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Appendix: the Odes

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16 Appendix: The *Odes*

Jeremiah Coogan

16.1 Introduction

Collections of biblical songs and prayers extracted from their contexts in other biblical books and compiled into anthologies are known as “biblical odes.” The phenomenon is attested in almost every language with Christian literary remains from antiquity and the Middle Ages. This article surveys collections of biblical odes in Greek, Latin, Coptic (Sahidic and Bohairic), Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonic. Biblical odes are an anthological phenomenon and not a single textual tradition. Contents, sequence, and text-form vary from collection to collection, even in the same language. Biblical odes often circulated alongside or interwoven with the Psalms ([1.10.1](#)); occasionally, they circulated as independent books.

16.1.1 Origins and Development

The biblical text contains a number of songs and prayers embedded in prose contexts.¹ In some manuscripts, such passages are set apart using descriptive headings, special layout, or other paratexts. Odes-texts are identified in continuous-text manuscripts by headings and other paratexts as early as the fifth century C.E., offering evidence for a sense of excerptability or patterns of use that do not involve the surrounding biblical contexts. Distinctive *en page* layout for some texts appears already in the Second Temple period. In other cases, readers have extracted these passages for liturgical use. In the Second Temple period, extracted use of several biblical songs (especially Deut 32:1–43) is attested.² A number of biblical songs circulated independently before collections of odes were created. Anthologies of excerpted biblical songs, however, are not attested in the Second Temple period. Lists of biblical songs appear in both rabbinic literature (the “ten songs” midrash) and early Christian authors from the third century C.E. onward.³ Altogether, approximately twenty different passages appear in these varied lists.

A few odes texts do not originate as extracts. The Prayer of Manasseh ([11.1](#)) did not originally have a larger narrative frame. The “Syriac” ode of Isaiah (which also appears in Armenian manuscripts) is a pastiche of material extracted from two different passages (Isa 42:10–13 + 45:8). The *Gloria* begins with Luke 2:14 but continues with a non-extracted composition.

The origins of the biblical odes remain debated. Schneider argued that the odes originated in the liturgy of the Easter Vigil.⁴ Harl instead proposed that the biblical odes originate in Second Temple traditions of listing exempla in prayer.⁵ A third explanation is that the biblical odes developed out of exegetical traditions utilizing sequences of biblical songs as a way to narrate the biblical story and invite the reader’s participation in it.⁶

Collections of biblical odes are physically attested in Christian manuscripts from the fifth century C.E. onward. There is no evidence for physical anthologies of biblical odes in Jewish manuscripts. Like the lists in earlier literary sources, early manuscript collections exhibit diversity in the number, identity, and sequence of odes. This diversity remains a feature of collections of biblical odes throughout Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages.⁷

16.1.2 Textual History and Definition of Terms

The phenomenon of biblical odes collections first emerges in Greek and, directly or indirectly, Greek collections influence the development of biblical odes in all other languages. Coptic, Syriac, Latin, Armenian, and Slavonic collections depend directly on Greek collections of biblical odes. In a number of languages, a collection of biblical odes becomes a standard complement to the book of Psalms (Greek, Latin, Coptic, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopic, Georgian, Slavonic). In Armenian liturgical Psalters, the odes are interwoven with the Psalms. Biblical odes are also absorbed into horologia and other liturgical collections (Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Georgian, Slavonic).

Despite a family resemblance and some relatively stable component texts, collections of biblical odes differ significantly in contents, sequence, and text. The various collections might best be characterized as related instances of an anthological phenomenon rather than a single “work.” A single textual history for “the” odes is a chimera; nonetheless, odes texts and collections attest both textual history and the history of reception. It is thus helpful to differentiate between “macroform” and “microform” elements in collections of biblical odes. Contents and sequence constitute the macroform; text-form and translation constitute the microform.⁸ Differences may occur at either level or at both.

First, the macroform: Collections of odes are anthologies. Different collections include more or fewer component texts, ranging from three to, in an extreme case, 104 (!). Other texts, not always biblical, frequently circulate around the edges of the collection (e.g. Paternoster, Nicene Creed, *Phos hilaron*). The sequence of texts often changes, even sometimes in the same language and denomination. Even when the same texts are included, these are alternately divided into multiple odes or treated as one (e.g. Deut 32:1–43 in Syriac; Dan 3:1–97 in Bohairic). On a bibliographic level, biblical odes circulate as an independent book, as part of larger multi-text manuscript composite, in a Psalter of psalms and odes, or even collated into a Psalter between groups of psalms.

Second, the microform: While collections of odes first appear in Greek, not all other collections translate Greek collections of odes. New collections of odes are sometimes instead excerpted from existing translations in the language; this requires less effort than translating the texts anew. In such cases of re-excerpting, the biblical odes as such do not have a continuous textual tradition. When new component texts are included in collections of biblical odes, these are most often derived from existing textual traditions and thus the collection will have a heterogeneous textual origin. Differences in microforms can thus offer clues to development of the macroform. Nonetheless, microform and macroform frequently do not correspond. The same contents and sequence at the macroform level does not guarantee the same text-form or even direct textual relationship. In yet other cases, a single macroform varies between multiple microforms for the same component text (e.g. OG vs. Th for Daniel 3 [[1.18.3.1](#); [1.18.3.2](#)]; presence or absence of Exod 15:20–21; different translations of Habakkuk 3). The situation can vary for individual texts within a larger collection of odes.

A major complicating factor on the microform level is the relationship between odes texts and their reference texts. Even in cases where only one original translation can be identified, odes and reference texts have separate histories of transmission and develop distinctive text-forms. In other cases, the biblical passage was translated twice or more. Subsequent contact between streams of transmission leads to further interference. Not only should one see the relevant textual histories for the individual reference texts of the odes, but it is also particularly important to see the discussion of the Prayer of Manasseh ([11.1](#)), the Song of the Three Young Men, and the Prayer of Azariah ([3.1](#)).⁹ Biblical odes are often neglected in textual criticism of their reference texts on the assumption that

differences between reference texts and biblical odes are of little consequence, but this is factually incorrect and methodologically problematic.¹⁰ Biblical odes have textual histories distinct from their reference texts as a result of distinct histories of transmission and use.¹¹

Several further factors influence odes collections at both microform and macroform levels. These factors will appear repeatedly in the discussion of biblical odes in particular languages. First, liturgical practice influences both macroform and microform. Like the psalms, biblical odes were performed; this shaped their textual transmission. Nonetheless, biblical odes cannot be reduced to scripts of liturgical performance as some collections do not reflect liturgical practice. Collections of biblical odes sometimes also attract commentaries or *catenae*, demonstrating reception as biblical texts. Evidence from horologia and other liturgical collections, often neglected, has much to offer for the textual and reception history of the biblical odes. Second, collections of biblical odes appear in multi-lingual contexts and manuscripts. While the most dramatic example is the thirteenth- or fourteenth-century manuscript Rome, BAV, barb. or. 2, which aligns Arabic, Armenian, Bohairic, Syriac, and Ethiopic, bilingual manuscripts are common. Finally, individual odes frequently become mobile, perhaps because of liturgical familiarity, and appear in amulets and other independent transmission.¹²

16.1.3 History of Scholarship

Textual scholarship on collections of biblical odes remains limited.¹³ Work on the biblical odes from the last century remains important and often has not been superseded. Mearns focused on identifying manuscripts containing the odes; Cabrol and Schneider both offered more synthetic surveys.¹⁴ More recently, Harl has studied the origins, context, and reception of the Greek odes in Codex Alexandrinus.¹⁵ The most research has been done in Greek, Latin, and Syriac. Ethiopic evidence has also received significant recent attention. In other languages, collections of biblical odes have been studied only minimally. In every language, further identification and study of manuscripts is necessary.

Preparation of critical editions remains a *desideratum*. Even the Greek edition of Rahlfs¹⁶ and the Syriac edition of Schneider¹⁷ have deficiencies. There is no full critical edition in Latin, Coptic, Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, or Slavonic. In this article I sketch major textual issues and summarize the current state of scholarship. A full textual history of the biblical odes would be premature.

Two particular problems in scholarship should be noted: First, while most collections of biblical odes include both Old and New Testament material, often only one or the other is studied. Second, scholarship has tended to focus on the liturgies of particular Christian communities to the exclusion of textual configurations. Two examples illustrate this. First, the three-ode Syriac collection is predominantly attested in East Syriac and Maronite manuscripts, but this form is also attested in manuscripts from West Syriac milieux. Second, within a single language and denomination (e.g. Greek-speaking Chalcedonians) multiple different collections sometimes appear, differing at microform and macroform levels. Denomination is not determinative for textual history; nonetheless, some textual configurations circulate cross-linguistically within a given denomination.

16.2 Greek

The oldest group of odes collections appears in Greek, attested from the fifth century C.E. onward.¹⁸ Directly or indirectly, Greek collections of biblical odes (ὠδαί) underlie all other collections, although not all individual odes circulate in Greek.¹⁹ Several different collections are attested, with between nine and sixteen component texts. Schneider classified Greek collections into two major forms, containing nine and fourteen texts respectively.²⁰ A tidy distinction between a nine-ode and a fourteen-ode collection is troubled by the fact that most collections of the “nine odes” include additional texts, including ones that had been numbered among the fourteen odes.

The Greek odes were excerpted from continuous-text biblical manuscripts containing their reference texts. The text is OG except in the Additions to Daniel (3.2), which sometimes circulate in their Theodotion form (1.18.3.2).²¹ The Barberini Greek translation of Hab 3, attested in several medieval manuscripts of Habakkuk, may reflect the excerpted translation of this passage for liturgical use (1.9.1.3.8); nonetheless, this form of Habakkuk 3 does not appear in collections of biblical odes.²² The biblical odes circulating in Greek have a distinct textual tradition, but frequently reflect contact with their reference texts. It may thus be valuable to treat the odes as a particular textual cluster for study of their reference texts, even though odes manuscripts are not primary witnesses to their reference texts. Tendencies toward expansion and clarification should be noted.²³

16.2.1 Codex Alexandrinus

The fifth-century C.E. Codex Alexandrinus (LXX^A) offers the earliest physical evidence for a collection of Greek biblical odes, placed following the Psalms. There are no collections of odes in the fourth-century C.E. codices Vaticanus (LXX^B) and Sinaiticus (LXX^S). Because of its chronological priority, Codex Alexandrinus continues to be foundational for discussion of early odes traditions. As Miller has demonstrated, however, the divergent form of the odes and their reference texts in Alexandrinus attest two different streams of transmission; for Miller this suggests that the collection of odes in Alexandrinus itself derives from an exemplar that is a collection of odes.²⁴ The biblical odes in Codex Alexandrinus include fourteen texts.

Number in Alexandrinus (LXX ^A)	Title	Reference Text	Number in Rahlfs ²⁵
1	Song of the Sea	Exod 15:1–19	1
2	Song of Moses	Deut 32:1–43	2
3	Prayer of Hannah	1 Kgs 2:1–10	3
4	Song of Isaiah	Isa 26:9–20	5
5	Prayer of Jonah	Jonah 2:3–10	6
6	Prayer of Habakkuk	Hab 3:2–19	4
7	Prayer of Hezekiah	Isa 38:10–20	11
8	Prayer of Manasseh	Pr Man	12
9	Prayer of Azariah	Dan 3:26–45 (Th)	7

10	Song of the Three Young Men	Dan 3:52–56, 57–88 (Th)	8
11	<i>Magnificat</i>	Luke 1:46–55	9a
12	<i>Nunc dimittis</i>	Luke 2:29–32	13
13	<i>Benedictus</i>	Luke 1:68–79	9b
14	<i>Gloria</i>	Luke 2:14 + liturgical text	14

A similar collection of fourteen odes provides the basis for a commentary attributed to the fifth-century C.E. exegete Hesychius of Jerusalem.²⁶ This commentary is attested in a number of medieval manuscripts (e.g. Venice, BNM, Gr. 535; Milan, BA, B 134) and a Slavonic translation ([16.10](#)). Schneider argued that the fourteen-ode sequence reflects the liturgical practice of Jerusalem in the fifth century C.E. and was preserved in Constantinople into the Middle Ages, but the extant evidence is insufficient to support the existence of a standardized liturgical collection of fourteen odes.²⁷ Several other early collections of odes resemble Codex Alexandrinus on both textual (microform) and anthological (macroform) levels. These include the sixth-century C.E. Sahidic-Greek papyrus Vienna, ÖNB (P.Vindob.) K 8706 (LXX²⁰³⁶ = Cop^{Sa16lit}),²⁸ a number of Latin-Greek manuscripts (see below), and the Gə'əz biblical odes.

16.2.2 Nine-Ode Collections

Schneider argued that the collection represented by Codex Alexandrinus and other early witnesses was eventually replaced by a nine-ode collection reflecting the liturgical practice of the Jerusalem morning office.²⁹ From the sixth or seventh century C.E. onward, these nine odes became the core collection in Greek manuscripts and liturgy. They appear in a (mostly) consistent order in horologia and liturgical Psalters.³⁰

1	Song of the Sea	Exod 15:1–19
2	Song of Moses	Deut 32:1–43
3	Prayer of Hannah	1 Kgs 2:1–10
4	Prayer of Habakkuk	Hab 3:2–19
5	Song of Isaiah	Isa 26:9–21
6	Prayer of Jonah	Jonah 2:3–10
7	Prayer of Azariah	Dan 3:26–56 (Th)
8	Song of the Three Young Men	Dan 3:57–88 (Th)

9	a) <i>Magnificat</i>	Luke 1:46–55
	b) <i>Benedictus</i>	Luke 1:68–79

These nine odes form the core of Byzantine Greek collections; they appear most consistently in the manuscripts, exhibit the most stable sequence, and are most likely to be titled “odes.” Nonetheless, the other biblical texts from Alexandrinus continued to circulate as odes as well.³¹ The *Gloria*, or morning hymn, appears frequently in Greek manuscripts throughout the Middle Ages.³² Greek Psalters from the ninth century C.E. onward also often include the Paternoster, the Nicene Creed, and the Beatitudes. Other texts, such as the *Phos hilaron*, also circulate around the fringes of the collection.³³ This phenomenon occurs in other languages as well, where a core collection of odes circulates with number of others.

This nine-ode core collection – frequently with other texts – is reflected by the Rûm Orthodox odes ([16.5.4](#)), the West Syriac odes ([16.5.2](#)), the Slavonic odes ([16.10](#)), the Armenian odes ([16.8](#)), the Georgian odes ([16.9](#)), and some collections of Arabic odes ([16.6](#)). It was also the subject of a number of medieval paraphrases, commentaries, and *catenae*.³⁴

16.2.3 Manuscripts

The Rahlfs *Liste* of Greek biblical manuscripts includes 661 manuscripts with collections of biblical odes (not including fragments containing only a single ode); of these, sixty-six date to before the year 1000.³⁵ The majority of Greek odes collections occur in Psalters. Less frequently, collections of odes circulate alone (LXX¹⁰⁰³, LXX¹⁰⁵², LXX¹¹⁰⁵, LXX¹¹¹⁶, LXX¹¹²⁴, LXX¹¹³⁰, LXX¹¹³¹, LXX¹¹³⁶, LXX¹¹⁴¹, LXX¹¹⁴², LXX¹¹⁵⁰, LXX¹¹⁶⁵, LXX¹¹⁷⁰, LXX¹¹⁸⁴, LXX¹²²⁹, LXX¹³¹⁵, LXX¹⁵⁶⁷, LXX¹⁵⁶⁸, LXX¹⁵⁶⁹, LXX¹⁶⁶⁸, LXX¹⁶⁶⁹, LXX¹⁶⁹¹, LXX¹⁶⁹², LXX¹⁶⁹³, LXX¹⁷³⁸, LXX¹⁷⁷⁵, LXX¹⁷⁸⁹, LXX¹⁹¹², LXX²⁰³⁶, LXX²²⁰², LXX²²⁰⁸, LXX⁷⁰⁹⁰ – predominantly *catena* manuscripts). Rarely, they also appear in other configurations of biblical material (LXX^A, LXX⁵⁵, LXX¹⁰⁶, LXX¹³⁰, LXX⁶⁰³, LXX⁶¹³, LXX⁶²⁹). A significant number of *catena* manuscripts include the odes (e.g. LXX¹³, LXX¹¹², LXX¹¹³, LXX¹⁹⁰, LXX¹⁹¹, LXX²⁶⁴, LXX²⁶⁸, LXX²⁷¹, LXX²⁸⁶, LXX²⁹², LXX⁶²⁹, LXX¹⁰⁰³, LXX¹⁰¹⁸, LXX¹⁰²⁶, LXX¹⁰⁴⁷, LXX¹⁰⁴⁸, LXX¹⁰⁵², LXX¹⁰⁵⁵); these *catenae* remain unedited.³⁶ The Rahlfs *Liste* is somewhat misleading, however, because it excludes horologia or other non-biblical liturgical collections, which frequently also include the biblical odes.

Sahidic-Greek (LXX⁹⁴¹, LXX⁹⁹⁴, LXX²⁰³⁶) and Latin-Greek (e.g. LXX^R, LXX^T, LXX⁵⁵, LXX¹²⁹⁷) bilinguals are significant for the history, development, and use of the biblical odes. Transmission in Latin contexts (whether in Greek alone or in bilinguals) sometimes led to Greek odes collections that mirror the macroform (contents and sequence) of Latin odes collections, including texts not otherwise part of Greek odes sequences (e.g. Isa 5:1–9; *Te Deum laudamus*).³⁷ This also provided occasion for revision at the microform (textual) level. Arabic-Greek manuscripts are also attested (e.g. LXX¹¹⁹³, LXX¹⁷¹⁴).

The six manuscripts that Rahlfs used in his 1931 edition remain foundational.

1. LXX^A = Codex Alexandrinus (London, BL, Royal 1 D. V–VIII). Fifth century C.E. Parchment.³⁸

2. LXX^R = Codex Veronensis (Verona, Bibl. Cap. I 1). Ca. 575–625 C.E. Parchment. Damaged by fire. Latin-Greek (= VL³⁰⁰); Greek transliterated into Latin script. Includes Isa 5:1–9.³⁹
3. LXX^T = Codex Turicensis (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek RP1 [*olim* C 84]). Ca. 550–650 C.E. Purple parchment. Latin-Greek (= VL⁴²⁴). Damaged.⁴⁰
4. LXX⁵⁵ = Rome, BAV, ms regin. gr. 1. Tenth century C.E. Parchment.
5. LXX¹²¹⁹ = Washington, SIL, Freer Gal., Inv. Nr. 06.273. Fourth/fifth century C.E. Parchment.⁴¹
6. LXX²⁰³⁶ = Vienna, ÖNB (P.Vindob.) K 8706. Sixth century C.E. Papyrus. Sahidic-Greek (Cop^{Sa16lit}).⁴² Greek fragmentary; Rahlfs used only Exod 15:1–8.⁴³

A number of other important early manuscripts should also be noted:⁴⁴

1. LXX²²⁰² = P.Heid.Inv. G 2258 + 2748. Sixth century C.E. Papyrus. Hab 3:16–19; Isa 26:10–11, 14–15.⁴⁵
2. LXX²²⁰⁸ = Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine. Sixth/seventh century C.E. Parchment. Dan 3:88; Luke 1:46–47, 54–55.⁴⁶
3. LXX²²¹⁹ = Vienna, ÖNB (P.Vindob.) G 40404. Seventh/eighth century. Papyrus. Exod 15:10, 12, 15, 16, 18; Isa 26:9–10, 12, 14–15, 17–18.⁴⁷
4. LXX¹²⁰⁸ = Turin, BN, B. VII. 30. Eighth century C.E. Parchment. Psalms and fifteen odes with *catena*.⁴⁸
5. LXX⁹⁴¹ = P.Heid.Inv. G 1362. Eighth/ninth century C.E. Parchment. Sahidic-Greek (= Cop^{Sa177lit}).⁴⁹ Fragmentary Greek contains Song of Sea (Exod 15:1–19, abbreviated) and Prayer of Hannah (1 Kgs 2:1).⁵⁰

Other manuscripts suggest independent circulation of individual odes texts. While it is clear that we see the phenomenon of excerpting and re-appropriation that leads to the formation of a collection of biblical odes, it is unclear whether these manuscripts attest collections of odes. As a result, their use for reconstructing the early textual history of *collections* of odes is problematic. Some of these manuscripts (such as P.Oxy. 5021, no Rahlfs number) may have been used as amulets. While the odes derived from Exodus 15; 1 Kings 2; Isaiah 26; 38; Habakkuk 3; and the Prayer of Manasseh are attested, the preponderance of these excerpts are derived from Daniel 3 ([3.2](#)).

