Thoraausleger*, 242–45, also see p. 226.

One effect of Walter's proposed reconstruction of v. 32, at least as he translates it, is that it makes more explicit that God is the subject of these actions, and, as he indicates, this serves effectively to introduce v. 33 and make it clear that God is the one enthroned.

But as we noted in the Recension B commentary on v. 31, the subject of *ἡνιοχεῖ* remains ambiguous; and now, with v. 32, the subject of *ἐκφαίνει* also remains ambiguous. One possibility is to see both verses as continuing the description of the extent of "the Chaldean's" astronomical knowledge; and, if one reads *πνεύματα* in v. 31 and understands *πυρὸς σέλας* to be the subject of *ἐκφαίνει* (or takes *ἐκφαίνει* intransitively), this yields something like Georgi, *Opponents*, 54: "for he was experienced in the starry street and how the movement of the spheres revolves around the earth in the same circle and around its own axis; (how) the winds travel around the air and around the flood of water; (how) there appears the light of the fire produced by power."

It is possible, however, to ascribe a personal subject to both *ἡνιοχεῖ* and *ἐκφαίνει*, take the latter in a causal sense (so LSJ s.v. *ἐκφαίνω* II), and understand both *πνεύματα* and *πυρὸς σέλας* as direct objects. This would then yield something like: "And he directs the course of the winds around (over?) both air and water, | and he brings forth (i.e., produces, causes to shine) flames (lit., flame) of mighty born fire." Or, if Walter's version of v. 23b is read: "and he brings forth a flame of fire; and these things are done mightily by him."

In my translation above, I have adopted this latter course primarily because this is the most straightforward way of rendering the text. Doing so retains the literary ambiguity; that is, it appears that within Recension C, the "Chaldean" section is still not fully integrated into the text. Vv. 27–30 clearly refer to the "Chaldean," but vv. 31–32 still exist in a form in which, in at least one stage of the tradition, God was the intended subject. And as such, vv. 31–32 form a natural complement to vv. 33–36a: God is responsible for various natural phenomena—the movement of heavenly bodies, the winds, lightning, and it is this same God who sits enthroned, in control of the vast heavens.

It should be noted that to some extent Recension C has removed the ambiguity that existed in Recension B. By supplying v. 26 (absent in Recension B), which makes explicit reference to God as "the ruler of men" (*μερόπων κραίνοντα*), Recension C at least makes it easier for the reader (hearer) to think of God as the subject of *ἡνιοχεῖ*. Vv. 27–30 still intrude in Recension C, but the oscillation between subjects is less jarring.

And yet in the form in which Recension C exists, it is still possible to read vv. 31–32 with reference to "the Chaldean," and depending on one's degree of enthusiasm for elevating Abraham (or Moses) to divine status, even apply the following verses to him as well. This latter possibility is represented by LaFargue's translation and interpretation embodied in his annotations in *OTP* 2.799–800.

πυρὸς σέλας. I.e., lightning; cf. LXX Ps 17:8–16; 143:5–6; also Exod 19:16 (refs in Walter, JSHRZ [4,3], 242 n. dd). LaFargue, *OTP* 2.799: "comet."

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 71, notes the following epic constructions:

ἴδρις. An explicit poetic word (its first attested use in prose is late); it is found frequently in epic, although never in the position in the verse found here: *Od.* 6.233; 23.160 (an informed man); also Hesiod *Op.* 778; in plural in *Od.* 7.108.

γὰρ ἔην. In the same position in the verse in *Od.* 5.483 (after the first, or second, long syllable in *Il.* 2.687 and *Od.* 9.432.

χθόνα. Frequently in Homer in this position in the verse. Cf. *Il.* 8.492; 24.532; *Od.* 19.408; 22.86, etc.; also, Hesiod *Theog.* 95.

κυκλοτερὴς. In this same position in the verse in Hesiod *Theog.* 145 and *Sc.* 208; cf. also *Il.* 4.124; *Od.* 17.209.

ἡνιοχεῖ. *ἡνιόχευεν* in the same position in the verse in *Il.* 23.642 and *Od.* 6.319.

πυρὸς σέλας. The construction is Homeric. Cf. *Il.* 8.563 *σέλᾳ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο*; 19.366 *λαμπέσθην ὡς εἴ τε πυρὸς σέλας* (*πυρὸς σέλας* also Apollonius of Rhodes 3.1292, 1327 and 4.68); *Od.* 21.246 *σέλᾳ πυρός*.

Vv. 33–38a

Αὐτὸς δὴ μέγαν αὖθις ἐπ᾽ οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται | Χρυσέῳ εἰνὶ θρόνῳ· γαίη δ᾽ ὑπὸ ποσσὶ βέβηκε· | Χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρμασιν ὠκεανοῖο | Ἐκτέτακεν· ὀρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις ἔνδοθι θυμῷ | Οὐδὲ φέρειν δύναται κρατερὸν μένος.

He **indeed** is firmly established **hereafter** over the vast heaven | on a golden throne, and earth stands under his feet. | And he stretches out his right hand upon the extremities | of the ocean; and the base of the mountains trembles from within **with rage** | and it is not possible to endure his mighty force.

These verses remain basically unchanged from Recension B.

v. 33. *δὴ* replaces *δ᾽ αὖ*. The latter expression I rendered literally in Recension B as "on the other hand," whereas here *δή* appears to have emphatic force. Taking it in a temporal sense, e.g. "now," would presuppose a statement of some previous action that contrasts with his heavenly enthronement, and that is not the case with vv. 31–32.

αὖθις. This replaces the Epic and Ionic form *αὖτις*, which occurs in Recension B. Here again, it is translated "hereafter," i.e., eternally.

v. 34. *εἰνὶ*. This replaces *ἐνί*, the form that occurs in both Recensions A and B. It improves the meter. On the form, see LSJ s.vv. *εἰν* and *ἐν*.

The correction that occurs in the MS tradition of EusA is also present in one other patristic witness (Cyril) and in one MS of Ps.-J. *Mon.* [q]); it has been extended to the other patristic witnesses primarily through the editorial tradition:

ἐνὶ Ps.-J. *Coh.* (MSS, Steph., Otto), *Mon.* (s, Otto), Clement *Strom.* 124 (L), EusC (IO, *ἑνὶ* ND), EusA (N^2; *ἑνὶ* N^1), Thdrt: *εἰνὶ* Ps.-J. *Coh.* (Sylburg; *ε<ι>νὶ* Marc.), *Mon.* (q, Marc.), Clement *Strom.* (Stähln), EusC (Mras), EusA ($BION^{2\,mg}$), Cyril, TTu.

v. 35. *ἐπὶ τέρμασιν*. This particular combination is new in Recension C and apparently represents a conflation of previous readings. As noted earlier (Recension B v. 35), *ἐπὶ τέρματος* is read in Ps.-J and Clement *Strom.* 5.14.127.2, but Clement *Strom.* 5.14.124.1 reads *περὶ τέρμασιν*. Thus, Clement knew both *ἐπὶ τέρματος* and *περὶ τέρμασιν*. It may be that Recension C recognizes the difficulty of the image suggested by *περί*, i.e., God's reaching a single (right) hand around the (circular) edges of the ocean, and thus makes the change to suggest the more plausible image of God's simply extending his right hand to the edge of the ocean.

v. 36. *θυμῷ* replaces Recension B's *θυμοῦ*, apparently conforming to the more commonly used dat. See LSJ s.v. *θυμός* II.4, esp. Sophocles

Ant. 718, where *θυμῷ* is wrongly read for *θυμοῦ*. The change becomes uniform in the textual tradition:

θυμοῦ Clement *Strom.* (L): *θυμῷ* Clement *Strom.* (Stählin), EusC (MSS), EusA (MSS), Thdrt.

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 72, gives the following epic constructions:

μέγαν αὖθις ἐπ' οὐρανὸν. For *μέγας* (instead of *χαλκοῦς* in the "Urfassung," i.e. Recension A) as an epithet of heaven, cf. *Il.* 1.497; 5.750; 8.394, etc.

ὑπὸ ποσσὶ. In the same position in the verse in *Od.* 21.341.

ἔνδοθι θυμῷ. Cf. *Od.* 8.577 *εἰπὲ δ' ὅ τι κλαίεις καὶ ὀδύρεαι ἔνδοθι θυμῷ | Ἀργείων Δαναῶν ἰδὲ Ἰλίου οἶτον ἀκούων* (*ἔνδοθι θυμός* at the end of the verse in *Od.* 2.315 and 19.377; *ἔνδοθι* alone also in this position in the verse in *Il.* 6.498; 18.287; 23.819; *Od.* 24.474; *h.Cer.* 355; *h.Ap.* 92; *h.Bacch.* 44; Hesiod *Theog.* 964; *Op.* 523, 601, 733; Frg. 205,4 Merkelbach-West.)

οὐδὲ φέρειν δύναται. Cf. *h.Bacch.* 18 . . . *οὐδὲ φέρειν δύνανταί μιν νηῦς εὐεργής*.

κρατερὸν μένος. Good Homeric form; cf. *Il.* 7.38; 10.479; 16.189, etc. (mostly in this position in the verse).

Vv. 38b–40

. . . *ἔστι δὲ* ***πάντως*** | *Αὐτὸς ἐπουράνιος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάντα τελευτᾷ,* | *Ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ* ***μέσ(σ)ον*** *ἠδὲ τελευτήν,*

. . . But **in every way** | he himself is heavenly, and on earth brings all things to completion, | since he controls their beginning, as well as their **middle** and end,

v. 38b. *πάντως*. Here we accept Stephanus's emendation, followed by Mras. For the textual evidence, see Recension B commentary on v. 38. Conceivably, the MS reading *πάντων* could be read "he himself is the heavenly (ruler) of all things. . . ," but this would seem to stretch the sense.

v. 40. As already noted in the Recension B commentary on v. 40, the textual evidence for *μέσ(σ)ον* and *τελευτήν* is by no means uniform. I adopted the editorial emendation of *Strom.* (L) for the form of this verse in Recension B, but there I followed Mras in reading *μέσ(σ)ην*. Since the MS tradition for EusA here reads *μέσ(σ)ον*, I print it as an editorial change, whereas I do not do so for *τελευτήν*. This still leaves open the

possibility that Recension C may represent a later redactional stage or at least another textual tradition. In any event, the form of the verse in Recension C is much closer to the widely known formula. On the occurrence of the formula in various traditions, see Recension B commentary on v. 40.

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 72, notes the following epic constructions:

ἔστι δὲ. In this position in the verse in *Il.* 23.549.

ἐπουράνιος. ἐπουρανίοισι in the same position in the verse in *Il.* 6.527 (the adjective in *Il.* 6.129, 131 and *Od.* 17.484).

καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ. In this position in the verse in *Il.* 1.88 and *Od.* 16.439 (ἐπὶ χθονὶ alone in *Il.* 3.89, 195; 6.213, 473; 8.73, etc.; also, cf. Cleanthes Hymn *SVF* 1.537,11 οὐδέ τι γίγνεται ἔργον ἐπὶ χθονὶ σοῦ δίχα, δαῖμον).

πάντα τελευτᾷ. Cf. as well at the end of the verse, *Il.* 18.328 ἀλλ' οὐ Ζεὺς ἄνδρεσσι νοήματα πάντα τελευτᾷ; 19.90 θεὸς διὰ πάντα τελευτᾷ; *Od.* 3.62 αὐτὴ πάντα τελεύτα.

ἀρχὴν. At the beginning of the verse in *Od.* 21.35.

τελευτὴν. At the end of the verse in *Od.* 1.249=16.126; *h.Bacch.* 29; Hesiod *Op.* 333 and *Sc.* 357 (the nominative in *Il.* 7.104; 9.625; 16.787; Hesiod *Theog.* 637.)

Vv. 41–42

Ὡς λόγος ἀρχαίων, ὡς ὑλογενὴς διέταξεν, | Ἐκ θεόθεν γνώμῃσι λαβὼν κατὰ δίπλακα θεσμόν.

As a word of the ancients, as the one born in the undergrowth set it forth, | having received (the teaching) from God in statements on the two-tablet law.

v. 41. ὡς. This connects vv. 41–42 with vv. 38b–40. The second ὡς functions similarly. Thus the previous claims of his heavenly status, his power to bring all things to completion, and his control of past, present, and future are now said to have been supported by the Mosaic law. This connection is also reflected in Walter's translation, JSHRZ (4,3), 242.

λόγος ἀρχαίων. Cf. v. 9 παλαιὸς λόγος, and Recension B commentary on v. 9 and vv. 38–40; as Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 242 n. ee, observes, the phrase here may have a double reference, recalling the Orphic formulation from Plato *Lg.* 715E (=Orph. Frg. 21 Kern), or one of several biblical passages, e.g., Isa 44:6 (also 41:4; 48:12).

We take the two ὡς clauses in apposition, although conceivably the former could have an understood verb; thus, "as a (the) word of the ancients (says), so the one born. . . set it forth. . . ." So, Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 497: "Comme une tradition antique, comme un homme né de la terre, il a tout ordonné," with alternatives discussed in n. 88; however, earlier (p. 479) she provides a different translation: "Comme une antique tradition, c'est lui qui, né de la matière, a tout ordonné. . . ."

ὑλογενής. Here I retain the MS reading for EusA, which is followed by TTu. The form is admittedly unusual and problematic. LSJ, s.v. ὑλογενής, cites only this passage and the anonymous saying in Athenaeus 2.63b, thus "born in the forest or undergrowth."

Accordingly, Scaliger emends it to ὑδογενής, "born in water," which is adopted by Mras. So construed, the term echoes the etymology of the name Moses, "one born from the water," mentioned in Philo *V. Mos.* 1.4 § 17 (cf. Josephus *Ant.* 2.9.6 § 228; *Ag. Ap.* 1.286; also Clement *Strom.* 1.23.152.3).

Yet another possibility is to understand ὑλογενής as a compound of ὕλη, i.e., "matter" (LSJ s.v. ὕλη III), and γενής, hence "born of matter." So, Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 242: "der Materiegeborene"; Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 479: "né de la matière," 497: "né de la terre." For Walter, the significance of the term is that it underscores the humanity of Moses, thus counterbalancing the remarkable claims about him in the preceding verses (see JSHRZ [4,3], 243 n. ff).

This latter reading opens up another possibility for G. Giraudet, "'ΥΛΟΓΕΝΗΣ," 287-90, who understands ὑλογενής as a reference to Adam, "one born of the earth" (cf. Josephus *Ant.* 1.2.3 § 67 Ἄδαμος δὲ ὁ πρῶτος ἐκ γῆς γενόμενος; also *Jub.* 8:1–4; *Adam and Eve* 49.1–3 ?). Accordingly, the δίπλακα θεσμόν mentioned later in the verse would be a reference to the tradition of the preservation of the two pillars on which were recorded Adam's predictions of a twofold destruction of the universe—one by fire, another by flood (cf. Josephus *Ant.* 1.2.3 § 70). Thus Giraudet, 288, makes vv. 41–42 subordinate to vv. 39–40 and translates vv. 39–42 as follows: ". . . Il est entièrement céleste. . ., possédant lui-même le commencement, le milieu et la fin, comme [l'a transmis à la postérité] la doctrine des anciens, comme l'a transmis à la postérité ὑλογενής après avoir reçu de Dieu en esprit cette science, selon le θεσμός fait en double." See Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 497 n. 90; also Gesner ap. Hermann, *Orphica* 453 n. 36; L. Cohn as cited in Heinemann, "Hellenistica," *MGWJ* 73 (1929) 432.

I have retained ὑλογενής with the MS tradition and proposed a variation of the definition suggested in LSJ, "one born in the undergrowth," which seems sensible (and defensible) enough, especially as an echo of Exod 2:1–10, esp. vv. 3 and 5.

διέταξεν. Literally "appoint," "ordain severally" (LSJ s.v. *διατάσσω*), probably simply a metrically suitable term to describe his legislative function.

v. 42. *γνώμῃσι*. Here taken in the sense of propositions (written or oral), thus (legal, oracular) statements; perhaps, even "maxims," "aphorisms" (LaFargue *OTP* 2.800), or simply "words" would be a suitable rendering here. See LSJ s.v. *γνώμη* III, esp. 2 and 3. This, of course, requires supplying an object for *λαβών*. Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 497, however, understands the term in its more primary sense of "thought," "judgement," thus "dans sa pensée," presumably a way of describing Moses' inspired reception of the divine law.

κατὰ δίπλακα θεσμόν. Cf. LXX Exod 31:18 *καὶ ἔδωκεν* Μωυσεῖ. . . *τὰς δύο πλάκας τοῦ μαρτυρίου*. Also, 34:1, 29. Cf. *Sib. Or.* 3.257–58.

Georgi, *Opponents* 55, 79 n. 166, (following Riessler, 1276 n. 49), understands *δίπλαξ*, not as a reference to the two-tablet law but rather the twofold dimension (exoteric and esoteric) of Jewish tradition. Also, LaFargue, *OTP* 2.800 n. p.

On receiving the law as "divine oracles," cf. Philo *Decal.* 9 §32.

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 72, notes the following epic constructions:

ὣς. In Homer, occurs very frequently at the beginning of a verse, e.g., in the form ὣς ἔφατο, *Il.* 1.33, among others.

διέταξεν. Cf. Hesiod *Theog.* 73 (Zeus) . . . *εὖ δ' ἕκαστα* | *ἀθανάτοις διέταξεν ὁμῶς καὶ ἐπέφραδε τιμάς*; *Op.* 276 *τόνδε γὰρ ἀνθρώποισι νόμον διέταξε Κρονίων*.

