Olympiodoros the Deacon on Baruch
Introduction, Text, Translation and Commentary

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Introduction

1.1 Purpose
The main purpose of this thesis is to provide the first commentary on Olympiodoros the Deacon of Alexandria’s commentary on the book of Baruch. There are no previous scholarly commentaries on Olympiodoros’ biblical commentaries as earlier researchers have focused primarily on producing critical editions of his works. The focus of my commentary is to examine the exegetical method of Olympiodoros and some of the theological themes expressed in his commentary. Accompanying the commentary is a translation based on the manuscript Vat. 549 which contains the oldest and most complete version of Olympiodoros’ commentary that we know of. A few portions of Olympiodoros’ commentary on Baruch have previously been translated into English in the series *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture*. Given that the present translation serves primarily as a complement to the commentary, issues of translation theory and technique will not explicitly be dealt with. The aim has been to produce an idiomatic English translation while remaining close to the Greek.

1.2 Olympiodoros the Deacon and Earlier Research
Not much is known about Olympiodoros; according to a scholion in Vat. 549 fol. 224v, he was ordained deacon in Alexandria by the patriarch John Nikites and, since we know that John Nikites occupied the see during 505–515/6, scholars deduce that Olympiodoros must have been born sometime between 470–490. Because Olympiodoros is, on some occasions, referred to by Anastasius of Sinai as “the great philosopher” (μεγάς φιλόσοφος), Henry Chadwick posited that he might be identified with the contemporary Neoplatonic philosopher of the same name. Others, like Ursula and Dieter Hagedorn, think that the title might indicate that the two persons were confused with each other in later tradition or, perhaps, that it might be taken as an indication of Olympiodoros’ great importance as a Christian writer. Most scholars researching Olympiodoros separate the deacon Olympiodoros from the Neoplatonic philosopher.

3 A seventh-century monk.
4 Chadwick, 2006. p. 2.
In addition to serving as a deacon, Olympiodoros also wrote commentaries on the Bible, mainly Old Testament books, judging from his extant works which include commentaries on Job, Ecclesiastes, Jeremiah, Baruch, Letter of Jeremiah, and Lamentations of Jeremiah, the last three of which remain unedited. Olympiodoros refers (in his commentary on Ecclesiastes) to his commentary on Esdras which has, however, not been preserved. Some fragments on the Psalms and the gospel of Luke found in PG are also ascribed to Olympiodoros but scholars believe them to be spurious. Finally, a fragment of a non-exegetical work refuting the monothelitism of the Syrian patriarch Severus of Antioch is ascribed to Olympiodoros (preserved by Pseudo-Anastasius of Sinai).

This last document is interesting since it tells us that Olympiodoros may have belonged to the Chalcedonian camp in the Christological controversies, addressed at the fourth Ecumenical Council in Chalcedon in 451, which were still raging during Olympiodoros’ lifetime. However, as Chadwick points out, there does not seem to be any clear trace of the controversies nor any mention of Christ’s two natures in either Olympiodoros’ commentaries on Ecclesiastes or Jeremiah (Chadwick does not discuss the Job commentary on this matter); nor have I found any such clear traces in Olympiodoros’ commentary on Baruch. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the discussion of the two natures in Christ was particularly strained in Egypt. It is, however, worth noting, as Chadwick does, that Olympiodoros uses the title Θεοτόκος for the Virgin Mary.

Although Olympiodoros is relatively unknown today, Virginia and Hagedorn both point out that Olympiodoros seems to have been a respected biblical commentator in the period following his death; this is indicated, for instance, by the more than 800 scholia attributed to Olympiodoros in the Drungarius’ catena (late 7th and early 8th century) on Jeremiah, which

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12 Virginia, 1999, p. v.
13 Monothelitism was the teaching that Christ only had one will. For a discussion of the monothelitism of Severus of Antioch see Hovorun, 2008. pp. 25-30.
15 The controversies regarding Christ’s natures (human and divine) and how these existed within him. For an overview of the controversies addressed at Chalcedon 451 see McGuckin, 2004, pp. 79-81.
16 Chadwick, 2006, p. 4.
17 Chadwick, 2006, p. 4.
18 For a discussion on the title Θεοτόκος and its importance in the Christological controversies, see McGuckin, 2004, p. 330.
can be compared with Chrysostom’s 760 scholia.\footnote{Virginia, 1999, p. vi.}

1.3 Manuscripts and Text

The oldest extant manuscript containing Olympiodoros’ commentary of Baruch is the 10\textsuperscript{th} century Vatican Codex Barberinianus Graecus 549 (henceforth Vat. 549). This manuscript also contains, among other texts, Olympiodoros’ commentaries on Jeremiah, Letter of Jeremiah, and Lamentations of Jeremiah. The commentary on Baruch is found in folio 195r – 203r. It begins with the heading Βαροὺχ, at the top of 195r, after which follows a portion of the biblical text form Baruch (Bar 1:1-13) written in a clear Alexandrian majuscule. The commentary which follows is written in a clear and beautiful Bouletée minuscule.

The commentary is divided into two sections called προθεωρία and λέξεις: the προθεωρία is a kind of introductory discussion on, and sometimes, summary of the preceding biblical text, and the λέξεις consist of individual biblical lemmata followed by Olympiodoros’ comments. Often the biblical lemmata in the λέξεις only reproduce parts of a sentence or a few words from the biblical text preceding the προθεωρία. The same format of biblical text followed by a προθεωρία and λέξεις is repeated throughout the commentary and is found in all of Olympiodoros’ commentaries.\footnote{Virginia, 1999, p. iv. Hagedorn, 1984, p. l. Boli, 2004, p. xxix.} The fact that the manuscript contains the complete text of the book of Baruch also makes it an important biblical extant witness.\footnote{In the text critical edition of the LXX by Joseph Ziegler, Vat. 549 has with the sigla 86.}

Olympiodoros’ commentary is also found in the 17\textsuperscript{th} century Vatican manuscript Barberinianus Graecus 433 (henceforth Vat. 433) and this text follows the text of Vat. 549 closely. It also reproduces the format of προθεωρία and λέξεις, but lacks the biblical text of Baruch except for the biblical lemmata in the λέξεις.

Portions of Olympiodoros’ commentary is also preserved in the Patrologia Graeca 93:761-73. This text is copied from the third volume of Michael Ghisler’s In Ieremiam Prophetam Commentariorum edited in Lyon in 1623. Since this volume is a catena, and the text of Olympiodoros is presented in the form of excerpts imbedded among excerpts from other Church Fathers on Baruch, it lacks the introductory προθεωρία found in the manuscripts. Furthermore, this text does not contain all of Olympiodoros’ comments found in the Vat. 549 and Vat. 433. Some comments in PG have a different text than Vat. 549 and Vat. 433 and, on a least one occasion, PG cites a comment by Theodoret of Cyrus as being Olympiodoros’.
The Greek text presented in this thesis is based on Vat. 549 and can be described as a ‘working text’ since it is neither a diplomatic edition nor a critical edition proper. I have made efforts to correct and normalize the text in respect to spelling mistakes, often arising from iotacism, and by adding missing aspirations. At several points I have used Vat. 433 and PG as textual witnesses when making these corrections and all such instances are noted in the footnotes. The footnotes also include corrections found in Vat. 549 by the copyist and the instances when Olympiodoros’ biblical lemmata differs from the biblical text of the critical edition of the Septuagint. I have, however, chosen to keep the punctuation in Vat. 549 which seems to have been intended as an aid for reading and does not reflect normal Greek sentence division which classical scholars are accustomed to; the use of punctuation as an aid for reading is a common practice in byzantine manuscripts (see Reinsch for a discussion of this). My translation will, however, clarify how I have interpreted the sentence structure of the Greek text. Lastly, I have not reproduced the biblical text in the manuscript except for the biblical lemmata interspersed in the λέξεις.

1.4 Comments on the Translation
As was stated in the Purpose (1.1), the present translation serves primarily as a complement to the commentary and the aim has been to produce an idiomatic English translation while remaining close to the Greek. When translating the λέξεις, I have at times included more of the biblical lemma than is present in the Greek text. This has been done when the longer lemma is needed in order to grasp Olympiodoros’ comments on the lemma in question. The additional text is indicated by brackets. I have strived to render the biblical quotations in the text according to modern standard versions of the biblical books. All English quotations from the Septuagint Old Testament are taken from The New English translation of the Septuagint (NETS) except for a few occasions, indicated in the footnotes, when I have used Brenton’s or made my own translations. When using the NETS I have, however, normalised the spelling of common biblical names. All English quotations from the New Testament are from the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV) except for a few occasions when I have chosen the King James Version (KJV). The KJV is sometimes closer to Olympiodoros’ interpretation. All Greek quotations from the Septuagint are from Joseph Ziegler’s text critical edition, and all Greek quotations from the New Testament are from the edition of the Greek New Testament.

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23 For a discussion on the use of punctuation as an aid of reading in byzantine mss see Reinsch, 2014, p. xxxiv.
by the Society of Biblical Literature (SBLGNT).

### 1.5 The Book of Baruch

The book of Baruch is part of the larger Old Testament canon of the Septuagint (LXX). Although the earliest version of the book has come down to us in Greek, some scholars posit that, at least, Bar. 1:1-3:8 may be a translation from Hebrew. Among the arguments for a Hebrew Vorlage is that the Greek of the first part of Baruch is rather easily translated back into Hebrew and gives “the impression of being a wooden translation of a Semitic original”, as DeSilva puts it. Scholars arguing for a Hebrew Vorlage include Emmanuel Tov and D.G Burke, who have both produced retroverted Hebrew texts of the Greek text and argue for a Semitic structure underlying the Greek. Other evidence cited for a Hebrew original are certain strange words and phrases in Baruch which scholars argue are mistranslations of Hebrew; for instance, the Greek word μάννα among the sacrificial gifts in Bar. 1:10. Normally μάννα refers to the food given by God to the Israelites in the desert (see Exodus chapter 16). The meaning “frankincense granules” can also be found in LSJ. Scholars arguing for a Hebrew original think μάννα is a mistransliteration of the more appropriate Hebrew word 민한 (“grain offer”), the correct transliteration, according to them, of which would be מanna. Another oddity is the phrase Bar. 3:4 “hear then the prayer of the dead of Israel” which is taken to be a misreading of Hebrew meet yiśrā’ēl’ (“people of Israel”) as מתי yiśrā’ēl’ (“dead of Israel”). No Hebrew manuscripts have ever been found, however, and it is worth noting that neither Jerome nor Origen knew of any Hebrew version; nor, as far as we know, did Olympiodoros.

Although the book was originally a Jewish creation, it does not seem to have enjoyed an authoritative status outside of the Alexandrian Jewish context for, as is pointed out by Adams, it is never cited in the Palestinian rabbinic sources. The first attestation of the Book of

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24 The LXX is the Jewish Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, the main bulk of which was translated in Alexandria around 200 B.C. This translation contains a larger canon than the later authoritative Hebrew canon called the Masoretic text. This larger canon, which became the canon of the early Church, is preserved in both the Eastern Orthodox and the Roman Catholic traditions. During the reformation, however, the Hebrew text came into focus, and consequently these “extra books” of the LXX were omitted from the reformers’ bible translations.
32 Adams, 2014, pp.18-19
Baruch is actually found in Christian sources, and the earliest manuscripts containing Baruch are the Christian biblical manuscripts *Codex Vaticanus* (300) and *Codex Alexandrinus* (400), which contain the Septuagint Old Testament and New Testament. The earliest citations of Baruch are in works by second-century Christian apologists Athenagoras’ (*Legatio pro Christianis*) and Irenaeus’ (*Adversus Haereses*). When it comes to the dating of Baruch there is no consensus. Most scholars believe that the book is a compilation of works from different times, but their suggested dates for the final compilation range from the second century B.C. to A.D. 118. Athenagoras’ attestation provides us with 177 A.D. as a *terminus ad quem*. The earliest citations of Baruch are in works by second-century Christian apologists Athenagoras’ (*Legatio pro Christianis*) and Irenaeus’ (*Adversus Haereses*).

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The book of Baruch can be divided into four parts, the first two written in prose and the last two, in a more poetic style. The first section places the events in the time of the Israelite people’s exile in Babylon. Baruch is said to be present among them, reading a book he has composed. This book contains a penitential prayer, and a petition of prayer for the Israelite people and for the Babylonians, both of which Baruch instructs the people to send to Jerusalem in order that sacrifices be made in the temple for the people and the Babylonians.

The second section contains the penitential prayer composed by Baruch. In it the people acknowledge that the Babylonian exile is God’s legitimate punishment for their transgressions of the Law, especially their indulgence in idolatry.

The third section is a poem about Wisdom, the personified female figure, modelled upon other wisdom literature such as Proverbs. The poem reproaches the people for having forsaken the fount of Wisdom, here identified with the Mosaic Law. This section also expounds the subject of man’s futile attempts to find Wisdom since she is only known by God and given by Him to Israel as their lot among their nations.

The fourth, and last, part is a prophecy of redemption placed in the mouth of Jerusalem, portrayed as the mother of the people of Israel her children. She foretells that Israel will be rescued and brought back again to Jerusalem by God after the punishment has taken its course.

1.6 Olympiodoros the Deacon on Baruch

The book of Baruch was appreciated by Church Fathers for its perceived support of Christian teachings, foremost what they took to be its prophecy concerning the incarnation of Christ (see 1.5). Likewise, for Olympiodoros, Baruch was considered to be a prophetic book containing, among other things, prophecies concerning Christ. While Olympiodoros comments on the whole of Baruch, he seems to be most interested in the two last sections of

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40 The following division is based on Adams’ division see Adams, 2014, pp. 34-39.
41 Barton and Muddiman, 2001, p. 699.
42 This short outline is based on Metzger and Coogan, 1993, under the entry “the book of Baruch”. DeSilva, 2002, pp. 198-201. For an in-depth analysis on the book of Baruch see Adams, 2014, pp. 50-146.
the book, *Wisdom Poem* (Bar. 3:9–4:4) and *Jerusalem’s Prophecy* (Bar. 4:5–5:9). It is here that we find most of his comments, and it is also here we find his most elaborate interpretations, often richly saturated with biblical quotations and biblical allusions, mainly from the gospels of John and Matthew, and from Pauline letters such as the Epistle to the Romans.\(^{43}\) Not surprisingly, these interpretations are often typological and allegorical and concern Christ and the church.

The complex nature of Olypiodoros’ exegesis, and the disparate nature of the text as a running commentary, makes his text difficult to systematize, and to do so in a comprehensive and schematic fashion is beyond the scope of this thesis. Instead, the present introduction will focus on describing some of the features of Olypiodoros’ exegetical approach. In the commentary I will explore these exegetical methods through close readings, and also explore some of the theological ideas and themes discernible in Olypiodoros’ commentary. Before delving into Olypiodoros’ exegesis, however, it is necessary to contextualise him within the exegetical milieu of Late Antiquity Alexandria and the patristic exegetical milieu.

When studying patristic biblical exegesis, it is important to remember that the Christian study of Scripture was not conducted in a vacuum. Many of the Christian interpreters of the Bible had received a secular education.\(^ {44}\) They were, therefore, well acquainted with the rhetorical and literary theories of their day and how to apply them to the study of texts, be it the secular classics or the Bible.\(^ {45}\) In the grammatical school they would have learned to comment upon text with respect to difficult words, the literal sense, figures of speech, text critical questions and anything else connected to lexical analysis of a text, what is called τὸ μεθοδικόν.\(^ {46}\) Thereafter they would have focused on τὸ ἱστορικόν, a kind of investigative inquiry into the background of the text, including analysing allusions to myths and stories, geographical and historical facts, and all manner of explanatory notes important for understanding the text; the overall aim of the study was to draw out moral lessons from the narrative of the text.\(^ {47}\) In the rhetorical school they would have learn to pay close attention to the subject-matter of a text and how this was “clothed” in a specific style and vocabulary appropriate for the subject. When analysing texts, they would try to discern the underlying

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43 Boli mentions the Pauline letters and the Psalms as most prominent in Olypiodoros’ commentary on Ecclesiastes (Boli, 2004, p. xxix.)
44 For a discussion on education in the Roman Empire and the Christian approach to it, see Browning, 2000, pp. 855–883 (esp. pp. 866–867).
45 Here I rely heavily on Frances Young whose ground-breaking research is of central importance for understanding the Church Fathers’ biblical exegesis and its relation to ancient rhetoric and philosophy.
argument of the author, the so-called ὑπόθεσις of the text. These techniques were common to interpreters of all texts in Antiquity, indeed also to interpreters of the Bible. When dealing with the biblical commentary tradition of Alexandria, however, we must also take into consideration the great influence that the philosophical (especially the Stoic) tradition of text interpretation exercised upon biblical exegesis there. The philosophical approach to texts differed somewhat from the rhetorical approach in that it relied heavily on symbolic allegory when extracting meaning, tracing out doctrines and universal truths from texts. As is argued by Blossom Stefaniw, the reason for the wide appreciation of allegory in Late Antique Alexandria, for secular and Christian scholars alike, was a general cultural assumption that traditional texts were considered “vehicles of divine revelation which could be accessed by the committed reader using allegorisation”. This cultural assumption was based on the conviction that the authors of traditional texts “had access to […] the ultimate reality” and had “deposited this revelation in the text”, as Stefaniw puts it. Part and parcel of the Christian allegorical approach was to view the words of Scripture as symbols or tokens referring beyond themselves, pointing toward spiritual realities which were not always obvious from the narrative structure of the text they were found in.

That this approach often resulted in interpretations which distorted the narrative of the text, as is pointed out by Young, did not bother the exegetes since the spiritual reality behind the text was seen as the higher sense. For this reason, the Alexandrian Bible scholar Origen would consider the wording to be “the ‘veil’ in which the Spirit clothed the divine intent (skopos)” of Scripture, as Young puts it. The idea of a σκοπός of a text is also found among Neo-Platonic exegetes who identified it as the over-all theme of the text, which is similar to how the rhetorical schools defined the ὑπόθεσις of a text.

A common patristic approach to Scripture was the belief in one single over-arching Christocentric plot of the Bible. This over-arching plot, centred upon the person of Jesus and his redemptive work, was thought to be the hermeneutical key by which one could arrive at

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49 Young, 2003, p. 344. Young, 1989, pp. 183, 188.
50 Young, 1989, p. 183, 188.
52 Stefaniw, 2007, p. 233
53 Young, 1997, p. 162.
54 Young, 1997, p. 162
57 Kennedy, 1989, p. 332
58 Young, 2005, pp. 126-128.
the correct interpretation of the Bible. This view of the Bible as a unity guided biblical interpreters in Alexandria, such as Origen, to search behind the literal meaning of words and passages in order to reveal the higher spiritual truth of Scripture connected to Christ, and this was accomplished by allegory.

The belief in one over-arching framework of Scripture gave rise to the popular patristic method Young calls cross-referencing, by which different biblical passages, which at first glance did not seem to have anything to do with each other, were connected, creating a network of references with the purpose of making clear and discerning “the overall ‘mind’ or ‘sense’ intended by the biblical authors.” Often these cross-references were made on the basis of word or concept similarities in the verses brought together. This patristic method is similar to how the ancient secular scholars used Homer to interpret Homer, but the patristic method has its basis in the idea that “all of Scripture is uniformly inspired and all of it points to Christ”, as John Breck puts it. For the Church Fathers, this meant that in the Old Testament there could be found prefigurations of persons and events fulfilled in the New Testament, and that the way to bring this out was through typological interpretation. As a learned man and biblical scholar of Late Antiquity, Olympiodoros would have been familiar with all these methods, categories and interpretive techniques, especially with the Alexandrian allegorical approach, and with the patristic theological ideas governing the understanding of Scripture. When commenting upon the book of Baruch, Olympiodoros, therefore, interprets the biblical text in a variety of ways and draws out a variety of meanings from it.

One of the most prominent feature of Olympiodoros’ commentary is the format. It consist of nine sections. Each section is preceded by a portion of the biblical text of Baruch, followed by a προθεωρία, an introductory discussion about the biblical text, followed by a phrase-by-phrase commentary called λέξεις which, in turn, consists of a biblical lemma from Baruch followed by a short comment by Olympiodoros. According to Young, summaries likes these προθεωρίαι originate from the rhetorical school tradition and its distinction between subject-matter and the wording/style described above, and ancient commentaries would use

60 Young, 2005, p. 129.
61 Young, 2005, p.133
62 Young, 2018, p. 16.
63 Young, 2005, p. 127.
64 Breck, 2001, p. 43.
65 Breck, 2001, p. 42.
summaries like these to bring out the argument, i.e. the underlying ὑπόθεσις of the text. Olympusidoros uses his προθεωρίαι in different ways. Sometimes they are only short summaries of the biblical text, but sometimes he uses them to present allegorical interpretations of the text, what I believe can be viewed as Olympusidoros’ ὑπόθεσις of the text; for instance, in the fifth προθεωρία. After having stated that Bar. 3:9–3:28 reproaches the Israelite people for having forsaken the way of God, i.e. the Wisdom of God, and thus causing their exile, Olympusidoros goes on to explain that the text also fits well (ἀρμόζει) with “the Jews”, “the wise one of this age”, “the money-lovers” and “those who did not acknowledge the true Wisdom” which is Christ. When we look at the λέξεις, we see that Olympusidoros spends most of his efforts on showing how the personified Wisdom in Baruch is a prophetic type of Christ, and how the Jews did not accept him because they did not understand that their own Scriptures bore witness to him. For example, Bar. 3:12 (“You have forsaken the spring of Wisdom”) is interpreted as “Our Lord Jesus Christ” and Bar. 3:20 (“But they did not know the way of knowledge”) is understood in relation to the words of Christ in John 5:46 (“As the Lord says If you believed Moses, you would believe me”), a clear polemic against the Jews for not understanding that Moses prophesied about Christ. When he comments on Bar. 3:21 (“Nor did they take hold of her”), he interprets it as referring to the Jews not receiving Christ at his incarnation; and this interpretation is accomplished by the use of cross-reference to Joh 1:11: “As the evangelist John says He came to what was his own and his own people did not accept him”. The interpretation of Christ as the Wisdom of God, and the critique of the Jews’ misunderstanding of Scripture, is a prominent theme in the section called Wisdom Poem and will be explored further in my commentary.

Another feature of Olympusidoros’ commentary is the typically Alexandrian allegorical approach with its focus on details often at the expense of distorting the narrative structure of the text of Baruch. This comes to the fore in Olympusidoros’ varied interpretation of “Jerusalem”. In Bar. 4:9 (“Listen you neighbours of Zion”) Olympusidoros interprets Zion (another name for Jerusalem) according to the literal sense in Baruch. She in the mother of the Jewish people mourning for her children’s captivity and calling “the neighbours to the spectacle of mourning making them wiser through the example”. In Bar. 4:12 (“Let no one rejoice against me, the widow [and one forsaken by many]”), Jerusalem is interpreted

66 Young, 2018, p. 15.
67 Young, 2018, p. 15.
pejoratively as “the synagogue of the Jews” who is likened to a forsaken widow because “she treated her bridegroom Christ with insolence”. In Bar. 4:17, when Jerusalem exclaims, “But I, how am I to help you” (referring to her inability to save her children from their miserable state during the Babylonian deportation), Olympiodoros interprets this as an exclamation of the soul who “without the mercies of God” is “unable to be saved”. Further on, in Bar. 4:30 when Jerusalem is described as being comforted “by the one who named her”, Olympiodoros interprets “Jerusalem” in a positive manner as referring to the church who by Christ is “called his bride”. Here he plays on the similarities between the concept of being “named” and being “called”. If we were to try and follow the narrative structure of the text of Baruch with respect to these different interpretations of Jerusalem we would end up with a very strange text. Since, however, the spiritual reality behind the text is more interesting for Olympiodoros this does not bother him; what the text prophesies about and bears witness to, is more important than the mere surface of the text. What is interesting about Olympiodoros symbolic allegory is that although it is, in a sense, arbitrary, it is not completely haphazard. When making his allegorical interpretations, Olympiodoros is always very sensitive to the context of the text. Whether it is a negative context or a positive one, does influence his interpretation. He is also sensitive to words used in the verses of Baruch and makes his allegorical associations based on word similarities.