1. LXX⁸¹³ = Vienna, ÖNB (P.Vindob.) G 29255. Fifth century C.E. Papyrus. OG-Dan 3:23–25 (frag.).⁵¹
2. LXX⁹¹⁶ = New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Pap. G. 192. Sixth century C.E. Papyrus. Deut 32:3–6, 10–11 (frag.).⁵²
3. LXX⁹⁴⁸ = Vienna, ÖNB (P.Vindob.) G 2320. Third century C.E. Papyrus. Isa 38:3–5, 13–16 (frag.).⁵³
4. LXX⁹⁹⁴ = P.Oslo. 1661. Fourth century C.E. Papyrus. Dan 3:51–53 with title (Th, preserved in Greek only); Matt 11:25–30 (Greek [= P⁶²] and Sahidic).⁵⁴
5. LXX²¹²⁰ = Vienna, ÖNB (P.Vindob.) G 25199 + 41406 + 41407 + 41413. Seventh century C.E. Papyrus. Dan 3:62–73 (frag.).⁵⁵
6. LXX²¹²⁵ = New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. 12. 180. 334. Sixth/seventh century C.E. Papyrus. Dan 3:57–62 (frag.).⁵⁶
7. LXX²¹³² = Berlin, SMB, P.Berl. 16158. Sixth/seventh century C.E. Papyrus. Exod 15:1–21.⁵⁷
8. LXX²¹⁴¹ = Leiden, Rijksmus. v. Oud., Inv. I, 451 (A.AL 161). Fifth/sixth century C.E. Ostrakon. Exod 15:1–19.⁵⁸
9. LXX²¹⁴³ = New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. 14. 1. 203. Sixth/seventh century C.E. Ostrakon. Dan 3:57–66, 71–72 (frag.).⁵⁹
10. LXX²¹⁴⁷ = Vienna, Kunsthst. Mus., Inv. 8585. Eighth/ninth century C.E. Papyrus. Dan 3:64–66, 71 (frag.).⁶⁰
11. LXX²¹⁵³ = Rome, P.Lais. Eighth/ninth century C.E. Papyrus. OG-Dan 3:57, 86–87 (frag.); Coptic Luke 4.⁶¹
12. LXX²¹⁵⁴ = P.Mich.Inv. 6427v. Fourth century C.E. Papyrus. Daniel 3:52–53, 58–68, 78–84 (frag.).⁶²
13. LXX²¹⁵⁵ = P.Mich.Inv. 1572. Seventh/eighth century C.E. Papyrus. Isa 26:9 with title (frag.).⁶³

14. LXX²¹⁵⁶ = Vienna, ÖNB (P.Vindob.) G 36114. Seventh century C.E.? Papyrus. Hab 3:8–10 (frag.).⁶⁴
15. LXX²¹⁸⁴ = Vienna, ÖNB (P.Vindob.) G 40776 Verso. Sixth century C.E. Papyrus. 1 Kgs. 2:3–7 (frag.).⁶⁵
16. LXX²¹⁸⁵ = Berlin, SMB, P.Berl. 17097. Sixth/seventh century C.E. Papyrus. Pr Man 3–5 (frag.).⁶⁶
17. LXX²¹⁸⁶ = Munich, BSB, Gr. 610 Nr. 7. Fourth century C.E. Parchment. Dan 3:51–58 (frag.).⁶⁷
18. LXX²¹⁸⁷ = P.Matr. bibl. 2. Fourth/fifth century C.E. Papyrus. Dan 3:57, 59 (frag.).⁶⁸
19. LXX²¹⁸⁸ = Vienna, ÖNB (P.Vindob.) K 503 (KO 503). Seventh/eighth century C.E. Ostrakon. Dan 3:61–66 (frag.). Greek-Sahidic.⁶⁹
20. LXX²¹⁸⁹ = Vienna, ÖNB (P.Vindob.) G 37 (verso). Seventh century C.E. Papyrus. Dan 3:77–88 (frag.).⁷⁰
21. LXX²¹⁹⁰ = Kasr el-Wizz Baptistery. Tenth century C.E. Inscription. Dan 3:57–81.
22. LXX²¹⁹⁴ = Cairo, Coptic Museum, Ostr. 3151. Seventh century C.E.? Ostrakon. Dan 3:57–88.⁷¹
23. LXX²¹⁹⁵ = Vienna, ÖNB (P.Vindob.) G 29523. Sixth/seventh century C.E.? Papyrus. Dan 3:73–76, 78 (frag.).⁷²
24. LXX²¹⁹⁶ = Vienna, ÖNB (P.Vindob.) G 19934, Fragm. Ia. Sixth century C.E. Papyrus. Dan 3:52–56 (frag.).⁷³
25. LXX²²²⁰ = Vienna, ÖNB (P.Vindob.) G 41449. Fifth/sixth century C.E. Papyrus. Dan 3:35–37, 43–44 (frag.).⁷⁴
26. P. Oxy. 5021 (no Rahlfs number). Fifth century C.E. Papyrus. OG-Ps 90; Dan 3:26–45, 57–88 (frag.).⁷⁵

16.2.4 Editions

The Greek odes were first printed in 1481 as part of a Greek–Latin bilingual Psalter prepared by J. Crastonus and published at Milan.⁷⁶ Numerous liturgical Psalters include collections of biblical odes, but a critical edition was not prepared until the twentieth century. Neither the Sixtine edition (based primarily on Codex Vaticanus, supplemented by Codex Alexandrinus) nor the edition of Holmes and Parsons included the odes.⁷⁷ Tischendorf also omitted them.⁷⁸ The Cambridge Septuagint of Brooke and McLean did not edit the odes before the project’s demise. Swete’s edition of the odes was based on Codex Alexandrinus, but is not fully critical.⁷⁹

The only critical edition for the Greek odes is that of Rahlfs, based on six manuscripts (LXX^A, LXX^R, LXX^T, LXX⁵⁵, LXX¹²¹⁹, LXX²⁰³⁶); the last two manuscripts are used only for Exod 15:1–19.⁸⁰ The edition primarily follows the text of LXX^A, although Rahlfs re-sequences the odes to put the nine-ode Byzantine Greek sequence first. In addition to the odes of Codex Alexandrinus, Rahlfs includes the Song of the Vineyard (Isa 5:1–9) from LXX^R as ode 10.⁸¹ Rahlfs’ six manuscripts are insufficient as the basis for an edition; an *editio maior* remains a *desideratum*. Rahlfs’ edition does not reflect the varying extent of certain passages (e.g. Exod 15:1–19/21) or that the Theodotion text form is not the only one attested for odes derived from Daniel. It also omits the complex of other texts sometimes associated with or integrated into the “odes” of the Christian Psalter – including both other biblical passages and liturgical texts like the *Phos hilaron*. The 1967 second edition corrects only a handful of errors and does not change the approach or include further manuscript evidence; the 1935 Rahlfs *Handausgabe* and its 2006 revision by Hanhart are both based on Rahlfs’ edition.⁸² Editions of the reference texts often contribute to understanding the textual history of the odes, but frequently cite odes texts as if they were straightforward witnesses to the continuous-text form of the book.

Brenton’s translation (1844) did not include the biblical odes.⁸³ They are explicitly excluded by the English translation of *NETS (although the Prayer of Manasseh is included). They are published and translated in *Septuaginta Deutsch on the basis of Rahlfs’ edition.⁸⁴ They have not been published in the *Bible d’Alexandrie* series,

but Harl’s monograph offers a diplomatic edition and translation of the odes from LXX^A (as well as Isa 5:1–9).⁸⁵ There are also recent translations into Italian and Rumanian, both based on Rahlfs’ edition.⁸⁶

16.3 Latin

Latin collections of biblical odes (*cantica*, canticles) are attested as early as the fifth century C.E. Literary evidence goes back into the fourth century C.E. (16.1.1).⁸⁷ Numerous Psalters contain collections of Latin odes. The odes were also rearranged and sometimes expanded for the breviary and the monastic office, often appearing in liturgical manuscripts that are not Psalters.⁸⁸

Schneider⁸⁹ identified the sixth-century C.E. North African bishop Verecundus of Junca and the sixth- or seventh-century C.E. Codex Veronensis (VL³⁰⁰ = LXX^R) as particularly valuable witnesses to the earliest Latin collections of biblical odes, which Schneider links to the Roman Easter Vigil.⁹⁰ These collections also show contact with both early Christian lists of biblical songs (16.1.1) and Greek collections of biblical odes (16.2).

Latin collections of biblical odes present great variety at both macroform and microform levels. Schneider links the different collections of odes to the major liturgical communities of Latin Christianity. The majority of Latin odes manuscripts can be identified with four major macroforms – Rome, Milan, Spain, Ireland – each of which continues to develop.⁹¹ Schneider’s division of the Latin odes continues to structure study of Latin odes collections. The following table lists the contents of these major collections.

Rome (VL ³⁷²)	Milan (VL ⁴⁰⁰)	Spain⁹²	Ireland (VL ⁴⁴⁰)
Isa 12:1–6	Dan 3:52–56	Exod 15:1–19	Dan 3:57–88
Isa 38:10–20	Isa 26:9b–20	Deut 32:1–43	Isa 12:1–6
1 Kgs 2:1–10	1 Kgs 2:1–10	1 Kgs 2:1–10	Isa 38:10–20
Exod 15:1–19	Hab 3:2–19	Isa 5:1–7	1 Kgs 2:1–10
Hab 3:2–19	Jonah 2:3–10	Luke 1:46–55	Exod 15:1–19
Deut 32:1–43	Deut 32:1–43	Luke 1:68–79	Hab 3:2–19
Dan 3:57–88	Luke 1:68–79	Dan 3:52–88	Deut 32:1–43
[Luke 1:68–79]	Exod 15:1–19	Hab 3:2–19	
[Luke 1:46–55]	Dan 3:57–88	Jonah 2:3–10	

These four macroforms largely correspond to textual recensions (microforms) as well. Except in the case of the significantly expanded Mozarabic odes, we tend to find more difference in order than contents between macroforms. A fifth macroform is attested by a Latin Psalter from Sinai (manuscript slav. 5 = VL⁴⁶⁰) ([16.3.5](#)).

In addition to sharing the texts commonly used in Greek collections of odes, a number of passages in Latin collections appear rarely or never in other traditions (e.g. Isa 5:1–7; Isa 12:1–6). Some Greek-Latin bilinguals include texts that otherwise circulate as odes in Latin (e.g. Lamentations 5; Judg 16:1–17). The *Te Deum laudamus* also circulates in Latin collections of biblical odes (and occasionally in Greek bilinguals). Mozarabic collections of odes include a large number of other texts.

Greek collections of biblical odes exerted an ongoing influence on collections in Latin, and *vice versa*.⁹³ This took place primarily via numerous bilingual manuscripts and the liturgical contexts they reflect. On the macroform level, bilingual collections correspond to either Greek or Latin collections, or a composite formed from both. Some manuscripts in Latin only also reflect macroforms primarily found in Greek (e.g. VL²⁶³). On the microform level, sometimes there are attempts to achieve closer textual correspondence, while in other instances existing collections of odes (and sometimes excerpted reference texts) are set alongside one another without structured attempts at textual revision. At both levels, ongoing contact between Greek and Latin led to borrowing and diversity.

Textual scholarship on biblical odes in Latin is more advanced than scholarship on the odes in any other language.⁹⁴ Schneider argued that all major Latin collections derive from one original form and translation. Differences result from liturgical developments, “Vulgatization”, and contact with reference texts. Individual odes have been studied as part of the ongoing work of the Vetus Latina Institut in Beuron. Collections of biblical odes do not initially depend on the Vulgate and thus often attest the Old Latin of their reference texts. Some later collections replace the Old Latin with the Vulgate or add additional texts from the Vulgate. Latin versions of the Lukan odes diverge from their reference texts, reflecting either a form of the Old Latin or a separate translation altogether.⁹⁵

16.3.1 Rome

The first major collection (= Cant Ro) is generally identified as “Roman,” although it is attested by witnesses from across Italy and Western Europe.⁹⁶ This sequence is distinctive by putting Isa 12:1–6 first. This collection initially contained seven odes. The first three are Vulgate; the others are Old Latin. Schneider argues that this collection was formed around the year 500 C.E. (thus, not long after Codex Alexandrinus). The four Old Latin odes, Schneider argues, were part of the Roman Easter Vigil; the addition of three further odes allowed a weekly cycle. By the time of our earliest manuscript (VL³⁷²), Luke 1:68–79 and 1:46–55 had already been added. From the ninth century C.E. onward, the collection also often included Luke 2:29–32. All three of these New Testament odes were used in the daily office. Other texts were sometimes also included (e.g. *Te Deum laudamus*; Paternoster; *Gloria*; Apostles’ Creed; Nicene Creed; Athanasian Creed).

The Carolingian reforms in the ninth century C.E. ([III.1.1.2.2.3](#)) substituted a contemporary Vulgate text for all seven of the Old Testament odes (microform), yielding the Gallican odes (= Cant Ga).⁹⁷ As a result, the two share the same contents and sequence (macroform), but have a different text (microform). The texts of the New Testament canticles are relatively stable between these two forms.

Via the *breviarum Romanum* and the Benedictine monastic office (= Cant Ben), this set of odes was also transmitted in a number of manuscript contexts other than the Psalter and were sometimes translated into various vernaculars of Western Europe.

16.3.2 Milan

The second major collection (= Cant Med) is identified with Milan (named *Mediolanum* in Latin).⁹⁸ The Milan collection was highly stable in contents and text, although not in sequence. The key manuscripts are *manualia* (liturgical service-books) from the Milan Cathedral (VL⁴⁰⁰, VL⁴⁰¹, VL⁴⁰², VL⁴⁰⁴); none of these are earlier than the eleventh century. Three ninth-century C.E. Psalters (VL⁴⁰⁵, VL⁴⁰⁶, VL⁴⁰⁷) also contain the same contents and text, although in a slightly different sequence.

The entire collection is Old Latin and all witnesses have the same text-type, which tends to be close to the Greek. Comparison with biblical citations in the writings of Ambrose of Milan (ca. 340–397 C.E.), reveals strong similarities, especially for the *manualia*. Distinctive features of this collection include the placement of Dan 3:52–56 as a separate ode between Dan 3:26–45 and 3:57–88; the same feature occurs in Gə'əz ([16.7](#)). The Song of the Three Young Men (Dan 3:57–88) is abridged (cf. [3.4](#)). The texts from Daniel 3 reflect the Theodotion text form. An outlier in this group is the Greek-Latin bilingual “Simeon Psalter” (VL⁴⁰⁸), which has the same text, but places the component texts in canonical order (compare the Byzantine Greek sequence) and includes Isa 38:10–20; the Prayer of Manasseh; and *Gloria*.

16.3.3 Ireland

The third major collection centers on Ireland, although it also appears in other manuscripts with Insular influence.⁹⁹ The earliest Irish collections of biblical odes appear not in Psalters, but in other liturgical collections. The typical contents and sequence resemble the Roman collection of odes, but move the Song of the Three Young Men (Dan 3:57–88) to the beginning, before Isa 12:1–6. From the ninth century C.E. onward, Irish collections of biblical odes also appear in Psalters (e.g. VL⁴⁴⁰, VL⁴⁴¹). Instead of being placed after the Psalms, however, the seven odes are interspersed: The first three odes are placed after Psalm 50, the next three after Psalm 100, and the final ode after Psalm 150. Similar interweaving of psalms and odes appears in Armenian liturgical Psalters ([16.8](#)), although there both the collection of odes and the number of subdivisions in the Psalter differ.¹⁰⁰ In early collections, the odes are Old Latin, but they later circulate wholly or partly in Vulgate (e.g. VL⁴⁴⁰).

16.3.4 Spain (Mozarabic)

The fourth major collection is centered in Spain. The extant manuscripts reflect collections of biblical odes used in matins in Mozarabic Spain (= Cant Moz).¹⁰¹ The Mozarabic collections of odes are much more extensive than any other collection, with different odes assigned to occasions throughout the liturgical year. Mozarabic collections of odes can be divided into two major groups. The first group (M1) appears in ten *libri canticorum* (VL²⁵⁹, VL²⁷⁵, VL⁴¹⁰, VL⁴¹¹, VL⁴¹², VL⁴¹³, VL⁴¹⁴, VL⁴¹⁵, VL⁴¹⁶, VL⁴¹⁷), although with slightly varying order and contents after the first thirty-nine odes. VL⁴¹⁰ has seventy-six component texts, not including the *Gloria*; Schneider suggests that this represents the core M1 collection. Of these seventy-six texts, seven are Old Latin while the others are Vulgate. Some manuscripts include as many as 104 texts. The second group (M2) is preserved primarily in a breviary printed by A. Ortiz in 1502 (VL⁴¹⁹) and not in manuscripts. Of forty-six

component texts, fifteen are Old Latin. The two groups transmit different recensions in their overlapping Old Latin odes, with differences going back to the Greek; both forms are textually distinct from other collections of Latin odes.¹⁰² Schneider argues that an older Spanish collection, which resembled the Roman, Milanese, and Irish collections, underlies the later Mozarabic *liber canticorum*. This hypothesized collection corresponds to the odes known by Isidore of Seville (d. 561 C.E.) in sixth-century C.E. Spain (listed above).¹⁰³ Other early additions include Isa 26:1–8; Isa 26:9–20; Lam 5:1–22; Deut 9:26–29.

16.3.5 Sinai

A fifth major form of Latin biblical odes is uniquely attested in a Latin Psalter from Sinai (Sinai, manuscript slav. 5 = VL⁴⁶⁰).¹⁰⁴ The original date and provenance of the manuscript and its collection are uncertain, although it is possible that both this manuscript and VL³³⁰ reflect a North African collection of odes. The manuscript offers a distinctive sequence of eighteen odes: Exod 15:1–19; Deut 32:1–43; 1 Kgs 2:1–10; Isa 5:1–7; Jonah 2:3–10; Hab 3:1–19; Isa 26:9–20; Isa 61:1–62:7; Lam 5:1–22; 4 Ezra 8:20–36; Prayer of Manasseh; Dan 3:26–45, 52–56; 9:4–19; Tob 13:1–18; 3:2–6; Judg 16:1–17; Luke 1:46–55; 1:68–79. An abridged form of the Song of the Three Young Men is fragmentarily preserved *before* the collection of canticles (as titled in the manuscript); only Dan 3:68–88 is extant. Resemblances with the contents of the Verona Psalter (VL³⁰⁰ = LXX^R) and Greek collections of biblical odes ([16.2](#)) are evident, especially in the first six odes. Three of the odes are not found in any other collection (Dan 9:4–19; Tob 13:1–18; 3:2–6). Others are attested in Latin only in Mozarabic collections ([16.3.4](#)) or in the distinctive extended collection of VL³³⁰. Three of the odes are in the Vulgate (Isa 61:1–62:7; Lam 5:1–22; Dan 9:4–19); the others are Old Latin. The Old Latin text is of differing textual character in different odes.

