

THE PRAYER OF MANASSES

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. DESCRIPTION OF THE BOOK.

THE Prayer of Manasses, King of Judah, when he was holden captive in Babylon, is the title of a short penitential Psalm. It is written in Greek, and contains thirty-seven *στίχοι*. In Fritzsche's *Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test. Græce* it is divided into fifteen verses; and this division has been very generally adopted.

The Psalm consists of (a) an invocation of the Deity (*vv.* 1-7), (b) a confession of sin (*vv.* 8-10), (c) an entreaty for forgiveness (*vv.* 11-15).

§ 2. ITS ORIGIN.

Its literary origin is obscure. There seems, however, to be little reason to doubt that the author was a Jew, i.e. not a Christian. While, in the case of so short a fragment, it is difficult to decide with absolute certainty, it seems most probable that the Prayer was originally written in Greek; and that the existing Greek text is not, as has sometimes been maintained, a translation from the Hebrew or Aramaic.¹ If this view be correct, 'The Prayer of Manasses' should be classed with such writings as 'The Song of the Three Children', and be regarded as, in all probability, the composition of a Hellenistic Jew, who in the interests of his people's faith wrote the penitential Prayer to suit the special circumstances under which the prayer, ascribed to Manasseh, King of Judah, in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 18, 19, was supposed to have been uttered.

It will be convenient to quote the whole passage in which this mention of the king's prayer occurs, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11-13, 18, 19:

(11) 'Wherefore the LORD brought upon them the captains of the host of the king of Assyria, which took Manasseh in chains (*Or, with hooks*), and bound him with fetters, and carried him to Babylon. (12) And when he was in distress, he besought the LORD his God, and humbled himself greatly before the God of his fathers. (13) And he prayed unto him; and he was intreated of him, and heard his supplication, and brought him again to Jerusalem into his kingdom. Then Manasseh knew that the LORD he was God. . . . (18) Now the rest of the acts of Manasseh, and his prayer unto his God, and the words of the seers that spake to him in the name of the LORD, the God of Israel, behold, they are written among the acts of the kings of Israel. (19) His prayer also, and how God was intreated of him, and all his sin and his trespass, and the places wherein he built high places, and set up the Asherim and the graven images, before he humbled himself; behold, they are written in the history of Hozai (*Or, the seers*).'

According to this account, a Prayer of Manasseh² was reputed, in the Chronicler's time, (a) to have been preserved among 'the acts of the kings of Israel', and (b) to be contained in the records of Hozai (*or, the seers*). Whether the Chronicler himself was acquainted with any such Hebrew prayer, or whether he is simply repeating a popular tradition, we have no means of determining. No such writing was ever contained in the Hebrew Scriptures; nor, if it ever existed, has it survived in any Hebrew or Aramaic form.

It is easy to understand that the Chronicler's story of Manasseh's repentance and prayer and deliverance from captivity must have produced upon the minds of devout Jews a profound impression. The record of his idolatry and of his persecution of the servants of Jehovah had stamped his name with infamy in the annals of Judah. But side by side with his wickedness were commemorated the unusual length of the king's reign and the quiet peacefulness of his end. The Chronicler's story of the repentance and conversion of Manasseh provided the explanation of a seemingly unintelligible anomaly. Henceforth his name was associated by Jewish tradition not only with the grossest acts of idolatry ever perpetrated by a king of Judah, but also with the most famous instance of Divine forgiveness towards a repentant sinner. What more remarkable example could be found of the long-suffering compassion of the Almighty and of His readiness to hear and to answer the supplication of a contrite penitent?

Nothing would be more natural than for a devout Jew to endeavour to frame in fitting terms the kind of penitential prayer, which, according to the tradition, Manasseh had poured forth when he was in captivity in Babylon. The sentiments embodied in such a form of petition might conceivably be

¹ See note on § 7.—GEN. ED.

² The oldest non-canonical reference to this prayer is to be found in 2 Baruch lxiv. 8.

INTRODUCTION

appropriate to those of his countrymen who had fallen into idolatry, and who might yet be reclaimed from the error of their way.

According to this hypothesis, the Psalm was composed for a practical devotional purpose.

§ 3. ITS LITERARY HISTORY.

'The Prayer of Manasses' makes its first appearance in extant literature, so far as is known at present, in the so-called *Didascalia*. This was an early Christian writing, composed probably in the second or third century, and incorporated into the *Apostolical Constitutions*, a work of the fourth or fifth century, of which the first six books consist of the *Didascalia*.

The author of the *Didascalia* was probably a member of the Christian Church in Syria, and wrote in Greek. In a long extract, apparently derived from some other writing, he records at length the narrative of Manasseh's idolatry and punishment, of his repentance and prayer, of his miraculous deliverance from captivity and restoration to Jerusalem. The object which the author of the *Didascalia* has in view is to illustrate God's mercy towards a repentant sinner. After briefly mentioning the classical instances of David's repentance at the rebuke of Nathan, of Jonah's repentance and the answer to his prayer uttered in the whale's belly, of Hezekiah's supplication and the pardon of his sin of pride, he continues, 'But hearken, ye bishops, to an excellent and apposite example; for thus is it written in the Fourth Book of the Kingdoms (i.e. 2 Kings) and in the Second Book of Chronicles.' Then follow extracts from the LXX of 2 Kings xxi. 1-18 and 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1 ff., which are welded together and expanded by four Additions, to which there is nothing corresponding in the Hebrew text. The order in which these extracts follow one another is as follows:

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| (1) 2 Kings xxi. 1-4. | (7) Addition B. λέγων, followed by 'The Prayer of Manasses'. |
| (2) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 5-8. | (8) Addition C. |
| (3) 2 Kings xxi. 9-16. | (9) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 13 ^b . |
| (4) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. | (10) Addition D. |
| (5) Addition A. | (11) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 15, 16. |
| (6) 2 Chron. xxxiii. 12-13* (προσηύξατο). | |

The Additions are as follows:

(A) An insertion between 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11 and 12: καὶ ἦν δεδεμένος καὶ κατασσεσθρωμένος ὅλος ἐν αἰῶνι φυλακῆς, καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ἐκ πτερυγῶν ἄρτων ἐν στομῷ θανάτου, καὶ ἰδὼν σὺν ὅξει ὑλῆσιν ἐν μέτρῳ, ὥστε ζῆν αὐτόν, καὶ ἦν συνεχόμενος καὶ ὀδυνώμενος σφόδρα.¹

(B) After 2 Chron. xxxiii. 13 καὶ προσήγατο πρὸς κύριον (LXX αὐτόν) is added λέγων κύριε παντοκράτωρ . . . εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

(C) Instead of 2 Chron. xxxiii. 13 καὶ ἐπήκουσεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπήκουσεν τῆς βοῆς αὐτοῦ, is substituted καὶ ἐπήκουε τῆς φωνῆς αὐτοῦ κύριος, καὶ ὥκτειρσεν αὐτόν καὶ ἐγένετο περὶ αὐτόν φλόξ πυρός, καὶ ἐτάκυσαν πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτόν σκῆθρα καὶ ἴασατο κύριος Μανασσῆν ἐκ τῆς θλίψεως αὐτοῦ.

(D) Instead of 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14 is substituted καὶ ἐλάτρευσε μόνῳ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐλογίσθη δίκαιος.

§ 4. ITS PRESERVATION.

The preservation of this short disconnected Psalm may thus, with good reason, be ascribed to the accident of its occurrence in the *Didascalia* and the *Apostolical Constitutions*. There is no evidence to show that it was ever included in the Septuagint, the Judæo-Greek Canon of Holy Scripture. But, very possibly, in consequence of the popularity of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, 'The Prayer of Manasses' became well known in the Eastern Church; and it was a natural step to take, to detach the Prayer from its context and to insert it among the Canticles (ᾠδαὶ, *Cantica*) used and sung for liturgical purposes, and to be found appended to the Psalter in certain uncial MSS. and a large proportion of the cursives (Swete, *Introd. to the O. T. in Greek*, p. 253).