Being a scholar trained in the school tradition of his time, Olympiodoros also takes an interest in lexical analysis, including the explanation of expressions, what above was called τὸ μεθοδικόν. One such instance is when he explains Bar. 1:3 “those who came to the book” as “those who had come to the recitation”. Another example is Olympiodoros’ interest in issues of textual criticism. For example, when Olympiodoros comments on Bar. 1:2 “in the fifth year”, he notes that some copies of the book of Baruch read “in the ninth year” (“ἄλλα δὲ ἀντίγραφα “τῷ ἐνάτῳ” ἔχουσιν”). The word ἀντίγραφα is also found in Olympiodoros’ commentary on Job: “ἐν δὲ ἑτέροις ἀντιγράφοις οὕτως ηὕπαμεν”. As Hagedorn points out, the use of the word in the plural seems to indicate that Olympiodoros had access to and compared several manuscripts. Olympiodoros also uses the investigative method of τὸ ἱστορικόν: for instance in commenting upon Bar. 1:8 “the silver vessels that Zedekiah had made”, he

68 Young describes the typical Alexandrian allegory as symbolic mimesis as opposed to Antiochian exegesis which she calls ikonic mimesis. The difference between them being that the Antiochian exegetes put emphasis on the mimetic relationship between the narrative structure of the biblical text and their spiritual interpretation of it, while the Alexandrians saw the words of Scripture as symbols of spiritual realities but which pointed away from the narrative, in this sense the symbolic mimesis is more arbitrary since it cannot be discerned from the narrative. See Young, 1997, 162.

69 Hagedorn, 1984, p. liii.
reminds his readers that Zedekiah was “the king after Jechonias, whom Nebuchadnezzar blinded”. This is a good example of an explanatory note providing useful information on the background of the text.

Olympiodoros also show interest in the literal interpretation of the text contrasted with the allegorical meaning; he does this in two ways: on the sentence level and on the narrative level. On the sentence level, he makes use of the technical terms πρὸς ῥητὸν and πρὸς διάνοιαν; for example, when he comments on Bar. 2:24 “and I will return them to the land”. The “land” is first interpreted according to the literal sense to mean “Jerusalem”, and then according to the spiritual sense to mean “the spiritual promise”. The same technical terms are also found in Olympiodoros’ commentary on Ecclesiastes, as is noted by Boli. Olympiodoros’ exegetical method of contrasting between the literal and allegorical level is similar to the method of the Platonist Olympiodoros of Alexandria. This is taken by him as support for the idea that the deacon and the Platonist might be the same person. Perhaps it is sufficient to note that this is a common exegetical practice for interpreters of the Alexandrian tradition.

An example of literal interpretation on the narrative level is found in the seventh προθεωρία. The narratological interpretation is introduced by the phrase καθ’ ἱστορίαν (“according to the narrative”). The narratological interpretation is presented as a summary of the text of Bar. 4:19–35. In this text, Jerusalem encourages the Israelite people to be courageous in their current plight (the Babylonian exile), which is said to have been brought about by their sin of idolatry, and she prophesises redemption for them. After acknowledging the meaning of the text on the narrative level, Olympiodoros states ἔχει δὲ ἀναφορὰν ὁ λόγος (“but the text has a reference to”), interpreting the same passage as referring to “the sinning souls who become easy for the demons to overcome on account of sins, but which are saved through faith in Christ”. Then he allows for a second allegorical interpretation introduced by the phrase δύνανται δὲ νοεῖσθαι τὰ προκείμενα (“but that which is set forth can also refer to”). Now the text is about “the synagogue of the Jews; she indeed suffered that which she suffered under the Romans but she was shown mercy by God whenever she herself also would believe in him whom she maltreated, the Lord Jesus Christ”. Both allegorical interpretations are based on a mimetic similarity with the narrative of the text. The plight of the Israelite people at the hands of their enemies, and their future redemption, are taken both as an image for the souls’ struggle with the demons and their salvation in Christ, and as an image for the Jews’

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71 Chadwick, 2006, pp. 2-3.
sufferings under the Romans and their salvation in Christ, in so far as they received him in faith. The technical term καθ’ ἱστορίαν is also found in Olympiodoros’ commentary on Ecclesiastes, as Boli notes; she does not, however, explain whether it is used in the same way as described above but contents herself with characterizing both καθ’ ἱστορίαν and πρὸς ῥητὸν as paraphrase interpretations. The term is also found in Olympiodoros’ commentary on Job referred to simply as the literal sense (“Wortsinn”) by Hagedorn. Lastly, it is found in Olympiodoros’ commentary on Jeremiah, as noted by Virginia, though he calls it the historical interpretation (as do many patristic scholars not familiar with ancient literary criticism).

In what follows, I present the Greek text followed by my translation and a commentary of Olympiodoros’ commentary. The translation is provided with footnotes, mainly biographical notes, and other comments elucidating the context. In my commentary I examine Olympiodoros’ exegetical methods, the theological themes of his commentary and some issues of translation.


73 Hagedorn, 1984, p. xlviii.

74 “The commentator interprets Biblical passages in several different ways: literally (pros rhēton or aisthētōs; historically (kata historian)” Virginia, 1999, p. iv. For a discussion about the misunderstanding of the term ἱστορία among patristic scholars see Young, 2003, pp. 341-347.
Προθεωρία

ὑπαγορεύσας τῷ Βαροὺχ τὴν κατὰ Βαβυλῶνος ὅρασιν ὁ Ἱερεμίας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ ἀναγνῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγονότος ἐκλαίον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· καὶ δὴ τούτου γεγο

Αἱ λέξεις

1:1 υἱοῦ χελκίου

1:2 ἐν τῷ ἕτει τῷ πέμπτῳ

άλλα δὲ ἀντίγραφα. “τῷ ἐνάτῳ” ἔχουσιν

75 Vat. 549 add. subscr. vai
76 Vat. 549 Βαβυλ. Vat 433 Βαβυλωνι. Text missing in PG.
77 Vat. 549 Ἰουδα Vat. 433 Ἰουδαίοι. Text missing in PG.
78 Vat. 549 ὀπισθεν Vat. 433 ὀπισθεν. Text missing in PG.
79 Vat. 549 πέμπτος Vat. 433 πέμπτος Text missing in PG.
80 Vat. 549 add. sl. vo
1:2-3 ἐν τῷ καιρῷ, ὃ ἔλαβον οἱ Χαλδαῖοι
οὐκ εἶπεν "ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ". ἀλλ’ "ἐν τῷ καιρῷ"· ἵνα εἴπῃ κατ’ ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνοὺς· οὔτε γὰρ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ. οὔτε ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ ἔτει ἐτεί τῆς βασιλείας Σεδεκίου ἐάλω ἡ πόλις. ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ ἐνδεκάτῳ

1:3 ἐν ὠσὶν Ἰεχονίου
τούτων πρότερον μετοικίσας ἦν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ὁ Ναβουχοδονόσορ. οὕτος δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἰεχονίας ὁ υἱὸς ᾿Ιωακεὶμ καὶ αὐτὸς ᾿Ελιακεὶμ ἐκαλεῖτο διώνυμος ὃν ὁ Ναβουχοδονόσορ ἔγερσεν. οὕτος δὲ αὐτὸς ἤρεν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ εἰς τὴν βίβλον ἀντὶ τῶν συνελθόντων εἰς τὴν ἀκρόασιν·

1:8 σκεύη ἀργυρά, ἃ ἐποίησεν
ὁ μετὰ Ἰεχονίαν βασιλεὺς ὃν ἐξετύφλωσε Ναβουχοδονόσορ

1:10 καὶ ἀνοίσατε ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον
eἰ καὶ κατασκαφεῖς ἦν τὸ ναὸς. ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἔθυον. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐξὸν ἀλλαχοῦ. εἰ μὴ Ἐιρουσαλήμ τὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν

1:10 μαννάν
δῶρα. θυσίας

1:11 καὶ προσεύχασθε περὶ τῆς ζωῆς Ναβουχοδονόσορ
Θεος ἦν προστάξας αὐτοῖς εὐχεθαι περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης τῶν Βαβυλονίων ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰρηνεύωσιν. Ναβουχοδονόσορ ἦν καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰρηνεύωσιν.

1:11 ἵνα ὁ σιν αἱ ἡμέραι αὐτῶν ὡς αἱ ἡμέραι
ἵνα ὁ σιν πολυχρόνιοι ἢ ἵνα κατ’ εὐσέβειαν ζῶσιν.

Προθεωρία

81 Βατ. 549 εἰμί. Βατ. 433 and PG εἰ μή.
82 LXX μαναά.
83 Βατ. 549 and Βατ. 433 εἰρηνεύουσιν. PG εἰρηνεύουσιν.
ἐξομολογοῦνται διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς οἱ ἀιχμάλωτοι ώς διὰ τοῦτο πεπονθῶτες· ὅτι τὸν θείον παρήκουσαν προσταγμάτων· ἄφεν γὰς ἡμέρας ἐξῆλθον ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου· καὶ φασίν ὅτι προφέλεγαν ταῦτα ἐσέσθαι καὶ Μωϋσῆς καὶ ἐπηράσατο τούς παραβαίνοντας τὰς ἐντολὰς· προφέλεγαν δὲ καὶ οἱ προφήται καὶ παρακούοντες εἰδόλοις προσανείχομεν· καταλέγουσι καὶ τῶν ἐαυτῶν ἡγουμένων πανταχοῦ ἀποδεικνύοντες· δικαία ψήφῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ταῦτα ύφίστασθαι.

Αἱ λέξεις

1:14 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἑορτῆς
καὶ γὰρ εἶχον καφροῦς τινασ διαφόρον ἑορτῶν·

1:15 τῷ Κυρίῳ Θεῷ ἡμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη
κατὰ τὸν δικαίον λόγον καὶ Θεός ἐτιμωρήσατο. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν αἰσχύνῃ ἐσμὲν σήμερον. ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ ὄντες δικαίως

1:19 καὶ σχεδιάζομεν πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἀκούειν τῆς φωνῆς
ἐπροφασιζόμεθα αἰτίας ἀναπλάττοντες

1:20 γῆν ρέουσαν γάλα καὶ
καὶ ὁ Θεὸς φησίν ἐτιμωρήσεις· καὶ οὐ παρεσιώπησεν·οὐ παρεσιώπησεν· ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοὺς· καὶ ἡ γῆ τὴν ἑαυτῆς εὐκαρπίαν οὐκ ἤμειψεν· τῶν δωρεῶν ἀναξίους κατεστήσαμεν

2:1 καὶ ἔστησε Κύριος τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ
ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκυρώσεων

2:5 καὶ ἔγνησαν ὑποκάτω
toutέστιν ὑποχείριοι

2:9 καὶ ἔγρηγόρησε Κύριος

90 οὐ παρεσιώπησεν

2:11 καὶ ἔποιήσας σεαυτῷ ὄνομα ώς ἡ ἡμέρα αὕτη

84 Vat. 549 ἄφεν· Vat. 433 ἄφεν· Text missing in PG.
85 Vat. 549 and Vat. 433 αὐτοὺς. Text is missing in PG.
κατὰ τὰ διηνεκῆ86 σου θαυμάσια τῷ γὰρ προφήτῃ καὶ πάσι τοῖς ἁγίοις οὐ διαλιμπάνει87 θαυματουργὸν ὁ Θεὸς· ἀλλὰ ἂεὶ ἐστὶν θαυμαστὸς παρ’ αὐτοῖς88 παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἀπίστοις. εἰ μὴ ποιήσει σημεία, οὐ θαυμάζεται.

Προθεωρία

μετὰ τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν ικετηρίους ἀναπέμπουσι φωνὰς πλέκουσι δὲ τὴν ικετηρίαν. ἐκ τῶν πρὸ ὑπαχθέντων ἑαυτοῖς ἀγαθὸν παρὰ Θεοῦ· καὶ ὅτι εἰς ὀλίγους περιέστησαν· καὶ ὅτι εἰς δόξαν θαυματουργῶν ὁ Θεὸς· ἀλλὰ ἀεὶ εστὶν θαυμαστὸς παρ' αὐτοῖς· διὰ δὲ τοῖς ἀπίστοις. εἰ μὴ ποιήσει σημεία, οὐ θαυμάζεται. 89 Προθεωρία μετὰ τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν ἰκετηρίους ἀναπέμπουσι φωνὰς πλέκουσι δὲ τὴν ικετηρίαν. ἐκ τῶν πρὸ ὑπαχθέντων ἑαυτοῖς ἀγαθὸν παρὰ Θεοῦ· καὶ ὅτι εἰς ὀλίγους περιέστησαν· καὶ ὅτι εἰς δόξαν θαυματουργῶν ὁ Θεὸς· ἀλλὰ ἀεὶ εστὶν θαυμαστὸς παρ' αὐτοῖς· διὰ δὲ τοῖς ἀπίστοις. εἰ μὴ ποιήσει σημεία, οὐ θαυμάζεται.

2:16 ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ ἁγίου σου ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

2:17 ἃνοιξον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἃντι τοῦ "μὴ παρίδης ἡμᾶς" αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὰ τῷ Ἁβραὰμ ἐπηγγείλαν. ἃ τινα ἦν τὴν διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας κακουμένη. καὶ μέγεθος ἔχουσα λύπης· κύπτουσα καὶ ἀσθενοῦσα ἐξομολογεῖται.

86 Vat 549 and Vat. 433 διηνεκῆ. PG διηνεκὴ
87 Vat 549 and Vat. 433 διαλειμπάνει. PG διαλιμπάνει
88 Vat. 549 corr. αὐτοῖς. Vat. 433 and PG αὐτοῖς
89 Vat. 549 ἅ τινα ἦν add. sl. τῆ. Vat. 433 ἅ τινα ἦν Text missing in PG.
90 Vat 549 ἐλεοῦν. A letter, perhaps π, seems to have been removed, probably a correction. Vat. 433 ἐλεοῦν
2:18 καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ ἐκλείποντες
εἴτε αἰσθητῶς διὰ τὰς συμφορὰς εἴτε καὶ ἐκ τῆς νοητῆς θεωρίας ἀμαυροῦμενοι.

2:24 τοῦ ἐξενεχθῆναι τά
eἰς δείγμα τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως μετὰ τελεύτης τά ὡστα αὐτῶν ἐτιμωροῦντο.

2:29 εἴ μὴν ἢ βόμβησις ἢ μεγάλη ἢ πολλὴ αὕτη
dιὰ τὸ νόμος ἐδίδοτο. φωναὶ καὶ κτύποι καὶ ἀστραπαὶ ἐγίνοντο· ταῦτα λέγει "βόμβησιν"· ἐὰν
μή ἄν υἱῶν φησίν μὴ ἀκουστεί τῆς φωνῆς μου. τὰ ἔθνη ἀκούσονται ὑμᾶς· καὶ ἐκ διηγουμένων τάς τεράστια· παραδηλοῖ δὲ ὅτι παρακούοντον τῶν Ἰουαίων Θεοῦ. τὰ ἔθνη ἀκούσονται.

2:30 καὶ ἐπιστρέψουσιν ἐπὶ καρδίαν αὐτῶν ἐν γῇ
αἰχμάλωτοι γεγονότες φησίν ἐπιγνώσοντα τὸ δέον.

2:33 καὶ ἀποστρέψουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ νότου
οἱ μετ’ αὐτοὺς δηλονότι.

2:33 ὅτι μνησθῆσονται τῆς ὁδοῦ τῶν πατέρων
τί συνέβη τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν ἁμαρτάνοντας.

2:34 καὶ ἀποστρέψῳ αὐτοὺς [εἰς τὴν γῆν]
πρὸς μὲν τὸ ῥητὸν. τὴν Ἱεροσαλήμ πρὸς δὲ διανοίαν. τὴν τῆς νοητῆς ἐπαγγελίαν.

2:34 ἢν ὀμοσα τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν
τῇ πρὸς τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ἐπαγγελίᾳ περιέχεται. τὸ καὶ ἐνευλογηθῆσονται ἐν σοὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη.

2:35 καὶ στήσω αὐτοῖς διαθήκην αἰώνιον
τὴν εὐαγγελικήν.

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91 Vat 549 κλεπτοντες in the lexis, but the biblical text preceding the λέξεις has the correct reading ἐκλείποντες. Vat 433 κλεπτοντες. PG ἐκλείποντες.
2:35 καὶ οὐ κινήσω ᾿Ισραήλ.
μετά τὴν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπάνοδον, οὐ μόνον ὅτι ἐκινήθησαν ἀπὸ ᾿Ιεροσαλὴμ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ διὰ τὴν. εἰς Χριστὸν ῥίσον καὶ ἐπιβαίνειν ταύτη κωλύονται. ἔτεραν οὖν νοητέον γην. καὶ ἔτεραν ἀπολύτρωσιν· δῆλον δὲ ὅτι τὴν διὰ Χριστοῦ.

Προθεωρία

ἐτι τὰ τῆς ἱκετηρίας· μνησθῆναι δὲ ἄξιος τὸν Θεόν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως· καὶ ὅτι λαὸς αὐτοῦ καλοῦνται καὶ αἴτουσιν ἀμνηστίαν αὐτοῖς παρασχεθήναι. τῶν πατροπαραδότων ἀμαρτημάτων.

αἰ λέξεις

3:3 ὅτι σὺ καθήμενος τὸν αἰῶνα
σὺ φησίν ἄδιδος εἰ καὶ ἐξουσιαστὴς ἡμεῖς δὲ θνητοὶ καὶ ἐπίκηροι.

3:4 τῶν τεθνηκότων
ἡ οὕτως· ἄκουσον τῶν υἱῶν τῶν τεθνηκότων. ἤ τεθνηκότων, φησίν, τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀπόφασιν γενομένων διὰ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν.

3:5 χειρός σου
τῆς δυνάμεως σου καὶ ὄνοματός σου ὅτι σὺς λαὸς χρηματίζομεν.

3:7 ὅτι ἀπεστρέψαμεν
ἐκατοσκοπεῖσαμεν καὶ ἐμεμψάμεθα ὅτι ἀξίως ἀπέβη ἡμῖν διὰ τὰ ἔργα τῶν πατερῶν ἡμῶν.

3:8 εἰς ὕφλησιν
ἔνοχοι τιμωρίας.

Προθεωρία

92 Vat. 549 κεινήσω LXX κινήσω
93 Vat. 549 ἐπάνοδον. Vat. 433 ἐπάνοδον Text missing in PG.
94 Vat. 549 τη, margin damaged. Vat. 433 τὴν.
τὰ μὲν τῆς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐπιστολῆς πεπλήρωται· φέρεται δὲ κατὰ τῶν Ἰσραηλίτων
προφητεία ὀνειδίζουσα αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐκπτωσιν. καὶ ὅτι κατέλειπον τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἀρμόζει
dὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα κατὰ τε Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῶν σοφῶν τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου καὶ κατὰ φιλαργύρων·
kαὶ κατὰ τῶν μὴ ἐπεγνωκότων τὴν ἀληθινὴν σοφίαν. τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν·

Αἱ λέξεις

3:9 ἄκουε Ἰσραὴλ ἐντολὰς ζωῆς
ἐντολῆς ζωῆς ἡ φρόνησις.

3:10 τί ἐστιν Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι ἐν τῇ γῇ τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἰ
oneidiqei autoiq.

3:10 ἐπαλαιώθης ἐν γῇ ἀλλοτρία
παλαιότης γάρ ἡ ἁμαρτία.

3:11 συνεμιάνθης τοῖς νεκροῖς
τοῖς ἁγνωσίαν Θεοῦ ἔχουσιν.

3:11 προσελογίσθης μετὰ τῶν εἰς Ἀδων
τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔτι ὑπὸ τοῦ θανάτου.

3:12 ἐγκατέλιπες95 τὴν πηγήν τῆς σοφίας
tὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν.

3:13 τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ ὁδῷ εἰ ἐπορεύθης
ὁ Κύριος φησιν "ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς", ὁ οὖν κατὰ μίμησιν αὐτοῦ πορευόμενος

3:14 μάθε ποῦ ἐστι φρόνησις
ἐπειδή τῷ γράμματι κεκόλλησα.96 μάθε ὅτι ἐν ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι ἔστιν ἡ φρόνησις.
3:14 ποῦ ἐστιν ἰσχύς

ἡ κατὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας.

3:14 ποῦ ἐστι σύνεσις τοῦ
tοῦ διακρίναι τὸ ἁγαθὸν ἐκ τοῦ φαύλου.

3:14 ποῦ ἐστι μακροβίωσις

ἐν τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐπήν ὅτι ὁ γὰρ πιστεύειν εἰς ἐμὲ, φησίν, ὁμή ἀποθάναι εἰς τὸν αἰώναίναι

3:14 ποῦ ἐστι φῶς ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ εἰρήνη

ὁ γὰρ Κύριος φησίν: ἐγὼ εἰμί τὸ φῶς τοῦ κοσμοῦ καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος εἶπεν: ὁ πίστις ἐστίν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν

3:15 τίς εὗρε τὸν τόπον αὐτῆς

ὅτι ἀνεξερεύνητα τὰ κρίματα τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ.

3:15 τίς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τοὺς θησαυροὺς αὐτῆς

τίς κατέλαβε τὰ κρίματα τοῦ Θεοῦ

3:16 ποῦ εἰσίν οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐθνῶν

οἱ σοφοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ὁ καὶ ἐκυρίευσαν τῶν θηρίων ἤγουν τῶν θηριοτρόπων ἀνθρώπων.

3:17 οἱ ἐν τοῖς ὀρνέοις τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐμπαίζοντες

οἱ ὀρνεωσκοποῦντες· ἢ καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ σοφία αὐτῶν ἐπίγειος ἐστίν ἡ σοφία αὐτῶν ἐπίγειος ἐστίν ψυχική ὁ δαμονιώδης.

3:17 καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον θησαυρίζοντες

πᾶσα γὰρ ἡ σοφία αὐτῶν ἐν πλεονεξίᾳ.

3:17 καὶ οὐκ ἐστι τέλος τῆς

οὐ γὰρ ἐμπιπλῶνται.

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97 Vat. 549 and Vat. 433 ψυχηκὴ PG ψυχικὴ
98 Vat. 549 corr. κ or θ into μ.
3:18 οἱ τὸ ἀργύριον τεκταίνοντες καὶ μεριμνῶντες
οἱ τὸ ἀργύριον δια ποικίλων 99 προσώπων καρπούμενοι.

3:18 καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξεύρεσις τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν
διότι σκότους μετέχουσιν.

3:19 καὶ ἄλλοι ἀντανέστησαν
οἷς ὁ νόμος ἐνεπιστεύθη καὶ οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἐφύλαξαν· οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀνταναστάντες 100 ἀντί τῶν
ἐπί εἰδωλολατρείᾳ σοφῶν.

3:20 νεώτεροι εἶδον φῶς
οἱ ταῖς σαρκικαῖς πράξεσι μὴ καθελκόμενοι "εἶδον" 101 φῶς". τοῦτ’ ἔστιν τὴν γνώσιν τοῦ
Θεοῦ.

3:20 καὶ κατόκησαν 102 ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
ἐπὶ τοῖς μαθήμασι τῆς νομοθεσίας.

3:20 ὁδὸν δὲ ἐπιστήμης οὐκ ἐγνωσαν
καθὼς ὁ Κύριος φησίν "εἰ ἐπιστεύετε Μωϋσῆ. ἐπιστεύεται ἂν ἡμοί" 103

3:21 οὐδὲ συνήκαν τρίβους αὐτῆς
τὴν ποικίλην διδασκαλίαν.

3:21 οὐδὲ ἀντελάβοντο αὐτῆς οὐκ εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθεν. καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτὸν οὐ παρέλαβον 104·
οἱ υἱοὶ δὲ τῶν νομομαθῶν δῆλον ὅτι

3:21 ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτῶν πόρρω ἐγενήθησαν
διώκοντες γὰρ νόμον. εἰς νόμον δικαιοσύνης 105 οὖκ ἐφθασαν.

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99 Vat. 549 and Vat. 433 ποικίλων. PG ποικίλων
100 Vat. 549 ἀντ’ ἀναστάντες Vat. 433 ἀνταναστάντες PG ἀναστάντες
101 Vat. 549 and Vat. 433 ἐπίν. PG εἶδον
102 Vat. 549 κατάσκεψαν. PG and LXX κατάσκεψαν.
103 Vat. 549 δικαιοσύνης. Vat. 433 and PG δικαιοσύνης.
3:22 οὐδὲ ἠκούσθη ἐν Χαναάν

ἳσοι τούτοις τοῖς ἐθνηκοῖς ἐκρίθησαν τοῖς μὴ ἀκούσασι τοῦ νόμου. οἱ μόνοι τῷ γράμματι τοῦ νόμου ἀκουλουθήσαντες· βλέποντες γὰρ οὐ βλέπουσι. καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκούομεν.