16.3.6 Manuscripts

A large number of medieval manuscripts include collections of Latin odes.¹⁰⁵ While the most significant manuscripts are included in the Vetus Latina numbering system, there is no comprehensive catalog. Here I list some of the most important manuscripts. Other manuscripts discussed above can be found in the Vetus Latina *repertorium*.¹⁰⁶

1. VL²⁵⁰ = Paris, Bibl. de l' Arsenal 8407 ("Sedulius Psalter"). Ninth century C.E. Greek-Latin (= LXX¹¹²⁹).
2. VL²⁶³ = Rome, BAV, lat. 81. Twelfth century. Greek-Latin (= LXX¹²⁹⁷). Cant Ro (revisions toward Greek).
3. VL³⁰⁰ = Codex Veronensis (Verona, Bibl. Cap. I 1). Ca. 575–625 C.E. Latin-Greek (= LXX^R); Greek transliterated into Latin script.¹⁰⁷
4. VL³⁰⁶ = Rome, BAV, lat. 5359. 650–750 C.E.¹⁰⁸
5. VL³³⁰ = Rome, BAV, Regin. lat. 11. Eighth century C.E.
6. VL³⁴¹ = Cues a. d. Mosel, Bibliothek des St. Nikolaus Hospitals, MS 10. Ninth/tenth century C.E. Greek-Latin (= LXX¹⁰⁴⁴).
7. VL³⁷² = London, BL, Cotton Vespasian A. 1. Eighth century C.E. Cant Ro.
8. VL⁴⁰⁰ = Milan, Bibl. Capitol. 4^o 6 (D. 2. 30). Eleventh century. *Manuale Ambrosianum*. Cant Med.
9. VL⁴⁰⁸ = Berlin, SBB, Hamilton 552 ("Simeon Psalter"). Ninth century C.E. Greek-Latin (= LXX¹⁰⁴⁰). Cant Med (resequenced).¹⁰⁹
10. VL⁴¹⁰ = Madrid, Bibl. Nac. Vitr. 5–1. Eleventh century. Cant Moz.
11. VL⁴²⁴ = Codex Turicensis (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek RP1 [olim C 84]). Ca. 550–650 C.E. Greek-Latin (= LXX^T).¹¹⁰

- 12. VL⁴⁴⁰ = London, BL, Cotton Vitellius F. 11. Tenth century C.E.
- 13. VL⁴⁶⁰ = Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, ms slav. 5.

16.3.7 Editions

Sabatier prepared the first printed edition for the Latin biblical odes, published in 1743.¹¹¹ There is no critical edition for the Latin odes as a collection. There is a diplomatic edition of the Mozarabic odes from London, BL, Add MS 30,851.¹¹² Most individual reference texts have been edited in the Vetus Latina. In some of these editions,¹¹³ the odes are given an independent line; this offers an edition of the ode that both respects its distinct textual tradition and makes it easy to compare with the transmission of the reference text. This model should be emulated in editions of other reference texts and could be adopted for editions in languages other than Latin. Prayer of Manasseh (see 11.5), but not the odes, appears in the Stuttgart Vulgate.¹¹⁴ No scholarly translation of a Latin collection as such exists, although various collections of odes are used liturgically in a number of languages.

16.4 Coptic

Biblical odes are attested in Coptic as early as the sixth century C.E. Collections are known only in Sahidic and Bohairic, and the Sahidic evidence is limited.¹¹⁵ The textual history of biblical odes in Coptic remains largely unstudied with respect to both inner-Coptic variation and relationships with odes collections and reference texts in other textual traditions. It seems likely that the Sahidic and Bohairic odes represent separate points of translation from Greek *Vorlagen*.

16.4.1 Sahidic

The only extensive collection of Sahidic odes is a Greek-Sahidic bilingual from the second half of the sixth century C.E., Vienna, ÖNB (P.Vindob.) K 8706 (Cop^{Sa16lit} = LXX²⁰³⁶).¹¹⁶ This manuscript is the earliest collection of odes in any Coptic dialect. The diplomatic edition prepared by Till and Sanz offers the most substantive treatment of the odes in either Sahidic or Bohairic.¹¹⁷ Below are the contents of the manuscript (some odes are preserved only fragmentarily).¹¹⁸ The manuscript breaks off after the first thirteen Sahidic texts.

1	Exod 15:1–21
2	Deut 32:1–39, 43
3	1 Kgs 2:1, 3–4, 8–10
4	Jonah 2:3–10
5	Isa 25:1–7, 10
6	Isa 26:1–4

7	Isa 26:11–20
8	Isa 38:9–14, 18–20
9	Prayer of Manasseh
10	Dan 3:26–45
11	Dan 3:52–88
12	Luke 1:46–55
13	Luke 2:29–32
[...]	[...]

Vienna, ÖNB, K 8706 resembles both the odes of Codex Alexandrinus (LXX^A) and later Bohairic collections of odes. Unlike Alexandrinus, K 8706 does not include Hab 3:1–19. Isa 25:1–12; 26:1–8; 26:9–20 appear as odes here and in Bohairic manuscripts (e.g. Rome, BAV, Vat. copt. 5; Vat. copt 6). Even though the collection of odes in Alexandrinus includes only Isa 26:9–20, the three sections are each marked as odes in the running text of Alexandrinus.¹¹⁹ Unlike some later Bohairic collections, the Vienna manuscript does not include Dan 3:1–25 (“the Vision of Daniel”) as an ode and it separates the Prayer of Azariah (Dan 3:26–45) and the Song of the Three Young Men (Dan 3:52–88) (3.6). The absence of the *Benedictus* (Luke 1:68–79) is noteworthy, although this may have been placed after the *Nunc dimittis* (Luke 2:29–32). The Vienna manuscript shortens some texts (e.g. omitting Isa 26:5–10).

The bilingual odes K 8706 form an independent codicological unit. The limited Sahidic manuscripts do not offer evidence for Psalters including odes. While most Sahidic Psalter manuscripts (1.10.4.2) are torsos, making it difficult to determine if they ever included odes, clear evidence against their inclusion appears in a number of Psalters, including the fourth- or fifth-century C.E. Berlin, SMB, P. 3259 (= Cop^{Sa35}),¹²⁰ the fourth-century C.E. London, BL, Or. 5000 (= Cop^{Sa31}),¹²¹ and the seventh to eighth-century C.E. (?) London, BL, Papyrus 36 (= P.Lond. Copt. 950).¹²² All three manuscripts conclude after Psalm 151 (12.7).

The Sahidic odes of P. Vindob. K 8706 were translated from Greek. Further study is required to determine whether the odes were translated from a Greek odes collection, translated from Greek continuous-text manuscripts containing the reference texts, or excerpted from existing Sahidic translations.¹²³ This requires further study of the reference texts in Sahidic. It is possible that the situation differs for individual odes.

Several further manuscripts contain fragmentary collections of Sahidic odes, although none correspond to the scope of P. Vindob. K 8706. Two of these manuscripts are Greek-Sahidic bilinguals. The list below summarizes the manuscript evidence.

1. Cop^{Sa16lit} = Vienna, ÖNB (P.Vindob.) K 8706. Sixth century C.E. Papyrus. Sahidic-Greek (= LXX²⁰³⁶).¹²⁴ Fragmentary.
2. Cop^{Sa54lit} = Berlin, SMB, P. 8115 + 8099 (= BKU 179). Ninth-tenth century C.E. Parchment. Ps 135:9–26; Dan 3:52–53, 55, 54, 56–57, 59, 58, 60–68, 71–72, 70 (Th text-type); Ps 150:5–6; *Gloria*.¹²⁵
3. Cop^{Sa177lit} = Heidelberg, UB, (P.Heid.Inv.) G 1362. Eighth-ninth century C.E. Parchment. Sahidic-Greek (= LXX⁹⁴¹).¹²⁶ Fragmentary. Coptic contains Song of Sea (Exod 15:1–3, 4b, 6–7b, 8b, 9–12, 13b, 15–18, 19b, abbreviated to initial phrases) and Prayer of Hannah (1 Kgs 2:1).

- London, BL, Or. 4717 (1). Undated. Parchment. Deut 32:1–43 (frag.); 1 Kgs 2:1–10 (almost complete); Hab 3:1–19 (frag.).¹²⁷

Other manuscripts offer evidence for individual ode texts. In some cases, these may reflect collections of odes. In other cases, they may indicate other sorts of excerpted circulation (e.g. for liturgical use or as an amulet) or the fragmentary preservation of the manuscripts.¹²⁸

- Cop^{Sa163} = Paris, Sorbonne, Institut de Papyrologie 2507 + 2508 + 2525.¹²⁹ Sixth-seventh century C.E. Papyrus. Dan 3:54–55, 59, 58, 60–63, 71–72, 69, 73–76, 79–81 (Th text-type).
- Cop^{Sa772} = P.Med.Copt.Inv. 71.41c. Sixth-seventh century C.E. Papyrus. Luke 1:64–65, 68–69.¹³⁰
- P.Mon.Epiph. 3. Seventh-eighth century C.E. Ostrakon. Exod 15:1–21 (frag.; may have concluded at Exod 15:19).¹³¹
- P.Mon.Epiph. 34. Sixth-seventh century C.E. Ostrakon. Hab 3:1–4.¹³²
- P.Oslo. 1661. Fourth century C.E. Sahidic-Greek. Papyrus. Dan 3:51–53 with title (Th, preserved in Greek only = LXX⁹⁹⁴); Matt 11:25–30 (Greek [= P⁶²] and Sahidic).¹³³

The fourth-century C.E. manuscript London, BL, Or. 7594 (= Cop^{Sa15}) offers further evidence for the excerpted reception of Deuteronomy 32:1–43 as an ode.¹³⁴ This miscellany manuscript includes passages from the OT, the NT, and the *Apocalypse of Elias* and may have been used liturgically.

16.4.2 Bohairic

A number of medieval manuscripts preserve collections of Bohairic odes.¹³⁵ The Bohairic odes reflect Greek *Vorlagen*. Despite later influence from Arabic, the current state of research indicates that only one translation underlies the Bohairic odes; the initial text of the Bohairic odes texts is sufficiently close to the reference texts that it is likely that they also share the same origin. It remains to be determined whether the odes were excerpted from continuous-text manuscripts or if instead component texts of an original odes collection were incorporated into more extensive continuous-text translations of the respective biblical books. This situation might vary for different individual odes. Studies of the Prayer of Manasseh (11.7) and the Additions to Daniel (3.6) in Bohairic are comparatively more advanced. Further textual categorization of Bohairic manuscripts remains a *desideratum*.

In medieval manuscripts, Bohairic collections of odes generally circulate alongside the Psalms. The contents of the thirteenth-century manuscript Rome, BAV, Vat. copt. 5 are representative:¹³⁶

1	Moses	Exod 15:1–21
2	Moses	Deut 32:1–43
3	Hannah	1 Kgs 2:1–10
4	Hezekiah	Isa 38:10–20
5	Manasseh	Prayer of Manasseh

6	Jonah	Jonah 2:3–10
7	Habakkuk	Hab 3:2–19
8	Isaiah	Isa 25:1–12
9	Isaiah	Isa 26:1–8
10	Isaiah	Isa 26:9–21
11	Vision of Daniel + Prayer of Azariah + Song of the Three Young Men	Dan 3:1–97
12	<i>Magnificat</i>	Luke 1:46–55
13	<i>Benedictus</i>	Luke 1:68–79
14	<i>Nunc dimittis</i>	Luke 2:29–32
15	<i>Gloria</i>	Luke 2:14 + liturgical text
16	Paternoster	Matt 6:9–13
17	Nicene Creed	

This collection resembles that of Cop^{Sa16lit} and also shares similarities with the contents of Codex Alexandrinus (LXX^A) and the Gəʿəz odes ([16.7](#)). A distinctive feature of the Bohairic odes is the inclusion of the “Vision of Daniel” (Dan 3:1–25) among the odes texts. While Rome, BAV, Vat. copt. 5 is reasonably representative, other manuscripts diverge in contents and sequence (e.g. by omitting the Paternoster).^{[137](#)}

A number of bilinguals attest contact between Bohairic and Arabic odes. Bohairic is one of the languages in the pentaglot odes manuscript Rome, BAV, Barb. or. 2, alongside Arabic, Armenian, Syriac, and Gəʿəz.^{[138](#)}

Many Bohairic biblical manuscripts remain uncatalogued or unpublished. There is no critical edition of the Bohairic odes and a full list of odes manuscripts remains a *desideratum*. All manuscripts below contain the Psalms and odes unless otherwise noted. Contents are compared with those of Rome, BAV, Vat. copt. 5 (see above). Below I offer a preliminary list of manuscripts from the fifteenth century and earlier.^{[139](#)}

1. Oxford, BL, Hunt. 121. Thirteenth century. Omits Paternoster.
2. Oxford, BL, Marshall Or. 31. Fifteenth century. Omits Paternoster.
3. Oxford, BL, Or. 558. Fourteenth century. Incomplete.
4. Paris, BNF, copt. 4. Twelfth century. Adds the Prayer of Manasseh.
5. Rome, BAV, Barb. or. 2. Thirteenth/fourteenth century. Arabic-Armenian-Bohairic-Syriac-Gəʿəz.^{[140](#)}
6. Rome, BAV, Vat. copt. 5. Thirteenth century. Bohairic-Arabic.

7. Rome, BAV, Vat. copt. 6. 1386. Bohairic-Arabic. Adds Psalm 135 and the “Praise of David in the Tone of Adam.”
8. Rome, BAV, Vat. copt. 7. Thirteenth century.
9. Wadi `n Natrûn, 77 (10). Fourteenth century. Psalter and *Benedictus, Nunc dimittis, Gloria*.¹⁴¹
10. Wadi `n Natrûn, 77 (6). Fourteenth century. Psalter and Song of the Three Young Men.¹⁴²

At least one Bohairic manuscript from Late Antiquity preserves the excerpted transmission of an odes text, although it does not provide clear evidence for a collection of odes: London, BL, Or. 5299 (2) (= P.Lond.Copt. 494; seventh to ninth century (?) C.E; papyrus; Exod 15:1–19 [frag.]).¹⁴³

16.4.3 Editions

There is no critical edition for the odes in any Coptic dialect. The diplomatic edition of Cop^{Sa16lit} (Vienna, ÖNB, K 8706) is the only edited Sahidic collection. The first printed edition of Bohairic odes was published by Tuki (1744) on the basis of manuscript BAV, Vat. copt. 5.¹⁴⁴ Tuki used Rome, BAV, Vat. copt. 6, for the parallel Arabic text and for the “Praise of David in the tone of Adam.”¹⁴⁵ Tuki’s edition has been reprinted numerous times. A more extensive collection of Bohairic odes was published by Labib (1897); in addition to the fifteen odes of Rome, BAV, Vat. copt. 5 that Tuki printed, Labib included Lam 5:16–22; Bar 2:11–15; 1 Kgs 18:6–39; 1 Chr 29:10–13; and 1 Kgs 8:22–30 after the third ode of Isaiah (Isa 26:9–20). The entirety of Susanna is added after Luke 2:29–32.¹⁴⁶ “Missionary” editions, such as those printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society, omitted the biblical odes.

The critical edition of the Sahidic Old Testament currently in progress at the Göttingen Academy is foundational to further work on the Sahidic odes.¹⁴⁷ In Bohairic, unfortunately, there are no Old Testament editions of the reference texts. For the three New Testament odes, there are editions of Luke in Sahidic and Bohairic prepared by Horner.¹⁴⁸

16.5 Syriac

Several distinct collections of biblical odes or ܐܘܕܝܘܬܐ circulate in Syriac, exhibiting significant diversity at both the microform (text) and macroform (content) levels.¹⁴⁹ The major anthological and textual forms of the collection correspond partially to the major denominations of Syriac Christianity. The table below shows the contents of the major Syriac odes collections.

East Syriac & Maronite (S ^{8a1})	West Syriac (S ^{9t3})	Rûm Orthodox (S ^{10t1})	Manuscript Headings (S ^{7a1})	S ^{9a1} Odes	Byzantine Greek	Codex Alexandrinus (LXX ^A)
(1) Exod 15:1–21	(1) Exod 15:1–21	Exod 15:1–19	Exod 15:1 Num 21:17	Exod 15:1–21	Exod 15:1–19	Exod 15:1–19

(2) Deut 32:1–43	(2) Deut 32:1–43	Deut 32:1–43	Deut 32:1	Deut 32:1–43	Deut 32:1–43	Deut 32:1–43
			Judg 5:1			
	(4) 1 Sam 2:1–10	1 Sam 2:1–10	<i>1 Sam 2:1</i>	1 Rgns 2:1–10	1 Rgns 2:1–10	1 Rgns 2:1–10
			2 Sam 22:1	Ps 63:2–12		
(3) Isa 42:10–13 + 45:8	(3) Isa 42:10–13 + 45:8		Isa 42:10			
	(5) Hab 3:1–19	Hab 3:1–19	<i>Hab 3:1</i>	Hab 3:1–19	Hab 3:1–19	Hab 3:1–19
	(6) Isa 26:9–19	Isa 26:9–19		Isa 26:9–19	Isa 26:9–21	Isa 26:9–20
	(7) Jonah 2:3–10	Jonah 2:3–10	<i>Jonah 2:3</i>	Jonah 2:3–10	Jonah 2:3–10	Jonah 2:3–10
				Isa 38:10–20	[Isa 38:10–20]	Isa 38:10–20
				Prayer of Manasseh	[Prayer of Manasseh]	Prayer of Manasseh
	(8) Dan 3:26–56	Dan 3:26–45	<i>Dan 3:25</i>	Dan 3:26–56	Dan 3:26–56	Dan 3:26–45
	(9) Dan 3:57–88	Dan 3:57–88		Dan 3:57–88	Dan 3:57–88	Dan 3:52–88
	(10) Luke 1:46–55	Luke 1:46–55		Luke 1:46–55	Luke 1:46–55	Luke 1:46–55
	(11) Luke 1:68–79	Luke 1:68–79		Luke 1:68–79	Luke 1:68–79	Luke 1:68–79
					[Luke 2:29–32]	Luke 2:29–32
					[Matt 5:3–12]	
				<i>Gloria</i>	[<i>Gloria</i>]	<i>Gloria</i>
				[Nicene Creed]	[Nicene Creed]	

[Paternoster] [Paternoster]

All Syriac collections depend on either pre-existing Peshiṭta translations or Greek *Vorlagen*. The extent to which contact with Arabic has influenced their textual history remains to be determined. The odes consistently accompany the Psalms (although S^{9t3} is codicologically independent); in S^{8a1} and S^{9a1}, a collection of odes is part of a whole-Bible manuscript, but this is unusual. The earliest extant collection of biblical odes in Syriac dates from the eighth century C.E. (S^{8a1}), although indirect evidence appears in manuscript headings as early as the fifth century C.E.