In the Codex Alexandrinus (A) there are fourteen Canticles appended to the Psalter in the following order: (1) Exod. xv. 1-19 (ᾠδὴ Μωσέως ἐν τῇ Ἐξόδῳ); (2) Deut. xxxii. 1-43 (ᾠδὴ Μωσέως ἐν τῷ Δευτερονομίῳ); (3) 1 Sam. ii. 1-10 (πρωτεύχῃ Ἀννᾶς μητρὸς Σαμουὴλ); (4) Isa. xxvi. 9-20 (πρωτεύχῃ Ἐζεκιᾶν); (5) Jonah ii. 3-10 (πρωτεύχῃ Ἰωνᾶ); (6) Hab. iii. 1-19 (πρωτεύχῃ Ἀμβασούμ); (7) Isa. xxxviii. 10-23 (πρωτεύχῃ Ἐζεκιᾶν); (8) 'The Prayer of Manasses' (πρωτεύχῃ Μανασσῆ);

¹ On the Jewish Midrashic legend respecting Manasseh's deliverance see Hall's 'Introduction to the Prayer of Manasseh' in Speaker's Comm. on Apoc. ii. 362 ff. Compare 2 Baruch lxiv. 8, part of the section (lii-lxxiv) assigned by Dr. Charles to 50-70 A.D. Cf. Anastas, in Ps. 6 *Cantic. theol. Menium*, iii. p. 112 φωνὴ αὐτοῦ ἡρώδης τῶν ὑπερηφανῶν, ὅτι ἀπειχθεὶς Μ. κατακείσθη εἰς ζῶντα χυλῶν ἀπὸ βασιλέως Περσῶν καὶ ἴστω ὅτι ἐν τοιαύτῳ ζῶντι πρωτεύχεται μετὰ δοκρίμων. Ioh. Damasc. *Præf. 2*. 15. Opp. ii. p. 465 ἱστορεῖται παρὰ Ἀφρικανῶν, ὅτι ἐν τῷ λέγειν ὅτι τὸν Μ. τὰ διασῶν διεργάσθη σκῆθρα ὅσα καὶ ἐφεργεν. Suidas s.v. Μανασσῆ: ἐπὶ Μερουάχ βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων δέσμιος εἰς Νινευί γὰρ πωδὶ διεργάσθη σκῆθρα ὅσα καὶ ἐφεργεν. Suidas s.v. Μανασσῆ: ἐπὶ Μερουάχ βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων δέσμιος εἰς Νινευί γὰρ πωδὶ διεργάσθη σκῆθρα ὅσα καὶ ἐφεργεν. Suidas s.v. Μανασσῆ: ἐπὶ Μερουάχ βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων δέσμιος εἰς Νινευί γὰρ πωδὶ διεργάσθη σκῆθρα ὅσα καὶ ἐφεργεν. Suidas s.v. Μανασσῆ: ἐπὶ Μερουάχ βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων δέσμιος εἰς Νινευί γὰρ πωδὶ διεργάσθη σκῆθρα ὅσα καὶ ἐφεργεν.

THE PRAYER OF MANASSES

(9) Dan. iii. 23 (προσευχὴ Ἀζαρίου): (10) ὕμνος τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν: (11) Magnificat (προσευχὴ Μαρίας τῆς Θεοτόκου): (12) *Nunc Dimittis* (προσευχὴ Συμεών): (13) *Benedictus* (προσευχὴ Ζαχαρίου): (14) The Morning Hymn (ὕμνος ἑωθινός). Similarly, in the Codex Turicensis (T), the liturgical Canticles are appended to the Psalter; and 'The Prayer of Manasses' appears ninth in the list. But the evidence of Codex Alexandrinus would alone suffice to show that in the Eastern Church the Prayer was in use for liturgical psalmody in the fifth century A.D.

§ 5. THE TITLE.

To the Psalm is prefixed the title 'The Prayer of Manasses' (προσευχὴ Μανασσή) in Codex Alexandrinus (A); 'The Prayer of Manasses the son of Hezekiah' (προσευχὴ Μανασσή τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἑζεκίου) in Codex Turicensis (T); and in the editions of the Vulgate 'The Prayer of Manasses, King of Judah, when he was holden captive in Babylon' (*Oratio Manassae regis Iuda cum captus teneretur in Babylone*).

There is no sufficient reason to call in question the correctness of the title. (1) The title is derived from the narrative in the *Didascalia* in which the Prayer has been incorporated. (2) There is no evidence to show that the Prayer had existed before its inclusion in this Manasseh tradition. (3) Though it is noteworthy that the Prayer contains no mention of any proper name of personage or place, by which the legitimacy of the title might be confirmed, there are nevertheless to be found in it allusions which are most naturally interpreted on the assumption that the Prayer is put into the mouth of Manasseh, King of Judah. Thus, (a) the speaker describes himself as 'weighed down with chains', κατακαμπτόμενος πολλῶ σιδήρῳ (ver. 10): (b) he dwells with emphasis upon his many sins in past time, ἡμαρτον ὑπὲρ ἀριθμὸν ψάμμον θαλάσσης . . . ἀπὸ πληθύνουσιν τῶν ἀδικιῶν μου (ver. 9): (c) he makes particular mention of the forms of idolatrous sin whereby he had provoked the wrath of God, στήσας βδελύγματα καὶ πληθύνας προσοχίσματα (ver. 10).

The objection must be admitted for what it is worth that there is no reference to the Temple of Jerusalem or to the religious worship of Israel. But this omission is intelligible, if we are correct in assuming that the composer is concerned with the tradition of Manasseh's repentance in its religious rather than in its historical bearings.

§ 6. DATE OF COMPOSITION.

It seems probable that the *Didascalia* (lib. ii. 21), in which the Prayer was preserved, was composed in the first half of the third century A.D. (F. X. Funk, *Die Apostol. Konstitutionen*, 1891, p. 50), and in Syria (*ibid.*, p. 54). If we may assume that the author of the *Didascalia* borrowed from some Jewish, or Hellenistic, source the whole passage relating to Manasseh, then the Prayer, and the writing in which it stood, must have been well known in the beginning of the third century A.D. Its composition must be assigned to an earlier date than this.

The inclusion of the Prayer among the liturgical Canticles in the Codex Alexandrinus implies a high degree of estimation; and if those Canticles were copied from a yet earlier MS., we might be justified in inferring that its adoption for liturgical use had its origin not later than in the fourth century, and that a considerable interval of time must have elapsed between its becoming known in the Eastern Church and its being transcribed for liturgical use in MSS. of Scripture. Perhaps, however, we cannot say more than that (1) 'The Prayer of Manasses' probably found its way into liturgical use after becoming known to the Church through the *Didascalia*: (2) that the citation, in the *Didascalia*, of the long extract in which the Prayer occurs, points to an earlier date for the period of its composition: (3) that the position of the Prayer, in a setting of passages cited from the Greek versions of Kings and Chronicles, suggests that the Prayer itself is of considerably later date than the translations which were used as a framework into which the penitential Psalm was inserted.

§ 7. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.

'The Prayer of Manasses' is too brief to admit of any degree of certainty in the reply to the question whether we have to do with a Greek original, or with a Greek translation from a Hebrew or Aramaic original.¹ If it be a translation, it deserves to rank high. But the general impression

¹ [There is, I think, one real piece of evidence on behalf of a Semitic original. This is to be found in ver. 7:

σὺ, κύριε, κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς χρηστότητός σου ἐπηγγείλω μετανοῦναι ἄφαιεν τοῖς ἡμαρτηκόσιν σου καὶ τῷ πλῆθει τῶν οἰκτιρῶν σου ὥρισας μετάνοιαν ἁμαρτωλοῖς εἰς σωτηρίαν.

Here μετανοῦναι ἄφαιεν is clearly anomalous and unintelligible. Furthermore, if we compare the two στίχοι, we discover that it is just this phrase that destroys the otherwise exact parallelism of the στίχοι. Originally the first line contained five elements parallel to the five elements still preserved in the second. Three of these still exist: κατὰ τ. πλῆθος τ. χρηστότητός σου || τ. πλῆθει τ. οἰκτιρῶν σου, ἐπηγγείλω || ὥρισας, τ. ἡμαρτηκόσιν σου || ἁμαρτωλοῖς. Over against

INTRODUCTION

produced by the flexible style and ample vocabulary favours the view that Greek is the language in which it was composed: and it receives further support from the consideration that the manner in which it is inserted in the *Didascalia* extract among quotations from the Greek renderings of Kings and Chronicles, combined with Greek 'Haggadic' Additions, would suggest an originally Greek compilation.

The language may be described as a good specimen of the κοινή διάλεκτος, and contains phrases which show the usual Semitic colouring, e.g. ἀπὸ προσώπου (ver. 3), ἐνώπιόν σου (ver. 10), εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (ver. 13). The occurrence of such adjectives as ἀμέτρητος, ἀνεξιχνίαστος, ἀνπίστατος, ἄσπεκτος (ver. 6, 7), of such substantives as ἀγαθωσύνη (ver. 14), ἐπαγγελία (ver. 6), ψάμμος (ver. 8), and of such verbs as ἀναρεύειν (ver. 10), ἀντιζέω (ver. 9), κατακάμπτειν (ver. 9), would suggest a freedom from the usual restrictions of translation.

The employment of phrases based on, or derived from, the LXX seems to indicate an acquaintance with the Greek version rather than the work of an independent translator; e.g. ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν σὺν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ αὐτῶν (ver. 1), cf. Gen. i. 1, ii. 1: μετανοῶν ἐπὶ κακίαις θεθρώπων (ver. 7), cf. Joel ii. 13: μὴ συναπολέσῃς με ταῖς ἀνομίαις μου (ver. 13), cf. Gen. xix. 15: εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μηρίσας (ver. 13), cf. Ps. ciii. (ciii.) 9: ἐν τοῖς κατωτάτοις τῆς γῆς (ver. 13), cf. Ps. cxxxviii. (cxxxix.) 15: πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις τῶν οὐρανῶν (ver. 15), cf. Ps. xxxii. (xxxiii.) 6.

Strange constructions such as ὥρισας μετάνοιαν . . . εἰς σωτηρίαν (ver. 7); ἡμάρτον ὑπὲρ ἀριθμὸν ψάμμον θαλάσσης (ver. 9); εἰς τὸ ἀνανεῶσαί με ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν (ver. 10); κλίω γόνυ καρδίας μου (ver. 11); διὰ πατρὸς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ζωῆς μου (ver. 15) seem to indicate the freedom of one who wrote in Greek.