δίπλακα. *δίπλακα* (or, -*ι*) *δημόν* (or -*ῷ*) at the end of the verse in *Il.* 23.253 and 243 (*δίπλακα* also in the same position in the verse in *Od.* 19.241).

Vv. 43–44

Ἄλλως οὐ θεμιτὸν δὲ λέγειν· τρομέω δέ γε γυῖα, | Ἐν νόῳ· ἐξ ὑπάτου κραίνει περὶ πάντ' ἐνὶ τάξει.

Now to say anything other than this is not allowed, and **indeed** I shudder | at the very thought; from on high he rules over everything in order.

v. 43. As already noted in Recension commentary on v. 43, Recension C creates a smoother reading with its substitution of *δέ* for *σε*.

The replacement of *τε* with *γε* perhaps has the effect of giving greater emphasis to *γυῖα*.

v. 44. *ἐνὶ τάξει*. Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 243: "nach (seiner) Ordnung." Riedweg, *Imitation*, 72–73, notes the following epic constructions: ἄλλως. At the beginning of the verse in *Il.* 19.401 and *Od.* 15.513. *τρομέω δέ γε γυῖα*. Cf. *Il.* 3.34 *ὑπὸ τε τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα* (similarly, 8.452; 14.506; 24.170); 7.215=20.44 *Τρῶας δὲ τρόμος αἰνὸς ὑπήλυθε γυῖα ἕκαστον*; 10.95 *τρομέει δ' ὑπὸ φαίδιμα γυῖα*; 10.390 *ὑπὸ δ' ἔτρεμε γυῖα*; also, *Od.* 11.527; 18.88, etc.

Vv. 45–46

Ὦ τέκνον, σὺ δὲ σοῖσι νόοις πέλας ἴσθι ἐς αὐτόν, | μηδ' ἀπόδος μάλ' ἐπικρατέων στέρνοις θεοφήμην.

O child, be near to him in your thoughts, | and do not abandon this divine message, but rather preserve it in your heart.

These last two verses are new to Recension C, not appearing in any form in either Ps.-J. or Clement. Nor do they appear in Cyril and Theodoret. They do appear in TTu but in significantly altered form. Accordingly, both verses present serious text-critical difficulties. Clearly, the textual traditions of both EusA and TTu are corrupt.

In this instance, before discussing the text-critical problems, it will be useful to juxtapose the two versions of vv. 45–46:

EusA:

ὦ τέκνον, σὺ δὲ τοῖσι νόοισι πελάζευ, μηδ' ἄπο γε |
(γλώσσην, -ης), |
εὖ μάλ' ἐπικρατέων, στέρνοισι δὲ ἔνθεο φήμην.

TTu:

ὦ τέκνον, σὺ δὲ σοῖσι νόοις πέλας ἴσθι ἐς αὐτόν |
μηδ' ἄπογος (ἄποδος) μάλ' ἐπικρατέων στέρνοις θεοφήμην.

Here I accept the reconstruction by Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 245–46; JSHRZ (4,3), 243, esp. n. ii-ii. Similarly, LaFargue *OTP* 2.800 n. r.

Essentially, Walter draws on the form of the verses found in TTu and assumes that they preserve in certain fundamental respects the earlier readings. Thus, TTu's 45b *πέλας ἴσθι ἐς αὐτόν* he regards as the more appropriate (and earlier) ending of the verse, while EusA version *πελάζευ, μηδ' ἄπο γε* is clearly unintelligible and corrupt, as seen in the various editorial emendations: Steph. proposes *πελάζεο* for *πελάζευ*; he

(followed by Gifford) proposes γλώσσην instead of μηδ' ἄπο γε, while Dindorf (followed by Mras) proposes γλώσσης. All represent futile attempts to provide an appropriate ending for v. 25.

Walter, by contrast, takes μηδ' ἄπο γε as a corrupt vestige of the *beginning* of v. 46, with TTu's MS reading μηδ' ἄπογος representing a closer, but still corrupted form. Accordingly, he adopts Buresch's (followed by Erbse) emendation to ἀπόδος, as giving a sensible verb in v. 46 (compatible with ἐπικρατέων), but also providing a natural sequel to the end of v. 45.

It is possible, of course, that TTu, both with respect to the ending of v. 45 and the beginning of v. 46, represent precisely these corrective tendencies, but to date Walter's solution is the most compelling.

Accordingly, Walter, JSHRZ (4,3), 243 n. jj, suggests that ἴσθι be read as the impv. form of εἰμί rather than οἶδα.

Riedweg, *Imitation*, 73, notes the following epic constructions:

μηδ' ἀπὸ. At the beginning of the verse in Hesiod *Op*. 735, 742, 748.

εὖ μάλα. Cf. *Il*. 23.761; *Od*. 4.96; 22.190; 24.123; *h.Ap*. 171; Hesiod *Op*. 806 and *Sc*. 355.

ἐπικρατέων. ἐπικρατέως in the same position in the verse in *Il*. 16.67, 81; 23.863; Hesiod *Sc*. 321, 419, 461.

ἔνθεο. Cf. *Il*. 6.326 *οὐ μὲν καλὰ χόλον τόνδ' ἔνθεο θυμῷ*; 9.639 *σὺ δ' ἴλαον ἔνθεο θυμόν*; *Od*. 24.248 *σὺ δὲ μὴ χόλον ἔνθεο θυμῷ*; ἔνθεο also in the same position in the verse in *Il*. 4.410 (ἔνθετο in *Od*. 1.361=21.355).

φήμην. φήμη at the end of the verse in Hesiod *Op*. 760 . . . *δεινὴν δὲ βροτῶν ὑπαλεύεο φήμην* and Frg. 176,2 Merkelbach-West *κακῇ δέ σφ' ἔμβαλε φήμῃ* (in the middle of the verse, *Od*. 2.35; at the beginning of the verse, *Od*. 20.100 and 105; Hesiod *Op*. 761 and 763).

Recension D

Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε, βέβηλοι,
Φεύγοντες δικαίων θεσμοὺς **θεῖόν τε νόημα**
Πάντες ὁμῶς. σὺ δ' ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἔγγονε Μήνης,
Μουσαῖ'· ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα, μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν
Ἐν στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ.
Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε
Ἰθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος· εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε
Ἀτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο τυπωτὴν
Ἀθάνατον. παλαιὸς δὲ λόγος περὶ τοῦδε φαείνει·
Εἷς ἔστ' αὐτογενής, <ἑνὸς> ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται,
Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περινίσσεται οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
Εἰσοράει θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.
Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ' ὁρόωσι· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται.
Οὗτος δ' ἐξ ἀγαθῶν θνητοῖς κακὸν οὐκ ἐπιτέλλει
Ἀνθρώποις, **αὐτοῖς** δὲ **κ'** ἔρις καὶ μῖσος ὀπηδεῖ
Καὶ πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς ἰδ' ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα.
Οὐδεὶς ἔσθ' ἕτερος, **τῷ κεν ῥέα πάντ' ἐσορῆται.**
Οὔ κεν ἴδῃς αὐτόν, πρὶν δή ποτε δ<εὖρ>' ἐπὶ γαῖαν,
Τέκνον ἐμόν, δείξω σοι, ὁπήνικα δέρκομαι αὐτοῦ
Ἴχνια καὶ **στιβαρὴν χεῖρα** κρατεροῖο θεοῖο.
Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω, περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται·
Πᾶσι γὰρ θνητοῖς <θνηταὶ> κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις
Μικραί, ἐπεὶ σάρκες <τε> καὶ ὀστέα ἐμπεφύασιν.
Ἀσθενέες τ' ἰδέειν **τὸν δὴ πάντα** μεδέοντα.
Λοιπὸν ἐμοὶ **καὶ πᾶσι** δεκάπτυχον ἀνθρώποισιν·
Οὐ γάρ κέν τις ἴδοι θνητῶν μερόπων **κρείοντα,**
Εἰ μὴ μουνογενής τις ἀπορρὼξ φύλου ἄνωθεν
Χαλδαίων· ἴδρις γὰρ ἔην **ἄστρων τε πορείης**
Καὶ σφαίρης, **ἥτ' ἀμφὶς ὀχῆος ἀεὶ** περιτέλλει
Κυκλοτερὴς **ἴση** τε κατὰ σφέτερον κνώδακα.
Πνεύματι δ' ἠνιοχεῖ περί τ' ἠέρα καὶ περὶ χεῦμα,
Ἐκφαίνει δὲ πυρὸς **σέλατα διαφεγγέα πάντῃ.**
Αὐτὸς δὴ μέγαν αὖθις ἐπ' οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται
Χρυσέῳ εἰνὶ θρόνῳ· γαίη δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ βέβηκε,
Χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρμασιν ὠκεανοῖο
Πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν, ὀρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις **αὐτὸν**
Ἐν θυμῷ πολιῆς τε βάθος χαροποῖο θαλάσσης
Οὐδὲ φέρειν δύναται κρατερὸν μένος. ἔστι δὲ πάντῃ
Αὐτὸς ἐπουράνιος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάντα τελευτᾷ
Ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων, **ἦ δ' αὖ μέσον, ἦ δὲ τελευτήν,**
Ὡς λόγος ἀρχαίων, ὡς ὑλογενὴς διέταξεν
Ἐκ θεόθεν **γνώμην** τε λαβὼν **καὶ** δίπλακα θεσμόν.
Ἀλλ' ὡς οὐ θεμιτὸν δὲ λέγειν, τρομέω **δὲ τελίην** —
Ἐκ νόου ἐξ ὑπάτου κραίνει περὶ πάντ' ἐνὶ τάξει.
Ὦ τέκνον, σὺ δὲ σοῖσι νόοις πέλας ἴσθι ἐς αὐτόν
Μηδ' ἀπόδος μάλ' ἐπικρατέων στέρνοις θεοφήμην.

Underline: new material, not found in previous recensions
Bold: changes in previous recensions, thus unique to D

Recension D

I will speak to the lawful ones; uninitiates, shut the doors,
Since you flee the ordinances of the just, **the divine purpose too**,
All of you together. You, O Musaeus, child of the light-bearing Moon,
Listen! For I am about to proclaim the truth. Let not the former
Imaginings of your heart deprive you of the blessed life.
But look to the divine Logos, and adhere to it,
Letting it guide your heart's deepest thoughts. And walk unwaveringly
Upon the path, looking only to the molder of the universe,
The immortal one. An ancient saying sheds light concerning this one:
He is one, self-generated, and all things have come into being as off-
spring <of this one>,
And among them he circulates; but him no one among
Mortals sees, though he indeed sees everyone.
And they do not see him, for around him a cloud has been fixed.(=v 21)
And he himself out of good things does not enjoin evil on mortal
Men. Even so strife and hatred accompany **them**,
As well as war, plague, and tearful sufferings.
There is no other one, and he easily sees all things.
You **could not** see him, **until at length here on earth,**
My child, I show you, when I see his
Prints and the strong hand of the mighty God.
But I do not see him; for around him a cloud has been fixed;
For all mortals have mortal pupils in their eyes
Too small, since they are implanted in flesh and bones;
Too weak to see **the one who indeed** rules **all things**.
There remains for me and **for all** men a ten-fold layer of obscurity;
For no one among mortals could see **the ruler** of men,
Except a certain person, a unique figure, by descent an offshoot
Of the Chaldean race; for he expertly saw the **movement of the stars**
And of the sphere(s), **which always rotates around its axle,**
A **perfect** circle, all on their respective axes.
And with wind he creates currents around both air and stream,
And he brings forth **flames** of fire, **lighting up the whole sphere.**
He indeed is firmly established hereafter over the vast heaven
On a golden throne; and earth stands under his feet,
And his right hand to the extremities of the ocean
He stretches out on every side, the mountain base trembles **before him**
In fury, as well as the depth(s) of the hoary, blue sea,
And it is not possible to endure his mighty force. But in every way
He himself is heavenly, and on earth brings all things to completion,
Since he controls its beginning, **but also its middle, and end too,**
As a word of the ancients, as the one born in the undergrowth said,
Having received **utterance** from God, **indeed** the two-tablet law.
But as it is not allowed to speak, I tremble **throughout**—
With reason, from the heights he rules over everything in order.
O child, be near to him in your thoughts,
And do not abandon this divine message, but keep it in your heart.

RECENSION D: COMMENTARY

Vv. 1–3a

Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε, βέβηλοι, | Φεύγοντες δικαίων θεσμοὺς **θεῖόν τε νόημα** | Πάντες ὁμῶς.

I will speak to the lawful ones; uninitiates, shut the doors, | since you flee the ordinances of the just, **the divine purpose too**, | all of you together.

vv. 2b–3a. V. 2, which only appeared previously in Recension C, is repeated in Recension D, but the final part of the verse is changed. An earlier form of v. 3a, which appeared in Recensions A and B (also Cyril), reappears. Thus Recension C's *θείοιο τιθέντος | πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ* (*θείοιο τεθέντος πᾶσι νόμου* D[4]) now becomes *θεῖόν τε νόημα | πάντες ὁμῶς*. The effect of the change is slight, but Recension C's fairly explicit reference to God-given "ordinances of the just" with universal applicability is now more vague. At least, Recension D's phrase makes one think less immediately of the Mosaic law.

v. 3a. Naturally, with the change in v. 2, *πάντες ὁμῶς* has a different sense than it does in Recension A where "all" hearers are simply excluded from the circle of initiates. Now, "all" hearers are implicated as enemies of the "ordinances of the just," hence as "lawless," as well as antagonists of "the divine purpose."

The changes in these first three verses, of course, are conflationary, and illustrate Recension D's tendency to draw material from all three previous recensions and arrange it in new combinations.

Vv. 3b–9

. . . σὺ δ' ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἔγγονε Μήνης, | Μουσαῖ· ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα, μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν | Ἐν στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ. | Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε | Ἰθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος· εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε | Ἀτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο τυπωτὴν | Ἀθάνατον. παλαιὸς δὲ λόγος περὶ τοῦδε φαείνει·

. . . You, O Musaeus, child of the light-bearing Moon, | listen! For I am about to proclaim the truth. Let not the former | imaginings of your heart deprive you of the blessed life. | But look to the divine Logos, and adhere to it, | letting it guide your heart's deepest thoughts. And walk unwaveringly | upon the path, looking only to the molder of the universe, | the immortal one. An ancient saying sheds light concerning this one:

v. 4. *ἐξερέω*. Recension C's *ἐξεν(ν)έπω* is now replaced by *ἐξερέω*, which was read in Recensions A and B (in every patristic witness). Textual evidence is given in Recension A commentary on v. 4a. Here is an instance where TTu agrees with every other patristic witness *against* EusA.

v. 8. *τυπωτὴν*. Previously read only in Recension C; *ἄνακτα* in Recensions A and B (in all other patristic witnesses). Thus here TTu and EusA agree *against* all other patristic witnesses.

v. 9. Previously read only in Recension C; repeated here in Recension D unchanged. What was only implicit in Recension C's use of *παλαιὸς λόγος*, viz., that the Bible is the warrant for the theological claims made in the following verses, is now made explicit in the marginal gloss in TTu: *ὁ τοῦ Μωσέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προφητῶν*.

Vv. 10–12

*Εἷς ἔστ' αὐτογενής, <ἑνὸς> ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται, | Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περινίσσεται οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν | **Εἰσοράει** θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.*

He is one, self-generated, and all things have come into being as offspring <of this one>, | and among them he himself circulates; but him no one among | mortals sees, though he indeed sees everyone.

v. 10. In reading *αὐτογενής. . . τέτυκται*, Recension D essentially reverts to Recension A's form of v. 10, which, as we have already noticed (Recensions A and B commentary on v. 10), also occurs in Clement *Protr.* (also Cyril). Whether Recension D's choice of this wording, as opposed to Recensions B and C's *αὐτοτελής. . . τελεῖται*, is significant is difficult to say; perhaps the latter sounded too Stoic and suggested an image of a self-sufficient, detached, unengaged God.

In v. 10b *ἑνός*, which is read in all of the other witnesses who preserve this form of v. 10b, is omitted by TTu, thus properly supplied by

Buresch and Erbse. Kroll (ap. Kern) proposes instead <τοῦ δ'>, presumably a remnant of αὐτοῦ δ' ὑπὸ, the first part of v. 10b read in the other form of the verse (in EusA, Thdrt). It is metrically suitable and has the advantage of supplying a conjunction for the second part of the verse, which, if ἐνός is read, must be supplied in translation.

v. 11. Recension D's form of v. 11 corresponds to that found in Recensions B and C. Thus as the tradition evolved, περινίσσεται apparently won out over Recension A's γεριγί(γ)νεται. The split loyalties in the textual tradition for Cyril indicate, on the one hand, Cyril's clear dependence on, and attachment to, Ps.-J., and, on the other hand, awareness of, and equally clear attachment to (at least among certain textual witnesses), the other reading. Possibly the implication of transcendent superiority, inherent in περιγί(γ)νεται, was finally judged to be offensive.

v. 12. Apart from the orthographical change from εἰσοράᾳ to εἰσοράει, Recension D's v. 12 corresponds to that in Recensions A and B. This doubtless represents a rejection of Recension C's form of the verse and provides another instance of TTu agreeing with all other witnesses *against* EusA. Perhaps Recension D found Recension C's ψυχὴν (ψυχῶν) θνητῶν too awkward, or νῷ δ' εἰσοράαται theologically offensive (too Platonic?).