16.5.1 East Syriac and Maronite

The shortest collection of Syriac odes appears primarily in East Syriac (e.g., S^{8a1}, S^{10t2}, S^{12t4}, S^{13t1}, S^{13t2}, S^{13t3}, S^{16t2}, S^{16t3}, S^{17t1}, S^{17t2}, S^{17t3}, S^{17t4}, S^{18<13dt1}) and Maronite manuscripts (e.g. S^{14t1}, S^{15t1}, S^{16t1}), although it is also attested in West Syriac ones (e.g., S^{10t2}, S^{10t4}, S^{10t5}, S^{10/7t1}, S^{11t1}). Distinctively Maronite manuscripts of biblical odes appear only from the fourteenth century onward.¹⁵⁰

The initial form of this collection includes the (first) ode of Moses (Exod 15:1–21), the (second) ode of Moses (Deut 32:1–43), and a distinctive Syriac ode of Isaiah (Isa 42:10–13 + 45:8). This composite ode suggests an early collection of Syriac odes distinct from the coalescing Byzantine Greek tradition. While the passage beginning at Isa 42:10 is named a “song” in the biblical text, it is much harder to explain why the Syriac tradition also includes Isa 45:8.

Our earliest Syriac manuscript of odes (S^{8a1}) contains this three-ode collection. Syriac biblical texts from Turfan (ninth to thirteenth century C.E.) also reflect this collection; small portions of Exodus 15; Deuteronomy 32; and Isa 42:10–13 + 45:8 are preserved (Syr^{HT 9, 62, 96}). The predominance of Psalters among the Syriac manuscript finds, the absence of other Old Testament manuscripts, and the preserved transition between Exod 15:21 and Isa 42:10 on fragment Syr^{HT 96} confirm the identification of these fragments as parts of three different collections of biblical odes. The Turfan finds do not include New Testament odes or the Song of the Three of the Three Young Men.¹⁵¹ Some other East Syriac manuscripts also include only these three odes (S^{12t4}, S^{13t2}, S^{13t4}). This short collection also appears in Arabic manuscripts (16.6).

This collection of odes was excerpted from existing Peshiṭta translations rather than being translated from a Greek collection. The text underlies the corresponding West Syrian and Rûm Orthodox odes. These three odes follow their Peshiṭta reference texts closely; the other odes incorporated into the expanded West Syriac collection show greater revision toward the Greek Bible.¹⁵²

In West Syriac manuscripts with the short collection, the three Old Testament odes appear alongside the three New Testament odes (Luke 1:46–55; 1:68–79; 2:29–32). East Syriac manuscripts sometimes add the *Magnificat* (Luke 1:46–55) and other texts (Matt 5:3–12; Paternoster; *Gloria*; Nicene Creed), but not the other two New Testament odes. Some West Syriac manuscripts (S^{10/7t1}; Deir al-Surian, ms Syr. 46) correspond to this extended East Syriac (e.g., S^{10t2}) pattern.

Later collections (especially East Syriac) divide the lengthy Deut 32:1–43 into two parts (Deut 32:1–20; 32:21–43), yielding a third ode of Moses; this also occurs in some West Syriac (e.g., S^{10t4}, S^{10/7t1}) and Rûm (e.g., S^{12t5}, S^{12t7}) manuscripts.¹⁵³ The ode of Isaiah frequently appears before the second ode of Moses; the reversal

sometimes occurs in the longer West Syriac collection as well (e.g., S^{12t3}).¹⁵⁴ Both East Syriac and Maronite manuscripts sometimes add the Song of the Three Young Men (Dan 3:57–88). Other texts from the Byzantine Greek nine-ode sequence are not attested in East Syriac or Maronite collections.

16.5.2 West Syriac

A longer collection of Syriac odes, found in West Syriac manuscripts (e.g., S^{9t1}, S^{9t2}, S^{9t3}, S^{10t5}, S^{10/7t1}, S^{11t1}, S^{16t4}, S^{17t5}), combines the contents of the three-ode Syriac collection with the other odes that appear in Byzantine Greek collections. The earliest physical evidence for this collection is the ninth-century C.E. manuscript S^{9t3} (= London, BL, Add. 17,109), which forms the basis of Schneider’s Leiden Peshiṭta edition (the collection also includes the three New Testament odes, not printed in Schneider’s edition). As in the earlier three-ode collection, however, the eight additional odes in the West Syriac collection were not translated from a Greek collection (although they show greater correspondence to OG).¹⁵⁵ Rather, the odes were extracted and modified from existing Peshiṭta texts. As in Byzantine Greek odes collections, other texts – such as the Beatitudes (Matt 5:3–12), *Gloria*, Paternoster, and Nicene Creed – are sometimes included as well (e.g., S^{9t2}).¹⁵⁶ Some later manuscripts (e.g. S^{16t4}, S^{16t5}, S^{17t5}) abbreviate the collection by omitting Deut 32:1–43 and the odes from Daniel 3.¹⁵⁷ The same manuscripts also preserve a different recension (as compared to S^{9t3}) for 1 Sam 2:1–10; Hab 3:2–19; Isa 26:9–20; Jonah 2:3–10, demonstrating revision toward the Septuagint.¹⁵⁸ Other manuscripts abbreviate the contents of the collection even more extensively (e.g., S^{16t4}, S^{17t3}). This West Syriac collection is also reflected in Arabic (16.6).¹⁵⁹

16.5.3 Manuscript S^{9a1}

Manuscript S^{9a1} (= Florence, BML, or 58) provides an even longer collection of sixteen texts.¹⁶⁰ The contents (listed above) do not match those of any other manuscript in Greek, Syriac, or Arabic.¹⁶¹ A unique “ode of David” derived from Ps 63:2–12 is particularly noteworthy.¹⁶² Despite the lack of direct parallels, this collection includes two texts – Isa 38:10–20 and the Prayer of Manasseh – that appear in many Greek collections, but not in most West Syriac collections. The “odes” of S^{9a1} also include the Paternoster and Nicene Creed. S^{9a1} resembles the Peshiṭta text found in other West Syriac odes, except that Dan 3:57–88 appears in a distinctive form.

16.5.4 Rûm Orthodox

While the East and West Syriac odes were excerpted and modified from existing Syriac translations, the situation is different for the Rûm Orthodox collection (e.g. S^{10t1}, S^{12t1}, S^{12t5}, S^{12t7}, S^{12t8}). Rûm Orthodox collections mirror the nine-ode Byzantine Greek collection at both macroform (contents) and microform (text) levels (16.2.2). For the seven passages not already part of the three-ode East Syriac collection (Exod 15:1–19; Deut 32:1–43), the Rûm Orthodox odes used a new translation from a Greek collection of odes rather than using existing Syriac versions.¹⁶³ The collection omits the distinctive Syriac ode of Isaiah (Isa 42:10–13 + 45:8) (compare its omission in the West Syriac S^{9t2}). While other Syriac collections include Exod 15:1–21, Rûm Orthodox collections typically shorten it to correspond with Byzantine Greek use of Exod 15:1–19.¹⁶⁴ Some later Rûm manuscripts omit Jonah 2:3–10 (e.g., Oxford, BL, Laud. Or. 183; Oxford, BL, Laud. Or. 197 – both from the sixteenth century). As in Greek, other texts sometimes circulate with the core collection.¹⁶⁵ Extant Rûm manuscripts date from the tenth century C.E. and later (e.g.,

S^{10t1}, S^{12t2}, S^{12t5}, S^{12t7}, S^{12t8}), but it is possible that an earlier collection resembled the West Syriac odes more closely.¹⁶⁶ The microform (text) also appears in a *horologion* (not a collection of odes) from Deir al-Surian (manuscript Syr. 7), suggesting that it was not limited to Rûm Orthodox contexts. This *horologion* includes odes not usually found in Rûm Orthodox collections (Isa 8:9–18 + 9:2–7; Prayer of Manasseh).¹⁶⁷ The Rûm collection also appears in some Arabic Psalters and horologia (16.6).¹⁶⁸

16.5.5 Syro-Hexapla

A collection of odes derived from Paul of Tella's Syro-Hexapla (1.1.4.5) is attested in a number of manuscripts. Clear evidence of a Syro-Hexaplaric collection includes only Exod 15:1–21; Deut 32:1–43; Isa 42:10–13 + 45:8. Secondary literature frequently fails to distinguish codicological contexts (reference texts in continuous-text manuscripts, odes collections, other collections).¹⁶⁹ Syro-Hexaplaric odes resemble their reference texts closely. Syro-Hexaplaric odes do not attest a Hexaplaric collection of Greek odes, but rather the reference texts in the Syro-Hexapla.¹⁷⁰

16.5.6 Manuscript Headings

Paratextual headings in a number of Late Antique Syriac manuscripts identify a number of biblical passages as with the title “ode” (ܐܘܕܐ). The phenomenon appears in both East and West Syriac manuscripts. In fifth- and sixth-century C.E. manuscripts, passages titled “ode” include Exod 15:1 (S^{5b1}); Num 21:17 (S^{5b1}); Deut 32:1 (S^{5b1}, S^{6b1}, S^{6h6}); Judg 5:1 (S^{6h7}, S^{6ph11}); 2 Sam 22:1 (S^{6h1}; likely omitted in S^{6h4}, although the manuscript is damaged); Isa 42:10 (S^{5ph1}, S^{6h3}, S^{6h5}).¹⁷¹ Both Num 21:17 and Judg 5:1 appear in early lists of biblical songs – Christian and rabbinic – but not in later collections of odes. Several other passages are titled “prayer” (ܐܘܕܐ ܥܘܕܐ), including 1 Sam 2:1 (S^{6h1}); Dan 3:25 (S^{6h10}, S^{6h21}); Hab 3:1 (S^{6h9}). Jonah 2 is not attested in Syriac manuscripts until the seventh century C.E. Later Syriac manuscript occasionally title the “Prayer of Hananiah” at Dan 3:26. Other passages which become part of Greek and Syriac collections of odes are not titled in the manuscripts; these include Isa 26:9–19/20; Isa 38:9–19/20; Dan 3:57–88. While these headings do not reflect physically distinct collections of odes, they are nonetheless significant.

16.5.7 Manuscripts

A large number of Syriac manuscripts include collections of biblical odes. For his edition of the Peshitta odes, Schneider used thirty-three manuscripts:¹⁷²

1. S^{8a1} = Paris, BNF, syr. 341. East Syriac.
2. S^{9a1} = Florence, BML, or. 58.
3. S^{9t1} = London, BL, Add 14,435. West Syriac. Defective after first two odes.
4. S^{9t2} = London, BL, Add 14,436. West Syriac.
5. S^{9t3} = London, BL, Add 17,109. 873/874 C.E. West Syriac.
6. S^{10/7t1} = London, BL, Add 17,1110. West Syriac. Odes added in the tenth century C.E.

7. S^{10t1} = St. Petersburg, RNL, Syr., NS 19. Rûm.
8. S^{10t2} = London, BL, Add 14,433. East Syriac.
9. S^{10t4} = London, BL, Add 17,111. 927 C.E. West Syriac.
10. S^{10t5} = London, BL, Add 17,125. West Syriac.
11. S^{11t1} = London, BL, Add 17,112. West Syriac.
12. S^{12t2} = Deir al-Surian, Syr. 25. Rûm.
13. S^{12t3} = Baghdad (*olim* Mosul), Library of the Chaldean Patriarchate, ms 211. East Syriac.
14. S^{12t4} = Baghdad (*olim* Mosul), Library of the Chaldean Patriarchate, ms 1113. East Syriac.
15. S^{12t5} = Rome, BAV, Borg. sir. 23. Rûm.
16. S^{12t7} = Sinai, ms syr. 124. Rûm.
17. S^{12t8} = Sinai, ms syr. 260. Rûm.
18. S^{13t1} = London, BL, Add 14,675. East Syriac.
19. S^{13t2} = London, BL, Add 14,677. East Syriac.
20. S^{13t3} = London, BL, Add 17,219. East Syriac.
21. S^{13t4} = Leiden, Peshiṭta Institute, ms 5. East Syriac.
22. S^{14t1} = Florence, BML, Laur. Med. IV [= Plut. I.12]. Maronite.
23. S^{15t1} = Rome, BAV, Vat. sir. 460. Maronite.
24. S^{16t1} = Milan, BA, G. 31. Sup. Maronite.
25. S^{16t2} = Jerusalem, Library of Greek Patriarchate, ms Syr. 27. East Syriac.
26. S^{16t3} = Munich, BSB, Syr. 13. East Syriac.
27. S^{16t4} = Rome, Bibl. Angel., ms or. fondo antico 26. West Syriac.
28. S^{16t5} = Rome, BAV, Borg. sir. 25. West Syriac.
29. S^{17t1} = Cambridge, UL, Oo.1.22. East Syriac.
30. S^{17t2} = London, BL, Add 7156. East Syriac.
31. S^{17t3} = Paris, BNF, syr. 24. East Syriac.
32. S^{17t4} = Paris, BNF, syr. 25. East Syriac.
33. S^{17t5} = Rome, BAV, Vat. sir. 261. West Syriac.
34. S^{18<13dt1} = Manchester, John Rylands Library, Rylands Syr. 4. East Syriac.

Schneider's list includes only a few Rûm Orthodox manuscripts, since they preserve the Peshiṭta text only in Exod 15:1–19 and Deut 32:1–43. The following further Rûm manuscripts should be noted in any comprehensive treatment of the biblical odes in Syriac.

1. Deir al-Surian, ms Syr. 7.
2. Oxford, BL, Laud. Or. 183. 1596.
3. Oxford, BL, Laud. Or. 197. 1532.

4. Oxford, BL, Laud. Or. 71. 1479.
5. Oxford, BL, Or. 230. 1584.
6. Paris, BNF, syr. 13. Thirteenth century.

Two multilingual manuscripts are particularly significant:

1. Cambridge, UL, Or. 929. Fourteenth/fifteenth century. Arabic-Syriac-Greek-Hebrew (= LXX¹⁷¹⁴). Syro-Hexapla.
2. Rome, BAV, barb. or. 2. Thirteenth/fourteenth century. Arabic-Armenian-Bohairic-Syriac-Gə'əz.¹⁷³

16.5.8 Editions

The first printed edition of the Syriac biblical odes is the edition prepared by Schneider for the Leiden Peshiṭta.¹⁷⁴ Schneider's diplomatic edition is based on the West Syriac collection found in S^{9t3}; it thus includes all the Old Testament odes of the shorter sequence found primarily in East Syriac manuscripts.¹⁷⁵ Schneider also includes Ps 63:2–12 and Isa 38:10–20 from S^{9a1}. The Prayer of Manasseh (11.4) is published separately in the Leiden Peshiṭta. Schneider's edition does not reflect the distinctive Rûm text for odes other than the first three. The Leiden Peshiṭta editions of individual reference texts are also relevant for the textual history of individual ode texts.

The major shortcoming of Schneider's edition is the omission of the New Testament odes, reflecting the scope of the Leiden Peshiṭta.¹⁷⁶ Various New Testament texts (especially the Lukan canticles, the Matthean beatitudes, and the Paternoster) were part of most ode collections; the Leiden approach omits an important body of evidence at the macroform level. Numerous collections of Syriac odes also include non-biblical elements such as the *Gloria* and the Nicene Creed; these, too, are not reflected in Schneider's edition. Unfortunately, the absence of an edition for these odes has led to neglect. Their testimony is seldom included in the study of their Syriac reference texts or the Syriac odes.

16.6 Arabic

Arabic Psalters, horologia, and prophetologia frequently include collections of biblical odes.¹⁷⁷ They also appear in more diverse anthologies (e.g. Deir al-Surian, ms ar. 383, 1255). The oldest dated manuscript containing an Arabic collection of odes is Sinai, ms arab. 18 from 977 C.E. The undated Sinai, ms gr. 36 + NF 9 (= LXX¹¹⁹³), a Greek-Arabic bilingual, may date from the eighth century C.E.

At both macroform and microform levels, Arabic collections of odes exhibit considerable diversity. In this, they resemble other Arabic translations (1.1.3.6). Arabic collections of biblical odes generally align on denominational lines with collections attested in other languages, especially Greek, Coptic-Bohairic, Syriac, and Latin. Byzantine Arabic collections resemble those of Chalcedonian denominations in Greek and Syriac (e.g. London, BL, Or. 5007 and the majority of odes manuscripts from Sinai). Sometimes these collections include "extra" texts like Isa 38:10–20; the Prayer of Manasseh; and the *Gloria* (e.g. London, BL, Add. 9060).¹⁷⁸ The East

Syriac (shorter) collection of Syriac odes is also attested (e.g. London, BL, Add 15.442; London, BL, Or. 793),¹⁷⁹ as is the West Syriac (longer) collection (e.g. Oxford, BL, Hunt. 250). Arabic Catholic collections of biblical odes exhibit similarities with Latin collections. Bohairic collections are mirrored in Arabic (e.g. Oxford, BL, copt. Uri. 2; Cairo, Coptic Museum, Bible 6; London, BL, Arundel Or. 15).¹⁸⁰ Within these general macroform patterns, there are additions, omissions, and changes in sequence.

At the microform (textual) level, Arabic collections of odes reflect translation from or revision toward each of these languages. The traditional Arabic text of the Psalter, including a collection of biblical odes, is associated with Abu-al-Fath 'Abdallah ibn al-Fadl and is generally dated ca. 1050.¹⁸¹ At least in the case of the Psalter, however, this is a revision of an existing translation toward a Greek text; the same is likely to be true for the odes.

Significant divergence between Arabic odes texts indicates both multiple initial translations and ongoing textual development. More than a century ago, Mearns concluded that “there was no standard Arabic text” of the biblical odes.¹⁸² In a recent study of the Prayer of Hannah (1 Sam 2:1–10) in Rome, BAV, barb. or. 2, McCollum concludes that even among Arabic versions translated from Greek, there is considerable variation in “vocabulary, word order, and syntax.”¹⁸³ Multilingual manuscripts – Greek-Arabic (e.g. LXX¹¹⁹³, LXX¹⁷¹⁴),¹⁸⁴ Bohairic-Arabic (e.g. Rome, BAV, Vat. copt. 6; Rome, BAV, Barb. or. 2), and Syriac-Arabic (Paris, BNF, Syr. 13) – reflect ongoing contact.

In some cases, similarity at the macroform (anthological) level does not involve similarity at the microform (textual) level; instead, individual odes are excerpted from continuous-text manuscripts or borrowed from other odes collections.

Scholarship on the biblical odes in Arabic is limited; more work is needed to disentangle the different Arabic textual traditions and to identify their respective *Vorlagen*. Scholarship on the Prayer of Manasseh ([11.10](#)) and the Additions to Daniel in Arabic ([3.10](#)) is comparatively more advanced and offers indications of textual relationships.¹⁸⁵

16.6.1 Manuscripts

A very large number of manuscripts include Arabic collections of biblical odes. Many, especially horologia and other liturgical manuscripts, remain unedited and are often not fully described in manuscript catalogs.¹⁸⁶ Below I offer a preliminary list of manuscripts up through the thirteenth century. A thorough survey of collections in Europe and the Middle East would certainly yield further early manuscripts.

1. Cairo, Coptic Museum, Bible 6. Thirteenth century.
2. London, BL, Add 9060. 1239.
3. London, BL, Or. 5007. Ca. 1300. Greek-Arabic.
4. London, BL, Add 15,442. 1188.
5. Paris, BNF, arab. 40. 1294.
6. Paris, BNF, syr. 13. Thirteenth century. Syriac-Garshuni.