It has been strongly urged by Sir Henry Howorth that the current LXX version of 2 Chronicles should be identified with the work of Theodotion; and that as we have 'a free rendering of parts of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah grouped round a fable (i. Esdras), and by the same hand a paraphrase of parts of Daniel, also with legendary additions' (Thackeray, *Grammar of O.T. in Greek*, p. 15), so we should be prepared to recognize in the Manasseh narrative, Prayer and Additions, preserved in the *Didascalia* a reproduction of the original LXX version, for which the more literal version of Theodotion was afterwards substituted.

This view has been supported in *Old Test. and Semitic Studies in Memory of W. R. Harper: Apparatus for the Textual Criticism of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah*, by C. C. Torrey (Chicago, 1908).

§ 8. THE THEOLOGY OF 'THE PRAYER OF MANASSES'.

The two main religious ideas which pervade the Prayer are (1) the infinite compassion of the Almighty, and (2) the efficacy of true repentance.

The opening Invocation portrays in striking terms the Omnipotence of the Deity, and this leads up to the consideration of the yet nobler attributes of His mercy and goodness (ver. 6-7). An effective prelude is thus furnished to the sinner's confession of his iniquities, the climax of which had been reached by his having set up idolatrous abominations. The glory of God and the abasement of the sinner having thus been set over against one another in sharpest contrast, the way is prepared for the ardent supplication for forgiveness which occupies the remainder of the Prayer.

The reader should take notice of the emphasis laid upon the Israelite patriarchs and their true spiritual lineage. The God of 'our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob' (ver. 1) is 'the God of the righteous seed' (ver. 1) and 'of the righteous' (ver. 8). The Patriarchs had not sinned against God (ver. 8). Those only were the righteous seed who had not yielded to idolatry. The range of view of the Psalmist is limited: it has regard to the sin of idolatry and to the pardon of the repentant

μετάνοιαν . . . εἰς σωτηρίαν in the second line we have the corrupt phrase μετάνοις ἄφρων in the first, which on the analogy of the former phrase should obviously be ἄφρων . . . εἰς μετάνοιαν. If we ask how this corruption arose I reply that it is possible to explain it as due to a transposition of מִתְשַׁבֵּחַ (= εἰς μετάνοιαν) from the end of the line to the place immediately after סִלְחָה (= ἄφρων). In this new position the translation rendered מִתְשַׁבֵּחַ סִלְחָה by μετάνοις ἄφρων—a rendering that is quite possible though wrong in this context. On the order of the Greek cf. ver. 11 τῆς παρὰ σου χρηστότητος. Thus we should read:

'Thou, O Lord, according to thy great goodness hast promised forgiveness to them that have sinned against thee that they may repent;

And in the multitude of thy mercies hast appointed repentance unto sinners that they may be saved.'

If the above evidence is valid, then we can also recover the right rendering of ver. 4 ὃν πάντα φησὶν καὶ τρέμει ἀπὸ προσώπου δυνάμεώς σου. Here the two verbs should be taken together. Then ὃν . . . ἀπὸ προσώπου δυνάμεώς σου is a pure Hebraism = אֵלֶּךָ כִּלְפָנֶיךָ אֲנִי . . . אֲנִי. Hence render—

'Before whose power all things shudder and tremble,'—GEN. ED.]

THE PRAYER OF MANASSES

idolater. But a warning seems to be conveyed against the notion that Divine acceptance was ensured by Jewish lineage. The same note is struck, though it may not ring so clear, as in Luke iii. 8: 'Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance, and begin not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father.' Cf. John viii. 39; Rom. ix. 6, 7.

Other points, characteristic of Jewish religious thought and deserving of attention, are the following:

- (a) supernatural efficacy ascribed to the sacred Name (ver. 3);
- (b) the statement that 'repentance' is appointed by God for certain persons, and not for others (ver. 8);
- (c) the representation of the under-world (*Sheol*, or Hades) as a region containing various grades of remoteness from the light of heaven (ver. 11);
- (d) the description of the angels as the 'host of heaven' (*ἡ δύναμις τῶν οὐρανῶν*, ver. 15).

§ 9. VERSIONS.

(a) 'The Prayer of Manasses' was never included in the LXX version of the Old Testament Scriptures. Its position among 'the Canticles' appended to the Psalter, in certain MSS., is due to liturgical reasons.

The Greek text was first printed by R. Stephanus in his edition of the Vulgate. 'The Prayer' follows 2 Chron.; and a short Preface contains this sentence: 'Græcam hanc Manassæ regis Iudæ orationem, nunquam antehac excusam, peperit tibi, candide lector, bibliotheca Victoriana.'

It does not appear in the majority of the printed editions of the LXX. In the Complutensian Polyglott (1514-17) it is printed in small type, in Latin, at the end of 2 Chron. It was not contained in the Sixtine edition (1586-7) of the LXX; nor does it appear in the editions of Holmes and Parsons, or of Tischendorf.

In Walton's Polyglott (although not mentioned in the index of contents) it is found in vol. iv (the Apocrypha) placed before 3 Esdras, and is printed both in Greek and in Latin. The note is prefixed: 'Orationem Manassæ regis Iudæ Græce non extare affirmatur in præfatione Bibl. Vulg. Lat. Edit. Antwerp. 1645. Quam tamen Græce iuxta exemplar Bibliothecæ Victorianæ in Bibliis latinis Roberti Stephani, Edit. 1540, fol. 159 excusum atque insuper in MS. A post Psalmos inter Cantica exaratum invenimus: ipsamque hic subiunximus.' The variants of Cod. A are recorded.

On the other hand, it is found in three reprints of the Sixtine edition, that of Frick (1697), that of Reineccius (1730), and that of Kirchner (1750). It was also included in Grabe's edition of the LXX, following Codex Alexandrinus. But there was no foundation for the note: 'Προσευχὴ Μανασσῆ, 2 Paral. cap. xxxiii iuxta quædam exemplaria' (1817, iv. 165). This statement has led to a very general misapprehension. No ancient Greek MSS. of 2 Chron. xxxiii exist containing 'Oratio Manassis'.¹

(b) *The Latin.* As it was not extant in the Hebrew or the Greek Bible, it was not included in the work of Jerome. In all probability he was not aware of its existence. Otherwise, he would scarcely have failed to make some allusion to it in the passage referring to the repentance of Manasseh: 'Legimus Manassem post multa scelera et post captivitatem in Babylone egisse poenitentiam et ad meliora conversum Domini misericordiam consecutum. Unde et fidei suæ, per quam crediderat Deo, filium vocavit ἐπὶ ὀνόματι, id est Ammon' (*In Sophoniam Liber I*, ed. Migne, P. L., vi, § 675, p. 1340).

At what date the Latin version, which is a good specimen of translation, was made is not known. It is probably much later than Jerome's version. The Prayer, however, is very commonly found in mediæval MSS. of the Vulgate, immediately after 2 Chronicles, and often with the title 'Oratio Manassæ'.

In his *Septuagintastudien*, iii, p. 20, Nestle states that he had been assured both by Ph. Thielmann in Landau and by S. Berger in Paris that, so far as they knew, there was no MS. of the Vulgate containing 'The Prayer of Manasses' of an earlier date than the middle or first third of the thirteenth century. A list of fifteen Latin MSS. in the British Museum containing 'The Prayer of Manasses' at the end of Chron. has been most kindly furnished me by Mr. J. P. Gilson of the MS. Department; all belong to the thirteenth century. It would be extremely interesting to know whether there exists any copy of the Vulgate containing 2 Chron. followed by 'The Prayer of Manasses' which is of an earlier date. It is also an at present unsolved problem to determine the influence which from the beginning of the thirteenth century led to the common inclusion of the Prayer in the Latin Scriptures.

An eleventh-century MS. of the Mozarabic Psalter gives a text which differs considerably from

¹ See the valuable discussion in Nestle's *Septuagintastudien*, iii, pp. 6-22. Stuttgart, 1899.

INTRODUCTION

that in the thirteenth-century Latin Bibles, and with the title 'Oratio Manasse Regis De Libro Paralipomenon'. See below, Note B.

The three Latin MSS. (Colbert 273, Colbert 913, Remig. 4) which Sabatier collated with the Clementine Vulgate for his *Bibl. Sacr. Lat. Vers. Ant.* (iii. 1038 sq.) belong to the same period, and have no special claim to distinction (see Fritzsche, *Libri Apoc. Vet. Test. Praefat.*, p. 15).

It was printed in the Latin Bible of Stephanus (1540) together with the Greek text, and it appeared also in Joh. Brentius' edition of the Vulgate (Leipzig, 1544), in two columns, one in Greek, the other in Latin, side by side.