V. 13

Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ' ὁρόωσι· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται.

And they do not see him, for around him a cloud has been fixed.

This is the only verse that is unique to Recension D, at least at this position. It is a slightly modified version of v. 21, which occurs in all three previous recensions in the form: αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται. Indeed, this form of v. 21 is also present in Recension D.

The change from ὁρόω to ὁρόωσι naturally connects the verse with πάντας in the preceding verse; thus, "and he himself sees everyone. | But him they do not see. . . ." It is clearly a redundant statement, since it essentially repeats what has just been stated in vv. 11b–12a. The introduction of the cloud motif is also clearly intrusive. Moreover, the change adversely affects the meter (see Riedweg, *Imitation*, 21 n. 72).

Erbse brackets the verse as a doublet. Buresch, however, does not, but simply refers the reader to v. 21, with the note "Man darf dem Unding nicht helfen."

Clearly it is a doublet of v. 21, but TTu may have included it for a reason. It should be noted that this verse occurs in Clement *Strom.* 5.12.78.4–5 immediately after v. 12, although it is then followed immediately by v. 22. Thus it may be that TTu, obviously knowing that Clement had omitted some intervening verses, did not know whether the gap occurred before or after v. 21, i.e., whether (our) v. 21 belonged with the immediately preceding verse (v. 12) or with the verse immediately following (v. 22). He solved the problem by including it at both places and altered the verb in v. 13 accordingly. See Elter, 182; Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 240; Riedweg, *Imitation*, 21.

Since a similar conclusion could be drawn from a reading of Theodoret, this could possibly be an instance of TTu's dependence on Theodoret. It should be noted that both forms of the verse are represented in the Theodoret MS tradition: ὁρόω KBLMSD: ὁρῶσι CVM^{mg}.

If this is a plausible explanation for TTu's inclusion of v. 13, it once again illustrates its tendency to conflate all of the previous witnesses into a single whole.

Vv. 14–16

Οὗτος δ' ἐξ ἀγαθῶν θνητοῖς κακὸν οὐκ ἐπιτέλλει | Ἀνθρώποις, αὐτοῖς δὲ κ' ἔρις καὶ μῖσος ὀπηδεῖ | Καὶ πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς ἰδ' ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα.

And he himself out of good things does not enjoin evil on mortal | men. Even so **strife** and hatred accompany **them**, | as well as war, plague, and tearful sufferings.

v. 14. Even though Recension D adopts Recension C's way of dealing with the problematic version in Recensions A and B, its conflationary tendency is evident in the decision to retain οὗτος from Recension A instead of αὐτός from Recensions B and C. The choice of the demonstrative pronoun may make the form of the denial slightly more emphatic, in which case Recension D would have edged the correction along a bit.

vv. 15–16. As noted in the earlier discussion (see Recension C commentary on v. 15b), v. 15 was an innovation by Recension C, but its introduction created problems which were not fully resolved, viz., the antecedent of αὐτῷ, the meaning (and appropriate form) of χάρις καὶ μῖσος, and the case of the words in the following verse. As I argued earlier, Recension C's additions still have God as their primary focus. Thus,

it insists that God is not responsible for evil; in fact, God's own purposes have to compete with the opposing forces of "grace and hatred," i.e., good and evil. The introduction of this motif is intrusive, however, since the earlier recension had already mentioned "chilling war and painful sufferings." Thus, Recension C simply modifies v. 16 so that it expands the "hate" motif by creating three synonymous items—war, plague, and painful sufferings. Obviously, this creates imbalance, and if the form of the acc. is retained in v. 16, it is grammatically unsatisfying.

Recension D, however, smooths out these difficulties, first, by replacing *αὐτῷ* with *αὐτοῖς*, then by replacing the problematic *χάρις(ν)* with *κ' ἔρις* (read by TTu, Buresch, Kern; *τ' ἔρις* Schenkl; *κἔρις* Erbse). Thus vv. 15b-16 rehearse a series of "evils" that are now said to accompany not God, but "mortal men." Vv. 14–16 then become a consistent, comprehensible theological statement: God is not responsible for the presence of evil among mortals, and yet undeniably they experience it in its various forms.

Finally, the problematic acc. forms in v. 16 are replaced with appropriate nom. forms.

Vv. 17–20

Οὐδεὶς ἔσθ' ἕτερος, τῷ κεν ῥέα πάντ' ἐσορῆται. | **Οὔ κεν** *ἴδῃς αὐτόν,*
πρὶν δή ποτε δ<εὖρ>' ἐπὶ γαῖαν, | *Τέκνον ἐμόν, δείξω σοι, ὁπήνικα*
δέρκομαι αὐτοῦ | *Ἴχνια καὶ* **στιβαρὴν χεῖρα** *κρατεροῖο θεοῖο.*

There is no other one, and he easily sees all things. | You **could not** see him, **until at length here on earth,** | **my child, I show you,** when I see his | **prints** and the strong hand of the mighty God.

v. 17. *οὐδεὶς* TTu (T, Buresch): *οὐδέ τις* Ps.-J. *Coh.* and *Mon.*, Clem. *Strom.* (also EusC), EusA, TTu (Erbse).

I have retained the reading of T (and Buresch), although it is more difficult to render; literally, "no one is another." Erbse's *οὐδέ τις* obviously brings TTu into line with Recensions A, B, and C, all of which are in uniform agreement. Perhaps *οὐδείς* reflects influence from John 1:18.

v. 17a. Elter, 167: "einen anderen gibt es nicht"; Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 490: "Personne n'existe en dehors de lui" (=Dieu).

v. 17b. My translation follows Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 490: "Facilement, il voit toutes choses." Elter, 167: ". . . und ihm liegt alles offen vor Augen." Neither seems to take *κεν* into full account, which

would seem to require something like: "he could (can) see easily in every respect," or "for him—he quite easily sees everything." Or, it may be that *κεν ῥέα πάντ'* is carried over from Recension C, where *κεν* was appropriate with *ἐσορήσω* (*-ο* ?), but that the change to *ἐσορῆται* has occurred without making the necessary adjustments to *κεν*.

v. 18. *αἴ κεν ἴδῃς* EusA: *οὔκουν ἴδης* (=*ἴδῃς*) TTυ (T): *οὔ κεν ἴδῃς* Elter: *οὔ κεν ἴδοις* TTu (Buresch, Erbse; also Kern).

Here I accept Elter's reading. *οὔκουν* makes little sense here, especially with *ἴδῃς*, nor does it fit metrically. Buresch's preference for the optative (followed by Erbse and Kern; also Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 490 n. 42), while grammatically attractive, introduces a new form that goes well beyond *ἴδῃς*, which is doubtless derived from EusA. In any case, *οὔ κεν* with the subjunctive is acceptable enough (see Smyth §1813).

πρὶν δή ποτε δ<εὖρ>' ἐπὶ γαῖαν. TTυ (T) reads *δήποτε*, but Buresch (and Erbse) emend to *δή ποτε* to conform to EusA. Similarly, TTu (T) reads *δ' ἐπὶ*, but Buresch (and Erbse) emend to *δ<εὖρ>'* to conform to EusA and fill out the metre.

vv. 18–20. The translation of these verses changes not so much because there have been significant verbal changes. Given the text that I have adopted, the only significant changes are the alteration of v. 17b, especially the shift to the third person singular, and the change in v. 18a from *αἴ κεν ἴδῃς* to *οὔ κεν ἴδῃς*. But of course, in Recension C, v. 18a has quite a different meaning, given the statement in the previous verse—"you would understand all things, if only you could see him." But in Recension D, v. 18a is no longer the protasis for v. 17b, but the apodosis of the sentence that follows. This one change alters the function and meaning of *πρίν*. In Recension C it functions as a temporal adverb, but in Recension D, preceded by a negative clause, it means "until." Moreover, the verbs governed by *πρίν* are now construed differently. In Recension C *δείξω* functioned as future indicative, but now it functions as an aorist subjunctive. On the use of *πρίν*, see Smyth §§2430–40.

Even with these slight shifts, it is easy to see how Christians could read vv. 17–20 as a reference to the Incarnation. This becomes even more emphatic with a change in punctuation. The punctuation printed above is that found in Erbse (also Kern). Buresch, however, removes the commas after *γαῖαν* and *ἐμόν*, which yields: ". . . until at length here on earth I show you my son, when I see his prints and the hand of the mighty God." Similarly, Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 490: "(Tu ne pourrais le voir,) avant que sur cette terre je ne te montre mon enfant, lorsque j'apercevrai les traces et la main forte du Dieu tout-puissant." Since, however, Orpheus is the speaker here, this would seem to imply that Christ would be the son of Orpheus!

That these verses in their altered form in Recension D were so understood is clearly reflected in the marginal glosses in TTu. The first is an explanatory note on *πρίν*: *πρὸ τοῦ σαρκωθῆναι καὶ ἐπὶ γῆν ὀφθῆναι*. The second expands on the significance of *ἴχνια* and *χεῖρα*: *ὅτε τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων ἔδειξε τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας* (cf. John 20:26). On a similar use of *ἴχνια*, cf. *Sib. Or.* 8.320.

For a fuller discussion of these verses, see Elter, 167–68; Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 222–25; Zeegers-Vander Vorst, 489–91.

Vv. 21–25

*Αὐτὸν δ᾽ οὐχ ὁρόω, περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται· | Πᾶσι γὰρ θνητοῖς <θνηταὶ> κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις | Μικραί, ἐπεὶ σάρκες <τε> καὶ ὀστέα ἐμπεφύασιν. | Ἀσθενέες τ᾽ ἰδέειν **τὸν δὴ πάντα** μεδέοντα. | Λοιπὸν ἐμοὶ **καὶ πᾶσι** δεκάπτυχον ἀνθρώποισιν·*

But I do not see him; for around him a cloud has been fixed; | for all mortals have mortal pupils in their eyes | too small, since they are implanted in flesh and bones; | too weak to see **the one who indeed rules all things**. | There remains both for me and **for all** men a ten-fold layer of obscurity;

In this unit, Recension D's conflationary tendencies are evident. Strands from all previous recensions are woven together into a complete (new) whole.

V. 21 is found in all three previous recensions and is transmitted unchanged.

V. 22 is found only in Recensions A and B and is repeated essentially unchanged. *θνηταί* is omitted by TTu (T) but is correctly restored by Buresch and Erbse since it occurs in the previous recensions.

V. 23 (Clement's replacement verse for v. 24) is found only in Recension B, although it does appear in one MS for Ps.-J *Mon.* (s). In TTu (T), the redundant *ἐμπεφυῖα* has properly been dismissed; *τε* has also fallen out but is correctly restored by Buresch and Erbse. Accordingly, v. 23 now corresponds more closely with Theodoret, which, however, reads *ἐμπεφύκασιν*.

V. 24, which is found only in Recension A, is also included but in a significantly altered form. The troublesome *Δία τὸν πάντων* from Ps.-J. *Coh.* (and its variations) is now replaced with the more acceptable phrase *τὸν δὴ πάντα* (read by T, adopted by Buresch; Erbse reads *Δία τὸν πάντων*; see Erbse's discussion, p. 19, n. 47a.).

V. 25, which is found only in Recension C, now occurs in more suitable form: *καὶ πᾶσι* replaces Recension C's more awkward *στᾶσιν*. Moreover, two marginal glosses in TTu serve to clarify the two problematic phrases. Concerning *λοιπὸν* it is noted: *ἀντὶ τοῦ, καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*. The obscure *δεκάπτυχον* is now seen as a specific reference to the Mosaic decalogue: *ἡ μωσαϊκὴ δεκάλογος διδάσκαλος ἔσται*.

Vv. 26–32

Οὐ *γάρ κέν τις ἴδοι θνητῶν μερόπων* **κρείοντα**, | Εἰ *μὴ μουνογενής τις ἀπορρὼξ φύλου ἄνωθεν* | Χαλδαίων· *ἴδρις γὰρ ἔην* **ἄστρων τε πορείης** | Καὶ *σφαίρης, ἥτ' ἀμφὶς ὀχῆος ἀεὶ περιτέλλει* | Κυκλοτερὴς *ἴση τε κατὰ σφέτερον κνώδακα.* | Πνεύματι *δ' ἠνιοχεῖ περί τ' ἠέρα καὶ περὶ χεῦμα,* | Ἐκφαίνει *δὲ πυρὸς σέλατα* **διαφεγγέα πάντῃ**.

For no one among mortals could see **the ruler** of men, | except a certain person, a unique figure, by descent an offshoot | of the Chaldean race; for he expertly saw the **movement of the stars** | and of the sphere(s), **which always rotates around its axle**, | a **perfect** circle, all on their respective axes. | And with wind, he creates currents around both air and stream, | and he brings forth **flames** of fire, **lighting up the whole sphere.**

v. 26. This verse, which only appeared previously in EusA, is taken over virtually unchanged. Recension C's *κραίνοντα* is replaced with *κρείοντα*, a suitable substitute. On *κρείων*, see LSJ s.v. *κρείων*.

vv. 27–28a. This is taken over unchanged from Recensions B and C. The marginal gloss in TTu, however, interprets the "Chaldean" as Moses: *ὁ γὰρ τὴν δεκάπτυχον γράψας Μωσῆς τῶν Χαλδαίων ἔμπειρος ἦν καὶ τῆς ἀστρονομίας*.

v. 28b. The change to *ἄστρων τε πορείης* effectively resolves the question whether *ἄστροιο* in Recensions B and C referred to the sun or the stars.

v. 29. The verse appears earlier in Recensions B and C, but as we saw, not in altogether suitable form. Recension C attempted to improve on Recension B by changing *κινήματ'* to *κίνημ'*. Even then, the subject of *περιτέλλει* was not entirely clear. TTu now seeks to resolve this by altering the troublesome middle section of the verse to *ἥτ' ἀμφὶς ὀχῆος ἀεὶ*. An explanatory note on *ἥτ'* is provided by the marginal gloss: *ἥτις ἐξ*

ἀμφοτέρωθεν τοῦ ὁρίζοντος ἢ τοῦ ἄξονος ἀεὶ κινεῖται. On the unusual use of *ὀχῆος*, lit. "anything used for holding or fastening," e.g., "a band or strap for fastening the helmet under the chin," here "axle," see LSJ s.v. *ὀχεύς*, esp. IV.

v. 30. Since Recensions B and C's *κινήματ'/κίνημ'* is now eliminated, Recension D makes the appropriate alteration to *κυκλοτερὴς*, clearly linking it with *σφαίρης* and supplying *ἴση* as a suitable modifying adjective. "Perfect (equal) circle" now serves to modify *σφαῖρα*.

v. 31. This verse, which occurs in slightly different forms in Recensions B and C, corresponds more closely with that in Recension B. TTu (T, Erbse) read *πνεύματι*, whereas Buresch prefers *πνεύματα* from EusA. By retaining the dative, TTu preserves the ambiguity of the subject of *ἡνιοχεῖ* (which I reflect in my translation above, and also in the translation of the same form of the verse in Recension B). Rather than clarifying the question of the subject, the marginal gloss in TTu serves to give precision to the meaning of *ἡνιοχεῖ*: *εὐτάκτως ἄγει <περὶ> τὸν ἀέρα ἢ <καὶ> τὰ τῆς γῆς πέρατα, τὸ ὕδωρ*.

As before, the inclusion of the Chaldean section has confused the subject of v. 31, but most likely, as before, it is God, the "ruler of all things" referred to in v. 26.

v. 32. This verse appears earlier only in Recension C, and I have already noted the difficulties it presents (see Recension C commentary on v. 32). In its altered form here, the omission of *νάματος* is compensated for by substituting *σέλατα διαγεγγέα πάντῃ* for its otherwise difficult counterpart in Recension C.

διαφεγγέα πάντῃ. LaFargue *OTP* 2.800 n. k, "(flames of fire) shining forth everywhere." On *διαφεγγής*, "pellucid," see LSJ s.v. *διαφεγγής*; also s.v. *φέγγος*.

Two marginal glosses are supplied in TTu: on *πυρὸς*: *τῆς θεότητος ἀπαυγάσματα* and on *πυρὸς σέλατα*: *in antigr. πυροσέλευτα*.

Vv. 33–42

Αὐτὸς δὴ μέγαν αὖθις ἐπ' οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται | Χρυσέῳ εἰνὶ θρόνῳ· γαίη δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ βέβηκε, | Χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρμασιν ὠκεανοῖο | Πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν, ὀρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις **αὐτὸν** | **Ἐν θυμῷ** πολιῆς τε βάθος χαροποῖο θαλάσσης | Οὐδὲ φέρειν δύναται κρατερὸν μένος. ἔστι δὲ πάντῃ | Αὐτὸς ἐπουράνιος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάντα τελευτᾷ | Ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων, **ᾗ δ' αὖ μέσον, ᾗ δὲ τελευτήν**, | Ὡς λόγος ἀρχαίων, ὡς ὑλογενὴς διέταξεν | Ἐκ θεόθεν **γνώμην** τε λαβὼν **καὶ** δίπλακα θεσμόν.