7. Rome, BAV, Barb. or. 2. Thirteenth/fourteenth century. Arabic-Armenian-Bohairic-Syriac-Gə'əz.¹⁸⁷
8. Sinai, ms arab. 8. Thirteenth century.
9. Sinai, ms arab. 9. Eleventh century.
10. Sinai, ms arab. 10. Twelfth century.
11. Sinai, ms arab. 13. 1259.
12. Sinai, ms arab. 15. Twelfth century.
13. Sinai, ms arab. 16. 1269.
14. Sinai, ms arab. 18. 977.
15. Sinai, ms arab. 20. Thirteenth century.
16. Sinai, ms arab. 21. Thirteenth century.
17. Sinai, ms arab. 27. 1167.
18. Sinai, ms arab. 28. Thirteenth century.
19. Sinai, ms arab. 31. Thirteenth century.
20. Sinai, ms arab. 33. Thirteenth century.
21. Sinai, ms arab. 34. Thirteenth century.
22. Sinai, ms arab. 35. Thirteenth century.
23. Sinai, ms arab. 36. 1283.
24. Sinai, ms arab. 37. Thirteenth century.
25. Sinai, ms arab. 38. Thirteenth century.
26. Sinai, ms arab. 39. Twelfth century.
27. Sinai, ms arab. 40. Twelfth century.
28. Sinai, ms arab. 41. 1242.
29. Sinai, ms arab. 49. Thirteenth century.
30. Sinai, ms gr. 36 + NF 9. Eight/ninth century C.E. Greek-Arabic.¹⁸⁸

16.6.2 Editions

The first printed text of the Arabic odes was an edition of the Psalter published in Aleppo in 1706; the text has been reprinted frequently.¹⁸⁹ This edition was the Byzantine Arabic (Rûm Orthodox) collection. A bilingual Arabic-Bohairic edition, reflecting a Coptic collection of biblical odes, was published by Tuki at Rome in 1744, using manuscript Rome, BAV, Vat. copt. 6 as the base for the Arabic text; this edition has also been reprinted frequently. Tuki's edition differed from the 1706 Aleppo edition in both macroform (contents) and microform (text).¹⁹⁰ Printed horologia also frequently include collections of biblical odes. "Missionary" editions often omitted the biblical odes (e.g. van Dyck edition of 1865,¹⁹¹ frequently reprinted).

There is no critical edition for any collection of Arabic odes; this remains an urgent *desideratum*. Further work on the textual history of the reference texts in Arabic will also contribute to the project of editing the biblical odes and studying their textual history.

16.7 Ethiopic (Gəʿəz)

The Ethiopic (Gəʿəz) collection of odes (*Maḥālaya nabiyāt* “songs of the prophets”) contains a highly standardized sequence of fifteen odes.

1	Exod 15:1–19
2	Deut 32:2–21
3	Deut 32:22–43
4	1 Kgs 2:1–10
5	Isa 38:10–20
6	Prayer of Manasseh
7	Jonah 2:3–10
8	Dan 3:26–45
9	Dan 3:52–56
10	Dan 3:57–88
11	Hab 3:1–19
12	Isa 26:9–20
13	Luke 1:46–55
14	Luke 1:68–79
15	Luke 2:29–32

The contents resemble the Greek collection of Codex Alexandrinus (LXX^A) and collections of odes in Sahidic and Bohairic, but there are differences. The odes from Daniel 3 include Dan 3:52–56 as a separate ode between the Prayer of Azariah (Dan 3:26–45) and the Song of the Three Young Men (Dan 3:57–88). As in a number of Syriac and Armenian collections, the ode from Deuteronomy 32 is divided into two parts. (In Syriac manuscripts, however, it is typical to divide the ode into Deut 32:1–20 and 32:21–43.) Like some Syriac collections, some Gəʿəz collections omit the Prayer of Jonah (e.g. in Eth^{BL Add 11,292}). The Gəʿəz odes almost always appear as part of a liturgical Psalter (*Dawit*), preceded by the Psalms and followed by the Song of Songs and the “Praises of Mary.”¹⁹² In a form of the Psalter known as *Mazmura Dengel* “Psalter of the Virgin,” a five-line rhyming hymn follows the conclusion of each ode. The Gəʿəz odes depend on Greek *Vorlagen*, but the collection also reflects textual influence from Coptic and Arabic; some have suspected Syriac influence as well. The original versions may have been made as early as the seventh century C.E., but extant manuscripts date from the Middle Ages and later.¹⁹³

16.7.1 History of Scholarship

A recent burst of scholarship on the Gəʼəz biblical odes under the auspices of the *Textual History of the Ethiopic Old Testament* (THEOT) project has moved the state of scholarship forward. The THEOT project has focused primarily on the internal developments in the textual history of the biblical odes and their relationship with their Gəʼəz reference texts rather than on the relationship of the Gəʼəz biblical odes to biblical odes in other languages.

In a recent study of the Prayer of Hannah, Jeanseau collates both liturgical Psalters and continuous-text biblical manuscripts. He concludes that the biblical odes circulated in a form distinct from, and more stable than, their reference texts. The reference texts can be grouped into a number of families, but the Prayer of Hannah in liturgical Psalters is so stable that the manuscripts do not suggest any significant groupings.¹⁹⁴ In a study of the Song of Hannah in Eth^{Vat barb. or. 2}, McCollum surveys textual affinities with both other Gəʼəz odes manuscripts and manuscripts of the reference texts; he also compares the text in the Song of Hannah with Greek.¹⁹⁵ Jeanseau's results are confirmed by Odon's study of the canticles of Hannah, Jonah, and Habakkuk in the odes with their reference texts, which concludes that the text of the Psalter exhibits a striking uniformity when compared to the same texts in the biblical manuscripts.¹⁹⁶ Further research remains to be done.

16.7.2 Manuscripts

Additional manuscripts of the Gəʼəz biblical odes, in Psalters and other liturgical manuscripts, remain unedited and are often not fully described in manuscript catalogs. As is true for other biblical texts in Gəʼəz, the physical manuscripts for the biblical odes are late but extensive. Below I offer a preliminary list of manuscripts from before the year 1700.¹⁹⁷ The manuscripts below are all liturgical Psalters.

1. Eth^{Ber Or 220} = Berlin, SBB (*olim* Königliche Bibliothek), ms or. octavo 220. Fifteenth century.
2. Eth^{Ber Or 172} = Berlin, SMB (*olim* Königliche Bibliothek), ms or. quarto 172. Fourteenth/fifteenth century.
3. Eth^{EMML 2010}. Fourteenth/fifteenth century.¹⁹⁸
4. Eth^{EMML 2064}. Fourteenth century.¹⁹⁹
5. Eth^{EMML 2496}. Fifteenth/sixteenth century.²⁰⁰
6. Eth^{EMML 3071}. Fifteenth century.
7. Eth^{EMML 4415}. Fifteenth century.
8. Eth^{EMML 4916}. Fifteenth century.²⁰¹
9. Eth^{Däbrä Libanos} = Ethiopia, Däbrä Libanos Psalter. Fifteenth/sixteenth century.
10. Eth^{BL Add 11,621} = London, BL, Add. 11,621. Seventeenth century.²⁰²
11. Eth^{BL Add 11,292} = London, BL Add. 11,292. Seventeenth century.²⁰³
12. Eth^{BL Or 535} = London, BL, Or. 535. Seventeenth century. Gəʼəz-Amharic.
13. Eth^{BA 1} = Milan, BA, aeth. 1. Fifteenth/sixteenth century.
14. Eth^{Mun 1} = Munich, BSB, cod. aeth. 1. Fourteenth/fifteenth century.

15. Eth^{Mun Volk 88.310022} = Munich, Museum für Völkerkunde, 88.310022. Fifteenth/sixteenth century.
16. Eth^{Oslo 36096} = Oslo, Kulturhistorik Museum, UEM 36096. Fifteenth century.
17. Eth^{GG 107} = Gunda Gundē, ms C3-IV-107. Fourteenth/fifteenth century.²⁰⁴
18. Eth^{Ox Poc 3} = Oxford, BL, Poccoke 3. Twelfth/thirteenth century.
19. Eth^{BN 12} = Paris, BNF, éth. 12. Fifteenth century.²⁰⁵
20. Eth^{BN 13} = Paris, BNF, éth. 13. Fifteenth century.²⁰⁶
21. Eth^{BN 15} = Paris, BNF, éth. 15. Sixteenth century.²⁰⁷
22. Eth^{Vat etio 10} = Rome, BAV, Vat. et. 10. Fifteenth century.²⁰⁸
23. Eth^{Vat etio 14} = Rome, BAV, Vat. et. 14. Sixteenth century.²⁰⁹
24. Eth^{Vat etio 4} = Rome, BAV, Vat. et. 4. Sixteenth century.²¹⁰
25. Eth^{Vat etio 7} = Rome, BAV, Vat. et. 7. Fifteenth century.²¹¹
26. Eth^{Vat barb. or. 2} = Rome, BAV, Barb. or. 2. Thirteenth/fourteenth century. Arabic-Armenian-Bohairic-Syriac-Gəʿəz.²¹²
27. Eth^{Sin 6} = Sinai, ms eth. 6. Fourteenth century. Parchment.²¹³

16.7.3 Editions

The biblical odes were included in the first Gəʿəz printed book, a Psalter published at Rome in 1518.²¹⁴ The odes have been reprinted frequently, although they were sometimes omitted in “missionary” editions. A semi-critical edition of the biblical odes was published by Ludolf in 1701 (using three manuscripts, including Eth^{Ber Or 172} and Eth^{Ox Poc 3}).²¹⁵ An updated edition of the Gəʿəz odes is a *desideratum*

Further work on the textual history of the reference texts in Gəʿəz will also contribute to the project of editing the biblical odes and studying their textual history.

16.8 Armenian

In Armenian, the biblical odes are woven into the liturgical Psalter, distributed between groups of Psalms.²¹⁶ While the book of Psalms sometimes circulates without odes, the odes do not circulate as an independent collection.²¹⁷ We do not know how old this arrangement is; our earliest physical evidence dates from the thirteenth century. Literary evidence for an Armenian collection of odes dates back to the eighth century C.E. (John Ozniensis, d. 729 C.E.).²¹⁸ Odes are also included in the Armenian *Žamagirkʿ* or breviary.²¹⁹

In Armenian liturgical Psalters, Psalms 1–147 are divided into eight books, with an ode (or, in one case, two) after the end of each.

Psalm 17	Exod 15:1–19
Psalm 35	Deut 32:1–21

Psalm 54	Deut 32:22–43
Psalm 71	1 Kgs 2:1–10
Psalm 88	Isa 26:9–21
Psalm 105	Isa 38:10–20
Psalm 118	Isa 42:10–13 + 45:8; Jonah 2:3–10
Psalm 147	Hab 3:1–19

Psalms 148–151 sometimes follow Psalm 147. This sequence of odes partly reflects the Byzantine Greek nine-ode sequence, although the odes derived from Daniel and Luke are notably absent in this arrangement. Other texts are sometimes supplied at the end of the Psalter, including the three New Testament canticles, the odes from Daniel 3, the Prayer of Manasseh, and the Nicene Creed (e.g. London, BL, Add. 11.857; Cambridge, UL, Dd.vi.76).

The Armenian odes share two important features with Syriac collections. First, the distinctive ode of Isaiah (Isa 42:10–13 + 45:8) is part of the collection, although the fact that it is doubled with Jonah 2:3–10 suggests that it may be a later addition. Second, Deut 32:1–43 is divided into two parts (Deut 32:1–21; 32:22–43), just as we find in some Syriac collections; this feature also appears in Arabic and Ethiopic, possibly as a result of Syriac influence.

Scholarship on the Armenian odes and their textual history remains very limited. Textual influence from both Greek and Syriac is visible in the Armenian Psalter, including the biblical odes. The *Vorlagen* of the Armenian biblical text continues to be discussed, but recent scholarship tends to favor Greek; it is likely that the same is true for the biblical odes, although further research is needed to confirm this hypothesis. Further research is also needed to determine textual relationships between Armenian manuscripts.

16.8.1 Manuscripts

Numerous Armenian manuscripts are not fully described in manuscript catalogs and remain unedited.²²⁰ Below, I offer a preliminary list of important manuscripts with the biblical odes.²²¹ All are liturgical Psalters.

1. Aleppo, Armenian Church, ms 57. Sixteenth/seventeenth century. AODA00057.²²²
2. Aleppo, Armenian Church, ms 58. Fifteenth/sixteenth century. AODA00058.²²³
3. Berlin, SBB (*olim* Königliche Bibliothek), ms Or. Minutoli 284. 1630.
4. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, ms 478. Thirteenth century.
5. Cambridge, UL, Dd. vi. 76. Seventeenth century.
6. London, BL, Add. 11.857. 1305.
7. Los Angeles, UCLA, ms Arm. 35. Fifteenth/sixteenth century.
8. Los Angeles, UCLA, ms Arm. 37. Sixteenth century.

9. Los Angeles, UCLA, ms Arm. 39. Fifteenth/sixteenth century.
10. Los Angeles, UCLA, ms Arm. 43. Seventeenth century.
11. Oxford, BL, Laud. Or. 34, pt 2. Sixteenth century.
12. Paris, BNF, arm. 9. Seventeenth century.
13. Rome, BAV, Barb. or. 2. Thirteenth/fourteenth century. Arabic-Armenian-Bohairic-Syriac-Gə'əz.²²⁴
14. Venice, Mekhitarist, ms arm. 1508. 1319.

16.8.2 Editions

The Armenian odes were first printed in a Psalter published in 1565.²²⁵ Between 1565 and 1800, the Armenian Psalter went through sixty-two editions.²²⁶ The standard text is that of Zohrapian, printed in Venice in 1805.²²⁷ The Zohrapian edition diplomatically presents one manuscript – Venice, Mekhitarist ms. arm. 1508, dated to 1319 – and includes readings from seven other manuscripts. The Zohrapian text has been reprinted numerous times. Later “missionary” editions (such as the 1859 edition published by the British and Foreign Bible Society) did not include the biblical odes. There is no more recent critical edition.

Further work on the textual history of the reference texts in Armenian will also contribute to the project of editing the biblical odes and studying their textual history.

16.9 Georgian

Biblical odes appear in Georgian Psalters from the ninth century C.E. onward (cf. [I.10.4.6](#)).²²⁸ The earliest dated manuscript contains a colophon from 974 C.E. (Tbilisi, Ecclesiastical Museum, ms. 38); the two Sinai manuscripts and the Graz palimpsest (also originally from Sinai) may date from the ninth century C.E. or even the late eighth.

The core of the Georgian collection is the nine odes that form the core of the Byzantine Greek collection. *Odes* manuscripts sometimes also include other texts like the Prayer of Manasseh. The composite ode of Isaiah (Isa 42:10–13 + 45:8) found in Syriac and Armenian is not present. The odes are placed after the Psalms.

We know very little about the early textual history of Georgian biblical texts; this applies to the odes as well. Most Georgian biblical texts were initially translated from Syriac, then revised toward Greek (see [I.1.4.8](#) for a different view); Schneider has argued, however, that the Georgian odes were translated from a Byzantine Greek collection. Further research is needed to determine textual relationships between Georgian manuscripts and between the Georgian textual tradition and other languages.

The Georgian biblical odes have not been studied extensively. The most important studies of the biblical odes in Georgian remain those of Mearns and Schneider.²²⁹ Other research has been done in Georgian or, sometimes, Russian, and is unfamiliar to many scholars.

16.9.1 Manuscripts

Additional manuscripts of the Georgian biblical odes remain unedited and are often not fully described in manuscript catalogs. Below I offer a preliminary list of manuscripts, certainly incomplete. All are manuscripts of Psalms and odes.²³⁰

1. Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, HS 2058–2. Eighth/ninth century C.E. Parchment. Overtext of palimpsest. Psalter.²³¹
2. Sinai, ms georg. 6. Ninth century C.E. Parchment. Psalter. Incomplete. Contains parts of the first six odes in the nine-ode Byzantine sequence.
3. Sinai, ms georg. 19. Ninth/tenth century C.E. Papyrus. Psalter. Incomplete. Contains parts of Exod 15:12–19; Deut 32:1–37.
4. Tbilisi, National Centre of Manuscripts, ms. 38. 974 C.E.
5. Mcxeta Psalter, A–38. Ninth/tenth century C.E.
6. Georg^Y = Vienna, ÖNB, geo. 4. Parchment. Psalter. 1160.
7. Georg^U = Tbilisi, National Centre of Manuscripts, A–65. Parchment. Psalter. 1188–1210.
8. Jerusalem, Library of Greek Patriarchate, Georgian 133. Thirteenth/fourteenth century.²³²
9. Jerusalem, Library of Greek Patriarchate, Georgian 136. Thirteenth/fourteenth century.²³³
10. Jerusalem, Library of Greek Patriarchate, Georgian 161. Thirteenth to sixteenth century.²³⁴

16.9.2 Editions

The Georgian biblical odes were first printed as part of a Psalter in 1709 at Tbilisi.²³⁵ A second edition, frequently reprinted, was the “Bakar Bible” published at Moscow in 1743 (= Georg^B).²³⁶

There are two editions for the Georgian odes.²³⁷ Further work on the textual history of the reference texts in Georgian will also contribute to the project of editing the biblical odes and studying their textual history.

16.10 Slavonic

Biblical odes appear in Slavonic Psalters starting in the eleventh century ([1.10.4.7](#)).²³⁸ As in Greek, Syriac, and Arabic, the Slavonic odes also appear in horologia.

In both macroform (contents) and microform (text), the Slavonic odes are derived from the nine-ode Byzantine Greek sequence. Just as in Greek collections of odes, however, other texts – such as Isa 38:10–20 and the Prayer of Manasseh – are sometimes included and the sequence occasionally varies (e.g. Sinai, slav. ms. 6; Bologna, UL, ms 2499).²³⁹ A commentary on the odes attributed to Hesychius of Jerusalem is preserved in Slavonic, reflecting a fourteen-ode collection similar to that of codex Alexandrinus (LXX^A; [16.2.1](#)).²⁴⁰

The early history and the nature of the Greek *Vorlagen* remain important questions for the study of the Slavonic Bible ([I.1.4.10](#)); Hebrew and Latin have provided the *Vorlagen* for some books of the Slavonic Bible and influenced others. Croatian Glagolitic Psalters and breviaries were influenced by Latin manuscripts; this may have influenced the textual history of the biblical odes in Slavonic.²⁴¹ Manuscripts of the biblical odes divide into the same major regional families as other Slavonic manuscripts (East, South). Further research is needed to determine textual relationships between Slavonic manuscripts of the biblical odes and between the Slavonic textual tradition and other languages.

Despite significant recent research on the Slavonic Bible, the biblical odes have not been studied extensively. Scholarship on the Slavonic Bible also tends to be published in Russian or other Slavic languages, and is thus unfamiliar to many scholars.

16.10.1 Manuscripts

Numerous medieval Psalters survive in Slavonic ([I.10.4.7](#)). A number have been published in careful critical editions over the course of the last century.²⁴² Nonetheless, many remain unedited and are often not fully described in manuscript catalogs.²⁴³ Many of the manuscripts include collections of biblical odes; a number of others may once have included odes, but are now incomplete. These problems apply even more so to horologia and other liturgical manuscripts. Below I offer a preliminary list, certainly incomplete, of manuscripts with biblical odes.