The edition of the Vulgate issued by Sixtus V (1590) did not contain the Prayer.¹ But in the revised edition of Clement VIII (1592) it was inserted, together with 3 and 4 Esdras, as an appendix after the New Testament. The *Praefatio ad Lectorem* written by Cardinal Bellarmine contains the following statement: 'Porro in hac editione nihil non canonicum, nihil adscitum, nihil extraneum, apponere visum est; atque ea causa fuit, cur libri iii et iv Esdrae inscripti, quos inter canonicos libros sacra Tridentina Synodus non annoveravit, ipsa etiam Manassae regis Oratio, quae neque hebraice neque graece quidem exstat, neque in manuscriptis antiquioribus invenitur, neque pars est ullius canonici libri, extra canonicae Scripturae seriem posita sint.' This statement, as Sir Henry Howorth has pointed out (*Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, vol. xxxi, pt. 3, p. 90), 'was probably unwittingly taken over from the Dominican Pagnini's revised version of the Vulgate which was published in 1527, before Stephen had published his Bible. In Pagnini's edition the Prayer is put at the end of 2 Chronicles, and is headed: "Oratio Manasse regis Iuda quae neque in Hebraeo neq. in Graeco habetur."'

In modern Greek Bibles 'The Prayer of Manasse' has a place immediately after the Books of Chronicles (e.g. St. Petersburg, 1876).

§ 10. SYRIAC VERSION.

An account of the Syriac Version of the Prayer appeared in *Hermathena* xxxvi, 1910, from the competent pen of Professor George Wilkins, of Trinity College, Dublin. In his article he published a collation of a Paris MS. (*Ann. fonds 2. Biblioth. Nat., Syr. 7*) which is probably a transcript of the Syriac MS. (*Vat. viii*) written by Sergius Rsius, Maronite Archbp. of Damascus, circ. 1610.

The Syriac Version of the *Didascalia* is preserved, according to Professor Wilkins, in the following four MSS.:

- (1) Cod. Syr. 62 (= Saint Germain 38), Paris, ninth century, = P.
- (2) Harris Codex (Mrs. Gibson's *Horae Semiticae*), eleventh century, = H.
- (3) University Library, Cambridge, thirteenth century, = C.
- (4) Cod. Borgia, Museo Borgia, Rome.

§ 11. OTHER VERSIONS.

Armenian MSS. of the O. T. Scriptures contain the Prayer among the Canticles appended to the Psalter.

It is also stated to occur in the old Slavonic Version (cf. article by Sir Henry Howorth, *Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, March, 1909, p. 90).

It is found appended to the Psalter in the Ethiopic Version of the Psalms (ed. Ludolf, Frankfort, 1701).

And the Ethiopic Version of the *Apostolical Constitutions* (ed. Thomas Pell Platt, London, 1834) contains the Prayer.

§ 12. TEXT.

The principal authorities for the text are (a) the two Greek uncial MSS. Alexandrinus and Turicensis; (b) the Latin and Syriac Versions; (c) the *Apostolical Constitutions* and *Didascalia*.

The text of cursive MSS., containing the Canticles appended to the Psalter, has yet to be critically investigated.

The MSS. of the *Apostolical Constitutions* are given by Pitra in his *Iuris Ecclesiastici Historia et Monumenta*, tom. 1, p. 163 (Romae, 1864). Pitra himself seems to have relied especially upon 'Vatic. 1' (= Vatic. 839, f. 1-175, saec. x, membr.), and 'Vatic. 2' (= Vatic. 1306, f. 1 ad. 77, a. 1024 membr.).

The important edition by P. de Lagarde, Lipsiae, 1862, contains an apparatus criticus.

The old edition of Cotelierius (1672) is well worth consulting.

¹ The Bull of Sixtus V (*Aeternus ille*), by which it was prefaced, had simply this allusion: 'Orationem Manassae, quae neque in Hebraeo, neque in Graeco textu est, neque in antiquioribus manuscriptis Latinis exemplaribus reperitur; sed in impressis tantum post librum secundum Paralipomenon affixa est, tanquam insutam, adiectam et in textu sacrorum librorum locum non habentem repudiavimus.'

THE PRAYER OF MANASSES

The principal problems presented by the text of 'The Prayer of Manasses' are to be found in:
 (1) ver. 7; the additional clauses found in the Latin and in the *Apostol. Const.* at the close of the verse;
 (2) ver. 9; additional clause in the Syriac Version and in the Mozarabic Psalter;
 (3) ver. 10; various readings arising from the obscurity of the verb *ἀναεῖναι*;
 (4) ver. 10; the gloss added in Cod. T (*μὴ ποιήσας τὸ θέλημά σου καὶ φυλάξας τὰ προστάγματα σου*) and the Latin.

§ 13. ENGLISH VERSIONS.

'The Prayer of Manasses' was not included in Coverdale's Bible, 1535. But it appears in Cranmer's Bible (Grafton), 1539 (being given a place in the Apocrypha after 'Bel and the Dragon' and before 1 Maccabees), and in the subsequent editions (1541, 1549, 1562, 1566).

It receives the same position in the Bishops' Bible, 1st ed., 1568. It does not appear in the Geneva version. In the 'Authorized' (1611) and 'Revised' versions it stands between 'Bel and the Dragon' and 1 Maccabees.

In the Douai Bible of 1609 the Prayer precedes 2 Esdras and follows 2 Maccabees. It is headed by the note: 'The Prayer of Manasses, with the second and third Bookes of Esdras, extant in most Latin and Vulgare Bibles, are here placed after al the Canonical Bookes of the Old Testament, because they are not received into the Canon of Divine Scriptures by the Catholique Church.'

In Luther's Bible it stands at the end of the Apocrypha, after the Additions to Daniel.

SUMMARY OF THE PRAYER.

(1) *The Invocation*: (a) O God of Israel (ver. 1), Lord and Creator of the Universe (vv. 2, 3), infinite in power (ver. 4) and in anger against the sinner (ver. 5); (b) infinite also in mercy (ver. 6), Thou hast proclaimed forgiveness for repentance, and appointed me the sinner unto repentance (vv. 7, 8).

(2) *The Confession*: my sins are innumerable; I am unworthy to look upwards: I am justly punished, loaded with chains, in misery (vv. 9-11).

(3) *The Entreaty*: I beseech Thee (ver. 11); I acknowledge all (ver. 12); grant pardon; consume me not; nor let Thine anger burn for ever (ver. 13).

(4) *The Ascription*: Thou, the God of them that repent, wilt graciously save me (ver. 14); and I will praise Thee for ever.

(5) *Doxology*: Angels hymn Thy praises; Thine is the glory for ever (ver. 15).

A¹. Note on the Latin MSS. containing the Prayer of Manasses.

In the British Museum, the following MSS., all of the thirteenth century, contain the Prayer of Manasses at the end of 2 Chron.:

- (1) Add. 31,831 (f. 271 B): early thirteenth century.
- (2) Eg. 2867.
- (3) Lansd. 453: first half of thirteenth century. Does not contain Prayer, but has marginal note on f. 127 B: 'M[in]us Oracio Manassé regis qué sic incipit "Domine deus . . ."'
- (4) Stowe 1.
- (5) Harl. 1748 (f. 130).
- (6) Royal 1 A. viii (f. 155).
- (7) " 1 A. xvii.
- (8) " 1 A. xix. (f. 106 B, insertion by a different hand).
- (9) " 1 C. i. (f. 106 B).
- (10) Burn 3 (f. 390 B).
- (11) " 10 (f. 232 B).
- (12) Ar. 303 (f. 166).
- (13) Add. 28,626 (f. 210).
- (14) " 35,085 (f. 228 B): A. D. 1233-53.
- (15) " 37,487.

B. Mozarabic Psalter: Eleventh(?)-Century MS. of Prayer of Manasses.

In the 'Mozarabic Psalter (MS. British Museum, Add. 30,851) edited by J. P. Gilson, M.A., of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum', vol. xxx of the Henry Bradshaw Society (London, 1906), Canticum xlii contains *Oratio Manasse Regis De Libro Paralipomenon* 7-15; and the text differs sufficiently

¹ For this list I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Gilson.

INTRODUCTION

widely from that which is found in the Latin Bibles to justify its transcription here ('the character of the handwriting', says Mr. Gilson in the Prefatory Note (p. viii), 'points to the eleventh century as the date at which the MS. was written').

XXII [Canticum] Oratio Manasse Regis De Libro Paralipomenon.

Antiphona. *Peccabi domine peccavi et iniquitatem meam ego agnosco.*

Deus altissimus magnanimus, miserator et multe misericordie, patiens super mala hominum.

Tu ergo domine secundum multitudinem bonitatis tue promissisti indulgentiam et remissionem delinquentibus tibi, et habundantia misericordie tue statuisti penitentiam peccatoribus ad salutem.

Tu ergo domine deus iustorum, non posuisti penitentiam iustis tuis Abraham Ysaac et Jacob, qui non peccauerunt tibi, sed posuisti penitentiam mihi peccatori.

Quoniam super numerum arene maris habundauerunt iniquitates mee, et non est declinatio delictorum meorum.

Et nunc iuste contineor, (et)¹ digne comprimor percurbat(u)s (in)² multis vinculis ferreis, ad non erigendum caput.

Quoniam non sum dignus aspicere et videre altitudinem celi, pro iniustitiis meis.

Quoniam irritavi furorem tuum, et feci malum coram te.

Statuens abominationes, et multiplicans odiositates.

Et nunc flecto genua cordis mei, precans a te bonitatem.

Peccavi domine peccavi, et iniquitatem meam ego agnosco.

Ne perdas me cum iniquitatibus meis, neque in finem iratus contineas mala mea neque condemnaueris me cum (h)is³ qui sunt in inferiora terre.