3:23 οὐτε οἱ υἱοὶ Ἄγαρ

οἵ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης ἔγγονοι περὶ ἅν συμφώνοντος φησίν ὁ ἀποστολος· ἀγνοοῦντες· γὰρ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην· καὶ τὴν ἴδιαν ζητοῦντες στήσαι· τῇ δικαιοσύνη τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐχ ὑπετάγησαν.

3:23 οἱ ἔμποροι τῆς Μερρᾶν καὶ Θαιμάν

ἐμπορούσις αὐτοῦς φησίν διὰ τὸ ἀπειρεῖν γεωργίας· ταχθέντες γὰρ ἀμπελουργοὶ· ἀντὶ σταφυλῆς ἀκάνθας ἐβλάστησαν· διὸ καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐν τὸ καλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ Κυρίου. Μερρᾶν δὲ καὶ Θαιμὰν. βάρβαρα φύλα εἰς ἃ ἐμπορεύονται. ἃπέρ εἰσιν οἱ θηριώδεις τρόποι οἱ τῇ ματαιότητι τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου συνκαθελκόμενοι

3:23 καὶ οἱ μυθολόγοι

οἵ ἐκζητηταὶ τῆς συνέσεως· οἱ ἐκζητοῦντες μὲν· μὴ εἰδότες δὲ συνετῶς τὴν ζήτησιν ποιεῖσθαι· πρὸς οὓς φησίν ὁ Κύριος· Ἐρευνάτε τὰς γραφὰς· ὡς μὴ εἰδότας τὴν ἐν αὐταῖς δύναμιν. ἔστιν δὲ ἐν αὐταῖς ζωὴ δς ἔστι

Χριστός

3:23 οὐδὲ ἠκούσθη ἐν Χαναάν

3:24 µέγας ὁ οἶκος τοῦ Θεοῦ

ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ὁ τοῦ μυστηρίου λόγος.
3:25 μέγας καὶ οὐκ ἔχει τελευτήν

ἐπειδή τὰ νῦν ἐκ μέρους γινώσκομεν καὶ οὕτω τῆς γνώσεως τὸ τέλειον· τόπον δὲ καλεῖ τὴν εὐσέβειαν. ἐπιμήκη δὲ· διὰ τὴν άει ἐπὶ τὸ κρείττον αὔξησιν

3:25 υψηλός καὶ ἀμέτρητος

ὅτι ἐπουρανιόν ἣσιμι λατρεύς τῆς ἀρχοντῆρας ὁμοιότητα περιέχει· ἐν ταυτῷ δὲ νόει καὶ τὸν ἐπουρανιόν οἰκον τοῦ Θεοῦ

3:26 ἐκεῖ ἐγεννήθησαν οἱ γίγαντες

περὶ τῶν δαίμονων φησιν ὅτι ἀπαρχῆς μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων ταγέντες· εἴ τοι ἐν τῆς ἀμέτρητης ὁμοιότητας τῶν οὐρανίων ὁμοιότητα καταδεικνύειν· φησιν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῆς ἀκριβίας. χριστιανῶν ὑπερτάσσειν καὶ εἰς θεομαχίαν ἐξετάσσειν· ὀνομαστοι δὲ ἐπειδὴ προκατηγγέλθη περὶ αὐτῶν· εὐμεγέθεις δὲ ὡς ὑπέροχοι

3:26 ἐπιστάμενοι πόλεμον

τῆς γὰρ εἰρήνης τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀνάξιοι ὄντες· πόλεμον ἠκολούθησαν. οἱ τε δαίμονες καὶ οἱ αἱρετικοὶ.

Προθεωρία

330 Περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας Χριστοῦ προφητεύει. καὶ τῶν κατὰ καιρῶν αἱρετικῶν καὶ ὅτι ἐκουσίως ὁ λόγος· ἐκλίνει οὐρανοὺς καὶ κατέβη· καὶ ὅτι ἀνέξερεύνητα τὰ κρίματα τοῦ Θεοῦ· λέγει δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀνεξερεύνητα τα κρίματα τοῦ Θεοῦ· λέγει δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀνεξερεύνητα τα κρίματα τοῦ Θεοῦ· λέγει δὲ καὶ τῆς Θεοῦ δημιουργίας· τροπικῶς τοὺς ἀγίους αἰνιττόμενος. ἤσκησαν νήματα καὶ δαίμονες καὶ αἱρετικοί

Αἱ λέξεις

3:29 τῆς ἀνέβη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν

καθ' ὡς γέγραπτα· οὐχ ὅτι ἤγαγόταςαμεν τὸν Θεὸν, ἀλλ’ ὅτι αὐτὸς ἠγάπησεν ἡμᾶς· καὶ
ἀγαπήσας ἐκλίνεν οὐρανοὺς καὶ κατέβη τίς διέβη πέραν πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης

ο Κύριος εἶπὼν, "θαρσεῖτε, ἐγὼ νενίκηκα τὸν κόσμον"· μόνος γὰρ αὐτὸς διέβη τὴν ἁμαρτία ὁς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν. οὐ δὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ· τὸ δὲ εὑρέθην ἀντὶ τοῦ ὑπέδειξεν ἡμῖν τοῦ εὑρεῖν αὐτὴν

καὶ οἴσαι αὐτὴν χρυσίου ἐκλεκτοῦ πρὸς μὲν ῤητὸν. ὅτι ἀντίμητος ἡ σοφία· πρὸς δὲ διάνοιαν. χρυσίου ἐκλεκτὸν ἡ πίστις δι' ἧς γινώσκομεν τὸν Κύριον.

οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ γινώσκων τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῆς εἴ τις γὰρ δοκεῖ ἐγνωκέναι τι οὕπω ἔγνω καθὼς δεῖ 104 γνῶναι

τὰς διδασκαλίας· τὰς προφητείας· εἶς αὐτὰς δοκεῖ ἐγνωκέναι τι οὕπω ἔγνω καθὼς δεῖ 104 γνῶναι

μόνος γὰρ ὁ Πατὴρ γινώσκει τὸν Υἱόν

ὁ κατασκευάσας τὴν γῆν πρὸς μὲν ῤητὸν. ὅτι διὰ τοῦ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος λόγου τὰ πάντα. κατασκευάσθη· πρὸς δὲ διάνοιαν γῆν τὴν γνῶσιν τῆς εὐσεβείας καλεῖ

κτηνῶν τετραπόδων ἀγαθοὺς γὰρ καὶ πονηροὺς ὁ Κύριος ἐκάλεσεν εἰς τοὺς γάμους· κτήνη δὲ λέγει. τοὺς πρὸ τούτου κτήνεσιν ἀνοίητοι συμβληθέντας

104 Vat. 549 corr. sl."ei". Ante corr. "η".
3:33 ὁ ἀποστέλλων τὸ φῶς καὶ πορεύεται
tοὺς ἀπόστολους πρὸς οὓς εἶπεν· ὑμεῖς ἠστήκατε. 105 τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου

3:34 οἱ δὲ ἀστέρες ἔλαμψαν
ἐν τοῖς δεδομένοις αὐτοῖς χαρίσμασιν διαλάμψαντες ἡμών πάντα.

3:35 ἐκάλεσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ εἶπαν πάρεσμεν
καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀποστολικὴν κλήσιν ἑτοίμως ὑπακούσαντες· καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν ἔσχοντες· ἀναλύσας
καὶ σὺν Χρίστῳ εἴναι· καὶ μηδὲν προτιμόντες τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ προστατόμενον

3:36 οὗτος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν
ὁ ποιήσας χάρισμα τὸν κόσμον· καὶ διὰ Χρίστου· τοῦ Πατρὸς γεγονὼς λόγος· ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς

3:37 έξεδρεύει πάναν
ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν

3:38 μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ γῆς ὄψιν
καὶ γὰρ κατὰ τάξιν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ προστατόμενον ἔλαμψεν· νομικῶς· προφητικῶς· εὐαγγελικῶς·

3:39 Ἰακώβ καὶ Ἰσραὴλ
τῷ κατὰ χάριν λαῷ

3:40 ῾Ιακώβ καὶ ῾Ισραήλ

4:1 αὐτὴν ἡ βίβλου τῶν προσταγμάτων τοῦ Θεοῦ
ἡ διὰ τῶν εὐαγγελίων τοῦ μυστηρίου ποικίλη γνώσις. ἢ καὶ διαυώνιζουσα

4:2 διάδεσσον πρὸς τὴν λάμψιν
αὐτὸς γὰρ καλεῖ λέγων ἐπεὶ πρὸς πάντες ὁι κοπιῶντες 106 καὶ πεφορτισμένοι, κἀγὼ
ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς

105 Vat. 549 ἐσταὶ Vat. 433, PG and NT ἐστε.
106 Vat 549 and Vat. 433 κοπιῶντες. PG and NT κοπιῶντες
4:3 μὴ δὸς ἐτέρῳ τὴν δόξαν
παρορμᾶ τοὺς ἥξε Ἰσραήλ προαρπάσαι τὴν χάριν· ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἦν ἀναγκαῖον πρῶτον ἀναγγεῖλαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

4:4 μακάριοι ἐσμεν Ἰσραήλ ὅτι τὰ ἄρεστά ὁ πνευματικόν Ἰσραήλ ταῦτα φησίν· πρὸς οἷς φησίν ὁ Σωτήρ. "ॐμῶν δὲ μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοί ὅτι βλέπουσι καὶ τὰ ὠτα ὅτι ἀκούουσιν"· καὶ πάλιν πρὸς τὸν Πάτερα· ᾿ἑξομολογοῦμαι σοι Πατέρ· Κύριε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς· ὅτι ἀπέκρυψας ταῦτα ἀπὸ σοφῶν καὶ συνετῶν καὶ ἀπεκάλυψας αὐτὰ νηπίοις".

Προθεωρία
Καθ’ ἱστορίαν μὲν τοῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων αἰχμαλώτοις τὸ θαρρεῖν παρακελεύεται. καὶ τὴν εἰδολολατρείαν αἰτίαν αὐτοῖς τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας γενέθαι φησίν· εἴτε καὶ ύπ’ ἐκ προσώπου τῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ· θρηνεῖ τοὺς δοριαλώτους· καὶ πρὸς τὸ πένθος καλεῖ τὰς παροίκους Σιών· ἢ αὐτῆς δὲ ἡ Ἱερουσαλήμ τὴν ἀσθένειαν προβαλλομένη. προφητεύει αὐτοῖς· ώς λυτρωθήσονται ύπό τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἡ ἱστορία· ἐξεί δὲ ἀναφορὰν ὁ λόγος εἰς τὰς ἁμαρτανούσας ψυχὰς καὶ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας εὐχειρώτους γινομένας τοῖς δαίμοσι. λυτρομένας δὲ διὰ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως· δύναται δὲ νοεῖσθαι τὰ προκείμενα. καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων συναγωγὴν. παθοῦσαν μὲν ύπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἅ πέπονθεν. ἐλεουμένην δὲ ύπὸ Θεοῦ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ πιστεύση εἰς ὅν ἐξύβρισε Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν.

Αἱ λέξεις
4:5 μνημόσυνον Ἰσραήλ.
ὁ παρ’ ἐμοῦ μνημονευόμενε Ἰσραήλ.

4:6 ἐπράθητε τοίς ἐθνεσιν οὐκ εἰς ἀπώλειαν
εἰ γὰρ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐσχεν τὸ καθ’ ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον ὁ Διάβολος. ἀλλ’ ὁ Χριστὸς ἡμᾶς τῷ ἰδίῳ ἁματι εξηγόρασεν.
4:8 ἐπελάθεσθε τὸν τροφεύσαντα ὑμᾶς Θεόν αἰώνιον
ὅτι λόγῳ θείῳ τραφέντες· ὡς λογικοὶ εἰς ἀλογίαν καταπεπτώκαμεν.

4:9 ἀκούσατε, οἱ Σιών
τὰς περιοίκουςκαλεὶ πρὸς τὴν θέαν τοῦ πένθους· τῷ παραδείγματι σωφρονεστέρας αὐτὰς ἀπεργαζομένη.

4:12 μηδεὶς ἐπιχαιρέτω μοι τῇ χήρᾳ
εἰ γὰρ καὶ παιδεύων ἐπαιδευσέ με· ὁ Κύριος· ἀλλὰ τῷ θανάτῳ οὐ παρέδωκέ με· χήρα δὲ κυρίως ἐκλήθη τῶν Ῥωμαίων εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῆς νυμφίον Χριστόν. ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτὰς ἑαυτοῖς ἑμεῖς ἑαυτοῖς ἔχομεν καταπέπτωκαμεν.

4:14 εἰς πάροικοι Σιών
αἱ τῆς παροικίας τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτοι μέλες ὑμεῖς σωθήσεσθε.

4:15 ἐξυβρίσασα ἐγκατελείφθη.

4:15 ἐλθάτωσαν αἱ πάροικοι Σιών
αἱ τῆς παροικίας τοῦ αἰῶνος τοῦτοι μέλες ὑμεῖς σωθήσεσθε.

4:15 ἔθνος ἀναιδὲς καὶ ἀλλόγλωσσον

4:17 ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ὑμεῖς ἐσομένην σωτερίαν διὰ

Προθεωρία

πρὸς μὲν ἱστορίαν. προτρέπει τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους προδότους ὑποδέχεσθαι τὴν θείαν παραδίδοντα. καὶ μετανοεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑαυτούς ἑαυτοῖς· καὶ προλέγει τὴν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν ἐσομένην αὐτῶν σωτερίαν διὰ

111 Vat. 549 and Vat. 433 aī LXX oi
112 Vat. 549 περὶ οίκους Vat. 433 περιοίκους PG παροίκους
113 Vat. 549 and Vat. 433 σωφρονεστέρας PG σωφρονεστέρας
114 Vat. 549 add. sl. τὴν PG τὸν τὴν Vat. 433 τὴν τὸν
τῆς μετανοίας· καὶ συμβουλεύει μακροθυμεῖν ἐν ταῖς περιστάσεσιν· ἐσεσθαι γὰρ τοὺς
έξθρούς αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν· λέγει δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνην αἰώνιον εἶναι τοῖς σω-
ζομένοις αὐτῶν· ἀρμόζει δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῇ Ἰουδαίων συναγωγῇ, ὅτε καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ κατάλειμμα
σωθῆσεται διὰ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως· ἀρμόζει δὲ καὶ γενικῶς ἀμαρτίας μὲν παραδοθείσης τοῖς ἐξθροῖς, διὰ πίστεως δὲ καὶ μετανοίας· ἀνασῳζομένης· Ἰερουσαλήμ δὲ νόει· ταῦτα λέγουσαν. τὰς τῶν ἁγίων ψυχας· πενθοῦσας μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς
ἀμαρτάνοντας· ἰκετευούσας δὲ τὸν Θεόν περὶ αὐτῶν. καὶ προτρεπομένας τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας
eis metánoian· σχηματίζεται δὲ ὁ λόγος καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίων συναγωγὴν. καὶ εἰς τὴν
αἰσθητήν Ἰερουσαλήμ· φωνὴν ἀφιέσαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑαυτῆς πολιτῶν.

Αἱ λέξεις

4:19 βαδίζετε, τέκνα, βαδίζετε
προτρέπει αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν διὰ τῆς μάστιγος παιδείαν.

4:19 ἐγὼ γὰρ κατελείφθη ἐρήμος
ἀπουσία Θεοῦ. καὶ εἰ μὲν οἱ ἁγίοι ταῦτα λέγουσιν· οἰκειούμενοι τὰ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν λέγουσιν·
η δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων συναγωγῆς ὅτε διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν ὕβριν ἤκουσεν. "ἰδοὺ ἀφίεται ὁ οἶκος
tῶν οἰκητόρων ἔρημος· ἤ δὲ η πόλις. διὰ τὴν τῶν οἰκητόρων ἐρημίαν.

4:20 ἐξεδυσάμην τὴν στολὴν τῆς εἰρήνης
τὴν λαμπρότητα ἣν ἔχον εἰρηνεύσα πρὸς Θεόν.

4:20 ἐνεδυσάμην δὲ σάκκον
πενθοῦσα ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμῶν ἁμαρτήμασι καὶ δεομένη Θεοῦ.

4:22 καὶ ἤλθέν μοι χαρὰ παρά τοῦ ἁγίου
tὴν διὰ τοῦ σωτερὸς Χριστοῦ προβλέπει ἀπολύτρωσιν. καὶ τάυτην προλέγει.

115 Vat. 549 and Vat. 433 γενικῶς. Text missing in PG.
116 Vat. 549 and Vat. 433 ἀφίεσαν Text missing in PG.
117 Vat. 549 and Vat. 433 ή δὲ ή τῶν PG ή δὲ τῶν.
4:24 ἡ ἐπελεύσεται ύμῖν μετὰ δόξης μεγάλης
ἡ γὰρ διὰ Χριστοῦ ἀπολύτρωσις· λαμπρότερον. ἤ κατὰ τὴν ἔξι ἄρχης πλάσιν τὸ γένος ἡμῶν ἀπέδειξεν.

4:25 κατεδίωξέν γὰρ σε ὁ ἐχθρός σου
ἡτις καὶ γέγονε τῷ διαβόλῳ. διὰ τοῦ τιμίου σταυροῦ.

4:25 καὶ ἐπὶ τραχήλους αὐτῶν ἐπιβήσῃ
διὸι, γὰρ φησί, "ἀδεικία πώς ἡμᾶς ἀφέων καὶ κοροπίων καὶ ἐπὶ πάσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ".

4:26 οἱ τρυφεροί μου ἐπορεύθησαν ὁδοὺς τραχείας
οἱ κατὰ τὴν ἐξαρχῆς δημιουργίαν τρυφεροὶ καὶ εὐτραφεῖς γενόμενοι. τὰς ἀνομάλους καὶ τραχείας ὁδοὺς ἐπορεύθησαν.

4:30 Θάρσει Ἰερουσαλήμ, παρακαλέσει σε ὁ ὄνομάσας σε
ὁ Θεὸς λόγος ὁ διὰ θυσίαν ἐνανθρωπήσας· ὁ νύμφην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἄξιόσας καλέσται.

4:31 δείλαιοι οἱ σὲ κακώσαντες
δαίμονες αἱρετικοὶ οἱ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατὰ καιροὺς διώξαντες.

4:32 δείλαιαι αἱ πόλεις, αἷς ἐδούλευσαν τὰ τέκνα σου
τὰ ὀχυρώματα τῶν κακῶν. αἱ κατασκευαὶ τῶν δαίμονον.

4:33 οὕτως λυπηθήσεται ἐπὶ τῇ ἑαυτῆς ἐρημίᾳ
ἡ εἰδωλολατρεία καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἰουδαίων συναγωγῆ.

4:34 καὶ περιελῶ αὐτῆς τὸ ἀγαλλίαμα τῆς πολυοχλίας
τῆς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν διωξάσης συναγωγῆς. καὶ τῆς ποικίλης τῶν κακῶν ἐφόδου.

118 Vat. 549 and Vat. 433 ἀνομάλους PG ἀνωμάλους.
119 Vat. 549 corr. ante. corr. τραχείας.
120 Vat. 549 δήλαιαι
4:35 πῦρ γὰρ ἐπελεύσεται αὐτῇ εἰς ἡμέρας
ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔως ὅτε ἐπέστρεψεν. διὸ καὶ τὸν πλέονα χρόνον εἶπεν.

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Προθεωρία

dοκεῖ μὲν καθ’ ἱστορίαν. τὴν Ἰερουσαλήμ ὁ λόγος εὐαγγελίζεσθαι. περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν ὕδων Ἰσραήλ τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι· καὶ ἀπελεῖν."121 τῇ Βαβυλῶνι τὴν κατασκαφὴν τηλαυγῶς δὲ περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας φησίν τὸ θεοσεβὲς εὐαγγελίζομενος πολίτεμα· τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀβελ καὶ Νος καὶ Αβραάμ. καὶ πάντας τοὺς μακαρίους ἄνδρας· περὶ τὸν μελλόντον διὰ Χριστὸν σώζεσθαι· τέκνα γὰρ ἐκείνων ἥμας· οἱ δαιμονίοις πάλαι δουλεύσαντες· καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς κακίας αἰχμαλωτισθέντες· λύτρωθεντες δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἕως ἕως τὴν ἐκκλησίαν σταυρωθέντος· καὶ μετὰ δόξης ἐκκαλούμενοι. καὶ βασιλείας οὐρανῶν κατατρυφῆσιν ἐλπίζοντες.

535

Αἱ λέξεις

4:36 περίβλεψαι122 πρὸς ἀνατολάς, Ἰερουσαλήμ

πρὸς τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιον τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν.

540

4:37 τῷ ρήματι τοῦ ἁγίου

τῇ τῆς πίστεως ὁμολογίᾳ.

5:1 ἔκδυσαι, Ἰερουσαλήμ, τὴν στολὴν τοῦ πένθους

τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον σὺν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτοῦ.

545

5:1 καὶ ἐνδύσαι τὴν εὐπρέπειαν

τῇ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας διαθήκης διατάγματα. ἄλλος τὴν πρακτικήν123 καὶ θεωριτικὴν ἀρετήν.

5:2 περιβάλον τὴν διπλοΐδα

τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ νέας διαθήκης διατάγματα. ἄλλος τὴν πρακτικὴν123 καὶ θεωριτικὴν ἀρετὴν.

121 Vat. 549 and Vat. 433 ἀπελεῖν Text missing in PG.
122 Vat. 549 and Vat. 433 περίβλεψαι LXX περίβλεψον
123 Vat. 549 πρακτικὴν Vat. 433 and PG πρακτικὴν
5:2 ἐπίθου τὴν μίτραν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν.

τὸν σταυρὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸν ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ 124 τῶν πιστῶν τυπούμενον. ἢ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον· κεφαλὴ γὰρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁ Χριστός.

5:4 κληθήσεται γὰρ σου τὸ ὄνομα

ὅς μὴ κετεὶ δυναμένης τῆς ἐφόδου τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὴν εἰρήνην τῆς δικαιοσύνης διασπάσαι· μηδὲ καταλίθσαι τὴν δόξαν τῆς θεοσεβείας· ἄλλως ἐπειδὴ ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη· καὶ αὐτὸς ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἡμῶν· καὶ αὐτὸς ἡ δικαιοσύνη τῆς θεοσεβείας· καὶ αὐτὸς ἡ δικαιοσύνη τῆς εἰρήνης· καὶ αὐτὸς ἡ δικαιοσύνη πολεμοῦντος· ἄλλως δὲ· τὰς παλαιὰς κατατομὰς εἰς ὁμόνοιαν φέρεσθαι· τὰς νέας εἰς ὁμαλοῦ. 125

5:5 καὶ στῆθι ἐπὶ τοῦ υψηλοῦ

ἐπὶ υψηλῆς πολειτείας ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ κηρύγματος.

5:6 ἐξῆλθον γὰρ παρὰ σοῦ πεζοὶ ἀγόμενοι ὑπὸ ἐχθρῶν τὸ σχῆμα πενθῆρες ὡς δηλοῖ Δαυίδ φεύγων· πένθους δὲ ἀξία οἱ δαιμονίοις δουλεύοντες καὶ ταῖς ποικίλαις αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμίαις ἀγόμενοι.

5:7 ταπεινοῦσθαι πᾶν ὄρος ὑψηλὸν πᾶν ὕψωμα ἐπαιρόμενον κατὰ τῆς γνώσεως τοῦ Θεοῦ.