He indeed is firmly established hereafter over the vast heaven | on a golden throne; and earth stands under his feet, | and his right hand to the extremities of the ocean | he stretches out on every side, and the mountain base trembles **before him** | **in fury,** as well as the depth(s) of the hoary, blue sea, | and it is not possible to endure his mighty force. But in every way | he himself is heavenly, and on earth brings all things to completion, | since he controls its beginning, **but also its middle, and end too,** | as a word of the ancients, as the one born in the undergrowth said, | having received **utterance** from God, **indeed** the two-tablet law.

vv. 33–35. Each of these verses appears with some minor variations, but Recension D essentially follows Recension A.

v. 36. This represents a conflation. *πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν* is drawn from Recension A, and to compensate, the additional word (*πάντοθεν*), a modified form of v. 36b, is taken from Recensions B and C: *ἔνδοθι* is dropped from the previous recensions, *αὐτὸν* is added (albeit as an awkward object for *τρέμει*), and *θυμῷ* is relegated to the next verse as a prepositional phrase. These changes do not appreciably alter the content except for relating these cosmic changes more specifically to God.

v. 37. This verse appears previously only in Recension A (Ps.-J., also Cyril), and Recension D has made the necessary alterations to accommodate it.

Since Recension A ends with v. 37, it supplies no more material for Recension D.

vv. 38–39. These verses appear in identical form in Recensions B and C.

v. 40. I have noted earlier the treatment of the three-part formula in Recensions B and C, suggesting that Recension C sharpens the more ambiguous form of Recension B, thereby bringing it into closer conformity with the conventional formula. Recension D presents its own distinctive version, the double *ἠ δέ* presumably making the connection with *χθονί* in the previous verse more direct; hence my translation: "(the earth's) beginning. . . middle. . . end."

vv. 41–42. These two verses are taken, with minor changes, from Recension C. TTu retains the problematic *ὑλογενής*, which prompts the following marginal gloss: *ὁ τὴν τῶν ἐνύλων γένεσιν γράψας*. In v. 42 Recension C's *γνώμῃσι* is changed to *γνώμην τε*, thereby supplying an object for *λαβών*. Here I have rendered *γνώμην* "utterance"; see Recension C commentary on v. 42.

TTu provides a marginal gloss on δίπλακα: *forte* δυσί· διὸ γὰρ ἔλαβε τὸν νόμον ἐν πλαξί.

Vv. 43–46

Ἀλλ᾽ ὡς *οὐ θεμιτὸν δὲ λέγειν, τρομέω* **δὲ** *τελίην*— | **Ἐκ** *νόου ἐξ ὑπάτου κραίνει περὶ πάντ᾽ ἐνὶ τάξει.* | *Ὦ τέκνον, σὺ δὲ σοῖσι νόοις πέλας ἴσθι ἐς αὐτόν* | *Μηδ᾽ ἀπόδος μάλ᾽ ἐπικρατέων στέρνοις θεοφήμην.*

But as it is not allowed to speak, I tremble **throughout**— | **with reason,** from the heights he rules over everything in order. | O child, be near to him in your thoughts, | and do not abandon this divine message, but keep it in your heart.

v. 43. Recension D changes Recensions B and C's ἄλλως οὐ to ἀλλ᾽ ὡς, which is retained by Buresch and Erbse but dealt with in different ways. It also agrees with Recension C in reading δὲ λέγειν instead of Recension B's σε λέγειν. Buresch and Erbse, however, emend to με λέγειν. The problematic δέ τε γυῖα, and its many variants, it solves by substituting δὲ τελίην (T, Buresch; δέ γε λίην Erbse), which is both sensible and metrically suitable. The overall result is a sensible improvement over both Recensions B and C but still problematic at the beginning. Accordingly, Buresch encloses ὡς—τελίην in dashes, thus ἀλλ᾽ with the following verse; thus, "But—as it is not lawful for me to speak, and I tremble throughout—with reason God reigns from on high. . . ."

On τρομέω the following marginal gloss is supplied in TTu: φρίττω τὸ μυστήριον λογιζόμενος. In v. 44, a brief gloss is provided on πάντ᾽ ἐνί: *in ant.* πάντες.

vv. 45–46. The textual difficulties of these final two verses have been discussed earlier (see Recension C commentary on vv. 45–46). As already noted, I accept Walter's proposal that Recension D represents the earliest, and best, form of these verses, which are preserved in very corrupt form; accordingly, I essentially read Recension D's version in Recension C.

As noted earlier, ἄπογος is read in TTu (T), and I read ἀπόδος, following Buresch and Erbse.

OTHER POSSIBLY JEWISH ORPHIC FRAGMENTS

Besides the Orphic fragment treated in this volume, other Orphic fragments have been mentioned as possibly Jewish. Two fragments in particular have been singled out: *OF* 248 and *OF* 299.

Fragment 248 is located in Clement *Stromateis* 5.14.125.1–126.4. The same text is included in Eusebius *P.E.* 13.13.51–53, within the large section where Eusebius quotes Clement. Kern included this fragment, along with *OF* 245–47, among the ΔΙΑΘΗΚΑΙ, but its place within the "testament" tradition is widely disputed.[1] Its Jewish origin, however, is maintained, e.g., by Hengel, who admits that it should not be grouped with *OF* 245–27 in the *Testament* yet insists that it is "equally of Jewish origin."[2] Walter remains convinced that its polytheistic ring disqualifies it from being Jewish.[3] According to West, it cannot "properly be called Jewish, though the influence of Judaism can be seen in it."[4]

Fragment 299 is cited in Pseudo-Justin *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 15, although it is also found in Cyril of Alexandria *Contra Iulianum* 1.46 (*PG* 76.552C-D). In both works it is attributed to Orpheus. A shortened version of the text occurs in John Malalas' *Chronicle* 2.27 (*PG* 97.93B), where it is attributed to Hermes Trismegistus with reference to its occurrence in Cyril.[5] But, as West notes, by the time of Malalas, Hermes and Orpheus were nearly interchangeable. Also, in *Contra Iulianum* the Orphic fragment follows several short discussions of Sophocles and Xenophon, which are preceded by a fairly lengthy treatment of Hermes (1.43–44). It may be that Malalas, or his textual tradition, simply collapsed the Orphic texts with the longer Hermes discussion. Because of its claim that a divine Father/God created the cosmos by his word, West thinks it likely that *OF* 299 is a Jewish forgery.[6]

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[1] E.g., Walter, *Thoraausleger*, 111 n. 1: "Ohne Grund hat Kern . . . noch ein weiteres Fragment (Nr. 248) under die Überschrift *Διαθῆκαι* gestellt, wohl weil es bei Clemens, Strom. V 125f. unmittelbar nach einem Teil des jüdischen Orpheus zitiert wird. Die Verse haben aber völlig anderen Charakter, sie unterscheiden sich von der jüdischen Fälschung schon durch ihren Polytheismus." Also, idem,

JSHRZ, 239–40 n. x; and, 232 n. 77. Similarly, West, *Orphic Poems*, 35: "Kern was wrong to assign the fragment to the *Testament*. . . ." Also, Riedweg, *Imitation*, 1, 17.

[2] *Judaism and Hellenism*, 2.174 n. 40. In "Anonymität," 293, Hengel lists the motifs he regards as decisive: God as the all-powerful ruler of the world before whom the demons tremble (James 2:19), whom the hosts of heaven fear (Ps 81:1), whom the Fates obey, and who is surrounded by angels responsible for the welfare of humans (Heb 1:14). Here he draws on a suggestion made by Peterson, ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ, 296–99.

[3] See especially JSHRZ, 232 n. 77.

[4] West, *Orphic Poems*, 35.

[5] Also, in George Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum* 1.37.6 (Bekk.; *PG* 121.64D); *Chronicon paschale* 47d (1.86,5 Dindorf; *PG* 92.172A); *Suda* s.v. Ἑρμῆς. So, Kern, *Fragmenta*, p. 313.

[6] West, *Orphic Poems*, 35 n. 105, noting that if *OF* 299 "were not Jewish it would have to be Hermetic."

OF 248 (Clement *Stromateis* 5.14.125.1–126.5)

(125.1) καὶ <τὰ> διὰ Ἡσαΐου "τίς ἐμέτρησεν τὸν οὐρανὸν σπιθαμῇ καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν δρακί;" πάλιν ὅταν εἴπῃ·

αἰθέρος ἠδ' Ἀΐδου, πόντου γαίης τε τύραννε,
ὃς βρονταῖς σείεις βριαρὸν δόμον Οὐλύμποιο·
δαίμονες ὃν φρίσσουσι{ν}, θεῶν δὲ δέδοικεν ὅμιλος·
ᾧ Μοῖραι πείθονται, ἀμείλικτοί περ ἐοῦσαι·
(2) ἄφθιτε, μητροπάτωρ, οὗ θυμῷ πάντα δονεῖται·
ὃς κινεῖς ἀνέμους, νεφέλῃσι δὲ πάντα καλύπτεις,
πρηστῆρσι σχίζων πλατὺν αἰθέρα· σὴ μὲν ἐν ἄστροις
τάξις, ἀναλλάκτοισιν ἐφημοσύναισ<ι> τρέχουσα·
(3) σῷ δὲ θρόνῳ πυρόεντι παρεστῶσι<ν> πολύμοχθοι
ἄγγελοι, οἷσι μέμηλε βροτοῖς ὡς πάντα τελεῖται·
σὸν μὲν ἔαρ λάμπει νέον ἄνθεσι πορφυρέοισιν·
σὸς χειμὼν ψυχραῖσιν ἐπερχόμενος νεφέλαισιν·
σάς ποτε βακχευτὰς Βρόμιος διένειμεν ὀπώρας.

Clement L
Eusebius BION(D)

1 <τὰ> Euseb. MSS | 3 Ἀΐδου: ἀίδε I | τε om. O | 3–4 τύραννε, ὃς βρονταῖς Mras: τύραννε, ὃς βρονταῖσι Euseb. MSS: τύραννος, βρονταῖς δὲ L | 5 θεῶν δείδοικεν ὅμιλος Platt, *Journal of Philology* 26 (1899) 232 | 6 ἀμείλικτοι Euseb. MSS.: ἀμίλικτοι L | 7 μητροπάτωρ L $D^{ac}N^{2}$: -πάτορ $ION^{1}D^{pc}$: -πάτερ B | 8 νεφέλοισι IN^{1} (corr. N^{2}) D | δὲ om. BIO | 10 ἐφημοσύναις L ND: ἐφημοσύναισι BIO: ἐφημοσύνῃσι Abel | τρέχουσα L: τρεχούσαις BIO: τρέχουσιν Heyse | 11 σῷ δὲ L: ᾧ δὲ B: ᾧδε I (ᾠδε) ON | πυρόεντι παρεστῶσιν Euseb.: πυρόοντι παρεστῶσι L | 13–15 σὸν—ὀπώρας om. B | 13 ἔαρ L $O^{2\,mg}$: ἀέρα $IO^{1}N$ | 14 ψυχρῇσιν Abel | νεφέλαισιν Euseb.: νεφέλεσιν L: νιφάδεσσι Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 456, n. d: νεφέλῃσιν Abel | 15 σάς Fronto ap. Vig. (not.): ἅς Euseb. MSS & L: σός Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 456 | βακχευτῆς Scaliger, Vig. (not.): βακχευτὰς L O (-ῆς O^{1}) IN | βρομίοις L: βρόμιος Euseb. MSS |

OF 248 [1]

(125.1) . . . and in Isaiah, "Who has measured the heaven with a span, and the whole earth with His fist?"[2] Again, when it is said:

> Absolute ruler of Ether and Hades, of Sea and Earth,
> Who with thunder shakes the mighty house of Olympus,
> Whom daimons dread and the whole company of the gods fear,
> Whom the Fates obey, relentless though they be.
> (2) O deathless One, Father of Mother,[3] by whose anger all things
> are driven about,
> Who moves the winds, and conceals everything with clouds,[4]
> Who splits the broad expanse of heaven with flashes of lightning;
> You give order to the stars, which run their course at your
> unchangeable commands;
> (3) Before your fiery throne the angels wait, much burdened,
> to whom are given care for all things concerning mortal man.
> Yours is the new spring which shines forth with purple blossoms;
> Yours is the winter which comes with chilling clouds;
> Yours is the fall which frenzied Bacchus distributes.

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[1] The translation is that of Todd Penner, based on Wilson, ANF 2.473.
[2] Isa 40:12.
[3] Or, "Father and Mother;" so, Gifford, "Eternal mother and eternal Sire." Also, Stählin, (*BKV* [2], 19) 4.221, n. 3: "Vater und Mutter," i.e. "einer, der zugleich Vater und Mutter ist" (on the basis of Homer *Il.* 11.224). Also, see Wobbermin, *Studien*, 81.
[4] On this and the following verses, cf. *Sib. Or.* 8.430–36.

OF 248 (Clement *Stromateis* 5.14.125.1–126.5, cont.)

(126.1) *εἶτα ἐπιφέρει, ῥήτως παντοκράτορα ὀνομάζων τὸν θεόν·*

ἄφθιτον, ἀθάνατον, ῥητὸν μόνον ἀθανάτοισιν.
ἐλθέ, μέγιστε θεῶν πάντων, κρατερῇ σὺν ἀνάγκῃ,
φρικτός, ἀήττητος, μέγας, ἄφθιτος, ὃν στέφει αἰθήρ.

(2) *διὰ μὲν τοῦ "μητροπάτωρ" οὐ μόνον τὴν ἐκ μὴ ὄντων γένεσιν ἐμήνυσεν, δέδωκεν δὲ ἀφορμὰς τοῖς τὰς προβολὰς εἰσάγουσι τάχα καὶ σύζυγον νοῆσαι τοῦ θεοῦ·* (3) *παραφράζει δὲ ἐκείνας τὰς προφητικὰς γραφάς, τήν τε διὰ Ὡσηὲ "ἐγὼ στερεῶν βροντὴν καὶ κτίζων πνεῦμα," οὗ αἱ χεῖρες τὴν στρατιὰν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐθεμελίωσαν, καὶ τὴν διὰ Μωυσέως·* (4) *"ἴδετε ἴδετε, ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς ἕτερος πλὴν ἐμοῦ· ἐγὼ ἀποκτενῶ καὶ ζῆν ποιήσω· πατάξω κἀγὼ ἰάσομαι· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὃς ἐξελεῖται ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν μου."*

(5) *αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο κακὸν θνητοῖσι φυτεύει*
καὶ πόλεμον κρυόεντα καὶ ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα

κατὰ τὸν Ὀρφέα.

Clement L
Eusebius BION(D)

16 *εἶτα ἐπιφέρει*: *ἐπιφέρει δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα* O | 21 *μὲν*: *μὲν οὖν* Euseb. | *μητροπάτωρ* L BIN: *-τορ* O | 22 *δέδωκεν*: *ἐνδέδωκε* Euseb. MSS | *προβολὰς*: *προσβολὰς* B | 23 *τοῦ* om. B | 24 *δὲ*: *δ'* B | *γραφάς*: *φωνάς* B | *δι* B | *Ὡσηέ* Euseb.: *Ἡσαΐου* L | *ἐγὼ*: *Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ* Euseb. MSS | 26 *στρατειὰν* B | *τοῦ—ἐθεμ.*: *τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐποίησαν* O | 27 *εἰμι*: *εἰμὶ θεὸς* O | *ἔστι*: *ἔστιν ἄλλος* (om. *θεὸς*) O | *ἕτερος* om. BO | 28–29 *καὶ*[1]*—μου*: om.B. | 30 *ἐξ ἀγαθοῖς* I | 31 *καὶ*[2]*—δακρ.* om. Euseb. |

OF 248 (cont.)

(126.1) Next, he adds, expressly naming Almighty God:

> Immortal, Deathless One, expressible only to immortals,
> Come, greatest of all gods, with strong Necessity,
> Dreaded One, Powerful One, Great One, Deathless One, whom
> Ether crowns.

(2) So then by the expression *μητροπάτωρ* he not only indicated creation out of nothing but perhaps gave occasion to those who introduce the doctrine of emissions to imagine also a consort of God. (3) And he paraphrases those prophetic Scriptures—both the one spoken by Hosea,[5] "I am he that fixes the thunder, and creates the wind; whose hands have founded the host of heaven"; and the one spoken by Moses, (4) "Behold, behold that I am He, and there is no god beside me: I will kill, and I will make to live; I will smite, and I will heal: and there is none that shall deliver out of my hands."[6]

> (5) And He, from good, to mortals planteth ill,
> And cruel war, and tearful woes,

according to Orpheus. . . .

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[5] Clement MS L reads Isaiah; the quotation, at least the first part, is actually from Amos 4:13. For the latter part of the quotation, cf. Hos 13:4; Jer 19:13; Ps 8:4; also Clement *Protr.* 79.2.

[6] Deut 32:39.

OF 299 (Pseudo-Justin *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 15.2)

(2) Καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ὅρκοις δὲ οὕτως·

Οὐρανὸν ὁρκίζω σε, θεοῦ μεγάλου σοφὸν ἔργον·
αὐδὴν ὁρκίζω σε πατρός, τὴν φθέγξατο πρώτην,
ἡνίκα κόσμον ἅπαντα ἑαῖς στηρίξατο βουλαῖς.