Tu es enim deus penitentium, ut in me ostendas bonitatem tuam.

Indignum me saluabis secundum multitudinem misericordie tue, et glorificabo nomen tuum in omni vita mea.

Quoniam te laudat omnis uirtus celorum, et tibi est gloria in secula seculorum.

¹ et] interlined.

² percurbatus] u on erasure; in interlined.

³ his] A interlined.

THE PRAYER OF MANASSES

- 1 O Lord Almighty, *which art in heaven*,
Thou God of our fathers,
Of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob,
And of their righteous seed;
- 2 Thou who hast made the heaven and the earth,
With all the array thereof;
- 3 Who hast bound the sea by the word of thy command;
- 4 Who hast shut up the Deep, and sealed it
With thy terrible and glorious Name;
- 5 Whom all things do dread; yea, they tremble before thy power:
For the majesty of thy glory cannot be borne,
And the anger of thy threatening against sinners is unendurable:

A = Codex Alexandrinus. T = Codex Turicensis. Const. Apost. = Constitutiones Apostolorum, lib. ii, cap. xxii (apud Cotelierum *Patres Apostolici*, tom. i, p. 171; et apud Pitram *Iuris Eccles. Graecorum Historia et Monumenta*, tom. i, 162). Syr. = Syriac Version. Lat. = Latin Version, in Vulgate. Moz. = Mozarabic Psalter; Canticum xxii. See Note B, above.

TITLE. Cod. A Η προσευχή Μανασσή: + του υιου Εζεκιου T: Latin *Oratio Manassae regis Iuda cum captus teneretur in Babilonis*. 1. ἐπουρανίον om. T, Const. Apost., Syr., Lat. 2. ὁ κλειστός: καὶ κλειστός T σφραγισμένους: + αὐτῶν T, Const. Apost., Lat. 4. φρίττει: φησάει T, Const. Apost. 5. τε καὶ. Some edd. δε καὶ: zero et Lat.

1. κύριε παντοκράτωρ. On the opening words of this invocation, compare 1 Chron. xvii. 24. κύριε παντοκράτωρ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ κτλ. (= 2 Sam. vii. 27).

The reading ἐπουρανίον, omitted in Codex Turicensis, is possibly a gloss on παντοκράτωρ. In the Ὑμνος ἰσθμικός (the fourteenth of the Ὁδοὶ in Codex Alexandrinus) we find an elaborate ascription, κύριε βασιλεὺς ἐπουρανίου θεὸς πατὴρ ἐπουρανίου, ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων. Cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 18 κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἀβ. κ. Ἰσ. κ. Ἰσ. τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

τοῦ σπέρματος αἰῶν τῶν δικαίων. The writer implies the distinction between the true seed of the Patriarchs ('the righteous', cf. v. 8) and the nominal, which is found in Tobit xiii. 9, 13: 'O Jerusalem, the holy city, he will scourge thee for the works of thy sons, and will again have mercy on the sons of the righteous.' 'Rejoice and be exceeding glad for the sons of the righteous.' We are reminded of St. Paul: 'For they are not all Israel, which are of Israel; neither, because they are Abraham's seed, are they all children' (Rom. ix. 6).

2. ὁ ποιῶν κτλ. This verse is based upon the LXX of Gen. i. 1 ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν, and Gen. ii. 1 καὶ συνετέλεισθαι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος αὐτῶν. Cotelierius, commenting on these words, cites 'Theophanes Cerameus Homilia' 56 κόσμος καὶ ἡ τοῦ καλλοῦ ἀρμονία καὶ διακόσμησις κατὰ τὸ ὑμνοῦμενον ἐν ᾧ δὲ Μανασαί, 'Ο ποιῶν τ. οὐρανὸν κ. τ. γῆν σὺν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ αὐτῶν' (*Patres Apostolici*, vol. ii, p. 150).

σὺν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ αὐτῶν. Latin 'cum omni ornatu eorum'. The word κόσμος is here evidently introduced from the LXX of Gen. ii. 1, and may be regarded as an indication that the Prayer was written in Greek. The precise meaning of κόσμος is not certain. The fact, that in Gen. ii. 1 κόσμος = ἡσυχία 'host', causes Ryssel to consider that the reference is to 'the host of heaven', i.e. 'the stars', as e.g. in Deut. iv. 19, xvii. 3; Isa. xl. 26; Ps. xxxiii. 6. But in the first three passages the words 'of heaven' are added; in Isa. xl. 26 'the host' of the stars is clearly meant. Here the word κόσμος is followed by αὐτῶν, by which, strictly speaking, is denoted τὴν γῆν, as well as τὸν οὐρανόν. On the other hand, the literal renderings 'ornament' (R.V.) or 'order' (R.V. marg.) are too limited; and the second alternative, 'array,' seems best to combine the ideas of splendour and orderliness.

3. ὁ πεδῶν κτλ. There is a reference here to the passages in the O. T. describing the power of the Almighty in restraining the sea within its bounds, and in imprisoning the waters of the Abyss. See especially Job xxxviii. 8, 10, 11: 'Or who shut up the sea with doors, when it brake forth . . . when I . . . prescribed for it my decree, and set bars and doors, and said, Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further.' Ps. civ. 9: 'Thou hast set a bound that they may not pass over; that they turn not again to cover the earth.'

ὁ κλειστός τὴν ἄβυσσον. ἄβυσσος is the rendering of אֲבֻסְסוֹ in Gen. i. 2, vii. 11, viii. 2. Here it evidently denotes the subterranean watery depths upon which the ancient Israelites believed the earth to be upheld. Cf. Apoc. ix. 1 κλεινὸν τοῦ φρέντος τῆς ἀβύσσου, and xx. 3 καὶ ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἄβυσσον καὶ ἐκλείσεν καὶ ἐσφράγισεν ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ, where we may observe the association with κλείειν and σφραγίζειν.

σφραγισμένους. Cf. Job ix. 7, 'which commandeth the sun . . . and sealeth up the stars.' The seal denoted possession, security, and inviolability.

ἐνδόξω. Cf. Tob. viii. 5 τὸ ὄνομα σου τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἔνδοξον. The rabbinic belief in the magical efficacy residing in the sacred Name is here referred to. Solomon was reputed to have wrought miracles by a seal engraved with the Tetragrammaton. Cf. Sirach xlvii. 18 and *Gittin* 68 a. The Name was often mentioned as the embodiment of power and attributes. Cf. Baruch iii. 5.

4. ὃν πάντα φρίττει. For φρίττειν with acc. cf. Judith xvi. 10 ἐφρίξαν Πέρσαι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῆς. ἀπὸ προσώπου κτλ. Latin has 'a vultu virtutis tuae'. It admits of doubt whether this phrase simply amplifies the object of the verb expressed in ὃν = 'in the presence of'; or whether it introduces a fresh thought, 'because of', 'by reason of' (= 'ἕνεκα'). In the former case it would grammatically be closely conjoined with φρίττει and τρέμει; in the latter case it would introduce with τρέμει an explanatory clause. See, however, note on p. 615.

THE PRAYER OF MANASSES 6-7

- 6 Infinite and unsearchable is thy merciful promise;
7 For thou art the Lord Most High, of great compassion,
long-suffering and abundant in mercy, and repentest thee
for the evils of men.

Thou, O Lord, according to thy great goodness hast promised repentance and forgiveness to them that have sinned against thee; and in the multitude of thy mercies hast appointed repentance unto sinners, that they may be saved.

7. οτι συ; συ γαρ T: quoniam tu Lat. om. ψηματος Const. Apost. Syr. om. και Const. Apost. om. και T, Moz. Insert *αν κρις... σωτηρια* Const. Apost. Syr., Lat., Moz. om. A T 8. ερον; πε. εν T; Const. Apost.; Lat. postest me

5. ανεκτος. The Latin renders by 'imperturbabilis'. The adjective does not occur in the LXX. Hesyech. ανεκτος, αφορητος, αβαστακτος. Cf. Aesch. Fragment 220.

η μεγαλοπρεπεια της διξης σου. The phrase is evidently derived from Ps. cxli. (cxlv.) 5: η μεγαλοπρεπεια της διξης της αγιασης σου, and 12: και την δαξαν της μεγαλοπρεπειας της βασιλειας σου.

ανεπιστατος. Latin 'insistentabilis'. An adjective of rare occurrence in the LXX: cf. Ps. cxxiii. (cxxxiv.); 2 Macc. i. 13, viii. 5. Cf. Symmachus in Job iv. 11, ix. 19; Ps. lxxxv. (lxxxvi.) 14; Prov. xvi. 27.

6. ανετητος. Another uncommon adjective in the LXX. Cf. Isa. xxii. 18; Baruch iii. 25; 3 Macc. iv. 17. τε και. The reading of some editions, δε και, and the Latin, seems to deserve support on internal grounds.

(1) At this point the main subject which occupies the thought of the Prayer, i.e. the mercy of God, is first reached. The power (v. 4), the majesty and the wrath (v. 5), have been described; but here, in v. 6, another note of infinite graciousness is to be recorded. (2) The variation of thought between the two adjectives, ανετητος and ανεξεχρηστος, is not sufficient to make the τε prefixed to the και strongly preferable.