5:7 καὶ θίνας ἀεννάους φάραγγας πληροῦσθαι εἰς ὁμαλισμὸν τὰς κατατομὰς τῶν ψευδοχρίστων εἰς ὁμόνοιαν φέρεσθαι· ἄλλως δὲ· τὰς παλαιὰς περιπατοῦσαν αὐτὸν ἀγγέλων· παραπεμπομένους δὲ διὰ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως εἰς τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν·

5:8 ὡς υἱοὶ βασιλείας αἰρομένους μὲν ὑπὸ ἀγίων ἀγγέλων, παραπεμπομένους δὲ διὰ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως εἰς τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν·

124 Vat. 549 and Vat. 433 μετόπῳ PG μετώπῳ
125 Vat. 549 πολειτείας Vat. 433 and PG πολιτείας
126 Vat. 549 φεύγων Vat. 433 and PG φεύγων.
127 Vat. 549 ὡσοὶ υἱοὶ in the λέξεις. PG and Vat. 433 ὡς υἱοὶ βασιλείας. LXX ὡς θρόνον βασιλείας. As do Vat. 549 in the bible text preceding the λέξεις.
κοίλας καὶ γεώδεις ψυχὰς· δι’ ἔργων ἀγαθῶν πληροῦσθαι τῶν σκανδάλων περιαιρεθέντων.

5:8 ἐσκίασαν128 δὲ καὶ οἱ δρυμοὶ καὶ πᾶν ξύλον εὐωδίας τῷ Ἰσραήλ.

585 οἱ προφῆται, οἱ ἀπόστολοι, οἱ τὴν Χριστοῦ εὐωδίαν ἀποπνέοντες· διὰ τῶν οἰκείων διδαγμάτων ἐπισκιάζοντες τοὺς πιστοὺς· πρὸς τὸ μὴ καταπονεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ νοητοῦ καύσωνος· ξύλα δὲ εὐωδίας καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους ἀγγέλους νοήσεις περιέποντας ἡμᾶς τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ προστάγματι· δρυμοῦ δὲ τὰς δοκούσας συνοχὰς ἀναψυχὴν ἐργαζομένας.

5:7 ἵνα βαδίσῃ Ἰσραήλ ἀσφαλῶς τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ δόξῃ

τῷ καυχήματι τοῦ σταυροῦ·

5:9 ἡγήσεται γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσραήλ μετ’ εὐφροσύνης·

ποιμὴν ἀληθινὸς ὑπάρχων, καὶ ποιμαινοῦν τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ποίμνιον σὺν ἐλεημοσύνῃ καὶ

595 δικαιοσύνη τῇ παρ’ αὐτοῦ.

ἐπληρώθησαν σύν Θεῷ αἱ λέξεις τοῦ Βαρούχ.

128 Vat. 549 ἐσκίασεν.
129 Vat. 549 ποιμένων and Vat. 433 ποίμνιων. Text missing in PG.
Translation

Protheoria

Having dictated the vision against Babylon to Baruch,\textsuperscript{130} Jeremiah ordered him to read it in Babylon for the Jews and when this had been done, the Jews lamented what had happened, realizing that they had suffered on account of their own sins. Baruch, whom he\textsuperscript{131} also calls Seraiah in the previous book,\textsuperscript{132} had been sent by Zedekiah to Babylon to commission gifts for Nebuchadnezzar \textit{in the fourth year of the reign} of Zedekiah (Jer 28:59 lxx).\textsuperscript{133} For this reason, Baruch read the words in the next year when he came to Babylon, which was the fifth [year] of the reign of Zedekiah. It is necessary to know, that Nebuchadnezzar after having first deported Jechonias to Babylon, set Zedekiah to reign over the Jews instead of him.\textsuperscript{134} At all events, when Baruch was sent to commission gifts for the Babylonian,\textsuperscript{135} he was held in honour by him, and he received the silver vessel of the holy temple which Zedekiah had made.\textsuperscript{136} For after the capture of Jerusalem and Zedekiah, Baruch returned to Judea, and this is why some of the copies says “the ninth [year]” instead of “the fifth [year]”. But it was the ninth [year] of Zedekiah when the Babylonian captured Jerusalem,\textsuperscript{137} therefore, one says, he read the words “in the ninth [year]”. And later he returned after the capture of the city, for in the eleventh year it was destroyed. Therefore the captives sent silver through him and they asked that there be sacrifices in Jerusalem for the sake of the saviour Nebuchadnezzar and his son and the sins of the people. “At the time when the Chaldeans took Jerusalem and set it on

\textsuperscript{130} The scribe of the prophet Jeremiah who was tasked with writing down and delivering Jeremiah’s prophesies to the people of Israel (Jer. 36:4). As was noted above (see 1.5) there was a tradition among Church Fathers to count the book of Baruch as part of the Jeremiah corpus, a tradition also present in the manuscript tradition. Olympiodoros also follows this tradition and ascribes the prophecy of Baruch’s book to Jeremiah himself delivered through Baruch.

\textsuperscript{131} Probably the prophet Jeremiah.

\textsuperscript{132} The book of Jeremiah (see next note).

\textsuperscript{133} In the Jer. 51:59, Seraiah is said to be the Chamberlin in the reign of Zedekiah who commissioned gifts to Nebuchadnezzar: […] Saraias son of Nerias, son of Maasaias, when he was going with the king Sedekias king of Iouda to Babylon, in the fourth year of his reign. And Saraias was ruler of gifts. Because of the fact that both Seraiah and Baruch are called “son of Maasais” scholars believe them to be brothers: see Freedman, 1992, (vol 5) p. 1104. Olympiodoros, however, thinks that they are the same person and that it is Baruch who, in the fourth year of Zedekiah, is sent to commission gifts. Olympiodoros also assumes this in his commentary on Jer. 28:59 where he says the following concerning Seraiah: “This one is said to be Baruch who had his name changed as a favour”. See Virginia, 1999, p. 202. The name Baruch means “blessed” in Hebrew (VanGemeren, 1997, p. 757.).

\textsuperscript{134} This is in line with 2 Kings 24:10-17 which reports Zedekiah to be the vassal king of Judah installed by Nebuchadnezzar in place of Jechonias at the time of the first deportation to Babylon.

\textsuperscript{135} I.e. Nebuchadnezzar.

\textsuperscript{136} As is pointed out by Adams, this probably refers to the temple-vessels that Zedekiah had made after the first ones were taken by Nebuchadnezzar during the first siege of Jerusalem. It seems that the second vessels were also taken away to Babylon during the final destruction of Jerusalem. See Adams, 2014, p. 57.

\textsuperscript{137} This is in line with 2 Kings 25 which reports that in the ninth year of Zedekiah reign, Nebuchadnezzar captured Jerusalem, killed Zedekiah son and blinded Zedekiah on account of his attempted revolt.
fire”, he does not say “in the fifth year” or “in the ninth [year]” in accordance with the different [things] conveyed in the copies, but in order for him to recount that in those times it happened that the city was burned, namely in the eleventh year.\textsuperscript{138}

**Lexeis**

1:1 [Baruch son of Maasaias, son of Sedekias, son of Hasadias] son of Chelkias
Perhaps he reminds us that the forefathers of Baruch were noteworthy.

1:2 In the fifth year
Other copies have “in the ninth [year]”.

1:2 At the time when the Chaldeans took Jerusalem
He did not say “in the year”, but “at the time”, so that he could recount concerning those times, for the city was neither captured in the fifth nor in the ninth year of the reign of Zedekiah, but in the eleventh.

1:3 In the ears of Jechonias
This one\textsuperscript{139} had Nebuchadnezzar earlier deported to Babylon. This Jechonias was himself son of Jehoiakim, and he was called Eliakim for he had two names.

1:3 Those who came to the book
Instead of “those who had come to the recitation”.

1:8 The silver vessels that [king Zedekiah] had made.
The king after Jechonias whom Nebuchadnezzar blinded.\textsuperscript{140}

1:10 And offer them on the altar
Though the temple was destroyed, yet they offered on that place. For it was not possible to accomplish the sacrifices elsewhere, if not in Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{141}

\textsuperscript{138} This is in line with Jer. 39.
\textsuperscript{139} i.e. Jechonias.
\textsuperscript{140} See note 71-72 in my commentary.
\textsuperscript{141} Olympiodoros seems to think that it was possible to make offerings on the altar in Jerusalem even though the Temple had been destroyed. As is pointed out by Adams, this is in line with Jer. 48:5. See Adams, 2014, p. 57.
1:10 Maana
Gifts of offerings.

1:11 and pray concerning the life of Nebuchadnezzar
God commanded them to pray concerning the peace of the Babylonians, in order that they themselves live peacefully.

1:11 so that their days [on the earth may] be like the days [of the sky]
So that they may live long lives or that they may live according to godliness.

Protheoria
The captives confess through the letter that they had suffered because of the following: they disobeyed the divine commandments from the day on which they went out of the land of Egypt. And they say that Moses also foresaw that this would happen and he cursed those who transgressed the commandments. And the prophets also foresaw that we, disobeying [God], kept on devoting ourselves to idols. And they accuse their own leaders, everywhere pointing out that these things are established justly by God’s decree.

Lexeis
1:14 on a feast day [and on days of a season]
For they also had certain times for different feasts.

1:15 To the Lord our God belongs righteousness [but to us shame]
And according to the righteous word, God also avenged himself, and we stand in shame today, justly, since we are in captivity.

1:19 and we were acting carelessly so as not to listen to his voice
We made up excuses, inventing reasons.

1:20 [to give us] a land flowing with milk and [honey]
And God, he said, was prepared to fulfil his own promises until today, and the earth did not

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142 Brenton’s translation.
alter its fruitfulness. But we rendered ourselves unworthy of its gifts.

2:1 And the Lord established his word
Instead of “he confirmed [it]”.

2:5 They became beneath
That is to say “subject”.\textsuperscript{143}

2:9 And the Lord kept watch [over the bad things]
He did not pass [it] over in silence.

2:11 [you who brought out your people from the land of Egypt … with wonders …] and you made yourself a name, as on this day.
In accordance with your unceasing wonders. For God did not cease working wonders through the prophet and all the saints, but he is always marvellous before them and before the unbelievers. If he did not make signs, he would not be admired.

Protheoria
After the confession, they send up supplicate voices and weave the supplication beginning with the good things previously brought to them from God, and that they have been reduced to a small [remnant] and [asking] that they be set free for the glory of God, and that they, not as dead, but as living, and being in afflictions, may glorify God. Then again they repeatedly confess that they disobeyed the prophets when Jeremiah said to them that the judgment of God is made against you in Babylon. They said that even the bones of their kings having been carried away from the tombs were spread under the sky, and that God foretold this for them and that God promised to bring them back after the captivity, according to that which is promised to Abraham, some things of which were prophesising the redemption through Christ. And they add to the supplication their own affliction and the mercy of God and on the one hand, their own perishability and short-livedness, and on the other, God’s everlastingness.

Lexeis

\textsuperscript{143} Olympiodoros is referring to the Israelites being made subject under foreign rule because of their disobedience.
2:16 [look down] from your holy house
From heaven.

2:17 open [your] eyes
Instead of “do not disregard us”.

2:18 But the soul who is grieving over the magnitude
Those who carry great burdens are stooped down because they are weak. Therefore, a soul, he says, that is afflicted on account of sins also has greatness of grief and it gives praise being stooped down and weak.

2:18 the eyes that are failing
Either literally on account of the misfortunes or because they made themselves blind to spiritual vision.

2:24 that [the bones of our kings, and the bones of our fathers] may be carried out [from their place]
As an example of the coming judgment their bones were punished after death.

2:29 [If you do not obey my voice,) surely this great, voluminous buzzing [will turn into a small one among the nations]
When the Law was given, there were sounds and rattling of thunder and flashes of lightning, this is what “buzzing” mean.
Therefore, he says, if you shall not listen to my voice, the gentiles will listen to you when you are dispersed and recounting the wonders. It makes clear that since the Jews disregard God, the gentiles will listen.

2:30 they will return to their heart in the land [of their exile]
When they have become captive, he says, they will discover that which is right.

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144 I.e. the text.
2:33 and they will turn away from their hard back [and from their wicked deeds]
Obviously the ones\textsuperscript{145} [who come] after them.

2:33 because they will remember the way of their fathers [who sinned]
What happened to their fathers when they sinned.

2:34 and I will return them [to the land]
According to the literal sense, “Jerusalem”, according to the spiritual sense, “the spiritual promise”.

2:34 which I swore to their fathers
It is included in the promise to Abraham: \textit{All the Gentiles shall be blessed in you} (Gal 3:8)

2:35 and I will establish with them an everlasting covenant
According to the Gospel.

2:35 and I will not disturb again my people Israel [from the land that I have given them]
[Since] not only that, after the return from Babylon, they were removed from Jerusalem, but also that because of their insolence toward Christ, they are prevented from entering there, this must be thought of as another “land”, and another “ransoming” and it is obvious that it is the [land/ransoming] through Christ.

\textbf{Protheoria}

The content of the supplication continues and they deem it worthy to remind God of his own power, and because they are called his people they also demand that amnesty be granted to them from their paternal sins.

\textbf{Lexeis}

3:3 For you are seated forever [and we are perishing forever]
You, he says, are eternal and mighty, but we are mortals and perishable.

\textsuperscript{145} I.e. the offspring.
3:4 [listen now to the prayer] of those [of Israel] who have died [and the sons of those who kept sinning before you]
Either [he says] in this way: “listen to the sons of those who have died”, or “those who have died”, he says, “are the ones who have come under the judgement on account of sin”.

3:5 [remember] your hand [and your name]
Your power and your name, because we are called your people.

3:7 for we have put away [from our hearts all the injustice of our fathers]
We, he says, have judged and blamed ourselves, because he\textsuperscript{146} rightly assaulted us on account of the deeds of our fathers.

3:8 [we are today in our exile …] for a penalty
Liable to punishments.

\textbf{Protheoria}

The content of the message of the captives was fulfilled. A prophesy is brought against the Israelites reproaching them for the exile because they have forsaken the way of God. But it fits well with that which is written against both the Jews and the wise ones of this age and against the \textit{lovers of money} (2 Tim 3:2) and against those who did not acknowledge the true Wisdom, our Lord Jesus Christ.

\textbf{Lexeis}

3:9 \textit{Hear O, Israel, the commandments of life}
The commandment of life is Insight.

3:10 Why is it, O Israel, that you are in the enemies’ land?
He reproaches them.

\textsuperscript{146} I.e. God.
3:10 that you became old in a foreign land
For aging is sin.

3:11 you were defiled with the corpses
With those who are ignorant of God.

3:11 you were counted among those in Hades
Among those still ruled by death.

3:12 You have forsaken the spring of wisdom
Our Lord Jesus Christ.

3:13 If in the way of God you had gone [you would be living in peace forever]
The Lord says: I am the Way (Joh 14:6), therefore, whoever walks in imitation of him walks on his road.

3:14 Learn where there is insight
Since you have clung to the letters, learn that in the Holy Spirit is Insight.

3:14 where is strength
The [strength] against sin.

3:14 where is intelligence to [know at the same time]
To distinguish the good from the bad.

3:14 where there is the longevity
In the Lord, obviously, for he says: Whoever believes in me will surely never die (Joh. 11:25 and 26).

3:14 where there is light for eyes and peace
For the Lord says: I am the light of the world (Joh. 8:11) and the apostle says that Christ is our peace (Eph 2:14)
3:15 Who has found her place
Unsearchable [are] God’s judgements and inscrutable his ways. (Rom 11:33)

3:15 who entered into her treasuries
Who comprehended God’s judgements.

3:16 Where are the magistrates of the nations [and those who have dominion over the beasts that are on the earth]
The wise ones of this age, who also rule over the beasts, that is to say, the men of bestial ways.

3:17 those who make sport among the bird in the sky
The bird-watchers, since their wisdom is earthly, unspiritual, demonic (James 3:15).

3:17 and who store up silver
For all their wisdom is in greediness.

3:17 and there is no end to [their acquisition]
For they are not satiated.

3:18 those who scheme for silver and are anxious
Those who harvest silver through a variety/duplicity of faces.

3:18-19 and there is no trace of their works [they have vanished and gone down to Hades]
Because they take part in darkness.

3:19 and others have arisen [in their place]
[Others] to whom the Law was entrusted and they did not keep it. These are those who had risen instead of the wise ones in idolatry.

147 My translation. Rom 11:33 ὡς ἀνεξεραύνητα τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ and Vat. 549 ὅτι ἀνεξερεύνητα τὰ κρίματα τοῦ Θεοῦ. καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ.
3:20 younger ones saw light
Those who not were constrained by the deeds of the flesh, they “saw light”, which is the knowledge of God.

3:20 and they lived upon the earth
According to the teachings of the Law.

3:20 but they did not know the way of knowledge
As the Lord says If you believed Moses, you would believe me (Joh 5:46)

3:21 nor understood her paths
The manifold teaching.

3:21 nor did they take hold of her
As the evangelist John says, He came to what was his own and his own people did not accept him (Joh 1:11)

3:21 [Their sons] ended up far from their way
For although pursuing the Law, they did not attain the Law of righteousness (Rom 9:31).

3:22 She has neither been heard of in Chanaan [nor been seen in Thaiman]
Like these Gentiles, they are judged, like those who did not obey the law, those who only followed the letter of the law, for seeing they do not perceive, and hearing they do not listen (Matt 13:13).

3:23 nor the sons of Hagar [who seek out intelligence upon the earth]
The decedents of the old covenant regarding whom the apostle in agreement says: For, being ignorant of the righteousness that comes from God, and seeking to establish their own, they have not submitted to God’s righteousness. (Rom 10:3)

3:23 the merchants of Merran and Thaiman
He call them merchants, because of their inexperience in farming, for having been appointed as vine dressers they brought forth thorns instead of bunches of grapes (Isaiah 5:2), for this reason, the Lord in calling them to the wedding banquet also blames for [them for the]
purchase of fields and oxen (Luc 14:18-19) and consequently he also denied [them] to enter into the joy of the Lord (Matt 25:21).

Merran and Thaiman are barbaric tribes to whom they export [goods]. These are the savage ways, those who are constrained by the vanity of this age.

3:23 and the myth-makers¹⁴⁸

Instead of God’s commandment and judgements, they told stories about the washing of cups, pots (Mark 7:4), and yet they reject justice and mercy and faith (Matt 23:23) and they tithe rue and mint (Matt 23:23).

3:23 and the seekers for intelligence

Those who seek but do not know how to search intelligently, to whom the Lord says: Search the scriptures (Joh 5:39) for they did not know the strength in them, but in them is life (Joh 5:39), which is Christ.

3:23 But they did not know the way of Wisdom

That is to say the Lord.

3:23 nor remembered her paths

The ways of the teaching.

3:24 [Ah Israel, how] great is the house of God [and how extensive is the place of its estate]

The church of God and the Word of the mystery.

3:25 It is great and has no end

Because we know the present [reality] in part (1 Cor 13:12) and [do] not yet [have] the perfection of knowledge.

And he calls the godliness “a place” and “extensive”, for the sake of the eternal increase for the better.

¹⁴⁸ My translation.
3:25 it is high and immeasurable
For it encompasses the mystery of the heavenly king.
But he perceives in this also the heavenly house of God.

3:26 The giants were born there [those renowned ... were very large ... they perished through their recklessness]
Concerning the demons he says: having been placed with the angels from the beginning, they were cast down from the arches of the heavens due to recklessness. But he also says [this] concerning the arch-heretics who feigned smooth talk (Rom 16:18) and turned to fighting God. And [they were] “renowned” since it has been declared beforehand concerning them. [They were] “very large” as if swollen up.

3:26 [they were] experts in war
For being unworthy of the peace of Christ, they practice war, both the demons and the heretics.

Protheoria
He prophesies about the church of Christ and about the arch-heretics of the time and [about] that the Word voluntarily bowed the heavens and came down (ps17:10 lxx), and [about] God’s unsearchable judgements (Rom 11:33) and he also talks about God’s creation, figuratively alluding to the holy apostles, he also preaches plainly about the incarnation of the Lord, and about the Law of the Gospel and he counsels those of Jacob to snatch the saving grace in advance, lest the heathen precede them in faith, and then he blesses the spiritual Israel, since they have perceived the truth and have put their faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

Lexeis

3:29 Who has gone up into the sky [... and brought her down from the clouds]
According to what is written, not that we loved God but that he loved us (1 John 4:10), and having loved us he bowed the heavens and came down (Ps LXX 17:10).

3:30 Who has crossed over the sea [and found her]
The Lord said: take courage, I have conquered the world (John 16:33), for he alone, who had not practised sin, walked through sin, and no deceit was found in his mouth (Isa 53:9, 1 Pet
2:22). [He says] “he found her” instead of “he showed us to find her”.

3:30 and will bring her in exchange for choice gold?
According to the literal sense [this means] that Wisdom is despised. But according to the spiritual sense [this means that] “choice gold” is the faith, through which we come to know the Lord.

3:31 There is no one who is familiar with her way
[For] Anyone who claims to know something does not yet have the necessary knowledge (1 Cor 8:2)

3:31 [nor one who thinks much about] her path
The teachings, the prophecies.

3:32 But he who knows all things knows her
For only the Father knows the Son (Matt 11:27).

3:32 he discovered her by his intelligence
And he made him(s)elf known also to us through the wise mysterion of the Incarnation.

3:32 he who equipped the earth
According to the literal sense [this means] that everything was equipped through the incarnate Word. But according to the spiritual sense he calls the knowledge of godliness, “earth”.

3:32 [he filled it with flocks of] quadrupeds.
For the Lord called the good and the bad to the wedding banquet (Matt 22:10). And he says “flocks” [for] before this these were likened to senseless flocks.

3:33 He who sends the light, and it goes
The apostles, to whom he said You are the light of the world. (Matt 5:14)

149 My translation.
3:34 but the stars shone [in their watches and were glad]
They shone and rejoiced in the gifts that had been given to them.

3:35 he called them, and they said, “We are present!”
And when they had heeded willingly to the apostolic calling and had done away with the desire in order to be with Christ, they wished to do nothing but what is commanded.

3:36 This is our God
He who made us and who became man for our sake, the Word who came from the Father, who also appeared on the earth and lived among humans\(^{150}\) (Bar 3:38).

3:37 He discovered the whole [way of the knowledge]
For he gathers all spiritual knowledge and leads it to heaven through him(self).

3:37 [and gave her to his servant] to Jacob and Israel
To the people according to grace.

3:38 after this he appeared on earth [and lived among humans]\(^{151}\)
For this same mysterion also shone in due order according to the Law, prophetically, in accordance with the Gospel.

4:1 She is the book of the decrees of God [and the law that remains forever]
The manifold knowledge of the mysterion through the Gospels and which endures forever.

4:2 pass through toward the shining in the presence of her light
For he himself calls, saying: Come to me, all you that are weary and are carrying heavy burdens, and I will give you rest (Matt 11:28)

4:1-3 [Turn O Jacob, and take hold of her … Do not give [your] glory to another [and your benefits to a foreign nation]
He urges those of Israel to seize the grace, since it was also necessary for them first to

\(^{150}\) My translation.
\(^{151}\) My translation. For a discussion on “he appeared”, see note 392-393 in my commentary.
proclaim the Word of God.

4:4 Blessed are we, O Israel [because what is pleasing to God is known to us.]
Thus says the spiritual Israel, to whom the saviour says: *But blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears, for they hear* (Matt 13:16), and again [he says] to the Father: *I thank you, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because you have hidden these things from the wise and the intelligent and have revealed them to infants* (Matt 11:25).

**Protheoria**
According to the narrative, he is indeed exhorting the captives of the Jews to take courage, and he says that idolatry is the reason for their captivity. Then he also laments the captives as if he personified Jerusalem and he calls the neighbours of Zion to mourning. But Jerusalem, holding before herself her own weakness, prophesies to them that they will be redeemed by God. This is according to the narrative, but the text has a reference to the sinning souls who become easy for the demons to overcome on account of sins, but which are saved through faith in Christ. But that which is set forth can also refer to the synagogue of the Jews; she indeed suffered that which she suffered under the Romans but she was shown mercy by God whenever she herself also believed in him whom she maltreated, the Lord Jesus Christ.

**Lexeis**

4:5 [Take courage, my people,] reminder of Israel!
O, Israel who is remembered by me.

4:6 You were sold to the nations but not to destruction
For even though the Devil on account of our sins had the record that stood against us (Col 2:14) Christ redeemed us with his own blood.

4:8 you forgot the one who nursed you, God Everlasting
Having been nursed by the divine Word, we as rational beings fell into irrationality.

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152 My translation.
153 I.e Baruch.
4:9 Listen you neighbours of Zion
She calls the neighbours to the spectacle of mourning, making them wiser by the example.

4:12 Let no one rejoice against me, the widow [and one forsaken by many]
For the LORD has punished me severely, but he did not give me over to death ps 117:18 (lxx). But the synagogue of the Jews was at the time rightly called a widow when she treated her own bridegroom Christ with insolence and was forsaken.