Τί βούλεται τὸ λέγειν αὐτὸν

αὐδὴν ὁρκίζω σε πατρός, τὴν φθέγξατο πρώτην;

Αὐδὴν ἐνταῦθα τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὀνομάζει λόγον, δι' οὗ οὐρανὸς καὶ γῆ καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ἐγένετο κτίσις, ὡς διδάσκουσιν ἡμᾶς αἱ θεῖαι τῶν ἁγίων ἀνδρῶν προφητεῖαι· αἷς ἐν μέρει καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ προσ<σ>χὼν ἔγνω ὅτι τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ θεοῦ <ἡ> πᾶσα ἐγένετο κτίσις. Διὸ καὶ μετὰ τὸ φῆσαι·

αὐδὴν ὁρκίζω σε πατρός, <τ>ὴν φθέγξατο πρώτην
παραυτὰ συνάπτει λέγων·

ἡνίκα κόσμον ἅπαντα ἑαῖς στηρίξατο βουλαῖς.

Ἐνταῦθα <οὖν> τὸν λόγον αὐδὴν διὰ τὸ ποιητικὸν ὀνομάζει μέτρον. Ὅτι δὲ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, δῆλον ἀπὸ τοῦ μικρῷ πρόσθεν, τοῦ μέτρου συγχωροῦντος αὐτῷ, λόγον αὐτὸν ὀνομάζειν. Ἔφη γάρ·

Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε.

A mpsqrg

2 *σοφὸν* sm^{pc}, Cyril, Bentley *Epist. ad Mill.* (Op. phil. Lips. 1781, 457) ap. Kern, *Fragmenta*, p. 313: *σοφοῦ* A | 3 *αὐδὴν—πρώτην*: *ὁρκίζω σ' αὐδὴν, ἣν* (Cyril) *ἐφθέγξατο πρώτον* Bentley ap. Kern, *Fragmenta*, p. 313 | 3 *ὁρκίσω* r | 3, 6 et 12 *φθέγξατο* Ed. prin., Cyril: *ἐφθέγξατο* A psq | 3, 6, et 12 *πρώτην* Marcovich ex Cyrillo et testimoniis: *πρῶτον* ter A | 4 *ἡνίκα—πρῶτον*: *ἡνίκα. . . ἑῆι στ. βουλῇ* Bentley ap. Kern, *Fragmenta*, p. 313 | 4–6 *ἡνίκα—πρώτον* om. rg | 4 *ἅπαντα*: *πάντα* p | 8 *καὶ ἡ πᾶσα* Migne: *καὶ ἅπασα* q: *καὶ πᾶσα* Maranus | 10 *προσχὼν* A, corr. anonym. | *ἡ* Marcovich | 11 *ἐγένετο κτίσις*: *ἐγένετο ἡ κτίσις* q | *τοῦ* om. s | 12 *τὴν* Sylburg (cf. lin. 3 & 6): *ἣν* A et Cyril | 13 *παραυτὰ* codd.: *παῤ αὐτὰ* edd. | 14 *ἡνίκα*: *ἡνία* g | 15 *οὖν* Marcovich | 16–17 *μικρῷ—μέτρου*: *μικρὸν—τὸ μέτρον* g |

OF 299 [1]

(2) And in *The Oaths* he says this:

> I adjure you by heaven, the cleverly devised work of the great God;
>
> And I adjure you by the Father's voice, the first he uttered,
>
> When he established the whole world by his will.

What does he mean, "I adjure you by the Father's voice, the first he uttered"? It is the Word of God which he here calls "the voice," by whom heaven and earth and the whole creation were made, as the divine prophecies of the holy men teach us; and these he himself also paid some attention to in Egypt, and understood that the whole creation was made by the Word of God; and therefore, after he says, "I adjure you by the Father's voice, the first he uttered," he adds this besides, "when he established the whole world by his will." Here he calls the Word "voice," for the sake of the poetical metre. And that this is so, is manifest from the fact that a little further on, where the metre permits him, he names it "Word." For he said:

> Look to the Divine Logos, and adhere to it.

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[1] The translation is that of Dods, ANF 1.280, modified by Todd Penner.

APPENDIX 1:

PSEUDO-ORPHEUS: TEXTUAL WITNESSES

PJ*Co* = Pseudo-Justin *Cohortatio* 15
PJ*Mn* = Pseudo-Justin *De Monarchia* 2
Cl*Pr* = Clement *Protrepticus* 7
Cl*Str* = Clement *Stromateis*, Book 5

(In some cases, for greater precision, I have used the following abbreviations for Clement *Stromateis*:

*St*78 = *Strom.* 5.12.78
*St*123 = *Strom.* 5.14.123
*St*124 = *Strom.* 5.14.124
*St*126 = *Strom.* 5.14.126
*St*127 = *Strom.* 5.14.127
*St*133 = *Strom.* 5.14.133)

EusC = Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* 13.13, quoting Clement
EusC1 = *P.E.* 13.13. quoting *Strom.* 124
EusC2 = *P.E.* 13.13. quoting *Strom.* 127
EusA = Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica* 13.12.5, quoting Aristobulus
Cyr = Cyril of Alexandria *Contra Iulianum*
Thdrt = Theodoret *Graecarum Affectionum Curatio*
TTu = Theosophia Tubingensis

Notes on the following table:

1. The form of the line given for each patristic witness is, whenever possible, that of the MS tradition, or the preferable reading in the MS tradition. Because of the tendency within the editorial tradition to standardize the text, usually to make it conform to the other patristic witnesses, comparisons of the poem based solely on the editorial tradition often reveal greater similarities than actually exist within the MS tradition. For this reason, I have not simply reproduced the editor's version of the line. However, when the editor's version corresponds to that of the MS tradition, naturally it is provided.

2. The variant readings are given directly below the line of the poem from the patristic witness. An attempt has been made to arrange these readings so that the variants for all the patristic witnesses can be examined in a single vertical column; in some cases, of course, for reasons of space, this has not been possible.

3. The variant readings given are intended to show different readings,

either within the manuscript tradition or within the editorial tradition. Thus, when variants are given, it can usually be assumed that either the rest of the MS tradition or the rest of the editorial tradition supports the form of the verse shown for the patristic witness. When there is a question, the regular apparatus criticus for the patristic witnesses should be consulted.

4. In the readings for Ps.-J., Marcovich's edition has been given primary weight, but in some instances readings from Otto are provided. It should be noted that Otto uses capital letters for abbreviations of the MSS, whereas Marcovich uses "A" for Codex Parisinus gr. 451, and lower case letters (m, p, s, q, r) to designate the other MSS, which are apographs of A.

5. The TTu line has been checked against MS Tubingensis. An attempt has been made to reproduce the MS reading, including the actual punctuation, on the TTu line. Variations from MS Tubingensis are shown below the line.

Verse 1

PJ*Co*	Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι
	βεβήλοις r
PJ*Mn*	
Cl*Pr*	Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι
Cl*Str*	
EusC	
EusA	Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι,
Cyr	Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι
Thdrt	
TTu	Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι,
	Φθέγξομαι, Buresch ἐπίθεσθε, Erbse

Verse 2

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
Cl*Str*
EusC
EusA *Φεύγοντες δικαίων θεσμούς, θείοιο τιθέντος*
τιθέντος BIOND[1]
τεθέντος D[4], Steph.
Cyr
Thdrt
TTu *Φεύγοντες δικαίων θεσμοὺς, θεῖόν τε νόημα*
θεσμοὺς θεῖόν Buresch, Erbse

Verse 3

PJ*Co* *Πάντες ὁμῶς. Σὺ δ' ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε Μήνης,*
πᾶσιν rg
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr* *Πάντες ὁμῶς· σὺ δ' ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε Μήνης,*
ὅμως P*
Cl*Str*
EusC
EusA *Πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ· σὺ δ' ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε Μήνης*
πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ BIOND[1] *ἔκγονε* B
πᾶσι νόμου D[4], Steph. *ἔγγονε* ION
Cyr *Πάντες ὅμως· σὺ δ' ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε Μνήμης*
φαεσφόρου CB V, Aub., Burg.
φαεσφόρε MN EP F
Μνήμης MSS
μήνης Burg.
Thdrt
TTu *Πάντες ὁμῶς. σὺ δ' ἄκουε φαεσφόρου ἔγγονε Μήνης,*
ἄκουε, φαεσφόρου Erbse

Verse 4

PJ*Co* Μουσαῖ᾽ Ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα· μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν
Μουσαῖ᾽ sg, Sylburg, Otto, Marc.
Μουσαις A^{ac}
Μουσαῖε A^{pc}, cett. MSS, Steph.
PJ*Mn* Μουσαῖ᾽ Ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα· μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν
Μουσαῖ᾽ s, Sylburg, Otto, Marc.
μουσαῖε q, Steph., Göz ap. Otto
ἀληθέα qs
ἀληθινὰ $q^{m. rec.}$
Cl*Pr* Μουσαῖε, ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα, μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν
μουσαῖε P^1
μούσαις P*
Cl*Str*
EusC
EusA Μουσαῖε. ἐξενέπω γὰρ ἀληθέα· μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν
Μουσαῖε BI(post γὰρ) ON
Μουσαῖ᾽ Mras
ἐξενέπω $I^{ac}ND^1$
ἐξεννέπω BOI^1
ἐξερέω $D^{4\,mg}$, Steph.
Cyr Μουσαῖ᾽· ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα· μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν
Thdrt
TTu Μουσαῖ᾽· ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα. μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν
Μουσαῖε T μὴ δέ σε T
ἀληθέα, μηδέ Buresch, Erbse

Verse 5

PJ*Co* Ἐν *στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ.*
στήθεσι qp^{ac}
στήθεσσι p^{pc} et MSS, Otto, Marc.
PJ*Mn* Ἐν *στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ.*
φανέντα qs
ῥηθέντα q$^{m. rec.}$
Cl*Pr* Ἐν *στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ.*
Cl*Str*
EusC
EusA Ἐν *στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ,*
ἐν om. I
στήθεσι B
Cyr Ἐν *στήθεσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ.*
στήθεσι MSS
στήθεσσι C^{pc}, Aubert, Burguière
Thdrt
TTu Ἐν *στήθεσσι φανέντα, φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρση.*
φανέντα φίλης Buresch, Erbse
ἀμέρσῃ Buresch, Erbse

Verse 6

PJ*Co* Εἰς *δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε,*
προσεδρεύει A^{ac}
προσέδρευε A^{pc}
PJ*Mn* Εἰς *δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε,*
Εἰς— *προσέδρευε* om. s
Cl*Pr* Εἰς *δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε,*
προσέδρευ' P
*St*123 Εἰς *δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε,*
EusC Εἰς *δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε,*
δὲ λόγον O
λόγον δὲ IN
EusA Εἰς *δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε,*
Cyr Εἰς *δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας, τούτῳ προσέδρευε,*
Thdrt
TTu Εἰς *δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας, τούτῳ προσέδρευε,*
βλέψας τούτῳ Buresch, Erbse

Verse 7

PJ*Co* ᾽Ιθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος, εὖ τ᾽ ἐπίβαινε
νοερὸν φέγγος (in ras.) ἐπίβαινε s
PJ*Mn* ᾽Ιθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος, εὖ τ᾽ ἐπίβαινε
᾽Ιθύνων— ἐπίβαινε om. s
Cl*Pr* Εὐθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος· εὖ δ᾽ ἐπίβαινε
εἰθύνων P*
εὐθύνων P²
ἰθύνων Stählin
*St*123 Εὐθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος· εὖ δ᾽ ἐπίβαινε
εὐθύνων L
ἰθύνων Stählin
EusC ᾽Ιθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος· εὖ δ᾽ ἐπίβαινε
ἰθύνων ION
EusA ᾽Ιθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος· εὖ δ᾽ ἐπίβαινε
Cyr ᾽Ιθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος, εὖ δ᾽ ἐπίβαινε
κύτος CB V, Aubert, Burg.
κῆτος MN EP F
Thdrt
TTu ἰθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος· εὖ δ᾽ ἐπίβαινε

Verse 8

PJ*Co* ᾽Ατραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ᾽ ἐσόρα κόσμοιο ἄνακτα.
ἀτραπητοῦ g
ἀταρπητοῦ q
PJ*Mn* ᾽Ατραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ᾽ ἐσόρα κόσμοιο ἄνακτα.
᾽Ατραπιτοῦ— ἄνακτα om. s
ἀτραπητοῦ q
ἀτραπιτοῦ Otto, Marc.
Cl*Pr* ᾽Ατραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ᾽ ἐσόρα κόσμοιο ἄνακτα
*St*123 ᾽Ατραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ᾽ ἐσόρα κόσμοιο ἄνακτα
EusC ᾽Ατραπιτοῦ, μόνον δ᾽ ἐσόρα κόσμοιο ἄνακτα
μόνον ION
μοῦνον Mras
δ᾽ I
δὲ ON
EusA ᾽Ατραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ᾽ ἐσόρα κόσμοιο τυπωτὴν
Cyr ᾽Ατραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ᾽ ἐσόρα κόσμοιο ἄνακτα·
μοῦνον C V, Aubert, Burguière
μόνον MN B EP F
Thdrt
TTu ᾽Ατραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ᾽ ἐσόρα κόσμοιο τυπωτὴν

Verse 9

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr* Ἀθάνατον.
*St*123 Ἀθάνατον.
EusC Ἀθάνατον.
EusA Ἀθάνατον. παλαιὸς δὲ λόγος περὶ τοῦδε φαείνει·
παλαιὸς— φαείνει om. B
Cyr
Thdrt
TTu Ἀθάνατον. παλαιὸς δὲ λόγος περὶ τοῦδε φαείνει·
παλαιὸς: ὁ τοῦ Μωσέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προφητῶν T^mg

Verse 10

PJ*Co* Εἷς ἔστ', αὐτογενής, ἑνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται·
εἷς δ' ἔστ' pr εὖ s m. rec.
εἷς δ' ἔστιν g
εἷς ἐστ' Lobeck
εἷς ἔστ' A, Otto, Marc.
PJ*Mn* Εἷς ἔστ', αὐτογενής, ἑνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται·
αὐτογενής qs, Otto, Marc.
αὐτοτελής q ss m. rec.
ἑνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτεκται q
ἑνὸς ἔργον ἅπαντα τέτυκται s
ἑνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται Otto, Marc.
αὐτοῦ δ' ὕπο πάντα τελεῖται q ss m. rec.
Cl*Pr* Εἷς ἔστ', αὐτογενής, ἑνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται·
αὐτογενής P
*St*78 Εἷς ἔστ', αὐτοτελής, ἑνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται
(πέφυκεν)
EusC
EusA Εἷς ἔστ' αὐτοτελής, αὐτοῦ δ' ὑπὸ πάντα τελεῖται,
Εἷς— τελεῖται om. B
Cyr Εἷς δ' ἔστ' αὐτογενής, ἑνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται,
Εἷς δ' ἔστ' MSS, Aubert
Εἷς ἐστ' Burguière
Thdrt Εἷς ἔστ' αὐτοτελής, αὐτοῦ δ' ὑπὸ πάντα τελεῖται·
αὐτοτελής KBLMCVD
αὐτογενής S
TTu εἷς ἐστ' αὐτογενής. ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται·
εἷς ἐστ' Bur. αὐτογενής, . . . τέτυκται, Buresch, Erbse
εἷς ἔστ' Erb.
αὐτογενὴς <ἑνὸς> ἔκγονα Buresch, Erbse
αὐτογενὴς <τοῦ δ'> ἔκγονα Kroll ap. Kern

Verse 11

PJ*Co* Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περιγίνεται, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
περιγίγνεται Maranus (*PG*)

PJ*Mn* Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περιγίνεται, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
περιγίνεται qs, Otto, Marc.
περιγίγνεται Maranus (*PG*)

Cl*Pr* Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περινίσσεται, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
περινίσσεται $P^{*}M^{2}$
περινίσεται $P^{2}M^{*}$

*St*78 οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν

EusC

EusA Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περινίσσεται, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
ἐν— αὐτὸν om. B
περινίσσεται IN
περινίσεται O

Cyr Ἐν δ' αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς περιγίνεται· οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς MSS, Burguière.
αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς Aubert
περιγίνεται MN(?)$F^{2\,mg}$, Burg.
περιγίγνεται C VB, Aubert
περινίσσεται EP F

Thdrt Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περινίσσεται, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν

TTu Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περινίσεται οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
περινίσσεται Buresch, Erbse

Verse 12

PJ*Co* Εἰσοράᾳ *θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.*
ἑορᾶται s
PJ*Mn* Εἰσοράᾳ *θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.*
αὐτὸς δὲ πάντ᾽ ἑορᾶται s
Cl*Pr* Εἰσορᾷ *θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.*
εἰσορᾷ P
εἰσοράᾳ Stählin (M ?)
*St*78 Εἰσοράᾳ *θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.*
EusC
EusA Εἰσοράᾳ *ψυχὴν θνητῶν, νόῳ δ᾽ εἰσοράαται.*
εἰσοράᾳ— εἰσοράαται om. B
ψυχὴν I *νόῳ* MSS
ψυχῶν ON *νῷ* Steph., Mras
νοΐ ? Mras
Cyr Εἰσοράα *θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.*
Εἰσοράα Aubert
Εἰσοράᾳ Burguière
Thdrt Εἰσοράᾳ *θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.*
ὁρᾶται KBLSVD
ὁρᾷ MC
TTu Εἰσοράει *θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.*