ανεξεχρηστος. Latin 'investigabilis'. In LXX Job v. 9, ix. 10. Comp. Rom. xi. 33; Eph. iii. 8. το ελεος της επαγγελιας σου, 'the mercy of thy promise', or 'thy merciful promise', referring to the promise of forgiveness to them that repent implied in v. 8, 11, 13, which forms the nucleus of the prayer.

επαγγελια. επαγγελια, in the sense of 'promise' or 'declaration', is a common word in the N. T., e.g. Luke xxiv. 49; Acts i. 4, ii. 33-9; Rom. iv. 13-14, and often in Ep. to Heb. But it occurs rarely in LXX, e.g. 1 Esdras i. 7; Esther iv. 7; Ps. lv. (lvi.) 8; Amos ix. 6; 1 Macc. x. 15; 4 Macc. xii. 9.

7. οτι συ (or, αν γαρ). The present verse develops the claim to the Divine mercy. It appeals to the language which would be familiarly known from passages in the O. T.

ψηματος. The omission of this adjective by Const. Apost. and Syr. has been explained on the ground that it is out of place at the head of a list of epithets of a moral character and bearing upon the mercy and forbearance of the Almighty: 'At in Editionibus, in Horologio, et in quinque MSS. Regis, sic γαρ εἰ κρις ψηματος' (Cotelerius). The passage in Ps. cxvii. 9, 'For thou, Lord, art most high above all the earth,' has led to the insertion in Latin texts of 'super omnem terram'.

επιπλογγος. Not found in LXX; Eph. iv. 32 (Robinson, *ad loc.*); 1 Pet. iii. 8. επιπλογγος ελθ. In this rehearsal of the merciful attributes of Jehovah we have the key to the whole Prayer of Repentance. The language reminds us of Exod. xxxiv. 6; Ps. cxxxvi. 15; Joel ii. 12, 13; Jonah iv. 2. Of these passages, the words of the prophet Joel are probably uppermost in the author's mind. For (1) it is a classical appeal for repentance, and hence would be appropriate to the subject of the Prayer; and (2) the expression μετανοω εἰς κακιας is derived from the LXX of Joel ii. 12, 13. The passage runs as follows: 'Yet even now, saith the Lord, turn ye unto me with all your heart, and with fasting, and with weeping, and with mourning; and rend your heart, and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God: for he is gracious, and full of compassion, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy, and repenteth him of the evil' (LXX μετανοω εἰς κακιας).

επι κακιας ανθρωπων. Latin 'et poenitens super malitias hominum'. The word κακιας seems to be borrowed from the LXX of Joel. The prophet's own phrase 'of the evil' (עַל הָרָעָה) had reference to 'the evils' of calamity which befall the people as the punishment for their sins. But the LXX rendered by κακιας, which ordinarily denotes 'wickedness' (Lat. 'malitia'), the source of sorrows; and not by τα κακα = 'evils', or 'mala', as the consequence of sin. The common meaning of κακια may be illustrated from Gen. vi. 5 (LXX) εὐηθευθησαν αἱ καρδια των ανθρωπων, in which context it 'repented' the Lord that He had made man, because the wickedness of men was increased. But κακια may have reference to the punishment arising from the sin: 1 Chron. xxi. 15 εἶδεν κυριος και μετεμεληθη εἰς τη κακια; Jonah iii. 10 μετενοησεν ο θεος εἰς τη κακια (cf. iv. 2); Matt. vi. 34 αρκετον τη ημερα η κακια αυτη. Probably an intentional contrast is here drawn between the μετνοια ascribed to the Almighty (cf. Gen. vi. 6; 1 Sam. xv. 11; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16), in His pity relenting towards suffering, which is sin's penalty; and the μετνοια of the sinner for his own sin which calls down Divine judgement. The addition to the text contained in Const. Apost. and in the Latin, though omitted in Codd. A and T, is an important expansion of the main theme of repentance. It particularizes the promise (επαγγελια, v. 6) as one that proclaimed 'forgiveness of repentance', i.e. forgiveness of sin, to the repentant sinner; it decrees for sinners the duty of repentance, with a view to their being saved. If only a gloss, it constitutes a very substantial addition to the Prayer. But it is, more probably, part of the original document. (1) It was very possibly accidentally omitted, because these two στιχοι both commence with the same words (οτι συ) as the preceding στιχος. (2) Arguing from the contents of the passage, it is more reasonable to suppose that such remarkable phrases as επαγγελια μετανοω εἰς κακιας and οριστως μετανοω... εἰς σωτηρια should have been included in the original Psalm, than that they should have been inserted as a gloss. (3) Against their being a gloss, it is to be observed that the next verse, αν ουν... ος εθου μετανοω ελθ., seems to imply some such sentence, and would not follow so naturally upon μετανοω εἰς κακιας ανθρωπων.

μετανοω εἰς κακιας ανθρωπων. Latin 'poenitentiam et remissionem'. The Mozarabic Psalter, 'indulgentiam et remissionem,' avoids the difficulty by a paraphrase. The introduction of μετανοω with επαγγελια seems at first sight incongruous. The 'promise' of ελεος is conditional upon μετνοια. The object of the Prayer is to unite the two ideas of the sinner's repentance and the Divine pardon as closely as possible. For general sense compare Luke v. 32. For a restoration of the text on the basis of a Semitic original see note on pp. 614, 615. μετνοια in the LXX, Prov. xiv.

THE PRAYER OF MANASSES 8-10

- 8 Thou, therefore, O Lord, that art the God of the righteous, hast not appointed repentance unto the righteous, unto Abraham, and Isaac and Jacob, which have not sinned against thee:
But thou hast appointed repentance unto me that am a sinner;
For the sins I have sinned are more in number than the sands of the sea.
- 9 For my transgressions were multiplied, O Lord:
My transgressions were multiplied,
And I am not worthy to behold and see the height of heaven by reason of the multitude of mine iniquities.
- *And now, O Lord, I am justly punished and deservedly afflicted;
For lo! I am in captivity,*
- 10 Bowed down with many an iron chain,
So that I cannot lift up mine head by reason of my sins,

9. σὺ οὖν, ὁ θεός, ὁ κύριος τῶν δικαίων, οὐκ ἐτί κατέστης ἐμὴν μετάνοιαν; καὶ ἐπλήθυνον αἱ ἀνομίαι μου. Const. Apost. οὐκ ἐτί Const. Apost. *And now . . . captivity* insert Syr., *And now . . . afflicted* insert Moz., omit Codd., Const. Apost., Lat. 10. σιδηρῶν Const. Apost.; σιδηρῶν T; Lat. *ferreo* αὐτανέουσι: pr. μὲν, οὖν, με T; Lat. *ut non possim* ὑπερ ἁμαρτιῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν T, Syr., Lat. μοι ἀνεῖσαι: ἀνεῖσαι μοι T

15; Sirach xlv. 16; Wisd. xi. 23, xii. 10, 19. For ἀφέναι cf. Isa. lxi. 1 κηρύξαι ἀρχαῖων ἀφέναι (777). For forgiveness through repentance see Hos. ii. 1-4, vi. 1 ff., xiv; Isa. i. 16 ff.; Ezek. xviii. 21 ff.

τῷ πληθει τῶν ὁμιλιῶν σου. Cf. κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὁμιλιῶν σου, Ps. l. (li.) 1, lxviii. (lxix.) 19. ὁρίσας. Lat. 'decrevisi'. Cf. 3 Macc. vi. 36 κοινὸν ὁρίσασθαι περὶ τούτων θεσμός. εἰς σωτηρίαν (Lat. 'in salutem') after μετάνοια has a suggestion of N. T. phraseology. Cf. 2 Cor. vii. 10 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν λύπη μετάνοια εἰς σωτηρίαν (Vulg. 'poenitentiam . . . in salutem') ἀμεταμέλητον ἐργάζεται. But both the idea and phraseology are pre-Christian; cf. T. Gad v. 7 ἡ γὰρ κατὰ θεὸν ἀληθὴς μετάνοια . . . ὁδῶν . . . πρὸς σωτηρίαν. Had the author of the Prayer been a Christian, he could hardly have omitted a reference to 'salvation through Jesus Christ'. There is no higher conception here than that of deliverance from the penalty of Divine wrath.

8. ὁ θεός τῶν δικαίων. This is not a Biblical phrase. Compare with it ζ. 1 ὁ θεός . . . τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῶν τοῦ δικαίου. 'The righteous' are the elect Israel, as distinguished from the οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί, οἱ ἄσεβεις, οἱ ἄνομοι. Compare the contrast in Luke xv. 7 between the ἁμαρτωλὸν and the δίκαιον.

τοὶς οὐκ ἡμαρτηκόσι σοι. The Patriarchs were invested with sinlessness in the estimation of the reverent few. Such treatment of patriarchal virtue was based on such passages as Gen. xvii. 17-19, xxii. 18, and Exod. xxxii. 13. ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ. Lat. 'propter me peccatorem'. Cf. Luke xviii. 13 ὁ θεός, ἰδοὺ στήθεϊ μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ. The article gives distinctiveness to the self-condemnation.

9. σὺ. The confession of his exceeding sinfulness occupies the following four verses, and, as the expression of repentance, forms the basis of entreaty for pardon.