1. Bologna, UL, ms 2499. Ca. 1235.²⁴⁴
2. Bucharest, Serbian Psalter. 1346.
3. London, BL, Harley 3389. Sixteenth century.
4. Moscow, Synodal Typography, ms 34. Fourteenth/fifteenth century.²⁴⁵
5. Munich, BSB, cod. slav. 4. Ca. 1420.²⁴⁶
6. Oxford, BL, E. Musaeo 184. Fifteenth century.
7. Oxford, BL, E. Musaeo 163. Sixteenth century.
8. Sinai, ms slav. 38 (Glagolitic Psalter).²⁴⁷
9. Sinai, ms slav. 6 ("Psalterium Demetrii Sinaïici"). Eleventh century. Incomplete.
10. St. Petersburg, RNL, Codex Pogodinianus. Thirteenth century.²⁴⁸

16.10.2 Editions

The Slavonic odes were first printed in 1491 as part of a Psalter published in Krakow.²⁴⁹ Numerous other Psalters also include the odes. Printed horologia also frequently include collections of biblical odes.

An early-twentieth-century project to critically edit the entire Slavonic Bible, led by I.E. Evseev, never published an edition of the Slavonic odes. A critical edition remains an urgent *desideratum*.

Further work on the textual history of the reference texts in Slavonic will also contribute to the project of editing the biblical odes and studying their textual history.

F. Cabrol, “Cantiques,” *DACL* 2.2: 1975–99.

J. Coogan, “The Origins of the Biblical Odes” (MPhil. diss., University of Oxford, Oxford, 2015).

T.H. Darlow, and H.F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (4 vols.; London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1903–1911).

R. Gryson and A. Thibaut, *Le psautier latin du Sinaï* (Vetus Latina Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel 39; Freiburg i.B.: Herder, 2010).

M. Harl (with the collaboration of B. Meynadier and A. Pietrobelli), *Voix de louange: Les cantiques bibliques dans la liturgie chrétienne* (Anagôge 8; Paris: Les belles lettres, 2014).

H. Ludolf and J. H. Michaelis, ሙድሐፈ: ሙዝሙራት: ዘዳዊት [Maseḥafa Mazemurāte za Dāwite] hoc est, *Psalterium Davidis Æthiopice et Latine: Cum Duobus Impressis & Tribus MSSis Codicibus Diligenter Collatum & Emendatum, Nec Non Variis Lectionibus & Notis Philologicis Illustratum ut in Prefatione Pluribus Diceretur, Accedunt Thiopicè Tantùm Hymni et Orationes Aliquot Vet. et Novi Testamenti, item Cancticum Cantorum Cum Variis Lectionibus & Notis* (Frankfurt a.M.: Johannem David Zunner abd Nicolaus Wilhelm Helwig, 1701).

J. Knust and T. Wasserman, “The Biblical Odes and the Text of the Christian Bible: A Reconsideration of the Impact of Liturgical Singing on the Transmission of the Gospel of Luke,” *JBL* 133 (2014): 341–65.

J. Mearns, *Canticles of the Christian Church, Eastern and Western in Early and Medieval Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914).

J.A. Miller, “‘Let Us Sing to the Lord’: The Biblical Odes in the Codex Alexandrinus” (PhD diss., Marquette University, Milwaukee, 2006).

**List of Old Testament Peshitta Manuscripts*.

A. Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis* (2nd ed.; Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum 10; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967).

L. van Rompay, and S. P. Brock, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts and Fragments in the Library of Deir al-Surian, Wadi al-Natrun (Egypt)* (OLA 227; Leuven: Peeters, 2014).

O. Rousseau, "La plus ancienne liste de cantiques liturgiques tirés de l'écriture," *RSR* 35 (1948): 120–29.

H. Schneider, *Die altlateinischen biblischen Cantica* (Texte und Arbeiten 1.29–30; Beuron: Beuronischer Kunstverlag, 1938).

H. Schneider, "Die biblischen Oden im christlichen Altertum," *Bib* 30 (1949): 28–65.

H. Schneider, "Die biblischen Oden im Mittelalter," *Bib* 30 (1949): 479–500.

H. Schneider, "Die biblischen Oden in Jerusalem und Konstantinopel," *Bib* 30 (1949): 433–52.

H. Schneider, "Die biblischen Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert," *Bib* 30 (1949): 239–72.

H. Schneider, "Biblischen Oden im syrohexaplarischen Psalter," *Bib* 40 (1959): 199–209.

H. Schneider, "Wenig beachtete Rezensionen der Peschitta," *ZAW* 62 (1950): 168–99.

H. Schneider, "Canticles or Odes," in J.C.H. Lebram et al., *Canticles or Odes; Prayer of Manasseh; Apocryphal Psalms; Psalms of Solomon; Tobit; I(3) Esdras* (The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshiṭta Version 4.6; Leiden: Brill, 1972), i–xvi, 1–35.

W. Till and P. Sanz, *Eine griechisch-koptische Odenhandschrift (Papyrus Copt. Vindob. K 8706)* (Monumenta biblica et ecclesiastica 5; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1939).

¹These passages, known as "inset hymns" are sometimes linguistically older than their surrounding biblical contexts and frequently exhibit redactional signs of insertion; extraction as odes may reflect an exegetical observation about their severability from the surrounding biblical context. Cf. J.W. Watts, *Psalm and Story: Inset Hymns in Hebrew Narrative* (JSOTSup 139; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992); S. Weitzman, *Song and Story in Biblical Narrative: The History of a Literary Convention in Ancient Israel* (Indiana Studies in Biblical Literature; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997); J.W. Watts, "Biblical Psalms Outside the Psalter," in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception* (eds. P.W. Flint and P.D. Miller; VTSup 99; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 288–309; B. Meynadier, "Les chants insérés dans la Bible," in *Voix de louange: Les cantiques bibliques dans la liturgie chrétienne* (ed. M. Harl; Anagôge 8; Paris: Les belles lettres, 2014), 109–21; J.W. Watts, "'This Song': Conspicuous Poetry in Hebrew Prose," in *Verse in Ancient Near Eastern Prose* (eds. J.C. de Moor and W.G.E. Watson; AOAT 42; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1993), 345–58.

²D. Flusser, "Psalms, Hymns and Prayers," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. M.E. Stone; CRINT 2.2; Assen: van Gorcum, 1984), 551–77.

³Rabbinic lists include: *Mekhilta d'R. Ishmael*, shirta 1 (ed. Horowitz–Rabin, lines 1–85); *Mekhilta d'R. Simeon b. Yoḥai* (ed. Epstein & Melamed, 70–72); *TgShir* 1:1; *Midrash ha-Gadol*, Exod 15:1 (ed. Margulies, 285–86); *Midrash Leqaḥ Tob*, Exod 15:1 (ed. Buber, 91–92); *Yalqut ha-Makiri*, Psalm 18:1 (ed. Buber, 103); *Yalqut Shim'oni Exodus*, §242; *Yalqut Shim'oni Joshua*, §20; *Aggadat Shir ha-Shirim* (= *Midrash Zuta*) (ed. Schechter, 10); Sa'adya Gaon, *Commentary to Wayyosha'*. For discussion and full bibliographic information, see P.S. Alexander, *The Targum of Canticles: Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (Aramaic Bible 17A; Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2003), 206–09. Secondary literature: O. Rousseau, "La plus ancienne liste de cantiques liturgiques tirés de l'écriture," *RSR* 35 (1948): 120–29; A. Epstein, "The Song of Abraham Our Father," in *Kitbei Rabbi A. Epstein* (ed. A.M. Habermann; Translations and Collections in Jewish Studies 6; Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1957), 1.251–54 [Hebr.]; W.S. Towner, *The Rabbinic "Enumeration of Scriptural Examples": A Study of a Rabbinic Pattern of Discourse with Special Reference to Mekhilta d'R. Ishmael* (StPB 22; Leiden: Brill, 1973), 164–68, 234–37; J.L. Kugel, "Is There but One Song?" *Bib* 63 (1982): 329–50; H. ben Shammai, "New Findings in a Forgotten Manuscript: Samuel b. Hofni's Commentary on Ha'azinu and Sa'adya's 'Commentary on the Ten Songs'," *Qiryat Sefer* 61 (1986): 313–32 [Hebr.]; J. Goldin, "'This Song'," in *Studies in Midrash and Related Literature* (eds. B.L. Eichler and J.H. Tigay; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1988), 151–61; F. Manns, "Une tradition juive dans les commentaires du Cantique des Cantiques d'Origène," *Antonianum* 65 (1990): 3–22; Alexander, *Targum of Canticles*, 206–09; C. Brady, "The Use of Eschatological Lists within the Targumim of the Megilloth," *JSJ* 40 (2009): 493–509 (497–504). Early Christian lists include: Origen of Alexandria, *In Exodum homiliae* 6.1; *In librum Iudicum homiliae* 6.3; *In Canticum canticorum homiliae* 1; *Commentarium in Canticum canticorum*, prol. 33; Philo of Carpasia, *Commentarius in Canticum canticorum*, prol.; Ambrose of Milan, *Explanatio psalmoreum* Psalm 12.1.4–6 (PL 14.965–67); Nicetas of Remesiana, *De utilite hymnorum* 1.9–11; Verecundus of Junca, *Commentarius super Canticum ecclesiasticum* 1.1. Secondary literature: E. Nestle, "Zu den Cantica am Schluss des Psalters," *ZAW* 26 (1906): 286–87; Schneider, *Cantica*; O. Rousseau, "La plus ancienne liste"; Schneider, "Oden im christlichen Altertum"; Manns, "Une tradition juive"; M. Harl, "Le statut incertain du Chant de la vigne (Isaïe 5, 1–7) chez Origène et dans les listes anciennes de cantiques bibliques," in *Eukarpa: Études sur la Bible et ses exégètes en hommage à Gilles Dorival* (eds. M. Loubet, D. Pralon, and G. Dorival; Paris: Cerf, 2011), 97–106; Harl, *Voix de louange*, esp. 177–223.

⁴Schneider, "Oden im christlichen Altertum."

⁵Harl, *Voix de louange*, 177–223.

⁶Coogan, "The Origins of the Biblical Odes."

⁷In the following, major manuscript collections and libraries are abbreviated by the following system: BA = Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana; BAV = Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; BL = London, British Library; BML = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana; BNM = Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana; BSB = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; SMB = Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

⁸Macroform and microform: P. Schäfer, *Hekhalot-Studien* (TSAJ 19; Tübingen: Mohr, 1988), 199–201.

⁹Cf. P.W. van der Horst and J.H. Newman, "The Prayer of Manasseh," in *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek* (eds. P.W. van der Horst and J.H. Newman; Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 147–80; P.W. van der Horst and J.H. Newman, "The Prayer of Azariah," in *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek*, 183–214.

¹⁰For example, in justifying the exclusion of the biblical odes from **NETS*, Pietersma asserted the "dubious integrity" of the odes "as a literary work," arguing further that the odes do not belong to "that body of translation literature that was inherited by the Christian Church from Greek-speaking Jewry and accepted as scripture" (A. Pietersma, "A New English Translation of the Septuagint and a Commentary Series to Follow," *TLZ* 129 [2004]: 1008–15 [1009]). Cf. similar remarks in Swete, **Introduction*, 254. Here I disagree with Miller, "Let Us Sing to the Lord", who treats the odes as another witness; this may be helpful in the case of Codex Alexandrinus, but it is misleading later on.

¹¹Cf. Knust and Wasserman, “Biblical Odes.”

¹²T.S. de Bruyn and J.H.F. Dijkstra, “Greek Amulets and Formularies from Egypt Containing Christian Elements: A Checklist of Papyri, Parchments, Ostraka, and Tablets,” *BASP* 48 (2011): 163–216.

¹³Introductory and survey articles: J.H.A. Engelbregt, “Cantica,” *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* 1:347–48; M. Jenny, “Cantica,” *TRE* 7:624–28; R. Pacik, “Canticum,” *LTK* 2:928–29; J. Halmó, “Cantica,” *RGGA* 2:56–57; K.C. Felmy, “Ode III: Orthodoxer Gottesdienst,” *RGGA* 6:456; I. Chirilă and S. Kreuzer, “Odai/Das Buch der Oden,” in *Einleitung in die Septuaginta* (ed. S. Kreuzer; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016), 354–60.

¹⁴Cabrol, “Cantiques”; Mearns, *Canticles*; Schneider, “Oden im christlichen Altertum”; Schneider, “Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert”; Schneider, “Jerusalem und Konstantinopel”; Schneider, “Mittelalter.”

¹⁵Harl, *Voix de louange*.

¹⁶Rahlf's, *Psalmi cum Odis*.

¹⁷Schneider, “Canticles or Odes.”

¹⁸In addition to literature cited below, note Chirilă and Kreuzer, “Odai”; C. Dogniez, “Les Odes ajoutées au Psautier dans la Septante comme actes de langage,” in *XIV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Helsinki, 2010* (ed. M.K. Peters; SBLSCS 59; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 645–62; C. Dogniez, “Pour une poïèsis de la compilation: Les Odes du Psautier grec,” in *Sophia – Paideia: Sapienza e educazione (Sir 1,27): Miscellanea di studi offerti in onore del prof. Don Mario Cimosà* (eds. G. Bonney, M. Cimosà, and R. Vicent; Rome: LAS, 2012), 165–80; M. Casevitz, “Sur les comparaisons dans les « Odes » de la Septante,” in *Eukarpa: Études sur la Bible et ses exégètes en hommage à Gilles Dorival* (eds. M. Loubet, D. Pralon, and G. Dorival; Paris: Cerf, 2011), 67–72; Swete, *Introduction, 254; E. Munteanu, “Introducere la Ode,” in *Septuaginta, Vol. 4: Psalmii, Odele, Proverbele, Ecleziastul, Cântarea Cântărilor* (eds. C. Bădilă, F. Băltăceanu, M. Broșteanu, and I. F. Florescu; Bucarest: Colegiul Noua Europă Polirom, 2006), 351–55.

¹⁹The possible exception is the three-ode Syriac collection (see [16.5.1](#)).

²⁰Schneider, “Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert,” 245–68.

²¹Schneider, “Jerusalem und Konstantinopel,” 433–41, identified OG with the fourteen-ode sequence and Constantinople, Th with the nine-ode sequence and Jerusalem. In Latin, V follows OG and VL follows Th.

²²E.M. Good, “The Barberini Greek Version of Habakkuk III,” *VT* 9 (1959): 11–30; W. Baars, “A New Witness to the Text of the Barberini Greek Version of Habakkuk III,” *VT* 15 (1965): 381–82; J.L. Harper, *Responding to a Puzzled Scribe: The Barberini Version of Habakkuk 3 Analysed in the Light of the Other Greek Versions* (London: T&T Clark, 2015). Good notes readings apparently shared with the passage in Latin collections of biblical odes.

²³J.W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (Septuagint and Cognate Studies 30; Atlanta: SBL Press, 1990), 227–37 (on Exod 15:1–21) does not disambiguate odes collections and reference texts; cf. Schneider “Jerusalem und Konstantinopel,” 433: “Die Entwicklung der griechischen Textgestalt war also im wesentlichen bereits abgeschlossen, als die Geschichte der Odenreihe begann.”

²⁴Miller, “Let Us Sing to the Lord,” 6–7; cf. Knust and Wasserman, “Biblical Odes.”

²⁵Cf. “Anhang: Die Oden,” in Rahlf's, *Psalmi cum odis*, 78–80.

²⁶Schneider, “Oden im christlichen Altertum,” 58–65; cf. Schneider, “Mittelalter,” 493–94.

²⁷Schneider, “Oden im christlichen Altertum,” 58–65.

²⁸For Cop^{Sa16lit} see Schüssler, **Biblia Coptica* 1.1, 89–90.

- ²⁹On this division, see Schneider, “Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert,” 253–73; R. Taft, “Mount Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 42 (1988): 179–94, esp. 181–82. On liturgical use, see Harl, *Voix de louange*, 251–86; E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 37–40.
- ³⁰On biblical odes in horologia, see Mearns, *Canticles*, 9.
- ³¹On the Prayer of Hezekiah (Isa 38:10–20) and the Prayer of Manasseh as “supplementary” texts even in Alexandrinus, see Harl, *Voix de louange*, 287–94.
- ³²Cf. B. Meynadier, “La clôture du recueil par l’«Hymne du matin»,” in *Voix de louange*, 295–312.
- ³³Mearns, *Canticles*, 14–16.
- ³⁴Cf. Schneider, “Mittelalter,” 491–94.
- ³⁵Manuscript numbers refer to Rahlfs-Fraenkel, **Verzeichnis*; Rahlfs, **Verzeichnis*; and the list of Greek manuscripts maintained by the Septuaginta Unternehmen in Göttingen (known as the Rahlfs *Liste*) as updated by F. Albrecht (“Offizielles Verzeichnis der Rahlfs-Sigeln: Herausgegeben vom Septuaginta-Unternehmen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen,” <https://rep.adw-goe.de/handle/11858/00-001S-0000-0022-A30C-8>, last accessed, May 12, 2019); cf. Mearns, *Canticles*, 7–25. The discussion below reflects my own autopsy of numerous manuscripts and the use of microfilms and other unpublished materials from the Septuaginta Unternehmen.
- ³⁶Cf. Schneider, “Mittelalter,” 494–97. G. Karo und H. Lietzmann, *Catenarum graecarum Catalogus* (Nachrichten der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Philologisch-historische Klasse 135; Göttingen: Horstman, 1902), never fulfilled their promise to include the odes (66).
- ³⁷On Latin-Greek bilinguals, see Mearns, *Canticles*, 18–25; Schneider, *Cantica*; Schneider, “Mittelalter,” 479–91.
- ³⁸LDAB 3481, www.trismegistos.org/ldab/text.php?tm=62318, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ³⁹LDAB 3344, www.trismegistos.org/ldab/text.php?quick=3344, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁴⁰LDAB 3415, www.trismegistos.org/ldab/text.php?tm=62255, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁴¹LDAB 3436, www.trismegistos.org/text/62275, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁴²Schüssler, **Biblia Coptica* 1.1, 89–90; this manuscript will be discussed below ([16.4.1](#)); cf. Till and Sanz, *Odenhandschrift*.
- ⁴³LDAB 3483, www.trismegistos.org/text/62320, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁴⁴Papyri and ostraca are cited according to the abbreviations of J.F. Oates, R.S. Bagnall, S.J. Clackson, A.A. O’Brien, J.D. Sosin, T.G. Wilfong, and K.A. Worp, *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* [scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html]; last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁴⁵LDAB 3319, www.trismegistos.org/text/62159, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁴⁶The catalog number at Sinai is unknown; cf. Rahlfs-Fraenkel, **Verzeichnis*, 366. LDAB 10,271, www.trismegistos.org/text/69000, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁴⁷LDAB 3441, www.trismegistos.org/text/62280, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁴⁸LDAB 9231, www.trismegistos.org/text/67960, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁴⁹Schüssler, **Biblia Coptica* 2.1, 129–30.
- ⁵⁰LDAB 3424, www.trismegistos.org/text/62264, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁵¹LDAB 3293, www.trismegistos.org/text/62133, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁵²LDAB 3333, www.trismegistos.org/text/62173, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁵³LDAB 3126, www.trismegistos.org/text/61968, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁵⁴LDAB 2993, www.trismegistos.org/text/61839, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁵⁵LDAB 3289, www.trismegistos.org/text/62129, last accessed, October 10, 2018.