Verse 13

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
Cl*Str*
EusC
EusA
Cyr
Thdrt [Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται·
δ' KBLMSCD ὁρόω KBLMSD
δ' αῦ V ὁρῶσι CVM^{mg}]=v 21
TTu Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ' ὁρόωσι· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται.
{αὐτὸν—ἐστήρικται} Erbse (see v 21)

Verse 14

PJ*Co* Οὗτος <δ'> ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο κακὸν θνητοῖσι δίδωσι
δ' om. A νοῦν s
<δ'> Marc.
δ' Otto
PJ*Mn* Οὗτος <δ'> ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο κακὸν θνητοῖσι δίδωσι
οὗτος— δίδωσι om. s
δ' q, Maranus, cet. edd.
δ' om. Steph., Göz ap. Otto
Cl*Pr*
*St*126 Αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο κακὸν θνητοῖσι φυτεύει
EusC Αὐτὸς δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο κακὸν θνητοῖσι φυτεύει
ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο BON
ἐξ ἀγαθοῖς I
EusA Αὐτὸς δ' ἐξ ἀγαθῶν θνητοῖς κακὸν οὐκ ἐπιτέλλει
αὐτὸς— ἐπιτέλλει om. B
Cyr
Thdrt
TTu Οὗτος δ' ἐξ ἀγαθῶν, θνητοῖς κακὸν οὐκ ἐπιτέλλει
ἀγαθῶν θνητοῖς Buresch, Erbse

Verse 15

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
Cl*Str*
EusC
EusA ᾽Ανθρώποις· αὐτῷ δὲ χάριν καὶ μῖσος ὀπηδεῖ·
ἀνθρώποις— *ὀπηδεῖ* om. B
αὐτῷ D
αὐτὼ I
αὐτὸς ON
αὐτοῖς Kern
χάριν MSS
χάρις Steph., Mras
κ᾽ Ἔρις Kern, Mras (?)
Cyr
Thdrt
TTu ᾽Ανθρώποις. *αὐτοῖς δὲ κ᾽ ἔρις καὶ μῖσος ὀπηδεῖ*
᾽Ανθρώποις, Bur.,Erb. *κ᾽ ἔρις* T, Buresch, Kern
τ᾽ ἔρις Schenkl ap. Erbse
κἔρις Erbse

Verse 16

PJ*Co* Καὶ *πόλεμον κρυόεντα καὶ ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα.*
PJ*Mn* Καὶ *πόλεμον κρυόεντα καὶ ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα.*
καὶ— *δακρυόεντα* om. s
Cl*Pr*
*St*126 Καὶ *πόλεμον κρυόεντα καὶ ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα*
EusC Καὶ *πόλεμον κρυόεντα,*
EusA Καὶ *πόλεμον καὶ λοιμὸν ἰδ᾽ ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα·*
καὶ— *δακρυόεντα* om. B
πόλεμον καὶ λοιμὸν IN
πόλεμον καὶ λοιμῶν O
πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς Steph., Mras
Cyr
Thdrt
TTu Καὶ *πόλεμος, καὶ λοιμὸς, ἰδ᾽ ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα.*
πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς Buresch, Erbse

Verse 17

PJ*Co* Οὐδέ *τις ἔστ' ἕτερος χωρὶς μεγάλου βασιλῆος.*
ἔστ' A
ἔσθ' p, Otto, Marc.
μεγάλοιο ἄνακτος q (E Otto)
PJ*Mn* Οὐδέ *τις ἔσθ' ἕτερος χωρὶς μεγάλοιο ἄνακτος.*
βασιλῆος μεγάλοιο s
Cl*Pr*
*St*133 Οὐδέ *τις ἔσθ' ἕτερος χωρὶς μεγάλου βασιλῆος,*
EusC Οὐδέ *τίς ἐσθ' ἕτερος χωρὶς μεγάλου βασιλῆος*
EusA Οὐδέ *τίς ἐσθ' ἕτερος. σὺ δέ κεν ῥέα πάντ' ἐσόρησο,*
οὐδέ—
ἐσόρησο om. B
ἐσόρησο MSS
ἐσορήσω Mras
ἐσορήσαις Steph.
ἐσαθρήσαις Lobeck
Cyr
Thdrt
TTu Οὐδεὶς *ἔσθ' ἕτερος, τῷ κεν ῥέα πάντ' ἐσορῆται.*
οὐδεὶς T, Buresch
οὐδέ τις Erbse

Verse 18

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
Cl*Str*
EusC
EusA *Αἴ κεν ἴδῃς αὐτόν· πρὶν δή ποτε δεῦρ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν,*
αἴ—
γαῖαν om. B
Cyr
Thdrt
TTu *Οὔκουν ἴδῃς αὐτόν. πρὶν δήποτε δ' ἐπὶ γαίαν,*
οὔκουν ἴδῃς T *δήποτε* T *γαῖαν* Buresch, Erbse
οὔ κεν ἴδῃς Elter *δή ποτε* Buresch, Erbse
οὔ κεν ἴδοις Buresch, Erbse
πρίν κεν ἴδῃς αὐτόν· πλὴν δή ποτε Lobeck
δ' ἐπὶ T
δ<ευρ>' Buresch, Erbse
πρὶν: πρὸ τοῦ σαρκωθῆναι, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆν ὀφθῆναι T^mg

Verse 19

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
Cl*Str*
EusC
EusA Τέκνον ἐμόν, δείξω σοι, ὀπηνίκα τὰ δέρκομαι αὐτοῦ
τέκνον— *σοι* om. B
ὀπηνίκα τὰ MSS
ὀπηνίκα Steph., Mras
Cyr
Thdrt
TTu Τέκνον ἐμόν, δείξω σοι, ὀπηνίκα δέρκομαι αὐτοῦ,
ἐμόν, δείξω T, Erbse *ὀπήνικα* Erbse
ἐμὸν δείξω Buresch

Verse 20

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
Cl*Str*
EusC
EusA Ἴχνια καὶ χεῖρα στιβαρὴν κρατεροῖο θεοῖο.
κρατεροῖο B
κραταιοῖο ION
Cyr
Thdrt
TTu Ἴχνια καὶ στιβαρὴν χεῖρα κρατεροῖο θεοῖο,
b a
στιβαρὴν χεῖρα T
χεῖρα στιβαρὴν Buresch, Erbse
ἴχνια: ὅτε τῶν θυρῶν κεκλεισμένων ἔδειξε τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας T^{mg} (cf. John 20:26)

Verse 21

PJ*Co* Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται.
PJ*Mn* Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται.
Cl*Pr*
*St*78 Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται.
EusC
EusA Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται
ὁρόω ex ὁράω B[1]
Cyr
Thdrt Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται·
δ' KBLMSCD
δ' αὖ V
ὁρόω KBLMSD
ὁρῶσι CVM[mg]
TTu Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω. περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται·
ὁρόω, περὶ Buresch, Erbse

Verse 22

PJ*Co* Πᾶσιν γὰρ θνητοῖς θνηταὶ κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις,
πᾶσιν rs, ed. prin. (Ludoicus) Otto
πᾶσι<ν> Marc.
πᾶσι Apqg
PJ*Mn* Πᾶσιν γὰρ θνητοῖς θνηταὶ κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις,
πᾶσιν s, Otto, Marc.
πᾶσι q, Maranus, cett. edd.
Cl*Pr*
*St*78 Πᾶσι γὰρ θνητοῖς θνηταὶ κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὅσοι
πᾶσι L ἐν ὅσοι L
πᾶσι<ν> Stählin ἐν ὄσσοις Stählin
EusC
EusA
Cyr
Thdrt Πᾶσι γὰρ θνητοῖς θνηταὶ κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις,
TTu Πᾶσι γὰρ θνητοῖς κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις
πᾶσι E, Erbse ὄσσοις Buresch, Erbse
πᾶσιν Buresch
θνητοῖς <θνηταὶ> κόραι Buresch, Erbse

Verse 23

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
μικραὶ ἐπεὶ σάρκες (τε καὶ ?) ὀστέα πεφύασιν s
ClPr
*St*78 *Σμικραί, ἐπεὶ σάρκες τε καὶ ὀστέα ἐμπεφυῖα ἐμπεφύασιν.*
σμικραί L *ἐμπεφυῖα ἐμ | πεφύασιν* L
μικραί Stählin *{ἐμπεφυῖα} ἐμπεφύασιν* Syl., Stä.
EusC
EusA
Cyr
Thdrt *Μικραί, ἐπεὶ σάρκες τε καὶ ὀστέα ἐμπεφύκασιν.*
TTu *Μικραί ἐπεὶ σάρκες, καὶ ὀστέα ἐμφύασιν.*
σάρκες <τε> καὶ ὀστέα ἐμπεφύασιν Buresch, Erb.
Μικραί, ἐπεὶ Erbse

Verse 24

PJ*Co* *᾽Ασθενέες δ᾽ ἰδέειν Δία τὸν πάντων μεδέοντα.*
Δία τὸν rg, Otto, Marc.
τὸν διὰ Apqs
PJ*Mn* *᾽Ασθενέες δ᾽ ἰδέειν τὸν διὰ πάντων μεδέοντα.*
τὸν διὰ q, Steph.
τὸν ἀεὶ s
τὸν Δία Göz ap. Otto
Δία τὸν Sylburg, Otto, Marc.
διὰ πάντων τὸν μεδέοντα Burkert
ClPr
ClStr
EusC
EusA
Cyr
Thdrt
TTu *᾽Ασθενέες τ᾽ ἰδέειν τὸν δὴ πάντα μεδέοντα.*
τὸν δὴ πάντων μεδέοντα. Buresch
Δία τὸν πάντων μεδέοντα. Erbse

Verse 25

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
Cl*Str*
EusC
EusA Λοιπὸν ἐμοί· στᾶσιν δὲ δεκάπτυχον ἀνθρώποισιν.
λεπτόν Lobeck στᾶσιν BON δέκα πτυχαὶ Steph.
στάσιν I
᾽στᾶσιν (=ἑστᾶσιν) Mras
πᾶσιν Hermann ap. Mras
Cyr
Thdrt
TTu Λοιπὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσι δεκάπτυχον ἀνθρώποισιν·
λοιπὸν: ἀντὶ τοῦ, καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις T^{mg}
δεκάπτυχον: ἡ μωσαϊκὴ δεκάλογος διδάσκαλος ἔσται T^{mg}

Verse 26

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
Cl*Str*
EusC
EusA Οὐ γάρ κέν τις ἴδοι θνητῶν μερόπων κραίνοντα,
θνητῶν ION
θνητὸν B
Cyr
Thdrt
TTu Οὐ γάρ κέν τις ἴδοι θνητῶν μερόπων κρείοντα,

Verse 27

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
*St*123 Εἰ μὴ μουνογενής τις ἀπορρὼξ φύλου ἄνωθεν
EusC Εἰ μὴ μουνογενής τις ἀπορρὼξ φύλου ἄνωθεν
EusA Εἰ μὴ μουνογενής τις ἀπορρὼξ φύλου ἄνωθεν
Cyr
Thdrt
TTu Εἰ μὴ μουνογενής τις ἀπορρὼξ φύλου ἄνωθεν

Verse 28

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
*St*123 Χαλδαίων· *ἴδρης γὰρ ἔην ἄστροιο πορείης,*
ἴδρης L
ἴδρις Stählin
EusC Χαλδαίων· *ἴδρις γὰρ ἔην ἄστροιο πορείης,*
EusA Χαλδαίων· *ἴδρις γὰρ ἔην ἄστροιο πορείης*
Cyr
Thdrt
TTu Χαλδαίων· *ἴδρις γὰρ ἔην ἄστρων τε πορείης*
Χαλδαίων: *ὁ γὰρ τὴν δεκάπτυχον γράψας* Μωσῆς, *τῶν Χαλδαίων ἔμπειρος ἦν καὶ τῆς ἀστρονομίας* T^mg

Verse 29

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
*St*123 Καὶ *σφαίρης κινήματ' ἀμφὶ χθόνα θ' ὡς περιτέλλει*
κινήματ' L {*θ'*} Stählin
κίνημ' Stählin
EusC Καὶ *σφαίρης κίνημα ἀμφὶ χθόνα ὡς περιτέλλει*
κίνημα ION *ὡς περιτέλλει* IN
κίνημ{α} Mras *τ' ἐς πέρι* O
EusA Καὶ *σφαίρης κίνημα ἀμφὶ χθόνα ὡς περιτέλλει*
κίνημα MSS
κίνημ' Mras
Cyr
Thdrt
TTu Καὶ *σφαίρης*, *ἤτ' ἀμφὶς ὀχῆος ἀεὶ περιτέλλει*
ἤτ': *ἤτις ἐξ ἀμφοτέρωθεν τοῦ ὁρίζοντος, ἢ τοῦ ἄξονος ἀεὶ κινεῖται* T^mg

Verse 30

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
*St*123 Κυκλοτερὲς ἐν ἴσῳ τε κατὰ σφέτερον κνώδακα,
EusC Κυκλοτερὲς ἐν ἴσῳ τε, κατὰ σφέτερον κνώδακα·
ἐν ἴσῳ τε ION κατὰ σφέτερον ION
<τ'> ἐν ἴσῳ Mras κατὰ <δὲ> σφέτερον Mras
EusA Κυκλοτερὲς ἐν ἴσῳ, κατὰ δὲ σφέτερον κνώδακα.
κυκλοτερὲς ἐν ἴσῳ IN
κυκλοτερὴς ἐν ἐείσω BO
κυκλοτερές γ' ἐν ἴσῳ D
κυκλοτερές τ' ἐν ἴσῳ Mras
Cyr
Thdrt
TTu Κυκλοτερὴς, ἴση τε κατὰ σφέτερον κνώδακα.
Κυκλοτερὴς ἴση Buresch, Erbse

Verse 31

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
*St*123 Πνεύματι δ' ἡνιοχεῖ περί τ' ἠέρα καὶ περὶ χεῦμα.
πνεύματι δ' L
πνεύματα δ' Stählin
EusC Πνεύματι ἡνιοχεῖ περί τ' ἠέρα καὶ περὶ χεῦμα.
πνεύματι IN
πνεῦμά τ' O
πνεύματα <δ'> Mras
EusA Πνεύματα δ' ἡνιοχεῖ περί τ' ἠέρα καὶ περὶ χεῦμα
περὶ om. O
Cyr
Thdrt
TTu Πνεύματι δ' ἡνιοχεῖ περί τ' ἠέρα, καὶ περὶ χεῦμα,
πνεύματι T, Erbse ἠέρα καὶ Buresch, Erbse
πνεύματα Buresch
ἡνιοχεῖ: εὐτάκτως ἄγει <περὶ> τὸν ἀέρα,
ἢ <καὶ> τὰ τῆς γῆς πέρατα, τὸ ὕδωρ T^{mg}

Verse 32

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
Cl*Str*
EusC
EusA Νάματος· ἐκφαίνει δὲ πυρὸς σέλας τάδε ἶφι γεννηθῆ.
σέλας τάδε ἰφιγενηθῆ I
σέλας ταδ' ἴφι γενήθη ND
ἐλάτα δὲ ἴφι γεννηθῆ B
ἐλάτα δὲ ἶφι γεννηθῆ O
σέλας ἰφιγενήτου Steph., Mras

Cyr
Thdrt
TTu 'Εκφαίνει δὲ πυρὸς σέλατα, διαφεγγέα πάντῃ.
πυρὸς: τῆς θεότητος ἀπαυγάσματα T^{mg}
πυρὸς σέλατα: *in antigr.* πυροσέλευτα T^{mg}

Verse 33

PJ*Co* Οὗτος γὰρ χάλκειον ἐς οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται
ἐς A, Otto, Marc.
εἰς s
ἐπ' q
PJ*Mn* Οὗτος γὰρ χάλκειον ἐπ' οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται
Cl*Pr*
*St*124 Αὐτὸς δ' αὖ μέγαν αὖτις ἐπ' οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται
EusC Αὐτὸς δ' αὖ μέγαν αὖτις ἐπ' οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται
EusA Αὐτὸς δὴ μέγαν αὖθις ἐπ' οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται
Cyr Αὐτὸς γὰρ χάλκειον ἐς οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται
χάλκειον CB V, Aub., Burg.
χάλκεον MN EP F
ἐς MNC EP F
εἰς VB
Thdrt Αὐτὸς δ' αὖ μέγαν αὖτις ἐπ' οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται
αὐτὸς δ' αὖ KBLMSCD αὖτις KBLSCVD
αὐτὸς δὴ (om. αὖ) V αὖθις M
TTu Αὐτὸς δὴ μέγαν αὖθις ἐπ' οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται,
ἐστήρικται Buresch, Erbse

Verse 34

PJ*Co* Χρυσέῳ ἐνὶ θρόνῳ, γαίης δ' ἐπὶ ποσσὶ βέβηκε
ἐνὶ MSS, Steph., Otto ποσὶ p βέβηκεν g
εἰνὶ Sylburg, cett. edd.
ε<ι>νὶ Marc.

PJ*Mn* Χρυσέῳ ἐνὶ θρόνῳ, γαίης δ' ἐπὶ ποσσὶ βέβηκε
ἐνὶ s, Otto
εἰνὶ q, Marc.