ὑπερ ἁρτηῶν ψάμμον θαλάσσης. The construction is obvious, though grammatically harsh: 'to sin more than the number of the sand of the sea' is equivalent to saying that it was easier to count the sands of the sea than the number of his offences.

ψάμμος in the LXX is found only in Wisd. vii. 9 ὁ πᾶς χρυσὸς ἐν ὄψει αὐτῶν ψάμμος. The more common word is ἕμμος, as in Gen. xxxii. 12, xli. 49; Joshua xi. 4; Isa. x. 22; Hos. i. 10 (ii. 1).

ἐπλήθυνον κτλ. Cf. Isa. lix. 12: 'For our transgressions are multiplied before thee.' πληθύνω. Used intransitively.

οὐκ ἀξίος. Cf. Luke xv. 19, 21, which may be the origin here of the variant reading οὐκ ἐτί. ἀνεῖσαι, 'to look at with intent gaze'. Lat. 'intueri'. The word is of rare occurrence in the LXX, 1 Esdras vi. 28; 3 Macc. ii. 26. But in the N. T. it is not infrequent, e.g. Acts i. 10, iii. 4, 12, vi. 15, vii. 55, &c.

τὸ ὄψος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. 'The height of heaven' is the Throne of the Most High. Cf. Isa. xxxviii. 14 ἐξέλειπον γὰρ μοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ τοῦ βλέπειν εἰς τὸ ὄψος τ. οὐρανοῦ πρὸς τὸν κύριον. For the thought see Ps. cxxiii. 1: 'Unto thee do I lift up mine eyes, O thou that sittest in the heavens.'

9, 10. Between v. 9 and v. 10 the Syriac version inserts the verse: 'And now, O Lord, I am justly punished and deservedly afflicted; for lo! I am in captivity.' The Mozarabic Psalter reads: 'Et nunc juste contineor, et digne comprimor.' In favour of some such insertion there are certainly the following considerations: (1) v. 10 opens with μὴ κατακαμπτόμενος, which stands in no suitable relation either to v. 9, οὐκ εἰμί ἀξίος, or to the following clause, διότι παρωγισα; (2) the clause beginning with μὴ κατακαμπτόμενος has no main verb, and is grammatically disconnected; (3) if there is any consistency in the arrangement of the στιχοί, it is noticeable that, whereas in v. 9 we find a group of three στιχοί, (1) διότι ἡμαρτον κτλ., (2) ὅτι ἐπλήθυνον κτλ., (3) καὶ οὐκ εἰμί ἀξίος, and in v. 10 a group of three στιχοί, (1) διότι παρωγισα κτλ., (2) καὶ τὸ πονηρὸν κτλ., (3) στήθεϊς βδελύγμ., and in v. 11 a group of three στιχοί, (1) καὶ νῦν κλίνω κτλ., (2) ἡμάρτηκα κτλ., (3) καὶ τὰς ἀνομίας κτλ., this grouping breaks down in v. 10 α ὁ, κατακαμπτόμενος κτλ. and εἰς τὸ ἀνεῖσαι κτλ. The reading of the Syriac and Mozarabic would thus supply grammatical coherency and rhythmical balance. Hence it is quite conceivable that they may have preserved the true text. Its opening words, καὶ νῦν, being identical with the opening of v. 11, may have led to the accidental omission. If genuine, it conveys a further reference to the position of the speaker as a captive in prison. There is, of course, another alternative, which is only conjectural, and yet is not altogether impossible, that the line κατακαμπτόμενος . . . σιδηρῶν has been inserted to identify the utterer of the Prayer with Manasses; and that the following line, εἰς τὸ . . . ἀνεῖσαι, is a further expansion of the gloss. On the other hand, if κατακαμπτόμενος κτλ. is original, the probability seems to be strong that some clause, like that of the Syriac version, has fallen out of the Greek text.

10. κατακαμπτόμενος. If not conjoined to some clause such as that which the Syriac version supplies, the present clause follows very awkwardly upon what has gone before; and grammatically the sentence is extraordinarily disjointed and prolonged. In consequence, the Latin and the English version begin here a new sentence.

THE PRAYER OF MANASSES 10-13

Neither have I any respite:

Because I provoked thy wrath, and did that which was evil in thy sight.

I did not do thy will, neither kept I thy commandments:

I set up abominations, and multiplied detestable things.

11 And now I bow the knee of mine heart, beseeching thee of thy gracious goodness.

12 I have sinned, O Lord, I have sinned,

And I acknowledge mine iniquities.

13 But, I humbly beseech thee,

Forgive me, O Lord, forgive me,

εἰς τὸ . . . ἀνασῆς om. Const. Apost. *μεμνημένος τοῦ θόλου σου καὶ φεδάραι τὰ προστάγματα σου* insert T and Lat. but not Moz. ἀσῆσαι . . . προστάγματα om. T 11. καρδία: + μου T, Const. Apost. Lat. 12. ἐγὼ γινώσκω Codd. A T, Const. Apost., ed. Fritzsche; ἀνασῆσαι Vulg.; Lat. Mit. agnoscere 13. ἀκούω . . . σὺν μοι: om. Moz.:

κατακλῆπτ. Lat. 'incurvatus sum'. This verb is rare in the LXX, Ps. xxxvii. 6, lvi. (lvii.) 6; cf. Symmachus Ps. xli. (xlii.) 6, xliii. (xliiv.) 26.

πολλῶ διαμυσσόμενος. Latin 'multo vinculo ferreo'. L.L. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1: 'The captives of the king of Assyria . . . took Manasseh in chains [Or. *with bonds*], and bound him with fetters, and carried him to Babel.' There is no sufficient reason to explain, as Zöckler and Ball, this sentence metaphorically of sin and its chains, like Ps. cvii. 10, 'being bound in affliction and iron.' The whole context of this verse is occupied, not with the iniquities that produced the punishment, but with the penalty, of a quite real and overwhelming kind, which had befallen the speaker. Again, the metaphorical use of iron chains applied to sin is not a common one; and there is nothing in the character of the Prayer which would favour the theory of a metaphorical use of these simple words.

The precise meaning of πολλῶ is doubtful; it may either be rendered as if it were the same as πολλοῖς δεσμοῖς, or the singular number may denote 'a weighty chain'. For the use of πολλῶ with a singular substantive—most of the examples usually given are with an abstract noun—cf. 2. 14 κατὰ τὸ πολὺ τῆς αἰσχύνης σου.

εἰς τὸ ἀναγκάζειν με κτλ. This is the most difficult expression in the whole Prayer, and the difficulty has given rise to the variety in the readings.

ἀναγκάζειν in the LXX is employed to translate אָנָה and אָנָה (Hiph.) in the sense of 'to refuse'; cf. Exod. xxxii. 17; Num. xxx. 6; Neh. ix. 17. Here, however, it is used in a sense that represents the physical motion of the verb (ἀναγκάζειν) and the preposition (ἀνὰ), and means 'to incline upward', as Ps. xl. 12, 'so that I am not able to look up.' We have, therefore, three alternative renderings: (1) Fritzsche, 'so that I shake (my head) over my sins' (cf. Polyb. xviii. 13, 3 ἀναγκάζων = 'with the head up'; Dionys. Arcop.; Basil, Ps. vii. p. 140; Chrys. *De Zelo et Piet.* (ap. Suicer.)); (2) αἰετὸ with inf., equivalent to αἰετὸ with inf. (= Hebr. אָנָה with inf.) = 'more bowed down . . . than to lift up my head, because of my sins', in the sense of 'bowed down . . . so that I cannot lift up my head, or look upwards'. This gives a good sense, but grammatically it is a harsh construction. (3) εἰς τὸ μὴ ἀναγκάζειν τὴν κεφαλὴν, as Cod. T, 'so that I cannot lift up my head.' This text is evidently emendational. The insertion of the μὴ gives the same sense as No. 2. So Latin, 'ut non possim attollere caput meum.' The omission of the whole line, εἰς τὸ . . . ἀναγκάζειν, in Const. Apost. may have been due to the obscurity of the meaning; but see note on 2. 9, 10 above.

ἀνάσῃς. Latin 'respiratio', in the sense of 'release', or 'cessation', or 'relief'. Cf. LXX in 2 Chron. xxxiii. 15; 1 Esdras iv. 62; 2 Esdras iv. 22. In the N.T. it occurs of St. Paul in prison, Acts xxiv. 23. Cf. 2 Cor. vii. 5.

παροργίσας. The verb παροργίζω, 'to anger', is of frequent occurrence in LXX with a personal object; e.g. Judges ii. 12 παροργίσαν τὸν κύριον. But there is no instance in the LXX of the phrase here used, παροργίσαν τὸν θεόν τινα.

The line μὴ ποιήσας . . . τὰ προστάγματα σου added by Codex Turicensis, and in the Latin version, 'non feci voluntatem tuam et mandata tua non custodivi', seems certainly to be a gloss, expanding the words τὰ ποιήματα ἐναντίον σου ἐποίησα. It adds nothing to the sense of the verse, it overloads the arrangement of the lines, it places μὴ ποιήσας immediately after ἐποίησα, and interposes a general negative between the assertion of wicked action (τὰ ποιήματα ἐναντίον σου ἐποίησα) and the statement of its most conspicuous instance of enormity. The line should not, therefore, be included in the text.