- ⁵⁶LDAB 3378, www.trismegistos.org/text/62218, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁵⁷LDAB 3358, www.trismegistos.org/text/62198, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁵⁸LDAB 3276, www.trismegistos.org/text/62116, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁵⁹LDAB 3330, www.trismegistos.org/text/62170, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁶⁰LDAB 3348, www.trismegistos.org/text/62287, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁶¹LDAB 3447, www.trismegistos.org/text/62286, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁶²LDAB 3171, www.trismegistos.org/text/62012, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁶³LDAB 3431, www.trismegistos.org/text/62270, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁶⁴LDAB 3412, www.trismegistos.org/text/62252, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁶⁵LDAB 3355, www.trismegistos.org/text/62195, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁶⁶LDAB 3360, www.trismegistos.org/text/62200, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁶⁷LDAB 3146, www.trismegistos.org/text/61987, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁶⁸LDAB 3205, www.trismegistos.org/text/62046, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁶⁹LDAB 3442, www.trismegistos.org/text/62281, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁷⁰LDAB 3413, www.trismegistos.org/text/62253, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁷¹LDAB 3398, www.trismegistos.org/text/62238, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁷²LDAB 3386, www.trismegistos.org/text/62226, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁷³LDAB 6365, www.trismegistos.org/text/65124, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁷⁴LDAB 7147, www.trismegistos.org/text/65883, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁷⁵LDAB 128,923, www.trismegistos.org/text/128923, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ⁷⁶J. Crastonus (ed.), *David prophetae et regis melos* (Milan: Bonus Accursius 1481). On printed editions of the Bible in Greek, see Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, 3:578–678. This is no. 4590 (*non vidi*).
- ⁷⁷A. Carafa, *Vetus Testamentum Graece juxta Septuaginta ex auctoritate Sixti V. Pont. Max. editum* (2 vols.; Rome: F. Zannetti, 1586–1587); R. Holmes and J. Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum variis lectionibus, edidit Robertus Holmes, ... continuavit Jacobus Parsons* (5 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1798–1827).
- ⁷⁸K. von Tischendorf, *Vetus testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes: Textum vaticanum Romanum emendatius* (2 vols.; Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1850).
- ⁷⁹Swete, **Old Testament*.
- ⁸⁰Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum odis*, 340–65. Rahlfs also used the *Didascalia*, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and the Vulgate for his edition of the Prayer of Manasseh.
- ⁸¹Rahlfs' numbering scheme does not reflect the manuscripts. On the Song of the Vineyard, see Kugel, "Is There But One Song?"; Harl, "Le statut incertain"; Harl, *Voix de louange*, 246–50.
- ⁸²C. Schäfer, "Beobachtungen zu Alfred Rahlfs' editionstechnischen Grundsätzen in der ›Handausgabe von 1935‹," *ZAW* 129 (2017): 346–61; Rahlfs, **Septuaginta*; Rahlfs-Hanhart, **Septuaginta*.
- ⁸³L.C.L. Brenton, *The Septuagint with Apocrypha, Greek and English* (London: Bagster and Sons, 1851).
- ⁸⁴M. Lattke and H. Engel, "Odai: Das Buch der Oden," in **Septuaginta Deutsch*, 899–914.
- ⁸⁵Harl, *Voix de louange*, 43–106.

⁸⁶A. Ravasco, “Ὀδαί – Odi: Introduzione, traduzione e note,” in *La Bibbia dei Settanta*, Vol. 3: *Libri poetici* (ed. C. Martone; Brescia: Morcelliana, 2013), 403–53; E. Munteanu, “Odele,” in *Septuaginta*, Vol. 4: *Psalmii, Odele, Proverbele, Ecleziastul, Cântarea Cântărilor* (eds. C. Bădilită, F. Băltăceanu, M. Broșteanu, and I. F. Florescu; Bucarest: Colegiul Noua Europă Polirom, 2006), 348–86.

⁸⁷The most important study is Schneider, *Cantica*; cf. Schneider, “Oden im christlichen Altertum”; Schneider, “Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert”; Schneider, “Mittelalter.” Schneider’s work remains the most extensive study of the Latin odes. For a recent and balanced survey (largely summarizing Schneider, but noting advances in scholarship), see Gryson, **Altlateinische Handschriften 2*, 15–19. Note also Mearns, *Canticles*, 18–25, 50–93.

⁸⁸On monastic collections of biblical odes in Latin, see Mearns, *Canticles*, 81–93; M. Korhammer, *Die monastischen Cantica im Mittelalter und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur englischen Philologie 6; Munich: Fink, 1976); Gryson, **Altlateinische Handschriften 2*, 19.

⁸⁹

Schneider, *Die altlateinischen biblischen Cantica*.

⁹⁰For Verecundus, see Schneider, *Cantica*, 17–26; Schneider, “Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert,” 242–43. Verecundus attests the inclusion of Judges 5 and Lamentations 5. *Codex Veronensis* (VL³⁰⁰): Rousseau, “La plus ancienne liste,” 127; Schneider, *Cantica*, 26–46; Gryson, **Altlateinische Handschriften 2*, 29–31. The manuscript contains Exod 15:1–21(!); Deut 32:1–44 + 31:30; 1 Kgs 2:1–10; Isa 5:1–7/9; Jonah 2:3–10; Hab 3:2–19; Luke 1:46–55; Dan 3:51–90 in Greek and Latin, plus Dan 3:91–93 in Latin only. Schneider seeks to link the text and collection in VL³⁰⁰ (sixth/seventh century C.E.) with Zeno of Verona (fourth century C.E.).

⁹¹Schneider, *Cantica*, 3; cf. Gryson, **Altlateinische Handschriften 2*, 11–19.

⁹²These are the odes, which, according to Schneider, circulated in Spain by the time of Isidore of Seville (compare the Old Latin odes in VL⁴¹⁰); cf. Schneider, *Cantica*, 143.

⁹³Schneider, *Cantica*, 108, 181–82; Schneider, “Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert,” 247–49; Schneider, “Mittelalter,” 479–91.

⁹⁴For textual studies of individual Latin odes, see P. Vaccari, *Studi critici sopra la antiche versione latine del Vecchio Testamento* (Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1914) [odes of Hannah and Habakkuk]; M. Stenzel, “Zum Vulgatatext des Canticum Habacuc,” in *Colligere fragmenta: Festschrift Alban Dold zum 70. Geburtstag am 7.7.1952* (eds. B. Fischer and V.E. Fiala; Beuron: Beuronischer Kunstverlag, 1952), 25–33; M. Stenzel, “Zum Vulgatatext des Canticum Jonae: Prälat A. Allgeier zum 70. Geburtstag,” *Bib* 33 (1952): 356–62; M. Stenzel, “Altlateinische Canticatexte im Dodekapropheton,” *ZNW* 3 (1955): 31–60; P. de Boer, “*Confirmatum est cor meum*: Remarks on the Old Latin text of the Song of Hannah (1 Samuel II, 1–10),” in *Studies on the Psalms* (ed. B. Gemser; Oudtestamentische Studien 13; Leiden: Brill, 1963), 173–92; M. Bogaert, “Sermon sur le Cantique de la Vigne attribuable a Quodvultdeus,” *RBén* 75 (1965): 109–35; J.-C. Haelewyck, “Le cantique ‘de nocte’: Histoire du texte vieux Latin d’Is. 26, 9b–20 (21),” *RBén* 99 (1989): 7–34; J.-C. Haelewyck, “Le cantique de la vigne,” *ETL* 65 (1989): 257–79; R. Gryson and J.-M. Auwers, “L’histoire du texte latin d’Isaïe au miroir du cantique d’Ézéchiass,” *RTL* 24 (1993): 325–44, 455–77; P.-M. Bogaert, “La prière de Daniel (9,4–19) selon le psautier latin du Sinai: Un remaniement liturgique,” *RBén* 114 (2004): 349–62.

⁹⁵On New Testament odes in Latin, see H.A.G. Houghton, *Latin New Testament: A Guide to its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 90–91, 117; cf. Knust and Wasserman, “Biblical Odes.”

⁹⁶Mearns, *Canticles*, 51–53; Schneider, *Cantica*, 46–88; Gryson, **Altlateinische Handschriften 2*, 15–17; cf. R. Weber, *Le Psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins* (Collectanea biblica Latina 10; Rome: Abbaye Saint-Jérôme, 1953).

⁹⁷Mearns, *Canticles*, 62–68; Schneider, *Cantica*, 158–83; Gryson, **Altlateinische Handschriften 2*, 17.

⁹⁸Mearns, *Canticles*, 53–55; Schneider, *Cantica*, 99–126; Gryson, **Altlateinische Handschriften 2*, 17–18.

⁹⁹Mearns, *Canticles*, 68–70; Schneider, *Cantica*, 89–98; Gryson, **Altlateinische Handschriften 2*, 17.

¹⁰⁰There is no need for a genealogical relationship between the two phenomena (*pace* Schneider, “Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert,” 247).

- ¹⁰¹See A.W.S. Porter, "Cantica mozarabica officii," *Ephemerides liturgicae* 49 (1935): 126–45; Schneider, *Cantica*, 126–58; Gryson, **Altlateinische Handschriften 2*, 18. For the manuscripts, see M. Férotin, *Le Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum et les manuscrits mozarabes* (Monumenta Ecclesiae liturgica 6; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1912); Mearns, *Canticles*, 70–75; W.M. Whithill, "A Catalogue of Mozarabic Liturgical Manuscripts Containing the Psalter and *Liber Canticorum*," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 14 (1938): 95–122; Gryson, **Altlateinische Handschriften 2*, 205–27 (VL^{410–419}). On the Mozarabic Psalter, see T. Ayuso Marazuela, *El Salterio* (3 vols.; *La Vetus Latina hispana* 5; Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1962); T. Ayuso Marazuela, *Psalterium uisigothicum-mozarabicum* (Biblia polyglotta Matritensia 7.21; Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1957).
- ¹⁰²Schneider, *Cantica*, 146.
- ¹⁰³Schneider, *Cantica*, 143–44.
- ¹⁰⁴Gryson and Thibaut, *Psautier latin*, 18–21; cf. Gryson, **Altlateinische Handschriften 2*, 19, 296–300. The manuscript is dated toward the end of the first millennium C.E., but closer paleographic estimation is difficult; see Gryson and Thibaut, *Psautier latin*, 12–14 and cited literature.
- ¹⁰⁵For previous discussions of Latin odes manuscripts, see Mearns, *Canticles*, 18–25 (Greek-Latin bilinguals), 50–93 (Latin only); Schneider, *Cantica*, ix–xii.
- ¹⁰⁶Gryson, **Altlateinische Handschriften 1*; Gryson, **Altlateinische Handschriften 2*.
- ¹⁰⁷LDAB 3344, www.trismegistos.org/ldab/text.php?quick=3344, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ¹⁰⁸LDAB 7367, www.trismegistos.org/text/66118, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ¹⁰⁹Online at https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN736607951&PHYSID=PHYS_0001&DMDID=, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ¹¹⁰LDAB 3415, www.trismegistos.org/ldab/text.php?tm=62255, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ¹¹¹Sabatier, **Bibliorum*.
- ¹¹²J.P. Gilson, *The Mozarabic Psalter (MS. British Museum, Add. 30, 851)* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1905), 149–84.
- ¹¹³E.g. R. Gryson, *Esaias* (*VL 12.1–2; Freiburg i.B.: Herder, 1987–1993).
- ¹¹⁴Weber and Gryson, **Vulgata*.
- ¹¹⁵Till and Sanz, *Odenhandschrift*, 34, suggest two manuscripts as Fayumic, but BL Or 5299 (2) (= P.Lond.Copt. 494; seventh to ninth century C.E. (?); papyrus; Exod 15:1–19; LDAB 108,639, www.trismegistos.org/text/108639, last accessed, October 10, 2018) is actually Bohairic. The second manuscript, BL Or. 4717 (11) (= P.Lond.Copt. 493; seventh to ninth century C.E. (?); parchment; Exodus 15:1–19; LDAB 108,638, www.trismegistos.org/text/108638, last accessed, October 10, 2018) is in Fayumic, but does not give any indication that it derives from a collection of odes. A second Fayumic manuscript, not noted by Till and Sanz, preserves a different odes text: BL Or. 4717 (13) (= P.Lond.Copt. 496; seventh to ninth century C.E. (?); parchment; Isaiah 26:1–8; LDAB 108,640, www.trismegistos.org/text/108640, last accessed, October 10, 2018).
- ¹¹⁶Schüssler, **Biblia Coptica* 1.1, 89–90.
- ¹¹⁷Till and Sanz, *Odenhandschrift*; cf. Schneider, "Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert," 239–42.
- ¹¹⁸Till and Sanz, *Odenhandschrift*, 36.
- ¹¹⁹Schneider, "Oden im christlichen Altertum," 56; Schneider, "Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert," 242; Till and Sanz, *Odenhandschrift*, 21–22.
- ¹²⁰Schüssler, **Biblia Coptica* 1.2, 63. LDAB 107,864, www.trismegistos.org/ldab/text.php?tm=107864, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ¹²¹Schüssler, **Biblia Coptica* 1.2, 43–44. LDAB 108,024, www.trismegistos.org/text/108024, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ¹²²LDAB 108,649, www.trismegistos.org/text/108649, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ¹²³Till and Sanz, *Odenhandschrift*, 19–20, 42–45. Till and Sanz rightly separate the questions of macroform and microform.
- ¹²⁴Cf. Till and Sanz, *Odenhandschrift*. LDAB 3483, www.trismegistos.org/text/62320, last accessed, October 10, 2018.

¹²⁵Schüssler, **Biblia Coptica* 1.3, 21–22. This manuscript is not listed in LDAB.

¹²⁶Schüssler, **Biblia Coptica* 2.1, 129–30. LDAB 3424, www.trismegistos.org/text/62264, last accessed, October 10, 2018. Images www.rzuser.uni-heidelberg.de/~gv0/Papyri/P.Heid.Uebersicht.html, last accessed, October 10, 2018.

¹²⁷W.E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1905), 4 (no. 11). This manuscript is not listed in LDAB.

¹²⁸For a list of Coptic “magical” texts, including amulets, see R. Bélanger Sarrazin, “Catalogue des textes magiques coptes,” *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 63 (2017): 367–408; cf. T.S. de Bruyn and J.H.F. Dijkstra, “Greek Amulets and Formularies from Egypt Containing Christian Elements: A Checklist of Papyri, Parchments, Ostraka, and Tablets,” *BASP* 48 (2011): 163–216.

¹²⁹Schüssler, **Biblia Coptica* 2.1, 106. LDAB 108,505, www.trismegistos.org/text/108505, last accessed, October 10, 2018.

¹³⁰Schüssler, **Biblia Coptica* 4.4, 129. LDAB 243,996, www.trismegistos.org/text/243996, last accessed, October 10, 2018.

¹³¹LDAB 108,513, www.trismegistos.org/text/108513, last accessed, October 10, 2018.

¹³²LDAB 112,541, www.trismegistos.org/text/112541, last accessed, October 10, 2018.

¹³³LDAB 2993, www.trismegistos.org/text/61839, last accessed, October 10, 2018.

¹³⁴Schüssler, **Biblia Coptica* 1.1, 84–88. LDAB 107,763, www.trismegistos.org/text/107763, last accessed, October 10, 2018.

¹³⁵A different collection of four odes also circulated in Bohairic, consisting of Exod 15:1–21; Psalm 135; Dan 3:52–88; Psalms 148–150 (cf. Cop^{Sa54lit} = Berlin, SMB, P.Berl. 8115 + 8099 for Psalm 135 and Dan 3:52–88). This collection displays obvious connections with other collections of biblical odes. Cf. the addition of Psalm 135 in the odes of Rome, BAV, ms copt. 6 and a number of Greek manuscripts from Egypt with similar contents: LXX¹²⁴⁷, LXX¹⁴²⁶, LXX¹⁴²⁸, LXX²⁰⁵⁸. The presence of the Song of the Three Young Men in this collection is interesting in light of its frequent appearance in Greek and Coptic manuscripts from Egypt. These four texts have been used in daily prayer since the tenth century C.E. Cf. M.R.B. Awad, *Untersuchungen zur koptischen Psalmodie: Christologische und liturgische Aspekte* (Studien zur orientalischen Kirchengeschichte 41; Berlin: LIT, 2007), 75–87. Awad also discusses liturgical use of biblical songs, including Exod 15:1–21; Deut 32:1–43; 1 Kgs 2:1–10; Hab 3:1–19; Isa 26:9–20; Jonah 2:3–10; Luke 2:29–32, as well as the *Gloria* and the Nicene Creed (47–62).

¹³⁶Schneider, “Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert,” 241–42, discusses manuscript BAV, Vat. copt. 5 in conjunction with LXX^A, Cop^{Sa16lit}, and the Gə‘əz biblical odes.

¹³⁷For the contents of a number of Bohairic odes manuscripts, see Till and Sanz, *Odenhandschrift*, 35–37.

¹³⁸S. Grébaut and E. Tisserant, *Codices aethiopici vaticani et borgiani Barberinians orientalis 2, Rossianus 865* (Rome: BAV, 1935–1936), 859–61.

¹³⁹Previous surveys of Coptic odes manuscripts include Mearns, *Canticles*, 32–35 (Bohairic only); Till and Sanz, *Odenhandschrift*, 32–35; J. Simon, “Eine griechisch-koptische Odenhandschrift (Papyrus copt. Vindob. K 8706),” *Bib* 21 (1940): 342–44.

¹⁴⁰Both contents and sequence are unusual; cf. Till and Sanz, *Odenhandschrift*, 36; Grébaut and Tisserant, *Codices aethiopici vaticani*, 859–61. Digital images online at digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_barb.or.2, last accessed, October 10, 2018.

¹⁴¹Till and Sanz, *Odenhandschrift*, 34–35; H.G.E. White, *The Monasteries of the Wadi ‘n Natrûn* (3 vols.; Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition 1, 2, 8; New York: Arno Press, 1926), 197.

¹⁴²Till and Sanz, *Odenhandschrift*, 34–35; White, *Wadi ‘n Natrûn*, 196.

¹⁴³Till and Sanz, *Odenhandschrift*, 34, erroneously identified this manuscript as Fayumic; this mistaken identification results from confusion between dialect and find location. LDAB 108,639, www.trismegistos.org/text/108639, last accessed, October 10, 2018.

¹⁴⁴On printed editions of the Bible in Coptic, see Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, 2.265–69. I have confirmed the absence of the odes from previous printed editions.

¹⁴⁵R. Tuki, *ΠΙ Ξ Ω Μ Ν Τ Ε Π Ι Ψ Α Λ Τ Η Ρ Ι Ο Ν Ν Τ Ε Δ Α Υ Ι Δ* [“The Book of the Psalter of David”] (Rome: Propaganda Fide, 1744). Tuki’s text is no. 1658 in the British and Foreign Bible Society catalog.

¹⁴⁶C. Labib, *ΠΙ Ξ Ω Μ Ν Τ Ε Ν Ι Ψ Α Λ Μ Ο Σ* [“The Book of the Psalms”] (Cairo, 1613 A.M. = 1897 C.E.).

¹⁴⁷*CoptOT, <http://coptot.manuscriptroom.com>, last accessed, October 10, 2018.

¹⁴⁸G. Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect, otherwise called Memphitic and Bohairic* (vols. 1–6: Oxford: Clarendon, 1898–1905); G. Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, otherwise called Sahidic and Thebaic* (vols. 1–7: Oxford: Clarendon, 1911–1924).

¹⁴⁹Previous discussion: Mearns, *Canticles*, 39–49; Schneider, “Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert”; Schneider, “Wenig beachtete Rezensionen”; Schneider, “Oden im syrohexaplarischen Psalter”; Schneider, “Canticles or Odes,” i–xvi; W.T. van Peursen, “The Text of Isaiah 26:9–19 in the Syriac Odes,” in *Isaiah in Context: Studies in Honour of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (eds. M. van der Meer et al.; VTSup 138; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 341–58.

¹⁵⁰Cf. Schneider, “Canticles or Odes,” ii–iv.