Cl*Pr*

*St*124 Χρυσέῳ ἐνὶ θρόνῳ, γαίη τε ὑπὸ ποσὶ βέβηκεν.
ἐνὶ L γαίη τε ὑπὸ ποσὶ L
εἰνὶ Stäh. γαίη δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ Stählin

*St*127 . . . γαίη δ' ἐπὶ ποσὶ βέβηκεν
ἐπὶ ποσὶ L
ὑπὸ ποσσὶ Stählin

EusC1 Χρυσέῳ ἐνὶ θρόνῳ· γαίη δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ βέβηκε.
=*S*124 ἐνὶ IO
ἑνὶ ND
εἰνὶ Mras

EusC2 . . . γαίη δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ βέβηκε
=*S*127 γαίη— βέβηκε om. B
ὑπὸ ποσσὶ ON
ἐπὶ ποσὶ I

EusA Χρυσέῳ εἰνὶ θρόνῳ· γαίη δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ βέβηκε·
εἰνὶ BIO (et $N^{2\,mg}$) D^1 (ἐνὶ D^{ac})
ἑνὶ N^1
ἐνὶ N^2

Cyr Χρυσέῳ εἰνὶ θρόνῳ, γαίῃ δ' ἐπὶ ποσσὶ βέβηκε·
ποσσὶ MN EP F V
ποσὶ CB

Thdrt Χρυσέῳ ἐνὶ θρόνῳ, γαίη δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ βέβηκε·

TTu Χρυσέῳ εἰνὶ θρόνῳ· γαίη δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ βέβηκε.
χρυσέῳ: *in ant.* χρυσέων T^{mg} βέβηκε, Bur., Erb.

Verse 35

PJ*Co* Χεῖρά τε δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρματος ὠκεανοῖο
PJ*Mn* Χεῖρά τε δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρματος ὠκεανοῖο
Cl*Pr*
*St*124 Χεῖρα δεξιτερὴν περὶ τέρμασιν ὠκεανοῖο
χεῖρα δεξιτερὴν L
χεῖρα <δὲ> δεξιτερὴν Stählin
*St*127 Χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρματος ὠκεανοῖο
EusC1 Χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν περὶ τέρμασιν ᾽Ωκεανοῖο
=*S*124 *δὲ* I ᾽Ωκεανοῖο ON
δὲ om. ND ᾽Ωκεανοῖς I
EusC2 Χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρματος ᾽Ωκεανοῖο
=*S*127 Χεῖρα— ᾽Ωκεανοῖο om. B
δὲ δεξιτερὴν N
δὲ δεξιωτερὴν I
δεξιτερὴν O (om. *δὲ*)
EusA Χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρμασιν ᾽Ωκεανοῖο
Cyr Χεῖρά τε δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρματα ᾽Ωκεανοῖο
τέρματα MN EP F, Aub.
τέρματ᾽ C VB
τέρματος Burg.
Thdrt Χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν περὶ τέρμασιν ᾽Ωκεανοῖο
TTu Χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ τέρμασιν ὠκεανοῖο

Verse 36

PJ*Co* Πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν· περὶ γὰρ τρέμει οὔρεα μακρὰ
PJ*Mn* Πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν· περὶ γὰρ τρέμει οὔρεα μακρὰ
Cl*Pr*
*St*124 Ἐκτέτακεν, ὀρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις ἔνδοθι θυμοῦ
θυμοῦ L
θυμῷ Stäh.
*St*127 Πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν, γαίη δ' ἐπὶ ποσὶ βέβηκεν.
ἐπὶ ποσὶ L
ὑπὸ ποσσὶ Stählin
EusC1 Ἐκτέτακεν· ὀρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις ἔνδοθι θυμῷ
=*S*124
EusC2 Πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν· γαίη δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ βέβηκε
=*S*127 Πάντοθεν— βέβηκε om. B
ὑπὸ ποσσὶ ON
ἐπὶ ποσὶ I
EusA Ἐκτέτακεν· ὀρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις ἔνδοθι θυμῷ
δὲ B
τε IO
om. ND
Cyr Πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν· περὶ γὰρ τρέμει οὔρεα μακρά,
ἐκτέτακεν CB οὔρεά (ὄρεά) τε MNVEPF
ἐκτέτακε MN V EP F οὔρεα Aubert, Burg.
Thdrt Ἐκτέτακεν· ὀρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις ἔνδοθι θυμῷ·
TTu Πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν. ὀρέων δὲ τρέμει βάσις αὐτὸν
Πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν, Buresch, Erbse

Verse 37

PJ*Co* Καὶ ποταμοὶ πολιῆς τε βάθος χαροποῖο θαλάσσης.
PJ*Mn* Καὶ ποταμοὶ πολιῆς τε βάθος χαροποῖο θαλάσσης.
Cl*Pr*
Cl*Str*
EusC
EusA
Cyr Καὶ ποταμοί, πολιῆς τε βάθος χαροποῖο θαλάσσης.
Thdrt
TTu Ἐν θυμῷ, πολιῆς τε βάθος χαροποῖο θαλάσσης
Ἐν θυμῷ Buresch, Erbse

Verse 38

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
*St*124 Οὐδὲ *φέρειν δύναται κρατερὸν μένος. ἔστι δὲ πάντῃ*
EusC Οὔτε *φέρειν δύναται κρατερὸν μένος. ἔστι δὲ πάντη*
EusA Οὐδὲ *φέρειν δύναται κρατερὸν μένος. ἔστι δὲ πάντων*
πάντων MSS
πάντως Steph., Mras
Cyr
Thdrt Οὐδὲ *φέρειν δύναται κρατερὸν μένος· ἔστι δὲ πάντῃ*
κρατερὸν KBLCD
κάρτερον SV Mγρ.
TTu Οὐδὲ *φέρειν δύναται κρατερὸν μένος. ἔστι δὲ πάντῃ*

Verse 39

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
*St*124 Αὐτὸς *ἐπουράνιος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάντα τελευτᾷ,*
EusC Αὐτὸς *ἐπουράνιος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάντα τελευτᾷ,*
χθονὶ IN
χθόνα O
EusA Αὐτὸς *ἐπουράνιος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάντα τελευτᾷ,*
Cyr
Thdrt Αὐτὸς *ἐπουράνιος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάντα τελευτᾷ,*
TTu Αὐτὸς *ἐπουράνιος καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάντα τελευτᾷ,*
πάντα τελευτᾷ Erbse

Verse 40

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
*St*124 Ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ μέσων ἠδὲ τελείων.
μέσων ἠδὲ τελείων L
μέσσην ἠδὲ τελευτήν Stählin
EusC Ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ μέσ(σ)ων ἠδὲ τελείων.
μέσων ἠδὲ τελείων I
μέσσων ἠδὲ τελείων ON
μέσσην ἠδὲ τελευτήν Mras
EusA Ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ μέσ(σ)ον ἠδὲ τελευτήν,
μέσσον ION[1]
μέσον BD*(σ[2] add. D[1] ?)
μέσσην N[2], Mras
Cyr
Thdrt Ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ μέσσον ἠδὲ τελευτήν.
μέσσον K (μέσον)
μέσσην BMV
μέσην LCS
TTu Ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων, ἢ δ' αὖ μέσον, ἢ δὲ τελευτήν.
τελευτήν Buresch
τελευτήν, Erbse

Verse 41

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
Cl*Str*
EusC
EusA Ὡς λόγος ἀρχαίων, ὡς ὑλογενὴς διέταξεν,
ὑλογενὴς BION
ὑδογενὴς Scaliger, Mras
Cyr
Thdrt
TTu Ὡς λόγος ἀρχαίων, ὡς ὑλογενὴς διέταξεν,
διέταξεν Erb.
ὑλογενὴς: ὁ τὴν τῶν ἐνύλων γένεσιν
γράψας Μωσῆς T[mg]

Verse 42

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
Cl*Str*
EusC
EusA ’Εκ *θεόθεν γνώμῃσι λαβὼν κατὰ δίπλακα θεσμόν.*
γνώμησι BO
γνώμοσι IN
γνώμῃσι Mras

Cyr
Thdrt
TTu ’Εκ *θεόθεν γνώμην τὲ λαβὼν, καὶ δίπλακα θεσμόν.*
τε λαβὼν καὶ Bur., Erb.
δίπλακα: forte, δυσί· διὸ γὰρ
ἔλαβε τὸν νόμον ἐν πλαξί T^mg

Verse 43

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
*St*124 ῎Αλλως *οὐ θεμιτόν σε λέγειν· τρομέω δέ τε γυῖα*
EusC ’Αλλ’ *οὐ θεμιτόν σε λέγειν· τρομέω δὲ ἑ γυῖα,*
ἀλλ’ ION *δὲ ἑ γυῖα* O
ἄλλ<ως> Mras *δὴ ἐγυῖα* N^1
δὲ ἐγυῖα N^2
δὲ ἀγυῖα I
δ’ ὑπὸ γυῖα D
δέ γε γυῖα Mras

EusA ῎Αλλως *οὐ θεμιτὸν δὲ λέγειν· τρομέω δέ γε γυῖα,*
ἄλλως— *γυῖα* om. B

Cyr
Thdrt
TTu ’Αλλ’ *ὡς οὐ θεμιτόν δὲ λέγειν, τρομέω δὲ τελίην.*
ἀλλ’ ὡς T *δὲ* T *δὲ τελίην*— Buresch
ἀλλ’—ὡς Buresch *με* Buresch, Erbse *δέ γε λίην* Erbse
—ἀλλ’ ὣς Erbse

τρομέω: φρίττω τὸ μυστήριον
λογιζόμενος T^mg

Verse 44

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
*St*124 Ἐν *νόῳ. ἐξ ὑπάτου κραίνει,*
EusC Ἐν *νόῳ. ἐξ ὑπάτου κραίνει*
EusA Ἐν *νόῳ· ἐξ ὑπάτου κραίνει περὶ πάντ᾽ ἐνὶ τάξει.*
ἐν— *τάξει* om. B
Cyr
Thdrt
TTu Ἐκ *νόου ἐξ ὑπάτου κραίνει περὶ πάντ᾽ ἐνὶ τάξει.*
πάντ᾽ ἐνὶ: in antig. πάντες T^mg

Verse 45

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
Cl*Str*
EusC
EusA Ὦ *τέκνον, σὺ δὲ τοῖσι νόοισι πελάζευ, μηδ᾽ ἄπο γε*
ὦ— *γλώσσης* om. B
πελάζεο Steph.
μηδ᾽ ἄπο γε ION
γλώσσην Steph.
γλώσσης Dind., Mras
Cyr
Thdrt
TTu Ὦ *τέκνον, σὺ δὲ σοῖσι νόοις πέλας ἴσθι ἐς αὐτόν,*
αὐτόν Erbse

Verse 46

PJ*Co*
PJ*Mn*
Cl*Pr*
Cl*Str*
EusC
EusA Εὖ *μάλ᾽ ἐπικρατέων, στέρνοισι δὲ ἔνθεο φήμην.*
εὖ— *φήμην* om. B
μάλ᾽ ON
μάλα I
Cyr
Thdrt
TTu Μηδ᾽ *ἄπογος. μάλ᾽ ἐπικρατέων στέρνοις θεοφήμην.*
ἀπόδος, Buresch
ἀπόδος Erbse

APPENDIX 2:

PSEUDO-JUSTIN, CLEMENT, EUSEBIUS PARALLELS

The following table gives in parallel columns the Pseudo-Orpheus text as it appears in Pseudo-Justin *Cohortatio ad Graecos* and *De Monarchia*, Clement *Protrepticus* and *Stromateis*, and Eusebius *Praeparatio Evangelica*. It is intended for synoptic comparison, primarily to assist in determining how the Clement material relates to Pseudo-Justin and Eusebius respectively.

The following legend has been used:

Underlined Material: Material that is unique to a particular witness, i.e., not found in the other two witnesses in this table

Bold Material: Agreements of Pseudo-Justin & Clement against Eusebius

Bold Underline: Agreements of Clement & Eusebius-Aristobulus against Pseudo-Justin

APPENDIX 2:
PSEUDO-JUSTIN, CLEMENT, EUSEBIUS: PARALLELS

Pseudo-Justin

Coh. 15 (vv. 1, 3, 4–8, 10–12, 14, 16–17, 21–22, 24, 33–37)
Mon. 2 (vv. 4–8, 10–12, 14, 16–17, 21–22, 24, 33–37)

Clement of Alexandria

Portions of *Strom.* and *Protr.* that tend to agree with Pseudo-Justin; generally equivalent to:
NW's A^2 (*Thoraausleger*)
NW's A' (JSHRZ) = A^2 reduced
Denis's C^1
LaFargue's C^1

Protrepticus 7.74.4

1	*Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι*	*Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί· θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι*
2		
3	**Πάντες ὁμῶς.** *Σὺ δ' ἄκουε,*	**Πάντες ὁμῶς·** *σὺ δ' ἄκουε,*
	φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε **Μήνης,**	*φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε* **Μήνης,**
4	**Μουσαῖ'! 'Εξερέω** *γὰρ ἀληθέα·*	**Μουσαῖε, ἐξερέω** *γὰρ ἀληθέα,*
	μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν	*μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν*
5	*'Εν στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ.*	*'Εν στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ.*
6	*Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε,*	*Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε,*
7	*'Ιθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος, εὖ τ' ἐπίβαινε*	*'Ιθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος· εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε*
8	*'Ατραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο* ***ἄνακτα.***	*'Ατραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο* ***ἄνακτα***
9		***'Αθάνατον.***

Stromateis 5.14.123.1
(= *P.E.* 13.13.50)

6	*Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε,*
7	*'Ιθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος· εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε*
8	*'Ατραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο* ***ἄνακτα***
9	***'Αθάνατον.***

APPENDIX 2:
PSEUDO-JUSTIN, CLEMENT, EUSEBIUS: PARALLELS

	Clement of Alexandria	**Eusebius (Aristobulus)**
	Portions of *Strom.* and *Protr.* that tend to agree with Eusebius–Aristobulus Included in: NW's B (*Thoraausleger*) NW's B (JSHRZ), but including portions of A^2 Equivalent to: Denis' C^2 & LaFargue's C^2	Includes: - Walter's Recensions B & C Included in: Denis' Recension B Equivalent to: Denis' E LaFargue's E *P.E.* 13.12.5
1		Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστί, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι,
2		Φεύγοντες δικαίων θεσμούς, θείοιο τιθέντος
3		**Πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ· σὺ δ' ἄκουε,** φαεσφόρου ἔκγονε Μήνης
4		Μουσαῖ'. ἐξενέπω γὰρ ἀληθέα· μηδέ σε τὰ πρὶν
5		Ἐν στήθεσσι φανέντα φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμέρσῃ,
6		Εἰς δὲ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας τούτῳ προσέδρευε,
7		Ἰθύνων κραδίης νοερὸν κύτος· εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε
8		Ἀτραπιτοῦ, μοῦνον δ' ἐσόρα κόσμοιο τυπωτὴν
9		**Ἀθάνατον.** παλαιὸς δὲ λόγος περὶ τοῦδε φαείνει·

	Pseudo-Justin	Clement of Alexandria
		Protrepticus 7.74.5
10	Εἷς ἔστ', *αὐτογενής, ἑνὸς*	Εἷς ἔστ', *αὐτογενής, ἑνὸς*
	ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται·	*ἔκγονα πάντα τέτυκται·*
11	Ἐν δ' *αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς* <u>περιγίνεται</u>,	Ἐν δ' *αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς* <u>περινίσσεται</u>,
	οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν	*οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν*
12	Εἰσοράᾳ *θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε*	Εἰσορᾷ *θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε*
	πάντας ὁρᾶται.	*πάντας ὁρᾶται.*
		Stromateis 5.12.78.4
10		Εἷς ἔστ', <u>αὐτοτελής</u>, *ἑνὸς ἔκγονα*
		πάντα τέτυκται
11		. . .
		. . . *οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν*
12		Εἰσοράᾳ *θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε*
		πάντας ὁρᾶται.
13		*Stromateis* 5.14.126.5 (=*P.E.* 13.13.53)
14	<u>Οὗτος</u> *δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο κακὸν*	<u>Αὐτὸς</u> *δὲ ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο κακὸν*
	θνητοῖσι δίδωσι	*θνητοῖσι φυτεύει*
15		
16	Καὶ *πόλεμον κρυόεντα καὶ*	Καὶ *πόλεμον κρυόεντα καὶ*
	ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα.	*ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα*
		Stromateis 5.14.133.2 (=*P.E.* 13.13.62)
17	Οὐδέ *τις ἔσθ' ἕτερος χωρὶς*	Οὐδέ *τις ἔσθ' ἕτερος χωρὶς*
	μεγάλου βασιλῆος.	*μεγάλου βασιλῆος,*
18		
19		
20		

	Clement of Alexandria	**Eusebius (Aristobulus)**
	Stromateis 5.12.78.4	*P.E.* 13.12.5
10	Εἷς ἔστ', αὐτοτελής, ἑνὸς ἔκγονα πάντα πέφυκεν·	Εἷς ἔστ' αὐτοτελής, αὐτοῦ δ' ὕπο πάντα τελεῖται,
11	. . . . . . οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν	Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς περινίσσεται, οὐδέ τις αὐτὸν
12	Εἰσορᾷ θνητῶν, αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται.	Εἰσοράᾳ ψυχὴν θνητῶν, νῷ δ' εἰσοράται.
13		
14		Αὐτὸς δ' ἐξ ἀγαθῶν θνητοῖς κακὸν οὐκ ἐπιτέλλει
15		Ἀνθρώποις· αὐτῷ δὲ χάρις καὶ μῖσος ὀπηδεῖ·
16		Καὶ πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς ἰδ' ἄλγεα δακρυόεντα·
17		Οὐδέ τίς ἐσθ' ἕτερος. σὺ δέ κεν ῥέα πάντ' ἐσορήσω,
18		Αἴ κεν ἴδῃς αὐτόν· πρὶν δή ποτε δεῦρ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν,
19		Τέκνον ἐμόν, δείξω σοι, ὁπηνίκα δέρκομαι αὐτοῦ
20		Ἴχνια καὶ χεῖρα στιβαρὴν κρατεροῖο θεοῖο.