στήσας βδελύγματα κτλ. Latin, 'statui abominabiles et multiplicavi offensiones.' Mozarabic, 'Statuens abominabiles et multiplicans odiositates.' βδελύγμα is the usual rendering in the LXX for אָבֱדֹנִית 'abomination'. Cf. 2 Kings xxi. 2: 'And he (Manasseh) did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, after the abominations of the heathen.' προστάγματα is the word used for 'the abomination' (אָבֱדֹנִית) of the Zidonians and of Moab in 2 Kings xxiii. 13 τῇ Ἀσσύρῃ προστάγματα Σιδωνίων καὶ τῷ Ναμὸν προστάγματα Μοαβ: καὶ τῷ Μολύδα βδελύγματα εἰς τὸ Ἀσσύριον. On the outrages committed by Manasseh upon the worship of Jehovah and upon the Temple at Jerusalem see 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1-9.

11. καὶ νῦν κτλ. The confession is complete; the entreaty for compassion now begins. κλίνω γόνυ καρδίας. In the LXX κλίνω is the regular verb to be used with τὸ γόνατος. With κλίνω we find another construction in 2 Esdras ix. 5 κλίνω ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατά μου. The heart of the suppliant is here represented as a person kneeling. For this personification of the heart cf. Rom. ii. 29, 'circumcision is that of the heart.' The teaching of the prophet Joel is perhaps still influencing the writer: 'Render your heart, and not your garments' (Joel ii. 13).

δοκίμως τὴν ψυχὴν σου χρησάμενος, i.e. begging for the kindness which continually proceeds from thee. It is more than τὴν χρησάμενος σου, while the Latin 'precans a te bonitatem' fails to reproduce the Greek idiom.

12. ἡμάρτηκα. The perf. tense gives the sense of the continued result of the sin, 'I have sinned, and am in a state of sin.' This is a different shade of thought from that of the aorist ἥμαρτον (2. 9). For this acknowledgement of sin compare the cases of Balaam, Num. xxii. 34; Saul, 1 Sam. xv. 24, xxvi. 21; David, 2 Sam. xii. 13.

ἐγὼ. Emphatic: 'I—the guilty one—am alone cognizant of my guilt, and therefore alone can perceive and acknowledge my transgression.'

γινώσκω. Latin 'agnosco'. Cf. Ps. I. (li.) 5 'iniquitatem meam ego agnosco'. In this passage some editions have ἀναγινώσκω. Cf. Ps. xix. 12: 'Who can discern his errors?'

13. αἰτούμαι. The reading ἀλλ', which is found in Cod. T and Const. Apost., expresses the fresh departure made at this point in the Prayer: 'Nevertheless, in spite of my sinfulness, I beseech,' &c. Latin, 'quare peto rogans te.'

THE PRAYER OF MANASSES 13-15

And destroy me not with mine iniquities.
Neither, in thy continual anger against me,
Lay up evil in store for me:
Nor pass thou sentence against me,
When I am in the lowest parts of the earth.
For thou, O Lord, art the God of them that repent;
And in me thou wilt show forth *all* thy goodness:
For thou wilt save me, unworthy that I am,
According to thy great mercy.
And I will praise thee for ever all the days of my life:
For all the host of heaven doth sing thy praise,
And thine is the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

αἰνοῦμαι; pr. ἀλλὰ T, Const. Apost.; Lat. *quare* μη; pr. καὶ T, Const. Apost.; Lat. *et ne* ὅτι σὺ εἰ κύριε ὁ θεός
A T; ὅτι σὺ θεός Const. Apost. 14. ἐν ἐμοὶ A T; ἐπ' ἐμοὶ Const. Apost. δείξῃς A T; δείξῃς Const. Apost.;
Lat. *ostendes*, ed. Fritzsche τὴν ἀγαθωσύνην; pr. πάντων T; Lat. *omnem*, ed. Fritzsche 15. ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις
A T; ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις Const. Apost.; Vulgo πάσαις ταῖς ἡμέραις

ἄντες μοι. The repetition of the prayer for forgiveness corresponds with the repetition of *ἡμάρτηκα* in the previous verse. For *ἀντες* cf. Ps. xxxviii. (xxxix.) 13 *ἀντες μοι ἵνα ἀναψύξω* = 'O spare me, that I may recover my strength'.
μή συναπολέσῃς με τ. ἀνομ. μ. The phrase is evidently based upon the LXX of Gen. xix. 15 *ἵνα μὴ συναπόλῃ ταῖς ἀνομίαις τῆς πόλεως*. Cf. Wisd. x. 3. Used of persons, the same verb is found with *μετά* and the gen., Ps. xxv. (xxvi.) 9 *μή συναπολέσῃς μετὰ ἀσεβῶν τὴν ψυχὴν μου*; xxvii. (xxviii.) 3 *μετὰ ἐργαζομένων ἀδικίαν μὴ συναπολέσῃς με, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μνηστὶς*. Latin 'in aeternum iratus'. Another phrase borrowed from the LXX: Ps. cii. (ciii.) 9 *οὐδέ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μνηστὶς*; Jer. iii. 12 *οὐ μνησθὲν ὑμῖν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, τηρήσῃς τὰ κακά μοι*. Latin 'reserves mala mihi'. The meaning is: 'do not, by long-continued anger, retain, or lay up in store against me, the evils which I have deserved.'
τὰ κακά: not the sins I have committed; but the evils I have brought upon myself as the punishment of sin.
καταδικάζῃς, 'pass sentence of condemnation upon.' The verb renders the Hiph. of *עָשָׂה* in Ps. xxxvi. (xxxvii.) 33. The punishment of physical suffering, disease, want, injury, exile, was deemed to be inflicted for offences against the law of God.
The Mozarabic Psalter renders 'neque in finem iratus contineas mala mea neque condemnaueris me cum his qui sunt in inferiora terre'.
ἐν τοῖς κατωτάτοις τῆς γῆς. This phrase renders *תַּתְּמִיתָא* in the LXX of Ps. cxxxviii. (cxxxix.) 15, where Codd. A B read *ἐν τοῖς κατωτάτοις τῆς γῆς*. In that passage, as in Isa. xlv. 23, the lowest region in the under-world of the departed is denoted by this term. It does not indicate the place of torment; but rather the most remote and inaccessible locality in the unknown region of departed spirits. Here, as in Ps. cxxxviii. (cxxxix.) 15, the meaning is: 'When I am most remote, and abide in the lowest parts of the earth, condemn me not.' 'Do not prolong, or delay, the punishment of my sins, so that they may be visited upon me, however inaccessible in the lower world.' The other rendering, 'nor condemn me to (i. e. for punishment in) the lowest parts of the earth', follows the Latin, 'neque damnes me in infima terrae loca.' 'The lowest regions' were not a locality of torment, like the mediaeval hell, but the most inaccessible place in the shadowy under-world.

14. ὁ θεὸς τῶν μετανοούντων. Another Divine title, which does not elsewhere occur in Holy Scripture.
δείξῃς ὅς δείξῃς. The former reading gives the simplest meaning, and is supported by the Latin 'ostendes' and Const. Apost. *δείξῃς*, which is read by Codd. A and T, is grammatically harsh. The subjunctive must be dependent on the *μηδέ* in v. 13; but the prohibition closes with v. 13, and if in v. 14 the positive side of the injunction is to be continued in the subjunctive, the construction is almost intolerable, especially with the clause *ὅτι σὺ . . . μετανοούντων* interposed.
τὴν ἀγαθωσύνην. Cf. LXX in Judges ix. 16; 2 Chron. xxiv. 16. The insertion of *πάντων* (Cod. T) is a very natural amplification: Latin 'omnem bonitatem tuam'.
ἀνάξιον. A rare adjective in the LXX. See Esther viii. 13; Sirach xxv. 8; Jer. xv. 9.
σώσεις. The deliverance here contemplated is from the manifold punishment he had deserved.
κατὰ τὸ πολὺ ἔλεός σου. Cf. v. 7.

15. διὰ πάντων κτλ. Latin 'semper omnibus diebus vitae meae'. Mozarabic Psalter, 'in omni vita mea.' The more usual phrase in the LXX would be *πάντας ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς μου*. Cf. Ps. xxii. (xxiii.) 6, xxvi. (xxvii.) 4, cxxxvii. (cxxxviii.) 5.
πάντα ἢ δυνάμεις τῶν οὐρανῶν. Lat. 'omnis virtus caelorum'. The meaning is 'all the heavenly host of angelic beings'; and the phrase is probably derived from Ps. xxxii. (xxxiii.) 6 *πάντα ἢ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν*. Cf. Dan. viii. 10. See 2 Chron. xviii. 18, 'all the host of heaven standing on his right hand and on his left'; and Luke ii. 13, 'a multitude of the heavenly host praising God.'

καὶ σοῦ ἔσται ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. A short concluding doxology reminding us of the Lord's Prayer (Matt. vi. 13). For instances of Jewish doxologies cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 11; 1 Esdras iv. 59.
Ἀμήν. For the liturgical use of Amen see 1 Chron. xvi. 36 = Ps. cvi. 48, Judith xiii. 20 (*γένοιτο*), Tobit viii. 8; and compare, in N. T. illustration of this usage, 1 Cor. xiv. 16 and Rev. v. 14.