4:14 Let the neighbours of Zion come
The vain glories of the neighbours of this age.

4:15 For he brought against them a far off nation
God has made far from us our acts of lawlessness (ps 102:12 lxx), but since we pulled them back upon ourselves we were visited with vengeance through them. But he is said “to bring” [them on us] because without the consent of God nothing come to pass/happens.

4:15 a shameless nation and one speaking an alien tongue
Firstly [this refers to] Babylon, and then also to the Romans, but this can also refer to those who teach the falsely called knowledge through sophistical tricks.

4:17-18 But I, how am I able to help you? [For he who brought these bad things upon you will deliver you from the hand of your enemies.]
Because without the mercies of God the soul is unable to be saved.

Protheoria
According to the narrative, she encourages the captives to eagerly accept the divine correction, and those who have sinned, to repent. She also foretells them their coming salvation through repentance and she advises [them] to be longsuffering under the circumstances, [she also says] that their enemies [will] be placed under their feet. She also says that eternal temperance is for those who are saved. But this also fits well with the synagogue of the Jews, because a remnant of them will also be saved through faith in Christ. This also fits well generically with respect to every soul that through sins is indeed handed

154 My translation.
155 I.e Jerusalem.
over to the enemies but who through faith and repentance is saved again. And Jerusalem apprehended this spiritually, saying thus: the souls of the saints indeed mourned on account of the sinners but they supplicated God for their sake and urged the sinners to repentance. The text was also fashioned with respect to the synagogue of the Jews and the perceptible Jerusalem sending forth a voice concerning her own citizens.

Lexeis

4:19 Depart, children, depart\s
She encourages them to [endure] the correction of the plague.

4:19 for I have been left desolate
An absence of God. Indeed if the saints say this, they say it being familiar with the [ways] of sinners. But if the synagogue of the Jews [says it], [it says it] when it, on account of the insolence toward Christ, heard: See, your house is left to you, desolate (Matt 23:38). But if the city [says it, it says it] with regards to the desolation of the inhabitants.

4:20 I have taken off the robe of peace
The most splendorous one which I had when I lived peacefully with God (Rom 5:1).

4:20 and put on sackcloth [for my petition]
She is mourning for our sins and prays to God.

4:22 and joy has come to me from the Holy One.
She foresaw the redemption through Christ and she foretold it.

4:24 [your salvation …] which will come to you with the great glory [and splendour].
For the redemption through Christ showed forth our race as more splendorous than [it was] in accordance with the original creation.

\s My translation.
4:25 the enemy has pursued you [but you will quickly see their destruction]
Which also befell the Devil through the honourable cross.

4:25 and you will tread upon their necks
For he says, See, I have given you authority to tread on snakes and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy; and nothing will hurt you (Luc 10:19)

4:26 My pampered children have travelled rough roads
Those who lived in the original creation became pampered and well-fed and they travelled uneven and rough roads.

4:30 Take courage, O Jerusalem, he who named you will comfort you
God the Word, who for our sake was incarnate, deemed the Church worthy to be called his own bride.

4:31 Wretched will be those who have harmed you
Demons, heretics, who pursued the church at times.

4:32 Wretched will be the cities that your children served as slaves.
The strongholds (2 Cor 10:4) of the evil ones, the deceit of the demons.

4:33 she will be grieved at her own desolation.
The idolatry and the synagogue of the Jews.

4:34 And I will take away her rejoicing of her great population
[the rejoicing] of the synagogue pursuing the church and of the manifold attacks of evil [powers].

4:35 For fire will come upon her […] for days [and for a rather long time she will be inhabited by demons]
This means "until he returned", therefore he also says “for a rather long time”

157 I.e. the destruction.
Protheoria
The text seems, according to the narrative, to bring good tidings to Jerusalem about the return of the sons of Israel in Babylon and to threaten Babylon with destruction, but clearly it speaks about the church, bringing good tidings to the God-fearing community that those in the time of Abel, Noah and Abraham, and all the blessed men as regards future generations are saved through Christ; for we are their children. Those, who of old were slaves to demons and were captives under evil, but who were redeemed through him, who was crucified for our sake, and who will be called up in glory and who are hoping for the Kingdom of Heaven in gladness.

Lexeis

4:36 Look around to the east, O Jerusalem
Toward the Sun of Righteousness (Mal 4:2) our Lord Jesus Christ.

4:37 [Behold your sons are coming …] at the word of the Holy One
In the professions of faith.

5:1 Take off your robe of mourning, O Jerusalem
The old man with his desires (Col 3:9).

5:1 and put on the dignity [of the glory from God forever]
“Of the Glory from God” As many of them as were baptized into Christ have clothed themselves with Christ (Gal 3:27).

5:2 Put on the double-cloak [of the righteousness that is from God]
The ordinances of the Old and the New Covenant, or put in another way, the virtue of Praktiki and Theoritiki.

5:2 put on your head the headband [of the Everlasting One]
The cross of Christ which is impressed on the forehead of the faithful, or Christ himself, for Christ is the head of the church (Eph 5:23).

5:4 For your name will be called by God forever [“Peace of righteousness and glory of piety”]
For no more is the attack of the enemies able to tear the peace of righteousness asunder, nor to destroy the glory of piety. Put in another way, since Christ is our peace (Eph 2:14) and he is our righteousness (1 Cor 1:30) and glory, and he is the example (1 Pet 2:21) for our conduct in accordance with piety, we are also named in accordance with him.

5:5 [Arise O Jerusalem.] and stand upon the height
Upon an elevated conduct, upon the proclamation of the Gospel.

5:6 For they went out from you on foot, lead away by enemies
The figure of mourning is clearly David fleeing from Absalom. But those who serve demons and are lead away by their own manifolds desires, they commit deeds worthy of mourning.

5:6 [but God will bring them to you, taken up with glory] as sons of the Kingdom
Being lifted up by the holy angels and being escorted through the faith in Christ into the Kingdom of Heaven.

5:7 [For God has instructed] that every high mountain
Every proud obstacle raised up against the knowledge of God (2 Cor 10:5)

5:7 and the everlasting mounds [be made low]
The demons fighting against us from the beginning and of old.

5:7 and the valleys be filled to make plain the ground
The divisions of the false-Christs are brought into concord.
But put in another way, the old pits and the earthly souls are made full, through good works when the offences have been taken away.

5:8 And even the woods and every fragrant tree have shaded Israel [at God’s ordinance]
The prophets [and] the apostles, who breathed forth a sweet aroma of Christ (2 Cor 2:15), shading the faithful through suitable instructions, in order that they not be subdued by the heated mind. But you should also understand the “fragrant trees” as the holy angels escorting us at the ordinance of Christ, and the appearing enclosures accomplish a cooling as of a thicket.
5:7 so that Israel may walk safely by the glory of God.158

In the boasting of the cross (Gal 6:14).

5:9 For God will lead Israel with joy [... together with the mercy and righteousness that is from him]

Being the true shepherd shepherding his own flock with the mercy and righteousness that comes from him.

The lexis of Baruch was completed with [the help of] God.

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158 Olympiodoros jumps back to verse seven and comments on the last part of it.
Commentary

12-13 δόθεν καὶ … ἔχουσιν.
Olympiodoros is referring to variations in the manuscripts for the Book of Baruch. Some manuscripts read ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ (“in the ninth year”), a reading which is preserved in the biblical text preceding the λέξεις in vat 549. In the λέξεις, however, Olympiodoros has the lemma ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ, which it seems he thinks is a better reading for understanding the actual chronology of the event of the deportations. The textual variations are mentioned in Ziegler’s critical edition of LXX, where he cites vat. 549 as a witness for the variant reading ἐν τῷ ἐνάτῳ, together with Olympiodoros’ note: ἄλλα δὲ ἀντίγραφα. “τῷ ἐνάτῳ” ἔχουσιν. 159

35-37 ἐν ὠσίν … διώνυμος ὤν.
The Greek is ambiguous here for it seems the name Eliakim can referred either to Jechonias or Jehoiakim. I have chosen an ambiguous translation reflecting the Greek in this respect but I prefer to connect the name Eliakim to Jehoiakim in accordance with 2 Chron. 36:4 which says the following concerning Jechonias father Jehoiakim: “The king of Egypt made his brother Eliakim king over Judah and Jerusalem, and changed his name to Jehoiakim”.

49-50 μάνναν ... θυσίας.
As was noted in the Introduction (see 1.5), some scholars argue that part of Baruch was originally written in Hebrew. They believe the word μάννα to be a mistranslation of minḥâ (“grain offer”) which would transliterate μαναά in Greek. 160 Olympiodoros does not express any knowledge of this word being a mistranslation indicating a Hebrew Vorlage, but he does seems concerned to clarify μάννα with δῶρα θυσίας (“gifts of offerings”). But this is perhaps only because the normal meaning of the word μάννα in the Christian tradition refers to the food that God, according to Exod. 16, provided the Israelite people with in the desert.

56-57 ἵνα ὦσιν … εὐσέβειαν ζῶσιν.
Olympiodoros first gives a more “earthly” explanation of the expression αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, connecting it with longevity. Then he gives a moral interpretation, referring it to living in godliness, connecting the concept of godliness with heaven as the

159 Ziegler, 2006, p. 450.
abode of God.

104-105 αὐτοὺς κατὰ … προφητεύοντα.
In Gen. 17, God establishes a covenant with Abraham and promises him the land of Canaan. He also promises the old childless patriarch a son through whom the covenant will continue. The promised son was Isaac whom early Christian tradition interpreted as a prophetic type of Christ,\(^\text{161}\) bearing in himself, so to speak, the promise of Christ. This is presumably the background for Olympiodoros’ statement that a prophecy regarding the redemption through Christ is “included in the promise to Abraham”.

121-122 καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ … ἀμαυρούμενοι.
Olympiodoros sees in οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ οἱ ἐκλείποντες two interpretations. Either the Israelites are literally blinded, due to their miserable life as captives or they have made themselves unable to perceive divine vision. Later on Olympiodoros will expand on the idea that the Jews are blind and unable to understand their own Scriptures and see that they speak of Christ. Perhaps this allegorical interpretation is a first instance of that idea.

124-125 τοῦ ἐξενεχθῆναι … ἐτιμωροῦντο.
This is in parallel to the judgement mentioned in Jer. 8:1-2,\(^\text{162}\) where the people’s disobedience to God in worshiping idols is punished in this way. Olympiodoros interprets the punishment of the bones to be an example of the judgement awaiting after death.

127-131 εἰ μὴν ἡ βόμβησις … ὑπακούσονται.
As is pointed out by Adams, this is the only occurrence of βόμβησις in LXX.\(^\text{163}\) Olympiodoros explains the word βόμβησις as referring to the rattling sounds made at the giving of the Law at Mount Sinai. The decimation and dispersion of the people is interpreted as the beginning of the conversion of the Gentiles. They will listen to God when they see this happening to the people in their midst, his logic goes.

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\(^{161}\) For examples of early Christian typological interpretation of Isaac as Christ see Oden and Sheridan, 2002, pp. 92, 101-102.

\(^{162}\) Adams, 2014, p. 85.

\(^{163}\) Adams, 2014, p. 87.
Olympiodoros interprets τὴν γῆν at two levels. According to the literal level (πρὸς τὸ ῥητὸν), which is in line with the narrative in Baruch, it refers to Jerusalem, for God had promised to return the people there after the exile. According to the deeper spiritual meaning (πρὸς διανοίαν), however, Olympiodoros sees “the land” as the spiritual promise, i.e. the promise given to Abraham mentioned above, which according to Olympiodoros contains the promise of the redemption of Christ.

The interpretation of “the land” as the spiritual promise given to Abraham continues and is made clearer here through the cross-reference to Gal. 3:8 “All the Gentiles shall be blessed in you”. In the context of Paul’s letter to the Galatians, this phrase is used as support for the justification of the Gentiles by faith in Christ and not by the works of the Law. As we shall see later on, faith in Christ is an important theme for Olympiodoros as well.

As is pointed out by Adams, the promise of a future covenant in Bar. 2:35 can be connected the “new covenant” (διαθήκην καινήν) mentioned in Jer. 27:5, 39:40. Here God declares that he will make a new covenant (διαθήκην καινήν) which will be written in the hearts of the people. This very passage is quoted in the letter to the Hebrews which explicitly interprets it as referring to the gospel and the church. This is perhaps in the mind of Olympiodoros when he explains διαθήκην αἰώνιον with a covenant “according to the Gospel”.

Although there is only one τὴν in δῆλον δὲ ὅτι τὴν διὰ Χριστοῦ, I take it to refer both to γῆν and ἀπολύτρωσιν since, as we have seen, the Promised Land and the redemption through Christ are closely connected for Olympiodoros (see note 142-143 and 145-147). The spiritual interpretation of the Promised Land as the “spiritual promise” of Christ continues here but is taken a step further. Although Olympiodoros understands the verse, at the literal sense, as speaking about God’s promise to take the people back to the Promised Land, he nevertheless insists that τὴν γῆν must be interpreted as referring to something else; the reason being that, since the Jews actually were cast out of Jerusalem by the Romans, God’s promise refers to another “land” and another redemption. For Olympiodoros both the
land and the redemption are effected through Christ.

167-169 τῶν τεθνηκότων … ἁμαρτίαν.
Olympiodoros allows for two interpretation of this verse, one literal and one spiritual, though not using the technical terms πρὸς ῥητὸν and πρὸς διανοίαν. In the spiritual interpretation, Olympiodoros makes a connection between sin and death in a spiritual way when he equates “to come under the judgement” with being dead. A similar connection between sin and death is found in Eph. 2:1 “You were dead through the trespasses and sins”. As we shall see, the theme of death and sin will be developed further on.

182-185 τὰ μὲν τῆς … Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν.
Olympiodoros starts by stating that the text contains a prophecy against Israel which blames the people for the exile, the reason being that they abandon God’s way. This is in line with the narrative of the text. To this he then adds that the same accusation can be raised against other groups as well (ἀρμόζει δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα κατὰ): the Jews, the wise ones of this age and the money-lovers, who all have in common that they did not accept Christ, the true Wisdom. Olympiodoros’ main focus in the λέξεις, however, is on the Jews and their misconception of the Scriptures, which he ties in with the theme in the *Wisdom Poem* of humans’ futile attempts to find Wisdom. In the Poem, a number of different classes of humans are described as searching for Wisdom but not being able to find her. Through a series of cross-references and allegorical readings, Olympiodoros interprets several of them as referring to the Jews, often against the narratological meaning of the text.

189-190 ἄκουε Ἰσραὴλ … ἡ φρόνησις.
Bar. 3:9 begins the section called *Wisdom Poem* (3:9-4:4) and it starts by using the theologically charged exhortation ἄκουε Ἰσραὴλ. The author’s choice of this phrase, only otherwise found in Deuteronomy in connection with the recitation of the Mosaic Law, immediately reveals the intimate connection between “Wisdom” and “Law” in Baruch, something which is also pointed out by Adams and other scholars of Baruch. So strong is this connection that at the end of the Poem Wisdom is even equated with the Law itself (Bar. 4:4: “She is the book of the decrees of God and the law that remains forever”). The second part of the exhortations of Bar. 3:9 ἐντολὰς ζωῆς lets us know that Wisdom/the Law, for the

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author of Baruch, is strongly tied to the concept of life. As is pointed out by Adams, the phrase ἐντολὰς ζωῆς does not occur elsewhere in the Septuagint but a similar phrase can be found in Sir. 45:5. Here the commandments (ἐντολὰς) God is said to have given Moses are described as νόμος ζωῆς.\textsuperscript{165}

Olympiodoros explains the phrase ἐντολὰς ζωῆς as “insight” (ἡ φρόνησις). Further on we shall see that he connects “insight” with the Holy Spirit who is presented as the guide to the right interpretation of Scripture, which in turn leads to the right understanding of who Christ is.

195-196 ἐπαλαιώθης … ἡ ἁμαρτία.
Bar. 3:10-11 describes the Israelite people as being in a state of decay and death. This is described as being the result of their disobedience and the cause of their exile. Olympiodoros picks up on the Baruchian theme of the state of death as a result of disobedience, and, through the use of allegory, draws a parallel between decay/death and sin. Here the punishment of growing old in a foreign land is explained by “for aging is sin”. This is akin to the connection between sin and death made above (see note 167-169).

198-199 συνεμιάνθης … Θεοῦ ἔχουσιν.
The people are described as being defiled by corpses which Olympiodoros interprets as “those ignorant of God”: another example of the use of allegory to draw a parallel between death and sin.

201-202 προσελογίσθης … τοῦ θανάτου.
Here, “those in Hades” are interpreted as “those still ruled by death”. This is yet another example of Olympiodoros’ use of allegory to draw a parallel between death and sin.

204-205 ἐγκατέλιπες … Ίησουν Χριστόν.
Christ is identified with “the Spring of Wisdom” (τὴν πηγὴν τῆς σοφίας). This is the first in a series of Christological interpretations of the personified character of Wisdom as Christ. However, the identification of Christ as τὴν πηγὴν τῆς σοφίας, I believe, is also a reference to Christ as God. As Adams points out, there is a striking parallel to ἐγκατέλιπες τὴν πηγὴν τῆς σοφίας found in Jer. 17:12. Here the people are blamed “because they have forsaken the

\textsuperscript{165} Adams, 2014, p. 97.
fountain of Life, the Lord” (ὅτι ἐγκατέλιπον πηγήν ζωῆς, τὸν Κύριον). It is worth noting that the expression “fountain of Life” is also found as a variant reading of Bar. 3:12 in Ethiopian manuscripts, and that in Latin manuscripts we have the variant reading vitae et sapientiae.

That Christ is identified with both Wisdom and God himself is not strange from the Christian perspective, since Christ, according to patristic orthodoxy, is considered to be one of the three hypostasises of the Triune God. For the author of Baruch, however, there is of course a clear distinction between Wisdom and God. As Olympiodoros continues to comment on the Wisdom Poem he continues interpreting Christ both as Wisdom and as God.

Regarding Christ as Wisdom: the Wisdom character in Baruch is modelled on the personified Wisdom found in Prov. 8:22-31, described as being present with God during creation. Since at least the second century, there was an unquestioned tradition of interpreting this Wisdom as the pre-existent Christ, the Logos through whom the universe was created. The tradition of equating Wisdom and the concept of Logos has roots in the Targum tradition. The Palestinians Targum, for instance, as is noted by Daniel Boyarin, translates Gen 1:1 “In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth” as “With Wisdom God created the heavens and the earth”, and on other occasions, Targums render “beginning” as “Logos” (memra in Aramaic). A tradition similar to this, is thought by Boyarin to be present in John 1:1-3: “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God. All things came into being through him”.

207-209 τοῦ Θεοῦ … αὐτοῦ πορεύεται.

This is the first example of the patristic method of cross-referencing mentioned in the Introduction (see 1.6). This method consists of concatenation of biblical verses with the aim of bringing out the underlying σκοπός of the biblical text connected to Christ. Often the cross-

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169 Prov. 8: 22-25: “The LORD created me at the beginning of his work, the first of his acts of long ago. 23 Ages ago I was set up, at the first, before the beginning of the earth. 24 When there were no depths I was brought forth, when there were no springs abounding with water. 25 Before the mountains had been shaped, before the hills, I was brought forth”.
172 Ἐν ἁρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος. ὁ λόγος ἦν ἐν ἁρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεόν. πάντα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο. For a discussion on the prologue of John as a Jewish midrash see Boyarin, 2007, pp. 90-111.
references were based on word association, similar words being used in the verses in question. Here Olympiodoros picks up on τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ ὁδῷ from Bar. 3:13 and connects it with Christ’s description of himself in John 14:6 as “the Way” (Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς). The equation of Christ with the “way of God” continues the reasoning from 3:12, that Christ is Wisdom, since “the way of God” seems to be another way of speaking of the Law of God in Baruch, which is equated with Wisdom.

211-212 μάθε ποῦ … ἔστιν ἡ φρόνησις.

Here Olympiodoros begins a discourse of anti-Jewish polemics connected to the dichotomy of “the letter and the Spirit” which plays a large roll in his commentary on the Wisdom Poem. Above we saw how Olympiodoros explained ἐντολὰς ζωῆς as φρόνησις; here we see how he connects φρόνησις with the Holy Spirit. The concept of φρόνησις is then contrasted to how the Jews are literally “glued” to the letters of Scripture (κεκόλλησαι τῷ γράμματι). Although Olympiodoros does not explicitly mention the Jews here, as this theme enfolds it becomes obvious that he is referring to the Jews. His contrast between “the letter and the Spirit” is also support for him referring to the Jews. The dichotomy of “letter and the Spirit” goes back to 2 Cor. 3:6 in which Paul claims that Christians are servants “of a new covenant, not of letter but of spirit; for the letter kills, but the Spirit gives life.” What Olympiodoros is trying to convey, I believe, is that insight is found in the Holy Spirit and it is only the Spirit who can enable us to go behind the letter of the Scriptures and let us perceive its deeper meaning, which, as we will see, is Christ.

220-221 ποῦ ἐστι μακροβίωσις … τὸν αἰώναι.

This is another example of cross-reference with the goal of bringing out the Christological meaning of the biblical text. Olympiodoros picks up on the word μακροβίωσις in Bar 3:14 and connects it to two verses in the gospel of John which associate Christ with the concept of life. The cross-reference consists of a compound of John 11:25 and 11:26. Olympiodoros writes: “ὁ γὰρ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ”, φησὶν, “οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνει εἰς τὸν αἰώναι” but the New Testament reads: 25 ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ κἂν ἀποθάνῃ ζήσεται, 26 καὶ πᾶς ὁ ζῶν καὶ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ εἰς τὸν αἰώνα. The message seems to be that Life is found in Christ and this is what the hearers of Bar. 3:14 must understand. We can recall the close relationship

173 καινῆς διαθήκης, οὐ γράμματος ἀλλὰ πνεύματος, τὸ γὰρ γράμμα ἀποκτέννει, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωοποιεῖ.
between Wisdom/Law and Life in Baruch mentioned in note 189-190 and how, for Olympiodoros, all of this is brought together in Christ.

223-225 ποῦ ἐστι ... εἰρήνη.
This is another example of the use of cross-reference by Olympiodoros with the purpose of bringing out the Christological meaning of the text. Here Olympiodoros picks up on φῶς and εἰρήνη and refers them to passages from the gospel of John and the epistle to the Ephesians.

260-261 καὶ κατώκησαν ... τῆς νομοθεσίας.
Olympiodoros interprets those “living on earth” as the Jews and he seems to make a connection between “living in earth” and living “according to the teachings of Law”. Perhaps he is implying that the Law is bound to the surface of the earth just as the Jews are bound to the surface of the Scriptures. This would certainly be in line with Olympiodoros argument about “letter and spirit” in note 211-212.

263-264 ὁδὸν δὲ ... ἂν ἐμοί.
Olympiodoros continues his argument of the Jews’ ignorance of the true meaning of Scripture by connecting their ignorance of “the way of knowledge” with John 5:46 “If you believed Moses, you would believe me”. Olympiodoros’ argument is that, although the Jews had the knowledge of the Law, they did not “know the way of knowledge” because they did not see that Moses, in his Law, gave testimony to Christ.

266-267 3:21 οὐδὲ συνῆκαν ... διδασκαλίαν.
It is not clear what τὴν ποικίλην διδασκαλίαν (“the manifold teaching”) refers to. I suspect, however, that it is connected to the belief that God revealed the teaching regarding Christ in many different ways throughout all of Scripture. We have already seen Olympiodoros referring to Moses giving testimony of Christ. The word ποικίλη is also used in Olympiodoros’ comment on Bar. 4:2. There he talks about “The manifold knowledge of the mysterion” (ἡ τοῦ μυστηρίου ποικίλη γνώσεως). The mysterion is probably a reference to the incarnation and the meaning is probably that God revealed the incarnation of Christ in many ways in the Scriptures before it happened. This is in line with Olympiodoros’ comment on Bar. 3:38 as we shall see in note 395-396.

174 Compare Luke 24:27 “Then beginning with Moses and all the prophets, he [Jesus] interpreted to them the things about himself in all the scriptures.”
The Israelite people’s reluctance to take hold of Wisdom is interpreted as the Jews not receiving Christ at his incarnation. This is achieved through a cross-reference to the prologue of John and word association: “He came to what was his own, and his own people did not accept him”. Olympiodoros picks up on ἀντελάβοντο in Bar. 3:21 and connects it to παρέλαβον in John 1:11, since both words can mean “receive”.