¹⁵¹E.D. Hunter and M. Dickens, *Syrische Handschriften, Part 2: Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung/Syriac Texts from the Berlin Turfan Collection* (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland 5.2; Berlin: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014); M. Dickens, “The Importance of the Psalter at Turfan,” in *From the Oxus River to the Chinese Shores: Studies in East Syriac Christianity in China and Central Asia* (eds. L. Tang and D.W. Winkler; Orientalia – Patristica – Oecumenica 5; Vienna: LIT, 2013), 357–80.

¹⁵²Schneider, “Wenig beachtete Rezensionen,” 188–96; Schneider, “Canticles or Odes,” ii–iii. Schneider does not develop the implications of this observation for the origins of the Syriac odes on the macroform level.

¹⁵³A similar phenomenon occurs in Gəʿəz manuscripts, although these divide the ode into Deut 32:2–21 and 32:22–43. Armenian manuscripts divide the ode into Deut 32:1–21 and 32:22–43.

¹⁵⁴The change in sequence is consistently noted in the **List of Old Testament Peshiṭta Manuscripts*.

¹⁵⁵While Byzantine Greek collections sometimes count the *Magnificat* and *Benedictus* together as one ode, in Syriac the two are counted separately.

¹⁵⁶Schneider, “Oden im christlichen Altertum,” 49–50.

¹⁵⁷Some Byzantine Greek manuscripts omit Deut 32:1–43; cf. Schneider, “Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert,” 262.

¹⁵⁸Van Peursen, “Text of Isaiah 26:9–19,” 345–56.

¹⁵⁹Cf. Mearns, *Canticles*, 27.

¹⁶⁰The manuscript is identified as manuscript Pal. Med. 1. in S.E. Assemanus, *Bibliothecae Mediceae, Laurentianae et Palatinae codicum Mms. orientalium catalogus* (Florence: Albizinni, 1742), 50–51.

¹⁶¹Cf. Schneider, “Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert,” 247; Schneider, “Canticles or Odes,” iii, v; van Peursen, “Text of Isaiah 26:9–19,” 343; A. Gutman and W.T. van Peursen, *The Two Syriac Versions of the Prayer of Manasseh* (Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 30; Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2011), §1.5.2.

¹⁶²

The editors of the Psalms in the Leiden Peshiṭta ([l.10.3.4](#)) did not note the presence of Psalm 63 in S^{9a1}. The ode comes from the same textual tradition as the psalm in S^{9a1}; the text in the psalms and in the odes is identical with the exception of one *seyame*. A partial parallel to the designation of this text as an “ode” is found in S^{13tL7154} (= London, BL Add 7154 [= R.F. 10], which titles the psalm “ode of the Temple” (ܩܕܫܐ ܕܩܕܫܐܝܗ)).

¹⁶³Schneider, “Wenig beachtete Rezensionen”; Schneider, “Canticles or Odes,” iii; van Peursen, “Text of Isaiah 26:9–19,” 356.

¹⁶⁴Schneider, “Canticles or Odes,” iii, notes that S^{12t2} adds Exod 15:20–21 from the Syro-Hexapla ([l.1.4.5](#)).

¹⁶⁵Mearns, *Canticles*, 27.

¹⁶⁶Schneider, “Canticles or Odes,” iii.

¹⁶⁷I have not been able to determine whether these additional texts share the characteristics of the Rûm text (microform).

¹⁶⁸Cf. Mearns, *Canticles*, 27–28.

¹⁶⁹W. Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 1968); A. Vööbus, *Discoveries of Very Important Manuscript Sources for the Syro-Hexapla: Contributions to the Research on the Septuagint* (Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile 20; Stockholm: ETSE, 1970), 32–33; A. Vööbus, *The Hexapla and the Syro-Hexapla: Very Important Discoveries for Septuagint Research* (Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile 22; Stockholm: ETSE, 1971), 56; G. Kessel, “Manuscript Collection of the Syrian Orthodox Church Meryemana in Diyarbakir: A Preliminary Survey,” in *Manuscripta Syriaca: Des sources de première main* (eds. F. Briquel Chatonnet and M. Debié; Paris: Geuthner, 2015), 79–123 (106).

¹⁷⁰A tetralingual Psalter (Arabic-Syriac-Greek-Hebrew) in the fourteenth or fifteenth century (Cambridge, UL MS Or. 929; = LXX¹⁷¹⁴) that includes parts of Exod 15:1–19 and Deut 32:1–43 raises the question whether Origen’s Hexapla had a collection of odes, but this possibility has not been confirmed; cf. M. H. Gottstein, “Eine Cambridger Syrohexaplahandschrift,” *Mus* 67 (1954): 292–95; G. Mercati, “Eine Cambridger Syrohexaplahandschrift,” *Bib* 36 (1955): 227–28; Schneider, “Oden im syrohexaplarischen Psalter.” On the Syro-Hexaplaric Psalter, see R. Hiebert, “The Syro-Hexaplaric Psalter: Its Text and Textual History,” in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen: Symposium in Göttingen 1997* (eds. A. Aejmelaeus and U. Quast; MSU 24; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 123–73.

¹⁷¹S^{5b1} (= London, BL, Add 14,425) competes with Codex Alexandrinus (LXX^A) as the earliest physical witness to “odes” in the Pentateuch.

¹⁷²Schneider describes these manuscripts in “Canticles or Odes,” iv–xiv. Further manuscripts are identified by the Peshitta Institute, **List of Old Testament Peshitta Manuscripts*, 51–74; these were not assigned sigla in the convention of “S^{9t3}” but appear in an appendix to the Leiden list. Most date from the fourteenth to nineteenth century. For earlier discussion of manuscripts, see Mearns, *Canticles*, 39–49; cf. the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (<http://hmml.org/manuscripts>, last accessed, October 10, 2018).

¹⁷³Grébaut and Tisserant, *Codices aethiopici vaticani*, 859–61.

¹⁷⁴Schneider, “Canticles or Odes.” On printed editions of the Bible in Syriac, see Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, 4.1526–56. I have confirmed the absence of the odes from previous printed editions.

¹⁷⁵Schneider uses this manuscript as the basis for his diplomatic edition, although he argues both S^{9t2} and S^{9t3} were revised toward OG.

¹⁷⁶Since the Leiden Peshitta is limited to the Old Testament, the **List of Old Testament Peshitta Manuscripts* includes only the Old Testament contents of odes manuscripts.

¹⁷⁷On biblical odes in Arabic, the most significant discussion remains Mearns, *Canticles*, 25–31. On the Arabic Psalter, see [1.10.3.8](#) and [1.10.4.8](#); and Graf, **GCAL*, esp. 1.114–26. Graf does not always specify the presence of the odes, but notes a large number of bilingual manuscripts.

¹⁷⁸Graf, **GCAL*, 1.116; Mearns, *Canticles*, 27.

¹⁷⁹Graf, **GCAL*, 1.460.

¹⁸⁰Graf, **GCAL*, 1.133.

¹⁸¹Mearns, *Canticles*, 26.

¹⁸²Mearns, *Canticles*, 26.

¹⁸³A. McCollum, “The Song of Hannah in Arabic from Vat. Barb. Or. 2 and Other Sources,” (unpublished article, 2014; see <https://nd.academia.edu/AdamCarterMcCollum>, last accessed October 10, 2018).

¹⁸⁴C. Pasini, “Un frammento greco-arabo delle Odi Bibliche nel palinsesto Ambrosiano L 120 Sup.,” *Revista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* N.S. 39 (2002): 1–53.

- ¹⁸⁵M.L. Hjälml, “Christian Arabic Versions of Daniel: A Comparative Study of Early MSS and Translation Techniques in MSS Sinai Ar. 1 and 2,” *Collectanea Christiana Orientalia* 12 (2015): 115–78.
- ¹⁸⁶Graf, *GCAL, remains indispensable; cf. Mearns, *Canticles*, 25–31; A.S. Atiya, *The Arabic Manuscripts of Mount Sinai: A Hand-list of the Arabic Manuscripts and Scrolls Microfilmed at the Library of the Monastery of St. Catherine, Mount Sinai* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1955); M. Kamil, *Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai* (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 1970); Hill Museum and Manuscript Library (<http://hmml.org/manuscripts/>, last accessed, October 10, 2018). All of these sources include additional manuscripts later than the thirteenth century, which I have not listed here.
- ¹⁸⁷Grébaut and Tisserant, *Codices aethiopici vaticani*, 859–61. Digital images online at digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_barb.or.2, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ¹⁸⁸LDAB 128,530 www.trismegistos.org/text/128530, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ¹⁸⁹On printed editions of the Arabic Psalms and odes, see Graf, *GCAL, 1.117–18; Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, 2:62–84. This is no. 1652. I have not been able to examine the Maronite Syriac-Garshuni edition of the Psalms (no. 1742) printed in Lebanon in 1610.
- ¹⁹⁰R. Tuki, *ΠΙ Ξ Ω Μ Ν Τ Ε Π Ι Ψ Δ Λ Τ Η Ρ Ι Ο Ν Ν Τ Ε Δ Δ Υ Ι Δ* [*“The Book of the Psalter of David”*] (Rome: Propaganda Fide, 1744). Tuki’s text is no. 1658 in the British and Foreign Bible Society catalog (cf. [16.4.3](#)).
- ¹⁹¹C.V.A van Dyck, [Holy Bible], Beirut: American Bible Society, 1865. Cf. Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, 2:72–79. This is no. 1698.
- ¹⁹²On the Gəʾəz Psalter, see [1.10.4.3](#) and M.A. Knibb, “The Ethiopic Translation of the Psalms,” in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen. Symposium in Göttingen 1997* (eds. A. Aejmelaeus and U. Quast; MSU 24; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 107–22, cf. especially the discussion of manuscripts at 107–09.
- ¹⁹³Mearns, *Canticles*, 35–36; Schneider, “Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert,” 239–42. On the history of the Bible in Ethiopic, see [1.1.4.3](#) and M.A. Knibb, *Translating the Bible: The Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).
- ¹⁹⁴B. Jeanseau, “The Dual Textual History of the Song of Hana in the Ethiopic Manuscript Traditions” (MA thesis, George Fox University, Oregon, 2015).
- ¹⁹⁵A. McCollum, “The Witness of Ms. Vat. Barb. Or. 2 to the Song of Hannah in Gəʾəz,” (unpublished paper, 2014; see <https://nd.academia.edu/AdamCarterMcCollum>, last accessed October 10, 2018).
- ¹⁹⁶T. Odon, “The Dual-Textual Histories of the Ethiopic Canticles: An Exploration of Textual History and Social Location” (forthcoming).
- ¹⁹⁷For Psalter manuscripts from the fourteenth and fifteenth century, see Knibb, “Ethiopic Translation,” 107–08; cf. Mearns, *Canticles*, 35–36. For numerous other manuscripts, mostly from the nineteenth and twentieth century, see **Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts*.
- ¹⁹⁸HMML catalogue entry <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/203840>, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ¹⁹⁹HMML catalogue entry <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/203893>, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ²⁰⁰HMML catalogue entry <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/204324>, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ²⁰¹HMML catalogue entry <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/206678>, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ²⁰²*Beta maṣāḥaft* catalogue entry <http://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/BLadd11621/main>, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ²⁰³*Beta maṣāḥaft* catalogue entry <http://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/BLadd11292/main>, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ²⁰⁴HMML catalogue entry <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/133114>, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ²⁰⁵*Beta maṣāḥaft* catalogue entry <http://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/BNFet12/main>, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ²⁰⁶*Beta maṣāḥaft* catalogue entry <http://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/BNFet13/main>, last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ²⁰⁷*Beta maṣāḥaft* catalogue entry <http://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/BNFet15/main>, last accessed, October 10, 2018.

²⁰⁸*Beta maṣāḥaft* catalogue entry <http://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/BAVet10/main>, last accessed, October 10, 2018.

²⁰⁹*Beta maṣāḥaft* catalogue entry <http://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/BAVet14/main>, last accessed, October 10, 2018.

²¹⁰*Beta maṣāḥaft* catalogue entry <http://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/BAVet4/main>, last accessed, October 10, 2018.

²¹¹*Beta maṣāḥaft* catalogue entry <http://betamasaheft.eu/manuscripts/BAVet7/main>, last accessed, October 10, 2018.

²¹²Grébaut and Tisserant, *Codices aethiopici vaticani*, 859–61. Digital images online at digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_barb.or.2, last accessed, October 10, 2018.

²¹³M. Kamil, *Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai* (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 1970), 55.

²¹⁴On printed editions of the Bible in Gəʿəz, see Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, 2:351–57. This is no. 3560. Cf. Knibb, “Ethiopic Translation,” 112–13.

²¹⁵Ludolf and Michaelis, *Maseḥafa Mazemurāte za Dāwite*. Ludolf printed the odes but (unlike the rest of the Gəʿəz text), did not translate them into Latin. This edition is no. 3572 in the British and Foreign Bible Society catalog.

²¹⁶On biblical odes in Armenian, see Mearns, *Canticles*, 31–32; Schneider, “Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert,” 247. The biblical odes in Armenian should not be confused with collections of *ganjarian* (acrostic liturgical poems; sg. *ganj*).

²¹⁷On the Armenian Psalter, see [1.10.4.5](#).

²¹⁸Mearns, *Canticles*, 31.

²¹⁹M. Ormanian, *A Dictionary of the Armenian Church* (trans. B. Norehad; New York: St. Vartan Press, 1984), 44.

²²⁰

I have relied primarily on manuscripts held in North American and European collections, but the most significant collections of Armenian manuscripts are located in the Matenadaran (Library of Manuscripts) in Erevan and in the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, as well as at the Mekhitarist Monastery in Venice. Cf. C. Bernhard, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits arméniens* (Corpus Christianorum; Turnhout: Brepols, 1992). A survey of these manuscripts would certainly reveal further manuscripts with biblical odes – as well as significant variations at macroform and microform levels.

²²¹Cf. Mearns, *Canticles*, 31–32; A.K. Sanjian, *A Catalogue of Medieval Armenian Manuscripts in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

²²²HMML catalogue entry, <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/130960>, last accessed, October 10, 2018.

²²³HMML catalogue entry, <https://w3id.org/vhmml/readingRoom/view/130961>, last accessed, October 10, 2018.

²²⁴Grébaut and Tisserant, *Codices aethiopici vaticani*, 859–61. Digital images online at digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_barb.or.2, last accessed, October 10, 2018.

²²⁵On printed editions of the Bible in Armenian, see Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, 2:86–98. The 1565 Psalter (*non vide*) is no. 1778. See also [1.1.4.7](#); C. Cox, “The Armenian Version and the Text of the Old Greek Psalter,” in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen. Symposium in Göttingen 1997* (eds. A. Aejmelaeus and U. Quast; MSU 24; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 174–247 at 174–75. In keeping with the scope of the edited volume, Cox does not discuss the odes.

²²⁶A. K. Sanjian, *Medieval Armenian Manuscripts at the University of California, Los Angeles* (University of California Publications: Catalogs and Bibliographies 14; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 5 n. 13.

²²⁷Zohrapian, **Scriptures*. The Zohrapian edition is no. 1787 in the British and Foreign Bible Society catalog. The edition is used as “the Armenian” by the Septuaginta Unternehmen for the Göttingen edition.

²²⁸On the Bible in Georgian, see [1.1.4.8](#) and J.N. Birdsall, “Georgian Translations of the Bible,” *The Interpretation of the Bible: The International Symposium in Slovenia* (ed. J. Krašovec; JSOTSup 289; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 387–92.

²²⁹Mearns, *Canticles*, 36–37; Schneider, “Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert,” 239–72.

- ²³⁰Cf. Mearns, *Canticles*, 36–37; M. Kamil, *Catalogue of All Manuscripts in the Monastery of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai* (Wiesbaden: Harassowitz, 1970), 56–57; A. Kharanauli, “Einführung in die georgische Psalterübersetzung,” in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen. Symposium in Göttingen 1997* (ed. A. Aejmelaeus and U. Quast; Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse III/230; MSU 24; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 248–308. Kharanauli discusses several Psalters that include the odes (248–52).
- ²³¹Diplomatic edition: V. Imnaishvili, “Psalterium et Odae e codice palimpsesto Gracensi,” in *Uzvelesi kartuli xelnaçerebi avştriaşi: Xanmeṭi lekcionari, Psalmuni, Svimeon Salosis cxoreba, Iovane Okropirisa da Iaḡob mocikulis žamişçirvebi* (Tbilisi, 2004), 70–220; electronic edition prepared by J. Gippert ([<http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/cauc/ageo/at/psgraz/psgra.htm>]); last accessed, October 10, 2018).
- ²³²Microfilm digitized by Library of Congress [www.loc.gov/item/00271073306-jo/]; last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ²³³Microfilm digitized by Library of Congress [www.loc.gov/item/0027107332A-jo/]; last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ²³⁴Microfilm digitized by Library of Congress [www.loc.gov/item/00271073471-jo/]; last accessed, October 10, 2018.
- ²³⁵On printed editions of the Bible in Georgian, see Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, 2:478–80. This is no. 4163 (*non vide*).
- ²³⁶This is no. 4164 (*non vide*) in the British and Foreign Bible Society catalog.
- ²³⁷In addition to the diplomatic edition of the Graz manuscript (see above), there is a critical edition of the Psalms and Odes: M. Şaniže, *Psalmunis žveli kartuli redakciebi X-XIII sauğuneta xelnaçerebis mixedvit, I. ŧekşti* (Žveli kartuli enis žeglebi 11; Tbilisi, 1960), 145–74; electronic edition prepared by J. Gippert ([<http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/cauc/ageo/at/psa/psa.htm>]); last accessed, October 10, 2018).
- ²³⁸Mearns, *Canticles*, 38–39; Schneider, “Oden im christlichen Altertum,” 63–65.
- ²³⁹V. Jagić, *Psalterium Bononiense* (Vienna: Gerold & Sohn, 1907); Schneider, “Oden im christlichen Altertum,” 63–65.
- ²⁴⁰V. Jagić, *Supplementum Psalterii Bononiensis: Incerti auctoris explanatio Psalmorum graeca* (Vienna: Holzhausen, 1917).
- ²⁴¹V. Badurina Stipčević, “The Croatian Glagolitic Bible: The State of the Research,” *Studi Slavistici* 13 (2016): 283–97.
- ²⁴²Badurina Stipčević, “Croatian Glagolitic Bible”; M. Garzaniti, “Slavic Text Editions of Biblical Content: Problems and Perspectives: An Introduction,” *Studi Slavistici* 13 (2016): 237–42.
- ²⁴³Numerous other manuscripts are held in the Synodal Library in Moscow, as well as other monasteries and libraries in Eastern Europe and the Middle East. For an early list, see Mearns, *Canticles*, 38–39.
- ²⁴⁴Jagić, *Psalterium Bononiense*.
- ²⁴⁵C.M. MacRobert, “A Missing Link in the Early Tradition of the Church Slavonic Psalter (the Tolstoy, Sluck, Eugenius and Vienna Psalters and MS 34 of the Moscow Synodal Typography),” *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch* 39 (1993): 57–81.
- ²⁴⁶H. Belting and S. Dufrenne, *Der Serbische Psalter: Faksimile-Ausgabe des Cod. Slav. 4 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1978).
- ²⁴⁷M. Altbauer and H.G. Lunt, *An Early Slavonic Psalter from Rus’* (Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute Sources and Documents Series 1; Cambridge: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 1978).
- ²⁴⁸Jagić, *Psalterium Bononiense*.
- ²⁴⁹On printed editions of the Bible in Slavonic, see Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue*, 4.1398–1412. This is no. 8365 (*non vide*).