Pseudo-Justin

21 Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ
γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται.
22 Πᾶσιν γὰρ θνητοῖς θνηταὶ
κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις,
23
24 Ἀσθενέες δ' ἰδέειν Δία
τὸν πάντων μεδέοντα.
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33 Οὗτος γὰρ χάλκειον ἐς
οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται
34 Χρυσέῳ ἐνὶ θρόνῳ, γαίης δ'
ἐπὶ ποσσὶ βέβηκε
35 Χείρά τε δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ
τέρματος ὠκεανοῖο
36 Πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν· περὶ
γὰρ τρέμει οὔρεα μακρὰ
37 Καὶ ποταμοὶ πολιῆς τε
βάθος χαροποῖο θαλάσσης.

Clement of Alexandria

Stromateis 5.12.78.5

Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ
γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται.
Πᾶσι γὰρ θνητοῖς θνηταὶ
κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις
Μικραί, ἐπεὶ σάρκες τε
καὶ ὀστέα {ἐμπεφυῖα}
ἐμπεφύασιν.

Stromateis 5.14.127.2
(=*P.E.* 13.13.54)

[... γαίη δ'
ἐπὶ ποσὶ βέβηκεν.]
Χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ
τέρματος ὠκεανοῖο
Πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν, γαίη
δ' ἐπὶ ποσὶ βέβηκεν.

	Clement of Alexandria	**Eusebius (Aristobulus)**
		P.E. 13.12.5
21		Αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ
22		γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται
23		
24		
25		Λοιπὸν ἐμοί· 'στᾶσιν δὲ
26		δεκάπτυχον ἀνθρώποισιν. Οὐ γάρ κέν τις ἴδοι θνητῶν μερόπων κραίνοντα,
	Stromateis 5.14.123.2 (=*P.E.* 13.13.50)	
27	Εἰ μὴ μουνογενής τις	Εἰ μὴ μουνογενής τις
	ἀπορρὼξ φύλου ἄνωθεν	ἀπορρὼξ φύλου ἄνωθεν
28	Χαλδαίων· ἵδρης γὰρ ἔην	Χαλδαίων· ἵδρις γὰρ ἔην
	ἄστροιο πορείης,	ἄστροιο πορείης
29	Καὶ σφαίρης κινήματ' ἀμφὶ	Καὶ σφαίρης κίνημα ἀμφὶ
	χθόνα {θ'} ὡς περιτέλλει	χθόνα ὡς περιτέλλει
30	Κυκλοτερὲς ἐν ἴσῳ τε κατὰ	Κυκλοτερές ἐν ἴσῳ, κατὰ δε
	σφέτερον κνώδακα,	σφέτερον κνώδακα.
31	Πνεύματι δ' ἠνιοχεῖ περί	Πνεύματα δ' ἠνιοχεῖ περί
	τ' ἠέρα καὶ περὶ χεῦμα.	τ' ἠέρα καὶ περὶ χεῦμα
32		Νάματος· ἐκφαίνει δὲ πυρὸς
	Stromateis 5.14.124.1 (=*P.E.* 13.13.51)	σέλας τάδε ἵφι γεννηθῆ.
33	Αὐτὸς δ' αὖ μέγαν αὖτις	Αὐτὸς δὴ μέγαν αὖθις
	ἐπ' οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται	ἐπ' οὐρανὸν ἐστήρικται
34	Χρυσέῳ ἐνὶ θρόνῳ, γαίη τε	Χρυσέῳ εἰνὶ θρόνῳ· γαίη δ'
	ὑπὸ ποσὶ βέβηκεν.	ὑπὸ ποσσὶ βέβηκε·
35	Χεῖρα δεξιτερὴν περὶ	Χεῖρα δὲ δεξιτερὴν ἐπὶ
	τέρμασιν ὠκεανοῖο	τέρμασιν Ὠκεανοῖο
36	Ἔκτέτακεν, ὀρέων δὲ τρέμει	Ἔκτέτακεν· ὀρέων δὲ τρέμει
	βάσις ἔνδοθι θυμοῦ	βάσις ἔνδοθι θυμῷ
37		

Pseudo-Justin **Clement of Alexandria**

38

39

40

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46

	Clement of Alexandria	Eusebius (Aristobulus)
	Stromateis 5.14.124.1 (=*P.E.* 13.13.51)	*P.E.* 13.12.5
38	Οὐδὲ *φέρειν δύναται κρατερὸν*	Οὐδὲ *φέρειν δύναται κρατερὸν*
	μένος. ἔστι δὲ πάντῃ	*μένος. ἔστι δὲ πάντως*
39	Αὐτὸς *ἐπουράνιος καὶ ἐπὶ*	Αὐτὸς *ἐπουράνιος καὶ ἐπὶ*
	χθονὶ πάντα τελευτᾷ,	*χθονὶ πάντα τελευτᾷ,*
40	*Ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ*	*Ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ*
	μέσων ἠδὲ τελείων.	*μέσ(σ)ον ἠδὲ τελευτήν,*
41		*Ὡς λόγος ἀρχαίων, ὡς*
		ὑλογενὴς διέταξεν,
42		*Ἐκ θεόθεν γνώμῃσι λαβὼν*
		κατὰ δίπλακα θεσμόν.
43	*Ἄλλως οὐ θεμιτόν σε λέγειν·*	*Ἄλλως οὐ θεμιτὸν δὲ λέγειν·*
	τρομέω δέ τε γυῖα	*τρομέω δέ γε γυῖα,*
44	*Ἐν νόῳ. ἐξ ὑπάτου κραίνει,*	*Ἐν νόῳ· ἐξ ὑπάτου κραίνει*
		περὶ πάντ᾽ ἐνὶ τάξει.
45		*Ὦ τέκνον, σὺ δὲ τοῖσι νόοισι*
		πελάζευ, μηδ᾽ ἄπο γε
46		*Εὖ μάλ᾽ ἐπικρατέων, στέρνοισι*
		δὲ ἔνθεο φήμην.

Appendix 3: ABBREVIATIONS USED FOR RECENSIONS BY WALTER, DENIS, LAFARGUE
(arranged in "canonical order" within the patristic witnesses)

Text	Verses	Walter *Thora.*	Walter JSHRZ	Denis FPG	LaFargue *OTP*
Ps.-J, *Coh.* 15	1, 3–8, 10–12, 14, 16–17, 21–22, 24, 33–37	A^1	A	A	J
Ps.-J, *Mon.* 2	4–8, 10–12, 14, 16–17, 21–22, 24, 33–37	A^1	A	A	J
Clem., *Protr.* 7.74.4	1, 3–9a	A^2	B	A (=C^1)	C^1
Clem., *Protr.* 7.74.5	10–12	A^2	B	A (=C^1)	C^1
Clem., *Str.* 5.12.78.4 (τέτυκται)	10, 11b, 12	A^2	A'	A (=C^1)	C^1
Clem., *Str.* 5.12.78.4 (πέφυκεν)	10, 11b, 12	A^2	B	A (=C^1)	C^1
Clem., *Str.* 5.12.78.5	21–23	A^2	A'/B ?	A (=C^1)	C^1
Clem., *Str.* 5.14.123.1	6–9a	A^2	B	A (=C^1)	C^1
Clem., *Str.* 5.14.123.2	27–31	B	B	B (=C^2)	C^2
Clem., *Str.* 5.14.124.1	33–36, 38–40, 43–44	B	B	B (=C^2)	C^2
Clem., *Str.* 5.14.126.5	14 & 16	A^2	A'	A (=C^1)	C^1
Clem., *Str.* 5.14.127.2	35, 36a, 34b	A^2	A'	A (=C^1)	C^1
Clem., *Str.* 5.14.133.2	17	A^2	A'	A (=C^1)	om.
Eusebius, *P.E.* 13.12.5	1–12, 14–21, 25–36, 38–46	C	C	B	E
Tübingen Theosophy	1–46	D	D	T (=B)	T
Cyril of Alexandria	1, 3–8, 10–12, 33–37				
Theodoret	10–12, 21–23, 33–36, 38–40				

Table 3 (cont.)
Clement Arranged by
Verse Order

Text	Verses	Walter *Thora.*	Walter JSHRZ	Denis FPG	LaFargue *OTP*
Clem., *Protr.* 7.74.4	1, 3–9a	A^2	B	A (=C^1)	C^1
Clem., *Str.* 5.14.123.1	6–9a	A^2	B	A (=C^1)	C^1
Clem., *Protr.* 7.74.5	10–12	A^2	B	A (=C^1)	C^1
Clem., *Str.* 5.12.78.4 (*τέτυκται*)	10, 11b, 12	A^2	A'	A (=C^1)	C^1
Clem., *Str.* 5.12.78.4 (*πέφυκεν*)	10, 11b, 12	A^2	B	A (=C^1)	C^1
Clem., *Str.* 5.14.126.5	14 & 16	A^2	A'	A (=C^1)	C^1
Clem., *Str.* 5.14.133.2	17	A^2	A'	A (=C^1)	om.
Clem., *Str.* 5.12.78.5	21–23	A^2	A'/B ?	A (=C^1)	C^1
Clem., *Str.* 5.14.123.2	27–31	B	B	B (=C^2)	C^2
Clem., *Str.* 5.14.124.1	33–36, 38–40, 43–44	B	B	B (=C^2)	C^2
Clem., *Str.* 5.14.127.2	35, 36a, 34b	A^2	A'	A(=C^1)	C^1

Appendix 4: VERSE CONFIGURATION IN THE PATRISTIC WITNESSES*

PJ*Co*	1..3-------8..10-12..14..16-17.....21-22..24.....33-----37.....
PJ*Mo*	.....4-----8..10-12..14..16-17.....21-22..24.....33-----37.....
Cl*Pr*	1..3--------9a.10-12.....
*St*78	.....10-12.....21---23.....
*St*123-124	.....6----9a.....27-----31.....33---36..38-40...43-44...
*St*126	.....14..16.....
*St*127	.....35-36(34a).....
*St*133	.....17.....
EusC= *St*123-124	.....6----9a.....27-----31.....33---36..38-40...43-44...
EusC= *St*126	.....14..16.....
EusC= *St*127	.....35-36(34a).....
EusC= *St*133	.....17.....
EusA	1----------12..14----------21.....25----------36..38----------46
Cyr	1..3-------8..10-12.....33-----37.....
Thdrt	.....10--12.....21--23.....33----36..38--40.....
TTu	1----------46

*(based on Elter, *Gnomologiorum*, 177-78; Erbse, *Theosophien*, 16)

Appendix 4 (cont.):

VERSE CONFIGURATION IN THE FOUR RECENSIONS

Rec. A 1..3-------8..10-12..14..16-17.....21-22..24.....33-----37.....

Rec. B 1..3----------12..14..16-17.....21--23.....27-----31.....33----36..38-40...43-4..

Rec. C 1----------12..14----------21.....25----------36..38----------46

Rec. D 1----------46

Appendix 5:
Textual Variants: Pseudo-Justin, Clement, Eusebius-Aristobulus, Cyril, Theodoret

Verse	P-J *Cohortatio*	P-J *Monarchia*	Clement *Protrepticus*	Clement *Stromateis*	Euseb.-Aristobulus	Cyril	Thdrt
3	*πάντες ὁμῶς*	----	7.74.4 *πάντες ὁμῶς*	----	*πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ*	*πάντες ὅμως*	----
4	*μουσαῖε* (A^{pc}) *μουσαῖ* (sg) *μούσαις* (A^{ac})	*μουσαῖε* (q) *μουσαῖ* (s)	7.74.4 *μουσαῖε* (P^{pc}) *μούσαις* (P^{ac})	----	*μουσαῖε*	*μουσαῖ*	
4	*ἐξερέω*	*ἐξερέω*	7.74.4 *ἐξερέω*	----	*ἐξεν(ν)έπω*	*ἐξερέω*	----
7	*ἰθύνων*	*ἰθύνων*	7.74.4 *εἰθύνων* (P^{ac}) *εὐθύνων* (P^{pc})	5.14.123.1 *εὐθύνων*	*ἰθύνων*	*ἰθύνων*	----
7	*εὖ τ' ἐπίβαινε*	*εὖ τ' ἐπίβαινε*	7.74.4 *εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε*	5.14.123.1 *εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε*	*εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε*	*εὖ δ' ἐπίβαινε*	----
8	*κόσμοιο ἄνακτα*	*κόσμοιο ἄνακτα*	7.74.4 *κόσμοιο ἄνακτα*	5.14.123.1 *κόσμοιο ἄνακτα*	*κόσμοιο τυπωτὴν*	*κόσμοιο ἄνακτα*	----
9	----	----	7.74.4 *ἀθάνατον*	5.14.123.1 *ἀθάνατον*	*ἀθάνατον* + v. 9	----	----
10	*αὐτογενής*	*αὐτογενής*	7.74.5 *αὐτογενής*	5.12.78.4 *αὐτοτελής*	*αὐτοτελής*	*αὐτογενής*	*αὐτοτελής*
10	*τέτυκται*	*τέτυκται* (s) *τέτεκται* (q)	7.74.5 *τέτυκται*	5.12.78.4 *τέτυκται* 5.12.78.4 *πέφυκεν* (v.l.)	*τελεῖται*	*τέτυκται*	*τελεῖται*
11	*περιγίνεται*	*περιγίνεται*	7.74.5 *περινίσσεται*	----	*περινίσσεται*	*περιγίνεται*	*περινίσσεται*
12	*αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται*	*αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται*	7.74.5 *αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται*	5.12.78.4 *αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται*	*ψυχὴν. . . νόῳ δ' εἰσοράαται*	*αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται*	*αὐτὸς δέ γε πάντας ὁρᾶται*

Verse	P-J *Cohortatio*	P-J *Monarchia*	Clement *Protrepticus*	Clement *Stromateis*	Euseb.-Aristobulus	Cyril	Thdrt
14	οὗτος ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο κακὸν θνητοῖσι δίδωσι	οὗτος δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο κακὸν θνητοῖσι δίδωσι	----	5.14.126.5 αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξ ἀγαθοῖο κακὸν θνητοῖσι φυτεύει	αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξ ἀγαθῶν θνητοῖσι κακὸν οὐκ ἐπιτέλλει	----	----
16	κρυόεντα καὶ	κρυόεντα καὶ	----	5.14.126.5 κρυόεντα καὶ	καὶ λοιμὸν ἰδ'	----	----
17	μεγάλου βασιλῆος(s) βασιλῆος μεγάλοιο (s) μεγάλοιο ἄνακτος(q) μεγάλοιο ἄνακτος (q)		----	5.14.133.2 μεγάλου βασιλῆος	σὺ δέ κεν ῥέα πάντ' ἐσορήσω	----	----
22	πᾶσι (A pqg) πᾶσιν (rs)	πᾶσι (q) πᾶσιν (s)	----	5.12.78.5 πᾶσι	----	----	πᾶσι
33	οὗτος γὰρ χάλκειον ἐς οὐρανὸν	οὗτος γὰρ χάλκειον ἐπ' οὐρανὸν	----	5.14.124.1 αὐτὸς δ' αὖ μέγαν αὖτις ἐπ' οὐρανὸν	αὐτὸς δὴ μέγαν αὖθις ἐπ' οὐρανὸν	αὐτὸς γὰρ χάλκειον ἐς οὐρανὸν	αὐτὸς δ' αὖ μέγαν αὖτις ἐπ' οὐρανὸν
34	ἐνὶ	ἐνὶ (s) εἰνὶ (q)	----	5.14.124.1 ἐνὶ 5.14.127.2 ----	εἰνὶ	εἰνὶ	ἐνὶ
34	γαίης δ' ἐπὶ ποσσὶ	γαίης δ' ἐπὶ ποσσὶ	----	5.14.124.1 γαίη τε ὑπὸ ποσὶ 5.14.127.2 γαίη δ' ἐπὶ ποσὶ	γαίη δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ	γαίῃ δ' ἐπὶ ποσσὶ	γαίη δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ
35	χεῖρά τε	χεῖρά τε	----	5.14.124.1 χεῖρα 5.14.127.2 χεῖρα δὲ	χεῖρα δὲ	χεῖρά τε	χεῖρα δὲ
35	ἐπὶ τέρματος	ἐπὶ τέρματις	----	5.14.124.1 περὶ τέρμασιν 5.14.127.2 ἐπὶ τέρματος	ἐπὶ τέρμασιν	ἐπὶ τέρματα	περὶ τέρμασιν
36	πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν	πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν	----	5.14.124.1 ἐκτέτακεν ὀρέων 5.14.127.2 πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν	ἐκτέτακεν ὀρέων	πάντοθεν ἐκτέτακεν	ἐκτέτακεν ὀρέων

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