Olympiodoros continues to interpret the text as referring to the Jews and their misunderstanding of the Scriptures. Through an allusion to Rom 9:11 he connects Baruch’s “they ended up far from their way” with the Jews’ misinterpretation of the Law. The logic being that they followed the way of the Law, but since they did not have the right understanding of the Law they were unsuccessful in their pursuit of it.

Olympiodoros likens the Jews to the Gentile nations of Chanaan and Thaiman for in following the letter of the Law (οἱ μόνῳ τῷ γράμματι τοῦ νόμου ἄκουλουθοντες) they are in fact, according to Olympiodoros, not following the Law at all. Consequently they will be judged just like the Gentiles. Through a cross-reference to Matt. 13:13, he further emphasises the Jews’ shallow understanding of the Scriptures. The focus in Matt. 13 is Jesus’ critique of the Jews as being blind and deaf and, because of their hardened hearts, unable to understand the deeper meaning of his parables.

Here the “sons of Hagar” are interpreted as referring to the Jews (“the decedents of the old covenant”). According to the biblical story, however, Hagar, the slave girl of Sarah and Abraham, is believed to be the mother of the Ishmaelites, i.e. the Arabs. Olympiodoros is probably influenced by Gal. 4:21-26 in his interpretation. Here Paul interprets Hagar as the mother of the Jews, since in his view, they are slaves under the Law. 

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175 εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθεν, καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτὸν οὐ παρέλαβον.
176 See Gen. 16 and 21.
177 Gal. 4:22-26 “For it is written that Abraham had two sons, one by a slave woman and the other by a free woman. One, the child of the slave, was born according to the flesh; the other, the child of the free woman, was born through the promise. Now this is an allegory: these women are two covenants. One woman, in fact, is...
By cross-referencing Rom. 10:3, Olympiodoros further develops his theme of the Jews’ ignorance of the Law of God and contrasts it with their own poor understanding of the Law. This ties in with Olympiodoros’ view that the Jews, in keeping the letter of the Law, miss the point of it altogether.

285- 290 οἱ ἐμποροὶ … συνκαθελκόμενοι.

These merchants of Merran and Thaiman are also interpreted by Olympiodoros as the Jews. This may very well be the most cryptic and elaborate connection to the Jews that Olympiodoros makes and it is established through a series of allusions to passages from Isaiah and the gospels.

Firstly, Olympiodoros associates the merchants with vinedressers who are said to bring forth “thorns instead of bunches of grapes” (ἀντὶ σταφυλῆς ἀκάνθας ἐβλάστησαν). This, I believe, is an allusion to Isa. 5:1-7 where God likens his people to a vineyard whom he “waited to bring forth grapes, and it brought forth thorns” (ἔμεινα τοῦ ποιῆσαι σταφυλήν, ἐποίησε δὲ ἀκάνθας). The story ends with God uprooting the vineyard as an image of his punishment of his people for their disobedience.

Olympiodoros then describes the merchant as being called to the wedding banquet by the Lord and being blamed for “the purchase of fields and oxen”. This, I believe, is an allusion to Luke 14:18-19. In this pericope Jesus tells a parable in which the Kingdom of Heaven is likened to a feast (the same parable is also found in Matt. 22:1-14 where it is a wedding feast). Those who are first invited to the fest, however, all excuse themselves on account of business they need to attend to, some because they have bought oxen and others, fields. The parable ends with the host becoming angry and inviting other people and denying the first ones ever to come. The two stories have in common that they end with God rejecting the first-called, i.e. the Jewish people. This ties in with Olympiodoros’ theme of the Jews not accepting Christ. Olympiodoros ends his comment with an explanation of Merran and Thaiman as “barbaric tribes to whom they export [goods]”. Perhaps it is on the basis of the Jews being involved in business that Olympiodoros makes the connection between the Jews and the merchants.

292 - 294 καὶ οἱ μυθολόγοι … ἀπεδεκάτωσαν.

Hagar, from Mount Sinai, bearing children for slavery. Now Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia and corresponds to the present Jerusalem, for she is in slavery with her children. But the other woman corresponds to the Jerusalem above; she is free, and she is our mother.”

178 This connection is also noted in the section on Baruch in Voicu and Oden, 2010, p. 430.
It is not clear from the context of Baruch who these myth-makers (μυθολόγοι) are other than that they seem to have a connection to Thaiman, but once again Olympiodoros interprets them as the Jews. As is pointed out by Adams, this is the only occurrence of the word μυθολόγοι in the LXX but, just as when it appears in Aristotle about Herodotus, it is used pejoratively. In the New Testament the word μύθος is found, also in a pejorative sense and sometimes in connection to the Jews. In Titus 1:14, Paul warns Christians not to pay attention to Ἰουδαϊκοῖς μύθοις (“Jewish fables”). This probably refers to interpretative stories found in the haggadah or the halakha (rules pertaining to the Law). The halakhic rules were traditions passed down by the elders not found in the Torah but practised by many Pharisees at the time of Jesus, and which included ritual washing of hands and cups mentioned in the cross-reference Mark 7:4. It is likely, I think, that it is this New Testament use of the word μύθος that allows Olympiodoros to identify οἱ μυθολόγοι as the Jews. Mark 7 and Matt. 23 contain strong criticism against the Pharisees and the Scribes concerning how they prioritised these “human traditions” over the actual commandments from God: “You abandon the commandments of God and hold to human tradition” (Mark 7:8), “Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you tithe mint, dill, and cummin, and have neglected the weightier matters of the law: justice and mercy and faith” (Matt. 23:23). What Olympiodoros is trying to show with these cross-references, is that the Jews think they follow the Law, but in fact they are only following the letter and not the heart of it, so to speak. We recognise the reasoning from above (see notes 263-264, 273-274, 276-278, 280-283).

296-299 καὶ οἱ ἐκζητηταὶ … Χριστός.

From the context of Baruch, it is not clear who these οἱ ἐκζητηταὶ τῆς συνέσεως are but, not surprisingly, Olympiodoros identifies them as the Jews. He achieves this identification through a kind of concept-association between οἱ ἐκζητηταὶ (“the seekers”) and the verb Ἐρευνάτε (“seek”) found in the cross-reference John 5:39. In John 5, Jesus reproaches the Jews for not seeing how the Scriptures speak about him, and he instructs them to “search the scriptures” since they believe that they can find life in them. Olympiodoros seems, therefore, to convey, that had the Jews searched the Scriptures intelligently they would have

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179 Adams, 2014, p. 104
182 Levine and Brettler, 2011, p. 73.
183 John 5:39 “Search the scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life: and they are they which testify of me” (KJV) Ἐρευνάτε τὰς γραφάς, ὅτι ὑμεῖς δοκεῖτε ἐν αὐτάς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχειν· καὶ ἐκεῖναί εἰσιν αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ;
seen that they spoke of Christ and they would then have received him and found Life (i.e. the Wisdom of God). Just as before, Olympiodoros ties the theme of the Jews’ misconception of the Scriptures to the Baruchian theme of the search for Wisdom.

Concerning Ἐραυνᾶτε: this verb can be translated as either imperative “search” or indicative “you search”. The early Christians’ interpretation of the verb is the imperative, as is witnessed by Chrysostom, Origen, Tertullian and the second century Egerton Papyrus 2\(^{184}\); Olympiodoros follows this tradition.

307-308 μέγας ὁ οἶκος … λόγος.

The phrase ὁ οἶκος τοῦ Θεοῦ is often used in the LXX to refer to the physical temple of God;\(^{185}\) here it is more likely that is refers to the heavens as the abode of God. Olympiodoros, however, interprets it first as ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ (“the church of God”) and then, ὁ τοῦ μυστηρίου λόγος (“the Word of the mystery”). The word μυστηρίον is also used in Olympiodoros’ comment on Bar. 3:32 as a reference to the incarnation (see note 361-362 τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως μυστηρίου) and it is also found as a reference to the incarnation in Olympiodoros’ commentary on Job, noted by Chadwick.\(^{186}\) It would seem, then that ὁ τοῦ μυστηρίου λόγος refers to Christ as “the Word of the incarnation”. The identification of Christ as ὁ οἶκος τοῦ Θεοῦ is somewhat strange, in my opinion. One would expect a reference to the Virgin Mary who is often depicted as the temple of God (more on this in note 314-316)

Perhaps Olympiodoros interpretation could be understood in view of the metaphorical comparison between Christ’s body and the Temple found in John 2:19-21: “Jesus answered them, “Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.”\(^{20}\) The Jews then said, “This temple has been under construction for forty-six years, and will you raise it up in three days?”\(^{21}\) But he was speaking of the temple of his body.”\(^{187}\)

310-312 μέγας καὶ … αὔξησιν.

Olympiodoros continues his interpretation of ὁ οἶκος τοῦ Θεοῦ, but here he identifies it as τὴν εὐσέβειαν (“the godliness”), depicted as a kind of space that is in a state of increase. This is compared to our knowledge of God which also is in a state of increase and which will be

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186 Chadwick, 2006, p. 4.
187 ἀπεκρίθη Ἰησοῦς καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγερῶ αὐτὸν. \(^{20}\) εἶπαν οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι· Τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἐξ ἔτεσιν οἰκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος, καὶ σὺ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγερεῖς αὐτὸν;\(^{21}\) ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐλεγεν περὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ.
perfect in the future. Perhaps this is a reference to the church, as the body of Christ. Just as the Christians’ understanding of the perfect knowledge of God increases with spiritual growth and at last will be perfect, when they will see God “face to face” (1 Cor. 13:12) as Paul express it, so the Church, the gathering of the faithful, who are the house of God, is in a process of growing into the fullness of godliness.

314-316 ὑψηλὸς ... τοῦ Θεοῦ.
Olympiodoros continues his interpretation of ὁ οἶκος τοῦ Θεοῦ and in explaining its depiction in Bar. 3:24 as ὑψηλὸς καὶ ἀμέτρητος (“high and immeasurable”), he allows for two interpretations. Firstly, it seems that he interprets it as the church. The church is considered “high and immeasurable” because it contains the mystery of the heavenly King (ἐπουρανίου βασιλέως μυστήρια). The mystery of the heavenly king is probably a reference to Holy Communion, which, since the fourth century, had been called μυστηρίον.188

Secondly, it is “high and immeasurable” since it refers to the heavens. Again one would have expected a reference to Mary, especially since the house of God here is described as “high and immeasurable” because it contains the mystery of Christ, the heavenly King. We know from other sources earlier than Olympiodoros, that Mary was often depicted poetically as the temple of God and the one containing God in her womb; as, for instance, in these lines from the Akathistos hymn, believed to originate from the time after the counsel of Ephesus (431) which established Θεοτόκος (“God bearer”) as a theologically correct title for Mary:189

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Ψάλλοντες σου τὸν τόκον,
ἀνυμνοῦμέν σε πάντες,
ὡς ἐμψυχόν ναόν, Θεοτόκε.
Ἐν τῇ σῇ οἰκήσας γαστρί,
ὁ συνέχων πάντα τῇ χειρὶ Κύριος,
ηγίασεν, ἐδόξασεν, ἐδίδαξε βοᾶν σοὶ πάντας
Χαίρε, σκηνὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ και Λόγου,

“As we sing in honour of your giving birth
we all praise you as the living temple, O Theotokos.
For the Lord who holds all in his hands
dwelt in your womb – made you holy, made you glorious, and taught us all to cry to you
“Hail, tabernacle of God and the Word”\textsuperscript{190}

Similar language is also found in Proclus of Constantinople (d. 446).\textsuperscript{191}

Whether the absence of a reference to Mary is due to the Christological conflicts of
Olympiodoros’ time or something else is hard to tell but we do know that Olympiodoros uses
the title Θεοτόκος\textsuperscript{192} for Mary in his commentary on Job, as is noted by Chadwick.\textsuperscript{193}

\textbf{318-322 ἐκεῖ ἐγεννήθησαν … ὡς ὑπέρογκοι}

The giants in Bar. 3:29 are a reference to the antediluvian giants mentioned in Gen. 6:4 “Now
the giants were on the earth in those days and afterwards”.\textsuperscript{194} These giants, are, in later
pseudepigraphical literature, transformed into fallen angels and, in later Christian literature,
into demons.\textsuperscript{195} This is probably why Olympiodoros describes them as cast down from
heaven, like fallen angels. After Olympiodoros’ literal interpretation of ὦι γίγαντες, he
precedes to interpret them allegorically as an image of the heretics, who, though they appear
to talk in a friendly manner, actually wage war against God through their fraudulent
 teachings. Olympiodoros brings out the connection between the giants/demons and the

\textsuperscript{190} Greek and English text from Peltomaa, 2001, pp. 18-19.
\textsuperscript{191} Constas and Proclus, 2003, p. 61.
\textsuperscript{192} For a discussion on the title \textit{Theotokos} and it importance in the Christological controversies see McGuckin,
\textsuperscript{193} Chadwick, 2006, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{194} οἱ δὲ γίγαντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις.
\textsuperscript{195} Martin, 2010, pp. 666-667, 675-677.
heretics by applying the epithets of the giants/demons to the heretics. The giants/demons are said to be “renowned”, Likewise the heretics because it had been written about them before. The logic seems to be that the scriptures concerning the giants allegorically refer to heretics. The giants are described as “very large as if swollen up”; when applied to the heretics, I assume it refers to the heretics’ “puffed up” attitude.

329-335 Περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας … Ἰησούν Χριστόν
Unlike the earlier προθεωρίαι, which for the most part, have been summaries of the text in Baruch with typological and allegorical interpretations added, this protheoria is a summary completely on the typologically and allegorical plane. For Olympiodoros the text is a prophecy about the church of Christ, Christ’s incarnation, and the Gospel as the new Law. We hear of how the creation figuratively alludes (τροπικῶς αἰνιττόμενος) to the apostles, how the Israelite people were instructed beforehand to accept Christ and how the church becomes the spiritual Israel, because of their faith in Christ, the true Wisdom. These ideas are explored in the λέξεις with extensive use of cross-references in order to bring out the text’s typological meaning, the ύπόθεσις or the σκοπός of the text, so to speak. We can also recall that it is in this section of Baruch that the oft cited verses concerning Christian monotheism and Christ’s incarnation are found and Olympiodoros continues the tradition of earlier Church Fathers, as we shall see.

339-341 τὶς ἀνέβη … κατέβη.
Bar. 3:29-32, explores the theme that humans are unable to find Wisdom for it is only God who knows her. Wisdom cannot be attained without the intervention of God, as is pointed out by Adams. Olympiodoros ties in with this theme in his Christological interpretation of Wisdom through a reference to the incarnation. The incarnation is described, according to Olympiodoros, as accomplished by God’s initiative, completely dependent upon his love for mankind and not their love for him (because it is written, “not that we loved God by that he loved us”). Olympiodoros makes his connection to the incarnation through concept-association. The phrase κατεβίβασεν αὐτὴν in Bar. 3:29 is associated with Christ’s “coming down” at the incarnation expressed in Ps. 17:10 ἔκλινεν οὐρανοὺς καὶ κατέβη (“he parted the heaven and came down”). It is worth noting that this psalm verse is often interpreted in patristic literature and liturgical texts of the Eastern Orthodox Church as referring to the

196 Gen 6:4 “[…] those were the giants of old, the men of renown”. (Brenton’s translation).
This is another example of how Olympiodoros identifies Christ as Wisdom and at the same time as God.

Olympiodoros expounds the phrase at two levels, the literal (πρὸς ῥητὸν) and the spiritual (πρὸς διάνοιαν). At the literal level it describes the narrative reality that no one is interested in Wisdom and ready to give up their riches to find it. A parallel is found in Job 28: 13: “No mortal comprehends its [wisdom’s] worth”. On the spiritual level, however, “the choice gold” mentioned in the text has a deeper spiritual meaning referring to “faith” which, according to Olympiodoros, is the key to come to know Christ, the true Wisdom. We can recall how faith was mentioned in the προβορία in connection to the spiritual Israel, those who had “perceived the truth” they are the ones who had “put their faith in Christ”.

Here the “path of Wisdom” is equated with τὰς διδασκαλίας (the teachings) and τὰς προφητείας (the prophecies). It is not obvious what τὰς διδασκαλίας refers to; in the New Testament it is sometimes about the teachings of the apostles and sometimes also Christ’s teachings. Since Olympiodoros interprets Wisdom as Christ, perhaps τὰς διδασκαλίας should be understood as teachings about Christ. Likewise, I assume that τὰς προφητείας refers to prophecies of Christ, presumably prophecies found in the Old Testament Scriptures. This would be in line with Olympiodoros’ argument in note 389-390.

Through an allusion to Matt. 11:27 (“No one knows the Son except the Father”), Olympiodoros identifies ὁ εἰδὼς ("He who knows" i.e. God) with God the Father and αὐτήν ("her", i.e. Wisdom) with Christ the Son. Here we have very clear distinction between God the Father who is identified as Baruch’s “God” and the Son identified as Baruch’s “Wisdom”.

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198 For instance by Chrysostom: Δοῦλος ἐγένετο τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Δεσπότης, ἵνα τοὺς δούλους ἐλευθέρους ποιήσῃ Ἐκλίνεν οὐρανοὺς, καὶ κατέβη, ἵνα τοὺς κάτω μένοντας ἀναγάγῃ εἰς οὐρανόν. J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus (series Graeca) (MPG) 51, Paris: Migne, 1857-1866: 65-112. And in the Troparion from Canticle 1 of the Matins Canon for the Nativity: “The Creator, when He saw man perishing, whom He had made with His own hands, bowed the heaven and came down (my italics) and from the divine and pure Virgin did He take flesh all man’s substance”. See Ward, and Ware, 1998, p. 269.


201 “No one knows the Son except the Father”/οὐδεὶς ἔπιγινώσκει τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ.
In the following comments on Bar. 3:32-38 this distinction will be blurred when Olympiodoros on several occasions identifies Baruch’s “God” as Christ himself. Recalling the discussion in note 204-205, Olympiodoros does this in accord with Christian Trinitarian theology which states that the Son is as much God as the Father and the Holy Spirit are. Another reason why Olympiodoros will identify Christ with Baruch’s “God”, I believe, is that the following verses contain a theme of creation theology. It was a common patristic notion to ascribe to Christ the Logos the role of the creator at the creation of the world since Genesis describes God as speaking the world into existence. So for instance the Syrian Father Ephrem writes: “The Father spoke. The Son created” 202 This idea is also found in the prologue of John which states concerning the Logos (Christ): “All things came into being through him”, 203 and in Heb. 11:3 “By faith we understand that the worlds were prepared by the word of God”. 204 It is clear from Olympiodoros’ comments that he follows this tradition, as we shall see.

361-362 ἐξεῦρεν … τὴν συνέσει αὐτοῦ.

Reading Olympiodoros comment on ἐξεῦρεν αὐτὴν (“He discovered her”) it is not altogether clear whether he identifies “He” here as “God the Father” or as “Christ” since his comment can be interpreted in two ways: either “He made him known also to us” or “He made himself known also to us”. What is clear, however, is that the phrase ἐξεῦρεν αὐτὴν (“He discovered her”) is explained by Olympiodoros as referring to the incarnation. The word ἐξεῦρεν is rare in the LXX 205, and the expression “He discovered her” is quite puzzling since it seems to imply that there was a time when God did not know Wisdom. When Theodoret of Cyrus comments on this verse he feels obliged to explain that Baruch is speaking here in “human terms”, as Adams writes. 206 Although Olympiodoros does not explicitly question the word ἐξεῦρεν, by explaining it as ”to make known”, he implicitly explains that it is to be understood in connection to the incarnation and not as qualifying God’s knowledge of Wisdom.

364-366 ὁ κατασκευάσας … καλεῖ.

202 Louth, Conti, and Oden, 2013, p. 6. For other examples of this patristic tradition see Louth, Conit and Oden, 2013, pp. 1, 29. Ferreiro and Oden, 2003, p. 308.
203 πάντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐγένετο. My italics.
204 πιστεύεις νοούμεν κατηρτίσθαι τούς αἰῶνας ῥήματι θεοῦ.
Olympiodoros explains the word “earth” on two levels. First literally, as referring the earth, created by God, which he clearly identifies as Christ (“According to the literal sense [this means] that everything was equipped through the incarnate Word.”). Here we see how Olympiodoros expresses the patristic tradition of view of Christ as the creator of the world as discussed above.

Olympiodoros then goes on to talk about the spiritual meaning (πρὸς διάνοιαν) of “earth”. Now “earth” is explained as “the knowledge of godliness” (τὴν γνῶσιν τῆς εὐσεβείας). What this “the knowledge of godliness” refers to is not clear but it could be connected to the “spiritual knowledge” (πνευματικὴ ἐπιστήμη) mentioned in his comment on Bar 3:37 (see note 386-387). Perhaps it also could be interpreted as referring to the church. In his comment on Bar. 3:24, Olympiodoros spoke of the church as a “place” called “godliness” (see. Note 310-312). Perhaps “the earth” explained as “the knowledge of godliness” could refer to the church as a “space” filled with knowledge of godliness. In that case, Christ is depicted as equipping or preparing the church.

368-370 κτηνῶν … συμβληθέντας.
Olympiodoros continues to identify “He” / Baruch’s “God” with Christ as he explores Christ’s role as equiper of “the earth” on a metaphorical plane. The “earth” is here connected to the eschatological wedding banquet in Matt. 22. In this pericope, a king (i.e. God) is said to invite both good and bad people to his son’s wedding banquet (i.e. the Kingdom of Heaven). Olympiodoros, I believe, is using the wedding banquet as metaphor for the church here. Olympiodoros’ explanation of the “quadrupeds” seems to support this. He describes the “good and the bad ones” called to the wedding banquet as “quadrupeds” because, prior to the calling, they were like “senseless flocks” (τοὺς πρὸ τούτου κτήνεσιν ἀνοήτοις συμβληθέντας). It is worth noting that the word ἀνοήτος is sometimes used in the New Testament to refer to “the intellectual and spiritual condition of people before becoming Christians”. Compare how the letter to Titus describes the Christians’ previous life without Christ: “For we ourselves were once foolish (ἀνοήτοι), disobedient, led astray, slaves to various passions and pleasures” (Titus 3:3).208

372-373 ὁ ἀποστέλλων … κόσμου.

207 Bauer, Arndt, Gingrich and Danker, 2000, p. 84.
208 “ἡμεν γάρ ποτε καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀνόητοι, ἀπειθεῖς, πλανώμενοι, δουλεύοντες ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς ποικίλαις”
Here again Christ is identified as God, the agent in creation who sends the lights (i.e. stars), which are likened to the apostles. This is accomplished by the use of cross-reference to Matt. 5:14 which identifies “sending the light” with Christ’s role in sending his apostles who are identified as “light” in the gospel.

375-376 οἱ δὲ ἀστέρες … ἡυφράνθησαν.
Olympiodoros continues his identification of the apostles with the stars. He also uses word association to further establish the connection. In Baruch, the stars are described as being glad. In a similar manner, Olympiodoros explains, the apostles shine like the stars and are glad because of gifts they had received. The rejoicing over gifts perhaps refers to the apostles rejoicing over receiving the gift to command demons: “The seventy returned with joy, saying, “Lord, in your name even the demons submit to us!””²⁰⁹ (Luke 10:17).

382-384 οὗτος ὁ Θεὸς … συναναστραφεῖς.
Here Olympiodoros explains Bar. 3:36 by weaving Bar. 3:38 into his comment. As was said in the Introduction (see 1.5), 3:36 and 3:38 are the most quoted verses from Baruch by the Church Fathers. We can recall that Bar. 3:36 was often taken as support for Christian monotheism and 3:38 as a reference to the incarnation of Christ. By bringing these verses together Olympiodoros makes the connection between God and Wisdom explicit in order to show that the one who is incarnate is really God himself.

389-390 ᾿Ιακὼβ ... χάριν λαῷ.
Though not stated clearly here, “the people according to grace” refers, I believe, to the Christians. As Olympiodoros has argued before, they were the ones who have perceived who Christ really is and have accepted him. The same thought is found in his comment on Bar. 4:4 (see note 406-410).

392-393 μετὰ τοῦτο … εὐαγγελικῶς.
Olympiodoros has already weaved this verse into his discussion about Christ as the incarnate God and does not repeat himself. Instead, I believe, he focused on how the mystery of the incarnation is witnessed to in this verse was revealed in stages (“in due order”/“κατὰ τάξιν”)

²⁰⁹ "Ὑπέστρεψαν δὲ οἱ ἑβδομήκοντα δύο μετὰ χαρᾶς λέγοντες· Κύριε, καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια ὑποτάσσεται ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ ὄνομαί σου."
throughout Scripture. According to Olympiodoros, it is present and foretold in the Law and then in the prophets and lastly it is revealed fully in the gospels. Compare my discussion in note 266-267 and 395-396.

Concerning my choice of translating ὤφθη as “He appeared on earth”: The verb ὤφθη is gender neutral and can refer therefore either to God or Wisdom. This ambiguity was exploited by the Church Fathers who interpreted it as referring to appearance of God himself, i.e. the incarnation of Christ. 210

395-396 αὕτην ἡ βίβλος … διαιωνίζουσα.
Bar. 4:1 talks about Wisdom and how she is equated with the Law. Up until this point, Olympiodoros has univocally interpreted Wisdom as Christ but here, since Baruch describes Wisdom as a book, Olympiodoros chooses to identify Wisdom with the Gospels. The Gospels are portrayed here as the new Law which endures forever (διαιωνίζουσα). The description of the Gospels as eternal should probably be linked to the discussion of the everlasting covenant in verse Bar. 2:35 (“I will establish with them an everlasting covenant”) which is described by Olympiodoros as “According to the gospel” (see note 149-150).

The expression “The manifold knowledge of the mystery” (τοῦ μυστηρίου ποικίλη γνώσις), I believe, evokes the same thought described above concerning the incarnation: that it was foretold in many ways in the scriptures. The word “manifold” (ποικίλη) has also been discussed in this way in note 266-267.

398-400 διόδευσον … ύμᾶς.
Although we just witnessed the transformation of Wisdom into the Gospels rather than Christ, here Olympiodoros swiftly takes us back to the Christological reading of Wisdom again. He supports his Christological interpretation by cross-referencing Bar. 4:2 with Matt. 11:28.

402-404 μὴ δῶς … τοῦ Θεοῦ.
Bar 4:1-3 is interpreted as an exhortation to the Jews to seize grace, presumably the faith in Christ, “lest the Gentiles precede them in faith”, which was mentioned in the protheoria.

406-410 μακάριοι … νηπίοις.

This is a typological interpretation of Christians/the church as the spiritual Israel. Olympiodoros uses two quotations from Matthew, both connected to understanding at a deeper level, to support this interpretation. Christians as the spiritual Israel are in this way presented as the ones who actually know what is pleasing to God in opposition to the Jews. In his comment on Bar. 3:22 Olympiodoros uses Matt. 13:13 “seeing they do not perceive and hearing they do not listen” in order to argue for the Jews’ ignorance (see note 276-278). In spite of having the Law, they are described as being judged like Gentiles without the Law since they do not understand the deeper meaning of the Law. Here Olympiodoros uses the reversed quotation applied to the Christians (“But blessed are your eyes, for they see, and your ears for they hear”) in order to convey that the Christians are the ones who really understand the deeper meaning of the Law, i.e. they know what is pleasing to God.

411-421 Καθ’ ἱστορίαν … Χριστόν.
This protheoria with its literal and allegorical interpretation was described in the Introduction (see 1.6). As stated there, Olympiodoros first presents the literal (narratological) interpretation with the phrase καθ’ ἱστορίαν and then goes on to present his allegorical interpretations on the basis of the structure of the narrative. In the λέξεις, Olympiodoros jumps back and forth between the literal and the allegorical interpretation.

428 – 430 ἐπράθητε … ἐξηγόρασεν.
This is an example of an allegorical interpretation done on the basis of the structure of the narrative of the biblical text. Olympiodoros draws a parallel between the Israelites’ plight under the nations and the Christians’ suffering under the Devil. The people’s many sins, which resulted in them being victims of Babylon, are paralleled with the Christians, who through their many sins deserved death. The redemption of the people, prophesied by Jerusalem in Baruch, is paralleled with the redemption of the Christians through the blood of Christ.

439-442 μηδεὶς ἐπιχαιρέτω … ἐγκατελείφθη.
Here it seems that Olympiodoros interprets this phrase at two levels, first according to the narrative and then allegorically. According to the narrative, the subject of the verse is Jerusalem who is likened to a widow on account of her being bereft of her children. Olympiodoros puts in her mouth the quote from Ps. 117:18 which conveys that although she is in tribulations, she does not succumb to her troubles. According to the allegorical
interpretation, the text refers to the synagogue of the Jews who, since she did not receive her
bridegroom Christ, was left behind by him, like a widow. Olympiodoros parallels Bar. 4:12
καταλειφθείση ήπο πολλῶν (forsaken by many”) with ἐγκατελείφθη (“was forsaken”) to
accomplish this identification.

447-450 ἐπήγαγε … γίνεσθαι.
The enemies of the Israelite people are interpreted by Olympiodoros to stand for the
Christians’ “acts of lawlessness”. He establishes the connection first through a rather strange
word association between “the nation” and “acts of lawlessness”. The nation is described as
μακρόθεν (“far off”) just as the sins in Ps. 102 are described as being ἐμάκρυνεν (made far)
from us by God. Then Olympiodoros explains why the word ἐπαγαγεῖν is used by Baruch. It
seems that Olympiodoros interprets it to mean that God allows our sins to come upon us
rather than that he sends them.

452-454 ἔθνος … διδασκόντων.
Olympiodoros gives three interpretations for this verse. On the narratological level it refers to
Babylon. In the next instance it can also refer to the Romans who, like the Babylonians, also
became occupying enemies of the Jews. Both Babylonians and the Romans were in the eyes
of the Jews shameless nations and both spoke foreign languages. In the last instance, by
putting weight on the word ἀλλόγλωσσον, Olympiodoros refers the phrase to heretics who
through clever talk try to teach knowledge contrary to the truth.

460- 471 πρὸς μὲν … πολιτῶν.
As in the previous protheoria, Olympiodoros starts here by presenting the literal interpretation
of the text by summarising the plot according to narrative (Καθ’ ἱστορίαν). He then goes on to
explore other interpretive options based on the narrative structure. Olympiodoros argues that
the text can have three other meanings: it can refer to the remnant of the synagogue of the
Jews, insofar as they repent and believe in Christ; it can refer to the soul’s struggle with its
enemies and its redemption through repentance and faith; and, lastly, it can refer to the
synagogue of the Jews being discarded by Christ since they did not accept him. We recognise
the anti-Jewish polemic from before, and it is still focused on faith in Christ. Olympiodoros
understands the text to be a prophetic warning to the Jews. Throughout the λέξεις,
Olympiodoros moves between a narratological interpretation and allegorical and typological
interpretations, for example in his interpretation of Jerusalem which at the beginning of the
λέξεις for the most part is interpreted according to the narrative but towards the end is interpreted typologically as the church; and at the same time, Babylon for Olympiodorus becomes the synagogue of the Jews.

477-480 ἐγὼ γὰρ ... ἐρημίαν.
Olympiodorus interprets the phrase “I am left desolate” to refer to three different groups. This is good example of the three different interpretive levels mentioned in the protheoria. In the instance of the first two groups, the phrase refers to “an absence of God”. If expressed by the saints, Olympiodorus explains, it is because they are “familiar with the ways of sinners”. Perhaps he means that they identify with the plight of the sinners. Secondly, applied to the synagogue of the Jews, the absence of God is a result of their insolence to Christ. Because of this they are left hind by him, as stated in note on 439-442. Thirdly, Olympiodorus also allows for an understanding of the phrase as referring to the city of Jerusalem according to the narratological level of the text; in this case it refers to the city being emptied of its inhabitants.

482-483 ἐξεδυσάμην ... πρὸς Θεόν.
As is pointed out by Adams, this is the only instance in the LXX of the phrase τὴν στολὴν τῆς εἰρήνης. Olympiodorus connects this “robe” to the concept of living peacefully with God through an allusion to Rom. 5:1 “Therefore, since we are justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ”. In this chapter of Romans, Paul expresses the idea that Christ has reconciled us with God through his death and that, through his life, we will be saved. It seems, therefore, that Olympiodorus connects τὴν στολὴν τῆς εἰρήνης with salvation through Christ. This is particularly interesting when we consider that Bar. 4:20 is the first of two uses of metaphors of undressing and dressing as part of the narrative of the fall and redemption of Jerusalem. This is shown most clearly in how Bar. 4:20 (“I have taken of the robe off peace and put on sackcloth”) is mirrored by Bar. 5:1 (“Take off your robe of mourning and put on the dignity of the glory from God forever”). These metaphors of undressing and dressing connected to salvation bring to mind the patristic tradition regarding the lost “the robe of glory” (στολή δόξης), which, I suspect, might lie behind Olympiodorus’ interpretation. The tradition of the “robe of glory” has its roots in early Jewish and Christian exegesis of the paradise story. According to this tradition Adam and Eve were, prior to the
fall, dressed in a robe of light or glory which they, as a consequence of the fall, were stripped of. It thus became part of God’s salvation plan to help humans recover this lost robe of glory. In liturgical hymns and other texts drawing on this tradition, Christ’s incarnation is often described as him clothing himself, so to speak, in the flesh of Adam, which then is glorified by him. When Christ is baptised in the Jordan – an image of the baptismal font – he symbolically deposits the robe of glory therein. And so, in baptism this salvific robe of glory is once again made available to humans as they clothe “themselves in Christ”, as Paul expresses it, the logic being that the robe of glory is transformed into the glory of Christ himself. Part of the tradition is also the idea that the robe of glory given at baptism is a foretaste of that which will be given permanently at the eschaton. The robe of the eschaton is also said to be even more glorious that the one worn by Adam and Eve in the primordial paradise. An indication that Olympiodoros is alluding to this tradition is his designation of the “robe of peace” as τὴν λαμπρότητα (“splendid”, “brilliant” or “shining”). This designation conveys light and, since the word is conjugated in the comparative, might allude to the eschatological robe of glory. The connection to the tradition becomes stronger when we look at his comment on the mirror-verse 5:1, as will be shown further on.

491-492 ἢ ἐπελεύσεται … ἀπέδειξεν.
Again, Olympiodoros might be alluding to “the robe of glory” narrative here as well. We note that Olympiodoros uses the word λαμπρότερον again but now applied not to a piece of clothing, but to the human race at the salvation through Christ. This is in line with the narrative explained above where the salvation of mankind is portrayed in clothing metaphors and the salvation of Christ comes about through clothing oneself in Christ. The mentioning of “the race of the first creation” (Adam and Eve) is further indication, I believe, for an allusion to the robe of glory-tradition. Nothing in Bar. 4:24 brings to mind Adam and Eve but for Olympiodoros, the salvation through Christ is described as showing “our race as more splendored, than [it was] in accordance with the original creation”. It seem that Olympiodoros is comparing the glory of Adam and Eve in paradise to the Glory of the salvation accomplished by Christ. If Olympiodoros is referring to the ultimate salvation here, the final

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211 Initially, it seems, that the tradition arose from a Targum mistranslation of Gen 3:21 “And the LORD God made garments of skins for the man and for his wife, and clothed them” The Hebrew word ‘or (skin) was interpreted as ‘or (light/glory) and the verb “made” understood as a pluperfect. This tradition came to live its own life and was elaborated among both Syriac and Greek speaking Christians. For a discussion of the Syriac tradition see Brock, 1999, pp. 247-259. For an example of the Greek version see Constas and Proclus, 2003, pp. 317-318. The short overview presented here is based on these sources.
restoration of creation at the second coming of Christ, this would account for his use of the comparative form λαμπρότερον to describe “our race”. We should also note that Bar. 4:24 speaks of the salvation coming μετὰ δόξης and καὶ λαμπρότητος which evokes the theme of the robe of glory (στολή δόξης).

495-496 κατεδίωξέν … σταυροῦ.
This is an example of an allegorical interpretation concerning the soul, mentioned in the protheoria. Olympiodoros sees in the destruction of the enemy Babylon an image of the destruction of the Devil through the cross of Christ.

501-504 οἱ τρυφεροί … ἐπορεύθησαν.
The people of Israel are likened to Adam and Eve: like them the people were supplied by God with everything they needed but still, like Adam and Eve, they chose their own path and not the path of God.

507-508 Θάρσει … καλέσται.
Olympiodoros establishes a typological relation between Jerusalem and the church through the concept of naming. The phrase “He who named you” is paralleled by the church being “called his own bride”. Up until this point, Olympiodoros has interpreted “Jerusalem” in several ways. From here and to the end of his commentary, Olympiodoros will interpret Jerusalem as the church. The reason for this is probably that the narrative of Jerusalem’s salvation begins here: the total destruction of her enemies and her restoration to glory.

510-511 δείλαιοι … διώξαντες.
In Bar. 4:31, the enemies are described as “those who harmed” Jerusalem and it is not clear from the context exactly who this refers to. For Olympiodoros, since Jerusalem is identified with the church, the enemies are identified as heretics and demons, the enemies of the church. This line of reasoning continues in Olympiodoros’ comment on Bar. 4:32-34. See notes 513-514 and 516-517

513-514 δείλαιαι αἱ πόλεις … τῶν δαιμόνων.
Here once more the identification of Jerusalem with the church affects Olympiodoros’ identification of the enemies in Bar. 4:35. The “cities that your children served as slaves” are identified as spiritual enemies of the Christians (the children of the church): demons and evil...
forces. The words ὀχυρώματα and κατασκευαὶ are used to match αἱ πόλεις since they both refer to buildings of a kind. However, κατασκευαὶ can also mean deceit and this double meaning fits well with the context of demons deceiving the Christians with lies.

516-517 οὕτως λυπηθήσεται … συναγωγῆ.
In Bar 4:33, the destruction of the enemies refers to the destruction of Babylon. However, since the church has taken over the role of Jerusalem, the role of Babylon passes over, as it were, to the Jews, i.e. those who did not believe in Christ.

525-533 δοκεῖ μὲν ... ἐλπίζοντες.
In this protheoria, Olympiodoros also interprets the text at both the narratological level (καθ’ ἱστορίαν) and at what he discerns as a deeper level in the text, namely a typological identification of Jerusalem as the church. We note his use of the word δοκεῖ which he has not used before when contrasting the ἱστορία and his allegorical interpretations. The use of δοκεῖ appears to indicate that Olympiodoros is saying that the typological meaning is what the text is actually about. The text only seems to be about the restoration of Jerusalem and her sons but it is really talking about the church. This would be line with his interpretation of Bar. 2:35 (see note 152-155) where Olympiodoros argues that God’s promise not to disturb the people from the land again, must refer to the salvation of believers through Christ since history showed that the Jews were dispersed from Jerusalem by force and Jerusalem was destroyed. For Olympiodoros this last section of Jerusalem’s prophecy is taken to refer to the church, the Christians, those who are children of the blessed men of old such as Abel, Noah and Abraham, all figures praised for their virtues, obedience and great faith in God. This interpretation is reflected in the λέξεις, which is interpreted wholly at the typological and allegorical level with many references to the church, liturgical life, spiritual warfare, virtues and conduct, and the promise of heaven.

536-537 περίβλεψαι … Χριστόν.
At the narratological level Bar. 4:36 (and 37) speaks of Jerusalem looking toward the East to see her children coming back from the captivity. Olympiodoros, however, associates the verse with the church and her relationship to Christ. This, I believe, is because of liturgical and eschatological connotations of the words of the verse. The exhortation to Jerusalem to “look

to the East” has a clear parallel to the liturgical praxis of Christians facing East when praying and it is also the orientation of ancient churches.\(^{213}\) The identification of Christ as the East (ἀνατολή) is part of a long biblical and patristic tradition. In the gospel of Luke, for instance, Christ is called ἀνατολή ἐξ ὕψους (Luke 1:78) and the words ἀνατολή ὄνομα αὐτῷ (Zech. 6:12) from the prophet Zechariah has been understood in patristic tradition as a metaphor for Christ.\(^{214}\) There is also an eschatological connotation in the liturgical practise of praying toward the East since one reason for this practise is the idea that Christ, at his second coming, will return from the East: “for as the lightning comes from the East and flashes as far as the West, so will be the coming of the Son of Man” (Matt. 24:27).\(^{215}\) There is also a long-standing patristic tradition of identifying Christ as the Sun of Righteousness from Malaki\(^{216}\) and this also has eschatological connotations. In the prophet Malaki, the coming of the Sun of Righteousness is described in eschatological terms and in the patristic tradition this was thought to refer to the coming of Christ, both his first coming at the incarnation and his second coming at the day of Judgement.\(^{217}\)

539-540 τῷ ῥήματι … ὁμολογίᾳ.
As above Olympiodoros sees in this verse liturgical connotations. He explains τῷ ῥήματι τοῦ ἁγίου ("at the word of the Holy One") with τῇ τῆς πίστεως ὁμολογίᾳ ("in the profession of faith"). The word ὁμολογίᾳ has strong liturgical connections; it is used among other things to refer to the creed of faith or to the act of professing faith at baptism.\(^{218}\) It seem, that, the event of the people of Israel returning to Jerusalem, for Olympiodoros, is an image of the people of faith coming together in church in expression of their faith. The allusion to baptism in the word ὁμολογίᾳ is interesting when considering Olympiodoros’ explanations of the next few verses.

541-542 ἔκδυσαι … αὐτοῦ.
We have come to the mirror verse of Bar. 4:20 ("I have taken of the robe off peace and put on sackcloth") and are brought back to the theme of the “robe of glory” mentioned above. The “robe of mourning” is now identified, by a reference to Col. 3:9, as “the old man with his

\(^{215}\) Meyendorff and Germanos, 1984, pp. 63-64.
\(^{216}\) For patristic examples of this see Ferreiro and Oden, 2003, pp. 308-311.
\(^{217}\) For examples of this see Ferreiro and Oden, 2003, p. 311.
\(^{218}\) Lampe, 1976, p. 957
desires”. It is clear from Olympiodoros’ textual reference that the robe of mourning is equated with the old humanity, led by its desires, which the Christians in Col. 3 are described as having taken off as they are living a new life in Christ (“ye have put off the old man with his deeds. And have put on the new man”).\footnote{Col 3:9 “ἀπεκδυσάμενοι τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον σὺν ταῖς πράξεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνδύσαμενοι τὸν νέον”.} This “new man” is of course Christ himself which the Christians put on in baptism. This is made explicit in the next verse.

545-547 καὶ ἔνδυσαι … ἐνδύσαντο.
Here Olympiodoros’ allusion to the lost robe of glory become most apparent. In Bar. 5:1 Jerusalem is exhorted to “put on the dignity of the Glory of God”. This is explained by Olympiodoros by the uses of cross-reference to Paul’s famous verse on baptism which makes explicit that what Jerusalem is encouraged to put on is Christ himself – the new τὴν στολὴν τῆς δόξης. We might also note that, though there was no parallel τὴν στολὴν τῆς εἰρήνης in the LXX, there is a close parallel to τὴν στολὴν τῆς δόξης. In Isa. 61:3, a passage talking about God’s salvation of his people and how those who mourn on Zion will be given καταστολὴν δόξης.

548-549 περιβαλοῦ … ἀρετήν.
In verse 5:2 Jerusalem, i.e. the Church in Olympiodoros’ mind, is exhorted to put on the διπλοίδα (“double cloak”) from God. In Olympiodoros’ interpretation this means to put on “the ordinances of the Old and the New Testament”. This identification seems to be is based on the numerical likeness between the double cloak, being a pair of cloaks somehow, and the Old and the New Testament being another pair. In the next step he goes on to explain that “to put on the ordinances of the Old and the New Testament” means to put on the virtue pertaining to πρακτική and θεωρητική. The use of these theologically charged terms immediately calls to mind the theology of the dessert ascetics and their ideas of the ascetic life. Dessert monks such as Evagrius and John of Lycopolis divided ascetics into two groups, the πρακτικοί, who were beginners, and the θεωρητικοί, who were advanced monks. The life of the πρακτικοί consisted of the practical ascetic life, training in virtues, fasting, praying, giving alms etc., in other words, he busied himself with the world, so to speak. The θεωρητικός, the contemplative monk, on the other hand, had put the practical life behind him and having mastered the art of self-renunciation had freed himself to focus only on attaining νηόσις (understanding) or γνωσίς (mystical knowledge), that is, the deeper realities of the
world and of God, as Andrew Cain writes. Against the backdrop of this ascetical theology it would seem that Olympiodoros is equating the ordinances of the Old Testament with the lower practical life of the ascetic and the ordinances of the New Testament with the higher life of the contemplative monk. Perhaps Olympiodoros sees the Law of the Old Testament as guiding us in the basic ascetic practices while the Gospel, the New Law, as it were, provides us with the Holy Spirit to guide us to the deeper level behind the letter of the Law and Scripture, leading us to its spiritual meaning, to see how it speaks of Christ in order that we come to faith in him.

551-553 ἐπίθου τὴν … ὁ Χριστός.
Olympiodoros allows for two symbolic interpretations of τὴν μίτραν. Firstly, he identifies it with “The cross of Christ which is impressed on the forehead of the faithful”. This is clearly an allusion to the baptismal service in which the priest marks the forehead of the baptismal candidates with the symbol of the cross, as is also pointed out in the Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture. This is another example of a liturgical allusion used by Olympiodoros to strengthen his typological reading of the Jerusalem’s prophecy as being about the church. Olympiodoros also allows for a second interpretation of τὴν μίτραν in which, by a cross-reference, it is transformed into Christ himself, since he is described as “the head of the church” in Eph. 5:23. This is another use of cross-reference to support his typological reading of Jerusalem as the church. It is interesting to note that μίτρα was also the word used to designate the headwear of the Old Testament High-priest as well as the patriarchal veil during the Byzantine era.

555- 559 κληθήσεται … καλοῦμεθα.
The name given to Jerusalem, Peace of righteousness and glory of piety, is applied to the church by references to passages from the New Testament where Christ is called these things. The reasoning seems to be that since the church has Christ as their example, they also bear the same name as him: it makes sense that the body of Christ also bear his names.

561-562 καὶ στῆθι … κηρύγματος.
Olympiodoros continues to interpret Jerusalem as the church. Here “the height” (τοῦ ύψηλοῦ)

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220 Cain, 2016, pp. 247-249.
is interpreted as an elevated conduct (ὑψηλῆς πολιτείας), which has its basis in the proclamation of the Gospel. Perhaps we can also see in this interpretation an allusion to the *ambon* in ancient churches. The *ambon* was a high place in the middle of the church from where the liturgical Scripture readings, including the gospel-readings, took place.²²³

564-656 ἐξῆλθον … ἀγόμενοι.

The image of the people being led away from their own city into captivity is interpreted in two allegorical ways both connected to mourning. On the one hand, it recalls how king David, at one point, had to flee from his own palace on account of the rage of his son Absalom.²²⁴ On the other hand, it is an image of those who are led away by their own desires and serve the demons.

568-570 ὡς υἱους βασιλείας … βασιλείαν.

Concerning the phrase ὡς υἱους βασιλείας: this is a variant reading found in a large number of manuscripts of Baruch.²²⁵ The standard reading of the text critical edition of the LXX is “ὡς θρόνον βασιλείας” and interestingly, so does the vat. 549 in the biblical text preceding the commentary. Despite this Olympiodoros chooses in his λέξεις to expound the variant ὡς υἱους βασιλείας. For him, the text clearly speaks of the promise of heaven. The Christians are the children of the Kingdom, who through their faith in Christ, are lead up to Kingdom Heaven. We can recall that Olympiodoros stated in his προθεωρία that the church are the ones who “will be called up with glory and who are hoping for the Kingdom of Heaven in gladness”.

575-576 καὶ θῖνας … δαίμονας.

The mounds are interpreted symbolically as the demons in that they are raised, as mounds, against God, and they are described as “everlasting” since they always fight the righteous.

578-580 καὶ φάραγγας … περιαιρεθέντων.

The valleys which are to be levelled for Israel are interpreted by Olympiodoros in two rather peculiar ways. On the one hand, Olympiodoros likens “the valleys” (φάραγγας) to the divisions brought about by the false-Christ, and the filling of the valleys is like when these divisions are “brought into concord” (εἰς ὁμόνοιαν φέρεσθαι). Perhaps this refers to how the

²²³ Meyendorff and Germanos, 1984, p. 63.
²²⁴ 2 Sam. 15:13-23
false-teachings of heretics make it hard for the faithful to walk straight and follow the right path. The expression “brought into concord” would perhaps then refer to these teaching being harmonized in accordance with correct teachings.

On the other hand, Olympiodoros likens “the valleys” to “the old pits” and “the earthly souls” (τὰς πὰλαι κοίλας καὶ γεώδεις ψυχὰς) and the filling up of the valleys is like when the pits and the souls are filled “through good works”. What these old pits refer to is not clear for the expression τὰς πὰλαι κοίλας is not found in TLG. LSJ gives “grave” as one of the meanings for κοίλας which perhaps might make sense here. The logic would then be that when one lives a virtuous life of good works one is filling up one’s grave. Perhaps κοίλας could also be an image of Hades. “The earthly souls” seems to refer to the soul being busy with earthly things rather than spiritual, and when the soul turns to the spiritual life it is filled.

582-586 ἐσκίασαν ... ἔργαζομένας.
Olympiodoros sees in “the fragrant trees” a double image. First, they are an image of the prophets and the apostles because they “breathe forth a sweet aroma of Christ” (οἱ τὴν Χριστοῦ εὐωδίαν ἀποπνέοντες). This identification is accomplished by word association through an allusion to 2 Cor. 2:15 where Paul says that the apostles are “the aroma of Christ” (Χριστοῦ εὐωδία) in their mission to the world.226 Perhaps Olympiodoros also includes the prophets in these sweet-smelling trees since, as he has been arguing, they prophesy about Christ (see note 392-393). Secondly, Olympiodoros interprets “the fragrant trees” as an image of “the angels escorting us at the ordinances of Christ”. The last part of this section is somewhat difficult linguistically. The expression τὰς δοκούσας συνοχὰς is difficult since it is not found elsewhere in TLG. Usually, συνοχή would mean something like “distress, oppression” but according to A Greek and English Lexicon of the New Testament227 συνοχή can also mean ”enclosure” which is why I have interpreted τὰς δοκούσας συνοχὰς as “the appearing enclosures”. Perhaps Olympiodoros is saying that when the angels escort the Christians, this resembles enclosures which “accomplish a cooling as of a thicket”.

588-589 ἵνα βαδίσῃ ... σταυροῦ.

226 2 Cor 2:14-16 “But thanks be to God, who in Christ always leads us in triumphal procession, and through us spreads in every place the fragrance that comes from knowing him. 15 For we are the aroma of Christ to God among those who are being saved and among those who are perishing; 16 to the one a fragrance from death to death, to the other a fragrance from life to life.”
227 Robinsson, 1839, p. 795.
Olympiodoros equates “the glory of God” with “the bosting of the Cross”. This is an example of a typological reading of Israel as the Christians and it is accomplished by an allusion to Gal. 6:14: “May I never boast of anything except the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ”.

228 ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ γένοιτο καυχᾶσθαι εἰ μὴ ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
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Edition of Greek Text
The New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS) version of Barouch (Baruch) is based on the critical edition of Joseph Ziegler (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Gottingensis editum XV: Jeremias Baruch Threni Epistula Jeremiae [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957]).

Literary Make-up
Barouch, an “apocryphal” text of five chapters, is a composite collection of different literary genres that divides easily into two sections.

Bar 1.1–3.8
The first section (1.1–3.8), written in prose, uses the historical background of the Babylonian captivity as a context for presenting what is essentially an admission of guilt read to the captives in Babylon. Included is an expression of hope that God will deliver them from their deserved fate. The liturgical purpose of offering sacrifices at the Jerusalem temple (1.10–11) places a focus on where the captives came from. Interestingly, God is continually addressed in the third person until 2.11 when suddenly there is a switch to second person followed by some first person references (2.23, 29–35) before returning to second person references until 3.8. There are considerable linguistic ties with the book of Jeremias in the first section suggesting, if not a shared authorship, then perhaps a common Greek translator.

Bar 3.9–5.9
The style of the second part turns suddenly into a poetic homily. Though the Greek itself from the perspective of Greek metrics is not poetry, it does reflect Hebrew poetic technique in terms of form and style. It begins at 3.9 with a plea to Israel, addressed in the second person, to contemplate wisdom and God’s law and the relationship between them. At 4.5 there is a change in the subject matter wherein the author seeks to comfort the captives (four times they are urged to “take courage”: 4.5, 21, 27, 30). This second section (3.9–5.9) shifts from focusing on the land they came from to the land they now reside in. Along with a genre and a subject change, there is also a noticeable adjustment in attitude toward the Babylonian captors in this second section. Whereas they are instructed to pray for the lives of their captors in the first section (1.11), they are informed of God’s future destruction of them in the second section (4.25, 31–32).

Translation Profile of the Greek
Barouch as a Translation
Barouch is a fascinating book from the perspective of translation since, despite the fact that there are no extant Hebrew versions, it is held almost unanimously among scholars that the first section (1.1–3.8) was originally written in Hebrew. This conclusion is based on the kind of Greek that is apparent in the text and the fact that some phrases are unclear without recourse to a Hebrew retroversion. There are possible mistranslations of an original Hebrew. So, for example, 3.4, “those of Israel who have died,” might have been a misreading of תם “men,” which when unvocalized can be read as “dead” (see Esa 5.13), and 2.25, “by dispatch,” might have been a misreading of פא “famine.” There are also many pronounced Hebraisms of the Greek in this portion, such as sustained parataxis with καί (“and”) or ἀνθρώπος (“person”) for distributive ἐκάθεν (“each”) or again pleonastic adverbs, οὖθε “where . . . there” (2.4, 13, 29; 3.8), and pronouns, e.g., ὃς . . . ἐντὸς (“of whom . . . of them”) in 2.17.

Emanuel Tov has made a Hebrew retroversion of this first section. His intent was to show how the translator of Barouch showed affinities with the translation of Jeremiah (Jeremias). Tov theorizes that the entire book of Jeremiah had originally been translated into Greek as a unit and then, subsequently, was revised but that only the second half of that revision (chaps. 29–52 of Jeremias) has survived. Tov fur-
Thermor postulates that the same reviser also revised Bar 1.1–3.8. Since Jeremias is clearly based on a Hebrew original, its affinities with the first section of Barouch (1.1–3.8) provide solid support for an original Hebrew of this section.

**Barouch as Greek Composition**

The second section (3.9–5.9) is the subject of much debate concerning its original language. On the one hand, there is a general Greek character to it. It also possesses one Septuagintal *harpax legomenon*, the μυθολογοι “story-tellers” (3.23), and several words, many of which are neologisms, that only appear here in all of the Septuagint, i.e., *συμματικον* “to be defiled with” (3.11), *μακροβίωσις* “longevity” (3.14), ἀνταποστίμη “to rise up against” (3.19), the ἐξηγηταί “seekers” (3.23), ἐπιμήκης “extensive” (3.24), *λήψις* “shining” (4.2) and *δεκαπλασία* “to multiply by ten” (4.28). Add to these data the facts that 4.36–5.9 has strong parallels with the Greek version of the Psalms of Solomon 11 and that the phraseology of 4.28 is difficult to reconstruct back into biblical Hebrew, and one might have good grounds to argue for an original Greek composition.

On the other hand, the literary style, especially the use of the vocative or the imperative and the strong use of parallelism, allow for the possibility of a Hebrew original. There are also a few instances where the Greek appears to be a mistranslation of the Hebrew, such as the unique appearance of the city Merran (3.23), which may have been a Hebrew corruption of Midian (the *r* and *d* in Hebrew are easily confused), followed by the Greek doubling of the *r*, which occurs occasionally in the transliteration of Hebrew proper names (e.g., *Sarra* in LXX Gen 17.19 and *Gomorra* in LXX Gen 18.20). David G. Burke has produced his own retroversion of this second section based on the conclusion that it was originally composed in Hebrew. Despite Burke’s ability to retrovert this section into Hebrew, however, the evidence for this section being translation Greek is by no means conclusive. It is just as possible that it was originally written in Greek. Much earlier, J. J. Kneucker was satisfied that the entire book had originally been written in Hebrew, and he created his own retroversion of what he thought to be the original Hebrew.

Ultimately though, since one does not find ties between Jeremias and this second section of Barouch as is clearly the case with the first section, it is likely that it was the work of a different author who could easily have composed in Greek. All of the biblical citations found here are based on the LXX rather than on the Hebrew and therefore are suggestive of a Greek origin. It is just as likely that the author of this section of Barouch was trained in a Septuagintal style of writing and deliberately created an original Greek text in this manner. Perhaps by the time of Barouch’s composition Hebraisms such as τις πένθος (4.34) “to mourning” (Hebrew הָעִנָּה, 2 Sam 19.3, Amos 8.10; Lam 5.15) were becoming commonplace in the Jewish tradition of biblical composition and therefore are nothing more than stylistic imitations of the Septuagint. Nevertheless, despite the apparent problems of determining the original language of composition for 3.9–5.9, since no Hebrew text for any part of Barouch has survived, NETS is based in its entirety solely on the Greek. That being the case, any attempt to create a translation profile for the book lacks credibility. Since the Hebrew “versions” we do have available are retroversions from the Greek and thus are based on assumed Hebrew-Greek equivalencies, using them as evidence is inherently problematic.

**General Character of the Greek**

There are subtle differences in the style or presentation of Greek between the two sections. Whereas the first section is replete with Hebraisms in the Greek, the second has far fewer. Nevertheless, since it attempts to imitate Hebrew poetry, the Greek is not altogether a fluid rendering.

**Content**

Barouch is a highly eclectic text. It reads like a patchwork of expressions and ideas borrowed from other parts of biblical material rather than an original work of its own. To give just a few examples, 1.15–2.12 shows considerable influence from Dan 9.7–14, and 2.13 compares well with Deut 28.62 and Ier 42.2. Barouch 3.29–4.4 is indebted to Lobs 28.12–27 as well as Deutero-Isaiah (e.g., 3.36 and 5.5, 7), Ecclesiast (Qoheleth) and the Psalms of Solomon for most of its ideas and expressions. Barouch 3.14 is reminiscent of Prov 3.13–18, and 4.15 is based on Deut 28.49–50. There are faint echoes of Reigns as well. And, of course, the book of Jeremiah/Jeremias lies behind much of the content in the first section.

Barouch shows inconsistency in the use of divine titles. Though not problematic as Greek per se, such inconsistency might be indicative of multiple authors/translators and hence would constitute a way to noting different Greek usage. The first section (1.1–3.8) prefers κύριος to refer to the deity, whereas the first part of second section (3.9–4.4) commonly uses θεός. The second part of the second section
(4.5–5.9) then introduces ὁ αἰώνιος “the everlasting one” as a preference. There is even the unique (to Barouch) and unexpected use of παντοκράτωρ “Almighty” as a divine epithet in 3.1, which almost suggests a different author/translator for the first eight verses of chapter three.

The appearance of very different basic words and phrases in the second section, not evident in the first, is both interesting and significant. In the previous prose section, the Greek καὶ (probably translating the Hebrew ו) is very prominent, but in this poetic section δὲ appears most often. As well, ὅτι seems to be the translation of choice for the prose, but the translator prefers γὰρ for the poetic material (both no doubt translating the Hebrew ו). Perhaps, all such “clues” to different translators/authors are merely due to a change in the content.

**Bibliographical Note**


I owe an immeasurable debt to Albert Pietersma for his precedent-setting initial translation of the Psalms that has been the beacon for all subsequent NETS work. I wish to express a heartfelt, sincere gratitude for his personal encouragement and inexhaustible patience in advising on and editing this particular translation. There is clearly a debt here that can never be wholly repaid.

**Tony S. L. Michael**

1 And these are the words of the book which Barouch son of Nerias son of Maasaias son of Sedekias son of Hasadias son of Chelkias wrote in Babylon, 2 in the fifth year, on the seventh of the month, at the time when the Chaldeans took Jerusalem and set it on fire.

3 And Barouch read the words of this book in the ears of Iechonias son of Ioakim, king of Iouda, and in the ears of all the people, those who came to the book, 4 and in the ears of the mighty and the sons of the kings and in the ears of the elders and in the ears of all the people, from small to great, all who lived in Babylon by the river Soud.

5 And they kept weeping and fasting and praying before the Lord, 6 and they collected silver as the hand of each was able 7 and sent it to Jerusalem to the priest Ioakim son of Chelkias son of Salom and to the priests and to all the people who were found with him in Jerusalem 8 when he took the vessels of the house of the Lord which were carried out of the shrine to return to the land of Iouda on the tenth of Siouan—the silver vessels that King Sedekias of Iouda son of Iosias had made, 9 after Nabouchodonosor, king of Babylon, exiled Iechonias and the magistrates and the prisoners and the mighty and the people of the land from Jerusalem, and he brought him 10 to Babylon.

10 And they said: Look, we sent you silver; and buy with the silver whole burnt offerings and for sin and incense, and make manaa, and offer them on the altar of the Lord our God; 11 and pray concerning the life of King Nabouchodonosor of Babylon and regarding the life of his son Baltasar so that their days on the earth may be like the days of the sky. 12 And the Lord will give strength to us, and he will illuminate our eyes, and we shall live under the shadow of King Nabouchodonosor of Babylon and regarding the life of his son Baltasar so that their days on the earth may be like the days of the sky. 13 And the Lord will give strength to us, and he will illuminate our eyes, and we shall live under the shadow of King Nabouchodonosor of Babylon and under the shadow of his son Baltasar, and we shall be subject to them many days, and we shall find favor before them.

a Possibly them b Heb = grain offering
concerning us to the Lord our God, for we have sinned against the Lord our God, and the anger of the Lord and his wrath have not turned away from us until this day. And you shall read aloud this book, which we sent to you to declare in the house of the Lord on a feast day and on days of a season.

15 And you shall say: To the Lord, our God, belongs righteousness but to us shame of faces as this day, to a person of Iouda, to the inhabitants of Ierousalem, to our kings and to our magistrates and to our priests and to our prophets and to our fathers. For which things we have sinned before the Lord, and we disobeyed him and have not listened to the voice of the Lord, our God, to walk by the decrees of the Lord that he gave before us. From the day when the Lord brought our fathers out of the land of Egypt even until this day, we were being disobedient to the Lord our God, and we were acting carelessly so as not to listen to his voice. And there have clung to us the bad things and the curse that the Lord instructed to his servant Moyses in the day he brought out our ancestors from the land of Egypt, to give to us a land flowing with milk and honey, as this day. And we did not listen to the voice of the Lord our God according to all the words of the prophets whom he sent to us, and each of us went off in the intent of his evil heart to work for other gods, to do evil things in the eyes of the Lord our God.

2 And the Lord established his word which he spoke to us and to our judges who judged Israel and to our kings and to our magistrates and to a person of Israel and Iouda. It was not done under the whole sky as he did in Ierousalem, according to that which is written in the law of Moyses—that we should eat a person the flesh of his son and a person the flesh of his daughter. And he gave them as subjects to all the kingdoms around us as a disgrace and as something untrodden, among all the peoples around us there where the Lord scattered them. And they became beneath and not above, because we sinned against the Lord, our God, so as not to listen to his voice.

6 To the Lord, our God, belongs righteousness but to us and to our fathers shame of faces, as this day. All these bad things which the Lord spoke to us and to our judges who judged Israel, saying, Incline, O Lord, your ear, and listen, open your eyes, and see, for the dead in Hades, those whose spirit has been taken from their inward parts, will not give glory and justification to the Lord. But the soul who is grieving over the magnitude, that walks bowed and is weak, and the eyes that are failing and the soul that is hungry—they shall give you glory and righteousness, O Lord.

19 For it is not because of acts deemed righteous of our fathers and our kings that we throw down our4 mercy before you, O Lord, our God. For you have brought your anger and your wrath against us, as you had spoken by the hand of your servants the prophets, saying: Thus did the Lord say: Incline your shoulder, and work for the king of Babylon, and sit upon the land which I gave to your fathers. And if you do not obey the voice of the Lord to work for the king of Babylon, I will make to fail from the towns of Iouda and from outside of Ierousalem a voice of merriment and a voice of delight, a voice of bridegroom and a voice of bride, and all the land will become untrodden by inhabitants.

24 And we did not obey your voice to work for the king of Babylon, and you have established your words which you spoke by the hands of your servants the prophets, that the bones of our kings and the bones of our fathers may be carried out from their place. And look, they are cast out in the heat of the day and the frost of the night, and they died in wicked pains, by famine and by sword and by dispatch. And you made the house, where your name was called over it, as this day because of the wickedness of the house of Israel and the house of Iouda.

27 And you have done to us, O Lord, our God, according to all your fairness and according to all your great compassion, as you spoke by the hand of your servant Moyses in the day when you commanded him to write your law before the sons of Israel, saying, If you do not obey my voice, surely this great, voluminous buzzing will turn into a small one among the nations, there where I will scatter them. For I knew that they would not obey me, because the people are stiff-necked. And they will return to their heart in the land of their exile, and they will know that I am the Lord their God. And I will give them a heart and hearing ears,
and they will praise me in the land of their exile, and they will remember my name, and they will turn away from their hard back and from their wicked deeds, because they will remember the way of their fathers who sinned before the Lord. And I will return them to the land, which I swore to their fathers, to Abraam and to Isaak and to Iakob, and they will rule over it, and I will multiply them, and they will not diminish. I will establish with them an everlasting covenant, that I be god to them and they be a people to me, and I will not disturb again my people Israel from the land that I have given them.

O Lord Almighty, God of Israel, a soul in straits and a weary spirit calls out to you. Listen, O Lord, and show mercy, for we have sinned before you. For you are seated forever, and we are perishing forever. O Lord Almighty, God of Israel, listen now to the prayer of those of Israel who have died and of the sons of those who kept sinning before you, who did not listen to the voice of the Lord, their God, and bad things have clung to us. Do not remember the injustices of our ancestors; rather, remember your hand and your name in this season. For you are the Lord, our God, and we will praise you, O Lord. For because of this you have given your fear in our heart in order that we call upon your name, and we will praise you in our exile, for we have put away from our heart all the injustice of our fathers who sinned before you. Look, we are today in our exile, there where you have scattered us for a reproach and for a curse and for a penalty according to all the injustices of our fathers who departed from the Lord our God.

Hear, O Israel, commandments of life; give ear to learn insight. Why is it, O Israel, why is it that you are in the enemies’ land, that you became old in a foreign land; you were defiled with corpses, you were counted among those in Hades? You have forsaken the spring of wisdom. If in the way of God you had gone, you would be living in peace forever. Learn where there is insight, where there is strength, where there is intelligence, to know at the same time where there is longevity and life, where there is light for eyes and peace. Who has found her place, and who entered into her treasuries? Where are the magistrates of the nations and those who have dominion over the beasts that are on the earth, those who make sport among the birds of the sky and who store up silver and gold, in which humans have trusted, and there is no end to their acquisition, those who scheme for silver and are anxious, and there is no trace of their works? They have vanished and gone down to Hades, and others have arisen in their place. Younger ones saw light, and they lived upon the earth, but they did not know the way of knowledge nor understood her paths, nor did they take hold of her.

Ah Israel, how great is the house of God, and how extensive is the place of its estate! It is great and has no end; it is high and immeasurable. The giants were born there, those renowned, those of old, seeing that they were large, experts in war. Not these did God choose, nor did he give them the way of knowledge, and they perished because they had no insight; they perished through their recklessness. Who has gone up into the sky and taken her and brought her down from the clouds? Who has crossed over the sea and found her and will bring her in exchange for choice gold? There is no one who is familiar with her way, nor one who thinks much about her path. But he who knows all things is familiar with her, he discovered her by his intelligence; he who equipped the earth for all time, he filled it with quadrupeds. He who sends the light, and it goes—he summoned it and it obeyed him, with a shudder,
but the stars shone in their watches and were glad;  

he called them, and they said, “We are present!”  

They shone with gladness for him who made them.  

This is our God; no other will be reckoned with him.  

He discovered the whole way of knowledge and gave her to his servant Iakob and to Israel who was loved by him.  

After this she appeared on earth and associated among humans.  

She is the book of the decrees of God and the law that remains forever.  

All who seize her are for life, but those who forsake her will die.  

Turn, O Iakob, and take hold of her; pass through toward the shining in the presence of her light.  

Do not give your glory to another and your benefits to a foreign nation.  

Happy are we, O Israel, because what is pleasing to God is known to us.  

Take courage, my people, reminder of Israel!  

You were sold to the nations not for destruction, but because you angered God you were delivered to your adversaries.  

For you provoked the one who made you by sacrificing to demons and not to God.  

And you forgot the one who nursed you, God everlasting, and you even grieved Jerusalem who reared you.  

For she saw the anger that came upon you from God, and she said: Listen, you neighbors of Sion, God has brought great mourning upon me; for they saw the captivity of my sons and daughters, which the Everlasting brought upon them.  

For I reared them with gladness, but I sent them away with weeping and grief.  

Let no one rejoice against me, the widow and one forsaken by many; I was left desolate because of the sins of my children, because they turned away from God’s law.  

And they did not recognize his statutes; neither did they walk in the ways of God’s commandments nor tread on the paths of instruction by his righteousness.  

Let the neighbors of Sion come. And remember the captivity of my sons and daughters, which the Everlasting brought upon them.  

For he brought against them a far off nation, a shameless nation and one speaking an alien tongue, who did not respect an old man nor showed mercy to a child.  

And they led away the beloved sons of the widow and isolated the lonely woman from her daughters.  

But  how am I able to help you? For he who brought these bad things upon you will deliver you from the hand of your enemies.  

Walk, children, walk, for I have been left desolate.  

I have taken off the robe of peace and put on sackcloth for my petition; I will cry out to the Everlasting in all my days.  

Take courage, O children; call out to God, and he will deliver you from domination, from the hand of enemies.  

For I have hoped in the Everlasting for your salvation, and joy has come to me from the Holy One because of the mercy that will soon come to you from your everlasting savior.  

For I dispatched out with mourning and weeping, but God will give you back to me with delight and merriment forever.  

For as the neighbors of Sion have seen your captivity now, so they will quickly see your salvation from God, which will come to you with the great glory and splendor of the Everlasting.  

O children, bear patiently the wrath that has come upon you from God. The enemy has pursued you, but you will quickly see their destruction and will tread upon their necks.  

My pampered children have traveled rough roads; they were taken away like a flock carried off by enemies.  

Take courage, O children, and call out to God, for there will be mention of you by the one who brought this.

\(^a\) i.e. way of knowledge \(^b\) i.e. Jerusalem
For just as your intention became to go 
astray from God, 
multiply by ten when you return to seek 
him.

For the one who brought these bad things 
upon you 
will bring you everlasting merriment with 
your salvation.

Take courage, O Jerusalem; 
he who named you will comfort you.

Wretched will be those who have harmed 
you 
and who have rejoiced at your fall.

Wretched will be the cities that your 
children served as slaves; 
wretched will be the one 
that received 
your sons.

For just as she rejoiced at your fall 
and was glad for your ruin, 
so she will be grieved at her own 
desolation.

And I will take away her rejoicing of her 
great population, 
and her insolence will be turned to 
mourning.

For fire will come upon her from the 
Everlasting for long days, 
and for a rather long time she will be 
inhabited by demons.

Look around toward the east, O Jerusalem, 
and see the merriment that is coming to 
you from God.

Behold, your sons are coming, whom you 
sent away; 
they are coming, gathered from east until 
west, 
at the word of the Holy One, rejoicing in 
the glory of God.

Take off your robe of mourning and 
affliction, O Jerusalem, 
and put on the dignity of the glory from 
God forever.

Put on the double-cloak of the 
righteousness that is from God; 
put on your head the headband of the 
glory of the Everlasting.

For God will show your splendor in the 
all that is beneath heaven.

For your name will be called by God 
forever, 
“Peace of righteousness and glory of 
piety.”

Arise, O Jerusalem, and stand upon the 
height, 
and look around toward the east, 
and see your children gathered from the 
setting of the sun until its rising 
at the word of the Holy One, 
rejoicing at God’s remembering.

For they went out from you on foot, 
led away by enemies, 
but God will bring them to you, 
taken up with glory, as on a royal 
throne.

For God has instructed that every high 
mountain 
and the everlasting mounds be made low 
and the valleys be filled to make level the 
ground 
so that Israel may walk safely by the glory 
of God.

And even the woods and every fragrant tree 
have shaded Israel at God’s ordinance.

For God will lead Israel with merriment, 
by the light of his glory, 
together with the mercy and 
righteousness that is from him.

\[a\text{I.e. Babylon}\]  \[b\text{a style of garment}\]